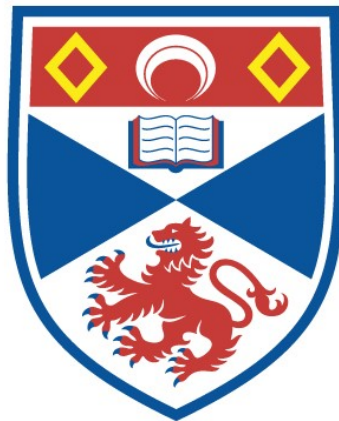


THE INFLUENCE OF ACHAEMENID PERSIA ON FOURTH-CENTURY
AND EARLY HELLENISTIC GREEK TYRANNY

Miles Lester-Pearson

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



2015

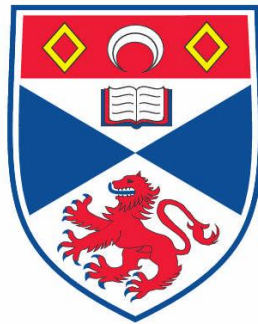
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The influence of Achaemenid Persia on fourth-century and early Hellenistic Greek tyranny

Miles Lester-Pearson



This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy at the University of St Andrews

Submitted

February 2015

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This thesis is dedicated to my father Vernon whom I miss every day, and to my newborn son Logan.

Miles Lester-Pearson

Tredington, January 2015

Abstract

This thesis is an examination of how Greek tyranny in the fourth century and the early Hellenistic age was influenced by Achaemenid Persia and the Ancient Near East.

The introduction lays out the problems of interpreting the Ancient Near East through Greco-Roman sources, via Ephippus' description of Alexander the Great, as well as discussing two important examples of Persianisation that have been examined in detail in the past: Pausanias of Sparta and Alexander the Great.

The relevant Classical Greek and Achaemenid sources concerning Persian kingship are then considered, in order to establish four categories by which to examine the tyrannical dynasties chosen as case studies: Appearance, Accessibility, Dynasty and Military Function. Using these four categories, the dynasties of the Dionysii of Syracuse, the Clearchids of Heraclea Pontica, the Hecatomnids of Caria and Agathocles of Syracuse, chosen for their geographical and temporal variance, are examined individually over the next four chapters.

Appearance concerns the ruler's dress and body presentation, the use of status items such as crowns and sceptres, and the display of luxury. Accessibility concerns the use of architecture and fortifications, as well as court protocol and bodyguards, in order to control access to the ruler. Dynasty concerns family trees, marriages and the role of women, and the role of close family and subordinates in important administrative positions. Military Function concerns the role of the ruler in warfare as well as power symbols, titles and epithets.

The analysis of the tyrannies taken altogether using the same categories forms the basis of the subsequent chapter, and allows for comparison with the Achaemenid Persian evidence in order to determine whether there is any significant correlation. This chapter also examines the potential methods of transmission.

The thesis concludes that there are significant similarities in some aspects of tyrannical rule with that of Achaemenid kingship, and demonstrates that tyrants were engaging in the political and philosophical discourse of the era. The 'royal nature' as demonstrated by Xenophon proves to be something that tyrants aspire to, without becoming kings in name. The thesis also concludes that thinking of Greek tyrants in rigid characterisation is no longer acceptable, whether temporally as *alter* and *junger* tyranny, or geographically as Greek rulers of Greek cities with no contextual influence.

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Abbreviations

All ancient dates refer to B.C. unless specified. Where ancient authors are abbreviated, they follow the abbreviations of *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed.). Ancient Persian inscriptions follow the abbreviations of Kent's *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*. Where journal names are abbreviated, they follow the abbreviations of *L'Année Philologique*. All ancient names are transliterated in Latinate fashion. All Ancient locations appear as their most common form. All translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

ABC - A.K. Grayson (ed.), *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (1975) Locust Valley, J.C. Augustin

BNJ – *Brill's New Jacoby* (2007-), <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-jacoby>

BNP - *Brill's New Pauly* (2002-), <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly>

CAH – *Cambridge Ancient History*

CC - Cyrus Cylinder

FGrH - F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, vols. 15 (1923-58) Brill, Leiden

GHI - P.J. Rhodes & R. Osborne (eds.) *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC* (2003) Oxford, Oxford University Press

IG - *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1873-) <http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/>

OCD³ - S. Hornblower & A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed. rev.) (2003) Oxford, Oxford University Press

OGIS - W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, vols. 2 (1903) Leipzig, S. Herzel

OP - Old Persian

PF – *Persepolis Fortification Archive* (2002-)
<https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/persepolis-fortification-archive>

POxy - *Oxyrhynchus Online*, <http://www.papyrology.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>

PT – Persepolis Treasury Archive

RINAP - *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, (2007-)
<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/rinap/index.html>

SEG - *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (1923-)

SIG - W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, vols. 2 (1915-24) Leipzig, S. Herzel

SNGvA - *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Sammlung Hans Von Aulock* (4 vols.) (1957-1967) Berlin, Mann

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1) Introduction

1.1) Alexander the Greco-Persian conundrum

Ephippus fragment five highlights perfectly the problematic nature of Greco-Roman interpretation of the Near East in general.¹

Ἐφίππος δὲ φησιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, ὅτε μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πορφυρίδα καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ κέρατα καθάπερ ὁ θεός, ὅτε δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος ἐφόρει πολλάκις, ἔχων τὴν Περσικὴν στολὴν, ὑποφαίνων ἄνωθεν τῶν ὤμων τό τε τόξον καὶ τὴν σιβύνην, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδὸν καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν χλαμύδα τε πορφυρᾶν καὶ χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον καὶ τὴν καυσίαν ἔχουσιν τὸ διάδημα τὸ βασιλικόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνουσίᾳ τὰ τε πέδιλα καὶ τὸν πέτασον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸ κηρύκειον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ λεοντῆν καὶ ῥόπαλον ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς.²

Ephippus says that Alexander also used to wear the sacred vestments at his dinners: sometimes the (apparel) of Ammon, purple robe and *perischideis* [a type of shoe] and horns exactly as the god; sometimes (the apparel) of Artemis, which he also often used to wear on his chariot, dressed in the Persian garb, just showing above his shoulders the bow and the hunting-spear; and sometimes that of Hermes; on other occasions one might say, and on a daily basis, the purple *chlamys* and the *chiton* with a white middle and the *kausia* with the royal diadem; but in social intercourse the sandals, the *petasos* on his head and the herald's wand in his hand, and often also the lion's-skin and the club, like Heracles.

¹ Spawforth (2012).

² Ephippus *FGrH* 126 F5. Translated by Spawforth.

Many Alexander scholars have dismissed this fragment as factually inaccurate.¹ Spawforth has made a convincing argument, following on from Lane Fox's comment that 'it was only a joke, and not a very good one', that Alexander as Artemis actually represented Alexander undertaking a royal hunt in Achaemenid style.² Of particular importance for my work is Spawforth's assertion that Ehippus presented a 'controlled misreading' of Alexander's *Persising* which would be read in a derogatory context by a Greek audience.³ The term *Persising* is to be used in contrast to *Medising*, the latter term referring to political affiliation with Persia, such as the conduct of Greek states who chose to side with Persia instead of the Greek allies during the Persian Wars.⁴ *Persising* or *Persianisation* on the other hand are terms associated with the cultural adoption of Persia. Brosius gives an appropriate definition of *Persianisation* as 'the mechanisms by which the cultural influence of Achaemenid Persia on other peoples resulted in the adoption and adaptation of Persian cultural traits'.⁵

Following on from a recent article by Sekunda, Spawforth notes how Curtius Rufus uses the word *muliebriter* to describe Alexander's golden belt: 'woman-fashion'.⁶ Alexander was wearing his tunic so that it fell below his knees, rather than stopping above the knees due to an overfold in the Greek fashion, in order that one could ride a horse more easily.⁷ This facet of Alexander's hunting outfit in particular may have led to Ehippus' Artemis joke.

The evidence for fourth-century tyranny is often derogatory in its nature, and there are many reasons for seeing either a controlled misreading (or an accidental one) across the spectrum of sources. The studies of this dissertation, the Dionysii and Agathocles of Syracuse, the Clearchids of Heraclea Pontica and the Hecatomnids of Caria, suffer in

¹ 'On the whole, however, it is true to say that modern historians of Alexander have not dwelt on this Ehippan detail as an authentic historical tradition about Alexander'. Spawforth (2012) 179. Collins (2012); Badian (2012) 51.

² Lane Fox (1973) 447.

³ Spawforth (2012) 170.

⁴ See Graf (1984) and Tuplin (1997) for a detailed analysis of the terminology. Tuplin (2011) 153.

⁵ Brosius (2011) 135.

⁶ Curt. III.3.17-18; Spawforth (2012) 183; Sekunda (2010) 256.

⁷ Spawforth (2012) 183-4; Sekunda (2010) 256.

the extant source material for their locations at the outer areas of the Greek world. Like Alexander, they are often accused of an effeminate appearance, particularly in their clothing style. Dionysius I is described in the peculiar terms of wearing an outfit akin to a tragic king on stage by Duris, with clear negative connotations implied by where Athenaeus has placed it within his *Deipnosophistae*: 'on the luxury of states and kings'.

ὁ δὲ Σικελίας τύραννος Διονύσιος ξυστίδα καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπὶ περόνῃ
μετελάμβανε τραγικόν.¹

And Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, adopted a full-length robe and a crown of gold, in addition to a tragic buckle.

The outfit of Clearchus of Heraclea Pontica is described in similar language:

ueste purpurea et cothurniis regum tragicorum et aurea corona utebatur.²

He wore purple clothing, the shoes of a tragic king and a golden crown.

The nature of the tragic king's outfit has long been considered as a derivation from the Persian King's outfit.³ Whatever the intentions of Dionysius and Clearchus in their choice of outfit, contemporaries and later authors saw corrupting, effeminising luxury. Not only that, but the descriptions were clearly tailored (initially at least) to a Greek audience, in parameters that could be understood. Such a one-dimensional view of contemporary issues leaves a whole spectrum of possibilities left out, and like Alexander described as Artemis, the very potent possibilities of the east can be buried behind the Greek description. We must view in this light the evidence concerning

¹ Athen. *Deip.* 535f. The quotation recounts a variety of rulers who took to dressing in an eastern fashion, including Pausanias of Sparta, Alexander III of Macedon and Demetrius Poliorcetes. Stroheker (1958) 159.

² Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.11.

³ Alföldi (1955).

tyranny in the fourth century, a world where Persia was no longer a mysterious empire, but an active participant in Greek political life, primarily through settlement and negotiation.¹

This thesis will examine the influence of the Ancient Near East (with particular reference to Achaemenid Persia) upon fourth-century and early Hellenistic Greek tyranny. The integral questions to ask are, first of all, what made the Ancient Near East worth imitating. Second, in what manner aspects of Near Eastern portrayal were acquired, i.e. which particular qualities of Achaemenid kingship did tyrants aspire to, and why. There will be six chapters to the thesis, designed to answer these questions. The first chapter will outline the Greco-Roman and Achaemenid evidence for kingship portrayal, in order to ascertain not only how the Achaemenid rulers represented themselves around the empire, but also how contemporary Greeks viewed the Achaemenid kings, with particular reference to what positive qualities Achaemenid kingship entailed. The following four chapters are case studies of four tyrannical dynasties: the Dionysii of Syracuse, the Clearchids of Heraclea Pontica, the Hecatomnids of Caria and Agathocles of Syracuse.² These regimes have been chosen as case studies for their geographical and temporal variance, as between them they cover the whole fourth century, and move into the early Hellenistic period. The geographical scope is narrower, but still displays variance in having dynasties from either end of the Mediterranean, two of which are within Achaemenid territory, and two which are not. This will help to distinguish whether being located within the Achaemenid Empire had an effect upon adoption of Achaemenid practice. The case studies will be assessed against four main headings: Appearance, Accessibility, Dynasty and Military Function. These are intended to best facilitate comparison between the evidence of the differing regimes. The final chapter will examine the extent to which Achaemenid Persia has impacted upon the presentation and rule of the case studies, synthesising the previous discussions in order to demonstrate patterns in the evidence.

¹ Cartledge (1987) 180.

² The Agathoclean evidence also acts as a useful comparison to the Dionysian evidence, corroborating problematic evidence such as political terminology and clothing.

Classical scholarship on the nature of the relationship between Greece and Persia changed dramatically in the wake of Margaret Miller's work *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC: a study in cultural receptivity*.¹ Miller's book made clear the extent to which Athens used Persia as inspiration, and my belief is that her approach can be beneficial for understanding politics as well as material culture and architecture. Miller followed a tradition softly tread by the likes of Hofstetter, whose important prosopography of Greeks in Persia pointed out the possibilities of Persian influence on western neighbours, but did not discuss the nature of such relationships and their cultural consequences in detail.² Miller's work also helps to fill a significant part of the gap in scholarship pointed out by Starr; that previous discussion concerning Graeco-Persian relations only covered the period up to the end of the Persian Wars in 479.³ Miller's approach towards a less antagonistic relationship between Greece and Persia has been picked up upon in recent historical works.⁴ Recent trends in Achaemenid studies have attempted to reform the common belief that the Persian kings' rule was fundamentally weak and unstable. Briant's *From Cyrus to Alexander* remains an important work in the scholarly rehabilitation of Persia, and Amelie Kuhrt and Maria Brosius have both added extensive material towards a similar goal.⁵ The important work done by West (coincidentally published in the same year as Miller's work) on the cultural influence of the Near East on early Greek poetry, while not integral to the arguments of this thesis, nonetheless provides a valuable framework for cross-cultural influence from the Near East to the Greek world.⁶

¹ Miller (1997).

² Hofstetter (1978). Balcer (1983) considers the topic but only for one satrapy.

³ Starr (1975) 40. See also Starr (1977). These two extended articles are a strong attempt to consider Persian and Greek history on an equal footing, considering political, economic and social developments, as well as art and numismatics.

⁴ Cawkwell (2005).

⁵ Briant (2002); Kuhrt (1988); Kuhrt (2007); Brosius (2010).

⁶ West (1997) 1-19, 586-630. As well as considering more literal methods of communication between east and west, (e.g. lines of communication and trade) West also considers how abstract concepts such as kingship share similar status symbols across the Mediterranean. See Dowden (2001) for a useful account of previous scholarship on oriental influence before West's monograph.

There have been recent additions to the bibliography of cross-cultural influence, such as the recent work of Gruen.¹ *Hellenisation* and *Romanisation* have proven to be controversial terms, as attempts to solve the issue of whether Greek and Roman culture was a deliberate imposition upon other cultures, a natural process of cultural adoption, or somewhere between the two extremes. The issue of *Persianisation*, in comparison, has been less problematic. This can be in part attributed to the view that the Persian Empire was often tolerant of the cultures over which it ruled, and in some respects this is accurate.

For this thesis, two facets of *Persianisation* are of particular interest: the effect on local rulers within the sphere of the empire's influence, and the effect on rulers outside of the empire. The Clearchids and Hecatomnids both fall within the boundaries of the Persian Empire in Asia Minor, with the Clearchids allied to the Achaemenids, and the Hecatomnids ruling as satraps for the majority of the regime. The Dionysii in Sicily fall considerably outside the Achaemenid political sphere, while Agathocles ruled in Syracuse after the Persian Empire was overthrown by the Macedonian invasion.

The best example of *Persianisation* outside of the Persian Empire is the regime of Odrysian Thrace, although with the caveat that Thrace was briefly occupied before the emergence of the dynasty by the Persians from 513, but was later abandoned after the Second Persian War.² When the Odrysian kingdom emerged, it was therefore independent from Achaemenid control, but whether the previous occupation was the catalyst for Thracian *Persianisation*, or an active decision based on the contemporary Persian power remains debatable.³ Brosius claims that the surviving material evidence and court life adopted by Thracian royalty points to a non-direct Persian influence, and that the Thracian *Persianisation* is the result of Persia representing the world power that was the best, if not the only paradigm of royal power to adopt and emulate.⁴

¹ Gruen (2011a); Gruen (2011b).

² See Brosius (2011) 144-5.

³ Archibald (1998).

⁴ Brosius (2011) 145.

Tuplin points out that the rare overt contemporary Greek interpretations of *Persianisation* occur on an individual basis.¹ Documented examples from literary sources such as that of Pausanias of Sparta, Themistocles and Alcibiades, have the common theme of an attempt to impress or ingratiate themselves with the Persian hierarchy in some form.² But as the example of the Odrysian Thracians demonstrates, Persian cultural adoption does necessarily mean those *Persising* were attempting to receive Persian favour. Rather, it stood as a status symbol in its own right, as the appropriate contemporary paradigm of power to adopt. Some individuals may well have adopted Persian custom in an attempt to impress or ally themselves with the empire, but it was clearly not the only reason to do so.

The passage of Duris of Samos from Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* quoted above concerning Dionysius' dress appears in the middle of an extended quotation, which notes the previous example of Persian influence on Pausanias of Sparta, and the later attempt by Alexander to combine aspects of Persian dress with traditional Macedonian garb. Duris sees the progression of Greeks borrowing from Persians beginning with Pausanias from his Hellenistic vantage, as the precursor of Dionysius and Alexander.³ Therefore, a brief consideration of Pausanias and Alexander's *Persianisation* will help to frame and contextualise the environment in which fourth-century tyrants interacted with Achaemenid culture.

1.2) Pausanias

Pausanias of Sparta stands as the prominent example of 'Medism' from the early fifth century. Pausanias' connivance with the Persian king Xerxes through a letter, and his capture of Byzantium, are recounted by Thucydides.⁴ Upon receiving a letter from

¹ Tuplin (2011) 154.

² *Ibid.*

³ Duris does not explicitly claim that Dionysius wore Persian clothing, but it is not a complete leap of logic to see a trend of Achaemenid influence, due to the potential conflation of Persian kingship and theatrical kingship as demonstrated by Alföldi (1955). See also Sanders (1987) 7-8.

⁴ Thuc. I.128.5-7; Lazenby (1975) 238-9 notes that while the letters are most likely fake due to the inability to send and receive a reply in the five to six month window, we need not jettison the rest of the

Xerxes, Thucydides claims that this event changed Pausanias' approach to private and public appearance:

ταῦτα λαβὼν ὁ Πausανίας τὰ γράμματα, ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διὰ τὴν Πλαταιᾶσιν ἡγεμονίαν, πολλῶ τότε μᾶλλον ἦρτο καὶ οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν, ἀλλὰ σκευᾶς τε Μηδικὰς ἐνδύόμενος ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου ἐξῆει καὶ διὰ τῆς Θράκης πορευόμενον αὐτὸν Μῆδοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδορυφόρουν, τράπεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρετίθετο καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἔργοις βραχέσι προυδήλου ἅ τῇ γνώμῃ μειζόνως ἐς ἔπειτα ἔμελλε πράξειν. δυσπρόσοδόν τε αὐτὸν παρεῖχε καὶ τῇ ὀργῇ οὕτω χαλεπῇ ἐχρῆτο ἐς πάντα ὁμοίως ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι προσιέναι: δι' ὅπερ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐχ ἦκιστα ἡ ξυμμαχία μετέστη.¹

Pausanias, previously in great honour among the Greeks because of his leadership at Plataea, having taken the letters, had now become exceedingly elevated and was no longer able to live in the established of manner [of the Greeks], but putting on clothes of Median style while he was in Byzantium and while marching through Thrace Medes and Egyptians attended him. Meals were set at his table in Persian style, and he was no longer able to restrain his purpose, but his deeds shortly made clear the great purpose he was thereafter destined to accomplish. He made himself difficult to access and he was subject to such anger towards all men, such that no-one was able to be present [with him], the very thing which was not in the least why the allies turned away towards the Athenians.

Thucydides does not specify what clothing Pausanias wore beyond that it was in Persian fashion, and Duris does not help us with any extra details.² While we must be wary of Thucydides' characterisation, the clear point to be taken is the imitation of the

account. See Fornara (1966) 265-7. For the suggestion that Thucydides was finishing the biography of Pausanias by Herodotus in a Herodotean manner, see Patterson (1993) 146; Munson (2012) 254-5.

¹ Thuc. I.130.1-2.

² Nor does Cornelius Nepos. Nep. *Paus.* III.2; Pownall (2013) 49.

Persian difficulty of access.¹ Thucydides clearly saw this as an integral part of *Medising*, and whether this is accurate about Pausanias' conduct or not is less important than the fact that Thucydides associates such conduct with Persian kingship.² Konishi makes a distinction between Thucydides' overt and covert aspects of Pausanias' *Medising*, which could be construed as an attempt by Thucydides to consider the paradox of outward luxury and hidden nature that characterised Persian monarchy.³

1.3) Alexander the Great

Partway through his campaigning in the east, Alexander took to imitating the first Achaemenid, Cyrus the Great, for reasons personal or political.⁴ Alexander was aware of the works of Herodotus and Xenophon, and therefore it is not a leap of logic to assume his knowledge of Cyrus derived from the most part from Greek literature.⁵ Whether his imitation of Cyrus was meant to be a personal challenge or to impress his new subjects, Alexander certainly believed that Cyrus was a role model worthy of imitation. Alexander's distress at the vandalism of Cyrus' tomb appears to have been genuine, and shows that he understood the importance of Cyrus to the Persian Empire.⁶

Alexander's adoption of Achaemenid dress and customs was marked by reaction to a particular event, the proclamation of kingship by Bessus in the wake of Darius' murder.⁷ It can be endlessly speculated whether or not Alexander would have adopted

¹ There are notable problems, such as the survival of the text from Xerxes' letter, which render the account of Thucydides dubious. Lang (1967) 80; Westlake (1977) 102-3 provides a useful account of previous scholarship.

² Lippold (1965) 322-6 notes that Plutarch's account of the events does not include Pausanias' medism, only his tyrannical conduct. Rhodes (1970) 389.

³ Konishi (1970) 58 views this structure as part of an attempt by Thucydides to characterise Pausanias and Themistocles together, with the intention of heralding Pericles' statesmanship.

⁴ Strab. *Geog.* 11.11.4. Alexander had imitated quasi-mythical figures before, including Achilles and Heracles. Arr. *Anab.* I.12.1-2, VI.28.1-2; Curt. 8.4.26. Adding Cyrus to the list may well have been a personal decision, but Alexander's attempts to look like the legitimate King of Persia do appear to coincide with his decision to imitate Cyrus in the surviving sources. Arr. *Anab.* VI.24.2; Bosworth (1988) 92, 143, 154.

⁵ Plut. *Alex.* VIII.2-4. Arr. *Anab.* III.13.5-6 indicates a clear knowledge of Xen. *Anab.* I.8.

⁶ Arr. *Anab.* VI.29.9-11.

⁷ Bosworth (1988) 99. This moment has been attributed to the aftermath of Alexander's victory at Gaugamela, after which Plutarch claims he was proclaimed 'king of Asia'. Plut. *Alex.* XXXIV.1. But see

Persian clothing if Bessus had not proclaimed himself successor to Darius, but our evidence relates that Alexander's adoption of Persian clothing was integral to representing himself as Darius' successor and rendering Bessus as a usurper. However, the debate continues as to whether or not Alexander intended to portray himself as the successor to Darius as Persian king, or whether Alexander's 'kingship of Asia' expunged Darius' kingship and was therefore a different phenomenon altogether.

Alexander represents a different (indeed the final) facet of Persian influence in this regard compared to all previous examples, on account of his direct control over the western Persian empire at the point of his adoption of Persian clothing (with the rest eventually coming under his control as well).

We are fortunate to possess a number of corroborating accounts of Alexander's utilisation of Achaemenid dress. Eratosthenes notes that Alexander wore a composite dress of Persian and Macedonian elements.¹ Diodorus notes that Alexander wore a Περσικὸν διάδημα (Persian diadem), διάλευκον χιτῶνα (white *chiton*) and Περσικὴν ζώνην (Persian belt) and everything else of the Persian king's regalia except the trousers and the *kandys*.² Plutarch indicates that Alexander gradually adopted aspects of the Persian royal outfit, but stopped short of wearing trousers, a tunic, or tiara.³ Plutarch also notes that Alexander initially wore the combined outfit in front of Persians and companions, before gradually wearing it in front of others.⁴

Lester-Pearson (forthcoming a) against this date. The date of 330 is likely as the instigation of Alexander's Achaemenid clothing, and Diodorus' chronology is clear that the death of Darius and the acclamation of Bessus as king occurred before Alexander's clothing change, and not before. Di. Sic. XVII.74.1, 77.4-5; Collins (2012) 371-3.

¹ Eratosthenes *FGrH* 241 F30.

² Di. Sic. XVII.77.5. Diodorus goes on to say that Alexander gave his companions cloaks with purple borders, following the practice of Cyrus as reported by Xenophon.

³ Plut. *Alex.* XLV.2.

⁴ *Ibid.* XLV.4.

2) Persian Kingship

This chapter will comprise four sections. First of all is an examination of Persian kingship and the contemporary Greek attitudes towards it as an institution, with a brief investigation into the source material available in both Greco-Roman and Achaemenid evidence. The second section, 'Greek attitudes to Persian kingship' will examine the opinions of the Greek writers and intellectuals on Persian kingship, with particular reference to the positive qualities of Persian kingship, as well as which kings in particular the Greeks admired and why. The third section, 'Self-presentation of Persian Kingship' will examine relevant aspects of the surviving Iranian and Mesopotamian evidence to consider how the Achaemenid Empire intended to display its power around the satrapies. The final section, 'Concepts of Achaemenid kingship' will collate relevant concepts of Persian kingship which are most likely to have had influence on Greek autocrats. This will allow a structured comparison between the Achaemenid and Greek evidence to determine which concepts may have influenced autocratic rule amongst the tyrannies of the case studies. The subsequent case studies and analytical discussion will follow the investigative pattern laid out in this final section.

The search must begin with trying to understand what positives the Greek world saw in Achaemenid rule, and also the positive qualities which the Persian Empire displayed to its subjects and to the outside world. When trying to understand the qualities and concepts of Persian royalty, one is forced to come at the topic from two angles: an outside perspective from the surviving work of intellectual Greeks, and the internal perspective from surviving Achaemenid inscriptions and records.¹ In the case of literary evidence we rely almost entirely upon Greek writers to provide it.² The Persian Empire has no surviving historical literature, but evidence for the political nature of the

¹ Sancisi-Weerdenburg & Kuhrt (1987); Hornblower (1994b) 45-8.

² Brosius (2006) 2-3, 76-8; Kuhrt (2007) 6.

empire can be found in the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury tablets for the early Achaemenid Period.¹

2.1) Classical Greek attitudes towards Persian Kingship

The relevant evidence discussed below in this section is arranged by genre, in a broadly chronological order within each genre. An exact chronological order of all the writers cannot be certain, which is why the genres have been introduced. The four genres are categorised as Tragedy and Comedy, History and *Persica*, Politics and Philosophy, and Greek Material Evidence.

2.1.1) Tragedy and Comedy

2.1.2) Aeschylus

Aeschylus' *Persians* is the only surviving play of which Persia is the main subject matter, with a complete Persian cast.² It won first prize at the Athenian *Dionysia* festival in 472.³ The play is set at the Persian court during the wake of the Persian defeat at Salamis in the recent historical past, and features Xerxes and Atossa as characters, as well as the ghost of Darius.

Aeschylus was certainly accurate about Persian culture in some respects, demonstrating some knowledge of the phrase 'Great king', *prosyknesis* and royal

¹ Cawkwell (2005) 2 sums up the problem of Achaemenid history well: 'Apart from the Behistun Inscription which gives an account of the opening of the reign of Darius I, there are no literary accounts of Achaemenid history other than those written by Greeks.' Writers such as the Hellenistic Berossus are rare practitioners of a historical style bearing any similarity to Greco-Persian writers. Hornblower (1994b) 45-6. For the Fortification tablets, see Hallock (1969). For the Treasury tablets, see Cameron (1949), (1965).

² We also know of the *Phoenicians* and *Capture of Miletus* of Phrynichus. Tuplin (1996) 134, 141-152; Gruen (2011a) 10.

³ IG II² 2318; Hall (1996) 3.

Persian outfits.¹ The bow as a symbol of Achaemenid royal power is also present, mirroring the language of Darius' inscriptions.²

The effeminacy of the Persian royalty and culture is perhaps the clearest impression that Aeschylus gives us.³ One example of this is the σικηνή τροχήλατος ('wheeled tent') of Xerxes.⁴ Aeschylus is evidently referring to the *Harmanaxa*, a carriage which Herodotus claims the historical Xerxes would sometimes travel in.⁵ To the Greek audience, this method of transport was associated with Persian women above all else, and was a point of ridicule for Aristophanes in the *Acharnians*, in which the Athenian ambassadors to Persia use such as carriage to travel in.⁶ The conduct of Xerxes is also effeminised, such as the tearing of his clothing and wailing aloud in the wake of the Salamis disaster.⁷ This gesture of robe-tearing in grief was a feminine practice in Greek culture, and the vocabulary used by Aeschylus (πέπλος) usually refers to female garments.⁸

2.1.3) Aristophanes

The *Acharnians* is Aristophanes' first extant play. The protagonist, Dikaiopolis, makes a truce for himself and his family with Athens' enemies during the Peloponnesian War. Early on in the *Acharnians* is a section which dramatises the return of an embassy from Persia.⁹ Henderson notes that the returning ambassador claims to have left eleven years ago, based on the ambassador's claim to have left for Persia 'during the

¹ Tuplin (1996) 134. Hall (1996) 6 suggests that Aesch. *Pers.* 24, 50 plays on language from royal inscriptions. Garvie (2009) 57. For *proskynesis*, see Aesch. *Pers.* 152; Garvie (2009) 97. For the outfit of Darius, see Hutzfeldt (1999) 35-7, and section 4.6.

² Aesch. *Pers.* 555-7; Dsab (b); Hdt. I.136.2; Kuhrt (2007) 477-92; Root (1979) 117-8, 164-9.

³ This effeminate portrayal of eastern rulers is a significant factor in subsequent impressions of 'The Orient' throughout history. Said (1978) 57. See also Hall (1989). See against this Gruen (2011a) 11.

⁴ Aesch. *Pers.* 1000-1.

⁵ Hdt. VII.41.1.

⁶ Xen. *Cyr.* III.1.40, VI.4.11; Xen. *Anab.* I.2.16; Plut. *Them.* XXVI.4-6; Ar. *Ach.* 70; Garvie (2009) 358; Brosius (1996) 88-9.

⁷ Aesch. *Pers.* 468; Hall (1996) 13.

⁸ E.g. Xen. *Cyr.* V.1.6; Hall (1996) 125. The most relevant use of the word is that of the sacred garment of Athena at the *Panathenaia* festival. IG 12.80.11, Arist. *Ath.* 49.3.

⁹ *Acharnians* was Aristophanes' third play, produced at the Lenaea in 425.

Archonship of Euthymenes' (ἐπ' Εὐθυμένους ἄρχοντος) in 437/6 and the play's production date of 425.¹ Having been away for such a preposterous length of time, the the ambassador explains how dreadful the experience was, being forced to drink copious amounts of wine and eat oxen cooked whole.² Aristophanes' characterisation of the Persian king leaves much to be desired, as the ambassador claims to have waited whilst the king 'crapped for eight moons in the golden mountains' (κᾶχεζεν ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἐπὶ χρυσῶν ὄρων).³ Of most interest to us from the *Acharnians* is undoubtedly the arrival onstage of Pseudartabas, the King's Eye. Quite what the Athenian audience would have made of the King's Eye incarnate on the stage is hard to determine, but what is important is the widespread awareness of figures such as the King's Eye that can be logically inferred from Aristophanes decision to include him in the *Acharnians*.⁴ The King's Eye speaks two lines, the first of which has caused a considerable deal of scholarly debate:

ἰαρταμὸν ἐξάρξαν ἀπισσόνα σάτρα.⁵

Pseudartabas speaks what is clearly intended to be Old Persian to the audience. Debate has raged over whether the line is meant to be made up entirely, or a serious attempt at Old Persian. West's systematic destruction of Dover's attempt to argue the veracity of the Old Persian on the part of Aristophanes remains hard to overcome: 'it is not Persian, it is gibberish made from Persian noises.'⁶

¹ Ar. *Ach.* 67. See Henderson's note in (1998) 65. Aristophanes' joke is at the expense of the itinerant court of the Persian Empire, which would see the Persian king move around the empire and residing in different palaces. See Briant (2002) 186-9.

² Ar. *Ach.* 73-4, 83-4.

³ *Ibid.* 82. Aristophanes has played on the necessary migration of the Achaemenid royal court due to weather conditions as months of time-wasting. Briant (1988); Tuplin (1998).

⁴ Hirsch (1985) 101-39 collects all the sources throughout antiquity and beyond on the King's Eye, and comes to the conclusion that there was no official title. There is no mention of the King's Eye in any Iranian source. He accepts the possibility of Xenophon's take on the Eyes and Ears in the *Cyropaedia* as unofficial Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.2.10-12. See also Balcer (1977).

⁵ Ar. *Ach.* 100.

⁶ Dover (1963); West (1968). Willi (2004) has made a recent attempt to defend the line as genuine Old Persian.

2.2.1) History and *Persica*

2.2.2) Herodotus

Herodotus' *Histories* were written in the years preceding 425, when the work was referred to in jest by Aristophanes in the *Acharnians*.¹ As a native of Halicarnassus and a traveller in the style of Hecataeus of Miletus, Herodotus appears to have drawn much upon the oral traditions of the Empire, although the extent of his travels and personal experience remains a complex issue. His travels to Egypt and around Asia Minor have been challenged by Fehling, contra Pritchett who claims Herodotus should be believed in his first-hand accounts.² It cannot be denied that Herodotus often gets facts or measurements wrong, and we must remain sceptical with regard to his claims, if not going as far as Fehling in claiming that Herodotus made up his travels as he saw fit.³ As Herodotus' aim was to explain the historical antagonism between Greeks and Persians, the approach of the *Histories* concerning Persian kingship is of vital importance. Herodotus has a great deal of praise (in principle) for certain Persian customs.⁴ The simple Persian education of three primary aspects, horseriding, archery and honesty ought to be regarded as a positive link to the Persian nomadic origins by Herodotus.⁵ The aspect of honesty in particular leads to Herodotus' statement that the most disgraceful act possible in Persia is lying, followed by the abhorrence of debt (which Herodotus claims is linked to lying because a debtor will inevitably lie).⁶ Persian manners are regarded as commendable, with Herodotus noting that vomiting or urination take place in private.⁷ Herodotus himself praises the notion that no-one ought to be executed for a single offense without reflection on the gravity of it.⁸

¹ Ar. *Ach.* 523-29.

² Fehling (1989); Pritchett (1993); Kimball Armayor (1978a), (1978b); see also Panofsky (1885); Sayce (1883); Jacoby (1914) 206-520.

³ Kimball Armayor (1978b); Fehling (1989) 240.

⁴ Hdt. I.131-40; Flower (2006) 281; Llewellyn-Jones (2009) 51.

⁵ Hdt. I.136.2.

⁶ *Ibid.* I.138.1; Gruen (2011a) 29-30 notes that Persian kings often broke the social code that forbade lying.

⁷ Hdt. I.133.3.

⁸ *Ibid.* I.137.1.

In terms of Herodotus' portrayal of Persia, his narrative from the rise of Cyrus to the Greek victory over Xerxes by its own constraints has to show some form of decline, and it duly does.¹ Herodotus notes the present day opinion of Persians that Cyrus was called the father (πατήρ), Cambyses the master (δεσπότης) and Darius the dealer (κάπηλος), and clearly a decline in the quality of rule is meant.² Cyrus is also judged by Darius as the one Persian beyond comparison.³ By no means is Cyrus characterised as an ideal ruler, but for Herodotus there was evidently much to admire.⁴

Herodotus tantalisingly reveals that even by his day the myth of Cyrus had expanded into a variety of tales he could have chosen to expound, and that he has attempted to demythologise Cyrus as much as possible.

Ὅς ὢν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι.⁵

Of certain Persians who speak, those who do not wish to magnify the deeds of Cyrus but to give a true account, I will write from these things, knowing of three accounts about Cyrus that could have been disclosed.

Herodotus, frustratingly for the modern reader, both clarifies and confuses in attempting to explain where his account of Cyrus has its roots. All that is clear is he has drawn on some form of eastern tradition, and that in less than a century Cyrus' historiography required a depth of *Quellenforschung* somewhat akin to Alexander the

¹ Munson (2009) 463 notes that in Herodotus' account the kings after Cyrus turned away from core Persian values to their detriment.

² Hdt. III.89.3; Brown (1982) 390-1; Munson (2009) 463-4; Gruen (2011a) 33.

³ Hdt. III.160.1.

⁴ See for example the punishment of the Gyndes river for drowning his horse, and the ignorance of Tomyris' warnings. Hdt. I.189.1-2, 206.1.,212. Gruen (2011a) 33-4.

⁵ Hdt. I.95.1.

Great.¹ This problem of unnamed source material is repeated in Herodotus' assertion that he has chosen the account of Cyrus' death which he thinks is the most truthful from many options.² What is worthy of note is that Cyrus was important enough for Herodotus to have gone into such detail.³

Cambyses' portrayal in Herodotus is overshadowed by his madness.⁴ Events such as the desecration of Amasis' body and the murder of the Apis bull, as well as further catalogued atrocities are clearly aspects of Herodotus' paradigmatic despotic ruler.⁵ Herodotus also claims that Cambyses defied Persian custom in his marriage to his full blood sisters, less an act of madness than lust, but also fulfilling the type of the despot.⁶ There is little positive recorded by Herodotus about Cambyses' rule, beyond his positive treatment of Ladice, and the defence of his mother Ninetis whilst a young boy.⁷

Darius' portrayal by Herodotus may well betray some knowledge of Darius' own account of his rule, and Herodotus twists the account of Darius at Behistun to make Darius less dynamic in the conspiracy against Smerdis.⁸ Herodotus portrays Darius as a successful administrator of the empire, but a ruthless and ambitious individual.⁹ That Darius is prepared to lie to succeed in his aims, against the primary principle of the Persians set out by Herodotus, demonstrates his nature.¹⁰ Unlike Cambyses, there are some significant redeeming features of Darius, such as the sparing of captives, which demonstrates he is prepared to rethink decisions, unlike Cambyses and Xerxes.¹¹

¹ Flower (2006) 281.

² Hdt. I.215.

³ Munson (2009) 457-8.

⁴ Hdt. III.30.1, 33; Brown (1982); Lloyd (1988).

⁵ Hdt. III.16, 29. See Hdt. III.27-36 for Cambyses' crimes. Brown (1982) 393-4; Flower (2006) 280, 282.

⁶ Hdt. III.31.2.

⁷ *Ibid.* II.181.5, III.3.2-3. Waters (1971) 53-6. Gruen (2011a) 34 notes that Cambyses' depiction 'is almost unrelievedly dark'.

⁸ Rollinger (1998). For the Behistun inscription and Darius' account of the killing of Smerdis, see section 2.6.3.

⁹ Waters (1971) 57-65; Gruen (2011a) 34-5.

¹⁰ Hdt. I.138.1, III.72.4; Gruen (2011a) 34.

¹¹ Hdt. VI.20.1, 119.2.

Xerxes is depicted as a negative king, in the sense that he is hubristic and arrogant.¹ His famous attempt to whip and chain the Hellespont in anger at the inability to control it and make passage to Greece is the outstanding example of this negative characterisation.² Like Cambyses, Xerxes is also unpredictable in his decisions and conduct, such as his killing of the helmsman after having rewarded him with a gold crown for a safe crossing in dangerous winds, on account of having allowed many Persians to abandon the vessel.³ Xerxes is not entirely without redeeming features. He comes across as pensive, dwelling on the men building across the Hellespont and mortality.⁴ Xerxes can also be remorseful; with Herodotus noting his libation to the Hellespont may have been to atone for his treatment of the water.⁵

2.2.3) Ctesias

Ctesias of Cnidos served as a doctor to the Persian royal family for seventeen years during the time of Artaxerxes II, having been captured by the Persians.⁶ His career was remarkable and went beyond medical service, acting as an ambassador on behalf of the king and negotiating with Evagoras and Conon in the process.⁷ During this time he wrote a *Persica* which comprised twenty-three books.⁸ This work covered history of the Assyrians from Ninus down to the reign of Artaxerxes II.⁹ Judging from the fragments of his history, it appears his work was not as scholarly as one would hope someone in such a prime position within the Persian hierarchy to be.¹⁰ This is despite his claim to have seen the Persian royal records.¹¹

¹ Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2002) 579-90; Gruen (2011a) 35-7.

² Hdt. VII.34-5. See also Aesch. *Pers.* 745-50. Briquel & Desnier (1983).

³ Hdt. VIII.118.

⁴ *Ibid.* 45-46.2.

⁵ *Ibid.* VIII.54.2; Gruen (2011a) 36.

⁶ For his medical career see Tuplin (2004). On Ctesias in general see Stronk (2010) 2-52; Llewellyn-Jones (2009) 1-87.

⁷ Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F30, F32; Lenfant (2004) xiv; Llewellyn-Jones (2009) 17.

⁸ *Suda* s.v. 'Ktesias'; Diod. Sic. II.32.4

⁹ Which later in antiquity appears to have become split into two parts, as a separate history of Assyria and of Persia. Strab. *Geog.* 656.

¹⁰ Robson (2009) 1-5, 22-36; Karttunen (1997).

¹¹ Diod. Sic. II.32.4.; Nichols (2008)

The *Persica* of Ctesias must be used carefully as evidence, because of the nature of the fragments and epitomes it survives in.¹ An epitome may not come close to reflecting the author's original intentions, and this has to be kept in mind.² Ctesias' history survives in abbreviated form in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius, and in the *Bibliotheca* of Diodorus Siculus, as well as fragmentary evidence from Nicolaus of Damascus.³ Plutarch's *Life of Artaxerxes* also draws from Ctesias' work.⁴ The Cyrus constructed within the various epitomes of Ctesias understandably has less depth of character in comparison to the Herodotean Cyrus. Within Nicolaus of Damascus' epitome, Cyrus' intimations to power come across as more to do with divine providence and the help of his counsellor Oebaras than his own ability. Cyrus' martial ability is, however, brought to the fore with the claim that with the aid of three Persian soldiers he was able to kill approximately 250 enemy cavalry.⁵ Photius' epitome in comparison seems to focus on exceptional acts, usually occurring because of those around the king rather than Cyrus himself. Photius also ascribes a deathbed scene to Cyrus, a differing account to Cyrus' death in Herodotus, and one which gives him a chance to settle the future of the Empire by appointing satraps and his successor.⁶ Photius' epitome of Ctesias provides Cyrus with the same sort of idealised deathbed scene as Xenophon's fictional *Cyropaedia*, and instead of dying violently in the pursuit of conquering, Cyrus is able to apportion the empire wisely before his passing.⁷

¹ There has been a tendency on the part of recent translators of Ctesias' fragments to create a linear narrative from the epitomes and fragments of the authors who preserved the *Persica*. While this is an admirable way to approach translating the text, it produces a false sense of cohesion which the surviving fragments ultimately lack. Robson (2009) takes this approach.

² Bigwood (1986) explores the only papyrus fragment that possibly resembles Ctesias, and believes it to be genuine based on the stylistical evidence, and also suggests Nicolaus of Damascus may have followed Ctesias with much fidelity. Photius' trustworthiness with the transmission of material is debateable. Wilson (1994) 5; Treadgold (1980) 67-80.

³ Coincidentally, two recent translations with commentary have been published within a year of each other; Llewellyn-Jones & Robson (2009) and Stronk (2010), as well as the PhD thesis of Nichols (2008). The Lenfant (2004) *Budé* edition of Ctesias is the definitive scholarly edition.

⁴ Plutarch refers to Ctesias' account many times in the work. *Plut. Arta.* I.2, VI.6, IX.1, IX.4, XI.1-2, XI.6, XIII.3-4, XIV.1, XVIII.1-4, XIX.2-3, XXI.2-3.

⁵ Ctesias *FGrH* 90 F66.29.

⁶ *Ibid.* 90 F9.8.

⁷ *Xen. Cyr.* VIII.7.6-28.

Across the Ctesian fragments a positive picture of Cyrus is built up. Photius' epitome reports the esteem in which Cyrus held Croesus, the deposed King of Lydia, and the rewards given to him.¹ Cyrus is talented in war and in peace, and attempts to create a division of power amongst his children upon his death. This positive image constructed by Ctesias was not only influential in the accounts of Xenophon, but also of Dinon of Colophon and Heracleides of Cumae, who both made extensive use of the *Persica*.²

Ctesias' surviving fragments concerning Cyrus' immediate successors are slim, and on the whole portray violent and irrational rulers. Cambyses is deceitful in his treatment of Tanyoxarces.³ Darius comes across as vengeful in Ctesias' fragments, judging from examples such as the beheading of the priests who dropped his parents on a visit to Darius' tomb.⁴ Darius also razed the temples and homes of the Chalcedonians in order to pre-empt their destruction of his bridge across the Bosphorus.⁵ Xerxes is particularly destructive and irrational in Ctesias' fragments, plundering the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and burning all but the Acropolis of Athens to the ground.⁶ Artaxerxes I was prepared to have Megabyzus beheaded after he killed a lion on a hunt before it could attack the king.⁷ Darius II betrayed Secyndianus and had him burnt alive.⁸

2.2.4) Xenophon

Xenophon of Athens took part as a mercenary in the attempt of Cyrus the Younger to usurp the Persian throne at Cunaxa, and wrote about his role in the return of the surviving mercenaries in the *Anabasis*. Having travelled to Persia and met Persian aristocracy, his testimony for the sake of this thesis is vital. Xenophon discusses Persia

¹ Ctesias *FGrH* 90 F9.5.

² Llewellyn-Jones & Robson (2009) 53-55.

³ Ctesias *FGrH* 90 F13.12; Nichols (2008) 27.

⁴ Ctesias *FGrH* 90 F13.19.

⁵ *Ibid.* 90 F13.21.

⁶ *Ibid.* 90 F13.29-31.

⁷ *Ibid.* 90 F14.43; Nichols (2008) 35.

⁸ Ctesias *FGrH* 90 F15.50.

across a variety of his works, and due to their considerably differing approaches I shall discuss those that are relevant individually.

2.2.4.1) *Cyropaedia*

Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* is a semi-fictional work narrating the life of Cyrus the Great and a unique take from the Greek perspective on Persian kingship, due to Xenophon's ability to bend the evidence for Cyrus to an overall positive portrayal.¹ The work is very difficult to date with any certainty, but it is usually considered one of Xenophon's later efforts.² The end of the text is controversial, with a withering criticism of contemporary Persia in comparison to the Persia of Cyrus' day. Some scholars see the section as interpolated by another person within the manuscript tradition, while others defend it as genuine.³

The differences are notable when compared to Herodotus and Ctesias on the life of Cyrus. In the *Cyropaedia* Cyrus has good relations with his family and in particular his grandfather Astyages, who is overthrown by Cyrus in the other accounts.⁴ The fictional nature of the *Cyropaedia* means that Cyrus portrays Xenophon's idea of a great ruler, and despite the clear Socratic influences Xenophon's portrayal of Cyrus displays the hypothetical characteristics of the good Persian king, due to the nature of the work as historical fiction.⁵ This idealised version of Cyrus therefore deserves as much consideration as the historical.

An important piece of evidence provided by the *Cyropaedia* is that of Achaemenid hunting, which was performed in a traditional fashion, following the Assyrian and

¹ The text is arguably a predecessor of historical fiction. Tatum (1989) xiii; Gera (1993) 1.

² *Ibid.* 23-5 suggests a date after the Battle of Luctra. Delabeque (1957) 400-4; Mueller-Goldingen (1995) 45-55; Gruen (2011a) 53.

³ Delabeque (1957) 405-8; Hirsch (1985) 91-7 was the last major writer to claim the last section is an interpolation. Tatum (1989) 217-225; Due (1989) 16-22; Mueller-Goldingen (1995) 262-71; Gruen (2011a) 58-65 suggests it is an ironic ending.

⁴ Ctesias *FGrH* 90 F66.25.

⁵ Dadachanjee (1904) 552-61; Luccioni (1953) 148-9; Gera (1993) 26-131.

Egyptian model of hunting from a chariot.¹ With no Achaemenid relief evidence for hunting surviving, Xenophon proves to be useful in his descriptions.² The King would be accompanied by young men training for war, and Xenophon again puts directly into the mind of the reader the tremendous martial qualities that Persian royalty and nobility had the potential to possess if trained correctly.³

διὰ τοῦτο δὲ δημοσίᾳ τοῦ θηρᾶν ἐπιμέλονται, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὡσπερ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἡγεμῶν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτός τε θηρᾶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως ἂν θηρῶσιν, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι αὕτη ἢ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.⁴

They take care of this hunting out of public funds, and such as the king is the leader in battle, he himself takes part in the hunt, and ensures of the other [young men] that they hunt, because truly to the Persians the exercise seems to be training towards warfare.

The failure of Xenophon's contemporaries as kings of Persia is down to such practices being ignored, as the stark ending to the *Cyropaedia* makes clear:⁵

ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἥττους τοῦ οἴνου ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ὁμοίως οὔτ' αὐτοὶ ἐξῆσαν οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας.⁶

But since the King Artaxerxes and his men became unable to resist wine, they have no longer been out in the same way, nor led the others in the hunt.

¹ Allsen (2006) 23. See section 1.1.

² Depictions of Achaemenid royal hunts are to be found in seals, but not on the scale of the Assyrian royal hunt reliefs. Briant (2002); Tuplin (1996) 90. For the role of hunting in Achaemenid kingship and preceding Ancient Near Eastern dynasties, see Allsen (2006).

³ Allsen (2006) 213, 218.

⁴ Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.10.

⁵ The last section of the *Cyropaedia* remains controversial as to whether Xenophon intended it as a sharp counterpoint to an overall positive work, or whether it is a later interpolation. Miller's Loeb translation famously recommends the reader to 'close the book at this point and read no further'. The editorial decisions are noted for reference. Miller (1914) 438-9.

⁶ Xen. *Cyro.* VIII.8.12.

2.2.4.2) *Agesilaus*

Xenophon presents a negative account of the Persian king's lifestyle, in contrast to that of Agesilaus himself. The king believed in accruing as much money as possible to aid in the subjection of others, in comparison to Agesilaus' Spartan customs.¹ The comparison is also made between Agesilaus' accessibility and the Persian king's inaccessibility, with Xenophon claiming that the latter's scarcity (σπάνιος) and difficulty of access (δυσπρόσοδος) were a matter of pride, unlike Agesilaus' accessibility.² That Persian kings need to scour the land in search of the right beverages and foodstuffs is also mocked in comparison to Agesilaus' diet.³ In the context of the work, as an encomium of Agesilaus, the Persian king is used as a foil to highlight the virtues of the Spartan king, and as such the negative portrayal of the Persian king is pushed beyond that of other works.⁴

2.2.4.3) *Oeconomicus*

The *Oeconomicus* is one of Xenophon's four surviving Socratic works, set in the form of a dialogue between Socrates and Ischomachus.⁵ Socrates and Ischomachus discuss broadly the correct way to run one's estate, and famously in book IV discuss the virtues of the Persian King on the running of his household.⁶ Socrates diverts towards discussing Persia with a puzzling interjection:

¹ Xen. *Ages.* VIII.6-8.

² *Ibid.* IX.1-2.

³ *Ibid.* IX.3.

⁴ See Hirsch (1985) 39-60.

⁵ Both Xenophon and Plato wrote philosophical dialogues based on Socrates conversing with friends. Plato does not discuss the home in his Socratic dialogues, making the *Oeconomicus* unique. The date is considered to be after 385 when Xenophon built his house at Scyllus. Marchant & Todd (2013) 381.

⁶ Pomeroy (1994) 237-8 neatly sums up secondary writings on Xenophon's accuracy in Persian matters. Hirsch (1985) 6-13.

Ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ ποίαις συμβουλευέεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, χρῆσθαι; Ἄρ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μὴ αἰσχυνθῶμεν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μιμήσασθαι.¹

But what do you advise us to consult, Socrates? Socrates responded, Should we be ashamed to imitate the king of the Persians?

The passive subjunctive construction Xenophon employs suggests strongly that open *mimesis* of Persian royalty could be regarded as a shameful thing indeed, despite the material evidence to the contrary supplied by Miller which was going on in Athens at the time of Socrates.² What this implies is that Xenophon sees no problem with such imitation where contemporaries might do so. Socrates goes on to discuss Persian military matters at great length, in particular noting how the King reviews the men under his command regularly, or ensures trustworthy agents in far off satrapies perform such tasks when he is unable to do so.³ This portrayal of the Persian King comes much closer to the self-portrayal of the Achaemenid rulers which survives in inscriptions.⁴

Of interest is also the comparison Xenophon makes between the Elder and Younger Cyrus.⁵ However intentional his construction is, Xenophon clearly believes the Younger Cyrus represented many virtues the elder Cyrus possessed. The Younger Cyrus, according to Xenophon, was capable of inspiring great loyalty amongst his soldiers. Xenophon claims no defection whatsoever occurred whilst Cyrus still lived.⁶ The discussion between Lysander and Cyrus the younger adds to the impression that such a Persian existed in Xenophon's time who was worthy of imitation in his habits and work ethic. Lysander is astounded to hear that Cyrus has taken a decisive role in

¹ Xen. *Oec.* IV.4.

² Miller (1997).

³ Xenophon was perhaps implying the *King's Eye* or a similar office. Xen. *Oec.* IV.6-7. See Balcer (1977) & Hirsch (1985) 101-39.

⁴ See *Behistun relief* and *Darius statue* later in chapter.

⁵ Some scholars have argued such comparison is a mistake. Pomeroy (1994) 248 argues for a deliberate confusion by Xenophon. I believe the construction in the Greek sits in favour of a deliberate shift of focus.

⁶ Xen. *Oec.* IV.19.

the construction of the paradise at Sardis, not only measuring and designing the layout, but also helping with the physical labour of the planting.¹ Cyrus goes on to say that barring ill health he does not eat dinner until he has exerted himself in either warfare or agriculture.² This is an undeniably positive image constructed of Cyrus the younger by Xenophon, with clear similarities to the presentation of Jason of Pherae in the *Hellenica*.³

2.2.4.4) *Anabasis*

The *Anabasis* is Xenophon's historical account of the march which ten thousand Greek mercenaries made into Persia in the service of the younger Cyrus in 401 and their retreat across Asia Minor to Byzantium.⁴ The work potentially dates from any time after 394 until Xenophon's death.⁵ The work has often been used as evidence for Xenophon's hatred of the 'barbarian', with a focus largely on the deceit of the Persians, the most manifest example of which is the treachery of Tissaphernes.⁶ In comparison, Cyrus the Younger receives glowing praise:

Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικώτατος τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιότατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι.⁷

Indeed in this way Cyrus died, a man who was most royal and worthy to rule of the Persians who have been born after Cyrus the Elder, so all agree who are reputed to have been acquainted of Cyrus.

¹ *Ibid.* IV.21-3.

² *Ibid.* IV.24. Hirsch (1985) 8; Strauss (1970) 113.

³ Xen. *Hell.* VI.i.15-16.

⁴ In which Xenophon took part himself. Hirsch (1985) 2.

⁵ See Millender (2012) 376-80 for a summary of the previous scholarship.

⁶ Xen. *Anab.* II.3.17-29, 4.7, 5.1-32. To lie was a heinous crime in Persian culture, according to Hdt. I.138.1. On Xenophon's characterisation of Tissaphernes, see Danzig (2007). Hirsch (1985) 37-8 claims that the end of the *Anabasis* presents a balanced view of Persia.

⁷ Xen. *Anab.* I.9.1. Although Cyrus was just as capable of lying. Hirsch (1985) 23-4.

It has been noticed that this positive vision of the younger Cyrus is linked with the portrayal of Cyrus the Great in the *Cyropaedia*, as well as the conflation between the two in the *Oeconomicus*.¹ Although Xenophon's praise of the historical Cyrus is most likely genuine, it does raise the question of Cyrus as a model beyond the historical and into the philosophical.

2.2.5) Dinon

Dinon of Colophon wrote a *Persica* towards the end of the classical period in approximately 340, and was influenced by Ctesias' previous attempt at a Persian work, borrowing heavily from it.² Traditionally Dinon has been criticised like Ctesias as a falsifier of history, although in the Roman period his reputation was a positive one.³ His *Persica* appears to have ranged in date from the legendary Semiramis to the reign of Artaxerxes III Ochus.⁴ His treatment of Persian kingship appears to be on the whole a positive one. Two surviving fragments on Cyrus the Great emphasise his power, and portend the success of his rule in a dream.⁵

2.2.6) Heracleides

Heracleides of Cumae wrote a *Persica* in approximately 340, consisting of five books, of which eight fragments survive. The fragments survive in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, and also in Plutarch's *Artaxerxes* and *Life of Themistocles*.⁶ Although little can be discerned about the nature of the work from what is extant, Heracleides appears to have been aware of Near Eastern documents to some extent.⁷ Heracleides is most

¹ Xen *Oec.* IV.13; Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.2.13; Xen. *Anab.* I.9.24; Hirsch (1985) 75, 175; Buzzetti (2014) 69 n.91.

² Dinon *FGrH* 690 F21. For the most recent edition of Dinon's fragments, see Lenfant (2009).

³ Nep. *Conon*.V.4; Drews (1973) 117-8; Stevenson (1988).

⁴ Dinon *FGrH* 690 F7, F21.

⁵ *Ibid.* 690 F9, F10.

⁶ Heracleides *FGrH* 689 F2; Diog. Laert. V.93. The second book is referred to as *Paraskeuastika*, a word normally found in military manuals regarding defensive fortifications (e.g. Philo *Mech. Synt.* VI). It is perhaps best translated as 'preparations', although without adequate context it is difficult to be certain how exactly to translate it. For the most recent edition of Heracleides' fragments, see Lenfant (2009).

⁷ Lewis (1987).

useful for our purpose in recording the arrangements of Achaemenid royal dining, which show a careful segregation of guests depending on their standing with the king. Dining with the king was, according to Heracleides, not actually with him at all, but in an adjacent room through which the king can see them via a curtain, but the king cannot be seen by guests.¹ At a symposium after dinner the king would invite around a dozen guests, who were held in the highest honour.² Heracleides notes that the wife and sons of the king would sometimes also dine with him, including them implicitly in a higher status than favoured guests.³ Of interest is also Heracleides' claim that of the vast quantities of food presented before the king, a considerable amount would be left over and served to the king's bodyguard and soldiers in the courtyard.⁴ Not only does this suggest an attempt by Heracleides to rationalise a system of vast luxury for the Greek mindset, but it also proposes an important part of the relationship between the King and his guards, by including them within the dining arrangements.⁵ This would suggest that Heracleides was intending to be positive in this respect about the system in place.

2.2.7) Berossus

Berossus proves difficult to categorise as he awkwardly straddles both Mesopotamian and Hellenic literary traditions.⁶ We sadly know very little about Berossus. Haubold states in his recent introductory chapter: 'This volume is devoted to a man whose work is largely lost, whose life is shrouded in mystery, and whose real name we do not know.'⁷ In many respects a product of the Hellenistic world in which he grew up, Berossus was a Babylonian priest and astronomer who wrote in Greek, during the time

¹ Heracleides *FGrH* 689 F2 = Athen. *Deip.* 145a-b. On special occasions such as public holidays this was not enforced, and there would be less distinct a separation. Briant (2002) 308.

² Heracleides *FGrH* 689 F2 = Athen. *Deip.* 145c-d; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 128.

³ Heracleides *FGrH* 689 F2 = Athen. *Deip.* 145d.

⁴ Heracleides *FGrH* 689 F2 = Athen. *Deip.* 145e-f; Briant (2002) 315.

⁵ Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 90.

⁶ For the surviving fragments, see Berossus *FGrH* 680. Burstein (1978) remains a good introductory edition of Berossus. The recent edited volume of Haubold et al. (2013), based on a conference held at Durham in 2010, provides an excellent context for Berossus' work, and an up-to-date bibliography.

⁷ Haubold (2013) 3.

of Antiochus I.¹ Of primary concern here is the fragmentary *Babylonaica*, which was a history of Babylon from the mythological creation, down to the present day.² The work was written in Greek, and intended for a Greek audience in order to make the wisdom of Babylonian texts accessible.³ Berossus wrote about the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, and appears to have made use of cuneiform documents, judging by the similarity of his account to surviving chronicles.⁴ As these documents on the whole offer a positive view of Cyrus, it might be expected that Berossus' fragments contain a similar viewpoint. A recent article by Rollinger, in contrast to previous scholarship, has emphasised that Berossus' view of Cyrus is a negative one.⁵ The *Cyrus Cylinder* set out to demonstrate Cyrus' pious work as a restorer of monuments.⁶ Berossus' testimony, preserved by Josephus, differs from the Babylonian sources, claiming Cyrus destroyed the outer walls:

Κῦρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τεῖχη κατασκάψαι διὰ τὸ λίαν αὐτῷ πραγματικὴν καὶ δυσάλωτον φανῆναι τὴν πόλιν.⁷

Cyrus seized Babylon and commanded that the outer walls of the city be destroyed, as to him the city appeared very formidable and hard to capture.

As Rollinger notes, no extant sources corroborate this.⁸ It is difficult to be certain which walls Berossus is claiming that Cyrus destroyed, as the Greek does not correspond exactly to the Babylonian terminology.⁹ Because of this, Rollinger claims that Cyrus has been deliberately constructed in a negative light by Berossus. Cyrus'

¹ The dating remains controversial. Diod. Sic. III.42.1 states that Berossus published his *Babylonaica* in the third year of Antiochus I's reign, but this date has been questioned.

² Haubold (2013) 3-11.

³ Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1a-b; Haubold (2013) 3; Burstein (1978) 6.

⁴ Drews (1973) 54.

⁵ Rollinger (2013). I must thank Bert van der Spek for pointing this article out to me.

⁶ See section 2.6.2.

⁷ Berossus *FGrH* 680 F9a.

⁸ Rollinger (2013) 143.

⁹ *Ibid.* 143-7.

destruction of the city shows his conduct in direct contrast to the pious reconstructor of the *Cyrus Cylinder*.

2.3.1) Politics and Philosophy

2.3.2) Plato

In two surviving works of Plato, the *Alcibiades* and the *Laws*, Plato discusses the Persian kings. The *Alcibiades* is a dialogue between Socrates and Alcibiades, with Socrates attempting to prepare Alcibiades for his political ambition.¹ The *Laws* is one of Plato's later dialogues, often regarded by scholars as a more sober approach to the ideal state first hypothesised in the *Republic*.² Plato follows a similar line to Herodotus in terms of understanding the Persian Empire, i.e. a decline from the Persian wars onwards at the highest level of royalty and aristocracy, filtering down through the empire's subjects.

καὶ οἴμαι σε πλὴν Κύρου καὶ Ξέρξου ἡγεῖσθαι οὐδένα ἄξιον λόγου γεγονέναι.³

And I suppose that except for Cyrus and Xerxes, you say never before has there been one of reckoning.

Plato's premise in the *Laws* for the substandard rule of the Persian Empire in contemporary times is the failure of the good king to educate his successor properly from a young age.⁴ Cyrus failed to educate Cambyses properly, and Darius failed to educate Xerxes:

¹ The *Greater Alcibiades* (Sometimes known as *Alcibiades I*) is a spurious Platonic dialogue, first disputed by Schleiermacher (1836) 329, but regarded as genuine throughout antiquity. Denyer (2001) 14-26 has made an attempt recently to defend its authenticity.

² It is an interesting point to note that Plato does not discuss Persia at all within the *Republic*, but finds positive things to say regarding Persian kingship within the context of the *Laws*.

³ Pl. *Alc.* 105c.

⁴ Xenophon comes to a similar conclusion about the contemporary Persian kings; that their failure is to do with a lack of proper education. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.10, see section 2.2.4.1 above.

ὁ δέ, ἅτε τῶν αὐτῶν παιδειῶν γενόμενος ἕκγονος, παραπλήσια ἀπετέλεσεν τοῖς Καμβύσου παθήμασιν· καὶ σχεδὸν ἕκ γε τοσούτου βασιλεὺς ἐν Πέρσῃ οὐδεὶς πω μέγας ἐγγέγονεν ἀληθῶς, πλὴν γε ὀνόματι.¹

And just as [Xerxes], having been born of the same upbringing, finished [his reign] by following the equal suffering of Cambyses. And up to this time there has barely been such a great king in Persia, in truth and in name.

Within the *Alcibiades*, Plato gives a positive idealised version of the Persian royal upbringing, in which the seven year old royal boys are given riding lessons and join the hunt, and at fourteen are instructed by royal tutors in the qualities of kingship, temperance, truthfulness, bravery and correct worship of the gods.²

Plato's interpretation of the failure of Persia to maintain royalty to the standard of Cyrus differs from the historical tradition on the Persian decline, but the perceived decline remains. What links Cyrus and Darius in being the only Persian rulers worthy of imitation is their coming to power through relative poverty and a martial upbringing.³ The lifestyle of their children was one of relative softness and luxury, rather than something closer to the 'Spartan' element of Cyrus and Darius' upbringing which Plato no doubt felt was a key aspect of their characters.

ὄθεν ἐγένοντο οἴους ἦν αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς γενέσθαι, τροφῇ ἀνεπιπλήκτῳ τραφέντας.⁴

[Cyrus' children] became such as they were probable to become when reared with a blameless rearing.

Δαρεῖος γὰρ βασιλέως οὐκ ἦν ὑός, παιδεία τε οὐ διατροφώση τεθραμμένος.⁵

¹ Pl. *Leg.* 695e.

² Pl. *Alc.* 121e-122a.

³ Pl. *Leg.* 694d, 695c. Also worth noting is Plato's inclusion of Darius as a successful lawmaker alongside Lycurgus and Solon in the *Phaedrus*. Pl. *Phaed.* 258c.

⁴ Pl. *Leg.* 695b.

⁵ *Ibid.* 695c.

For Darius was not son of a king, nor was his education a luxurious rearing.

Plato's concept of Persian kingship can therefore be divided into good and bad along broad lines. Cyrus and Darius alone are worthy of any form of imitation as a ruler, because they were not corrupted by luxury, but maintained a soldier's attitude from their upbringing, having come into power in Persia from the outside, rather than inheriting it.

2.3.3) Isocrates

Isocrates' speech to Philip of Macedon in 344 convincing him to take the lead in a Panhellenic campaign against Persia might seem a strange place to find anything positive about Persia or its kings, but as with so many other Greek writers there is an admiration of Cyrus' qualities.¹ Cyrus the Great is included in a list of great deeds by Greeks and Non-Greeks, including Alcibiades, Conon and, interestingly, Dionysius the Elder.² Isocrates notes that Cyrus became ruler of all Asia from his abandonment as a child.³ Towards the end of the pamphlet, Isocrates again invokes Cyrus' success from mean origins, setting his success in contrast to the failure of the contemporary Persian Empire.⁴ In the *Ad Evagoras*, an encomium of the King of Cyprus, Evagoras is compared favourably to Cyrus, but Isocrates notes Cyrus' popular reputation in spite of his occasional treachery.⁵ In comparison we find a withering testament about the contemporary Artaxerxes III as an ill-bred barbarian, and an education system that has failed to produce successors of Cyrus in military ability and toughness.⁶

¹ Mathieu (1925) 155-6; Markle (1976).

² Isoc. *Ad Phil.* 66.

³ *Ibid.* 65.

⁴ *Ibid.* 132.

⁵ Isoc. *Ad Ev.* 37-8.

⁶ Isoc. *Ad. Phil.* 139, *Paneg.* 150-1; Tuplin (1996) 163.

2.3.4) Aristotle

Aristotle's view on monarchy as a method of rule within the *Politics* understandably uses Persian kings on occasion for examples. The few examples he uses refer to the earlier Achaemenid rulers, rather than discussing contemporary Persian kings.¹ Two sections of the *Politics* in particular utilise Achaemenid examples: the consideration of monarchy as a method of rule in book III, and book V discussing revolutions. Aristotle regards monarchy in a positive light on the whole, and his treatment of Cyrus reflects this:

οἱ δ' ἐλευθέρωσαντες, ὥσπερ Κῦρος²

And others having freed them, such as Cyrus

Cyrus also appears as an example of revolution against monarchies because of unjust treatment, noting Cyrus' contempt for Astyages' mode of living:

οἷον Κῦρος Ἀστυάγει καὶ τοῦ βίου καταφρονῶν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἐξηργηκέναι αὐτὸν δὲ τρυφᾶν.³

As for instance Cyrus attacked Astyages, despising both his life and his power on account of his power having slowed and of his luxury.

Aristotle does not explicitly judge such actions, but the context of the passage suggests Cyrus' action was justified in the apparent lapse of morality on the part of Astyages. The change towards Aristotle's definition of tyranny which Astyages had allowed

¹ The majority of references refer to Xerxes and his predecessors.

² Arist. *Pol.* 1310b.

³ *Ibid.* 1312a.

implies that Aristotle's sympathies lay with Cyrus.¹ Aristotle's thoughts on monarchy allow for a positive opinion of the Persian king as a method of government, with the proviso that the ruler behaves towards his subjects akin to Cyrus rather than Astyages at the end of his reign.

Aristotle makes the claim that the traditional manner in which tyrants retain power owes a debt to Periander of Corinth, but also that many of the methods also may be borrowed from the Persians.

τούτων δὲ τὰ πολλά φασι καταστήσαι Περίανδρον τὸν Κορίνθιον: πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῆς Περσῶν ἀρχῆς ἔστι τοιαῦτα λαβεῖν.²

And most of these [precautions] are said to be set by Periander of Corinth, but many such controls may be taken from the Persian rule.

These methods of retaining tyrannical power involve the removal of the best men, the banning of common gatherings and opportunities for discussion and debate, enforcing the visibility of citizens before the palace gates, remaining informed about the citizens by the use of spies and 'listeners', ensuring the citizens remain poor and busy (thus having no time to fervent rebellion), and a consistent policy of generating wars in order to remain as leader.³ Aristotle does not specify which, if any, of these methods belong exclusively to the Cypselid or Achaemenid retention of tyrannical power, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to suppose that they may apply to both.

¹ Aristotle believes an important facet to tyranny in comparison to monarchy is tyranny's aim at private benefit rather than the public good. Astyages would appear to fall under Aristotle's category of tyranny by the time of Cyrus' coup. Arist. *Pol.* 1311a.

² Arist. *Pol.* 1313a.

³ *Ibid.* 1313a-b.

2.4) Greek Material Evidence

There are some examples of Achaemenid scenes and figures depicted on Greek vases, although as Miller notes, the percentage of Greek artistic work featuring Persians is miniscule.¹ Where Persians do appear, they often feature as the losers in depicted battles, mirroring the relief iconography found in fifth-century Athens, such as the south frieze of the Athena Nike temple.² The statue base of the athlete Polydamas, attributed to Lysippus and found at Olympia, not only displays knowledge of Achaemenid court relief but playfully subverts it, with Polydamas invading the king's personal space (figure 1).³ The Persian king is depicted in a feminine guise, with hands thrown upwards in despair, surrounded by female attendants (figure 1).⁴ The vase attributed to Triptolemus is also relevant, showing a cowering Persian bent over before a striding Greek holding his phallus.⁵ However, the notion that the majority of vases therefore depict Persians in a negative light is unfounded, and Mitchell has suggested that an ambivalent reading of the images would be more appropriate.⁶ Some extant examples depict Persians victorious over Greeks in battle, and later in the fifth century there are examples of Persians in strong and powerful poses, far removed from a cowardly portrayal.⁷ A more sympathetic approach can be seen in the vase of the Darius Painter, with the Persian king clothed in a robe akin to a stage king in Greek tragedy, as well as a sceptre (figure 2).⁸ As with the Polydamas base, the impression is that some knowledge of the Achaemenid audience scene in relief was necessary: in particular the king enthroned.⁹ Allen notes that such examples retain the idea, space

¹ Miller (2011) 123-5.

² *Ibid.* 125 n.7; Blümel (1950-51) 135-65.

³ Allen (2005) 53. Paus. VI.5.7-8 states that Polydamas was invited to display his prowess by wrestling members of the Immortals.

⁴ Allen (2005) 53.

⁵ (Hamburg 1981.173, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe). Miller (2011) 136.

⁶ Mitchell (2007).

⁷ Gruen (2011a) 44-5; Miller (2011) 134. See Raeck (1981) pl.56 for a Persian victory. See also Miller (2006) 116-9 on some examples of Persians depicted in a fashion intended to render them more easily understandable for a Greek audience.

⁸ Allen (2005) 54; Trendall & Campitoglou (1982) 494 pl.174.1. For an examination of the scene, see Gruen (2011a) 45-50.

⁹ *Ibid.*; Miller (2011) 145, 147. This image evidently travelled far throughout the empire: note the carefully copied audience scene of the Persian king (which looks remarkably like the Persepolis Audience

and function of the Persian court, but renders the Persian king in a manner acceptable to the Greek.¹ There are extant examples in this vein of royalty from Greek myths (e.g. Priam, Midas) depicted on vases, with deliberate Achaemenid aspects to their appearance, most likely borrowing from disseminated Persepolis iconography.² This may demonstrate that ideas of royalty in the Greek world in general were influenced by Achaemenid royal practice, as well as the depth of cultural influence of Achaemenid palace iconography, far beyond the empire's boundary.

2.5) Conclusion

The overwhelming impression one gets from examining the ancient Greek evidence on Achaemenid Persia is that of a decline and fall. This pattern of decline is a clear historical construct on the part of the Greek observers, but with very little evidence in comparison from the Iranian perspective it is a tough idea to dispel.³ The important part of this construct is that it should be recognised for what it is, and thus reveals what the Greeks thought about Persian royalty, and in turn what fellow Greeks would form their ideas from. Taking this as a general principle, it is clear that the Greeks believed the earlier Persian rulers (Cyrus the Great in particular) to be superior to the rulers of the empire from the Persian Wars onwards. In Plato's view this was due to a failure of traditional Persian upbringing, and a lack of preparation for the hardness of life, a view which finds its fullest exposition in the controversial ending of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. In this respect, there was much about earlier Persian kingship worthy of emulation, but rare were the contemporary figures who inspired in the same manner. Cyrus the Younger certainly came close according to Xenophon's interpretation of him,

reliefs) found inside the shield on the Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon. Von Graeve (1970) 102-9; Root (1985) 119-20; Miller (1997) 122.

¹ Allen (2005) 55.

² Miller (2011) 147.

³ Kuhrt (1988) is an influential article from the Babylonian perspective, which makes a compelling argument for such a decline to be a Greek fabrication. Briant has been instrumental as well in rehabilitating the Achaemenid Empire (2001). Briant (1987) does an excellent job of exploring the rise and fall narrative in the Greek sources.

but it is clear that according to the Greek sources the contemporary kings ultimately paled in comparison.¹

Because the overall impression of what was worthy of emulation from the Ancient Greek sources focuses heavily on the earlier Achaemenid kings, the subsequent consideration of the Achaemenid evidence will focus more on the self-representation of those rulers who had a positive reputation overall, in particular Cyrus the Great and Darius I.²

2.6) Self-presentation of Persian Kingship

Kuhrt sums up the problem of Achaemenid evidence well; that the evidence is not sparse, but disparate.³ It is however possible to put together a reasonable impression of how Achaemenid royalty and aristocracy intended themselves to be seen, by both subjects and outsiders. This can mostly be achieved by surviving material evidence, the most important of which being the Royal inscriptions, which give iconographic as well as epigraphic evidence for royal presentation. From this material some important concepts will arise to discuss against the evidence of Greek Tyranny in later chapters.

2.6.1) *Nabonidus Chronicle*

There are some surviving Babylonian chronicles, which kept (fragmentary) records of events concerning the city.⁴ Of particular interest is the *Nabonidus Chronicle*. Nabonidus was King of Babylon until Cyrus captured the city in 539, and the chronicles

¹ We could also add Plutarch's positive account of Artaxerxes I as gentle and magnanimous, which although late may represent the opinion of Ctesias or another earlier *Persica* writer. Plut. *Arta.* 1.1.

² This continues into the Roman period with the claim of Nepos that Cyrus and Darius were the most distinguished (*excellētissimi*) of Achaemenid kings. Nep. *Reg.* 1.2.

³ Kuhrt (2007) 6.

⁴ These are cuneiform records on stone tablets, which cover the period from the later Babylonian rulers to Hellenistic times. The Assyrian equivalents go back to 2500 BC. Grayson (1975) and Glassner (2004) are editions of these chronicles.

contain the Babylonian perspective on Cyrus' deeds.¹ The *Chronicle* differs in its opinion of Cyrus compared to other contemporary records and presents a much different picture of the conqueror.

'When Cyrus did battle against the army of Akkad, the people of Akkad retreated. [Cyrus] carried off the plunder (and) slaughtered the people.'²

Cyrus, often portrayed as a liberal ruler in his dealings with conquered people, clearly possessed the capability for cruelty.³ This is in direct contrast to the 'official' version preserved in the text of the *Cyrus Cylinder*. Cyrus' brutal treatment of the city of Opis goes entirely unmentioned (see below). Cyrus' unopposed entry into Babylon may well have been to do with having decisively routed the Akkadian defences at Opis.⁴

2.6.2) *Cyrus Cylinder*

The *Cyrus Cylinder* casts Cyrus as the deliverer of Babylon from the impiety of Nabonidus towards Marduk, chosen as the next ruler of Babylon by divine favour.⁵

[Marduk] examined and checked all of the lands, he searched constantly for a righteous king, his heart's desire. He took his hands, he called out his name: Cyrus, king of Anshan; he proclaimed his name for the rulership over all.⁶

¹ Grayson (1975).

² ABC 7. Translated by Grayson. The passage is problematically fragmented, as the exploration of Kuhrt (1987) shows, and has often been translated with evident bias. A recent effort by Lambert to re-instate a more positive viewpoint of Cyrus' actions is worth consideration, though ultimately no more convincing than Grayson's translation. Lambert (2007).

³ The fragments of Berossus' *Babylonaica* corroborate that a pitched battle occurred between Cyrus and Nabonidus. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F9a.

⁴ Briant (2002) 41-2.

⁵ BM 90920 (1880,0617.1941). For the Akkadian text, see Shaudig (2001) 550-6, which covers past bibliography. Recent translations include Kuhrt (2007) 70-4, Finkel (2013) and van der Spek (2014). The latter two works include translation of the two new fragments found in storage in the British Museum: BM 47134 (1881,0830.656) and BM 47176 (1881.0830.698). See Michalowski (2014) for the most recent discussion of the role of the Cylinder in Cyrus' political imagery.

⁶ CC 11-2. Translated by van der Spek.

Because of the religious backing of Marduk, Cyrus was not only able to take Babylon, but to do so without any fighting whatsoever:

Without a fight or a battle he made him enter Shuanna (=Babylon), his city.
Babylon, he turned (away) from hardship.¹

The cylinder makes reference to the vast army at Cyrus' disposal, but neglects to mention the battle near Opis. Such a version implies the Babylonians could have fought and chose not to, rather than being forced into submission. The cylinder highlights the martial ability of Cyrus, by claiming his army was vast but ultimately unnecessary. One feels from the text that Cyrus' well-armed and numberless forces would have easily won a battle for the city.² The threat of war as a possibility, despite no war being mentioned in the cylinder, highlights in contrast the clemency of Cyrus: that he could have treated Babylon in the same manner as Opis, but chose not to do so. The *Cyrus Cylinder* also reveals Cyrus' use of Assyrian kings as predecessors. Cyrus is careful to begin the autobiographical section of the cylinder with Assyrian titles.

I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, strong king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters.³

Further confirmation of Cyrus' imitation is the mention further on in the cylinder text of Assurbanipal, whom Cyrus claims had preceded him.⁴ The *Cyrus Cylinder* reveals Cyrus' deliberate attempt to make the conquest of Babylonia appear as no conquest at all, but as the next king in line by the universal acceptance of Marduk and the people themselves. Nabonidus is made out to be a mad footnote in the history of Babylon, in contrast to the *Nabonidus Chronicle* where there is no such explicit judgement.⁵ The

¹ *Ibid.* 17. Translated by van der Spek.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* 20. Translated by van der Spek. The *Cyrus Cylinder* becomes autobiographical rather than historical approximately halfway through the text.

⁴ *Ibid.* 43.

⁵ The *Chronicle* does note Nabonidus' continued stay in Taima, which Mallowan (1985) 411 attributes to a self-imposed exile. See also the 'Prayer of Nabonidus', *Dead Sea Scroll* 4Q242.

survival of such a positive presentation on the part of Cyrus makes it plain to see how he maintained a mostly positive image for both his Achaemenid successors and for the Greeks writing about him.¹

2.6.3) Behistun relief

The relief at Behistun, located close to the royal road linking Ecbatana and Babylon, commemorates the seizure of the Persian throne by Darius I. The relief features Darius standing upon the chest of the pretender Gaumata before nine defeated rebel kings, and a detailed trilingual inscription in Akkadian, Elamite and Old Persian describing Darius' victories.² One puzzling characteristic on first inspection is the height of the relief carved into the rock face, so high that reading the inscriptions would require remarkable vision.³ This may go some way to explaining the inaccuracy by Ctesias transmitted through Diodorus Siculus in his attribution of the inscription to Queen Semiramis of Babylon.⁴ The Behistun relief gives a far more generous account of Darius' accession than drawn by Herodotus. In the inscriptions, Darius appears as the main protagonist in the assassination of Gaumata.⁵

No one dared to say anything about Gaumata the Magus, until I came. Then I invoked Ahuramazda; Ahuramazda brought me help. Ten days of the month Bagayadi were past, then I, with a few men, killed that Gaumata the Magus, and his foremost followers.⁶

¹ Michalowski (2014).

² The Behistun relief acted as the Iranian equivalent of the Rosetta Stone due to its trilingual nature. Old Persian in writing may well have been a novelty for this inscription. Elamite appears commonly in administrative documents during the Achaemenid Empire, and Akkadian remained an important language in the written form. For an in-depth investigation of the relief, see the PhD thesis of Bae (2001) esp. 1-30; also see Kuhrt (1983) 88 and (2007) 151.

³ The platform beneath the inscription is narrow and makes it difficult to read the inscription up close to it.

⁴ Diod. Sic. II.13.1-2.

⁵ Also referred to as Smerdis.

⁶ DB 13. Translated by Kuhrt.

In contrast to this version is the account of Herodotus, who casts Darius as less decisive, and as part of the conspiracy rather than the sole instigator:

συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύεω τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπεστεῶς ἠπόρεε οἷα ἐν σκότει,
προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξει τὸν Γοβρύην.... Δαρεῖος δὲ πειθόμενος ὥσέ τε τὸ ἐγχειρί
διον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.¹

And as Gobyras and the Magus wrestled Darius was standing by in the dark, he was terrified in case he wounded Gobyras...Darius somehow happened to thrust the dagger into the Magus.

The Behistun inscription portrays Darius as having decisively acted against Smerdis where no-one else dared, and credits him as the instigator, despite later in the inscription mentioning the other six conspirators by name.² This corroborates the image of the Achaemenid ruler as warrior presented internally and by Greek sources. The hunt maintained its importance as a royal act for the Persian King as it had for the Assyrian kings, celebrated in inscriptions and in seals.³ When Alexander took over from the Achaemenid dynasty, he made a conscious effort to keep up the art of the royal hunt, as demonstrated by Ehippus fragment 5.⁴ The 'Alexander Sarcophagus' of Abdalonymus from Sidon may also reflect this tradition (figure 3).⁵

We have already mentioned the martial prowess of Cyrus and Darius, and even if the majority of Achaemenid rulers after the Persian wars appear not to have fought in battles, both the Greek and Achaemenid sources highlight the physical prowess of the

¹ Hdt. III.78.4-5.

² DB 68; Briant compares the list of conspirators in the inscription and Herodotus and notes approximate similarity (2002) 107-8.

³ We lack relief evidence for the Persian hunt from the Achaemenid era, but a reasonable assumption can be made that Achaemenid hunt scenes would have differed little from the surviving Assyrian examples. Briant (2002) 230; Allsen (2006) 23. Cylinder seals depicting chariot and horseback hunting scenes are the best contemporary Achaemenid depictions available. Some excellent examples from Gordium can be found in Dusinberre (2005), e.g. figs. 150, 156, 199.

⁴ Ehippus *FGrH* 126 F5.

⁵ Schefold (1968); Von Graeve (1970); Spawforth (2012). While Alexander himself had no part in the design or construction of the sarcophagus, it may derive from a lost original. Cohen (1997) 35-7.

Persian Kings.¹ Many of the kings are portrayed as possessing a tall stature in Greek sources, and in Achaemenid relief the King commands a greater height than his subjects.² The Behistun relief displays Darius as approximately a fifth taller than his servants, and considerably taller than the Persian nobles behind him.³ The Audience Scene reliefs found at the palace in Persepolis also display the king enthroned and his son (interpreted as either Darius and his son Xerxes, or Xerxes and his son Darius) as taller in proportion than the men performing the rite of *proskynesis* before the royal pair.⁴ The throne-bearers are portrayed literally holding up the king enthroned in the Throne Hall reliefs, where the king is considerably larger and grander in proportion.⁵

2.6.4) Darius Statue

During excavations at Susa, a statue was found of Darius I, complete apart from the missing upper torso and head. The statue base had a trilingual inscription containing Egyptian hieroglyphs and cuneiform, and is presumed to have been returned to Susa from Heliopolis.⁶ The completed statue would be approximately 3 metres tall, considerably larger than life size and consistent with the Achaemenid theme of royal depiction. The hieroglyphics relate a regular Egyptian pattern of inscriptions, and akin to the Behistun relief, Darius' martial ability is put forth clearly:

The strong King, great in prestige, lord of power like him who resides in Letopolis, lord of his own hand, who crushes the nine bows, whose council is

¹ Of note here is the anecdote in which Darius III fought and killed a man in single combat, which is assumed to derive from royal ideology against Alexander during the Macedonian invasion. Diod. Sic. XVII.6.1; Just. *Epit.* X.3.2-5; Briant (2002) 732-3. It may have been an attempt to tie in to the martial prowess of the earliest Achaemenid rulers.

² Hdt. VII.187; King & Thompson (1907) pl. 13.

³ Brosius (2000) 27-30.

⁴ Schmidt (1953) pl. 97 a-b.

⁵ Schmidt (1953) pl. 107.

⁶ The statue was found in Susa, but as it was made from Egyptian stone according to the inscription, clearly did not come from Susa initially. Brosius (2000) 44.

effective and whose plans succeed; master of his arm, when he rushes into battle, shooting precisely, his arrow never missing its goal.¹

The fact that this statue was intended for display in Egypt (and made from Egyptian stone) at the far western border of the empire reveals consistent aspects of presentation of the Achaemenid kings. Many rulers, despite nominally being Pharaoh of Egypt, did not visit satrapies so far from the heart of the empire, and the presence of Achaemenid sculpture does not imply the king's direct supervision. In the variety of languages present across the empire prominently displaying the virtues of the Great King, the resounding image conjured is of the warrior moulded in the tradition of Cyrus. This is in stark contrast to the majority of Greek evidence on the role of Achaemenid kings in battle, where the king takes up his 'ancestral position' in the centre of the battle line and rarely engages in battle himself, to the extent that only Cyrus the Great died on the battlefield.²

2.6.5) Tomb of Darius

Upon the mountain face of Naq-i-Rustam north of Persepolis lies the tomb of Darius I.³ The tomb is set within a rectangular incision into the mountain, surrounded by relief carvings and two inscriptions, categorised by Kent as DNa and DNb.⁴ In the top relief carving, Darius appears stood above two levels of fifteen throne-bearers, facing a fire altar and the winged disk of Ahura Mazda to his right (figure 4).⁵ DNa is inscribed in the rock directly behind the figure of Darius in Old Persian Elamite and Akkadian, while

¹ DSab (B); Kurht (2007) 478. Translated by Kuhrt. Evidence that this royal description of personal ability on the part of the monarch travelled can be found in Lycia, where Symmachus wrote an elegy praising the Lycian dynast Erbinas in similar terms. *SEG* 28.245. See Herrenschmidt (1985); Bousquet (1992); Briant (2002) 609.

² E.g. Hdt. VII.10; Xen. *Anab.* I.8.13,22; Plut. *Arta.* XI.3; Arr. *Anab.* II.8.11. Briant (2002) 227-8.

³ Schmidt (1970) 80.

⁴ Kent (1950) 109, 137-40.

⁵ Schmidt (1970) 84-6; Root (1979) 169-79; Briant (2002) 211.

DNb is inscribed on either side of the tomb entrance in Old Persian, Elamite and Aramaic.¹

The text of DNa lays out Darius' ancestry, inserting himself into the Achaemenid line, and following this the list of countries around Persia which Darius had seized during his reign.² The inscription then outlines the support of Darius' kingship by Ahuramazda, and highlights the martial power of Achaemenid Persia:

Then shall it become known to you: the spear of the Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to you: the Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.³

DNb outlines a list of kingly virtues.⁴ Darius presents himself as the defender of what is right against the lie, in control of his emotions, intelligent in his command of both household and warfare.⁵ Darius also demonstrates his own martial prowess, complementing the power of the Persian spear in DNa:

Moreover this (is) my ability, that my body is strong. As a fighter, I am a good fighter....I am furious with the strength of my revenge with both hands and both feet. As a horseman I am a good horseman. As a bowman I am a good bowman, both on foot and on horseback. As a spearman I am a good spearman, both on foot and on horseback.⁶

There are other tombs nearby featuring a similar design, which are attributed to Xerxes, Artaxerxes I and Darius II.⁷ In the case of Xerxes, the tomb inscription (XPI) is

¹ Schmidt (1970) 84.

² DNa 2-3. Briant (2002) 182.

³ DNa 4. Translated by Kuhrt. Briant (2002) 178, 213.

⁴ Briant (2002) 170, 212-13.

⁵ DNb 2a-c, f.

⁶ DNb 2g-h. Translated by Kuhrt.

⁷ Briant (2002) 170.

copied from that of Darius (DNb), demonstrating that the royal virtues were not linked to the individual king as much as to the dynasty as a whole.¹

2.6.6) Apadana at Persepolis

The Apadana at Persepolis, a large audience hall, was begun in the reign of Darius I, but parts of it are thought to have been completed by Xerxes, such as the reliefs of the Apadana stairways.² These reliefs, found on the west panel of the north stairway and the south panel of the east stairway, display what is thought by scholars to be a tribute procession of subjects from around the empire, perhaps the occasion of the Iranian New Year festival (figure 5).³ There are twenty three distinct groups of tribute bearers across three registers, each identifiable by local attributes and goods, with each stairway acting as the mirror image of each other.⁴ These groups are led to the king by Persian royal ushers.⁵

In the centre of the stairway façade is a relief of eight Persian and Median guards, standing to attention with spears held upright (figure 6).⁶ The winged disk of Ahuramazda appears above them, and on the sloping panels outside are carved lions attacking a bull.⁷ The pattern of Persian and Median guardsmen, along with Susian guardsmen, appears on a grander scale of three registers across the northern and eastern panels of the stairways. The effect is such that the guardsmen are leading the tribute-bearers.⁸

¹ Briant (2002) 211.

² Schmidt (1953) 82. Brick inscriptions demonstrate that Xerxes completed Darius' original work. *Ibid.* 71. XPb is Xerxes' testament of construction. Briant (2002) 168-9.

³ Schmidt (1953) 82; Briant (2002) 174. The figures of the north stairway were exposed and damaged, but the figures of the east stairway were protected by mud.

⁴ See Schmidt (1953) 85, 88-90 and Briant (2002) 175 for the catalogue of tribute bearers.

⁵ Briant (2002) 174, 223.

⁶ Schmidt (1953) 83.

⁷ Schmidt (1953) 83.

⁸ *Ibid.*

The Apadana stairway reliefs corroborate the other contemporary Achaemenid evidence in demonstrating power over a wide geographical and cultural area. As with the Behistun relief, Darius' tomb inscription and the *Cyrus Cylinder*, it is plain that vast numbers of regions arrive to demonstrate their loyalty and subservience, and that the king's grasp (strengthened by Ahuramazda) stretched far indeed.¹ The Apadana reliefs also demonstrate the order and power of the Achaemenid guards, an integral part of royal power, as well as personal protection. It makes manifest in iconography the claim of Darius on his tomb that 'the spear of the Persian man has gone forth far'.²

2.6.7) Conclusion

This section has examined relevant evidence concerning the Achaemenid kings thought most worthy of emulation, Cyrus and Darius. The evidence discussed shows a consistency of portrayal. The Achaemenid king is shown to be physically capable, and skilled in weaponry and warfare. There is another side to this portrayal, which differs from previous Near Eastern presentation, in the sense of making the choice to refrain from violent methods to achieve ends. The *Cyrus Cylinder* demonstrates that with the blessing of Marduk, there was no need to forcibly take the city of Babylon, although the text makes it clear that Cyrus' numberless army could have done so. The royal relief evidence also mirrors this hidden prowess of the king.³ The emphasis is instead one of order and control, of a 'Pax Persiana' as demonstrated by Root. The reality was however quite different, as demonstrated by Berossus' testimony about the destruction of Babylon's walls by Cyrus, in spite of his claim to have rebuilt them.

¹ Briant (2002) 177-8.

² DNa 4. Translated by Kuhrt.

³ See section 2.6.

2.7) Concepts of Persian Kingship

From the investigation of both the Greek and Achaemenid evidence it has been determined that four broad categories are of particular relevance. The public presentation of the Persian king is a vital factor, and 'Appearance' will accordingly form the first category. This includes the public appearance of the king during civil processions and religious occasions, as well as military appearances. The use of particular clothing and power symbols is of prime importance to the investigation, including the use of luxury. Also included within this category are artistic depictions and political titles in order to consider the effect of the ruler beyond those with immediate access to them.

The second category, 'Accessibility', is concerned with the various methods that the Achaemenid king used to restrict access to him. This ranges from the physical aspects of the palace architecture (in particular the use of gates) to the extensive court systems and protocols which allowed direct access to the king as a privilege, depending on the courtier's status with the king. The deliberate use of inaccessibility to increase the power and grandeur of the ruler is also covered within this category.

'Dynasty' forms the third category, which is primarily concerned with the close family of the ruler, as well as the role of important professionals within close proximity to the ruler, such as the commander of the bodyguard. Of particular importance is the role of women in the political sphere as well as their role in the organisation of the dynasty. The power dynamic of close family and loyal supporters, their access to the king and utility in holding integral positions of a military and logistical nature are important concepts for the successful functioning of the Achaemenid regime.

The final category, 'Military Function', is concerned with the martial role of the ruler within the empire. The reputation of the king as a successful warrior in his own right is a common theme from the Iranian evidence, as well as a successful leader of armies.

While following in the previous Near Eastern traditions in some regards, Achaemenid military power is displayed in a more nuanced manner. The Achaemenid focus on the continuation of order over chaos differs from the overtly violent royal depictions of previous near eastern dynasties, and this factor affects Achaemenid portrayal significantly.

2.7.1) Appearance

Xenophon is forthright concerning the techniques used to enhance the appearance of the Persian king when seen in public. One aspect of this was to employ cosmetics.¹ Xenophon attributes Media as a predecessor in this regard, stating that Cyrus' father Astyages wore eyeliner and rouge along with a wig.² He also claims this continued as an aristocratic practice under the Persian Empire.³ Achaemenid evidence corroborates Xenophon in this regard, as the reliefs at Persepolis display servants bearing beauty products.⁴ The use of *kohl* can also be detected in Achaemenid Iconography.⁵ In line with this use of cosmetics to improve appearance is the use of clothing to hide defects. In the *Cyropaedia*, Cyrus advises his followers to follow his habit of wearing the Median dress, in order to conceal personal defect, as well as making the wearer appear taller and more handsome. Also to this effect Cyrus recommends hidden high-soled shoes to enhance height.⁶ Azoulay has demonstrated that the use of illusion in the *Cyropaedia* is only necessary for subjects outside of the King's entourage, but in comparison those in the King's favour are incorporated into the deception by being

¹ Azoulay (2004) 150 notes that with regard to Xenophon's consideration of Cyrus' appearance, the use of terminology referring to illusion and make-believe is very explicit, and in this regard illusion is an integral part of political appearance: 'Illusion and public performance are always united in a dialectical way in the royal pomp which Cyrus chooses to adopt'. Xen. Cyr. VIII.1.41-2.

² Xen. Cyr. I.3.2. An interesting point is that Xenophon elsewhere criticises the use of make-up by women in the *Oeconomicus*. Xen. Oec. X.2-8; Oost (1978) 233 n.19; Azoulay (2004) 155. On another note, Azoulay has pointed out that Xenophon's description of Astyages before Cyrus as a child could be considered the effect that Cyrus intends by his use of deceptive clothing and make-up; a deliberate infantilisation of the viewing public intended to render them in childlike astonishment. Azoulay (2000) 21-26, (2004) 163.

³ Xen. Cyr. VIII.8.20.

⁴ Briant (2002) 226-7.

⁵ Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 58.

⁶ Xen. Cyr. VIII.1.40-2.

given robes themselves.¹ This increases the dynamic tension between those involved in the rule and those outside, between the convinced and those who remain to be convinced.

Xenophon's claims are backed up by the iconography of the Achaemenid rulers. The king is consistently displayed as a taller man than those close to him in palace reliefs.² Root has pointed out the careful covering of the entire body in Achaemenid iconography, in comparison to the previous Near Eastern dynasties.³ The Achaemenid rulers differ significantly in their self-presentation from the Assyrian rulers in particular, who emphasised physical prowess, often displaying defined muscles.⁴ Remarkably, the Achaemenid focus on bodily perfection also extends into court artwork, with Azarpay noting the deliberate application of 'formal standards that included observance of proportional ratios'.⁵ This involved using bricks with a pre-determined proportion of relief upon them, as can be demonstrated by the guardsman figures from Susa where the face of the guard fits exactly into the brick.⁶ Many of the Achaemenid reliefs follow a defined ratio measurable by the Persepolis cubit of four fingers' width, which Roaf demonstrated to be approximately 52.1-52.2cm.⁷

¹ Azoulay (1999) 160-1.

² Briant (2002) 226; Kuhrt (2007) 142.

³ Root (1979). In some cases Achaemenid portrayal does show arms or legs extending from under clothing, but this is much less common than in earlier Mesopotamian art. Often these are 'Royal hero' figures, rather than a historical figure. This Greco-Roman interpretation of royal and aristocratic Persians covered in clothing over the majority of their bodies continues into late antiquity. See Amm. Marc. XXIII.6.84.

⁴ See Ataç (2010) 3-13, who notes the frequent bodily exposure of Neo-Assyrian royal imagery, with clearly defined musculature, and links it to the use of animals in relief art. This deliberate portrayal of athletic musculature in Assyrian art has been discussed before. Paley (1976) 13. Winter (1989) 597-80 points out the linguistic link in early Mesopotamian cuneiform between 'arm' and 'strength' (the Sumerian logogram *Á*, also called DA-šeššig, stands for both words), thus linking the visible arm in Assyrian art to a 'heroic power'. See also Winter (1996).

⁵ Azarpay (1994) 170. See also the unpublished doctoral thesis of Davis-Kimball (1989), which covers previous ancient proportional systems.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Roaf (1978) 68; Azarpay (1994) 173; Davis-Kimball (1989) 552-4.

2.7.1.1) Titles

Achaemenid self-portrayal maintains an outward consistency throughout the duration of the empire, as well as across the varying satrapies. This changed only to include local titles amongst the more generic Achaemenid ones, such as Darius' statue in Egypt, and Cyrus' use of Babylonian titles.¹ This enabled the kings to seamlessly integrate themselves into ancient dynasties in order to show an outward face of legitimacy and respectability, made clear in particular by Cyrus' reference to Assurbanipal, the last great Assyrian King, within the Cyrus Cylinder. Cyrus wished to make it explicit that the Achaemenid newcomers to the ancient line of kings were an addition rather than a sudden change. The Darius statue plays a similar role for Egyptian history; that Persia valued the great traditions of the past and would continue to honour them.²

2.7.1.2) Luxury

When looking at the Greco-Roman source material on the Persian Empire, the theme of luxury (the Greek *τρυφή*) looms large.³ This goes hand in hand with the narrative structure of decline and fall generated by the ancient authors, in which the Persian Empire goes from strong nomadic roots under Cyrus to trying to hold areas of the kingdom together, such as Egyptian revolts and the Satraps' Revolt. The dining habits of the Persian king were particularly apt for ridicule in this regard. Herodotus' description of the tent left after the battle of Plataea, and how Pausanias was served what Mardonius was accustomed to, began a literary *topos* of Greek wonder at Persian dining opulence.⁴ Polyaeus catalogues the foodstuffs presented to Alexander, apparently instituted at the time of Cyrus and carved into a bronze pillar. Alexander

¹ See sections 2.6.2 and 2.6.4.

² Although events such as Cambyses' slaughter of the Apis Bull run counter to this official Persian perspective. Hdt. III.28-9; Lloyd (2011) 84-5.

³ The nomadic aspects of court life were viewed as luxurious. Athenaeus claims they were the first in history to become obsessed with luxury. Athenaeus 513f; Hornblower (1994b) 47; Lenfant (2007); Gorman & Gorman (2010).

⁴ Hdt. VII.82.

interprets the list as demonstrating the cowardice which is the result of luxury.¹ In contrast to this, Heracleides of Cumae states that despite the large amounts of food listed, much of it went to guests, soldiers or household staff.² However, this does not seem to have stopped other writers interpreting the whole affair of dining at the royal table as an overblown event of ostentatious luxury.³ This is not to say that all contemporary writers thought that the luxury lifestyle of Persian royalty was negative and corrupting. Lenfant points out the example of Heracleides of Pontus, who wrote about the positive qualities of luxury as espoused by the Persians and Medes:⁴

ἄπαντες γοῦν οἱ τὴν ἡδονὴν τιμῶντες καὶ τρυφᾶν προηρημένοι μεγαλόψυχοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς εἰσιν, ὡς Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι.⁵

All men, at least, who value pleasure and prefer luxury are generous and magnificent, such as the Persians and Medes.

Heracleides continues, claiming that despite their quest for luxury, the Persians and Medes most embody bravery and lordliness out of all the barbarians. He also attributes the success of Athens to their luxurious ways, which might seem a strange claim. However, it has been demonstrated compellingly by Miller that in the fifth century in Athens luxury items of Persian extraction were coveted by aristocratic Greeks.⁶ These included luxurious examples of everyday clothing inspired by Persian colours and designs, as well as items never seen before, such as parasols and fly whisks.⁷ Even public architecture in Athens appears to have taken on an Achaemenid spin, if the Odeion of Pericles is inspired by the tent found at Plataea (although this is

¹ Polyaeus, *Strat.* IV.3.32. Briant (2002) 286-7 notes the comparison with Herodotus. Kuhrt (2007) 604-7 n.1 discusses the potential author of the passage, with the consensus being that Ctesias probably wrote it.

² Heracleides *FGrH* 689 F2; Hornblower (1994b) 47.

³ Athen. *Deip.* 146c; Strab. *Geog.* 735.

⁴ Lenfant (2007) 54-5; Briant (2002) 300-1. See also Plut. *Arta.* XXIV.10.

⁵ Athen. *Deip.* 512a-d

⁶ Miller (1997); Briant (2002) 208.

⁷ What is strange about the use of these items is that they often found used by women, whereas in their initial Persian context they are used by men. Miller notes this must have only intensified the effeminate characterisation of Achaemenid rule. Miller (1997) 250, 258-9.

controversial).¹ There is also a significant amount of surviving pottery depicting scenes most likely inspired by Achaemenid relief sculpture, as well as Persians depicted in indigenous clothing.²

The disparity between this iconographic and material evidence, in comparison to the literary representations of Achaemenid luxury is astounding. From an intellectual standpoint writers continued to denigrate the Persians for their luxurious lifestyle, while many of the items which respected this luxury became status symbols for the Greek aristocracy.³ Miller believed this contradictory approach was due to the dual problems of Athenian status from their victory in the Persian wars, and the continued threat of the Persians to Athenian interests.⁴

We see a more complicated approach to *τρυφή* following the downfall of the Persian Empire. Some of the major figures among the Successors, notably Demetrius Poliorcetes and Demetrius of Phalerum, began to adopt the sort of public image for which intellectual Greeks denigrated the Achaemenids. The Ptolemaic dynasty in particular adopted deliberately ostentatious display as part of its royal imagery, even adopting the epithet *tryphon* in some cases.⁵ The famous royal procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, preserved in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, is testament to the colossal decadence which the Ptolemies openly advocated.⁶ Such overt display was not limited to the Ptolemies. The Seleucid rulers, themselves consciously aware of their Achaemenid inheritance, also adopted overt displays of luxury. Antiochus III's winter revels in Chalchis, where he married Euboea, were interpreted by the Roman audience as cowardice and indolence, whereas what Antiochus was presumably intending to

¹ Miller (1997) 188-217.

² Miller (1997) plates 14,15,16,17, 24-25 are but some examples.

³ Miller (1997) 258.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Ager (2006) 23. Cleopatra V and VI both possessed the epithet *tryphaneia*, and Ptolemy VIII possessed the epithet *tryphon*. The Seleucid usurper Diodotus also adopted the same epithet. Lenfant (2007) 52 n.5 seems to miss the Seleucid example. Heinen (1983).

⁶ The cornucopia became a prominent symbol of Ptolemaic iconography on coinage. Official portraiture proudly displayed the later Ptolemies' obesity. Thompson (1973); Heinen (1978); Ager (2006) 23.

convey was his wealth and power, before returning to the war effort.¹ Perhaps the fourth-century opinion of Heracleides of Pontus on τρυφή was becoming more accepted as a positive rather than a negative quality amongst the Hellenistic kings.² In spite of this, the adoption of τρυφή by Macedonian and Greek rulers and statesmen remained the subject of attack by critics. Polybius saw the failure of the contemporary Ptolemaic Empire as a result of increasing torpor and luxury on the part of the kings, in particular Ptolemy IV.³ Hellenistic advocacy of τρυφή is often interpreted together with the polygamous nature of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, as well as the Successor Lysimachus.⁴ Ogden adds that τρυφή serves as a royal paradox; that 'only one with vast vast reserves of wealth and power could afford to squander so much of it.'⁵

2.7.2) Accessibility

As demonstrated by Aristophanes, there was a common stereotype in the Greek imagination of the Persian monarch being inaccessible, both in the geographic sense of the court's constant mobility, and in personally not being able to see the king.⁶ Pseudo-Aristotle adds to this idea (perhaps drawing on earlier Greek sources for the concept of King's eyes and ears), stating that the king remained 'invisible to all' within the palace.⁷ This idea coincided with privileged access to the king, noted by Xenophon, Xenophon, as well as the book of Esther.⁸ The status of courtiers at the Persian court was directly related to their ability to interact with the king; no better demonstrated than by the dinner of the Persian king, at which his close family and friends would be placed preferentially according to their standing with the king.⁹

¹ Polyb. XX.8.1-5; Ogden (1999) 137-8.

² See above.

³ Polyb. V.34.10; Ager (2006) 177. That Polybius interprets the Ptolemaic kingdom's downfall in the same terms as contemporary authors to the Persian Empire, as failure through increasing indulgence, is an interesting point to note.

⁴ Ogden (1999); Ager (2006) 24.

⁵ Ogden (1999) 269.

⁶ See above.

⁷ Ps-Arist. *De Mundo*. 398a.

⁸ *Esther* I.14; Xen. *Ages*. IX.1-2; Briant (2002) 259 ; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 44-48.

⁹ Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.4.1-5; Heracleides *FGrH* 689 F2; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 44.

Ancient Greek writers saw the origins of the hidden monarch in the Ancient Near East. Herodotus claimed it was a Median invention, stating the example of Deioces who carefully controlled access to himself, building fortifications at Ecbatana to separate his residence from the populace and only allowing communication through messengers.¹ Ctesias on the other hand claimed that the practice originated earlier in Assyria, with Ninyas wishing to shut out everybody but his wives and the court eunuchs, and therefore not being visible to his courtiers or subjects.² Lanfranchi recently argued that that these statements concerning the origins of Achaemenid inaccessibility were intended to reflect the contemporary Persian court.³ The inaccessibility of the king is a significant factor in creating his status. As Brosius puts it, limited access exalted the king above the other members of the court.⁴ This power structure also extends to the people during the king's public appearances.

The physical structure of the royal palace and its environs also played a significant part in the culture of inaccessibility around the king.⁵ A key aspect of inaccessibility was the the gates, which in the case of Achaemenid Persia related to both the physical gates of a palace, as well as the royal tent.⁶ The gates were a symbolic place where visitors would be detained, as well as where the education of children and varying activities of courtiers took place.⁷ Syloson in Herodotus' account travels to Susa and waits outside, where he is interrogated by the 'guardian of the gate' who passes the message to the king.⁸ Tuplin notes that 'to be "at the Gates"', whether as a petitioner (who can be kept kept waiting there at the whim of the potentate) or as a courtier (whose function is *θεραπεύειν* – a word of at best ambiguous overtones), has decided connotations of

¹ Hdt. I.99.1; Panaino (2003).

² Athen. *Deip.* 528f; 529a; Briant (2002) 259; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 46.

³ Lanfranchi (2010) 52.

⁴ Brosius (2010) 22.

⁵ Brosius notes this was not necessarily an Achaemenid creation, and probably was the court function in previous Near Eastern dynasties. Brosius (2010) 25.

⁶ Tuplin notes that this terminology is also found Seuthian Thrace and Manian Phrygia. Tuplin (2010) 190. The terminology is also used in a metaphorical sense, Xen. *Anab* II.4.4; Tuplin (2010) 190.

⁷ Tuplin (2010) 190.

⁸ Hdt. III.140. This was the reality of attempting to enter the Persian court space for even the most important of visitors. Isoc. *Paneg.* 151; Tuplin (1996) 157.

weakness.¹ Pseudo-Aristotle uses the same terminology to explain the lack of access to the king; that he is behind a series of gates guarded within by bodyguards and servants.²

The Darius Gate at Susa appears to display characteristics from the literary sources (building 2 of figure 7). Measuring 15 metres high by 40 metres and 28 metres in length and width, the gate possessed three distinct halls.³ The largest of these has stone benches where petitioners must have waited, and a series of doors allowed access to the palace itself.⁴ The design of the building is evident in its construction of delay, enabling the sort of checkpoint system proposed within the Greek sources.

The connotations of the palace in terms of accessibility are well expounded by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*. The theme of controlled visibility is important, with Cyrus stating that his public appearances must be rare and impressive, but causing as little resentment as possible.⁵ Of most relevance here is the transformation of Cyrus' rule into that of royalty. Xenophon ascribes to Cyrus the desire to behave as befits a monarch:

ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ Κῦρος ἤδη κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς βασιλεῖ ἡγεῖτο πρέπειν.⁶

and from these things, Cyrus desired to represent himself as he believed a king ought to appear.

This decision creates the unique relationship between Cyrus and his *philoï*, where the *philoï* have privileged access to Cyrus, because he is able to adopt a bodyguard to keep

¹ Tuplin (2010) 191.

² Ps-Arist. *De Mundo*. 398a; Tuplin (2010) 207 notes the paradox of the king as invisible to all, but also being surrounded by bodyguards and servants within the palace.

³ Ladiray (2013) 168.

⁴ Briant (2002) 260.

⁵ Xen. *Cyr.* VII.5.37; Tuplin (2010) 207; Brosius (2010) 22; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 48.

⁶ Xen. *Cyr.* VII.5.37.

crowds away from him.¹ Cyrus demonstrates the need for seclusion and protection in public by making himself available to all who wished to petition him (much like the Macedonian right of *Isegoria*).² When Cyrus' *philoï* are unable to gain access to Cyrus on account of this, he stations lance-bearing guards around himself to allow them access to him.³ The *philoï* agree that Cyrus needs such protection if they are to have access to him, and in the ensuing conversation Chrysantas proposes that Cyrus move into the royal palace at Babylon, agreeing that while Cyrus had military affairs to undertake access to him was important, but now the reasons for allowing unfettered access to him were less compelling.⁴ Following Herodotus' account of Deioces, the acquisition of a palace and the ability to seclude oneself is an integral part of Achaemenid rule.⁵ Having moved into the palace, Cyrus also made provision for a bodyguard, choosing eunuchs on account of their lack of familial ties.⁶ Guards numbering ten thousand were also drawn from the Persians on account of their hard upbringing, to act as the palace guards, as well as protecting him on his travels.⁷

The procession from the palace in book 8 demonstrates the new reality of Cyrus' power and presentation. During the procession, Cyrus and his *philoï* wear distinctive coloured tunics as they emerge from the palace.⁸ These Median robes were distributed by Cyrus beforehand as a mark of favour.⁹ These robes, along with high shoes and make-up, were intended to bewitch the viewer and hide physical defects.¹⁰ There was a rigid access scheme during the procession, where those wishing to present petitions to Cyrus were able to do so through the guards who were expected to pass the messages on, but physical access was not possible.¹¹ Xenophon also hints

¹ Gera (1993) 286-7; Tatum (1989) 186.

² Adams (1986).

³ Xen. Cyr. VII.5.39-40; Nadon (2001) 111.

⁴ *Ibid.* VII.5.55; Tatum (1989) 198; Nadon (2001) 112.

⁵ Hdt. I.99.1; Nadon (2001) 115.

⁶ Xen. Cyr. VII.5.57-8, 60-1; Gera (1993) 287; Nadon (2001) 113.

⁷ Xen. Cyr. VII.5.67-8; Nadon (2001) 114.

⁸ Xen. Cyr. VIII.3.3.

⁹ *Ibid.*; Gera (1993) 291.

¹⁰ Xen. Cyr. VIII. 1.40-1, 3.13-4; Gera (1993) 291; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 57.

¹¹ *Ibid.* VIII.3.19; Tuplin (2010) 207. See section 2.6.6 for an iconographic representation of the Achaemenid guards.

at the introduction of *proskynesis* (indeed, he uses the word) by the reaction of Cyrus' subjects to seeing him, suggesting that Cyrus' splendour overpowered them.¹ Xenophon points out that the methods Cyrus used to secure his power continue in his own day.²

Our evidence of how the king's bodyguard would function in Achaemenid Persia is sparse, and once again heavily dependent on Greek evidence. The 10,000 'immortals' (ἄθᾶνατοι) were in charge of defending the king, accompanied the king on campaign, as well as serving at court. The Achaemenid evidence is dubious, as traditional identifications of the bearded soldiers on Susa and Persepolis palace reliefs because the immortals are by no means certain.³ The name Herodotus claims the bodyguard possessed is unattested in Old Persian, although Llewellyn-Jones notes the possible linguistic confusion between *Anusiya* (companions) and *Anausa* (immortals).⁴ One helpful surviving document in this regard is the Hittite *Instruction for the Royal Bodyguard*.⁵ Although a much older document than the Achaemenid period, it demonstrates similarity to Xenophon's account of Cyrus' procession. The bodyguard, as well as protecting the king from anything that might make it through the formation (the document explains how to assign blame for anything or anyone that is let through by a guard), performs crowd control to keep the population lined up.⁶ The document also highlights the complicated system of door control, the different levels of command amongst the bodyguard (the enhanced responsibilities of the gold-spearmen, as well as the commander-of-ten and chief-of-guards), and the appropriate deposition of spears.⁷

¹ Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.3.14.

² *Ibid.* VIII.1.7, 24.

³ Olmstead (1948) 238; Head (1992).

⁴ Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 37; see also Sekunda (1992) 6 for the OP word *Armtaka* as the title of the Immortals.

⁵ The potential dating of this text is uncertain. Popko (2003) 94 suggests the text dates to the reign of the Hittite king Tudhaliya I at the end of the fourteenth century, whereas D'Alfonso (2005) 33-4 suggests a date of the late thirteenth century. Although there is a new translation of the text with textual notes in Miller (2013), Guterbock and Van Den Hout (1991) remains the more helpful edition of the Hittite text with a facing English translation and commentary.

⁶ *Ibid.* lines 27-28.

⁷ *Ibid.* lines 1-4.

2.7.3) Dynasty

The Achaemenid king typically made use of their family in their administration, with family members often serving the king as satraps or garrison commanders.¹ Often we also see high ranking officials, such as generals, married into the royal family: these were not always of Iranian origin such as Mardonius, Xerxes' general in Greece, but could be Greek, such as Memnon of Rhodes serving as Darius III's general and admiral. Greek sources understand the relationship between the king and his direct subordinates as one of faithfulness, often using the word *pistis*.² Such loyal family and subordinates at court, as well as the king's bodyguard and personal attendants, are categorised collectively as 'people of the gate'.³ This arrangement is typically attributed as hostages for good behaviour on the part of satraps and generals around the empire.⁴

The arrangement of the satrapies differed from area to area, but a dynastic approach within then was common, whether a member of the local aristocracy or imposed by the king from his own family or nobility. Artabazus, the satrap of Phrygia, was related directly to the royal family as Darius' grand nephew, and passed control of the satrapy to his son Pharnaces on his death.⁵

2.7.3.1) Royal Women

The evidence for royal women in Achaemenid Persia is slim in comparison to that of the Ancient Near East.⁶ In the official art of the Achaemenid regime (i.e. palace and

¹ For example Orontes, commander at Sardis. Xen. *Anab.* I.6.1.

² Briant (2002) 324 suggests this may reflect a genuine similarity to a Persian concept; perhaps the OP *Bandaka*.

³ Plut. *Them.* XXVI.6; Ps-Arist. *De Mund.* 398a.

⁴ Briant (2002) 327.

⁵ Thuc. I.129.1.

⁶ Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1983) 20; Stol (1995).

relief sculpture) no women are recorded.¹ Traces are found in unusual places, such as travel rations in the Persepolis Fortification tablets.² On smaller art such as seals, and a preserved Siberian carpet which may depict royal Persian women, we have some contemporary evidence for female Achaemenid portrayal.³ Herodotus details a golden statue of Artystone, the daughter of Cyrus the Great and wife of Darius I, which has not survived.⁴ The majority of the evidence for royal Achaemenid women is from Greek writers. Modern commentary on the authors, in particular Herodotus and Ctesias as contemporaries of the Achaemenid regime, has recently turned towards viewing the Greek evidence as perpetuating an oriental stereotype.⁵ Thus, a recent article by Lanfranchi has suggested that Herodotus and Ctesias may have been utilising elements of Assyrian history in order to accentuate an oriental stereotype.⁶

An integral part of Achaemenid portrayal was the female entourage of the Great King. This group of women comprised the king's wife (often wives), mother and sisters.⁷ The king also possessed concubines (traditionally numbering 360, for every day of the Persian year), distinguished from the wives by legal status, and not appearing at functions with the royal wives.⁸ The Greek fascination with the public and private divide of Achaemenid monarchy extends to the female members of the royal family, often recording anecdotes of their licentiousness and wreaking havoc with dynastic affairs.⁹ Another notion which would have intrigued a Greek audience was the private dinner of the King, at which he would be joined by his wives and mother.¹⁰ Access to

¹ Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1983) 22; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 104.

² Hallock (1969).

³ Spycket (1980); Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1983) 23.

⁴ Hdt. VII.69.2; Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1983) 23.

⁵ *Ibid.* 32-3.

⁶ Lanfranchi (2010).

⁷ While not all Persian kings are documented as having multiple marriages, Cyrus II, Darius II, Artaxerxes III and Darius III are said to have two wives in the Greco-Roman sources. Brosius (1996) 35-6 collates the evidence, and suggests that polygamy may have been the norm, but the evidence is lacking to be certain that it was a consistent policy. Briant (2002) 277.

⁸ Briant (2002) 277-8, 280-2. Herodotus and later Greek authors distinguish the *gunaikas* from the *pallakai*. Hdt. I.135.

⁹ Brosius (1996) 1-5.

¹⁰ Heracleides *FGrH* 689 F2. See also Hdt. V.18.2; Plut. *Arat.* V.5; Xen. *Cyr.* I.3.4; Brosius (1996) 95.

the king on the part of the royal women was at the king's bequest, and they could only petition to be seen.¹

To the Greek audience, the fact that the royal women accompanied their husbands on campaign, travelling in carriages (*OP Harmanaxa*) and residing in their own tents, must have seemed strange.² The Achaemenid kings must have felt the royal women remained a vital part of military display, even at the risk of them being captured, as happened with the loss at Issus by Darius III.³ In comparison, the King only took concubines with him when hunting according to Heracleides of Cumae.⁴ Travels with the king on campaign are not the only examples of royal Persian women in public, but other examples are rare. Plutarch's anecdote about Stateira, the wife of Artaxerxes II, allowing herself to be seen by the populace as she travelled from her carriage appears to be marked out as unusual behaviour.⁵ Indeed, Plutarch states as much himself in the *Life of Themistocles*, that travelling women would be shut away in curtained carriages whilst travelling, to mirror their seclusion within the palace.⁶ On rare occasions royal women would travel alone with a small retinue.⁷

In other aspects of life in the palace, a gendered segregation is suggested by Herodotus, who claims there were separate male and female quarters.⁸ This idea was continued by Plutarch long after the Achaemenid dynasty ceased to be.⁹ The *Book of Esther* also proposes separate women's quarters for the royal wives.¹⁰ Modern

¹ Ezra II.12-14; Briant (2002) 282.

² Plut. *Alex.* XXI.8, XXIV.1; Diod. Sic. XVII.34.3-4; Oost (1978) 228; Brosius (1996) 87, 93; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 104. It may have derived from Lydian or Scythian custom. Brosius (1996) 91. See also *PFa* 31 for the travelling daughters of Hytaspes.

³ Arr. *Anab.* II.2.3-8; Brosius (1996) 90; Bosworth (1988) 63-4.

⁴ Heraclides *FGrH* 689 F1. See also Ctesias *FGrH* 680 F15; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 105.

⁵ Plut. *Art.* V.6; Brosius (1996) 84; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 105.

⁶ Plut. *Them.* XXVI.5; Kuhrt (2007) 598, Brosius (1996) 83-94. In *Babylonia women were not veiled*. Stol (1995) 124; Wilcke (1985) 282.

⁷ Evidence for this can be found in the Persepolis tablets, which state the rations for such a journey from the royal store, as well in the Greek sources. Briant (2002) 285.

⁸ Hdt. III.68, 77-8, 130; Briant (2002) 283-4. According to the Mesopotamian evidence, women were not segregated from men within palaces. Westenholtz (1990) 515-6.

⁹ Plut. *Them.* XXVI.5, XXXI.2.

¹⁰ *Esther* II.2.17.

scholarship on segregation of women within their own palace quarters, i.e. a *harem*, has attempted to deconstruct the oriental cliché of courtesans locked away for the king's pleasure.¹ The concept of the *harem* as a defined physical space and for women and eunuchs alone has been damaged for the later Islamic Caliphate, and this approach has recently been applied to the Achaemenid evidence by Llewellyn-Jones.² The result is a much more fluid concept of separation, rather than seclusion, of the king and his immediate family of both genders, and an acceptance of the term *harem* without an orientalist perjorative interpretation.³

2.7.3.2) Officials and Advisors

We have seen already the Greek amusement at the Persian King's Eye in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, and no matter to what extent the King's Eyes and Ears existed in an official post (i.e. titled) the trusted advisors of the Persian king in official and unofficial posts were an important facet of running the empire successfully.⁴ The king could not personally oversee the running of the empire, and trusted men (usually relatives) as satraps formed the administrative backbone in each satrapy.⁵ This was combined with the men acting for the king in a personal capacity (usually recorded as the King's Eyes and Ears by Greek sources) who would inspect troops and stand in for the king where he could not be present.⁶ Apart from these internal trusted posts, the King would often have at court Greek exiles or people of specific talent, in order to advise them.⁷ Sometimes these advisors would become part of the trusted administration loyal to the King personally, such as Croesus, who advises both Cyrus and Cambyses.⁸ In rare

¹ E.g. Briant (2002) 283-86; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 97-102.

² Kennedy (2004) 160-99; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 97-102. This approach has also been applied to the Greek evidence, with Morgan (2010) noting that the term *gynaikaion* has been incorrectly translated in the past to refer to a permanent physical space rather than the temporary space which women inhabited. See also Briant (2002) 284-5.

³ Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 102.

⁴ See section 2.1.3.

⁵ Briant (2002) 693-726.

⁶ *Ibid.* 343-4.

⁷ *Ibid.* 347-50.

⁸ Hdt. I.89, 207, III.34.4-5, Although see West (2003) who claims that the historical Croesus died.

cases they could marry into the Persian aristocracy, e.g. Memnon of Rhodes who commanded Darius III's whole army for part of the war against Alexander.¹

2.7.4) Military Function

The extant Achaemenid iconography, inscriptions and seals display a consistent portrayal of the king as the keeper of order against chaos and defender of the realm, as well as a talented warrior in his own right.² The images of Darius preserved at Behistun and the statue found in Susa (but initially from Egypt), along with their inscriptions, make clear that Darius intended to appear in the same military light as Cyrus, which to great extent he was given his earlier career as a soldier before his accession to the throne.³ The inscription of Darius on his tomb (DNb), with its list of kingly qualities copied on Xerxes' own tomb (XPI) demonstrates values of personal prowess and ability which transcend the ruler alone and exhibit an Achaemenid ideology of the king imbued with the power of Ahuramazda. Despite no Achaemenid king dying in battle apart from Cyrus, the martial ability of the king was propagated as though he fought in the spirit of Cyrus, prepared to die at the front of a cavalry charge.⁴ The Greek sources with very little exception agree on Cyrus and Darius as fulfilling the Persian ideal of military prowess, and it is interesting to note the belief on the part of Xenophon and Plato that if contemporary Persian kings were brought up in the manner of the earlier rulers then they would be worthy rulers. Plato in particular notes the virtue of the military education Cyrus and Darius had; which their successors lacked due to a luxurious upbringing.⁵

¹ Arr. *Anab.* I.20.3; Plut. *Alex.* XXI.7; Diod. Sic. XVI.52.4, XVII.23.5-6; Briant (2002) 700, 790-1.

² Garrison et al (2001).

³ Darius was one of Cambyses' guards and evidently was trained in combat. Herodotus calls him a 'Doryphorus': 'Δαρεῖος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσῳ.' Hdt. III.139.2.

⁴ N.B. the story circulated about Darius III's victory in single combat Diod. Sic. XVII.6.1-2; Briant (2002) 229-30.

⁵ See section 2.3.2.

2.7.5) Conclusion

An examination of the relevant evidence concerning Achaemenid royal self-presentation and the Greek interpretation of Achaemenid portrayal demonstrates two things. First, that despite the differences between the internal and external presentation, some aspects of Persian kingship corroborate across the Greek and Iranian evidence, such as the inaccessibility of the Persian King. Second, that across a considerable spectrum of the Greek evidence Persian kingship carries some positive connotations worthy of imitation, often linked to the qualities of particular kings, of which the notable historical examples are Cyrus and Darius.

Four concepts of Achaemenid Kingship which outline Persian power structures and allow comparison to the Greek tyrant dynasties chosen as case studies have been defined and discussed: Appearance, Accessibility, Dynasty and Military Function respectively. Appearance concerns the physical appearance of the king in public, including clothing and make-up to impress viewers and hide bodily defects. Accessibility concerns how the king was carefully shut away from all but a select few apart from significant occasions where a bodyguard would separate the king from the populace. It also concerns the design and operation of palace structures to control access. Dynasty considers the dynastic structure of the royal family, including how the women, children and trusted subordinates are incorporated into the rule. Military Function concerns the role of the monarch as a military leader in the field. These concepts will form the structure for the analysis of the evidence concerning the case studies of Greek tyrannical dynasties, as well as allowing for comparison against the ideals of Persian kingship, in order to determine potential areas of cultural influence.

3) The Dionysii of Syracuse

3.1) Previous tyrants of Syracuse

The tyrants of Syracuse previous to the Dionysii, Gelon and Hieron, are worth considering briefly, because they are important political predecessors of the Dionysii. Gelon was the cavalry commander at Gela, who seized power there in 491/0.¹ In 485, Gelon was able to take Syracuse, and moved the seat of his power there, leaving Gela in charge of his younger brother Hieron. Diodorus claims Gelon was *strategos autocrator* as Dionysius and Agathocles would later become, but this view has its detractors.² Herodotus stipulated that the Deinomenid family were priests of the underworld (likely to mean Demeter and Core).³

Some elements of Persian influence may already be detectable, primarily in architectural terms. Athenaeus, quoting Duris, states that Gelon was responsible for building a grove near Hipponium of great beauty.⁴ Acragas built Gelon a large swimming bath, complete with large quantities of fish. Swans also resided there in great numbers.⁵ This potentially hints at the influence of Achaemenid *Paradeisus*, the large enclosed gardens and bestiariums in which the Achaemenid king would hunt and hold court.⁶ Outside of the architectural influence, Aristotle suggests that Hieron's practice of using ὠτακουστοί (listeners) may have been a Persian inspiration, as well as the ποταγωγίδες (female spies) of Syracuse, not linked by Aristotle to any particular Syracusan ruler.⁷ There is also evidence that Aeschylus was invited to Syracuse by Hieron in approximately 470, to arrange a performance of the *Persae*.⁸

¹ He did this by killing the sons of the previous tyrant Hippocrates. Hdt. VII.155.

² Diod. Sic. XIII.94.5; *BNP* s.v. 'Gelon' claims this was an invention.

³ Hdt. VII.153.2.

⁴ Athen. *Deip.* 542a.

⁵ Athen. *Deip.* 541f; Diod. Sic. XI.25.4. However, note Tuplin (2006) 122 n.137, 128 n.162.

⁶ Briant (2002) 200-3, 297-99, 443; Allsen (2006) 23, 186, 212. Curt. VII. 2.22-23.

⁷ Arist. *Pol.* 1313b. It is difficult to be certain whether Aristotle saw this use of female spies and listeners as a Persian method of rule, as he does not explicitly say whether it belongs to the category of Archaic tyrants or Persian kings. It could plausibly feature in both forms of rule.

⁸ *Vit. Aesch.* XVIII; Garvie (2009) liii-lvii.

In Sicily then, some Persian inspiration may have been incorporated into the local traditions at the beginning of the classical period, meaning that local traditions of autocratic rule were informed by Near Eastern culture before the Dionysii came to power.

3.2) Dionysius I

Dionysius first appears in the historical record as a young man involved in the unsuccessful coup of Hermocrates against Syracuse in 408.¹ In the wake of the Carthaginian siege of Acragas, led by Hamilcar, Dionysius agitated in the Syracusan assembly for the removal of the generals as a result of their betrayal, with the future historian Philistus famously paying Dionysius' fine for causing a disturbance.² With the generals removed, Dionysius himself was voted onto a new board of generals, with Diodorus noting this decision was made on account of Dionysius' bravery in previous battles against Carthage.³ He lobbied for a return of exiles to the city to help defend against Carthage, which was passed by the *demos* and resulted in allying many of the returned exiles to his personal cause.⁴ Dionysius took the opportunity to intervene on behalf of the *demos* in Gela against the oligarchs, confiscating their property to pay the guard under the command of the Spartan Dexippus, as well as doubling the pay of his own troops from Syracuse, before returning to Syracuse.⁵ Dionysius' return coincided with many of the citizens of Syracuse leaving the theatre, and he took the chance to denounce his fellow generals. In an assembly the next day many of the populace demanded that he be named *strategos autokrator* and this was passed in the wake of the Carthaginian threat.⁶ At Leontini Dionysius faked an attack upon his person, imitating a ruse of Peisistratus, in order to acquire a bodyguard of six hundred men through an emergency assembly.⁷ Following this, Dionysius was able to occupy the shipyards at Laccium and house his mercenary army there, as well as make a marriage

¹ Diod. Sic. XIII.75.9; Caven (1990) 44.

² Diod. Sic. XIII.91.3-4; Caven (1990) 48-9, 54-5; Lewis (1994) 132.

³ Diod. Sic. XIII.92.1; Caven (1990) 52-3.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XIII.92.3-7; Caven (1990) 54.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIII.93; Caven (1990) 55; Lewis (1994) 133.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XIII.94.4-5; Caven (1990) 55-6; Lewis (1994) 133.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XIII.95.3-6; Arist. *Pol.* 1286b; Caven (1990) 56-7.

alliance to the daughter of Hermocrates, whose name is unknown.¹ Dionysius led the army of Syracuse and its allies to fight the Carthaginians at Gela in 405, but lost the battle and returned to Syracuse, abandoning Gela and Camarina.² The Syracusan *knights*, in the wake of the defeat, rode back in advance, and were able to ransack the house of Dionysius and rape his wife, the unnamed daughter of Hermocrates, who according to Plutarch then committed suicide.³ Dionysius returned to Syracuse in the night and killed many of the knights, while the rest fled to Aetna.⁴ The Carthaginian forces suffered a plague, and Dionysius agreed to the terms of Hamilcar which gave Carthage most of Sicily, ending the first war between the two.⁵ During this time of peace, Dionysius built a citadel on Ortygia, and closed off the island from the mainland, incorporating the shipyards within the complex, and giving land and houses to his trusted followers and mercenaries (figure 8).⁶ Dionysius ordered the building of the Epipolae wall and the six gates, personally overseeing and taking part in the work, lavishly rewarding conspicuous zeal from workers.⁷ Work began on vast quantities of ships, weapon and armour, with Dionysius again taking an active part in overseeing the construction process.⁸ Dionysius took two wives at the same time, Doris of Locris and Aristomache of Syracuse.⁹ After these personal and military preparations, in 398 Dionysius put a motion to the assembly to attack Carthage, which was passed.¹⁰ The Syracusan army then marched to the east of the island to besiege the Carthaginian island town of Motya.¹¹ The city was breached, with the Carthaginian survivors sold into slavery, and the Greek defenders crucified.¹² The next year, the Carthaginians retaliated by landing a large force at Panormus, which made its way to Syracuse.¹³ After numerous successes, the Carthaginian forces surrounded Syracuse, with the navy

¹ Diod. Sic. XIII.96.2-3; Caven (1990) 58; Lewis (1994) 134.

² Diod. Sic. XIII.109-111; Caven (1990) 62-73.

³ Diod. Sic. XIII.112.3-4; Plut. *Dion.* III.1-2; Caven (1990) 73; Lewis (1994) 134.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XIII.113; Caven (1990) 74.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIII.114; Caven (1990) 74-5; Lewis (1994) 134-5.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XIV.7.1-5; Caven (1990) 77-9; Lewis (1994) 135-6; Lewis (2009) 61.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XIV.18; Caven (1990) 88-91; Lewis (1994) 138.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XIV.41-43; Lewis (1994) 138; Lewis (2009) 61.

⁹ Diod. Sic. XIV.44; Plut. *Dion.* III.3-4; Caven (1990) 98-9; Lewis (2009) 64.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XIV.45.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. XIV.47.4-7; Lewis (1994) 42.

¹² Diod. Sic. XIV.48-53; Caven (1990) 100-106.

¹³ Diod. Sic. XIV.55-7; Caven (1990) 108-11.

blockading the great harbour.¹ Syracuse was spared due to a plague among the Carthaginians.² As a result of the plague, the Carthaginians entered into secret negotiations with Dionysius, who allowed the Carthaginian generals to escape in exchange for three hundred talents.³ In 394 Dionysius led a night assault against Tauromenion, but was repelled, with six hundred casualties.⁴ Two years later in 392 Magon led a new Carthaginian force, but without any significant battle a peace agreement was reached, but granting Dionysius more territorial concessions.⁵ In 390 Dionysius led an abortive campaign against Rhegium with little success.⁶ The next year Croton (led by Heloris, a former ally of Dionysius who was now exiled) fought Dionysius at the Eleporus River, and Dionysius let the survivors of the battle go free.⁷ Dionysius continued the campaign against Rhegium, also annexing land near Locris to give to the Locrians as reward for having given him a wife.⁸ During the Olympic games of 388, Dionysius despatched his brother Thearides with rhetors and a magnificent pavilion tent, as well as a four-horse chariot to enter into the races, but none of the entries won, and the orator Lysias urged the festival attendees to ransack the tent.⁹ As this event was occurring, Rhegium surrendered to Dionysius, and Dionysius drowned Phyton the garrison commander as well as his son, selling into slavery those who could not afford the ransom.¹⁰ During an unknown period after these events, Dionysius banished Philistus the garrison commander and his brother Leptines.¹¹ In 385 Dionysius expanded his sphere of influence into the Adriatic, allying with Illyria through the exile Alcetas the Molossian.¹² The year 383 marked a further conflict with Carthage, with Magon and over ten thousand Carthaginians perishing at Cabala, followed by a Carthaginian victory at Cronium during which Leptines perished. Peace

¹ Diod. Sic. XIV.62; Lewis (1994) 142.

² Diod. Sic. XIV.70.4-6, 71; Caven (1990) 116-7.

³ Diod. Sic. XIV.75; Caven (1990) 118-20; Lewis (1994) 144.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XIV.87-8; Caven (1990) 127; Lewis (1994) 145.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIV.95-6; Caven (1990) 128-30.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XIV.100; Caven (1990) 131-2; Lewis (1994) 146.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XIV.103.4-6, 104-5; Caven (1990) 136-41; Lewis (1994) 146.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XIV.106-7; Caven (1990) 142-6; Lewis (1994) 147.

⁹ Diod. Sic. XIV.109; Lys. *Olymp.* XXXIII; Caven (1990) 144-5; Lewis (1994) 139-40; Lewis (2009) 63.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XIV.111-2; Caven (1990) 144.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. XV.7.3-4; Caven (1990) 135, 152.

¹² Diod. Sic. XV.13.1-3; Caven (1990) 150-3; Lewis (1994) 147-8.

was decreed with Dionysius receiving Sicily east of the Halycus River.¹ Diodorus claims that the year 380 saw Dionysius further ally himself with Sparta, although this relationship had a long history, with Dionysius sending ships to help enforce the *King's Peace* in 387.² In 369 Dionysius sent mercenaries to help Sparta against the Boeotians.³ Boeotians.³ During this time, Dionysius made an alliance with Athens, recorded in Athenian inscriptions.⁴ Dionysius died soon afterwards, with accounts varying on the manner of his death. Diodorus tells us that it was due to drinking in excess to celebrate victory at the Athenian Lenaea festival, where his play *The Ransom of Hector* had won first prize.⁵ Plutarch's account does not specify his illness, but notes Timaeus' account that Dionysius' physicians gave him a draught from which he did not wake up.⁶

3.3) Dionysius II

Dionysius II was the son of Dionysius I from his marriage to Doris of Locris.⁷ Upon the death of Dionysius I, Dionysius II inherited his father's role with the support of an assembly, and his first act was to bury his father in a splendid manner by the 'royal gates' within the citadel.⁸ Dionysius inherited a war with Carthage which was halted by a peace treaty, as well as a war against the Lucanians which was abandoned.⁹ After ten years, Dion, the uncle of Sophrosyne, Dionysius' wife, made an attempt to expel Dionysius from the tyranny, fuelled by the mistreatment of his wife.¹⁰ Dionysius was in Italy overseeing the foundation of new cities, and Dion was able to march into Syracuse without opposition.¹¹ The citadel remained in the control of Dionysius' forces.¹² Dion and his brother Megacles were acclaimed as *strategoï autocratores* by

¹ Diod. Sic. XV.15-17; Lewis (1994) 148-9.

² Diod. Sic. XV.23.5; Xen. *Hell.* V.1.28; Caven (1990) 147-8; Lewis (1994) 149; Lewis (2009) 62.

³ Diod. Sic. XV.70.1.

⁴ *GHI* 33, 34; Caven (1990) 208-10; Lewis (1994) 150.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XV.74.1-2; Lewis (1994) 150-1; Lewis (2009) 64-5.

⁶ Plut. *Dion* VI.2-3; Caven (1990) 211-12.

⁷ Plut. *Dion* VI.1; Muccioli (1999) 91 n.204.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XV.74.5; Caven (1990) 215; Muccioli (1999) 108-13, 118.

⁹ Diod. Sic. XVI.5; Muccioli (1999) 238-50.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XVI.9; Plut. *Dion* XXI.1.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. XVI.10; Plut. *Dion* XXVI.1, XXVII-IX.

¹² *Ibid.* XXVIII.2.

the crowd.¹ Dionysius returned to Syracuse upon learning what had happened, in order to discuss the situation with Dion.² Negotiations were entered into, but Dionysius saw the chance to attack from the citadel against Dion's supporters.³ However, this attack was unsuccessful, and Dion's forces were able to force the tyrant's mercenaries to retreat into the citadel.⁴ Dionysius was permitted to bury the dead, eight hundred in number, who were given magnificent burial honours, with purple robes and golden crowns, before leaving a garrison in the citadel.⁵ After continuing negotiations, Dion allowed Dionysius to leave for Italy with mercenaries and property, if he abandoned the citadel. The citizens did not agree with this settlement, and Dionysius left in secret with his valuable possessions, leaving his eldest son Apollocrates with mercenaries to guard the citadel.⁶ Dionysius sent Nysaeus to resupply the mercenaries in the citadel, but the ships were attacked as they were unloading.⁷ Eventually Apollocrates ran out of supplies and abandoned the citadel, taking his family and five boats to head for Dionysius in Italy.⁸ Dion would in time be killed by Callippus with the help of mercenaries in 353.⁹ Callippus was expelled from Syracuse by Hipparinus, another of Dionysius I's children, and killed shortly afterwards at Rhegium in 352, at which point Hipparinus became tyrant.¹⁰ Nysaeus, brother of Hipparinus and one of Dionysius II's half brothers in turn became tyrant in 350.¹¹ In 346, Dionysius, having lost his family to the revenge of the Locrian citizens was able to return and take power in Syracuse briefly by overthrowing Nysaeus.¹² Timoleon's arrival in Sicily coincided with the defeat of Dionysius II by Hicetas in battle, and Dionysius was trapped within the citadel on Ortygia.¹³ Timoleon was allied with the Carthaginians in an attempt to take over Syracuse, and stationed his forces at

¹ Diod. Sic. XVI.10.3 ; Muccioli (1999) 319-21.

² Plut. *Dion* XXIX.7; Diod. Sic. XVI.11.3; Muccioli (1999) 321.

³ Diod. Sic. XVI.11.4, 12; Plut. *Dion* XXX.6-12.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XVI.12; Plut. *Dion* XXX.12.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XVI.13.

⁶ *Ibid.* XVI.17; Plut. *Dion* XXXVII.4; Muccioli (1999) 340-1.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XVI.18; Plut. *Dion* XXXI.1-2; Muccioli (1999) 359-60.

⁸ Plut. *Dion* L.2-3 ; Muccioli (1999) 368.

⁹ Plut. *Dion* LVII.1-4; Plut. *Tim.* I.2.

¹⁰ Plut. *Dion* LVIII.6; Diod. Sic. XVI.36.5.

¹¹ *Ibid.* XVI.36.5.

¹² Plut. *Tim.* I.4, XIII.10; Athen. *Deip.* 541c-e; Muccioli (1999) 401-2.

¹³ Plut. *Tim.* IX.3; Muccioli (1999) 425.

Tauromenion.¹ Hicetas was defeated by Timoleon, and Dionysius in despair offered to surrender the citadel to him.² Dionysius was allowed to leave for Corinth with his treasure and friends, but left his mercenary force and armaments behind for Timoleon.³ Dionysius would die in poverty soon afterwards, and lived on as a moral tale.⁴

3.4) Ancient Sources

The evidence which survives about Dionysius I and II is mostly anecdotal, with the exception of the relevant surviving chapters of the universal historian of the first century, Diodorus Siculus.⁵ Diodorus' *Bibliotheca* is the only narrative history of Dionysius I which survives, and covers the beginning of his reign significantly better than the end. Diodorus is believed by scholars to incorporate a combination of earlier historians into his work. Philistus was an advisor to both Dionysius I and II, and his historical style was well regarded in antiquity.⁶ His *Sikelika* covered Sicilian history to his death during the reign of Dionysius II. His four books on Dionysius I were particularly detailed, due in part to his role as commander of the citadel of Ortygia for much of Dionysius I's career, which meant that he was an eyewitness for many events. Other writers on Sicilian history of this period appear to have depended on Philistus heavily. Ephorus and Theopompus also wrote on Sicilian history of the time, and Diodorus certainly used them both, though to what extent remains debated.⁷ Timaeus of Tauromenion wrote a *Sicilian History* in 38 books, to the death of Agathocles, and appears to have been heavily critical of both Dionysius I and II.⁸ Timaeus lived during the third century, and was expelled from Tauromenion by Agathocles (whom he despised) and probably spent his exile in Athens.

¹ Plut. *Tim.* XI.5.

² *Ibid.* XIII.

³ *Ibid.* XIII.5-9.

⁴ *Ibid.* XIII-XIV.

⁵ Diodorus came from Agyrium in Sicily.

⁶ Philistus was regarded on a par as an historian with Thucydides by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cicero and Quintilian. *BNP* s.v. 'Philistus'

⁷ Ephorus *FGrH* 70; Theopompus *FGrH* 115.

⁸ *BNJ* s.v. Timaeus [2] contains a good bibliography for Timaeus, but not Baron's forthcoming work.

Many other works cover the Dionysii in passing, notable amongst which are Plutarch's *Life of Dion* and *Life of Timoleon*, which feature both tyrants but refer to Dionysius II more frequently. Plato's Seventh and Eighth Letters deal with his time in Sicily, and their authenticity (particularly that of Letter Seven) has been hotly debated.¹ Other evidence is mostly found in fragmentary form, via writers such as Athenaeus, and this anecdotal evidence is best collected in Berve's *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*.² Much of the anecdotal material that survives is derogatory in its nature.

We have no known inscriptions from Sicily concerning the Dionysii, but three inscriptions were found in Athens relating to the tyranny. The first dates from 393 and is a standard form of honorary decree for Dionysius I.³ The other two are dated towards the end of Dionysius I's reign, when Athens and Dionysius came to a formal peace following Sparta's defeat at Leuctra.⁴ The primary interest in these inscriptions is that they refer to Dionysius I as the *Archon* of Sicily, a title by which he is not referred to anywhere else.⁵ Rhodes and Osborne's *Greek Historical Inscriptions 404-323 BC* remains the best work to consult the three Athenian inscriptions concerning Dionysius I, with historical and stylistic commentary.⁶

3.4.1) Xenophon

Xenophon's interest in tyranny is acute compared to his near contemporaries. He seems to have a clear idea of what a tyrant is in his historical writings, but also plays with the idea in dialogue form in the *Hieron*.⁷ Xenophon notes when Dionysius became tyrant in Syracuse, using the verb τυραννεύω.⁸ Later, Xenophon links Dionysius Dionysius in his narrative with Lycophron of Pherae (a relative, possibly father of Jason of Pherae) and the 'thirty tyrants' of Athens, perhaps trying to make a historiographical

¹ Letters seven and eight are considered genuine Platonic works by many scholars. Levison, Morton and Winspear (1968) gives a good overview of previous scholar's work on the authenticity of the letters. Schofield's (2000) 299f is an up-to-date bibliography on the issue.

² Berve (1967).

³ *GHI* 11.

⁴ *GHI* 33, 34.

⁵ Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 51.

⁶ Rhodes & Osborne (2003).

⁷ See Lewis (2004) for a vital study of Xenophon's interpretation of Euphron of Sicyon in the *Hellenica*.

⁸ Xen. *Hell.* II.2.24.

point about the rise of tyranny as a form of government in the wake of Sparta's victory in the Peloponnesian War.¹ Once this has happened, Dionysius and his son are referred to by name without any title, which could be interpreted as a change in status towards a legitimate power, but more likely Xenophon felt the appellation unnecessary for future use, as he does not begin to use another title. Xenophon's scope in the *Hellenica* limits Dionysius to an outside role, only noting his accession, his aid to Sparta and the succession of Dionysius II.²

3.4.2) Philistus

Philistus was an aristocratic Syracusan, who first appears in Diodorus' account offering to pay the fine for Dionysius I's transgressions in the Syracusan assembly.³ Philistus acted as a significant member of the inner circle for both Dionysius I and II, in the capacity of garrison commander and admiral, until his death at sea attempting to bring aid to Dionysius II who was trapped in the citadel in Syracuse by Dion.⁴

Philistus wrote a history of Sicily in thirteen volumes, from mythical times to the time of Dionysius II in 363/2.⁵ The fragmentary remains of Philistus' history make it difficult to be certain how much of his own portrayal of Dionysius is preserved.⁶ The surviving literature attributed to Philistus has immense contemporary value, as Philistus was considered a *philotyrannotatos*, and as such is a valuable asset to our understanding of tyranny and its representation in this period.⁷ His reputation as a historian was high in antiquity, in spite of his stance on tyranny, particularly in the Roman period.⁸

Scholarship on Philistus is not extensive because only seventy-six fragments of his work remain, of which a considerable number are preserved by Stephanus' geographical

¹ Xen. *Hell.* III.2.19-20.

² Xen, *Hell.* II.2.24, III.2.19-20, VI.2.33, VII.1.28, 4.12; Marchant & Underhill (1906) 172-3.

³ Diod. Sic. XIII.91.4.

⁴ Plut. *Dion* XI.5, XXXV; Diod. Sic. XIV.8.4-6.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIII.103.3, XV.89.3. The final part of the reign of Dionysius II was completed by Athanas. Diod. Sic. XV.94.4.

⁶ Sanders (1987) 43-71. See also Sanders (1981).

⁷ Plut. *Dion* XXXVI.3.

⁸ Dion. Hal. *Epist. ad Cn. Pompeium Geminum* 5; Cic. *De Or.* II.57; Quint. *Inst.* X.1.74.

lexicon. Laquer's *RE* article is largely superseded, but remains a useful reference point.¹ The unpublished PhD thesis by Folcke explores the relationship between Philistus and the tyranny, and remains a useful work.² Pearson's work on occidental Greek historians covers Philistus in its examination of Sicilian history, but suffers from an antiquated approach to fragmentary studies.³ Sanders' work covers Philistus' role in the context of Dionysius' tyranny, with a lengthy investigation of his role in the tyranny and Philistus' style and political stance.⁴ Sordi's article also links Philistus to the Dionysian political project.⁵

The fragments which we can be reasonably sure of originating from Philistus prove interesting with respect to oracles and portents. The positive omen of bees surrounding the head of Dionysius' horse as it crossed the river and the mother of Dionysius dreaming of giving birth to a satyr, are both notable examples.⁶ The dream of the Satyr is the only contemporary connection of Dionysius to the god Dionysus, and is interpreted in various ways.⁷ Caven suggests this may be the reason Dionysius received his name from his father.⁸ Lewis notes that both of these myths have a very early and probably contemporary genesis.⁹ Aeschines states how Demosthenes compared him to Dionysius, recalling the dream of the Sicilian priestess.¹⁰ Cicero claims the mother's dream of the Satyr came directly from Philistus.¹¹

While it cannot be certain how much of Philistus is left in the passage, it is generally accepted that Philistus lies behind the passage in Diodorus in which Dionysius helps to

¹ Laquer (1938).

² Folcke (1973).

³ Pearson (1987) 19-30. This is not to say that Pearson was unaware of the problems of the Volquardian study of Diodorus. See Pearson (1984).

⁴ Sanders (1987) 43-71.

⁵ Sordi (1990).

⁶ Philistus *FGrH* 556 F57a, F58.

⁷ Stroheker (1958) 177 claims this story was intended to put Dionysius' birth in the company of men such as Cypselus and Peisistratus. Caven (1990) 235 suggests that Philistus created this in opposition to the negative story of the woman of Himera of Timaeus. *Val. Max.* I.7.6. Sanders also claims this. Sanders (1987) 52.

⁸ Caven (1990) 19.

⁹ Lewis (2000) 100-101.

¹⁰ Aesch. 2.10.

¹¹ Cic. *De Div.* I.39.

build the *epipolae* wall.¹ Worth noting is the appearance alongside Dionysius of his *Philoï*, which may be a Hellenistic concept anachronistically applied by Diodorus (or possibly Timaeus). The passage highlights that this was an uncommon event, by stating clearly that Dionysius lay aside the dignity of his rank, and as such, this public display was, if not unprecedented, then uncommon.

3.4.3) Timaeus

We know little about Timaeus of Tauromenion as an individual, but we are fortunate to have ample testimony about his work, and a large number of surviving fragments. Timaeus was born to Andromachus who according to Diodorus founded the settlement of Tauromenion in 358/7.² Timaeus was born at some point in the middle of the third century, and survived until the outbreak of the First Punic War in 264.³ Timaeus was banished by Agathocles and spent fifty years in exile at Athens.⁴ His works included a list of Olympic Victors⁵, an historical work covering Sicilian matters down to the death of Agathocles⁶, and a work on Pyrrhus of Epirus.⁷

Baron's *Timaios of Tauromenion and Hellenistic Historiography* is a much deeper analysis of Timaeus than Pearson's 1987 work.⁸ Baron's work is also a much needed update of Brown's corpus of Timaeian fragments, including new fragments, and has become the definitive monograph.⁹ Vattuone has been responsible for a considerable amount of work on Timaeian fragments across a number of articles, chapters and monographs, attempting to undo the narrow style of *Quellenforschung* undertaken by Volquardsen and Jacoby.¹⁰

¹ Diod. Sic. XIV.18; Caven (1990) 2, 89.

² Diod. Sic. XVI.7.1; Baron (2013) 17-18.

³ Luc. *Macr.* 22.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XXI.17.1; Polyb. *Hist.* XII.15d, 15h. Brown (1958) 2-6 suggests that Timaeus was in Athens before Agathocles came to power. Baron (2013) 18-22 is useful summation of the discussion.

⁵ Polyb. XII.11.1-2, 10.4; Diod. Sic. V.1.3.

⁶ *Suda* s.v. 'Timaios'; see Baron (2013) 28-38.

⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I.6.1; Cic. *Fam.* V.12.2; Polyb. XII.4b.1.

⁸ Baron (2013); Pearson (1987).

⁹ An update to Brown (1958).

¹⁰ Vattuone (2001), (2002), (2004); Volquardsen (1868); *FGrH* 556. See also *BNJ* s.v. 'Timaeus'.

3.4.4) Duris

Duris, in many respects, is the vital crux between the fourth century and the Hellenistic period, having lived through the fall of the Persian Empire and into the age of the successors. We know little about his life.¹ Of particular importance is the fact that Duris became tyrant of Samos, because his fragmentary histories offer near-contemporary commentary on tyrants.² As well as writing about Dionysius of Syracuse in his *History*, which ranged in date from the death of Amyntas III of Macedon in 370 to the death of the Successor Lysimachus in 281, he also wrote a contemporary history of Agathocles.³ He also wrote a local history of Samos and other works on Greek tragedy, customs and Homeric problems.⁴

Of interest for this thesis is his consistent rumination on luxury, because of which scholars often consider his work as moralising in tone.⁵ Once considered an originator of tragic history, as well as a peripatetic, both of these positions have fallen under heavy criticism recently.⁶

While Duris may have a particular moral fascination with luxury and its corrupting processes, this does not mean that we ought to dismiss his evidence as untrustworthy. I have already noted his apparent accuracy in describing Dionysius as wearing a gold crown, whereas later writers consider him to have erroneously worn a diadem in the Hellenistic fashion.⁷ As Spawforth's enlightening discussion of Ehippus proves, just because the author has a particular interest in forwarding an agenda does not mean the evidence considered has no basis in fact.⁸

¹ See Landucci Gattinoni (1997) 9-38 and *BNJ* s.v. 'Duris'.

² Dalby (1991).

³ Diod. Sic. XV.60.6. It is referred to in antiquity variously as the *Hellenic History*, the *Macedonica* and the *Histories*.

⁴ For Duris' other works see Duris *FGrH* 76 F27-34.

⁵ Kebric (1978) 20-22.

⁶ Pownall (2013).

⁷ *Ibid.* 44; Cic. *Att.* 6.1.18.

⁸ See introduction.

Duris is one of our main sources for seeing a continuity of Persian influence on Greek rulers from the classical world through to the Hellenistic world. The passage, quoted by Athenaeus, on the clothing of Pausanias, Dionysius and Demetrius, can reasonably be interpreted as showing a growing trend of Persian influence.¹ Duris also showed an interest in the idea of manufacturing political appearance, a relevant theme to Justin's account of Clearchus. His description of Demetrius of Phalerum, and in particular his use of make-up is worth exploring here.²

ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως, τὴν τε τρίχα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ξανθίζόμενος καὶ παιδέρωτι τὸ πρόσωπον ὑπαλειφόμενος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλείμμασιν ἐγχείων ἑαυτὸν· ἠβούλετο γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ἰλαρὸς καὶ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν ἡδὺς φαίνεσθαι.³

[Demetrius] oversaw his appearance, both yellowing his hair of his head and painting his face with rouge, and anointing himself with other oils, for he wished to appear merry in his visage and pleasant to his audience.

Duris appears to be particularly concerned with pointing out the hypocrisy of Demetrius' public appearance and private conduct, and part of his deception is his physical appearance.⁴

3.4.5) Diodorus Siculus

Important work on Diodorus before the advances of the late 1980s was done by Volquardsen in his 1868 dissertation.¹ Volquardsen was responsible for the *Lex*

¹ Duris *FGrH* 76 F14; Pownall (2013) 49.

² Intriguingly, Aelian uses very similar terms to describe Demetrius Poliorcetes, which suggests he may have attributed the passage to the wrong Demetrius. Aelian *Var. Hist.* IX.9. Perhaps this is telling in its own way that Demetrius' reputation for flamboyant dainty presentation resulted in the anecdote being attached to him, suggesting the image created by Duris in his history was more widely circulated.

³ Duris *FGrH* 76 F10.

⁴ Pownall (2013) 45-6; Green (1991) 46-7. Pownall makes an interesting point in her commentary to Duris *BNJ* 76, noting that Duris puns on Demetrius' official title in Athens (ἐπιμελητής) by stating that he was 'attentive to his appearance' (ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως). Diod. Sic. XVIII.74.3, XX.45.2. That this sort of manipulation of public appearance was being commented upon at the beginning of the Hellenistic period suggests that Justin's comment on Clearchus' make-up has near contemporary roots. A tempting suggestion to make is that Duris may have influenced Pompeius Trogus in this regard, but this is unprovable. The implication is that Clearchus perhaps pre-empted a Hellenistic mode of presentation, utilising cosmetics to augment public reaction to the ruler.

Volquardsen method of Diodoran scholarship, which claimed that Diodorus copied large chunks of now fragmentary historians, and a change in topic within the text signified a change in who Diodorus was copying from.² Jacoby's *RE* chapter on Diodorus continued with Volquardsen's method.³ Meister undertook a specific analysis of Diodorus' Sicilian material in his dissertation nearly one hundred years later.⁴ Pearson's work remains a good starting point for extrapolation of Diodorus' Sicilian narrative, but often strays into assumption in its *Quellenforschung*, as Baron notes.⁵ Vattuone's work was integral in moving the study of Diodorus away from the antiquated methods of Volquardsen.⁶ Sacks' book *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* was primarily responsible for the current reinterpretation of Diodorus as an historian in his own right, which remains the scholarly impetus.⁷ Stylianou's recent historical commentary on Diodorus book fifteen, based on an earlier PhD thesis, is a helpful resource, but suffers for not including recent scholarship.⁸ Hau's recent work has made the case that Diodorus was more than a copier of texts, and ought to be seen as more of a collator and collector of works.⁹

Diodorus notes Clearchus' accession, claiming he followed the example of Dionysius in founding a tyranny: indeed apparently modelling the tyranny on the Dionysian example.¹⁰ Diodorus also omits Satyrus from the regime entirely, claiming Timotheus followed his father immediately upon his death, for fifteen years.¹¹ Of interest is that Diodorus uses the verb ἄρχω to describe Timotheus' rule, rather than the very explicit use of τυραννίς for Clearchus' seizure of power. This could be interpreted as Diodorus claiming that Timotheus had achieved a sense of legitimacy, but Diodorus returns to

¹ Volquardsen (1868).

² Baron (2013) 28.

³ Jacoby (1903).

⁴ Meister (1967).

⁵ Pearson (1987); Baron (2013) 29.

⁶ E.g. Vattuone (1983), (1991), (2002).

⁷ Sacks (1990).

⁸ Stylianou (1998).

⁹ Hau (2009); Wiater (2006).

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XV.81.5.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. XVI.36.3.

using tyranny explicitly when describing the accession of Dionysius.¹ The language used is similar describing Dionysius' death, and the accession of Clearchus and Oxathres, whom Diodorus interprets as ruling together entirely without Amastris.²

Diodorus calls Mausolus the dynast of Caria, distancing him from his role as Satrap.³ Interestingly, Diodorus uses very similar language to describe the transition of rule from Mausolus to Artemisia as he does for Timotheus inheriting Heraclea from Clearchus: τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν διαδεξαμένη.⁴ The accession of Idrieus is described in similar terms, as is Ada and Pixodarus' accession.⁵ That Diodorus calls the entire Hecatomnid family 'dynasts' suggests a sense of legitimate rule, perhaps as they were a local power before becoming Persian client rulers. Diodorus does not call them satraps, and can be considered to have believed the Hecatomnids to be a client power of the Achaemenids.

Dionysius I is presented starkly in his first mention, as Diodorus immediately states he will later become tyrant.⁶ His military abilities are highlighted during his election to the board of generals, perhaps suggesting that his military appointment ought not to be surprising.⁷ Diodorus describes Dionysius' wish to gain sole power of the generalship by using the verb *περίσθημι*, which could be interpreted (as Oldfather has translated it) in the sense of clothing oneself with power, rather than the literal meaning it can possess in other circumstances.⁸

3.4.6) Modern Literature

The Dionysii of Syracuse have typically been under-represented in classical scholarship. Stroheker's monograph from 1958, *Dionysios I: Gestalt und Geschichte des Tyrannen*

¹ *Ibid.* XVI.88.5.

² *Ibid.* XX.77.1.

³ *Ibid.* XVI.36.2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.* XVI.45.7, 69.2, 74.2.

⁶ *Ibid.* XIII.75.9, XIII.96.4.

⁷ *Ibid.* XIII.92.1-2.

⁸ e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* VII.5.41, where the verb is used for Cyrus positioning guards around him. Diod. Sic. XIII.92.2.

von Syrakus remains influential, particularly in its interpretation of Dionysius as a monarch rather than a tyrant.¹ Stroheker considered Dionysius I's self-presentation as an integral part of his power, as well as his relationship to contemporary political theory. Stroheker was also prepared to dismiss much of the evidence of negative portrayals of the tyrant, such as the speech of Theodorus. Berve's entries for Dionysius I and II in *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* from 1967 remain the first port of call for the primary evidence.² Oost wrote an article entitled 'The Tyrant Kings of Syracuse' following this tradition in 1976, arguing that both the Deinomenids and Dionysii saw themselves as kings.³ This has proven difficult to uphold and few scholars defend Oost's theory, at least in regard to the Dionysii. The heyday of scholarship on the Dionysii was the period 1987-90, where two important monographs emerged: *Dionysius I of Syracuse and Greek Tyranny*⁴ and *Dionysius I: War-lord of Sicily*.⁵ Sanders' book, whilst making some interesting points about Dionysius and the narrative found in Diodorus, ultimately engages in *Quellenforschung* in too much depth.⁶ It remains an important book due to its collation of useful references often not found discussed elsewhere, and for the fact that Sanders takes the eastern pretensions of the Dionysii seriously. Caven's work remains the best narrative history of Dionysius I and the military aspects of the regime, the wars with Carthage and the territorial expansion into Italy. Caven's interpretation of Dionysius as a champion of Hellenism against Carthage in the mould of a heroic military leader differs from that of Stroheker and Sanders. Prag's article is in this respect a rejection of Caven's idealistic interpretation of Dionysius' Hellenism, claiming that the use of Carthage as an external enemy was a cynical method of retaining power in Sicily.⁷ Sordi's collection of articles on Dionysius was collated into a single book, and contains useful approaches to different aspects of the Dionysii.⁸ Sordi also wrote a convincing article concerning the

¹ Stroheker (1958).

² Berve (1967).

³ Oost (1976).

⁴ Sanders (1987).

⁵ Caven (1990).

⁶ Sanders (1987).

⁷ Prag (2010).

⁸ Sordi (1992).

visit of Xenophon to Syracuse referred to in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, believing that Xenophon did visit the court at Syracuse.¹ Muccioli's book on the career of Dionysius II remains the standard work, both as a narrative history, and as an examination of the historiographical tradition.² An edited volume concerning Sicily during the time of the Dionysii had added greatly to the understanding of the territorial empire of the Dionysii, in particular adding to the scholarship on the Adriatic empire.³ Recently an effort has been made by Duncan to consider the self-presentation of Dionysius I in the light of his dramatic interests, arguing for an intentional adoption of kingship in an Athenian style.⁴

3.5) Appearance

3.5.1) Clothing

A description of Dionysius I's outfit can be found preserved in a fragment of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, quoting Duris of Samos;

ὁ δὲ Σικελίας τύραννος Διονύσιος ξυστίδα καὶ χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐπὶ περόνῃ μετελάμβανε τραγικόν.⁵

And Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, adopted a full-length robe and a crown of gold, in addition to a tragic buckle.

The fact that this outfit of Dionysius was purple in colour is attested by another fragment which corroborates Duris' testimony on this matter.

καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Ἱερώνυμον ἀνέπεισεν διάδημά τε ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν διασκευὴν ἣν ἐφόρει Διονύσιος ὁ τύραννος.¹

¹ Sordi (2004).

² Muccioli (1999).

³ Bonacasa et al. (2002).

⁴ Duncan (2012).

⁵ Athen. *Deip.* XII.535f. The quotation recounts a variety of rulers who took to dressing in an eastern fashion, including Pausanias of Sparta, Alexander III of Macedon and Demetrius Poliorcetes. Stroheker (1958) 159. Of note is the terminology used by Duris, with the verb μετελάμβανω used by Thucydides, referring to the adoption of new customs. Thuc. VI.18.3. This usage is also found in Pl. *Resp.* 434a.

He also convinced Hieronymus himself to take up the diadem and the purple and all the other clothing which Dionysius the tyrant displayed.

Baton of Sinope wrote later than Duris of Samos, and the noticeable difference between Duris and Baton's account of Dionysius' clothing is that while Duris makes explicit Dionysius' gold crown, Baton uses the Hellenistic term διάδημά. Duris of Samos is one of the few historians of the ancient world who lived through both the Macedonian campaign and the origins of the Hellenistic kingdoms. It is not an unreasonable assumption to expect Duris to have been aware of the emergence of the diadem as a Hellenistic phenomenon and symbol of royal power.² Therefore, his choice of giving Dionysius a gold crown appears to be correct. Baton in comparison seems to have retrospectively attributed the iconography of Hellenistic kingship to Dionysius: an understandable mistake, but a mistake nonetheless.

Further evidence which suggests the wearing of purple on the part of Syracusan tyrants is Agathocles, who wore purple before declaring himself king of Syracuse in the Hellenistic fashion, and was therefore likely to have done so in imitation of the Dionysii.³

ἀποθέμενος τὴν πορφύραν καὶ μεταλαβὼν ἰδιωτικὴν καὶ ταπεινὴν ἔσθητα
παρήλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον.⁴

¹ Athen. *Deip.* 251e. Baton of Sinope wrote a history of the Syracusan tyrant Hieronymus, the grandson of Hieron II. He wrote during the late third and early second centuries BC. See *BNJ* s.v. 'Baton' for further information on his life and works, which only survive in fragmentary form.

² The earliest use of the term in Greek is to be found in Xenophon. *Xen. Cyr.* VIII.3.13. The diadem had played a role in the regalia of previous regimes, but the diadem only became a widespread symbol of royalty in Hellenistic Greece after Alexander's campaigns against Persia. Fredrickmeyer (1997) 99; Strootman (2007) 371-2. For an up to date bibliography of the various potential origins of the diadem, see Holton (2013) 71-4. The varying kingship acclamations of the successors, Agathocles and the Pontic kings happened during Duris' lifetime. Stroheker (1958) 159.

³ Agathocles declared himself King, apparently in the wake of the Hellenistic kings, in the late 4th century. *Diod. Sic.* XX.54.1.

⁴ *Diod. Sic.* XX.34.3. This Diodorus passage dates from 309, years before Agathocles declares himself King. His coinage corroborates this. Zambon (2006) 80-2 details the transformation of Agathocles' coinage, demarcating a clear transition into a royal image.

Laying aside the purple and adopting the humble clothing of a private man, [Agathocles] came out into the middle.

Nysaeus is also described as wearing an embroidered robe by Theopompus, suggesting similar clothing.

Νυσαῖος ὁ Διονυσίου τοῦ προτέρου υἱὸς κύριος τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις γενόμενος πραγμάτων κατεσκευάσατο τέθριππον καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ποικίλην ἀνέλαβεν.¹

As Nysaeus, son of Dionysius the first, became master of affairs in Syracuse, he equipped a four-horse chariot and assumed embroidered clothing.

The purchase of a Dionysian outfit by Dionysius of Heraclea rules out the possibility of the same robe being worn by successive tyrants, but the cumulative evidence suggests the Dionysii set a precedent of portrayal for the later Syracusan tyrants to follow.²

One possibility for the origin and possible make-up of the Dionysian robe can be found in Pseudo-Aristotle's *On marvellous things heard*, which claims Dionysius I bought a Sybarite robe.³

Ἀλκιμένει τῷ Συβαρίτη φασὶ κατασκευασθῆναι ἱμάτιον τοιοῦτον τῆ πολυτελείᾳ, ὥστε προτίθεσθαι αὐτὸ ἐπὶ Λακινίῳ τῆ πανηγύρει τῆς Ἥρας, εἰς ἣν συμπορεύονται πάντες Ἰταλιῶται, τῶν τε δεικνυμένων μάλιστα πάντων ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζεσθαι· οὗ φασὶ κυριεύσαντα Διονύσιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀποδόσθαι Καρχηδονίοις ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι ταλάντων. ἦν δ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἀλουργές, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει πεντεκαίδεκάπηχυ, ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ διείληπτο ζῳδίοις ἐνυφασμένοις, ἄνωθεν μὲν Σούσοις, κάτωθεν δὲ Πέρσαις· ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ ἦν Ζεὺς, Ἥρα, Θέμις,

¹ Athen. *Deip.* 436a-b.

² Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.5.

³ Pelling (2000); Gorman & Gorman (2007) 47-49.

Ἀθηνᾶ, Ἀπόλλων, Ἀφροδίτη. παρὰ δ' ἑκάτερον πέρασ Ἀλκιμένης ἦν, ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ Σύβαρις.¹

It is said that for Alcimenes of Sybaris was made a cloak of such extravagance that it was displayed in Lacinium for the festival of Hera, at which all Italiots gather, and that it was the most admired of all the exhibits. Of this cloak, it is said that the ruler Dionysius I rendered it to the Carthaginians for one hundred and twenty talents. It was dyed purple, fifteen cubits in length, and each side had been demarcated, woven with small figures; above was Susa, below was Persepolis, and in the middle were Zeus, Hera, Themis, Athena, Apollo and Aphrodite. At each end was Alcimenes, and on each side was Sybaris.

Athenaeus reveals to us the supposed fate of the robe in question: that it ended up in Carthage having been sold by Dionysius I according to Polemon of Ilium.² This robe cannot have been worn on an official basis throughout his reign if Dionysius sold it.³ But we must consider the baffling combination of imagery which the robe possesses, especially if Dionysius found it interesting enough to warrant having it for himself.⁴ Attempts have been made to emend the text found, with the readings *souson* and *peiraia* (lily and peach) instead of Susa and Persia, which are unnecessary emendations.⁵ The more important question is what the myth of the Cyprica, Achaemenid buildings and Alcimenes himself along with the personification of Sybaris are doing portrayed on a garment together. Jacobsthal suggests the garment may refer to Alcimenes' career; that it was an autobiographical item, and he may have travelled

¹ Pseudo-Arist. *De Mirab.* 96.

² Athen. *Deip.* 541b. Polemon wrote about the Sybarite garment in 'A Treatise concerning the Sacred Garments at Carthage' according to Athenaeus.

³ There is reason to doubt the sale of the robe, because it was claimed to be seen by Polemon in the early second century, whereas Polemon's approximate lifespan was from 220 to 160 BC. *BNP* s.v. 'Polemon'. This leaves well over a century when the robe was unaccounted for, and the sale by Dionysius could be a later fabrication. If it was sold, perhaps it was sold at the same time as the purchase by the tyrants of Heraclea, when Dionysius II was removed from power. Jacobsthal (1938) 205-6.

⁴ Briant points out that the first written description of Persepolis is not found in Greek literature before Alexander's expedition. Briant (2002) 208; Diod. Sic. XVII.70.

⁵ Eisler (1910) 35.

to Persia.¹ This would go some way to explaining the dedication of the garment to Hera Lacinia. We ought not to rule out that the item could also represent the sort of luxury trend displayed by Athens in the fifth century, when luxury items of Persian origins became status symbols.² A passage of Polybius claims that one of the Dionysii (whether it is I or II is unspecified, but I is more likely) continually discussed the properties of woven robes, and the intricate nature of the inwoven figures would certainly fit this description of the tyrant's interests.³

One might be sceptical of such an outfit being described in a long catalogue of luxurious clothing worn by autocrats, but interestingly enough the fragmentary history of Memnon of Heraclea, preserved in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, suggests that such an outfit existed beyond invented luxuries.

Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Διονυσίου πᾶσαν ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ Σικελίας τυραννήσαντος αὐτὸν ἐπῆλθε ἐξωνήσασθαι, τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνου διαφθαρείσης.⁴

And [Dionysius] came to buy himself all the equipment of Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, whose rule had been broken.

If Memnon is correct, Dionysius of Heraclea Pontica most likely bought the outfit after Dionysius II was forced out of Syracuse for a second time, due to Dionysius II's apparent possession of the 'royal possessions' according to Diodorus.⁵

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν Διονύσιος τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν μισθοφόρων ἀπέλιπενφυλάξοντες τὴν ἄκραν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐνθήμενος τὰ χρήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλικὴν κατασκευὴν ἔλαθεν ἐκπλεύσας καὶ κατῆρεν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.¹

¹ Jacobsthal (1938) 214.

² Miller (1997). Sybaris' reputation as a haven of luxury may add to this interpretation. See Gorman & Gorman (2007).

³ Polyb. XII.24.3.

⁴ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.6.

⁵ Henry suggests Dionysius would have bought it in a personal capacity before he became sole ruler of Heraclea, but as he was joint ruler with his brother Timotheus we need not specify when exactly. Henry (1952) 54 n.2.

After this Dionysius left the best of the mercenaries to guard the citadel, whilst he loaded his riches and the royal possessions [in a boat], and in secret sailed out and made port in Italy.

Of obvious importance here is to what extent κατασκευὴν and ἐπισκευὴν can be synonymous or apply to one another. κατασκευὴν (or βασιλικὴν κατασκευὴν) only has one appropriate sense of translation given the attribution of πᾶσαν. This is concerning assets in the general sense, equivalent to furnishing, fittings, and equipment. Diodorus clearly means that Dionysius II left with everything of value that he could take with him, and by nature of its portability, clothing is almost certain to be included amongst the meaning.²

Memnon uses very similar vocabulary to describe the Clearchid acquisition: a πᾶσαν construction. But ἐπισκευὴν, on the other hand is confusing, as with so much in Photius' epitome. We remain unsure whether Memnon used the word, or if Photius inserted it into the epitome as ἐπισκευὴν is not found in the rest of Photius' *Bibliotheca*. It is often used in Classical and Hellenistic texts with a technical idea in mind, usually to do with repairs or fortification. In particular authors use it to describe static objects, rather than Diodorus' term which incorporates the premise of mobility.³ Without the preposition in neuter a device or utensil was typical Byzantine use. Neither seems quite appropriate for Memnon's sentence. A more likely source for the word is the verb σκευάζω, which amongst its meaning possesses various connotations to do with clothing. It can be used in a variety of ways relating to covering someone or something as a concept. Aristophanes uses the verb with the implication of deceit, such as 'playing the eunuch' in *Acharnians*, and Cleisthenes' disguise in

¹ Diod. Sic. XVI.17.2

² Th. I.10, Hdt.II.44, IX.82 are representative.

³ Polyb. VI.17.2 is characteristic of the usage.

Thesmophoriazusae.¹ Xenophon also uses the verb in the *Anabasis* to describe dressing a dancing girl, with the implication of making her look her best.² Plutarch describes the aristocrats fleeing Rome dressed as slaves with the same terminology in the *Life of Caesar*.³

Memnon's use was most likely meant with clothing in mind. The compound with ἐπι may be an explicit indication that Dionysius of Heraclea bought the *public* outfit and paraphernalia of the Syracusan tyrants. The uses of varying words deriving from σκευάζω referring to not only the process of dressing, but the public aspect of disguise and dressing well, must be considered the most likely possibility for Memnon's description. This would also fit completely with the previous sentence; that Dionysius had not only become wealthy, but had a love of conspicuous display in the same manner as his father Clearchus.⁴ If he had bought the furniture or equipment of the Dionysii, he would have kept it in the citadel rather than for the purpose of displaying it. On top of this, the ancient evidence states that Timoleon was able to capture Dionysius' equipment stores, but that Dionysius was able to escape from Ortygia with his personal effects.⁵

οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται παρέλαβον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ τυραννεῖα μετὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῶν χρησίμων πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον· ἵπποι τε γὰρ ἐνήσαν οὐκ ὀλίγοι καὶ πᾶσα μηχανημάτων ἰδέα καὶ βελῶν πλῆθος· ὀπλων δ' ἀπέκειντο μυριάδες ἑπτὰ τεθησαυρισμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ. στρατιῶται δὲ δισχιλίοι τῷ Διονυσίῳ παρήσαν, οὓς ἐκεῖνος ὡς τᾶλλα τῷ Τιμολέοντι παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ χρήματα λαβὼν καὶ φίλων οὐ πολλοὺς ἔλαθεν ἐκπλεύσας τὸν Ἰκέτην.⁶

¹ Ar. *Ach.*121, where Dicaeopolis jests at the expense of the eunuchs accompanying Pseudabartas, the King's Eye. Ar. *Thesm.* 591 uses the verb in a feminine manner to explain how Cleisthenes was able to be disguised as a woman.

² Xen. *Anab.* VI.1.12.

³ Plut. *Caes.* XXXI.2.

⁴ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.5.

⁵ Contra Burstein (1976) 79 n.112.

⁶ Plut. *Tim.* XIII.3. Also relevant is Diod. Sic. XVI.70.1.

The soldiers therefore took over the acropolis and the citadel along with the equipment and the utilities for the war; for there were horses not few in number and all forms of siege weaponry and a great number of missiles, and armour for seventy thousand had been stored for a long time. Also with Dionysius were two thousand soldiers, these men and the rest he surrendered to Timoleon, as [Dionysius] with his riches and few of his friends sailed in secret from Hicetas.

As discussed earlier, Diodorus claims that Dionysius took more than only riches from the citadel with him into exile, and Timoleon cannot have taken possession of these items, as Burstein claims.¹ Dionysius II in all likelihood must have taken similar items with him when he was first expelled from Syracuse by Dion.² It is worth bearing in mind that Dionysius II was the son of Doris, the wife his father had taken alongside Aristomache from Syracuse. Locris had been part of Dionysius I's *arche* due to this marriage, and had received preferential treatment from the tyranny over its neighbouring cities.³ As part of his display of power, it is very likely he continued to dress in the same way, in order to portray himself as the son of the ruler who had made Locris the strongest city in southern Italy.⁴ It is not a leap of logic to assume Dionysius II took up his father's style of dress upon his accession to the Syracusan tyranny.⁵ The date of Dionysius coming to power in Heraclea Pontica coincides with Dionysius II's surrender of the Ortgyia citadel to Timoleon in 344.⁶ Dionysius succeeded Satyrus with his brother Timotheus as tyrant of Heraclea Pontica in 337/6, so this would fit with Dionysius II's final exile to Corinth. Dionysius appears to have been allowed to leave with his private possessions, so perhaps Dionysius was bought

¹ Diod. Sic. XVI.17.2; Burstein (1976) 79 n.112.

² Plut. *Dion.* XXXVII.2

³ Diod. Sic. XIV.44.6-7 for the marriage. See Diod. Sic. XIV.108.2-3 for Dionysius I's attitude towards Locris and its neighbouring territory.

⁴ The evidence for Dionysius' time as ruler of Locris is patchy, but based on the year of his return to Syracuse he had been in power in Locris for just under ten years. At some point the citizens of Locris were enraged enough at the tyrant to kill his wife (and half-sister) Sophrosyne and their children. Plut. *Tim.* XIII; Athen. *Deip.* 541c-e. Caven (1990) 219 dates this to the point when Dionysius returns to Syracuse in 346. The implication is that to start with Dionysius was accepted by the Locrians and over time the relationship soured.

⁵ The dress style recorded of Agathocles and Hieronymus above reinforces the notion of Dionysius II's likely dress. Stroheker (1958) 159-60.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XVI.70.1.

the robe by his uncle Satyrus, or bought it upon his accession as a fitting outfit for a tyrant to wear, especially given the likelihood that he was named after the previous owner.¹

It is difficult to conclude whether there is Syracusan 'regalia' based on the above evidence. What is clear is that Dionysius I's style of dress proved influential. The Sybarite gown, if truly sold to Carthage, can be ruled out as the gown which ended up in Heraclea. Dionysius most likely possessed many outfits based along the line of the theatrical outfit mentioned by Duris and Baton, and the Clearchid tyrants must have ended up with one, or some of these. The chronology of the end of the Dionysii and the rule of the Clearchids is hard to break down, and the purchase should be taken seriously. Agathocles and Nysaeus, based upon the testimony of Diodorus and Theopompus, wore an outfit similar to but not identical to that which Dionysius I wore. The effect of this dress style was no doubt intended to be the same.

A notable passage, which has had too little discussion, is found in Polybius concerning Timaeus' attitude towards judgement.² Sadly, as with many such anecdotes, which Dionysius (I or II) is meant has been lost to time.³

τὸν δ' αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ... τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ τυρράνου κλινοκοσμοῦντος καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑφασμάτων ιδιότητος καὶ ποικιλίας ἐξεργαζομένου συνεχῶς.⁴

And in the same manner... Dionysius the tyrant in his management of dining couches and frequent [discussion] on the properties and embroidery of woven robes.

¹ Satyrus was the brother of Clearchus, the first tyrant of Heraclea Pontica, and the uncle of Dionysius and Timotheus. Satyrus acted as the brother's guardian and ruled in their stead until Timotheus was old enough to rule. See section 4.3.

² Baron (2013) 413.

³ Jacobsthal (1938) 205 interprets the passage to refer to Dionysius I.

⁴ Polyb. XII.24.3. There is a lacuna in the text here. The interpretation of Jacobsthal (1938) 205 in which Dionysius sends 'choice pieces from the Royal collection' is not justified from Diodorus' account.

If, as can be assumed reasonably that Timaeus meant this as a slur, it does not mean we ought to immediately disregard the evidence as flagrantly manufactured.¹ As has been made clear by the collection of evidence concerning the self-presentation of the Dionysii, an interest in robes is understandable. Further evidence of Dionysius' interest in fabrics can be seen in Diodorus' description of the festival tent sent to Olympia, which were interwoven with embroidery.² This also corroborates Dionysius' personality, being personally in control of most aspects of the tyranny. This evidence only adds to the idea that the mode of dress of the Syracusan tyrants was deliberate and discussed seriously, most likely with the council (i.e. Dion, Philistus and the other men in positions of importance in the regime.) Of particular interest here is the notion of ποικιλία, which as well as having the connotation of variety, also suggests a rich and colourful garment.³ As it has been shown we are dealing with more than one outfit between Dionysius and his son, let alone the succession of tyrants following their example, the possibility of this anecdote having some basis in fact is high.

A recent attempt has been made to claim that Dionysius' theatrical attire was an attempt at embodying the qualities of a tragic king, in particular the imitation of Theseus.⁴ That Dionysius had intellectual interests in tragedy, as well as potentially comedy and history, is attested in antiquity. There is a significant possibility that Dionysius wrote plays about his own family. Duncan admits, following Sanders, that Persian royalty may have been an influence on Dionysius' self-presentation, but claims this was based upon the Great King of Aeschylus' *Persians*, rather than any contemporary possibility.⁵ While in some respects it is a plausible theory, Duncan has fallen foul of considering Dionysius' presentation from a mostly Atheno-centric

¹ Jacobsthal (1938) 206 errs in his interpretation of Polybius, as there is no reason to consider link Dionysius' interest in fabric with his play-writing.

² Diod. Sic. XIV.109.1.

³ See above. Athen. *Deip.* 436a-b.

⁴ Duncan (2012).

⁵ Duncan (2012) 153.

viewpoint.¹ By no means was Dionysius' self-presentation entirely intended for Athenian consumption. Indeed, Duncan herself points out that Dionysius went to no such trouble to convince the Syracusan populace of such Athenian tragic qualities.² The interpretation of the scarce Dionysian fragments suggesting Dionysius wrote plays of a contemporary and autobiographical nature stands on shaky ground, as the inclusion of Doris (or according to Tzetzes, Plato) as a character does not necessitate Dionysius appearing in the play.³ If this were the case, it is astounding that none of the critics of Dionysius' work in antiquity (of which there were many) discuss the shockingly innovative inclusion of himself in his own plays.⁴ Another problematic issue is that Dionysius went to great lengths to avoid the title of *Basileus*. Dionysius evidently wanted the image of royal power without the stigma of royal terminology. Duncan does correctly point out that 'Dionysius was appropriating elements of "royal" attire from various sources...'⁵ It is in this context that we must see the theatrical nature of the attire and what it means.

3.5.2) Iconographic Evidence

Sadly we have no surviving iconographic evidence for how the Dionysii represented themselves, but the late evidence of Pseudo-Chrysostom recalls that a statue of Dionysius was preserved because of its perceived similarity to the god Dionysus.⁶

¹ As much of the evidence for Dionysius' presentation abroad comes from Athens, this is understandable, but it is not appropriate to assume that Dionysius was only interacting in such a way with Athens and no other elements of the Mediterranean.

² *Ibid.* 151.

³ *Ibid.* 146-7; Tzetzes *Chil.* V.182-5.

⁴ For the argument which claims Dionysius was the protagonist of F9 & F10, see Seuss (1966) 302-3 and Xanthakis-Karamanos (1980) 153. Duncan (2012) 146-7 is careful to state that this identification is by no means certain.

⁵ *Ibid.* 153.

⁶ In comparison, Dionysius II associated himself with the god Apollo, judging from two pieces of evidence. Plut. *Mor.* 338b records an inscription which states that Dionysius was 'Brought forth from a Dorian mother through union with Phoebus' (Δωρίδος ἐκ μητρὸς Φοίβου κοινώμασι βλαστών). Strabo notes that part of the city of Rhegium destroyed by Dionysius I was rebuilt by his son and renamed Phoebia after Apollo's epithet. Strab. *Geog.* 258; Caven (1990) 242; Stroheker (1958) 245.

οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες κατεκόπησαν, πλὴν ἄρα Διονυσίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ Διονύσου περικειμένων.¹

All the other statues were destroyed, except that of Dionysius I clad in the fashion of Dionysus.

While we have no idea what such a statue might have looked like, the possibility of it looking eastern is not unreasonable, due to Dionysus' mythological eastern origins and travels. The statue could then have been misinterpreted as the god, rather than of Dionysius dressed in an oriental garb. A passage from Philostratus shows that Dionysus had a large variety of possible images:

‘Διονύσου τε μυρία φάσματα τοῖς γράφειν ἢ πλάττειν βουλομένοις, ὧν κἂν μικροῦ τύχη τις, ἤρηκε τὸν θεόν.’²

There are countless appearances of Dionysus for those wishing to draw or sculpt him, such that if he has obtained them even a little, he has grasped the god.

Dionysus could often be found in an eastern garb in literature and iconography. The earliest such description of Dionysus appearing in an eastern style of clothing is from the Homeric *Hymns*, with long and dark waving hair, and wearing a purple robe about his shoulders.³

It has been argued before that Dionysius' mode of presentation was based on the god Dionysus in some shape or form.⁴ This can be dispensed with as an idea. While Dionysius did have theatrical interests, writing plays for performance the idea that his

¹ Dio. Chr. XXXVII.21-2.

² Phil. *Imag.* I.15.2. Lane Fox (1973) 433 suggests that Saffron shoes alone could imply a Dionysian presentation on the part of a ruler.

³ Hom. *Hym Dion.* 7.1-5.

⁴ Sanders (1991); Pace (1917). Muccioli (2013) 31 states that Dionysius was not the recipient of divine honours.

clothing refers to this is an unwarranted assumption I have already touched upon.¹ His name, translating literally from Greek as 'of Dionysus', may have arisen from his mother's dream of giving birth to a satyr (according to Philistus), but this in itself does not confirm that Dionysius utilised this as part of his self-presentation. The story, recalled by Cicero, was intended to demonstrate his future greatness, and apparently nothing more.² Indeed, the items Dionysius was said to bear also do not correspond to portrayals of Dionysus, who wore a crown of ivy and carried a θύρσος.³ Another significant dent in the interpretation of Dionysius as an adherent of Dionysus is his reputation of temperance in antiquity. Aside from the famous anecdote that Dionysius drank himself to death upon winning the Lenaea festival, his reputation was anything but that of a glutton and a drunkard, a common attribution of tyrants.⁴ Cicero, while passing on ridiculing anecdotes, also extols Dionysius' virtues in this respect.⁵ Nepos gives a similar encomium of Dionysius' moderation.⁶ To be included here is Dionysius' own choice of names for his daughters, Sophrosyne, Dikaiosyne and Arete, suggesting 'moderation' as an abstract concept was something that Dionysius aspired to in some way.⁷

3.5.3) Foreign views on the Dionysii

Contemporary views of the Dionysii of Syracuse prove to be instructive regarding how the regime attempted to portray itself to other states. The political situation in Greece during the reign of Dionysius I changed significantly with Athens' loss of the Peloponnesian war to Sparta. Sparta's control over mainland Greece was difficult to maintain without external aid, and the Great King was petitioned for aid which was

¹ See above.

² Cic. *De Div.* I.39; Caven (1990) 19-20, 235-6; Lewis (2000).

³ Phil. *Imag.* I.15; Callistratus, *Ekphra.* 8.

⁴ Caven (1990) 211 points out the highly constructed content. This is one of many reported versions of Dionysius' death. Diod. Sic. XV.74

⁵ Cic. *Tusc.* V.20.

⁶ Nep. *Reg.* 2.2

⁷ Plut. *Mor.* 338c; Sanders (1987) 2.

given, but at a steep price; all the Greek cities of Asia were ceded to Persian control.¹ The Common Peace created resulted in the autonomy of cities, and thus the break-up of hegemonic leagues such as Thebes' Boeotian League.² Orators of the time, in particular Isocrates, denounced the *King's Peace* almost unequivocally, and Dionysius more than once is considered as part of an 'unholy triad' of the Persian king, Sparta, and himself.³ This is not to say that Athens and other states under the Spartan hegemony did not make efforts to conciliate Dionysius, though from such activities we only have evidence of Athens' negotiations with Dionysius. Coincidentally, two of the surviving three inscriptions date from the end of Dionysius' life after Sparta had been defeated by the Theban coalition at Leuctra, which would imply that what bothered Athens most about Dionysius was his relationship to Sparta, and their inability to dent this relationship through diplomacy. Dionysius' consistent alliance with Sparta linked him indelibly to the negative events of the *King's Peace* in 387.⁴ Dionysius actively aided Sparta in the process of blockading Athens from the Hellespont by sending twenty ships to aid Antalcidas under the command of Polyxenus.⁵ This act, more than any other damaged Dionysius politically in mainland Greece. The other dominant view that survives of Dionysius from contemporary times is that of the academy, which consistently produced damning accounts of Dionysius as a model of the unhappy tyrant. Plato's less than successful time in Syracuse was the starting point for the pathetic picture which survives of Dionysius via Athenian comedy and writers of various genres throughout antiquity.⁶

¹ Xen. *Hell.* V.1.31.

² Sparta, somewhat ironically, continued its subjugation of the Messenian Helots until its defeat by Thebes at Leuctra in 371BC.

³ Lys. *Olymp.* 5; Isoc. *Paneg.* 126, *Arch.* 63. The muddled evidence of Ephorus *FGH* 70 F211 claims that Dionysius II and the Persian king intended to divide up Greece between them once Sparta and Athens had been defeated. Muccioli (1999) 228-231.

⁴ On the *King's Peace*, see Cawkwell (1981).

⁵ Xen. *Hell.* V.1.28; Meloni (1949) 190-203.

⁶ The view of Sanders (1987) 9 that there was both a concentrated Dionysian propaganda and an organised Athenian response is too neat a way of describing the organic process of anecdotes about the tyrant circulating.

3.5.4) Olympia

In 388, Dionysius sent a deputation to the Olympic Games under the command of his brother Thearides. It is worth an in depth discussion of the passage from Diodorus:

τῶν δ' Ὀλυμπίων ἐγγυὺς ὄντων ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τέθριππα πλείω, διαφέροντα πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς τάχεσι, καὶ σκηνάς εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν διαχρύσους καὶ πολυτελέσι ποικίλοις ἱματίοις κεκοσμημένας. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ῥαψωδοὺς τοὺς κρατίστους, ὅπως ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τὰ ποιήματα αὐτοῦ προφερόμενοι ποιήσωσιν ἔνδοξον τὸν Διονύσιον· σφόδρα γὰρ εἰς τὴν ποιητικὴν ὑπῆρχε μεμηνώς. τούτων δ' ἐπιμελητὴν συνεξέπεμψε Θεαρίδην τὸν ἀδελφόν· ὃς ἐπεὶ παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ κάλλει τῶν σκηνῶν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν τεθρίππων ἦν περίβλεπτος· ὡς δ' ἐπεβάλονθ' οἱ ῥαψωδοὶ προφέρεσθαι τοῦ Διονυσίου τὰ ποιήματα, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν διὰ τὴν εὐφωσίαν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν συνέδραμε τὰ πλήθη καὶ πάντες ἐθαύμαζον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν κακίαν τῶν ποιημάτων, διεγέλων τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ κατεγίνωσκον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε τινὰς τολμῆσαι διαρπάζειν τὰς σκηνάς. καὶ γὰρ Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ τότε διατρίβων ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ προετρέπετο τὰ πλήθη μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀγῶσι τοὺς ἐξ ἀσεβειῶν τυραννίδος ἀπεσταλμένους θεωροῦς· ὅτε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιακὸν λόγον ἐπιγραφόμενον ἀνέγνω.¹

The Olympic Games being at hand, [Dionysius] sent to the contest many four-horse teams, which considerably surpassed all the others in speed, and tents for the assembly interwoven with gold and embellished with expensive cloth of embroidered colours. And he also sent the best *rhapsodes*, in order that they present his poems in the assembly and bring about honour for Dionysius; for he became exceedingly inspired to poetry. In charge of these things [Dionysius] sent his brother Thearides. When Thearides arrived at the assembly, he was indeed admired by all for the beauty of the tents and the number of four-horse chariots. And when the rhapsodes began to recite the poetry of Dionysius, at first they

¹ Diod. Sic. XIV.109.1-3.

flocked and all marvelled on account of the pleasant voices of the orators. But after reconsidering the badness of the poetry they mocked Dionysius, their judgement against him was so great that some of them ventured to ravage the tents. For at that moment the orator Lysias was spending time at Olympia and urged the crowd not to admit to the sacred gathering those sent as envoys from an unholy tyranny. And at this time he presented his subsequently written Olympic speech.

The event is corroborated by the fact that Lysias' *Olympic Oration* has survived in a fragmentary form.¹ In the speech, Lysias equates Dionysius as a danger to the Greek world, along with the King of Persia, because of his sea power.² While the surviving manuscript does not record whether Lysias incited the crowd as Diodorus claims, Lysias does present Dionysius in a sinister manner.

Perhaps we ought to be sceptical of Diodorus' claim that Dionysius' tent was ransacked as a result of his bad poetry, and we must assume that a combination of Lysias' oratory and the overall deputation struck a nerve amongst the spectators. The tents must have been controversial. For the Greek observers, such a tent was a rarity. The one significant example of such a tent in Greek history before this period is Xerxes' tent captured after Plataea, described in Herodotus.³ Athenians might have been more familiar with such a structure, as Xerxes' tent supposedly formed the architectural model for the *Odeion*.⁴ Euripides' *Ion* may also have conjured images of a luxurious tent, but this would not have been present on the stage beyond a possible backdrop, although it is described in detail.⁵

Lysias' political equation of Dionysius with the Persian king is key for our understanding of the event. Dionysius' tent clearly had eastern connotations, as a

¹ Lys. *Olymp.*

² Lys. *Olymp.* 5.

³ Hdt. IX.82.

⁴ Vitruvius. *De Arch.* V.9.1; Plutarch. *Per.* IX.; Zacharia (2003) 33; Miller (1997) 235-6.

⁵ Euripides. *Ion* 1132-65; Zacharia (2003) 33-9.

deliberate display of wealth and power, which played into Lysias' interpretation.¹ While having a recent tradition of sorts in the Greek world, the tent of Euripides' *Ion* cannot be construed as such a power statement, and in this respect Dionysius must have been playing on the Near Eastern traditions. Lysias may well have spotted this, and used it to his advantage to press the point of his speech home. Diodorus was writing late enough to have been aware of later famous tents, such as the Ptolemaic pavilion described by Athenaeus.²

3.5.5) The Royal Dionysii

One of the significant issues of scholarship on the tyrants of Syracuse is whether or not we ought to see them as kings. Stroheker made the first significant steps of the argument for seeing the Dionysii as kings, and Oost continued Stroheker's line of thought to apply to the majority of the Syracusan rulers.³ Oost's argument derives in part from his claim that *tyrant* and *king* were interchangeable terminology.⁴ The Deinomenids can perhaps be argued to have been kings, as there are passages of contemporary and near-contemporary literature which are hard to dismiss.⁵ However, the evidence for the Dionysii as kings in the same sense is far less convincing. The inscriptions in Athens refer to Dionysius as *Archon* of Sicily, and this was appropriate terminology for the ruler of an island in the fourth century.⁶ Oost admits that the contemporary authors Xenophon and Aeneas Tacticus refer to Dionysius I and II as either tyrant or by their names⁷, and depends almost entirely on a late source tradition

¹ Caven (1990) 144.

² Athen. *Deip* 196a-197c.

³ Stroheker (1958). Oost (1972) & (1974) also argued for interpreting the Cypselid and Orthagorid tyrants as royal. See also Muccioli (1999) 459-70.

⁴ Oost (1976) 225; Parker (1998).

⁵ Hdt. VII.161 has an Athenian messenger call Gelon *Basileus*. Pind. *Ol.* I.23 and *Pyth.* III.70 refers to Hieron I in the same language. Oost (1976) 227-8.

⁶ *GHI* 10, 33, 34. The envoys of Dionysius appear to be involved in the process of the inscriptions in Athens, and also sent at least one letter to the city. Cargill states that Athens used the term *Archon* for the governors of a large island, and calling Dionysius I *Archon of Sicily* corroborates this usage. Cargill (1995) 148. See also the disparaging remark made by Demetrius about Agathocles as τοῦ Σικελιώτου νησιάρχου, or 'lord of the Sicilian isles', which could be interpreted as corroborating Dionysius' titles in the Athenian inscriptions. Plut. *Demetr.* XXV.4.

⁷ Oost (1976) 233 n.40.

tradition in order to claim that the Dionysii were kings in the style of the Deinomenids.¹ Writers treat Dionysius I as royal in later writings because in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, he fits neatly into the post-Alexander tradition. There is simply not enough contemporary evidence to justify calling the Dionysii kings. If one argues for the Dionysian clothing to be a symbol of royalty, as Oost does, this raises more questions than it answers. It is not regalia in the sense of passed down items, and owes very little to the previous or contemporary Greek conception of kingship.²

Diodorus mentions that at the death of Dionysius I, his son buried him by the 'royal gate'.³ It is not mentioned anywhere else, and Diodorus is writing considerably after the events described. Agathocles, Pyrrhus and Hieron II had been kings of Syracuse between the time of the Dionysii and when Diodorus was writing. That the gates acquired a royal epithet is therefore not surprising, in the same way as Baton of Sinope retrospectively gave Dionysius the hallmarks of Hellenistic kingship. We must also consider that the burial happened within Ortygia, as Timoleon had arranged for the populace of Syracuse to destroy 'οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄκραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ μνήματα τῶν τυράννων' (not only the citadel, but also the house and the monuments of the tyrants).⁴ Not only is the royal gate not mentioned, but whatever Diodorus was describing had evidently been destroyed three centuries before. The conservative choice is to discard the royal gates as an apocryphal error.

Caven sums up the issue somewhat bluntly; '[Dionysius] could not be described as a king (*Basileus*), for kingship belonged only in the heroic past, among primitive peoples

¹ A speech by Lysias is the only contemporary evidence which calls Dionysius I *basileus*, and Oost does not deconstruct why Lysias does this in one speech but not others where Dionysius is referred to. Lys. *Andoc.* 6-7. Lewis (1994) 137-8.

² For the qualities of Homeric Kingship, and the nature of the contemporary Greek monarchies in comparison, see Adcock (1953) & Drews (1983). Perhaps the biggest puzzle regarding the political portrayal of the case studies is the lack of an appeal to Homeric rule (beyond arguably the sceptre of Clearchus in Heraclea Pontica) which offered a recognised precedent of rule: a question much too complicated to be addressed here.

³ Diod. Sic. XV.74.5; Muccioli (1999) 118.

⁴ Plut. *Tim.* XXII.2. See Connor (1985) for an examination of house-raiding and its connotations in Ancient Greece.

and barbarians, and in a unique form at Sparta'.¹ A better sense of Dionysius' position and the nature of Syracusan power can be found in the final passage of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, which tellingly echoes the Philistian passage of the wall building at Eripolae:²

τοῦ δὲ δεσπότου ἐπιφανέντος, ὃν Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, ὅστις δύναται καὶ μέγιστα βλάψαι τὸν κακὸν τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ μέγιστα τιμῆσαι τὸν πρόθυμον, εἰ μηδὲν ἐπίδηλον ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἐργάται, ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἀγαίμην, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν ἰδόντες κινηθῶσι καὶ μένος ἐκάστῳ ἐμπέσῃ τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ φιλονικία πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλοτιμία κρατιστεῦσαι ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτον ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν ἔχειν τι ἥθους βασιλικοῦ.³

But Socrates, he said, the appearance of the master in the work that has the greatest power to hinder the bad and honour the eager amongst the workers. If he is not able to make an impression upon the workers, I do not admire this man. But if they have seen him and are moved, and a spirit of rivalry and honour towards the others as well as the desire to excel falls upon each workman, I ought to say that this man has the royal nature.

This is a fascinating passage, which I feel comes closest to how Dionysius wished to portray himself and his regime. Becoming a king would have placed Dionysius into the list of kings which survived the archaic period alongside Sparta and other Peloponnesian cities such as Argos, and at the fringes of the Greek world such as

¹ Caven (1990) 90. See also Braund (2000).

² I am not aware of this particular possibility having been discussed before, but links between the works of Xenophon and Philistus have been put forward before. Folcke's 1973 Dissertation 'Dionysius and Philistus' (for some reason often ignored in Dionysian scholarship) claims that Xenophon's *Agésilas* was heavily influenced by Philistus' Sicilian history, in particular that Agésilas' war preparations are based on Dionysius' war preparations found in Diodorus; a clearly Philistian passage. Folcke (1973) 51-2; Sanders (1987) 2 n.3; Caven (1990) 90 n.18.

³ Xen. *Oec.* XXI.10. The *Oeconomicus* is considered by scholars to be of a later date compared to the rest of Xenophon's catalogue, and could therefore be capable of including reference to Philistus' histories. Pomeroy (1993) 1-8. Delabeque (1957) 368-70. considers the theory that part of the text was written during Xenophon's exile at Scillus, and then finished later. Relevant to the above note, Pomeroy links Xen. *Oec.* XXI.10 to Herodotus' description of Xerxes. Pomeroy (1993) 343.

Macedon, Thrace, Epirus, Cyrene and Cyprus.¹ However, displaying the ἥθους βασιλικοῦ, the 'royal nature', did not mean becoming a βᾰσίλεύς. Xenophon is clear on this, that leading men in a task, or into war, meant acting in the manner of a king, without being a king, clearly distinguished from the δεσπότης. Dionysius' use of royal concepts ought to be seen as taking up a royal nature, along with all the positive connotations which contemporary writers such as Plato and Xenophon associated with Persian kingship. Understandably, later writers could easily mistake Dionysius' self-representation as that of kingship. Dionysius was certainly treading a far more theoretical path than he is given credit for, and was completely in touch with the intellectual paths that were being trodden in the wake of the Peloponnesian War. The virtues of kingship could be assimilated without the inherent stigma to be found with proclaiming oneself king before Hellenistic times. This must be the reason for the lack of the title of King outside of the literary sources. The coins of Syracuse continued to be minted by the city, and in Athens Dionysius was *Archon*. If Dionysius possessed a title in the Syracusan government, it was that of *Strategos Autokrator*.² Where the evidence is manifest with no hindsight or source tradition, Dionysius was not king, and to overturn this is an unsuitable approach.

¹ Adcock (1954) 166-7; Drews (1983) 121, 130; Caven (1990) 90.

² The term *Strategos Autocrator* has proved problematic in Diodorus' usage, as he describes Alexander the Great's position as head of the League of Corinth as such, although other writers use the term *Hegemon*. See Bosworth (1980) 48-49 for an in depth discussion of the terminology involved. Bosworth believes Diodorus has applied the term to Alexander and Philip erroneously. Bosworth's claim that Diodorus uses *Strategos Autocrator* 'as an all-purpose term' dismisses Diodorus' testimony unfairly, even if Diodorus appears to be wrong about the Corinthian league. Bosworth (1980) 49. However, see also the anonymous *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle* which describes Philip's role in the league of Corinth. POxy I.12 = *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle* FGrH 255 F5. In defence of the term's use in a Sicilian context, *Strategos Autocrator* can be found in the Parian Marble to describe Agathocles' rule before Diodorus' use in his histories. The survival of the term in the Parian marble proves the term was applied to Agathocles before Diodorus used it, and therefore for Agathocles and the Dionysii the term is much harder to ignore as the likely position that they occupied within the constitution.

3.6) Accessibility

3.6.1) Public and Private

Upon obtaining the tyranny at Syracuse, Dionysius began preparations to create a new headquarters for the regime in the ancient heart of Syracuse, Ortygia.¹ This was eventually separated from the rest of the city by a gated wall across the isthmus, and the fortress built subsequently combined a palatial structure, with a protected harbour which long afterwards enabled entry and exit to the citadel even during a siege of the city.² The separation of Ortygia from the rest of the city resulted in Dionysius being able to control access to the regime in almost every form, except that of public appearances such as the assembly. The mercenaries granted to him as *strategos autokrator* who owed their privileged position to Dionysius were given housing within Ortygia, a right only otherwise granted to those in favour with Dionysius himself.³

Despite Dionysius' creation of a personal part of Syracuse for his family and soldiers, there were numerous occasions where he took part in public events. The decision to go to war against Carthage in 398 was put forward by Dionysius in the assembly, and suggests that constitutional matters continued under his tyranny with a large degree of normality.⁴ We do not know how often the Syracusan assembly met under Dionysius, but an estimate of once a month unless additional meetings were required is realistic judging by contemporary Greek cities outside of Athens.⁵ Dionysius would not appear in public often if this pattern of assemblies is correct.

¹ Nielsen (1999) 79-80.

² Diod. Sic. XIV.7, *BNP* s.v. 'Syracusae'.

³ Diod. Sic. XIV.7.5; Nielsen (1999) 79.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XIV.45.2. XIV.47.2 claims Dionysius sent a document to Carthage on behalf of the Syracusans. XIV.64.5, XIV.70.3; Loicq-Berger (1967) 476; Caven (1990) 99, 239-40. Also see Lewis (forthcoming) 11-15, which demonstrates that Dionysius made extensive use of the assembly in order to legitimise his decision-making.

⁵ Lewis (forthcoming) 9-10.

One of the most famous passages in Diodorus' account of Dionysius is the building of the wall at Epipolae. This massive building project was supposedly inspired by the Long Walls of Athens, and Dionysius, as well as offering significant rewards for quick work, was on hand to oversee the whole project personally, as well as joining in with the manual labour.¹ The passage is attributed by many to Philistus' *Peri Dionysiou* as creating an extremely positive (and perhaps fabricated) view of the tyrant's relationship with the people of Syracuse.²

καθόλου δ' ἀποθέμενος τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς βάρος ιδίωτην αὐτὸν ἀπεδείκνυε, καὶ τοῖς βαρυτάτοις τῶν ἔργων προσιστάμενος ὑπέμενε τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοπάθειαν, ὥστε πολλὴ μὲν ἔρις ἐγένετο καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἔργοις ἔνιοι προσετίθεσαν καὶ μέρη τῶν νυκτῶν· τισαύτη σπουδὴ τοῖς πλήθεσιν ἐνεπεπτώκει.³

On the whole, [Dionysius] put away the burden of rule and became a private citizen. And approaching the toughest of tasks, lowering himself to the toil of the others, so much rivalry occurred and part of the night's work was added to the deeds of the day, such effort had overtaken the people.

The passage conveniently leaves out any mention of Dionysius' mercenary bodyguard, which can be assumed to have been near to Dionysius, if there is any truth in his personal part in the construction of the wall. Dionysius' approach to military matters generally suggests he may well have overseen the project personally and therefore that the passage may not be much of an exaggeration. Dionysius is described in similar terms by Diodorus during the later construction of war machines, and Pearson sees the same hand behind Diodorus in both these passages.⁴

¹ Diod. Sic. XIV.18.2.

² Caven (1990) 89-90, contra Pearson (1987) 172 who was not certain this was Philistian due to Diodorus' 'peculiarly unattractive style'.

³ Diod. Sic. XIV.18.7.

⁴ If both passages show the same historian, Pearson (1987) 175 suggests Timaeus as the source.

τὴν γὰρ προθυμίαν τό τε μέγεθος τῶν μισθῶν ἐξεκαλεῖτο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν προκειμένων ἄλλων τοῖς ἀρίστοις κριθεῖσι· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων περιπορευόμενος τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ὁ Διονύσιος καθ' ἡμέραν λόγοις τε φιλανθρώποις ἐχρῆτο καὶ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους ἐτίμα δωρεαῖς καὶ πρὸς τὰ συνδείπνια παρελάμβανε.¹

For both the greatness of the wages and the multitude of rewards laid before them called forth the best men who had been chosen for their eagerness. Apart from these things, Dionysius went about those working daily speaking kind words, and he honoured the most eager men with gifts and invited them to his table.

Should the same author be the inspiration behind both passages, it is interesting to note the sense of fraternity with workers and citizens is put forth very strongly, when in reality Dionysius was presumably unapproachable behind a wall of mercenaries, and certainly would have been careful about an unvetted citizen dining at his table in Ortygia.² This is not to say that Dionysius never appeared in public, but that his public appearances were uncommon and carefully managed. Pearson's suggestion of Timaeus as Diodorus' source here does not question this characterisation of Dionysius, which creates a very different picture of the tyrant. It is hard to look past an ultimately Philistian origin for this passage due to the positive imagery involved.

Dionysius rarely appeared in public on political occasions outside of Syracuse. The deputation sent to Olympia was led by Thearides on his behalf, and the political discussions with Athens resulting in inscriptions were led by envoys.³ A *Choregos* in Athens would have arranged Dionysius' successful play, *The Ransom of Hector*, at the *Lenaea* in 367.⁴ The anecdotes concerning Dionysius' death from drinking too much

¹ Diod. Sic. XIV.42.1.

² Diodorus may mean at Dionysius' table at the site of the military works rather than within the Ortygia fortress, but the text does not elucidate exactly what Dionysius' table refers to.

³ Diod. Sic. XIV.109.2, Rhodes & Osborne (2003) 48-49, 161-165.

⁴ The *choregos* was typically a wealthy citizen who produced the play on behalf of a playwright, and would split the winnings if successful. Rehm (2007) 189 gives a good overview of the process involved at

upon hearing of his victory imply strongly that he would have been in Syracuse at the time.¹ Valerius Maximus claims that as Dionysius entered the city of Himera, the populace gathered dutifully on the walls to view his entrance, which could refer to either a military procession or a political display, but the anecdote does not elaborate further on the context.² Ultimately, the only evidence of Dionysius leaving Syracuse once he became tyrant is that of his military campaigns in Sicily and Italy.³

Attempts to reconstruct the layout Ortygia fortress and citadel during the time of the Dionysii can only be conjecture. Once Dionysius II had left Syracuse for the second time, Timoleon allowed the Syracusan populace to destroy the citadel and monuments in Ortygia.⁴ We are left with the literary sources to construct what living in the citadel and Ortygia at the time was like. Diodorus thankfully gives a good description of what Dionysius I had in mind:

θεωρῶν δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὴν Νῆσον ὀχυρωτάτην οὕσαν καὶ δυναμένην ῥαδίως φυλάττεσθαι, ταύτην μὲν διωκοδόμησεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως τείχει πολυτελεῖ, καὶ πύργους ὑψηλοὺς καὶ πυκνοὺς ἐνωκοδόμησε, καὶ πρὸ αὐτῆς χρηματιστήρια καὶ στοᾶς δυναμένας ὄχλων ἐπιδέχεσθαι πλῆθος. ὠκοδόμησε δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πολυτελεῶς ὀχυρωμένην ἀκρόπολιν πρὸς τὰς αἰφνιδίους καταφυγὰς, καὶ συμπεριέλαβε τῷ ταύτης τείχει τὰ πρὸς τῷ μικρῷ λιμένι τῷ Λακκίῳ καλουμένῳ νεώρια· ταῦτα δ' ἐξήκοντα τριήρεις χωροῦντα πύλην εἶχε κλειομένην, δι' ἧς κατὰ μίαν τῶν νεῶν εἰσπλεῖν συνέβαινεν....διέδωκε δὲ καὶ τὰς οἰκίας τοῖς ὄχλοις πλὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ Νήσῳ· ταύτας δὲ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς μισθοφόροις ἐδώρησατο.⁵

the Lenaea festival. Of note is that the *Lenaea* could have a foreign *choregos*, which may mean that Dionysius sent a representative from Syracuse for the purpose.

¹ Diod. Sic. XV.74.

² Val. Max. I.7. ext 6; Lewis (2000) 98. Caven (1990) 192 suggests a date in the late 380's.

³ Worth considering here is the *Hieron* of Xenophon, possibly written by Xenophon with Dionysius in mind. Xenophon may well have been present at Dionysius' court. Athen. *Deip.* 427f; Sanders (1987) 2 n.3. Hieron says to Simonides that he is not able to travel at all for fear that the multitudes will be able to overpower him. Xen. *Hier.* I.12. Sordi (2004) argues that Xenophon spent some time in Sicily during Dionysius' reign.

⁴ Plut. *Tim.* XXII.2. This passage raises many issues; for one whether unskilled townspeople could destroy a fortress with only hand tools. Whether they were razed entirely is another problem. See Connor (1985) 85 for the suggestion that all or part of the foundations were removed.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIV.7.2-3, 5.

And seeing that the most secure part of the city was the island [of Ortygia] and that it was able to be defended easily, he cut it off from the rest of the city by an expensive wall, and built within it high towers close together, and allowed before it places of business and stoas able to hold a multitude of the populace. He built within it an expensive fortified acropolis as a refuge in case of the unforeseen, and included within the wall the dockyards in addition to the small harbour called Laccium. These dockyards could house sixty triremes and had a gate which was barred, so it resulted that only one of the ships could sail through [at a time].... And he distributed the houses amongst the populace, except those upon the island, which he gave to his friends and to the mercenaries.

The effect of this construction was to create gradations of the city, in effect dividing the majority of the populace from any sort of direct access to the tyrant. His mercenaries and supporters were given land and houses close to the fortress, and the people in this category could hope to gain an audience with the tyrant face to face. Family members and guests were allowed to dwell within the grounds of the citadel or possibly the citadel itself; a great honour which allowed the recipient to share the area which the tyrant called his home.

Plato found himself moved through these gradations on the whim of the tyrant, and the evidence is worth looking at in detail. Whilst resident in Syracuse, Plato found himself falling in and out of favour with the tyrant, and his status in Ortygia as a guest changes with this. At one stage he is 'banished' from his accommodation in proximity to the tyrant to live with the mercenaries.¹ In letter seven, Plato says his accommodation was previously in the gardens outside the palace, presumably to enable him to join the tyrant in the citadel when called for.² The gardens were

¹ Pl. *Epis.* VII.349e-350a; Plut. *Dion* XIX.8; Best (1969) 121.

² Pl. *Epis.* VII.347a; Tuplin (1996) 128 n.162.

evidently considered as part of the acropolis and the citadel, or Plato at least understood the citadel to include his garden:¹

καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκπέμπει με, εὐρὼν πρόφασιν ὡς τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῷ κήπῳ, ἐν ᾧ κατώκουν ἐγώ, δεοὶ θῦσαι θυσίαν τινὰ δεχήμερον· ἔξω δὴ με παρ' Ἀρχεδήμῳ προσέταπτεν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μεῖναι.²

And first, he sent me out of the acropolis, finding an excuse that the women had to sacrifice in the garden for ten days in the garden in which I was staying. So he ordered that I should remain outside with Archidemus during that time.

Plato's account suggests that if one was accepted as a guest of the tyrant and included within the citadel grounds, that meeting the tyrant going about his affairs was a possibility.³

Διονύσιος δὲ ἐζήτει λαβεῖν, ἀπορῶν δέ, Θεοδότην μεταπεμψάμενος εἰς τὸν κήπον -ἔτυχον δ' ἐν τῷ κήπῳ καὶ ἐγὼ τότε περιπατῶν.⁴

Dionysius was seeking to receive him, but without discovering him, sent for Theodotes in the garden. I happened to be walking around the garden at that time.

It would appear that once in the echelon of trust within the citadel, the tyrant was approachable. Some of the mercenary bodyguard were presumably close by, but Dionysius walked around and anybody could get close to him. This is in stark contrast to the anecdotal stories about not trusting his barber with a razor, or having a trench around the bed.⁵ Within the acropolis fortress and its gardens, the tyrant felt safe

¹ Tuplin (1996) 128 n.162 ; Nielsen (1999) 79-80.

² Pl. *Epis.* VII.349c-d.

³ Pl. *Epis.* II.313a, II.319a; Tuplin (1996) 128 n.162.

⁴ Pl. *Epis.* VII.348b-c.

⁵ Caven (1990) 232-3.

enough around their companions and guests. Plutarch claims that people wishing to see the tyrant would need to be searched, and that Plato alone was at one point accorded the privilege of not having to be searched.¹ Letter seven suggests that this was not a constant rule, or certainly not in the open areas of the citadel such as the gardens.²

Whilst in favour with Dionysius II, Plato is given a guard of honour; perhaps some of Dionysius' own mercenaries.³ This was, according to Plutarch, designed to keep him trapped, but the attachment of guards to guests should not be dismissed as a possibility.

3.6.2) Household

Aristotle records that Dion made a fascinating comment about the way in which Dionysius organised his affairs within the citadel.

Περσικὰ δὲ ἦν τὸ πάντα ἐπιτάττειν καὶ <τὸ> πάντ' ἐφορᾶν αὐτόν, καθ' ὃ ἔλεγε
Δίων περὶ Διονυσίου.⁴

And the Persian [system], [the master] commands and oversees all things, following that which Dion said about Dionysius.

This passage has received too little commentary in scholarship on the Dionysii. It is not clear whether Dion in Aristotle's text is referring to Dionysius I or his son; a common problem with such anecdotal material. Dion played a significant part in the rule of both, and therefore it could plausibly apply to either.⁵ However, which ruler the

¹ Plut. *Dion* XIX.1.

² Although access to and from the gardens was strictly controlled by a gatekeeper. Plut. *Epis.* VII.347a; Tuplin (1996) 128 n.162.

³ Plut. *Dion* XVI.1.

⁴ Arist. *Oec.* 1344b. This text is of debateable authorship and is often found listed as Pseudo-Aristotle.

⁵ My instinct would be that as Dionysius I is recorded in the sources as having a hand-on approach concerning his regime, and therefore it probably applies to him.

passage applies to does not lessen the impact of the statement. Aristotle claims that Dionysius ran his household in a personal manner: an attribute known by Greeks as a Persian model of rule.¹ Particularly fascinating is that Dion, companion of Dionysius I and tutor (as well as usurper) of Dionysius II, was acutely aware of this. Dionysius appears to have decided to rule in such a way either personally, or as a decision amongst his inner council. The evidence that survives concerning the inner working of the regime seems to corroborate that Dionysius followed the Achaemenid model. Dionysius personally undertook inspections of troops and armaments. Commanders in vital positions (e.g. admiral, citadel guard) were related to him by blood or marriage, almost exclusively.² Ortygia allowed an environment closed off from the rest of the *polis*, where the ruler was unreachable to the public and only politics (e.g. the assembly) or warfare meant Dionysius leaving.³

Recent scholarship has given credence to Xenophon having been a guest at Syracuse, with Sanders and Sordi defending a passage of Athenaeus claiming this to be the case:

Ξενοφῶν γοῦν ὁ Γρύλου παρὰ Διονυσίῳ ποτὲ τῷ Σικελιώτῃ.⁴

Why yes, Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was once with Dionysius of Sicily.

Xenophon wrote about the Persian command of the household in his *Oeconomicus*, and could have discussed it as a method of rule with Dionysius personally.⁵ Plato's visits to Sicily, despite their overall failure, may have led to a discussion of the sort of

¹ See Xen. *Oec.* IV.4-25, XII.20.

² Philistus was for a while the exception, but married into the family later.

³ See Funck (1996) 44-5 for the suggestion that Dionysius' citadel on Ortygia should be interpreted in the manner of Eastern Hellenistic palaces. See also Hatzopoulos (2001); Mitchell (2013) 55.

⁴ Athen. *Deip.* 427f; Sanders (1987) 2 n.3; Sordi (2004). This passage of Athenaeus has only recently gained credence as a possibility, having been previously dismissed. Anderson (1974) 193.

⁵ Xen. *Oec.* IV.4-25. One obvious criticism here is that we do not know when Xenophon was in Syracuse, and he may not have written some of his works before then. However, Xenophon had been deep into Persian territory in person, and it would be strange to assume that he had no opinion of Persian kingship before writing his texts later in life.

examples Plato gives in his works in which Persian rule can be good, given the right conditions.¹

3.7) Dynasty

3.7.1) Dynastic structure

Dionysius I broke with Greek tradition in his acquisition of two wives, Doris from Locris, and Andromache, the daughter of Hipparinus, from Syracuse (figure 9).² Caven's attempt to find any sort of Greek parallel resulted in an example from archaic Sparta where King Anaxandridas married two women due to the barren state of his first wife.³ Gernet notes that the Dionysian family tree 'almost has the mark of an experiment'.⁴ The double marriage of Anaxandridas is considerably different to Dionysius' case, because Dionysius deliberately married both Doris and Aristomache at the same time.⁵ Dionysius' double marriage resulted in a family tree close to that of the Hellenistic Ptolemies, although they are not directly comparable due to the Dionysii family tree lacking full sibling marriage.⁶ Dionysius' eldest son from Doris, Dionysius II, married the eldest daughter from Aristomache, Sophrosyne, thus bringing both family lines together in their children (Apollocrates and three unnamed others).⁷ Dionysius' two other daughters (Arete from Aristomache, and Dicaeosyne from Doris), both married one of their uncles, Thearides and Leptines respectively. Thearides' later death would result in Arete marrying her uncle Dion, the brother of Aristomache.

¹ Plato discusses the issue of loyal friends and companions in Letter seven, referring to Darius' superb example. *Pl. Epist.* VII.332a-b.

² Before becoming tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius was married to the daughter of Hermocrates. This woman, whose name is unrecorded, was killed during the revolt of the Knights. *Plut. Dion* III.1. See also Gernet (1981) 290-3, who notes that the act of openly marrying both together was the uncommon aspect, whereas bigamy is documented in myth and archaic Greece.

³ Caven (1990) 98, *Herod.* V.39-40. See the attempt of Finkelberg (2005) 91-9 to link the double marriage of the Dionysii to an Greek iron age method of property acquisition, doubted by Mitchell (2013) 100.

⁴ Gernet (1981) 293.

⁵ *Diod. Sic.* XIV.45.1; Burlando (1992) 19-35.

⁶ While the Dionysii dynasty did not last anywhere near as long as the Ptolemies, there are clear similarities within the family trees. Compare figure 4 to Ager (2005) 4. Caven (1990) 243.

⁷ Muccioli (1999) 91-100.

This dynastic structure was evidently designed with two aims in mind by Dionysius. The first was that by having both a Sicilian and an Italian wife, he could lay claim to territory on both sides of the straits of Messina.¹ The second, clear from Caven's family tree of the Dionysian regime, is that the dynasty had no intention of allowing the power structure in Syracuse to be diluted by marriage outside of the immediate family.² The deliberate nature of the dynastic tree (in the sense that it was most likely intended in advance for the siblings produced from each union to marry) can be interpreted as a bold statement that the family line would continue after his death without the need to marry extensively outside of the immediate family, with the potential weakening of the family power such a match entailed. I am sceptical of Gernet's suggestion that the Dionysian family tree was intended to imitate 'matrimonial practice dating from "legendary times"'.³ Unlike the Ptolemies, there is no extant evidence which suggests a religious or mythical precedent was intended.

The nature of the command structure in Syracuse under the Dionysii meant that important roles such as the admiral and commander of the citadel (Ortygia) remained in the family itself or very close to it.⁴ The admiralty was held only by Dionysius' brothers, Thearides and Leptines during his lifetime. Dionysius appears to have taken command of the Syracusan land forces personally on the majority of occasions.⁵ It is noticeable that wherever possible, Dionysius preferred a trusted relative instead of a potentially more competent hired hand. Leptines' ignorance of Dionysius' orders meant control passed to Thearides; we are not aware of either having previous

¹ The marriage resulted in a long twining of the cities of Syracuse and Locris, who had also been allied during Syracuse's earlier tyrannies. Muccioli (1999) 93. Dionysius II escaped from Dion's assault to Locris, and appears to have been welcomed. Caven (1990) 98; Musti (1977) 92-9; *BNP* s.v. 'Dionysius II'.

² Mitchell (2012) 7; Gernet suggests that the line of Aristomache (Dionysius' Syracusan wife) was only intended to produce female children, and that the male children from this union were not regarded within the succession. Gernet (1981) 296.

³ Gernet (1981) 293.

⁴ Philistus is the one exception here, as his marriage into the family (via Leptines) was without Dionysius' permission and resulted in his banishment. Philistus had been part of Dionysius' entourage from the very beginning of his attempt at tyranny, paying his fines in the assembly. Mitchell (2012) 7.

⁵ Dionysius led many dangerous skirmishes and sieges, such as the attempted night-time siege of Tauromenion. Diod. Sic. XIV.88.3-4; Caven (1990) 246.

experience in the way Dionysius had previous military experience before becoming tyrant.¹

The marriage ritual which went on is puzzling at first glance.

ὀλίγαις δ' ἡμέραις πρὸ τῶν γάμων ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Λοκροὺς πεντήρη πρῶτον νεναυπηγημένην, ἀργυροῖς καὶ χρυσοῖς κατασκευάσμασι κεκοσμημένην· ἐφ' ἧς διακομίσας τὴν παρθένον εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐμνηστεύσατο δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τὴν ἐπισημοτάτην Ἀριστομάχην, ἐφ' ἣν ἀποστεύλας.²

A few days before the wedding [Dionysius] sent to Locris a *Quinquireme*, the first that was built, adorned with silver and gold fittings. On this he carried the woman to Syracuse, and led her into the acropolis. And [Dionysius] also courted amongst the citizens the most distinguished woman, Aristomache. He sent a chariot with four white horses and brought her to his house.³

The four-horse chariot had been part of Syracusan presentation in the time of Hieron I, who famously won the four-horse chariot race at Delphi and Olympia.⁴ This image was celebrated on Syracusan coinage and continued as a motif down to the time of Dionysius I. The chariot as a symbol in the ancient world has long-standing origins, both in Homeric epic and in the Near East through the Mesopotamian dynasties down to the Achaemenid Empire. Outside of the sporting variety of chariot racing, the chariot was not a common sight in classical Greece, and its continuation as a symbol in Syracuse deserves an attempt at explanation. Weinstock, in his consideration of the origins of the Roman triumph, discusses the white horses and chariot used. The tradition that Romulus was the first to celebrate a triumph with white horses is found

¹ Diod. Sic. XIII.92.1.

² Diod. Sic. XIV.44.7-8.

³ Hieronymus is said to have sometimes left Ortygia in a four-horse chariot by Livy XXIV.5.3-4. This is most likely derived from Baton of Sinope. See above.

⁴ In 470 and 468 BC respectively.

in Propertius and difficult to date, and subsequent triumphs cannot be determined to have utilised white horses until Camillus in 396.¹ While the symbolic use of white horses may go back further (though the controversial reception to Camillus' triumph suggests this may not be the case), the Syracusan tradition of four-horse chariots used by Gelon and Hieron suggests we ought to look for an older tradition.² White horses were considered sacred by the Achaemenids, and Greek sources claim they were used to pull the chariot of Ahura-mazda, equating the god with Zeus.³ Weinstock rather puzzlingly claims that Dionysius' adoption of Achaemenid symbols was attempting to represent the iconography of Zeus, which is not attested in any manner.⁴ As Dionysius and the subsequent tyrants Dionysius II, Nysaeus and Hieronymus rode in the chariot themselves, which is different from Herodotus' testimony that the chariot would be empty.⁵ We ought not to see the horses as a religious symbol as much as power symbols considering the journeys of Aristomache and Plato to Syracuse were also undertaken by four white horses and chariot, surely not a religious act.⁶

As well as using four white horses for his marriage ritual, Dionysius I may well have used them for transport from the citadel on Ortgyia. Livy relates that Hieronymus did this in imitation of Dionysius I:⁷

nam qui per tot annos Hieronem filiumque eius Gelonem nec uestis habitu nec alio ullo insigni differentes a ceteris ciuibus uidissent, ei conspexere purpuram ac diadema ac satellites armatos quadrigisque etiam alborum equorum interdum ex regia procedentem more Dionysi tyranni.⁸

¹ Prop. IV.1.32; Ov. *Fast.* VI.723; Weinstock (1971) 69-70.

² Livy V.23.4; Weinstock (1971) 71.

³ Hdt. VII.40; Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.3.12; Curt. III.3.11; Weinstock (1971) 71-2.

⁴ Weinstock (1971) 72.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Diod. Sic. XIV.44.7-8.

⁷ See above.

⁸ Livy XXIV.5.3-4.

Those who for many years had seen Hieron and his son Gelon with neither dress nor any other signs to distinguish them from other citizens, saw [Hieronymus] with purple and a diadem, surrounded by guards, even processing from the palace in a chariot of four white horses, in the custom of Dionysius the tyrant.

3.7.2) Women

In the spirit of Carney's recent exploration into the public role of Macedonian royal women, as well as the recent chapters of Lewis and Mitchell on women in tyranny, we ought to consider what role the women of the dynasty played, and whether they played any part in public display.¹ The extant evidence concerning the role that Doris and Aristomache played in the dynasty differs widely on the extent to which they were public figures. Diodorus' account of the double marriage and the highly visible travels of the two women by four horse chariot and *quinquireme* is the only evidence for the two being involved in public display by the dynasty.² Even in this case the only public aspect appears to have been the travel. Neither Plutarch nor Diodorus mentions a public wedding. Aristomache later played a public role in coming out of the acropolis to the gates in order to meet her brother Dion, but this was after the expulsion of Dionysius II.³ Other evidence for the role of Doris and Aristomache within the dynasty mostly derives from the anecdotal tradition against the Dionysii. These stories suggest the two women did not leave the citadel, such as the anecdote that Dionysius would sleep with them at night in a bed with a trench surrounding it. The daughters fare no better in terms of public display, relegated to shaving their father with heated walnut shells.

The impression that the women of the dynasty were confined to their own quarters within the citadel is dashed by Plutarch's claim that Doris and Aristomache would eat

¹ Carney (2010); Lewis (2011); Mitchell (2012).

² Diod. Sic. XIV.44-45; Plut. *Dion* III. Diod. Sic. XIV.45 notes that public dinners occurred in celebration, but there is no mention of the presence of Dionysius or his wives.

³ Plut. *Dion* II.1.

dinner with Dionysius, with the implication being that they would be included in meals with the extended family and counsellors of Dionysius as well as literary and philosophical guests.¹ As Lewis notes, Aristomache and her daughter Arete had significant sway within the court, openly mourning the removal of Arete's husband Dion during the early reign of Dionysius II.² Both women also acted via discussion and letter in order to bring Plato back to Sicily on Dion's behalf.³ We also have the example of Theste, Dionysius I's sister, rebuking Dionysius for his claim that she did not know of Polyxenus leaving Syracuse.⁴ Plutarch notes that not only did Dionysius allow this, but he praised her for her speech.⁵ Her popularity was such that after the tyranny was relinquished by Dionysius II, she retained popular appeal and honours, with the citizens attending her funeral.⁶

If this is indeed the case, we ought to undertake Carney's approach at considering what other roles the dynastic women would play, even if the sources do not comment. To have such a grand procession of the two women joining the dynasty, and then to disappear from public view completely seems baffling, but as Dionysius lost his first wife (unnamed in our sources) to an uprising of the Syracusan knights his reticence to have Doris and Aristomache appear in public is understandable.⁷ If they did, it was likely that they were protected by Dionysius' bodyguard. Perhaps they were given a contingent of the bodyguard, like Plato was by Dionysius II, if they travelled anywhere in the city. They may have appeared with Dionysius at religious occasions, or perhaps on the balcony from which he would address the citizens.

¹ Plut. *Dion* III.4. See also Hdt. V.18, in which wives and concubines dining with men is attributed as a Persian custom. The Persian king would dine with his wives and sons according to Heracleides *FGrH* 689 F2.

² Plut. *Dion* XV.1; Lewis (2011) 217-8.

³ Plut. *Dion* XVIII.8, XIX.2; Lewis (2011) 218.

⁴ Muccioli (1999) 124 n.307

⁵ Plut. *Dion* XXI.7-9.

⁶ *Ibid.* XXI.9; Caven (1990) 243.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XIII.112.4; Plut. *Dion* III.1. Dionysius had married this unnamed daughter of Hermocrates in order to anchor his tyranny by increased standing with Hermocrates' family. If Dionysius indeed saw marriage as a vital part of his regime, it was imperative that Doris and Aristomache were kept safe from his political enemies. Diod. Sic. XIII.96.3.

3.8) Military Function

Part of Dionysius' initial appeal to the public of Syracuse in 406 was his military prowess in the war against Carthage. This was one of the reasons put forward by Diodorus (perhaps following Philistus' account, judging by his appearance to pay Dionysius' fine in the narrative) for Dionysius' election to the board of generals.¹

ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον, ὃς ἐν ταῖς πρὸς Καρχηδονίους μάχαις ἀνδρεία δόξας διεν
ηνοχέναι περίβλεπτος ἦν παρὰ τοῖς Συρακοσίοις.²

And amongst [the generals elected] was Dionysius, who having borne reputed bravery in the battles against the Carthaginians was admired by the Syracusans.

One might expect Dionysius' personal bravery to have been somewhat diminished upon accession to the tyranny, but his later exploits such as the night-time attack on Tauromenion suggest that his abilities in hand-to-hand combat remain greatly underestimated.³ Dionysius also led out his mercenaries from the citadel in person during the first revolt early in his reign, supposedly sparing the fugitives who were fleeing from the charge of the tyrant's force.⁴ This raises the question of Dionysius' personal safety during warfare. This would have been the ideal time to assassinate him or stage a convenient accident, but Dionysius repeatedly survives fighting from the front in martial encounters. We have to assume based on the evidence that as a war leader Dionysius enjoyed popular appeal amongst both the mercenary soldiers and citizen levies, at least after the revolt of the knights at the beginning of his reign. The issue of citizen levies is complicated, but it appears that Dionysius mostly relied on mercenaries after 392.⁵

¹ *Ibid.* XIII.91.4.

² *Ibid.* XIII.92.1.

³ *Ibid.* XIV.88.

⁴ *Ibid.* XIV.9.5; Caven (1990) 246.

⁵ *Ibid.* 160.

That Dionysius took an active part in leading his men is clear based on the catalogue of relevant evidence found in Diodorus. Dionysius was wounded by a spear to the groin during the siege of Rhegium in 388, indicative of close quarter fighting.¹ Dionysius also wore a corselet into battle against Tauromenion, with Diodorus explicitly claiming he wore more armour but had to shed it in order to escape. Sadly we are not told what else he was wearing.² This was not merely ceremonial garb, but practical armour which saved Dionysius' life' at least once, and possibly more.

3.9) Conclusion

The Dionysii proved to be influential tyrants, both in regard to subsequent tyrants of Syracuse, but also further across the Mediterranean, with the Clearchid dynasty of Heraclea Pontica inspired to rule in the same manner, and with Dionysius of Heraclea Pontica buying the clothing and furnishings of the Dionysii for his own use. Dionysius I wore a purple robe in the fashion of a tragic king, along with a gold crown, and used four white horses and a chariot when leaving Ortygia for public occasions. Despite a recent argument having been made for Dionysius' portrayal as that of a stage king in the Athenian model of the good king, it is likely that there is much more of an Achaemenid influence on his choice of clothing, using it to dress sumptuously and hide defects, as Xenophon and Isocrates proposed.

The citadel on Ortygia was an integral part of the power of the tyranny, helping to create a power dynamic of enforced separation from the public. This use of a citadel proved influential, with all other case studies subsequently adopting a citadel for a similar purpose. Within the citadel a hierarchy subject to the feeling of the tyrant operated, allowing demotion and promotion of access to the tyrant's person. In this respect, Dion's comparison of Dionysius' household management to that of the Persian king appears accurate, suggesting that many aspects of Achaemenid court protocol were adopted as a power dynamic.

¹ Diod. Sic. XIV.108.6.

² *Ibid.* XIV.88.3-4.

The family tree of the Dionysii (i.e. the marriage of two wives at the same time and intertwining the two lines in marriage) has been demonstrated to have barely any precedent in Greek practice, and is likely to have been inspired by Near Eastern practice. This allowed the dynasty to keep control of the succession, and to incorporate select members of the administration into the family structure. The women of the dynasty were not sequestered in their quarters within the citadel, but played an active role in the administration, with Doris and Aristomache noted as taking part in meals with the tyrant, as well as discussing matters with Dionysius, even to the point of rebuking him, as his sister Theste did.

Dionysius I, as well as his personal role in ruling in Syracuse from the citadel, was a key component of Syracusan warfare. Not only was he a planner of military strategy, but he also commanded the army in person, leading a team of loyal mercenaries. This resulted in Dionysius becoming wounded on two recorded occasions in close fighting. This warfare was an important aspect of his image, which led to his election as *strategos*, allowing him to become tyrant. His son Dionysius II differed noticeably in not having a military facet to his rule.

4) The Clearchids of Heraclea Pontica

4.1) Clearchus

The founder of the Clearchid dynasty, Clearchus came to power in Heraclea in 364 by exploiting the *stasis* between the democratic faction in the city and the ruling oligarchy, known as the council of three hundred.¹ Clearchus had previously been exiled from Heraclea by the council, but was recalled to act as an arbitrator between the two factions.² At the time Clearchus was in the employ of the Persian satrap Mithridates, and it was at this moment he was able to take advantage of both Mithridates and the council.³ The council granted him the political power necessary to utilise a mercenary force to restore order in Heraclea.⁴ Clearchus obtained a body of mercenaries from Mithridates, promising to hand the city over to him in exchange for ruling the city as a client.⁵ Clearchus' return to the city increased the tense environment, with the mercenaries lodging amongst the townspeople.⁶ According to Polyaeus, this scenario resulted in the citizens of Heraclea granting permission for Clearchus to build a complex composed of a wall and citadel on the acropolis.⁷ Subsequently, when the time came for Clearchus to hand over control of the city to Mithridates, the satrap and his entourage arrived within the city only to be arrested, with a ransom demanded for their release.⁸ Now the bargain struck with Mithridates was nullified, and enough money was acquired to secure the services of the mercenaries for the near future, Clearchus turned his attention towards the removal of the council of three hundred. His ruse was to claim that he would lay down his powers, and while the council met to consider the offer, convene the citizen assembly in order to denounce the council. Clearchus' mercenaries then surrounded the council building

¹ Just. *Epit.* XVI.4.1-3; Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.2.

² The Athenian Timotheus and the Theban Epaminondas had both been asked to intervene, but declined to aid the city. Timotheus knew Clearchus personally, which may have impacted on his decision. Just. *Epit.* XVI.4.4; Burstein (1976) 49-50.

³ Just. *Epit.* XVI.4.6-10.

⁴ Aen. *Tact.* XII.5.

⁵ Just. *Epit.* XVI.4.7.

⁶ Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.1; Aen. *Tact.* XII.5.

⁷ Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.1; Chion, *Epist.* XIII.1; Burstein (1976) 51.

⁸ Just. *Epit.* XVI.4.9.

and apprehended the council members. Only a fifth of the council were present, meaning two hundred and forty of the aristocrats were able to flee once they learned what had happened.¹ The rest were imprisoned and held to ransom, but were executed regardless once the money was acquired.² The exiled oligarchs returned with armed support, but Clearchus was able to defeat and capture some of them with his mercenary force. The estates of the council were redistributed amongst his own supporters, and Clearchus ruled in Heraclea until his assassination in 352.

Our knowledge of Clearchus before his recall is patchy. He was most likely from a wealthy background, as his family was able to afford to pay for his education with both Isocrates and Plato as a young man in Athens.³ His exile by the council of three hundred links his past political career to the democratic faction in the city, although this does not mean he was necessarily a democratic politician. We know little about his family connections outside of his brother Satyrus, although his eventual assassin, Chion, was a blood relative.⁴ He was an Athenian citizen by virtue of Timotheus, the Athenian politician, and may have served in his army.⁵ Aside from the mention of the *Suda* that Clearchus went to the court of Mithridates, we do not know the details of his subsequent military experience.⁶ His career as tyrant is equally difficult to reconstruct. The events of the Satraps' Revolt must have had an impact, but it appears that Clearchus survived unscathed, with the positive news that Mithridates, the satrap he had betrayed, was either dead or reassigned to another area.⁷ There is only one military expedition to be found in Polyaeus, a campaign against the city of Astacus which Clearchus led personally.⁸ Burstein suggests he would have gained control of

¹ *Ibid.* XVI.4.17.

² *Ibid.* XVI.4.20.

³ *Suda* s.v. 'Klearchos'; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F1.1; Isoc. *Ad Timo.* 12; Burstein (1976) 50.

⁴ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F1.3.

⁵ Dem. *Pro Lept.* 84 claims that Clearchus was given citizenship as part of a reward for Timotheus. Burstein (1976) 50 n.32; Parke (1933) 97 n.5; Apel (1910) 34.

⁶ *Suda* s.v. 'Klearchos'; Just. *Epit.* XVI.4.6-7; Parke (1933) 97-9.

⁷ It is not certain whether or not Mithridates died in 363, as it is possible that he is the same Mithridates in power in Mysia later in 337, who was assassinated by Cassander in 302. Diod. Sic. XV.90, XX.10. Lucian *Macr.* 13 notes the old age of Mithridates, saying he was over 84 years old by the time of his death.

⁸ Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.3.

Cierus along the way, which is a plausible suggestion.¹ We cannot rule out other campaigns during Clearchus's reign, but with no other evidence we cannot comment any further. There was no significant reform of the city's governance, as the constitution reverted back to its democratic predecessor. Clearchus' followers and mercenaries were given the land and property acquired in the wake of the oligarchy's destruction.

Clearchus was a student of both Isocrates and Plato, and upon becoming tyrant in Heraclea, appears to have either instigated or allowed a philosophical circle there.² Memnon mentions the installation of a library in Heraclea by Clearchus personally, which may well have been part of the same institution.³ Much of the anecdotal surviving evidence concerning Clearchus accuses him of having abandoned philosophy and then becoming a cruel tyrant, in a suspiciously similar pattern to the sort of tyrannical stories told about Dionysius I in Syracuse. The *Suda* entry for Clearchus collects most of these;

Κλέαρχος ὁ Ποντικός, νέος ὢν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφίκετο ἀκοῦσαι Πλάτωνος. καὶ λέγων φιλοσοφίας διψῆν, ὀλίγα οἱ συγγενόμενος [ἦν γὰρ θεοῖς ἐχθρός] ὄναρ ὄρᾳ ὅδε ὁ Κλέαρχος γυναικὰ τινα, λέγουσαν πρὸς αὐτόν: ἄπιθι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας καὶ φεῦγε φιλοσοφίαν: οὐ γὰρ σοι θέμις ἐπαυρέσθαι αὐτῆς: ὄρᾳ γὰρ πρὸς σὲ ἔχθιστον. ὢν ἀκούσας ἐπάνεισιν εἰς τὴν στρατείαν. φθόνῳ δὲ ἐπικλυσθεὶς ἐκπλεῖ τῆς οἴκοθεν καὶ φυγὰς ἀλώ-μενος ἔρχεται πρὸς Μιθριδάτην καὶ στρατοπεδευόμενος παρ' αὐτῷ ἐπηρεῖτο. οὐ μὴν μετὰ μακρὸν ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται εἰς στάσιν βαρεῖαν: εἶτα ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς φιλίαν καὶ συμβάσεις βουλόμενοι προαιροῦνται ἔφορον τῆς αὐθις ὁμονοίας τὸν Κλέαρχον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κλητὸς παρεγένετο, καταλύσας ἔν τινι τῶν σταθμῶν τῶν διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄναρ ὄρᾳ παλαιὸν Ἡρακλεωτῶν τύραννον, Εὐωπίονα ὄνομα, λέγοντα αὐτῷ, ὅτι δεῖ τυραννῆσαί σε τῆς πατρίδος. προσέτατε δὲ καὶ οὗτος φιλοσοφίαν φυλάττεσθαι αὐτόν. ὑπεμνήσθη καὶ τούτων τοίνυν ἐκ τῆς προρρήσεως τῆς Ἀθήνησιν. ἐγκρατῆς δ' οὖν τῶν κοινῶν γενόμενος ὠμότατός τε ἦν καὶ εἰς ὑπεροψίαν ἐξαφθεὶς ἄμαχον, τοῦ μὲν ἔτι ἄνθρωπος εἶναι

¹ Burstein (1976) 55.

² Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.13; Burstein (1976) 61.

³ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F1.2.

κατεφρόνει: προσκυνεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν Ὀλυμπίων γεραίρεσθαι τιμαῖς ἠξίου καὶ στολᾶς ἤσθητο θεοῖς συνήθεις καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασι τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπιπρεπούσας: τὸν τε υἱὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Κεραυνὸν ἐκάλεσεν. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτον μὲν ἠ δίκη, εἶτα δὲ ἠ χεὶρ ἠ Χιόνιδος: ὅσπερ οὖν ἦν ἐταῖρος Πλάτωνος καὶ χρόνον διήκουσεν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ μισοτύραννον ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου ἐστίας σπασάμενος ἠλευθέρωσε τὴν πατρίδα. κοινωνῶ δὲ οἱ τῆς καλῆς πράξεως γενέσθαι λέγονται Λεωνίδης τε καὶ Ἀντίθεος, φιλοσόφω καὶ τῷδε ἄνδρῳ. ὅπως δὲ ἔδωκε δίκας ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτόλμησεν, εἴρηται..¹

Clearchus of Pontus. He arrived in Athens as a young man to hear Plato. And declaring a thirst of philosophy, associating with it for a short time (for he was hateful to the gods), Clearchus saw in a dream a certain woman speaking to him “depart the Academy and flee philosophy, it is truly not for you to share her customs, for she looks towards you as a most hateful man. Having heard these words he returned to Heraclea. But awash with malice he sailed out from his home, and wandering as a fugitive he went to Mithridates, and encamping agreed to join him. But soon after the Heracleots fell heavily into *stasis*. Then, wishing to return to friendship and agreement, they elected Clearchus in turn as the protector of harmony. But after he was invited beside them, having lodged in a station upon the road he saw in a dream the Heracleot tyrant named Euopion speaking to him, ‘there is need to become tyrant of your city’. And he ordered him to defend himself against philosophy. He was reminded by this of the prediction of Athens. So having gained power of the state, he was both the cruellest [man] and inflamed into irrepressible contempt, he was disdainful that he was still a man. He expected that he receive *proskynesis* and be revered with honours due to the Olympian gods. He had himself clothed with garments customary to the gods and statues of himself fitting for them. He called his son Ceraunus. First judgement killed him, and then the hand of Chion. This man was a companion of Plato and his disciple at one time and drawing his hatred of

¹ *Suda* s.v. ‘Klearchos’. Euopion is never mentioned anywhere else and there is no record of anyone else with the same name. Bittner (1998) 30 suggests it may be the result of deliberate dissemination by Clearchus as legitimisation for the tyranny, following Asheri (1973) 30 that it was to placate the local Maryandunoi.

tyrants from him he liberated the city. Leonides and Antitheus, these men being philosophers, were partners in this good action. He was given justice in this manner, it was said, against what he committed.

Clearchus' flirtation with philosophy is usually post-facto considered to have been a failure by ancient writers. It can be reasonably assumed that in the fallout which occurred due to the assassination of Clearchus by a Platonic student (Chion), that the Academy felt the need to justify this action by painting Clearchus as the worst possible tyrant. The assassination by Chion must have been profoundly embarrassing for the school, especially considering the fact that Clearchus had a reasonably cordial relationship with Athens.¹ This would also have heroised Chion and his fellow assassins, despite the inherent failure in their attempt at removing the tyranny because of Satyrus' survival.

There is no evidence for Clearchus' falling out with philosophy apart from rather late source material clearly following the platonic line on tyranny, making him out as a stock figure worthy of mockery. But there is some evidence worthy of consideration that suggests Clearchus remained close to philosophy. Memnon notes that Chion was a blood relation to the tyrant; in what way we do not know.² Justin's account of Clearchus' death makes it clear that Chion and Leonides were both well known to Clearchus, and that this was why he admitted them before him to discuss matters.³ If Clearchus was fervently against philosophy, it is strange to see him on such good terms with philosophers whom he met regularly, presumably within the citadel. Clearchus evidently had no qualms with meeting philosophers on a regular enough basis to be friendly with them. Burstein interprets Justin as meaning that Chion ran a 'study circle', which is possible.⁴

¹ Clearchus was an Athenian citizen due to his military service under Timotheus. Burstein (1976) 50.

² Memnon *FGrH* 434 F1.3.

³ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.15.

⁴ *Ibid.* XVI.5.13; Burstein (1976) 61 n.104.

4.2) Satyrus

Our evidence for Satyrus is rather limited, and only covered in Photius' epitome of Memnon. Upon the assassination of Clearchus, Satyrus became the regent for the two sons of Clearchus: Timotheus and Dionysius.¹ Burstein puts the situation in rather blunt terms, that 'the assassination of Clearchus accomplished nothing'.² Satyrus appears to have continued his regency in the manner of Clearchus, as there is no suggestion of any large changes made to the nature of the rule.³ It is highly likely that Satyrus was an integral part of Clearchus' regime, because his succession to the tyranny upon Clearchus' was met without incident. As such, he may have been left in charge of the citadel during Clearchus' mission to Astacus. Memnon claims that Satyrus did not have the same philosophical and literary interests as Clearchus, and we have no reason to contest this.⁴ Satyrus' methodical vengeance against the conspirators and their families hints that the reduction in literary activities may have had more to do with the nature of the assassins than a lack of interest.⁵ Memnon claims that Satyrus was tyrant for seven years, before stepping down as regent to allow Timotheus to rule.⁶ This may have been to do with his cancerous illness, which Memnon claims was the cause of his death.⁷ The success of Timotheus' rule in the wake of Satyrus' death hints that Timotheus was most likely included in a significant manner within the regime, so that he was prepared to rule when Satyrus stepped down.

4.3) Timotheus, Dionysius and Amastris

Clearchus' children, Timotheus and Dionysius, have remarkable names, and their potential meaning is worth considering. It is generally accepted that Timotheus was

¹ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.18. Diod. Sic. XVI.36.3 incorrectly claims that Timotheus succeeded his father and does not mention Satyrus' regency. This regency is confirmed by an inscription from Sinope. French (2004) 1-4.

² Burstein (1976) 65.

³ French (2004) 1-4 demonstrates that Satyrus continued Clearchus' political affiliation to Persia.

⁴ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F2.2.

⁵ Burstein (1976) 66.

⁶ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F2.4.

⁷ *Ibid.* F2.4-5

named after the famous Athenian Timotheus, with whom Clearchus was friends.¹ Perhaps less certain is the naming of Dionysius. Burstein attributes the name as homage to the Sicilian Dionysius I, a plausible suggestion given the influence Dionysius had on Clearchus' tyranny.² There is no extant evidence that Clearchus had a friendship with Dionysius I as he did with Timotheus, although Clearchus could plausibly have travelled to Syracuse as a young man, as they were contemporaries.³ Dionysius could potentially have also been named after the god Dionysus, although there is no evidence for it. Considering both names together, it is more likely that Clearchus' sons were named after the politicians who had influenced him.

Memnon's epitome makes the bold claim that Timotheus reformed the regime into a milder and more democratic form upon his accession.⁴ To some extent this may be accurate, but we also see the consolidation of the tyranny upon the coinage of Heraclea at this time, where the names of Timotheus and Dionysius both appear.⁵ Timotheus could have re-organised the city's finances and to some extent its politics without endangering his position as ruler. The gradual transition from Satyrus' regency to Timotheus' rule meant that Timotheus was well versed with the running of the city by the time Satyrus died. Timotheus' debt reductions will have tied anyone who took the offer up to him as ruler, and not to the city, thus increasing the number of the citizens who depended on the tyrant personally.⁶ The release of prisoners by Timotheus cannot have been as straightforward as Memnon claims, as there are still exiles of the former oligarchic regime around long after Timotheus' death.

The issue of Timotheus most worthy of consideration here is that he was hailed as a remarkable warrior and general.

¹ Dem. *Pro Lept.* 84; Burstein (1976) 50; Bittner (1998) 26-7; Vlassopoulos (2013) 113-4. Parke (1933) 97 n.5 suggests Clearchus may have served with Timotheus at Corcyra. See also *Suda* s.v. 'Klearchos'.

² Diod. Sic. XV.81.5; Burstein (1976) 62; Bittner (1998) 26-7.

³ Burstein (1976) 61 n.101 'that Clearchus was at Dionysius' court during his exile is unnecessary since his teacher Isocrates was interested in Dionysius at the time he was studying with him.' Muccioli (1999) 236 is against the idea.

⁴ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F3.1.

⁵ SNGvA 362; Head (1911) 515.

⁶ Burstein (1976) 68 considers Timotheus' policies in a more positive light.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς τῶν πράξεων ἀνδρείως ἐφέρετο, μεγάλωφρον δὲ ἦν καὶ γενναῖος σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῆς μάχης διαλύσεις εὐγνώμων τε καὶ οὐκ ἄχαρις· πράγματα μὲν συνιδεῖν ἰκανὸς, ἐξικέσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὰ συνεωραμένα δραστήριος, οἰκτίρμων τε τὸ ἦθος καὶ χρηστὸς, καὶ τῆ μὲν εὐτολμία δεινῶς ἀπότομος, τῆ δὲ μετριότητι φιλόανθρωπός τε καὶ μειλίχιος. Διὸ σφόδρα μὲν περιῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις φοβερὸς ἦν, καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν καταρρώδουν, ἐπειδὴν ἀπεχθάνοιτο, τοῖς δ' ἀρχομένοις γλυκὺς τε καὶ ἡμερος. Ἐνθεν καὶ τελευτῶν πόθον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε πολὺν, καὶ πένθος ἤγειρε τῷ πόθῳ ἐνάμιλλον.¹

For truly [Timotheus] did not only bear [himself] bravely in the practice of warfare. He was noble and high-minded in body and mind, but he was also reasonable and not without grace in the cessation of hostilities. He was capable of seeing matters, and active in accomplishing what he perceived. He was good and compassionate in nature, relentless and terrifying in his boldness, he was moderate, benevolent and gentle. Because of these things, he was very fearful to his enemies to be around, and all dreaded and hated him, but to his subjects he was sweet and civilised. And when he died his death was much lamented, and roused sorrow matched with longing.

Sadly we are not given any details of where Timotheus campaigned by Memnon, or any other sources. Judging by the continued allegiance of Dionysius to the Achaemenids, we can probably rule out any wars against local satraps.² Burstein suggests that due to the spread of Heracleot coin types, Timotheus may have sought to control the immediate area around Heraclea, and possibly across the Black Sea as well.³

¹ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F3.2.

² *Ibid.*, 434 F4.1; Burstein (1976) 70.

³ *Ibid.* 70. Two cities to the east of Heraclea, Amisus and Cromna, as well as Cercintis across the sea, shared coin types with Heraclea. Dating them to Timotheus' wars is an educated guess at best. Of relevance is Aristotle's comment that Heraclea could equip a sizeable navy from its citizen body, hinting at maritime activity under the tyranny. Arist. *Pol* 1327b.

In contrast with the apparent changes from Clearchus' rule, Timotheus evidently continued the military focus of the regime in Heraclea. He also appears to have inherited his father's military talents, in particular with leading men into battle himself. The description in Photius' epitome of Memnon creates an image of a dynamic mercenary leader, in a similar mould to Jason of Pherae as he is described in the *Hellenica* of Xenophon.¹

Timotheus appears to have died at a young age, leaving his younger brother Dionysius as the sole ruler in 337. Memnon claims that in the wake of Alexander the Great's invasion and the battle of the Granicus River, the smaller Asia Minor powers were able to expand their territory.² The military power of Dionysius evidently remained intact, as he was able to send military aid to Antigonos.³ Memnon sadly does not tell us much about Dionysius' campaigns, and as with Timotheus we are mostly left guessing.⁴

Memnon is explicit about Dionysius' tastes when it came to public display, and suggests that before his accession to kingship in the Hellenistic style, Dionysius had inherited his father's love of public display⁵:

ἐξ οὗ ἐπὶ μέγα ἢ ἀρχὴ αὐτῶν διήρθη πλοῦτου τε περιβολῆι τῆι διὰ τῆς ἐπιγαμίας
προστεθείσῃ καὶ ἰδίαι φιλοκαλίαι.⁶

From that time on his own rule was raised to a great extent both because of the wealth of his marriage, and his personal love for the beautiful.⁷

Alongside the evidence that Dionysius threw his elder brother a spectacular funeral, we ought to consider that Memnon suggests a continuation of the warlike and public

¹ Xen. *Hell.* VI.i.

² Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.1.

³ *Ibid.* 434 F4.6.

⁴ Burstein (1976) 74.

⁵ Dionysius becomes king in the Hellenistic style towards the end of his life. Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.5.

⁶ *Ibid.* 434 F4.5.

⁷ That the word φιλοκαλία refers to an outward display, rather than a philosophical concept, is suggested by Diodorus' use of the word to describe the palace at Memphis in Egypt. Diod. Sic. I.51.1.

tyranny of Clearchus' day, even if Timotheus and his brother appear to have been 'kinder' to the populace of Heraclea.¹

Heraclea's continued support of the Achaemenid rulers has been mentioned in passing before, but with the invasion of Alexander into Asia Minor Heraclea was forced into a decision: whether to remain loyal to the Achaemenid regime or to submit to Alexander as many of the other cities in the area did. Dionysius made a bold decision to continue supporting the Achaemenid regime, and did not submit to Alexander, even once Darius III had been killed.² In particular the failure of the return of Heracleote exiles to the city makes it clear that Alexander and the satraps left behind in Asia Minor had very little coercive power in the north.³

Through his diplomatic wiles, Dionysius received an excellent marriage proposal. Craterus was to marry Phila, the daughter of Antipater. This meant that Amastris, his Persian wife from the Susa marriages, wanted a separation, which Craterus accepted.⁴ As a result, at some point between the death of Alexander in 323 and Craterus' death in 321, Amastris married Dionysius.⁵ Amastris had immense value politically as a wife due to her status as an Achaemenid, as well as bringing Dionysius a sizeable dowry.⁶

The death of Alexander was a boon for Dionysius, as exiles from Heraclea dating back to the expulsions of Clearchus had petitioned Alexander for a return to democracy, and Alexander's Exiles Decree threatened to remove the tyranny, and Memnon's account claims that Dionysius was nearly removed from power.⁷ Dionysius later

¹ Timotheus was given a lavish initial funeral and many small celebrations continuing on afterwards, according to Memnon *FGrH* 434 F3.3. Burstein claims Timotheus was deified by Dionysius through these events, which is stretching Memnon's text too far. Burstein (1976) 72.

² Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.1; Burstein (1976) 73; Lester-Pearson (forthcoming a).

³ Exiles from the time when Clearchus had expelled the oligarchy and their descendents asked Alexander to return Heraclea to its *patrion demokration*. Alexander died before this could be enforced, and the exiles went to Perdiccas for the same request. His death put an end to the matter. Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.1-2.

⁴ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.4-5. See Bosworth (1988) 156-8 for the Susa marriages. Craterus was, along with Hephaestion, the only one of Alexander's court to marry an Achaemenid princess. Arr. *Anab.* VII.4.5; Van Oppen (forthcoming) 13.

⁵ Craterus died under his own horse fighting Eumenes. Diod. Sic. XVIII.30.5.

⁶ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.5.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 434 F4.1-2 claims that Dionysius set up as statue to 'joy' (εὐθυμία) as result. Lester-Pearson (forthcoming a).

engaged in military activity on behalf of Antigonus Monophthalmus at Tyre, and received Polemaeus, the nephew of Antigonus, as a husband for an unnamed daughter from his first marriage, linking him to the Antigonid faction by marriage.¹ At the time when the Successors became kings, Dionysius also proclaimed himself king.

Οὕτω γοῦν εἰς μέγα δόξης ἀνελθὼν, καὶ τὸν τύραννον ἀπαξιώσας, τὸ βασιλέως ἀντέλαβεν ὄνομα.²

After achieving such distinction, he disdained the title of tyrant and called himself a king.

Memnon incorrectly attributes this to his marriage alliance with Antigonus from before 306/5, but Dionysius was married to an Achaemenid, and was in this sense married into a substantial royal lineage which included Alexander within the family tree, a much grander achievement.³

Dionysius died soon after, leaving his wife Amastris to rule as regent on behalf of their sons, Clearchus II and Oxathres.⁴ Antigonus and Lysimachus fought for influence over the tyranny, which resulted in Amastris marrying Lysimachus, and moving to Sardis at some point after the battle of Ipsus in 301.⁵ Amastris later left Lysimachus and returned to Heraclea when Lysimachus married Arsinoe, the daughter of Ptolemy Soter.⁶ Having built a city named after herself in the fashion of Hellenistic rulers and left Heraclea in control of Clearchus II, Amastris died, murdered by her sons according to Memnon.⁷ Lysimachus arrived in person at Heraclea, ostensibly to ensure Clearchus

¹ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.6; Billows (1990)113; Lester-Pearson (forthcoming a); Van Oppen (forthcoming) 15.

² Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.7.

³ Lester-Pearson (forthcoming a).

⁴ Diod. Sic. XX.70.1

⁵ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.9, Van Oppen (forthcoming).

⁶ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.9. See Van Oppen (forthcoming) 19-21 for the argument that Amastris did not divorce Lysimachus. Lester-Pearson (forthcoming a).

⁷ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F5.2, 5.4; Van Oppen (forthcoming) 23. For the unique foundation of Amastris, see Lester-Pearson (forthcoming a) n.85.

Clearchus and Oxathres' succession, but once he had arrived he put them to death for their mother's murder, and restored the democracy.¹

4.4) Ancient Sources

4.4.1) Memnon

Of particular relevance for the Clearchid tyranny is the epitome of Memnon of Heraclea, preserved by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*. Photius preserves books 9-16 of Memnon's history, and was apparently unable to find a copy of books 1-8. It is widely considered that Photius may have had the last copy of books 9-16 as no other trace of Memnon's work exists.² Attempts to ascertain any details about Memnon's original text are entirely guesswork. Memnon was certainly writing in the Roman period, and we can be reasonably sure he drew on Nymphis of Heraclea for his work.³ Photius is known to have composed his manuscript in a hurry, and possibly from memory in places. There are certainly errors to be found.⁴ Perhaps we ought to be more conservative than Wilson on the preserved content in the case of Memnon, as we have no other manuscripts to compare it to.⁵

Perhaps the beginning of the preserved epitome, claiming despite his philosophical training by Plato and Isocrates that Clearchus still became a tyrant, is characteristic of the fourth century attitude visible elsewhere in the evidence of the Dionysii and Plato.⁶ Plato.⁶ The *Suda* entry for Clearchus also resembles Memnon's testimony, suggesting he had turned away from philosophy after a dream of Euopion.⁷ In these respects, Photius' epitome of Memnon could well be conveying near-contemporary attitudes to Clearchus and his regime.

¹ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F5.3; Burstein (1976) 86; Van Oppen (forthcoming) 23-5.

² *BNJ* s.v. 'Memnon'; Treadgold (1980) 8-9.

³ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.7; *FGrH* 432 F.10; *BNJ* s.v. 'Nymphis'.

⁴ See Treadgold (1980) 67-80 for the varying errors and omissions to be found.

⁵ Wilson (1994) 5.

⁶ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F1.1.

⁷ *Suda* s.v. 'Klearchos'.

4.4.2) Justin

Justin wrote an epitome of the *Philippicae* of Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus. Trogus most likely wrote late in the first century B.C. (during the age of Augustus), and Justin's epitome, all that survives of Trogus' history, was collated at some point in the late Roman Empire.¹ There are two divergent theories concerning the origins of Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae*. Trogus may have utilised a variety of Hellenistic historians in conjunction, combining many different Greek works.² Alternatively, the theory is proposed that the *Historiae Philippicae* is ultimately based on a Latin work by Timagenes of Alexandria, which collated previous Greek historians.³ Justin's epitome is linguistically regarded as close to the *Historiae Philippicae*, with recent work by Yardley examining Justin's use of language in detail.⁴

Justin discusses Clearchus and the origins of the tyranny in Heraclea at some detail, but it is impossible to tell whether Trogus only wrote about Clearchus, or whether Trogus wrote about his successors and Justin chose to omit Trogus' later account. Because the discussion of Clearchus is included in Justin's epitome as an aside to explain Lysimachus' conquest of Heraclea, it is entirely plausible that Trogus never discussed the successors of the tyranny. For a local historian such as Memnon, probably utilising a considerable portion of his predecessor Nymphis, another local historian of Heraclea, the tyranny at Heraclea was a fundamental issue to be covered. Trogus' *Historia Philippica*, while not a universal history, had as its aim to explain the rise of the

¹ Suggestions have ranged for the dating of Justin's epitome from the second century to as late as approximately AD 390. Steele (1917) 41; Alonso-Núñez (1987) 61; Syme (1988) 363; Yardley & Develin (1994) 4; Yardley (1997) 8-13; Barnes (1998) 590-1. See Alonso-Núñez (1987) 60-1 for the reasonable suggestion that Trogus' history dates between 2BC and 2AD. For the little information known about the life of Trogus, see Yardley (1997) 1-6; Alonso-Núñez (1987) 57.

² Forni & Angelo Bertinelli (1982) 1298-1362.

³ Gutschmid (1882) 548-555.

⁴ Further research by Yardley has tried to undertake linguistic analysis of Justin, and concludes that some material is Justin's own original contribution, while other aspects are taken from contemporary writers. Yardley's cross-referencing work across Latin literature shows Trogus was very much of his time linguistically, but by only checking against Latin texts leaves us with no idea of what Greek influences Trogus may have had. Yardley (2003).

Macedonians and the Hellenistic kingdoms.¹ It would be a surprise, in some respects, if the tyranny in Heraclea was covered in significant detail.

4.4.3) Other Evidence

Justin and Memnon are the only sources to provide a significant narrative for the Clearchid tyranny. The testimony from the *Suda* adds some additional detail to the evidence concerning Clearchus, such as his falling out with philosophy, and the spirit of the former tyrant of Heraclea Euopion (otherwise unknown) telling him to become tyrant of the city.² We are otherwise restricted to fragments and anecdotal material from writers such as Polyaeus and Aelian. A surviving letter of Isocrates to Timotheus, the eldest son of Clearchus, gives a near contemporary account of Clearchus' promising youth before his change in nature to become tyrant of his home city.³ Diodorus Siculus mentions the Clearchid tyranny as part of his chronological structure, but never at length.⁴ However, his statement that Clearchus formed his tyranny in imitation of Dionysius at Syracuse is an important piece of evidence.⁵ Other relevant literary evidence is the series of letters attributed to Chion of Heraclea, the student of Plato who would eventually assassinate Clearchus. The letters are considered by the majority of scholars to be a much later work of historical fiction, but details recorded appear to corroborate the surviving testimony about Clearchus, and therefore like Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, despite being fictional, the letters are ultimately likely to be grounded in fact.⁶ The epigraphic evidence for Heraclea Pontica is very limited indeed. Because the city was destroyed by the Romans, there is no epigraphic evidence for the

¹ Yardley (1997) 20.

² *Suda* s.v. 'Klearchos'. See also *Suda* s.v. 'Epaurasthai', which attributes the falling out with philosophy to Clearchus of Soloi rather than the tyrant of Heraclea Pontica.

³ Isoc. *Ad Timo*.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XVI.36.3; XV.81.5.

⁵ *Ibid.* XV.81.5; Muccioli (1999) 235-6.

⁶ Chion, *Epist.*; Düring (1951); Malosse (2004); Christy (2010) 61-94; *BNP* s.v. 'Chion'. Dating suggestions for the work range from Düring (1951) who suggests a *terminus post quem* of circa 50 AD, to Malosse (2004) 100-4 who claims it was written in the late Roman Empire circa 300-400 AD. It is worth noting that some aspects of chronology are warped, e.g. Clearchus rule is shortened from 12 years to one year. Malosse (2004) 78ff.

city predating the Hellenistic period.¹ One inscription from Athens names Dionysius (probably referring to the tyrant) and a grain donation to Athens, but it is hard to date.² In fact, the only inscription which certainly refers to the tyrants is from nearby Sinope, during the reign of Satyrus.³ This document details an alliance between the Sinopeans and Satyrus (and the sons of Clearchus), which entailed joint defense against all enemies except the King of Persia, and outlines the relevant diplomatic procedures and payment for soldiers.⁴ Of interest is the fact that neighbouring states evidently dealt with the Clearchids on personal terms rather than the Heracleotes (in a similar manner to the inscriptions referring to the Dionysii of Syracuse in Athens), and also that the inscription demonstrates the continuation of Clearchus' policy of submission to Persia by Satyrus.⁵

The Clearchid numismatic evidence is hard to date with certainty at the outset of the tyranny. Under Clearchus and Satyrus, the coinage continues the previous civic coinage in silver, often featuring the head of Heracles, bearded with a lion-skin headpiece on the obverse, and a bull, club or bow and arrow on the reverse. Sometimes the head of a woman can be found with a turreted crown, which perhaps represents the city personified.⁶ Some coins bear the mark of *K* or *S*, which once was proposed as the initials of Clearchus and Satyrus, but more likely represents the mark of the issuer.⁷ Otherwise their names do not appear.⁸ With the joint rule of Timotheus and Dionysius comes a change in the coinage of the city. Not only does the coinage possess the names of the brothers, but the obverse and reverse designs change. The use of the portrait of Dionysus with a *thyrsus* resting on the shoulder begins on the obverse of

¹ Jonnes & Ameling (1994) collates all surviving inscriptions from Heraclea, as well as relevant testimony on the city.

² *SEG* XL 1172; *IG* II² 363; Saprykin (1997) 147; Burstein (1972) 72 n.39; Lester-Pearson (forthcoming a). If the inscription does refer to the tyrant, then interestingly he possesses no title, and may have undertaken the donation in the role of a private citizen.

³ French (2004) 4 correctly links the inscription to the testimony of Memnon *FGIh* 434 F2.1, which narrows the inscription down to between 353/2 and 346/5.

⁴ *Ibid.* 1-4.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1-4.

⁶ Head (1911) 514-5.

⁷ Saprykin (1997) 30; Franke (1966) 138-9; Bompois (1879) 146.

⁸ Saprykin (1997) 138.

coins, as well as continuing the motif of Heracles, including Heracles with a trophy.¹ This may link to military success, hinted at in Memnon's account.²

4.5) Modern Literature

Research on the tyrants of Heraclea Pontica has been scarce since Apel wrote a dissertation on the tyranny in 1910.³ The definitive secondary work by Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: the emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea* from 1976 is yet to be challenged overall.⁴ Morawiecki published an article in the same year as Burstein's PhD, covering much of the same material.⁵ There have been the occasional publications since Burstein's monograph, but they have often been in the form of articles. Bittner's recent monograph, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft in Herakleia Pontike: Eine Polis zwischen Tyrannis und Selbstverwaltung*, discusses the tyranny as part of the transitional phase into the later democracy under the Hellenistic kings.⁶ Bittner's focus is directed upon the nature of society in Heraclea, and as such her discussion of the tyranny is less analytical than Burstein's work. Saprykin's monograph from 1997 does an excellent job of collating the previous scholarship on Heraclea Pontica, and fairly concludes that Burstein's monograph supersedes almost all previous scholarship, particularly due to the high number of publications concerned with the native *Maryandunoi* from a more sociological standpoint, which are irrelevant for the purposes of this thesis.⁷

¹ Dionysus is commonly used on coinage as a motif in the Hellenistic period, but the Heracleot use is uncommon in predating this. Saprykin's examples are all Hellenistic. *Ibid.* 136. Saprykin also claims that the appearance of grapes on the reverse of some coins is intended as a link to Dionysus, but the symbol appears where the various differing mint marks (e.g. K, S, crescent moon) appear, and is most likely mistaken. *Ibid.* 136.

² Memnon *FGrH* 434 F3.2; Saprykin (1997) 143.

³ Apel (1910).

⁴ Burstein (1976).

⁵ Morawiecki (1974).

⁶ Bittner (1998).

⁷ Saprykin (1997) 3-18 is the best summary of previous research on Heraclea Pontica, and Saprykin points out that the considerable number of German scholars interested in Heraclea were too dependent on Memnon's epitome.

4.6) Appearance

4.6.1) Clothing

Justin gives a fascinating account of Clearchus' baffling aspirations and clothing once he became tyrant of Heraclea. Ethically, Justin considered tyranny in a negative manner, his treatment of Clearchus and Dionysius II being representative.¹ Clearchus's pretensions as son of Jupiter are seen through a Roman Stoic prism and mocked accordingly:

Accedit saeuitiae insolentia, crudelitati adrogantia. Interdum ex successu continuae felicitatis obliuiscitur se hominem, interdum Iouis filium dicit. Eunti per publicum aurea aquila uelut argumentum generis praeferebatur, ueste purpurea et cothurniis regum tragicorum et aurea corona utebatur, filium quoque suum Ceraunon uocat ut deos non mendacio tantum, uerum etiam nominibus inludat. Haec illum facere duo nobilissimi iuuenes, Chion et Leonides, indignantes patriam liberaturi in necem tyranni conspirant. Erant hi discipuli Platonis philosophi, qui uirtutem, ad quam cotidie praeceptis magistri erudiebantur, patriae exhibere cupientes cognatos uel clientes in insidiis locant. Ipsi more iurgantium ad tyrannum ueluti ad regem in arcem contendunt; qui iure familiaritatis admissi, dum alterum priorem dicentem intentus audit tyrannus, ab altero obtruncatur. Sed et ipsi sociis tardius auxilium ferentibus a satellitibus obruuntur. Qua re factum est, ut tyrannus quidem occideretur, sed patria non liberaretur. Nam frater Clearchi Satyrus eadem uia tyrannidem inuadit, multisque annis per gradus successionis Heracleenses regnum tyrannorum fuere.²

Arrogance added to insolence, cruelty to pride. For some time from a succession of continued luck it was forgotten that he was a man, claiming he was the son of Jupiter. Going out through the public, a golden eagle as evidence of his birth was carried before him. He wore purple clothing, the shoes of a tragic king and a

¹ Alonso- Núñez (1987) 68.

² Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.7-18.

golden crown. He also named his son Ceraunus to ridicule the gods, not only with great falsehoods, but also with false names. Two of the noblest youths, Chion and Leonides, indignant that he could do these things, conspired towards the death of the tyrant to liberate the city. These men were the students of the philosopher Plato, they were daily educated by the lessons of their teacher, desiring to demonstrate their virtue to their city, placed their relatives in secret. They themselves as if in the manner of quarrelling hastened into the citadel to the tyrant. They were admitted by right of familiarity [to the tyrant], and while the tyrant first listened attentively to the one speaking first, the other killed him. But as the other allies were late in bringing support they were killed by the bodyguard. By these means this happened, that the tyrant was killed, but the city was not freed. For Satyrus, the brother of Clearchus claimed the tyranny in this way, and for many years through stages of succession, the rule of the Heracleots would be that of tyrants.

Memnon's account of Clearchus does corroborate Justin's version on manner of his divine pretensions:

Κλέαρχον μὲν οὖν ἐπιθέσθαι πρῶτον τυραννίδι κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀναγράφει. φησὶ δὲ παιδείας μὲν τῆς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν οὐκ ἀγύμναστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πλάτωνος τῶν ἀκροατῶν ἓνα γεγονέναι, καὶ Ἰσοκράτους δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος τετραετίαν ἀκροάσασθαι· ὦμὸν δὲ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ μαιφόνον, εἴπερ τινὰ ἄλλον, ἐπιδειχθῆναι, καὶ εἰς ἄκρον ἀλαζονείας ἐλάσαι, ὡς καὶ Διὸς υἱὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀνειπεῖν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι ταῖς ἐκ φύσεως χρωματίζεσθαι βαφαῖς, ἄλλαις δὲ καὶ ἄλλαις ιδέαις ποικιλλόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ στιλπνόν τε καὶ ἐνερευθὲς τοῖς ὀρῶσιν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, ἐξαιλλάττειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς χιτῶνας ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερὸν τε καὶ ἀβρότερον.¹

[Memnon] writes that Clearchus was in fact the first to impose a tyranny upon the city. But he says that he was not without training in a philosophical education, but he had been a hearer of Plato, and for four years he had heard the rhetor Isocrates. But he was shown to be savage and bloodthirsty to his

¹ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F1.1.

subjects, indeed more than any other, and he proceeded to the height of pretension, so as to proclaim himself son of Zeus. And neither would he offer up his face to be coloured by natural dyes, but embellished in one way or another he would appear glistening and reddened to those seeing him, and he changed his clothes to appear fearful and dainty.

Justin's use of Jupiter can be seen as equivalent to Zeus, and we can reasonably assume that the author from whom Trogus got his evidence for Clearchus from considered Clearchus as having called himself son of Zeus. We ought to examine the effect of Justin's account, a late Roman epitome of a late republican writer, on the consideration of Clearchus. Justin (or Trogus) have clearly interpreted Clearchus' public image in the manner of the Republican Roman triumph.¹ Whatever Clearchus was doing was categorically not modelled on a Roman triumph, and as such, Weinstock's interpretation that includes four white horses and chariot ought to be disregarded.² While many of the elements of the Roman triumph are there in Justin's account, Justin considers Clearchus' actions through a Roman prism and the hindsight of empire, when in the mid-fourth century Rome was a small power with no influence on Asia Minor. To interpret what Clearchus was doing as essentially a Roman triumph - indeed a perverted incarnation of it where he was literally divine rather than figuratively - is understandable from a later viewpoint, but Memnon's account, as a local historian, has no such overtones.³ While also claiming that Clearchus asserted he was the son of Zeus, Memnon interprets Clearchus' public appearance in a very different manner. In Memnon's account we see Clearchus concerned with a typical Hellenistic motif of outward show, controlling his appearance depending on who he was meeting, and changing it accordingly. Memnon's account of Clearchus' makeup uses the terminology of ἐνερειθής, better understood as flushed or ruddy, and not of a deep red as it is

¹ In this case, Trogus is likely the originator, as triumphs ceased to occur except for rare occasions under the empire. Cass. Dio. LIV.24.7-8.

² Weinstock (1971) 72-3.

³ Memnon was a local of Heraclea, and drew on the previous local historian, Nymphis, in his history. For the Roman triumph, see Beard (2007) and Weinstock (1971).

often interpreted.¹ Given the remarkable transition into Hellenistic kingship of the regime that occurred during the lifetime of Clearchus' son Dionysius, a proto-Hellenistic interpretation is to be preferred over a completely anachronistic Roman interpretation.²

Clearchus was not the only mortal in antiquity recorded as having such divine pretensions. Menecrates of Syracuse was potentially a contemporary of Clearchus, who was a doctor at the court of Philip of Macedon at some point from 356-338, and referred to with divine pretension by the fourth century playwright Ehippus of Athens.³ It is claimed in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* that Menecrates demanded servitude from those he cured of epilepsy, and the servitude involved dressing with attributes of the Olympian gods, while Menecrates led them in the guise of Zeus, adopting purple clothing, a gold crown, a sceptre and slippers.⁴ This list of apparel is remarkably similar to that of Clearchus, but is again derived from a later Hellenistic writer, Hegesander of Delphi.⁵ It is likely that this apparel of Menecrates as Zeus is a later addition to the evidence, as no other writer mentions the use of attributal items, and Hegesander's evidence was likely influenced by the earlier account of Ehippus of Olynthus, who in fragment 5 claims that Alexander would sometimes dress in the attire of the Olympian gods.⁶ Elsewhere in Athenaeus' account in his letter to Philip of Macedon (in an anecdote which is close in content to that of Aelian), Menecrates claims his title lies in his medical prowess, and his ability to preserve and grant life.⁷ Plutarch notes that the appellation of Zeus came about from Menecrates' success at curing desperate medical cases, and while Menecrates was foolish enough to use the name in correspondence, it did not follow in Plutarch's account that he would

¹ Weinstock (1971) 72; Muccioli (2011) 128-32, (2013) 31. Burstein (1976) 61 is more conservative, calling Clearchus 'rouged'.

² Adcock (1953) 168.

³ Athen. *Deip.* 289b.

⁴ Burstein (1976) 62.

⁵ Hegesander, writing in the second century no earlier than the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, wrote later in the Hellenistic period than Nymphis of Heraclea who almost certainly provided the first account of Clearchus' pretensions. Athen. *Deip.* 162a.

⁶ Ehippus *FGrH* 126 F5.

⁷ Athen. *Deip.* 289d; Aelian, *VH* XII.51.

therefore dress as Zeus.¹ Also potentially standing against the evidence was the apparent respect in which Menecrates' medical work was held by later writers.²

Justin's description of the clothing which Clearchus wore when he appeared in public is worth further examination. Justin's testimony is that: 'ueste purpurea et cothurniis regum tragicorum et aurea corona utebatur'.³ Translated literally, Justin claims that Clearchus wore purple clothing, a gold crown and the boots of a tragic king. The reference to the outfit of the tragic king can give us some detail to track down as to what Clearchus may have worn. One place to consider such an outfit is the ghost of Darius in Aeschylus' *Persians*.

ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου, κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὔμαριν ἀείρων, βασιλείου
τιάρας φάλαρον πιφάυσκων.⁴

Come up to the highest point of eminence, lifting your saffron-dyed sandals,
displaying the boss of your royal tiara.

Darius is described as wearing an Asiatic type of saffron-dyed sandals. The word εὔμαρις is used elsewhere in Greek tragedy with a similar meaning of an Asiatic shoe.⁵ Justin's word for Clearchus' footwear, (cothurnus, deriving from κόθορνος in Greek) often had feminine connotations for Roman writers, as well as referring to the high-soled, closed boot worn by principal characters in tragedies.⁶

Clearchus, if he were wearing a tragic boot in the fourth century, could have either been wearing the shoe known as an ἐμβάς (from the Greek ἐμβαίνειν, to step in), a felt shoe which would typically be a half-boot or slipper, or the κόθορνος, the Greek

¹ Plut. *Ages*. XXI.5.

² *BNP* 'Menecrates [3]'.
³ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.11.

⁴ Aesch. *Pers.* 659-62.

⁵ Eur. *Or.* 1370; Bryant (1899) 86.

⁶ Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones (2007) 41; Bryant (1899).

antecedent of the heeled boot.¹ Both were used in Greek tragedy, although I disagree that the shoes are exclusively Dionysian because of this.² Smith makes the important point: 'I admit that the κόθορνος was the shoe worn by Dionysus, but the reason it was ascribed to him is that it was in the first place the luxurious woman's shoe.'³

One obvious comparison to Clearchus' use of theatrical footwear is Demetrius Poliorcetes, the Hellenistic ruler who wore a purple felt shoe;

ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκ πορφύρας ἀκράτου συμπεπλημένης χρυσοβαφεῖς
πεποιημένον ἐμβάδας.⁴

And around his feet he had made shoes made from pure purple felt embroidered with gold.

Plutarch explicitly calls Demetrius' choice of clothing theatrical in his imitation of Alexander's majesty.⁵

While the ἐμβάς is considered uncomplicated as a shoe in antiquity, the κόθορνος apparently possessed variants. Morrow claims that two distinct examples can be found; a form of soft, baggy pull-on boot which can be seen on Attic vases, and the high platform example used in tragic performance.⁶

The question remains which of these shoes Justin was referring to, as *cothurnus* may not directly equate to the Greek shoe in this case. Our clearest hint may be found in the intention of the κόθορνος to increase the stature of the wearer. Morrow states the

¹ Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones (2007) 41; Abrahams (1908) 115, 117. Herodotus I.195 compares the Boeotian ἐμβάς to Assyrian boots. Smith (1905) 163-4 believes that the high-soled boot is an imperial invention, and that it was assumed the high-soled boot had origins in classical Greek drama.

² Cleland, Davies & Llewellyn-Jones (2007) 41, 56-7 claim that both the ἐμβάς and κόθορνος were associated with Dionysus explicitly (Arist. *Fr.* 45-7, 556-7), but they also have other functions even on stage (e.g. Arist. *Lys.* 657 where the chorus of women threatens to use shoes to strike with.) See in this regard Smith (1905) 127. See also Hdt. I.195; Arr. *Eq.* 870.

³ Smith (1905) 128-9.

⁴ Plut. *Demetr.* XLI.6.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Morrow (1985) 148.

purpose of the κόθορνος was ‘to enhance the actor’s stature and cause him to appear larger than life’¹ Memnon’s testimony, that Clearchus used make-up and changed his clothes to instill reactions in those who viewed him, suggests the possibility of using high-soled footwear to improve his height. This is conceivably the footwear Clearchus used for public occasions. We ought not to rule out the possibility of Clearchus using the ἐμβάς as military footwear, as the origin of the shoe was supposedly from Thracian military dress.² The κόθορνος was an inappropriate shoe to wear on the battlefield.

A minor textual variant in the text of Justin is worth discussing here. The *C* manuscript (the Codex Laurentianus 66, 21 as designated by Seel), gives the textual variant *thracum*, rather than the word *tragicum* found in other manuscripts, and generally accepted.³ As such, the *C* manuscript reads *cothurnus regum thracum* (the boots of a Thracian king), rather than *cothurnus regum tragicorum* (the boots of a tragic king).⁴ While it is impossible to know for certain what would be going through the scribe’s mind whilst writing the manuscript, it is worth noting that the words share few letters, and therefore the suggestion that it is a transmission error is most likely incorrect. For whatever reason, the scribe thought that Thracian rather than tragic was the more appropriate adjective, and this possibility is backed up by the emendation having no other surviving examples, despite many editions of Justin’s text surviving.⁵ Emending Justin’s manuscript is clearly not justified, but what is justified is the consideration of what would cause somebody to write *thracum* rather than *tragicorum*. This may lead us to a greater understanding of how to interpret Justin’s reading of Clearchus.

Thrace was a kingdom across the Hellespont from Heraclea Pontica, on the western edge of the Black Sea. The Odrysian kingdom was an alliance of Thracian tribes, who

¹ *Ibid.* 122.

² Poll. *Onom.* VII.85.

³ Seel (1971) 150.

⁴ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.13.10; Seel (1971) 150.

⁵ The manuscript in question, the Codex Laurentianus 66,21, is classified as gamma. Seel notes 18 other manuscripts which all state *tragicum*. Seel (1971) *Sigla*.

came into political prominence in the first half of the fifth century.¹ Herodotus describes what Thracian soldiers wore on their feet:

περὶ δὲ τοὺς πόδας τε καὶ τὰς κνήμας πέδιλα νεβρῶν.²

Around both their feet and legs were shoes of fawn.

This representation of Thracian footwear is corroborated by depictions on contemporary pottery (figure 10). Also worth noting is the statement by Pollux that the Thracians invented the ἐμβάας, the shoe noted above which Clearchus may have worn.³

We do not know what the Thracian kings would have worn in comparison to the common Thracian, but it is reasonable to assume that such boots would have been worn by royalty in a military capacity. There is a plausible possibility for the writer of manuscript *C* to have thought that Clearchus as a leader of mercenaries ought to have worn military equipment, along with the gold crown and sceptre. Another is that Thracian footwear would render Clearchus in a barbarian fashion, borrowing ideas from the 'uncivilised' fringes of the Greek world to present himself. In no sense is it possible to interpret *thracum* as a positive appellation for Clearchus, which suggests that it was acceptable to try and present him in the worst light, and this should impact any judgment on what Justin was attempting to do in his portrayal.

One consideration as to what he would have worn is that of practicality. It is reasonable to assume that if Clearchus fought alongside his mercenaries in the manner of Dionysius I of Syracuse that he would not have worn the outfit described by Justin whilst doing so. As a former leader of mercenaries under Mithridates, Clearchus was well acquainted with armour and weaponry.⁴ Given the common use of hoplite mercenaries by Persians at this time, it is not unreasonable to assume Clearchus used

¹ Strab. *Geog.* F47. The best account of the Odrysian kingdom remains Archibald (1998), but it is worth noting her approach is heavily based on archaeological evidence, and therefore does not discuss iconographic evidence (e.g. on Attic pottery) in detail.

² Hdt. VII.77.1; Best (1969) 7.

³ Poll. *Onom.* VII.85.

⁴ Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.3.

at least part of such armour, perhaps with purple fabric, an eagle standard and a sceptre. To a great extent, this can only be conjecture. To fight in combat at all would require a much more appropriate outfit than Justin's description, and a good assumption to make would be the existence of two distinct outfits for use in war and peace, as the Achaemenid kings had. In ceremonial circumstances the Persian king wore a combination of Median and Persian robe and mantle, but wore a more practical garment for horse-riding or combat.¹ Alexander the Great may be an appropriate comparison here in his combination of expensive clothing and armour: Plutarch describes him in battle wearing luxurious clothing with his armour, including a Sicilian garment underneath it, and a buckled garment made by Helicon the Elder, which was 'too pompous' (σοβαρώτερον) for the rest of his armour, making clear that it was a luxury item beyond necessity.² The important point here is that it was possible to fight in a combination of expensive and practical garments. Along with Alexander's unique helmet, it made very explicit who the ruler was on the battlefield.³

Dionysius I of Syracuse, who very likely influenced Clearchus in the naming of his youngest son, may have been part of Clearchus' inspiration in his approach to combat.⁴ We do not have any evidence for a combination of armour and luxury in Dionysius I's clothing, but he certainly had a distinction between a private and public dress, as Clearchus did. Diodorus is explicit in Dionysius wearing armour to battle, but does not mention the rest of his clothing.⁵ Jason of Pherae also trained in full armour according to Xenophon, although we are not told what else he wore.⁶

Isocrates may well have had an effect on Clearchus's choice of outfit. It is possible that Isocrates gave similar advice to Clearchus as he did in a letter to Nicocles, the ruler of Cyprus in 374.

¹ Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.3.13; Thompson (1965) 123.

² Plut. *Alex.* XXXII.5-6; Hamilton (1968) 40; Green (1991) 177.

³ Plut. *Alex.* XVI.7, 10, XXXII.5. See also the reverse of the 'Porus Medallion' in Holt (2003).

⁴ Diod. Sic. XV.81.5 explicitly claims that Clearchus followed Dionysius' example in becoming tyrant. Muccioli (1999) 235-6.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIV.88.3-4.

⁶ Presumably a light sort of hoplite armour. Xen. *Hell.* VI.i.6.

Τρύφα μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐσθῆσι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα κόσμοις, καρτέρει δ' ὡς χρὴ τοὺς βασιλεύοντας ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν ὀρώντες διὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἄξιόν σε τῆς ἀρχῆς εἶναι νομίζωσιν, οἱ δὲ συνόντες διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ῥώμην τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνοις γνώμην ἔχωσιν.¹

Be luxurious in your clothing and about your body's fashion, but be temperate as a king in your other habits, in order that those seeing may acknowledge through your appearance the worth of your rule, but those acquainted with you may hold knowledge of this through the strength of your spirit.

Clearchus may well have interpreted Isocrates' teaching in his own way, but it would appear Isocrates was an important factor in guiding Clearchus' self-representation. This is also implied by Isocrates' letters to Timotheus and Dionysius of Syracuse. Isocrates' letter to Dionysius may well hint at such misinterpretation, as Isocrates claims that he would rather be there in person to ensure the advice is transmitted properly.² That Isocrates broke off contact with Clearchus upon his return to the east appears to reinforce the notion of how wrong Clearchus had gone in using Isocrates' advice.³

Memnon has nothing to say on whether Satyrus abandoned his brother's outfit for public occasions. Absence of proof is not proof of absence, and the appropriate assumption to make is that Satyrus either took up Clearchus' style of clothing or possibly had Timotheus and Dionysius wear it. As the military head of the state, apparently through peace and war, clothing style would mark out the holder of the office, and if Satyrus or his nephews wore different clothing, it will have resembled much of Clearchus' public outfit.

¹ Isoc. *Ad Nic.* 32.

² Isoc. *Ad Dion.* 2-3.

³ Isoc. *Ad Timo.* 12-13. Burstein suggests this letter is a thinly veiled attempt at interceding on behalf of the exiled Heracleot population. Whatever Timotheus took from this letter, this was not something he contemplated acting upon. Burstein (1976) 69.

4.6.2) Crown

The golden crown (*aurea corona*) is another frustrating piece of evidence with no description at all as to how it would have looked, or how Clearchus would have worn it. Crowns were more often found in the fourth century given as civic honours than as part of a functional outfit or piece of regalia in the manner which Clearchus is claimed to have worn.¹ Golden civic crowns could be awarded in Athens by the state and by the council, and were typically awarded at religious festivals, particularly the Dionysia.² These crowns were not intended to be regal, but as a votive of thanks for exceptional deeds. Such an act was not restricted to individuals, but a city or people could gift another city or people a votive crown, as the people of the Chersonese gave to Athens according to Demosthenes.³

Clearchus is certainly not using a crown in this civic sense, though perhaps the religious aspects of such civic crowning may apply to Clearchus, considering his use of the golden crown at the Dionysian festival in Heraclea which he appears to have taken seriously. The Macedonian kings of the fourth century wore an adjustable circular band of precious metal which bound around the head, if the archaeological find at Vergina was used before being buried.⁴ The Achaemenid kings wore a gold crenellated crown for ceremonial purposes.⁵ The crown, along with the dress of a tragic king, was intended to be a display of wealth and power, rather than a civic honour. In the case of Clearchus, the gold crown is to be interpreted as a power symbol which acts as a visual identifier, further increasing the dynamic tension between himself and the citizens of Heraclea. In this regard, a plausible suggestion is that Clearchus' decision to wear a gold crown may have been inspired by Dionysius in Syracuse. Diodorus states explicitly that Clearchus' tyranny was inspired by that of the Dionysii, and it is likely that

¹ Cleland et al. (2007) 43.

² Dem. *De Cor.* 54-55.

³ *Ibid.* 92.

⁴ Two crowns were found in the Great Tumulus Tomb II at Vergina: a golden wreath with oak leaves, and an adjustable circular band. See Andronikos (1984) 171, 174; Hatzopoulos & Loukopoulou (1990) 224

⁵ Henkelman (1995-6).

Clearchus' son was named after Dionysius.¹

4.6.3) Sceptre

There has been some controversy concerning a passage of Plutarch in which Clearchus is either carrying a *scepton* or a *sceptron*.

καὶ τί ἂν περιούτων λέγοι τις, οἷς ἐξῆν δι' Ἀλέξανδρον μέγα φρονεῖν, ὅπου Κλέαρχος Ἡρακλείας τύραννος γενόμενος σκηπτὸν ἐφόρει καὶ τῶν υἱῶν ἓνα Κεραυνὸν ὠνόμασε;²

And yet why ought anyone to say of these men, that it is possible for them to think of greatness on account of Alexander, whereas Clearchus, when he became the tyrant of Heraclea, used to carry a thunderbolt, and named the first of his sons Ceraunus?

There is no corroborating evidence from Justin, Memnon or any of the other sources concerning Clearchus, making the use of a thunderbolt by Plutarch in this passage a puzzle. Editors of Plutarch's text have traditionally rendered the Greek in order that Clearchus is carrying a *skepton*, even though the surviving manuscripts read *skeptron* unanimously, excepting *scholia* on two manuscripts from the fifteenth century.³ Burstein has challenged this interpretation and claims the amendment to *skeptron* is more appropriate when the rest of the surviving evidence is considered. It is difficult to be certain which Plutarch meant, when no other author mentions either a sceptre or thunderbolt. The sceptre is the more likely answer, as Burstein argues, but I do not agree that the evidence of Justin rules the thunderbolt out.

Assuming that Clearchus indeed carried some kind of sceptre, we must consider the likely connotations. Bearing in mind the rest of Clearchus' outfit, the sceptre derives from one (or both) of two likely purposes, as a military staff, or as a symbol of dynastic

¹ Diod. Sic. XVI.36.1. See section 4.3.

² Plut. *Mor.* 338b.

³ Burstein (1974) 89-90 n.1.

power. The sceptre in Greek tradition has a mythical quality, often wielded by Dark Age or Homeric rulers.¹ Although some literary evidence from the classical period mentions the use of sceptres, historical attestation for their use in the Classical period is rare, suggesting they were not common.² Zeus is often depicted with a sceptre, occasionally with an eagle on top.³

The Persian king is described in the *Book of Esther* as holding a sceptre, which he invites Esther to touch. This gesture is intended to reassure Esther no harm will come to her.⁴ Xenophon mentions the gold sceptre of Persian rule in the *Cyropaedia*, as Cyrus talks to Cambyses upon his deathbed.⁵ The Achaemenid use of the sceptre in this fashion most likely derived from the Assyrian and Egyptian rulers.⁶ Diodorus claims that Alexander the Great's funeral cortège had a painted tablet of the dead King holding a sceptre, indicating part of his acculturation of Persian royal custom.⁷ The Vergina excavations unearthed a possible golden sceptre in Tomb II, and another in tomb III.⁸ Borza was sceptical of this discovery and notes that if it were a sceptre in the the royal sense, it is odd that it was left in the tomb and not passed down to Alexander (assuming the tomb is that of Philip II).⁹ We also have no comparison as to the nature of the Macedonian sceptre, barring the possibility of the 'Porus medallion'.¹⁰

The Achaemenids had a kingship ritual which was performed in the ancient Persian heartland, around the shrine of Anahita in Pasargadae.¹¹ The king would receive many of the distinguished items necessary, including the ceremonial wearing of Cyrus the Great's robes. The sceptre, along with a bow and spear, were likely given to the king

¹ Hom. *Il.* 2.101; Thuc. 1.9.

² Aesch. *Prom.* 76, *Eum.* 626; Soph. *Oed. Col.* 425; Strootman (2007) 372-4. Strab. *Geog.* 633 notes an historical usage of sceptres by the ancestral rulers of Ephesus.

³ Pind. *Pyth.* 1.9; Paus. V.11.1. Dowden (2006) 25-7 notes that Pheidias' statue of Olympian Zeus was later seen as the archetype of Zeus' portrayal. The earliest example of Zeus with an eagle is a small statue dates from seventh century Arcadia. See Kourouniotis (1904) 180-1 figs. 8-10.

⁴ *Esther* XV.14-15.

⁵ Xen. *Cyrop.* VIII.7.13.

⁶ Cleland et al. (2007) 177-8.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XVIII.27.1.

⁸ Hammond (1989) 219.

⁹ Borza (1990) 264.

¹⁰ Borza (1987) 116. The Porus medallion does not conclusively match up with a hypothetical Argead sceptre, and could just as likely be depicting a Persian equivalent. See Holt (2003).

¹¹ Plut. *Arta.* III.1.

during this ceremony.¹ The Persian king would also receive the sceptre of Nabu as part of the New Year celebrations of the Akitu festival in Babylon. This would be given over to the priests of Marduk, along with the king's crown and weapons, for the 'humiliation' ritual, and these would be returned upon passing the test. This involved the priest striking the king, and his reaction predicted fortune or misfortune for him. This reconstruction relies on Seleucid era chronicles, and cannot therefore be definitive.² Assyrian kings had long counted the sceptre as part of their regalia before the Achaemenid period, as shown in a number of Esarhaddon chronicles.³

The item that Clearchus held was in all certainty a sceptre or staff, rather than a thunderbolt. Given the interpretation by Greco-Roman writers that Clearchus was allying his power with the Olympian gods, that it could be interpreted as a thunderbolt is understandable, but Plutarch is incorrect on this count.

4.6.4) Eagle

Clearchus is said to have had a golden eagle carried before him as part of his public display. Justin claims that 'a golden eagle as evidence of his birth was carried before him' (Eunti per publicum aurea aquila uelut argumentum generis praeferebatur).⁴ There is not much of an argument against the golden eagle being part of the repertoire of Greek religious significance which Clearchus envisioned.⁵ However, it is worth considering what effect the eagle would have had upon Persian viewers. The Greek interpretation of the eagle as a Persian symbol can be found in Aeschylus' *Persians*, where Atossa dreams of an eagle which represents Persia being killed by a hawk.⁶ In the Greek tradition the mythical founder of the Achaemenid dynasty, Achaemenes, was raised by an eagle.⁷ The biblical tradition also corroborates this symbolism, such as

¹ *Ibid.* III.1-3; *BNP* s.v. 'ceremony'.

² Erickson (2011) 61; Sommer (2000).

³ *RINAP* Esarhaddon 111.Vii.7-11 is typical of the formulaic usage found in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions: 'May [Marduk] allow my hands to grasp the righteous sceptre that enlarges the land (and) the fierce staff that humbles the unsubmissive'. Translated by Grayson.

⁴ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.10.

⁵ Hom. *Il.* 24.310-1

⁶ Aesch. *Pers.* 205-7; Hall (1996) 125.

⁷ Ael. *NA* XII.21.

as the *Book of Isaiah* which describes Cyrus as a bird of prey from the east.¹ The winged disk of Ahuramazda may also have been an iconographic factor with which the denizens of Asia Minor were familiar.²

The golden eagle was also the standard of the Achaemenid King on campaign, and possibly whilst encamped as well.³ Xenophon describes the standard of Cyrus the Great:

ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶ τοῦ σημείου ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος. καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον τῶ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ διαμένει.⁴

His standard was a golden eagle with extended wings upon a long pole. This continues even now as the standard of the Persian king.

Quintus Curtius Rufus describes Darius III going into battle with a similar description.

Inter haec aquilam auream pinnas extendenti similem sacraverant.⁵

Between this a golden eagle's likeness with outstretched wings had been dedicated.

The eagle as a symbol has a very long currency in the east in comparison to the Greek world.⁶ In the Ancient Near East, in comparison, the eagle was a symbol of light for the the Babylonian and Hittite kingdoms, which took on an increased military aspect under

¹ *Isaiah* XLVI.11; Chen (2010).

² This is thought to represent the *Farr* (glory) of the Persian king. Moorey (1978) 146-8; Root (1979) 169; Frye (1984) 177; Briant (2002) 248.

³ Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.5.13; Xen. *Anab.* I.10.12 ; Curt. III.3.16. For the argument that the banner in the Issus Mosaic depicts the Achaemenid eagle standard, see Nylander (1983) 23.

⁴ Xen. *Cyr.* VII.1.4.; Holton (2013) 127.

⁵ Curt. III.3.16.

⁶ Mylonas (1946) 203-4 makes an argument for the concept of the eagle linked with Zeus only becoming cemented as late as the fifth century throughout Greece. He points out that the combination of Zeus with the symbol of the eagle is not iconographically attributed outside the cult at Lykaion before the fifth century. In literature the concept goes back further, e.g. Bacchyl. *Od.* V. 19. The use of the eagle by the Hellenistic kings in their dynastic imagery may have had an impact on earlier interpretations such as that of Clearchus, and further linked the two indelibly, such that the separate Near Eastern tradition may have been forgotten. See *Suda s.v. 'Lagos'*, Rice (1983); Meyboom (1995) 53-4, 55 n.82, 129-30; Holton (2013) 127, 151, 200. On the Seleucid use of eagles in dynastic imagery and coinage, see Erickson (2011).

the Achaemenid dynasty.¹ The eagle as a symbol of Zeus in the sense that Justin claims Clearchus to have used it was recent concept compared to the two millennia of tradition in Asia Minor.

Clearchus is known to have sent embassies to Persia and have allied Heraclea with Artaxerxes II.² It is not inconceivable that Clearchus felt the golden eagle was an appropriate way to demonstrate his power to both Greeks and Persians. Greek onlookers would equate such symbolism with the sacred bird of Zeus, whilst Persians would see the most potent symbol of Achaemenid military power. Clearchus' position as the *strategos autokrator* of Heraclea was an explicitly military position within the constitution, and the golden eagle may have been intended to represent this aspect of his rule. Justin's verb, *praefero*, usually applies to the military or religious carrying of objects. There is a possibility that Trogus' account which Justin epitomised had Clearchus preceded in public by an eagle standard.

It is worth remembering that the various sources concerning Clearchus are not contemporary and derive from a Greco-Roman viewpoint. The religious and cultural prism through which Clearchus was viewed in retrospect has undoubtedly resulted in a narrow interpretation of what Clearchus was attempting. Such dual usage of concepts was not an uncommon phenomenon in the eastern Mediterranean. Alexander the Great made good use of local religious dualities with Greek gods on his coinage. The Baal of Tarsus corresponded seamlessly to the seated Zeus on the reverse of Alexander's coinage.³ Locals who received the currency could still identify the figure as Baal, but a Macedonian receiving his pay would equate the figure with Zeus.

4.7) Accessibility

Clearchus' clothing is interesting for two reasons: his choice of something akin to a theatrical king on the Greek stage, and his awareness of what effect his clothing would have upon those who saw him. The clothing of tyrants is often a significant part of the

¹ See Chen (2010) for a strong discussion of bird of prey imagery in the Ancient Near East.

² Memnon *FGrH* 434 F1.4.

³ Carradice & Price (1988) 108-9; De Callataÿ (1982). However, see against this Price (1991) vol. 1 27-9.

paradoxical evidence which has survived. Philosophical discourse in particular seems determined to cast 'the tyrant' (in the stock sense) as utterly afraid of appearing in public: Xenophon's *Hiero* springs to mind.¹ This raises the question as to why tyrants such as Clearchus have such a calculated perspective on which clothes they are wearing. The point of such clothing is to induce a sense of grandeur, which requires the public to see them. In Clearchus' case, who is he trying to impress, and why? Justin's account, if we can accept it, makes it clear that Clearchus dressed in his impressive clothing for explicitly public appearances. Memnon's account does not give the specific circumstances for his clothing, but it is safe to assume that Clearchus' ostentatious dress is meant for public consumption. It is worth remembering that Clearchus used the *demos* as a lever against the oligarchic council of three hundred, and that many of the people left in Heraclea after the enforced exile of the aristocracy must have supported Clearchus more than the sources allow.²

The evidence, on face value, reveals three locations where Clearchus would have met with people outside his immediate family. Clearchus appears to have met people with whom he was well acquainted inside the citadel which he built upon becoming tyrant.³ Justin's account suggests this was the privilege of those well known to Clearchus, and this seems reasonable to accept as a possibility.⁴ This was similar to the way in which Dionysius I of Syracuse conducted his meetings. Memnon claims that Clearchus was killed during a public sacrifice, which corroborates in part with Diodorus, who claims Clearchus was killed during the festival of Dionysus.⁵ Thus we can assume that Clearchus attended such religious public occasions on a regular basis. Letter 17 attributed to Chion of Heraclea suggests Clearchus led the procession and was not completely surrounded by his mercenary bodyguard.

¹ Xen. *Hier.* I.12.

² Burstein (1976) 60.

³ Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.1.

⁴ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.10.

⁵ Diod. Sic XVI.36.3; Christy (2010) 73.

πέμπεται δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πομπὴ τῷ Διονύσῳ, καὶ δοκεῖ ὀλιγωρότερον ἕξειν δι' αὐτὴν τὰ τῶν δορυφόρων.¹

That day [Clearchus] leads a procession for Dionysius, and therefore it is expected that those guarding him will be more careless.

Polyaenus claims that Clearchus was present during a campaign against Astacus, and that therefore Clearchus' appearance before his men in combat must be considered a possibility as well.²

Thus, we have a variety of audience to consider. Close friends and advisors, as well as foreign dignitaries, would see Clearchus in person in the citadel. Most of the city would presumably see Clearchus at religious events such as the festival of Dionysus, possibly along with metics and foreign peoples. On campaign, Clearchus would be seen by his mercenaries and by the levy of Heracleot citizens.

Clearchus was meant to have based his tyranny on that of Dionysius I of Syracuse, according to Diodorus.³ What evidence there is extant concerning the citadel and the court appears to corroborate Diodorus' statement. Justin's testimony concerning the murder of Clearchus makes it clear that access to the citadel was heavily restricted, as Chion and Leonides were allowed access on account of their relationship to Clearchus.⁴ The relatives disguised as attendants left in ambush were presumably somewhere within the complex, but as they were not allowed near the tyrant, they were separated from Chion and Leonides by Clearchus' mercenaries. If they were disguised as attendants, they were therefore stopped part of the way into the complex. The plan to overpower the guards and come to the aid of Chion and Leonides presumably required that they were somewhere inside the complex, otherwise they would have had to fight their way into the citadel from the outside, and hence their role as attendants allowed them access to the outer echelons of the citadel. Further evidence which suggests

¹ Chion, *Epist.* XVII.1.

² Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.3.

³ Diod. Sic. XVI.36.3; Muccioli (1999) 235-6.

⁴ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.15.

graded access within the citadel complex is the philosophical circle which Chion led at court, as well as the installation of a library. Polyaeus' testimony outlines that Clearchus intended to build a wall as well as a citadel, clearly indicating that a separate area from the wall to the citadel would be part of his complex.¹ It is likely that the mercenaries lived in the area between the citadel and the wall, and it is also plausible that the school and library could have been in this area as well. Evidence that Clearchus' citadel was located on the acropolis comes from Chion's letters, where Silenus was able to take control of the acropolis during an unsuccessful coup.² The details of the interior of the citadel are unable to be reconstructed with any certainty, but Plutarch's statement that Clearchus would sleep in a chest hints at the tyrant possessing secluded private quarters.³

The citadel on the acropolis, with a surrounding wall, gave Clearchus protection and enhanced status. That Chion had access to Clearchus within the citadel but others did not denotes a hierarchy of access, with those of highest privilege having direct access to Clearchus, with reduced mercenary guard. Justin's account implies that the mercenaries were around Clearchus, but not completely surrounding him.⁴

4.7.1) Proskynesis

One puzzling aspect of the Suda's evidence is that Clearchus was the recipient of *proskynesis*.⁵ The Suda attributes this to the fact that Clearchus wanted divine honours, but the evidence of Justin and Memnon, as Burstein notes, renders the likelihood that Clearchus saw himself as a god as extremely unlikely.⁶ *Proskynesis* was, in its Greek conception, only acceptable practice for a god.⁷ The practice of different gradations of *proskynesis* in Achaemenid society, with the king as the recipient of a

¹ Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.1.

² Chion, *Epist.* XIII.1; Burstein (1976) 64.

³ Plut. *Mor.* 781d-e; Burstein (1976) 64.

⁴ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.16.

⁵ *Suda* s.v. 'Klearchos'

⁶ Burstein (1974) 90-1.

⁷ Hdt. VII.136.1; Nep. *Con.* III.3. See also the Theban Ismenias' attempt to pass off the dropping of a ring as *proskynesis*, for example. Plut. *Arta.* XXII.4; Aelian *VH.* I.21; Frye (1972); Bosworth (1988) 284-5; Fredrickmeyer (2000); Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 72. See Bowden (2013) 57-62 for a thorough examination of the Ancient evidence.

near-complete flattening of the body against the floor, was uncomfortable for a Greek audience, and also proved a colossal issue for Alexander's Macedonian companions, first highlighted by Callisthenes' refusal to perform *proskynesis* for Alexander.¹ As Bosworth points out, the issue stemmed from the divergence between the Achaemenid reception of *proskynesis* as a secular act, in comparison to the cult act of Greek religion.² The evidence of the *Suda* is clearly derived from hostile Greco-Roman source material in this regard, with a considerable deal of sympathy for Chion's assassination and Platonic philosophy. The issue of *proskynesis* for Clearchus is therefore cast in the Greco-Roman form, where the debased nature of Clearchus means he intended to transcend mortality and accordingly expected divine honours. However, we may be in the realms of Ehippean playfulness here. If Clearchus demanded the act of *proskynesis*, the context of Heraclea Pontica in the fourth century, long within the jurisdiction of the Achaemenid Empire and allied to the Persian throne, must be taken into account.³ Clearchus would have seen the act of *proskynesis* first hand whilst serving as a mercenary under Mithridates, as the *Suda* claims that Clearchus went to Mithridates' camp, and was presumably therefore part of the itinerant court there.⁴ The embassy sent to Persia by Clearchus towards the beginning of his reign also suggests that there was some knowledge of Achaemenid court protocol.⁵ It is not inconceivable that Clearchus, through dealing with satraps and the Persian king, found inspiration as to how to portray his newly acquired power towards a Greek and Persian audience.⁶

The contemporary example of Nicostratus of Argos proves an instructive comparison to Clearchus. Nicostratus was also a mercenary leader who worked on behalf of the

¹ Plut. *Alex.* LIV.5-6; Arr. *Anab.* IV.12.3-5; Balsdon (1950) 379-82; Bosworth (1988) 285. On the Achaemenid act of *proskynesis*, see Bickermann (1963) 241-55; Frye (1972) 102-3, 106-7; Gabelmann (1984) 88-95; Briant (2002) 222-3; Llewellyn-Jones (2013) 71-2.

² *Ibid.* 284.

³ Muccioli (2011) 130.

⁴ *Suda* s.v. 'Klearchos'; Burstein (1976) 49.

⁵ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F1.4; Burstein (1976) 54.

⁶ It is also possible that Clearchus was inspired by Dionysius of Syracuse in this regard, if Sanders is correct in stating that Dionysius instigated an Achaemenid inspired ruler cult. If this is accurate, then Clearchus has incorporated an aspect of Achaemenid rule through its use by a previous tyrant. Sanders (1991) 283.

Persians, and his reputation in battle was such that Artaxerxes III requested him personally to lead an Argive contingent of three thousand men against Sidon.¹ He was accompanied during the subsequent invasion of Egypt by one of Artaxerxes' ushers, Aristazanes, who Diodorus claims was second in companionship to the king behind the eunuch Bagoas.² This favour demonstrates the significant esteem in which he was held by Artaxerxes. However, Nicostratus' military ability apparently went hand in hand with madness, such that he was to be found wearing a lionskin and wielding a club on the battlefield in the manner of Heracles.³ The contemporary Theopompus of Chios, writing in the fourth century, wrote that Nicostratus went so far in his flattery of the Persian king and desire of barbarian honours that he brought his son to the Persian court (with the implication that he would be held hostage in exchange for good conduct), noting that this had not been done by a Greek before.⁴ Even more remarkably, he would honour the *daimon* of the Persian king at his own meals:

ἔπειτα καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὅποτε μέλλοι δειπνεῖν τράπεζαν παρετίθει χωρὶς ὀνομάζων τῷ δαίμονι τῷ βασιλέως, ἐμπλήσας σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων, ἀκούων μὲν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς περὶ τὰς θύρας διατρίβοντας.⁵

Thereafter each day when he was about to dine, he set apart a table named for the spirit of the king filled with food and other supplies, hearing that this was what the Persians spending time at the gates do.

Tuplin points out that Nicostratus may not have completely understood the customs he was emulating.⁶ Perhaps the attempt reveals as much as whether or not it was a success, in the sense that such behaviour evidently did not offend the Achaemenid hierarchy to the extent that Nicostratus fell out of favour. Like Clearchus, Nicostratus endeavoured to ingratiate himself with Achaemenid customs for his own benefit, and continued his financial and personal success as a result.

¹ Diod. Sic. XVI.44.2.

² *Ibid.* XVI.47.3.

³ *Ibid.* XVI.44.3. It is an interesting coincidence that Clearchus of Heraclea Pontica, Menecrates of Syracuse and Nicostratus were all portrayed as mad in ancient literature for their pretensions.

⁴ Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F124.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Tuplin (2011) 154.

4.8) Dynasty

4.8.1) Dynastic Structure

Our knowledge of Clearchus' family is hampered by our patchy ancient evidence. Clearchus' relatives that we know of are his brother Satyrus, and his unknown blood relation with his eventual assassin Chion. Satyrus was married, but had no children of his own, which left only Clearchus' children to continue the political dynasty. An unknown woman bore Timotheus and Dionysius to Clearchus. Timotheus would die early and without children. Dionysius, as far as we are aware, married twice, first to a unknown local woman, who gave him a daughter (name unknown).¹ His second wife was Amastris, of the Achaemenid dynasty. Dionysius and Amastris had two sons, Clearchus and Oxathres, and a daughter, Amastris. After the death of Dionysius, Amastris married the Successor and king of Thrace, Lysimachus. This union bore one son, named Alexander.²

As with the Dionysii, the Clearchids are notable for utilising relatives in important administrative and military positions. It is possible that Clearchus sent one of his relatives as an ambassador to the Persian king. Chion was the leader of a philosophical study circle at the court. Lysimachus' campaign against the Getae resulted in the younger Clearchus joining him in the expedition.

The greatest hint as to how we ought to interpret the dynasty comes from the marriage of Dionysius to Amastris. Dionysius no doubt leapt at the chance to marry an Achaemenid, and in many respects this was a culmination of the family policy of loyalty towards Artaxerxes II and III. Even through the Macedonian invasion of Asia Minor, Dionysius showed continued loyalty to the Achaemenids by not submitting to Alexander, which made it a logical decision for Amastris to marry into a dynasty which had respected the authority of her family.³ It also points to Persian inspiration for how

¹ She would go on to marry Polemaeus, the nephew of Antigonus Monophthalmus. Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.6.

² Polyaeus, *Strat.* VI.12.

³ Lester-Pearson (forthcoming).

the dynasty wished to portray itself, even before the accession to Kingship taken at the end of Dionysius' life.

4.8.2) Women

Our knowledge of the women involved in the Clearchid dynasty is almost non-existent. We only possess the names of two women related to the dynasty: Amastris, the wife of Dionysius and her daughter also named Amastris.¹ We do not know what relation Matris was to the tyranny in this respect. Other women who are unnamed but mentioned in our extant evidence are the wife of Clearchus (the mother of Timotheus and Dionysius), the wife of Satyrus and the first wife of Dionysius.² The wife of Dionysius gave birth to a daughter who we do not know the name of, but who went on to marry Polemaeus, the nephew of Antigonus Monophthalmus.³ Dionysius' first daughter appears to have played no part in the succession after the death of her father, as Amastris and her sons by Dionysius succeeded to the rule.

Our evidence on Clearchid women is therefore almost entirely dependent on Amastris, the Achaemenid niece of Darius III. Amastris is presented in Memnon's account as a capable ruler, whom Dionysius left as regent for their sons Clearchus and Oxathres upon his deathbed.⁴ Amastris makes for an interesting comparison with the Macedonian royal women active in the political sphere at the time, with Memnon claiming that she created the synoikism of Amastris, and improved the city of Heraclea itself.⁵ She was able to negotiate her marriage to Lysimachus, as well as her divorce from Craterus to marry Dionysius, so her history of independent action does not begin only with the death of her husband.⁶

¹ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.4, 4.8.

² *Ibid.* 434 F2.3.

³ *Ibid.* 434 F4.6.

⁴ *Ibid.* 434 F4.8.

⁵ *Ibid.* 434 F5.4. See section 4.3.

⁶ *Ibid.* 434 F4.4, 4.9. See section 4.3.

4.9) Military Function

Many of the members of the dynasty had military experience. Clearchus was a mercenary commander before becoming tyrant, and led at least one documented campaign in person as tyrant. His sons Timotheus and Dionysius were both successful in the military sphere, and Timotheus in particular was regarded as a strong warrior.¹ Dionysius was able to make significant expansions in territory after Alexander the Great's victory at the Granicus River.² Clearchus, the son of Dionysius and Amastris, was active in military affairs as well, fighting with Lysimachus against the Getae.³

4.9.1) The Epithet *Ceraunus*⁴

Further evidence towards a military conception of the dynasty is the choice of 'Ceraunus' (lightning) as an epithet by Clearchus for his son, which in other uses as an epithet in the Hellenistic period has apparent links to military success and violence. Justin is explicit in claiming Clearchus named his son *Ceraunus*.⁵ However, the epithet Ceraunus was used by Hellenistic rulers (Ptolemy Ceraunus and Seleucus III Ceraunus) and it is perhaps as an epithet rather than a name that we should consider it being used for Clearchus' son (most likely Timotheus, the eldest son). If Justin's information via Trogus ultimately came from a Hellenistic writer such as Nymphis, then the sense of the Hellenistic royal epithet may have been misunderstood by the two later writers. Memnon does not recall that Clearchus named his son Ceraunus, but has an interesting reason for why Ptolemy Ceraunus is so named, 'on account of his awkwardness and madness (διὰ τὴν σκαιότητα καὶ ἀπόνουαν).⁶ This less than flattering flattering account of Memnon lays out the common problem of royal epithets in the

¹ *Ibid.* 434 F3.2.

² *Ibid.* 434 F4.1.

³ *Ibid.* 434 F5.1.

⁴ I had a great deal of help from an open discussion of this issue held during a Postgraduate seminar at St Andrews. Particular thanks must go to Dr Nicolas Wiater and Dr Sian Lewis for their helpful ideas and comments.

⁵ *Just. Epit.* V.11.

⁶ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F5.6.

Hellenistic period. In comparison, Pausanias claims his name came from his 'hastiness to dare' (τολμῆσαι πρόχειρος).¹

The line between an official title and a sobriquet often becomes blurred in the literary sources, and to what extent they were intentional is difficult to ascertain.² Seleucus III had the official royal epithet of *Soter*, but his sobriquet of *Ceraunus* was also used.³ If Clearchus named Timotheus *Ceraunus*, then it must be considered what purpose he had in mind. Timotheus would be the first historical figure given the epithet, before Ptolemy *Ceraunus* and Seleucus III *Ceraunus* in the Hellenistic period.⁴ On first glance, there appears to be little or no correlation between the three men and their epithets. Timotheus must have received his epithet whilst very young, if at Clearchus' death he was too young to rule and his uncle Satyrus had to act as regent.⁵ Memnon claims Ptolemy received his epithet as a nickname due to his murder of Agathocles in Thrace.⁶ Thrace.⁶ Seleucus III was called *Ceraunus* by his troops, according to Porphry.⁷ What is particularly interesting about the two Hellenistic rulers is that nowhere in the sources is there any sort of implication that the epithet *Ceraunus* has anything to do with religion. This is in direct contrast to the testimony of Justin and Aelian (or the *Suda*) that Clearchus named his son as part of his religious aspirations. The solution of

¹ Paus.I.16.2. Muccioli (2013) 153 interprets this as a positive reason for the epithet, but see Plut. *Brut.* XXXIV.3 for another example of πρόχειρος as a negative trait.

² Van Nuffelen (2009) is a strong recent study of Hellenistic epithets, and their use by historians. Van Nuffelen does not discuss the epithet *Ceraunus*, but does discuss it in passing with regard to Seleucus III, see Van Nuffelen (2004) 295. Muccioli (2013) 153. Muccioli's new monograph on Hellenistic epithets does not consider *Ceraunus* as a category.

³ Porphry *FGrH* 260 F4; Van Nuffelen (2004) 291-3, 298; Muccioli (2013) 153.

⁴ The Barcid line in Carthage derives from the punic for 'thunder', *brq*. Lancel (1999) 6 considers this equivalent to *Ceraunus*, but does not discuss it any further. Of interest is that the earliest recorded Barcid, Hamilcar Barca, dates from the first half of the third century BC and is approximately contemporary to Ptolemy *Ceraunus* and Seleucus III.

⁵ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F2.1.

⁶ *Ibid.* 434 F8.2.

⁷ Porphry *FGrH* 260 F44. We need not entertain the claim of Grainger that he was so called due to his 'noisy reputation'. Grainger (1997) 63; Muccioli (2013) 153. This attitude seems to derive from Bevan's take on Seleucus III. Bevan (1902) 204.

the disparity between the epithets therefore cannot lie in the belief that *Ceraunus* was an extension of the epithet of Zeus to humans, and we must look further.¹

There are a few problems and pitfalls to consider here. Having included the reason for Ptolemy Ceraunus' epithet, it seems strange for Photius to have left out the equivalent explanation for Clearchus' son. With the strong manuscript tradition of Photius' *Bibliotheca*, the odds of an error occurring in transmission through the Photian manuscripts are negligible. This leaves two possibilities. One is that Memnon discussed the epithet *Ceraunus* during his narrative of the Clearchid tyrants, and despite his discussion of the epithet elsewhere, Photius neglected to commit it to his epitome. The other is that Memnon (or his sources) did not discuss it at all.

Photius was at least partially concerned with many of the same interesting factors of Clearchus' self-presentation as Justin/Trogus and the *Suda* were, such as his elaborate costume and use of make-up. If Memnon had discussed the naming of Clearchus' son, it seems very odd for Photius to have deliberately omitted such an important detail. However, this scenario is not impossible, and cannot be discounted, especially considering the rushed compilation of the *Bibliotheca*.² Nevertheless, the far more likely possibility is that Memnon did not discuss the epithet *Ceraunus* with regard to the Clearchids. If this is the case, this would suggest that the evidence of Clearchus naming his son *Ceraunus* did not begin with Nymphis. The epithet *Ceraunus* may well be a later construction, long after the blackening of the Clearchids by the intellectuals of the Academy. It is notable that both Justin and Aelian discuss the epithet alongside their negative interpretation of his aspirations. They are both quick to attribute Clearchus' actions as divinely offensive, with Justin claiming that the name *Ceraunus* was meant to mock the gods.³

There is a significant problem with this interpretation of Clearchus' intentions, when we consider the lack of religious significance to the attribution of *Ceraunus* as an

¹ Contra Muccioli (2013) 153-4. Van Nuffelen (2009) 95 notes that 'historians of the late Hellenistic period and the early Roman Empire have a great interest in pinpointing the precise origin of a specific epithet.'

² However Photius composed his work, the surviving version is clearly unedited.

³ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.11.

epithet of Ptolemy and Seleucus III. Memnon's claim that Ptolemy Ceraunus received his epithet for his assassination of Agathocles has no religious significance at all. The implication is that Ptolemy was called *Ceraunus* due to the speed with which he undertook the murder, and the manner in which he was able to take over the former army of Seleucus and become King of Macedon. Seleucus III was acclaimed *Ceraunus* by his army, and Eusebius, referencing Porphyry, does not intimate any religious pretensions in the epithet. It was certainly an unofficial title, as the former Alexander was named *Soter* in surviving Seleucid inscriptions and chronicles. Seleucus III led only one campaign of which we are aware during his rule: his mission to the west in order to take back former Seleucid lands from the Attalid kingdom.¹ This resulted in his assassination, but evidently not before earning his nickname. Scholarship has often assumed that Seleucus III received his epithet due to his noisy personality, but more likely this was due to Seleucus' immediate haste to recover the eastern lands. Coins were likely minted to commemorate this mission, which would have been used to pay the troops.² This would fit with the troops' acclamation, in the traditional manner of many Hellenistic royal titles, of Seleucus' speed to pay his men and his immediate decision to march west.

The clearest indication of all about the nature of Seleucus III's epithet is in Eusebius' sentence construction.

Seleucus autem, qui Callinicus vocabatur, Antigoni frater, obit anno altero. Successitque illi filius eius Alexander, qui Seleucum semetipsum nuncupavit, Ceraunus tamen ab exercitu appellabatur. Fratrem etiam habuit, qui nomen Antiochus.³

Seleucus, who was called Callinicus, the brother of Antigonus, died after another year, and he was succeeded by his son Alexander, who called himself Seleucus. Nevertheless he was called Ceraunus by the army. He also had a brother, who was named Antiochus.

¹ Seleucus appears to have made this his immediate priority upon his accession. Polyb. IV.46.

² Seyrig (1971) 7-11.

³ Porphyry *FGrH* 260 F44.

The verbs *vocabatur* and *apellabatur* show clearly that the epithets of Seleucus II and III were given to them in a passive construction. In this sense they are epithets in the general Hellenistic sense, given to the kings by grateful subjects, and not self-proclaimed (or at least not to start with).¹ However, the crux of what Seleucus III's epithet was intended to signify lies in the sentence construction.

Ceraunus tamen ab exercitu appellabatur.

Nevertheless he was called Ceraunus by the army.

The army clearly intended for Seleucus III to follow in the footsteps of his father in every sense, down to the creation of their own name for him. The martial epithet of Seleucus II, *Callinicus* (fine victory) was clearly given to him by his army, and we can assume many of the same men in the Seleucid army fought for both father and son. *Ceraunus* in the case of Seleucus III can only be understood in this context; that the army gave him his name in the hope that his military exploits would rival, if not surpass his father.²

Ptolemy Ceraunus is also described with peculiar vocabulary by Memnon in his violent act of killing Lysimachus' son Agathocles.³ *Katakoptein* is not a word used often in connection with thunder or lightning, but is more commonly found as military terminology.⁴ It carries the sense of cutting in a particularly brutal fashion with regard to other people. It is strange, therefore, to see the epithet *Ceraunus* linked with this verb in Memnon's account. Memnon clearly believes the act of the murder to be the moment when the name *Ceraunus* stuck, but based on the awkward use of *katakoptein*, it is possible Memnon has misinterpreted the event and attached the epithet to the murder erroneously. This possibility is one worth considering, especially as Memnon is the only source to link Ptolemy Ceraunus explicitly to the murder of

¹ Van Nuffelen (2009) 93-4 notes the difference between epithets given to the kings which were then put forwards in an official manner, and the deliberate creation of a dynastic cult, notably by the Seleucids, who Van Nuffelen has argued retrospectively codified the epithets of the earlier kings around the time of Antiochus III. Van Nuffelen (2004), (2009) 98. Holton (forthcoming).

² Muccioli (2013) 153 believes it was a negative name.

³ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F5.6.

⁴ See Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.25, for example.

Agathocles.¹ Ptolemy may well have received the epithet from a different event or circumstance, perhaps in a similar manner to Seleucus III.

A further relevant case of the name *Ceraunus* can be found in a fragment of Anaxippus, concerning a wrestler called Damippus who was called it as a nick-name by his friends on account of his courage (δι' ἀνδρείαν).² This was meant as a joke, for the wrestler in question is also referred to as 'the one made of feathers' (τόν πτέρινον), presumably in reference to being a featherweight wrestler.³ What is apparent is that the name is clearly contextualised within masculine prowess (or a lack of it), linking it to martial ability.⁴

From the evidence concerning the epithet, its usage in the Hellenistic period is tied with military success. Given the military position that Clearchus held within the government of Heraclea, along with the military success his sons were trained for, if Clearchus did name his son *Ceraunus*, it was an attempt to lay the future success of the dynasty upon the shoulders of his warrior son, and not a symbol of divine parentage. Timotheus was in all probability given the name as an early example of the sort of epithet commonly attached to royal figures in the Hellenistic period, and this was deliberately misinterpreted by later hostile writers intending to catalogue the impieties of Clearchus.

4.10) Conclusion

Clearchus, having founded the dynasty in the manner of Dionysius I of Syracuse, also followed and expanded upon his Achaemenid inspired self-presentation, wearing theatrical clothing and a golden crown for public appearances, as well as the use of an eagle and sceptre. Against the Greco-Roman interpretation of the dynasty's pretensions to divinity, we instead ought to see the use of such symbols of power as reflexive items of Greek and Achaemenid inspiration, especially in the context of the dynasty's Achaemenid alliance and position within the empire.

¹ Heinen (1972) 10.

² Athen. *Deip.* 416f-417a; Muccioli (2013) 153.

³ Athen. *Deip.* 416f-417a; Muccioli (2013) 153 n.652.

⁴ Usener (1905) 7-8 suggests a link to Ptolemy *Ceraunus*.

Inspired by the tyranny of Dionysius, Clearchus acquired a bodyguard of mercenaries and built a citadel in order to cut himself off from the populace, and artificially raise his status by his difficulty of access. The claim of the *Suda* that Clearchus was the recipient of *proskynesis* suggests that this model was part of an Achaemenid inspired court, rather than Clearchus being the recipient of divine honours, in the context of Heraclea as an Achaemenid ally which had been within the Persian Empire for over a century, and that it was a symbol along with his clothing of Clearchus' power and inaccessibility.

The dynasty of Clearchus has no notable features with regard to its family tree, but the use of family members in important roles has been noted. Of importance also is the marriage of Dionysius to the Achaemenid Amastris, which linked the dynasty to the family it has supported from the outset, and indicates that the Clearchids likely saw themselves as a Persianate dynasty beforehand. Our knowledge of the role of Clearchid women is slim beyond Amastris, who was herself an active ruler, engaged in city foundations, and a careful negotiator of the political situation in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period.

Our knowledge of the Clearchid role in military affairs is limited, but the evidence hints at the military character of the dynasty, with many of the Clearchid rulers having military experience. The use of the epithet *Ceraunus* by Clearchus for his son links to its use by Hellenistic rulers within a military context, and was most likely intended as part of an attempt to demonstrate the martial prowess of the dynasty, along with the sceptre and eagle that Clearchus used.

5) The Hecatomnids of Caria

5.1) Caria before the Hecatomnids

Early Carian history remains a puzzle in many respects. Diodorus Siculus (quoted by Eusebius) placed Caria in a list of thalassocracies after the Trojan War, somewhere around 800.¹ Greek colonisation meant an early contact between the two peoples, but such colonies do not appear to have a large impact on the Carian interior beyond trading links.² Halicarnassus, the later Hecatomnid capital, was founded by Dorians according to Herodotus, but appears to have had some sort of Ionian contingent as well.³ Caria and all of the Greek colonies on the coast were later annexed by the Lydian empire. Herodotus gives only an indefinite time period for the annexation west of the river Halys.⁴ The next large event to affect the area was the overthrow of the Lydians by the Medes, and Herodotus is explicit that Harpagus took control of Caria shortly after the fall of Croesus.⁵ Caria remained as part of the larger satrapy of Lydia.

The defeat of Persia by the Hellenic league in 479 released the cities of the Asia Minor coast from Achaemenid sovereignty, and we find Halicarnassus as a member of the Delian League in the Athenian tribute lists.⁶ As Hornblower notes, the ties with Persia in the area appear to have remained despite the war.⁷ The area officially became a Persian possession once again as part of the King's Peace of 387, which coincided with the Hecatomnid control of the Carian satrapy which was now created.⁸

¹ Diod. Sic. VII. F11, V.84.4; Bean (1971) 1.

² Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F162 distinguished between the interior and exterior parts of Asia Minor. Bean (1971) 4.

³ Hdt. VII.99 claims Halicarnassus was a colony of Troezen. Hornblower (1982) n.69.

⁴ Hdt. I.28.

⁵ *Ibid.* I.174.

⁶ *IG I³* 259 Col. IV.12-13.

⁷ Hornblower (1982) 25-6.

⁸ Xen. *Hell.* V.30-31; Bean (1971) 6; Ruzicka (1992) 17-8. Hornblower (1982) 1 notes that the earlier peace negotiations may have already facilitated this scenario. Xen. *Hell.* IV.8.12. It is possible that the Persian control over the coastal cities allowed for the later transfer of the capital from Mylasa to Halicarnassus.

It is considered by some scholars that the Hecatomnids may be linked to the earlier Lygdamid dynasty which ruled Halicarnassus in the fifth century.¹ This dynasty also appears to have been long-standing, if the *Suda* is correct that Lygdamis was the grandson of Artemisia, and Pisindelis was Artemisia's son.² Herodotus adds the testimony that Artemisia's father was also a Lygdamis from Halicarnassus, and her unnamed mother was Cretan.³ There is no direct evidence for the link between the Lygdamids and the Hecatomnids but it cannot be ruled out, especially with the adoption of Artemisia as a name by the Hecatomnid dynasty.⁴ Of interest here is the similar nature of Artemisia's power to that of the later Hecatomnids. Herodotus' description is intriguing:

ἦτις ἀποθανόντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆ τε ἔχουσα τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ παιδὸς ὑπάρχοντος νεηνίῳ, ὑπὸ λήματός τε καὶ ἀνδρηίης ἐστρατεύετο, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης.⁵

Following the death of her husband [Artemisia] kept his tyranny while she had a young boy, and waged war with both spirit and manliness, being under no compulsion.

Artemisia continued the dynasty of her husband, despite having a son of age to rule, in the same way that Artemisia and Ada apparently ruled alone despite having male Hecatomnid relatives of age who could have ruled. It is a considerable coincidence and ought not to be ignored.⁶

It has been suggested that Mausolus of Kindye was an ancestor of the Hecatomnids.⁷ Herodotus tells us that not only was there a previous Carian by the name of Mausolus, but that he was also the son of a Pixodarus.⁸ Hornblower points out that these were

¹ Bockisch (1970) 124-6; Carney (2005) 74-5.

² *Suda* s.v. 'Herodotus'; Nourse (2002) 76.

³ Hdt. VII.99.

⁴ Carney (2005) 74-5.

⁵ Hdt. VII.99.

⁶ Carney (2005) 74-5.

⁷ Ruzicka (1992) 15-6; Briant (2002) 498.

⁸ Hdt. V.118.2; Ruzicka (1992) 15; Carney (2005) 74.

exceptionally uncommon names until after the Hecatomnids.¹ These family ties are unprovable but likely to be correct, and would explain the authority of the Hecatomnids if they derived from two powerful lines of fifth-century Caria.² Related to this is the suggestion by Kraay that the Phanes found on early coinage may be related to a Phanes found in Herodotus, who was a native of Halicarnassus. The stag found on the coins was 'the badge of Phanes', and may be a precursor to the later Lygdamid rulers of Halicarnassus.³

Herodotus mentions other prominent figures that may have some part of Hecatomnid ancestry. Pigres, the son of Hyssaldomus was one of the Carians who also commanded part of the Persian fleet of Xerxes.⁴ Hyssaldomus is, like Mausolus and Pixodarus, an uncommon name before the Hecatomnids. There is also the mysterious tyrant dynasty of Mylasa, comprised of Ibanolis, and his two sons Oliatus and Heracleides.⁵ Oliatus appears to have been the tyrant at the time of the Ionian revolt, and later his brother Heracleides is found ambushing Persians. If nothing else, that Mylasa had an autocratic past shows the potential for such long-term dynasties as the Hecatomnids to base their power from it. The Hecatomnids most likely did possess ancestry from the powerful Carian families of the recent past, although which exact figures feature in the Hecatomnid family tree will remain unknown without new evidence finds. If the Hecatomnid ancestors had Mylasa and Halicarnassus as their ancestral homes, then it goes some way towards explaining the movement of the capital to Halicarnassus by Mausolus, and the choice of the Hecatomnids as satraps. If the Hecatomnid family were descended from Carians of the past who fought on behalf of the Achaemenid Empire (Pigres and Artemisia) it may also explain the choice of the Hecatomnid family as satraps.

¹ Hornblower (1982) 26 n.161.

² *Ibid.* 59 n.60.

³ Kraay (1976) 23.

⁴ Hdt. VII.98.

⁵ *Ibid.* V.38, V.121; Grote (1847) 380. Ruzicka also notes Arselis, found in Plut. *Mor.* 301f-302a.

5.2) Hecatomnid Dynasty

The Hecatomnid dynasty ruled in Caria for much of the fourth century. The date of the emergence of the Hecatomnids is uncertain, but at some point before the appointment of Hecatomnus as satrap of Caria in 391, the family had risen to local prominence in Caria.¹ During these four years, Hecatomnus' father Hyssaldomus, attested in inscriptions, may have acted as satrap, but the evidence is unreliable and it is better to assume Hecatomnus as the earliest satrap.² During this time, in approximately 388/7, Hecatomnus fought against the Coans until the intervention of Dexippus, who offered to cure Mausolus and Pixodarus if Hecatomnus stopped the war.³ Mausolus succeeded his father in 377/6, according to Diodorus.⁴ At an unknown point in his satrapy, Mausolus chose to move the Carian capital from Mylasa to Halicarnassus, and built a citadel there as his residence.⁵ Mausolus fought against Ariobarzanes at Assos and Sestos, where he was in charge of a fleet one hundred strong.⁶ In the wake of this event, Mausolus became a guest-friend of Agesilaus.⁷ Mausolus had to subdue local cities in some cases during his time as satrap, gaining control of Latmus by a ruse, as well as an attempt to instigate a coup in Miletus, and possibly gaining Tralles.⁸ Mausolus took part in the Satraps' Revolt, but returned to Achaemenid loyalty shortly afterwards.⁹

Mausolus was followed in the rule by his sister-wife Artemisia in 353/2.¹⁰ She may have also attempted to control Latmos, but Polyaeus' testimony could present a

¹ Xen. *Hell.* III.4.25; Diod. Sic. XIV.98.3; Hornblower (1982) 35; Ruzicka (1992) 17-8. *SIG*³ 167 suggests that the ancestors of Hecatomnus had been benefactors of Mylasa before 400. Ruzicka (1992) 16. See Weiskopf (1982) 245-6 for a tentative attempt at detailing the factors behind the Hecatomnid political rise.

² Hornblower (1982) 36 n.5-7 is an excellent summary of this problem. Also see Weiskopf (1982) 241-2.

³ *Suda* s.v. 'Dexippos'; Hornblower (1982) 132-4; Ruzicka (1992) 24.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XVI.36.2; Ruzicka (1992) 33.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XV.90.3; Strab. *Geog.* 659; Vitruv. *De Arch.* II.8.10-11. Ruzicka (1992) 35 suggests that this was as early as the 370's, based on the evidence of Diodorus.

⁶ Xen. *Ages.* II.26; Ruzicka (1992) 64-5.

⁷ Xen. *Ages.* II.27.

⁸ Polyaeus, *Strat.* VII.23.2, VI.8; *SIG*² 573; Hornblower (1982) 41-3; Ruzicka (1992) 71-2.

⁹ See section 5.2.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XVI.36.2.

historical doublet.¹ She organized a magnificent funeral for Mausolus, with many of the best contemporary rhetors attending to give eulogies.²

Their younger brother Idrieus then ruled for seven years from 350 until his death in 344/3.³ Artaxerxes III requested that Idrieus engage Pythagoras of Cyprus with the Hecatomnid fleet, and he sent forty triremes and eight thousand mercenaries under the command of Phocion and Evagoras.⁴ According to Plutarch, Agesilaus was in correspondence with Idrieus, perhaps indicating a guest-friendship like that of Mausolus.⁵

Idrieus' wife Ada ruled briefly, before being removed from power by her brother Pixodarus.⁶ Pixodarus attempted to arrange a marriage between one of his daughters and Alexander the Great's half-brother Philip Arrhidaeus.⁷ Pixodarus was briefly followed by his son-in-law Orontobates before Alexander restored Ada to Halicarnassus.⁸ Alexander was adopted by Ada, and Alexander reinstated Ada as the ruler in Caria, leaving her nominally in charge of the siege against Memnon in Halicarnassus.⁹ The dynasty ended with Philoxenus taking over as satrap within an unidentified period during Alexander's lifetime.¹⁰

The nature of Hecatomnid power remains a controversial issue, and the ancient sources are confused in their interpretation. The dynasty were satraps on behalf of the Persian king for a large part of the fourth century, but this does not completely explain their power by any means, given that the dynasty appears to precede the acquisition of the role.¹¹ Diodorus makes a distinction between satraps and *dynastes*, fitting

¹ Polyaeus, *Strat.* VIII.53.4.

² Aul. Gell. *NA* X.18.5; *Suda* s.v. 'Theodektes'; Hornblower (1982) 332-5. Ruzicka (1992) 103 suggests the funeral was inspired by Isocrates' encomium of Evagoras.

³ Diod. Sic. XVI.69.2.

⁴ *Ibid.* XVI.42.6-7; Ruzicka (1992) 116-9.

⁵ Plut. *Ages.* XIII.4.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XVI.74.2; Ruzicka (1992) 123-4.

⁷ Plut. *Alex.* X.1; Ruzicka (1992) 130-1.

⁸ Arr. *Anab.* I.23.7.

⁹ Ruzicka (1992) 139-40, 144.

¹⁰ Hornblower (1982) 51; Ruzicka (1992) 153.

¹¹ Hecatomnus becomes satrap of Caria partway through his rule, leaving Hecatomnus' early reign and Hyssaldomus in power in Caria without satrapal authority. Note the claim of Petit (1988) that the

Mausolus in the latter category.¹ *Dynasteia* is a complicated term in the ancient world. Jordovic has made an effort to categorise the uses of the term, considering it to refer to collective tyranny, though for some reason he does not discuss the Hecatomnids at all, despite noting that Diodorus appears to equate *dynasteia* and *tyrannia* amongst many regimes.² While I am not sure *dynasteia* is universally equivalent to *tyrannia*, Diodorus' use of the term may well suggest he interpreted the Hecatomnids as tyrants.³ Some later sources see Mausolus as a king, and there is also the possibility of the Hecatomnids as 'Kings of the Carians'.⁴ This interpretation has recently been bolstered by an epigraphic find in Iasos, which demonstrates a contemporary claim of kingship in public honours bestowed by the citizens of Iasos upon Idrieus and Ada.⁵ It is worth noting that *basileus*, despite apparently being given as a title by the Iasians, is not a title found in the Hecatomnid's own epigraphic output, which suggests that the title was too controversial to claim for themselves given their satrapal power under the rule of the Achaemenid king.⁶ However, the contemporary epigraphical evidence also presents us with a picture of the Hecatomnids in the sphere of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomicus*, of tyrants who rule by influence.⁷ A fragmentary inscription from Labraunda most likely calls Mausolus *tyrannos*, and the *Suda* refers to a Carian

Hecatomnid satrapy may have been different from the traditional model due to its incorporation of women in power. See against this Briant (2002) 668, who sees no significant deviation from the behaviour of other satraps.

¹ Diod. Sic. XV.90.3; Lewis (2009) 72; 'Late literary sources call Mausolus 'king', their evidence is worthless.' Hornblower (1982) 61. The only possible argument for the Hecatomnids as royal in the Hellenistic sense is the comic poet Epigenes, who calls Hecatomnus 'King of the Carians'. Ath. *Deip.* 472e-f; Hornblower (1982) 232.

² Jordovic (2005) 25-6.

³ Intriguingly, Jordovic suggests that the phrase may be of a Philistian origin. *Ibid.* 26 n.37.

⁴ A Hellenistic inscription contains the phrase 'King of the Carian league', and a possible reconstruction of a fourth-century inscription suggests the title may well apply to the Hecatomnids. Hornblower (1982) 55-9. Hornblower suggests that the rule of this league may be the Hecatomnids' by birthright through the Kindyan family *Ibid.* 26 n.160, 59.

⁵ It was found by Berti in 2005. Nafissi (2013) 303. 307-8, 314. See also Nafissi (forthcoming a), (forthcoming b).

⁶ Nafissi (forthcoming b) 12, 17, 22.

⁷ Ps-Arist. *Oec.* 1348a. Ruzicka (1992) 43 incorrectly equates the testimony of Pseudo-Aristotle as evidence of kingship.

prison at Termera used by ‘the tyrants’, which has been interpreted as the Hecatomnids.¹

περὶ Καρίαν χωρίον Τερμέριον καλεῖται, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ τύραννοι δεσποτηρίῳ. τὸ δὲ χωρίον ἐρυμνὸν τυγγάνον κεῖται μεταξύ Μήλου καὶ Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ.²

There is a place near Caria called Termerion, which the tyrants utilised as a prison. This fortified place happens to be situated between Melos and Halicarnassus.

The epigraphic record demonstrates the personal and dynastic elements of the regime, e.g. ‘Mausolus of Hecatomnus’.³ Another inscription from Labraunda makes clear the personal nature of Hecatomnid power, in which Cretan Cnossians are awarded rights;

[Ἔ]δοξε Μανσώλλωι καὶ [Ἀρτε]μισίηι.⁴

It seemed good to Mausolus and Artemisia...

ὀπόσης Μανσώλλος ἄρχει...⁵

In all the land which Mausolus rules...

The latter phrase has parallels with Alexander the Great’s edict of Priene, manifesting in stone the personal nature of the ruler’s hold over the land.⁶ There is no mention of the Carians, or of satrapy. It does not appear to have been uncommon for other members of the Hecatomnid family to have ruled areas of Caria on behalf of their elder siblings. Alexander’s march into Caria brings him into the path of the fortress at Alinda, which is held by the exiled Ada.⁷ Alinda possesses its own remarkable fortifications

¹ Labraunda 172 (PHI), Hornblower (1982) 70-71. The Suda could also plausibly refer to the earlier Lygdamid tyrants as well, or even both.

² *Suda* s.v. ‘Termeria kaka’. Melos is typically emended as Myndos. See also Strab. *Geog.* 657.

³ Hornblower (1982) M2 = Syll.³ 311.

⁴ Hornblower (1982) M7.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Sherwin-White (1985) 81.

⁷ Arr. *Anab.* I.23.8, Ruzicka (1992) 125-6; Pedersen (2009) 332.

atop the acropolis there, with clear signs of contemporary Hecatomnid construction.¹ We ought not to see Ada as exiled from power, but sent from the capital to rule the area around Alinda.² Idrieus may well have operated in a similar capacity at Mylasa once Mausolus had decided to rule from Halicarnassus instead of the ancient family seat.³ Some of the surviving inscriptions at Labraunda, at the other end of the sacred road from Mylasa, have Idrieus proclaimed as 'Mylaseus', an epithet which Mausolus does not share with any frequency in his equivalent dedications.⁴ This has been interpreted as Idrieus having spent much of his career in Mylasa whilst Mausolus ruled in the south.⁵ This possibility is only strengthened by the recent tomb find in Mylasa which makes it clear that Mylasa remained deeply ingrained in the ethos of the dynasty.⁶ Another possible residence of a similar sort to Alinda is at Latmos, which has a similar fortification wall, probably built during the refounding of the city by Mausolus as Heraclea by Latmos.⁷ Pedersen notes that this pattern of residences follows the Achaemenid pattern of governance via family and close friends.⁸ Another possibility is that the Hecatomnid distribution of fortifications may owe some inspiration to the earlier tyrants of Caria such as Lygdamis and his daughter Artemisia, although as yet there is no archaeological evidence to test this theory.

The nature of Hecatomnid power is linked to the creation of the separate satrapy of Caria. Previously Caria had been under the administration of the Lydian satrapy.⁹ The difference between the area surrounding Sardis (where the Lydian satrap kept his

¹ *Ibid.* 334.

² Arr. *Anab.* I.23.7-8, Strab. *Geog.* 657, Diod. Sic. XV.74.2, Carney (2005) 59 'There [Ada] apparently maintained herself as the same kind of local dynast that her ancestors had been.'

³ Mausolus' coinage suggests that he ruled in Halicarnassus whilst his father Hecatomnus was still alive. Head (1911) 629. There is a possibility that Orontobates and the younger Ada also ruled in this capacity, if they are the relatives which Strabo refers to as ruling the part of Caria that Alexander did not control. Strabo, *Geog.* 657; Carney (2005) 69-70 n.40.

⁴ Crampa (1972) 16.

⁵ Ruzicka (1992) 118; Pedersen (2009) 344-6; Crampa (1972) 6; Hellstrom (1989) 103-4, (1996) 137-8. Hellstrom, along with Crampa, suggests that Mausolus and Idrieus were possibly in conflict with one another, or trying to assert a national and a regional power respectively.

⁶ See section 5.5.2.

⁷ Peschlow-Bindokat (2005) 6, 15 claims this building was the residence of the Latmian governor.

⁸ Pedersen (2009) 339. This sort of close family control has precedents in archaic Greek tyrannical dynasties as well. Andrewes (1956) 50.

⁹ Hornblower (1982) 34.

capital) and the Carian land to the south was already found in Persepolis reliefs, where the Carians are distinguished from the Lydians.¹ Tissaphernes was murdered by the order of Artaxerxes by his successor Tithraustes in 396.² The next we hear of command in Caria is when Artaxerxes ordered Hecatomnus to war against Cyprus in 391.³ The satrapy appears to have been split off as part of a co-ordinated strategy against Sparta.⁴ That the Hecatomnids came to power out of this political climate means that the satrapy was different to its long established equivalents. It was rare for Achaemenids to use the local leaders as satraps.⁵ While the Hecatomnids fit the model of satrapy in some respects, overall we must see them as a tyrannical dynasty equivalent to the Dionysii in Syracuse.⁶ The hereditary nature of Hecatomnid power distinguishes Hecatomnid rule from that of Achaemenid satrapy, as the Hecatomnid succession was ultimately left intact until Pixodarus was joined in the rule of Caria by Orontobates, which according to Strabo was a voluntary arrangement.⁷ The Hecatomnids were able to expand their *arche*, and move populations and cities, without impinging on Achaemenid policy or practice.⁸ The label of satrap gave the constitutional stamp of authority to the Hecatomnids, but their rule and conduct within their considerable sphere of influence went far beyond this label, and as such their rule should be understood as tyrannical.

The boundaries of Hecatomnid influence continued to push outwards, accumulating cities by friendship or by installing garrisons. Hornblower points out the vast geographical sweep of Mausolus' interests: Crete in the south, Erythrai and Chios in the north, to Phaselis in Pamphylia and Solymoi in Pisidia.⁹ The geographical flex shown by the Hecatomnids reveals an indifference to whatever intended geographical

¹ *Ibid.* 19; Schmit (1972).

² Xen. *Hell.* III.4.25; Diod. Sic. XIV.80.6-8.

³ *Ibid.* XIV.98.3.

⁴ Hornblower (1982) 38. Strouthas' command in Ionia appears to have taken place at the same time and can be seen in this light. Beloch (1923) 137.

⁵ Iranian satrapal dynasties are common, but rarely local rulers. Ruzicka (1992) 18; Briant (1993) 340.

⁶ Konuk (2013) 101 notes that Hecatomnid coinage not only marks out the Hecatomnids as Hellenistic predecessors, but also highlights the dynastic side of their regime.

⁷ Strab. *Geog.* 657; Hornblower (1982) 49; Ruzicka (1992) 130-1.

⁸ Lewis (2009) 72.

⁹ Hornblower (1982) 137.

area the satrapy of Caria was meant to represent. Mausolus can be seen acting completely independently of the Persian king during the Social War, as well as his involvement in the Satraps' Revolt.¹ The Persian satrapy of Caria and the Hecatomnid dynasty overlap, but they are not one and the same. Hecatomnid power transcended the satrapy of Caria in a variety of respects. This political scenario, as Weiskopf points out, suited the Achaemenid regime, despite the apparent freedom of Hecatomnid action. Communication between the centre and periphery in the case of the Hecatomnids was primarily positive, with the Hecatomnids successfully carrying out Achaemenid requests.² Tribute was forwarded to Susa with consistency, and the relationship over most of the fourth century was overall one of trust and dependence, and therefore Hecatomnid power was granted considerable freedom.³

5.3) Ancient Sources

Our ancient evidence for the Hecatomnid regime is spread across a variety of sources. The contemporary writers Isocrates and Demosthenes both mention the Hecatomnids in their work. For the dating of the dynasty, Diodorus is the most useful extant historian.⁴ Pliny and Vitruvius both discuss the Mausoleum, but do not discuss the regime beyond its architecture.⁵ Strabo's description of Halicarnassus and its environs features an excursus on Hecatomnid rule, which corroborates Diodorus' chronological account.⁶ Aristotle provides anecdotal evidence of Hecatomnid financial matters, providing some details about the Hecatomnid relationship with Persia.⁷

We are fortunate that the Hecatomnid epigraphic record is considerable. Hornblower lists the Hecatomnid dedications across Caria by the family, noting their originality.⁸ Older publications of Carian inscriptions remain relevant alongside Hornblower's

¹Diod. Sic. XVI.7.3, 22.2; Hornblower (1982) 169. The satrap's revolt is a complicated subject and not appropriate to wade into here. See Weiskopf (1989); Ruzicka (1992) 76-89; Briant (1993) 675-694.

²Weiskopf (1982) 312.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Hornblower (1980) 36-51.

⁵Pliny, *NH* XXXVI.30-1; Vitruv. *De Arch.* XII-XIII praef.

⁶Strab. *Geog.* 650-64.

⁷Arist. *Oec.* 1348a.

⁸Hornblower (1982) 277-280.

corpus.¹ New interpretations of older inscriptions by Descat and Nafissi have also made a significant recent impact on the interpretation of the dynasty, such as the Hecatomnid monument of Iasos, and an inscription of Hecatomnus in Mylasa.²

Hecatomnid coinage demonstrates considerable unity, usually highlighting the dynasty itself rather than their role as satraps.³ There is no evidence for coinage featuring the women of the dynasty. Hecatomnus, Mausolus, Idrieus and Pixodarus are all named on their coinage, but with no additional appellation. Hyssaldomos and Hecatomnus minted coins from Mylasa on the Milesian standard, copying the Milesian Lion obverse and floral reverse.⁴ One variant of this type with a depiction of the Persian king fighting a griffin on the obverse (retaining the Milesian floral reverse) survives, perhaps related to the granting of satrapy to the Hecatomnids in 392.⁵ A tetradrachm series appeared on the Chian standard under Hecatomnus, along with new local iconography (the image of Zeus Labraundus holding a spear and double-axe, with a standing lion on the reverse) and continued throughout the Hecatomnid dynasty.⁶ The Milesian standard coinage continued under the early rule of Mausolus, some featuring Zeus Osogollus wielding a trident and eagle, and others bearing Achaemenid iconography of the Persian king with bow and arrow (a common seal and glyph design in Persia).⁷

5.4) Modern Literature

The definitive scholarly work on Hecatomnid Caria, Hornblower's *Mausolus*, remains required reading.⁸ There have been two significant monographs since, Ruzicka's *Hecatomnid Caria: Politics of a Persian Dynasty*, and Carstens' *Karia and the*

¹ Robert (1966); Crampa (1969); Crampa (1972).

² Nafissi (2013), (forthcoming a), (forthcoming b); Descat (2011).

³ Konuk (2013); Head (1911) 628-30.

⁴ Konuk (2013) 102-3. For the argument that adoption of the Milesian standard meant that Miletus was under Hecatomnid control, see the previous bibliography in *Ibid.* 103 n.12.

⁵ Jenkins (1971) 97-8; Konuk (1998), (2013) 104-5.

⁶ Konuk (2013) 105-6.

⁷ Boardman (1970) pl. 826, 829; Konuk (2013) 106-7 pl. 2, 20.

⁸ Hornblower's monograph rendered earlier work on the Hecatomnids almost obsolete. Hornblower (1980) vii-viii covers previous research on the Hecatomnid dynasty, which was severely hamstrung by the lack of epigraphic material.

Hecatomnids: Creation of a Dynasty.¹ Hornblower's work took a Hellenocentric view of the Hecatomnid regime, which Carstens fairly criticized as not considering the eastern aspects of the dynasty in enough depth. Ruzicka's work concentrates on Hecatomnid political influence in the Mediterranean sphere as a narrative history, and as such will not be considered in detail in this chapter. Carstens' monograph approaches the dynasty of the Hecatomnids from a primarily archaeological perspective, arguing for a hybrid creation of the dynasty's ideology from Carian, Greek, Persian and Ancient Near Eastern elements. The volume is particularly strong in contextualizing the Hecatomnids within their Anatolian context. A PhD thesis by Weiskopf on Achaemenid Anatolia contemporary with Hornblower's monograph also remains important, as does his subsequent monograph on the Satraps' Revolt, which remains definitive.² There have been a number of edited volumes published in recent years, reflecting increased interest in fourth-century and Hellenistic Caria.³ The most valuable of these for this study is the edited volume of Henry, with a focus on Carian identity during the time of the Hecatomnids, which builds on the approach of Carstens to consider the varying identities to be found in Caria and how they interacted with one another.⁴

A considerable corpus of scholarship exists on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. The standard work is the six volume archaeological study of Jeppesen, who led the Danish excavations of 1966-77.⁵ Hornblower gives a summary of the other previous relevant literature.⁶ Carstens advances an argument for the Mausoleum as the monument most most intended to consolidate and confirm Hecatomnid rule.⁷ Hoepfner's recent book on the Mausoleum adds little to the previous scholarship.⁸

¹ Ruzicka (1992); Carstens (2009).

² Weiskopf (1982), (1989).

³ Benda-Weber (2005); Rumscheid (2009); Bremen & Carbon (2010); Henry (2013).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Jeppesen (1981).

⁶ Hornblower (1980) 224 n.13.

⁷ Carstens (2009) 37-74.

⁸ Hoepfner (2014).

5.5) Appearance

5.5.1) Iconographic Evidence

In the spirit of Carstens' approach, we must consider Hecatomnid portrayal through a variety of cultural lenses. The nature of the Persian government meant that visiting officials must have been relatively commonplace, and certainly there were native Iranians who had functions in Caria.¹ The contingent of local Carians must also be considered. The Hecatomnids had a wide variety of possible cultures to impress the nature of their rule upon, and their portrayal must be understood as multi-faceted. Along the same problematic lines as the later Seleucid empire, Hecatomnid rule meant gratifying a variety of audiences at the same time.²

We are fortunate that we have some Hecatomnid portrayals which have survived, now increased by a recent find at Milas.³ The discovery of the 'Mausolus' and 'Artemisia' statues which now reside in the British Museum, has long been the best evidence for Hecatomnid portraiture (figures 11 & 12).⁴ The identification of the two statues as Mausolus and Artemisia has been disputed by some scholars, but the find of the Hecatomnid tomb in Milas corroborates the style and image of the Mausoleum statues and makes arguments against this identification weak.⁵ The strongest argument for the the positive identification previous to the discovery at Milas is the similarity to a Coan coin of Mausolus in which Mausolus possibly appears as Heracles on the obverse.⁶

The two statues tentatively identified as Mausolus and Artemisia, made by Scopas, present our best evidence for the 'official' presentation of the early Hecatomnids

¹ Whether this was in the form of the King's 'eyes and ears' remains open to debate, but there is inscriptional evidence for Persian presence under the Hecatomnids. Hornblower (1982) 140. A *phoros* may well have continued from the Lydian period. *Ibid.* 142.

² Hornblower's final comment, that the Hecatomnids were 'the first of the Diadochi', is particularly accurate in this instance of trying to successfully rule a variety of cultures and ethnicities. *Ibid.* 353.

³ See section 5.5.2.

⁴ Waywell (1978) 26-8; Hornblower (1982) 224.n13.

⁵ Hornblower collects the previous secondary literature on the topic of the statues' identification. *Ibid.* 272-3.

⁶ Hill (1923) 207; Sherwin-White (1978) 367.

(figures 11 & 12).¹ The 'Mausolus' is portrayed with long hair as well as a close-trimmed moustache and beard.² The statue is fully clothed, covered by a *himation* held across the waist over a full-length tunic.³ Two reconstructions have been put forward for what the statue was holding: either a sacrificial knife and a bowl, or just as likely a sword.⁴

The 'Artemisia' is missing its face due to damage. Three layers of curls represent the front of the hair, with the rest covered by a cap. The figure wears a full-length gown similar to the 'Mausolus' statue (perhaps an indication they were intended as a pair), and a *himation* held around the waist, which also appears to have risen upon the statues head, although the top section is missing.

5.5.2) The New Hecatomnid Tomb at Mylasa

An attempt by the Turkish authorities to stop the in-progress looting of a Roman site in modern Milas (ancient Mylasa) in 2010 led to the discovery of a new sarcophagus, which was immediately ascribed to Hecatomnus. If this is the case, it would be one of the most significant finds of recent archaeological history. In April 2012 the Turkish government applied for the tomb and its sacred surroundings to become a UNESCO world heritage site, based on the assumption that Hecatomnus is indeed the inhabitant.⁵ The sarcophagus is 2.78 length x 2.12 width x 1.55 height in metres, in comparison to the burial chamber which measures 4.65 x 3.70 x 3.10m.

The front face of the Sarcophagus which faces the entrance to the tomb features the central 'Hecatomnus' figure from the hunting scene reclining in a banquet scene, holding a bowl (figure 13). The clothing of the central figure is similar to the Mausolus figure of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, with flowing folds in an eastern style, as

¹ Pliny, *NH* XXXVI.30-1; Waywell (1978) 26.

² Dusinberre (2013) 205 suggests the short cut beard is both a Persian style, and was a military style allowing for a helmet to fit properly.

³ *Ibid.* 204 points out the deliberate extravagance of the folds and textures, highlighting the opulence of the figures in contrast to typical Greek style.

⁴ Hornblower (1982) 236. Jeppesen (1958) 50 suggests the sacrificial scenario, and there are other large scale statues in this mode, although Lorentz (1931) 38f suggests the sword. The Mausolus appears in a dynamic pose, and this does suggest a possibly martial application. See also Dusinberre (2013) 205.

⁵ Mausoleum and Sacred area of Hecatomnus, applied for on 13/04/2012. UNESCO reference 5729.

well as a bearded face. The family of the deceased figure surrounds him, with three male figures (a young bearded male, a younger male and an infant male from left to right) on the left side of the sarcophagus, and three females and one male (the likely wife of the deceased stood next to him, with a female infant by her side, a young male and a young female from left to right) to the right side of the deceased. The figure to the far left is bearded, suggesting he is older than the other men depicted on the Sarcophagus, and the woman next to 'Hecatomnus' is covering her face with a veil. The female child can be identified by the objects she holds, a doll and bird.¹ A point of remarkable interest is the possession in the hand of the male figure second from the left, who carries a Persian *rhyton* drinking cup.² The relief can be clearly included amongst the category of *Totenmahl* reliefs, which had been used as funerary decoration long before the Hecatomnids, and would continue long beyond them into the Roman period.³ The Mylasa sarcophagus has stylistic parallels with other Asia Minor reliefs, such as the Greco-Persian stele from Dascylium in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (figure 15).⁴

The hunting scene on the back of the sarcophagus invites a comparison to the so-called 'Alexander Sarcophagus' found at Sidon, another fourth-century work (figures 3 & 14).⁵ Particularly interesting is that both appear to feature Greeks and Persians together.⁶ On the Mylasa Sarcophagus, 'Hecatomnus' is rearing up on his horse, and with the missing spear is attacking a creature (possibly a lion?) at the feet of his horse.⁷ Behind the striking 'Hecatomnus' is clearly a man dressed in an Iranian outfit, with the characteristic headgear found in the Alexander mosaic at Pompeii, and the Alexander Sarcophagus. The figure is also wearing trousers, a standard depiction in

¹ Konuk (2013) 112.

² *Ibid.* 112.

³ See Gerhard (1827) 315f for the initial characterization of funerary banquets. Despite being a commonplace of Greek funerary presentation, the origin of the banquet on reliefs dates back to the Assyrian period, in particular the Nineveh palace reliefs of Assurbanipal dating from the seventh century. See Dentzer (1982) 51-69; Hansen (2008) 119.

⁴ Fabricius (1999) 34-6.

⁵ Scheffold (1968); Von Graeve (1970); Cohen (1977); Spawforth (2012).

⁶ Cohen (1997) 52-3.

⁷ The fist of the 'Hecatomnus' figure has an empty socket, from which a spear comprised of bronze is likely missing.

Greek iconography of Persian dress style. The style of clothing depicted of the central figure on horseback is very similar to the Persian rider of the Mausoleum fragments, which also depicts trousers underneath a flowing belted dress.¹

The new find in Milas suggests the sarcophagus was absolutely concurrent with the general portrayal of the Hecatomnids.² Particularly striking is the similarity between the Artemisia statue from the Mausoleum and the mourning woman to the side of the reclining figure on the Milas sarcophagus. Although it is tough to make out with the fading of the paint, the image on the wall portrays a woman with a similar tiara to the woman on the sarcophagus.

Until the recent looting attempt by tunneling in from a nearby building was discovered, the tomb had remained intact through the Hellenistic and Roman period for certain, as directly above it lies the single columned building known the locals as the 'Uzun Yuva' ('High Nest' in Turkish) (figure 16). This column has the remains of an inscription on it, although it is now illegible due to the owner of the house attached to it chiseling off the letters to stop visitors coming to view the column.³ The inscription honouring Menandros gives the column a *terminus post quem* of 40, and it could have been erected at any time from that point until Augustus' reign.⁴

The column and the building base which still survives have long been misinterpreted as a Roman temple, due to Alfred Laumonier mistaking the remains as part of the temple of Augustus and Roma. Others followed Laumonier's identification as a temple, and the idea has stuck amongst scholars until very recently.⁵ This has been primarily due to the assumption that the column and the superstructure were linked, and the ignorance of the inscription which reveals the two to be separate. The column instead must be seen as once having an honorific statue on top, as first considered by Chandler

¹ B.M. 1857,1220.234.

² There is also close similarity to the self-presentation of the nearby contemporary Lycian dynasts, e.g. BM 1848.10-20.97 (sculpture 903).

³ Rumscheid (2010) 69-72 covers the discovery of the inscription by the traveller Spon, and its subsequent history and publication.

⁴ Rumscheid (1994) 32-3.

⁵ Robert (1953) also erroneously considered the ruins part of a temple.

in 1775.¹ The column is not therefore important for understanding the Hecatomnid sarcophagus under the structure because it is a later addition.

Due to approximately three years of black market work, all the grave goods, including the skeleton inside the sarcophagus, have been lost. Unlike the remains found intact at Vergina, identifying the occupant of the tomb cannot be done by scientific analysis. The arrested suspects have described one looted item as a 60cm gold statuette, with the implication being that the grave goods were of a high value.² Trying to identify the deceased is for now reliant upon the decoration which remains intact around the room and the reliefs carved into the sarcophagus.

The location of the tomb is but one part of the puzzle. Mylasa was the capital of Caria under Hecatomnus and his father, Hyssaldomus, before Mausolus moved the capital to Halicarnassus in the south (modern Bodrum).³ If the tomb is to be considered Hecatomnid, this would strongly suggest that either Hecatomnus or Hyssaldomus was the tomb's occupant, although Idrieus could also be a possibility.⁴ It goes without saying that Mausolus was buried in his Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. The likelihood of a Hecatomnid identification of the building (as an unfinished predecessor to the Mausoleum) was advanced by Rumscheid in his 2010 article.⁵ The discovery of the sarcophagus means we must consider his work in the light of the definite funerary purpose of the building, and how the identification ought to be changed, if at all.

The superstructure upon which the column stands is a combination of a marble wall of approximately three metres, and what appears to be a newer set of limestone slabs, upon which the column rests. Along with the column, the limestone is a later addition to the remains.⁶ One suggestion of identification as a Hecatomnid monument is that the dowel holes found in the platform can be found in a variety of Hecatomnid

¹ Chandler (1775) 188.

² 'One of the treasure hunters told him that they had found the tomb of Hekatomnos. They robbed the burial chamber and sarcophagus twice. In the second robbery, they found a 60 cm long unique golden statue.' <http://ancient-anatolia.blogspot.co.uk/2010/09/chasing-ancient-carians-police-story.html>.

³ Vitruv. *De Arch.* II.8.10f; Diod. Sic. XV.90.3; Strab. *Geog.* 659; Hornblower (1982) 298.

⁴ Henry (2013b) 87-8.

⁵ Rumscheid (2010).

⁶ Rumscheid (2010) 82-3.

monuments, the Mausoleum, the temple of Zeus at Labraunda, and the temple of Athena at Priene.¹ The exterior marble used also mirrors the style used in the Mausoleum, with a differing internal stone used.

Rumscheid concludes that the marble edifice around the 'Uzun Yuva' was intended as a proto-Maussoleion. The same workmen, and probably the same architectural plan were involved in both constructions. It is a tempting thesis to accept, although it brings up numerous problems. Why was there a considerable deal of effort made (and precious marble used) only to leave it unfinished and begin another building of the same design in Halicarnassus? If the occupant of the tomb is a Hecatomnid, then why were they left in Mylasa and not incorporated into the family Mausoleum in Halicarnassus? The likelihood remains that the building is Hecatomnid, and not one of the less likely possibilities such as a rich local imitator of the Hecatomnid style.²

One significant factor involved in the Milas tomb is the extent to which it was meant to be seen. As with the Macedonian royal tombs at Vergina, the lavishly decorated sarcophagus, wall paintings and expensive items left on the shelves at either end of the chamber were locked away, in the case of Milas behind a five-ton marble block which could potentially be opened from the outside, but would not be a simple procedure. The sarcophagus, despite being well decorated on all sides, would have been very difficult to see from all sides. The hunting scene on the back of the sarcophagus was not easily accessible, and the sides would also have been difficult to admire.

The combination of Persian and Greek portraiture styles here challenges one of the assumed truths about the potential reconstruction of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. Some of the life-size statues surviving from the Mausoleum are regarded as portraying a battle between Greeks and Persians.³ The sarcophagus in Mylasa can perhaps be considered to undermine such a polarised reconstruction. Hornblower has suggested a

¹ Rumscheid (2010) 86-7.

² The quality of the tomb at would have required immense wealth, and the person inside the tomb is therefore unlikely to be a candidate outside of the Hecatomnids.

³ Hornblower (1982) 271-2; Waywell (1978) 50-2; Jeppesen (1958) 47.

more nuanced reading of the inclusion of such a topos in the Hecatomnid building programme, and the Mylasa sarcophagus, if anything, blurs the line even further.¹

If the tomb is indeed Hecatomnid, then there are only three realistic possibilities for its inhabitant. Hecatomnus is clearly one possibility, but Hyssaldomus or Idrieus are also potential candidates.² Strabo's testimony that Mylasa was the ancient seat of the house of Hecatomnus is part of the evidence for suggesting Hecatomnus himself was buried in Mylasa.³ Mylasa was certainly the Hecatomnid capital until Mausolus chose to rule from Halicarnassus instead, and this also suggests a pre-Mausolus date for the inhabitant, given Halicarnassus' new found importance. The significant problem that faces the Hecatomnus identification is the other people portrayed with him on the sarcophagus. Judging by the Hecatomnid family tree that we can reconstruct from the sources, Hecatomnus had three sons and two daughters.⁴ We are not aware of any children who died young, or of any other relations of his. If the identification of the Hecatomnid dynasty on the sarcophagus around Hecatomnus is to stand, the erroneous people need explaining. The two children could have died young and dropped out of the historical record altogether. Konuk suggests the female child depicted with the wife of Hecatomnus is Ada as a child.⁵ The sarcophagus would therefore have only one person unaccounted for in the historical record, the male child to the left of 'Hecatomnus'. A clue to this may be found in considering the pairing of the married figures on the sarcophagus as a framing device.⁶ In particular, the possibility that a young Mausolus on the far left of the relief could be matched up with his sister-wife Artemisia might be crucial.⁷ The weeping figure next to Hecatomnus is

¹ Hornblower (1982) 272 points out that in his foreign relations, Mausolus at different times played Greek and Persian interests against one another where appropriate.

² Very little has been published on the matter, but forthcoming articles from Descat and Nafissi put forward Hecatomnus as the inhabitant. Henry has suggested Hecatomnus was buried elsewhere in a previous article. Descat (2013) 141; Nafissi (forthcoming a) 4; Henry (2010), (2013b) 87-8; Konuk (2013) 111-2. The proceedings from the 2013 conference *Zwischen Satrapen und Dynasten: Kleinasien im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* held in Münster are due to be published in 2015, and will offer further insight on the matter.

³ Strab. *Geog.* 659.

⁴ Hornblower (1982) addenda.

⁵ Konuk (2013) 112.

⁶ Allison Weir suggested this possibility to me, and accordingly I owe her my gratitude.

⁷ Konuk (2013) 111-2.

his sister-wife Aba.¹ The other two young male figures represent Idrieus and Pixodarus. The likely identity of the female child would be Ada.² The two married pairs act as the edges and centre of the relief, with the unmarried Idrieus, Pixodarus, Ada and unknown child completing the space.

This solution is not implausible at all given the dating of the dynasty. Hecatomnus dies in 377/6 and Mausolus takes over the rule in Caria.³ Ada is still alive in 334, and for some unknown period after this. Her youngest possible age when Alexander meets her at Alinda is 42 years old. There is no evidence to suggest that Ada was born before Pixodarus, despite the assumptions of scholars that this must have been the case.⁴ If Ada was born after Pixodarus, as is clearly suggested by the sarcophagus his coup against her is suddenly more understandable.⁵ As the oldest surviving sibling of Hecatomnus, he would have understandably felt that his claim to rule the dynasty was greater than Ada's. This solution would still leave the identity of the other child as a mystery. If the tomb is that of Hecatomnus, one problem with the interpretation is that the construction of the tomb is ahead of its time in a variety of respects, which would push the stylistic advancement of the Mausoleum back further into the fourth century.⁶

The alternative possibility that the inhabitant could be Idrieus is backed up by his clear patronage of Mylasa during his lifetime, perhaps governing there on behalf of Mausolus. Idrieus' name is found in inscriptions with the epithet Mylaseus, suggesting his continued presence there.⁷ Idrieus as the inhabitant poses the same problem as

¹ We know of a sister of Hecatomnus, Aba, through an inscription from Sinuri, who was otherwise unknown until recently. A recent article by Descat had demonstrated that Hecatomnus and Aba were married siblings, thanks to a reconstructed inscription (*SEG XXXVI 983*) found near the Idrieus monument in Iasos which calls Hecatomnus and Aba 'Δαίμοσιν Ἀγαθοῖς'. Descat (2011) 197-201; Robert (1945) 100; Hornblower (1982) 36-7.

² Konuk (2013) 111-2.

³ Diod. Sic. XVI.36.2.

⁴ Bosworth (1980) 152 assumes Ada is the fourth child of Hecatomnus, based on Berve (1926) no.20. Ruzicka (1992) 124 made the suggestion that Pixodarus was older than Ada.

⁵ Carney (2005) 81.

⁶ Konuk (2013) 111.

⁷ Crampa (1972) 16. Mausolus is also given this epithet in a benefaction inscription from Erythrae, but the Labraunda inscriptions for Idrieus are more consistent in their usage. *SIG³* 168; Hornblower (1982) 107 n.4.

Hecatomnus in terms of the dynasty portrayed on the sarcophagus. Idrieus had no children that we are aware of, and the only way in which the dynasty would make sense is if it were portraying his siblings.

The final possibility (outside of an unlikely wealthy local imitator) is that of Hyssaldomus, the father of Hecatomnus. This possibility suffers from the same problems, in that the monument would have been considerably ahead of its time artistically, and the family on the monument does not appear to match up to our evidence, which is that Hyssaldomus had only two children, Hecatomnus and Aba. The sarcophagus could perhaps contain three generations of the family, but such an interpretation is problematic and again suffers from most of the figures being unknown.

5.6) Accessibility

5.6.1) The Citadel at Halicarnassus

Part of Mausolus' relocation of the capital to Halicarnassus was the creation of a considerable fortification system, featuring the citadel and 'secret harbour'. Vitruvius' description of the palace and its surroundings suggests a location for the citadel on the modern day Zephyrion peninsula of Bodrum, and recent archaeological work by Pedersen appears to confirm this approximate location (figure 17).¹ There are remains of rock-cut foundations for a fortification wall on the peninsula, which suggest that the peninsula was well defended from assault, as Alexander the Great found when the city of Halicarnassus was abandoned, and Orontobates was able to hold the citadel for a considerable length of time, such that Alexander left his subordinates to finish the time-consuming task.²

¹ Vitr. *De Arch.* II.8.11, 13; Pedersen (1981); Bosworth (1980) 150 sums up the previous discussion of secondary work concerning the citadel's location. Jeppesen (1986) 84-100. It was once thought that Arconnesus was the citadel's location, but this is considered incorrect by current scholarship.

² Arrian *Anab.* I.23.3-6, II.6.

One of the puzzles of trying to understand the layout of Hecatomnid Halicarnassus has long been the location the secret harbor mentioned by Vitruvius.¹ Earlier work on the Mausoleum and its surrounding area by Jeppesen suggested the submerged mole visible from the air in Bodrum harbour was part of this harbor mentioned by Vitruvius.² Pedersen's recent survey work suggests a more likely scenario of the foundations of a small ship shed extending into the sea, which may represent part of the harbour suggested by Vitruvius.³

The possibility of a ship shed hidden within a fortified citadel complex, if we are to entertain it, suggests a clear contemporary parallel which is not often considered. There is a strong resonance with the citadel and closed off harbour of the Dionysii of Syracuse, enabling access to the sea and complete protection from assault.⁴ It is worth considering the distinct possibility that Mausolus may have had Syracuse's fortress in mind as the basis for his new capital's fortifications.⁵ They are closely contemporary, constructed in the first half of the fourth century.⁶

Vitruvius' description gives us a further link to the spirit of the Dionysii involved in the citadel. Mausolus was able to plan his military activities, without having to leave the palace:

ut rex ipse de sua domo remigibus et militibus sine ullo sciente quae opus essent, spectaret.⁷

The king himself could, if it were needed, give orders from his palace to the rowers and soldiers without anyone perceiving.

¹ Vitr. *De Arch.* II.8.13; Hornblower (1982) 303; Jeppesen (1986) 84-100; Hoepfner (2013).

² Jeppesen (1984) 84-100.

³ Pedersen (1981) 327. As Pedersen notes, this alone cannot represent the secret harbour, but it is certainly a more fruitful avenue to approach Vitruvius' testimony.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XIV.7. See section 3.6.1. Ruzicka (1992) 34 claims that 'Mausolus' palace complex at Halicarnassus was thus *Basileion*, citadel, and naval arsenal.'

⁵ Jeppesen (1986) 93-4.

⁶ Hornblower (1982) 302-3 mentions the Ortygia fortress in his discussion of the palace structure, but does not hypothesise any further on the matter.

⁷ Vitr. *De Arch.* II.8.13.

Following the contemporary fortification method of Dionysius in Syracuse and Clearchus in Heraclea Pontica, Mausolus' new citadel meant that contact with the general citizen body was significantly reduced, and only on the most important of public and religious occasions was it necessary to leave. It is safer to assume this as a deliberate choice, rather than an unseen consequence of moving from Mylasa to Halicarnassus. Ruzicka adds that 'the palace was specifically constructed as a fortified centre'.¹

5.6.2) Bodyguard

Mausolus is attested in Polyaeus' *Strategemata* to have used a bodyguard as part of a ruse to take the city of Latmos:

Μαύσωλος βουλόμενος λαβεῖν Λάτμον πόλιν ὄχυράν προσεποιεῖτο φιλικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς Λατμίους. ἀπέδωκε μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄμηρα, ὅσα πολεμῶν Ἰδριεὺς ἔλαβε, φύλακας δὲ περὶ τὸ σῶμα Λατμίους εἶχεν ὡς μόνους πιστοὺς· ὑπηρέτει δὴ αὐτοῖς προθύμως ὅσα ἐβούλοντο. καὶ δὴ χειρωσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐς ἀκρότατον εὐνοίας ἤτησε παρ' αὐτῶν ἄνδρας τριακοσίους φύλακας, ἐς Πύγελα παριῶν ὡς δεδιῶς Ἡρόφυτον Ἐφέσιον. οἱ δὲ παραχρῆμα ἐπιλέξαντες τοὺς τριακοσίους ἔπεμψαν...²

Wishing to take the fortified city of Latmos, Mausolus pretended to bear friendship towards the Latmians. Accordingly he restored the hostages to them, as Idrieus captured many from battles, and he took Latmians to guard his person as if they alone were trustworthy. So he supported the Latmians eagerly in everything that they wished. And having mastered in the highest their goodwill he asked for three hundred men from them as guards....

Bodyguards are otherwise unattested in the source material surviving concerning the Hecatomnids. However, we ought not to dismiss Polyaeus' anecdote, as it most likely represents the reality that Mausolus (and the other Hecatomnids) did make use of a

¹ Ruzicka (1992) 34.

² Polyaeus, *Strat.* VII.23.2.

mercenary bodyguard.¹ It is worth noting that Mausolus survived an attempt on his life at the festival of Zeus Labraundeus.² Hornblower interprets Mausolus' personal dealings with Agesilaus as an acquisition of mercenary soldiers in exchange for money, which should not be ruled out.³ Pseudo-Aristotle mentions that the *hyparch* of Mausolus, Candaulus, was in command of *stratiotai*, which could be interpreted as mercenaries given the equivocal use of the word with *misothophoroi* in the early Hellenistic period.⁴

5.7) Dynasty

5.7.1) Dynastic Structure

One of the more striking elements of Hecatomnid power, and perhaps the most confusing, is that of brother-sister marriage. While the practice was not unprecedented in and around the Mediterranean before the Hecatomnids, it was certainly unorthodox. Arrian states that in Caria brother-sister marriage was the custom, linking it to the notion that many Greco-Roman writers had of Queen Semiramis as proof that in Asia rule by women was acceptable:

τῆς δὲ Καρίας ξυμπάσης σατραπεύειν ἔταξεν Ἄδαν, θυγατέρα μὲν Ἑκατόμνω, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἰδριέως, ὃς καὶ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῇ ὢν κατὰ νόμον τῶν Καρῶν ξυνώκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰδριεὺς τελευτῶν ταύτη ἐπέτρεψε τὰ πράγματα, νενομισμένον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔτι ἀπὸ Σεμιράμεως καὶ γυναῖκας ἄρχειν ἀνδρῶν.⁵

[Alexander] appointed to the satrapy of all Caria Ada, the daughter of Hecatomnus and wife of Idrieus. Idrieus had lived with her, following the custom of the Carians. And when Idrieus died, he handed over the matters [of state] to

¹ Ruzicka (1996) 42.

² Tod (1948) 138; Ruzicka (1996) 42 n.38

³ Xen. *Ages.* II.26-7; Hornblower (1982) 174. Cartledge (1987) 326-7 accepts Hornblower's suggestion of Mausolus exchanging money for mercenary contacts in the Peloponnese as plausible, and suggests that Agesilaus may have been a guest friend of Hecatomnus as well as Mausolus.

⁴ Trundle (2004) 11-12.

⁵ Arr. *Anab.* I.23.7.

her. It was still customary in Asia from the time of Semiramis that women rule over men.

Recent evidence has appeared in a fragmentary inscription from Mylasa, which Descat has convincingly reconstructed to propose that Hecatomnus and Aba were also in a sibling marriage.¹

Δαίμοσιν Ἀγαθο[ῖς]
Ἑκατόμνω καὶ Ἀ[βας, ὄν]
γρασταπατις Μα[υσσώλ-]
λου ἀνέθηκε τὰ [ἔσχά?-]
ρια Ἀρτιμης Ταργ[ηλίου]²

For the beneficent deities Hekatomnos and Aba, being *grastapatis* Mausolus spent (the fires?) Artimes son of Targelios.³

The marriages of Mausolus to Artemisia, and of Idrieus to Ada are attested in more than one ancient source.⁴ Pixodarus, the younger son, with no sister left to marry wed outside of the dynasty to a Cappadocian, Aphneis, and the younger Ada married the Persian Orontobates.⁵ The lack of evidence regarding the earlier women of the dynasty makes it difficult to be certain, but it would appear that Hecatomnus and Aba's cult status meant that the children of Hecatomnus and Aba shared the same blood. It is remarkable that no extensive commentary has survived when compared to

¹ Descat (2011); Weiskopf (1982) 225. Intriguingly, the inscription may preserve an Achaemenid administrative functionary title, *γρασταπατις*, incorporated into Greek from the Old Persian. Descat (2011) 198-9. This sibling marriage is also proposed by Nafissi (2013) 308, based on the statue arrangement of an inscription in Iasos.

² Blumel (1988) 4 *350.

³ Translated by Descat.

⁴ Strab. *Geog.* 656; Diod. Sic. XVI.36.2, XVI.69.2; Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F297; Hornblower (1982) 359-360. Carney (2005) 79 argues against the idea of Achaemenid influence in this case. Nafissi (2013) 309-10 suggests that Mausolus may be the son of a previous marriage.

⁵ Strab. *Geog.* 657; Arr. *Anab.* I.23.8. 'Thus, on the face of it, this was a dynasty that, so far as we know, practiced brother-sister marriage for only one generation, without any certain local precedent, but did so in duplicate' Carney (2005) 79.

the extended commentary on Dionysius I of Syracuse's double marriage, but Arrian may accurately sum up the attitude that such things were acceptable in Caria.

Egypt is known to have had some instances of full-blood marriages, and ancient writers (although admittedly late) attest it as local custom.¹ Diodorus refers to the marriage of the gods Osiris and Isis as precedent.² However, this practice is unattested outside of the Pharonic dynasties.³ Full-blood marriage was nowhere near as commonplace as during the Ptolemaic period, which casts a shadow over the earlier pharaohs. Hittite influence has also been suggested as a possibility for the precedent of sibling marriage; particularly due to the political system that on occasion resulted in a king's wife, or close relative (named the *tawananna*), retaining powers after the King's death in a similar manner to the Hecatomnid widows Artemisia and Ada.⁴ Macqueen suggested that this practice may have continued from a closed royal line before the documented Hittite times.⁵ Documented Hittite practice rendered brother-sister marriage forbidden; but does not rule out previous possibilities.⁶

Achaemenid Persia allows for a better contemporary example of sister-marriage.⁷ One Achaemenid king is known to have married his blood sisters: Cambyses married two of his sisters, much to the horror of Herodotus.⁸ Despite Herodotus' claim that there was no precedent for this, later writers seem to accept such blood relations between Persians as normal practice.⁹ There is some evidence for Zoroastrian tradition

¹ Paus. I.7.1; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F8.7.

² Diod. Sic. I.27.1.

³ Hornblower (1982) 360 n.30.

⁴ The *Tawananna* may have been a religious position, which was retained for life, and in the case of Hattusili certainly helped enable a smooth succession. Bryce (2005) 92.

⁵ Macqueen (1986) 76; Bryce (2005) 18 'As a result of marriage alliances, adoptions, and coups, several ethnic elements—Hattic, Luwian, and Hurrian amongst them—were intermingled in the small number of families which provided the occupants of the Hittite throne.' Bryce is however correct that we ought not to assume a matriarchal society, but the comparison with the Hecatomnids is an interesting one which should not be dismissed completely. Bryce (2005) 92-3.

⁶ *Ibid.* 128.

⁷ Scholars have long disagreed over the issue of Persian influence with regard to brother-sister marriage. Kornemann (1923) 17-45 and Bengtson (1975) 117 are in favour of the precedent, whilst Vatin (1970) 72; Fraser (1972) i.117 and Carney (1987) 423, 433, (2005) 79-80 are against the possibility.

⁸ Hdt. III.31.

⁹ Xanthus *FGrH* 765 F 31; Athen. *Deip.* 220c-d.

advocating such relations amongst blood relatives.¹ The other examples of brother-sister marriage appear to be between half-siblings (Darius II and III fall into this category). There is debate about the possibility of Elamite influence on the Achaemenids regarding this issue, although the current consensus on the issue is that the Elamite examples of blood brother-sister marriages are rare, and thus cannot be judged either way as to their influence.²

Carney is adamant that the likelihood of external influence on the decision of the Hecatomnids to practice consanguineous marriage is minimal.³ But in this case, we are left in a complete bind. As a new emergent dynasty, in terms of rule over Caria and a wide geographic area of influence, the Hecatomnids made a conscious choice to rule as sibling pairs. Weiskopf suggests that it was a decision of Hecatomnus, in order to keep power 'in Hecatomnid hands, whether male or female.'⁴ Nourse accurately describes the issue, pointing out that the Hecatomnid practice defies contemporary Greek custom:

'The Hecatomnid dynasty's use of full-sibling marriage, uniting two sets of brother and sister, particularly when considered in relation to the succession pattern within the dynasty, is clearly distinct from Greek custom or laws, and in fact suggests that Hecatomnid "Hellenism" was selective and in many respects superficial.'⁵

The answer most likely lies somewhere between two poles: that in some form the Hecatomnids continued a Carian custom of which we are unaware, or that they borrowed the idea from another dynasty or a combination of dynasties. Dangerous as it is to argue from silence, the surviving evidence leans towards a Hecatomnid adoption of the custom from elsewhere, rather than a hereditary custom. There were a variety of successful contemporary dynasties and regional precedents where the

¹ Hornblower (1982) 360-1 collects the evidence for this possibility.

² Bigwood (2009) 333.

³ Carney (2005) 80.

⁴ Weiskopf (1982) 227; Nafissi (forthcoming a) 16.

⁵ Nourse (2002) 101-2.

Hecatomnids may have got their inspiration from. We must agree with Weiskopf that the Hecatomnid situation was unique, and therefore inspired a unique response, in which the women of the dynasty were prominent compared to other dynasties.¹

5.7.2) *Grastapatis*

In the Mylasa inscription mentioned above, which Descat has recently reinterpreted, there is a word used which hints at an Achaemenid scheme of household organisation. The term *γρασταπατις* appears, which Descat proposed was incorporated directly into Greek from an Old Persian term.² While the word is otherwise unattested, the suffix can be found in extant terms such as the OP *hazarapatis* (*χιλίαρχος* in Greek), meaning ‘commander of a thousand’, and various Indo-Iranian languages root words are derived from *grasta*, meaning ‘fat’, and forming verbs to do with eating.³ Descat accordingly suggests plausibly that *γρασταπατις* could therefore linguistically break down as ‘head (or chief) of what is eaten’.⁴ If Descat is correct, this suggests that the Hecatomnids incorporated part of Achaemenid dining and food collection protocol without significant (if any) alteration, hinting at ritual eating, although there is little supporting evidence beyond an anecdote found in Aristotle regarding Candaulus, the *hyparch* of Mausolus, and the recording of livestock around Caria.⁵

5.8) Military Function

The surviving sources suggest that many of the Hecatomnid rulers, both male and female, were competent military practitioners, both on land and sea. Hecatomnus first appears in history having been asked by the Persian King to wage war against Evagoras of Cyprus.⁶ As a particularly naval affair, we must assume a reasonable fleet was

¹ Weiskopf (1982) 225.

² Descat (2011) 198-9. Descat notes that a proper name cannot be ruled out, although it would apply to an unknown son of Mausolus, perhaps Ariarames attested at the entrance of the sanctuary at Labraunda. Crampa (1972) 28.

³ Descat (2011) 198.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Arist. *Oecon.* 1348a; Descat (2011) 199.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XIV.98.3; Hornblower (1982) 37.

available to Hecatomnus. How much of the 100 strong fleet of the later Hecatomnid rulers was available to Hecatomnus can only be conjecture.¹ Hecatomnus also fought the Coans, according to the testimony of the *Suda*.²

Mausolus led multiple campaigns in person. Polyaeus records the capture of Latmos, and Mausolus was evidently present on campaign.³ Mausolus also intended to attack Pygela, and may have done so.⁴ The contemporary Xenophon attests to Mausolus leading the Hecatomnid fleet in sieges at Assos and Sestos.⁵ Polyaeus also claims that Idrieus acted in the military sphere on behalf of Mausolus while he ruled, and had taken Latmians hostage previously.⁶ As well as Idrieus, Mausolus had Candaulus acting as *hyparch*, who judging by his name is most likely a local Carian.⁷ Also relevant is the testimony of the *Suda*, which hints at Mausolus and Pixodarus engaged in warfare during the rule of Hecatomnus.⁸ Artemisia's famous ambush of the Rhodians from the secret harbor of Halicarnassus, preserved in Vitruvius, even if not taken at face value, reveals that Artemisia was expected to rival her family's abilities in warfare.⁹ Idrieus sent a naval expedition to Cyprus shortly after his succession of Artemisia. This involved sending forty triremes and eight thousand soldiers under the joint command of Phocion and the former Cypriot ruler Evagoras.¹⁰ Idrieus appears not to have been

¹ Xen. *Ages*. II.26-7.

² *Suda s.v. 'Dexippos'*; Hornblower (1982) 132-4; Ruzicka (1992) 24.

³ That Mausolus made to leave for Pygela implies he was present at Latmus. Polyaeus, *Strat.* VII.23.2; Hornblower (1982) 112; Ruzicka (1992) 71. There is a doublet of this event with Artemisia instead of Mausolus. Polyaeus, *Strat.* VIII.53.2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Xen. *Ages*. II.26.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Arist. *Oecon.* 1348a; Hornblower (1982) 76 n.166.

⁸ *Suda s.v. 'Dexippos'*; Weiskopf (1982) 226-7, 243-4; Hornblower (1982) 132-3 suggests that Carians be emended to Coans in the *Suda* entry, contra Judeich (1892) 234.

⁹ Hornblower (1982) doubts the subsequent aspect of the anecdote, that Artemisia was able to capture Rhodes in such a simple manner. This follows Berthold's influential article in which he claims that Vitruvius' anecdote is a complete historical fabrication and should be dismissed completely. Berthold (1978); Carney (2005) 67.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XVI.42.6-7.

personally involved. Ada was left in charge of the assault on Halicarnassus while Alexander the Great pressed along the southern coast of Asia Minor.¹

5.9) Conclusion

The Hecatomnids as Satraps of the Achaemenid Empire and a dynasty local to Anatolia are out of all the case studies the most likely candidates to demonstrate Achaemenid influence in their portrayal and rule. While we do not possess any written accounts concerning the appearance of the Hecatomnids, the survival of the Mausoleum statues and the new tomb from Mylasa demonstrates a consistent portraiture, following an Anatolian tradition of funerary presentation, with a heavy debt to Achaemenid dress present.

The choice by Mausolus to move the Hecatomnid capital to Halicarnassus from Mylasa allowed for the building of a citadel, which judging from the account of Vitruvius was intended for the ruler to be unseen. This is evidence of a separation of the ruler from the populace in the manner of the contemporary Dionysii and Clearchids, and it has been plausibly suggested that the citadel itself with a concealed harbor was a direct import from the citadel on Ortygia. It is likely that the Hecatomnids also utilized a mercenary bodyguard, further accentuating their status by separation.

The structure of the dynasty, as with the Dionysii in Syracuse, was strange by contemporary standards. The marriage of the siblings was consanguineous, as well as that of Hecatomnus and Aba. This went one step further than the example of the contemporary Dionysii, who were half-siblings. This was partly due to the Carian custom of female rule, such as that of Artemisia, and as such the Hecatomnid succession before passing to the next male heir would be taken up by the widow. The example of Achaemenid Persia, with noted full-blood marriages and the seven families of the time of Darius linked by marriage, remains a likely inspiration.

¹ Arrian claims Ptolemy was left in charge of the siege, although Bosworth has demonstrated that Ptolemy often took the opportunity to increase his role within his own history used by Arrian. *Arr. Anab.* I.23.6; *Strab. Geog.* 657; Bosworth (1996). Bosworth (1988) 230 claims that Ada would not have had competence beyond the civil administration, contra Ruzicka (1992)144 who claims that Alexander intended Ada was left as an intentional figurehead. Carney (2005) 70.

The military ability of the dynasty is difficult to gauge, but many of the Hecatomnids appear to have undertaken successful campaigns on land and sea, and led them in person, although there are exceptions such as Pixodarus. Often called into action by the Persian king, and in particular for their strong navy, the Hecatomnids were a vital part of the Achaemenid forces. But beyond this satrapal capacity, the Hecatomnids also undertook campaigns to expand their influence and territory in their own right, and did so with few reverses.

6) Agathocles of Syracuse

Agathocles stands towards the end of tyranny in Syracuse, although he is by no means the last tyrant of the city. Along with the Clearchids of Heraclea Pontica, he straddles the end of the Classical period and the beginning of the Hellenistic period, through the age of the Successors of Alexander. That Agathocles explicitly undertakes a transformation into Hellenistic kingship in the manner of the Successors makes his initial tyranny all the more interesting and worthy to study. Agathocles was born in 361/0 to a Rhegine exile named Carcinus, and a local, unnamed woman in the Carthaginian-controlled territory of Thermae on Sicily.¹ The expansion of Syracusan citizenship to all who wished it in the wake of the victory over Carthage by Timoleon at the Crimisus River brought Carcinus and Agathocles to Syracuse.² Agathocles' youth was spent in a military environment under the general Damas, who promoted him to *chiliarchos* within the army in 330.³ This was an appointment to help Croton fight Bruttian invaders, sent by the ruling oligarchy of Six Hundred.⁴ A falling-out with the Six Hundred, on account of a lack of recognition in the campaign resulted in time spent in Italy with the opponents of the government.⁵ His return resulted in an abortive attempt at tyranny, and an assassination attempt by Acestorides, the new general in Syracuse.⁶ Agathocles set himself up as a champion of the democratic faction against the oligarchic faction of Six Hundred. An attempt to attack Syracuse was stopped by the army of Hamilcar, but both negotiated with the intention of gaining control of Syracuse and Carthage respectively in the future.⁷ After this Agathocles was reconciled with Syracuse, swearing an oath at the temple of Demeter not to overthrow the democracy.⁸ In this way Agathocles was elected as 'general and guardian of the peace'

¹ Diod. Sic. XIX.2.2; Just. *Epit.* XXII.1.2; Tillyard (1908) 26-31 ; Consolo-Langher (2000) 13-20.

² Diod. Sic. XIX.2.8; Tillyard (1908) 38-9 ; Consolo-Langher (2000) 20-2.

³ Diod. Sic. XIX.3.1-4. Diodorus notes his remarkable prowess in war, and his colossal set of armour. Justin XXII.1.12; Tillyard (1908) 40-1.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XIX.3.3.

⁵ *Ibid.* XIX.4.1; Just. *Epit.* XXII.2.1-2; Tillyard (1908) 44-5.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XIX.5.1-3. There is no detail regarding his first attempt at power. The assassination attempt suggests Agathocles' armour was both well known and stood out. Tillyard (1908) 49 believes it did not occur. Consolo-Langher (2000) 39 n.43.

⁷ Just. *Epit.* XXII.2.5-8; Tillyard (1908) 51-3, 95; Consolo-Langher (2000) 53, 54 n.30.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XIX.5.4 Tillyard (1908) 53.

(στρατηγὸς καὶ φύλαξ τῆς εἰρήνης).¹ Collecting loyal men from previous campaigns as well as disaffected Syracusans, Agathocles asked for a meeting at the Timoleonteum between himself and Peisarchus and Diocles, the leaders of the oligarchic faction, and by inciting the crowd with the claim he was the victim of a plot by the Six Hundred, he was able to kill four thousand of the oligarchs and their supporters and confiscate their property.² Following this massacre, Agathocles called an assembly of the people and offered to give up his power, but the citizens demanded that he remain and rule as στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ.³ Once his rule in Syracuse was secure, Agathocles spent the next few years attempting to secure the surrounding hinterland, while the exiles from the regime gathered at Messena and Acragas. Whilst attacking Messena, envoys came from Carthage to reprimand Agathocles for violating the treaty between the two cities.⁴ Hamilcar later became involved in securing peace between Agathocles and the cities of Acragas, Gela and Messena.⁵ As part of the treaty Heraclea Minoa, Selinus, and Himera remained Carthaginian possessions, and the other Greek cities were to be ruled from Syracuse.⁶ This treaty forged by Hamilcar was not well received in Carthage, Carthage, and Agathocles prepared for war with Carthage, amassing a large allied force, as well as ten thousand mercenaries and three and a half thousand mercenary cavalry, with a large stock of weapons and armour.⁷ Messena was captured by Agathocles in 312/11, who executed some 600 opponents from Messena and Tauromenion whilst exiling the rest.⁸ The Carthaginians arrived with sixty ships, invited invited by Deinocrates the leader of the exiles to intervene, forcing Agathocles to return to Syracuse.⁹ The Carthaginians soon sent a larger force which was partly damaged by storms, and collecting the forces already on the island made a strength of

¹ Diod. Sic. XIX.5.5; Just. *Epit.* XXII.2.7; Tillyard (1908) 53.

² Diod. Sic. XIX.6.4-6, 7; Just. *Epit.* XXII.2.9-11; Tillyard (1908) 55-6; Consolo-Langher (2000) 47-8, 53-4.

³ Diod. Sic. XIX.9.1-4. The Parian Marble declares that Agathocles became 'tyrant of the Syracusans' in 316/5, a year earlier than Diodorus claims he became στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. Marm. Par. *FGrH* 239 B14. See also Just. *Epit.* XXII.5.1; Tillyard (1908) 57; Consolo-Langher (2000) 50-1.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XIX.5.4, 65.5; Tillyard (1908) 61.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIX.71.6; Tillyard (1908) 63-4.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XIX.71.7; Tillyard (1908) 63-4; Consolo-Langher (2000) 83-4.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XIX.72.1-2; Tillyard (1908) 65; Consolo-Langher (2000) 85-6.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XIX.102.1-6; Tillyard (1908) 65-7; Consolo-Langher (2000) 88-92.

⁹ Diod. Sic. XIX.102.8, 103.1, Tillyard (1908) 67-8.

forty thousand foot soldiers and five thousand cavalry.¹ Having captured Gela, Agathocles met this army near Himera, but was defeated by Carthaginian reinforcements attacking from the sea, and taking seven thousand casualties the Sicilian forces returned to Gela.² With the Carthaginians winning the loyalty of the surrounding cities, Agathocles and the remainder of the army returned to Syracuse and collected the grain from the countryside in order to withstand siege.³ With this reversal, Agathocles left a garrison in Syracuse under the control of his brother Antander, and set sail for Libya in secret to transfer the war effort to the Carthaginian homeland.⁴ Evading the Carthaginian navy, sixty Syracusan ships landed in Libya.⁵ Calling an assembly, wearing a purple robe and crowned with a laurel wreath, Agathocles prayed to Demeter and Core, and set fire to the boats as an offering.⁶ Agathocles marched his army through Libya, and was met by a Carthaginian army led by Hanno and Bomilcar, with a citizen levy of forty thousand men, one thousand horsemen and two hundred chariots.⁷ Agathocles released owls amongst the soldiers, which rested on their shields and spears, and the men took this as an omen from Athena.⁸ Agathocles fought in the left wing with handpicked mercenaries, and was able to defeat Hanno and the Carthaginian sacred band on the right flank, which resulted in Bomilcar attempting to retreat in an orderly fashion with the rest of the Carthaginian force, before panic resulted in the army fleeing back to Carthage.⁹ Agathocles surrounded the walls of Carthage, and the Carthaginians sent to Hamilcar to return from Sicily to relieve the city.¹⁰ Agathocles sent a lone ship to tell Antander of the success in Libya, who was mulling over surrender to Hamilcar.¹¹ Agathocles spent

¹ Diod. Sic. XIX.106; Consolo-Langher (2000) 100-2.

² Diod. Sic. XIX.108-9, 110.1; Just. *Epit.* XXII.3.9-10; Tillyard (1908) 70-83; Consolo-Langher (2000) 109-117.

³ Diod. Sic. XIX.110.5; Tillyard (1908) 83-5; Consolo-Langher (2000) 117.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XX.3-4; Just. *Epit.* XXII.4.1-2; Tillyard (1908) 89-90.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XX.5-6; Tillyard (1908) 91, 103-5; Consolo-Langher (2000) 120.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XX.7; Just. *Epit.* XXII.6.4; Tillyard (1908) 106; Consolo-Langher (2000) 134-5.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XX.10. Justin states a lower number of thirty thousand. Just. *Epit.* XXII.6.5; Tillyard (1908) 111-17; Consolo-Langher (2000) 139.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XX.11.3-4; Tillyard (1908) 112-3; Consolo-Langher (2000) 141-2.

⁹ Diod. Sic. XX.11-12; Consolo-Langher (2000) 141.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XX.15; Just. *Epit.* XXII.6.9; Consolo-Langher (2000) 142-3.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. XX.16.

the meantime capturing the nearby cities in Libya.¹ He was also able to surprise the reinforcements from Sicily by a night march.² In Sicily, Hamilcar attempted to attack Syracuse, but was repelled and captured alive by Antander.³ Hamilcar's head was cut off and sent to Agathocles in Libya, and the remainder of the Carthaginian forces scattered into the Sicilian hinterland.⁴ Agathocles, after defeating local forces of nomads and a Carthaginian force, sent an envoy to treat with Ophellas, the governor of Cyrene and commander for Ptolemy Soter.⁵ If Ophellas would help with subjugating Carthage, Ophellas would be given Libya to control.⁶ Ophellas agreed, and marched west to meet with Agathocles.⁷ In the meantime, Bomilcar attempted to become tyrant of Carthage, but was killed in the process.⁸ At the same time, Agathocles betrayed Ophellas and took control of his forces.⁹ At the time of the accession of Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes as Hellenistic kings in 306/5, Agathocles also proclaimed himself king.¹⁰ In control of affairs in Libya, Agathocles made the return to Sicily with twenty thousand soldiers.¹¹ Archagathus, who was left in Libya in charge of the remaining troops, divided them to face varying threats, and having lost many of the soldiers retreated to Tunis.¹² Agathocles sailed for Libya when he heard of this reverse, leaving Leptines in command of the citadel against the machinations of Deinocrates' faction.¹³ The Libyans amongst the Sicilian army defected to the Carthaginians, and Agathocles attempted to flee to Syracuse in secret with his younger son Heracleides, but Archagathus discovered this and the soldiers seized Agathocles.¹⁴ However, the soldiers were moved to pity seeing Agathocles in chains,

¹ Diod. Sic. XX.17; Tillyard (1908) 122-131.

² Diod. Sic. XX.18.

³ *Ibid.* XX.29.2-11, 30.1; Just. *Epit.* XXII.7.2; Tillyard (1908) 132-36.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XX.30.2; Tillyard (1908) 136.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XX.38-40; Just. *Epit.* XXII.7.5; Tillyard (1908) 144-6.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XX.40.1-4; Tillyard (1908) 145.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XX.41-42; Tillyard (1908) 145-52; Consolo-Langher (2000) 185-88.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XX.43-44.6; Just. *Epit.* XXII.7.7-10; Tilyard (1908) 152-4; Consolo-Langher (2000) 197-206. See Lester-Pearson (forthcoming b) for an in-depth investigation into this attempted coup.

⁹ Diod. Sic. XX.43.3; Just. *Epit.* XXII.7.6; Consolo-Langher (2000) 189-192.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XX. 54.1; Tillyard (1908) 202-3; Consolo-Langher (2000) 203 n.14.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. XX.55.5; Just. *Epit.* XXII.8.1.

¹² Diod. Sic. XX.60-61; Tillyard (1908) 162-7.

¹³ Diod. Sic. XX.61.5-8; Just. *Epit.* XXII.8.5; Tillyard (1908) 173; Consolo-Langher (2000) 231-2.

¹⁴ Diod. Sic. XX.68-9; Tillyard (1908) 174-81; Consolo-Langher (2000) 235-7.

and allowed him to go free and sail away.¹ However, the soldiers killed Agathocles' sons and elected to treat with the Carthaginians.² The remaining soldiers who surrendered either joined the Carthaginians or returned to Sicily to dwell in Solus.³ Upon landing in Sicily and hearing of the death of his sons, Agathocles sent to Antander to murder the relatives of those who had killed them.⁴ Agathocles next attempted reconciliation with Deinocrates.⁵ When this diplomacy failed, Agathocles attacked Deinocrates and the exiles with his remaining forces, less than five thousand men and eight hundred cavalry.⁶ Fighting the exiles near Torgium, some deserted to Agathocles and the exiles fled.⁷ In the wake of this defeat, Deinocrates was appointed as a commander within Agathocles' army, and exiles who wished to be reconciled were allowed to return.⁸ Later Cassander, the king of Macedonia, besieged Corcyra, but was repelled by Agathocles.⁹ After this, Agathocles sailed to Italy and attacked Croton, claiming he was escorting his daughter Lanassa to Epirus for her marriage to Pyrrhus.¹⁰ During this time, Agathocles sent this son to treat with Demetrius.¹¹ Whilst preparing for another war with Carthage, Agathocles died, according to Diodorus poisoned by a toothpick, but more likely from cancer of the jaw.¹² Shortly before his death, Agathocles restored self-government to the citizens of Syracuse, who promptly tore down the statues commissioned by Agathocles and confiscated his property.¹³

Unlike many tyrants of the Greek world, we are blessed with an abundance of terminology for Agathocles' positions in Syracuse at various times. As well as the literary sources, the *Marmor Parium* mentions Agathocles' positions within the

¹ Diod. Sic. XX.69.3; Just. *Epit.* XXII.8.11-12.

² Diod. Sic. XX.69.3; Just. *Epit.* XXII.8.13.

³ Diod. Sic. XX.69.3; Tillyard (1908) 180.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XX.72; Tillyard (1908) 190; Consolo-Langher (2000) 251.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XX.77.2-3, 79; Consolo-Langher (2000) 251-3.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XX.89.1.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XX.89.2-3; Tillyard (1908) 197-99.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XX.90.1-2; Tillyard (1908) 199-200; Consolo-Langher (2000) 256-7.

⁹ Diod. Sic. XXI.2.1.

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. XXI.4; Tillyard (1908) 312-6; Consolo-Langher (2000) 304-5.

¹¹ Diod. Sic. XXI.15; Tillyard (1908) 218-22; Consolo-Langher (2000) 319-21.

¹² Diod. Sic. XXI.16.1-4; Just. *Epit.* XXIII.2; Tillyard (1908) 222.

¹³ Diod. Sic. XXI.16.4, 6; Tillyard (1908) 223; Consolo-Langher (2000) 321-2.

government of Syracuse.¹ In 319/18, Agathocles is described as the ‘ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρυμάτων τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ αὐτοκράτορα στρατηγόν’, literally the plenipotentiary general of the fortified places in Sicily.² In 316/5, Agathocles position has changed: ‘Agathocles became tyrant of the Syracusans’ (Ἀγαθοκλῆς Συρακουσσῶν ἐτυράννευσεν).³ Diodorus uses the same terminology as the *Marmor Parium* for Agathocles for his initial tyranny in Syracuse, στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ.⁴ Diodorus uses the term χιλίαρχος to describe Agathocles’ role as commander of the fortified places in Sicily.⁵ Justin rather unhelpfully claims that Agathocles became *praetor*, a term presumably intended to be an equivalent to χιλίαρχος denoting a minor officialty, but ultimately an unhelpful anachronism.⁶ Diodorus later refers to Agathocles as ‘ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων δυνάστης’, perhaps trying to signify Agathocles’ transition into the ruler of Syracuse via his generalship.⁷ Diodorus continues to use the same terminology in a variety of passages of Book 19.⁸ Having heard of the accession of the successors to kingship, led by Antigonus Monophthalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, Agathocles also proclaimed himself king in 306/5.⁹ This resulted in a change of title on Agathocles’ gold and bronze coinage in line with the Hellenistic kings, now inscribed with the title ‘King Agathocles’.¹⁰ Diodorus relates how Agathocles chose not to wear a diadem, but continued to wear a wreath relating to a priesthood dating early in his accession to

¹ The *Marmor Parium* was set up at Paros in 264/3, meaning that it is near contemporary to Agathocles. It is a universal chronicle, blending early Greek mythology into the later historical record. As well as giving dates to recent historical events, the composer of the chronicle also gives dates to mythical events, including the fall of Troy (in 1209/8). Agathocles was clearly considered important enough to merit inclusion in a variety of dates. Tod (1948) 205; IG XII.5.444; *Marm. Par. FGrH* 239a-b; Jacoby (1904); Tillyard (1908) 1-2.

² *Marm. Par. FGrH* 239b 12.

³ *Ibid. FGrH* 239b 14.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XIX.9.4.

⁵ *Ibid.* XIX.3.2. This is a reasonable use of the term for the late 3rd century BC. Hephaestion is referred to as χιλίαρχος in his role as the Hazaparatis (Grand vizier) in Alexander’s hierarchy. The term has a Persian background, and could also refer to the head of the Persian King’s bodyguard, as well as army detachments. The term in the Hellenistic period begins to refer to appointments such as Agathocles’. Hdt. VII.81; Diod. Sic. XVIII.48.4-5; Collins (2001) 259-283.

⁶ Just. *Epit.* XXII.2.7.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XIX.65.1. Note the use of δυνάστης to describe the Hecatomnids; see Hecatomnid chapter.

⁸ *Ibid.* XIX.102.1, 102.7, 106.1.

⁹ *Ibid.* XX.54.1.

¹⁰ Zambon (2006) 82.

power.¹ This priesthood may be the same priesthood of Demeter which Gelon and his ancestors held, and accordingly part of Agathocles' legitimisation in Sicily.²

6.1) Ancient Sources

As is usual with much of Sicilian history, Diodorus Siculus is vital for our understanding of Agathocles. It is unfortunate that Diodorus' history becomes fragmentary towards the end of Agathocles' rule, but earlier aspects of his reign are covered in significant detail.³ Diodorus' account of Agathocles has been subject to a considerable amount of scrutiny, particularly by German scholarship focused on *Quellenforschung*.⁴ Agathocles' brother Antander, who advanced far into the Sicilian military command on his own merit and later served as Agathocles' citadel commander, wrote an apologetic history of the reign.⁵ Callias of Syracuse acted for Agathocles as the equivalent of Callisthenes for Alexander, creating panegyric in exchange for patronage.⁶ His work on Agathocles comprised twenty-two books.⁷ Timaeus of Tauromenion was a staunch critic of Agathocles' tyranny, and was likely exiled from Sicily by Agathocles.⁸ The contemporary Duris of Samos wrote a short history of Agathocles, although little of the work survives.⁹

As well as these known fragmentary historians, the anonymous papyrus POxy 2399 discusses resistance to Agathocles during his absence in Africa.¹⁰ Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus considers Agathocles' reign, in books XXII and XXIII.¹¹ Agathocles also receives attention in Plutarch, in the *Life of Demetrius* and *Sayings of Kings and*

¹ Diod. Sic. XX.54.1. Agathocles' mixing and matching of power symbols can be seen clearly here, and this will be discussed further below.

² Diod.Sic. XX.7.2 has Agathocles praying to Demeter and Core. Meister (1984) 390.

³ Book XXI is fragmentary, but Agathocles features in books XIX-XX.

⁴ See Dionysii chapter for the previous discussion.

⁵ Antander *FGrH* 565. Meister (1984) 384-5 is a helpful introduction to the surviving ancient testimony.

⁶ Callias *FGrH* 564; Diod. Sic. XXI.16.5; Tillyard (1908) 9-12; Pearson (1987) 32-3.

⁷ Tillyard (1908) 11.

⁸ Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F34-5, F120-4. See Dionysii chapter for a discussion of Timaeus.

⁹ Duris *FGrH* 76 F16-21, F56-9. See Dionysii chapter for a discussion of Duris.

¹⁰ See Berger (1988) n.4 for previous scholarship on the papyrus fragment. Some scholars consider the POxy history to have been written by Antander. Manni (1966). See also Consolo-Langher (2000) 143-4.

¹¹ See section 4.4.2. Much of Justin's material is used by Orosius to describe Agathocles' war with Carthage. Oros. *Adv. Pag.* IV. 6; Lester-Pearson (forthcoming b).

Commanders.¹ Agathocles features in Polyaeus' *Strategemata*, which relates primarily primarily anecdotal material.² Some fragments of lost historians concerning Agathocles Agathocles are to be found in the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus.³

The numismatic evidence for Agathocles' reign is abundant, and is useful in demarcating aspects of his rule and transitional phases.⁴ The coinage of Agathocles presents a clear chronological pattern, with three phases matching his political progression. Agathocles and his family had minting control of gold and silver denominations by the time he became tyrant in 310, but minting of bronze coinage remained a municipal prerogative until he became king in the Hellenistic style following the example of Antigonus Monophthalmus.⁵ The early coinage of circa 317-10 only featured the name of the city, until an apparent split in the minting authority meant that Agathocles' name appeared on the gold coinage without the name of the city, while the silver *tetradrachms* bore a combination of the city, Agathocles' name and the goddess Core.⁶ From 305/4, the coinage in gold and bronze bears the name of Agathocles with the title *Basileus*, although the silver coinage does not.⁷ Epigraphic evidence is limited, but the *Marmor Parium* includes Agathocles in three entries, providing a helpful contrast to the literary sources for his political progress.⁸ Nothing survives of iconographic evidence, aside from a description of Agathocles in battle on horseback upon painted panels found in Cicero.⁹

¹ Plut. *Demetr.* XXV; Plut. *Mor.* 176.

² Polyaeus, *Strat.* V.3.1-8.

³ Athen. *Deip.* 466a-b, 542a.

⁴ The gold coinage of Agathocles appears to corroborate Di odorus' testimony, in that a distinct change in the numismatic evidence can be seen. Zambon (2006); also see Lewis (2006a); Head (1876) 198-9; Head (1887) 180-2.

⁵ Head (1876) 180-2; Zambon (2006) 80-3. See also Diod. Sic. XX.54.1.

⁶ Head (1876) 180.

⁷ Zambon (2006) 82 suggests this was an attempt to placate the *demos* in some form, noting that one of Agathocles' personal symbols, the *triskeles*, remains.

⁸ *Marm. Par. FGrH* 239a-b; Tod 205.

⁹ Cic. *Verr.* II.4.122; Tillyard (1908) 1.

6.2) Modern Literature

The scholarly bibliography on Agathocles remains depressingly thin. Studies in English are few and far between, such that Tillyard's 1908 monograph remains relevant for the modern scholar.¹ Freeman's four volume work on Sicily considers the reign of Agathocles as a narrative, but is overly reliant on the ancient sources.² Berve wrote a *Kleinedissertationshrift* with particular focus on the constitutionality of Agathocles' position, arguing that Agathocles' power was legitimately based within the Syracusan constitution, and therefore not a tyranny.³ Mossé's categorisation of Agathocles as a *tyran populaire* attempted in part to restore the positive aspects of Agathocles' reputation as a man of the people.⁴ Meister's chapter on Agathocles in *CAH VII*² collates a good deal of research before 1984, and is a sober account of Agathocles' deeds, viewing the cumulative evidence of his career as a damaging period of Sicily's history.⁵ Consolo Langher's many articles on Agathocles in Italian were collected in her 2000 narrative monograph, and above all explored the relationship between Agathocles and the other Successors, and his role in the resurrection of a Hellenic campaign against Carthage.⁶ Recent articles by Lewis and Zambon have extended the debate on Agathocles' political imagery, in particular how his joint roles as a tyrant and a king related to one another.⁷ The most recent monograph to feature Agathocles in detail is that of Lehmler, which considers both Agathocles and Hieron's impact on Syracuse through their statecraft, financial policies and architectural means.⁸ The 2008 monograph of Zambon deals with Syracuse from the Hellenistic period through to the Roman conquest, but does not cover the period of Agathocles in much detail.⁹ Jonathan Prag's chapter on the use of Carthage as a stereotype by Sicilian tyrants to

¹ Tillyard (1908).

² Freeman (1891-4).

³ Berve (1952).

⁴ Mossé (1969) 167-77.

⁵ Meister (1984).

⁶ Consolo Langher (2000). See also Consolo Langher (1998) on the historiography of Agathocles' reign, examining the accounts of Diodorus and Justin. Consolo Langher's motivation and scholarship have recently been reviewed by De Sensi Sestito (2010), along with an extensive bibliography of Consolo Langher's Sicilian research.

⁷ Lewis (2006a); Zambon (2006).

⁸ Lehmler (2005).

⁹ Zambon (2008).

maintain power provides a historical perspective of Sicilian politics against Carthage and Agathocles' role within it.¹

6.3) Appearance

Agathocles, like many of his Syracusan predecessors, has a surprising amount of surviving evidence concerning his outfits. Indeed, Agathocles more than any other Sicilian ruler appears exceptionally aware of the effect his choice of clothing had on his audience. A particularly good example of this is his deliberate choice of common clothing during a mutiny in Libya:

διόπερ ἀποθέμενος τὴν πορφύραν καὶ μεταλαβὼν ἰδιωτικὴν καὶ ταπεινὴν ἐσθῆτα παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸ μέσον.²

Laying aside the purple and adopting the humble clothing of a private man, [Agathocles] came out into the middle.

Diodorus is also explicitly claiming here that Agathocles was wearing purple clothing whilst in Libya, clearly before his accession to Kingship in the Hellenistic style. This happens later in Diodorus' strictly chronological narrative, in chapter 54 of book twenty. Unless Diodorus has made a mistake, we must treat Agathocles' adoption of purple clothing at some point in the second period of his career, as ruler of Syracuse but not yet as king.³ Diodorus, on Agathocles' landing in Libya, suggests that Agathocles wore similar clothing, and appeared 'crowned, in a brilliant cloak' (ἐστεφανωμένος ἐν ἱματίῳ λαμπρῷ).⁴ In this case we ought to understand ἐστεφανωμένος in the light of Agathocles' priesthood, and the myrtle wreath which

¹ Prag (2010).

² Diod. Sic. XX.34.3. It is worth pointing out the similarity here with Gelon, who came out into the assembly and removed his weapons and armour. Diod. Sic. XI.26.5; Polyænus, *Strat.* I.27.1.

³ Diodorus could have made a mistake by transposing an anecdote from one of his sources to a different time, but he may equally be implying that Agathocles saw himself as a king in all but name by this point.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XX.7.2. This links to the armour which Agathocles wore early in his career which was conspicuous.

Diodorus claimed he wore because of this.¹ An important point to note is that the *diadem* as a symbol of kingship was not established in Sicily, yet Agathocles is described wearing a crown, showing that his use of a myrtle wreath to demonstrate his power was clearly a local tradition and not a Hellenistic one. Not only is Diodorus explicitly claiming a difference in the style of headgear compared to the other Successors, but he is using the same terminology in this passage as his description of Agathocles' myrtle wreath.² Diodorus could have used the term *διαδηματοφόρος*, as found in Plutarch, but has chosen to remain with the idea of crowning rather than banding.³

As well as Diodorus' testimony, we can add Polyaeus' description of Agathocles at a banquet:

ἔς μέσους παρελθὼν, κροκωτὸν ἐνδύς, Ταραντῖνον περιβαλόμενος.⁴

[Agathocles], coming out into the middle, wearing a saffron dyed tunic, [with a] Tarentine robe thrown around him.

If we are to interpret Polyaeus' aim as more serious than merely an attempt to effeminise Agathocles, then it can be judged that Agathocles not only wore a variety of outfits, but perhaps wore differing outfits depending on his audience.⁵ This anecdote suggests that Agathocles wore a more casual, if not less brilliant outfit in a private context such as a banquet.⁶ In such a spirit Diodorus claimed that Agathocles would act as a humble citizen during drinking sessions, certainly implying a more casual

¹ Diod. Sic. XX.54.1. The myrtle wreath was sacred to Venus in the Roman tradition, and worn during the *Ovatio* ceremony. Plut. *Marc.* XXII.2; Aul. Gell. *AN* V.6.

² Aelian, *VH* XI.4 adds this detail.

³ Plut. *Ant.* LIV.8.

⁴ Polyaeus, *Strat.* V.3.3.

⁵ The passage conjures images of femininity in a variety of ways, such as Agathocles playing the Cithaera, and the colour of the gown brings to mind the luxury of the east (The ghost of Darius in Aeschylus' *Persians*, for example). Tillyard (1908) 172 disregards this anecdote.

⁶ The likelihood is that the outfit was inspired by the followers of Dionysus, who according to Semus of Delos would wear Tarentine robes down to their ankles. Semus *FGrH* 396 F24. Given that the context of Polyaeus' passage is that of a banquet, this is not a surprise. It is interesting, on the other hand, that this Dionysiac display did not extend to the public sphere. In public displays, Agathocles wore purple clothing, as the Dionysii had done previously.

demeanour. Diodorus' language of 'laying aside...the rank of tyranny' (ἀπετίθετο... τὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ἀξίωμα) suggests a physical change as much as a change in attitude.¹

Similar to this case is Agathocles' conduct during the first period of his rule, when he convened the assembly in Syracuse to denounce the oligarchy of the Six Hundred. Agathocles claimed to wish a return to the role of a private citizen, once again dressing the part in every respect:

καὶ ταῦτα λέγων τὸ μὲν χλαμύδιον αὐτοῦ περιέσπασε, τὸ δ' ἱμάτιον μεταλαβὼν ἀπήει, τῶν πολλῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείξας ἕνα.²

While saying this, he took off his military cloak, and adopting civilian clothing he left, proving that he was one of the many.

The translation of χλαμύδιον is complicated here, as Diodorus has used a diminutive form of the word.³ This diminutive word is used on more than one occasion by Plutarch. Of particular use is the comparison in the life of Demetrius between the brilliant outfit Demetrius usually wore and the inconspicuous (probably military, judging by his company at the time) cloak he used to escape his pursuers.⁴ The garment is clearly not intended to mean the brilliant or purple outfits which Agathocles later wore. A military outfit must have been meant by Diodorus as a comparison to the ἱμάτιον. The passage implies little or no trace of Agathocles' famous armour in order for him to change immediately in the assembly and leave. This huge shining armour was too heavy for other men to use, marking him out from other men enough that it could be used as a decoy to fool an assassination attempt.⁵ It can be proposed, then,

¹ Diod. Sic. XX.61.1.

² *Ibid.* XIX.9.2.

³ The χλαμύς was a garment of Thessalian origin, and as such originates from a horse-riding context. Losfeld (1991) 171. Varying versions of the χλαμύς were used by the Macedonians, with different levels of thickness for different seasons. Karunanithy (2013) 83-4. See also Saatoglou-Paliadeli (1993) 143-45.

⁴ Plut. *Demetr.* IX.4. See also Plut. *Mor.* 752f.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIX.3.2, 5.2. An idea of what this armour could have been like can be found in the Vergina grave goods, where an iron cuirass made of hinged plates has been found. Despite the weight of the item, a remarkable degree of movement would be possible within it because of the hinged design. Hatzopoulos & Loukopoulos (1980) 225 fig. 127; Karunanithy (2013) 90-93.

that there were three modes of dress for Agathocles. During combat, Agathocles wore military equipment of immense size and brightness, easily distinguishing him from other soldiers. During official engagements, such as meeting an assembly of soldiers, or in the assembly at Syracuse, Agathocles wore a combination of clothing carefully suited to his purpose. While denouncing the oligarchy Agathocles was wearing military garb before removing it to wear civilian clothing. Later once he had become tyrant, purple clothing and a myrtle crown became part of his public image, even before his accession to Hellenistic kingship.

In private occasions, judging from Polyaeus' testimony, Agathocles would assume luxurious (possibly Dionysiac) clothing, but not of purple colour, perhaps as a signal of enhanced accessibility in comparison to his public outfits. This style of outfit did not extend into his public portrayal.

6.3.1) Iconographic Evidence

In Cicero's Verrine orations, he describes a panelled image of Agathocles, in a temple dedicated to Athena:

Pugna erat equestris Agathocli regis in tabulis picta praeclare; iis autem tabulis interiores templi parietes vestiebantur.¹

There was a cavalry battle of King Agathocles, which had been excellently painted upon panels; moreover the interior of the temple was covered with these panels.

The painting appears to have survived a *damnatio memoriae* of Agathoclean statues and property.² The obvious parallel of a cavalry battle representation is that of the Issus mosaic, in which Alexander on horseback strikes at the fleeing Darius.³ Although the mosaic dates from the end of the second century, it was most likely in imitation of

¹ Cic. *Verr.* II.4.122; Tillyard (1908) 229; Zambon (2006) 83.

² Diod. Sic. XXI.18.1; Meister (1984) 410.

³ See Coarelli (1982) 549-51; Cohen (1997); Prag (2010) 65, 70.

a painting by Philoxenus of Eretria, who painted such an image for Cassander.¹ As Cassander was a contemporary of Agathocles, this is likely to be the inspiration for Agathocles' painting. The location, in the temple of Athena is significant in this respect. Agathocles utilised the imagery of Athena *promachos* on his later coinage, and included the head of Alexander on his gold coinage shortly before becoming king.² In this respect he was fashioning his political image in line with Alexander's Successors, and this certainly must have been inspired by Alexander's feats.³ But Agathocles was also treading a well-worn path in his emulation of the previous Syracusan tyrants Gelon and Dionysius and their wars against Carthage, which located his political motivation as much in the Syracusan past as the Hellenistic present.⁴

6.4) Accessibility

Agathocles, like Dionysius I, is known to have led his men into battle and spoken before them, attended the assembly in Syracuse, and held private events such as banquets. One significant difference from the Dionysii is that Agathocles appears to have not possessed a standing bodyguard. Diodorus claims that he would enter the assembly in Syracuse flanked by the crowd, and felt perfectly safe.⁵ This seems rather strange, weighed up against the conduct of the citizens upon Agathocles' death, where the apparent hatred of the regime and Agathocles personally resulted in the desecration of his statues and the confiscation of his property, where perhaps we might have expected a heroic burial along the lines of Euphron of Sicyon for founding a new democracy.⁶

¹ Pliny, *NH* XXXV.110; Cohen (1997) 63. The 'House of the Faun' in Pompeii where the mosaic was found dates to the second century, and the mosaic was most likely based on a lost early Hellenistic painting. *Ibid.* 51-2.

² Zambon (2006) 81-2 notes that Agathocles' coinage imitates Ptolemy Soter's coinage, and probably ties in to the victory against Carthage in 310. Mørkholm (1991) 26. See also Diodorus' description of Agathocles using owls to inspire his troops. *Diod. Sic.* XX.11.3-4.

³ See Stewart (1993) for the way in which Alexander's Successors used his image.

⁴ See Prag (2010) for an investigation of wars against Carthage as a Syracusan power motif.

⁵ *Diod. Sic.* XX.63.3.

⁶ *Ibid.* XXI.16.6; Meister (1984) 410; Lewis (2004) 71; Xen. *Hell.* VII.3.12.

One possibility is that Agathocles did possess a bodyguard, but that it was much less conspicuous.¹ Perhaps loyal mercenaries could have blended in with the citizens, without a distinctive uniform.² In the assembly, where he was evidently a favourite of the public, perhaps he genuinely did not feel afraid.

ὑπάρχων δὲ καὶ φύσει γελωτοποιὸς καὶ μῖμος οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀπείχετο τοῦ σκώπτειν τοὺς καθημένους καὶ τινὰς αὐτῶν εἰκάζειν, ὥστε τὸ πλῆθος πολλάκις εἰς γέλωτα ἐκτρέπεσθαι, καθάπερ τινὰ τῶν ἠθολόγων ἢ θαυματοποιῶν θεωροῦντας.³

Being from birth both a buffoon and an imitator, not even in the assembly did he refrain from mocking those who were seated and imitating many of them, so that the commoners were often brought into laughter, as if surely beholding some of the mimics or conjurers.

His pride in his humble origins as a potter, despite the station to which he had risen in life, must have endeared him to the people.⁴ This was in comparison to Gelon and Hieron who were of aristocratic stock, and Dionysius who began life as a γραμματέύς and therefore had some form of literary education.⁵ Indeed, Agathocles' political career lent itself to opposition against the Syracusan oligarchy from the beginning, and thus he set himself up as champion of the people, if not democracy. Agathocles' conduct against the oligarchs, ordering the Six Hundred to be killed and their property confiscated must have created many enemies. Diodorus claims six thousand of the oligarchic supporters escaped into exile.⁶

¹ Note that Agathocles is surrounded by one thousand armoured men whilst leading the left wing of the army against the Carthaginians in 310. Diod. Sic. XX.11.1.

² Meister (1984) 389 points out that the fear of Agathocles' militia probably played a large part in his election in Syracuse.

³ Diod. Sic. XX.63.2.

⁴ Mosse (1969) 167-77. Against this, see Meister (1984) 385.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIII.96.4.

⁶ *Ibid.* XIX.8.2.

Agathocles appears to have held banquets often, judging by the evidence of Diodorus and Polyaeus. Diodorus tells of the building Agathocles had built on Ortygia for the purpose:

ἐν μὲν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ὁ κατὰ τὴν Νῆσον οἶκος ὁ ἑξηκοντάκλιος ὀνομαζόμενος, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν ἔργων ὑπεραίων τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ, ὃν κατασκεύασε μὲν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ δυνάστης, διὰ δὲ τὸ βάρος τῶν ἔργων ὑπεραίων τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ναοὺς ἐπισημασίας ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου κεραυνωθείς.¹

In Syracuse within [Ortygia] there was the house called the House of Sixty Couches, which was beyond the works within Syracuse in its greatness and construction. This was built by the ruler Agathocles, and on account of the work's abundance, going beyond the temples of the gods, it happened to be struck by lightning as a portent from the gods.

This suggests there is some truth to the anecdotes of Agathocles and his banqueting with private citizens, rather than immediate family and privileged guests in the style of Dionysius, who would entertain within his citadel in smaller numbers. We ought to consider, however, how public these banquets were. While the hall was likely not inside a fortified building, the island of Ortygia was apparently well defended enough for Agathocles to leave his brother Antander in charge to undertake his Libyan campaign, when the Carthaginians had surrounded the city.² If there is any truth to Agathocles' murder of dissidents in a banqueting scenario, the ability of his mercenaries to surround the building was evidently not difficult.³ If any sort of public occasion took place in Ortygia, Agathocles was as well protected as Dionysius would have been, with no problems controlling the scenario.

¹ *Ibid.* XVI.83.2.

² Diod. Sic. XIX.3-4.

³ *Ibid.* XX.63.5; Polyaeus, *Strat.* V.3.3.

Lehmler points out the Near Eastern precedent of such a dining area, something which continued as a royal practice by Alexander and the successors.¹ She claims it must be considered as part of a palace system, rather than a stand-alone building, and as such it ought to be understood in the same manner as the Dionysii entertaining in the gardens outside the citadel.²

Diodorus claims that Agathocles built towers around the small harbour and inscribed his name upon them in mosaic.³ The rebuild of such defensive fortifications implies that Agathocles must have made some effort at reconstructing (or reimagining) the citadel of the Dionysii.⁴ If the island was to survive Carthaginian sieges, as Agathocles intended his brother Antander to do, then the fortifications must have been rebuilt, and rebuilt well.⁵ Given that the citadel of the Dionysii was dismantled to the foundations during Timoleon's expedition, the rebuild must have been speedily arranged.⁶

Agathocles, based on the evidence, was more accessible than the other tyrants of the case studies, and this may be in part due to the nature of rule after Alexander, to which Agathocles clearly in part aspired. Agathocles declared himself king in the Hellenistic style when the opportunity arose, and this Macedonian style of monarchy was known in antiquity as an accessible sort.⁷ Agathocles' accession to Kingship must be attributed to an outside model, rather than following any Sicilian royal example. As I have argued in the previous chapter on the Dionysii, the previous tyrants of Syracuse did not present themselves as kings, and ought not to be interpreted as such.

Although Agathocles was inspired to become a king by example of the Successors of Alexander, Agathocles remained heavily linked to the statecraft of previous Syracusan

¹ Lehmler (2005) 107. See also Funck (1996) 44-5; Nielsen (1999) 31-72.

² See section 3.6.1. Lehmler (2005) 108.

³ Diod. Sic. XXI.83.2.

⁴ Tillyard (1908) 228; Nielsen (1999) 80; Lehmler (2005) 108.

⁵ *Ibid.* 109.

⁶ Plut. *Tim.* XXII.1-2; Lehmler (2005)108.

⁷ Diodorus tells us that once Agathocles had heard of the accession of Antigonos, Demetrius and the other successors, despite having no attachment to the reign of Alexander he styled himself in a similar fashion. Diod.Sic. XX.54.1; Consolo-Langher (2000) 203 n.14. On the accessibility of Macedonian kingship, see Adams (1986); Plut. *Demetr.* XLII.3-4; Plut. *Mor.* 179c.

tyrants. The reconstruction of the Ortygia citadel complex was a return to the divide between ruler and citizens that was an integral aspect of the power of the Dionysii. Like Dionysius the elder, Agathocles found occasion to invite citizens or workers to his table, but within the island of Ortygia mercenaries were a consistent presence, even around an open occasion within the hall of sixty couches. Agathocles' claim to not require a bodyguard only ultimately means that a visible force was not present, but the likelihood is that, as with the massacre of diners, loyal mercenaries were never far away, and probably blended with the crowd in civilian clothing. Agathocles was not truly following the Macedonian attitude of citizen access, and was in reality closer to his Syracusan predecessors in his ultimate inaccessibility.

6.5) Dynasty

6.5.1) Dynastic Structure

Agathocles' family did not continue to rule in Syracuse after his death, owing to his supposed decision to return the city to a democracy.¹ This does not mean that Agathocles had no succession plan whatsoever. Agathocles' first marriage to the unnamed widow of Damas as a young man appears to have been a practical marriage, particularly in a pecuniary sense.² This marriage bore him two children, Archagathus and Heracleides.³ Agathocles' decision to leave his two sons in Libya in order to return to Sicily in 307 resulted in their murder. One or the other of these two sons would have likely been Agathocles' successor, and his rage at the event appears to be genuine:

Ἀκούσας γὰρ τὴν τῶν υἱῶν ἀναίρεσιν καὶ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχων ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους κατὰ Λιβύην ἔπεμψε τῶν φίλων τινὰς εἰς Συρακούσας πρὸς Ἄντανδρον τὸν ἀδελφόν, διακελευσάμενος τοὺς τῶν συστρατευσάντων ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα συγγενεῖς ἅπαντας ἀποσφάζει.⁴

¹ Diod. Sic. XXI.16.4; Consolo-Langher (2000) 321-2.

² Diod. Sic. XIX.3.2.

³ Just. *Epit.* XXII.5.1. Archagathus had a son of the same name, Agathocles' grandson.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XX.72.1.

Hearing about the murder of his sons, Agathocles bore rage at all those left behind in Libya. He sent some of his friends into Syracuse to his brother Antander, ordering him to cut the throats of all the relatives of those men who joined in the campaign against Carthage.

Justin claims that Agathocles intended to bring Archagathus back to Sicily with him, but they were separated during their nocturnal escape and Archagathus was captured by the soldiers left behind:

Cum persequi regem uellent, a Numidis excepti in castra reuertuntur, comprehenso tamen reductoque Archagatho, qui a patre noctis errore discesserat.¹

When they wished to pursue the king [Agathocles], they were returned to the camp having been intercepted by Numidians, nevertheless having seized and brought back Archagathus, who through an error of the night, had been separated from his father.

Diodorus claims that Archagathus had lost Agathocles' trust by this point, and that Heracleides was meant to have gone back to Sicily with him. We evidently have two differing sources here, which are impossible to untangle. Tillyard claims Agathocles intended to bring both his sons, and his anger at the loss of both in Diodorus supports this.²

Agathocles married Alcia (presumably after the death of his first wife) who bore him Agathocles and Lanassa. Lanassa would later be wed to Pyrrhus of Epirus.³ His final wife, Theoxena, was from the Ptolemaic dynasty, and bore him Archagathus and

¹ Just. *Epit.* XXII.8.10.

² Tillyard (1908) 178-80; Diod. Sic. XX.72.1.

³ Diod. Sic. XXI.4.1.

Theoxena.¹ According to Justin, they were only infants at the time of Agathocles' death.²

Agathocles' many wives and children, without a set-out succession plan, resulted in a turbulent relationship amongst the different relatives.³ Archagathus, Agathocles' grandson, became the leader of the field armies when Agathocles was too old to campaign.⁴ Diodorus relates that Agathocles intended his son (who was also named Agathocles) by his second wife Alcia to succeed him in the tyranny, and he was presented at Syracuse as the heir to Agathocles' power.⁵ Archagathus was requested via letter to relinquish control of the army and navy to Agathocles, and did not take to his dismissal kindly.⁶ Archagathus plotted with Menon of Segesta to kill both the king Agathocles and his designated successor, and while it is not certain that poison was the cause of Agathocles' death, Archagathus found the opportunity to murder the younger Agathocles at a feast.⁷

Whether Agathocles had long intended to make his son by Alcia his successor is difficult to determine. The youth and rashness of Archagathus may have played a factor in Agathocles' decision.⁸ He may have decided that Agathocles would succeed him soon after losing his two eldest sons in Africa, but it could just as easily have been a recent decision. There was the potential issue of legitimacy arising from Theoxena's son, who was sent away with Theoxena to the Ptolemaic kingdom and later found in Egypt.⁹ Justin claims that Theoxena and her children were sent away because of the likelihood that Archagathus would kill them, but the reason is unknown.¹⁰

¹ Archagathus is only attested in inscriptional evidence. SEG.18:636; Fraser (1956); Bagnall (1976). Theoxena appears in a papyrus fragment. POxy 37.2821.

² Just. *Epit.* XXIII.6.

³ See Ogden (1999) for the problems many Hellenistic dynasties had in this respect.

⁴ Diod. Sic. XXI.16.2.

⁵ *Ibid.* XXI.16.3.

⁶ *Ibid.* XXI.16.3.

⁷ *Ibid.* XXI.16.3; Justin XXIII.2.5.

⁸ Diod. Sic. XXI.16.7.

⁹ SEG 18:636.

¹⁰ Just. *Epit.* XXIII.2.6.; Tillyard (1908) 220.

Archagathus, capable as he evidently was, was not any part of Agathocles' plans beyond his military capabilities towards the end of his life. Had the younger Agathocles not been murdered, the succession would have been straightforward, as the assembly had been presented with him clearly designated as the next king. There is no reason to doubt Diodorus' testimony that Agathocles had a clear succession in mind to his royal power. The subsequent decision of Agathocles to relinquish the tyranny was the result of his failure to instigate this succession plan.

6.5.2) Positions of Influence

Agathocles prided himself on his tyranny being of a different genus to the Dionysii, but one aspect where he appears to have utilised Dionysius' example is his careful use of family members at vital positions within his ruling hierarchy. Antander, Agathocles' brother, had a successful career in the Syracusan military before Agathocles' rise to power.¹ When Agathocles left for Africa, it was his brother Antander whom he left in charge of Syracuse to withstand the Carthaginian siege.² Agathocles' male children also played a major part in the military administration. His sons Archagathus and Heracleides both act as generals in Libya. Archagathus is found in a position of immense honour on the battlefield, in command of the right wing during the first battle against Carthage in Libya.³ He was also left in control of the forces in Africa in Agathocles' absence.⁴

Archagathus, Agathocles' grandson, is found commanding the field army towards the end of Agathocles' life.⁵ It can be reasonably assumed that Archagathus must have had had experience in the field previously; if the text of Diodorus at XXI.3.1 mentions

¹ Diod. Sic. XIX.3.3.

² *Ibid.* XX.4.1.

³ *Ibid.* XX.11.1.

⁴ *Ibid.* XX.55.5.

⁵ *Ibid.* XXI.16.2.

Archagathus and not another son of Agathocles, Archagathus was left in charge of a small detachment of approximately 2000 men.¹

Clearly Agathocles had great faith in his family members with regard to military and administrative positions. No large scale operations were left out of his dynasty's direct control, even if some of them appear untrustworthy. This is not to say that trusted foreigners had no place in Agathocles' regime. Lyciscus is found in command of a part of Agathocles' army in Libya, before being killed by Archagathus.² The otherwise unknown Stilpo is found as admiral of a raiding party against the Brutti, but this does not appear to have been a large portion of the sea power available to Agathocles.³ Eyrmonon the Aetolian was set up as the joint commander of Syracuse with Antander according to Diodorus, although his role outside of military discussion is unknown, and Antander may well have possessed a higher rank.⁴

While Agathocles himself appears to have had no literary pretensions, as well as Antander writing a history, we have the historian Callias in Agathocles' inner circle.⁵ The various surviving testimonies of his work on Agathocles suggest a relationship not dissimilar to that of Alexander the Great and Callisthenes.⁶ There is no evidence to determine if Callias was attached to the Agathoclean regime in an official capacity, but it is not implausible. If he had access to Agathocles, Callias must have been acceptable in Ortgyia.

¹ The manuscript is complicated here. Archagathus can be found in the Hoeschel edition instead of Agatharcus. It is possible Archagathus is another son of Agathocles from his first marriage as Berve (1952) 76 n.71 suggests.

² Diod. Sic. XX.20.33.

³ *Ibid.* XXI.8.

⁴ *Ibid.* XX.16.1. A historiographical possibility here is that Eyrmonon may have been a greater role as a foil to Antander, rendering him a coward and robbing Antander of the success in defeating the Carthaginians in a surprise attack. He appears only once and is never heard of again.

⁵ Pearson calls him a brother of Agathocles along with Antander, which I strongly suspect is a misprint. There is no ancient evidence for this. Pearson (1987) 32.

⁶ Diod. Sic. XXI.17.4 suggests that Agathocles was not only well aware of Callias' work during his lifetime, but rewarded him handsomely for it.

6.5.3) Women

Agathocles first married the widow of Damas, about whom we know little, as a young man.¹ His second wife, Alcia, gave birth to a daughter, Lanassa, who would go on to marry Pyrrhus of Epirus.² Late in his reign, probably after 300, a marriage was offered by Ptolemy Philadelphus of his step-daughter Theoxena, who became Agathocles' third wife.³ We do not know if any of these marriages were concurrent or successive, but both the precedent of Dionysius the elder and Alexander's successors such as Demetrius Poliorcetes and Lysimachus in polygamous marriages certainly allow for the possibility. In comparison to the role of women in the court of the Dionysii, we know little about the role of the women in Agathocles' court. One hint can be found as to the role of the dynasty's women. Lanassa's separation from Pyrrhus resulted in her return to Corcyra, which had been given as a dowry to Pyrrhus.⁴ Lanassa invited Demetrius Poliorcetes to come to Corcyra and marry her, which he duly did. Not only was Lanassa apparently in control of Corcyra upon her return, but was also able to arrange her own marriage.⁵ The public roles of Agathocles' wives are ultimately unknown, although this should not preclude their appearance on occasion, as the women of the Dionysii dynasty are attested to have done.

6.6) Military Function

Agathocles can fairly be counted alongside Dionysius the Elder as both a resourceful Sicilian general, and a leader of military engagements. Although we are not sure of Agathocles' personal role in most of his conflicts, there are two occasions where it is certain he fought in person. Early in his career before becoming tyrant, he was part of a night expedition into the city of Gela with one thousand men who got trapped in a

¹ *Ibid.* XIX.3.2; Meister (1984) 385, 409.

² She would also go on to marry Demetrius Poliorcetes. *Ibid.* XXI.4.1; Plut. *Pyrrh.* IX.1, X.5; Ogden (1999) 175-6; Meister (1984) 406-7, 409.

³ Just. *Epit.* XXIII.2.6; Tillyard (1908) 212; Meister (1984) 408-9.

⁴ Plut. *Pyrrh.* IX.1, X.5; Tillyard (1908) 215-6.

⁵ Tillyard (1908) 218 believes it was not with Agathocles' consent. Meister (1984) 408 believes that it must have had Agathocles' consent. Other Hellenistic royal women were more than capable of arranging their own marriages, e.g. Amastris of Heraclea Pontica (see section 4.3), and therefore Lanassa probably arranged it personally.

narrow passageway.¹ Agathocles was able to fight off the attackers long enough for the survivors to escape, receiving seven wounds in the process.² His ruse was to order the trumpeters to sound on both sides of the wall, confusing the enemy who split into two parties to follow the noise, assuming that the rest of the Syracusan force had broken into the city.³ Agathocles and the survivors of the thousand strong band were able to escape.⁴ Agathocles later led the left wing, along with his bodyguard, against the Carthaginian Sacred Band in 310.⁵ Archagathus took over the command from Agathocles when he became too old to lead late into his reign, which would hint that like Dionysius the elder, Agathocles commanded battles from the front lines until he was no longer able to do so.⁶

6.7) Conclusion

Agathocles, despite his apparent attempts to avoid association with the earlier tyrants of Syracuse, proves to be a successor to their method of rule in many respects. Like Dionysius I, Agathocles was a consummate performer, dressing adeptly for the occasion to instill the response he wanted from those who viewed him, using a crown of myrtle wreath which likely signified his priesthood of Demeter and Core, as well as the use of purple robes for theatrical flair. This appearance was something attributed to Agathocles before the advent of Hellenistic kingship, meaning that it was derived from a combination of local custom and the greater political sphere of fluid Greco-Achaemenid portrayal.

The Dionysii loom large in Agathocles' relationship with the citizens of Syracuse, in particular with the refounding of the Ortgyia citadel to carefully control access. Despite the claim in Diodorus that Agathocles did not require a bodyguard, it is certain that he possessed a loyal core of mercenaries such as the thousand he led against the Carthaginian Sacred Band in 310, and these must have realistically played a role in his

¹ Diod. Sic. XIX.4.4-5.

² *Ibid.* XIX.4.6; Tillyard (1908) 47-8, 94.

³ Diod. Sic. XIX.4.6-7.

⁴ *Ibid.* XIX.4.7.

⁵ *Ibid.* XX.11.1.

⁶ *Ibid.* XXI.16.2.

protection. In part Agathocles was more accessible than the Dionysii, appearing in the assembly to heckle other politicians, and this may have been an influence of the contemporary Macedonian style of accessible kingship.

In Agathocles' use of close family members to fill key positions in the military administration, he was mirroring the practice of Dionysius in controlling private and public affairs as an extension of his own household. In the military sphere as well, Agathocles stands in the tradition of the Deinomenids and the Dionysii, leading the forces in person as well as controlling the strategy, until retiring from command in his old age.

In part influenced by the Hellenistic world of the Successors, but ultimately very much a ruler in the tradition of Syracuse's recent past, and in particular the Dionysii, Agathocles ought to be seen as a continuator of Sicilian power, who like Dionysius I drew inspiration from local practice, as well as being in touch with contemporary political theory from around the Mediterranean.

7) Analysis

7.1) Why Persise?

Margaret Miller, in her work on the adoption of Persian culture by Athens, states three suggested reasons for the occurrence of *Persising*. The most relevant of these to understand what tyrants were attempting to achieve by their self-portrayal is the third category, 'The national: the 'need' to develop new expression for the emergent Athenian Empire.'¹ Of course, we are not discussing the emergence of an empire in the same manner, but a notable factor of the tyrannies considered as case studies is their emergence in times of *stasis* or crisis. Dionysius I, Agathocles and Clearchus all came to power by exploiting *stasis* between factions, and the Hecatomnids were promoted to satrapal status during a difficult period for the region. Imperative to consolidating their tenuous initial power was creating a new expression of their rule. We ought not to be surprised that as well as upholding local traditions, the tyrants turned to external forces with which to create a powerbase from the ground up. As Miller explains Athens' response to Achaemenid influence, the dramatic change of status from city-state to the beginnings of an empire resulted in new ways to display this status.² Persia's significant role in Greek politics towards the end of the Peloponnesian War changes the Greek interaction with Persia from that of enemy to dependant, a necessary role in securing hegemony for Athens, Sparta and Thebes.³ It can be of no coincidence that the rise of men such as Dionysius occurred as a result of this period, as has been persuasively argued by Trundle in a recent chapter.⁴

7.2) Methods of transmission

Martin West's colossal monograph, *The East Face of Helikon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, provides one example of a framework for understanding the

¹ Miller (1997) 248. The other two aspects, the need to incorporate the alien and complexifying social discourse are less appropriate models for the current study.

² Miller (1997) 248.

³ Cartledge (1987) 180; Trundle (2006) 66; Hornblower (1994b) 64-96.

⁴ Trundle (2006) 65.

methods in which ideas and concepts could travel.¹ Because the transmission of concepts and symbols is less reliant on oral transmission than poetry or myth, I will not analyse all such methods in depth. I shall consider West's categories where appropriate, to attempt to narrow down where and how tyrants would have received their cultural ideas.

Of further relevance here is Margaret Miller's *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC: A Study in Cultural Receptivity*.² The first section of Miller's monograph, *Spheres of Contact*, explores the relations of Athens and Persia from their origins to the end of the Peloponnesian war.³ Of particular relevance to the acculturation of tyrants is chapter five: *Diplomatic exchange: visions of splendour*, considering eyewitness accounts.⁴

As I have shown earlier, the tyrants of the case studies (perhaps excluding Agathocles) tended to remain within their cities, except for military expeditions. The potential for the tyrant to experience potential concepts or symbols for adoption outside of their city was limited but not absent. We know that Clearchus met Mithridates in person, and the Hecatomnids will almost certainly have had some contact with Persian satraps. But how would Dionysius, in the central Mediterranean, have come across the material to adopt?

7.2.1) Diplomacy

The end of the Peloponnesian War, moving into the fourth century, marks an increase in embassies to Persia by the Greek states.⁵ We have no recorded example of a Syracusan delegation to Persia during the time of the Dionysii, but the factors of the King's Peace, and Dionysius' alliance with Sparta, could plausibly have resulted in

¹ West (1997).

² Miller (1997).

³ Unlike West's monograph, Miller's work primarily deals with Achaemenid Persia, rather than the Ancient Near East in general.

⁴ *Ibid.* 109-133. See also Vassopoulos (2013) which uses a broader framework and different cultures.

⁵ *Ibid.* 110-1 (table 5.1).

Dionysius entering into diplomatic relations with Persia.¹ The contemporary orators add to this suggestion in their placing of Dionysius with the Persian king: that they were understood as a pair, or triad with Sparta suggests there was some form of agreement.²

In the case of the other dynasties, Clearchus and his successors to the tyranny had a consistent policy of sending embassies to the Persian king. His brother Satyrus, and his sons Timotheus and Dionysius, supported the Achaemenids until their eventual defeat by Alexander. Dionysius notably never accepted Alexander's rule. Who the Clearchids would have sent as an ambassador is unknown, but the possibility that it would have comprised members of the inner circle or family (in the manner that Dionysius sent his direct relations in his stead e.g. Thearides leading the deputation to Olympia) must be high.

Hecatomnus was ordered by the Persian king, presumably through a messenger, to wage war against Cyprus. As the family were satraps from this point onwards, discussion must have taken place with the Persian court, through embassy if not in person. Some form of taxation on the national scale was also exacted, which meant sending the money on to the Persian heartland. Such men could have brought back intelligence of what they saw of Persepolis or Susa.

In the case of Dionysius, it is known he did not travel overseas as tyrant, but the possibility of his having met Persian aristocracy as a younger man can be suggested by his relationship with Hermocrates. If Dionysius was approximately twenty five at the time of becoming tyrant, he was a grown man not only at the time of Hermocrates' attempted coup, but also before when Hermocrates was in exile.³ Notable is Dionysius' ability to convince Hermocrates' supporters to help him at such a young age, suggesting his history with Hermocrates was older than Diodorus claims. Having fought

¹ Given the considerable number of embassies from the central Greek states, for Syracuse to have never sent one seems extraordinary, but it is impossible to be sure whether it is due to a lack of surviving evidence. The evidence of Herodotus is the only relevant testimony, when Gelon sent Cadmus to Delphi in order to negotiate surrender upon a Persian victory. Hdt. VII.163.

² Lys. *Olymp.* 5; Isoc. *Paneg.* 126, *Arch.* 63.

³ Caven (1990) 19 suggests Dionysius would have been in his mid twenties by the time he became tyrant.

well against Carthage was one of the factors which led to Dionysius' appointment to the board of generals in Syracuse, which means he indeed fought under Hermocrates before the attempted coup.¹ Scholars assume Dionysius' background as a *grammateus* is incompatible with a military or diplomatic career before his emergence as Hermocrates' *de facto* successor, but given his age, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that he could have accompanied Hermocrates into exile, and therefore met the Persian satrap Pharnabazus.²

7.2.2) Intellectual circles

One aspect of Classical Greek tyranny lacking significant scholarship is that of intellectual circles.³ For certain two of the regimes considered, the Dionysii and Clearchids, entertained intellectuals at court. The Hecatomnids also had visits from intellectuals, although on a lesser scale.⁴ The philosophical links of the tyrannies are worth consideration in particular, with respect to Near Eastern influence.

It is a remarkable coincidence that many of the writers discussed earlier in the thesis with positive views on Persia possessed links with tyrannical governments. Xenophon is regarded by scholars to have visited the court at Syracuse and dined with Dionysius, based on a fragment in Athenaeus.⁵ Plato's visit to Syracuse, while controversial, is also to be noted. Clearchus, himself a student of both Isocrates and Plato in his youth, also founded some form of philosophical school in Heraclea. Other regimes not considered in this thesis, such as the tyrants of Pherae, also cultivated personal philosophical links.⁶ While we cannot be certain what took place in private conversations between such men, we can fairly speculate that tyrants were interested in the political advice these men had to offer. As the political discourse of the time

¹ Diod. Sic. XIII.92.1.

² Sanders (1991) 281-2 suggests Dionysius was with Hermocrates during this time, based on the chronology of Dionysius' exchange of embassies with king Lysander of Sparta, dated to 406 by Sansone (1981) 204. Diod. Sic. XIII.34.4, 63.2, 75.9; Xen. *Hell.* I.1.31; Hofstetter (1978) 82-83.

³ Ryle (1966); Preaux (1978) 214ff.

⁴ Hornblower (1982) 333-337.

⁵ Sordi (2004).

⁶ Gorgias was a personal friend of Jason, and Alexander, like Clearchus in Heraclea, had links to the Academy in Athens. Paus. VI.17.9.

trended towards the benefits of appropriate one-man rule, tyrants must have thought reflexively about the nature of their rule, as well as aspects of presentation.¹

From the side of the philosophers and pamphleteers, it is worth noting their willingness and attempts to give practical advice. Isocrates sent a letter to Timotheus, the son of Clearchus, with the attempt at guiding his behaviour, as well as to Nicocles of Cyprus with advice on how to dress and present himself appropriately.² It is not implausible for such advice to have taken place in a private context as well as an epistolary one. Isocrates sent Autocrator to Timotheus in Heraclea to fulfil such a function in his stead. Isocrates also claims that he would have travelled to Syracuse in person to converse with Dionysius in person but for his age.³ Plato's Academy also seems to have been responsible for sending philosophers to the courts of tyrants to some extent, such as the example of Chion of Heraclea who went out to take part in Clearchus' court, and was apparently given privileged access to him. This was perhaps based on Plato's own efforts at trying to turn Dionysius II into a philosopher king, notable in temporal terms for occurring shortly after the death of Dionysius I. While this effort was unsuccessful on two occasions, other missions to tyrants may have been deemed appropriate. Chion's mission to Heraclea may have been seen as a similar exercise, as Clearchus' conduct at becoming tyrant must have been particularly embarrassing to the Academy since he was one of Plato's former students.⁴

In the case of Dionysius, as well as Xenophon, Isocrates' pupil Eunomus visited Syracuse, along with Conon.⁵ Eunomus was a guest and friend of Dionysius early in his reign, according to Lysias.⁶ Perhaps Eunomus had a similar role to that which Autocrator was intended by Isocrates to advise Timotheus. While we are not certain of the visits of philosophers at the Hecatomnid court, the remarkable cast of Mausolus'

¹ Sanders (1987) 5-6.

² Isoc. *Ad Timo.*, *Evag.*; Ostwald & Lynch (1994) 597-8.

³ Isoc. *Ad Dion.* 1.

⁴ Note Isocrates' claim that Clearchus was a great student who had lost his way. Isoc. *Ad Timo.* 12.

⁵ Lys. *Pro Arist.* 19; Sanders (1987) 1 n.1; Stroheker (1958) 87.

⁶ Lys. *Pro Arist.* 19; Sanders (1987) 1 n.1.

funeral contests, and those who built the Mausoleum, suggests that Hecatomnid patronage was a big draw, and we should not rule the possibility out.¹

7.2.3) Xenoï

The fourth century, as noted by Trundle, sees an interesting return amongst tyrants to some aspects of the tyrants of the archaic period. Notable amongst these are personal friendships between men of high status, with considerable reciprocal benefit. In the late fifth through to the fourth century, a considerable number of such friendships were between Greeks and Persians. Cyrus the Younger was friends with a number of Spartans, thanks to his facilitation of aid during the Peloponnesian War. These contacts remained, with Cyrus sending money and calling in favours to help in this war against Artaxerxes II, as well as enabling Clearchus to establish himself as a tyrant in the Chersonnese.² As Trundle states, Persian money and influence was an integral factor in creating powerful individuals at this time, whether they were statesmen or tyrants.³ Such links are also evident amongst our case studies. Mausolus was a guest-friend of Agesilaus, and Clearchus served with Mithridates before betraying him. It is highly plausible that such links had a cultural impact, and not only in the single direction of Persian to Greek. Notable is the use of Hellenising motifs on non-Greek coinage, deliberately designed to appeal to potential Greek dynasts and mercenaries.⁴

7.3) Appearance

The importance of the occasions when a tyrant would emerge into the public view is made clear by the nature of their outfits, as described in antiquity. A common theme in describing such outfits is their description as theatrical in some sense. Dionysius is described as wearing 'a buckled mantle, usually worn by tragic actors' by Duris.⁵ Clearchus is described as wearing the 'shoes of a tragic king' by Justin, in his epitome

¹ Hornblower (1982) 336-7.

² Xen. *Hell.* III.1.1; Xen, *Anab.* I.1.9; Trundle (2006) 73.

³ 'Eastern despotism enabled the rise of powerful individuals in the Greek world in the later classical period.' Trundle (2006) 74.

⁴ Trundle (2006) 71.

⁵ Athen. *Deip.* 535f.

of Trogu.¹ Scholarship has been eager to point out the theatrical elements of Hellenistic rule, particularly the example of Demetrius Poliorcetes.² But this aspect of pre-Hellenistic tyranny has typically been discussed in isolation, rather than as a collective whole.³ One vital point to note here is the scholarship of Alföldi, who convincingly argued in 1955 that the outfit of the tragic king in Ancient Greece has its origins in the outfit of the Persian king.⁴ The ramifications of this as applied to fourth-century tyrants remain unconsidered.

Here we ought to remember the vital point made by Spawforth in his recent article on Ehippus and his description of Alexander.⁵ The view of Greco-Roman writers on the self-presentation of rulers is a limited one, with a very specific focus. If Dionysius, Clearchus and Mausolus were drawing on eastern traditions, it is no surprise that they are most likely misinterpreted, or deliberately interpreted falsely. Theatrical outfits could be interpreted in an entirely Hellenic fashion, but to do so would be to ignore the political factors of the fourth century. By the end of the Peloponnesian war, Athens and Sparta had both been willing to negotiate with Persia for a power settlement, even at the cost of signing away the Ionian cities over which the Persian wars were fought in the first place.⁶ It is all too clear to contemporary Greeks that whichever state acted as the *Hegemon* of Greece only remained so because of the backing of the Persian king. The obvious candidate for the emulation of power in the fourth century was the Great King of the east. If, as Alföldi states, the outfit of the Persian king was the inspiration for the tragic king on the Greek stage, then it is no wonder that Greek and Roman writers would deem such an outfit theatrical. Interesting in this respect is the placement of Duris' testimony on Dionysius' outfit, between Pausanias of Sparta and Alexander the Great. Despite using 'tragic' as an adjective, Duris clearly sees Dionysius

¹ Just. *Epit.* XVI.5.

² Thonemann (2005); Markovic (1988) 8-19.

³ Sanders (1987) 8-9.

⁴ Alföldi (1955).

⁵ See introduction.

⁶ Thuc. VIII.18, VIII.37, 8. VIII.56, VIII.58. Both Athens and Sparta are prepared to give away control of Ionia for Persian support. Sparta's agreement to the King's Peace in 387, (which Dionysius helped to secure by sending twenty ships) gave away Ionia to the Persian king. Xen. *Hell.* V.1.26, 31; Caven (1990) 147-8.

as part of the progression towards the Hellenistic age, and the implication is that Dionysius was adopting an orientalising style of power display.¹

The use of tragic language may also be a deliberate attempt to portray tyrants in a feminine manner. Justin's word *cothurnus* (perhaps a transliteration from Trogus' Greek κόθορνος) had feminine connotations in the Roman world, and was probably similar to the footwear Demetrius Poliorcetes wore. This style of 'tragic' footwear was not what a man would usually wear, and Clearchus' use of such footwear left him open to effeminising ridicule, as Ehippus showed with Alexander. Dionysius' interest in clothing is certainly rendered as effeminate across a variety of sources, such as his acquisition of a Sybarite gown, and his interest in the properties of fabric, most likely intended to show his interest in feminine activities.²

That writers such as Duris, who lived through the transition of the fourth century into the Hellenistic period, used theatrical terminology for rulers before the Hellenistic period is an important point to note. Plutarch's *Demetrius* famously describes the accession of Alexander's Successors to kingship in a tragic manner:

τοῦτο δ' οὐ προσθήκην ὀνόματος καὶ σχήματος ἐξάλλαγὴν εἶχε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκίνησε καὶ τὰς γνώμας ἐπῆρε, καὶ τοῖς βίοις καὶ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις αὐτῶν ὄγκον ἐνεποίησε καὶ βαρύτητα, καθάπερ τραγικῶν ὑποκριτῶν ἅμα τῇ σκευῇ συµμεταβαλόντων καὶ βάδισμα καὶ φωνὴν καὶ κατάκλισιν καὶ προσαγόρευσιν.³

This was not the addition of a name or a change of appearance alone, but it moved the spirits of men, lifted their thoughts and brought into their lives and associations dignity and pride, just as tragic actors change at once their walk, voice, dining posture and greetings.

¹ Athen. 535f; Duncan (2012) 152; Kebric (1977) 21.

² Pseudo-Arist. *De Mirab.* 96; Polyb. XII.24.3.

³ Plut. *Demetr.* XVIII.3.

Duris' reputation as a 'tragic historian' is badly damaged by modern research, but the theatrical elements of the *Demetrius* are undeniable, and fragment 14 shows he understood Dionysius' clothing in a theatrical manner, and as an eastern affectation as well.¹ The use of purple clothing also has significant resonance amongst the tyrannies of the case studies. Justin claims Clearchus wore a purple robe in public, and Dionysius I is attested to have worn purple, a fact corroborated by the usage of purple clothing by later Syracusan tyrants. It is not known whether the Hecatomnids used purple for their self-presentation, but it is likely, judging by a seated statue from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus clothed in purple, potentially to be identified as Mausolus himself.² Despite the importance of purple as a colour in antiquity, there is remarkably little published on it outside of the practicalities of making the dye. Reinhold's short work from 1971 on purple as a status symbol in antiquity remarkably remains un superseded as the definitive work on the topic, although there has since been a work on purple in early Greece published by Stulz, as well as a recent contribution to the topic in the recent PhD thesis of Strootman.³ Purple had connotations of royalty for many ancient civilisations, to the extent that in the Hellenistic and Roman period 'royal purple' was a common phrase.⁴ Long before this, in Assyrian and Persian culture, the murex-dyed fabric of Tyre was an expensive commodity.⁵ The Assyrian kings received purple items as tribute, and it is also documented amongst spoils.⁶ Whether the Assyrian wore purple garments is debated, as relief evidence leaves no paint traces, but biblical evidence hints at court officials clothed in purple, suggesting a similar system of royal favour as the later Achaemenids.⁷ The Achaemenid king wore purple robes with a white stripe, and distributed to his favoured courtiers gifts of purple clothing as a

¹ Sweet (1951) 180-1 discusses Duris' likely basis as a source in Plutarch's *Demetrius*, in fact for the entire anecdotal aspect of the work.

² Dusinger (2013) 204.

³ Reinhold (1971); Stulz (1990); Strootman (2007) 374-84.

⁴ Reinhold (1971) 8; Cic. *Scaur.* 45, *Sest.* 57.

⁵ Purple as a commodity dates back further, with evidence for production of purple garments found in Minoan civilisation in the early second millennium BC, as well as the Levant. Athen. 526c states that purple dye was worth its weight in silver. Reinhold (1971) 8; Strootman (2007) 375, 379-84.

⁶ Reinhold (1971) 14-5; Strootman (2007) 381.

⁷ *Ezekiel* XXIII.5-6; Strootman (2007) 381.

symbol of honour.¹ Reinhold states that in Achaemenid Persia, purple had become a royal dye, and its connotations were as such.² In Greece, the Homeric evidence shows purple as a status symbol, although as Reinhold notes we are left with the problem of whether the Homeric poems represent Mycenaean values, or the contemporary Near Eastern values of the seventh and eighth centuries.³ In the sixth century, purple clothing as a status symbol was established. In some cases the adoption of purple clothing was a clear imitation of Achaemenid practice, notable examples being king Pausanias of Sparta.⁴ Sicily and southern Italy also appear to have had a considerable tradition of wearing purple, particularly the town of Sybaris, renowned for its luxury in antiquity.⁵

Reinhold notes three uses of purple as a status symbol by the fourth century in the Greek world: sacerdotal, socio-economic and political.⁶ For the tyrants considered in the case studies, there are aspects of all three uses to be found, most likely as a combination. There are undoubtedly some sacerdotal aspects to the use of purple clothes at Heraclea Pontica, where Clearchus wore purple robes to lead the procession of Dionysus, and Agathocles may have held the priesthood of Demeter and Core, which elsewhere in the ancient evidence attests the use of purple robes.⁷ In the case of the tyrants in question, I would propose that the socio-economic and political uses of purple are directly related to one another. The use of purple clothing was no doubt to highlight the status of the tyrant, with the clear example being Agathocles' removal of his purple robe to appear in civilian clothing, showing his change in status for his address to the soldiers. Elsewhere, the use of purple clothing during carefully staged

¹ Xen. *Cyr.* VIII.2.8, 3.3. evidence which backs Xenophon's description is found in Aristobulus' description of the contents of the tomb of Cyrus in Pasargadae, which contained items akin to Xenophon's description of the Persian state outfit. Arrian VI.29.5-6; Curt. III.3.17-19; Reinhold (1971) 18; Strootman (2007) 383.

² Reinhold (1971) 18-9.

³ Hom. *Il.* VIII.221; Hom. *Od.* IV.115, 154, VIII.84; Reinhold (1971) 16.

⁴ For Pausanias, see section 1.2.

⁵ See also Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F44 for the unnamed ruler of Croton after the destruction of Sybaris who wore a purple robe, a golden crown and white boots. This story is linked by Athen. *Deip.* XII.522a to Democedes, the physician to Darius I mentioned in Herodotus III.125-37. Reinhold (1971) 23.

⁶ Reinhold (1971) 28.

⁷ See Plut. *Dion* LVI.5 in which Callippus swears the great oath in the sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone, and puts on the purple garment of the goddess.

appearances was clearly intended to display the power and wealth of the tyrant, in a conspicuously similar manner to Xenophon's account of Cyrus' procession in the *Cyropaedia*.¹ The context in which much of the evidence for purple robes is found is important for understanding the likely intentions. Clearchus and Dionysius are both described in the manner of tragic kings on stage, which renders the fact clear that we ought not to be thinking of the tyrants wearing any sort of purple clothes, but a very specific sort of robe. The comparison to a theatrical king by the Greco-Roman sources can only lead to the conclusion that the robes being utilised are that of a theatrical king or the outfit of the Persian king, as the fact that the Achaemenid Median robe was the inspiration for the tragic king on stage has been convincingly established by Alföldi. A recent argument by Duncan has tried, unconvincingly in my view, to assert Dionysius' use of such clothing as an exclusively Hellenic interpretation.² We therefore ought to see Achaemenid inspiration as a factor, if not the entire reason for the adoption of such clothing. The Greco-Roman writers who serve as evidence understandably interpret how the tyrants portray themselves through Greco-Roman concepts, but factors such as Clearchid and Hecatomnid affiliation to the Achaemenid regime, as well as Dionysius' interest in fabrics, including the purchase of a Sybarite gown with depictions of Susa and Persepolis upon it, mean that a monocultural approach to the tyrants' outfits is inappropriate, and a balanced model of inspiration by contemporary Achaemenid and theatrical practice, as well as religious usage, is more plausible.

However the clothing of fourth-century tyrants was interpreted by contemporaries and later writers, what they wore, and what items and/or regalia they used were carefully chosen, with a deliberate affect intended on the viewer. In Memnon's epitome, Clearchus is shown to have chosen his clothing and appearance very carefully, changing his clothing depending on the effect he intended to have upon those who saw him.³ That Dionysius was particularly interested in the properties of fabric can be reasonably interpreted in a similar manner: a deep interest in the effect

¹ See section 2.7.2.

² Duncan (2012). See section 3.5.1.

³ Memnon *FGrH* 434 F5.1; Burstein (1972) 61.

that clothing had.¹ The iconographic evidence of the Hecatomnid dynasty also reveals a surprisingly consistent clothing style across generations, cultivating a carefully crafted public image.² Although tyrants are cast in intellectual literature during this period as hiding away from public events, clearly the reality is that not only were tyrants appearing in public, they were doing so in a carefully constructed manner.

The contemporary understanding of royal Persian clothing also suggests Greek tyrants may have understood the contemporary political discourse.³ Xenophon's account of Persian dress within the *Cyropaedia* is telling:

καταμαθεῖν δὲ τοῦ Κύρου δοκοῦμεν ὡς οὐ τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐνόμιζε χρῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν, τῷ βελτίονας αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγοητεύειν ὄρετο χρῆναι αὐτούς. στολήν τε γοῦν εἴλετο τὴν Μηδικὴν αὐτός τε φορεῖν καὶ τοὺς κοινῶνας ταύτην ἔπεισεν ἐνδύεσθαι: —αὕτη γὰρ αὐτῷ συγκρύπτειν ἐδόκει εἴ τίς τι ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐνδεὲς ἔχοι, καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μεγίστους ἐπιδεικνύναι τοὺς φοροῦντας.⁴

We think that we have perceived of Cyrus that he believed not only of the ruler that he surpass his subjects being better than them, but also that he should bewitch them. Indeed, he chose both to wear Median dress himself, and persuaded his companions to put them on; for he thought that if anyone bore deficiency in body, the dress would conceal it, and those wearing it would appear very tall and beautiful.

Xenophon makes a suggestion of clear relevance for the tyrants we have considered, in particular the testimony concerning Clearchus: that the purpose of the robe was to improve the stature and appearance of the wearer.

The use of gold crowns by the Dionysii and Clearchids is a difficult symbol to interpret, given their near universal use as a royal symbol across the Mediterranean. In the

¹ Polyb. XII.24.3. This could refer to Dionysius I or II, though I believe it to be the elder Dionysius. See Dionysii chapter.

² The Mausoleum statues and Mylasa sarcophagus suggest a Hecatomnid style.

³ Sanders (1987) 8-9.

⁴ Xen. Cyr. VIII.1.40.

contemporary Greek world, a gold crown was a civic honour on the part of a city to an individual, or another city, and this does not seem to be the intention behind their use by tyrants. Another issue is the clear disavowal of monarchy which the Dionysii and early Clearchids espoused.¹ In that sense, the crown is by definition not regalia. Its use as a religious item, in Syracuse at least, is debatable, as Agathocles chose to wear a laurel wreath instead of a crown or diadem as a symbol of the priesthood of Demeter and Core.

Ultimately we ought to see the use of a crown as a power symbol, adopted from monarchic practice. It is an item which clearly elevates the tyrant in personal stature, increasing the power dynamic between the tyrant and the populace which the tyrant had to make manifest in his public appearances. The contemporary users of crowns with this purpose were the kings of Achaemenid Persia, and it is likely that the Great King proved a large influence.² That Dionysius could be mistaken for wearing a *diadem* by Baton of Sinope in the wake of Hellenistic kingship suggests that such tyrants were indeed using crowns in this quasi-monarchical manner. One other piece of evidence demonstrating the use of crowns in Syracuse comes from Diodorus who relates:

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διονύσιος μὲν ἐπταικῶς καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσιν ἀπέλιπε φρουρὰς ἀξιολόγους, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ὀκτακοσίους ὄντας, λαβὼν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῶν ἔθαψε λαμπρῶς, χρυσοῖς μὲν στεφάνοις ἐστεφανωμένους, πορφυρίσι δὲ καλαῖς περιβεβλημένους· ἤλπιζε γὰρ διὰ τῆς τούτων σπουδῆς προτρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς τὸ προθύμως κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τυραννίδος· τοὺς δ' ἀνδραγαθήσαντας μεγάλας δωρεαῖς ἐτίμησε.³

¹ Dionysius, the son of Clearchus, became a king in the Hellenistic style during his time as tyrant. Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.6; Lester-Pearson (forthcoming).

² Contemporary Egyptian Pharaohs also possessed crowns as part of their regalia. Egyptian crowns had a defined purpose, the most notable being the *Pschent*, a double crown representing the joint kingship of Upper and Lower Egypt. The Egyptian crown is visually very different to those found in Greece and Persia (i.e. a metal band of gold or silver) and probably had little to no influence on the case studies of this thesis. *OGIS* 90.44 n.123.

³ Diod. Sic. XVI.13.1.

After these things, Dionysius, having failed and by this time despairing of his rule, left in the acropolis a considerable garrison. But he himself, having brought to pass a recovery of the dead, numbering eight hundred, honoured them with a magnificent funeral, having crowned them with golden crowns and wrapped them in good purple. For [Dionysius] hoped through his own earnestness to urge on the others to risk danger eagerly in defence of the tyranny. And he honoured those who had behaved bravely with great gifts.

This passage provides a significant clue to the careful divide that existed between the tyranny and the people. The context of this passage, with Dionysius the younger desperately attempting to hang on to power against Dion, is important. As well as the display echoing his father's role at the *epipolae* wall construction and the great armament and shipbuilding process in richly rewarding those members of the city who toiled in the service of the tyranny, it served as a clear example that by no means was the power of the tyranny exhausted. It can be considered as a proto-type example of Hellenistic ostentation and *τροφή*, recalling Ogden's comment of its paradoxical nature: 'only one with vast reserves of wealth and power could afford to squander so much of it.'¹ We have here an example of Achaemenid-esque luxury, demonstrated by the past Syracusan tyrants in the way of gardens and palaces, and by the Dionysii in their festival tents and clothing. The use of purple clothing and golden crowns by the Dionysii can be seen as a display of wealth and power in their own right, and not as an exclusively monarchic symbol; although this does not mean that such an effect was unintended. The use of these symbols to honour those who died to defend the tyranny could be considered as much of a carefully constructed public display as the tyrant's personal appearances, with the explicit intention of increasing the regime's prestige.

The choice of clothing for the tyrannies discussed was clearly of paramount importance. It was an essential part of the mechanism to create an aura of power for positions within the political system which had little or no precedent. In this regard, it

¹ Ogden (1999) 269.

is apparent that tyrants where possible used local custom to form their public image. The Dionysii and Agathocles' use of purple garments would have in part represented the sacred garments of Demeter and Core in this manner. However, this was only one part of tyrannical dress style. A theatrical style of dress is often mentioned in the ancient sources, meaning that tyrants were borrowing their imagery in part from the generic Greek concept of the tragic king on stage. This alone is clear evidence that there were few already established concepts which tyrants felt they were able to use as power symbols. The use of a tragic style of clothing for public appearance also links to Achaemenid self-presentation, as demonstrated by Alföldi, as well as Duris' tracing of Achaemenid imitation from Pausanias to Alexander via Dionysius of Syracuse. The use of theatrical clothing can therefore be seen as a complex phenomenon of power dressing, appealing to the existing local traditions of the tyrant's home city, as well as the contemporary Greek world, which by the accession of Dionysius I was well acquainted with Persian kingship due to the nature of Mediterranean politics towards the end of the Peloponnesian War. The use of long theatrical robes and boots designed to increase the stature of the wearer also correspond exactly to aspects of contemporary political theory, in Greek as well as Achaemenid practice. The concern of tyrants to utilise makeup and clothing intended to hide physical defects leads to the conclusion that Achaemenid practice (and the works of Xenophon and Isocrates) had a significant impact on tyrannical dress. Achaemenid influence can therefore be said to impact both what tyrants are choosing to wear in public, and the reason for wearing it.

7.3.1) The Royal Nature

τοῦ δὲ δεσπότου ἐπιφανέντος, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, ὅστις δύναται καὶ μέγιστα βλάψαι τὸν κακὸν τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ μέγιστα τιμῆσαι τὸν πρόθυμον, εἰ μηδὲν ἐπίδηλον ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἐργάται, ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἀγαίμην, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν ἰδόντες κινήθῳσι καὶ μένος ἐκάστῳ ἐμπέσῃ τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ φιλονικία πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλοτιμία κρατιστεῦσαι ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτον ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν ἔχειν τι ἦθους βασιλικῶ.¹

But Socrates, he said, the appearance of the master in the work that has the greatest power to hinder the bad and honour the eager amongst the workers. If he is not able to make an impression upon the workers, I do not admire this man. But if they have seen him and are moved, and a spirit of rivalry and honour towards the others, and the desire to excel falls upon each workman, I ought to say that this man has the royal nature.

It is notable that across the regimes used as case studies, none used royal terminology until the adoption of kingship in the Hellenistic period.² All were content with the titles they already possessed, usually military in scope, and chose not to become kings, where perhaps they could have done: certainly in Iasos the Hecatomnids were acclaimed as kings, but chose not to adopt the title for themselves. What was the reason behind this choice? Despite increased intellectual respect for kingship during the fourth century from Aristotle and Isocrates, to proclaim oneself a king was apparently out of the question for the political climate.³ As Caven points out, Dionysius would have been in the position (like Agathocles) to become a king in the Hellenistic style if he had been born later, and as such, it is no wonder ancient writers mistook

¹ Xen. *Oec.* XXI.10. The *Oeconomicus* is considered by scholars to be of a later date compared to the rest of Xenophon's catalogue, and could therefore be capable of including reference to Philistus' histories, and might refer to Dionysius himself. Pomeroy (1993) 1-8. Delebeque (1957) 368-70 considers the theory that part of the text was written during Xenophon's exile at Scillus, and then finished later. Relevant to the above note, Pomeroy links Xen. *Oec.* XXI.10 to Herodotus' description of Xerxes. Pomeroy (1993) 343.

² Hornblower (1982) 61 n.76; see the Dionysii chapter for lengthy treatment of this issue.

³ Adcock (1953) 165; Davies (1978) 210.

him wearing a *diadem* and referred to him as a king.¹ This strict avoidance of a royal title evidently did not stop the tyrants from pursuing their own power agenda by adopting monarchic symbols. Xenophon coined an appropriate contemporary term for this in his *Oeconomicus*: the royal nature (ἥθος βασιλικός). The careful cultivation of monarchic power symbols by tyrants in the fourth century can be considered as an attempt to take on the positive qualities of monarchy, without the contemporary stigma of the title in Classical Greece. Of note here is Aristotle's categorisation of monarchy in the *Politica*, where monarchy and tyranny are closely integrated.² One of the four types designated is monarchy which resembles tyranny, which Aristotle claimed that Barbarian rulers usually represent.³

αὗται μὲν οὖν εἰσὶ τε καὶ ἦσαν διὰ μὲν τὸ δεσποτικαὶ εἶναι τυραννικαί, διὰ δὲ τὸ αἰρεταὶ καὶ ἐκόντων βασιλικαί.⁴

These [monarchies] therefore are and were of the nature of tyranny as they are despotic, but of the nature of kingship as they are elective and of the willing [subjects].

The claim that a quasi-monarchical tyranny is a thing of the past, as well as continuing into the present (i.e. late fourth-century) appears to go against the grain of scholarship which distinguishes between *alter* and *junger* tyranny, a distinction typical of scholars originated by Plass.⁵

Not only is one form of tyranny that of a barbarian monarchy, but Aristotle also claims that tyranny and monarchy are closely linked, to the point that Aristotle's fundamental definition of tyranny is that of a 'monarchy with a view to the advantage of the monarch'.⁶ Monarchy can also degenerate into tyranny, further designating the link between the two.⁷ Also integral to the discussion is Aristotle's second method for

¹ Caven (1990) 185.

² Arist. *Pol.* 1285b-1286a. Aristotle did not live to see the Hellenistic period, dying in 322.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Arist. *Pol.* 1285b.

⁵ Plass (1852/9) 128-131. This distinction continues to affect modern scholarship e.g. Jordovic (2005).

⁶ Arist. *Pol.* 1279b.

⁷ *Ibid.* 1313b.

preserving tyranny (the first of which the first is discussed above). To preserve tyranny in this second manner, the tyrant must deceive the populace by presenting himself in the manner of a monarch.

ὥσπερ γὰρ τῆς βασιλείας εἷς τρόπος τῆς φθορᾶς τὸ ποιεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τυραννικωτέραν, οὕτω τῆς τυραννίδος σωτηρία τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτὴν βασιλικωτέραν, ἐν φυλάττοντα μόνον, τὴν δύναμιν, ὅπως ἀρχὴ μὴ μόνον βουλομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ βουλομένων. προῖέμενος γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο προῖεται καὶ τὸ τυραννεῖν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπόθεσιν δεῖ μένειν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τὰ μὲν ποιεῖν τὰ δὲ δοκεῖν ὑποκρινόμενον τὸν βασιλικὸν καλῶς.¹

For such as one manner of destroying kingship is to make the rule more despotic, such a method of saving tyranny is to make it more royal, in protecting only its power, in such a manner that the rule is not only of the willing but also without the willing. For in giving this up he also gives up the tyranny. But as indeed this stands to remain as a proposal, the other things he might do or seem to do, acting the part of the good king.

This is a fascinating passage, particularly when considered in comparison with the case study evidence. Not only does it corroborate the hypothesis that adopting aspects of royal rule was a plausible method for tyrants to portray themselves in a positive light, but Aristotle even foreshadows the Hellenistic construct of theatrical pretence, often used to explain the outward appearance of men such as Demetrius Poliorcetes. Aristotle later suggests that a tyrant, in their attempt to appear as kingly as possible, ought to 'maintain the character of a great soldier, or give the impression that he is one'.² This is a point of considerable consistency amongst the tyrants of the case studies, and may also tie into some of the aspects of clothing choice discussed above.

¹ Arist. *Pol.* 1314a.

² *Ibid.* 1314b.

7.4) Accessibility

αὐτὸς μὲν γάρ, ὡς λόγος, ἴδρυτο ἐν Σούσοις ἢ Ἐκβατάνοις, παντὶ ἀόρατος, θαυμαστὸν ἐπέχων βασιλείον οἶκον καὶ περίβολον χρυσοῦ καὶ ἠλέκτρω καὶ ἐλέφαντι ἀστράπτοντα· πυλῶνες δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ συνεχεῖς πρόθυρά τε σύχνοις εἰργόμενα σταδίοις ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων θύραις τε χαλκαῖς καὶ τείχεσι μεγάλοις ὠχύρωτο· ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἄνδρες οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ δοκιμώτατοι διεκεκόσμητο, οἱ μὲν ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα δορυφόροι τε καὶ θεράποντες, οἱ δὲ ἐκάστου περιβόλου φύλακες, πυλωροὶ τε καὶ ὠτακουσταὶ λεγόμενοι, ὡς ἂν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτός, δεσπότης καὶ θεὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, πάντα μὲν βλέποι, πάντα δὲ ἀκούοι.¹

For [the king] himself, they say, resided in Susa or Ecbatana, invisible to all, in a wonderful royal palace and enclosure shining with gold, electrum and ivory. And there were many towers and continuous doorways separated by many stades from one another, fortified gates of copper and high walls. Outside these the first and most esteemed men were arranged, some of which as the bodyguard or attendants of the king himself, others as guards of each gate, called warders and listeners, so that the king himself, called master and god, might both see and hear everything.

Psuedo-Aristotle’s description of the nature of Persian rule, and how the king lived, is a fascinating passage. It displays the fundamental paradox with which Persian monarchy baffled Greek thinkers for two decades: how could the man who represented ‘master and god’ on earth, represented in iconography and coinage throughout the empire, also remain ‘invisible to all’?

To a considerable portion of the Greek world in the fourth century, the mere idea of a ruler one could not interact with was an alien concept. In Sparta the kings, while retaining privileges appropriate to their rank, would still eat dinner and mix with other Spartiates, in private, and in council meetings. Even in areas of Greece used to the rule

¹ Ps-Arist. *De Mundo*. 398a. The date of the work, if it is not Aristotelian, is likely to lie in the late fourth or early third century BC. See Bos (1979) & (1991) 412 n.2; Reale (1974); Reale & Bos (1995).

of monarchy, we find traditional anecdotes that the king ought to be directly approachable by citizens with their problems. In Macedonia, the ancient right of *Isegoria* allowed citizens to directly petition the King in person, a custom which Philip II and Demetrius Poliorcetes were criticised for ignoring.¹

It should come as no surprise that the proliferation of tyranny in the fourth century appears to have engendered reactions similar to Pseudo-Aristotle's take on Persian rule. Xenophon puts emphasis on the need for the tyrant to remain safe from crowds, through the use of armed guards.² Plato also notes the *topos* of the potential tyrant requesting a bodyguard.³ The tyrant's fear and insecurity of other successful men in the city is a related issue, and was also a consistent point made by writers of this period.⁴ The immediate object of the Dionysii, Clearchids and Hecatomnids once power had been accrued was to build fortifications designed to cut the tyrant off from the public. Either an entirely new fortification was built, in the case of the Dionysii and Clearchids, or existing citadel/acropolis foundations were improved upon by building work, as in Halicarnassus, when the capital was transferred from Mylasa.⁵ Agathocles appears to have rebuilt a similar structure to Dionysius, due to Timoleon's destruction of the original citadel. In each case the ruler of the city would spend the vast majority of their time within their fortification, apparently only emerging for specific purposes. Clearchus led the procession of Dionysus in person.⁶ Dionysius took part in the assembly, and undertook the building of the *epipolae* wall in person.⁷ He also oversaw the building of armaments for the war with Carthage, with Diodorus claiming that he circulated amongst the workers, even offering to dine with those men of strongest enterprise.⁸ If the anecdote preserved in Valerius Maximus is to be believed, Dionysius entered the city of Himera with the populace gathered on the walls to view his

¹ Plut. *Mor.* 179c; *Plut. Demetr.* XLII.3; Adams (1986). It is possible Plutarch has created a doublet here.

² Xen. *Hier.* I.12, II.8.

³ Plato *Resp.* VIII.556b, 567d.

⁴ Plato *Resp.* VIII.567c, *Leg.* 832c, *Gorg.* 510b-c; Xen. *Hier.* V.1; Isoc. *De Pac.* 112; Eurip. *Ion.* 626-28.

⁵ Diod. Sic. XIV.7.1-3; Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.1; Vitruvius, *De Arch.* II.8.10.

⁶ Chion, *Epist.* 17.

⁷ Diod. Sic. XIV.18.

⁸ *Ibid.* XIV.43.1.

entrance.¹ Agathocles also took part in the assembly, and could be found ridiculing and mocking his detractors.² Public appearances were carefully managed and controlled, and took place more often than the ancient sources suggest, but were ultimately intended to highlight the prestige and power of the tyrant, allowing a visual power display.

The stock image of tyranny during this time rapidly develops, with the Academy at the forefront. This image tends to focus on the tyrant as fundamentally unhinged, in particular lacking trust in everybody around him. The variety of unflattering anecdotes concerning Dionysius I likely date to this period, and the image of the man who would not trust a barber, and who withdrew a plank from across a surrounding his bed as he retired for the night, proved compelling enough to warrant retelling.³ While such stories are on the whole preposterous, it is telling of the mindset of contemporary Greek intellectuals that it was assumed tyrants living within citadels and fortresses were consistently afraid of their own populace.⁴

While it makes a great deal of sense for the use of a citadel for protection, intellectuals thinking about tyranny focused on the quality for which it was easiest to denigrate the tyrant: cowardice. One facet of the intensive construction work was the intent of a clear visual and physical monument which represented the tyranny, usually in an area designed with maximum exposure in mind. As such, the citadel of the Dionysii on Ortygia would have been clearly visible above much of the city of Syracuse, and the Hectomnid citadel also possessed this kind of location. If the tyrant was not present, the tyranny remained.⁵ Timoleon's invitation to the Syracusans to destroy the citadel of the Dionysii, and the ire at Dion's failure to do so, shows the symbolic aspect of the fortifications.⁶

¹ Val. Max. 1.7. ext 6; Lewis (2000) 98.

² Diod. Sic. XX.63.2-3; Lewis (forthcoming) 18 n.42.

³ Cic. *Tusc.* V.20.

⁴ A later example of this can be seen with Aristippus II of Argos in the Hellenistic period, characterised in similar terms by Plutarch. Plut. *Arat.* XXVI.1-3.

⁵ The Dionysii and Agathocles were able to leave the Ortygia citadel in the hands of relatives successfully in most cases.

⁶ Plut. *Tim.* XXII.1-2.

As well as this, the citadel was also fundamental in cementing the status of the tyrant himself. Through the medium of the citadel, and its hierarchy of demotion and promotion to and from the tyrant's personal relations, a power dynamic was quickly generated from the ground up. The generation of an air of exclusivity, and the need to earn an audience with the tyrant, rather than possessing the right to do so, became the norm.¹ On the other hand, the tyrant's controlled public appearance highlighted his prestige, and gave the chance for a display of power, achieved mostly through attire.

This power dynamic has a clear parallel with Achaemenid Persia, as demonstrated by Pseudo-Aristotle, and Xenophon's decision to make Cyrus' acquisition of a palace an integral aspect of his transformation into kingship.² This dynamic has become more clearly defined in recent scholarship.³ For example, Maria Brosius claims:

The interdependence of king and court revealed itself as the king felt obliged to emphasise his unique position, becoming remote from his peers and subjects, while at the same time having to become a highly visible figure.⁴

Primarily, the construction of the walled palace complex with its entrance gate established an important feature of kingship: controlled access to the king. This vetting of access to the king turned him into a figure remote from his subjects.⁵

I believe the deliberate adoption of this paradoxical style of rule is a large aspect of what confused contemporaries about figures such as Dionysius and Clearchus. Aristotle makes a comparison between tyranny and Persian kingship in this regard in the *Politica*. Aristotle claims that the preservation of tyrannies can be achieved through two methods, the first of which makes a direct link to the methods of Achaemenid control.

¹ Plat. *Epis.* VII.349e-350a.

² See section 2.7.2.

³ 'In many societies, the higher one's status, the more invisible one becomes. The power of the Chinese emperor was shown by his inaccessibility in the Forbidden City. Even in modern America, difficulty of approach is proof of status'. Parker (1999) 167.

⁴ Brosius (2007) 56.

⁵ *Ibid.* 49.

καὶ τὸ τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας αἰεὶ φανεροὺς εἶναι καὶ διατρίβειν περὶ θύρας (οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἤκιστα λανθάνοιεν τί πράττουσι, καὶ φρονεῖν ἂν ἐθίζοιντο μικρὸν αἰεὶ δουλεύοντες)· καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα τοιαῦτα Περσικὰ καὶ βάρβαρα τυραννικά ἐστιν (πάντα γὰρ ταῦτὸν δύναται).¹

And for those living in the city to be always visible and spending time at the gates (for in this way there might be the least disguise about their business, and they might be accustomed to be small minded, and always acting as slaves) and such things that are otherwise of Persian and barbarian tyranny (for all these things are the same power).

Aristotle's use of *περὶ θύρας* is a remarkable echo of Xenophon's language describing Persian court etiquette, where petitioners are held 'at the gates' until they are summoned.² I believe it to be a plausible possibility that those tyrants directly copied the Persian king in this respect, as did the contemporary Aristotle.

Lysias' equation of Dionysius with Artaxerxes II in his Olympic oration can be seen in this light as more than merely a political union through Sparta, but as a sign that Dionysius was attempting to occupy a similar position in the Mediterranean, adopting similar traits.

ὀρῶμεν γὰρ τοὺς κινδύνους καὶ μεγάλους καὶ πανταχόθεν περιεστηκότας· ἐπίστασθε δὲ ὅτι ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῶν κρατούντων τῆς θαλάττης, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων βασιλεὺς ταμίας, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σώματα τῶν δαπανᾶσθαι δυναμένων, ναῦς δὲ πολλὰς <μὲν> αὐτὸς κέκτηται, πολλὰς δ' ὁ τύραννος τῆς Σικελίας.³

For we see both the gravity of our dangers and their imminence on every side: you are aware that empire is for those who command the sea, that the King has control of the money, that the Greeks are in thrall to those who are able to

¹ Arist. *Pol.* 1313b.

² See Tuplin (2010) and section 2.7.2.

³ Lys. *Olymp.* 5

spend it, that our master possesses many ships, and that the despot of Sicily has many also.

Isocrates casts Dionysius I and Artaxerxes II in a similar light, along with King Amyntas of Macedonia, as enemies whom Sparta should not be helping.¹ The linking of Dionysius with Amyntas and Artaxerxes is meant to leave the reader (or audience) with a sense that Sparta is choosing to help foreign powers, rather than other central Greek states. Dionysius is cast in an alien manner, as a dangerous man on the fringes of Greek interest.²

7.5) Dynasty

While not the case for all tyrannical dynasties, two of the case studies in particular have unorthodox dynastic trees. Dionysius I married two wives at the same time, one from Syracuse, and one from Locris in Italy. This resulted in a family tree in which the two eldest children of each union married one another. Other family members were married very carefully to loyal family members and supporters of the dynasty, with no external influence. The Hecatomnid family tree remains one of the most confusing in antiquity, and made further complicated by the recent Mylasa sarcophagus discovery (if it is Hecatomnid). Hecatomnus was married to his sister Aba, Mausolus was married to his sister Artemisia, and Idrieus was married to Ada. Pixodarus, the youngest son, had no sibling to marry, and married outside of the dynasty to a Persian.³ Whatever caused the Hecatomnids to rule as pairs (and subsequently as widows) in this way defied Greek convention completely.⁴ Dionysius' two simultaneous wives also defied traditional Greek custom, with only Anaxandridas of Sparta as an historical precedent.⁵

Clearly the overwhelming urgency was for the regime to concentrate power within the family as much as possible. Succession could be carefully controlled and manufactured, and where appropriate external figures of importance could be brought in, although

¹ Isoc. *Paneg.* 126

² Diodorus also adds to the idea of a triumvirate, perhaps following the example of the pamphleteers. Diod. Sic. XV.23.5

³ See Hornblower (1982) addenda for the accepted family tree of the Hecatomnids.

⁴ Nourse (2002) 101-2.

⁵ Hdt. V.41-2; Caven (1990) 98.

this was rare. By marrying siblings (half or full blood), external agencies were on the whole removed, and divided loyalties were less common. In this respect the women of the dynasty became an asset to concentrating power, and an integral part of continued political control. Marriage to relatives or trusted associates of the tyrant kept as small a number of external families out of power, and increased the prestige of the ruling family as a result, in the sense that entering the tyrant's circle of family and friends became exceptionally difficult. It is possible to see a parallel between such carefully chosen alliances in the Achaemenid practice instigated by Darius of marriage within the families of the seven who assassinated the false Smerdis/Gaumata.

What is different about the fourth-century regimes is their lack of marriages to other tyrannies, unlike the archaic tyrants of Greece who would expand their influence across other dynasties by marrying their children together.¹ This happens in tyrannies which become kingdoms in the Hellenistic period, with Agathocles marrying his family into the Epirote and Ptolemaic kingdoms, and Dionysius of Heraclea Pontica marrying an Achaemenid.² Dionysius' marriage to Doris of Locri resulted in Dionysius II being able to return there when he was removed from power, which means that the links established by the marriage were long-lasting, and that the Dionysii had a claim to the surrounding area.³

The inverted nature of marriage and dynastic structure can be seen as an extension of the 'unseen' aspects of tyranny in this period. Llewellyn-Jones has put forward the dichotomy of women appearing in public in the Greek world, demonstrating that veiling was a successful method for women to appear in public, whilst retaining elements of privacy from the home.⁴ Carney has suggested that a combination of veiling along with sumptuous clothing and jewellery was most likely the method of public portrayal employed by Argead women.⁵ This allowed for them to be 'covered

¹ Gernet (1981).

² Memnon *FGrH* 434 F4.3.

³ Diod. Sic. XIV.44.6-7.

⁴ Llewellyn-Jones (2003). Interestingly, Llewellyn-Jones suggests that the veil known as the *teredigion* (little roof) derived from Near Eastern practice.

⁵ Carney (2010) 49.

and conspicuous' at the same time.¹ The wives of the tyrants in the case studies in many respects reflect this paradox of seen and unseen. Doris and Aristomache were an integral aspect of the Dionysii and their dynasty, as evinced by the stupendous public pre-wedding ceremony; notably their arrival by chariot and ship. But Doris and Aristomache's public appearances otherwise come across as severely limited from the ancient evidence, but judging by their regular act of dining with Dionysius, they were not completely secluded.² The Hecatomnid marriages of Mausolus and Artemisia, as well as Idrieus and Ada also highlight this paradoxical element of dynastical portrayal. The epigraphic record shows a potential combination of joint dedications by husband and wife, and individual dedications by the male dynasts, but no extant example of a dedication by Artemisia or Ada alone.³ Coinage attests an absence of the female members of the dynasty, portraying the male dynasts posthumously.⁴ Diodorus, on the other hand, dates Artemisia and Ada as independent satraps.⁵ If Artemisia and Ada ruled as satraps following the death of their husbands, then they must have undertaken religious events such as that of Zeus Labraundeus, and certainly Artemisia's hosting of Mausolus' funeral should not be doubted. There is a noticeable change in Heraclea Pontica during the Hellenistic period, where Amastris marries Dionysius, and proceeds to remarkable activity in the wake of her husband's death, founding a city named Amastris and ruling in Heraclea on behalf of her new husband Lysimachus, beyond the regency of her two sons by Dionysius: Clearchus and Oxathres. Previous wives of the dynasty are anonymous in our fragmented source material, but regardless appear to have had little to do with the public aspects of the regime in comparison to Amastris. The movement towards women possessing further degrees of personal power in the Hellenistic period can be seen in the political activity of Olympias and Cleopatra during Alexander's lifetime, where the two women appear in a Cyrene grain inscription by their personal names.⁶

¹ Dillon (2007) 79.

² See 'Public and Private' in the Dionysii chapter.

³ Weiskopf (1982) 225.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Diod. Sic. XVI.36.2, 69.2; Hornblower (1982) 40-41,45.

⁶ Carney (2010) 44; Kingsley (1986).

In the event that an outsider was chosen to become part of the dynasty through marriage, the rarity of the event increased the prestige of it. The arrival of Doris from Locris on the five-decked ship *Boubaris* must have been a remarkable event in this respect. Of note here is Xenophon's *Hieron*, in which Hieron claims that:

τῷ τοίνυν τυράνῳ, ἂν μὴ ξένην γήμη, ἀνάγκη ἐκ μειόνων γαμεῖν.¹

Accordingly for the tyrant, unless he marries a foreign girl, it necessary to marry from below [his status].

That Xenophon may be referring to Dionysius here is plausible, given Xenophon probably spent time at Syracuse.² With the tyrant as the leading citizen, finding a worthy match may well have been problematic, such that internal marriage to full or half-blood siblings was preferred by the Dionysii and Hecatomnids. For such an odd dynastic dynamic to have arisen at this time implies an *ad hoc* attempt to deal with a problem of power presentation for which Greece did not supply a solution. Blood and half-blood marriages among rulers have a long, albeit patchy, history amongst the Near Eastern regimes, with documented practice in Egypt, possible practice by the Hittites, and the contemporary regime of the Persian Empire. It is highly likely that Dionysius and the Hecatomnids found their inspiration from Eastern sources, as there is not enough evidence to back up Gernet's suggestion of a mythological precedent.

¹ Xen. *Hier.* I.28.

² Sordi (2004).

7.6) Military Function

One consistent theme running through the dynasties in terms of symbolism is a military facet of their public image. The Dionysii held the position of *strategos autocrator* within the Syracusan government, a military office with the nature of a plenipotentiary general. Clearchus possessed similar powers within the Heracleian constitution, although it is difficult to be certain of the terminology in his case.¹ He was legally allowed to possess mercenaries when appointed as the arbiter between the oligarchy and the democratic faction, and was then voted to the position of *strategos autocrator*, or a similar position with a different title, as he was able to levy citizens in order to campaign against Astacus.² The Hecatomnids were a Satrapal dynasty from 392 when Hecatomnus was appointed, a position of vital administrative and military power within the Achaemenid hierarchy, which allowed for the possession of an army (and navy, in the case of Caria).³ As well as the official designation as Satrap, the Hecatomnid family possessed dynastic power in Caria, possibly as the head of the Carian League, or 'king of the Carians'.⁴ Agathocles possessed a variety of titles, from his early role as general of the fortified places in Sicily, to his election as *Strategos Autocrator*.⁵

While there are exceptions, it is remarkable how many tyrants considered in the cases studies led their armies into battle personally, rather than leaving such tasks to a subordinate. Dionysius I led the Syracusan army into large pitched battles, as well as leading his mercenaries during shock raids. Dionysius II is not attested to have led the army personally. Clearchus was a successful mercenary before becoming tyrant of Heraclea, also leading the Heracleian army during his rule. Satyrus, acting as regent for Timotheus and Dionysius, appears not to have done so, expecting to hand power to his nephews. Timotheus was a successful general, and Dionysius most likely also led the army personally. Clearchus II served successfully with Lysimachus against the Getae.

¹ Polyaeus, *Strat.* II.30.1.

² *Ibid.* II.30.3.

³ Diod. Sic. XIV.98.3.

⁴ Hornblower (1982) 55-62.

⁵ See Agathocles chapter for a full discussion of his varying titles.

The Hecatomnid evidence is sparse, but Mausolus, Idrieus and Pixodarus are all attested to have led troops in battle or skirmishes, and if Vitruvius is to be believed, Artemisia led the Hecatomnid navy in an attack on Rhodes. Ada was nominally left in charge of the recapture of the Halicarnassus citadel by Alexander the Great.¹ Agathocles was a successful general before becoming tyrant, and continued to lead his men into battle, leaving Syracuse in the hands of his brother Antander.

The varying dynasties, fundamentally based in military offices within their government, made considerable use of military power symbols. Clearchus made use of a sceptre, which had strong military connotations from the Near East in particular. It had roots in Greece from Homeric literature, and Zeus could be found depicted with a sceptre. But in classical Greece it was a rare power symbol, and finding Clearchus using one is something of a surprise. Hecatomnid iconography made use of hunting friezes, on both the Mausoleum and the sarcophagus from Mylasa. This was in some respects a local Anatolian tradition, but also drawing on a long Near Eastern tradition of rulers depicted hunting.

The martial elements of the tyrannical rule considered in the case studies are considerable, and using military titles and symbolism was common to all. Even where military success was not actively participated in by the ruler (which appears to be rare amongst the dynasties studied) the impression that the ruler was a capable fighter in his or her own right was carefully cultivated. In this sense, there is an Achaemenid parallel in the iconographic evidence, with inscriptions extolling the martial ability of the ruler around the empire, despite the king rarely venturing into battle at the head of the army.

¹ Arr. *Anab.* 1.23.7.

8) Conclusion

As Martin West notes, it is often the case that research into cultural influence ultimately relies on 'might haves' rather than on 'must haves'.¹ However, the cumulative 'wigwam' effect of the evidence, while not able to completely prove acculturation, demonstrates that Near Eastern influence on Greek tyranny cannot be ignored. Margaret Miller has convincingly demonstrated that such inspiration from the Near East affected Athens considerably in the fifth century, even if Martin West's theory about earlier cross-cultural influence cannot be as conclusive.² Some facets of Ancient Near Eastern influence upon Greek tyranny have proven to be more demonstrable than others, with better evidence across the case studies and less uncertainty, and this conclusion will endeavour to bracket out which of these facets do not factor into cultural influence, in order to highlight those that do so.

The investigation of the evidence within the case studies demonstrates that there remains much to be done with regard to the individual tyrannies. While the Hecatomnids have had an influx of new monographs and edited volumes, even without the recent discovery of the tomb at Milas, the Clearchid bibliography remains thin, and work on the Dionysii and Agathocles remains sporadic, with no definitive work emerging to supersede the work of the previous century. This thesis has demonstrated that not only is there a considerable corpus of evidence which previously has been discussed and debated in isolation, but that there are different paradigms through which the tyrants can be considered. Interpretations such as Caven's take on Dionysius I as a Greek hero crafting his rule against the barbarian Carthaginians can no longer be considered acceptable without revision in the wake of contemporary political theorising.

Studies of the Hellenistic period have been moving towards a reciprocal cultural exchange between the Greco-Macedonian rulers and the varying subject peoples, rather than an imposition of Hellenic culture from the top down. Kuhrt and Sherwin-

¹ West (1997) 629-30.

² Miller (1997).

White have attempted to shift the focus on scholarship of the Seleucid kingdom towards a continuation of the Achaemenid Empire, alongside Ma's consideration of relations between *polis* and king in Asia Minor.¹ The Ptolemaic kingdom has long been considered in a similar light, with the Greek monarchy adopting many Pharonic traditions.² While in some areas of the ancient world, this approach is becoming more commonplace (if not yet orthodox), Greek tyranny of the fourth century is often only considered in a one-dimensional perspective: a Greek tyrant ruling a Greek city.

The case studies, chosen for their variation in geographical, as well as temporal locations, have demonstrated differing responses to Near Eastern influence. This is to be expected, as Greek tyranny must be considered fundamentally on the micro level, rather than the macro. As Lewis has demonstrated in her recent book on Greek tyranny (an appropriate and timely update to Andrewes' book), to attempt rigid categorisation of such an organic process is a monumental, and probably inappropriate task.³ For each case study, there is an evident combination of aspects of their rule. The traditions of the city or area where the tyrant ruled have a prominent role within their power presentation. These local traditions can be understood alongside Hellenic motifs from the wider Greek world, as well as aspects in which inspiration from the Near East played a part.

Analysis of the case studies reveals some significant similarities with regard to potential Near Eastern influence. All adopted, to varying extents, the paradoxical style of rule in which the tyrant created a power dynamic though controlled access and deliberate absence from public life. This was achieved by the use of a citadel, or fortress, to which access was rigorously controlled by a mercenary bodyguard. The corollary of this was a drastically enhanced aspect to the public appearance of the tyrant, for religious or martial occasions. This paradox was a noted aspect of Achaemenid rule for Greek intellectuals, and this thesis has clearly demonstrated that it was a significant influence on Greek tyrannical rule.

¹ Kuhrt & Sherwin-White (1987); Sherwin-White & Kuhrt (1993); Ma (1999).

² Meyboom (1995). See Lianou (2010) for a recent consideration of the power structures of the early Ptolemaic period.

³ Lewis (2009) 127-8; Andrewes (1956).

A parallel issue of power presentation is the dress of tyrants on the rare occasions when they appeared in public. The public image of the Hecatomnids in this respect, with corroboration from the new tomb at Mylasa, shows manifest Persian influence in their presentation style. Given their role as satraps in the Achaemenid regime, this influence is not surprising. Across the other case studies, the evidence shows a considerable deal of Near Eastern influence, where perhaps we ought to expect not to find it. Greco-Roman writers attribute theatrical clothing to both the Dionysii in Syracuse, and the Clearchids at Heraclea Pontica.¹ The use of elaborate, theatrical garb by the tyrants in public appearance shows a careful consideration of what effect they would have upon those seeing them. The majority of the case studies (the Hecatomnid evidence is less secure) show some facets of this, changing costume to provoke reactions from their audience. This ties in with the political discourse of the time, in both practical and theoretical rulership theory. Isocrates advocated such dress, and Xenophon's contemporary *Cyropaedia* expands on this, by demonstrating how Median dress and cosmetics could conceal physical defects. Evidence from the cases studies, such as the use of raised shoes and face paint indicates Xenophon had an impact on contemporary rulers in how they ought to portray themselves. The use of costume by the tyrants of the case studies shares too many factors with Achaemenid self-portrayal, and the Greek intellectual interpretation of it, to rule out Achaemenid influence playing a part. Alongside local customs, the tyrants turned to other sources of how to best put forward their manner of rule, and the evidence points to Achaemenid kingship as the most likely of these.

Also highlighting the possibility of Near Eastern influence concerning these items is the deliberate avoidance of royal terminology. The considerable lengths to which all the case studies went to avoid the title of *Basileus* renders it clear that we cannot interpret these tyrants in such stark terms. The only contemporary example of the term appearing is for the Hecatomnids, when Iasos called Idrieus and Ada *basileis* in an

¹ Alföldi (1951) demonstrated that such theatrical clothing was based on the Persian King, and this is telling. A recent effort by Duncan to claim Dionysius adopted such garb in imitation of the 'good king' of the tragic stage is too narrow an understanding of Dionysius' self-presentation, as I have demonstrated above. Duncan (2012).

inscription, although notably despite this appellation the Hecatomnids did not use the title themselves. Tyrants had differing audiences to make an impression on, and not only Greeks. Modern discussions as well as Greco-Roman writers seem determined to understand the tyrants of the fourth century through a narrow cultural lens. One example of this is Justin's account of Clearchus, clearly inspired by the Roman triumph, which is both an anachronistic interpretation, as well as ignoring the political affiliation of the tyranny at Heraclea Pontica to the Achaemenid regime.

Common to all of the case studies is some form of military office, which gave the dynasties a convenient way to organise their power. Whether it was as general with plenipotentiary powers, or as satraps in the case of the Hecatomnids, military power, and indeed military display, were vital components of rule. The tyrants of the case studies would typically lead armies in person (with few exceptions), as one of the rare occasions when a tyrant would be seen in public. Military iconography was often a significant aspect of the tyrant's self-portrayal, using items such as sceptres or swords. While some use of these items is attested in Greece, the military connotations of the items have Near Eastern origins, often used as royal martial power symbols. I believe adopting such symbols, with varying connotations of power across the Mediterranean, was a way of accruing the trappings of royal power without the stigma of declaring oneself a king. In the political climate, it was not appropriate to do so. On the other hand, a distinct theoretical current of the fourth century was a move towards accepting monarchy, in appropriate forms, as a viable type of government. Aristotle claimed that one way for tyrants to improve their rule was to behave in as royal a manner as possible, as the two forms of government were closely related. This adoption of royal ideology without the step of becoming a king is remarkably described by the contemporary Xenophon as the 'royal nature'. The use of royal martial items as power symbols and the appearance of the tyrant in public on campaign are the aspects of military power which can best be linked to Achaemenid inspiration. Upon examination, the fact that the tyrants led their forces themselves, or utilised military positions within their respective constitutions, had little to do with Achaemenid influence.

Half of the dynastic patterns presented in the cases studies can be considered unorthodox. The Dionysii and Hecatomnids had two of the most puzzling family trees of the pre-Hellenistic period, and are often considered forerunners of Hellenistic kingship in this regard. The double marriage of Dionysius I to Doris of Locri and Aristomache of Syracuse had little precedent in the Greek world, and must have shocked contemporaries. Even more shocking was the consanguineous marriage of the Hecatomnids. Such precedents in the Greek world were of expediency, such as the case of Anaxandridas of Sparta not wishing to divorce his first barren wife. As a political tool, for keeping power within the family (as Dionysius' case certainly was, with the half-brothers and sisters marrying one another), or as a power statement outright, claiming to be above custom, the Ancient Near east offers a viable precedent, with polygamous marriage and consanguineous marriage attested amongst the Achaemenid royal family and Egypt. Closer still is the practice of marrying trusted subordinates into the family, attested throughout the Achaemenid period from Darius I's practice of marriage only occurring between his family and the seven. The rule of women, always widowed in the case studies, has potential origins as a custom in Asia Minor through Hittite practice, and also occurred in Caria earlier under the Achaemenids. The marriage patterns of the Dionysii and Hecatomnids certainly derive from outside the Greek cultural sphere, and Achaemenid Persia is the clearest contemporary influence. The dynastic patterns of the Clearchids and Agathocles in comparison owe more to the Hellenistic model of marriage to powerful external rulers, and owe little to Achaemenid influence.

Some further points about the case studies can be noted. Contrary to the majority of the ancient evidence, the tyrants of the fourth century were not portraying their rule in an intellectual vacuum. The Elder and Younger Dionysii were in contact with various intellectuals who were in part positively influenced by Persian methods of rule, including Plato, Xenophon and Isocrates, and the opinion that the tyrants were at complete odds with philosophy as a discipline is not borne out by the evidence. This falling out with philosophy also found its way into the *Suda* entry on Clearchus of Heraclea Pontica, himself inspired by Dionysius in his attempt at tyranny. This is

unlikely to be coincidental, especially given the antagonism between the Academy and the tyrants. But again, despite the fact that Clearchus encouraged a philosophical school and library in Heraclea, because he acted in a way which the Academy and Isocrates deemed inappropriate, for posterity the myth that in order to become tyrant Clearchus steered clear from philosophy took hold. The Hecatomnids appear to have had less direct links to the contemporary intellectual trends, but Mausolus' funeral games suggests that the dynasty did possess links with them. These regimes deserve reconsideration with regard to their links to the contemporary intellectual climate, as it would demonstrate that far from being isolated from contemporary political theorising, the tyrants were responding to it, and in places driving it themselves.

In this regard, we should also take account of the deliberate avoidance of kingship by the tyrants of the case studies. This may represent the significant change from past scholarship on tyranny, because while the title of king was anathema, the ideology of kingship (in particular that of the Near East) was ripe for incorporation in tyrannical power display. This means that Classical tyranny did not evolve into a new form of tyranny, in the sense that Archaic tyranny was closely linked to monarchy, but continued as a pattern of rule similar in form to monarchy, as contemporary political philosophers claimed. What had changed was the contemporary political landscape, with kingship a far less common phenomenon in the Classical period compared to the Archaic. The emergence of Persia in Greek political affairs at the turn of the fourth century gave an ideal template for rulers aspiring to power and with the intention of forming a successful dynasty. It is notable in comparison that the adoption of a Homeric style of rule by Classical tyrants is absent, although the exact reasons behind this remain a topic for further research beyond this thesis.

Achaemenid and Near Eastern influence are responsible for some significant aspects of Greek tyrannical portrayal in the fourth century, and accordingly we ought to consider what effect this has on our understanding of Greco-Persian relations and contemporary political discourse. First of all, we must distinguish the influence of the Near East on autocratic rulers as more of a continual process through the fourth

century and into the Hellenistic period, rather than only occurring as a result of the Macedonian invasion of Persia. One way of interpreting the Hellenistic and Roman writers' categorisation of fourth-century and early Hellenistic tyrants is that many of them saw in such tyrannies the precursors of the Hellenistic period. Duris of Samos clearly saw the roots of Alexander the Great's *Persising* and the style of the flamboyant successor Demetrius Poliorcetes in the clothing styles of Pausanias of Sparta and Dionysius of Syracuse. Baton of Sinope, erroneously attributing a diadem to Dionysius, anachronistically interpreted Dionysius in the manner of a Hellenistic king. In doing so, Baton corroborates other ancient commentators (notably Plutarch) who saw Dionysius in an anachronistic mode of kingship, which Dionysius rigorously denied in his own lifetime. The Hecatomnid power, in the same fashion, baffled contemporaries and ancient commentators. Roman writers (notably Cicero, Vitruvius and Pliny) attest Mausolus as king, a false identification, but once again showing that the line between tyrants of the fourth century and Hellenistic kingship was blurred in hindsight. Agathocles declared himself a king in the Hellenistic style around the same time as a large number of Alexander's successors, but could already be found portraying himself in a quasi-royal manner before that time, with a theatrical as well as a Near Eastern disposition. The Clearchids, like Agathocles, straddle the Classical and Hellenistic ages, with Dionysius also declaring himself king in the Hellenistic style. The two late literary sources who discuss Clearchus differ in their interpretation, with Justin portraying Clearchus' public appearance in the manner of a Roman triumph, and Memnon drawing on Hellenistic make-up and concealment theory to explain Clearchus' appearance. Memnon's account, like that of Duris, blurs Clearchus' portrayal with that of men such as Demetrius Poliorcetes and Demetrius of Phalerum, despite Clearchus predating the Hellenistic period by decades. Once again, a fourth century tyrant can be seen presaging a later trend, and being anachronistically associated with it. By no means should we remove the turning point of Hellenistic kingship based on any of this with regard to autocratic public portrayal, but perhaps future scholarship ought to consider more carefully which aspects of Hellenistic kingship were a clear development

of Alexander and the Macedonian kings, and which facets of rule have a longer and more complex history.

The political atmosphere must also be viewed in a more fluid manner, with political philosophers and thinkers having a practical impact on statecraft, as well as a theoretical one. The proliferation of philosophers found at tyrants' courts, where perhaps we might not expect them, appears testament to the nature of political theorising in the fourth century. Political philosophers and pamphleteers were prepared to either travel to see tyrants in person, or to send highly personal letters with advice and guidance. Some of this advice may have fallen on deaf ears, but it is highly likely that tyrants were receptive to contemporary ideas of how to present themselves, and how to display their power. Some missions may have been ultimately unsuccessful (Plato's Syracuse missions being the most famous), but this did not stop future missions being attempted. Related to this must be the movement in political thought towards an acceptance of monarchic rule, which resulted in some tyrants moving towards a monarchic form of rule, if not declaring themselves kings. This political movement was growing but by no means orthodox, and appears to have been utilised by tyrants as an aspect of their portrayal to convey legitimacy, without the stigma which kingship still possessed at the time. Plato's attempt to fashion Dionysius II into his idea of a philosopher king is one clear example of philosophers attempting to turn a tyranny into an acceptable form of autocratic rule. This practical approach to implementing philosophical theories meant that philosophers most likely accepted that persuading tyrants to stand down from their position was nigh-on impossible. Instead, men such as Plato and Isocrates strove to persuade tyrants to rule in a more constitutionally acceptable manner: Isocrates' letter to Timotheus is blunt in this regard, urging him to become an upright and conscientious ruler.¹ This abstract concept of good rule, put forward eloquently by Xenophon as the 'royal nature', evidently had a considerable impact upon some contemporary tyrants, and demonstrates that the contemporary philosophical discourse was having an effect upon their presentation. To what extent this process was reciprocal, in the sense of the

¹ Isoc. *Epist.* VII.3.

tyrants having an impact on contemporary philosophical discourse, is difficult to determine with certainty, but the existence of texts such as Xenophon's *Hieron* hints at their genesis being directly related to personal contact between tyrants and intellectuals.

We must also dwell upon what the case studies demonstrate about other tyrants of the fourth-century and early Hellenistic period. By no means has the present study been exhaustive, and some of the factors considered here will have relevance to other dynasties. What is evident is that Greek tyranny of the fourth century and early Hellenistic period is an exceptionally complex phenomenon. In all of the case studies, political portrayal and power display were diverse, utilising local traditions and common Greek traditions, as well as aspects of power from the Ancient Near East. Tyrants engaged with and responded to the contemporary political climate, and adopted or changed aspects of their regime portrayal accordingly. Some aspects were deemed unacceptable to make any significant adjustment to: notably Hellenic and local religions were strictly adhered to, as well as the deliberate avoidance of monarchic titles. Some tyrants, on the other hand, evidently had no need to construct new power dynamics such as those found in the case studies. Jason of Pherae successfully found a power structure in the local tradition of Thessaly, through a resurrection of the quasi-mythical position of *tagos*. Jason also notably intended to lead a deputation to the Pythian Games personally, but was murdered before being able to do so. Jason found all the necessary aspects of his rule in local and Hellenic tradition, and therefore had no need to incorporate other aspects. Much like the dynasties of the Ancient Near East, by attaching his own dynasty via cultural memory to previous regimes, Jason was able to give his own regime legitimacy, despite there being no manifest link to the previous *tagoi*. While the tyrant of the case studies did possess some capacity to draw on their own local traditions, that they chose not to only rely on them, and draw inspiration in their portrayal from Greek and Near Eastern models, is important to note. Each dynasty made their portrayal decisions based on their own unique circumstances, choosing aspects from local, Hellenic or Near Eastern

concepts, or even in the case of Clearchus, drawing inspiration from a previous tyrant on the other side of the Mediterranean.

The evidence of the case studies, in my opinion, argues against the rigid characterisation of Greek tyranny, dating back from Plass' designation of *Alter* and *Junger* tyranny. Not only does every city and tyranny interact differently, but the circumstances of each tyranny arising differ considerably. Therefore, categorising tyrannies at the arbitrary date of Dionysius I's accession is inappropriate, as is any strong form of categorisation. While there may be patterns in some aspects, these are invariably exceptions that prove the rule.

The case studies have been limited to account for the length of the thesis, but further case studies could be included. Evidence for other tyrants in Syracuse in the fourth century could certainly be considered. A continuation of the study could involve detailed comparison with the Hellenistic period, perhaps looking into the attire, iconography and palaces of the Successors. Due to the thesis constraints that was not possible here, except for a short chapter on Agathocles. Other avenues of research would be to consider local kingships, such as the contemporary Evagoras of Cyprus, who straddles Greek and Achaemenid control in the same manner as the Hecatomnids and Clearchids, but ruled as a king (influenced in part by Phoenician kingship), rather than as a military dictator. I suspect based on the findings of this thesis that continuing the investigation into other contemporary rulers and into the Hellenistic period would demonstrate an organic blending of Greek and Achaemenid power and personal display. A continual pattern of Achaemenid influence on Greek autocratic power display could therefore be noted from at least the beginning of the fourth century (if not before) through to Alexander's successors and beyond. This would potentially have an impact on our understanding of Hellenistic Kingship and politics, by suggesting that Alexander the Great's attempt at combining Greco-Macedonian and Persian aristocracy and his adoption of a combined Greco-Macedonian and Persian royal dress was not as monumental an event in Greco-Persian relations as the ancient writers claim.

The extant evidence gathered in this thesis, in many cases significantly re-examined and reinterpreted, demonstrates that the tyrants of the case studies were influenced by the Achaemenid Empire and the Ancient Near East for their methods of rule. Some aspects of their rule can be attributed with more certainty than others: in particular their use of clothing and controlled accessibility to generate a new power structure where the existing local traditions would not suffice. In half of the case studies their dynastic patterns are manifestly non-Hellenic in origin, with the Achaemenid example presenting itself as the clearest model to borrow from. Military power symbols with long attested origins in the Ancient Near East are prevalent across the dynasties. The adoption of royal style without royal titles is evident across the case studies, which points to the dominant Achaemenid monarchic power deeply involved in Greek affairs as a style of rule to aspire to, and contemporary political theorising confirms that Achaemenid Persia was an appropriate model, especially Cyrus and Darius, who loomed large in the Greek imagination. To doubt that Achaemenid Persia was an influential factor on contemporary Greek tyranny would accordingly be a regressive step for future scholarship.

9) Appendix

9.1) Retrospective Dionysus?

One of the significant issues affecting our understanding of fourth-century tyranny is that many sources are from after the advent of the Hellenistic period. While I am somewhat loath to resort to periodisation so bluntly, it is clear that Alexander's conquest of the Near East had a considerable impact on the ancients' understanding of the age before. We have seen clear examples of this, such as Baton of Sinope's assumption that Dionysius wore a diadem, retrospectively qualifying Dionysius with an aspect of Hellenistic kingship which did not exist in Sicily in that manner.¹ This sort of influence also affects earlier figures in places: Diodorus' use of the suspiciously Hellenistic epithets Soter and Eurgetes, as well as the acclamation of kingship (which is probably incorrectly) attributed to Gelon.²

One of the factors which I feel significantly clouds our understanding of fourth century tyranny is the use of Dionysus by rulers in the Hellenistic period. While it would be wrong to argue that Dionysus played no part in the rule of fourth-century tyrants, his importance is likely magnified in the wake of Alexander the Great.³ Alexander's Dionysiac interests are well covered in scholarship, and there is no need to elaborate considerably upon it. O'Brien's monograph best sums up the extreme approach that Dionysus was present in everything Alexander did, and Heckel's review points out the colossal stretching of the evidence.⁴ Berve suggested Alexander identified himself in close relation to Dionysus.⁵ More sober accounts of Alexander treat self-identification and comparison with Dionysus as a considerable motive for his conquest of the east.⁶ The Dionysiac revels undertaken by Alexander at Nysa and through Carmania, as well

¹ See section 3.5.1.

² Diod. Sic. XI.26.6.

³ Nock (1928).

⁴ O'Brien (1992); Heckel (2009).

⁵ Berve (1926) I.94, contra Nock (1928) 25.

⁶ Bosworth (1996) 120 n.102 makes the intriguing point that Dionysus' exploits in the East were discovered *during* Alexander's campaign, and except for Euripides' *Bacchae* are unattested before this period.

as in Ecbatana, are hard to dismiss entirely as evidence.¹ Alexander dressed as Dionysus while travelling through Carmania according to the vulgate tradition, but Bosworth has suggested that this may be a later construction.²

Dionysus became a significant figure in the identity of the Hellenistic kings. Demetrius Poliorketes certainly adopted Dionysiac traits, and the Attalid and Ptolemaic kingdoms highlighted their descent from Dionysus.³ Dionysus also crops up as part of the titulature of some Hellenistic rulers (e.g. Ptolemy XII Auletes, who possessed the sobriquet 'New Dionysus' as well as Mithridates VI of Pontus and Marc Antony; Antiochus VI and XII who both possessed the epithet Dionysus).⁴ Of particular relevance is the Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which displays Alexander and Ptolemy Soter with golden ivy wreaths, along with Dionysus on multiple occasions.⁵

Dionysus' association with the diadem may have been made more intensely in the Hellenistic period. The diadem has two separate traditions of origin in antiquity: Persia and Dionysus.⁶ Dionysus is typically portrayed with a band around his head, although it is consistently lower on the forehead than the Hellenistic diadem in iconography, except for a series of coins by Ptolemy Soter which may deliberately evoke the Dionysian *mitra*.⁷ Rather unhelpfully, Diodorus, who gives us both explanations in two separate books, is writing deep into the Roman era, as is Quintus Curtius Rufus. It is safest to assume based on such late evidence for the origins of the diadem that the Persian and Dionysian traditions of headbands evolved separately. One possibility as to why Alexander adopted the diadem, without the upright tiara, is that he deliberately chose a statement of rule which was acceptable and recognisable for both Greek and Persian subjects. Much like the coin discussed above, in which the Baal of Tarsus

¹ See Bosworth (1988) 121-2 for the ancient sources of the Nysa episode. Green (1991) 384 points out that the modern day area appears to corroborate the ancient testimony.

² Bosworth (1988) 147; Green (1991) 438.

³ *Suda* s.v. 'Attalos'; Theophilus, *Autylocus*, 7; Kosmetatou (2005) 169.

⁴ Nock (1928) 33; Chaniotis (1997) 238 n.93, 241-2. See *Luxury* above.

⁵ Athen. V.201d; Chaniotis (1997) 241-2.

⁶ For the Persian origins see Diod. Sic. XVII.77.5; Curt. VI.6.4. Diod. Sic. IV.4.4 claims the diadem derives from a headband Dionysus would wear to stave off hangovers.

⁷ Hunter (2003) 115; Stewart (1993) 233-9.

resembles the seated Zeus of Alexander's coinage in the eastern Mediterranean, we can consider the diadem as a reflexive tool of power, which the differing subjects could interpret in a manner acceptable to them.¹ An unprovable coincidence is Alexander's adoption of Dionysus as a model after killing Bessus and becoming Persian king, the ancient sources putting focus on the discovery of Dionysus' former presence at Nysa and the Dionysiac events of Carmania and Ecbatana, all occurring after 329. A fragment of Cleitarchus mentions the conquest of the east by Dionysus, showing the idea was current in the period of the Diadochi.² This would lend credence to the suggestion that Alexander may have wanted such an image propagated.³ Bosworth has claimed that Dionysus' insertion into the Argead lineage was a late process, and completed in the Ptolemaic era.⁴

Robin Lane Fox touches on a vital issue, taken further by Spawforth, about what Alexander was trying to do in his adoption of Dionysus as a model:

By wearing oriental dress, Alexander had unintentionally assumed certain features of Dionysus' appearance, but the connection was incidental, and though Alexander might rival Dionysus, particularly in India, he never tried to represent the god directly.⁵

The interpretation of Clearchus has probably fallen foul of such assumptions, in the sense that he dressed in clothes and used symbols which were interpreted by later writers as the impious act of proclaiming himself son of Zeus.⁶ Alexander's use of Dionysus is part of his (or his court's) careful creation of an identity, trying to strike a balance between his role as Macedonian and Persian king, appropriating aspects of a variety of images and symbols. The appreciation of such multi-faceted portrayal is

¹ See *The Clearchids of Heraclea Pontica* above.

² Nock (1928) 27; Cleitarchus FGrH 137f.

³ Green (1991) 384; Bosworth (1996) 121: 'Dionysus had bulked large in the conversations at court during the spring of 327'.

⁴ Bosworth (1996) 125-6 n.128; Nock (1928) 25.

⁵ Lane Fox (1973) 443.

⁶ Clearchus' sons would include Dionysius amongst their numismatic presentation, but Clearchus and Satyrus did not do so. SNGvA 362; Head (1911) 515.

often lost by Greco-Roman writers, who first and foremost stamp their own cultural prejudices upon the ruler.

Dionysus may well have formed part of the self-presentation of fourth-century tyrants, but it is unwise to assume that any aspects of their display which possess near-eastern connotations ultimately belong to a Dionysian image alone. This approach ignores the political reality of the time, in which the Achaemenid Empire was a crucial factor.

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Figures



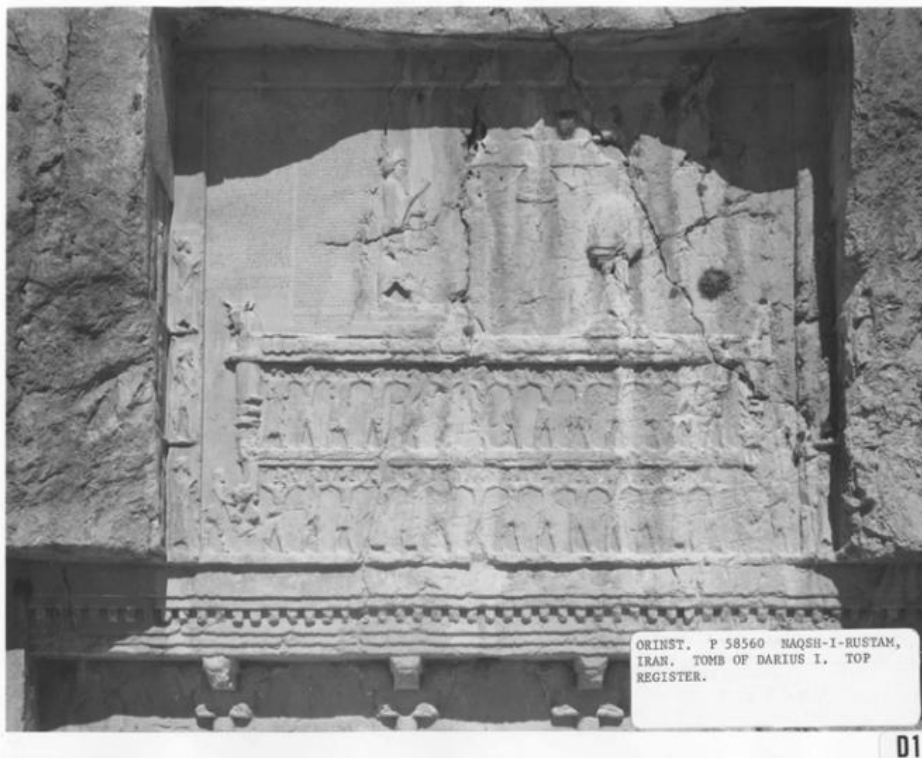
1) Statue base of Polydamas, attributed to Lysippus (c. late C4th)
Olympia, Olympia Archaeological Museum (inventory number L45)



2) Vase attributed to the Darius Painter (c. Late C4th)
Naples, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale (inventory number 81947)

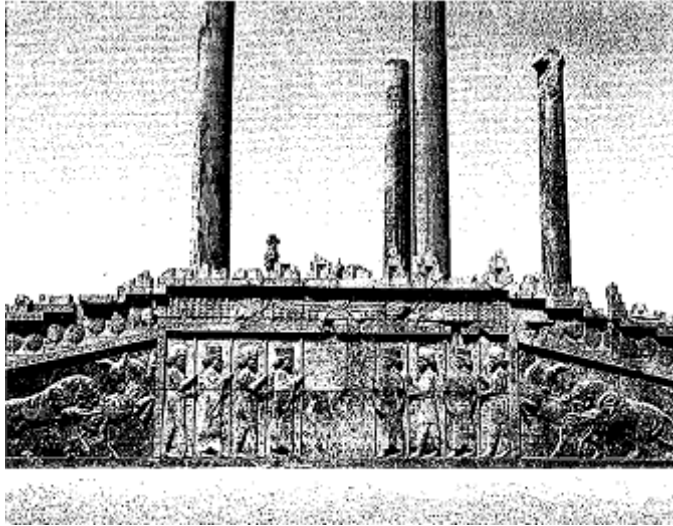


3) Obverse of the Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon (c. Late C4th)
Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inventory number 72-74)



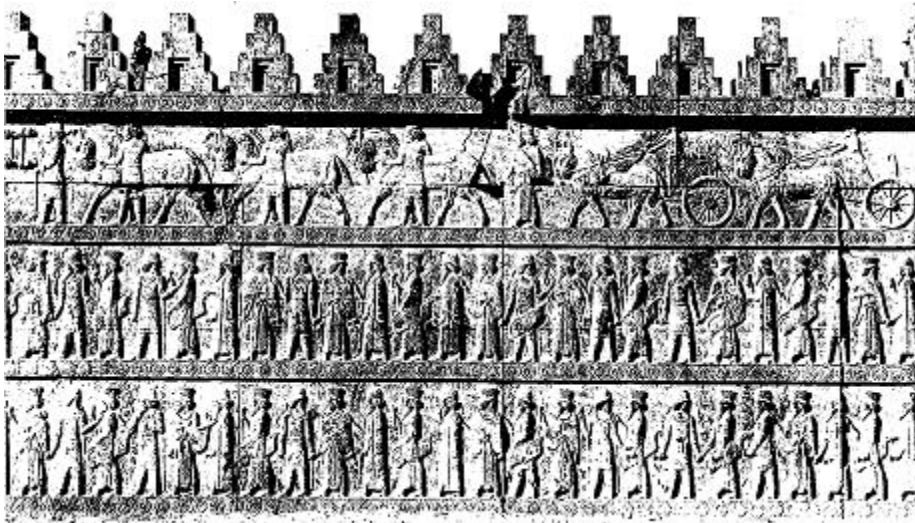
4) Tomb of Darius Upper Relief, Naqsh-e Rostam

University of Chicago Oriental Institute photograph P58560, retrieved from https://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/royal-tombs-and-other-monuments#7D1_72dpi.png on January 18th 2015



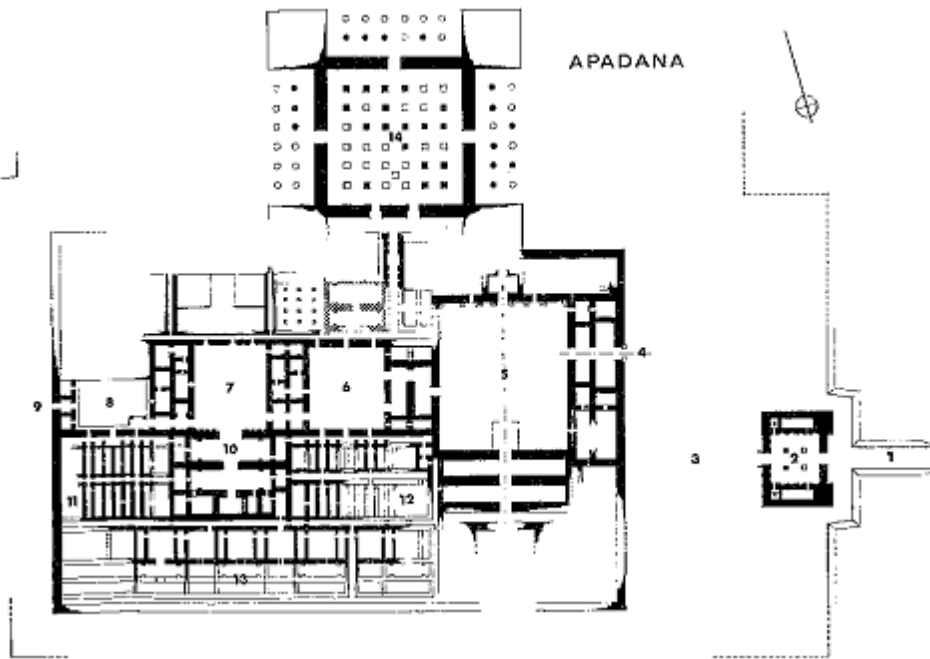
5) East Stairway entrance of the Apadana at Persepolis

Wilber, D. N., *Persepolis: The Archaeology of Parsa, Seat of the Persian Kings* (1969) 23



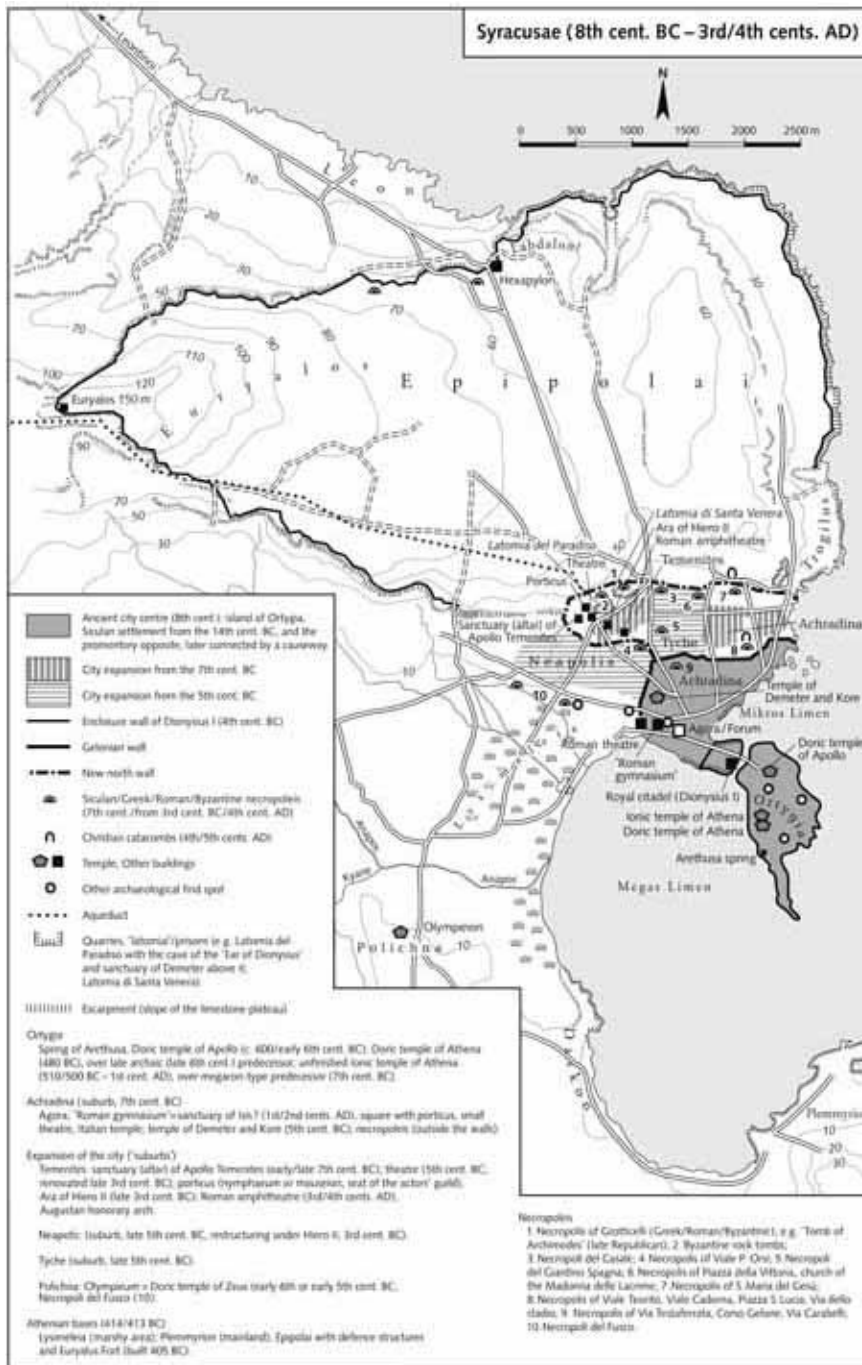
6) East stairway of the Apadana at Persepolis

Wilber, D. N., *Persepolis: The Archaeology of Parsa, Seat of the Persian Kings* (1969) 22



7) Plan of the Palace of Darius I at Susa

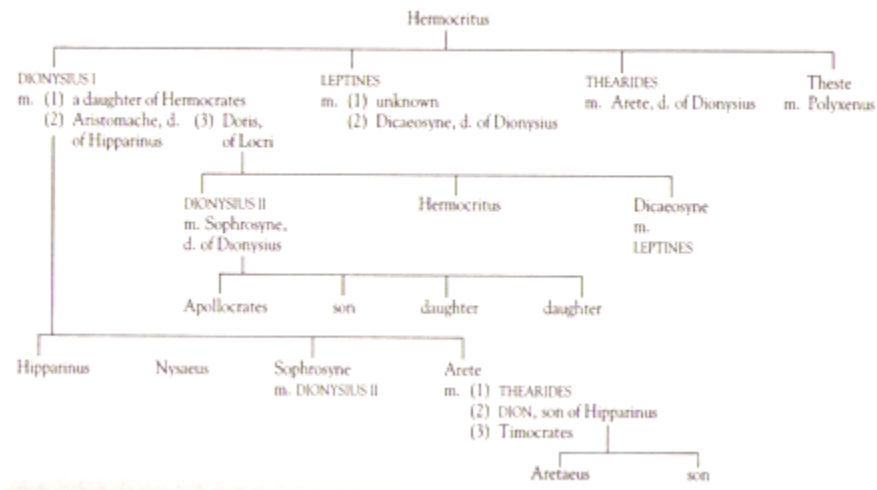
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8) Map of Syracuse and Surrounding Area

Retrieved from *BNJ* s.v. 'Syracusae' on 18th January 2015

The Family of Dionysius¹²



9) Family tree of the Dionysii of Syracuse
 Caven, B., *Dionysius I: War-lord of Sicily* (1990) 220



10) Terracotta bell-krater, attributed to the Painter of London E 497 (c. 440).
 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (inventory number 24.97.30)



11) 'Artemisia' Statue from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, attributed to Satyrus (c. 350).

London, British Museum (inventory number 1857,1220.233)



12) 'Mausolus' statue from the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, attributed to Satyrus (c.350).

London, British Museum (inventory number 1857,1220.232)



13) Obverse of the 'Tomb of Hecatomnus' from Mylasa (c. 1st half of C4th)

Retrieved from

<http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/Resim/35132,unescoheka1.png?0> on January 18th 2015



14) Reverse of the 'Tomb of Hecatomnus' from Mylasa (c.1st half of C4th)

Retrieved from

<http://www.kulturvarliklari.gov.tr/Resim/35133,unescoheka2.png?0> on January 18th 2015



15) Funerary stele from Dascylium (c. C5th)

Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum (inventory number 1502)



16) Exterior of the 'Uzun Yuva' column and pediment from Mylasa (late C 1st)

Retrieved from http://www.arkeo-tr.com/galeri/2012/03/Uzunyuva_03.jpg on January 18th 2015



17) Aerial view of Bodrum Harbour and the Zephyrion peninsula (modern day)

Retrieved from *Google Earth* on January 18th 2015