The Royal Hunts of Alexander the Great:

Engaging with Local Traditions of Kingship Throughout his Empire

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Abstract

This thesis considers the role of the royal hunt as a means for Alexander the Great to engage with the varied traditions of kingship and royal ideology throughout his empire. This offers a new approach to Alexander studies which traditionally focus on the king's attempts to legitimate his rule in the eyes of the Persian nobility. This thesis argues instead that Alexander's royal hunts served to legitimate his position as king simultaneously within established political frameworks of Macedonian, Greek, Persian, and wider Near Eastern tradition.

The Introduction identifies the models of court societies established in modern scholarship, their application to studies of ancient monarchy and the position of the hunt as an extramural royal court. It sets out the basis on which this thesis develops the dominant paradigms of Persianisation and Orientalising for Alexander's engagement with local elites in his empire and establishes an approach for the examination of multiple types of evidence from chronologically and geographically diverse societies. Chapter 1 examines the palatial imagery and texts of the neo-Assyrian empire as a case study for the significance of the royal hunt in kingship ideologies across Near Eastern societies. Chapter 2 identifies the role of hunting in Achaemenid representations of royal power and conceptions of authority. The combination of evidence, statements of kingship on Achaemenid monuments, glyptic from the Achaemenid heartland and from around the empire, and the Greek accounts of the Achaemenids allows the hunt to be considered confidently within the context of the court. Chapter 3 highlights the traditions in Greece for the hunt as a source of legitimate authority from Homer to the fourth century. It suggests this allowed Alexander to justify his power over Greeks in their own terms. Chapter 4 provides the necessary context for royal hunting in Argead Macedonia to determine whether Alexander adapted his practices to appeal to local traditions throughout his empire. Finally, Chapter 5 examines the evidence for Alexander's own use of the royal hunt and his development of court hunting practices to engage with the traditions discussed in previous chapters.

This thesis concludes it is possible to identify an evolution in Alexander's royal hunts as he progressed through Asia. These developments began before the adoption of Achaemenid court ceremonial and indicate a broader strategy of appealing to local traditions of aristocratic virtue and royal legitimacy from Macedonia, Greece, Persia and the wider Near East.

Acknowledgments

Thanks are owed to all my supervisors for their support and guidance in the research and writing of this thesis. I would especially like to thank Joe Skinner for his seemingly infinite patience from the very start of this project, and John Holton who has been a welcome addition to the team. Equally helpful have been Sally Waite and Don Miller who have constantly been willing to provide assistance.

Completing this project would have been quite impossible without the constant support of my family, most of whom now claim to have an allergy to Alexander. Special mention must therefore go to Patrick and Fleur for their unwavering devotion.

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Quotations and Abbreviations

The following texts and translations of ancient sources are used in this thesis with some modifications by the author. Where amendments are made to the text it is specified in the notes.

Aristotle

Politics. Translated by H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932.

Arrian

Anabasis of Alexander and *Indica,* 2 vols. Translated by P. A. Brunt. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976-1983.

Xenophon and Arrian on Hunting with Hounds. Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary. A.A. Phillips and M.M. Willcock. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1999.

Athenaeus

The Learned Banqueters, Volume I: Books 1-3.106e. Edited and translated by S. Douglas Olson. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.

The Learned Banqueters, Volume II: Books 3.106e-5. Edited and translated by S. Douglas Olson. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.

The Learned Banqueters, Volume VI: Books 12-13.594b. Edited and translated by S. Douglas Olson. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Ctesias

Llewellyn-Jones, L. and Robson, J. 2010. *Ctesias' History of Persia: Tales from the Orient.* London: Routledge.

Demosthenes

Orations, Volume I: Orations 1-17 and 20: Olynthiacs 1-3. Philippic 1. On the Peace. Philippic 2. On Halonnesus. On the Chersonese. Philippics 3 and 4. Answer to Philip's Letter. Philip's Letter. On Organization. On the Navy-boards. For the Liberty of the Rhodians. For the People of Megalopolis. On the Treaty with Alexander. Against Leptines. Translated by J. H. Vince. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930.

Diodorus Siculus

Library of History, Volume VII: Books 15.20-16.65. Translated by Charles L. Sherman. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Library of History, Volume 8: Books 16.66-17. Translated by C. Bradford Welles. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Grattius

Minor Latin Poets, Volume I: Publilius Syrus. Elegies on Maecenas. Grattius. Calpurnius Siculus. Laus Pisonis. Einsiedeln Eclogues. Aetna. Translated by J. Wight Duff, Arnold M. Duff. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934.

Herodotus

The Persian Wars, 4 vols. Translated by A. D. Godley. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921-1925.

Homer

Iliad, 2 vols. Translated by A. T. Murray. Revised by William F. Wyatt. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924-1925.

Odyssey, 2 vols. Translated by A. T. Murray. Revised by George E. Dimock. Loeb Classical Library Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919.

Pindar

Nemean Odes. Isthmian Odes. Fragments. Edited and translated by William H. Race. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Plato

Laches. Protagoras. Meno. Euthydemus. Translated by W. R. M. Lamb. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

Plutarch

Lives, Volume VII: Demosthenes and Cicero. Alexander and Caesar. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919.

Polybius

The Histories, Volume VI: Books 28-39. Fragments. Edited and translated by S. Douglas Olson. Translated by W. R. Paton. Revised by F. W. Walbank, Christian Habicht. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Quintus Curtius

History of Alexander, 2 vols. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1946.

Thucydides

History of the Peloponnesian War, Volume I: Books 1-2. Translated by C. F. Smith. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919.

Xenophon

Xenophon and Arrian on Hunting with Hounds. Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary. A.A. Phillips and M.M. Willcock. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1999.

Cyropaedia, 2 vols. Translated by Walter Miller. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.

Hiero. Agesilaus. Constitution of the Lacedaemonians. Ways and Means. Cavalry Commander. Art of Horsemanship. On Hunting. Constitution of the Athenians. Translated by E. C. Marchant, G. W. Bowersock. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925.

This thesis uses the standard academic abbreviations as laid out in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* for journals, classical texts and authors. Abbreviations used in this thesis which do not feature in that work are listed below.

ABC.	Grayson, A.K. 2000. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbraums.
ANET.	Pritchard, J.B. 1973. *The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, 2 vols. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
ARA.	Luckenbill, D.D. 1989. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2 vols. London.
ARE.	Breasted, J.H. 1908. *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 5 vols. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
ARI.	Grayson, A.K. 1972-1976. *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, 2 vols. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
BNJ.	*Brill's New Jacoby*.
CAD.	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols. 1956-2005.
EA.	Moran, W.L. 1992. *The Amarna Letters*, edited and translated by W.L. Moran. Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press.
NB.	Neo-Babylonian.
OCD⁴·	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, fourth edition, 2012. eds. S. Hornblower, A.J.S. Spawforth, E. Eidinow. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
OBV.	Dalley, S. 2008. *Myths From Mesopotamia: Creation, The Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Old Babylonian Version.
OP.	Old Persian.
SBV.	Dalley, S. 2008. *Myths From Mesopotamia: Creation, The Flood, Gilgamesh, and Others*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Standard Babylonian Version.

<u>Introduction</u>[1]

During his thirteen-year reign (336-323 B.C.), Alexander III of Macedonia consolidated the control over Greece and the Balkans established by his father then conquered the Achaemenid empire.[2] This thesis examines the role of the royal hunt in Alexander's ongoing strategies to secure his recognition as king by local elites throughout his vast, ethnically diverse domains. The most widely recognised features of this engagement with local elites are the inclusion of Persian noblemen at court and the adoption of elements of Achaemenid royal dress and court protocol.[3] The royal hunt represents an additional, but frequently overlooked, element of Alexander's engagement with local elites that predates the incorporation of Achaemenid Persian court practices. Consequently, it offers intriguing evidence for Alexander's participation in a broader spectrum of Near Eastern customs than just Persian. Hunting will be shown to have been a feature of elite and royal culture throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East demonstrating virtue and legitimacy to rule. In the neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid multi-ethnic empires the hunt was a highly symbolic event articulating the pre-eminence of the monarch within the kingdom. As such it was the ideal vehicle for Alexander to participate in various traditions of royal authority and legitimacy from throughout his vast heterogeneous empire. By appealing to these traditions Alexander not only presented himself as king in familiar terms to his new subjects, but also established the royal hunt as an extramural royal court facilitating the engagement of conquered elites with their new king.

To assess the extent to which Alexander engaged with multiple traditions of kingship and used the royal hunt as a means of incorporating local elites to his court naturally requires a broad approach that examines many different types of evidence. His actions must be placed within Macedonian tradition as well as Greek and an array of Near Eastern contexts. We must also appreciate the continuity of connections throughout this whole area, styled by Gunter as the "Greater Eastern Mediterranean" or "Greater Southwest Asia," and the difficulties in subsuming all these interactions under a single relationship model.[4] This is especially the case when studying Macedonia which should be considered with an eye to its wider political and cultural involvement with Greek, Balkan and Near Eastern peoples both before and after Alexander's conquests. Macedonia existed on the periphery of the civilisations examined by

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[1] This Introduction represents a substantial revision of Mullen (2018).
[2] For the reign of Philip II see Hammond (1994a); Worthington (2008).
[3] Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.3-7, 8.2, 10.5-12.5, 14.1-2; Plut. *Alex*. 45; *De Alex. fort*. 329f-330a; Diod. Sic. 17.77.4-6; Curt. 6.6.1-7; Just. *Epit*. 12.3.8-12.
[4] Gunter (2009), 2-10.

Gunter until the fourth century when Philip II and his son, Alexander, expanded the kingdom to incorporate almost the entirety of "Greater Southwest Asia."[5] This position is contrary to those who view Macedonia as a society dominated by traditions preserved for centuries as a result of economic self-sufficiency and isolation.[6] It is for this reason that this thesis examines Alexander's efforts to present himself as the legitimate ruler of his vast empire in the context of the royal court and, more specifically, the royal hunt.

Unfortunately, with the partial exception of the Greeks, these societies did not fully and self-consciously articulate the nature of royal power and authority for an audience not already familiar with the cultural and symbolic conventions in which they operated.[7] Even in modern studies, a precise definition of kingship remains elusive. Oakley observes that there exists a potential distinction between monarchy and kingship: any individual exercising supreme power, whatever his legal status may be, might be termed a monarch, whereas a king wields power that is granted legitimately by consent and custom.[8] This distinction is specifically intended to account for the irregular possession of power outside of what might be considered the state's constitutional framework, in situations such as the Greek tyrannies. It is unclear how systems of government which share power, legitimately or otherwise, between members of a family fit into this model which stresses the literal meaning of one-man rule. Mitchell resolves this issue by considering the power of rulers almost incidental next to the perpetual exercise in seeking and defining legitimacy for that power.[9] She considers the results of this exercise, whether constitutional or not, as rulership. Oakley ultimately rejects the division between monarchy and kingship considering them as essentially identical, but it seems logical to distinguish between the possession of raw power and the possession of legitimate authority to exercise that power.[10] The recent edited volume of Mitchell and Melville suggests that the legitimation of power, the creation of kings out of despots, is achieved by a continuous dialogue between ruler and ruled.[11] This consists of negotiating the exercise of power and

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[5] A similar model of diverse regional interactions was proposed by Childe (1939), 10-26 which specifically placed Bronze Age Macedonia in the discussion. Graekos (2011a), 67-68 considers Macedonia a distinct cultural entity, but not closed to political, economic and cultural influences from the Aegean world throughout the Late Bronze Age to Hellenistic times. The bibliography on Macedonia's relations with its neighbours, particularly in the fourth century leading to Alexander's conquests, is vast. Macedonian relations with Greeks are discussed below, but see especially the relevant chapters in Roisman and Worthington's recent companion to Macedonia: Engels (2010); Greenwalt (2010a); Graninger (2010); Archibald (2010); Olbrycht (2010), all of which are accompanied by bibliographical essays.
[6] For example Kottaridi (2011a).
[7] Watanabe (2014), 346 for this point in relation to Assyrian court art. The key Greek works to examine the nature of royal power discussed in this thesis are Aristotle's *Politics* and the various works of Xenophon. On the works of Xenophon as discussions of the best form of ruler see Tatum (1989); Gera (1993); Tuplin (2013).
[8] Oakley (2006), 2.
[9] Mitchell (2013a), 23-48.
[10] Oakley (2006), 2.
[11] Mitchell and Melville (2013).

projecting the basis of royal authority according to the subjects' perception of legitimacy. This is an exceptionally valuable insight for the purposes of this thesis which proposes the royal hunt afforded Alexander an opportunity to establish a social and political relationship with his subjects in an environment which could be adapted to appeal to local traditions of legitimate royal rule and therefore ensure that his authority was accepted.[12]

The neo-Assyrian, Achaemenid and Argead royal courts produced a variety of images and texts designed to project the basis of royal rule to multiple audiences. These not only include monumental art whose royal associations are frequently self-evident by being incorporated into the physical structure of palaces, but also glyptic and numismatic evidence. The latter should not be considered lesser or minor arts.[13] Many of the examples of glyptic from the Persepolis Fortification corpus discussed in this thesis are pieces of art commissioned on behalf of members of the royal family for use in authorising commands. As such, they are as intrinsically examples of court art as the monumental images. The images used by these high-ranking members of the royal court reflect the power and authority they possess to issue orders derived from their relationship with the king. Glyptic from around the empire similarly served to confirm the relationship between local elites and the king which legitimated the authority they possessed. Furthermore, issues of royal coinage likewise indicate the image monarchs sought to project throughout their own lands and abroad.[14] As their role includes circulating these images of kingship we should likewise accept numismatics as examples of court art.

The approach of this thesis to these texts and images is to consider their role in projecting the royal hunt as a demonstration of royal power and authority, and, where possible, as a feature of court society. The material produced by these societies must be treated on its own terms. It is necessary to establish how Alexander's royal hunts were placed within the symbolic universe of the various societies of the empire to legitimate his position as king.[15] The significance of the king as hunter as projected in texts and images was dependant on the rules

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[12] Adapted from Gehrke (2013), 74.

[13] Thomason (2014).

[14] Dahmen (2007), 3. The uses of coinage beyond simple economic exchange to advertise the pride and power of the minting authority are widely acknowledged as discussed by Starr (1982), 431. That the designs on the types of coinage were confirmed at the highest level of the state was assumed by Thompson (1982), 166; likewise Root (1979), 1, 117-18 on Achaemenid darics and sigloi as representations of kingship designed at the highest level. Debates on Roman imperial coinage suggest the designs are not from the mind of the ruler himself, but images designed by subjects as symbols of respect to the ruler, see Wallace-Hadrill (1986), 67-70 for summary of the debate with bibliography. In both circumstances the issues reflect the state of the kingdom and offer insight to how the monarch was seeking to be perceived.

[15] Goldstone and Haldan (2009), 10 on the central importance of legitimation within symbolic terms of reference.

and conventions of representation within those cultures.[16] As a result of the long-standing and widespread use of the royal hunt as a symbolic activity in Near Eastern kingship it was the ideal institution for projecting an image of Alexander as possessing legitimate kingship according to local ideologies derived from specific cultural and historical contexts. Ritual operated in a similar way to build consensus among the elites of the empire that Alexander was the legitimate king. As will be demonstrated, the royal hunt itself was a symbolic ritual of kingship for the Assyrians and Achaemenids, but was also a social and political ritual of all the court societies examined, articulating acceptance of the king and defining the current hierarchy of the court. Participation in this ritual served both to demonstrate and build social cohesion between Alexander and the local elites of his empire without requiring a shared belief in the precise significance of the royal hunt.[17]

Additional issues arise when considering classical sources on Near Eastern society. These are essentially external observations. Issues arise such as cultural prejudice and the potential for deliberate misrepresentation or misinterpretation, but also regarding the extent of any author's access to the royal court and the scope for misunderstanding. Although they are immensely valuable as sources of evidence for royal courts and the significance of royal hunting, these classical accounts must be treated with caution.[18] Authors such as Ctesias and Xenophon almost certainly preserve historical information on the Achaemenid court, though we must remain aware that they present this from their own perspective as Greeks whose access to the court was defined by their role as servants, of the nature of their sources, cultural preconceptions and the intended audience for their works.[19] Ctesias in particular, though he has often been considered a source of limited value due to his focus on events within the Achaemenid court, was undoubtedly able to use his position as a privileged servant of the royal house to access a variety of oral and written Persian sources.[20] A similar suggestion is made by Murray in a paper primarily concerned with the sources of Herodotus, that their controlled access to the court may mean they reflect the oral accounts of the Persian

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[16] On the interpretation of images as an activity undertaken by the audience according to their own expectations see Sturken and Cartwright (2001), 14-45; Howells (2003), 17-18, 103. See Skinner (1969), 6, 52 for a similar assessment in terms of texts.

[17] Durkheim (1995), 5, 34-44; cf. Kertzer (1988), 63-64, 71-76.

[18] For the issues with classical Greek sources on Achaemenid Persia generally see Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, eds. (1987); and for Herodotus in particular Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella (2007), 14-39.

[19] Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1987a), 118-21. As Briant (2002), 256 observes, "rejecting the interpretation the Greek writers give to an Achaemenid court custom does not imply that the custom or practice they were dealing with was pure and simple invention."

[20] Llewellyn-Jones and Robson (2010), 22-68 provides a detailed account of the reception of Ctesias from the early 20th century to the present with bibliography.

aristocracy on court life.[21] It is likely that Ctesias' focus on events at court, the personal machinations of individuals connected with it, is a direct result of his own involvement in these events or association with those connected with them.[22] There is no reason to consider this a fundamental failing on the part of Ctesias or a drawback to his work. It is rather an opportunity to recognise that these events at court, such as hunting expeditions, were considered to be of vital importance to the parties involved. The broader issues such as establishing the east as other and the endurance of this topos are discussed below, but due to the diversity of classical sources which contribute to our understanding of the royal hunt in Near Eastern court societies they will be evaluated as they are used throughout this thesis.

Similar concerns arise with the literary accounts of Alexander. With no surviving contemporary account of Alexander's campaigns we are reliant on the much later writers Diodorus, Curtius, Plutarch, Arrian, and Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus for any detailed narrative. Writing centuries after Alexander's death these authors reflect not only their own concerns, capable of selectively applying earlier source material, but also their reliance upon equally partisan historiographic traditions of representing Alexander. Even passages which our sources attribute to Alexander's contemporaries must therefore be recognised as reaching us through a series of filters, and the literary Alexander we receive is largely a product of the Roman world rather than his own.[23] Consequently, although these sources must form the basis of any analysis of Alexander's actions a degree of caution must be exercised when using them, especially when considering any actions presented as moral exempla. It must be stated that the objective of this thesis is not to examine the ancient sources' interpretation of Alexander's engagement with his subjects, but to identify the hunt as a genuine and meaningful part of that engagement to present him as their legitimate king. Approaching the sources with this awareness does however serve to reinforce the significance of the royal hunt at Alexander's court. Even where the evidence suggests Alexander was adopting Near Eastern royal hunting practices and incorporating local elites to his hunts, the act of hunting is not the subject of criticism by the sources. Indeed, participation in the hunt alongside Alexander was

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[21] Murray (1987), 113-14. The involvement of Ctesias in the court of Artaxerxes and the potential restrictions this placed on his work were recognised early. See for example Lucian, *How to Write History* 39. Lanfranchi (2010) suggests another possibility, that the restrictions placed upon Greek writers by the demands of Achaemenid court society caused Greek writers to project upon earlier periods, most notably Assyria, the behaviours and protocols of the Achaemenid court.

[22] Stevenson (1997), 6-9, 23, 40, 45, 80-81; Lenfant (2007b), 205.

[23] On these main historians of Alexander and issues associated with their works see the introductions to the commentaries of Atkinson (1980); Hamilton (1969); Bosworth (1980b); (1995); as well as the introduction to Yardley's translation of Justin (1994); Baynham (1998), esp. 15ff.; Alonso-Núñez (1987); Spencer (2002); Bosworth (1988) and (1996), 31-65. A similar point is made by Lenfant (2007), 51-57 in respect of Athenaeus whose *Deipnosophists* provides a number of fragments relating to Alexander.

specifically incorporated into the legitimation strategies of the Diadochi after his death and the royal hunt continued to be embraced at the courts of later successors.[24]

The Royal Hunt of Alexander in Historiography

Hunting undertaken by Alexander and his companions is at least alluded to in all the major surviving Alexander histories. Despite the prominence of some of the hunting episodes, the royal hunt of Alexander usually receives no more than a cursory acknowledgement with no consideration given to the purpose or significance of this activity.[25] Although frequently overlooked, there have been several suggestions in modern scholarship that the hunt should be considered alongside Alexander's incorporation of local customs, court ceremonial and personnel as part of his strategy to reconcile local elites to Macedonian rule.[26] Lane Fox has argued this in the strongest terms stating "[Macedonian and Persian] sporting practices and passions were reassuringly similar: hunting thus offered a possible bridge between the conquerors and the residents… Through it, fellow sportsmen become brother officers, at least in Alexander's eyes."[27] Unfortunately Lane Fox did not expand upon these brief statements. More recently Spawforth has suggested the potential benefits of learning more about Alexander's royal hunts alongside his wider practices aimed at integrating noble Persians within the royal court.[28] He then used this proposition to inform a reconsideration of the well-known passage of Ephippus which purports to describe the extravagance of Alexander, suggesting Ephippus misinterpreted Alexander's hunting in the style of the Achaemenids.[29] The most extensive study of Alexander's royal hunt in the context of Persian and Macedonian traditions is Seyer's *Der Herrscher als Jäger*.[30] Seyer's work is exceptionally valuable and this thesis shares a number of its features, notably the essentially chronological chapter structure. However Seyer's analysis is almost exclusively restricted to the symbolic

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[24] Curt. 8.1.11-19; Plut. *Alex*. 40; *Demetr*. 27.3-6; Aelian, *VH* 12.39; Pliny *HN* 34.19; cf. Dunn and Wheatley (2012); Briant (1991), 222-24; Seyer (2007), 125ff. On hunting at the courts of the Hellenistic kingdoms see Strootman (2014), 199-202.

[25] The most prominent hunting episodes in the literary sources are a lion hunt in Syria (Plut. *Alex*. 40; cf. *FD* 3.4.2, no.137); a second lion hunt in Syria (Curt. 8.1.13-17; Plut. *Demetr*. 27); a great hunt at Bazaira which also involved the hunting of lions (Curt. 8.1.13-17); and the hunt preceding the conspiracy of βασιλικοὶ παῖδες (Curt. 8.6.2-7; Arr. *Anab*. 4.13.1-2).

[26] Briant (1991); (1993); Lane Fox (1996); Spawforth (2007b), 110-12; (2012); Cohen (2010) refers indirectly to the role of hunting in this process arguing a similar interpretation for the use of hunting imagery.

[27] Lane Fox (1996), 143-44.

[28] Spawforth (2007b), 110-12.

[29] Spawforth (2012); cf. Ath. 12.537e = *BNJ* 126 F 5.

[30] Seyer (2007).

significance of the royal hunt.[31] Seyer does once refer to hunting in the etiquette of the court in the context of the Achaemenid Empire, but consideration of court society is not applied to any critical analysis of the royal hunt.[32]

The Royal Court and Royal Hunt

Allsen's *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* is undoubtedly the most comprehensive analysis of the royal hunt in recent years.[33] It discusses the methods of royal hunting in addition to its ideology and representation across three continents over the course of several thousand years. This universal approach is highly persuasive in support of Allsen's premise that the royal hunt functioned as an extramural royal court and that interstate relations throughout what he describes as the "core area" tended to encourage homogenisation of royal hunting traditions.[34] Identifying the core area in which the royal hunt was a central feature of political life and court society as covering, northern India, Iran, Turkestan, Transcaucasia, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor aligns with the region "Greater southwest Asia" discussed above. It also offers further justification for the broad approach of this thesis to identifying the traditions that informed Alexander's use of the royal hunt. Allsen demonstrates that the royal hunt was undoubtedly an activity imbued with great symbolic significance, but that it must not be considered as a purely symbolic activity. The royal hunt was also as an institution of the court itself:

> the royal court and the royal hunt are both examples of political theater… The stationary indoor court and the mobile outdoor court were complementary in many respects… Both were seats of government, both sources of entertainment, both sites of celebration,

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[31] Seyer's structure itself is very similar to that of Briant (1991), but applied on a much grander scale. Seyer's work has more in common with that of Briant than this thesis as both of those assess the significance of Alexander's royal hunts to the Diadochoi whereas this thesis considers the significance of Alexander's participation in the hunt. Zahrnt (2009) is exceptionally critical of Seyer's exclusive focus on the hunt as a symbolic activity, pointing out the need to balance the symbolic, practical and leisure aspects of the hunt. His criticism is certainly valid but this should not detract from the incredible value of the work as a study on the symbolic significance of the hunt in Persia and Macedonia and Seyer's articulation of many of the issues surrounding the royal hunt in these societies.

[32] Seyer (2007), 54, n.215 accepts the analysis of N. Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie*[5] (Frankfurt/Main: 1990), 120 ff. and the position that lessons from the Versailles court are applicable to other countries and epochs.

[33] Allsen (2006). Earlier studies relevant to this thesis are Anderson (1985) and Barringer (2001), both of which focus on the hunt in Greece.

[34] Allsen (2006), 1-14, 18, 33, 134, 202-06, 233. Cf. Vance (2004), 203 who likewise suggests that courts and court societies were motivated to resemble each other as a result of competitive political and economic relationships. Allsen's model of the royal hunt has been widely accepted, but see the critical remarks of Reed (2008).

both means of fashioning solidarity, and both prime measures of the good life. Accordingly, princely control of access to either theater was essential.[35]

He goes on to state,

> the hunt thus reflected court hierarchies and precedence, whether indoors or out-of-doors, defined the elite in a public and quite unmistakable manner; this provided guidance on who was moving up and who down and therefore guidance on how best to please the monarch.[36]

Allsen's identification of the royal hunt as a key institution of court society is convincing. Accepting this assessment of the royal hunt further supports the need to consider Alexander's hunts in Asia as part of his relations with the elites of the empire whose recognition he needed to effectively rule his empire.

As seen in the two statements quoted above, Allsen provides a succinct summary of the function of the court and the ideal role of the ruler within it. However, at no stage does Allsen utilise the models of court society that have been developing throughout twentieth century scholarship despite having much in common with them.[37] Analysis of the royal court as a phenomenon in its own right derives from the seminal works of Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* and *The Court Society*.[38] Elias' *The Court Society* sought to establish a model for the royal court derived from an assessment of Louis XIV's court at Versailles. He identified kingship as being in no way truly absolutist, but enmeshed within a network of interdependencies in which every step of the king and his entourage became predetermined by the need to respond to (and control) the ambitions of those within the network.[39] The arena for these engagements among the king and the nobility was the court. In the case of Louis XIV this was housed within the physical environment of Versailles, but the distinct characteristics of the court itself are that it consists of the vastly extended house and household of the king and his dependants, and that it was the central organ of the state administration. As such, the affairs of state were conducted in the essentially social environment of the royal court in which access and proximity to the king was the key indicator of status and power. It was in

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[35] Allsen (2006), 202.
[36] Allsen (2006), 205.
[37] The single reference to Elias (1994), 474 refers to a specific aspect of the court, being seen in the company of and loyally served by elite subjects, and applies this to the royal hunt.
[38] Elias (1994) first published as *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation* in 1938, only gaining recognition upon its republication in 1969; Elias (1983) first published in 1969 as *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, a revision of his doctoral thesis of the same title and translated into French in 1974; cf. Spawforth (2007a), 4.
[39] The lack of any truly absolute sovereign has been established in broader anthropological studies as well. See for example Feeley-Harnik (1985), 276-82.

this environment that the monarch pursued a variety of strategies, primarily through the architecture of the palace and the imposition of rules of etiquette, to restrict access to his own person and ensure the display of his own pre-eminent status among the nobility.[40]

Elias' model has been highly influential, but only recently have attempts been made to test Elias' paradigm of the royal court across an array of ancient courts.[41] Of particular interest is Herman's study of the Hellenistic court which borrows many features of Elias' model.[42] Herman firmly established the position of the Hellenistic court as a social institution centred on the person of the king as a source of wealth and power. He argues the court, as opposed to the simpler royal household, is defined by the emergence of behavioural norms, rules of conduct and ceremonial practices which regulate the behaviour of both ruler and ruled. He follows Elias in presenting the king in constant conflict with the ambitions of his nobles and only able to preserve his position by skilfully outmanoeuvring the factions at court. The king was able to maintain control by promoting those who had no independent power base, and assert his power over the court by means of gestures, body language and private actions dictated by rules of etiquette.

Despite a revisionist trend in studies of the court society and application of Elias' paradigm, the central assessment of the court as a fundamentally social institution based on the extended household of the king that was shaped by its members and constantly developing as a nexus of human interactions and relationships, remains accepted.[43] Duindam has done most to qualify the model developed by Elias, in particular challenging the assessment of the Versailles court as a royal instrument for taming the nobility as part of an inevitable transition from charismatic to constitutional authority of the king.[44] A significant element of this objection is based on the (accurate) observations of Duindam that few hereditary rulers possess the skill to actively manipulate a broad group of powerful nobles, or the inclination to transform their kingdoms into constitutionally organised states. In effect such a situation would amount to absolutism by the back door. As he also notes, however, these are objections to the particular circumstances at Versailles and the establishment of a model of court society

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[40] Elias' *The Court Society* is summarised by Duindam (1994), 13-22.

[41] Spawforth, ed. (2007) examines a range of ancient royal courts and explicitly formulates its examination of them with reference to Elias' model, see Spawforth (2007a), especially 6 for bibliography of works relating to other ancient courts which make use of Elias. See also Jacobs and Rollinger eds. (2010); Smith (2011), 125-31; Potter (2011); Llewellyn-Jones (2013) and Strootman (2014), esp. 1-27.

[42] Herman (1997).

[43] Elias (1983), 18-36. For the recognition of ancient courts as essentially social phenomena see Brosius (2007), 18, 25-27; Weber (2009); Potter (2011), 60-62; Smith (2011), 125-31; Llewellyn-Jones (2013), 9-11; Mitchell and Melville (2014), 3-4; Strootman (2014), 31-32. Even a critic of Elias' interpretation of the court such as Duindam acknowledges the social nature of the court, Duindam (1994), 1, n.1; (2004), 96.

[44] Duindam (2004); (2011), 6-9; cf. Elias (1983), 84-85, 94, 117-144, 276.

in these terms. That is not to say there are no instances where Elias' model of dynamic royal control is not justified.[45]

The difficulties of establishing a single, universally applicable model of the court lie in the very nature of the court as a social institution.[46] It responds to perpetual internal and external pressures, making it "no less specific than the mix and motivations of the personalities who comprised it."[47] There are likewise specific difficulties in applying Elias' model to the court of Alexander, most significantly the lack of any fixed centre of power other than the person of the king himself in a permanently migrating court.[48] Mobile courts are however a feature of many pre-modern courts, continually adapting the projected basis of royal authority to align with the local customs of the territories subject to its power as it passed through them.[49] The Achaemenid court, for example, was itinerant and most likely featured tents even at the great palace sites.[50] More broadly, a comparison with the court practices in China, of the Liao and Qing dynasties, show that the royal court can readily accommodate extensive imperial touring and military campaigns in the form of a vast tented city the structure of which directly paralleled, and had likely influenced, permanent palatial archictecture. The latter in particular is discussed by Chang and offers extensive source material for a touring court from an extensive bureaucracy and also from the writings of the Qianlong emperor.[51] Such material must be used cautiously however. Chang's examination of the Qing material demonstrates that the extent of Chinese material allows the imperial tours to be identified as specific responses to historical circumstances calculated to appeal to fully articulated (and evidenced) cultural perceptions. This naturally impacts the extent to which the Qing imperial tours can be applied as a broad historical paradigm in a comparative study. Particularly valuable points of comparison though are that the hallmark of Qing imperial touring, which was rooted in hunting practices, was the mobilisation of the entire court including not just the royal family, but the layers of infrastructure required in the form of high officials, guards and staff from bureaucrats to grooms and bakers.[52] Especially interesting is Chang's examination of the

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[45] Duindam (2011), 7.
[46] Smith (2011), 127; Strootman (2014), 31.
[47] Vance (2004), 203-4.
[48] Weber (2009), 191, 194, 208, 218; Coppola (2010), 139; Spawforth (2007b), 87-88, (2012), 188.
[49] Vance (2004), 203-4; cf. Elias (1983), 18.
[50] Xen. *Cyr*. 8.6.22; Strabo 15.1.16; Ath. 12.5.13f.; Polyaenus 4.3.32; Plut. *Mor*. 604C; Curt. 3.3.22-25; Diod. Sic. 17.35.3; Briant (2002), 186-89; Boucharlat (2001); Perrot (2013). Durand-Guédy (2013) assesses this type of tented court outside the walls of cities in Saljuq Iran (11-12th centuries A.D.)
[51] Chang (2007). The earlier peripatetic court of the Liao dynasty and their use of tents even at permanent governmental and religious structures is considered at 55-58. The value of such extensive Chinese material as a comparative model, especially for the perceptions, ideologies, practicalities and emotional responses to human interactions with animals, is observed by Llewellyn-Jones (2017), 307.
[52] Chang (2007), 38-39, 112-38.

numbers of personnel involved in Qing tours.[53] These 3,000-3,500 are substantial, but represent a fraction of those recorded in the Achameneid kings' retinues.[54] If the substantially larger numbers in the classical sources are accepted, especially those in Curtius who also refers to the king's household accompanying him, this can only further highlight the existence of the mobile Achaemenid court and the extent of the logistical operation required to maintain it. Also relevant to the objectives of this thesis is Chang's argument that the Qianlong court found such imperial tours valuable because they were a "politically potent and multivalent symbolic practice capable of simultaneously generating meanings within a variety of different social formations, each with its own specific history and interests, and thus facilitating their internal ideological coherence and reproduction."[55] This is precisely the role this thesis proposes was played by the royal hunt at Alexander's court as he sought to appeal to the varied traditions of legitimate kingship throughout his empire. Alexander's royal court was primarily constructed of canvas architecture throughout his Asian campaign. His army officers, Companions, chamberlains, grooms, bakers and the myriad other high officials, members of his household and servants that made up his court and who attended him on his royal hunts therefore had to be equally mobile.[56] Being mobile is therefore no barrier to being a recognisable court and may greatly assist the engagement with a widespread and diverse nobility.

Not only is Alexander's perpetual mobility not a barrier to establishing a royal court, but a great deal of modern scholarship concerned with the position of the Argead kings in Macedonia and Alexander's relations with the Macedonian nobility conforms to the broad

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[53] Chang (2007), 114-18.

[54] Hdt. 7.40-41; Curt. 3.3.8-25.

[55] Chang (2007), 27. See also Lane Fox (1996), 143-44; Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 738 on the cross-cultural appeal of hunting.

[56] The extent of the infrastructure required for any royal hunting trip should be stressed. Hunting required the procurement and training of a range of dog breeds, scent and sight hounds for coursing the prey and large mastiff type dogs to hold it, cf. Reilly (1993); Lane Fox (1996), 121-23; Xen. *Cyn.* 10.1. Those dogs then needed to be maintained and taken out at least every other day to remain effective hunting partners, cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 6.3. Grooms and stablehands were required to maintain the horses (and chariots if they were being used). Chang (2007), 117 collects the data for the Qianlong emperor's tours which shows there were typically around twice as many horses as people required for detours to scenic sites, with the tour of 1757 inolving 2,147 people and 4,453 horses. Armourers and quartermasters were needed to transport and repair weaponry over the course of a hunt which might last several days and involve whole armies alongside the elite participants. Figure 8 depicts the area of a royal hunt enclosed by archers and spearmen and the ring hunt at Bazaira recorded by Curt. 8.1.10-19 and discussed at section 5.3.3 below utilised the entire army. Additionally required were personnel to scout ahead for suitable locations to camp and to pitch the tents as well as all the household servants and slaves needed for cooking, serving meals and conducting daily royal business. If the hunt was conducted using previously captured prey then even more staff were needed to preserve, transport and release those animals for the king to slaughter. Many of these tasks had official court offices to oversee them, but the work of caring for and transporting scores if not hundreds of dogs, thousands of horses, wagons and chariots, tons of tents, food, wine, tableware and weaponry, not to mention the skinning, gutting and preparation of the killed prey, was done by a host of non-elite personnel who were also a vital part of the royal court. On the wider personnel needed to conduct royal hunts see Chang (2007), 114-41; Llewellyn-Jones (2017), 318-25; Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 750.

strokes of Elias' model. Most recent scholarship considers there to have been no constitutional checks on Macedonian kings, their power limited only by the relative strength of the aristocracy.[57] This position should clearly be translated into the language of studies of court society. Argead power was a direct consequence of their ability to negotiate their position in relation to the nobility and the focal point of these negotiations was the royal court. As Alexander's personal prestige and resources increased during the Asian campaign he appears to have actively sought to reinforce the social distance between himself and the Macedonian nobility and display the more autocratic nature of his rule. Heckel has proposed a situation that clearly conforms to Elias' model, in which Alexander deliberately weakened the position of his nobles and created an environment of distrust to ensure his own superiority.[58] Again, the display of this power in relation to the elites of the empire, including Macedonians, was conducted in the environment of the royal court and is chiefly recognisable by the introduction of Achaemenid ceremonial.[59] It has, however, also been recognised in the account of Hermolaus' intervention in a boar hunt and his subsequent punishment by Alexander.[60]

With this observation, it is clear Alexander's royal hunt was acting as an extension of the court. Therefore there are no obstacles to accepting the conclusions of Allsen quoted above.[61] This position is further supported by Strootman's similar assessment of the role of hunting in the courts of the Hellenistic empires and his synthesis of Elias and Kruedener's arguments for the basic functions of the court.[62] Kruedener's model in particular aligns with that of Allsen, that the court/hunt was a platform for competition with rival monarchies and for visualising kingship before subjects.[63] This thesis will therefore seek to utilise the principle functions of the court discussed by Strootman when considering the royal hunts of various societies. These

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[57] Errington (1978); (1983); Anson (1985); (1991); (2008); Carney (1981a), 233; (1995); (2002); Nagle (1996); Greenwalt (2010b), 154ff.; Müller (2010), 29-32. The alternate view, that Macedonian kings were constrained by traditions that had established state institutions with the force of law has been argued repeatedly by Hammond (1980); (1988); (1995); (2000); see also Fredricksmeyer (1997).
[58] Heckel (2002), 189-94.
[59] Spawforth (2007b), 92ff.
[60] Arr. *Anab*. 4.13.1-2; Curt. 8.6.2-7. The event as signalling Macedonian resentment of Alexander's new status and the king's determination to enforce it is suggested by Carney (2002), 146-55; Müller (2010). See also Bosworth (1995), 94-95 who similarly connects the Pages' Conspiracy with the developments at Alexander's court.
[61] See above nn. 35 and 36.
[62] Strootman (2014), 34-38, 199-202.
[63] Kruedener (1973) cited by Strootman (2014), 34; cf. Duindam (1994), 24-28 for a summary of Kruedener's model. Allsen (2006), 1-14, 18, 33, 134, 202-06, 233.

functions are: as a political arena, as an administrative centre, as a symbolic centre, as a stage for monarchic representation, and as the locus for (re)distribution.[64]

Engaging with Local Traditions of Kingship

The premise of this thesis is that the royal hunt was among the key features of Alexander's engagement with the peoples of his empire and his efforts to present himself as the legitimate ruler over these lands. It is important to recognise that aspects of ancient society gave rise to a concept of war against animals which the king waged through the royal hunt.[65] The inherent dangers posed by the natural world are discussed in detail at pp.31-36 and are strikingly evidenced in an ivory plaque from Nimrud (Fig. 1) depicting a lioness attacking a human. Section 1.1.1, Conquering Chaos: hunting as part of royal ideology, primarily examines the Neo-Assyrian iconographic evidence for such a conceptual nexus between warfare and the hunt. To this may be added literary examples such as an eleventh century Akkadian poem in which a hunter stalking prey is presented as a metaphor for the Assyrian king's military campaign.[66] Furthermore, the world's natural dangers towards human societies, especially those posed by lions, are explicitly stated in an inscription of Assurbanipal.[67] The king records how lions had bred in the hills and were attacking people and livestock, causing him to deal with them on campaign. Whilst the threat may have been exaggerated for the purposes of royal self-representation, or even as justification for undertaking a large hunting trip, Assurbanipal's claims suggest that lions could pose a genuine danger to his kingdom and hunting them was a genuine necessity which had over time developed a cultic and ideological significance.[68] The text is, unfortunately, fragmentary at this point and it is therefore not entirely clear if Assurbanipal conducted his lion hunts whilst on a military campaign, or whether he treated an expedition to clear the countryside of lions as a military campaign in itself. In either case we see again a clearly formulated nexus between warfare and royal hunting among the Neo-Assyrians.

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[64] Strootman (2014), 35. The functions of symbolic centre and stage for monarchic representation seem in practice to be identical.
[65] Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 738.
[66] Text of the poem provided in Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 746-47.
[67] Text in Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 757.
[68] Garrison (2010b), 161-63 suggests priority should be given to the cultic and ideological aspects of lion killing scenes in Neo-Assyrian palatial contexts, however, as discussed in Chapter 1, these ideological aspects are derived from the very real human conflict with the natural world. For a detailed discussion of the need for an emperor to justify his hunting trips to different audiences see Chang (2007).

This nexus was a feature of all the societies examined in this thesis whose traditions Alexander sought to engage with in order to legitimate his own kingship. It is evident in the frequency of animal and hunting similes found in Homeric epic which establish a direct correlation between heroic kings' martial prowess and the activities of the hunt.[69] Additionally, the examples of heroic hunting that appear in the epics serve, alongside success in battle, to reinforce the status of Homeric heroes as kings within their societies (section 3.1.3). This role of the nexus between warfare and hunting as a signifier of status is seen to continue into the Classical period and is evident in hunting imagery from Attica which deliberately references martial and heroic themes, as well as the account of hunting as part of initiation into adult male society on Crete (section 3.2).

The nexus between war and hunting was especially prominent in Argead Macedonia where the grave goods of Vergina Tomb II demonstrate the commitment of the Macedonian elite to both activities. This thesis also proposes the frieze of the tomb at Agios Athanasios likewise represents both war and hunting as central to the lifestyle of a fourth century Macedonian nobleman (Plates II and III). The recognition and significance of this nexus within elite society is particularly evident in two of the sarcophagi examined in this thesis. The reliefs of the early fourth century Çan sarcophagus from Hellespontine Phrygia juxtapose elite participation in both war and the hunt,[70] as does, even more strikingly, the Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon.

In the case of Alexander's own recorded hunts (see Table 1) this nexus is especially prominent given that they were all undertaken whilst on an extended campaign of conquest, in the immediate proximity of his standing army and involved representatives of conquered peoples. The central argument of this thesis is that Alexander was using the essentially universal and long-recognised significance of this nexus in elite societies to reconcile the conquered local nobilities to his rule. It is therefore initially quite alarming to observe that this nexus between war and hunting is apparently absent from specifically Persian monumental iconography and culture. Narrative hunting and war scenes do not appear at all on the walls of any of the Achaemenid palaces.

Chapter 2, however, observes that in Persian glyptic art and in Greek accounts of the Persians, the presence of the relationship between war and hunting becomes apparent. It may also be inferred from the widespread use of these themes throughout the empire by local elites seeking to signal their association with the Persian rulers. It should also be noted that scenes

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[69] Markoe (1989), 114-15; Alden (2005), 335-36, n.8.
[70] See Severinç et al (2001).

associated with royal domination of the natural world are present at Persepolis. The royal hero defeating a lion and a figure as master of animals both appear on the door jambs of the palace.[71] Whilst these images are deliberately timeless, focusing on the cosmic success of the royal hero against chaos and disorder, and cannot be considered scenes of hunting or of battle, they do project the same thematic nexus.[72] As stated by Arnold and Counts, this iconography 'became an elite "calling card" associated with a range of concepts, from divine ancestry and sacral kingship to the most basic symbols of absolute authority.'[73] Whereas Root has variously suggested that the function of these images at Persepolis was apotropaic or symbolic of an otherwise unrecorded investiture ceremony derived from a connection between the royal house and lions, there seems little reason not to consider these heroic encounters within the pedigree of the iconography of heroic mastery over animals.[74]

It can therefore be seen that the nexus between war and hunting was neither rejected by the Persians, nor entirely absent from Persepolis, being utilised extensively in glyptic from the site and appearing on door jambs in the form of the royal hero encountering a lion. However it must be acknowledged that the theme does not appear as a monumental narrative scene in any specifically Persian centres of ideology. This is such a marked departure from earlier Near Eastern empires whose iconography was incorporated into the Achaemenid corpus, such as the Neo-Assyrians, and from the regional styles within their own empire that some form of explanation must be attempted.

A possible explanation lies within Root's overarching thesis that Achaemenid monumental iconography selectively incorporated a range of symbols and artistic themes from conquered peoples in order to articulate a particular vision of harmonious imperial rule by a Persian king with the favour of his primary deity.[75] The slight modification proposed in this thesis (see especially section 2.1) is that the new composite imagery of the Achaemenid court was truly multifaceted and intended to communicate not just the official Achaemenid Persian vision of empire, but also to appeal to audiences of non-Persians according to their own semiotic codes for legitimate kingship. This is a development of the widely accepted position that Achaemenid imperial power took multiple forms throughout the empire, presenting itself in

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[71] Root (1979), 76-86, 101-03, 105-08. On the broad significance of the master of animals motif see Arnold and Counts, (2010), 16; and Llewellyn-Jones (2017), 310-11.
[72] Garrison and Root (2001); Garrison (2010b), 152ff. not only identifies scenes of heroic encounter as operating according to the same thematic nexus, but demonstrates this by observing the incorporation of scenes of heroic encounter within genuine hunting scenes of Assurbanipal.
[73] Arnold and Counts (2010), 16.
[74] For interpretation as apotropaic see Root (1979), 307-08; as symbolic of an investiture ceremony derived from the Achaemenid association with lions see Root (2003), 25-26.
[75] Root (1979).

Egypt for example as both Egyptian-pharaonic and Achaemenid-Persian. It suggests these regional traditions of kingship needed also to be recognisable to audiences of non-Persians who came to the centres of imperial ideology, the royal palaces.[76] As a result, monumental Achaemenid court art eschews violent imagery based on genuine historical incidents in favour of an iconography that projects timeless success of the Persian king ruling over a vast and varied empire.[77]

It is unclear why the Achaemenids did not consider it appropriate to include scenes of warfare and hunting within their monumental iconography. There is, unfortunately, no evidence of a broader Indo-Iranian tradition influencing this design choice. It is especially surprising since, as is suggested in Chapters 1 and 2, the central message of divinely supported rule of the king ensuring order over the land is largely shared by the Achaemenids and their Neo-Assyrian predecessors. Ultimately, whatever the reasons for such constraints, the scenes of heroic encounter were clearly acceptable within those conventions, raising any conflict to an exclusively cosmic plane undertaken by a representative Persian royal hero. The long history of such images within the established nexus of war and the hunt did however also allow such scenes to appeal to the native Akkadian traditions that had previously found expression on the reliefs of Neo-Assyrian kings. These more martial bases for Achaemenid kingship, and Persian aristocratic dominance generally,[78] then became highly visible at the day-to-day level on which glyptic operates and in the inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings themselves.[79] It was in fact so significant within the Achaemenid projection of kingship that it was picked up in a number of Greek literary accounts and could even be considered an explanation for certain events at the Persian court.[80]

To assess how Alexander appealed to these various traditions of the royal hunt in order to engage with multiple groups throughout his empire as their legitimate king first requires a brief examination of the ways in which his engagements are usually treated in modern scholarship. It is quite certain that Alexander did adopt certain eastern customs, including elements of Achaemenid royal dress and court protocol, during his campaign as this is

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[76] On the accepted position that Achaemenid imperial power took different forms throughout the empire see for example Briant (2017), 247-48.

[77] Indeed, it is likely that none of the monumental imagery from Persepolis reflects specific historical events, but are intended to memorialise the power of the ruler, see Llewellyn-Jones (2017), 313. Behistun serves as an exception to this Achaemenid practice, see Root (1979), 184-215.

[78] Briant (2002) and (2017) utilises a particularly helpful phrase, the *'ethno-classe dominante'* to describe the role of the Persian aristocracy throughout the empire.

[79] For examples of the nexus between war and the hunt in Achaemenid glyptic see Figs. 9-11. This nexus is also deliberately employed in Achaemenid coinage, see section 2.2.3. For evidence of this nexus in Achaemenid inscriptions see section 2.2.1.

[80] Stevenson (1997), 64-66 with reference to Diod. 15.10, Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.6 and Ctesias F14 §4.

recorded in all the ancient sources.[81] Although they do not agree on the details of Alexander's new court style, they record several features in common: the adoption of clothing that was recognisably that of the Achaemenid kings;[82] the introduction of certain rituals from the Achaemenid court, especially the practice of doing obeisance before the king;[83] and distributing cloaks of purple and gold to his closest companions.[84] We can be confident these are genuine features of fourth century Achaemenid royal dress as they appear in Xenophon's account of the clothing and ceremonial adopted by Cyrus the Great.[85] The adoption of these practices and the inclusion of Asian personnel at court are further evidenced at the mass marriages at Susa and in the complaints of Cleitus at Marakanda and of the Macedonian rank and file at the Opis Mutiny.[86] That Alexander had genuine objectives in mind is suggested by Plutarch and Arrian.[87] Each indicates that the introduction of new practices was a deliberate policy intended to align himself more closely with the political and cultural traditions of his native subjects in an ancient campaign to win hearts and minds and so reduce the risk of rebellion.[88] Although neither author states this policy was directed specifically at Persians, using the phrases barbarians and Asians respectively, it is implied Persians were the target group. Plutarch describes this barbarian dress (βαρβαρικὴν στολήν) as a compromise

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[81] Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.3-7, 8.2, 10.5-12.5, 14.1-2; Plut. *Alex*. 45; *De Alex. fort*. 329f-330a; Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.77.4-6; Curt. 6.6.1-7; Just. *Epit*. 12.3.8-12.

[82] Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.4 describes it as the dress of the Medes; Plut. *Alex*. 45 as barbarian dress and a compromise between that of he Persians and of the Medes; Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.77.5 states Alexander wore the white robe and Persian sash, and everything else except the trousers and sleeved kandys; Curt. 6.6.4 that he assumed the Persian garb; and Just. *Epit*. 12.3.8 wearing the clothing of the Persian kings. Bosworth (1995), 48-49 considers the adoption of Achaemenid clothing to have rapidly entered historiography and become a standard literary topos by the time of Arrian. Plutarch says nothing specifically about the adoption of Achaemenid royal headgear; Diodorus, Curtius and Justin all concur that Alexander adopted the white and purple diadem. Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.4 states that Alexander "exchanged the tiara (τὴν κίταριν) of the Persians…for the head-dress he had long worn." Bosworth (1995), 50 suggests this is an error since Alexander did not wear the upright tiara of the Achaemenids. Ephippus *BNJ* 126 F 5 = Ath. 12.537e describes Alexander adopting the diadem and wearing it around the kausia. Atkinson (1980), 128-29 discusses the lack of clarity in Greek, and subsequently Latin, terminology for Persian crowns.

[83] Plut. *Alex*. 45; Arr. *Anab*. 4.10.5ff.; Curt. 6.6.1-3.

[84] Curt. 6.6.7; Just. *Epit*. 12.3.9; Diod. Sic. 17.77.4-6.

[85] See Sekunda (2010); cf. Xen. *Cyr*. 8.3.1-3, 13-16, 21-23; cf. Curt. 3.3.17-20.

[86] The death of Cleitus is recorded by Arr. *Anab*. 4.8.1-9.9; Curt. 8.1.19-2.13; Just. *Epit*. 12.6.1-18 and Plut. *Alex*. 50-52.4; cf. Carney (1981b), 153-55. Only Plutarch has Cleitus reiterate the adoption of Persian personnel and court ceremonial among the grievances of the Macedonians. The mass marriage at Susa appear at Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.107.6; Curt. 10.3.11-12; Plut. *Alex*. 70.2; Plut. *De Alex. fort*. 329d-e; Just. *Epit*. 12.10.9-10; only Arr. *Anab*. 7.4.4-8 describes them as being made according to Persian custom; see Carney (1996). Mutiny at Opis: Arr. *Anab*. 7.6.1-5, 8.2-3, 11.1-9; Curt. 10.2.12, 23, 3.5-14; Diod. Sic. 17.109.3; Plut. *Alex*. 71.4; Just. *Epit*. 12.12.1-6. Bosworth (1980a) assesses the significance of these events and stresses that the adoption of Persian personnel and protocol was extensive. On the Persian custom of feasting in concentric circles see Spawforth (2007b), 103 and compared with further accounts of Persian court custom by Briant (2002), 247.

[87] Plut. *Alex*. 45.1; Arr. *Anab*. 7.29.3-4.

[88] Harmony and unity are most fully developed in Plut. *Alex*. 45.1; 47.3-7; *de. Alex. fort*. 329b-330e. The 20th Century development of scholarly opinion regarding *homonoia*, "brotherhood of man" and "unity of mankind" is well established. A simplified summary of the key developments are: promotion of "brotherhood and unity" by Tarn (1948), 400-403, 409-449; this view was then persuasively challenged by Badian (1958); and Bosworth (1980a) put the nails into the coffin of unity of mankind.

between that of the Persian and of the Medes, and in the case of Arrian, it is described as Persian dress (Περσικὴ σκευὴ), a "device (σόφισμα) designed for the barbarians" and is surrounded by direct references to "Persian apple-bearers" and "Persian peers."[89]

In modern scholarship, this engagement with Near Eastern elites by introducing features of Achaemenid royal dress and ceremonial, and incorporating members of the Persian nobility into Alexander's own royal court, is generally approached under terms deriving from "the Orient," or as "Persianisation."[90] Neither term is wholly satisfactory as both carry conceptual baggage capable of distorting our analysis. This thesis proposes that Alexander was able to use his royal hunting to appeal to a number of local traditions of kingship that existed within his empire. This moves the debate regarding Alexander's social and cultural relations with his subjects away from the tendency in modern scholarship to reduce these interactions to consideration of the Persian nobility, "Persianisation," or to generalise his activities as "Orientalising."

Orientalising

The main issue with using the terms oriental and orientalising to describe the interactions between Greeks and their Near Eastern neighbours is that they appear to establish two fundamentally opposed cultural monoliths: East and West, Europe and Asia, Us and Them.[91] Approaching the developments in Alexander's court under the heading of orientalising therefore fails to recognise the intensive cultural and ethnic diversity of the ancient Near East and the range of traditions of kingship Alexander was able to appeal to in order to present himself as the legitimate ruler of the lands in his empire.[92] The traditions of the Near East cannot simply be bundled together under the heading oriental. Likewise, the adoption of these local customs by Alexander should not be generalised as orientalising, which ultimately boils

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[89] See Bosworth (1980b), 299 and Charles (2011) for the μηλοφόροι of Alexander's guard as a specifically Persian unit. It is possible that in the case of Arrian this might be just as effectively translated as Persian costume due its description as a σόφισμα suggesting that, at least in Arrian's view, this was a case of dressing up for the benefit of the Persians rather than a commitment to Persian forms on the part of Alexander.

[90] Cartledge (2004), 122-23 describes it as the "orientalist policy," "orientalising policy" and at 173-74 repeatedly uses "oriental" to describe Alexander's new subjects and his new court dress as part of his "imperial pageantry." Green (1991), 333 refers to "ever-increasing orientalization." Persianisation is used, albeit most often in scare quotes, by Brosius (2003), 176; Spawforth (2012): 169-213; Anson (2010), 4.

[91] See von Rüden (2014), 61-63 for a summary of early twentieth century positions regarding the sharp contrasts between East and West.

[92] See Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1991), xiii-xv; and the comment of Briant (2002), 77 that there is "nothing to suggest a priori that the Persian conquest had the same impact on every country." Gunter (1990), (2009), 1-13, (2014), 82-96 discusses these issues in the context of Greek "Orientalising" art. See Burkert (1992) for the range of Near Eastern influences on Greek culture in the Archaic period under the heading "Orientalizing," but which specifically identifies the variety of Near Eastern societies that contributed to this process.

down to a meaning of nothing more than non-European. The term offers no helpful insights to identifying what Alexander was trying to achieve by introducing new elements to his court or how it might have been received by his new subjects.

Widespread critical recognition of this misconception of the Orient as a uniform bloc opposed to the occident goes back to Edward Said's *Orientalism.* Said argued that since antiquity the notion of the Orient as the antithesis of the Occident has been "almost a European invention" justifying European colonial relationships of domination over the East.[93] As such, the Orient, according to Said, has consistently been defined by Orientalists in terms of despotism, cruelty, depravity, degradation, licentiousness and dishonesty. In those terms, for a Westerner to Orientalise, or "go native," would bear moral censure as he would be adopting the aberrant practices that either made, or were symptomatic of, the Oriental's natural political, cultural and moral subordination.

Said's *Orientalism* has been the subject of sharp criticism since its publication in 1978 from various disciplines on numerous grounds, including highly selective use of sources and his own reduction of the Orient and Orientalism to the Islamic Arab experience of an equally monolithically conceived 18th century Europe.[94] Although Said's concept of Orientalism is not accepted uncritically, it cannot be denied that racist and ethnocentrist representations of the Orient have been produced in all media as a foil to the Occident over the centuries and continues to appear, unintentionally or not, in modern popular culture.[95] Nor is the use of Orientalism as a means of justifying economic hegemony in the East entirely extinct: in the preface to the 2003 edition of *Orientalism*, Said condemns what he perceives as the justification for interventionism in the Middle East provided by academics, Orientalists in his terms.

It is important to recognise that the perception of the Orient in these negative terms in comparison with the West was available for deployment by the fourth century B.C. It has even been argued that signs of a nascent Orientalism appear in Homer's depiction of various non-Greek peoples. Georges, for example, sees in Homer's treatment of Trojans the origins of a Greek stereotype that presents Easterners, and especially Persians, as luxurious and

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[93] Said (2003), 1-7.
[94] See for instance the highly detailed critical analysis of Said's *Orientalism* by Varrisco (2017) with substantial bibliography.
[95] Varrisco (2017), Introduction I; at III he embarks on an analysis of the deliberate use of paintings by Jean-Leon Gérôme as cover illustrations for *Orientalism* as unspoken reinforcement of the presentation of the Orient as a centre of depravity. It is clear that Orientalism could be used to create images of the imagined sordid East. Cf. the representations of Oriental excess, spectacular wealth and strangeness in comparison to Greece, where mythical creatures exist and serve the king in the graphic novel, *300* (Miller and Varley (1998) issue 5) and the subsequent film adaptation which makes these divisions even more explicit.

effeminate.[96] Such a view is not unique, but is contrary to the established orthodoxy that Greek identity did not become crystallised and create a definitive alterity to other societies until the fifth century.[97] With no firm Greek identity, the position proceeds that both sides of Homeric heroes are presented as essentially the same.[98] In fact there are differences between the Achaeans and Trojans. Mackie has observed that the *Iliad* constructs two distinct language cultures for the Greeks and Trojans that not only differ in style, but also civic function and linguistic orientation.[99] However, Mackie's analysis identifies the "ethnic, cultural and linguistic differences…to be descriptive and aesthetic, not prescriptive and evaluative."[100] Aside from the combatants there are additional Eastern peoples portrayed in the Homeric epics. Winter, for example sees the representation of the Phoenicians as being heavily influenced by the literary trope of the Oriental.[101]

Whether or not the Homeric epics do indeed provide evidence for the Oriental Other, this interpretation of the poems as asserting Greek superiority over the Eastern barbarian is found in the Hellenistic period.[102] By the fifth century the topos of the Oriental barbarian was indisputably available for deployment by Greeks when required. Hall states that Aeschylus' *Persae* represents "the first unmistakable file in the archive of Orientalism, the discourse by which the European imagination has dominated Asia ever since by conceptualising its inhabitants as defeated, luxurious, emotional, cruel, and always as dangerous."[103] Said uses the play as evidence for the universality of his conception of orientalism and the motif of the Oriental as fundamentally inferior to the Greek is not restricted to theatrical performance in the fourth century.[104] Herodotus provides a further example when Aristagoras of Miletus rhetorically highlights the clear superiority of the Greeks over the Eastern barbarians telling

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[96] Georges (1994), 14. See also Gunter (2009), 1. van der Valk (1953) considers Homer an essentially nationalist poet who therefore presents the Greeks more favourably than the Trojans.
[97] Hall (1989); Mackie (1996), 8, nn. 27-30.
[98] See Malkin (2001), 201 "the polytheistic and polyheroic nature of Greek religion...allowed for a comprehensive perception of humanity, contrary to the idea of an Absolute Other or Savages. What we call "Greek heroes" were not Greek but simply heroes." See also Cartledge (1993), 38.
[99] Mackie (1996), 6-8, 161.
[100] Mackie (1996), 161. Skinner (2012), 54-55 questions whether it is realistically possible for these differences to be entirely value-free and non-political.
[101] Winter (1995), 255, 257.
[102] Mackie (1996), 8.
[103] Hall (1989), 99-100. It must be remembered that the first definitive surviving statement of orientalism does not preclude an awareness and interest in recognising differences between peoples and cultures, including a development of "Greek" identity, nor does the creation of a prejudicial stereotype against orientals necessarily equate to Said's Orientalism. Cf. Skinner (2012), esp. 3-5, 49-56 and 92-93.
[104] Said (2003), 57. Said's model of orientalism is in reality dependant on specific historical circumstances and is certainly not applicable to the interactions between the Achaemenid Empire and Classical Athens. Even at its height the Athenian Empire cannot be said to have been in a position of political and economic dominance over the East justified by the promotion of a negative stereotype of oriental decadence and effeminacy. See Ferguson (1991), 178 for the extremely limited scale of the Greek poleis throughout Magna Graecia.

Kleomenes that victory will be easy "for the barbarians are not brave" (οὔτε γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι ἄλκιμοι εἰσί).[105]

At first sight these appear to present Asia as a land of fantastic wealth, but where the bravery, armament and clothing of the barbarians are inferior to that of Greeks. Although prejudice against the dominant oriental power of Persia is a possible reading, we should be wary of treating it as a monolithic doctrine applied in every case by every Greek writing about non-Greeks. The example of Aristagoras' rhetoric in particular hints at a far more nuanced picture of the East and its inhabitants in Herodotus. Pelling highlights the inconsistent adoption of this motif even within Herodotus, comparing the Aristagoras passage above with the Persians at Plataea who are clearly distinguished as "other" by their dress, but whose valour in battle demonstrates that they are not inferior to the Greeks by nature.[106] Although Aristagoras is able to appeal to kinship with Sparta in this passage and also with Athens at 5.97,[107] suggesting a general connection between Greeks in the face of the Oriental Other, there are warnings that conflict between these two groups will not in fact be easy.[108] In this context we see that by Herodotus' time there existed some form of Greek identity that could be contrasted with a stereotype of the barbarian Orient and deployed in rhetoric. However, we also see an essential ambivalence towards this model of the Orient. Aristagoras' arguments are presented as somewhat suspect and although he will eventually succeed in convincing the Athenians to join the conflict against the Achaemenids they fail to persuade Kleomenes and are conspicuously undermined in the course of the *Histories*.

From Herodotus onwards, a perception of Eastern luxury and decadence served, among many other differences from accepted Greek norms, to define the otherness of the peoples of Asia which could be deployed as evidence of their inferiority to the Hellenes.[109] There are several examples of this from the fourth century. Just as Aristagoras sought to persuade Kleomenes and then the Athenians to assist his revolt against the Persians, Isocrates exhorted Alexander's father, Philip to invade Asia, citing the same motifs of Greek superiority over the East. Aristotle likewise articulated perceived differences in the natures of barbarians and Greeks

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[105] Hdt. 5.49.

[106] See Pelling (1997): 63-64. Cf. Hdt. 9.62-3.

[107] On the kinship links established by Aristagoras between Miletus and both Athens and Sparta see Hornblower (2013), 164.

[108] The claim that the Spartans will easily succeed (εὐπετέως) is considered by Hornblower to practically warn of its own falseness, especially since Aristagoras omits to mention the Persian cavalry. Pelling (2007), 180-83 draws attention to the various other supposedly easy enterprises narrated by Herodotus which turn out to be rather more difficult.

[109] Llewellyn-Jones and Robson (2010), 50-51.

which allow the former to be considered naturally fit to be slaves.[110] We also see that the epilogue to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* establishes contemporary barbarians, in contrast to the Persians of Cyrus' day, as wicked, impious, gluttonous, weak, luxurious and effeminate, abandoning ancient custom, giving themselves over to excess and relying on Greeks soldiers in war.[111]

As seen above, however, despite Herodotus' recognition of the differences between Persians and Greeks at Plataea they are not presented as inherently inferior. At various other points in the *Histories* he likewise expresses his admiration for aspects of Persian culture and of individual Persians.[112] Even Hall's assessment of Aeschylus' *Persae* as the "first unmistakable file in the archive of Orientalism" faces revision. In a reconsideration of the concept that identity is fashioned by establishing stark contrasts with "the Other" Gruen suggests that "the play transcends an antithesis of Greek and barbarian, but stops short of dissolving distinctions."[113] Aeschylus and Herodotus would therefore seem to adopt similar positions towards the Persians, they are recognisably different to Greeks by their customs and clothing, but are not inherently inferior. There is then the case of Ctesias. At the first Achaemenid History Workshop, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenbrg put forward the view that Ctesias was the first proponent of the concept of the Orient in opposition to the Greeks, with its "associations of harems, eunuchs, luxury, intrigues" conforming to Said's Orientalism.[114] Despite his enduring poor reputation throughout the twentieth century, the value of Ctesias as a source on Persian history has increasingly been recognised in recent years.[115]

Accompanying this rise in the appreciation of Ctesias as a historical source has been a revision, even an outright rejection, of the suggestion that his *Persica* is a work of Orientalism.[116] This is a result of appreciating that Ctesias' account does not focus on events at court merely as a titillating petite histoire nor with the intent to present Persians as inherently inferior to Greeks, but as a reflection of the historical events he was able to witness or interrogate sources. That is not to say that Ctesias did not in some instances engage

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[110] Isoc. *Philip* 90-92; Arist. *Pol.* 1284a15 ff. cf. 1285a15-30 whereby a form of kingship over barbarians resembles tyranny, but is according to law because the barbarians are more servile in their nature than Greeks.
[111] Xen. *Cyr.* 8.8.4 ff. This characterisation of contemporary Persians is specifically contrasted with the overwhelmingly positive depiction of Cyrus throughout the *Cyropaedia*. In the current argument it is not necessary to consider whether the epilogue is a later addition to Xenophon's original text. The attribution of the epilogue to Xenophon himself is contested, see for example Hirsch (1985), 142.
[112] Hdt. 1.131-38; 4.83; 7.10, 51.
[113] Gruen (2011), 13-21. Gruen collects a wide array of classical material on the other throughout chapters 1-3 and proposes similar alternative readings.
[114] Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1987b), 43-44.
[115] On the value of Ctesias see above pp.4-5.
[116] Lewis (1977), 21-22; Stevenson (1997), 45-46; Llewellyn-Jones and Robson (2010), 29-31.

wholeheartedly in the same stereotypes of Near Eastern history that could lead to accusations of effeminacy and inferiority and be used as part of an Orientalist narrative.[117] However, this is certainly not unique to Ctesias as such stereotypes and the use of eastern exotica as decoration appear in Herodotus and in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, both of which also find occasion to praise Persians.[118] As a result, we find that although by the fourth century the features of oriental otherness had developed into a literary topos which, under particular circumstances, could be deployed in an overtly pejorative narrative that presented Greeks in opposition to inferior barbarians, such an Orientalist polarity was not consistently applied and could be both promoted and undermined even within a single work. It is therefore not surprising that the general consensus among Alexander histories is to present the introduction of Near Eastern customs to his court as the corruption and degeneration of Alexander.[119] For them, our term orientalising would be synonymous with barbarisation. Plutarch describes Alexander's attire as "barbarian dress," Arrian remarks that he does not approve of it, and Curtius sees the adopted practices as "corrupted by luxury and foreign customs."[120] To view Alexander's engagement with Near Eastern traditions as orientalising therefore not only fails to recognise the diversity of those traditions, but also naturally falls into the same moralising framework established by Orientalism and the Alexander historians.

Persianisation

The empire of the Persian Achaemenids was a vast, heterogeneous entity in which local traditions were maintained and ethnic identities used to divide spheres of imperial administration.[121] Furthermore, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, the iconography of the Achaemenid kings drew heavily upon traditions of royal imagery from those previously independent cities and kingdoms. In the Persian sources Persia, and the Persians, are one of many distinct regions and peoples within the empire. The inscription on the tomb of Darius I at Naqš-i Rustam lists the achievements of Darius and states:

> "By the favour of Auramazda these are the countries which I seized
> *outside of Persia;* [emphasis added] … Media, Elam, Parthia, Aria,
> Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, Sind,
> Amyrgian Scythians, Scythians with pointed caps, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt,

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[117] Ctesias, F1b summary of the Assyrian kings is an excellent example.
[118] Tuplin (1990); Harrison (2011), 20-22; Llewellyn-Jones and Robson (2010), 52, 56.
[119] See Bosworth (1995), 45-48.
[120] Plut. *Alex*. 45.1-3; Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.4; Curt. 6.6.1-10. Interestingly, Curt. 10.3.6-10 repeats the motif of the Oriental luxury and excess in a speech by Alexander to his Asian troops, but undermines it in much the same way as Herodotus.
[121] Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, eds. (1991); Briant (2002), 1, 57-83; Lloyd (2007); Maffre (2007).

Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionia, Scythians across the sea, Skudra, petasos wearing Ionians, Libyans, Ethiopians, men of Maka, Carians."[122]

The inscription continues:

> If now thou shalt think 'how many are the countries which King Darius held?' look at the sculptures who bear the throne, then shalt thou know, then shall it become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle *far indeed from Persia* [emphasis added].[123]

The accompanying relief sculptures include individually identifiable and labelled figures representing each of the lands ruled by Darius. The importance of this when assessing Persianisation on the part of Alexander, or anyone else, is that Persia is presented as a distinct geographical entity from which the Persian man has gone forth and appears alongside the other regions and peoples ruled. Door-jambs at Persepolis are decorated with a condensed version of the throne-bearer motif and the base of the statue of Darius from Susa is decorated with an adaptation of this motif with labels in Egyptian hieroglyphics to help identify the different peoples.[124] That the empire consisted of many different peoples was clearly acknowledged and actively advertised by the Achaemenid kings. Classical authors recognised this key organising principle of the Achaemenid Empire, especially when mobilising manpower, according to ethnic groups who maintained their own languages and customs. Aristotle describes the empire in these terms;

> τὴν δὲ σύμπασαν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας, περατουμένην Ἑλλησπόντῳ μὲν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέραν μερῶν, Ἰνδῷ δὲ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἔω, διειλήφεσαν κατὰ ἔθνη στρατηγοὶ καὶ σατράπαι καὶ βασιλεῖς, δοῦλοι τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως.

> The whole Empire of Asia, bounded by the Hellespont in the West and the Indus in the East, was divided into nations under generals and satraps and kings, slaves of the Great King.[125]

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[122] DNa §16-18…22-30. The translation is that of Kent (1953). A more recent translation is produced by Kuhrt (2010), 11, no.16 which includes only minor variations. The petasos wearing Ionians (OP *Yauna takabarā*) of DNa and DSm §10-11 cf. DSe §27-29 are identified by Balcer (1988), 7 as Macedonians. Hammond (1989), 13 follows Balcer in identifying this group as Macedonian, but prefers to identify them as Ionians wearing the kausia. On the kausia in Macedon see Fredricksmeyer (1986), 215-27 contra Kingsley (1981), 39-46. The nature of the Macedonian kausia is addressed in Chapter Four.
[123] DNa §38-47.
[124] South door-jambs of the hundred column hall: Root (1979), 107-8; Darius Statue: Yoyotte (2013a).
[125] Ps.-Aristotle, *De Mundo* 398a27-31; Diod. Sic. Sic. 7.96; 17.58.1. Curt. 3.9.5 seems to draw on Hdt. 7.44, 61-80, 83-87, 89-96, cf. Atkinson (1980), 120-21. Briant (2002), 410, 495.

Persia is therefore seen to exist as an entity parallel to the local identities of the conquered peoples of the Achaemenid world empire. There are two minor issues which must be borne in mind before proceeding on the basis that Persia was a distinct and reasonably homogeneous entity within the empire: one is the identification by Darius and Xerxes in inscriptions not just as Persians, but also as Aryans.[126] Aryan (Iranian) incorporates various groups across the imperial heartland speaking dialects of Old Iranian and sharing a broad culture.[127] Persians, though distinct, also existed as part of a broader ethnic group with which they shared certain customs. The second is the identification of Cyrus in his own inscription on the Cyrus Cylinder as king of Anšan rather than of Persia.[128] Fortunately, this issue does not present a serious problem when assessing the actions of Alexander as no Persian king after Cyrus seems to have used this title.[129] However, it would not do to just ignore the fact that Cyrus would use this as a title since Anšan was one of the capitals of the ancient Elamite kingdom and, most significantly, was neither Persian nor Iranian.[130] These two issues aside, we are left with the simple position that Persia remained an identifiable part of the Achaemenid Empire and therefore the term Persianisation should refer exclusively to Alexander's adoption of court customs that were specifically Persian.

This makes approaching Alexander's adoption of Near Eastern customs under the heading Persianisation just as problematic as Orientalising. Persianisation does not account for the numerous other traditions to which he may have appealed as he advanced through Asia. As seen above, the key features of royal dress and court ceremonial recorded as being adopted by Alexander are likely to be genuinely Achaemenid elements, but this does not mean we can identify them as being specifically Persian. Those sources who place the court developments chronologically agree that Alexander introduced them at the Parthia-Hyrcania border around the time he received news that Bessus had declared himself the new Achaemenid king.[131] In

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[126] DB IV §70 Aryan appears as a language; DNa §8-15 (also reminds that Darius is "king of countries containing all kinds of men"); DSe §12-14; XPh §11-14 (Daiva Inscription).

[127] For definitions of Iranians and their distribution across modern Iran see Kent (1953), 6; Frye (1993); and Wiesehöfer (2009), 70; cf. Hdt.7.62 states that the Medes had in ancient times been called Arian (Ἄριοι).

[128] Cyrus Cylinder §12. After this introduction Cyrus uses the traditional Babylonian royal titles "king of the universe, great king, powerful king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters" but identifies his paternal line back three generations as kings of Anšan (§20-21). Translation: Finkel (2013a), 4-7; transliteration: Finkel (2013b), 130-33.

[129] The title drops out of royal usage, but Cyrus of Anšan, son of Teispes continued to feature in Achaemenid royal circles, used on PFS 93*: Kuhrt (2010), 3, no.3. See Garrison (1991), 3-7.

[130] Note Frye (1993), 143-46 on the possible assimilation of Elamites into Iranian/Persian identity after destruction by Assyria.

[131] Curt. 6.5.22-6.1; Plut. *Alex*. 45; Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.77; Just. *Epit*. 12.3. Bosworth (1980a), 5-6 places the adoption of Achaemenid clothing and ceremonial after the death of Darius in response to Bessus' usurpation. Spawforth (2007b), 93-107 indicates a more gradual development towards an Achaemenid-style court before the overt adoption of dress and ceremonial in 330 B.C.

this context of the emergence of a further Achaemenid rival it is generally, and reasonably agreed that, regardless of whether or not it was successful, these developments were calculated to appeal to the Persian nobility, in their own terms, that Alexander was the new Great King.[132] This is questionable since these features were only adopted once he had left Persis where his activities had been particularly destructive in comparison to his treatment of the rest of the western Iranian satrapies.[133] Since Alexander only selectively adopted features of the Achaemenid court and seems to have avoided Persis as a location for these developments, it is probably more accurate to consider them part of an appeal to the broader Iranian nobility whose lands he was about to enter.

The situation is made more complex by recent suggestions that Alexander may have been adopting Achaemenid paraphernalia before it was recognised in the sources. Spawforth's article on the misinterpretation of Alexander's use of Achaemenid dress and customs by Ephippus raises the possibility of further misrepresentations concealing the genuine steps he took in appealing to the traditions of his subjects.[134] Brunelle makes the persuasive argument that Achaemenid royal apparatus, especially the royal tents, was introduced in the aftermath of Issus (333 B.C.).[135] He reinterprets the story of the king sleeping with a copy of the *Iliad* under his pillow not just as the appropriation of the Achaemenid royal tent as booty, but also the adoption of ceremonial involving the tent.[136] This is especially attractive as it suggests Alexander was appealing not just to Persians, but also his other subjects, namely Greeks in this case, by including a copy of Homer in the treasury. There is clearly a more complex set of interactions between Alexander and the various peoples within the empire. We therefore should not view the adoption of particularly Persian traditions in late 330 B.C. as the extent of Alexander's efforts to be received as the legitimate king, but as part of a continuum of engagements with local traditions within which we may include his adoption by Ada and being represented in pharaonic style in Egypt alongside the entry into Babylon and compliance with Chaldean diviners.[137] This last example is especially relevant to the current

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[132] Bosworth (1993), 98-100; (1980a), 6 specifically identifies the developments as an attempt to be demonstrate that he was genuinely the Achaemenid King of Kings.

[133] Olbrycht (2010), 354-55. The most symbolic act of destruction being the burning of Persepolis: Arr. *Anab.* 3.18.11-12; Plut. *Alex*. 38; Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.72.1-7; Curt. 5.7.3-7.

[134] Spawforth (2012).

[135] Brunelle (2017): 257-78; see also Spawforth (2007b), 94-97.

[136] Plut. *Alex*. 8 and 26.

[137] Ada: Plut. *Alex*. 22; Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.24.2-3; Arr. *Anab*. 1.23.7f.; Bosworth (1980b), 152-54. Egypt: Stewart (1993)*,* 173-78. Kuhrt (1990), 121-28 discusses Alexander's entry into Babylon in 331 B.C. arguing that this was negotiated according to traditional Babylonian precedent rather than any Persian custom; cf. van der Spek (2003), 297ff. For Alexander's settlements with the Greeks on an *ad hoc* basis see Bosworth (1993), 250-58; Faraguna (2003), 109-13. It would be more appropriate to see Alexander's settlements with the various groups of his empire as bespoke.

point. During Alexander's final stay at Babylon, Arrian describes an incident where a prisoner sat upon Alexander's throne. He states the individual was not dragged off the throne due to some νόμον Περσικόν.[138] The event closely conforms to the ancient Mesopotamian tradition of the substitute king (*šar puḫi*) where evil omens meant for the king are directed instead onto a substitute who takes the king's place for a period of time.[139] The closest parallel to this tradition in a Persian context is the story preserved in Herodotus that Xerxes sought to trick a dream vision by having the noble Artabanus dress in the royal robe, sit on the throne and sleep in the king's bed.[140] Arrian appears to have mistakenly attributed a Babylonian custom to the Persians.[141] This anecdote does not offer conclusive proof that Alexander was deliberately seeking out Babylonian customs of kingship to legitimate his rule in Babylon since he was initially unaware that this ritual existed.[142] It does however highlight the continuity of local traditions of royalty throughout the period of Achaemenid rule in the Near East. It also indicates that Alexander was responsive to these non-Persian royal traditions when local groups sought to attach them to him.

A further issue with using the term Persianisation to characterise Alexander's engagement with the traditions of his new subjects arises from the potential extent of Macedonian ties with Persians prior to the reign of Alexander and especially the possibility that these had already influenced Argead regal self-representation. Brosius has described Macedonian society as being more oriented towards the east than to Greece and that the Argeads had historically cultivated personal relationships with Persians is beyond doubt.[143] The kingdom was within the Achaemenid orbit during the reign of Darius I and the Persian Wars and Herodotus states that the sister of Alexander I, who himself acted as envoy on behalf of the Persians, was married to a Persian.[144] The recognition of Alexander I as king of Macedonia under the Achaemenids makes it entirely possible that attributes of the Persian elite were adopted by the Argeads to signal their relationship with the imperial power in a process of Persianisation that is recognised throughout the empire.[145] Whether at this stage such adoptions represented true cultural Persianisation or were acts of political Medism is less significant that the fact that

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[138] Arr. *Anab*.7.24.2-3; cf. Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.116.2-4; Plut. *Alex*. 73-74.
[139] On the substitute king see Bottéro (1992), 138-55 = *Akkadica* 9 (1978): 2-24. For examples of the *šar puḫi* in royal correspondence see Wiseman (1953), 137, 148.
[140] Hdt. 7.12-19.
[141] van der Spek (2003), 328-40.
[142] Arr. *Anab*. 7.24.3; Briant (2002), 863.
[143] Brosius (2003b), 231.
[144] On the position of Macedonia within the Achaemenid Empire according to Achaemenid sources (the *Yauna takabarā*) see n.99 above. Hdt. 5.21 and 8.136 for the marriage of Gygaea to Bubares and this kinship being responsible for Mardonius' selection of Alexander I as envoy to the Athenians.
[145] Dusinberre (2010), 323, 334; Brosius (2011), 135; Tuplin (2011), 150.

they formed part of a longer history of Macedonian engagement, albeit potentially superficially, with traditions of the Achaemenid court.[146] Of particular interest is the introduction, at precisely this time of direct Macedonian contact with Persians, of Argead coinage with images of an aristocratic hunter and the persistence of this theme into the fourth century.[147]

The potential for influence of the Achaemenid court upon Argead self-representation is further increased during the expansion of the kingdom in the reign of Philip II. The increased size of Macedonia accelerated the extent of contacts between the Argead court with Persians and with imperial satraps. Thus we see the Persian Artabazus going into exile at the court of Philip and Philip himself actively sought to cultivate relations with Pixodarus, the satrap-dynast of Caria.[148] It is entirely possible that Philip sought to display the increased scale, wealth and ambition of his kingdom, and his own kingship, by referencing the established great power of Achaemenid Persia in his regal self-representation.[149] Some caution must be exercised when considering these potential Persian influences under Philip. Brosius, for example, suggests that certain court structures and offices point to the organisation of the Macedonian court to parallel that of Persia giving as examples gift-giving, political marriage alliances between the royal house and the nobility, feasting, hunting and court offices.[150] However, with the possible exception of the court offices, these seem largely to be generic elements of power relations and court societies that cannot readily be identified as specifically Persian features introduced by Philip.

Two apparent developments of Philip's court which are relevant to the royal hunt and might be examples of Persian influence are the use of particularly grand tents and the institution of βασιλικοὶ παῖδες. Before leaving for Asia Alexander celebrated at Dium in a tent which could hold one hundred couches.[151] As Spawforth observes, this tent may well have been a legacy from Philip and was sufficiently lavish to be updated with Achaemenid elements throughout the campaign to come.[152] It certainly seems to be unprecedented in Greek tradition, but is in keeping with the Achaemenid royal tents which were adopted by

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[146] The differences between cultural Persianisation and political Medism are discussed by Tuplin (2011), 153.
[147] See Chapter 4 sections 4.1.2 and 4.3. Paspalas (2011), 201, 207 observes examples of Macedonian tableware influenced by Achaemenid prototypes during the Classical period.
[148] Diod. Sic. 16.52.3-4; Curt. 5.9.1 and 6.5.2 on Artabazus. On the Pixodarus affair see Plut. *Alex*. 10.1; Ruzicka (2010).
[149] Spawforth (2007b), 92; Olbrycht (2010), 344-45; Brosius (2011), 143.
[150] Brosius (2003b), 231.
[151] Diod. Sic. 17.16.
[152] Spawforth (2007b), 96; cf. Murray (1996), 16.

Alexander.[153] The second institution which may show signs of Persian influence upon the Argead court and self-representation is that of the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες. Arrian in particular provides an indication of this by appearing to refer to the institution as going back to Philip's time, specifically identifying them as the king's companions in the chase who had the job of helping him mount his horse in the Persian fashion (Περσικὸν τρόπον).[154] This can be interpreted as a claim that Philip founded the institution of the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες and that he deliberately modelled it on the contemporary Achaemenid court.[155]

Such an interpretation is, however, open to question. Lane Fox, for example, argues that the institution was founded by Philip, but he rejects the suggestion that it was an intentional borrowing of a specifically Persian tradition, suggesting instead that it merely displays a broad parallel with the Achaemenid court as a feature which is in fact common throughout historical monarchies.[156] The incorporation of the sons of the elite to court and particularly in direct service to the king certainly serves a series of broad ambitions which are not necessarily unique to the Persian kings such as having them available as hostages and also binding them to the monarch through a system of rewards from an early age.[157] At the same time, little significance should be attached to Philip's apparent habit of mounting a horse in the Persian fashion. This style of assisted mounting was certainly regarded as conspicuously Persian, but also appears to have been widespread throughout Greece by the fourth century. Xenophon recommends it in two of his works as appropriate for older men.[158] We therefore cannot be certain this practice was introduced directly from Persia or that, given the recorded injuries to Philip's eye, collar, hand and leg, it was a conscious means of honouring the king rather than a practical way of getting him onto a horse.[159] The alternative approach to the statement in Arrian regarding the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες is that Philip did not invent the institution, but that it was expanded and formalised during his reign with Achaemenid Persia as the most immediate model.[160] Despite the specific objection to the significance of the Περσικὸν τρόπον and the potentially general characteristics of the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες it seems unlikely that the great

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[153] See Spawforth (2007b), Appendix A; Brunelle (2017).
[154] Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.1.
[155] Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.1-12 includes Persian youths similarly supporting the king as he rides and hunts.
[156] Lane Fox (2007), 270; (2011c), 371. Errington (1990), 155 likewise views the institution as founded by Philip.
[157] Hammond and Griffith (1979), 162-63, 401. Although these specific features are attributed to the Achaemenid practice as well. See for example Briant (2002), 310-11, 326.
[158] Xen. *Hipp.* 1.17; *Eq.* 6.12.
[159] Dem. 18.67. Bosworth (1995), 92-93. The view expressed above is contra Spawforth (2007b), 91.
[160] Hammond and Griffith (1979), 155, 401; Hammond (1990); Spawforth (2007b), 91; Olbrycht (2010), 344-45.

power of the Achaemenids did not influence the foundation or development of court institutions within the growing kingdom of Macedon.

These issues are significant when considering Alexander's adoption of specifically Persian features of court protocol and customs. By the time the classical sources record Alexander introducing these elements on the Parthia-Hyrcania border, there had already been a long history of Achaemenid inspiration at the Argead court. In the case of the royal tent this engagement would seem to have been so extensive as to allow the incorporation of a genuine Achaemenid item after Issus to pass almost unnoticed. Likewise, with some developments, the original Macedonian royal tent does not appear to have been out of place within the elaborated court of Alexander at Susa in 324 B.C.[161] As a result there may be a number of features of supposed Persianisation at Alexander's court which had in fact already been undergoing a similar elaboration according to a Persian model during the reign of Philip. It may equally be possible to observe features of Alexander's court or his royal hunts which appear to be evidence of Persianisation, but which had been introduced to Macedonia in the previous century and become part of Argead tradition. There can also be no doubt that Alexander was entirely familiar with Achaemenid practices due to the presence of high-ranking Persians at the Argead court. Such familiarity combined with Macedonian parallels to Achaemenid institutions may very well have contributed to Alexander's strategies of regal self-representation to appear as the legitimate monarch according to multiple cultural expectations. He would have been fully aware of the significance of the royal hunt within both the Achaemenid court and his own. This thesis must therefore be especially careful to identify potential Persian influences in Macedonian tradition and take care to distinguish the specifically Achaemenid Persian features of his hunts from those which had already entered into Argead tradition or were derived from other Near Eastern cultures.

Hunting in The Middle Ground

It is clear that neither Orientalising nor Persianising adequately represent the extent of Alexander's relationships with his Near Eastern subjects and both, of course, completely omit Greeks and Macedonians. Instead, we must turn again to court society for a suitably flexible relationship model that can account for the range of interactions between the king and the elites of his empire. Despite borrowing the term "middle ground" for this section, this thesis

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[161] Assuming the hundred couch tent erected at Dium is the same hundred couch tent used at Susa as supposed by Murray (1996), 16. For the texts and discussion see Spawforth (2007b), 96, Appendix A 1-5 and Appendix B.

diverges greatly fom the Middle Ground as argued by White in that its argument is restricted to the participation in the royal hunt by elite members of society.[162] It has been seen above that the royal court and the royal hunt were filled with non-elite personnel, but the purpose of this thesis is to argue that king Alexander used the royal hunt to engage with traditions of legitimate kingship that would be recognised by the diverse elites of his empire and in which they could participate. Within this thesis the term elites covers a wide array of individuals. The difficulties of applying a narrow definition to this group are evident by the continuity of local systems of governance and traditions of legitimate authority alongside the overarching system of imperial satraps under the Achaemenids. As stated above, the Achaemenids themselves perceived their empire as one of many peoples and in each of their lands their kingship took two forms, that of an Achaemenid Persian and also of a traditional local king.[163] As a result there was the imperial court, the current seat of the Achaemenid king typically in one of the core cities of Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana or Babylon, and there were the courts of satraps which were directly modelled on that of the king as his representatives.[164] Alongside these, however, were local dynasts collaborating with the local Persians to ensure the Achaemenid king was recognised in their own traditional terms in exchange for enhanced power and privileges within their own communities.[165] This could operate alongside a satrapal court dominated by what Briant terms the Persian *ethno-classe dominante*, or separately as in the case of the Carian Hekatomnid dynasty or the cities of Phoenicia.[166] Elite can therefore cover individuals from the Persian Megabyzus who was able to raise sufficient forces from his own estates to successfully rebel against the king,[167] to prominent citizens of a single city engaging with their local satrap to ensure order and the collection of tribute were secured in exchange for privileges and prestige.

The key feature of both is their engagement with a court society. As seen above, the royal court functioned as a political arena, an administrative centre, symbolic centre, a stage for monarchic representation, and as the locus for (re)distribution.[168] These functions of the court were replicated at the satrapal and dynastic level as individuals participated in symbolic monarchic representation and administration in order to share in the power, wealth and prestige bestowed through the king's representative. Therefore, in order to accommodate the

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[162] White (2011).
[163] Briant (2017), 247-48.
[164] Briant (2002), 502-03; Brosius (2006), 48, (2011), 138-40; Tuplin (2011), 150. Dusinberre (2010), 323-24, 328-32; Knauss (2001), 129-33; Wiesehöfer (2009), 78; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.10, 12.
[165] Briant (2017), 54.
[166] Briant (2002); (2017).
[167] See section 2.2.1 below.
[168] Strootman (2014), 35.

wide array of local socio-economic and political elites within Alexander's empire, this thesis considers elite to be those seeking access to his royal court, or who he actively sought to introduce to his court that they might participate in its functions. It was only by establishing a dialogue with the most prominent of his new subjects in which he articulated his power in acceptable, legitimate terms, guaranteeing their traditional privileges, that he could secure their cooperation and effectively rule his empire.

In this formulation the court, and in this thesis especially the royal hunt, should be viewed as a form of "middle ground" defined by the efforts of Alexander to secure the cooperation of the various elites of his empire, and of those elites to protect and display their own status within that empire.[169] This negotiation of roles must have taken place in the context of a fully developed royal court.[170] It was after all via court ceremony and etiquette that the king recognised the status and favour of his subordinates and reaffirmed it to their peers. This develops the arguments of Briant regarding Alexander's engagement with Persians. Briant suggests that Alexander sought, and was gradually able to secure, the cooperation of the Persian nobility by assuming the functions of the Achaemenid king in relation to service relations with the aristocracy.[171] In the face of his overwhelming power the Persians accepted Alexander in the traditional role of king in an effort to receive their own estates and status as gifts. As with the example of the substitute king ritual, this line of argument implies that one of the driving factors in the adoption of Achaemenid court dress and protocol was Alexander's responsiveness to the expectations of local elites.[172] Whereas Briant considered this process exclusively in relation to the Persian nobility, justifying his approach by reference to the Persian diaspora throughout the empire,[173] this thesis considers the royal hunt as a feature of Alexander's engagement with more than just Persians. White proposes the middle ground as a process of cultural interaction whereby distinct groups try to establish "some common conception of suitable ways of acting."[174] The defining trait in the process of creating this middle ground is a willingness of the parties "to justify their own actions in terms of what they perceived to be their partner's cultural premises."[175] This can equally be said of Alexander's engagement with Near Eastern traditions of kingship. The introduction of

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[169] For the middle ground see White (2011), especially 50-56.
[170] contra Brosius (2007), 56-7. Brosius (2003), 171-85, (2007), n.71; and Lane Fox (2007), 272-86 contest Briant's position (below), believing that Alexander was unable to maintain the bonds between the king and the Persian nobility.
[171] Briant (2002), 305-24, 781, 868-71. Spawforth (2007b) also adopts this approach.
[172] An example of ceremonial being imposed upon a monarch from below in order to define the relationships between king, subjects and guests is provided by Elias (1983), 101-2.
[173] Briant (2002), 349-52, 481-2, 486-7, 500-01, 725. See also Sekunda (1991).
[174] White (2011), 50.
[175] White (2011), 52.

Achaemenid ceremonial was designed to facilitate the incorporation of local elites at court. This thesis examines the royal hunt as a particular feature of this engagement. The royal hunt not only established an extramural court, but was an especially potent symbol of kingship and stage for monarchic representation in Near Eastern traditions. Alexander's participation in the hunt established a middle ground that was capable of appealing to these traditions in specifically local terms.

Structure of Thesis

The first four chapters are taken up with establishing the most necessary prerequisite of this thesis: that hunting was indeed a feature of the traditions of legitimate (royal) authority in the lands of Alexander's empire and identifying the significance of the hunt within those societies. Chapter One examines the neo-Assyrian royal hunt as a case study for the significance of the royal hunt in kingship ideologies across Near Eastern societies. The exceptionally long history of preserved traditions contained within neo-Assyrian royal ideology; the enduring scale of their empire, encompassing many lands and peoples later ruled by the Achaemenids, mean it was the most influential source of traditions. This makes it the most representative of non-Persian Near Eastern traditions of the royal hunt which were preserved during the period Persian rule.[176] The accepted influence of neo-Assyrian visual themes in the art of the Achaemenids further makes it necessary to examine the role of the hunt in Assyrian royal ideology. It is therefore also offers potential solutions to lacunae in the Achaemenid evidence, and highlights the points at which the Achaemenids departed from the imperial traditions and ideology of their predecessors.

Chapter Two seeks to establish the role of the royal hunt in the Persian Achaemenid court. This will identify those elements of ideology, expressed through images, texts and court protocol, which persisted until the end of the Achaemenid period and were available for Alexander to adopt, adapt or reject as customs of the Achaemenid kings. These can then be distinguished from those which may have required him to actively select pre-Persian royal ideologies. Despite the absence of monumental self-projection of participation in the royal

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[176] This is not to suggest that the neo-Assyrian empire was generally representative of the Near East. Only that the traditions of royal participation in the hunt and the significance of this institution as a symbolic and court activity in the non-Persian Near East will have been influenced most strongly by neo-Assyrian practices. The constraints of space necessitate the use of the neo-Assyrians as a somewhat representative case study for the diverse traditions of the Near East. Briant's *History of the Persian Empire*, Curtis and Simpson's *World of Achaemenid Persia*, and Tuplin's *Persian Responses* are all substantially larger works than this thesis yet are unable to cover all regions of the empire consistently.

hunt by Achaemenid kings (in stark contrast to the Assyrians), the variety of sources allows us to assess the Achaemenid hunt as both an ideological and functional institution of court society.

Chapter Three examines the associations between hunting and authority in Greece. Whereas the other societies considered in this thesis had long traditions of rule by kings and participation in their courts, this was not consistently the case in Greece. The first task of this chapter is to demonstrate that Alexander was concerned with presenting his royal power in terms that were considered legitimate in the numerous states of Greece. It proceeds to examine the associations between hunting and authority in Greek traditions, beginning with those recorded in Homer and continuing into the fourth century. Whilst acknowledging that it is not truly representative of all Greek experience, the hunt in Attica is used as a case study for Greek hunting traditions because it offers the greatest variety of evidence. It is possible to assess literary accounts of hunting alongside a body of imagery. This chapter also considers the models of authority articulated in Greek philosophy, particularly Aristotle's *Politics*. Composed in an Athenian context this is most readily interpreted in light of the Attic traditions discussed in this chapter.

Chapter Four establishes the nature of the royal hunt in Macedonia as the starting point for Alexander's own practices. There is a great deal of evidence suggesting that hunting was a significant royal activity in Macedonia prior to Alexander's reign, but sources that shed light on its role in Macedonian court society in this period are incredibly sparse. This chapter identifies the foundation legend of the Argead dynasty and continued promotion of Herakles, not just as ancestor of the house, but also in his guise as Kynagidas (the Hunter), as evidence for the significance of the hunt. It also examines the coinage minted by Argead kings and argues in favour of identifying the rider and attendant types as depicting a royal hunter. This is followed by analysis of the evidence of hunting from Tomb II of the Great Tumulus at Vergina. It accepts the arguments identifying this as the tomb of Philip II and therefore considers the hunting frieze on the façade to be the most detailed piece of evidence for the Macedonian royal hunt as a feature of court society prior to Alexander's conquest.

Chapter Five examines the evidence for Alexander's own use of the royal hunt and his development of court hunting practices to engage with the traditions discussed in previous chapters. It establishes the recorded hunts and hunting practices of Macedonians whilst in Asia, placing them in chronological order and identifying, as far as possible, their location. It examines the cultural backgrounds from which those hunting episodes were most likely derived.

This thesis concludes that it is possible to identify an evolution in Alexander's royal hunts throughout his reign and that the earliest records of his hunts predate his entry into Persia and the adoption of Persian royal clothing and ceremonial in 330 B.C. The royal hunts of Alexander, despite incorporating features of the Achaemenid royal hunt, were not exclusively intended to appeal to the Persian nobility, but to traditions of aristocratic virtue and royal legitimacy from Macedonia, Greece, Persia and the wider Near East.

Chapter 1. The Near Eastern Background

As a result of his spectacular military campaigns Alexander became king of all the lands formerly ruled by the Achaemenid Great King in addition to exercising hegemony over the city-states of mainland Greece and his own, extensive, kingdom of Macedonia. However, as seen in the Introduction, it must be remembered that the world empire of the Achaemenids consisted of many distinct peoples. Achaemenid rule promoted continuity of institutions and customs within the empire, allowing these peoples to continue to exist in cities and kingdoms with their own traditions of independence and experiences of imperial powers dating back at least to the second millennium B.C.[1] Alexander's strategies to legitimate his claim to kingship over Asia must therefore be considered in the context of local traditions beyond the Persian heartland. Due to the Achaemenid imperial strategy of preserving these customs it is likely they remained relevant at the time of Alexander's conquest. Even if the Achaemenids had not been using these traditions in their own legitimation strategies, it is not impossible they would have survived and been available for Alexander to use.[2] The need to look beyond Persia to the broader traditions of Alexander's new empire for his legitimation strategy is further suggested by his apparent rejection of traditional Achaemenid titles in favour of the style "King of Asia."[3] In order to justify the suggestion that Alexander adopted a policy that included reconciliation or legitimation of his position in Asia by the use of native customs, especially

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[1] In addition to the Achaemenid sources identified in the Introduction see Winter (1993), 27 on the significant regional divisions of ethnicity, language and culture across the ancient Near East. Larsen (1979), 90; Bedford (2009), 31; Wieshöfer (2009), 75 generally on the continuity of institutions in the Achaemenid Empire. Continuity in Babylon and Egypt: Joisten-Pruschke (2010), 41-49. The continuity of Median elements: Waters (2010), 67-69. Not interfering in religious matters: de Jong (2010), 86. Soudavar (2010), 118-34 suggests that Cyrus and Cambyses adhered to earlier, Mesopotamian or Median royal ideologies, that it was Darius who attempted an ideological revolution, but had to limit his efforts in the face of popular beliefs and traditions. Boardman (2000), 112, 148, 159 discusses the strong continuities in artistic forms within the Achaemenid empire stating at 204 that the "Persian presence made no significant impression on the visual experience of imperial subjects."

[2] An example of this happening after the fall of another Near Eastern empire is the survival of Hittite culture in south-eastern provinces for centuries, until the area became part of Assyria, Gurney (1981), 41.

[3] Plut. *Alex*. 34, "βασιλεὺς δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας"; cf. Arr. *Anab*. 2.14.9. Bosworth (1980b), 232 accepts the account of Arrian as evidence that Alexander was already claiming lordship of Asia as early as 332 B.C. Darius I, DBI §1 used the titles "great king, king of kings, king in Persia, king of countries." King of Asia is considered a distinctly non-Persian royal title by Lane Fox (2004), 272, but he also notes at 274 Xenophon's use of the same title for the Persian king by Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.5.13. A distinction between holding the kingship of Persia and rulership of Asia does however have a long tradition in Greek historiography, for example it is used by Herodotus of Cyrus and the Persians (Hdt. 1.95) and Ctesias F1a likewise distinguishes national identity from rulership of Asia when discussing the Assyrians. On the traditional Macedonian royal style see Errington (1974) and on Alexander as "King of Asia" see Fredricksmeyer (2000).

of the royal hunt, we must fully appreciate the specific significance of the hunt in those local traditions of kingship.[4]

This chapter examines the particular significance of the royal hunt to neo-Assyrian kings. Whilst the original purpose of hunting was as a source of food, this was no longer necessary after the widespread domestication of animals, and certainly did not require the efforts of the king.[5] By the time substantial urban populations, kingdoms and world empires had developed, the impact of the royal hunting trips as a source of food for society would in any case be insignificant. Despite this, the neo-Assyrian rulers celebrated their successes in exceptionally grand royal hunts involving attendants and entire armies as spectators and participants (see Figure 8). It will be seen that these royal hunts fulfilled many of the functions of the court. The royal hunt was one of the key institutions for the symbolic representation of Assyrian kingship, articulating both the religious and political position of the king.[6] It was in its own right a religious institution and stage for monarchic representation. On the hunt the king displayed his personal martial prowess, his ability to marshal armed men as well as the array of nobles who supported him.[7] As a social activity the importance of hunting as a source of entertainment should not be forgotten, but the ultimate function of the Assyrian royal hunt was to reinforce the social position of the king as the head of the state, serving to mediate the relationship between king and elite. The royal hunt therefore needs to be appreciated as a complex sociological phenomenon functioning within, or parallel to, the palatial royal court.[8]

To argue that the particular significance of the royal hunt in Assyrian tradition could have survived the collapse of the Assyrian kingdom and throughout the Achaemenid period, as opposed to being superseded by Persian tradition, relies upon being able to demonstrate the deliberate preservation of history and traditions in the Near East. Elias comments that it can repeatedly be seen in monarchic societies that the occupant of the throne, or the entire dynasty, might be violently removed without the character of society as a dynastic state ruled

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[4] As opposed to generic imperial strategies. As Winter (1993), 38 observes, there are only a limited number of ways to represent authority. Liverani (1979), 303 considered the attempt to reconstruct ideological systems beset by the risk of identifying universal aspects of imperial ideology rather than elements specific to Assyria. The difficulty of identifying features of royal ideology in art which were specific to Persia is highlighted by Kuhrt (1984), 159.
[5] Barringer (2001), 1; Allsen (2006), 2-10 observes that hunting did continue as a source of nutrition in settlements and within the court society itself, but restricts his study to hunting as an elite activity. This thesis likewise primarily examines participation in the hunt by the king and the elite. The existence of hunting outside of the royal context will be observed at n.39 and in Chapter 3. The hunts examined in Chapter 3 are equally defined as societal institutions rather than a nutritional necessity.
[6] Although for convenience the political and religious elements of kingship are being separated here, the two are in fact indistinguishable, see for example Kuhrt (1995), 68-69; Oakley (2006), 13.
[7] Elias (1994), 474.
[8] See discussion on the royal court and royal hunt in the Introduction.

by an autocrat being altered in any significant way.[9] The Near East experienced a succession of three world empires between the tenth and fourth centuries B.C: neo-Assyrian, Achaemenid and that of Alexander.[10] The significance of upholding traditions across the Sumerian, Akkadian, Kassite, Hurrian, Assyrian and Chaldean empires created the impression of institutions and ideologies that were truly timeless.[11] Even when changes in ideology did, inevitably, occur over the millennial careers of institutions in these states, they may have been so gradual as to go unnoticed, or the past may have been deliberately reinterpreted to conform with perceived tradition.[12] This was certainly possible given the continuity of the institutions and iconography in the Near East. This continuity derived from a variety of sources. Llewellyn-Jones and Robson highlight the significance of oral tradition in the Near East through legends, stories, news and gossip, suggesting that Ferdowsi's epic *Shahnameh* contains many roots of pre-Islamic Persian traditions preserved through oral tradition.[13] These sources are now largely lost to us except where they were eventually written down.[14]

In his study of kingship, Oakley singles out Assyria as a particularly remarkable example of continuity, stability and uniformity across its roughly 1,400 year history and attributes this to cherishing and handing down an ideological framework of Sumerian provenance.[15] The use of Sumerian terms such as LU.GAL "great man/king," did indeed continue to be used long after

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[9] Elias (1983), 3; Allsen (2006), 275 makes a similar observation of the royal hunt whereby the mode of hunting could change over time and geographic boundaries whilst maintaining essentially the same organisational features, political and ideological functions.

[10] There were approximately sixty years between the fall of Nineveh and the emergence of Persia as a world empire under Cyrus II. This period was occupied by the Neo-Babylonian empire which, due to its brevity is not included in this list. Babylonian culture shows many parallels with Assyrian although Olmstead (1923), vii stressed that neither should be considered a simple extension of the other.

[11] By the time of Alexander's conquest of the Achaemenid empire, the peoples of Egypt and Mesopotamia could look back on a history of 3,000 years having maintained traditions and stories about their earliest history, kings and sages, Kuhrt (1995), 8; Ataç (2010), 147.

[12] Liverani (1979), 300 observes that the process of acculturation towards acceptance of royal ideology is better described as de-culturation from the point of view of the subjugated state. In states that are already closely linked, such as Babylon and Assyria, this may require selective re-interpretations of history. Examples include the adaptation of *enuma eliš* to place Aššur at the head of the Mesopotamian pantheon (Olmstead (1923), 484-86, cf. the inscription of Assurbanipal below at 36 in which the name Aššur is consistently represented with the Sumerian form Anšar. See also Porter (1993a), 120-21, (2004), 261-62 for Esarhaddon's deliberate re-interpretation of his father's decree for the destruction of Babylon.

[13] Llewellyn-Jones and Robson (2010), 57.

[14] Llewellyn-Jones and Robson (2010), 64. The issues surrounding the use of oral traditions as a source of history are extensively discussed in relation to Homeric epic. Many of the most significant issues arising in that study are avoided to some degree in the Near East by the continuous written tradition that also existed. Here, it will suffice to note the widely held position that oral tradition is unable to transcend the society in which it exists, but must continuously be adapted, Davies (1992), 215. Davies does however note at 214 that the appearance of a culture hero such as Heracles or Cyrus can cause a distortion in oral tradition. Drews (1974), 387-393 has suggested that oral tradition may allow the stories of one existing culture hero to be transferred to another who emerges. On the one hand this supports the views of Davies by placing stories and events in a context more relevant to the audience, but on the other it allows significant elements of truly ancient history to become attached to the merely distant past and thereby survive into the present.

[15] Oakley (2006), 11, 38. Oakley notes that we should be careful not to retroject the highly developed Neo-Assyrian ideology back on to the Sumerian state.

Sumerian ceased to exist as a spoken language. The title is even used of Cyrus on the Cyrus Cylinder: *a-na-ku* ᵐ*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL *kiš-šat* LUGAL GAL LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL TIN.TIR KI LUGAL KUR *šu-me-ri ù ak-ka-di-i* LUGAL *kib-ra-a-ti er-bé-et-ti*.[16] Furthermore, the existence of royal archives preserving these traditions in Assyria is beyond doubt. Libraries were certainly established by Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. One of the main concerns for these kings was obtaining records of archaic rituals the king might be called upon to perform in future.[17] Assyrian kings actively engaged in the creation of historiography and the dissemination of royal texts throughout the empire. These texts not only preserved historical events from the Assyrian king's perspective, but were also a key feature in the relationship between the king and the elite. Establishing and maintaining historiographical monuments of the king is an example of what Parker describes as "investing authority" in the person of the king by the elites.[18] The Assyrian King List (AKL) provides a clear example of record keeping and the possible manipulation of those records to support dynastic legitimacy.[19] The AKL is reconstructed from a number of very similar king lists all of which are damaged. The most significant pieces are the Nassouhi Tablet (Assur King List A), SDAS king list and the Khorsabad king list.[20] The Khorsabad list ends with a subscript providing the name of the scribe, where his record came from, where this copy was made and date on which it was copied.[21] Furthermore, a Middle Assyrian bilingual tablet (BM 98496) attributed to king Tukulti-Ninurta I alludes to the AKL and was discovered in the library of Assurbanipal.[22] The existence of a tablet in a neo-Assyrian royal library, composed in the Middle Assyrian period, referring to a text originating in the Old Assyrian period and composed in Sumerian would seem to prove beyond doubt the existence of an archival tradition.

The case of Shamshi-Adad I as recorded in the AKL in particular has been the subject of debate regarding the potential manipulation of these records. The confusion relating to Shamshi-Adad I derives from the changes in method of listing the kings up to Shamshi-Adad

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[16] Finkel (2013b), 131.

[17] Olmstead (1923), 490. Ataç (2010), 154-58 discusses the importance of recorded history and the resulting prominence of scribes in the ancient Near East and gives the example of Plato, *Timaeus* 22B to demonstrate the awareness of Near Eastern appreciation of history even in the ancient world. Diod. Sic. 2.32.4 records the claim of Ctesias to have used the Persian royal archives in researching his *Persica*.

[18] Parker (2011), 366. See Tadmor (1997) on the development of Assyrian Royal Inscriptions from the eleventh century B.C.

[19] Pritchard (2011), 259-64 = *ANET* 564-66.

[20] Reade (2001), 4. Poebel (1942); Gelb (1954). Lambert (1976), 86-88 follows Gelb in numbering Assyrian kings by identifying Apiašal of the kings in tents and kings who are ancestors as the same person. Contrary to Gelb however suggests that Assyrians did not apply a critical approach to the numbering of their king lists, but inconsistencies are the result of corruption in the texts used by Assyrian copyists.

[21] Pritchard (2011), 63-64 = *ANET* 566; Poebel (1942), 250. The copy was made by the scribe Kandalanu in the city of Arbela in the seventh official year of Tiglath-Pileser III from an original list at Aššur.

[22] Lambert (1976).

and the fact that he is the first king provided with an explanatory text of his deeds.[23] In the first publication of the Khorsabad list, Poebel rejected any possibility that the Ilu-kabkabi, father of Shamsi-Adad, was the same figure mentioned amongst the kings who are ancestors.[24] Subsequently however it has been persuasively argued that Shamshi-Adad invented a genealogical connection between himself and the dynasty he had just overthrown through the figure of Ilu-kabkabi.[25] Shamshi-Adad is indeed quite unusual in that he is the first king of Assyria to use the title *ša kiš-šá-ti* "king of the universe" derived from Babylonia, and also identifies Enlil as Aššur, suggesting cultural influences of Babylon.[26]

Neo-Assyrians were evidently conscious of the long traditions they were building on and deliberately made use of ancient history.[27] This was especially true of the visual record available to neo-Assyrian kings.[28] A significant feature of this record was imagery of the royal hunt. The hunt was itself one of the institutions of court society ubiquitous throughout the Near East over the course of millennia, participation in which contributed to the sense of timeless royal tradition.[29] This record remained available to subsequent imperial powers looking to legitimate their rule by appealing to the past. It is not clear how much of the neo-Assyrian public monuments survived, but a memory of them clearly persisted to influence the Achaemenids.[30] The survival of the palaces, the centres of royal Assyrian visual ideology, is uncertain. Xenophon, in the late fifth century B.C. observed the still substantial and preserved ruins of Nimrud and Nineveh, but attributes the cities to the Medes rather than the Assyrians.[31] Ctesias likewise knew of the Assyrians, but despite considering the first of the

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[23] Poebel (1942), 268-69 considers the change on arrangement a result of the sources used by the scribe to compile the list consisting of early royal genealogies which are constructed in the same style.

[24] Poebel (1942) suggests that correspondence from Mari indicates that Shamsi-Adad's father had been a ruler in his own right, presumably of the first town captured by Shamshi-Adad, Ekallate.

[25] Saggs (1984), 24-26. Parker (2011), 366-67 follows Poebel in identifying kings who are ancestors as an early version of the king list, but considers it to be a list deliberately inserted by Shamshi-Adad to claim legitimacy and notes the different approach adopted by Shamshi-Adad to two Neo-Assyrian usurpers of the throne, Tiglath-Pileser III who conspicuously omit genealogical connections that would legitimise their rule; similarly, Kuhrt (1995), 85-86, 349. Lambert (1976), 89 notes with interest that this usurpation appears to have been accepted without significant criticism, whereas the monarch who followed the dynasty of Shamshi-Adad is treated negatively in the AKL, "Ashur-dugul, the son of a nobody, without right to the throne; he ruled as king for six years".

[26] *ARI* I, 18-20, §123, 125, 126. Olmstead (1923), 28 uses this to suggest Shamshi-Adad was not even Assyrian.

[27] Larsen (1979), 91.

[28] Reade (1979), 331.

[29] Allsen (2006), 274.

[30] Olmstead (1923), 497-98 examines the accounts of Nineveh and concludes the north-west palace of Assurbanipal was in a good state of preservation until the mid-nineteenth century A.D. For the Assyrian influence upon the Achaemenid visual tradition see Root (1979).

[31] Xen. *Anab.* 3.4.7-12. This is all the more peculiar since Xenophon was clearly aware of the existence of Assyria, whose king is the nemesis of Cyrus in the *Cyropaedia*.

great kings in Asia to be the Assyrian Ninus,[32] the final analysis of Assyrian kings is as "tyrants who were bereft of manly virtue and courage, cowardly, mollycoddled, and running wild."[33] The precise impact of the sculptural programs of the Assyrian kings will be discussed below, but there is no evidence within the palace reliefs to justify such a description. The artwork alone is intended to project an image of the king's astonishing strength and courage within an exclusively male environment.[34] Anybody able to view these would also see the accompanying inscriptions which explicitly repeat the message of unassailable, superhuman royal strength. The Standard Inscription of Assurnasirpal, for example, was repeated many times throughout his north-west palace at Nimrud and succinctly records his titles, military achievements, the foundation of the palace and his close relationship with the gods.[35]

1.1. The Significance of the Assyrian Royal Hunt

1.1.1. Conquering Chaos: hunting as part of royal ideology

In the ancient Near East, the sacred cannot be distinguished from kingship. The most obvious example of this is pharaonic Egypt, but the position of the Assyrian king was also essentially sacred.[36] The earliest reliably dated mention of the city of Aššur, from which the Assyrian empire originated, predates the Akkadian period. The city is referred to as ᵈA-šur^ki, with the dingir prior to Aššur indicating the existence of the god by this time.[37] The synonymous identification of city and deity may be a result of the city developing from a sanctuary of the god. As a result, the name Aššur may refer to the god, the city or the territory of the state. This direct association between the god and the city was reflected in the ideological position of the human monarch as viceroy or priest of Aššur.[38] Indeed, with the exception of Shamshi-Adad I discussed above, the first Assyrian monarch to include the titles "king of Assyria" and

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[32] Ctesias F1b, ἐγχώριοι βασιλεῖς. Lanfranchi (2010), 48-49 suggests the phrase is more accurately translated as in Asia there were "kings ruling over his own (local) country" rather than the "native kings in Asia" as found in Llewellyn-Jones and Robson (2010). Either translation is acceptable, but Lanfranchi more accurately accounts for the heterogeneous nature of Mesopotamia and the Near East.
[33] Ctesias F1oα = Eusebius, *Chron.* P.29, 10-26 Karst.
[34] Lanfranchi (2010), 40.
[35] *ARA* I, 485-89. Barnett (1975), 2-3 prefers a translation of *sikkat karri* as "bolts" rather than Luckenbill's "clothes pegs." *CAD* 14, *s.v. sikkatu*: "driving in, setting in place".
[36] Olmstead (1923), 598-601 views Neo-Assyrian empire as seated somewhere between traditional Mesopotamian king-godship and later Hellenistic divine rulers.
[37] Poebel (1942), 258-60, cf. *ARA* I, §20.
[38] Saggs (1984), 44-48, 147-48; Kuhrt (1995), 84. For examples of the use of viceroy: *ARA* I, §24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 41, 47.1-3, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 60, 61, 73, 547; *ARA* II, §133. Priest: *ARA* I, §59, 73, 138, 483, 486, 515, 532, 536, 545, 556, 596, 616, 689, 709; *ARA* II, §226, 668.

"great king" in his royal style was Assur-uballit in correspondence with the Egyptian pharaoh.[39] In effect the true king of the city and its territory was the god. The human king, as caretaker of the god's mortal realm, therefore had a duty to reflect the cosmic order of heaven on earth.[40] This duty is reflected in the cosmic epithets adopted by Assyrian kings such as king of the universe and king of the four quarters.[41]

Ancient Mesopotamia was an incredibly dangerous place where the forces of nature and of other humans represented a continuous threat to each individual society. Oakley describes the condition of archaic man as "encompassed by darkness, mystery and a natural world he apprehended."[42] In this dark and dangerous world the royal hunt became more than an activity for producing food or for sport, but a sacred duty. The hunt, especially of large and dangerous beasts such as lions, became synonymous with both war and sacrifice as a means of establishing cosmic harmony on earth, giving rise to a conceptual nexus between war and hunting. The immediate danger posed by wild animals approaching human settlements is well-documented in the Old Babylonian period town of Mari. Several letters have been discovered which report the encroachment of lions:

> To [our] ˹lord speak˺! Your servants Hali-Hadun and Ka'alan (say), "for the city of Mari, the palace, the house of the gods, the prisons and our guards, all is well. Two lions crouched at the…of Abullatum [in] the early part of the night. The ˹cultivators˺ of Abullatum [and] troops from here and there ˹assembled˺, but they [could not] chase them off. We dispatched [   ]. These ˹Hana˺ killed [one lion. And one] ˹lion˺ was chased off. [Now], herewith we dispatch Zikri-Lim [of the division of] Napsi-Pi-El, who killed that lion to our lord.[43]

Dalley provides translations of two further letters from Mari which likewise demonstrate the arrival of lions within the boundaries of a town. These letters have on a number of occasions been cited in support of an enduring royal prerogative for the slaying of lions in the Near

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[39] *EA* 15 and 16. Assur-uballit also identifies himself on the international stage with the status of brother to the Egyptian king. In conquered territories Assyrian kings would adopt local titles and rituals of kingship to reconcile new subjects to Assyrian rule. Esarhaddon provides an excellent example: Porter (1993a), 120-21, (2004), 259-274; *ARA* II The Black Stone (BM 91027): §641-46; BM 78223: §648-59; Olmstead (1923), 357.

[40] The establishment of cosmic and earthly order by Marduk from the remains of primordial Tiamat and Kingu is recounted in the Akkadian creation epic *Enuma eliš, ANET* 60-72.

[41] Olmstead (1923), 52; L'Orange (1982), 13; Allsen (2006), 162. "King of the universe," *ša kiš-šá-ti*. "King of the four quarters (all the peoples)," *šar ki-ib-rā-tim ar-ba-im*.

[42] Oakley (2006), 15-16. See also Saggs (1984), 64, 263; Kuhrt (1995), 359-60; Allsen (2006), 174; 2 Kings 17:24-28.

[43] Heimpel (2003), 26 106, 217-18. It is unclear if the lions crouched at the fence or at the porch/gates of the town, cf. Heimpel (1996), 18.

East.[44] Whilst the letters clearly highlight the danger posed to human settlements by lions and the importance the king attached to killing them, when viewed alongside the letter of Hali-Hadun and Ka'alan who sent Zikri-Lim to the palace for a reward after he killed a lion it is clear that slaying them was not, at least not always, a royal prerogative.

> Speak to my lord, thus Yaqqim-Addu your servant. I wrote to my lord before saying: 'a lion has been caught on a roof in Bit-Akkaka. My lord should write to say whether that lion should stay on the roof until he comes or whether I should send it to my lord.' My lord's answering letter was delayed, and the lion had been on the roof for five days; they threw a dog and a pig to it, but it refused to eat. I was afraid that the lion might turn nasty so I put it into a wooden cage and put it on a boat, and sent it to my lord.

And,

> A lioness was captured on a roof in Bit-Akkaka during the night, and in the morning I was told, so I went and spent the whole day in Bit-Akkaku so that they would not kill that lion, for I said to myself: 'I may be able to get it to my lord alive.' I gave it [a dog?] and a pig to eat, but it left them alone, and would not eat them. I sent off to the town of Bidaha to fetch a cage, but on the next day, before the cage reached me, the lion died. I had a look at that lioness: she was old and ill. My lord may think: 'they actually killed that lion!' But I swear by the taboo of my lord that nobody touched that lion! Now, since that lion is dead, I have had it skinned and given to be tanned. The lion really was old and it died of exhaustion.[45]

The continued threat posed by lions to humans some centuries later was represented in an exquisitely carved and decorated ivory from the well in Room NN of Assurnasirpal's north-west palace at Nimrud (figure 1). This shows a lioness mauling a man, often described as African, against a background of lotus and papyrus flowers. The figures are decorated with gold leaf, lapis lazuli and carnelian on a plaque just 10cm high and wide.[46] The location of the scene in an environment of exotic flowers, not to mention the exotic appearance of the human figure, taken together with the west semitic script and style of carving, suggests Phoenician origin. Ataç notes the limited use of the human body in neo-Assyrian art with little or no

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[44] Dalley (1989), 165. They were also cited in this regard by Llewellyn-Jones in his paper, *Xerxes' Cabinet of Curiosities – exotic animals and royal authority in Achaemenid Iran*, delivered to the British Institute of Persian Studies on 18 June 2014. We will return to the issue of a royal prerogative for the slaying of lions in Chapter 2, but for now it may be noted that evidence for such a prerogative is sparse and only really suggested in Ctesias F14 who records an incident in the Achaemenid period between Megabyzus and Artaxerxes.
[45] Dalley (1989), 165.
[46] Discovered in 1952 at a depth of around 20m within the well as part of a pair along with a number of other ivory objects. See Mallowan (1953), 21-22, (1966), I, 139-44, figs, 81-82, 84; Barnett (1975), 190.

nudity and the use of exposed flesh to indicate liminality. This can indicate a state of transition such as entry into the precincts of the palace or from life to death or, can indicate that an individual belongs in a liminal environment, that they are from the periphery of the empire or are foreign.[47] The human figure in the plaque corresponds to this interpretation in a number of ways. He appears to be a foreigner, he has moved from the safe, urban environment of the city into the wilderness as indicated by the background foliage, and is transferring from the living to the dead. This small plaque brought to the palace from the periphery of the empire therefore serves as a visual reminder of the dangers on the edge of human communities.

Figure 1. BM 127412 © Trustees of the British Museum.
Ivory panel of irregular shape carved with a scene of a lioness attacking an African in a thicket of lotus and papyrus. Inlaid with lapis and carnelian, details in gold leaf.

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[47] Atac (2010), 32, 44-45.

The king's role in protecting society from these dangers on the edge of society and establishing order is reflected in the traditional royal title of *re'û*, "shepherd."[48] The shepherd exists on the periphery of society and defends the flocks, which are themselves a tangible feature of civilisation and human domination over the natural world, from wild animals, an obvious parallel with the hunt.[49] The heroic and martial qualities of the king as shepherd may be seen in the Old Babylonian Version of the Epic of Gilgamesh where the hero Enkidu, after being introduced to civilised society, undertakes the roles of warrior and shepherd.[50] Enkidu's dual roles also establish the practical and ideological connections between war and the royal hunt.[51] The wild beasts which threaten the orderly maintenance of society are viewed in exactly the same way as human and supernatural enemies. It has already been seen that *Enuma eliš* recounts the slaying of the primordial serpent, Tiamat, the personification of chaos.[52] The association of lions with this chaos is evident from the first children born to Tiamat, Lahmu and Lahamu, who are distinctly leonine and the army she gathers which includes dragons, lions and lion-demons.[53] This results in the very similar treatment and regular juxtaposition of scenes depicting war and the hunt in neo-Assyrian palace art (see figures 2 and 3).

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[48] Examples of *re'u*: *ARA* I, §118, 133, 163, 180, 193, 218, 256, 481, 497, 515, 714, 739; *ARA* II, §133, 137, 153, 233, 256, 344, 407, 442, 648, 668. The rule of Shamash described as shepherding *ARA* II, §105; Olmstead (1923), 609. The continued danger of lions and the need for the king to engage them in the reign of Assurbanipal *ARA* II, §935.

[49] Dick (2006), 247-48. Griffin (1992), 28 identifies a tradition of Homeric heroes as shepherds and their parallels with the royal hunt by virtue of their position in the wilderness defending flocks from wild animals. From the Near East the most famous example is the Biblical David: 1 Samuel 16:11, 18-19; 17:15, 20, 28, 34-37. The king as shepherd may be observed in the titles of Sennacherib although this is often translated as "wise ruler," see Oriental Institute prism as translated in Luckenbill (1924), 22.

[50] Dalley (2008), Pennsylvania Tablet col. iii, pp.138-39 n.8, 152 the word used for warrior in this instance is *mutu*, which has the meaning of man, husband or warrior. Dalley notes it is specifically different to the term *qarrādu*, meaning hero (the term used for Assurbanipal's hunting exploits at n.59 below). This must refer to the role Enkidu plays in relation to the king, Gilgamesh, since Ataç (2010), 136 observes his name is preceded by the divine determinative ᵈEN.KI.DÙ.

[51] Albenda (1972), 178; Seyer (2007), 39-41 highlighting the king's position as unmatched protector of his people and the various forces he was forced to combat; Russel (1998), 670-71, 711; Allsen (2006), 21, 100. Ataç (2010), 92 notes the martial associations of the lion in particular being demonstrated by the repeated occurrence of this animal as a decorative element for swords in depictions of the king and the elite. The attributes of a lion are applied to the king in battle, for example Sennacherib described himself as raging lion, Luckenbill (1924), Oriental Institute Prism col. v. §67; Dick (2006), 259-60 cf. Gerardi (1988), 14 identifies different forms used for the epigraphs of Assurbanipal's hunting reliefs compared with those used for historical narrative reliefs.

[52] *ANET*, 60-72; cf. n.40 above. Tiamat as personification of chaos: Olmstead (1923), 102; Dick (2006), 252-54 suggests the lion-hunt mimicked Ninurta's defeat of Anzu who had stolen the gods' Tablet of Destinies and that the king embodied Ninurta. Anzu myth SBV Dalley (2008), 205-221.

[53] Lewis (1996) addresses a potentially older version of the creation epic concerning the god Tishpak. Tishpak is ordered to slay *mušhuššu*, a composite creature of serpentine and leonine parts which is at times referred to simply as *labbu*, the Akkadian word for lion.

Figure 2. BM 124540 ©Trustees of the British Museum. North-west Palace at Nimrud, Room B panel 11 (upper register). Assurnasirpal attacking enemy archers in his chariot with the assistance of a god in winged disk.

Figure 3. BM 124534 ©Trustees of the British Museum. North-west palace at Nimrud, Room B panel 19 (upper register). Assurnasirpal lion hunt.

The ideology of the Assyrian kings elevated their actions into the sphere of heroic epic, expressing royal omnipotence in terms of supreme prowess, valour and strength.[54] In the Middle Assyrian period this even led to royal historiography becoming synthesised with poetic forms.[55] These heroic qualities were especially displayed in war and the hunt. Both activities were undertaken by leaving civilisation, entering a liminal zone and establishing order through force.[56] In both cases the king embodied the will of Aššur and carried out the

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[54] Tadmor (1997), 326.
[55] Ataç (2010), 14.
[56] Liverani (1979), 306-09.

supreme god's will.[57] The bas-reliefs of Assurbanipal at the north-west palace of Nineveh represent the peak of Assyrian artistic expression of this royal ideology. The surviving decorative elements clearly prove the connections between hunting, war and the divine. Of the thirteen rooms where the subject of reliefs can be identified, four are carved with hunting reliefs (A, C, R and S), eight decorated with military narratives and one (S[1]) decorated with both.[58]

The epigraphic texts accompanying the hunt reliefs further highlight the ideological purpose of the hunt by presenting it as a duty imposed by the gods.

> *a-na-ku* ^mAN.ŠÁR-DÙ-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AN.ŠÁR.KI *šá*
> AN.ŠÁR LUGAL DINGIR. ˹ MEŠ ˺ ^d15 ˹ *be-let* MÈ *ši-mat qar-ra-*
> *du-ti i-ši-mu* x [ ]
> ^dIGI.DU *a-lik maḫ-ri ba -ʾ -ú-ri ša* EDIN *sal-ṭiš ú-še-* ˹ *piš* ˺ *-an-ni ki-i*
> *mul-ta-ʾu-ti a sal nap* [ ]
> *ú-ṣi ina* EDIN *áš-ri rap-ši la-ab-bi na-ad-*[*ru-u*]*-ti i-lit-ti ḫur-šá-a-ni*
> ḪUŠ.MEŠ *it-bu-*[ ]
> *il-mu-u* GIŠ.GIGIR *ru-kub* LUGAL-*ti-ya* ˹ *ina qí-bit* AN. ŠÁR *u*
> ^d ˹ [15] DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*ya* x *it* x *ri* x [ ]
> [*t*]*i ni-ri-ya* x [ ] *el-lat* UR.MAḪ.MEŠ-*šú-a-tu-*[*nu*] ˹*ú-par-*
> *re*˺*-e* [ ]

> I Assurbanipal, king of the world, King of Assyria,
> Assur, king of the gods, and Ishtar, lady of battle, decreed a heroic
> destiny (for me)…
> Nergal, who goes in front, caused me to hunt nobly upon the plain
> for pleasure…
> I went out to the plain, a wide expanse, raging lions, fierce offspring
> of the mountains attacked…
> They surrounded the chariot, my kingly vehicle, at the command of Assur
> the great gods, my lords…
> … my yoke… those lions I scattered…[59]

> I Assurbanipal, king of the world, King of Assyria, for my great sport an angry lion of the plain from a cage
> they brought out. On foot, with an arrow x times I pie[rced him] (but) he did not die.
> At the command of Nergal, king of the plain, who granted me strength and manliness,
> afterwards, with the iron dagger from my belt, I stabbed him (and) he died.[60]

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[57] Tadmor (1997), 327 who adds that this makes every conflict a "holy war", a point also noted by Luckenbill (1924), 5 discussing the differences in treatment afforded to enemies as opposed to rebels who are literally termed "sinners" against Aššur; cf. Ataç (2010), 40; The duty to protect the realm from the forces of chaos as represented by lions is also visualised upon the Assyrian royal seal: Reade (1979), 332; Sachs (1953), 167.
[58] Gerardi (1988), 3.
[59] Room S[1] slabs A-B north-west palace at Nineveh eight-line inscription. Akkadian text from Gerardi (1988), 25-26. Translations can be found at *ARA* II, 1025 and Gerardi (1988), 15, 26 with slight editions by the author.
[60] Akkadian texts and translations of this four-line inscription and other epigraphs accompanying lion hunt reliefs of Assurbanipal's north-west palace to be found at Gerardi (1988), 26-28 and *ARA* II, 1020-24.

It is important to observe the particular significance of the lion as the pre-eminent prey of the royal hunt established by this conceptual nexus and how such pre-eminence was reflected in the images and practices of lions being killed by the Assyrian king. The Assyrian kings recorded their exploits in hunting a variety of animals, whether for slaughter or capture. The broken obelisk for example records the king slaying wild bulls, elephants, lions, panthers, wild asses, boar, gazelles and jackals, but also capturing young wild oxen, ibexes, mountain goats, hinds and stags which he proceeded to breed that they might be displayed in herds to his subjects.[61] This king appears to specifically link both the slaughter and capture of animals with his successful military campaigns and expansion of his domains. The ability of the king to exert control in his contacts with beasts, whether killing them on the hunt or capturing them for an imperial menagerie, was pesented as a suppression of the chaos represented by those animals.[62] It is in this context that the killing of lions, distinguished by their size, ferocity and strength in the danger they posed to humans, became intimately associated with kingship across the Near East and iconography recalling such royal control as the master of animals was recognised as a symbol of authority.[63]

Several recent studies have argued that the significance of this ideological royal control over nature means we should reassess many of the Assyrian palatial scenes of the king engaging lions not as hunts but as displays of ritualised violence against lions.[64] Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones in particular have considered the depictions of lion slaughter primarily to represent a tightly controlled ritualised killing encrusted with ceremonial that validated the king's right to rule.[65] Such a view might compel this thesis to reconsider its own approach to the royal hunt by distinguishing genuine hunting from ritual slaughter. However, although the texts of Assurbanipal above clearly refer to both hunting on the open plain and a more tightly controlled royal slaughter of a lion which had previously been captured, the terms in which he describes the events are almost identical. Both events are recorded as being undertaken specifically in his role as king of Assyria, both are conducted as a spectacle for his great sport or pleasure and the slaying of the animals is at the command of a god.[66] To actively

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[61] Broken Obelisk, BM 118898. Inscription col. IV: *ARA* I §391-3. The identity of the king is uncertain. Luckenbill considered it an amalgam, with the military and hunting exploits recording the deeds of Tiglath-Pileser I, but was completed and set up by Adad-Nirari II. More recently scholarship has come to the opinion that the text refers to Ashur-bel-kala; cf. Curtis (2007), 53; Ornan (2007), 62.

[62] Llewellyn-Jones (2017), 318.

[63] Arnold and Counts (2010), 16; Garrison (2010b), 151-52; Llewellyn-Jones (2017), 318; Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 322.

[64] See for example Garrison (2010b), 163; Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 327.

[65] Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 327, 750.

[66] The significance of the terms translated as "for pleasure" or "for my great sport" is discussed at section 1.4 below.

differentiate these two forms of royal lion slaughter therefore seems quite unnecessary. The most important feature of all such events, whether conducted in the field or in what was effectively an arena, was the symbolic restoration of order by the king's act of killing a lion(s). Though ritualised and stylised, the slaughter of previously captured lions was clearly intended to evoke the same relationship between the king and the gods as a traditional hunt. As a result, although we might describe the controlled event as a pseudo-hunt it remained fundamentally and ideologically analogous to a hunt.

Albenda has proposed that this association of king and Aššur was deliberately woven into the earlier visual scheme of Assurnasirpal II's palace at Nimrud. She observes a central motif in the relief of Assurnasirpal hunting lions from his chariot (figure 3) which reduces the image of the king to a form identical to the deity emerging from a winged disk.[67] The meaning of the lion hunt in this schematic both exalts the king's prowess and asserts the divine power behind his success. This proposed motif of identification of the image of the king hunting with the image of the god can be developed further.[68] The relief should also be considered within the broader scheme of the throne room. This image forms the upper register of panel 19 and is at the centre of three consecutive images of the king which are framed by a winged genius at panel 16 and a sacred tree and winged genius at panels 21-22.[69] Panel 19 is at the centre of this scheme, placed directly opposite monumental Gate E into the throne room and is next to the throne itself.

The upper register to the left (panel 20) is a similar image of the king hunting from his chariot, this time a wild bull lies slain beneath the galloping horses and the cab is driven alongside another fleeing beast as the king seizes it by the horn with one hand and dispatches it with a knife strike to the back of the neck. To the right (panels 18-17) are two scenes of Assyrians taking a city. The king is only present in these battle scenes in panel 18 directly juxtaposed with the image of the lion hunt. Panels 19 and 20 must be "read" vertically from upper to lower register. In each case the lower register depicts the king offering a libation over the bodies of the animals slain above.[70] The lower registers of both panels 18 and 17 are to be read as a single scene of prisoners and booty being presented to the king. Such transitions in

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[67] Albenda (1972), 175-78. The lions may equally be the wild beasts of the plain, or any other foe the king should engage. See O'Connor (1983), 220 and Kuhrt (1995), 215 for the origin of the winged disk motif in Egypt before becoming ubiquitous as a royal symbol throughout the Near East.

[68] Further development is intimated by Albenda, but her assessment focuses on this single panel.

[69] This analysis of the reliefs from the north-west palace at Nimrud follow the reconstruction of the building as found in Russel (1998) who in turn has followed Paley and Sobolewski (1987). Debate concerning the sacred tree motif will be assessed below.

[70] Ataç (2010), 18 observes subtle differences in treatment of the dead animals.

the design and reading of bas-reliefs are not unusual. A similar transition can be seen in the hunt reliefs of Assurbanipal's north-west palace at Nineveh Room S.[71]

The proposal of Albenda may seem to stretch the principles of objective interpretation.[72] The proposed geometric scheme which places the image of the king within a disk at the apex of a pyramid seems somewhat forced, especially when the panel is viewed independently of the scheme as a whole. Each of the two elements, disk and pyramid, can be constructed quite easily, but the two features do not marry perfectly as one would expect in an ideological scheme carefully constructed within the proposed geometric framework (figure 4). Albenda notes that the image does not seem to have been created for this location in the throne room at Nimrud, but the empty space to the right and possibly to the left before the slab was sawn to fit the relief composition, would not affect this scheme.[73] It might be considered that almost every representation of a man with a drawn bow would superficially resemble the divine figure emerging from a winged disk, however Albenda is correct in identifying the pyramidal arrangement of the scene as unique.

Figure 4. BM 124534. Photograph by the author, geometric schematic after Albenda (1972), 176-77.

Taken as a whole these panels demonstrate that, alongside the throne and the rest of the decorative scheme in the throne room, Albenda's suggestion certainly has merit. The pyramidal arrangement is more pronounced when observed above the lower register and the representation of the king framed within a circle occupies exactly the position above the king

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[71] Watanabe (2004), (2014), 347-61 and Bahrani (2004) separately discuss the sophisticated and varied methods of narrative representation in neo-Assyrian art.

[72] Skinner (1969), 6-7 on the dangers of the viewer introducing his own expectations of meaning and authorial intent. The viewer is therefore at risk of providing any text or image with an image that was never intended.

[73] Albenda (1972), 172-73.

offering a libation where we would expect to find the god in a winged disk (figure 5). This visualises the identification of the king with the god.[74] Furthermore, this king/god figure is directed towards the throne and the physical figure of the king. Assurnasirpal's north-west palace is aligned almost perfectly to the cardinal points of the compass and the throne room (Room B) runs along the east-west axis with the throne itself at the far eastern end. It has been suggested that these features reflect the role of the Assyrian royal palace as a physical model of the cosmos in accordance with the concept of rule over the four quarters, *šar ki-ib-rā-tim ar-ba-im*, and alluded to a position as sun-king.[75]
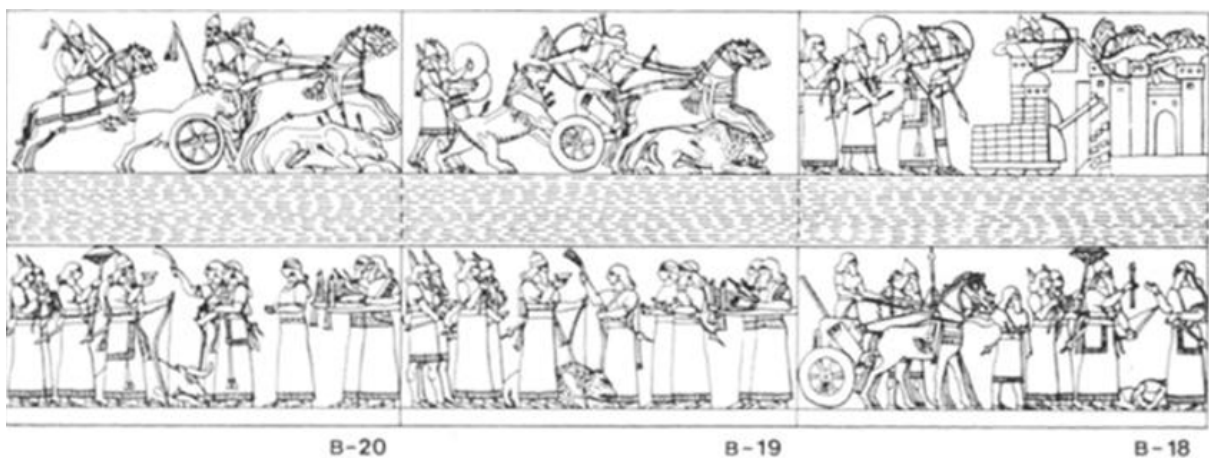
Figure 5. Russel (1998), 659 after J. Meuszynski, *Die Rekonstruktion der Reliefdarstellungen und ihrer Anordnung in Nordwestpalast von Kalhu (Nimrud)* (Baghdader Forschungen 2, Mainz 1981), pl.1.

This suggestion is very appealing but not without its problems. The role of royal palaces within the same Assyrian royal ideology as microcosms of the lands brought into cosmic order is examined below. In respect of architecture specifically dedicated to the gods, however, the documented temples at Nimrud are also aligned along an east-west axis and display a variety of entranceways.[76] The key objection to any potential analogue between palace/temple and god/king is that the altars or cult statues in these Nimrud temples appear to have consistently been placed at the western end of the nave to face and be approached from

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[74] Albenda (1972), 176. The identity of the god is far from certain. He is usually identified as either Aššur or Shamash due to their prominence in Assyrian royal ideology, but in the context of Assurnasirpal's palace at Nimrud, and especially over scenes of the hunt, the god Ninurta has reasonably been suggested.
[75] Ataç (2010), 123.
[76] Barnett (1975), 5-7; Mallowan (1966), III, maps 1 and 2. The temple of Nabu is slightly less well aligned to the cardinal points. The temple of Ninurta was directly adjacent to the north-west palace and featured a single line of access along the axis. The temple of Ishtar features the same orientation and east-west axis, but was entered through a gateway set in the south wall. In this respect it is therefore quite similar to the throne room of the palace.

the east.[77] This is the opposite arrangement of the throne room. To an Assyrian audience the alignment of the palace and throne room combined with the decorative scheme may have strongly alluded to the divine whilst maintaining a clear distinction between the status of god and king. The images of the king engaging in the hunt therefore appear to conform to our concept of a role portrait, defining not the individual occupying the throne, but the archetypal heroic king who upholds earthly and cosmic order on behalf and with the support of the god.

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[77] The term nave is here borrowed from Christian church architecture simply to describe the axis of the primary cult chamber.
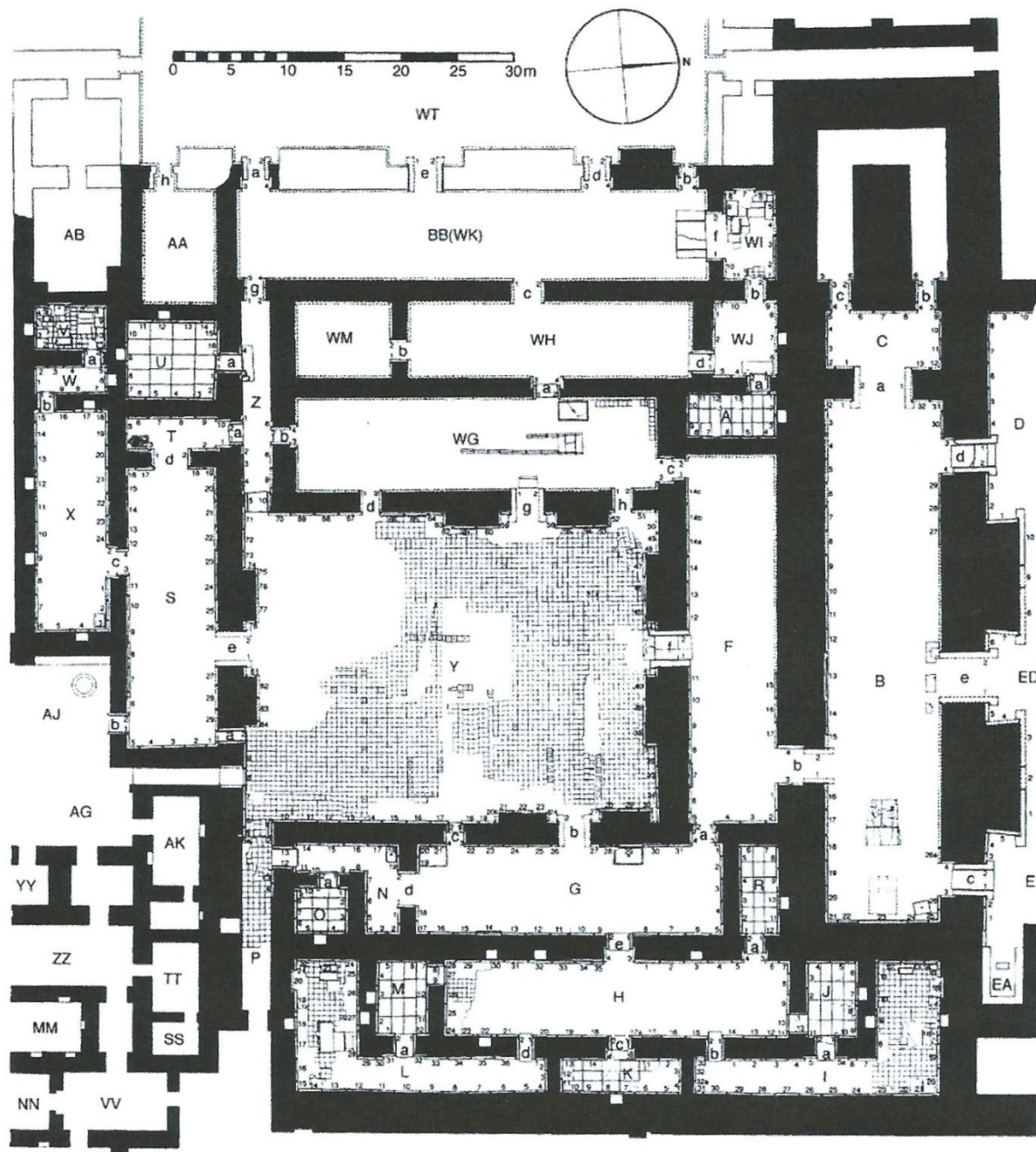
Figure 6. Plan of Assurnasirpal's north-west palace at Nimrud from Russel (1998), 657 after S.M. Paley and R.P. Sobolewski, *The Reconstruction of the Relief Representations and their Positions in the Northwest Palace at Kalhu (Nimrud)* II (Baghdader Forschungen 10, Mainz 1987) plan 2.

1.1.2. Evidence for the court in the Assyrian royal hunt

Regardless of apparent absolutism the royal court, as has been seen in the Introduction, is a social institution that negotiates the use of kingly power and communicates the basis of legitimate authority. Parker has applied these principles to his assessment of Neo-Assyrian kingship, defining all kingship as an imagined social construct in which authority is invested in the person of the king by an elite group.[78] This position of authority amongst the elite was then reinforced in the performance of kingship and by the artistic program of the palace. The audience for this visualisation of royal authority must have been limited to those with access to the palace, a group restricted to members of the elite who already accepted the superior position of the king.[79] As seen in the section above, the projected basis of Assyrian kingship was the relationship between the king and the god Aššur and the royal duty to reflect cosmic order over his earthly domains. As a result, the heroic king is presented as the overwhelmingly dominant figure in Assyrian art, receiving tribute from client states and supported by members of the court or divinities.[80] He also performed the establishment of order through participation in the hunt. The significance of this institution is evident by the extent to which it was represented in the palace.

Although Watanabe has argued that differences in seemingly symmetrical representations of Assurbanipal hunting from his chariot with courtiers are intended to identify different individuals who took part in specific historic royal hunts, it is not possible to identify any individual from their image alone in neo-Assyrian art.[81] The figure of the king is easily identifiable, but without accompanying inscriptions we would be unable to identify him by name.[82] These works of art, particularly representations of the king, within the palace were part of the communication between king and court displaying the basis on which the nobility invested royal authority.[83] The significance of the king's relationship with the god Aššur in

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[78] Parker (2011), 358-59; cf. Saggs (1984), 147 who describes all elements of the Assyrian state to be linked to the king and that in theory his power was absolute but in practice bound by taboos and traditions.

[79] Reade (1979), 338-39; Russel (1998), 663. This position is accepted by Parker (2011).

[80] Elias (1994), 474 shows that the king demonstrated his supreme status by being seen in the company of, and being loyally served by, members of the elite.

[81] Watanabe (2014), 362-63 discussing the north-west palace at Nineveh Room C.

[82] Ataç (2010), 90-91 highlights the problem of even identifying the status of the individual often identified as crown-prince due to his similar attire to the king. It has even been suggested that in some cases the king represented may not be the living one, but his father and grandfather who are mentioned in accompanying inscriptions, Russel (1998), 711. The images of the king in Neo-Assyrian art are better considered as role portraits as discussed by Stewart (1993), 64-66.

[83] Winter (1993), 35-39. Postgate (1992) summarises the ideological structure of the Assyrian empire as being composed of two distinct parts, "land of Aššur" and lands under the "yoke of Aššur." The palace acts as the centre of the empire by appointing governors to annexed territory and asserting the line of communication and

establishing and maintaining order may explain the uniform and unidentifiable depictions of courtiers in image of the royal hunt; in this context they are mere supporting characters to the king. The images of Assyrian royal hunting may hint at the broader functions of the hunt as an extramural court by their representation of courtiers supporting the king, but in themselves they are primarily dedicated to representing the symbolic role of the monarch.

1.2. Fertility and Prosperity

The royal lion hunt was only a part of the Assyrian image of kingship that sought to express divinely mandated order upheld by the monarch. The other side of the royal image relates to fertility and prosperity and was similarly projected by the Assyrian kings. This aspect of royal ideology became so prominent that a topos developed of the king as gardener.[84] Unlike Greek accounts of the Persian kings we do not have surviving records of the Assyrian kings personally acting as gardeners, but their contribution to abundance and plenty was an image more widely, and consistently, disseminated even than that of the lion hunt. Unlike the representations of the royal hunt within the palace, royal waterworks and gardens were clearly visible to a wide audience across the kingdom.[85] Sennacherib celebrated the construction of a new canal, and the prosperity it brought, at its source at Bavian:

> …At that time I greatly enlarged the site of Nineveh, it's wall and the outer wall therefore which had not
>
> existed before, I built anew, and raised mountain high. Its fields, which through lack of water had fallen into ruin, and
>
> came to look like pitch (?), so that its people did not have any water for watering, but turned their eyes heaven-ward for showers of rain –(these fields)
>
> I watered, and from the villages of Masiti, Banbakabna, Shapparishu, Kar-Shamash-nâsir, Kar-nûri, Rimusa,
>
> Hatá, Dalain, Resh-eni, Sulu, Dur-[Ishtar], Shibaniba, Isparirra,

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cultural influences between Assyria and client-kings who must provide tribute. Lumsden (2001), 34 highlights the increasing importance of the palace itself, as the location of the king, to elite promotion. This function of the palace as the centre of government and administration by members of the elite must support these assessments of a limited, and targeted, audience for palace imagery.

[84] Drews (1974), 390 discusses the traditions of Sargon of Akkad and Cyrus the Great working as gardeners. This concept of the royal gardener will be seen to have survived into the Persian period: Xen. *Oec*. 4.18-21; Curt. 4.1.15-26.

[85] Parker (2011), 374-75. Assyrian use of stone ashlar with regularly drafted margins for construction largely limited to water related structures such as the aqueduct from Bavian to Nineveh, Boardman (2000), 3.

Gingilinish, Nampagate, Tillu, Alumsusi, the waters which were above the town of Hadabiti, (through) eighteen canals which I dug,

I brought into the Khosr River. From the border of the town of Kisri, to the midst of Nineveh, I dug a canal and brought down

those waters therein. Sennacherib-Channel I called its name. and the surplus of those waters I led out throught the midst of Mt. Tas,

A difficult mountain on the border of Akkad. Formerly they called that canal… Now I, at the command of

Assur, the great lord, my lord, directed into it the waters from the right and left of the mountain

in whose sides are the… of Me—, Kuk—(and) Biturra, towns of the neighbourhood: with stone I walled that canal, and called its name Sennacherib-(Channel).

In addition to the waters from springs, and the waters which [I had earlier secured] by digging (canals), … I directed their course

to Nineveh, the great metropolis, my royal abode whose site since days of old, the kings my father had not enlarged,

and whose adornment they had not undertaken At this time I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, first among all princes, who from the rising sun

to the setting sun,… (with) waters from the canals which I had caused to be dug [supplied] Nineveh, together with its neighbourhood. Gardens, vineyards,

all kinds of products of all the mountains, the fruits of all lands

… I planted(?). setting free the waters where they did not reach the thirsty (field) [and reviving] its vegetation

damaged (by drought)… of all the orchards at the entrance … above (the city) and below (?)… from the midst of the town of Tarbisi,

to Nineveh, providing for all time water for the planting of corn and sesame…[86]

The Bavian Inscription also goes on to record some of the military victories of Sennacherib. It is clear that Sennacherib was keen to celebrate his role in irrigating the land and providing it with orchards and, especially, the products of all the lands. This was because gardens were statements of power over nature and the forces of chaos in much the same way as the royal hunt.[87] The king demonstrated his ability to command the forces of nature and bring order out

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[86] Luckenbill (1924), Bavian Inscriptions (H3) §5-23.
[87] Similar links between the gathering of exotic flora with victory and the reach of the king's power perhaps seen by Tuthmosis III's representation of military success against Kadesh with images of the flora and fauna of Palestine, Dodson (1995), 86.

of the wilderness. The forces of nature could also be controlled for destructive purposes as demonstrated by Sennacherib upon his final destruction of Babylon. In addition to devastating and burning the walls and temples, he claims to have dug canals through the city in order to flood it and destroy it completely "that in days to come the site of that city and temples and gods might not be remembered, I completely blotted it out with (floods) of water and made it like a meadow." This follows the sections of the Bavian Inscription above which proclaim the benefits provided by the king's control of nature. It is surely significant Sennacherib made the site of the city like a meadow, symbolically returning it from a state of order and prosperity into a wilderness.[88] Although a wide variety of gardens had existed in Mesopotamia since the Old Babylonian period, it was under the neo-Assyrian Sargonid dynasty that these became overt expressions of royal ideology by direct association of the "pleasure garden" with the palace.[89] Dalley has argued very clearly for a different ideological purpose behind the development of Mesopotamian gardens compared with the later ordered Persian gardens.[90] This will be considered below, however this view does not seem to be supported by the wider evidence regarding Persian *paradeisoi* which appear to be the culmination of various Near Eastern garden traditions.[91]

These gardens were intended to be pleasant and practical in addition to being ideological and were therefore the setting for entertainment and recreation.[92] Sargon records establishing a portico of Syrian style outside the gates of his new palace at Dur-Sharrukin called a *bīt-ḫilāni* and a naturalistic park modelled after Mt. Amanus in Syria.[93] The creation of parklands adjacent to the palace designed to recreate the landscape of Mt. Amanus in northern Syria was also undertaken by Sargon's successors. Sennacherib likewise constructed a *bīt-ḫilāni* for his

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[88] Luckenbill (1924), Bavian Inscriptions (H3) §43-54; *ARA* II, 340-341 cf. Zepheniah 2:13-15; Isiah 7:23-25. See Porter (1993a), 29 and Brinkman (1973), 90-94 for Sennacherib's conflicts with Babylon.
[89] Oppenheim (1965), 330-31; *CAD* 8, *kirimāḫu* as Sumerian loanword for pleasure garden first appearing in Standard Babylonian. Dalley (1993), 1-2 for varieties of garden with particular attention to courtyard gardens as discovered at Mari.
[90] Dalley (1993), 12.
[91] Allsen (2006), 34-36 on the etymology and tradition of the word *paradeisos* via NB *pardēsu* (*CAD* 12 possibly however an Iranian loanword), Elamite *bar-te-tash*, Median *paridaiza* and OP *paridaida*. In the reign of Sennacherib references appear to an *ambassu*, often interpreted as a game park by context, *CAD* 1 (2). Dick (2006), 255 identifies the lion hunts of Assurbanipal as taking place in the *ambassu*. *ARE* IV, 120, 146, 148, 151, 171, 192 for Egyptian examples from Dynasty XX.
[92] Wiseman (1983), 138-39 for the use of royal gardens as sources of timber pointing also to Nehemiah 2:8.
[93] *ARA* II, §73, 84 The Display Inscription. *CAD* 6 *ḫilānu*. *ARA* §83 Display Inscription of Salon XIV; generally identified as the type of building depicted in royal parks at BM 124939 and 124862. Wiseman (1983), 143. The term might not always refer to a separate building, but could be a suite or wing of the main palace of specific design with a portico, Oppenheim (1965), 331-32; Winter (1993), 34; Olmstead (1923), 277-78 asserts the style of architecture to be entirely new in Assyria and must have been borrowed directly and recently from Greeks in northern Syria or Cyprus. In addition to the *bīt-ḫilāni* from north Syria the introduction of orthostats as an architectural element decorated with relief sculpture likely derives from Syria/Anatolia in the reign of Assurnasirpal II Ataç (2010), 53; Saggs (1984), 234.

lordly pleasure and established a park "like unto Mt. Amanus, wherein were set out all kinds of herbs and fruit trees, trees as grow on the mountains and in Chaldea, I planted by its (the palace's) side."[94] The collection of many species of flora, much of it exotic, in the single location of gardens at the royal palace further justified such titles as king of the four quarters. The consistency with which the *bīt-ḫilāni* is described as Hittite means it should also be viewed as part of this ideological rule over all things. The scale of these parks adjacent to the palace was so great that the royal hunts took place within them, but as seen above, they also possessed their own ideological significance.

The significance of the royal gardens and parklands was directly linked to the ideology already identified as inherent to the royal hunt. This connection is clearly defined at the palace of Assurnasirpal II in which the king's role in ensuring fertility and prosperity with the aid of the gods is represented immediately behind the throne and juxtaposed with the three panels of hunting and battle discussed above.[95] No firm agreement has been reached regarding the precise meaning and significance of the sacred tree motif since no suggestion can be definitively proven on the basis of its own internal evidence.

The sacred tree is clearly an important component of the Assyrian royal ideology, repeated 190 times in numerous variations throughout the north-west palace of Assurnasirpal sometimes with, sometimes without attendants.[96] The definition of types and the resulting impact on analysis of royal ideology is quite subjective. Russel for example identifies six images of trees in the throne room (Room B) of which five are accompanied by no figures and one is accompanied by a single figure. This omits the scenes on slabs 13 and 23 where the tree is attended by four figures, presumably because it is the king in direct contact with the tree rather than genii.[97] There are three principle suggestions for the meaning of the image:

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[94] *ARA* II, §366 and 368. Also Esarhaddon *ARA* II, §698.

[95] Ataç (2010), 95 identifies this condensed group of representations of the king around the throne as expressing the conceptual heart of Assyrian kingship. At 95, 97, 126-29 suggests a dichotomy within Assyrian kingship of terrestrial and celestial elements represented by the lion and bull hunt scenes respectively and the opposed images of the king before the sacred tree in the throne room; also implied by Russel (1998), 686-87. That Assyrian kingship was concerned with establishing celestial order on earth by close association with the gods has been seen above, but these should not be considered two manifestly distinct aspects of kingship. Within the person of the king they become one and the same as all royal ctions were in effect sacerdotal. As Liverani (1979), 301 stated, while ruling in Assyria the king was inherently legitimate and this legitimacy was expressed in religious terms – divine approval did not cause legitimate rule, but was the form in which legitimacy was expressed. Saggs (1984), 148 describes the king as being "the shadow of a god," heir to both sacerdotal functions and secular power.

[96] Russel (1998), 689.

[97] Parpola (1993), 200-201 Appendix A gives some of the numerous variations of the sacred tree motif in glyptic art. On the debate regarding the significance of repetition see Porter (1993b), 133; Bahrani (2004), 116; and Ataç (2010), 125.

Figure 7. BM 1849, 0502.15 © Trustees of British Museum. North-west palace at Nimrud Room B Panel 23 immediately behind throne.

Porter has argued the tree represents a date palm and is a symbol of fertility. The pine-cone type object held by genii accompanying the tree is in fact the flower cluster of a male plant and the scene is therefore one of pollination. That it is divine genii who perform this act shows that it is pollination in the divine sphere as a gift from the gods to mankind. In two scenes from the throne room (figure 7) the king is placed between the genii and the tree to become the agent by which the divine blessings are given to mankind in a visual metaphor of his role as regent of Aššur.[98] The winged disk above the tree creates a direct visual link between god, king and the land.

Parpola, with particular reference to the two scenes in the throne room, has proposed a different meaning to the image in which the tree represents the divine world order established by the god in the winged disk through the person of the king.[99] As in Porter's suggestion this reflects the royal title, *iššaku*. The king could therefore stand in for the tree as he was himself the realisation of the divine world order on earth, or the tree could stand alone as a symbol of that order.[100] The tree therefore had a dual function in Assyrian art, symbolising the divine world order maintained by the king, but also projected upon the king to portray him as the

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[98] Porter (1993b). Identification as a date palm is the oldest interpretation of the stylised image of the tree and Porter states her intent to defend this identification in response to general rejection of this theory from the mid-twentieth century onwards.
[99] Parpola (1993), 167.
[100] Parpola (1993), pp.167-68; kingship the reference point for order of the cosmos Liverani (1979), p.312.

Perfect Man. This image of the king as an entity in the image of god and divine order therefore provided legitimation for Assyria's imperial power and the king's position as absolute ruler within it.[101]

Russel reviewed these theories of the sacred tree motif within Assurnasirpal's palace, noting the usual interpretation as a symbol of fertility, but identifying that although this suggestion was difficult to refute it was not fully supported by the evidence.[102] Russel favoured an interpretation proposed by B.P. Mallowan suggesting the tree was an apotropaic agency in its own right and was not the recipient of blessings or pollination, but accompanied by figures purifying and protecting the rooms in which they were carved.[103]

Each interpretation stresses the importance of the image, its prominence in the palace of Assurnasirpal and the religious dimension of the scene.[104] Russel rejects the suggestion of Porter on the grounds that the date palm makes no sense as a symbol of fertility and abundance in Assyria where the climate is not suitable for the cultivation of dates as a crop, preferring to introduce external evidence for palm fronds and offshoots as instruments of exorcism.[105] Porter acknowledges the difficulty in associating the date palm with agricultural fecundity in Assyria, but argues the motif may have been adapted from Babylonian art, where it was more relevant as a symbol of abundance, precisely because it was removed from immediate Assyrian experience making it more suited for a figural representation.[106]

The flaw in the arguments of both Parpola and Russel is the identity of the audience. Russel rejects Parpola's analysis of the image as an esoteric emblem of the Assyrian pantheon understood only by a small group of initiates. Russel's own argument, however, considers the placement of the images of the tree within the palace, but not the audience. Both rely upon a body of specialised knowledge completely separate from the images themselves in order to reach their conclusions. As seen above, the images in the throne room were clearly restricted to an elite audience, but not an exclusively Assyrian one.[107]

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[101] Cf. Winter (1993), 35-36 includes the use of the tree to stand in place of the king because maintenance of fertility in the land through the proper observance of ritual is a major function of kingship.
[102] Russel (1998), 687-88.
[103] Russel (1998), 691-92, 710 Following Mallowan (1983). The performative nature of Assyrian art is accepted by Bahrani (2004), 117-18.
[104] Parpola (1993), 163; Porter (1993b), 137-39; Russel (1998), 689.
[105] Russel (1998), 688-89, 691.
[106] Porter (1993b), 137-38.
[107] *ARA* II, §87; the ideology projected by the image must be one the artist expects the viewer to understand Howells (2003), 17-18; Sturken and Cartwright (2001), 45 images rarely speak to everyone universally, but are targeted to sets of viewers.

The possibility of two consciously intended interpretations for two audiences, one inner Assyrian circle and one outer group of provincial elites cannot be dismissed. This would conform to the model of the Assyrian empire presented by Postgate, the system of cultural diffusion suggested by Liverani, and Parker's analysis of Assyrian royal authority as a product of an inner and a provincial elite.[108] We should also be open to the potential induction of provincial elites into the inner elite and thus perfectly following Eco's model of two model readers as they gain the knowledge to interpret the images according to their new status (whilst retaining their semantic understanding of image and text). The existence of a subtle meaning which can be interpreted only by a select group should not obscure the primary visual message of the tree within the context of the royal palace. This means the sacred tree should be viewed as a symbol of fertility and prosperity granted by the gods through the agency of the king. It should be interpreted as a date palm because that is what it resembles. The difficulty in reconciling the lack of date palms in Assyria due to their death with their use as symbol of abundance must be explained. Porter's suggestion is not objectionable, but may overlook certain possibilities. The motif dates back at least to the Middle Assyrian period and, as stated by Porter, was borrowed from an existing Babylonian image.[109] By depicting a stylised, but recognisable date palm, exotic to Assyria but flourishing under the care of the king guided by the god, the intended message of fertility and abundance was visualised. The choice of date palm was not to remove it from human experience and thereby emphasise the pollination on the divine plane, but to demonstrate the extraordinary abundance made possible by the establishment of order under the king.

Further meaning was no doubt intended. It is surely not accidental that the sacred tree motif incorporates a foreign species of tree to symbolise the Assyrian world order. Foreign lands are therefore seen as being within the god's realm and the king's responsibility. Despite relying on external evidence which could only have been known to a few, Parpola's interpretation of the tree is therefore correct as an expansion of Porter's. The king is the embodiment of divinely ordained world order and the image does legitimate the rule of Assyria and the king's position as ruler.

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[108] Eco (1990), 54-55 suggests that texts and images create two model readers, one who observes and understands semantically what the text says, and one who appreciates the meaning that is to be "interpreted" from the text. cf. Skinner (1969), 6-7. Postgate (1992); Liverani (1979), 299; Parker (2011), 376. Some difficulty arises in identifying the audience and the origins of the artists who created the reliefs. The motifs are repeated in miniature as decoration on the garments depicted and might not have been carved by Assyrians, Canby (1971), 47.

[109] Parpola (1993), 163; Porter (1993b), 138.

1.3. Royal Foundations

The founding of royal palaces had much in common with the establishment of gardens as a symbol of bringing order to the land. Both were used to demonstrate the wealth of the king and the expanse of his kingdom by gathering as many specimens of plant and animal life into a microcosm of the empire itself.[110] This included the peoples of the empire. The foundation of Dur-Sharrukin by Sargon II highlights the significance of founding cities and palaces as part of the royal ideology. The name of the new city translates as Fort Sargon, placing the king at the very centre of the city's identity.[111]

The names of the gates and walls demonstrate the identical ideology behind the foundation of the city, the hunt and the establishment of gardens. The East gates were called "Shamash makes my might prevail" and "Adad establishes its abundance"; the North gates were "Bel establishes the foundation of my city" and "Belit increases plenty"; the gates facing West were "Anu prospers the work of my hands" and "Ishtar enriches His people"; the south gates were "Ea makes its springs flow abundantly" and "Belit-ilani spreads abroad his offspring."[112] The names of the walls, "Assur makes the years of the King, its builder, grow old and guard its troops," and "Urta establishes the foundation platform of his city for all time to come," similarly recall the blessings of the gods and the timeless nature of Assyrian kingship.[113]

The city was built by captives, included a naturalistic park and *bīt-ḫilāni* and was deliberately populated by peoples of the four regions of the world, all of different speech, all who were ruled by the light of the gods, and were unified within the city and instructed on how to be Assyrian.[114] As seen above, the palace was the centre of government and the state and was synonymous with the king himself.[115] The king embodied cosmic order on earth just as the city and palace were designed as representations of the earth over which he ruled. The palace was not simply a physical symbol of the kingdom, but also a working household which represented the prosperity of the royal family itself. This explains the importance of

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[110] Liverani (1979), 314; earthly reality to mirror cosmic reality Bedford (2009), 53; Saggs (1984), 63; Winter (1993), 34; Postgate (1992), 261 reflecting political order. Gardens as microcosm Kuhrt (2001), 82-83; Nielsen (2001), 167; Dalley (1984), 167 on the hunting and capturing of gazelles and the exchange of exotic animals as gifts amongst rulers.

[111] Sharrukin itself means "the legitimate king" therefore a direct translation would be Fort of the legitimate king.

[112] *ARA* II, §85.

[113] ibid.

[114] *ARA* II, §83-88; Bedford (2009), 56; According to Liverani (1979), 298-301, 304-05, 312-14 this was part of the model of assimilation by acculturation to Assyrian ideology. Cf. Olmstead (1923), 608 argues there was little Assyrian interest in promoting uniformity of language and custom.

[115] A feature also found in Egypt where the title of Pharaoh derives from *prʿꝫ*, the "great house" Dodson (1995), 7. The term for palace in Assyria is *ekallu* derived from Sumerian É.GAL and similarly translates as the "great house" *CAD* 4; Winter (1993), 27.

establishing a household to signal masculinity and maturity and the overt masculinity and virility present in images of the king within the palace.[116] Dalley translates a letter from Shamshi-Adad I to his apparently inept son, Yasmah-Addu, berating him for dithering over issues such as whether to support an official who is the subject of rumours and the appointment of appropriate officials to vacant posts asking, "Are you still a child? Have you no beard on your chin? Even in the prime of your life you haven't organised a proper household."[117] The running of the household was evidently considered identical to the running of the state. Similarly in the neo-Assyrian period, upon being named heir to the throne, Assurbanipal was supplied with the palace of his father and grandfather as a household of his own to demonstrate his maturity.[118]

1.4. Sport and Spectacle

The variety and scale of royal parks, architecture and hunts represent conspicuous consumption demonstrating the wealth and power of the king who is able to muster the resources of all the empire for display and, in the case of the hunt, to destroy exotica.[119] A similar role of conspicuous consumption of resources may be ascribed to royal feasting which can also be associated with the hunt. Conspicuous consumption and a diverse audience as a feature of the hunt, the construction and decoration of the palace and feasting is evident in the inscription known as the Banquet of Assurnasirpal.[120] This text describes the planting of many types of orchards and gardens, the construction of the palace at Nimrud and the gathering of a menagerie of exotic animals. Assurnasirpal then describes the great banquet he held to celebrate the construction of the palace on a truly lavish scale with thousands of guests and vast quantities of food. This included stags and gazelles which may have been captured on the

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[116] Sexuality as a feature of proper households and of civilisation is evident in the epic of Gilgamesh as Enkidu is initiated out of the wilderness and into civilised society, becoming "like a god" through sex and acceptance of prepared food and clothing, Dalley (2008), 53-56, 137-38, Pennsylvania tablet col. iii for OBV. Ataç (2010), 58-59 argues that domination over the natural world in the royal hunt is connected with sexual potency; 199 observes that sexual intercourse is hated by the demonic and chaotic forces as the antithesis of the netherworld. It is a sign of correct order, prosperity and fertility.
[117] Dalley (1989), 33 (P. Geuthner, G. Dossin et al., Archives Royales de Mari: textes transcrits et traduits I, G. Dossin, Correspondence de Samsi-Addu, 61 (Paris: 1950)
[118] Rassam Cylinder (BM 91026); *ARA* II, §765-67. Assurbanipal has engaged in a creative re-writing of history in his claim to be the eldest son of his father. It is more commonly observed that he was not the eldest. Parpola and Watanabe (1988) 28-58 for Esarhaddon's own text. Ramesses II received a similar investiture as crown prince in Egypt centuries earlier, Kitchen (1982), 27.
[119] Allsen (2006), 9, 18, 93; Winter (1993), 34, 37-38.
[120] *ANET* 558-60. Dalley (1989), 78 argues that dining is itself a measure of civilisation with a great variety of ingredients provided to the palace at Mari and it is among the practices Enkidu is introduced to in the Epic of Gilgamesh.

hunt. Such a display was a political exercise conducted as public spectacle witnessed by members of the elite, the army and local people. Images of Assurbanipal's royal hunting clearly show that the hunt was intended to be witnessed so the king might be seen performing his royal duties (figure 8).[121]

Figure 8. BM 124862 photograph by the author. North Palace at Nineveh, Room C, Panel 19. Spectators climb a hill to witness Assurbanipal's lion hunt.

The epigraphs accompanying scenes of Assurbanipal's lion hunts often describe the activity as being undertaken "for pleasure" of "for my great sport."[122] The hunt as a source of entertainment cannot be completely ignored, but its key role in the display of royal ideology was the primary function for which there is evidence. It has been observed by Dick that the terms translated as for sport or pleasure, *mēlulu*, *multa'ûtu*, have much broader meanings than this and can be used to describe participation in battle or the activities of priests.[123] He

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[121] Allsen (2006), 8, 33-34; Albenda (1972), (2008); Dick (2006); Parker (2008); Reade (1979); Sachs (1953).
[122] See nn.59 and 60 above.
[123] Dick (2006), 260; *CAD* 10(2) Dick is correct in identifying the further interpretations and uses of the terms, but appears to ignore the first meaning of play.

therefore suggests that the essence of the root of the terms is "to perform at a spectacle." This is fully supported by the evidence for the hunt as a royal activity identified throughout this chapter.

1.5. Conclusion

The royal ideology of the Neo-Assyrian empire placed the king at the very centre of government and of the kingdom itself as a result of his unrivalled status on earth as regent of the god Aššur. The image of the king displayed within the palace was one of unmatched magnificence and strength demonstrated by exploits comparable to those of heroic epic whilst engaging in battle against the forces of chaos in war and the hunt. The very environment of the country and the palace was transformed by the will of the king to display the wealth and power he enjoyed as a gift from Aššur.[124] The construction of magnificent palaces and gardens were a symbol of royal suppression of chaos and creation of order. The royal hunt fulfilled the same role and was accompanied by symbols of this martial aspect of royal ideology.[125] The ideology of absolute superiority and the obligation to use this to overcome the forces of chaos on the periphery of society generated a need for continuous expansion of the borders of the empire.[126] Despite this military expansion, the Assyrian royal ideology was primarily one of peace, albeit peace maintained as a result of struggle against human and supernatural chaotic forces.[127]

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[124] Elias (1983), 122-26 assesses differences apparent in the relationship between king and elite in charismatic compared with consolidated absolutist monarchy. The charismatic ruler relies entirely upon his own individual superiority which must be repeatedly demonstrated in crisis situations. His position was not defined or justified by etiquette, social aura or apparatus. The royal hunt of Assyrian kings conforms to this definition of charismatic kingship, but the ability to gather such massive resources to participate in the hunt and to construct such symbolically charged environments like the palace and gardens indicates consolidated absolutism. Parker (2011), 358-86 considers the Neo-Assyrian royal ideology to be reliant on the negotiation of status between king and elite, also suggesting consolidated absolutism. The sacred tree motif symbolises the absolute superiority of the king, but also his religious and socially defined position as absolute head of state.

[125] The obvious symbols of royal triumph over chaos were the chariot and bow. Both are treated as symbols of royalty in inscriptions (see epigraph above at n.59) Luckenbill (1924); Russel (1998), 685-86; Gerardi (1988); Collon (1983), 55 for bow as a prerogative of royalty in Agade period. Dick (2006), 254 weapon of Ninurta given to the king at his coronation and may be the mace; 249-51 the attire and crown of the king when engaged in hunting and priestly roles. Ataç (2010), 104-06 argues against the widespread attention given to the bow as a symbol of royal power and authority, suggesting instead that the sword rather than the bow is the symbol of military leadership. However, the sword is not given nearly as much prominence as the bow or mace in Assyrian texts or reliefs.

[126] Bedford (2009), 48; Olmstead (1923), 608, 614.

[127] Reade (1979), 332, 338, 340, 342 the most accessible images of the king show him as priest presiding over proper ritual in a peaceful state; Olmstead (1923), 610.

Chapter 2. The Achaemenid Royal Hunt

The previous chapter outlined the principles of neo-Assyrian royal ideology through analysis of the imagery, architecture and epigraphic texts of neo-Assyrian kings, and surviving literary works from Mesopotamia that express the hierarchical and cosmic nature of kingship and the attributes of the king himself. This chapter will similarly outline the royal ideology projected by the Persian kings of the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. This will be done by examining the key themes presented by the Persian kings in texts and images. This chapter will focus on the possibility of continuity from earlier empires into the Persian period. This is necessary for the overall objective of this thesis as it will establish those elements of ideology, expressed through images, texts and court protocol, which persisted until the end of the Achaemenid period and were available for Alexander to adopt, adapt or reject as customs of the Achaemenid kings, and those which may have required him to actively select pre-Persian royal ideologies.[1]

Evidence for the royal hunt and its significance to the Persian kings and the elites of the empire will receive particular attention. It must be remembered that no Persian text explicitly refers to the royal hunt or details court protocol and very few images that were obviously commissioned within the Achaemenid household depict the king hunting.[2] It requires the use

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[1] So far, this chapter has apparently used the terms Persian and Achaemenid interchangeably. The precise relationship between Darius, who claims to be an Achaemenid, and Cyrus and Cambyses, who make no such claim in surviving sources (with the exception of CM a-b-c, text and translation from Kent (1953), 116 which are generally dated to Darius I e.g. Boardman (2000), 45 and Kuhrt (2010), 5.19, n.1 although this is challenged by Bahari (2001) following the works of Ghirshman (1965), 246, Hallock (1970) and Mallowan (1972)), is beyond the scope of this thesis, but has been discussed elsewhere: Frye (2010). Cyrus announces his genealogy back three generations to Teispes on the Cyrus Cylinder §21. Darius DB I §§1-2 provides his male ancestry back five generations to the eponymous Achaemenes (OP Haxāmaniš) via the great-grandfather of Cyrus, Teispes (see PFS 93* (figure 10 below). Kuhrt (2010), 5.19, n.4 is certain Darius was a member of the extended Persian royal clan cf. Waters (2004), 91-102 suggests Cyrus was not an Achaemenid until declared one by Darius I, but that Achaemenid ancestry may more easily have been applied to Cambyses by matrilineal descent, that the clans of Cyrus and of Darius were from quite different backgrounds. It should be stressed that unless evidence points to the contrary, both dynasties are considered Persian .For the sake of clarity, this thesis recognises three key groups: 1) Achaemenid is used here when referring to the dynasty known to claim descent from Achaemenes i.e. Darius I to Darius III. The known Persian kings preceding Darius I will be referred to as pre-Achaemenid or early Persian kings; 2) Persian as an ethnonym will refer to the ruling class of Persis; 3) use of the term Iranian incorporates the various groups speaking a dialect of Old Iranian as identified in Kent (1953), 6 and discussed by Frye (1993), 143-45; and Wiesehöfer (2009), 70. When considering chronological periods, Persian will refer to the entire period of Persian rule whereas Achaemenid will refer only to the period from Darius I to Darius III. These distinctions are unlikely to be significant in this chapter as the majority of available evidence is from the Achaemenid period. It is worth noting however as it may become a factor in the analysis of Alexander's "Persianisation".

[2] Briant (2002), 209-10; (1991), 220 distinguishes images of the "Royal Hero" in Achaemenid palaces from hunting scenes, suggesting they depict the king in his role as master of beasts. This image is however clearly closely related to concepts of royal authority over surroundings, both human and environmental, Garrison and Root (2001), 53.

of Greek and Assyrian texts and a certain amount of imagination even to interpret the images of court protocols endlessly repeated at Persepolis and other Achaemenid palaces.[3]

2.1. Royal Ideology in Achaemenid Art

When embarking on a study of Achaemenid ideology as expressed in art one work has dominated modern scholarship since its publication in 1979. Margaret Cool Root's *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art: Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* has offered an invaluable study of Persian monuments for almost 40 years and her interpretation of the nature of Achaemenid kingship remains very persuasive. She concludes that a vision of imperial power was consciously created and expressed through metaphors of harmonious submission to the Achaemenid king which were derived from carefully selected pre-Persian, especially Egyptian, neo-Assyrian and Elamite, models associated with piety. This was an idealised vision of the Achaemenid empire's hierarchical order beneath a king imbued with absolute cosmic authority derived from his relationship to his god, and a world at peace joyfully praising and supporting his unassailable power.[4]

The strengths of Root's work should not however distract from its limitations. These are significant enough that this thesis must put them to scrutiny and propose an alternative, or at least amended, interpretation of Achaemenid art and royal ideology. Some concerns were raised nearer the point of publication by Kuhrt and Frye. Frye highlighted specific issues in Root's interpretation, and possible over interpretation, of gestures, challenged her dating of certain monuments and observed a number of self-contradictions in Root's analysis.[5] Kuhrt noted the difficulty in defining any of the images and motifs as specifically Persian rather than generally imperial and the resulting inability to adequately characterise the Persian empire from its royal imagery alone.[6]

There are also self-imposed limitations to Root's work which are not appropriate to this thesis. The most significant of these is the deliberate restriction of the definition of

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[3] Barjamovic (2011), 40-41 cross-references accounts of Achaemenid royal household to extrapolate information on that of Assyria on the grounds that Achaemenid imperial symbolism, protocol and administrative template largely derived from Assyrian predecessors.
[4] Root (1979), 282, 311. A similar interpretation of Achaemenid imperial art was put forward in the same year by Nylander (1979). Root has maintained this interpretation of Achaemenid imagery e.g. Root (1990), (2003), cf. (2013) where she revises the extent of the associations created between Achaemenid kings and the divine in favour of a model similar to that of the Assyrians discussed in Chapter 1.
[5] Frye (1981).
[6] Kuhrt (1984), 159.

Achaemenid art to that which she considers to be "official."[7] This involves the exclusion of any images which cannot be said to have been designed with close oversight by the king himself and which were not intended for the king and noble Persians as the primary audience. Such a constraint prevents access to a vast array of material from the empire as a whole, and in particular the satrapal centres. Recent studies stress the importance of satraps as direct representatives of the king who project the royal ideology throughout the empire by establishing courts of their own and the emulation of Achaemenid court practices by local elites.[8] This was recognised and explicitly stated as a policy of the Persian kings by Xenophon in the fourth century B.C.[9] As a result, although this thesis cannot investigate all of the societies into which the image of the Achaemenid king was projected, it must remain aware of the potential value in local images of royalty in the Persian period as a reflection of native experience of Persian kingship.

This restriction also creates a variety of problems regarding the intended audience of Achaemenid art. Root's analysis is remarkably inward looking and seems to assume a primarily internal audience of Persians. This is self-contradictory since, as we have just seen, it is more likely that the Achaemenid palaces were designed to display a royal ideology to an audience of non-Persians.[10] The images of the Achaemenids and the royal ideology they project should therefore be considered primarily in terms of their function as a means of expression to a specific audience(s) rather than as expressions of an esoteric Persian tradition of kingship. The interpretation of images depends on the rules and conventions of representation within a given culture and therefore depends on the cultural and historical context of the viewer who projects ideology onto the image. [11] We should therefore be aware that the Achaemenid appropriation of images from previous empires to create a visual culture will have elicited different responses from different viewers. This assessment of the interpretation of images further demonstrates the necessity for expanding the discussion to the

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[7] Root (1979), 1, n.1.
[8] Briant (2002), 502-03; Brosius (2006), 48, (2011), 138-40; Tuplin (2010), 150. Dusinberre (2010), 323-24, 328-32; Knauss (2001), 129-33. Wiesehöfer (2009), 78 sees the promotion of satrapal capitals as regional centres to be following an Assyrian program. The uncertainties of how scenes which originated in Persia were then interpreted by local populations is noted by Kaptan (2003), 198-200.
[9] Xen. *Cyr*. 8.6.6-14.
[10] Boardman (2000), 146. Root (2007) attempts to redress this issue by proposing a potential interpretation of the Persepolis Apadana reliefs from the perspective of a hypothetical Athenian citizen.
[11] Sturken and Cartwright (2001), 14, 19, 21, 25, 29, 41, 45; 59 identifies cultural appropriation as the process of borrowing and changing the meaning of cultural products such as images. On this basis it might not be appropriate to describe the Achaemenid process of "culling" images from other cultures as suggested by Root as appropriation as she suggests it is not the meaning so much as the context that is changed. Howells (2003), 17-18, 103. See Skinner (1969), 3-53 for an excellent analysis of the pitfalls that await anyone attempting to interpret the meaning of a text (or image). Eco (1990), 54-55. See also chapter 1 nn. 107 and 108. Goldstone and Haldan (2009), 10 raise the same issue in the context of ancient states and their efforts to seek legitimation "within the symbolic universe of a given cultural formation."

satrapies and even to local images produced in emulation of Achaemenid designs. The adoption or adaptation of themes and styles from the Achaemenid repertoire is vital for considering the success of Achaemenid ideology in the empire outside Persia itself, especially when considering those aspects of royal ideology, such as the royal hunt or the king as gardener, which are not represented in Achaemenid monumental art.

Root's analysis further suffers from two significant advances in scholarship: 1) more studies have been written on the dynamics of court societies in the ancient world, contributing to the development of models for royal control and the relationships between kings and their nobles.[12] This is an element of Achaemenid royal ideology alluded to by Root throughout her analysis of monuments and images, but not substantially developed at all.[13] 2) The second key development has been in the advance of our understanding of the neo-Assyrian court and royal ideology. This thesis dedicated the previous chapter to demonstrating that it is no longer possible to present neo-Assyrian imagery as simply projecting an ideology dedicated to violent suppression and political domination.[14] The neo-Assyrian period is used as a case study due to the accepted significance of Achaemenid borrowings from that empire and the contemporary Elam and Urartu.[15] As a result of the realignment of scholarly consensus

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[12] See the Introduction. Of particular significance to this chapter is Jacobs and Rollinger eds. (2010) and Llewellyn-Jones (2013).

[13] Root (1979), 75-76 suggests that Behistun and Darius' tomb stress the bonds between the king and the Persian nobility as more significant than those between the king and his heir. However, the nature of relationships between king and nobility is not expanded beyond its representation in iconography. On the basis of iconography alone the evidence presented by Root is contradictory as the position of royal heir is given priority behind the king on the doorjambs of the Tačara and the original central panel of the Apadana reliefs. Also worth highlighting is the dedication of Darius to announcing the significance of dynastic continuity at Behistun: DB I §§1-4, 10, 12, 14; at Persepolis: DPa, b, e, h; Naqš-i Rustam: DNa §§12-15; Susa: DSg, i, k, m; Suez: DZb, c §§4-7; and Ecbatana: DH §§1-2. This dedication to dynastic continuity at Achaemenid monuments seems far more prominently announced than the links with the nobility. This argument is highly subject to the significance attributed to throne names by the Persians themselves. The name Artaxerxes (Artaxšaçā) was the most commonly adopted throne name, being used by five kings, translates as 'having a kingdom of justice (*arta*)' which Briant (2002), 138, 330, 570 relates directly to the dual cosmic and secular order established by the king in opposition to 'the Lie' (*drauga*) rather than simple legal order, and connects this with the hierarchical relationship between the king and the Persian nobility.

[14] Root (2003), 15-18 would add sexual domination to Assyrian palace imagery as well. Kuhrt (1984), 159 already observed that the nature of neo-Assyrian orthostat reliefs made it difficult to support this stark and bloody assessment of their art. It is a serious concern regarding Root's methodology in analysing neo-Assyrian precedent that she examines the reliefs as individual slabs rather than as part of a compositional whole within an entire room and possibly across entire suites. Accompanying texts are usually not included and on one occasion all the reliefs from Dur Sharrukin which do not conform to the type being compared with Achaemenid monuments are excluded: Root (1979), 257-62. Russel (1998), 657-62 identified these as enduring problems in many attempts to analyse the arts of neo-Assyrian palaces stating "in the practice of scholarship, the conclusions we reach are strongly affected, if not largely predetermined, by the organisation and form of presentation of the data." This analysis is of course equally applicable to the original ancient audiences. It will suffice to refer again to Ataç (2010) used heavily in the previous chapter, especially 144, the "art of Ashurbanipal needs to be examined for layers of meaning that go beyond the political and pertain to a metaphysics of kingship and cosmological unity and duality."

[15] Nylander (1979), 347-48 summarises some of the borrowings as: lamassu, guardian bull men with horned crowns and Assyrian beards, the winged disk, the ziggurat-like foundation of Cyrus' tomb and the lion and bull motif deriving from Mesopotamia and Elam; the cavetto doorways, hemhemet crown of the winged genius at

regarding Assyrian ideology it has become necessary to treat Root's conclusions on the nature of Achaemenid artistic borrowing with caution. It also makes the basis of Root's evaluation of Achaemenid ideology and its representation as something unique in the ancient world untenable.

There is no reason to doubt Root's analysis of a carefully calculated image of cosmic authority projected in Achaemenid monumental art as a reflection of their imperial ideology and this is the generally accepted position.[16] The particularly close relationship between Darius and his primary deity, Auramazda, is prioritised and celebrated not just as explanation for his success, but also as justification for his actions. Many studies have been undertaken and have collected a vast and diverse array of evidence in support of the cosmic associations within Achaemenid art to the extent that it cannot be denied.[17] The mistake is to immediately seek to distinguish the fundamental aspects of Achaemenid royal ideology from that of earlier Near Eastern empires. This effort to make Persia somehow separate from all that came before, but willing to use artistic themes and motifs of earlier periods to represent a new, utterly unique, ideology seems forced and unnecessary. It is particularly surprising to find this being argued by Root who also describes Persia as the last pre-Hellenistic empire in the Near East, "a final 'packaging' of the Near Eastern historical and cultural experience," the culmination of Near Eastern culture and tradition.[18] Indeed, the proceedings of the sixth Achaemenid History workshop indicate that historians of the Achaemenid period have begun to accept that the differences between Achaemenid and neo-Assyrian ideology were not so great as previously argued. We may note the comments in the introduction by Amelie Kuhrt and

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Pasargadae, the stylisation of the winged disk and the flower pattern of the Persepolis column bases as derived from Egypt; cf. Boardman (2000), 54-57, 77, 112 suggests the features of Cyrus' tomb indicate a Lydo-Ionian origin, agrees that windows and doorways at Persepolis are adopted purely from Egyptian style and colossal gate figures of monsters and bulls are Assyrian and Elamite. Root (1979), 24-25 specifically suggests the continued visibility of Assyrian palaces; 28, 33-35 identifies the range of cultural stimuli upon the early Persians; 123, 141-46 for utilisation of Egyptian iconography by Darius I; 158 Elamite influence; in her thorough analysis of Achaemenid monuments Root examines the range of prototypes available to the Achaemenid kings when designing the winged disk (169-176), Behistun (184-226), Persepolis Apadana reliefs (230-284), door-jamb reliefs at Persepolis (286-296), the winged genius at Pasargadae Palace R (301-304) and the "Royal Hero" (304).
[16] Briant (2002), 908 acknowledges that he is largely repeating the various analyses of Root. This does not amount to slavish acceptance of dogma as there are points at which Briant does not follow the conclusions of Root, which will be discussed below. Harrison (2010), 23 also states acceptance of Root's argument regarding Persepolis sculpture as a reflection of imperial ideology of calm and stability; Wiesehöfer (2009), 74.
[17] Calmeyer (1987), 14-16 discusses the prominence of Auramazda in the Persian order of march as recounted by Herodotus (7.40f.) and Curtius (3.3.8-25). Although he suspects the representation of the king as creator surrounded by cosmos to be a later invention, this image is entirely appropriate to the Achaemenid royal ideology. Calmeyer does after all note the presence of 365 youths who represent each day of the year and the multiple nations represented, in particular the parallel between the horsemen of 12 nations and the reliefs of the Tačara at Persepolis which abbreviate delegates from the nations to just 12 figures. See also Atkinson (1980), 120-33. The cosmic significance of 365 youths also finds direct correlation in the 365 concubines of the king as discussed by Briant (2002), 300-301.
[18] Root (1979), 41.

Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg that "The Iranian ethos at the summit of empire, Iranian traditions relating to the king and aristocracy, *must* [my emphasis] have had – indeed, did have - an effect on the style and manner in which life was conducted within the conquered territories."[19]

The basis on which the Achaemenid Empire is characterised as "a new era in the history of the Near East" seems to be little more than magnified scale which saw the inclusion of Egypt and Asia Minor, which for the purposes of the paradigm are envisaged as culturally and economically autonomous, into the Mesopotamian arena of intensive interrelations.[20] It is justified to follow the description of Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg of the Persian Empire as a coherent, multi-layered political structure which consolidated and intensified existing cultural and commercial exchange systems within its borders.[21] The same view is stressed by Briant who notes the "striking heterogeneity of the Achaemenid political continuum" that resulted from the Achaemenid adaptation to the socio-political and cultural frameworks of the conquered peoples. Especially relevant is his comment that there is "nothing to suggest a priori that the Persian conquest had the same impact on every country."[22] What must not be overlooked however is the intensity and diversity of those existing exchange systems which had, after all, introduced the peripheral region of Persia into this Near Eastern arena.[23] A further difficulty is the fact that the specifically Iranian ethos and traditions relating to king and aristocracy are almost utterly unknown.[24] The determination to identify an unknown Iranian tradition within Achaemenid ideology has caused Root, when considering doorjamb reliefs from the Palace of Darius at Persepolis, to deliberately overlook the specific traditions

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[19] Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1991), xiii.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid xiii-xv.
[22] Briant (2002), 64, 76-77; the Persian example is also briefly summarised by Goldstone and Haldan (2009), 24; and Wiesehöfer (2009), 86.
[23] The view that Mesopotamian and Egyptian kingdoms were isolated until late in their respective histories was rejected by Dalley (1984), xv who included Anatolia as an urbanised and often literate region involved in networks of communication from an early period. The publication of the Amarna Letters (*EA*) demonstrates the literary contacts between these three regions, see preface and introduction, ix-xxxix. Gunter (1990), 137, 144-45 has argued convincingly for the intensity of interactions, including direct contact, between Greeks and neo-Assyrian royal centres in Mesopotamia resulting in Greek emulation of visual traditions for expressing notions of privilege and authority both real and legendary. The background of interaction between Assyria and the Iranian plateau and Persia is certainly much longer, Stronach (2001), 99; and has caused the whole of the Zagros area to be described as "thoroughly Assyrianized" by Lanfranchi (2010), 46-47. Saggs (1984), 183 presumes the Iranian plateau was the source of tin for Mesopotamia and Anatolia. The involvement of Medes in the affairs of Mesopotamia by the late seventh century is beyond doubt, *ANET*: 304-5. The difficulty of identifying the region and people known today as Persia in the Assyrian records mentioning Parsumash and Parsua is discussed by Potts (2016), 281-82. It should also be noted that Root's assessment of Persian art necessitates an intimate awareness and understanding of iconography from Assyria, Urartu and Elam by Persians which must have derived from frequent contact.
[24] See above n.6 for Kuhrt's own concern at the difficulty of identifying elements which are uniquely Persian within their visually expressed ideology.

of heroic mastery over lions in favour of a direct link to royal power that would be perceived through an elusive investiture ceremony of the king and the crown prince.[25]

The position of this thesis is that the widely accepted characterisation of the Achaemenid empire as a unique phenomenon in the ancient world, both in its practices and in its ideology, has not withstood the conclusions drawn from study of individual aspects of that empire. In particular, the specific attempts to contrast the Achaemenid empire with that of the neo-Assyrians do not stand up to scrutiny. This thesis also prefers, when considering Assyrianising images, iconography and themes adopted from various regions of the empire in Persian monumental art, to first consider them in the light of known neo-Assyrian or other native ideology and practice. It is after all generally agreed that Achaemenid imperial practice was to support and appropriate native traditions of kingship and cult in order to legitimise their rule in the eyes of their subjects.[26] We therefore should not expect the Achaemenids to project an ideology through its visual arts that is radically different to native expectations within the empire, especially when deliberately using themes and motifs derived from those native societies.[27] The available Achaemenid art does not offer substantive evidence in support of such an ideological divergence between the Achaemenids and their predecessors.

Nylander extended the interpretation of fundamental differences between Assyria and the Achaemenid empire to the central doctrines of the two. He describes the Achaemenid approach as one of minimal interference presented through a harmonious and dignified court art concerned with timeless rituals and ceremonies of kingship, opposed to the programmatic, ruthless assimilation of the Assyrian empire with its vivid, brutal and detailed royal chronicles.[28] Similarly, Root perceives fundamentally different models of centre/periphery orientations to have resulted from these opposing ideologies.[29] This proposal does not take

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[25] Root (2003), 25-26.
[26] Root (1991), 3; Kuhrt (1991), 127-28 examines the entry of Alexander into Babylon (Arr. *Anab*. 3.16.3-5) and concludes that the Persians deliberately maintained traditional Babylonian royal ideology; Balcer (1991), examines the coinage of East Greeks under Persian rule, observing that the Persians stimulated the development of significant mints and did not interfere with the local forms of coinage; Morkot (1991), 324 considers the inclusion of *Kushiya* as a tributary people to be a late development which may reflect the Persian king's adoption of pharaonic ideology regarding the land of Kush; Wiesehofer (2001), 29-30.
[27] This thesis must also acknowledge the warnings expressed by Winter (1993), 38-39 and Lane Fox (2007), 269-70 that apparently similar features between successive powers might not represent continuity, but result from the limited number of ways to represent and organise authority. Allsen (2006) creates a new issue by arguing that, at least in the context of the royal hunt, homogenisation of practice was a result of engagement and borrowing between states. The position of Allsen is accepted by Bentley (2007), 350; May (2007), 208.
[28] Nylander (1979), 346. Nylander also distinguishes Achaemenid royal art from that of Egypt in similar terms, but does moderate this view towards the end of his paper, 355, observing that the central images of piety and harmony at Achaemenid royal centres are precisely images that were presented regardless of historical reality.
[29] Root (1991), 4 contrasts the discussion of Liverani (1979), 308f. on Assyrian state organisation which is contrasted with the patrimonial model of externalised policy orientation developed by Weber (1978) applied without adaptation to the Achaemenid empire.

into account the inherent flexibility in what a modern scholar would describe as the neo-Assyrian empire, which includes both the "Land of Aššur" and lands who "bear the yoke of Aššur," as discussed by Postgate, nor does it acknowledge the potential for peripheral initiative in adopting and emulating Assyrian motifs and objects.[30] Bedford identifies four principle strategies of imperial domination utilised by the Assyrians which demonstrate this flexibility: rule through clients, direct rule, compulsory cooperation and the development of a common elite culture.[31] Only one of these strategies involves direct control and absorption into Assyria. The numerous strategies adopted by the Assyrian kings when attempting to control Babylon further emphasise the fact that brutal subjugation was not the only feature of their imperial ideology.[32]

The visual imagery and written sources of the neo-Assyrian empire suggests many parallels with the ideology of its Achaemenid successor rather than the sharp distinction argued in most studies of Achaemenid art. Tuplin, considering Persian imperialism, summarises neo-Assyrian royal ideology as kings who ruled as agents of Aššur, whose principal injunction was to enlarge the frontiers of the realm, and were keen to celebrate their exploration of previously unknown territories. He states that the corpus of Old Persian inscriptions lack comparably explicit statements of violence and conquest, preferring to stress what already exists, but notes there are celebrations of Persian military expansion.[33] Most relevant to the argument of this thesis is his comment that "even Assyrians, with their general quasi-religious principle of expansion, normally treat any particular gain as the result of provocation rather than an exercise in aggression."[34]

The official royal account of Darius' accession challenges the concept of Achaemenid ideology and methods of representation as underplaying the brutality of war and triumph in sharp contrast to the neo-Assyrians and is therefore often viewed as a unique monument.[35]

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[30] Postgate (1992). Especially note the identification at 256 of imperial control beyond the frontier of the land of Aššur as a network based on direct communication between the centre and the local ruler's residence, noteworthy for the absence of Assyrian intervention in daily life; cf. Bedford (2009), 42, 51-52, 57-58. This model of control in the territories beyond the land of Aššur has features in common with that applied by Root to the Achaemenid empire to explain the limited impact of Achaemenid imperial presence in the western empire. See also n.8 above for references to an opposing view of the projection of Achaemenid ideology into the empire.
[31] Bedford (2009), 59.
[32] Assyrian strategies for controlling Babylon: Appointing client kings; destroying the city, assuming traditional titles of Babylonian kingship.
[33] Tuplin (1991), 279.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Behistun as unique in being the only Achaemenid representation of specific and chronologically defined events follows Root (1979), 184; cf. 192-93 arguing that even in this case the compression of events into a single scene makes it a timeless emblem of royal ideology over any rebel or enemy; 225-26 for the sharp contrast with Egyptian and Assyrian tradition; Boardman (2000), 146-49. Murray (1987), 111 suggests the existence of alternate oral traditions of Darius' accession/ usurpation preserved by the Persian nobility.

Root's analysis of the monument and its prototypes is incredibly thorough.[36] This thesis accepts the argument that the ultimate message is one of divine collaboration with the king in opposition to any rebel or enemy. It suggests however that the accompanying text does not support the suggestion that the monument reflects an elusive Indo-Iranian vision of kingship that rejected violent imagery and was therefore incompatible with the Assyrian and Egyptian ideal.

Behistun exalts Darius as the earthly representative of Auramazda against "the Lie" (*drauga*) which he ruthlessly suppresses.[37] Both image and text explicitly celebrate the military triumphs of the king against rebellions in Persia, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia and Scythia (Saka), all of which Darius stresses were accomplished in just one year.[38] Furthermore, this account of his deeds does not downplay the violence of the events. The accounts of the numerous battles are certainly laconic and contain nothing similar to the graphic accounts of Sennacherib at the Battle of Halule, but the treatment of captured rebels, the cutting off of nose, ears and tongue, tearing out one eye, holding them mutilated in chains at the palace entrance and mass impaling do find parallels in the neo-Assyrian period.[39] The relentless recording of victory and suppression of the first year, summed up the proclamation "By the favour of Auramazda, much else has also been done by me, that has not been written in this inscription," leaves us in no doubt that truth and justice (*arta*) under Auramazda are established by force of arms against "the Lie" (*drauga*).[40] As seen in Chapter 1, the central tenet of neo-Assyrian royal ideology was also the mutually supportive

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[36] Root (1979), 184-226.

[37] First translated by Rawlinson (1848), (1849). The text consists of a trilingual inscription in Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian. An English translation of the trilingual inscription was produced by King and Thompson (1907). This thesis uses the Old Persian text and the translations of Kent (1953) and of Kuhrt (2010), 5.1.

[38] DB II §21; IV §§56-57.

[39] Battle of Halule: *ARA* II, 253-54. DB I §19 offers one of the more detailed accounts of events in battle stating that those Babylonians not utterly defeated were thrown into the water. The fates of Fravartish and Cicantakhma are described in detail at DB II §§32-33; DB III §§43, 50 for the executions of Vahyazdata and Arakhu/Nebuchadnezzar with their followers by impaling, but without specific record of previous torture and mutilation. The accounts of the Assyrian kings span the numerous campaigns of various kings throughout the neo-Assyrian period whereas Darius records the victories of a single year. The closest Assyrian parallel with the treatment inflicted upon the defeated is found in *ARA* II, 937 although this mutilation and humiliation is inflicted upon a statue rather than a living captive. The array of tortures, in particular flaying, impaling, cutting out tongues, cutting off limbs, decapitation, putting out eyes and leaving the enemy leader in chains at the palace gate *ARA* I, 399, 443, 463, 472, 478, 480, 585; II, 550, 1034, 1045, 1065. Interestingly, the Assyrian records suggest that enemy leaders were chained at the gate as a humiliating punishment, whereas Darius first tortures and mutilates them.

[40] The dichotomy of Auramazda/King/Justice in opposition to the Lie/Daiva is further expressed by Xerxes in the famous Daiva Inscription (XPh). Briant (2002), 550-54 compares this with other royal texts and convincingly establishes it as exalting the ideological role of the king in establishing social and cosmic order as the representative of Auramazda.

relationship between chief god and the king in an expression of cosmic and earthly harmony opposed, often militarily, to Chaos.

Despite the presentation of Assyria as part of the distant past in Greek sources, very little time actually separated the two empires.[41] The interval between the battle of Carchemish and the accession of Cyrus II appears to be no more than fifty years.[42] The entire period from the height of Assyrian power under Assurbanipal to the ninth year of Nabonidus, was encompassed by the lifetime of Adad-guppi, the mother of Nabonidus.[43] She died at least two years after Cyrus' defeat of Astyages at Ecbatana, the Median conquest of Herodotus 1.123-30,[44] and in the same month that he crossed the Tigris for his conquest of Lydia.[45] The Assyrians were not a dead and ancient society, but had remained a feature of living memory within the reign of Cyrus.[46] We should not therefore be opposed to the possibility of Assyrian practices for projecting royal authority informing those of the Achaemenids and it should not be a surprise that the principles of the two royal ideologies have a great deal in common. Even the general pattern of imperialism under the neo-Assyrians was not dissimilar to that of the Achaemenids in being primarily concerned with ensuring the influx of goods to the royal court and using the same strategies of control as discussed by Beford above at n.31.[47] These parallels create uncertainty when considering the adoption of Near Eastern customs by Alexander the Great in Chapter 5 as it must be asked whether those traditions were Persian, whether the Greek sources were able to distinguish between genuine Persian customs and those which had survived from earlier states throughout the Persian period, or whether he had carefully selected traditions from history in order to appeal to the individual groups within the empire.

The prominence of martial prowess amongst the Persian nobility as a whole is evident from Behistun and Naqš-i Rustam as not only does Darius hold a bow in the relief, but the nobles who supported him are named and the positions of bow-bearer and spear bearer are ones of highest honour immediately behind the king.[48] The inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes clearly

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[41] Gunter (1990), 132.

[42] Fall of Harran, ABC 3: Fall of Nineveh Chronicle 66-71. Four years later the conflict continued at Carchemish *ABC* 5: obv. 1-8.

[43] *ANET* 560-62; Gadd (1958).

[44] See also Ctesias, *Persica* = FGrH 688 F9 (1-3) in Kuhrt (2010), 3.8; Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella (2007), 164-65.

[45] *ABC* 7: Nabonidus Chronicle ii 1-4, 13-17; *ANET* 305.

[46] Xenophon's ignorance of the Assyrian history of Nimrud and Nineveh (*Anab*. 3.4.7-12) must be explained by the further passage of 150 years.

[47] Tuplin (1991), 281.

[48] Root (1979), 164; Brosius (2007), 27; Hallock (1969), PF 688; DN c-d. Current consensus regarding court titles would suggest that DNc "spear-bearer of Darius" and DNd "garment-bearer, holds the bow and arrow case of Darius" were not actual roles and duties performed by Gobryas and Aspathines, but honorary titles e.g.

demonstrate that they drew authority from their declarations of martial prowess and military expansion:

> If now thou shalt think that "How many are the countries which King Darius held?" look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne, then shalt thou know, then shall it become known to thee: the spear of a Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to thee: a Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.[49]

> I am furious in the strength of my revenge with both hands and 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.[50]

Briant argues that the exaltation of the king's fighting abilities was purely ideological rather than a statement of prowess displayed on the battlefield, highlighting the serious concern for royal safety evident in the classical sources and drawing attention to the fact that the only Persian king lost on campaign was Cyrus the Great.[51] Briant is correct in stating that the role of the king as a general, a fighter of wars, was a key feature of the royal persona as is demonstrated by the orchestration of campaigns narrated at Behistun and the stated virtues of careful rather than reckless action.[52] It seems unlikely however that the king was not expected to present himself as an elite warrior in his own right. By analogue it would not be appropriate to suggest that the Achaemenid inscriptions stressing the capabilities of the king as a good horseman are purely ideological with no basis in reality. Rather, we are entitled to infer from the classical topos of the king suffering injury whilst riding that the significance of

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Henkelman (2003), 120-25 discusses the court titles granted by Achaemenid kings. Cyrus as master of wand-bearers then master of squires at court of Astyages in Ath. 14.633d, cupbearer in Xen. *Cyr*. 1.3.8-9; Darius as the quiver-bearer to Cyrus, Ael. *VH*. 12.43 and lance-bearer to Cambyses, Hdt. 3.139; Darius III as letter-bearer, Plut. *Alex*. 18.7 concluding that the high-ranking holders of such offices evidently did not perform the functions implied by their titles. He argues that neither of Aspathines' titles, "garment-bearer" or holder of the bow and arrow refers to the battle-axe held by the figure in the relief; Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1987a), 126-27 describes the court officials as "generals turned into honorary bakers." That these Persian nobles were depicted with the physical attributes of their office does suggest that the military origins of court offices remained important on a symbolic and ideological level. The image of the king as archer was of great significance to the Achaemenids and almost certainly derived from the symbols of royal authority that were well-established in tradition, see Chapter 1 above, n.119. The prominence of this image of the king and its projection by the Achaemenids is discussed below.

[49] DNa §4 38-47.

[50] DNb and XP1 §2h. This statement supports the significance of these activities stated by Herodotus and Xenophon.

[51] Briant (2002), 227-28 observing the personal withdrawal of Artaxerxes II at Cunaxa: Plut. *Art*. 11.3; the fact that Xerxes did not fight during the Greek campaign despite being present: Hdt. 7.212; 8.90; and the king's position in any battle being dictated by concern for his security: Hdt. 4.83; 7.10; Diod. Sic. 11.10.3; 17.30.2; Curt. 3.2.10-19; Plut. *Art*. 7.3; 8.2. Garrison and Root (2001), 57 and at n.137 suggest cultural taboos may have prevented any representation of the king in a position of potential vulnerability and the ideologies of kingship might have also prevented the direct intervention of the king in a dangerous battle situations.

[52] Behistun attributes all glory to Darius and presents him as responsible for the overall strategy; DNb §8b-f.

horsemanship in Persian royal ideology as expressed in the inscription of Darius at Naqš-i Rustam, and of Herodotus and Xenophon, was reflected in the practices of the Persian kings.[53] The fact that Persian kings are recorded as suffering injuries in riding accidents most likely indicates that they were anxious to meet the requirements of their ideology and habitually rode thus exposing themselves regularly to accident. Accepting the evidence that the Achaemenid kings rarely personally engaged in combat at pitched battles, it is quite likely that in order to meet this expectation of royal ideology the king participated in the royal hunt as an alternative to personal combat on the battlefield.[54]

2.2. The Royal Hunt

2.2.1. Greek and Old Persian literary evidence

If the royal hunt was crucial to the monarchic ideology and legitimation of the Achaemenids then evidence for it should be observed in the various royal palaces, especially Persepolis. Persepolis was a conscious projection of the Achaemenid concept of empire with reliefs and architecture intended to impress upon all subjects and visitors the Persian imperial order with its claim to universal and eternal validity.[55] Unfortunately, there is nothing in the monumental art of Achaemenid palaces to adduce even the existence of two institutions which are considered to be of special ideological significance in classical sources, the royal hunt and the king as gardener.

The lack of monumental images and inscriptions celebrating the hunting achievements of the Persian kings in the style of earlier monarchs, such as Assurbanipal at Nineveh, poses problems when attempting to place the hunt within Persian royal ideology. Despite this absence of hunting imagery from official Achaemenid art it is quite clear that this was a popular and ideologically significant activity for the Persian kings. There are many representations of hunting in Achaemenid glyptic art, it is a frequent theme in so called

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[53] Griffiths (1987), 40 notes this topos and suggests (presumably ironically) that "Persian kings seem to have been very careless horsemen;" cf. Hdt. 3.64.3, 129; Ctesias F9, 7f.; DNb and XP1 §2h; Hdt. 1.136; Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.8, 4.8.
[54] This suggestion is consistent with the observation by Boardman (2000), 149 that animals and composite beasts were preferred to images of human combatants. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1987a), 125 suggests the royal hunt had a religious or ritual purpose rather than the sporting or physical training interpreted by Xen. *Cyr.* 8.8.8-14. Symbolic interpretations of the hunt assessed by Seyer (2007); cf. Zahrnt (2009) stresses the need to balance the symbolic, practical and leisure aspects of the hunt. The multi-faceted nature of the royal hunt is analysed at length by Allsen (2006).
[55] Wiesehofer, (2001), 21-26; Winter (1993), 36-39; Stronach (2001), 103-105.

"Greco-Persian" style art and local artistic traditions outside of this style and it is an activity that frequently plays a significant role in classical accounts of the Achaemenid court.[56]

Despite the acknowledged difficulties of cultural prejudice, misunderstanding and limited direct access to the Achaemenid court colouring their interpretations, the accounts of classical sources should not be dismissed.[57] These various Greek observers of the Persian court preserve numerous stories of the king engaging in the hunt with members of the court. We may note the motif of the faithful servant demonstrating good service in the king's interests by protecting him in the hunt. Tiribazus was able to defend himself from a charge of treason with reference to his many good services on behalf of Artaxerxes, specifically mentioning an occasion when he had defended the king who was being attacked by two lions whilst hunting in his chariot and Xenophon records an individual coming to the aid of Cyrus the Younger against a bear on the hunt.[58]

The motif of the loyal servant coming to the aid of the king whilst out hunting takes on added interest in the famous case of Megabyzus and Artaxerxes I.[59] This incident sees the king order the Persian nobleman, Megabyzus, beheaded when he throws his javelin and kills a lion that is attacking Artaxerxes. Rather than reward Megabyzus, Artaxerxes is angry that the lion was killed before he himself could strike it. This episode is set alongside Xen. *Cyr*. 1.4.14 and Plut. *Mor*. 173d as evidence of a strict royal prerogative for the king to cast the first spear.[60] This is usually attributed to the substantive role of the royal hunt in royal ideology and therefore to strike the prey first was to challenge the king's superlative valour and skill, rivalling him.[61]

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[56] Briant (2002), 297.

[57] See Introduction nn.17-19. Lewis (1987), 79-82 demonstrates the plausibility of Polyaenus 4.3.32 in light of the Assurnasirpal's Banquet Stele (*ANET* 558-60) which record similarly vast quantities of food and drink at a royal feast (although notes that the feast of Assurnasirpal was a specific celebration).

[58] Stevenson (1987), 32; Diod. Sic. 15.8-10.4; Xen. *Anab*. 1.9.6. Given the aspirations of Cyrus it is reasonable to follow the position of Briant (2002), 621-23 that he established a rival royal court complete with the trappings and institutions. Among these we should include the royal hunt.

[59] Ctesias F14 §43. This thesis uses the conventional spelling for this episode of Megabyzus. This spelling is adopted by Kent (1953) in his translation of the Behistun OP inscription. Bremmer (2004), 9-10 demonstrates that the more accurate rendering of this name would be Megabyxos as derived from OP Bagabuxša, the name found at Behistun.

[60] These three passages have convinced Briant (2002), 231 that such a prerogative existed. We might add Xen. *Cyr*. 4.6.3-5 where such a prerogative is implied for the Assyrian court.

[61] Llewellyn-Jones and Robson (2010), 60; Briant (2002), 231-32. Plut. *Art*. 11-17 presents a striking parallel to this incident in the context of the war between Cyrus the Younger and Artaxerxes II, including the loyal servant coming to the aid of the king and the significance of the king striking the first blow. See also Hdt. 5.92; cf. Moles (2007) and Hornblower (2013) for a trend in Greek history to present tyrants jealously ensuring their supremacy. This roving anecdote finds an interesting parallel in Hdt. 7.10 as a Persian describes the similar behaviour of the gods towards men.

The specific circumstances of this case mean that it should be used with caution. Megabyzus was the brother-in-law of Artaxerxes and a descendant of one of the seven noblemen who aided Darius.[62] If we accept the account of Ctesias, it would seem that whilst campaigning in Egypt he made promises of safe conduct on his own authority. When these were reneged upon he withdrew from court to his estates in Syria and raised an army in rebellion.[63] He successfully repelled two armies sent against him before his surrender and pardon was negotiated by a coalition of royal women and eunuchs.[64] The hunting party took place some time after Megabyzus had been pardoned.

The accounts of Tiribazus and Cyrus the Younger strongly suggest that no formal royal prerogative for striking the first blow existed. We should rather see the Megabyzus incident in the context of a fluid Achaemenid court society dictated by etiquette and convention (and common sense) more than constitutionally mandated protocol. Megabyzus had challenged the authority of the king first by making promises of safe conduct without royal assent and then rebelling when these were not honoured. It was at a later date, when Megabyzus was removed from his estates and power-base in Syria, that a relatively common event of the royal hunt allowed Artaxerxes to assert his own status against that of the nobleman for a breach of etiquette. This etiquette must have its origin in the ideological significance of the hunt as a means for the king to demonstrate his physical prowess and his personal authority over both the land and the nobility.[65] Although the incident does not support an argument for codified

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[62] The lineage of Megabyzus as a descendant of one of the seven: DB IV §68; Hdt. 3.70, 153, 160.

[63] Sekunda (1991), 89 for the statement of Ctesias confirming this as Megabyzus' estates in Syria rather than being a native of Syria; cf. Sekunda (1991) and also Briant (2002), 349-52, 481-2, 486-7, 500-01, 704, 725, 759-63 on the extent of the Persian diaspora in estates throughout the empire.

[64] Ctesias §§37-42 ap. Llewellyn-Jones and Robson (2010), 188-90. The surviving fragments of Ctesias' work are approached with caution. Bigwood (1976), 1, 16-21 notes Ctesias' version of the Egyptian revolt is often alluded to in modern scholarship, concluding in opposition to this tendency, that the episode cannot be used to support any historical conclusions, stating only that some items may reflect a garbled version of the truth; 15f discusses the prominence and virtuosity of Megabyzus and his family in the account of Ctesias cf. Bigwood (1980), n.77 again states the pro-Megabyzus attitude of Ctesias, but accepts the general outline of his account of the Egyptian campaign and the revolt of Megabyzus. Rahe (1980), 88 accepts at least the outline of Megabyzus' involvement in crushing the Egyptian revolt and his own rebellion against Artaxerxes. The hunting incident occurs in the same fragment preserved by Photius as the Egyptian campaign and is surely subject to the same issues. As stated above, both stories are used by historians when considering the Egyptian campaign or hunting as the need arises. Unfortunately, regardless of the individual details within each that it is appealing to accept, neither story may be used to confirm the other as such an argument would be inherently circular.

[65] Elias (1994), 474 argued that the king demonstrated his dominance by being seen in the company of, and loyally served by, members of the elite. Allsen (2006), 146-47 expanded this to the animal realm. This certainly explains the gifts of animals depicted on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis which are fully within Near Eastern tradition. It also explains the severe action against Megabyzus for a relatively minor infringement of etiquette that would, under normal circumstances, be rewarded, as a result of his history of challenging royal authority. The incident related at Xen. *Cyr*. 4.3-5 set in the Assyrian court referenced above at n.60 may also be seen in the context of etiquette rather than prerogative; the son of Gobryas was given permission to compete with his social superior, the prince, but when he twice surpassed the prince he was stabbed. This suggests there was no defined royal prerogative, but a convention that one should not humiliate a social superior. When the son of Gobryas

procedures of the hunt, it does demonstrate the ideological significance of the hunt to the Achaemenid kings and its place as an institution of the court.

Further classical sources highlight the extent and variety of royal hunting and the perception of this activity as a vital institution to the Achaemenid royal practice and ideology. Xenophon is particularly valuable as a source for hunting throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Near East, confirming that Persian kings go hunting many times a month and establishing the reputation of Cyrus the Elder as a keen hunter.[66] He also records the existence of hunting parks throughout the western provinces of the empire in the fourth century and the continued prominence of hunting as an activity of the Persian nobility.[67] We also have Onesicritus' account of the epitaph of Darius which, though certainly not an accurate translation of any part of the inscription at Naqš-i Rustam, does accurately convey the key features of Persian royal ideology, including excellence in the hunt, that were received by Greeks:

> 'φίλος ἦν τοῖς φίλοις: ἱππεὺς καὶ τοξότης ἄριστος ἐγενόμην: κυνηγῶν ἐκράτουν: πάντα ποιεῖν ἠδυνάμην.'

> 'I was a friend to my friends, I was the first of horsemen and archers, I excelled as hunter, I could do everything.'[68]

Though far from being a translation, this is not an unreasonable, if intensive, condensing and paraphrasing of the royal virtues expressed at Naqš-i Rustam. It covers the vital features of mutual support between the king and those who serve him loyally (DNb §16-27), and skill at arms, especially as a horseman and an archer (DNb §40-45). The features missing are the gift of these virtues from Auramazda to the king (DNb §1-6 and 45-49), the king's role against the

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pushed his luck too far, the prince asserted his own status by killing him. The king expressed sympathy to Gobryas for such a harsh response, but this does not seem to have been an exceptional "abuse" of princely status.
[66] Frequency of the hunt: Xen. *Cyr*.1.2.9-11. Xenophon adds that these hunting trips may last more than one day and involved half the garrison. This conforms precisely with Allsen's detailed discussion on the various types of royal hunt, especially the ring-hunts conducted on a massive scale as a public spectacle, Allsen (2006), 31-34. This type of hunt is depicted by Assurbanipal at Nineveh Rooms S[1] panels 8, 14 (BM 124877) and Room C panel 19 (BM 124862). The enduring appeal of this type of hunt throughout the Persian period is attested by the enthusiasm with which Alexander's general Philotas took to the event, Plut. *Alex*. 40. Cyrus as an avid hunter: Xen. *Cyr*. 1.4.5-15 even includes Cyrus sulking when forbidden to go out hunting; 2.4.20. Ordering satraps to mimic the royal court in all customs, including taking the retinue at the gates out hunting: Xen. *Cyr*. 8.6.10, 12. The institution of the royal and satrapal hunts are included in the list of institutions founded by Cyrus which continue to Xenophon's own time; cf. 8.8.12. Hirsch (1985), 142 on uncertainties of attributing the epilogue of *Cyropaedia* to Xenophon.
[67] Xen. *Anab*. 1.2.7, 9.5-6, we may add 1.9.28 as an indicator of the role of the hunt in Persian court society as a means of displaying the favour and status of noblemen in relation to their superior, see Allsen (2006), 200-06. Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.33. Ctesias F15 §55 suggests that the skills of the chase were equally prized among Persian royal women. Xen. *Cyn*. 11.1-4 also offers valuable insight to non-elite hunting in the Near East and, especially important for hunting in parks, the capture of wild animals including lion, leopard, cheetah and bear. The role of *paradeisoi* is discussed below.
[68] Strabo 15.3.8.

Lie (DNb §11-15) and as arbitrator between the weak and the mighty (DNb §7-11). Of great significance is the fact that the Greek audience understood the key elements of Achaemenid ideology and saw royal hunts as a regular feature of court life and as an integral component of that ideology.

The clear link between skill at riding and archery and the royal hunt indicates that the prominence of these skills in Greek accounts of Persian education also reflects the significance of the hunt even when it is not specifically mentioned.[69] As discussed above, the classical accounts highlighting the significance of the king as archer and horseman, and therefore also as hunter, reflect the ideology of Achaemenid kings as projected in the Old Persian royal inscriptions. It can also be seen that, despite the absence of surviving monumental images of the hunt or warfare, royal skill at these activities was actively projected in imagery.

2.2.2. Glyptic

The projection of martial imagery, with particular significance given to skill at archery and royal and elite hunting, is demonstrated most clearly in the surviving glyptic art. The catalogue produced by Garrison and Root identifies scenes of an archer accounting for approximately 9.6% of the entire legible PFS corpus, including narrative hunting scenes, quite often from a chariot.[70]

The cylinder seal of Darius I found in Egypt (figure 9) has been described as the most remarkable piece of hunting iconography in Achaemenid art, revealing the close relationship between the king and the royal hero motif and illustrating the courage and exceptional qualities of the king through the royal hunt.[71] The seal depicts the king, wearing a tall dentate

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[69] Hdt. 1.136; Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.8 does link the training in these skills to participation in the hunt at a later stage in the education of Persian youths.

[70] Garrison and Root (2001), 43.

[71] Briant (1991), 221. The significance of this seal has resulted in its repeated use in modern scholarship e.g. Kuhrt (2010), fig. 6.4; Brosius (2006), 44 fig. 10 uses it as evidence of Persian royal and elite participation in the hunt; Kuhrt (2010), fig. 6.4; Llewellyn-Jones (2013), 225. The consensus is to distinguish the images of the royal hero and heroic encounter from those of hunting and combat (see n.2 above). Garrison and Root (2001), 42-43 explain their separation of images of heroic encounter from those of human activity, stating that a "scene that transcends the plausible via an unrealistic display of power relationships and one that takes place in a more or less realistic narrative context is sometimes blurry." Root (1979) 114-16, 182-83 records the numerous difficulties with identifying the 'royal hero' as the king with special attention given to the inconsistencies in the garb worn by the 'royal hero' to that worn by the king. At Persepolis Root (1979), 81 distinguishes the 'royal hero' as an apotropaic figure in comparison to the genuine images of the king; cf. Root (2003), 25-26. The ambiguity of the royal hero's identity in glyptic art and apotropaic function in monumental art is reiterated with numerous further examples from the PFS corpus by Garrison and Root (2001), 56-60. This even extends to caution in identifying figures wearing royal apparel as the king as these could reference gifts of crowns and

crown with a dotted diadem and the royal robe, firing his bow at a rampant lion from his chariot.[72] The chariot is driven by a bearded charioteer wearing a simple diadem and a wide sleeved court robe. Above the chariot is a winged disk from which emerges the crowned and bearded figure wearing a Persian court robe with broad sleeves and holding a ring.[73] Beneath the galloping horses is a lion that has already been killed with arrows and the entire scene is framed by date palms and there is a trilingual inscription that declares 'I am Darius, the (great) king.'[74]

This seal is the most compelling individual piece of evidence that images which depicted an indisputably royal figure engaging in the hunt were actively projected in the empire. Garrison analyses the stylistic details, modelling technique and composition concluding that this seal is not a product of the Persepolitan Court Style, but potentially a regional variation executed in Egypt and may relate to seal workshops in Asia Minor.[75] This assessment is based upon detailed examination of the image itself and comparison with other examples from the PFS corpus, but does not consider the significance of the accompanying trilingual inscription. The seal is not analysed by Finn, but is included in her appendix 2 where it appears as the only example of a trilingual royal name seal in the reign of Darius that is not from the PFS or PFT

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clothing from the king to an honoured individual within the context of the court environment. This thesis proposes that this ambiguity extends to the ideology of the hunt as individuals express their own success by reference to royal virtues. This seal is certainly an anomaly in specifically identifying the king as the hunter in a narrative scene and should not be used to argue that all images of hunting in a more or less realistic setting depict a specific individual.

[72] The dotted band around the crown as a diadem is proposed due to the parallel with neo-Assyrian diadems tied around the crown which, by the time of Assurbanipal, are clearly shown with a band of large rosettes. A dentate crown with a decorated band of eight pointed Shamash stars is also depicted as worn by Darius at Behistun, see Root (2013). The style of wearing the diadem around his hat was then adopted by Alexander: Ath. 12.537e-538b. The adoption of Persian headdress by Alexander is also raised by Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.4; Curt. 6.6.4 describes the diadem worn by Alexander as purple variegated with white, cf. 3.3.19. The bow appears to have the same duck-head terminals as Darius' bow at Behistun. Root (1979), 165-67 considers this type of bow to be derived directly from neo-Assyrian tradition and indirectly from Elamite tradition; cf. Root (2003), 12-14. The sleeves of the king's robe are depicted differently to those at Persepolis, Naqš-i Rustam and Behistun, but the robe finds direct parallels in glyptic art of heroic encounters: PFS 7*, PFS 113*, PFS 524, PFS 774, PFS 819 all appear in Garrison and Root (2001) pl.179 as examples of the Persian court robe with sleeves pushed up. The chariot appears to be the same two horse type depicted at Persepolis. This is different to the trigae often represented in Assyrian reliefs and the quadriga of the Oxus treasure and Alexander mosaic. The practical applications in war or the hunt of a team hitched in this fashion are discussed in Littauer and Crouwel (1991), 97-99. Hdt. 3.102, 105 describes camels in India hitched as teams of three.

[73] The figure is conventionally identified as Auramazda, e.g. Root (1979), 169-70. Unlike the figure in the winged disk at Behistun and Naqš-i Rustam, this one does not face the king in the attitude of mutual greeting suggested by Root (1979), 176 in these scenarios.

[74] Brosius (2000), no.43, also highlights the importance of the royal hunt as an expression of kingship and power of the king in notes. Trilingual inscription in Elamite, Old Persian and Akkadian. The adjective "great" is used only in the Akkadian text. Anderson (1985), 67 discusses the date palms proposing they may indicate the scene is set in a *paradeisos* or that they are symbols of a prosperous reign. Both suggestions may apply and the arguments advanced for the significance of gardens, and date palms in particular, in Chapter 1 are equally applicable to this scene. The specific significance of gardens to the Persians is discussed below.

[75] Garrison (1991), 19-20.

corpus.[76] It conforms to the tripartite scheme identified by Finn for official and ideologically significant name seals of royal figure, date palm and trilingual inscription.[77] This would make it unique amongst the extant royal name seals she identifies in depicting a narrative hunt scene rather than an image of the royal hero as master of beasts or a scene before an altar. It is also the only example with an asymmetric central image. The importance of the hunt as a means for the king to demonstrate his skill at archery is evident and highlights the link between the imagery of the king as archer, the royal hunt and the royal ideology that is projected through the royal inscriptions.[78]

Figure 9. AN23386001 © Trustees of the British Museum. Chalcedony cylinder seal from Egypt.

Further seals, such as the seal of Irdabama (PFS 51, Figure 11), demonstrate the significance of hunting as a symbol of authority throughout the royal house. This was an antique heirloom, its design predating the conquests of Cyrus, when it was in use by Irdabama.[79] Not only does this seal display the direct connection between warfare and hunting in Persian ideology by its parallels with PFS 93* (Figure 10), but shows that this was a consistent feature of elite Persian lifestyle and ideology that survived into the Achaemenid period. It also demonstrates

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[76] Finn (2011), 262-63.
[77] Finn (2011), 229-32, also notes that in glyptic art other styles continued to exist alongside the Court Style which removes the objection of Garrison that it does not conform to the developed Court Style and is therefore likely a regional variation.
[78] Garrison (2010a), 350.
[79] This seal of Irdabama is Neo-Elamite in style which Garrison (1991), 3-7 assesses on the basis of compositional and stylistic similarity to have come from the same workshop as PFS 93*. This allows for an approximate dating alongside that of PFS 93* in the seventh century B.C. reign of Cyrus I. That this Cyrus is the same as that identified in neo-Assyrian texts of Assurbanipal is still debated, see n. 23 above, especially Potts (2016), 281-82.

that despite the apparent rejection of such imagery from monumental Achaemenid art it continued to be projected by the royal household and was so significant that it was also imagery utilised by women. This accords well with the account of Ctesias that the daughter of the satrap Idernes, Roxane, was highly experienced with both the bow and the javelin.[80]

The image of the royal hunt was clearly being projected throughout the empire by the use of hunting scenes on seals used by the royal family. Llewellyn-Jones takes this observation further by identifying seals depicting numerous different styles of the hunt being undertaken by the king. He draws particular attention to one which shows the king riding a dromedary to hunt a lion with spears and another which shows the king in a chariot pulled by a team of dromedaries.[81] There is no reason to doubt that these images depict genuine Persian royal hunting practices since it is known that camel mounted troops were employed by Cyrus and by Darius.[82] The use of camel mounted troops and the parallel between war and the hunt established by the pair of seals PFS 51 and PFS 93* should encourage us to accept the royal hunt as a means for the Great King to meet the ideological requirements of martial excellence expressed at Behistun and Naqš-i Rustam and that those hunts would reflect the military might of the empire. That military might is consistently represented in the classical sources as being organised *kata ethnē*, according to ethnic groups which, as seen in the reviews held by Xerxes, maintained their own traditional and distinctive style of armament.[83] Similarly, the throne-bearers at Naqš-i Rustam are depicted in distinctive national dress and largely bearing arms. The royal hunt was a political statement that allowed the ruler to demonstrate his ability to marshal military resources, his own martial prowess and reaffirm his claims to legitimacy within Achaemenid ideology as protector and warrior.[84] The success of the Achaemenids in projecting this concept of royalty is evident from the numerous glyptic images of the Persian king wielding a variety of weapons on foot, on horseback, from a chariot and riding a camel.

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[80] Ctesias §55.

[81] Llewellyn-Jones (2013), 86.

[82] Hdt. 1.80; Xen. Cyr. 7.1.27; DB I §18. In the case of Herodotus' and Darius' accounts of camels in the Persian army it seems they were primarily used as pack animals cf. Hdt. 3.102; 7.125. It is not clear whether Bactrian camels or dromedaries are being described in these passages. Camels used by Cyrus before the conquest of Babylon were presumably the two-humped Bactrian variety, those described by Herodotus in India must surely be Bactrian. Darius presumably had both types of camel available for use after the Persian conquests of Babylon and Egypt. It is the Bactrian camel that is depicted at Persepolis. Use of the dromedary in war by the Arabs was known to the Assyrians in the eight to seventh centuries B.C. and is depicted on wall reliefs from Nimrud during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III, and from Nineveh in the reign of Assurbanipal: Barnett and Faulkner (1962), 8 pl. XIV; BM 124926.

[83] Hdt. 7.44, 61-80, 83-87, 89-96; Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.9; Diod. Sic. 7.96; 17.58.1; Curt. 3.9.5; Briant (2002), 410, 495.

[84] Allsen (2006), 8-9; Anderson (1985), 68; Briant (2002), 354 for importance of king as protector within Achaemenid ideology and its significance throughout Persian diaspora communities.

Figure 10. Composite drawing of cylinder seals impressions of PFS 93*. Height 1.75cm. The inscription reads, Cyrus of Anšan, son of Teispes. Kuhrt (2010), 3.3, fig. 3.2 after Garrison and Root (1996/8).
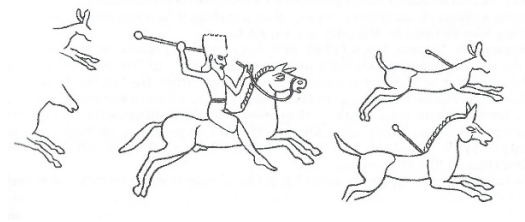
Figure 11. Drawing of impressions of PFS 51. Height 2.25cm. Kuhrt (2010), fig. 12.5 after Garrison 1992).

The significance of this image and its close association with the king and royal household caused it to be used throughout the empire and in non-royal contexts. Brosius has observed a trend throughout the Achaemenid Empire for local notables to be depicted in official poses associated with the king and royal court, possibly wearing Persian dress or carrying Persian hunting equipment in a deliberate attempt to identify, or be identified, with the Persian elite.[85] The study by Zahle of Achaemenid influence in Lycia during the fifth century conforms to this model as local dynasts who were undoubtedly closely connected with the satrapal administration began to utilise themes and motifs associated with Persia in sculpture and coinage, most prominently scenes of hunting and banqueting.[86] The prominence of hunting as an elite activity is clear by its use in glyptic art throughout the empire. A seal discovered in Georgia depicts several images related to the hunt. One face shows a Persian rider thrusting a javelin into a prancing lion, another depicts a dog, and also featured are a galloping stag and an antelope.[87] Although we cannot identify the Persian rider as the Achaemenid king, this collection of hunting motifs indicates a concern to display imagery of the hunt even in the most distant parts of the empire.

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[85] Brosius (2011), 142.

[86] Zahle (1991), 152-53; the same trend is observed in Anatolia more generally by Miller (1997), 124; Kaptan (2003), 190-92, 198 identifies five major themes represented in a sample of seventeen stele reliefs from the region of Daskyleion: scenes of procession, banquet, ritual, hunting and battle of which procession, banquet and hunting are the most common demonstrating that in the fifth century Persian traits gradually infiltrated North West Asia Minor.

[87] Dzhavakhishvili (2007), 121.

2.2.3. The Numismatic Evidence

The significance of the image of the Achaemenid king as a warrior, especially as an archer, is evident from the only "official" Achaemenid coinage. There are four types: Type I shows the half figure of the king holding a bow, no issue of Type I has been found in gold;[88] Type II depicts the whole figure of the king drawing his bow; Type III shows the king with both bow and spear; Type IV the king holds the bow and a dagger.[89] The imagery is discussed by Nimchuk, with particular attention given to the development from Type I to Types II, III and IV.[90] These later issues are markedly more aggressive in portraying the king in the *knielauf* pose and with the sleeves of his court robe pushed up in identical fashion to those depicted on the seal of Darius discussed above. The figures also wear a similar tall dentate crown.
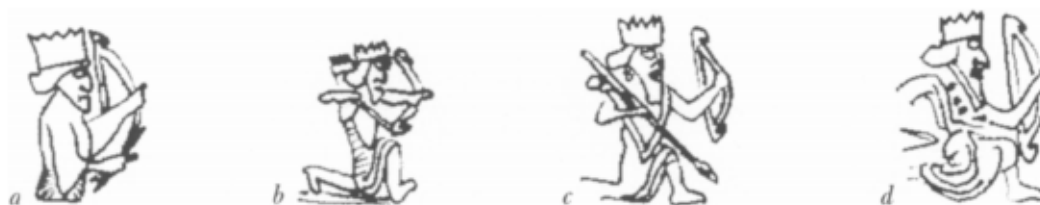
Figure 12. Drawings of Types I-IVAdapted by Nimchuk from Alram (1993): figs. I-IV, Nimchuk (2002), Fig.4. a) Type I; b) Type II, c) Type III; d) Type IV.

The consensus is that the Persian Archer coins emerge directly out of seal workshops as a composite derived from the narrative kneeling archer images of hunt scenes and the images of the royal hero; the figure is placed in emblematic isolation to create the image of the king as hunter. These coins demonstrate the projection of official imperial imagery which stressed the physical prowess and military power of the king into the west and to non-Persian subjects.[91] The acceptance of these figures as official images of the king in modern scholarship and their

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[88] Nimchuk (2002), 59-61.

[89] Official imagery projected from the Persian centre: Nimchuk (2002), 63 following Root (1979), 165 and (1988), 1-12. Boardman (2000), 174; as noted above (n. 26) local mints continued to operate within the Persian empire and produced their own types.

[90] Nimchuk (2002), 63-67. Nimchuk also suggests that although the imagery in all four types has a long history in the Near East, it is the Type I which reflects a Neo-Assyrian type similar to renderings of Aššur and also found on Darius' relief at Behistun. The accompanying fig. 10 is a rendering of Sennacherib seated on a throne supported by subjects before the siege of Lachish. This image is considered by Root (1979), 131-56 to be an inspiration for the throne-bearers depicted at Naqš-i Rustam. The deliberate association between the king in Type I and the image of Auramazda in the winged disk is also argued by Garrison (2010a), 340.

[91] Root (1991), 15-17.

overt projection of martial prowess means the assessment of Achaemenid art rejecting images of warfare must be adapted.

Figure 13. Darics and sigloi, types II-IV.

Type II obverse.
Mint: Sardes. Metal: AR. Weight: 5.31g.
© SNG Vol: VII 1396 Manchester University Museum

Type III obverse.
Mint: Persis. Metal: AU. Weight: 8.09g.
© SNG Vol: XIII Newcastle Antiquaries Soc.

Type IV obverse.
Mint: Persis. Metal: AR. Weight: 5.46g.
© SNG Vol: XIII Newcastle Antiquaries Soc.

Although the coins, unlike numerous seals, do not depict the king or royal hero in combat, the ideology projected is militaristic. The idea of the *Pax Persica* is often advanced to explain the Persian concept of *arta*.[92] This order was not purely a perpetual metaphor of harmoniously ordered hegemony as described by Root, but as the Daiva Inscription makes clear, an earthly reality to be maintained by force of arms.[93] In this sense we again see a distinct parallel with the royal ideology of cosmic and earthly order established and maintained by force of arms and the support of the chief deity towards the king that characterised the Neo-Assyrian period. As Boardman states, Cyrus and Darius clearly intended to rule the world as known to them;

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[92] Briant (2002), 497; Brosius (2012) summarises the *Pax Persica* as the ideology under which subject peoples were included into the Persian imperial system, conveying the message that the individual peoples were part of a whole which supported the king. In return, and by means of his subjects' support, the king maintained order.

[93] Root (2003), 10. Tuplin (1991), 279 considers the Persian evidence to promote a more static concept of empire than Assyrian forebears, focusing on what has already been established. The consistent projection of the image of the royal figure as a warrior bearing arms leaves no room for doubting the roots of Persian hegemony. Briant (2002), 550-54 believes the Daiva Inscription (XPh) to be a purely ideological statement rather than a reference to any specific event. Even if this is the case, Xerxes is then making a clear statement of intent to smite any country in turmoil and to destroy sanctuaries that worship the Daiva. The precise translation is uncertain with Kent (1953), 150-52 providing "have respect for that law which Auramazda has established; worship Auramazda and Arta reverently." cf. Kuhrt (2010), 305-6 prefers to translate as "obey that law, which Auramazda has established! Worship Auramazda at the proper time and with the proper ritual!" Regardless, Briant is correct in noting that the Daiva Inscription is directly related to the maintenance of *arta*. Nimchuk (2002), 65-67 acknowledges the long tradition of this style of image in the Near East and recognises it in this Persian context as an official image of the military strength required to establish and protect order.

the Persian king set no boundaries to his empire and reminded his subjects how far the Persian man had carried a spear.[94] There can be no doubt that this official imagery projected from the imperial centre, with its overt message of royal strength and power through the bow and the spear, reflected this royal ideology of maintaining order.

The significance of this image of the king as archer was clearly absorbed by the Greeks, who remain our only source of written material for the reception of Achaemenid royal ideology in the empire and beyond its borders. The Greek referred to these coins by their device, as *toxotēs*.[95] Not only were the coins referred to as archers or darics, but Darius himself could be referred to in Greek circles by his role as τόξαρχος.[96] Recognition of the legitimacy the Persian king derived from his role as the pre-eminent archer as depicted in his coinage is further indicated by Cambyses' failure to draw the bow of the Ethiopians.[97]

2.3. Greco-Persian: The Significance of Hunting Throughout the Empire

The extent to which local elites of the empire engaged with Achaemenid ideology as signifiers of status and authority is relevant here. The process of adoption and adaptation of Achaemenid visual themes representing authority has been widely considered in recent years under the heading, Persianisation. This thesis is naturally concerned with the adoption and adaptation of hunting imagery throughout the empire. The adoption of this imagery has already been observed outside the imperial heartland in Georgia, and its recognition identified in Greek sources. One of the questions asked of this process is whether Persianisation was

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[94] Boardman (2000), 208.

[95] Wiesehöfer (2001), 21; Plut. *Ages*. 15; *Art*. 20 cf. Xen. *Cyr*. 5.2.7, 3.3 shows that Persian coinage was also known as darics, leaving no doubt about the Greek identification of the royal image as that of the king himself.

[96] Aesch. *Pers*. 556.

[97] Hdt. 3.30; cf. 3.21: ἐπεὰν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἕλκωσι τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάθεϊ τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ᾽ Αἰθίοπας τοὺς μακροβίους πλήθεϊ ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι· ("When so easily Persians draw bows that are so great in size, then let him march against the *Macrobioi* Ethiopians, provided he is equipped with a force superior in numbers"). The translation is that of Irwin (2014), 38. The advice of the Ethiopian king to Cambyses that he should not attack unless able to draw the bow accords with Near Eastern symbolism of the king as archer, see for example Chapter 1 for the king's bow in Assyria, but Brown (1982), 396 observes the motif is also familiar in Greek tradition of heroic bows such as the bow of Odysseus, *Od*. 21.125-29, 245ff. Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella (2007), 381-90 on tyranny as the central theme of Book 3. The jealousy of Cambyses is a feature of his tyranny and finds parallel with the behaviour of Thrasybulus and Periander at 5.92 as he cannot tolerate even his own brother being capable of drawing the bow. It should be stressed that the jealousy of Cambyses over the Ethiopian king's bow represents Greek recognition of the significance of the king as archer in Achaemenid ideology and that the incident is therefore expressed in Greek terms. Tension between the sons of Cyrus is not stated by Darius at Behistun, but it is possible, see Kuhrt (2010), 136-38.

forced upon local elites, or if signifiers of authority were adopted or adapted by those elites on their own initiative.

Brosius argues that the initiative for adopting features associated with the Achaemenid court came from the local elites themselves. By engaging with and representing themselves participating in Achaemenid courtly activities such as hunting, wearing elements of Achaemenid costume or possessing Achaemenid style equipment, local elites engineered for themselves an association with the king and his court.[98] In Anatolia the ruling elite developed the habit of using seals from the Achaemenids and Achaemenid iconography was thoroughly incorporated into the seals is use at Sardis. Both examples should be viewed as local displays of status within the Achaemenid imperial hierarchy.[99]

The incorporation of Achaemenid ideological themes representing order did not necessarily involve mindless copying, but the adaptation of key elements that could be used to display status and a connection with the Achaemenid power. Although the motifs depicted on the seal from Georgia are highly suggestive of hunting and the maintenance of ideological order within Achaemenid iconography adopted by local elites, the style of seal itself is one most popular in Asia Minor and did not originate in Persia.[100] Dzhavakhishvili suggests that this is a result of Asia Minor and Cyprus being the main areas where Greek and Persian interests met and from where such 'Greco-Persian' seals spread in the fifth and fourth centuries.[101] By adopting certain Achaemenid forms when representing themselves hunting, local nobles were seeking to signal their relationship with the imperial power and thereby reinforce their own status.[102] The role of the royal hunt as a performance of the king's basis of authority therefore caused the hunt itself to become a signifier of authority throughout the empire. The issue that discussions of Persianisation do not address is the extent to which many of these features, notably the royal hunt, had been promulgated as signifiers of authority prior to the development of Achaemenid ideology.[103]

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[98] Brosius (2011), 142. Briant (2017), 50 observes these borrowings were often partial and integrated into local traditions to the extent that interpreting them at the political level becomes ambiguous. It is therefore not clear whether they were incorporated superficially as costume, a form of dressing up by local elites to signal an association with the Persian aristocracy, or if they represent a genuine engagement with Achaemenid imperial ideology. It is of course also possible that over the longue durée of Persian rule what began as costume became genuine features of dress among the local elites.
[99] Dusinberre (2010), 323, 333.
[100] Dzhavakhishvili (2007), 122-24
[101] Dzhavakhishvili (2007), 124
[102] Dusinberre (2010), 323, 334; Tuplin (2011), 150.
[103] Brosius (2011), 143 suggests that even though Persianisation may not have been forced upon the peoples of the empiree, this had the result of actively encouraging local elites to adopt Achaemenid practices.

The term Greco-Persian is used of objects produced in this context where elements of Greek style and taste were imposed on subjects deemed suitable for the Persian satrapal environment.[104] Significantly, the subjects represented in these objects are typically Persian, indicating that the patron was Persian and the Greek merely the craftsman.[105] Seals in Greco-Persian style in particular carry hunting scenes with Persians on foot, horseback or chariot, the practices of Persian hunting parks.[106] This further demonstrates that images of authority were being projected in terms readily accessible to local audiences, including Greeks. This is seen most clearly on coinage from Tarsus depicting Ba'al in a style identical to images of Zeus, and on the reverse the Persian satrap appears in the same posture, a reflection of the god.[107] Very prominent is the bow held by the satrap. The local power of the satrap derived from the Achaemenid king is implicitly likened to the world power of the Great King derived from the gods.

The significance of the hunt and association with royal activities can also be seen in Lycia with the dynast, Arbinas. The poem of Symmachus in honour of Arbinas praises him for his archery, virtue and the pursuit of horses.[108]

> --- Arbinas, son of Gorgias --- courage --- this likeness has
> been set up as a memorial to gaze on (?) --- he ruled, might-
> est in intelligence and power. At the beginning of his prime
> he sacked in a month three cities. Xanthus and Pinara and
> well-harboured Telmessus, and inspiring fear in many of the
> Lycians, he was a tyrant.
> The memorial of these things he has set up by pronouncement
> of the god Apollo. Having consulted Pytho, he set me up
> as a likeness of himself, whose appearance makes manifest the
> might of his deeds.
> For he killed many, making famous his own father; he sacked
> many cities, and a fine reputation throughout all the land of
> Asia Arbinas has left for himself and his forebears, pre-eminent
> among all the things that wise men know, in archery and
> courage and knowing the pursuit of horses. To the end from the

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[104] Boardman (2000), 168-69.
[105] Briant (2002), 502-05.
[106] Boardman (2000), 171.
[107] See Boardman (2000), 178. For the coin see Wiesehofer (2003), fig. 1. Wiesehofer identifies the satrap as Tarkumuwa, cf. Metcalf (2012), 74-77 and Ruzicka (2012), 103-05 on the uncertainties of this identification.
[108] Tuplin (2011), 164-165. Presumably pursuit of horses amounts to skill as a rider.

beginning. Arbinas, having accomplished great deeds, to the

immortal gods you have dedicated welcome gifts.[109]

The dedication is reproduced here in full as it highlights the extent of Arbinas' adoption of Achaemenid expressions of power and authority. The qualities of Arbinas celebrated were the same as those expressed by Darius at Naqš-i Rustam. Further deliberate association with the activities of the Persian royal court is demonstrated by the Nereid monument. There are a variety of scenes depicted on this monument which highlight the use of Persian equipment, customs and royal protocol, such as a royal audience, drinking with a Persian drinking horn and a mounted hunt. Despite the limitations of evidence from Persia, participation in the hunt and demonstrations of martial prowess were clearly important to the Achaemenid kings and to the satraps and dynasts of the empire.

2.4. The King as Gardener

To a great extent the practical and symbolic significance of Persian royal gardens is identical to that of their neo-Assyrian predecessors in demonstrating the extent of the king's realm and his ability to create order.

> The place where [the prince] resides seems to expand to the size of the universe. Garden and palace thus appear to be a miniature compendium of the entire world… This exemplary place contains the most beautiful and rare of what the outside world produces and transforms them into a sign. Versailles becomes the show-window of the world; exotic plants, Dutch flowers, wild animals, rare birds, and objects brought from the four corners of the universe are all perpetually found there. They are presented, they appear together, as a whole, without undergoing the ordinary constraints of merchandise, of payment, of time and space. Not having succeeded in creating a universal monarchy, the kingdom conquered the world in the form of signs; he reconstructed the earth entire in his garden; he played with a scale model of the universe that he could alter as his whim desired.[110]

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[109] Rhodes and Osborne (2007), Ai.
[110] J.M. Apostolidès, *Le Roi-machine: Spectacle et politique au temps de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1981), 136-37 from Briant (2002), 202.

Similarly to hunting, it is certain that gardens were a key aspect of Achaemenid royal ideology, but the evidence for them is varied. In the monuments of the imperial heartland, the king is neither depicted nor described as a gardener nor as promoting agriculture.

Briant has persuasively argued for the identification of the image of the king as gardener in glyptic art, but it is in the classical sources that we find explicit mention of Persian *paradeisoi* and even here they are first mentioned in fourth century writers. [111] Xenophon highlights specific examples of *paradeisoi* as a general feature of the imperial landscape.[112] The role of the Achaemenid *paradeisos* and its development from earlier, particularly Assyrian, gardens is discussed at length by Tuplin who identifies two main functions: as a game park for undemanding hunting,[113] and a place with trees, plants and flowing water offering more peaceful enjoyment.[114] Peculiarly, Xenophon recognises hunting as a genuinely significant part of Persian elite lifestyle in the *Cyropaedia* despite the lack of Achaemenid monumental representations, but makes no reference to the equally significant role of gardening. Despite the absence of gardening in the *Cyropaedia*, Xenophon clearly did recognise the Achaemenid promotion of agriculture.[115] Briant discusses the apparent lack of gardening imagery in Achaemenid art, suggesting that, just like the royal hunt, glyptic art and Greek sources demonstrate the ideological role of the king as gardener.[116] Just as in the neo-Assyrian examples of expansive gardens and hunting parks, the relationship between the *paradeisos* and royalty can be clearly seen by what is quite often a physical juxtaposition. The earliest Persian palace built by Cyrus at Pasargadae incorporated formal gardens divided into four parts. This may be a physical manifestation of the title "king of the four quarters" derived from the neo-Assyrian kings. If so, then the gardens of the Achaemenids were also representative of the royal ideology of harmonious order over the lands, just like the hunt.[117]

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[111] Briant (2003). Tuplin (1990), 22-23, *paradeisoi* are not encountered in Herodotus although he is aware of the Persian reverence for trees: Hdt. 7.5; 8.30, 54-55 to which we might also add the golden plane tree of Hdt. 7.27; Ath. 514f. Hdt. 8.54-55 the regeneration of the olive tree is interpreted from a Greek perspective, but Hornblower (2013), 141-42 notes the omen may have been promoted as a piece of Persian propaganda based on the significance of the king's role as gardener.

[112] Xen. *Oec*. 4.13

[113] Tuplin (1996), 80-131, (1990), 22-23; cf. Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.15f.; *Anab*. 1.2.7-8 (the large paradeisos at Celaenae); Curt. 8.1.11f.

[114] Tuplin (1996), 80-131, (1990), 22-23; cf. Xen. *Oec*. 4.13.20; *Hell*. 4.1.33; *Anab*. 1.4.10; 2.4.14 f; Diod. Sic. 14.80.2; Plut. *Art*. 25; *Alc*. 24; Curt. 7.2.22; Arr. *Anab*. 6.29.4; Strabo 15.3.7. Many of these examples are also raised by Sekunda (1991), 119-20 as evidence of Persian settlement in Phrygia and the establishment of *paradeisoi*, although he notes that pre-Persian hunting is recorded in Lydia by Strabo 13.1.17. Some of these *paradeisoi* may therefore have been Persian expansions of existing hunting and botanical sites.

[115] Tuplin (1990), 23; cf. Xen. *Cyr*. 3.2.14f.; 4.4.11; 8.6.16; *Oec*. 4.14; 8.137, 6.12.

[116] Briant (2003).

[117] Arr. *Anab*.6.29.4; Kuhrt (2010), 89 fig. 3.5. Briant (2002), 805 argues the creation and maintenance of *paradeisoi* represented the king's authority over the growing cycle.

Xenophon appears also to have been aware of the connection between the *paradeisos* and hunting in the Achaemenid empire. His account of Cyrus establishing the Persian empire includes specific instructions to the satraps that they should "Have parks, too, and keep wild animals in them; and do not have your food served you unless you have first taken exercise, nor have fodder given to your horses unless they have been exercised" (Κτᾶσθε δὲ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ θηρία τρέφετε, καὶ μήτε αὐτοί ποτε ἄνευ πόνου σῖτον παραθῆσθε μήτε ἵπποις ἀγυμνάστοις χόρτον ἐμβάλλετε·).[118] The *Cyropaedia* must be treated with some caution when used as historical source for Achaemenid ideology. It is in effect a mirror for princes directed towards a Greek audience and Xenophon's Cyrus primarily a model for ideal rulership in Greek terms.[119] Indeed, the significance of hunting as a means of promoting virtue was a theme to which Xenophon returned in other works that were explicitly intended as advice for Greek citizens.[120] However, in this instance the rhetoric applied to Cyrus by Xenophon appears to be based also on his observations of the Achaemenid empire.[121] *Paradeisoi* are indeed recorded throughout the empire being used as hunting parks, botanical retreats and sources of materials.[122]

Such a spread of game and botanical parks should not be surprising. As representatives of the king, satraps had their own *paradeisoi* in order to engage in the same activities of hunting and feasting as the king, establishing their own local courts.[123] Furthermore, as seen above, features of Achaemenid imperial ideology were adopted throughout the empire by local elites seeking to signal their support of, and by, the Great King. Hunting has been demonstrated as one of these features and extensive gardens and parks for the performance of the hunt naturally spread with it. The precise significance of the gardens in Achaemenid ideology is unlikely to have been identical to that in Assyria, but shared many elements. As seen in Chapter 1, representations of trees in Assyrian royal ideology were defined by the particular position of Assyria within Mesopotamia as much as by a broader ideology of fertility

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[118] Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.12. See also 8.6.10.

[119] Tatum (1989); Gera (1993). Xenophon as both historian and philosopher in the Hellenica and requiring the use of his broader body of work to inform our understanding of him see Dillery (1995); cf. Tuplin (2013).

[120] See Chapter 3 below.

[121] Briant (2002), 200-02 observes a parallel between the *paradeisos* and the king's table, a theme to which Greeks persistently returned as a symbol of the king's wealth and power. See Ath.4.145 for an excellent demonstration of the spectacle and extravagance of the Persian king's banquets and also how the practices of the king were mirrored on a smaller scale by the Persians of high rank. It also highlights the manner of managing the elite at banquets by limiting access to the person of the king and also displaying proximity by eating at his invitation, cf. Barjomavic (2011), 40.

[122] Xen. *An.* 1.2.7; *Hell.* 4.1.33; Diod. Sic. 16.41.5; Plut. *Art.* 25; Curt. 8.1.13-17. Anderson (1985), 67 suggests the date palms on the Darius I seal (figure 9) might be evidence of a hunting scene within a *paradeisos* in Egypt. See also Strab. 15.1.55; Curt. 8.9.28; Ael. *VH.* 13.18 for examples of enclosed and elaborate hunting in India which may have been influenced by the Achaemenid practice.

[123] Brosius (2006), 48.

guaranteed by the relationship between the king and his god. Allusions to natural fertility and gardening appear in a number of motifs at Persepolis, but these are hard to distinguish as specifically Persian and they are not prominent within the iconography.[124] However, the collected evidence of glyptic representations of the king as gardener and the development of a topos of royal gardening in Greek literature suggest the establishment of *paradeisoi* as representations of fertility and prosperity was an element of Achaemenid ideology alongside their use for hunting.[125]

2.5. Conclusion

The royal hunt was a key feature of Achaemenid royal ideology that shared many features with its Assyrian forerunner. On royal monuments a uniquely Achaemenid interpretation is given to the king's duty to establish harmonious order on behalf of his god as opposition to "the Lie." Hunting demonstrated the martial skill that an Achaemenid king was required to display and symbolised his victory over the Lie with the support of Auramazda. Likewise, the creation of great parks and gardens filled with exotic flora and fauna created a microcosm of the empire that demonstrated the establishment *arta*. However, whereas the neo-Assyrian royal iconography is exclusively palatial and offers little evidence for the hunt performing the functions of the court, the Persian period does suggest the role of the hunt as an extramural court, and even provides insight to the nature of Achaemenid court society.

The Persian royal hunt, especially the hunt within the enclosed and controlled environment of the *paradeisos*, afforded the king an opportunity to manage the elite.[126] It allowed the monarch to signal royal favour or disapproval by the public inclusion or exclusion of nobles from his presence and to establish hierarchies based on proximity to himself and his activities, as well as by the presentation of gifts and titles.[127] This is especially clear in the case of Megabyzus' hunt with Artaxerxes.[128] Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, despite intending to present Cyrus as a model ruler, in contrast to the Achaemenids of the fourth century, perhaps preserves features of Achaemenid ideology and also of their court. In particular we see Cyrus enforcing strict rules of etiquette that allow him to signal favour or displeasure towards

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[124] Tuplin (1996), 91; cf. Hdt. 7.41.3.
[125] Xen. *Oec.* 4.18-21 Cyrus the Younger apparently designed his own gardens and worked them each day in the manner supposedly ordered by Cyrus, cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.12.
[126] Spawforth (2012), 202; Allsen (2006).
[127] Allsen (2006), 200-01; Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.37ff.
[128] See above n.65.

members of his court and he appears to deliberately foster jealousy and competition between his nobles as they seek recognition of status from the king.[129] In the case of the Achaemenids the functions of the royal court are therefore apparent in their royal hunts. Hunting can clearly be seen as a political arena, an administrative arena, a symbolic centre, as a stage for monarchic representation, and as the locus for (re)distribution.

Despite the presence of Persian estates and satrapal centres throughout the empire which were furnished with *paradeisoi* and engaged in hunting to project associations with the central authority, and the engagement of local elites in these practices, the Persian presence made no significant impression on the visual experience of imperial subjects.[130] This was most likely a result of the development of a unified aristocratic culture throughout the empire.[131] The Achaemenids consciously developed a multi-faceted royal imagery intended to appeal to the many different peoples of the empire in their own, traditional, visual and ideological traditions. These were permitted to run parallel with the traditional Persian ideology which is largely unidentifiable due to their appropriation of visual traditions.

We might observe the "Persian man" features of the royal hero motif as traditionally Persian. These features are not adopted (at least the crown is not) in glyptic art and therefore might be the specifically Persian element at Persepolis. Royal preoccupation with legitimacy and validation of power had a significant effect in the process of selecting earlier Mesopotamian motifs and moulding the oral traditions of Persia. The resulting impression of the evidence is that the Persian aristocracy is seen to submerge itself in the existing cultural forms of the empire.[132] As seen throughout this chapter and supported by the evidence of Chapter 1, the key activity fostering this unified elite culture was the hunt. Hunting served to mediate relations between groups of aristocrats, whether in a satrapal or a royal setting and was accepted throughout the empire as a signifier of status and of legitimate authority thanks, in no small part, to the similar projection of the royal hunt as a justification of legitimate authority by the neo-Assyrian kings.

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129 Xen. *Cyr*. 8.2.26, 3.22-23; Gera (1993), 294; Tatum (1989), 200.
130 Boardman (2000), 204.
131 Murray (1987), 114 on the unified Lydian-Persian aristocratic culture in Asia Minor.
132 Murray (1987), 112-13.

Chapter 3. The Role of Hunting in Legitimating Authority in Greece

This chapter examines the role of the hunt as a source of authority within Greek tradition. It is only by identifying the central themes of the hunt to the Greeks that we can assess the extent to which Alexander's royal hunts were interpreted according to those traditions as a means of legitimating the Macedonian king's power. Given the modern convention of naming the age following Alexander's conquests and ruled by his Successors "Hellenistic," it may seem unnecessary to labour the point that Alexander ruled over and engaged with communities of Greeks in addition to Macedonians, Persians and wider Near Eastern peoples. However, in studies relating to his use of the royal hunt as an institution of the court to engage with the various peoples of his empire the Greeks are generally overlooked. Allsen excludes Greeks altogether from his analysis, stating that "while important as a social and recreational activity, it [the hunt] never acquired in Greece or Rome the political-military functions exhibited in the core territories."[1] He considers the situation to have changed only "when Alexander the Great embraced the Persian-style hunt."[2] Lane Fox draws a clear distinction between Alexander's use of the hunt to foster the integration of Persians at court and the role of the hunt in Greek cities.[3] Spawforth likewise does not consider the role of the hunt in Alexander's relations with the Greeks, only the negative attitude of some Greeks to his adoption of features of the Achaemenid royal hunt.[4] This aspect of Alexander's hunting is also not discussed by Briant or by Seyer.[5]

The apparent exclusion of Greeks from Alexander's royal hunts by modern scholarship is clearly an oversight as study of their participation potentially offers a new perspective into the poorly understood nature of Alexander's relations with the Greek states.[6] In his revaluation of Ephippus' account of Alexander's court dress, Spawforth concluded he could not have been a direct participant in the royal hunt he was observing and misrepresenting.[7] The anecdote of the Spartan ambassador witnessing a royal lion hunt and commenting that "Καλῶς γε, Ἀλέξανδρε, πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἠγώνισαι περὶ τᾶς βασιλείας" ("nobly indeed,

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[1] Allsen (2006), 15-16.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Lane Fox (1996).
[4] Spawforth (2012).
[5] Briant (1991); Seyer (2007).
[6] The poor state of understanding regarding Alexander's relations with Greek states is highlighted by Heisserer (1980), 3 and Worthington (2004), 60 and is largely a consequence of the literary sources' focus on Alexander and his character, see Introduction.
[7] Spawforth (2012).

Alexander, you have fought against the lion for the kingship"), demonstrates, however, that Greeks were involved in, and recognised the political significance of, these events.[8] That hunt took place in Syria and therefore must have occurred before Sparta was compelled to accept Macedonian hegemony.[9] Hunting is therefore seen within the arsenal of Alexander's diplomatic engagements with Greeks over whom he did not exercise control. Euthycles had, after all, been captured at Damascus after Issus, presumably while seeking the support of Darius for a Spartan led war against Macedonia in Greece.[10] The royal hunt can therefore be seen to have facilitated Alexander's diplomatic engagements with representatives from overtly hostile Greek states. Crucially, the representatives of these states recognised hunting, especially of big game, as being directly associated with his royal authority and this formed part of their communication.

It is apparent that in addition to engaging with these Greek states, Alexander also sought to exercise legitimate authority over many cities of the Greek mainland and islands even before incorporating those of Ionia and Aeolia in the early stages of his Asian expedition.[11] In Greece, the realities of Macedonian military dominance as the fundamental basis for Alexander's control of the states on the Greek mainland was self-evident. It had formed the basis of Philip's final settlement of affairs in Greece after his victory at Chaeronea with the creation of the Corinthian League and brought the open unrest in Greece to an abrupt end when Alexander razed Thebes. Both these instances highlight the need to consider Alexander's relations with Greeks with reference to Weber's terminology of power and legitimacy as they demonstrate the variety of roles and offices held by these two kings as a means of exercising legitimate authority beyond the borders of Macedonia.[12]

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[8] Plut. *Alex*. 40.3.

[9] Although not necessarily as a member of the League of Corinth. Arr. *Anab*. 1.1.2, 7.4 for Spartan absence from the League at the expedition's outset. Arr. *Anab*. 1.16.7 and Plut. *Alex*. 16.8 record the formula of the inscription ordered by Alexander after the Granicus as specifically excluding the Spartans from the achievements of the League. Agis III was seeking the support of Pharnabazus and Autophradates for an anti-Macedonian war in Greece at the time of Issus, Arr. *Anab*. 2.13.4-6. Plut. *Inst. Lac*. 240b states the Spartans never entered the common council or paid tribute, however, they clearly accepted Alexander's authority by the end of his reign as Damis apparently accepted the Macedonian's desire for recognition as a god, Plut. *Mor*. 219e; Bosworth (1980), 46-50, 75-77. The turning point was most likely the overwhelming Macedonian victory at the Battle of Megalopolis in which Agis himself was killed, Diod. Sic. 17.62.6-63.4.

[10] Euthycles' capture at Damascus, Arr. *Anab*. 2.15.2; cf. Bosworth (1980) 233-34. According to Xen. *Hell*. 3.5.1ff. the same tactic had forced the withdrawal of Agesilaus from Asia.

[11] For an outline of Alexander's conquest of the Aegean west coast and the settlements reached with the cities there see Bosworth (1993), 44-49, cf. 250-58.

[12] Weber (1978), 212-16, 226-32, 241-53.

Weber's own terms for power and legitimacy are *Macht* and *Herrschaft*, and his definition remains relevant and widely accepted in modern scholarship.[13] Weber identifies power, *Macht*, as the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.[14] Such a concept is readily identifiable with the reality of Macedonian military might. Gotter summarises the basis of power in this sense as "the pistol to the head" and this is clearly applicable to Alexander's position in relation to the Greek mainland where he quickly demonstrated his willingness to deploy force against those Greeks who violated the Common Peace.[15] In this sense Alexander's *Macht*, his raw power over events and individuals, is synonymous with the Greek concepts ἀρχή, κράτος, and especially δύναμις.[16] These are the three most common terms for power in ancient Greek and are viewed as central themes in many of the known sculptures and images of Alexander.[17]

However, it is evident from the source tradition regarding the exercise of power against Thebes that the concept of *Herrschaft*, at least as discussed by Weber, was also a factor in Alexander's relations with Greeks.[18] This is more difficult to define in English than *Macht*, which, although Weber was correct in identifying as a socially amorphous concept in which "all conceivable qualities of a person and all conceivable combinations of circumstances may put him in a position to impose his will," is ultimately defined by its end result.[19] *Herrschaft* however is the probability that a command with a given specific content will be obeyed by a given group of persons and "implies a minimum of voluntary compliance, that is, an interest…in obedience."[20] The term is variously translated in the 1978 English edition of *Economy and Society* as domination and as legitimacy. This chapter considers *Herrschaft* in

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[13] See for example the discussion of Gotter (2008), 180-82. Weber (1978), 54 derives his definition of the state as a ruling organisation within a territorial area and which "successfully upholds the claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force in the enforcement of its order" from the two concepts of power and legitimacy. This position continues to occupy a central place in debates regarding the existence of a Greek state, see for example Berent (2000), 260ff.; Anderson (2009), 2ff.

[14] Weber (1978), 53.

[15] Gotter (2008), 181.

[16] *LSJ, s.v.* ἀρχή; κράτος; δύναμις.

[17] See for example Stewart (1993), 130 on the Granicus Monument recorded by Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.4, Just. *Epit.* 11.6.12, Plut. *Alex.* 16.7 and Vell. Pat. 1.11.3-4; 140-47 on the Alexander Mosaic; 167; 193-203 on the images of Alexander Keraunophoros by Apelles (Plut. *Alex.* 4.3-4; Pliny, *NH* 35.92) and Porus dekadrachms. Cf. Cohen (2010), 162-70 for a sound dismissal of Stewart's argument that sexual domination is also a feature of Alexander's δύναμις represented in the Alexander Mosaic. Cohen (1997), 119 likewise views Alexander's power as the essential "message" of the mosaic. The terms for power in Greek are collected by Meier (1982), 820-30.

[18] As Gotter (2008), 182 notes, though Weber's conceptions of power and legitimacy may be valid for modern assessments of power-relations in historic societies, they may not reflect how those societies themselves conceptualised socio-political relationships.

[19] Weber (1978), 53.

[20] Ibid. 53, 212.

terms of legitimate authority (sometimes shortened simply to either legitimacy or authority) to convey the notion of an appeal to traditional Greek values aimed at justifying Alexander's possession of power and therefore make his domination of the Greeks acceptable within their own terms of reference.[21] The term legitimate authority aims to encompass the variety of formal positions held and settlements made by the Macedonian king with Greek societies in addition to appealing to traditional and customary bases on which power was held and accepted in those societies. The preceding chapters have used the terms power and legitimate authority, but it is only here, in relation to Greece, that a discussion of Weber's concepts has been provided. This is because the traditions examined in previous chapters were fundamentally those of kings and court societies. As such, the perception of legitimate authority was established through constant negotiations of status between king and court. As king Alexander was also within a court society and could insert himself into the existing conceptions of social hierarchies and legitimate royal power. In the case of Greece, however, there was no history of central authority and so Alexander had to find ways of justifying his power over Greek states in their own terms.

Both the source tradition and epigraphy highlight the importance Philip and Alexander attached to holding legitimate authority over the Greeks rather than simply exercising power. Philip had established himself not just as the Macedonian king, but, throughout his campaigns also came to be archon of Thessaly,[22] received the votes formerly held by the Phocians on the Amphictyonic Council,[23] and established the Corinthian League which formally bestowed on him the position of hegemon, giving him authority over the future affairs of its members and command of the planned campaign in Asia.[24] Alexander likewise received legitimate authority from the Greeks after his accession. Diodorus records that he was able to persuade the Thessalian League with kind words, promises and a reminder of their shared kindred through Heracles to formally recognise as his the leadership of Greece ("ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδας") which he had inherited from his father.[25] Similar settlements were made with the

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[21] The use of the term authority may be considered objectionable due to the potential for confusion with Roman *auctoritas*, but since this thesis does not approach Roman affairs there is in fact no basis for such an objection.
[22] Hammond (1994a), 48-49, 57.
[23] Diod. Sic. 16.59.4-60.1; Paus. 10.3.3, 8.2.
[24] Diod. Sic. 16.89.1-4; Hammond (1994a), 158-64; IG II² 236 in preserving the constitutions of members at the time of swearing the oaths and giving the hegemon, Philip, final say in action to be taken by the League, he had a degree of legitimate authority over the internal affairs of these states by possessing the right to restore a regime after revolution or take no action.
[25] Diod. Sic. 17.4.1; Just. *Epit*. 11.3.2 seems to refer instead to the Thessalian League acknowledging Alexander's inheritance of the position of archon, cf. Bosworth (1980b), 50 on these differences simply representing two parts of a single complex settlement of the Thessalian League granting Alexander legitimate authority.

neighbouring tribes and the Amphictyonic Council also formally voted to grant Alexander the leadership of the Greeks.[26] He then convened the delegates of the League of Corinth which proceeded to appoint him supreme general of the Greeks and undertook to place their citizens under his command in a war against Persia.[27]

Obtaining these positions within existing forms of inter-state relations and establishing the Corinthian League according to Greek diplomatic traditions for the cooperation of states, whether as individual cities or as leagues, provided Philip and Alexander with what might reasonably be described as formally sanctioned, legal authority.[28] This legal authority justified the power demonstrated by Philip at Chaeronea and by Alexander in his decisive action against Thebes. Even in Alexander's display of his power to utterly destroy one of the most significant Greek cities through force of arms there is a suggestion in the sources that he took care to present this as an exercise of legitimate authority sanctioned by Greeks. Arrian, Diodorus and Justin report that Alexander entrusted the fate of defeated Thebes to a vote of the allies.[29] The destruction of the city was almost certainly desired by the king since the council could only consist of those states who had remained loyal to the Corinthian League and its hegemon and been present at the siege.[30] It is however significant that even in the moment of a principally Macedonian demonstration of power, care was taken to invest Alexander with legitimate authority for the action.[31]

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[26] Diod. Sic. 17.4.2-3. Arr. *Anab.* 1.1.3 conflates all the settlements made between Alexander and the Greek states into one event at Corinth. He refers only to the Athenian reaction to the new king's arrival in Greece, stating they "conceded to him honours still greater than had been given to Philip." (πλείονα ἔτι τῶν Φιλίππῳ δοθέντων Ἀλεξάνδρῳ εἰς τιμὴν συγχωρῆσαι).

[27] Diod. Sic. 17.4.9; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 2.14.4. Plut. *Alex.* 11.5.1-5 and to a lesser extent Diod. Sic. 17.4.4 do however suggest that in the face of insurrection it was in fact overwhelming military force that secured the cooperation of Greece, see Bosworth (1993), 33.

[28] Perlman (1985), 156-67. The historical context of IG II² 329 = Tod, *GHI* no.183 has recently been debated as Worthington (2004), (2007) proposes a reconsideration of the traditional interpretation of the inscription as a renewal of the Common Peace established by the League of Corinth in 336, proposing instead that it records a bilateral agreement between Alexander and Athens providing for the defence of Macedonia against potential actions by the Persian fleet in 333-32. For the traditional dating of 336 see Worthington (2004), 60-62 with bibliography. An alternative view is proposed by Antela-Bernárdez (2007) that it represents the renewal of bilateral treaties between Alexander and the Greek states (in this case Athens) after the second Greek insurrection ended with the destruction of Thebes. See however the objections to this proposal raised by Worthington (2007). Within the current discussion, the precise historical context for this inscription is far less important than its significance as evidence for Alexander's use of formal agreements between himself and Athens as opposed to simply issuing orders.

[29] Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.9; Diod. Sic. 17.14.1-4 states, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀκολούθως τῇ τοῦ συνεδρίου γνώμῃ τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατασκάψας ("The king, in accordance with the decree of the council, destroyed the city"); Just. *Epit.* 11.4.1.

[30] Plut. *Alex.* 11.5-6; cf. Hamilton (1969), 30-31; Bosworth (1980b), 89-90; Cartledge (2004), 57 and more recently the discussion of Moore (2018).

[31] The treatment in Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.10ff. is apologetic, presenting Alexander as seeking a negotiated settlement, compelled to support an unauthorised attack by Perdiccas, uninvolved in the massacre inside the city and entrusting the fate of Thebes to his allies. The account may be coloured by Ptolemaic propaganda, but it is still

The existence of some sense of providing a legalistic justification as a basis of legitimate authority for Alexander is therefore apparent.[32] It is however the role of the royal hunt in making his possession of power acceptable by appealing to traditional Greek aristocratic values which concerns us here. In this he was following the legitimation strategies of other extra-constitutional monarchic rulers over Greeks which typically relied on appeals to traditional values linked with Homeric kings and personal charisma to justify their sovereignty.[33] Participation in the hunt, especially of big game, was especially significant among Greek aristocrats as it demonstrated both the remaining pure types of legitimate authority as defined by Weber: traditional and charismatic.[34] These bases of authority had a substantially longer history within elite Greek society than any notion of legalised, almost constitutional, authority and continued to be relevant in the fourth century. The hunt required a display of athletic and martial prowess that had been highly regarded as a justification for the possession of power at least since the Homeric heroes. As a result, the fourth century author, Xenophon, was able to write his treatise, *Cynegiticus* (*On Hunting*), recommending the hunt as a feature of aristocratic education to promote virtue (ἀρετή).[35]

The demonstration of heroic ἀρετή, originally an example of charismatic authority, had therefore been effectively institutionalised and become a source of traditional authority. Alexander's royal hunts were occasions where the king displayed his superlative ἀρετή by publicly gathering his nobles, marshalling his military resources and defeating dangerous wild animals in combat. We therefore see the royal hunt, and images of royal hunting, being deployed by Alexander in the same way as the diplomatic settlements and sculptures of the king such as the Acropolis-Erbach type, within the Greek system of values.[36] Rather than sanitising Alexander's power to make it tolerable to the Greeks, however, the royal hunt used that system of values to claim legitimate authority even when Alexander exceeded the narrow legal basis for action provided by his earlier diplomatic settlements. As a basis of legitimate authority within the system of traditional Greek values, but centred on the person of the king,

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significant that so soon after his death Alexander could be presented as wielding his power only with the consent of his allies rather than overruling them, cf. Bosworth (1980b), 78-90.

[32] *contra* Gotter (2008), 199.

[33] Luraghi (2013), 18; Mann (2013), 26.

[34] Weber (1978), 215, 226-32, 241-53.

[35] Xen. *Cyn*. 1.18-2.1; 12.1ff. ἀρετή means excellence or goodness of any kind possessed by anything, whether animate or inanimate. The term's use in Homer is the most relevant to consideration of hunting, taking the meaning of manhood, prowess or valour, *LSJ s.v.* It is worth noting however that in the passages of Xenophon cited above, the virtues learned by youths in the hunt are extended to also include management of the household, observing the laws and both speaking and hearing of righteousness.

[36] Stewart (1993), 107, 110-22; Troncoso (2010), 14. See Chapter 4 below for discussion of the Vergina hunting frieze in this context.

the royal hunt also encouraged Greeks to attach themselves to Alexander's royal court. This was a necessary requirement for the king's engagement with Greeks since he never returned to Greece once he crossed into Asia and there is no record of him conducting a hunt in Greece. As the court out of doors, participation in the royal hunt demonstrated proximity to the king and the centre of power over his domains. It therefore served to reinforce the authority of those who were admitted to such court events by allowing them to share in the chase and point to their recognition by the king.[37] In this sense, Alexander's use of the hunt reflects both the advice of Isocrates to his father and the advice supposedly given to him by Aristotle on how best to rule over the Greeks.[38]

The royal hunt provided Alexander with an institution of his own court that could be perceived as a source of legitimate authority among the disparate Greek states. Using the term "state" to describe the various societies of Greeks scattered around the Mediterranean, "living around the sea like ants or frogs around a pool," is itself somewhat problematic.[39] Whether these disparate societies, with their own constitutions and frequently in competition with each other, might be classified as states or whether it is even appropriate to think of Greek as a nationality in the ancient world, has been a source of debate for many decades.[40] The sociological definition of a state and its application to ancient Greek societies is not the issue here and it will be most profitable to acknowledge the statement of Starr that "one cannot avoid the term "state" in a political analysis…"[41] Those debates invariably accept the *polis* as the principle socio-political unit of Greek society for study,[42] accepting the *polis* as "the characteristic form of Greek urban life."[43]

The validity of using the *polis* as the "key analytical tool to study the political, economic and social history of the ancient Greeks" has however been questioned.[44] As seen above, Alexander claimed legitimate authority over ethnic and amphictyonic leagues of Greeks as

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[37] There is strong evidence for this in the two-way *xenia* relationships between Hellenistic kings and aristocratic citizens of Greek *poleis*, see Strootman (2014), 145-59. Demaratus of Corinth probably enjoyed this type of relationship as *xenos* of Philip II, Heckel (2009), *s.v.* Demaratus [1].
[38] Isoc. 5 (*To Philip*), 79-80; Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 329B.
[39] Plato, *Phaedo* 109b.
[40] See for example Walbank (2002), 234-56 = Walbank (1951), 41-60 on the issue of Greek nationality; Berent (2000), 257-89 takes the extreme position of rejecting the Greek *polis* as a state according to Weberian principles; Anderson (2009), 1-22, *contra* Berent argues for a broader definition of statehood in which the Greek *poleis* certainly qualify. See both Berent and Anderson for substantive bibliography on the issues of statehood.
[41] Starr (1986), 36.
[42] All studies in the footnote above consider Greek societies, whether or not they can be considered states, as concepts inseparable from the *polis*. See especially the bibliography in Anderson (2009), nn. 19-28.
[43] *OCD⁴*, *s.v. polis*.
[44] Vlassopoulos (2007), 3-8, 37.

well as individual *poleis* beyond the borders of Macedonia.[45] Additionally, we must remain aware that for the most part Greeks did not apply a technical meaning to the word *polis*. The term was used for a range of rural, non-urban and non-autonomous settlements.[46] It is also evident that by the end of his reign, Alexander was willing to unilaterally issue orders to all the Greeks, using the Panhellenic festival of the Olympic games as the platform for delivery of his Exiles Decree in 324 rather than the framework of league councils or issuing his decree to each individual *polis*.[47] To present his unilateral orders as justified by the possession of legitimate authority Alexander had to appeal to Greek values that transcended individual Greek states. Fortunately, any Panhellenic basis for legitimate authority derived from participation in the hunt will be present in those individual poleis. Furthermore, the consequences of the Exiles Decree were felt principally at the level of the *poleis* who, after the general announcement at Olympia, were compelled to make their own provisions for the return of exiles.[48] It was open for them to send embassies to plead special circumstances before the king, but there is no evidence these were undertaken above the level of the individual polis.[49] Bosworth has convincingly suggested that, at least in the case of the Peloponnese, the return of the exiles was deliberately intended to undermine the ethnic leagues of Achaeans and Arcadians by causing disruption in the individual *poleis*.[50] Reducing the cohesion of the federal leagues and compelling their members to appeal for exceptions as individual *poleis* further demonstrates the significance Alexander must have attached to Panhellenic bases of legitimate authority that were felt at the level of the *polis*.

This chapter proposes that Alexander was able to use his royal hunts to claim legitimate authority over the Greek *poleis* beyond the boundaries of his own kingship and the terms of treaties. "Beyond the boundaries of his own kingship" is not to suggest that the traditions of hunting in the Macedonian kingdom were completely alien to the citizens of poleis (or vice versa). Demosthenes may have denied the Macedonian king and his subjects any connection with Greek society, declaring,

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[45] The ongoing role of such organisations even during Alexander's reign is suggested by Hyperides' reference to κοινοὺς συλλόγους Ἀχαιῶν τε καὶ Ἀρκάδων (Hyp. *Dem*. Col.18). Burtt departs from Colin (1934) [καὶ τ]οι[ού]τω[ν] for the restoration of the line in the Loeb edition, in favour of Blass [καὶ Β]οι[ω]τῶ[ν]. See however the objections of Aymard (1937), 5-28; Badian (1961), n.105 and Bosworth (1993), 222, n.39 for the inclusion of the Boiotian League in such an order from Alexander.

[46] See Anderson (2009), 18 for various uses of the term by Greeks.

[47] Diod. Sic. 17.109.1-2, 18.8.3-5; Curt. 10.2.4-8.

[48] Tod (1948), nos. 201, 202.

[49] Or to Nicanor who had delivered the decree and appears to have had authority to negotiate the specific terms for the return of exiles, Din. 1.81-82; cf. Bosworth (1993), 221.

[50] Bosworth (1993), 223-24.

οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐχ Ἕλληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος, ὅθεν οὐδ᾽ ἀνδράποδον σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι.

> though he is not only no Greek, nor related to the Greeks, but not even a barbarian from any place that can be named with honour, but a pestilent knave from Macedonia, whence it was never yet possible to buy a decent slave.[51]

Such a position was however largely polemical. It was politically that the Macedonians were considered barbarians by their Greek neighbours, existing as a tribal ethnos ruled by Argead kings rather than a *polis*.[52] Despite this, the Macedonian court of the fourth century was clearly able to engage with Greek traditions and polis societies. Macedonia had existed since the Bronze Age within a wide political and cultural network that included Greek, Balkan and Near Eastern peoples.[53] The archaeological evidence from Vergina shows the extent of Macedonia's historic contacts with their Greek neighbours and this situation finds a parallel in the evidence from Aiani, the traditional capital of the Upper Macedonian kingdom of Elimiotis.[54] Macedonia shared a great deal with its Greek neighbours, including language,[55] mythology and religion and the Argead kings actively promoted these connections in their dealings with poleis.[56] Since the late fifth century they had retained the services of Greek artisans. Zeuxis, for example, was employed to decorate the palace of Archelaus and Euripides composed the *Archelaus* in honour of the Macedonian king.[57] Historic contacts

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[51] Demosthenes, *Third Philippic*, 31.

[52] Griffith (1965), 126; Ferguson (1991), Borza (1995), 113-20; 170; Engels (2010). Arist. *Pol.* 1261a30-31 for the *polis* as superior to the various forms of tribe, whether organised by villages or like the Arcadians. The ethnos was however an acceptable form of society in which Greeks could live, Arist. *Pol.* 1326b1f.; Walbank (2002), 249. On the diverse nature of Greek ethnicity see Malkin ed. (2001).

[53] See Introduction, nn. 5 and 6.

[54] On the excavations at Vergina see Andronicos (1992), 25, 30. For evidence of the ties between Elimiotis and the southern Greeks see Kefalidou (2001), 184ff.; Karamitsou-Mentessidi (2011), 97-99, 109-11.

[55] The position generally adopted in modern scholarship is that the Macedonians of the Classical Period certainly were Greek speakers (even if it was a distinct dialect). for example: Andronicos (1992), 84 argued that Macedonians were wholly Greek on the basis of Greek names and patronyms on grave stelae used in the construction of the Great Tumulus at Vergina. His view is moderated by Hammond to account for the lack of acceptance for Macedonians as Greeks among the poleis: Hammond (1994b), 138-42. Edson (1970), 20-24 on the Macedonians being regarded as distinctly alien.

[56] According to Hdt. 5.22 Alexander I was accepted as Greek in order to compete in the Olympics. Andronicos (1981), 365-66 draws a parallel between this reported event and the presence of a bronze tripod awarded as a prize at the Argive games in Tomb II at Vergina. The Hellenic credentials of Philip II were promoted by Isocrates, *Philip* 32 "Ἄργος μὲν γάρ ἐστί σοι πατρίς" and were sufficient to allow him to compete at the Olympics: Plut. *Alex*. 3.5. A similar model of political hellenisation is proposed for the neighbouring Molossian kingdom by Davies (2000), 234-58 and the same appeals by the Argeads to Greeks under claims of kinship are discussed by Borza (1995), 118-20 and in the Hellenistic world by Erskine (2002), 215-49.

[57] Aelian, *V.H.* 14.17.

between the Macedonian kings and the Greek poleis and their aristocrats are evident in the claims of Andocides to have utilised his family's *xenia* with Archelaus to supply Athens with oars and the titles of [προξενο]ς καὶ ε[ὐεργέτης] bestowed on Archelaus by Athens for his services to the city.[58] The cultural engagement of the Macedonian elite with classical drama appears, at least according to Plutarch, to have been quite thorough as Alexander supposedly quoted Euripides on a number of occasions, as did Cleitus at the fatal banquet at Maracanda.[59] Not only were the Macedonian kings and their court engaging with Greek aristocrats from the south, but they were also able to rule over poleis within their kingdom. Cities had been founded by Greek poleis along the Macedonian coast which, especially during the expansion by Philip II, came to be ruled as part of the Macedonian kingdom.[60] It is therefore evident a practice must have existed among the Argeads that was intended to present them as kings holding legitimate authority even over poleis. As Mitchell states, Philip and Alexander demonstrated "not just rule 'by the strength of the arm,' but an organized attempt to engage in the process of legitimate and consensual rule" which can also be inferred for earlier Argead kings.[61] The royal hunt represented an institution of the Macedonian royal court which could also appeal to the traditions of legitimate authority among Greeks.

The royal hunt was effective as a vehicle for legitimating Alexander's rule precisely because it appealed to Panhellenic traditions of authority shared with Macedonia. The primary difference was the setting of the hunt in Macedonia as part of the royal court. Even here the Greeks were not unfamiliar with such a setting since "monarchy remained an effective and appropriate constitutional option for much of the Greek world rather than existing merely as a theoretical possibility, or in the form of tyranny, as the ideological antithesis of democracy for the Athenians."[62] The dual kingship in Sparta of the Agiads and Eurypontids, the Aeacid kings of Molossia, Argeads of Macedonia and Battiads of Cyrene (dynasty terminated in the

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[58] Andoc. 2.11; Meiggs and Lewis (1969), no.91; Hdt. 8.136; cf. Borza (1995), 91. These contacts between the Macedonian king and Athenian aristocrats were still in effect in the fourth century, Plut. *Alex*. 9.11 on the *xenia* of Demaratus of Corinth with the Argeads, and also Demosthenes 49.26-31.

[59] Plut. *Alex*. 10.7 (*Medea* 288), 51.5 (verse 683), 53.2 (fragment of an unknown play by Euripides), 53.4 (*Bacchae* 266). Plut. *Alex*. 8.3 states that Harpalus sent Alexander the books of Philistus, tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles and Aeschylus and the dithyrambic poems of Telestes and Philoxenus. Nikoboule states that at the drinking party in Babylon before his death, Alexander recited an episode of Euripides' Andromeda, Ath. 12.53.537d (=Nikoboule, *BNJ* 127 F2). Hamilton (1969), 144 is correct to note the familiarity of the Macedonian elite with Euripides at least and that there is no reason to doubt the reports of Macedonian noblemen reciting his verses.

[60] The city of Amphipolis for example was founded by Athenian colonists, Thuc. 1.100. Carlier (2000), 260 notes the existence of poleis within the kingdom. The relationship between the ethnos of the Macedonians and the "internal" poleis of the kingdom are discussed by Hammond (1989), 13-14; Engels (2010), 81-98 and Hatzopoulos (2011b).

[61] Mitchell (2013a), 32.

[62] Brock and Hodkinson (2000), 16.

fifth century B.C.) highlight the prevalence, but also the variety of royal governance among Greeks. Aristotle recognised this variety in forms of royal constitution, identifying five distinct types of kingship throughout history and a scale between kingship κατὰ νόμον and παμβασιλεία.[63] He also highlights the difficulty for modern scholarship in distinguishing any given type of sole authority from monarchy by listing individuals who transformed their legitimate position of king or office holder and became tyrants.[64] The power of the numerous tyrants was by its very nature essentially royal and extraconstitutional and therefore must have made similar appeals to traditional virtues for legitimation. As a result, Mitchell suggests that ancient Greek monarchic, dynastic and royal constitutions are more effectively considered under a universal heading of "rulership."[65] To the list of dynasties making appeals to traditional sources of legitimate authority we may therefore add the Orthagorids of Sicyon (seventh to sixth centuries B.C.), Cypselids of Corinth (seventh to sixth centuries B.C.), Peisistratids of Athens (sixth century B.C.), Deinomenids and Dionysii of Syracuse (fifth to fourth centuries B.C.), and the dynasty of Pherae (fourth century B.C.). The recognition by Greeks such as Aristotle of such continuity and variety of these monarchic rulerships means we cannot accept the position of Luraghi that it was a fundamental and consistent notion on Greek thought that sole leadership inherently lacked legitimacy.[66]

When considering the role of the hunt within Greek aristocratic traditions of authority this view is contrary to the argument of Lane Fox. He has compared Neo-Assyrian royal hunting imagery with that of the contemporary Greek tyrannies and concluded that the Greek hunt, with its imagery of gift giving and erotic pursuit, "did not import a new monarchic culture into Greece," but that tyrants remained part of a fundamentally egalitarian aristocratic society.[67] Lane Fox is the only contributor in Shipley and Salmon's volume on human landscapes to make significant use of visual material from the Classical period and for the most part this is conscientiously supported by literary sources. However, in this instance his argument relies entirely upon an uncritical comparison of neo-Assyrian and archaic Greek representations of the group hunt. No reference is made to literary material relating to Greek tyrannies, to the iconography of the Greek hunt more broadly (which includes individual hunters and mythological hunting scenes), or to the necessity, universally accepted in modern

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[63] Arist. *Pol.* 1285a1ff.
[64] Arist. *Pol.* 1310b25-32.
[65] Mitchell (2013a), especially 48 following Lewis (2006), 8-9 "the more various ancient kingship is seen to be, the less distinct its boundary with tyranny appears." See also Oost (1976), 224-36.
[66] Luraghi (2013), 11. Even Greek responses to the extra-constitutional monarchic rulership of a tyrant were not uniformly negative see Thompson (2009), 66-91 discussion of the positive assessment of the Peisistratids in Herodotus and Thucydides that deliberately contrasts the popular view, cf. Hdt. 5.62-63, 6.12.3; Thuc. 2.37.1.
[67] Lane Fox (1996), 132-33.

studies, of examining hunting scenes holistically with any additional bands of decoration. As seen in the preceding chapters, the neo-Assyrian hunt did far more than simply revel in the glorification and religiosity of the king, and such a view of the royal hunt is also not supported by evidence from the equally contemporary Achaemenid empire. The argument that tyranny merely represents a divergent branch of egalitarian aristocratic society also falters in the face of Greek evidence. In the tale of Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus' advice to Periander of Corinth, it is apparent that a tyrant is perceived to suffer no equals within his city; and in the *Politics*, Aristotle identifies the tyrant as the deviant form of monarchic power rather than of aristocratic rule.[68] The historical reality that violent competition for status among aristocratic families was the context from which the tyrannies generally emerged is not relevant.[69] By the fourth century tyranny was perceived as a deviant form of constitution, particularly of monarchy, but could also be applied to improperly conducted rule of the few or even of the people.[70]

In much the same way as the Achaemenid kings and the elites of their empire, the Argeads incorporated elements of artistic tradition and themes from their neighbours, but remained capable of adapting these to reflect the particular interests of Macedonian court society.[71] As Palagia observes, the apparent inclusion of Greek, especially Attic, themes in Macedonia does not allow one to conclude that Macedonian imagery is a branch of Attic artistic tradition with the same meanings.[72] It is, however, quite reasonable to look for the point where congruences, whether real, perceived or fabricated, existed between Argead and Greek perceptions of hunting.[73] In the case of Greece and Macedonia there was sufficient familiarity among these groups to ensure that the different contexts of hunting action readily translated between them.

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[68] Hdt. 5.92. On the competing interpretations of this passage see Forsdyke (1999) and Moles (2007). The connection between this passage and the jealousy of tyrannical Cambyses has been observed in Chapter 2, n.97. Arist. *Pol.* 1310b3-1311a23 is further noteworthy in that it also refers to Thrasybulus' advice to Periander: ἡ τῶν ὑπερεχόντων σταχύων κόλουσις ("his docking of the prominent cornstalks"); cf. 1279a22ff.; 1313a34ff. Aristotle even includes Cypselus in his list of those who became tyrants having already possessed βασιλείας ὑπαρχούσης, a view supported in Herodotus' account of the oracle regarding Cypselus' birth at 5.92. This passage also distinguishes the aristocratic oligarchy of the Bacchiadae from the monarchy and tyranny of the Cypselids; cf. Hdt. 3.80-82 in which tyranny and kingship likewise appear to be two forms of monarchy distinguished from the forms of oligarchy. Nichols (1992), 95, both democracy and oligarchy are comparable to tyranny in their extreme forms, Arist. *Pol.* 1292a15-24, cf. 1293a35f. and reiterated in Aristotle's anecdote of Thrasybulus.

[69] See Donlan (1980), 36-47, 74; Forsdyke (1999), 361-65.

[70] Fortenbaugh (1991), 227-29; Jordović (2011), 36. See Thompson (2009), 66-91 discussion of the positive assessment of the Peisistratids in Herodotus and Thucydides that deliberately contrasts the popular view, cf. Hdt. 5.62-63, 6.12.3; Thuc. 2.37.1.

[71] Paspalas (2011), 201, 207.

[72] Palagia (2014), 255-56 specifically criticises Franks (2012), 67-72 reading of the Vergina hunt frieze "as adhering to the paradigm of the hunting-maturation myth preserved in the Homeric epics" represented in Attic representations of the Kalydonian boar hunt and group hunt.

[73] The starting point for a middle ground as defined by White (2011).

Chapter 4 will highlight how the theme of the hunt existed as a source of legitimate royal authority in the Macedonian court. The following sections of this chapter will identify the role of hunting in conceptions of authority throughout the diverse states of Greece.

3.1. Homeric Rulership

3.1.1. The relevance of Homeric epic

The first stage in demonstrating that Alexander used his own royal hunt to legitimate his power over Greeks according to their own traditions is to assess the role of hunting as a source of legitimate authority in a Panhellenic context. The natural starting point is therefore to examine the significance of the hunt in Homeric epic. The poems held truly Panhellenic appeal and were widely accepted as historical reality among the Greeks.[74] Presenting a system of social relations and (sometimes competing) claims to leadership among ruling elites, the epics express a set of elite values that transcended the historical and constitutional circumstances of any individual *polis*.[75] Furthermore, as Carney observes, these values of Homeric culture, especially the competitive display of excellence (ἀρετή) did not disappear from Greek society between the Dark Age and the Archaic period, but continued to affect the behaviour of historic armies.[76]

The question of a historic Homeric society and its values has received a great deal of attention in modern scholarship with little consensus reached. Although now overtaken by more recent studies building on it, the starting point for studies of Homeric society remains Finley's *The World of Odysseus*, first published in 1954, which introduces nearly all key aspects of the debate.[77] Finley substantially developed the earlier view of Nilsson by arguing that despite

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[74] Hdt. 1.1-5; Thuc. 1.3; Plat. *Rep*. 392Cff., 393C7-398B4, 606E, 607A; Manning (1992), 121; Finley (2009); Griffin (2004). The epics appear to have entered into their surviving written form by the mid-sixth century B.C. having existed for an unknown period of time as purely oral compositions using a tradition of formulaic language: Hainsworth (1992), 66-69; Scodel (2004), 47; Dowden (2004), 188; Finley (1979), 34 states that elements of the poems unquestionably existed as independent shorter poetic episodes.
[75] Finley (1979); Morris (1986), 123-24; Scodel (2002), 180; Hammer (2009), 28-29.
[76] Carney (1996b), 21 uses the term armies. As the army of the *polis* is composed of adult male citizens this should be seen as an indication of societal values.
[77] Finley (1979), especially ch.2 and Appendix I, "The World of Odysseus Revisited".

Mycenaean survivals in the epics, the key elements of society depicted are datable to the Dark Age and Archaic period shortly prior to their crystallisation in writing.[78]

The epic poems therefore not only offer insight to the Greeks' perceptions of their own ancient traditions of leadership,[79] but the widely held view in modern scholarship that the Macedonian kingdom preserved features of Homeric society makes them especially relevant in arguing that an institution of the Macedonian royal court was presented as a source of legitimate authority over Greeks. Indeed, the question of Homeric historicity is only of relevance to this thesis due to the widespread opinion that Macedonian conservatism preserved features of Archaic Greek society into the fourth century. The supposedly Homeric elements of the Macedonian aristocracy are more fully discussed in Chapter 4, but the association of the Macedonian kings and nobility with the values of Homer's heroes is generally accepted.[80] In particular, Homeric society has sometimes been considered essentially feudal in structure, an interpretation also regularly made of fourth century Macedonia and considered one of the archaisms setting the kingdom aside from polis societies.[81] However, despite some superficial similarities between Homeric and Macedonian kingship with that of Medieval feudalism neither society can be considered truly feudal and the practice of loosely applying technical terms from one period to the other is best avoided.[82] In any event, the Homeric world is now widely considered to reflect the societies of the Dark Age or early Archaic period, exhibiting features better associated with chiefdoms rather than the larger, more defined feudal societies of the Middle Ages.[83] Rather than seeing the fourth

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[78] Nilsson (1933); See also Snodgrass (1974), 114-125; Van Wees (1992). In particular, Finley identifies the world of Homeric heroes as a society prior to the establishment of the polis communities. This has been challenged, for example by Hammer (2009), 19-21, 37-38. The ambition to place episodes of Greek myth within a historical framework extends beyond the poems of Homer, for example Brundage (1958), 225-236 attempts to establish a potential historical basis for the development of the established Greek myth of Heracles and his place in relation to other myths of the Greeks, and Davies (1992), 221 highlights the need for caution when suggesting a historical basis for myth with reference to attempts at finding a historical basis for Seven Against Thebes to make this point. Despite his awareness of the limitations of the epics as history, Finley remained determined to seek a historical explanation for the Trojan War itself.

[79] As evidenced by the inclusion of the kingship from the heroic period by Aristotle, *Pol*. 1285b3-11.

[80] Those who accept the preservation of customs and institutions from Homeric times include Fredricksmeyer (1990), 304; Kottaridi (2011a), 2.

[81] Nilsson (1933), 212ff.; Engels (2010), 92 states "In the eyes of most Greeks who came from a Classical polis the Macedonian kingdom, despite an increasing urbanization, also preserved old-fashioned, strong feudal structures."

[82] Stagakis (1966), 409ff. contra Nilsson (1933); Millett (2010), 478, n.21; Ferguson (1991), 176-77. It is helpful at this point to note the warnings of Kuhrt (1984), 159; and of Lane Fox (2007), 268-70 that there are only so many ways in which royalty can present itself.

[83] On the nature and development of chiefdoms see Earle ed. (1991), especially Ferguson (1991) for Dark Age and early Archaic period as a society of chiefdoms cf. Donlan (1982), (2007). Identifying the Age of Homer: Coldstream (1976); Donlan (1985); Emlyn-Jones, Hardwick and Purkis, eds. (1992); Finley (1979), 16-17, 31-34, 46-48; Osborne (2004), 206-219. Delvoye (1955), 164-66 reminds us forcefully of the need to be aware of the breadth of periods represented in the epics. Several features within the epics are most likely derived from the Near East. The Homeric palace, especially the extensive description of the palace of Alkinoos (*Od*. 7.81ff.) appear to be derived from contemporary Near Eastern concepts of the royal palace as a physical manifestation of

century Macedonian monarchy and aristocracy as preserving archaic institutions, it may therefore be more accurate to consider them as highly competitive and self-conscious in their adherence to the elite values of Homeric society.[84]

These aspects of heroic rulership are especially vital to this thesis due to Alexander the Great's reported fascination with and emulation of his own heroic ancestors Achilles and Heracles.[85] The kings in epic are particularly valuable to a study of Alexander as they may represent two of Aristotle's monarchic forms: the hereditary legal kingships over willing subjects in the heroic period would naturally seem to refer to the mortal βασιλεύς or ἄναξ of the poems whereas the Homeric Zeus could be Aristotle's παμβασιλεύς.[86] This section therefore identifies the key issues of society and kingship depicted in the Homeric epics to appreciate what traditions of leadership were evoked by participation in the hunt during the fourth century.

3.1.2. The significance of heroic Ἀρετή in the Iliad and Odyssey

So what were the values of Homeric society? Adkins identified these values essentially as a dichotomy.[87] Each individual is upon a finite measure between the status of ἀγαθός and κακός and their interactions with others are based upon their perceived standing on this line.[88] The higher the status of the individual, the greater honour, or respect, (τιμή) is due to him. However, this τιμή must be earned and maintained through successful demonstrations of

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authority incorporating the imagery ad ideology of hunting. Cook (2004), 43-77 argues for a Near Eastern (Neo-Assyrian) source, but suggests these features were introduced by way of Phoenician intermediaries; Bassett (1919), 288-311; cf. Gray (1950), 1-12 believes the ultimate parallels are in fact Mycenaean.

[84] Carney and Ogden (2010), xix; Hammond and Griffith (1979), 156; Badian (1963), 247; Borza (1995), 168. One of the few voices of dissent can be found in Nagle (1996), 159-62 who appropriately considers the question of Macedonia as a heroic kingship according to Aristotle's understanding of royal rule in heroic times.

[85] Plut. *Alex.* 2.1 states of Alexander's ancestry: Ἀλέξανδρος ὅτι τῷ γένει πρὸς πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Ἡρακλείδης ἀπὸ Καράνου, πρὸς δὲ μητρὸς Αἰακίδης ἀπὸ Νεοπτολέμου. ("As for the lineage of Alexander, on his father's side he was a descendant of Heracles through Caranus, and on his mother's side a descendant of Aeacus through Neoptolemus"). Hammond (1991b) proposes the introduction of Caranus to the Argead king list by Archelaus contra Greenwalt (1985), 43-49 who favours Amyntas III. Alexander is reported as emulating even the negative aspects of Achilles' behaviour during his campaign, for example Curt. 4.6.29 in which he mutilates the body of Batis and drags it around the fallen city of Gaza cf. *Il.* 22.396-400, see Maitland (2015), 5-7 who convincingly argues there is little reason to doubt the historicity of this event contra Pearson (1960), 247 who considers the incident an example of extremely poor taste on the part of Hegesias with no evidence for such treatment on the part of Alexander. The examples of Alexander's emulation of Achilles are collected by Heckel (2015), with references, who argues that emulation of Achilles is largely literary invention by Alexander historians and that it is emulation of Herakles which genuinely interested the king. We likewise see examples of emulation of Dionysus: Arr. *Anab.* 6.28.1-2.

[86] Arist. *Pol.* 1285b1-30.

[87] Adkins (1971), 5-11.

[88] Van Wees (1992), 69, n. 18.

ἀρετή and is represented by one's physical share (μοῖρα) of possessions.[89] Intentions are unimportant and it is the actual presence or absence of material objects demonstrating τιμή that matters. Adkins cites *Od.* 12.377ff. in support as the Sun finds the dire straits of Odysseus' men irrelevant when they destroy his possessions and thereby diminish his τιμή.[90]

The epics therefore present an intensely competitive and individualistic society in which success is paramount and invariably comes at another's expense as part of a zero-sum competition for status. It is therefore vital for the Homeric hero not to be slighted, or to act in any way that might diminish his ἀρετή. The *Iliad* is, at its core, the account of a status contest in this elite society where "a provoked but fiercely introspective and precisely responsive young man becomes angry, and his anger trumps his community's desperate need for help."[91] Two passages are regularly interpreted as evidence that Homeric society represents a "shame-culture":[92]

> "ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δὴ τοσσόνδε βίης ἐπιδευέες εἰμὲν
> ἀντιθέου Ὀδυσῆος, ὅ τ᾽ οὐ δυνάμεσθα τανύσσαι
> τόξον· ἐλεγχείη δὲ καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι."

> "But I mourn if in truth we fall so far short of godlike Odysseus
> in strength, seeing that we cannot string his
> bow; this is a reproach that even men yet to come will hear of."[93]

> "ὤ μοι ἐγώ, τί πάθω; μέγα μὲν κακὸν αἴ κε φέβωμαι
> πληθὺν ταρβήσας· τὸ δὲ ῥίγιον αἴ κεν ἁλώω
> μοῦνος· τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους Δαναοὺς ἐφόβησε Κρονίων.
> ἀλλὰ τί ἦ μοι ταῦτα φίλος διελέξατο θυμός;
> οἶδα γὰρ ὅττι κακοὶ μὲν ἀποίχονται πολέμοιο,
> ὃς δέ κ᾽ ἀριστεύῃσι μάχῃ ἔνι, τὸν δὲ μάλα χρεὼ
> ἑστάμεναι κρατερῶς, ἤ τ᾽ ἔβλητ᾽ ἤ τ᾽ ἔβαλ᾽ ἄλλον."

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[89] Adkins (1969), 14-15.
[90] Adkins (1972), 6-7. Davies (1992), 224-25 states it has been pointed out "almost ad nauseam since Adkins that the *Iliad* celebrates and encapsulates the heroic code of competitive behaviour" and "provides a paradigm of monarchy, legitimated by military powers and pre-eminence and rewarded by the possession of estates."
[91] Lateiner (2004), 11, cf. 15-16.
[92] See for example Claus (1975), 13-28 and Hooker (1987), 121-25.
[93] *Od.* 21.253-55.

"Ah me; what will become of me? Great evil if I flee seized with fear

of the mass of men; but a worse thing if I am taken all alone,

for the son of Kronos has scattered the rest of the Danaans in flight.

But why does my heart debate these things with me?

For I know that cowards walk away from war,

but whoever is preeminent in battle, for him surely there is great need

to boldly hold his ground, whether he be struck, or strike another."[94]

In the first passage, Eurymachus is more concerned by the prospect of public shaming because he has failed to equal Odysseus than by the consequence that he therefore has not won Penelope.[95] The second passage highlights the contradictory demands to which Odysseus is subject.[96] Retreating from the enemy is shameful, but at the same time defeat and death represents a fairly substantial, insurmountable, loss of status to another.

Constant competitive display of ἀρετή to signal authority is undoubtedly at the core of Homeric rulership, although Adkins' model of Homeric society dominated by exclusively competitive values at the absolute expense of cooperative achievement has faced challenge and moderation. Long identifies Hector's speech to Glaucus (*Il.* 17.170-182) as acceptance that even an ἀγαθός cannot be successful all the time and that in this instance some emphasis is placed on the attempt to recover the body of Sarpedon despite the lack of success.[97] Therefore there are indications in the poem that the heroes do not always act exclusively in their own self-interest, but acknowledge an obligation to act in the interests of the group at large at the expense of their own on occasion. For example Agamemnon states immediately before precipitating the quarrel:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἐθέλω δόμεναι πάλιν, εἰ τό γ᾽ ἄμεινον·

βούλομ᾽ ἐγὼ λαὸν σόον ἔμμεναι ἢ ἀπολέσθαι.

But even so I am minded to give her back if that is better;

I would rather have the army safe than perishing.[98]

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[94] *Il.* 11.404-10.

[95] de Jong (2004), 515. Scodel (2002), 197 observes that the suitors generally lack a sense of shame with respect to their poor reputation, cf. *Od.* 21.331-33. It is in the context of failure in competition against Odysseus that the suitors are shamed; cf. Long (1970),137-38 observing that the very rare word αἰσχρόν and subsequent ἐλεγχείη are restricted to the public response to defeat.

[96] Claus (1975), 16.

[97] Long (1970), 123.

[98] Il. 1.116-17. On the translation of ἄμεινον as "better" and what is meant by that word see the criticism of Adkins' translation as "more advantageous" by Gagarin (1987), 298 who persuasively suggests this is to force a

Furthermore, Homeric society places limits upon the attainment of success. Adkins states that although it is never shameful in itself to dishonour, or refuse honour to, an ἀγαθός the inevitable reprisals mean it will usually be foolish.[99] Αἶσχος may also be attached to actions of a hero which, though successful, exceed acceptable behaviour.[100] In fact, the heroes of the epics must acknowledge and respect the τιμή of those they encounter and actions which deliberately damage the τιμή of another, whether by physically degrading their person or damaging their wealth, are ὕβρις.[101] The dividing line is a fine one, however, as gloating, mutilation and the stripping of corpses are regular features of the *Iliad* and actions which seem gratuitously violent and excessive but are not met with any condemnation.[102] Indeed, the pursuit of ἀρετή is itself likely to drive the hero to dangerous extremes of anger and recklessness.[103] This causes Diomedes to descend into the frenzied and self-destructive fury of a wild animal.[104]

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meaning to fit the model of competitive Homeric society, and prefers a moral reading of "better" to imply concern for the army as a whole, beyond Agamemnon's personal interests; cf. Adkins (1987), 316-19 response to Gagarin in which he accepts the translation as "better" but argues that since the army is a vehicle for the collection and redistribution of τιμή on behalf of Agamemnon, its success (and survival) is a demonstration of his own ἀρετή and, a fortiori he must not lead it to failure. His concern is therefore not moral but motivated entirely by self-interest. Both readings of "better" are equally valid and supported by usage elsewhere in the *Iliad*: 1.274 is equally ambiguous; 3.11 is clearly better translated as "more advantageous" referring to a thief's preference for night; 15.641 is undoubtedly moral and is directly connected with ἀρετή; 22.158 in describing Achilles as "far better" even than the good Hector supports a moral interpretation. As a comparative of ἀγαθός, the status to which all the heroes belong and define themselves in contrast to a κακός, the episode can be viewed both morally and as a matter of status in which Agamemnon promotes his own dominant position as commander-in-chief. He does, after all, immediately demand a new prize in exchange for the one he has just given up as it would not be fitting for him alone to be without one, *Il.* 1.118-20. It is probably a false distinction to completely separate the moral "rightness" from successful demonstrations of ἀρετή.
[99] Adkins (1971), 9.
[100] Long (1970), 132; cf. Brooks (1977), 455-456 use of *Od.* 24.531-45 to demonstrate just this point. Odysseus must be prevented from slaughtering the suitors' families by Zeus and Athena. If Adkins' model of success and honour, especially in the martial sphere, as the only real criterion for an ἀγαθός was unqualified then there would be no cause for the gods to restrain Odysseus from butchering his enemies to a man.
[101] *Il.* 24.56ff. Zeus declares both Achilles and Hector have reason to be honoured by the gods on Olympus, one as kin and the other for making many sacrifices. ὕβρις is used to describe the suitors nineteen times in the Odyssey as they feast and abuse the house of Odysseus cf. Fisher (1976), 186 cf. *Od.* 1.224-29. The physical shell of the house as well as the contents within are all representative of the owner's τιμή The supreme value placed upon the οἶκος as signifier of collected ἀρετή is indicated by the ferocity of Odysseus' revenge, Halverson (1992), 188. The direct association between house and household is seen in tragedy: Castellani (1976), 83; cf. Pl., *Resp.* 10.607a καὶ συγχωρεῖν Ὅμηρον ποιητικώτατον εἶναι καὶ πρῶτον τῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν.
[102] Lateiner (2004), 19-20 cf. *Il.* 2.355-56; 6.55-71, 480; 15.347.
[103] Clarke (2004), 80.
[104] Clarke (2004), 81-5. The honour received for great accomplishments on the battlefield might even equal that given to the gods: *Il.* 6.407, 441-65; 8.538-41; 13.825-29. The association of a king with the fury of a wild animal in battle is one found with particular frequency in the empires of the Near East: *ARE* II, 309-10; *ARE* IV, 25; Luckenbill (1924), 44 = Oriental Institute Prism Col. V 67-73.

"… ἀλλ᾿ ὅδε λίην

μαίνεται, οὐδέ τίς οἱ δύναται μένος ἰσοφαρίζειν."

*"…*but beyond all measure

this man raves, nobody has strength to rival him in force."[105]

Clearly there are limits to acceptable behaviour that are calculated beyond mere success. The most accurate interpretation is likely that of Morris: the cooperative values seen by Long exist but are only visible at a deeper level than the ethical system of competitive values or shame-culture that Adkins elucidates.[106] The moderations of Adkins' assessment of Homeric society have primarily, and successfully, questioned his denial of cooperative values among the heroes. It must also be considered whether the society of heroes can in fact be characterised as at all dominated by truly competitive values. The competitive interactions necessary to demonstrate ἀρετή can only be undertaken by social equals and the very act of participating in that competition is sufficient to qualify a person as a possessor of ἀρετή. Not only that, but whereas ἀρετή must be earned by direct action, τιμή is dependent upon those who bestow the honour, making it a distributive rather than a competitive value.[107] Such an interpretation of τιμή finds support in the fact that it only appears in the formula ἔμμορε τιμῆς.

Finkelberg cites the aborted spear-throwing contest at the funeral games of Patroclus as the key passage for this argument (*Il.* 23.884-97), stating that "a society in which a contest can be won without even a slight effort on the part of the winner can hardly be considered an embodiment of the competitive values."[108] This seems a rather simplistic conclusion for a world that requires precise and very carefully measured responses amongst heroes. Achilles in particular consistently displays an obsession with observing the proprieties of heroic exchange and operating within his society's complex system of mannered behaviour.[109] Achilles declares "… ἴδμεν γὰρ ὅσον προβέβηκας ἁπάντωνἠδ᾽ ὅσσον δυνάμει τε καὶ ἥμασιν ἔπλευ ἄριστος·" ("we know how far you surpass everyone, and how you were the best in power and casting the spear"). The very basis on which he awards first prize to Agamemnon recalls and finally reconciles the quarrel between the two, caused by conflicting

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[105] Il.6.100-01.
[106] Morris (1986), 117. This position is also adopted by Van Wees (1992), 72 who ranks features of male excellence as 1) military prowess, 2) excellence in counsel, and 3) good looks.
[107] Finkelberg (1998), 14-28.
[108] Finkelberg (1998), 17.
[109] Claus (1975), 28.

claims to leadership, which has been the basis of Achilles' withdrawal from the battlefield.[110] Though non-violent this is still a competition and therefore exposes the loser to shame in response to the victor's honour.[111] All competition, other than duels to the death, are subject to considerable restraints as greater credit will be given to those superior in rank or whose reputations are already established.[112] However this recognition is τιμή and therefore it is incorrect to state that ἀρετή is predetermined by physical qualities from birth and wealth rather than being demonstrated in fair competition.[113] It may be true that ἀρετή is predetermined, but this can only earn the hero τιμή the status he enjoys, through competitive action.[114]

Despite the clear social distinction between Agamemnon and Meriones, it is unlikely that in these circumstances Achilles would casually disregard the latter, especially since he is the θεράπων of Idomeneus.[115] Concerns are raised throughout the funeral games about the appropriate balance between existing τιμή and the ἀρετή displayed during the contest in the awards of prizes. For example, after the chariot race it is suggested that Eumelus, who came in fifth, should receive second prize in recognition of the fact that he is in fact the most skilled driver.[116] This suggestion is met by a formal protest from Antilochus who had himself come in second, but at no stage is it ever suggested Eumelus should receive fifth prize, a reward that would not equal his τιμή. Social status and acknowledged skill are seen to contribute to the calculation of τιμή to be awarded but should not be the dominant factor and must not ἀτιμαν those who have demonstrated their ἀρετή and therefore expect τιμή. Menelaus' own formal protest against Antilochus' conduct during the race highlights the importance of fair competition and also recognises, but seeks to diminish, the impact his own rank is likely to play.[117] In the absence of any complaint from Meriones or any of the other Achaeans in the aborted spear-throwing contest, Achilles' proposal must be the most sensitive course available. If Agamemnon truly is the best among the Achaeans at spear-throwing then,

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[110] Kirk (1993) 270.
[111] *Il.* 4.385-98 the shame of being soundly beaten even in friendly contests can elicit violent reaction.
[112] Van Wees (1992), 100.
[113] Finkelberg (1998), 20.
[114] *Iliad* quotes: Nestor says Achilles' τιμή will benefit only him; 12.310-28. Rose (1992), 201-02 cites *Od.* 4.62-4, 203-11 to demonstrate the importance of inherited virtue and excellence and the insistence of continuity of excellence in ruling families. Note however *Od.* 24.506-15 where the display of these virtues remains vitally important and a source of joy for family members.
[115] Agamemnon is described as Ἀτρεΐδης εὐρὺ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων contrasted with Meriones, θεράπων ἐΰς Ἰδομενῆος.
[116] *Il.* 23.534-65.
[117] *Il.* 23.576-78.

combined with his superior status, Meriones simply cannot win. By declaring himself willing to compete however, the worthy θεράπων of Idomeneus has displayed his own ἀρετή.[118] He therefore receives the second prize, the τιμή he has earned, but has not suffered the shame of defeat. The situation is evidently more complex than Adkins' model suggests as a variety of factors constrain the competition for τιμή and the ends do not entirely justify the means of achieving one's task. Societal conflict in the epics is regularly a question of due deference and how to calculate an individual's share of τιμή when there are numerous scales of value within this sophisticated society of heroes.[119]

3.1.3. Hunting as a demonstration of ἀρετή in epic

The display and recognition of both ἀρετή and τιμή are evidently the key features of Homeric kingship. The primary environment for display of these virtues is combat on the battlefield. However, throughout the poems such combat is equated with hunting by the use of similes that highlight the strength and ferocity of the heroes. These are not restricted to the hunting of wild animals by humans, but include likening the hero himself to a wild beast attacking domesticated animals or the human response to wild incursions.[120] This creates an explicit connection in Homeric epic between the virtues of the battlefield that are so vital to heroic kings and the activities of the hunt. Despite this, within the main plot of the epics hunting occurs only rarely and is always undertaken for the sole purpose of nutrition.[121] The first is a hunt of wild goats just off the isle of the cyclopes. Odysseus and his ἑταῖροι hunt these animals and the bag is shared evenly between the ships for a feast, but with an additional ten going to Odysseus himself.[122] The second is on Aiaia when Odysseus alone engages an especially large stag whilst armed with his spear and sword. In this case he comes upon the animal by chance, kills it with his spear and then uses his cunning to return it to the ship for a feast.[123] The latter event in particular reaffirms the association between hunting and

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[118] Finkelberg (1998).
[119] Van Wees (1992), 122-24.
[120] See the list of both extended and abbreviated similes utilising lion attacks to describe heroic aggression at Appendix 2 of Markoe (1989), 114-15 and the extension by Alden (2005), 335-36, n.8; Lonsdale (1990), 71-102. The parallel between heroic action on the battlefield and the role of shepherd occasionally occupied by Homeric heroes at the limits of society defending flocks from wild animals have already been observed in Chapter 1 above, n.49.
[121] Lane Fox (1996), 128.
[122] *Od*. 9.150 -61.
[123] *Od*. 10.156-72.

war as equal arenas for the display of ἀρετή. The language used is that of heroic single combat:[124]

ὅς ῥά μοι ὑψίκερων ἔλαφον μέγαν εἰς ὁδὸν αὐτὴν

ἧκεν. ὁ μὲν ποταμόνδε κατήιεν ἐκ νομοῦ ὕλης

πιόμενος· δὴ γάρ μιν ἔχεν μένος ἠελίοιο.

τὸν δ᾽ ἐγὼ ἐκβαίνοντα κατ᾽ ἄκνηστιν μέσα νῶτα

πλῆξα· τὸ δ᾽ ἀντικρὺ δόρυ χάλκεον ἐξεπέρησε,

κὰδ δ᾽ ἔπεσ᾽ ἐν κονίῃσι μακών, ἀπὸ δ᾽ ἔπτατο θυμός.

τῷ δ᾽ ἐγὼ ἐμβαίνων δόρυ χάλκεον ἐξ ὠτειλῆς

εἰρυσάμην·

and sent a great, high-horned stag into my very

path. He was coming down to the river from his pasture in the wood

to drink, for the power of the sun oppressed him.

and as he came out I struck him on the spine in the middle of the

back, and the bronze spear passed right through him,

and down he fell in the dust with a moan, and his spirit flew from him.

Then I planted my foot upon him, and drew the bronze spear from the wound,

and left it there to lie on the ground.

The weaponry carried by Odysseus is different to that of the earlier hunt and the language of combat seems out of place when used against a stag rather than an opposing hero.[125] The description of the stag as μάλα γὰρ μέγα θηρίον ἦεν is repeated twice in the space of ten lines and the use of the formulaic phrase δεινοῖο πελώρου further serves to reassert the status of Odysseus as a heroic king, an ἀγαθός, by demonstrating his ἀρετή even in the wilderness in an environment without fellow heroes.[126]

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[124] Schmoll (1987), 22-28; Heubeck (1989), 162-65; Scodel (1994), 530.

[125] Roessel (1989), 34-36; Alexander (1991), 520-24 suggest the incident with the stag is a displaced episode from an alternative version of the poem.

[126] Roessel (1989), 31-33 identifies the repetition of μάλα γὰρ μέγα θηρίον ἦεν at lines 171 and 180 and provides examples from throughout epic to demonstrate the significance of the phrase δεινοῖο πελώρου, ("terrible beast"). Schmoll (1987), 22 suggests the heroic nature of Odysseus' combat with the stag is further enhanced by the location of the incident on Aiaia were men are turned into animals, "Odysseus is not simply encountering a stag, but is pitted against a warrior in panoply of horn and hoof." Whether the stag is understood as a genuine opposing hero in the body of a stag, or simply a particularly impressive example of big game, the importance of the episode lies in Odysseus' victory. Birge (1993), 17-28 argues the hunt signifies the liminality of Odysseus, beyond the realm of men, cf. Vidal-Naquet (1986a), 18-30.

Equally important for establishing the significance of the hunt as a demonstration of heroic status in Homeric society is the culmination of both hunts in a communal feast overseen by Odysseus. His status in society is reinforced not only by proving himself as a warrior, but also by distributing the spoil and food for a feast. The ability to provide food for a communal feast among companions defines the heroic social order.[127] Such feasting is seen throughout Homeric epic as a vital feature of male bonding and is also expressly linked with participation in the hunt on a number of occasions.[128] This significance of the hunt as an institution of Homeric social order is evident in the two significant hunts to be related in flashbacks: that of the Kalydonian Boar,[129] and the hunt of Odysseus with his maternal uncles which leads to the scar by which Eurykleia is able to identify him.[130] Both hunts are undertaken by the hero in the company of his maternal uncles and are intended to initiate the young man into adult society.[131] Odysseus is introduced to a *xenia* relationship with his mother's family by participating in a feast, sharing in the dangers of the hunt where he displays his own ἀρετή by being first to engage the boar and defeating it despite suffering injury, and then receiving presents from his grandfather for the return to Ithaca.

The account of the Kalydonian Boar hunt related by Phoenix is intended to encourage Achilles to return to the battlefield, but also serves to demonstrate the significance of hunting as a collective social activity in Homeric society.[132] For the purposes of this chapter's consideration of hunting in Greek tradition the story is also of great value. Phoenix's recounting of the hunt within his mythological paradigm is extremely brief, naming no hunter except Meleager, and failing to state the cause of the quarrel over the boar's carcass. The Meleager episode in fact derives from pre-Homeric poetry which considered the anger of a hero and his response.[133] Hunting can therefore be seen as paying a crucial role in the plot of earlier, or at least parallel, poetic traditions to Homer. As Willcock observed, the original myth was perhaps hammered into place by Homer for the purposes of his paradigm and we should be cautious about trying to reverse engineer the story too much.[134] It does appear, however that this older poetic tradition was so well known it needed only an allusion to recall and was considered an appropriate

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[127] Griffin (1980), 14-19; Scodel (1994), 533-34; Luke (1994), 23.
[128] Scodel (1994), 532-34 with examples from the poems.
[129] *Il*. 9.533f.
[130] *Od*. 19.392-466.
[131] Barringer (1996), 59; (2001), 156.
[132] The episode is derived from an earlier tradition of epic poetry that has been woven into the *Iliad*: Graf (1993), 64-68; Hainsworth (1993), 130-34; Barringer (1996), 51. On the existence of independent short poems incorporated within Homer's epics more generally see Finley (1979), 34-35; Kirk (1962), 101, 181, 215-47.
[133] Kirk (1962), 166; Willcock (1964); Swain (1988); Hainsworth (1993), 130-32.
[134] Willcock (1964).

analogue to events of the *Iliad*.[135] A hero's ἀρετή was challenged and his resulting anger caused him to leave the field. The hunt of the Kalydonian Boar includes the elements of heroic society discussed above, protection and the display of ἀρετή and distribution of rewards to recognise τιμή. In this instance though we are reminded of the significance of these elements of society and the role of the hunt in demonstrating them by witnessing the collapse of social order when it is conducted improperly.[136] In a dispute over the division of the spoils of the hunt Meleager killed at least one of his uncles for which his mother cursed him.[137] The initiation of Meleager into heroic society has therefore gone horribly wrong, resulting in the collapse of the household and death of the hero.

Hunting is clearly a recurring theme in Homeric and pre-Homeric heroic epic and there can be no mistaking the importance of participation in the hunt to Homeric kings. This importance may even have been more explicit in other epic poems and traditional folk tales. Success in the chase demonstrates the values which define an individual as an ἀγαθός, in particular the display of ἀρετή. Even where Odysseus is not master of the hunt and therefore responsible for dividing the prize, he is defined by the ἀρετή displayed during the hunt with his uncles, recognisable by the scars earned in this combat even when disguised by Athene.

3.2. The continued Association of Hunting and ἀρετή in Greece

The second stage in demonstrating that Alexander used his royal hunts as part of his legitimation strategies over his Greek subjects and allies within the framework of their own traditions of legitimate authority is to demonstrate the continued significance of Homeric

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[135] On the need to possess knowledge of the story see n.132 above. Kirk (1962), 166 considers the background to Meleager's withdrawal from battle so heavily abbreviated that it must derive from a pre-existing epic poem. Willcock (1964) and Swain (1988) consider the existence of pre-Homeric epic cycles involving Meleager to be certain, but point out the story of Phoenix does not require their existence, only a knowledge of the myth on the part of the audience.

[136] Barringer (1996), 58-59.

[137] What caused the dispute over the spoils is not related in Homer, but the alternate traditions state his love for the huntress Atalanta caused Meleager to award the head and hide to her for striking the beast first (though he in fact killed it). The love of Meleager for Atalanta was well established in both literature and vase panting. See Boardman (1983), 2-19; Barringer (1996), nn.16-18 for bibliography of the extensive discussions regarding the various literary traditions of Atalanta. The only objection to be raised to Barringer's comments is her correction of the suggestion by Barrett (1972), 118 that P. Oxy. 2359 can be identified as a fragment of Stesichorus' ΣΥΟΘΗΡΑΙ by interpreting ἵζανον as hunters taking their positions at the nets. As Barrett observes, the evidence for Greeks using nets during the hunt of big game such as boar is derived from Xen. *Cyn*. 10.19. Barrett does observe the alternate interpretation of P. Oxy. 2359 by Lloyd-Jones (1958) as a fragment of the *Games for Pelias*.

ἀρετή within Greek society. This section examines the significance of the hunt in Greek society as represented in vase painting and literature. The evidence examined is heavily Athenocentric. This is partly due to the fact that the overwhelming majority of evidence available for this section, and the following, is Athenian. Discussions of Classical Greek hunting in vase painting have traditionally relied on Attic vase painting and the principal literary source on Classical hunting, Xenophon, was himself Athenian.[138] The Attic evidence is not only the most abundant, but also the most relevant for consideration of Alexander's engagement with Greeks. Alexander destroyed Thebes early in his reign and just a few years later the revolt of Agis III of Sparta was crushed.[139] Of the three dominant poleis that had fought each other for hegemony in the fifth and fourth centuries, only the Athenians were not compelled to obey Alexander as a direct result of his exercise of power against them. This left Athens as the most potent state of mainland Greece and the Corinthian League that was not under the Macedonian king's direct authority, destroyed or overtly forced into compliance.[140]

It is therefore not artificial to focus our assessment of Alexander's engagement with traditional Greek values to mainland Greece and the Corinthian League or on the Attic evidence. Although the broader Greek states did engage with Alexander, by sending embassies to Babylon for example, and certainly had representatives at the Olympic Games who received the announcement of the Exiles Decree, there is no evidence to suggest it was intended to have any authority over them. Alexander was not using his authority to unilaterally order the return of exiles to states in Italy, the Western Mediterranean or the Black Sea, but to those already within his control as subjects or as members of the Corinthian League. Of these the most significant was Athens.

3.2.1. Hunting as a source of ἀρετή in Attica

The royal hunt, as an institution of the court, is properly considered a social institution. Attic vase painting shows us that this is also true of the hunt in Attica where the game was not strictly necessary for its nutritional value but served to reinforce and display the social

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[138] Although it must be acknowledged he spent most of his life out of Attica and displays an evident admiration for Achaemenid institutions, notably the significance of the hunt, and Sparta. Xen. *Anab*. 1.15; Diog. Laert. 2.6.
[139] See above n.9.
[140] It might be argued that Thessaly was equally potent. However, a variety of strategies had already been pursued by Phiip II to achieve authority in Thessaly. He had clearly engaged with Thessalian nobility, even marrying two Thessalian women, as part of his efforts to secure authority and this had resulted in his, and then Alexander's recognition as archon, See above nn. 22 and 25. Mili (2015), 9-10. On Philip's marriages see Ath. 13.557b-c; Tronson (1984), 116, 126. According to this account, Philip married as many Thessalians as Macedonians.

cohesion of a particular group.[141] The object of this section is to examine how the theme of the hunt in Attic imagery evoked traditional values of legitimate authority, especially that of heroic ἀρετή. Only by doing so will it be possible to demonstrate that Alexander used his own royal hunts to engage with these traditions in order to claim legitimate authority over Athenians. The key work on the hunting traditions and ideologies of the ancient Greeks is Barringer's *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*.[142] Barringer's focus is the hunt in Athenian society, with far less consideration given to alternative traditions of hunting, especially those with a monarchic background on the periphery of the Aegean such as Lycia and Macedonia and the influences of Near Eastern hunting traditions. Naturally, this relies heavily on Attic material. Although this section also focuses primarily on the hunt in Attica as a source of authority by demonstrating ἀρετή, it is important to acknowledge that hunting was not enjoyed universally in the Greek world. Xenophon states:

> κυνηγέται δὲ εἰς μὲν τὰς ἐρήμους ὀλιγάκις ἀφικνοῦνται, ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκουμέναις ὀλίγοι εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ φιλόθηροι οἱ πολλοί· εἰς δὲ τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν νήσων οὐδὲ διαβιβάζειν οἷόν τε κύνας.

> Hunters only rarely visit the uninhabited islands, and there are few inhabitants in the populated ones, and they mostly not fond of hunting; and there are sacred islands to which it is not permitted to take dogs.[143]

Barringer seeks to qualify the arguments of Vidal-Naquet that a key function of the Attic hunt was placing ephebes on the frontier (ἐσχατιά) to represent their liminal status in a rite of passage to the ranks of the citizen hoplites, and to build upon the subsequent work of the Paris-Lausanne school.[144] She argues that it was in only a very few, exclusively Doric, societies that hunting formed part of initiation in preparation for military service, but that at Athens it did represent a feature of maturation by participation in the activities of the

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[141] The possible exception to the hunt not being necessary for nutrition is in the unique circumstances of the Spartan constitution, Xen. *Lac*. 5.3.

[142] Barringer (2001).

[143] Xen. *Cyn*. 5.25. The point is made by Lane Fox (1996), 124-26, but also acknowledges the prevalence of hunting throughout Macedonia, Thessaly, Boiotia, Arcadia and the Peloponnese. Clear evidence for hunting in Sparta is provided by Xen. *Lac*. 5.3; 6.3.

[144] Vidal-Naquet (1968), 947-964; substantially revised as Vidal-Naquet (1986b), 106-128; cf. Lane Fox (1996) does not refer to Vidal-Naquet, but at 130 argues against the similar position of Schnapp (1979a); (1979b) and Schnapp and Dourand (1989), 53-70 that representations of the group hunt indicate a civic group, precursor to the fourth century *ephebeia*, intended to prepare and initiate young men for the ranks of hoplite citizens. At 125 he also notes that the *eschatia* need not be on the polis borders, but simply represent rough ground unworked by men. For a summary of the ongoing developments in methodologies for interpreting Greek vase painting including those of Barringer after the Paris-Lausanne school see Oakley (2009), 613-17.

citizen.[145] To claim that hunting was not linked to military initiation at Athens does however go too far as it did represent initiation into the activities of a citizen which included, amongst much else, entry into the hoplite ranks. There can be no doubt that the Athenian born Xenophon perceived participation in the hunt as preparation for participation in war, but also for participation in the daily life of civic society as in his treatise on hunting he writes:

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις μὴ καταφρονεῖν κυνηγεσίων μηδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ γίγνονται τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαθοὶ εἴς τε τὰ ἄλλα, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καλῶς νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων τὸν ἤδη ἐκ παιδὸς ἀλλάττοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα παιδεύματα, τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα σκεψάμενον τὴν οὐσίαν·

Therefore I charge the young not to despise hunting or any other schooling; for these are the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed.

The first pursuit, therefore, that a young man just out of his boyhood should take up is hunting, and afterwards he should go on to the other branches of education, provided he has means.[146]

Elsewhere Xenophon expands upon the benefits of the hunt as preparation for war, but also as part of a young man's education by encouraging him to manage his domestic affairs, observe the laws and to talk and hear of righteousness.[147] Indeed, hunting, or at least preparation for hunting, must itself be considered a part of daily life in Xenophon's society as he recommends taking the dogs out every other day.[148] Whatever the broader initiation into social life represented by participation in the hunt by youths may have been, by the fourth

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[145] Barringer (2001), 53-58. Anderson (1985), 26 and Dover (1989), 189 expand on the ritual in Crete (cf. Strabo 10.4.20-21) whereby youths would be ritually abducted and spend months in the wilderness hunting, feasting and being educated in citizenship as *eromenoi* before returning to be presented with an ox for sacrifice to Zeus, a cup with which to participate in symposia and the hoplite panoply by their *erastes*.
[146] Xen. *Cyn*. 1.18-2.1; see also Xen. *Hipp*. 8.10-11 for the recommendation that hunting big game be used as training in the use of weapons and inclusion of alternative mounted martial arts training; cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1256b 25 states that hunting is a part of the art of war. Anderson (1985), 29 highlights the status of the hunt as a definitively masculine activity of great educational value, especially for the training of young soldiers. The essentially male context of the hunt is further commented on by Lane Fox (1996), 123 with reference to Eur. *Hipp*. 224.
[147] Xen. *Cyn*. 12.1ff.
[148] Xen. *Cyn*. 6.3.

century one of the central activities to which participation in the hunt initiated youths was the social activity of hunting itself.

The relationship between participation in the hunt, participation in the symposium and potential exposure to pederastic relationships (the significantly titled erotic pursuit) are seen as the principal features of the process of initiation, or maturation, into civic society. The connection between these activities and their representation in Attic vase painting are well established. The significance of the hunt in relation to the erotic pursuit is succinctly stated by Schmitt and Schnapp, "La chasse est tout entiere sous le signe de la dynamique: bonds de l'animal, poursuite du chasseur, affût ou gallop. Les scènes de dons elles-mêmes expriment dans le rapport éraste-éromène la tension érotique."[149] The hunt as represented in Attic vase painting was a central environment for such erotic tension and gift-giving. Likewise, it is significant that they are so frequently represented in connection with the symposium, whether by juxtaposition of subjects or by the representation of these themes on vessels intended for use in the symposium.[150] Figure 14 below, a mid-sixth century Attic black figure lekythos, provides a clear example of the connection between hunting and competitive pederastic courtship within the socio-economic group that owned horses. In the top register a series of mature bearded men and beardless youths bring gifts, some of which are spoils of the hunt, towards a courting couple; the middle register depicts six beardless horsemen; the bottom, two dogs chase a hare into a net and a cock fight.[151]

The hunting represented here is not that of heroic encounter demonstrating ἀρετή through combat, although athletics are naturally agonistic and pederastic courtship can be.[152] Indeed, the top register of Figure 14 may be interpreted as just such a contest, with individuals engaging in competitive gift-giving to woo a potential *erastes* or *eromenos*. The point that must be emphasised however is that these activities: participation in the symposium, the gymnasium, riding, hunting and pederastic courtship all belong within elite society, whether

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[149] Schmitt and Schnapp (1982), 59. The same position is adopted by Barringer (2001); Dover (1989); Vidal-Naquet (1968).

[150] Booth (1991), 115-17; A. Schnapp (1988), 82-84; especially on the reading of these themes across Attic vase-painting and within individual vases see Beard (1991), 15-18. More recent studies such as Cohen (2010), 5-11 see the most important aspects of hunting imagery being its connection with imagery of warfare and abduction/rape. In many cases this is not a substantial distinction as these thematic fields are closely related as seen by the Cretan ritual preserved by Strabo 10.4.20-21 and builds upon the observation by Dover (1989), 134 that the penis is perceived and presented as a weapon, the differing size of which in pederastic imagery signifies status as youth or adult.

[151] Barringer (2001), 94. The inscriptions are nonsense, cf. Boardman (1974), 200.

[152] Lear and Cantarella (2008), 49-50; Booth (1991), 117 identifies the competitive nature of the pederastic courtship whether in the form of an older erastes seeking an eromenos or vice versa, pointing in particular to Pl. *Symp*. 117Aff. Cartledge (2003), 103-05 raises the same point in relation to Sparta.

at Athens or any other Greek society.[153] Despite the role that hunting small game with snares plays in the erotic pursuit by the capture of hares as erotic gifts, a distinction does exist between this type of hunting and the pastime of aristocrats involving the use of expensive trained hounds, personnel and face-to-face combat with the prey.[154]

It is important to raise a note of caution. Imagery of the hunt did not remain static but developed and assumed varying significance over the course of the seventh to fourth centuries among the widespread Greek societies with their various and shifting constitutions of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy.[155] Shapiro observes these changes in relation to pederastic courtship and the erotic pursuit and Boardman highlights the growth in prominence of representations of Herakles at Athens under the Peisistratid tyranny and decline of such images after their overthrow.[156] Although Boardman considers images of Herakles generally rather than those showing him specifically engaged in hunting or combat against beasts, the point remains that at Athens, iconography of this famed hunter was subject to politically inspired trends in popularity and were particularly closely associated with aristocratic families.[157] Barringer in particular addresses such uses of mythical material in Attic vase painting, including the use of compositional elements that recall images of mythical hunts, to heroise the hunt itself which, as she points out, is the activity of the elite.[158]

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[153] Donlan (1980), 52, 62-63. Durand and Schnapp (1988), 65: the presence of beardless riders in the central band of figure 14 demonstrate their status as aristocratic youths. The knights at Ar. *Eq.* 580 ask not to be begrudged their long hair and body oils. These oils were used after bathing or exercise. Luke (1994), 25-29 on the significance of the krater as a symbol of the symposium and membership of the aristocracy.

[154] Lane Fox (1996), 121-23 with reference to Xen. *Cyn.* 12.7 and Plat. *Laws*, 824a-c. Note however Xen. *Cyn.* 11 which, although it considers the destruction of lions as dangerous pests as noted by Anderson (1985), 56, includes the capture of the beasts by parties of armed and mounted men. The method used seems to conform to Lane Fox's aristocratic hunting despite taking place at night and aiming at the capture of lions. Further literary sources suggest that the mundane destruction of pests could receive aristocratic, even heroic, attention: Hdt.1.36ff; *Il.* 9.533f. for the Kalydonian Boar. As discussed in Chapter One it was the destruction of beasts that formed the symbolic basis of the Near Eastern royal hunt. Although Lane Fox states that one of the centrally secular features of the hunt marking it out as an event exclusively for the demonstration of prowess was that it represents a source of meat not shared with the gods, it was clearly convention to involve the gods in the hunt, Xen. *Cyn.* 6.13; 13.17; cf. the later source Arrian, *Cyn.* 33 recommends θύειν δὲ χρὴ ἐπὶ θήρα εὖ πράξαντα, καὶ ἀνατιθέναι ἀπαρχὰσ τῶν ἁλισκομένων τῇ θεῷ ("and one should sacrifice also after a successful hunt, and dedicate the first fruits of the catch to the goddess.") cf. Phillips and Willcock (1999), 189 commentary "Arrian is in accord with Xenophon in his piety."

[155] The varieties of constitution, and the capacity for constitutional revolution, was recognised by the Greeks at least as early as the constitutional debate in Herodotus (Hdt. 3.80-82) and was firmly established by the late fourth century in the *Politics* of Aristotle: Arist. *Pol.* 1292a15-24, cf. 1293a35f.; 1310b25-32. See also Lintott (2000), 153.

[156] Shapiro (1981), 142; Boardman (1972), 57-72; (1975), 1-12; (1989), 158-59; cf. Cook (1987), 167-71.

[157] The association of Herakles with wild beasts is evident in the Shield described by Pseudo-Hesiod, *Aspis* 168-77 with ranks of wild boar and lions facing each other. See Mason (2015), 256-64 commentary on the text and significance of these particularly ferocious beasts with Herakles.

[158] Barringer (2001), 4, 7, 10, 16, 27, 45-46 including the derivation of such representations of the hunt from royal Near Eastern traditions which appealed to Athenian aristocratic sensibilities, a view supported, at least for the Archaic period, by the arguments of Gunter (1990), 137-45; cf. Lane Fox (1996), 128.

Figure. 14.   © Boston Museum of Fine Arts 08.291. Attic black figure
              lekythos c. 560-40 B.C.

As Vidal-Naquet states, "the heroic prototype of the group hunt is of course the hunt for the famous black Calydonian boar."[159] The features evoking the Kalydonian boar hunt are, the symmetrical placement of hunters around the boar; the presence of Atalanta; a dog on the back of the boar; or Ankaios under the boar.[160] It should also be observed that these representations of boar hunting reflect genuine participation in boar hunts by the Greek elite. The absence of big cats from most of mainland Greece ensured the wild boar was the highest status prey.[161] As opponents they were particularly admired for their cunning and ferocity and Xenophon provides extensive details on how aristocratic Greeks should undertake a boar hunt with specific instructions for how to survive its attempts to toss and gore the hunter.[162] The genuine significance of the boar as prey to the aristocratic hunter is further evidenced by the dedication of tusks, spoils of the hunt, in sanctuaries, most notably at Kalydon to recall heroic exploits.[163] Such deliberate blurring of the lines between secular and mythical hunting in both vase painting and reality had the effect of imbuing the aristocratic participants of the hunt with an aura of heroic ἀρετή, ideologically justifying the substantial social control maintained by the Athenian elite even under the tyranny and democracy.[164] Further examples of Attic black figure vases demonstrating the overt connections drawn between hunting, myth, and activities of the wealthy including chariot racing and the erotic pursuit at the symposium are found in a series of the Leagros group (figures 15 and 16).[165]

All the examples provided are approximately from the period of the Peisistratid tyranny, potentially pre or post dating it by just a few years and therefore offering an excellent indication of the participation of the elite in the hunt as a display of heroic ἀρετή. By this time, imagery of the hunt was already well-established in Greek art. Juxtapositions of attacking lions with scenes of heroic combat first appear at the end of the eighth century while the earliest certain depictions of the Kalydonian boar hunt date to the early sixth.[166] Earlier

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[159] Vidal-Naquet (1986b), 118.
[160] Schnapp (1979a), 200, 204; cf. Barringer (2001), 4 establishes three broad categories for Attic hunt scenes: 1) clearly mythological; 2) maybe mythological due to compositional similarities with 1); and 3) clearly not mythological. An excellent example of such compositional similarity evoking the mythological Kalydonian boar hunt is Barringer's fig.15.
[161] Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 753.
[162] *Il*. 17.20-22; Xen. *Cyn*. 10.1ff.
[163] Bevan (1986), 76-77.
[164] Barringer (2001), 4, 7, 10, 16, 27, 45-46; Donlan (1980), 36-37, 52.
[165] The riders on these vases are certainly hunters rather than warriors despite the shield carried by one in Figure 15. Some of the issues relating to this ambiguity are discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to Macedonian images. Here it should be observed the dress of the riders is identical to that of the young armed rider painted by Epiktetos (BM 1842, 0407.23) and with the central figure of the Vergina hunting frieze (Plate 1). Also note the presence in Figure 15 of both male and female dogs accompanying the riders which recalls the specific instructions of Xenophon, *Cyn*. 7.1-6 regarding the use of both sexes in the hunt.
[166] Markoe (1989), 90; Barringer (1996), 54.

depictions of big game hunting exist, the most prominent examples of which extend the evidence for aristocratic hunting as a signifier of heroic ἀρετή through the juxtaposition of heroic combat hunt scenes with war (figure 17). As items of aristocratic self-expression, imagery of the hunt may be viewed as paralleling the roughly contemporary introduction of kouroi. These statues are found primarily in Attica, Boiotia, the Cyclades and Ionia in a variety of contexts, most commonly as votive dedications.[167] Features such as the elaborate, frequently long hair, smiling faces and jewellery of the statues signal that these are representations of the elite.[168] Their primary contexts are votive decorations and as the grave-markers for aristocrats. As with the images of the hunt, this creates a deliberate ambiguity between those aristocrats and the heroic and the divine.[169]

Throughout the sixth century, hunting in Attica reinforced the social status of the elite and provided aristocrats with a source of legitimate authority by evoking the ideals of heroic ἀρετή even as their formal political fortunes were subject to change. The theme of the hunt as a source of ἀρετή accompanying other aspects of a specifically aristocratic lifestyle was clearly relevant at Athens even as the aristocratic constitution was supplanted by a dynasty of tyrants and then democracy. An interesting argument by Franks for the interpretation of the Xenophantos lekythos may be expanded to include the possibility that by the fourth century images of the hunt could themselves be interpreted as representations of authority and power.[170] Franks argues that the fantastic hunt of various beasts including mythical griffins by named historical Persians should be interpreted as taking place in the land of the Hyperboreans and representing the scale of Persian imperial ambition.[171]

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[167] Brüggemann (2007), 93-94. Attica is unusual for having more kouroi as grave-markers than as votive dedications, Martin (2017), 45-46.

[168] Elaborate long hair as a feature of aristocratic society is evident by the epithet καρηκομόωντες "long-haired" for the Achaeans in Homer, *Il*. 2.11; Thuc. 1.6 includes it as a detail of luxurious living among the elite at Athens in the early fifth century; cf. Donlan (1980), 53; Leitao (2003). On the significance of the smiling faces of the kouroi as a signifier of aristocratic status and values, and the potential use of paint in addition to sculpted details of jewellery see Martin (2017), 46-47.

[169] Kurtz and Boardman (1970), 148; Stewart (1986), 64-65; Martin (2017), 46.

[170] Xenophantos lekythos: discovered at Kerch (ancient Pantikapaion) in the far East of Crimea in 1837, housed in the St. Petersburg State Hermitage Museum (Π.1837-2). It is signed by Xenophantos the Athenian (ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ ΑΘΗΝ) dated to the late fifth/early fourth century: Beazley (1921), 235; and similarly Lezzi-Hafter, (2008), 179-80; Cohen (2006), 141-42, n.37 suggests a slightly lower dating and more precise dating of 390-380. Franks (2009), 455-480.

[171] The scene has been interpreted as belonging to a Hyperborean setting since Stephani identified the hunters as Arimasps due to their griffin quarry, Stephani (1866), 147. The suggestion of Tiverios (1997), 269-84 that the scene represents a historical hunting event at Celaenae, in particular noting the Apolline elements of palm, acanthus column and tripod as relevant to an Eastern context in which Apollo defeated and punished Marsyas (Arr. *Anab*. 1.2.7-9; cf. Hdt. 7.26) is rejected by Franks and, on purely historical grounds, by Llewellyn-Jones (2012), 323.

Figure 15.   BM 1837, 0609.61 © Trustees of the British Museum.
              Attic black figure hydria attributed to the Leagros group c. 510-500 B.C. On the neck Herakles
              wrestling the Nemean lion. On the body four mounted hunters with three dogs.
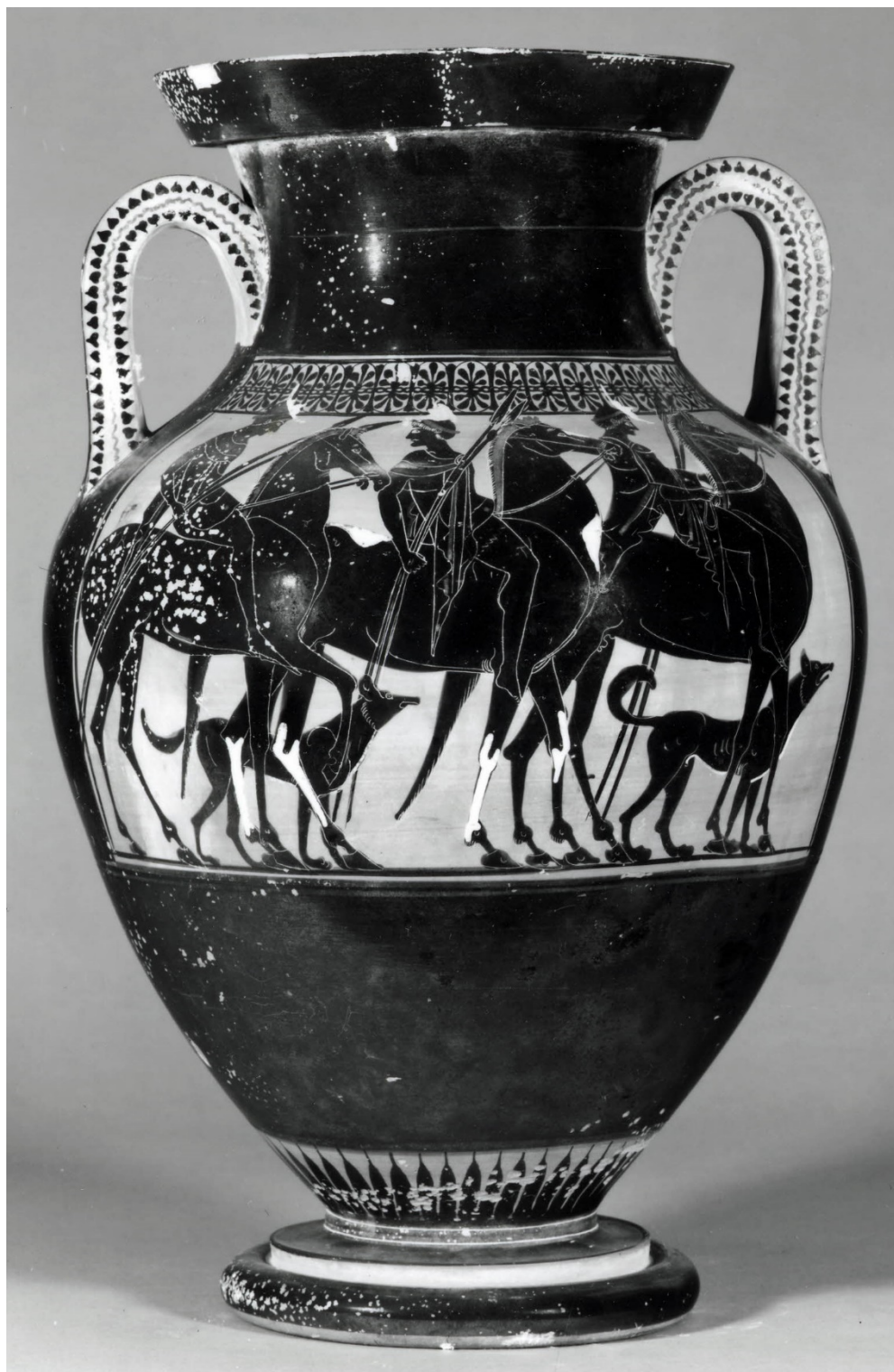
Figure 16.   BM 1843, 1103.30 © Trustees of the British Museum.
               Attic black figure amphora attributed to the Leagros group c. 510-500 B.C. Three mounted
               hunters with two dogs. On the other side Herakles wrestles Antaios.

Figure 17a. Chigi olpe. Late Protocorinthian polychrome olpe mid-seventh century. Photograph M. Tiverios, Elleniki Techni: http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/images/pottery/painters/keypieces/tiverios/4-p56-medium.jpg
(accessed 05.03.2018)

Figure 17b. Detail Chigi olpe. Photograph M. Robertson, Greek Painting:
http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/images/pottery/painters/keypieces/robertson/chigi-p49-medium.jpg
(accessed 05.03.2018)

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Despite the find-spot of this lekythos on the northern periphery of the Greek world, Franks, following Miller, suggests the emphasis on Xenophantos' status as an Athenian indicates its design reflects an essentially Athenian cultural context.[172] It is surely significant that Persian domination could be presented by depicting elite Persians engaging in the hunt.[173] Hunting, whether undertaken by Athenian aristocrats or by elite Persians, had become recognised as a signifier of authority. The Xenophantos lekythos creates a deliberate ambiguity between myth and reality by the inclusion of a griffin hunt even as it roots itself in the contemporary world by naming noble Persians to represent the fact of Achaemenid power and ambition. Such an ambiguity was a well-established feature of Attic vase painting and reflects a genuine heroisation of the institution of the hunt among Greek aristocrats. Participation in this institution served as a signifier of authority by demonstrating heroic ἀρετή.

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[172] Franks (2009), 459; Miller (2003), 31-33. This lekythos is part of a wider group all attributed to the same workshop and all discovered on the periphery of the Greek world in Crimea or Italy: Zervoudaki (1968), 26-28; cf. Lezzi-Hafter (2008), 179-80. On the debate regarding the location of Xenophantos' workshop and whether the group was intended for export from Athens see Stephani (1866), 140; Cohen (2006), 141-42, Tiverios (1997).

[173] Franks (2009) considers the hunters as generic Persians, a position also adopted and expanded on by Llewellyn-Jones (2012) who argues the figures reflect a consistent approach by fourth century Greeks to conflate historical Persians into a concept of 'generic Persia.'

Figure 18a.   Π.1837-2. Courtesy of the St Petersburg State Hermitage Museum.
              The Xenophantos lekythos.

Figure 18b.   Xenophantos lekythos

3.3. Conclusion: Ἀϱετή as a Source of Legitimate Authority in the Fourth Century

So far this chapter has highlighted the role of the hunt in the competitive society of Homeric epic as a source of ἀϱετή by which an individual demonstrates both his status as an ἀγαθός and his place among the ἀγαθοὶ. This concept of hunting as a source of ἀϱετή and signifier of status was not limited to poetry, but continued to find expression in Attic vase painting from the seventh to the fourth centuries, albeit with high and low tides of popularity. To participate in the hunt required wealth and time for leisure to own, train and exercise horses, dogs and personnel. This style of hunting was therefore restricted to members of the aristocracy and served to reinforce aristocratic cohesion through exclusive participation in an activity demonstrating ἀϱετή. Hunting, athletics and the symposium were all environments for the erotic pursuit. They therefore do not just signify inclusion within the ranks of the elite, but are also occasions for competition and competitive display among the members themselves.[174] It therefore seems unlikely that Barringer's objection to the term "sport" for the hunt in Archaic and Classical Greece on the grounds that hunting was not performed competitively can be considered valid.[175] When it came to demonstrating heroic ἀϱετή, this was a definitively competitive virtue.

The association of hunting with membership of the aristocracy and possession of legitimate authority by demonstrating heroic ἀϱετή existed throughout the seventh to fourth centuries at Athens despite the development of a particularly extreme form of democracy threatening their traditional power.[176] The ability to point to one's ἀϱετή became vital to aristocrats seeking authority over the affairs of state.[177] This final section will highlight the continuing significance of ἀϱετή in the fourth century as a source of legitimate authority and how it was demonstrated by participation in the hunt. The purpose, of course, is to establish whether Alexander was able to use the Attic perception of ἀϱετή displayed in the chase to claim legitimate authority over Athens and Athenians. This will focus on the *Politics* of Aristotle as a contemporary treatise on the nature of rule which specifically examines the types of kingship. This is especially relevant to Alexander due to the suggestion in some modern studies that both Macedonian and Homeric kingship are both examples of Aristotle's fourth kind of kingship from heroic times, τέταϱτον

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[174] The modern stereotype of membership of a traditional country club may well be an appropriate analogue.
[175] Barringer (2001), 7.
[176] Arist. *Pol.* 1292a15-24, cf. 1293a35f. on the tyrannical nature of extreme democracy. The importance of traditional aristocratic values and the concerns of Athenian aristocrats regarding their status in the democracy are evident in the later fifth century writings of the Old Oligarch, Ps.-Xen. 1.3, 5, 8, 13-14, cf. Moore (1983), 24-25, 27, 48-49.
[177] Donlan (1980), 124.

δ᾽ εἶδος μοναρχίας βασιλικῆς αἱ κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωϊκοὺς χρόνους ἑκούσιαί τε καὶ πάτριαι γιγνόμεναι κατὰ νόμον. ("A fourth class of royal monarchy consists of the hereditary legal kingships over willing subjects in the heroic period.")[178] Despite the self-conscious emulation of heroic attitudes among the Macedonian elite, the Argead kings cannot realistically be considered a surviving example of Aristotle's fourth kind of kingship.[179] In part this is because Aristotle himself cannot have intended to include the Argeads of the fourth century within this category. He lists the Macedonian kings among the fourth type as those who earned the honour by benefiting their people through the conquest of land.[180] However he clearly places this type of kingship in the past, heroic times.[181] We have also seen that Greek aristocrats were equally self-conscious in their adherence to heroic values. A more profitable consideration is whether Alexander used the royal hunt to engage with Greek traditions of ἀρετή demonstrated in the chase and Aristotle's fifth type of kingship, the παμβασιλεύς.[182] This fifth type raises the possibility of an individual possessed of such superlative ἀρετή that he holds legitimate authority not just over the polis, but over the ethnos and even over several *ethnē*.

3.3.1. The Continuing Significance of Ἀρετή

It is evident from the writings of Plato and Xenophon that the development of ἀρετή remained a genuine concern in Greek aristocratic society during the fourth century. The *Meno* opens with a question being asked of Socrates:

> Ἔχεις μοι εἰπεῖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἆρα διδακτὸν ἡ ἀρετή; ἢ οὐ διδακτὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἀσκητόν; ἢ οὔτε ἀσκητὸν οὔτε μαθητόν, ἀλλὰ φύσει παραγίγνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ;

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[178] Arist. *Pol.* 1285b4-19; cf. 1310b35-40. Fredricksmeyer (1990), 304; Kottaridi (2011a), 2 argue for the preservation of heroic kingship in Macedonia. Carlier (2000), 259-68 assesses the accuracy of such a statement and it is clear the two are not identical.

[179] Nagle (1996), 159-62. Nagle argues convincingly against the Argead monarchy belonging to the fourth kind of kingship as described by Aristotle, but seems to recognise this is not necessarily the same as heroic kingship as found in the epic poems of Homer.

[180] Arist. *Pol.* 1310b35-40, cf. 1285b4-19.

[181] Cf. Hes. *Op.* 135-70 (West (1988), 41). Further evidence that the fourth type belongs firmly in the past is the inclusion of the Spartan kings who Aristotle elsewhere cites as the prime example of the existing first type, Arist. *Pol.* 1285a1-15.

[182] Arist. *Pol.* 1285b30-33.

Can you tell me, Socrates, whether virtue can be taught, or is acquired by practice, not teaching? Or if neither by practice nor by learning, whether it comes to mankind by nature or in some other way? [183]

The *Meno* can be dated to the very end of the fifth century due to the titular character's participation in the expedition of Cyrus the Younger and demise following the battle of Cunaxa in 401 B.C.[184] The same question is addressed by Xenophon towards the end of the *Cynegiticus*.[185] In identifying the benefits participation in the hunt will bring to youths beyond the battlefield he states it will make them self-controlled and just, σώφρονάς τε γὰρ ποεῖ καὶ δικαίους. He then refers to ἀρετή and ἀγαθός fifteen times as qualities of the ἄριστοι, stating these qualities will not be gained by following the teachings of Sophists rather than participating in the hunt.[186] For Xenophon, the ἀρετή that makes an ἀγαθός is a collection of virtues and proper behaviours in both war and peace which are encouraged through participation in the hunt. At the same time, participation in the hunt is itself a demonstration of this ἀρετή.

Aristotle himself considered the same questions of inherent or learned ἀρετή as Plato and Xenophon in the *Nicomachean Ethics*.[187] We therefore see a continuous debate in Greece on the significance and nature of ἀρετή throughout the fourth century preceding the *Politics* of Aristotle. Indeed Newman, in his commentary on the *Politics*, states "[the] *Politics* of Aristotle are virtually the closing word of a debate begun by Pythagoras and the Sophists and continued by Socrates, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato. His political views were the outcome of more than a century and a half of controversy."[188] The *Politics* contribute to this debate as an extension of the

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[183] Pl. *Meno* 70a; cf. 71eff. on the different types and nature of ἀρετή and criticised at Arist. *Pol.* 1260a20-24.

[184] Xen. *Anab*. 1.2.6; 2.6.28-29. Some features which have suggested a later date for the composition are discussed but convincingly dismissed by Hoerber (1960), 78-81. The dialogue is referenced by Aristotle in the *Politics* demonstrating the continued relevance of the work and the concerns for ἀρετή and justifying its inclusion here.

[185] Xen. *Cyn*. 12.6-13.8.

[186] Phillips and Willcock (1999), 164 observe "the closest parallel to this in ancient literature is the parable called "The Choice of Hercules" … paraphrased by Xenophon himself." Cf. Xen. *Mem*. 2.1.21-34. Xenophon is generally considered to paraphrase the original account of Prodicus. Sansone (2004), 125-42 argues against this, suggesting the text of Xenophon is in fact a close approximation of Prodicus' *epideixis*. See especially n.4 for the extensive works among the *communis opinio*. See also Gray (2006), 426-35 *contra* Sansone.

[187] Arist. *Eth. Nic*. 1179b1ff.

[188] Newman (1985), I, 552. Though more than a century old, Newman's substantial commentary remains a valuable discussion of the Politics and continues to be referenced in modern scholarship. This thesis uses vol.1 *Introduction to the Politics* (Salem: Ayer, 1985) [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887] and vol.3 *Two Essays, Books III, IV and V text and notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950) [1902]. Atack (2014), 330-63 outlines the long-standing discourse regarding the nature and authority of kingship in Athens. Of particular interest to the

Nicomachean Ethics, with Aristotle considering what type of constitution is most suitable for Greeks.[189] Among the constitutions examined is the fifth type of kingship, the παμβασιλεύς.

> πέμπτον δ᾽ εἶδος βασιλείας ὅταν ᾖ πάντων κύριος εἷς ὢν ὥσπερ ἕκαστον ἔθνος καὶ πόλις ἑκάστη τῶν κοινῶν, τεταγμένη κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομικήν· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία τις οἰκίας ἐστίν, οὕτως ἡ παμβασιλεία πόλεως καὶ ἔθνους ἑνὸς ἢ πλειόνων οἰκονομία.

> But a fifth kind of kingship is when a single ruler is sovereign over all matters in the way in which each race and each city is sovereign over its common affairs; this monarchy ranges with the rule of a master over a household, for just as the master's rule is a sort of monarchy in the home, so absolute monarchy is domestic mastership over a city, or over a race or several races.[190]

This type of kingship is usually associated with the extensive references to an individual, or group of individuals but not enough to make an entire state (such as a family), whose ἀρετή surpasses that of everybody else to the extent that they are as gods among men who cannot legitimately be ruled.[191] Newman considers the position of the παμβασιλεύς at some length and clearly views willing subordination to the man of superlative virtue as being one and the same as absolute kingship.[192]

This position is modified by Nagle in a persuasive argument that identifies the παμβασιλεύς as something quite different to the man of superlative virtue who he terms the best man king.[193]

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following discussion is her observations at 345-48 that Isocrates articulates the justification of hegemony as resting on political virtue and that he transfers the focus of Athenian success from the Athenians as a whole to exemplary individuals of high status (although not consistently throughout his works).

[189] Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1135a3-5 states there is a natural, best form of constitution and suggests in the *Politics* (1294a23-29) that this is true aristocracy. This is the case unless the individual of superlative virtue discussed below exists, cf. Keyt (1991), 124; Fortenbaugh (1991), 235. It is well established that the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Politics* should be read together: Adkins (1984), 29-49; Salkever (2009), 209-42. The *Politics* as an extensive research project into genuine forms of governance that reflects the values of fourth century Greek culture see: Brock and Hodkinson (2000), 1-2; Adkins (1984), 29-30 and Finkelberg (2002), 36. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1131b11f.

[190] Arist. *Pol.* 1285a1-b33.

[191] Arist. *Pol.* 1283b22-35, 1284a3-15, 1284b30-34 μερίζοντες τὰς ἀρχάς should be considered as "distributing the offices" in the sense of ruling and being ruled in turn see Newman, III, 253-54; 1288a8-19, 1288a25-29, 1332b11-23 cf. Xen. *Cyr.*5.1.24.

[192] Newman, I, 85-94, 218-69, 277, 288-98, 541; Newman, III, 240-43, 279-85. See also Mulgan (1974), 66-69 and Newell (1987), 159-78.

[193] Nagle (2000), 123-26. This thesis follows Nagle in using the term best man king when referring to the individual who receives willing obedience in response to his superlative virtue.

Under this conception the παμβασιλεύς represents a direct reflection on the reality of Alexander's domination over the numerous ethnē within his empire and the Greek poleis; the best man king on the other hand, Nagle argues, is a purely theoretical formulation within Aristotle' analysis of who should be sovereign in the polis. Such a division may seem somewhat artificial when it is not clearly delineated by Aristotle himself in a work dedicated to the empirical study of constitutions and rulership. It is certainly peculiar that two types of legitimate absolute kingly rule should be included but only one formally defined. This thesis will proceed on the basis that both are forms of absolute rule. Alexander's power over the many *ethnē* of his empire was an inescapable fact, but Chapter Five argues his royal hunts were understood by Greeks as contributing to his claims to superlative ἀρετή and the legitimate authority this demanded as the best man king.

The central issue is the nature of ἀρετή, what makes it incomparable, and thereby grants legitimate authority for absolute rule across several societies (or, to phrase it another way, compels absolute obedience).[194] It is widely accepted that the ἀρετή must be superlative due to Aristotle's use of μὴ συμβλητὴν.[195] Mulgan highlights the very clear, technical meaning Aristotle applies to συμβλητός, explaining at 1283a4-14 that two things may only be considered συμβλητά (comparable) if they can be measured on the same scale.[196] Not only must the absolute ruler's ἀρετή be superlative, but in order to be incomparable, on a completely different scale, it appears he must possess more than the sum of all other members of the polis. In this way he possesses ἀρετή beyond that of the state itself and therefore stands apart, as a god among men and making him submit to being ruled is as unnatural as thinking the part should exceed the whole or that Zeus himself should be made to submit to being ruled.[197]

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[194] Cammack (2013), 177.

[195] Arist. *Pol*. 1284a6.

[196] Mulgan (1974), 66-67. Συμβλητός occurs three times in the *Politics*, all of which fall within the analysis of ἀρετή and kingship: twice at Arist. *Pol*. 1283a24-28 in the detailed explanation of measuring virtues on identical scales and then in the formulation under discussion at 1284a6; cf. Arist. *Phys*. 248a10-249a28.

[197] Mulgan (1974), 68-69; Newell (1987), 170-72; cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1283b22-35; 1284a3-15; 1284b16-23, 30-34; 1288a8-29; 1332b11-23. The absolute ruler therefore cannot be considered to have a share of the collective virtue of the city (Arist. *Pol*. 1281a40-b10: μόριον ἔχειν ἀρετῆς) and so is not a part of the polis. That the gods are governed by the same values as humans (heroes) in Homer but possess incomparably greater ἀρετή, τιμή and βιή see Adkins (1972), 1, 16-17. Although it is suggested that Zeus should acknowledge the status of Hera at *Il*. 4.51, the reality of his superlative force and corresponding authority is made clear at 8.5-27 and at 15.16-28. These passages from the *Iliad* regarding the reality of Zeus' power are not considered by Nichols (1992), 76 when she suggests the παμβασιλεύς is to some extent a paradox because even Zeus must share his rule with others. cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1259b38ff.

The presence of such an individual would in effect destroy any sense of political rule by dominating it as a man would his own household.[198]

It is certainly difficult to see how such an individual, other than Zeus, ever could exist, especially when there is so little consensus on the nature of ἀρετή such an individual would have to exhibit. As seen in the previous two sections it was a virtue dependant on public display and recognition in Homeric epic and throughout the Archaic into the Classical period. There is no reason to suspect that the perception of ἀρετή had fundamentally altered by the mid-fourth century.[199] Bartlett points out the necessity of such superlative virtue being recognised by the rest of the state so that they may obey him willingly.[200] This is absolutely correct for superlative virtue to be a source of legitimate authority for absolute rule. To provide legitimate authority the basis of ἀρετή has to be accepted by those subject to it and displayed to them. Although Aristotle does not entirely exclude the possibility of an individual possessing such superlative ἀρετή, it has been suggested he does seem to consider it unlikely.[201]

Vander Waerdt, in a persuasive argument that influenced the position of Nagle, removed the difficulty of the absolute ruler's possession of superlative ἀρετή by proposing that what makes it μὴ συμβλητὴν (and technically also superlative) is being of a different type which therefore cannot be measured according to the same scale.[202] Vander Waerdt and Nagle propose this alternative form of ἀρετή by which the absolute ruler derives his authority is of the heroic kind displayed in glorious deeds, the excess of which "transforms men into gods and places them beyond the sphere of human virtue and vice."[203] This proposition for the nature of the absolute ruler's ἀρετή seems entirely correct given the understanding of ἀρετή throughout Greek history outlined in this chapter. Vander Waerdt expands this interpretation of the absolute ruler's heroic ἀρετή. Not only is the absolute ruler's virtue a different type to that of the citizen

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[198] Arist. Pol. 1285b33-34. Kulmann (1991), 107; Nichols (1992), 74-77; Salkever (2009), 234; Arist. *Pol*. 1253a25-29 such an individual must be either a beast or a god.

[199] Adkins (1984), 29-44 on the nature of ἀρετή from Homer to the fourth century as a quality of the wealthy demonstrated by action cf. Pl. *Meno* 73c9; 77b4-5. Bartlett (1994), 148-49. Newell (1987), 174 suggests Aristotle saw a danger to public life by the advancement of a merely presumptive claim to superlative virtue, implying such virtue must be displayed. The difficulty of defining precisely which qualities were considered a source of ἀρετή justifying absolute rule is demonstrated by Finkelberg (1998), 20 who argues there is a distinction between the ἀρετή of Homer and of fourth century Athens, but a few years later (2002) amends her position to acknowledge the popular concept of human ἀρετή was sustained, remaining valid only when demonstrated and suggests this only changed in the Hellenistic period.

[200] Bartlett (1994), 148-49 and argues Aristotle ranks philosophical above moral virtue.

[201] Bartlett (1994), 148-49; Salkever (2009), 234.

[202] Vander Waerdt (1985), 249-73; cf. Nagle (2000).

[203] Vander Waerdt (1985), 264-67; Nagle (2000), 121, n.17.

body, but by taking absolute control of the polis he frees citizens to engage in the pursuits of leisure (σχολή) which promotes φιλοσοφία and εὐδαιμονία as their own form of private ἀρετή.[204]

It is undoubtedly correct to consider the ἀρετή of the absolute ruler to be heroic in nature. However, presenting this as a different type of virtue to that of the rest of society or fundamentally different from the pursuits of leisure which promote private virtue is entirely at odds with the evidence available. This chapter has demonstrated that the values of Homeric epic remained valid throughout the Archaic and Classical periods and Greek aristocrats deliberately evoked the imagery of heroic ἀρετή and drew parallels with their own lifestyle. Participation in the hunt not only displayed heroic ἀρετή, but, as Xenophon argues, it was a signifier of broader virtue and itself formed part of the education of youths that they might achieve virtue. The heroic ἀρετή of the παμβασιλεύς therefore cannot be considered to be of a different kind to that of the rest of society. In an extreme democracy like Athens this type of virtue was not even restricted to the aristocracy.[205] The only difference was the additional time and resources possessed by the aristocracy that allowed them to engage in activities to display their heroic virtue as exemplary.[206]

Aristotle's fifth type of kingship therefore represents a natural extension of Greek political traditions whereby the possession of superlative ἀρετή bestowed legitimate authority. Mitchell has recently argued that Alexander pursued deification and presented himself as the deified unconquered god as part of an active engagement with the contemporary Greek political philosophy of the παμβασιλεύς to justify his position as king over them.[207] This chapter has developed that position by examining the basis on which one could demonstrate superlative ἀρετή within Greek tradition. Hunting was a key feature of this tradition for the social display of ἀρετή, demonstrating martial prowess and social status. It is in this context of political philosophy that the royal hunts of Alexander are to be interpreted as a source of legitimate authority over the Greeks according to their own traditions.

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[204] Vander Waerdt (1985) with reference to Arist. *Pol.* 1325b16-21, 1333a30-b5, 1334a2-10, 19-34; *Eth. Nic.* 1177b1-26, 1145a15-b2; cf. Xen. *Mem.* 3.6. See also Salkever (2009), 224; Adkins (1984), 29-30, 39-44 cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1329a2-24.
[205] Balot (2009), 282, 297.
[206] Arist. *Pol.* 1328a35-38; 1332a7-27; Salkever (2009), 224; Balot (2009), 276-77, 82.
[207] Mitchell (2013b).

Chapter 4. The Macedonian Royal Hunt

This chapter examines the evidence for the royal hunt in Macedonia before the reign of Alexander to demonstrate the significance of the activity as a traditional institution of the Argead court. It is the final chapter to examine the traditions of hunting into which Alexander was received and which he sought to use as part of his attempt to establish a stable imperial regime that was perceived as legitimate according to the traditions of his subjects. Unlike his relations with the Greeks discussed in the previous chapter, there was no need to justify his position as king to the Macedonians who had maintained royal rule since at least the Archaic period.[1] Alexander not only inherited the current territorial extent of the Macedonian kingdom from his father, but also the Macedonian royal ideology, traditions of the royal court and the relationships between king and nobility which had been developing throughout Philip's reign. It was therefore this particular formation of the court and understanding of the royal hunt which Alexander sought to adapt or present in such a way as to engage with the royal traditions of both his European and Near Eastern subjects.

Unfortunately, there is very little firm evidence for the Argead court and the role of the hunt within it prior to Alexander.[2] This chapter therefore identifies the evidence for the royal hunt as a significant institution of Argead Macedonia and continues to accept Allsen's model of the hunt as an extramural court.[3] Understanding of the role of this court must, however, rely on the court theory developed throughout the twentieth century discussed in the Introduction. Due to the history of Macedonia as a kingdom on the periphery of mainland Greece and the Achaemenid Empire, and briefly within the Achaemenid Empire, it also remains acutely aware of Allsen's argument that royal hunting traditions tend towards homogenization through interstate relations.[4] As a result, it must be considered whether the Argeads had in fact already incorporated aspects of Achaemenid practice and ideology of the royal hunt. If so, Alexander's hunts will have required less adaptation of, or deviation from, Macedonian custom to engage with the diverse traditions of royal hunting from throughout his empire.[5] This might explain why his hunting activities are never directly criticised among the ancient

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[1] Although in the case of Upper Macedonia this had not been exclusively under the Argeads.
[2] Seyer (2007), 93.
[3] Allsen (2006), 202-06.
[4] Allsen (2006), 233.
[5] Carlier (2000), 268 observes the influence of the Persian model of kingship should not be underestimated. Fearn (2007a), 101-04 discusses the ambiguity of Macedonian feasting customs at Hdt. 5.17-22 and their potential familiarity to Persians.

traditions of Alexander's luxury (*tryphe*).[6] This, combined with Argead familiarity of
Achaemenid practices as a result of contact with Persians such as Artabazus,[7] might also go
some way towards explaining why Alexander chose to use the royal hunt in this way as part
of his appeals to traditions of legitimate kingship throughout his empire. Such long-term
Achaemenid influences and personal contacts with contemporary Persians contributed to the
reality, observed by Lane Fox, that the sporting traditions of the Macedonian and Iranian
nobility were reassuringly similar and an ideal vehicle for reconciling Iranians to Macedonian
rule.[8]

This chapter will first consider the foundation legends of the Argead dynasty as
demonstrating the ideological significance of engagement in the hunt, before assessing the
numismatic evidence for the projection of royal hunter imagery in Macedonia. The hunting
frieze over the entrance to Tomb II of the great tumulus at Vergina is perhaps the most
impressive piece of evidence for Argead hunting, but the date of its composition, whether it
pre or post-dates Alexander, remains a topic of debate. The arguments of both sides will be
considered for any light the frieze may throw upon the Argead hunt before Alexander's
conquests in Asia.

4.1 Macedonian Tradition of the Royal Hunt

The royal hunt is generally considered a central feature of the Macedonian court throughout
its history despite the limited evidence for such an institution prior to the Alexander
historians.[9] This position derives directly from the long-enduring assumption that Macedonian
society, especially elite society, was fundamentally Homeric in nature.[10] As seen in Chapter 3,
hunting was a central feature of Homeric society. Homeric kings hunt to demonstrate heroic
ἀρετή, reinforce social cohesion and define social hierarchy in the epics and the elites of

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[6] Although it will be argued in Chapter 5 that Alexander's efforts to engage with Achaemenid hunting traditions
have become obscured in the ancient sources due to the prevalence of this topos.
[7] Diod. Sic. 16.52.3-4; Curt. 5.9.1; 6.5.2.
[8] Lane Fox (1996), 143-44.
[9] Hammond and Griffith (1979), 114, 152, 156; Anderson (1985), 80 describes it as an activity 'in the blood' of
Macedonian noblemen. Graekos (2011b) examines features of the Macedonian royal hunt and its significance to
the Macedonian elite; Müller (2010) discusses the traditional role of the hunt within the Macedonian royal court.
She uses the hunt in eastern Iran at which Hermolaus was flogged for slaying a boar before Alexander could
strike it (Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.1-3; Curt. 8.6.2-8) as a case study for her assessment of the royal hunt as an occasion
for status contests between the king and the nobility which conforms strikingly to the role of the court proposed
by Elias (1983) and for the hunt as court outdoors argued by Allsen (2006), 202, 206.
[10] For a comprehensive collection of influential modern works that accept broad, even romantic, analogies
between Homeric and Argead kings see Moloney (2015), nos. 1 and 2.

fourth century Greece continued to appeal to these models of behaviour through their own participation in the hunt. As a result, the suggestion that attempts by the Macedonian elite to rival Homeric exploits with their own adventures in the chase are symptomatic of an essentially, and uniquely, heroic society in Macedonia is open to question.[11]

We must be wary of applying the Homeric model to archaic and classical Macedonia solely on the basis of the supposedly calculated associations between Alexander the Great and the Homeric heroes reported by the Alexander historians. The connections drawn between this Alexander and Achilles are explicit, the most prominent instances being his education by Lysimachus,[12] crowning the tomb of Achilles at Troy whilst Hephaistion crowned that of Patroclus,[13] the punishment of Batis at Gaza,[14] and his display of grief at the death of Hephaistion.[15] These parallels between Alexander and Achilles may tell us something about the conqueror, though in reality they tell us more about the tendencies of the Alexander historians themselves,[16] but almost nothing about Argead tradition or even Macedonian elite society as a whole.[17] Even the broader elements of Macedonian society that are frequently assimilated to that of Homeric heroes ultimately derive from the Alexander historians. Carlier has examined these supposedly epic features of Macedonia, especially the role of the king in religious matters and the functions of the Macedonian assembly, and convincingly argues there are key differences in the two societies.[18] Indeed, the Homeric parallels are so inextricably bound to Alexander himself, and his emulation of Achilles as reported in the histories, rather than to evidence from Macedonian history as a whole, that Heckel has gone so far as to suggest these elements are entirely literary inventions.[19] Such a position likely goes too far since, as Heckel himself acknowledges, Alexander was undoubtedly aware and

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[11] Hammond and Griffith (1979), 159 further suggest deliberate association through terminology with the *hetairoi* of Achilles (Hom. *Il.* 1.179) and the *hetairoi* of the Macedonian king; Carney and Ogden (2010)**,** xix.
[12] Plut. *Alex.* 5.8; cf. *Il.* 9.168f. and Pl. *Resp.* 390e.
[13] Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.1; Plut. *Alex.* 15.8; Ael. *VH* 12.7.
[14] Curt. 4.6.29; cf. *Il.* 22.396-400. Atkinson (1980), 342 discusses the attempts to rationalise the incident by severing the connections with Achilles. As seen in Chapter 3, n.85 there is no compelling reason to summarily dismiss the episode as unhistorical.
[15] Arr. *Anab.* 7.14. Heckel (2015) collects the various analogies drawn between Alexander and Achilles.
[16] See for example Mossman (1988) on the influence of both epic and tragedy in the work of Plutarch; Bosworth (1980), 1-41 on the literary treatment of Alexander in Arrian and Lenfant (2007) on the issue of selection and reinterpretation in Athenaeus. Spawforth (2007b), 88-89 observes we must acknowledge that the Alexander bequeathed to us by the ancient writers "to a considerable extent is a 'Roman' Alexander." The development of the Roman literary Alexander is discussed in more detail by Worthington (2010).
[17] Borza (1990), 236.
[18] Carlier (2000). See also Nagle (1996) who argues that Macedonian kingship was neither Homeric nor the fourth type as described by Aristotle, Arist. *Pol.* 1285b4-19; cf. 1310b35-40. More recently, Moloney (2015) has also challenged the cliché of Homeric Macedonian kings.
[19] Heckel (2015).

proud of his maternal link to Achilles, and at least some of these associations were circulating during his lifetime.[20]

The fact that fourth century Macedonia was not a Homeric society does not undermine the long-standing importance of heroic virtues to the Argeads and the Macedonian nobility. Fearn has highlighted the extent of literary allusion to Homeric models in encomia composed by Pindar and Bacchylides in honour of Alexander I, and also in Herodotus' logos relating the murder of Persian ambassadors in Macedon.[21] He states of Herodotus' Homeric models for Alexander I, "they provide a deeply ambivalent basis for Alexander as a man whose actions throughout the narrative characterize him neither as obviously Greek, nor as entirely Eastern either: he continues to hover somewhere in the middle."[22] This is all the more apparent when we note the Homeric parallel drawn by Pindar is not to any Achaean hero, but to Alexander's namesake in the Trojan War, Paris, Ὀλβίων ὁμώνυμε Δαρδανιδᾶν ("namesake of the blessed Dardanians"). Clearly the Argead kings and Macedonian nobility were just as capable of engaging with the heroic virtues of Homer's epics as the elites of Greece without needing to be considered a remnant enclave of Homeric society. Macedonian appeals to Hellenic credentials, whether through claimed kinship or the appropriation of customs and material culture, have been examined extensively and are generally viewed as political devices to engage with their southern neighbours as required.[23] It is in this context that this chapter will demonstrate the tradition of royal hunting in Argead Macedonia to support the position of this thesis that Alexander III used this institution of the Macedonian court to make similarly broad appeals to all his subjects.

4.1.1. Argead legend

The heroic model most consistently invoked by Argead kings is not Homeric at all, but that of Herakles.[24] As will be shown below, Herakles appears throughout royal coinage and as the ancestor of the dynasty frequently associated with royal hunting. In the earliest known

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[20] Heckel (2015), n.13. See for example the reports of Choerilus' terrible poem which he apparently delivered to Alexander, comparing the king to Achilles (*BNJ* 153 F 10a).

[21] Fearn (2007a), 106-11; (2007b), 27-86; cf. Pindar fr. 120; Bacchylides fr. 20B; Hdt. 5.17-22.

[22] Fearn (2007a), 108.

[23] See for example Borza (1995), 113-31. An almost identical model is proposed by Davies (2000) for the Molossian kingdom, who repeatedly refers to the Argead example. Erskine (2002) identifies similar motives for establishing Hellenic credentials in the Hellenistic period. More generally see MacSweeney (2013), 7-12.

[24] Heckel (2015); Moloney (2015). Although Sprawski (2010), 130 observes we cannot completely exclude the possibility of an earlier genealogical tradition based on characters from the Trojan Cycle.

foundation myth of the Argead dynasty related by Herodotus we find descent from Herakles claimed by Alexander I and allusions to hunting as a heroic credential of the Argeads:

Τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τούτου ἕβδομος γενέτωρ Περδίκκης ἐστὶ ὁ κτησάμενος τῶν Μακεδόνων τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐξ Ἄργεος ἔφυγον ἐς Ἰλλυριοὺς τῶν Τημένου ἀπογόνων τρεῖς ἀδελφεοί, Γαυάνης τε καὶ Ἀέροπος καὶ Περδίκκης, ἐκ δὲ Ἰλλυριῶν ὑπερβαλόντες ἐς τὴν ἄνω Μακεδονίην ἀπίκοντο ἐς Λεβαίην πόλιν. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐθήτευον ἐπὶ μισθῷ παρὰ τῷ βασιλέϊ, ὁ μὲν ἵππους νέμων, ὁ δὲ βοῦς, ὁ δὲ νεώτατος αὐτῶν Περδίκκης τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων.

This Alexander was seventh in descent from Perdiccas, who got for himself the tyranny of Macedonia in the way that I shall show. Three brothers of the lineage of Temenus, Gauanes, Aeropus and Perdiccas, fled from Argos to Illyria, and from Illyria they crossed over into the uplands of Macedonia until they arrived at the polis of Lebaea. There they served for wages as *thetēs* to the king, one to pasture horses, another oxen, and the youngest, Perdiccas, the sheep and goats.[25]

The direct association between shepherding, the role given to Perdiccas, and hunting has already been discussed in Chapter 1 with further references to the tradition of Homeric heroes as shepherds and the parallels with the royal hunt by virtue of their position in the wilderness defending their flocks.[26] The story offers further potential for heroic parallel in the choice of ἐθήτευον to describe the status of the three brothers: the same word is used to describe Poseidon and Apollo when in the service of Laomedon, who were similarly denied payment for their services;[27] and Finley notes that this is the status considered the furthest possible from that of the Homeric king, *anax*, by Achilles.[28] The Near Eastern topos of kings rising to greatness from humble origins was also seen in Chapter 1 and Lynette Mitchell observes the popularity of this topos among Greek accounts of Near Eastern kings.[29]

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[25] Hdt. 8.137. Fearn (2007b), 33-34 suggests even this claim to sterling Greek ancestry through the line of Temenus to Herakles is presented ambivalently by Herodotus as it immediately precedes one of Alexander's most conspicuous acts of Medism (5.140).
[26] See Chapter 1, n.49 and Chapter 3, n.120.
[27] *Il*. 21.441-455.
[28] Finley (1979), 57-8; cf. *Od*. 11.489-91. The contrast between the status of *thēs* and that of king is a feature of both Achilles' speech and the foundation myth of the Argeads.
[29] Mitchell (2013a), 59-60 with particular reference to the account in Herodotus of Cyrus' upbringing by a shepherd (Hdt. 1.110-122), that of Ctesias in which Cyrus is the son of a goat-herd (Ctesias, F8d*, and the initial raising of Oedipus by shepherds. The Near Eastern background to the dynastic foundation myth of the Argeads

The account of Herodotus continues:

Οἱ δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἔφασαν δίκαιοι εἶναι ἀπολαβόντες οὕτως ἐξιέναι. ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ μισθοῦ πέρι ἀκούσας, ἦν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην ἐς τὸν οἶκον ἐσέχων ὁ ἥλιος, εἶπε θεοβλαβὴς γενόμενος· "Μισθὸν δὲ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ ὑμέων ἄξιον τόνδε ἀποδίδωμι," δέξας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαυάνης τε καὶ ὁ Ἄεροπος οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἕστασαν ἐκπεπληγμένοι, ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα· ὁ δὲ παῖς, ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἔχων μάχαιραν, εἴπας τάδε· "Δεκόμεθα ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ διδοῖς," περιγράφει τῇ μαχαίρῃ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ οἴκου τὸν ἥλιον, περιγράψας δέ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τρὶς ἀρυσάμενος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀπαλλάσσετο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ ἐκείνου.

They said it was just that they receive the wage they were owed before departing. Thereupon the king, hearing of the wage, with the sun reaching down into the house through the vent in the roof, became reckless; "that is the payment you deserve, and that is what I give you," he said pointing to the light. Gauanes and Aeropus who were the elder stood shocked, when they heard this; but the boy, who happened to have a machaira, said this; "We take that which you give, O king," drawing around the light on the floor of the house with his machaira, having drawn around it, he drew up the sunlight into the fold of his garment three times, he departed and they went with him.[30]

According to Graekos the machaira wielded by the young Perdiccas to collect payment of the sunlight was a weapon specifically noted as a sacrificial instrument and also associated with ephebes.[31] Herodotus may have been the first to record the Argead claims of descent from Herakles, but they certainly were repeated throughout the fifth and fourth centuries by Macedonian kings. In Euripides' fragmentary *Archelaus*, commissioned by the Macedonian king of the late fifth century, the genealogical link between the royal house and Herakles is

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is further highlighted by the presence of the garden of Midas. Godley in the Loeb translation notes the incorporation of Phrygian tales within this story.

[30] Hdt. 7.137.

[31] Graekos (2011b), 78. See also Strawczynski (2003), n.114. The role of the μάχαιρα in representations of sacrifice on Classical Athenian vases and, at the end of the sixth century, its incorporation as an instrument alluding both to sacrifice and heroic status in images of Achilles with Priam is discussed by Bundrick (2014), 661, 672-75. This type of weapon is clearly of knife-like proportions as suggested at *Il.* 3.271, 18.597 (where they are also associated with youths),19.252. On the μάχαιρα as a weapon specifically included among ephebic training in Hellenistic Athens see Bugh (1990) esp. n.16 for the suggestion of Sekunda that, at least by this time, it referred to long (75-80cm) swords. It is unclear whether the machairas carried by Thracians (Thuc. 7.27) represent a genuine weapon or are carried in much the same way as Agamemnon wore his.

again emphasized.[32] These claims were not made casually or exclusively within Macedonian court circles, but were actively promoted, coming to be accepted by Thucydides and in later histories of the kingdom.[33] They were repeated extensively for both domestic and foreign audiences as evidenced by the supposed arguments for Alexander I participating in the Olympics and the consistent use of imagery relating to Herakles and Zeus in the coinage of Macedonian kings.[34] To these we might also add the inscription from the Vergina palace of ΗΡΑΚΛΗΙ ΠΑΤΡΩΙΩΙ and, subject to the discussion on the Vergina tombs below, the gold sheet inside the chryselephantine shield of Tomb II depicting the club of Herakles, and the bronze tripod from the same tomb originally deriving from the Argive games.[35]

Descent from Herakles provided the Argeads with pre-eminent ancestry that justified their claims to dynastic monopoly of the kingship over other prominent Macedonian noblemen.[36] It also established a shared framework for engaging with Greeks, within a Panhellenic framework of myth,[37] and, by doing so, encouraged Greeks to engage with the Argeads as representatives of Macedon.[38] It may even be that the essentially multi-faceted and diverse image of Herakles throughout the Greek world, and the flexibility this brought to be syncretized with non-Greek progenitor heroes and gods, that made him so valuable as an ancestor for the Argeads to use in this way.[39] If so, it is surely significant that Herakles is a figure whose deeds are frequently associated with hunting.[40]

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[32] Eur. fr.228a, adding an additional mythical king named Archelaus as a son of Temenus to establish the ruling dynasty, thus creating a direct association between the reigning king and his Heraklid ancestors.

[33] Thuc. 2.99.3, he also attributes the willingness of Perdiccas II to break with Athens and follow the Argive example of alliance with Sparta because of his ancestral origins in Argos (5.80); Paus. 7.8.9.

[34] Hdt. 5.22 Alexander in Olympics.

[35] Andronicos (1992), 226 on the inscription from the palace and the chryselephantine shield. Andronicos (1981), 365-66 on the bronze tripod and drawing a parallel with Alexander I competing in the Olympics.

[36] Hornblower (2008), 56; Hatzopoulos (2011a), 40; Moloney (2015), 62 following Huttner (1997), 43-64. The importance of engineering the dynastic connection with Herakles even among competing branches of the Argeads is discussed by Hammond and Griffith (1979), 5-11 and especially by Greenwalt (1985), 43-49.

[37] Paraphrasing Malkin (2011), 121.

[38] See Sprawski (2010), 139-42 on Alexander I's use of numerous connections, Greek and non-Greek, to secure his own position as king.

[39] Malkin (2011), 119-40 examines the syncretism of Herakles and Melqart as "networking heroes". This was clearly a substantive role played by Herakles and one utilized by the Macedonian kings as we see Alexander equate the two at Tyre whilst also reiterating his descent from the god (Curt.4.2.2-3; cf. Arr. *Anab*. 2.16. seems to exclude the Tyrian Herakles (Melqart) from Alexander's genealogy whilst following Hdt. 2.43-45 in observing the multiple forms taken by the hero/god. Cf. Bosworth (1980), 236 and Atkinson (1980), 294.) Vollkommer (1988) for the popularity and wide range of Herakles images, especially 87-90 on his use as a model for kings by the mid-fourth century.

[40] The association of Herakles with hunting is particularly striking in the labours as depicted at Olympia where the majority of his tasks are associated, directly or indirectly, with the hunt by tracking, capturing or killing a variety of beasts or the domestication of animals connected with the hunt such as dogs and horses.

Even more telling is that in Macedonia Herakles was specifically venerated in his guise as a hunter, Herakles Kynagidas.[41] In the Antigonid period there are royal dedications to Herakles in this role as the hunter, and provision made for his priests who were known as "hunters."[42] On the basis of this evidence Edson goes so far as to suggest that in Macedonia Herakles was a hunter's god, and it seems likely that, at least in a royal context, this is entirely accurate.[43] Although only one example might date to the Argeads, all are from the region of Beroea and Pella in Bottiaea and therefore within the traditional heartland of Macedonia and the centre of Argead power.[44] Despite the dangers of arguments based on assumptions, it would be surprising if the prominence of Herakles in Argead Macedonia did not extend to the hunt as is documented under the Antigonids. The hunt and Herakles thereby became two intrinsically linked aspects of Argead engagement with Macedonians and the wider world.

The Argead projection of ancestry from Herakles, and especially the particular veneration of the god as hunter, suggests we should expect to see Macedonian kings actively involved in hunting themselves to further promote this association. In Macedonia we also see participation in the hunt used more broadly within elite society as a means of initiation. Most notably the statement of Hegesander quoted by Athenaeus,

> οὐδὲ ἔθος εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ κατακλίνεσθαί τινα ἐν δείπνῳ, εἰ μή τις ἔξω λίνων ὗν κεντήσειεν· ἕως δὲ τότε καθήμενοι ἐδείπνουν. Κάσανδρος οὖν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ὢν ἐτῶν ἐδείπνει παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ καθήμενος, οὐ δυνάμενος τὸν ἆθλον ἐκτελέσαι καίπερ ἀνδρεῖος γεγονὼς καὶ κυνηγὸς ἀγαθός.

> that it was not the custom in Macedonia for anyone to recline at dinner unless he had speared a wild boar without using hunting-nets; until they did that, they ate sitting up. Therefore Cassander, although he was 35 years old, used to sit next to his father at dinner, since he was unable to accomplish this feat, despite being brave and a good hunter.[45]

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[41] The epithet appears to be unusual in respect of Herakles. In Attic drama the closest parallel is Eur. *Her.* 896 where he "hunts down his children." More frequently we find Atalanta referred to as the huntress (Eur. *Supp.* 888; Eur. *Phoen.* 1106), or Artemis (Ar. *Lys.* 1272; Soph. *El.* 563). The most precise use of this epithet is used in relation to Dionysus at Eur. *Bacch.* 1189 (ὁ Βάκχιος κυναγέτας).

[42] Cormack (1939/1940), 14-16; Edson (1940), 125-26. Fraser (1969-1970), 21 reports a dedication from the city of Beroea to Herakles Kynagidas which he states seems to be of the Fourth Century and would therefore predate the period of Antigonid kings. The inscriptions and the significance of the Herakles Kynagidas in Beroea is reviewed by Hatzopoulos (1996), 154, n. 2 and 6, 397, 416-19, and 421-22.

[43] Edson (1934), 228.

[44] Herakles Kynagidas is accepted as a god worshipped in Macedonia throughout its history by Cohen (2010), 71-73; Seyer (2007), 69-71. Their evidence seems to relate exclusively to the Antigonid period. Hammond and Griffith (1979), 155 n.4, 156, 165; and Lane Fox (1996), 137.

[45] Ath. 1.18a.

The passage highlights the very real significance of the hunt among Macedonian noblemen, not just as an activity in which they engaged, but one in which their deeds directly impacted the manner of their participation in adult male and court society.[46] Furthermore, it demonstrates a direct connection between hunting exploits and status when dining. In effect, the two activities become extensions of each other as institutions of the royal court. The role of the symposium as a further branch of competition in Macedonian court society has after all long been established.[47] Both the hunt and the symposium were used to regulate and display status through proximity to the person of the king.[48] It was so significant an institution of the Macedonian court that it was considered worthy of note to document the difficulties Cassander faced on the hunt before he became king.

4.1.2 The numismatic evidence for the royal hunt in Macedonian tradition

Royal coinage gives us a glimpse of the current state of the kingdom, its cultural traditions and the image the king wished to project at home and abroad.[49] The importance of projecting this image should not be underestimated as we see Macedonian kings quite deliberately striking coinage in Attic weights of drachm and obol as well as denominations that could be exchangeable with local neighbours and even on the oriental standard which facilitated exchange with the East. This was certainly primarily to facilitate a standardised income, but also presented an opportunity to distribute the royal image beyond, and circulate it within, the borders of the kingdom.[50] In the case of Argead Macedonia, it further supports the strong connections that were developed between the kings, their Heraklid ancestry and the royal hunt by the consistent use of devices related to Herakles or Zeus, and others which relate to the hunt. We cannot be certain where the motivation for these images arose, whether the king dictated his image or responded to the expectations of his subjects (and possibly neighbours).

The image of horse and rider is a device used persistently by Macedonian kings in their coinage. In the fifth century, Alexander I struck several series of silver coins featuring on the obverse a figure who wears petasos, chlamys, tunic and carries two spears whilst mounted

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[46] Hatzopoulos (1994), 94-95. On the significance of the hunt as one of a number of activities, including participating in the symposium, signaling participation in male aristocratic society see Chapter 3.

[47] Tomlinson (1970), 308-15; Borza (1983), 45-55; Kottaridi (2011c). Borza observes a transformation in the symposia of Alexander into "something bordering on oriental despotism." The symposium is also of interest not only for its direct connection with the hunt as demonstrated by Hegesander, but also that it underwent similar increase in scale as is argued in this thesis for the royal hunt during the reign of Alexander.

[48] For a summary of the role of the royal hunt in Hellenistic court societies such as that of Cassander see Strootman (2014), 199-202.

[49] Dahmen (2007), 3.

[50] Kremydi (2011a), 205-06; Kremydi (2011b), 162.

upon or standing alongside a horse.[51] Some also include a small dog running alongside the mounted figure (Figure 24f).[52] He also produced additional issues featuring a horse on the obverse and a helmet on the reverse. The persistence and prominence of these images, especially the mounted figure on the obverse and helmet on reverse, is observed by Raymond and by Franks, both with reference to the pre-existing tradition of these images on coinage in the Thraco-Macedonian region of the Balkans.[53] The earliest coinage attributed to Alexander I is almost identical to the earlier tribal issues of the Bisaltai, including the braided tail of the horse which is subsequently dropped from all Macedonian images of horses in war or the hunt.

The identity of the figure and his role in association with the horse, whilst ambiguous, is of great value in assessing the significance of the hunt in Macedonian ideology. Hammond has identified this figure as Alexander I himself wearing a distinctly Macedonian hat encircled by a cloth diadem and carrying two broad-bladed hunting spears.[54] It is not entirely clear why Hammond considers the petasos worn by the rider to be distinctly Macedonian headgear.[55] Despite some debate as to the date of its introduction, the hat most commonly associated with Macedonians and considered a traditional item of their clothing is the kausia.[56] The situation is further confused by uncertainty about the differences between these two types of headgear. Kingsley and Fredricksmeyer both seem to agree that the kausia is similar in appearance to

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[51] Raymond (1953), 68-85. At 88 she identifies all obverse types of Alexander I's coinage to be derived from what she describes as the Ares type of earlier tribal coinage, featuring horse, horse and rider or horse and attendant.

[52] The dog is identified as a Maltese in Seyer (2007), 73 and Franks (2012), 53.

[53] Raymond (1953), 43, 51-56, 60; Franks (2012), 44-52. See also Tsangari (2009) chapter one for the variety of this type of image throughout the Thraco-Macedonian region with excellent images.

[54] Hammond (1989), 46. Hammond identifies the type featuring mounted figure with running dog as the first new device invented by Alexander, whereas this type is identified by Raymond (1953), Plate X nos. 108a-111a as belonging to her group III dating to the later part of Alexander's reign. It is evident these are not designs wholly invented by Alexander I, but derived from long-standing traditions in the regional coinage. Also, the first recorded use of a diadem in conjunction with the kausia is in the reign of Alexander III, cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7.22.2; Ath. 12.537e. The passage of Ephippus preserved in Athenaeus refers to both τὴν καυσίαν ἔχουσαν τὸ διάδημα τὸ βασιλικόν and τὸν πέτασον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ as headdress worn by Alexander. The two types of hat could be considered clearly distinct, or so similar that both terms may be used to describe the same item.

[55] Identified unquestionably as the petasos by Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1993), 129-31. Hammond's description of this as distinctly Macedonian is especially confusing since at p.13 he distinguishes the kausia from the petasos as an identifier of Macedonians in Darius' inscription at Naqš-i Rustam (DNa §10-11).

[56] Kingsley (1981), 39-46 concludes the kausia, and other pieces of "traditional" Macedonian dress, originated in Alexander's Eastern campaign to Bactria, Sogdiana and India where it was adopted *en masse* by his soldiers in response to harsh weather conditions (Curt. 9.3.10-11; Diod. Sic. 17.94.2). Fredricksmeyer (1986), 215-27 disputes this late date of introduction to Macedonia and the Mediterranean world, arguing that all these items of clothing were traditional in Macedonia before the reign of Alexander III with particular reference to Diod. Sic. 17.7.3; Polyaen. 5.44.5; Plut. *Eum.* 6; *Mor.* 760b (*On Love,* 16); cf. Hammond (1989), 13 identifies the traditional Macedonian headgear from at least the late sixth century to be the kausia. Fredricksmeyer (1986), 226 also notes the differences between the Macedonian chlamys and the cloaks obtained in India cf. Zimmerman (2002), 83; Pliny, *NH* 5.62.

the modern Afghan chitrali.[57] However, *LSJ* defines καυσία as "a heat shade, name of a broad-brimmed Macedonian hat." The former would not be a suitable description of the hat depicted on the coinage of Alexander I, whereas the dictionary definition, implying a broad-brimmed sun hat, would.

Even Kingsley seems unsure about the precise definition of the kausia as seen by two of the images she relies upon; a second century B.C. coin of Antimachos II in a broad brimmed hat with a diadem and a terracotta figurine from Boiotia wearing what certainly could be a chitrali.[58] If the kausia is the compact chitrali-like cap then the petasos depicted on the coin of Alexander I cannot be one. The most recent detailed study of the kausia is that of Saatsoglou-Paliadeli who examines the etymology and recorded use of the hat to demonstrate its most likely shape is similar to that of the chitrali, though of different construction and material. The prime fourth century Macedonian example she identifies is that of the central figure on foot from the Vergina hunting frieze (Figure 19).

Figure 19.   Kausia worn by hunter in the Vergina Tomb II frieze.
Photo: courtesy Hans R. Goette.

Shortly after publication of her article, the tomb at Agios Athanasios was discovered with its well preserved painted façade which seems to settle the debate of appearance once and for all.[59] It includes several clear depictions of headgear of the same type identified by Saatsoglou-Paliadeli that must be the kausia (Figure 20 and Plates II, III and IV). The figures in military garb, including those wearing the kausia, directly reflect those on the opposite side

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[57] Ibid. See especially Kingsley for comparative images.
[58] Kingsley (1981), figs. 2 and 3.
[59] On the discovery and excavation of the tomb with references to the excavation reports see Tsimbidou-Avloniti (2002).

of the diners. They are identical in number and the three to the left, all wearing the same armour reminiscent of that of Alexander in the Alexander Mosaic, the same cloaks, kausiai, and armed with the same spears, obviously parallel the three mounted figures who likewise wear near identical apparel, including headgear. Palagia observed that the tree behind the diners suggests this is an outdoor event.[60] The possibility must be raised that the scene represents a feast held after a hunt, presenting three of the main environments for the court society: hunting, dining and war.[61]

Figure 20. Detail of the frieze above the entrance to the Agios Athansios tomb showing four men wearing the kausia. Photo: Courtesy directorate of antiquities of the Thessaloniki ephorate.

Having determined that the hat worn by the rider in the Alexander I issue is certainly not the typically Macedonian kausia, we must return to Hammond's identification of the figure as the king himself. Such an identification is certainly logical in light of the three main objectives of Alexander's coinage as identified by Raymond: 1) to be readily exchangeable with the most influential currencies of the Aegean area; 2) to be readily recognised as Macedonian; and 3) to be an unmistakably regal issue.[62] The identification as the king however is by no means certain as there is very little in these images that clearly distinguishes the rider or attendant as royal.[63] Even the function of the rider/attendant is ambiguous. In the coinage of Alexander I there is a dominant martial theme indicated by the weaponry carried in each image, although Hammond observes that the figure is not armed for war.[64] In addition, we see that those issues featuring a horse alone on the obverse depict a helmet on the reverse. It is unlikely that this is

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[60] Palagia (2017a), 418.
[61] Strootman (2014), 200 on the existence of outdoor feasting after hunting in Macedonia.
[62] Raymond (1953), 85. See also n.48 above on the exchangeability of Macedonian coinage.
[63] Errington (1974), 20; Fredricksmeyer(1986), 215. There is little evidence that Macedonian kings were distinguished by a formal royal style or exclusive royal dress before Alexander III.
[64] Hammond and Griffith (1979), 109.

intended as an obvious representation of a warrior however as the rider does seem to be inappropriately dressed for battle.[65] Not only does he wear neither helmet nor kausia, but both the archaeological evidence from Vergina and Thucydides' account of Macedonian cavalry in the Peloponnesian War demonstrate a tradition of Macedonian cavalry being unusually heavily armed and armoured, using this to charge directly into the main body of the enemy.

οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες πεζῷ μὲν οὐδὲ διενοοῦντο ἀμύνεσθαι, ἵππους δὲ προσμεταπεμψάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνων ξυμμάχων, ὅπη δοκοίη, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Θρᾳκῶν. καὶ ᾗ μὲν προσπέσοιεν, οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενεν ἄνδρας ἱππέας τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τεθωρακισμένους, ὑπὸ δὲ πλήθους περικληόμενοι αὐτοὺς πολλαπλασίῳ τῷ ὁμίλῳ ἐς κίνδυνον καθίστασαν· ὥστε τέλος ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, οὐ νομίζοντες ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πλέον κινδυνεύειν.

On the other hand the Macedonians indeed did not think to defend themselves with infantry, but they sent to their allies of the uplands for cavalry, wherever they chose, though few against many they charged into the army of the Thracians. And indeed wherever they fell upon, nobody survived for they were good horsemen and armed with cuirasses, but with the multitude repeatedly enclosing them with numbers and in danger from the horde, and so they desisted, thinking it was not appropriate to risk against the greater force. [66]

The Macedonian infantry is not, at this stage, a formidable force, but the cavalry clearly possesses a certain *élan*, being composed of wealthy Macedonians who are especially noted for their being armoured and aggressive.[67] The use of armour in the cavalry may seem unremarkable at this time given Xenophon's detailed advice for the armament of cavalrymen which includes an intricate cuirass, helmet, "glove" and gorget.[68] It seems likely, however, that at this point Xenophon is making a recommendation on the ideal armament for a cavalryman, based heavily on his own experiences in the Achaemenid empire, rather than

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[65] Franks (2012), 53.
[66] Thuc. 2.100.5.
[67] See also Brunt (1976) and the commentary of Hornblower (1991), 375-76 for observations on the development of the Macedonian cavalry.
[68] Xen. *Eq*. 12.1-10. Xenophon recommends equipping the individual with almost as much armour as a medieval knight, including extensive protection for the arms and legs. The protection for the neck might more accurately be described as a bevor.

commenting on the usual equipment employed in Greece.[69] There is no evidence to suggest Greek horsemen ever actually armed themselves in this way.[70] Indeed, the most consistent evidence for heavily armoured horsemen outside of the Achaemenid Empire is in representations of Macedonians such as on the Agios Athansios frieze, Alexander Sarcophagus and Alexander Mosaic (Figures 31 and 32).[71] Xenophon is most likely describing armour similar in type to that shown in the battle scene of the roughly contemporary Çan sarcophagus (Figure 21).[72] On the other hand, Thucydides' account suggesting a Macedonian tradition of heavily armoured cavalry charging the enemy rather than engaging as mounted skirmishers in the manner of the Getae and other Thracian tribes is supported convincingly by the surviving Macedonian evidence.[73] To the visual and literary evidence of elite Macedonian cavalry wearing armour, and in two cases clearly charging the enemy, may be added the iron cuirass discovered in Tomb II at Vergina (Figure 22) and the gorget from Derveni Tomb II (Figure 23). We should therefore expect any image of the Macedonian king, or any Macedonian nobleman, explicitly as a mounted warrior to reflect this tradition.

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[69] Similar concerns are raised regarding Xenophon's recommendations for the organisation of the Athenian *phyle* by Sekunda (1995), 314.
[70] It may also be noted that despite Xenophon's advice to horsemen to carry two cornel javelins rather than a spear, he seems to acknowledge that not all his recommendations will be followed by also providing training exercises for the use of the spear (Xen. *Eq.* 12.11-13, cf. 8.10).
[71] It must be acknowledged that these examples date to after the reign of Alexander.
[72] On the Çan Sarcophagus see Sevinç et al. (2001), especially 395-99.
[73] Thuc. 2.96 on the Getae and Thracian cavalry.

Figure 21.   Detail of the rider from the Çan Sarcophagus battle scene
clearly showing the substantial armour worn by this Anatolian
nobleman. From Sevinç et al (2001), fig. 12

Figure 22.   The Iron cuirass with gold decoration from Vergina Tomb II.
From Andronicos (1992), fig. 96.

Figure 23.   The gorget from Derveni Tomb II. Photograph by the author.

As noted above, Hammond has described the mounted figure in the issues of Alexander I as armed not for war but carrying broad-bladed hunting spears. As demonstrated above, the figure is certainly not dressed in any way that recalls Macedonian traditions of horsemen on the battlefield, so this seems a reasonable assessment. It will, however, require further development before it may be fully accepted. The dog seen accompanying the rider on some issues does little to establish the image as one of a hunter. The dog is small, identified by Seyer and Franks as a Maltese, hardly suited to any form of hunting from horseback with spears and generally depicted as a pet for women and children or with men as travel companions.[74] It is certainly very different to the two types of dog depicted in the hunting frieze of Vergina Tomb II, most obviously by being substantially smaller and of no apparent use in the hunt for big game.[75]

Likewise, the pair of spears carried by the rider are ambiguous symbols. Paired spears indicate that at least one is intended to be thrown. Paired spears seem to first appear in military settings in the twelfth century post-palatial period and became the norm by eighth century Attic representations of warfare, but do not seem to conform with the style of warfare described by Thucydides above.[76] Also opposed to the interpretation of the figure as carrying

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[74] Seyer, (2007), 73 and Franks (2012), 53.
[75] Reilly (1993) examines the canine assistants to the Vergina hunt. She proposes the Laconian as the five tracking/coursing hounds, but does not speculate on the identity of the three more muscular holding hounds, observing that Xen. *Cyn*. 10.1 identifies four types of dog for use in the hunt of big game, but this may not be a complete list of all available breeds. Each breed must be capable of engaging the prey and it seems most unlikely the Maltese could be put to any such task.
[76] Sherratt (1992), 150-51.

war spears is Xenophon's advice for cavalrymen and the training exercises he proposes. Xenophon does suggest carrying two spears, but he identifies them as the more manageable cornel javelins, specifically rejecting the larger spear.[77] It is quite clear from this that when armed for battle with the large spear, only one is to be carried. The spears carried by the riders and attendants in most of the Macedonian issues of this type can hardly be considered the smaller, lighter javelins mentioned by Xenophon. In Alexander's coins each spear, though held at the diagonal, extends beyond both the muzzle and tail of the horse and would clearly exceed the height of the rider if planted on the ground. In the absence of military garb and a pronounced difference between the rider's armament and that recommended for war, it becomes more plausible to identify the figure as a hunter. It will however be helpful to conduct a brief survey of evidence for Macedonian hunting spears to further support such an identification.

Figure 24. Selection of issues of Alexander I that highlight the significance of horses, horsemanship and hunting in Macedonian royal imagery.

a

Silver octadrachm, 492-480 B.C.
Weight: 28.21g. Diameter: 3.2cm.
O: bridled horse with attendant wearing petasos, carrying two spears. Almost identical to tribal coinage of the Bisaltai e.g. BM 1839.0426.1.
R: incuse square.
© American Numismatic Society 2002.18.8.

b

Silver diobol, 460-451 B.C.
Weight: 1.21g. Diameter: 1.3cm.
O: horse protome.
R: incuse square with crested helmet.
© American Numismatic Society 1977.158.138.

c

Silver tetrobol, 498-454 B.C.
Weight: 2.2g. Diameter: 1.4cm.
O: horse prancing above letter A.
R: incuse square with crested helmet.
© American Numismatic Society 1999.42.6.

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[77] Xen. *Eq*. 12.11-13, ἀντί γε μὴν δόρατος καμακίνου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀσθενὲς καὶ δύσφορόν ἐστι, τὰ κρανέϊνα δύο παλτὰ μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦμεν. καὶ γὰρ ἐξαφεῖναι τὸ ἕτερον δυνατὸν τῷ ἐπισταμένῳ καὶ τῷ λειπομένῳ οἷόν τε χρῆσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀντίον καὶ εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τοὔπισθεν· καὶ ἅμα ἰσχυρότερά τε τοῦ δόρατος καὶ εὐφορώτερά ἐστιν. cf. 8.10.

d

Silver tetradrachm, 498-454 B.C.
Weight: 13.13g. Diameter: 2.6cm.
O: horseman wearing chlamys, petasos and a headband, carrying two spears above letter A.
R: goat protome in incuse square.
© American Numismatic Society 1963.268.40.

e

Silver octadrachm, 476-460 B.C.
Weight: 28.93g. Diameter: 3.2cm.
O: bridled horse with attendant wearing petasos and chlamys carrying two spears.
R: incuse square with legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ.
© American Numismatic Society 1977.158.136.

f.

Silver octadrachm, 460/450 B.C.
Weight: 26.98g. Diameter: 3.3 cm.
O: horseman wearing petasos and chlamys, carrying two spears. A small dog (Maltese) walks beneath the horse.
R: incuse square with legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ.
From Tsangari (2009), n.13.

The largest collection of what are undoubtedly Macedonian hunting spears appears in the hunting frieze from Tomb II at Vergina (discussed below with figures.). Despite offering many examples of spears and men, the Vergina frieze is of limited use in accurately suggesting the scale and pattern of the weapons due to the aggressive use of foreshortening by the artist. Of particular value are the two adult lion-hunters, one on foot and one mounted, using spears that are represented reasonably square with the viewer. Both carry what are clearly broad bladed hunting spears with long shafts and large heads. The spearhead of the mounted lion hunter accounts for approximately 23.3% of the overall length, although the butt may extend beyond the border of the frieze and there may be some foreshortening of the weapon.[78] The spearhead of the hunter on foot is harder to determine due to the poor state of preservation, but represents at least 17.9% of the overall length. We can also see from this figure that his spear is substantially taller than he is.[79] These appear to be very similar to the spears carried by the attendant and rider on the coins of Alexander I.

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[78] Measurements must be specified as approximate and proportions given as a percentage as they were made against images of the objects for ease of identification using a simple 30 cm rule rather than from the artefacts themselves using more sophisticated measuring devices.
[79] It appears to be between 25-33% taller than its wielder. Based on the adult males from Tomb I and Tomb II of the great tumulus these spears would therefore be in the range of 206.25-232.75cm (6'10$^{1/8}$"-7'8$^{1/8}$"). The

It is extremely difficult to determine the precise use for any particular spearhead, whether it was intended for use in battle or the hunt. However, among the various different types of spearhead discovered in Macedonian contexts examples of what appear to be this type of spear have been discovered. For example, the exceptionally large spearheads discovered by Andronicos at Vergina are usually interpreted as sarissa points, but are very similar to the images on the coins of Alexander I and the Vergina frieze (Figure 25 and Plate I).[80]
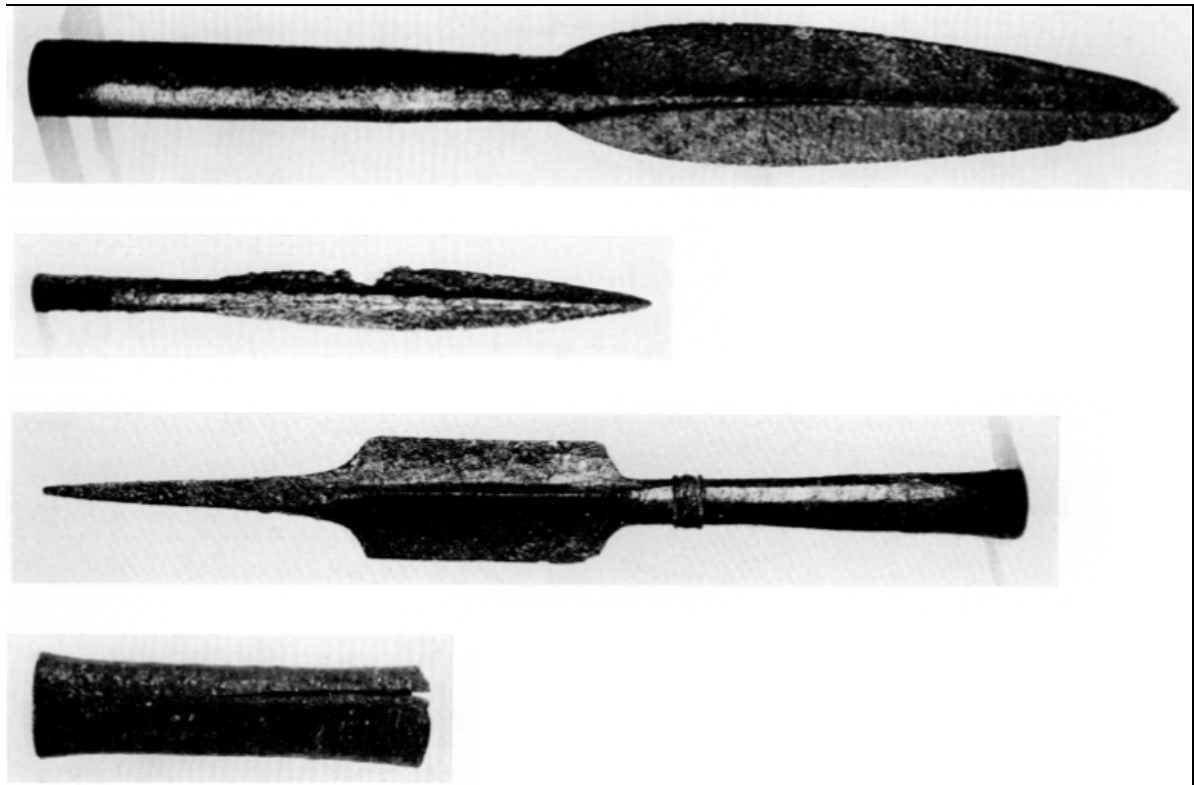
Figure 25. Iron weaponry recorded by Andronicos from Vergina tumulus Ψ. Reproduction of Andronicos (1979), figs. 5-8. The large spearhead identified as a sarissa by Andronicos. Total length: 51cm. Length of sleeve: 23.5cm. Maximum width: 6.7cm. Weight: 1,235g.

Sekunda has expressed similar doubts about the large Andronicos type being a sarissa head, suggesting instead this is a ceremonial weapon.[81] His concerns are based on a comparative

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projected heights of the two males are given by Prag, Neave and Musgrave (1984), 78; and by Musgrave (1990a), 280, who notes that the male of Tomb I was certainly not tall.
[80] Andronicos (1979), 91-107. The identification of the larger head as that of a sarissa and the smaller as a hoplite spearhead were accepted by Markle (1977), 324-26 without question and without any consideration of the spearheads other than as weapons specifically designed for war. For example, he provides details of a spearhead and butt-spike discovered with traces of the wooden shaft between them providing the precise length of the weapon: spearhead = 27.5cm, butt-spike = 6.3cm, shaft = 188.2cm giving a total length of 222cm. The sizes of the spearheads and butt-spikes are so much smaller that these must belong to a different type of spear to the one discussed above, but it still may be a hunting spears rather than that of a hoplite as stated by Markle.
[81] Sekunda (2001), 19-22. There is also a spearhead with butt-spike very similar to that of Figure 25 in Vergina Tomb II and another of reduced scale in Tomb III.

study of pikes, especially the size and shape of their points, from the early modern period with the examples discovered by Andronicos and the Alexander Mosaic. It is not at all clear that this type of large spearhead is a sarissa.[82] Sekunda suggests that the spearhead of similar length but with a much narrower blade from Tomb II resembles those of the frieze and might be interpreted as a hunting spear.[83] The incredibly long and narrow pattern of these spearheads cannot really be observed in the images of hunting spears at Vergina or the riders and attendants on the coinage of Alexander I. It is nonetheless a peculiar pattern of spearhead that would seem designed to enter a body larger than that of a human. It is entirely plausible that both examples are used for hunting big game and form part of an extensive and varied arsenal of hunting weaponry. Sekunda introduces several lines from Grattius, *Cynegitica* (117-120) in support of his refutation of the Andronicos type as a sarissa head. Close study of the preceding lines of the poem makes it clear, however, that Grattius is only discussing hunting spears and has not inexplicably introduced military hardware to his discussion:

> *blandimenta vagae fugies novitatis: ibidem*
> *exiguo nimiove nocent. sed lubricus errat*
> *mos et ab expertis festinant usibus omnes.*
> *quid, Macetum immensos libeat si dicere contos?*
> *quam longa exigui spicant hastilia dentes!*
> *aut contra ut tenero destrictas cortice virgas*
> *praegravat ingenti pernix Lucania cultro!*
> *omnia tela modi melius finxere salubres.*
> *quocirca et iaculis habilem perpendimus usum,*
> *ne leve vulnus eat neu sit brevis impetus illi.*
> *ipsa arcu Lyciaque suos Diana pharetra*
> *armavit comites:*

You are to shun the allurements of fleeting novelty: in this same field of hunting they do harm by a small or excessive size of spear. But slippery fashion goes its wandering round, and all men are in haste to discard usages which have been tried.

What if I choose to speak of the enormous Macedonian pikes?

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[82] A detailed examination of the Agios Athansios tomb façade might reduce this uncertainty. The directorate of antiquities of the Thessaloniki ephorate was kind enough to send me a high-resolution photograph of the façade and it is possible the long spear of the figure to the left of the door has a butt spike similar to that of the Vergina tombs. Although such a butt spike does seem to be visible, it cannot be absolutely determined from the photograph if it is in fact discolouration or damage to the surface (see Plates II and IV).

[83] Sekunda (2001), 22.

> How long are the shafts and how small the teeth which furnish their spikes!
>
> Or, on the other hand, how does nimble Lucania
>
> overload with a huge point thin rods stripped of their tender bark!
>
> All weapons have been the better fashioned by healthy moderation.
>
> Wherefore for javelins too we weigh thoroughly their manageable handling,
>
> lest their wounding power speed lightly or the weapon's force fall short.
>
> Diana herself armed her own comrades with bow and
>
> Lycian quiver.[84]

Furthermore, the fact that Grattius is discussing hunting spears rather than sarissai has led Sekunda to misunderstand the term *dentes*. It is consistently used over a long period, in both Latin and Greek, not to refer to the spearhead itself, but to the projecting tines below the blade. It is used in this way by Xenophon when he describes the boar spear, in the detailed review of spear construction by Pollux, and Grattius himself specifies this use for "teeth" as he begins his lines on hunting spears.[85] He attributes to Dercylos the invention of teeth for the hunting spear that will receive the weight of the animal.[86] What we may therefore conclude from Grattius is that Macedonians were traditionally known to use exceptionally large spears for hunting with very small teeth below the head. It is possible Sekunda's suggestion that it is the especially long and narrow spearheads that are from hunting spears might find support in Grattius' use of the word spicant. When comparing the two types of spearhead discussed above, the very long and narrow examples could certainly be more readily described as a spike. Without a representation of such a spearhead being used by Macedonians, however, such a possibility must remain pure conjecture.

In light of the significance of the hunt in Macedonian elite society seen above it is more likely that hunting spears were included as grave goods in the tombs of elite Macedonian men as symbols of their achieving such status.[87] There is nothing to support the notion that Macedonian nobles, even after the successful campaigns of Philip and Alexander, would prize the weapon of the rank-and-file enough to be buried with it.[88] Wrightson has argued convincingly that senior infantry officers of the sarissa battalions did not stand in the ranks

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[84] Grattius, *Cynegitica*, 114-25. The text and translation are those of Duff and Duff (1934) in the Loeb Classical Library.

[85] Xen. *Cyn*. 10.3: κνώδοντας; cf. 10.16; Pollux, 5.20-22.

[86] Grattius, *Cynegiticus* 100-11: *ille etiam valido primus venabula dente induit et proni moderatus vulneris iram omne moris excepit onus.* Cf. Gale (2018), 86-88 on the status of Dercylos in the *Cynegiticus*.

[87] Ath. 1.18a; Hatzopoulos (1994), 94-95.

[88] Dispute between cavalry and infantry at Babylon after death of Alexander: Curt. 10.7.1-2; Just. *Epit*. 13.2.8; cf. Errington (1970), 50-52.

wielding a sarissa, but instead operated on horseback behind the lines.[89] It is clearly unusual and therefore specifically remarked upon by Arrian when Alexander, in response to the immediate situation, leaped from his horse to lead on foot.[90] The implausibility of a sarissa being interred with a member of the high nobility is supported by the very few instances when the sources record a king or senior commander using these weapons. The two most famous examples are both spontaneous responses to circumstances. Alexander used a sarissa to kill Kleitus at Marakanda and Ptolemy used one on the walls of a fort to put out the eye of an attacking elephant.[91] The large spearheads cannot even be explained as hoplite weaponry. As seen in the passage of Thucydides above, throughout the fifth century it was the cavalry, comprised of Macedonian noblemen, who were principally called upon in battle.[92] Furthermore, the remains of the male in Tomb II to whom these objects, or those very similar, belonged show signs of wear in the vertebrae and the femori that are especially indicative of a horse rider.[93] These points must lead us to conclude that the coins of Alexander I represent an individual distinctively equipped as an aristocratic hunter, although the recognised nexus between the hunt and war establishes a certain degree of ambiguity that allows him also to be recognised as one who is equally proficient in battle.

The significance of hunting imagery and descent from Herakles continues to be expressed in Argead coinage after Alexander I and even becomes more overt. Protomes of lion, boar and wolves appear on some issues. The lion is obviously associated with Herakles and the Nemean lion, an association made even more clear by the head of Herakles wearing lionskin cap that is regularly featured on the obverse. The boar on coins of Amyntas III (fig.28) can quite reasonably be interpreted as the Erymanthian Boar as it is depicted above Herakles' club on the reverse of an image of Herakles in the lionskin cap. The additional association of this image with hunting in Macedonia is evident from the rite of passage whereby a Macedonian could only recline after killing a boar alone without nets. Greenwalt has argued convincingly that the other issue of Amyntas pictured below (fig.28), featuring a rider wielding a javelin on the obverse and a lion chewing a javelin on the reverse, was produced in response to the particular context of his disputed reign.[94] Even if this is the case, the design is clearly in

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[89] Wrightson (2010).
[90] Arr. *Anab*. 5.23.1.
[91] Arr. *Anab*. 4.8.9; Diod. Sic. 18.34.2.
[92] See also Brunt (1976).
[93] Antikas and Wynn-Antikas (2016), 686-88.
[94] Greenwalt (1988); (1993); cf. Seyer (2007), 74-75. On the dynastic infighting more generally Greenwalt (1985).

accordance with a century of Argead tradition that actively promoted the image of the king as a skilled horseman and hunter in coinage.[95]

Figure 26. Selection of issues of Perdiccas II highlighting the significance of horses, horsemanship and hunting in Macedonian royal imagery.

a

Silver tetrobol, 454-413 B.C.
Weight: 2.41g. Diameter: 1.6cm.
O: Rider wearing petasos carrying two spears.
R: Lion forepart in incuse square.
© American Numismatic Society 1963.268.49.

b

Silver tetrobol, 451-413 B.C.
Weight: 2.09g. Diameter: 1.35cm.
O: prancing horse.
R: crested helmet in incuse square, legend ΠΕΡΔΙΚ.
© American Numismatic Society 2002.46.604.

Figure 27. Selection of issues of Archelaus highlighting the significance of horses, horsemanship, hunting and Herakles in Macedonian royal imagery.

a

Silver didrachm, 413-399 B.C.
Weight: 10.67g. Diameter: 2.43cm.
O: Head of Apollo wearing tainia.
R: Bridled horse in incuse square, legend ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ.
© American Numismatic Society 1905.57.65.

b

Silver obol, 413-399 B.C.
Weight: 0.96g. Diameter: 0.97cm.
O: Bearded head of Herakles wearing lionskin headdress.
R: Wolf forepart eating prey beneath club of Herakles, legend ΑΡΧ.
© American Numismatic Society 1944.100.12153.

c

Silver ¼ obol, 413-399 B.C.
Weight: 0.34g. Diameter: 0.7cm.
O: Beardless head of Herakles wearing lionskin headdress.
R: Head of a lion beneath club of Herakles, legend ΑΡ.
© American Numismatic Society 1963.268.52.

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[95] Lane Fox (2011b), 228.

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d

Silver didrachm, 413-399 B.C.
Weight: 10.51g. Diameter: 2.5cm.
O: Horseman carrying two spears.
R: Goat forepart in incuse square, legend
ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟ.
© American Numismatic Society 1970.94.1.

Evidence for actual royal participation in the hunt, and its function as an institution of the royal court is found in Diodorus' account of the death of Archelaus whilst hunting with his *eromenos*.[96] The recurrence of hunting imagery throughout the Classical period on the issues of Macedonian royal coinage, the inclusion of hunting spears in the tombs of elite Macedonians and literary accounts of royal participation in the hunt demonstrate that the hunt, especially the hunt for big game, was an activity of great significance in Macedonia from at least the late sixth century onwards.

Figure 28. Selection of issues of Amyntas III highlighting the significance of horses, horsemanship, hunting and Herakles in Macedonian royal imagery.

a

Silver didrachm, 389-369 B.C.
Weight: 9.49g. Diameter: 2.15cm.
O: Rider wearing petasos wielding javelin in raised hand.
R: Lion biting broken javelin, legend ΑΜΥΝΤΑ.
© American Numismatic Society 1944.100.12168.

b

Bronze unit, 389-369 B.C.
Weight: 2.45g. Diameter: 1.3cm.
O: Bearded head of Herakles wearing lionskin headdress.
R: Boar forepart above club of Herakles, legend ΑΜΥΝΤΑ.
© American Numismatic Society 1944.100.12180.

4.2 Vergina Tombs

The Argead royal centre at Aegae, including the royal necropolis, is generally identified as the modern site of Vergina.[97] The tombs, covered by burial mounds, demonstrate the extent of

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[96] Diod. Sic. 14.37.6; cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1311b and Ael. *V.H*. 8.9.
[97] The location of the ancient capital of Aegae as Vergina was first proposed by Hammond (1970), 64-67. An effective summary of the debate on identification of ancient Aegae is given in Faklaris (1994), 609-16 who is one of the few to disagree with this identification. Faklaris suggests instead the villages of Kopanos and Lefkadia

continuity in burial customs from the archaic period to the late fourth century B.C.[98] The exceptional quality of the grave goods, of the painted decoration, the nature of the cremation and buildings directly associated with the tombs, and the sheer scale of the Great Tumulus at Vergina leaves little doubt that it contains royal tombs.[99] The hunting frieze above the entrance to Tomb II of the Great Tumulus is therefore potentially an exceptional source of evidence for the traditional significance of the royal hunt at the Argead court.[100]

The main argument against the frieze as a depiction of the traditional Macedonian royal hunt in an Argead context arises from the ongoing debate regarding the date of its composition and the identity of the male occupant. The Tombs beneath the Great Tumulus are all dated to the fourth century and form a sequence with the most secure dating being that of Tomb III, the last of the sequence. Containing a juvenile male from the late fourth century, the only royal candidate is Alexander IV, allowing for a date of 309 to be ascertained.[101] Tomb I is the earliest of the Great Tumulus tombs and bears many similarities to the late fifth century cist-tombs of Elimeote kings at Aiani in terms of type, scale and probable grave goods.[102] By the time of Tomb II, practices of burial among the Macedonian super-elite had developed to construction of barrel vaulted chamber tombs. The earliest example of a vaulted tomb at

situated on the foothills of Mt Bermium between Vergina (suggested as ancient Valla) and Edessa as an alternative to the traditional consideration of Edessa, and the later identification by Hammond of Vergina, as Aegae which is now universally accepted after the excavation of the Great Tumulus and the nearby settlement with its palace and theatre. Hammond (1997), 177-79 responded quite definitively to the objections raised by Faklaris. The most significant omission by Faklaris is a failure to consider the extent and quality of the grave goods discovered in Tombs II and III and additional quality of the painted decoration in Tomb I in his rejection of Vergina as the location of Aegae and the royal necropolis.

[98] Andronicos (1970), 169 observed, even prior to excavating the Great Tumulus, the unique nature of Vergina in Greece as a complete cemetery with more than 300 tumuli dating back to the Early Iron Age, concluding that this is however an almost universal feature for continental Europe; Kottaridi (2011b), 141-44 on the consolidation of ideological concepts of power by continuity of burial customs at Vergina.

[99] Andronicos (1978), especially 50: the finds in the grave are indicative of very high rank of the deceased, the cuirass and shield making us think of exalted status and the golden larnakes adorned with the characteristic emblem of the kingdom containing cleansed bones shrouded in purple and gold cloth to be reminiscent of Homeric heroes. The early reports from the recently discovered monumental tomb at Kasta near Amphipolis (Archibald et al. (2013-2014), 10-12) highlight the dangers of elevating these tombs from elite to royal exclusively on the basis of size and decoration. The quadrilateral building next to the tombs is identified by Andronicos (1981), 366 as a heroon for the neighboring dead; accepted by Hammond (1991a). Exceptional quality of the painted decoration evident in comparison with the early third century "Bella Tumulus" Tomb II. See also Musgrave (1990b), 319-21 who observes that there are very few instances of comparable care taken in the process of cremation itself; cf. more recently Antikas and Wynn-Antikas (2016), 685. Those that are comparable are also self-evidently elite Macedonian burials such as Derveni Tomb II. Whilst any future discovery of a more elaborate and well-furnished tomb from the same period beyond the vicinity of Vergina would potentially reopen the issue of these as royal tombs, the evidence available at present demonstrates that the tombs of the Great Tumulus are the grandest and highest quality tombs at Vergina and may legitimately be considered to hold members of the highest socio-political class.

[100] Graekos (2011b), 82 and Brekoulaki (2011), 218.

[101] Hammond (1991a), 72-73 reiterates his position in Hammond (1972), 166 that Tomb III contains the young Alexander IV and must therefore be dated to 309 B.C.

[102] Hammond (1991a), 69-70; Karamitrou-Mentessidi (2011), 93-112. The royal tombs at Aiani and Tomb I have all been plundered.

Vergina, the "Tomb of Eurydice," is securely dated to the late 340s.[103] Tomb II is dated to the fourth century B.C., within the extremes of 350-310 B.C.[104]

Just two mature Macedonian kings died within this timeframe: Philip II and his son, Philip Arrhidaios.[105] The identification of Tomb II as that of Philip II was suggested by Manolis Andronicos shorty after discovery.[106] Although many scholars agree with this identification, an almost equal number refute it in favour of Arrhidaios.[107] There is no obvious means of satisfactorily settling the matter. Both sides have deployed skeletal analysis, disputed the implications of the barrel vault, the so-called gold-plated silver diadem and the inspiration for the hunting frieze. This thesis must take a position in the debate due to the significance of the hunting frieze as evidence for either the Macedonian traditions of royal hunting that Alexander would go on to adapt, or for the new style of hunt he introduced in order to appeal to the royal traditions of his vast empire.

4.2.1 The barrel vault

To suggest that the architectural elements of Tomb II, namely the barrel vaulted roof, could only have been introduced as a result of Alexander's conquests is fundamentally flawed.[108]

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[103] Attic red-figure sherds and the handle of a Panathenaic Amphora dated to year 344/43; Hammond (1991a), 71 and (1994), 179 used this evidence and follows Andronicos in identifying the tomb as that of Eurydice on the basis of this dating and the clearly royal status of the occupant. This dating is not accepted by Borza and Palagia (2007) who suggest the amphora could have been an heirloom by the time it was deposited, or have spent time through trade in second-hand Panathenaic amphorae before arriving in Macedonia, cf. Palagia (2017a), 416 even suggests a post-Alexander date.

[104] These extremes are provided by Andronicos (1992), 226 as a broader range than his earlier dating of all three tombs between 350-325 B.C.

[105] This assumes that a "royal" tomb can mean only the direct male line of Argeads. We are largely unaware of the status of the wider family. Collateral branches of the Argead clan were evidently of equal status, being considered just as eligible to take the throne. We also cannot be certain of the status of Philip's numerous in-laws. Gauer (1992) proposed Machatas, the brother-in-law of Philip as a possible candidate for Tomb II. The exceptionally high status of Machatas is evident not just from the marriage of his sister to Philip (Ath. 13.557c), but the positions attained by his sons: Philip, presumably named in order to demonstrate even more decisively the alignment of Machatas with Philip II, was appointed satrap of the Indians (Arr. *Anab*. 5.8.3; 6.14.3, 15.2; Curt. 10.1.20; Plut. *Alex*. 60) and Harpalus was made Alexander's treasurer as he advanced to the Euphrates (Arr. Anab. 3.6.4-7, 19.7) and given custody of the treasury in Babylon, apparently using the monies to build a temple in Babylon (Diod. Sic. 17.108.4-6; Ath. 13.594f). Borza (1987), 105 does not expand the definition of royal in this way, but on the suggestion of Bosworth points out that from the point of Alexander's departure for Asia the *de facto* rulers were not Argead, but Antipatrid, and so the list of candidates is potentially expanded to include certain private individuals.

[106] Andronicos (1978), 51 stating at the time that he did not insist on this identification. Andronicos became more convinced of this identification over time, writing in (1987), 3 that even if he could not prove the tomb is that of Philip II, there is enough to demonstrate it is not that of Philip III; (1992), 226-32 dismisses suggestion of Philip III and firmly reiterates belief that it is Philip II.

[107] Borza and Palagia being perhaps the most prominent.

[108] Boyd (1978), 88-89 suggested that the arch was introduced to Greece as a result of Greco-Macedonian experiences in Asia with Alexander; Lehmann (1980), 527-31 accepts Alexander's campaign as the *terminus post quem* for the introduction of the arch and proposed the tomb as that of Philip III on this basis. Additionally, she

As Fredricksmeyer and Calder have shown, the barrel vault was known to Macedonians at least within the reign of Philip II (as opposed to the corbel vault which was already an ancient architectural feature in the fourth century).[109] This is the position Tomlinson adopts as a result of accepting Tomb II as that of Philip II, but is then left unable to identify the source of the arch in Macedonia, the point at which it was introduced or any experimental phase leading to the fully formed barrel vaults at Vergina.[110]

It is almost certain that the introduction of the barrel vault in Macedonia was a deliberate import from the Near East, but this need not be a result of Alexander's campaigns. The proximity of Macedonia to the Persian empire, especially the greatly expanded kingdom established by Philip, afforded ample opportunity for exposure to Near Eastern architectural forms and even to employ Near Eastern architects.[111] For the purpose of identifying the introduction of the arch to Macedonia from the Near East there is surely no direct relevance in the period of Persian control over the region.[112] That had come to an end approximately 150 years before the barrel vault came to be used at Vergina and there is no evidence for the use of this form in Macedonia during the period of Persian hegemony or in the intervening years. Since the kingdom was not permanently in such dire straits as it was shortly before Philip's accession, if the arch had been introduced whilst under Achaemenid rule then it would surely have been used.[113]

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considers the gold-plated silver diadem to be the royal diadem adopted from Persian royal dress by Alexander in Parthia (Diod. Sic. 17.77.4-6; Curt. 6.6.1-7; Just. 12.3.8-12). There is however no evident connection between this metal object and the multi-coloured fabric diadem of the Persian kings even if we accept the suggestion in Chapter II above that this may have incorporated metal appliqué rosettes. The differences between this diadem and the royal diadem are put forcefully by Fredricksmeyer (1981; 1983) and Calder III (1981; 1983) causing Lehmann (1982), 437-38 to redefine the object as a development in the form of royal diadem after Alexander's adoption of the Persian symbol of royalty. The matter is certainly confused by the clear imitation of fabric and a tied knot on the metal object. She also attributes less evidential value to the ivory heads discovered in the tomb as identifiers for Philip II than does Andronicos due to the discovery of more heads than the original five reported by Andronicos cf. Andronicos (1992),129 reports fourteen ivory heads from the remains of the couch in Tomb II. Numerous clay heads displaying varying levels of portraiture are also present in the cluster of the Queens.

[109] Fredricksmeyer (1981); (1983) and Calder III (1981); (1983) Also Andronicos (1981), 360; (1987), 5-6.
[110] Tomlinson (1987), 305-12. Andronicos (1987), 3 describes the sudden appearance of the Macedonian tombs a mystery.
[111] Macedonian expansion causing direct intervention by Persian satraps at Perinthus and Byzantium is discussed by Ruzicka (2010), 4-5 with reference to Diod. Sic. 16.74.2-75.2, 75.2-77.3; Paus. 1.29.7; Arr. *Anab*. 2.14.5; and Brosius (2003), 229, 234, 237 referring to Dem. 11.5-6 and 12.6.
[112] Hdt. 5.18-21; Briant (2002), 144-57.
[113] Late fifth century and founding Pella as capital: Borza (1995), 125 = (1993), 237-244. Aelian *VH* 14.17 for the employment of Zeuxis of Heraclea to decorate palace of Archelaus in late fifth century. Furthermore, although Tomb I was plundered it is accepted as the earliest in the series of tombs under the Great Tumulus dating to c.370 B.C. The Rape of Persephone frieze is regarded as a masterpiece e.g. Hammond (1994a), 43. Andronicos (1992), 91 even attributes it to Nikomachus on the basis of the rarity of the scene and the record in Pliny *HN* 35.108-9 that he had painted such a scene. Regardless of whether we know the identity of the artist, this frieze demonstrates significant wealth prior to the reign of Philip II.

There are, however, no such earlier examples of the arch being used or any strong evidence for the development of the arch in Macedonia. Although Andronicos argued the vault represents an essential native solution to the increasing size of cist tombs in Macedonia, with Vergina Tombs I and II representing the transition, this is not supported by the archaeology.[114] Substantially larger cist-tombs have been discovered at Aiani and Katerini that predate Vergina Tomb I.[115] Borza cautiously suggests the Katerini cist-tomb might represent a transitional stage leading to the barrel-vaulted Tomb of Eurydice and Tomb II on the basis that it represents a substantial increase in size and contains a dividing wall to create two chambers and presumably assist in supporting the roof.[116] As he also notes however, this tomb lacks the barrel vault and the front entrance, it is the only example of its type and predates many other cist-tombs. There are simply too many differences and not enough evidence to reasonably consider this a transitional phase in tomb development. Most significantly there is still no evidence for experimental development of the arch in Macedonia which we would expect to take the form of corbelled vaulting and a resulting use of false arches as described by Boyd.[117]

In the absence of any evidence for Macedonian development of the arch, we must accept that it was imported to Macedonia as a fully realised concept. It does not necessarily follow that this must have been a result of Alexander's campaigns. Even those who argue the introduction was a result of Alexander's campaign accept that the barrel vault existed in Asia Minor prior to his arrival. This offered ample opportunity for the arch to be introduced to Macedonia given the personal contacts the Argead court enjoyed with elite Persians and other Near Eastern rulers.[118] Even if these close contacts had not existed, the wealth of the kingdom during Philip's reign would certainly allow the king to import craftsmen. The mobility of craftsmen is firmly established and can be seen in Macedonia with the establishment of the Pella workshop which shows a clear Attic influence.[119] Andronicos suggests a similar process of summoning artisans to establish workshops in Macedonia was responsible for the production of many of the high-quality grave-goods from Tomb II.[120] The exceptional opulence represented in these goods means we should not discount the possibility that the

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[114] Andronicos (1987), 8-12.
[115] Despini (1980), 198 ff.; Hammond (1991a), 69-71.
[116] Borza (1990), 300.
[117] Boyd (1978), 89-90 and n.26.
[118] Artabazus of Phrygia was in exile in Macedonia at the appropriate time to introduce the concept of the arch and necessary craftsmen and architects for the construction of the Tomb of Eurydice (Diod. Sic. 16.52.3-4; Curt. 5.9.1; 6.5.2); we are aware of diplomatic contact with Pixodarus of Caria in the 330s: Ruzicka (2010).
[119] Akamatis (2014).
[120] Andronicos (1981), 365.

original source of the artisans was the East and that they were introduced to Macedonia with the architects and craftsmen who designed the barrel vault.[121]

4.2.2 The cremated remains

The remains of the male interred in Tomb II have also been the subject of debates aiming to settle the issue of his identify and thereby date the tomb. The most significant aspects of such attempts are: the reconstruction of the facial features, which involves identifying potential damage to the skull; and attempting to ascertain whether the body was cremated with flesh on the bones or degreased. These two key factors are used to try and determine if the man was Philip II or Arrhidaios.

Demosthenes records that Philip suffered a severe injury to his eye causing it to lose sight.[122] The examination of the male skull in Tomb II by Prag, Neave and Musgrave concluded there was an apparent facial asymmetry most likely caused by a serious injury to the right maxilla and adjoining part of the right zygomatic bone.[123] This was incorporated into their famous reconstruction of the facial features and led them to identify the individual as Philip II.[124] The uncertainties of using such a facial reconstruction to identify Philip II are highlighted by the later examination of the remains by Bartsiokas. That investigation concluded that the eye socket and cheek showed no signs of unusual asymmetry or of healing as would be observed from an injury suffered some years prior to death.[125] The conflicting opinions of anatomists means the notch in the skull is not enough to conclude with certainty that the occupant of Tomb II had received an eye injury and should therefore be identified as Philip II. Indeed, the most recent analysis of the cremated remains conducted by Antikas and Wynn-Antikas which included the use of multiple CT scans to assess their condition, showed no signs of injury to the eye or the skull surrounding it.[126] They remind us, however, that were any such injury restricted to the soft tissue it would be undetectable and that an identification with Philip cannot be rejected on this basis.

The second issue raised in relation to the remains is whether it is possible to establish a significant delay prior to the cremation of the body that might indicate which king is interred.

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[121] See Paspalas (2000) on Persian influenced forms in fourth century Macedonia and the possibility of itinerant Achaemenid trained craftsmen.
[122] Dem. 18.67; Pliny, *HN* 7.37.124,
[123] Prag, Neave and Musgrave (1984), 60, 63.
[124] Prag, Neave and Musgrave (1984), 60, 63; Prag (1990).
[125] Bartsiokas (2000), 512-13.
[126] Antikas and Wynn-ANtikas (2016).

In his examination of the remains Baratsiokas assesses them as being in all likelihood cremated degreased and therefore, due to the recorded circumstances of his death, the remains of Arrhidaios.[127] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to enter into a discussion on the differences in transverse cracks, warping and discolouration of bone caused by the cremation of fleshed as opposed to degreased bone. The assessments by Prag and by Bartsiokas reach different conclusions regarding the ability to effectively observe such differences. The main note of caution this thesis raises however is our complete ignorance of the usual practices for the treatment of royal bodies between death and burial. The Macedonian capital had been moved to Pella by Archelaus and there was therefore no guarantee that kings would perish at Aegae, the place of their burial. We are told that Alexander's body, besides being miraculously naturally preserved, also underwent deliberate preservation by Egyptians and Chaldeans.[128] What we do not know is how unusual it was for some form of preservation of royal bodies to be undertaken before their funerals, ready, perhaps, for transport to Aegae. The absence of any tombs outside the Great Tumulus containing human remains that might even tentatively be identified as burials of Argead kings means there is no substantial comparative data.[129] Substantial development on this matter is provided by the recent analysis of the remains by Antikas and Wynn-Antikas. It now seems the male in Tomb II was certainly cremated in flesh and the fractures and warping of the bone which indicate this are comparable to those seen in many cremated remains of elite Macedonians of this era.[130]

Borza and Palagia argue for Tomb I as that of Philip II. They point to the possibility that the deceased in Tomb I were not cremated and that at the time of Philip's death, and until the end of the fourth century, both cremation and inhumation were practiced. The only written source to suggest that Philip was cremated is Justin which they dismiss as either a poetic simile or a contemporary Roman practice anachronistically applied to Philip.[131] Despite the uncertainty they suggest as to whether Philip was in fact cremated, a key part of their argument in favour of Philip III is that the bones were, as they say, cremated dry whereas Philip II, if cremated, would have been so shortly after death.[132] They state "Kassandros, who was for the moment intent on honoring the fallen Argead royalty in order to boost his own credentials as their

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[127] See Borza and Palagia (2007) for a detailed reconstruction of the events of the murder, inhumation, exhumation and then cremation of Arrhidaios which accepts the conclusions of Bartsiokas.
[128] Curt. 10.10.9-13.
[129] Such a practice would presumably be undetectable in the remains of a body that was subsequently inhumed.
[130] Antikas and Wynn-Antikas (2016), 685. Unfortunately, no examples are given despite the similarly excellent collection of cremated remains, including large pieces, at Derveni and Nea Mihaniona recorded by Musgrave (1990b).
[131] Borza and Palagia (2007), 84; cf. Just. *Epit.* 11.1.4.
[132] Borza and Palagia (2007), 106-7.

successor, reinterred Arrhidaios and Adea Eurydike at Aigai, as our literary sources make clear, and we should have expected that the burial would have required full royal honors, including the ritual cremation."[133] More recent examination of the remains from Tomb II appears to have resolved the issue of fleshed or degreased cremation, undermining one of the bases of Borza and Palagia's proposed identification, but their argument is also essentially self-defeating. It is undoubtedly the case that Cassander sought to boost his own legitimacy as successor to the Argeads and that the burial of Arrhidaios and the marriage to Thessalonike were part of his strategy.[134] This substantially undermines the suggestion that Philip II was inhumed in 336 and Philip III cremated in 316. Arrhidaios, as noted by Borza and Palagia, will have been interred with full royal honours and we should therefore expect a deliberate continuity of practice on the part of Cassander. If Tomb I were to contain the inhumed body of Philip II then the embalming of Alexander leaves Perdiccas III as the earliest possible precedent for the cremation of a Macedonian king.[135]

4.2.3 Hunting frieze

Despite the extremely limited corpus for comparison, from the moment of its discovery in 1977 the hunting frieze that adorns the facade of Tomb II at Vergina (Plate I) has been accepted as a masterpiece of ancient Greek wall-painting.[136] Its quality even contributes to the recognition of the tomb as a royal burial. The hunting frieze is painted above the entrance to Tomb II, measuring 5.56 × 1.16m.[137] The most detailed description of the frieze in English is that of Cohen who also provides an analysis of colour palette employed by the artist, his style and use of space, particularly by the use of persepctive and shading.[138] In brief then the painting depicts ten men, three of them mounted, hunting several wild animals with the aid of dogs. Most of the hunters are in a state of complete or partial nudity, with some wearing a chlamys, boots or a hat we may identify as the kausia. The exceptions are the two mounted figures participating in the lion hunt, both of whom are fully clothed wearing purple tunics

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[133] ibid
[134] See Landucci Gattinoni (2010). This issue of legitimation is overlooked by Burstein (1982), 147-50 who argues that as a usurper Cassander was unlikely to honor his predecessor, Philip III and questions whether Alexander would honor Cleopatra alongside Philip.
[135] Perdiccas was killed in battle against the Illyrians along with 4,000 of his men in 360/59 (Diod. Sic. 16.2.4-5). There is no reason to accept the supposition of Hammond (1991a), 78 that the body of Perdiccas was not recovered from the field after his death in battle, although if this was the case it serves to push back even further the precedent of a royal cremation for Arrhidaios.
[136] Borza and Palagia (2007), 90.
[137] Cohen (2010), 238. These dimensions are slightly different to those given by Andronicos (1981), 359 who records the frieze as 5.50 × 1.20m.
[138] Cohen (2010), 237ff.

and boots. The young rider to the left of the lion also wears a wreath. The third figure to be clothed is to the poorly preserved extreme right of the frieze and appears to be in darker, heavier garments that include a fur cloak and kausia. There is no obvious overall narrative to the frieze as the groups of hunters each appear to engage the prey within their own tableaux. The furthest left shows two hunters successfully bringing down deer. Next a further two hunters engage a boar. The central and most prominent hunt involves four men, two on foot and two mounted, in the moment of striking a lion. The wreathed youth on horseback to the left has drawn back his arm to thow his spear, while the older figure gallops up behind the lion and leans down from his rearing horse to strike vertically into its neck with his own spear.[139] The hunter to the right of this scene seems to engage a large beast emerging from a cave and the cloaked figure at the far right seems to be managing nets. The scenes are divided by trees, some living one of which has been decorated with votive offerings, others with bare branches, and a pillar supporting a tripod looms in the background.

The coinage of successive Argead kings evokes the image of the king as hunter, but the Vergina frieze is the earliest surviving self-representation of the Macedonian elite engaging in the hunt.[140] Unfortunately, there is no consensus on how best to interpret the frieze. The idealised features of the participants, the lack of overarching narrative and the inclusion of sacral features such as the votive offerings and the tripod, have led Franks to view the scene as essentially typological, evoking heroic and mythical paradigms without reference to the contemporary world.[141] Hatzopoulos interprets the distinct scenes within the frieze and varied clothing of the hunters as episodic representations of initiation to the adult world of the Macedonian royal court.[142] Most commonly, a reading of the frieze as depicting events from the life of the deceased and representations of historical figures is preferred. Such an interpretation must inevtiably rely on an attempt to identify the occupant of the tomb. Andronicos was the first to associate the tomb with Philip II and he therefore identified the two riders engaged in the lion hunt were Philip and Alexander.[143] Those who consider the

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[139] He is identified as older as a result of being the only hunter to be represented with a beard.
[140] Borza and Palagia (2007), 90 identify it as the earliest monumental multiple quarry mounted hunt scene this side of the Aegean; Palagia (2014), 255-56 describes it as the earliest surviving visual narrative related to the Macedonian royal court.
[141] Franks (2012), 109-11 suggesting the scene evokes Karanos and the mythical founding of the Argead kingship. In fairness it should be acknowledged that Franks deliberately avoids attributing the frieze to any historic individual as a result of her assessment of the scene in the context of traditional Macedonian paradigms.
[142] Hatzopoulos (1994), 98-99.
[143] Andronicos (1992), 228.

tomb to be that of Philip III naturally identify the figures differently, proposing various configurations of Alexander III, Alexander IV, Philip Arrhidaios, Philip II and Cassander.[144]

The internal evidence for the dating of the frieze is likewise contested. The composition is argued to indicate late Classical rather than early Hellenistic principles,[145] but the subject of the frieze has been viewed as set within a Near Eastern παράδεισος and therefore postdating Philip II.[146] Palagia cites the abrupt transitions of terrain, the varieties of trees including two that are dead, the variety of animals being hunted and the indications of a shrine or tripod within the grove as evidence of a carefully managed environment, but distinguishes this type of game park from the Achaemenid παράδεισος.[147] Highly significant also to her argument is the Vergina frieze's reintroduction of the lion hunt to Greek art. Borza and Palagia subsequently adapted their interpretation of the frieze to suggest a composite image containing scenes from several events in Macedonia and Asia derived from the role of hunting imagery in the legitimation strategies of the Successors.[148] However, the numismatic evidence discussed above provides evidence that lions had been a feature of Macedonian royal hunting during the reigns of Perdiccas II and Amyntas III. Furthermore, the presence of lions in Macedonia seems to be beyond doubt as Herodotus records them between the rivers Nestos and Acheloos.[149] The heroic qualities attributed to those who killed them, such as Polydamas of Skatoussa, and the Argead dynasty's claimed descent from Herakles, must have made them the most prestigious prey within the kingdom as in the Near East.[150]

There is also nothing in the frieze that demands an interpretation of the scene as being set within a managed park. The hunt clearly takes place in a wooded environment, but is a far cry from being truly forested as the hunters barely clear the bough of the trees. It is equally plausible to see this as a genuinely wild landscape with a mix of evergreen and deciduous woodland. On this interpretation the setting is simply a steep-sided valley containing savanna, a perfect location for boar to make their dens and deer to graze, and also a natural enclosure

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[144] The bibliography on all potential identifications of the hunters is extensive and multi-lingual. For the full array of proposals see Riginos (1994), n.1 and Franks (2012), 140, n.36 and n.13.
[145] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2011), 283.
[146] Borza (1987), 117; (1990), 262.
[147] Palagia (2000), 193, 200. See also Lane Fox (2007), 270 who likewise accepts the setting as a managed park, but is cautious about describing it as a Persian style παράδεισος.
[148] Borza ad Palagia (2007). On the diadochi advertising their status through exploits in the hunt, especially in the company of Alexander see Briant (1991); cf. Plut. *Demetr.* 27.3; Aelian *VH* 12.39; Plut. *Alex.* 40; Pliny *HN* 34.19.
[149] Hdt. 7.125-26.
[150] Diod. Sic. 9.15; Paus. 6.5.5; cf. Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 304.

for hunters to engage in sport.[151] This is not to suggest the frieze depicts any location that exists on a map, but that the artist was able to draw on the natural environment and genuine practices of the Macedonian royal hunt to create such a scene. Although the presence of the pillar and the votive offerings is indicative of a designated hunting park it does not exclude a Macedonian setting. It is certain that hunting parks were present in Macedonia by the second century B.C. as Polybius records that in his own time the Macedonian kings had dedicated hunting parks and, significantly, that "the royal house of Macedon had always been devoted to hunting."[152]

Although Polybius does not state when these parks were introduced to Macedonia he specifies that hunting had always been an activity of the kings and it is in this context that the hunting parks were established. Just like the prominence of Herakles Kynagidas, the existence of royal hunting parks should be considered to predate the Antigonids and be a feature of Argead Macedonia. A passage from the *Deipnosophists* claiming to quote Theopompus indicates that such parks were certainly present in neighbouring Thrace, under the Odrysian kings, in the time of Philip II:

> τριταῖος εἰς Ὀνόκαρσιν ἀφικνεῖται, χωρίον τι τῆς Θρᾴκης ἄλσος ἔχον πολὺ κατεσκευασμένον καλῶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐνδιαιτηθῆναι κεχαρισμένον ἄλλως τε καὶ τὴν θερινὴν ὥραν. ἦν γὰρ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Κότυος προκριθέντων, ὃς ἁπάντων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ γεγενημένων μάλιστα πρὸς ἡδυπαθείας καὶ τρυφὰς ὥρμησε, καὶ περιὼν τὴν χώραν ὅπου κατίδοι τόπους δένδρεσι συσκίους καὶ καταρρύτους ὕδασι, τούτους κατεσκεύασεν ἑστιατόρια· καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς ἑκάστους ὁπότε τύχοι θυσίας τε τοῖς θεοῖς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ συνῆν μετὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων, εὐδαίμων καὶ μακαριστὸς ὢν ἕως εἰς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν βλασφημεῖν καὶ πλημμελεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν.

> Two days later he arrived at Onocarsis, a place in Thrace which included a magnificent *alsos* which was used during summer. In fact this had been one of the favourite residences of Cotys who more than any other king of Thrace was devoted to a life of pleasure and luxury. As he travelled through the country he came across places shaded by trees and with rushing water, where they were organising feasts. He stayed

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[151] *Quercus ilex*, or Holm oak, for example is an evergreen oak native to large parts of Greece including eastern Macedonia and the Chalkidiki which can grow in mixed forests. Rackham (1996), 16-43 on the nature of woodland in ancient and modern Greece.
[152] Polyb. 31.29. Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλικῶν μεγίστην ποιουμένων σπουδὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας.

in each of them on a rolling basis. There he offered sacrifices to the gods and held court

with his governors and was prosperous until he began to blaspheme and offend

Athene.[153]

Briant argues this is evidence for the presence of παράδεισοι in Thrace during the reign of

Philip II. It is after all generally accepted that Thrace continued to orient itself towards the

Achaemenid court after becoming independent from the Great King in 479-8 BC, adapting

Achaemenid court art within local motifs to express regional identity.[154] Briant argues it

would be surprising if Macedonia did not also adapt the model of the Persian court and

institutions such as the royal hunt and hunting parks.[155] The passage does not mention hunting

as a pastime of Cotys in his park, which is termed ἄλσος. An ἄλσος is "a place grown with

trees and grass, a grove, especially a sacred grove."[156] According to Briant, the term is

frequently used synonymously in Greek literature for the Achaemenid παράδεισος.[157] A

frequently cited example of such a sacral park is Xenophon's estate at Skillus which

contained a temple and altar to Artemis where he held an annual hunt.[158] Although, it should

be observed that not all the hunting at this annual festival took place in the ἄλσος, but was

also undertaken on Mount Pholöe. As seen in Chapter 2, the παράδεισος could take a

variety of forms, as a botanical reserve, an ornamental garden or a hunting park, but that it

was always closely associated with the Achaemenid royal ideology.[159] The key difference

between the two is that an ἄλσος is a grove directly associated with a sacral context as

opposed to the παράδεισος which is an explicitly Achaemenid royal, or satrapal,

institution.[160]

The presence of the pillar and the tree with votive offerings have encouraged a reading of the

Vergina frieze as set in this type of, decidedly Greek, sacral landscape.[161] These associations

are, however, incredibly ambiguous in the Vergina frieze. There is no indication of a temple

or altar as at Xenophon's estate, or even any means of identifying the deity whose ἄλσος

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[153] Ath. 12.531e-f
[154] Brosius (2011), 145.
[155] Briant (1991), 236.
[156] LSJ, *s.v.* ἄλσος. It was not restricted to deities like Artemis, but an ἄλσος is also recorded for Zeus (Hdt. 5.119; 7.197), Argus (Hdt. 6.75) and Demeter (Hdt. 9.65).
[157] Briant (1991), 232-34.
[158] Xen. *An.* 5.3.7-13. This hunting park is cited by Borza and Palagia (2007), 91; Franks (2012), 82 specifically in discussion of the Vergina frieze.
[159] Briant (2002), 805; Tuplin (1990), 22-23; (1996), 93-101.
[160] Tuplin (1996), 119-31.
[161] Palagia (2000), 200; Borza and Palagia (2007), 91-93.

would be the setting for this hunt.[162] More recently it has been proposed these features and the idealised nature of the participants themselves are indicative of a heroic landscape intended to deliberately blur the status of the hunters.[163] Although the wreath of the young mounted lion hunter has been suggested as an indication of (posthumous) heroisation this must remain speculation.[164] The tunic and wreath of the young hunter are identical to those worn by the three riders of the Agios Athansios frieze and also recall the Leagros group and the young hunter of a late sixth century eye cup painted by Epiktetos.[165] As has already been suggested above, the scene to the left on the Agios Athansios frieze most likely represents hunters returning for a feast. As a result, the youth cannot be identified as royal or heroised on the basis of clothing alone. It therefore seems appropriate to view the frieze as an essentially Macedonian hunting scene taking place in a royal hunting park. Due to the Achaemenid practice of encouraging the development παράδεισοι throughout the empire it is likely that such parks were inspired by the Persian παράδεισος and may likewise have incorporated features of the Greek ἄλσος, but they are ultimately examples of Argead adaptation of neighbouring customs to suit the distinctively Macedonian significance of the royal hunt.[166] The Argead hunt therefore incorporated a variety of features that were open to interpretation according to the conventions of multiple potential audiences.

4.2.4. Identifying the male occupant of Tomb II

Although there is much to recommend the strategy of Franks to set aside the question of precise dating and occupant of the tomb in favour of the frieze's place in Macedonian royal imagery, this thesis must pick a side of the debate. It has been concluded there is no reason to consider the introduction of the barrel vault as evidence of a post-Alexander date. The cremated remains of Tomb II are ultimately inconclusive. The basis of arguments in favour of both Philip II and Arrhidaios have effectively collapsed as a result of the latest analysis of the remains. There is no skeletal evidence of eye trauma and the remains appear to have been cremated with flesh, eliminating the theory of an exhumed Arrhidaios. Faklaris turned to the male of Tomb I, identifying an apparent leg injury similar to that suffered by Philip II, but this proposal has yet to be placed in the context of the Tomb I remains as a whole.[167] Furthermore,

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[162] Cohen (2010), 254.
[163] Cohen (2010), 254ff.; Franks (2012), 88ff.
[164] Palagia (2000), 195.
[165] See Figures 15 and 16, Plate III; and BM 1842,0407.23.
[166] See pp. 80-82 above on the distribution of παράδεισοι throughout the Achaemenid Empire.
[167] Bartsiokas *et al*. (2015).

Antikas and Wynn-Antikas provided a new analysis of the female in Tomb II which offers identification as one of Philip II's wives.[168] Even if their attempt to identify a specific wife of Philip is ambitious, the presence of a serious disabling injury to the female would seem to exclude Adea Eurydice who is nowhere recorded as lame. As for the frieze, the presence of royal game parks and the long tradition of projecting the image of the Argead kings as hunters means there is nothing in the theme or subject of the Vergina Tomb II frieze compelling a date after the death of Philip II.[169] To date the tomb to 336 and identify the central horseman as Alexander has caused some to question why Philip has not been put in this most prominent position.[170] This is easily explained by the two stages recognised in the creation of Tomb II which leads to the conclusion that the hunting frieze was commissioned not by Philip, but by Alexander.[171]

Faced with an array of evidence, every piece of which is contested by the parties favouring one candidate over the other, no conclusion can be reached at this stage which may be considered to be beyond reasonable doubt. However, based on the particular uncertainties regarding the circumstances of Arrhidaios' reinternment at Aegae and the exclusion of his wife as a candidate for the female in Tomb II, it is safe to suggest that on the balance of probabilities the weight of the evidence points towards this being the tomb of Philip II.

4.3. The Macedonian Royal Hunt: Conclusions

The theme of the big game hunt, including the royal lion hunt, had been consistently used by Macedonian kings at least since Alexander I. The kingdom had been within the Achaemenid Empire during which time intermarriage between Macedonian and Persian nobles had occurred, and had remained on the periphery of the Empire since the sixth century.[172] Whilst

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[168] Antikas and Wynn-Antikas (2016).

[169] Lane Fox (2011a), 37 extends this to nothing in or about Tomb II that is archaeologically inconsistent with a dating to 336 B.C.

[170] Andronicos (1992), 116.

[171] The hasty completion of the tomb: Andronicos (1992), 100 noted the existence of a retaining wall keeping the earth over the vault away from the façade; Hammond (1994a), 180 also notes the split in the stucco on top of the vault shows the vault of the antechamber was made after the stuccoing of the main chamber and that the plastering of the main chamber was not completed. It does not appear to have been suggested that the two distinct stages may indicate the tomb was not originally planned as a double chamber tomb, but a single chamber tomb of the same type as the Tomb of Eurydice. Even if Philip had ordered the construction of his own tomb, it clearly was not complete by the time of his death and therefore the frieze must have been painted in the reign of his successor. Alexander notoriously objected to sharing credit with his father, or anyone else for that matter: Curt. 8.1.14 ff.

[172] Hdt. 5.21

the earliest issues of Alexander I's coinage are clearly derived from neighbouring tribes it may be significant that it is during his reign, when Macedonia was directly attached to the Achaemenid Empire, that coinage projecting the theme of an aristocratic hunter was introduced. Argead coinage, and especially that of Alexander I, is of particular interest because of its continued development of this theme even after the Achaemenid retreat from Europe. This, alongside the variety of weight standards employed by the Argeads, suggests a deliberate attempt to represent the traditional Macedonian significance of the aristocratic hunter in a manner that was equally meaningful to their southern and eastern neighbours.[173] The almost identical political situation with regards the Achaemenid Empire in neighbouring Thrace is accepted as the basis for the Odrysian monarchy conforming to Achaemenid courtly and artistic practice, therefore it is not unreasonable to suppose similar cultural alignment and adoption of practices by the Argeads.[174] Consequently we must reject the statement of Hammond and Griffith that "the two great monarchies (Persia and Macedon) were not well acquainted with each other. Macedonia since Alexander I had never become important enough to be among the Aegean states that Persian kings and satraps had seen cause to cultivate as friends or circumvent as enemies. It is only the reign of Philip that brings her again into the Persian orbit."[175] Even if Macedonia was not actively courted by the Achaemenids, the Macedonian elite and royal court adopted and adapted features derived from the Achaemenids. Whilst there was almost certainly an increase in the extent of Persian influences and contacts as a result of the increased size, wealth and ambition of the Argead kingdom under Philip, these should be viewed as part of an ongoing set of engagements that began in the late sixth century. These had included the introduction of the barrel vault and Persian style goods as well as the development of hunting parks.

The theme of the royal hunt was clearly omnipresent in the kingdom, being consistently developed in Argead coinage and reflected in the prominence of Herakles Kynagidas, constituting a rite of passage within the Macedonian elite and, presumably in connection with this rite, representing an activity so significant than the spears used for hunting were deposited as grave-goods in the tombs of the Macedonian nobility. Within these features of social (both in the sense of society, but also a socialising activity), cultural and ideological significance there also lies the role of the royal hunt as a venue of the royal court. The lion hunt on the Vergina frieze signifies the heroic nature of kingship; the painting's theme is not just royal

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[173] See Chapters 2 and 3 above.
[174] Brosius (2003) states that Macedonia was always oriented more to the East than to the Greek poleis in the South.
[175] Hammond and Griffith (1979), 484-85.

hunting, but Macedonian kingship itself expressed by one of its supreme institutions, hereditary authority religiously attached to a heroic past which was expressed by participation in the hunt.[176]

We also find evidence for the royal hunt being used to establish a middle ground with Macedonia's immediate neighbours. Cohen suggests of the Vergina frieze firstly that hunting imagery became particularly valuable in Philip's reign as a royal activity able to appeal to traditions of kingship throughout his "barbarian" territories and to legitimate his royal power within Greek paradigms of heroic imagery.[177] Secondly, she suggests viewing the Vergina hunt as two halves. The right side as distinctly Macedonian with hunters who are clothed or semi-clothed in rich coloured cloaks and tunics with kausiai and boots, engaging lion and bear, whereas the left incorporates figures from the wider corpus of Greek mythological hunting scenes who are almost exclusively nude.[178] There is not enough evidence from the frieze itself to confirm such a linear division, but thematically the proposal is sound. Accepting this as the tomb of Philip, Cohen's interpretation of the hunting frieze is especially relevant to the central argument of this thesis and would seem to be supported by the discussion in Chapter 3. It accords with the position of this thesis that the royal hunt was used by Alexander to appeal to traditions of legitimate authority throughout his empire. Despite the lack of any recorded hunts by Alexander in Greece, the hunting frieze he commissioned for his father's tomb reflects this policy at work even in the very early stages of his reign.

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[176] Graekos (2011b), 82; Franks (2013).
[177] Cohen (2010), 89-93.
[178] Cohen (2010), 273-85.

Chapter 5. The Hunts of Alexander

5.1. Macedonians Hunting in Asia

Having examined the hunting traditions of the societies of Alexander's empire and identified these as a feature of court society and contributing to legitimate royal authority, this chapter will compile the evidence for Alexander's own hunts. It will seek to identify the relevant cultural backgrounds to the style of Alexander's royal hunts and assess their role in his court as a means of incorporating the elites from throughout his empire. Although Chapter 4 demonstrated the traditional significance of the royal hunt in Macedonia prior to Alexander's accession and it may be assumed that he participated in these as a royal page, it must be noted there is no record of Alexander hunting prior to his campaigns in Asia.[1] The table below presents the hunting expeditions that were sufficiently noteworthy to be recorded in the ancient sources.

Royal hunts conducted by Alexander and hunting expeditions undertaken by his marshals were, however, more common than this suggests. There are several reports of additional hunts which are simply much more difficult to date and locate and references to hunting undertaken generally by Alexander. These reports include the hunt of an ichneumon by Alexander in which Perdiccas accidentally injured Craterus,[2] the large hunts undertaken by Philotas with nets of a hundred stades,[3] Alexander's regular habit of hunting in "his leisure time" and also of hunting foxes and birds whilst on the march.[4] These unspecified regular hunts undertaken

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[1] Arr. *Anab*. 4.13.1; Curt. 5.1.42; Seyer (2007), 93; Hammond and Walbank (1988), 3.

[2] The hunt of the ichneumon is found at Plut. *Alex*. 41.3. A hunt with spears means this can only refer to *Herpestes ichneumon* (Egyptian mongoose) rather than the parasitic wasp. Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 612a16 identifies it as a specifically Egyptian creature which would seem to date this hunt to Alexander's stay there in late 332-spring 331. Gow (1967), 196, n.3 suggests that due to the sacred nature of the ichneumon in Egypt this hunt more likely took place in Asia with a domesticated animal. On the sacred associations of the ichneumon see Strabo, 17.1.39; Brunner-Traut (1965); James (1982); Leitz (2009). It is certainly difficult to reconcile Alexander's efforts to respect Egyptian tradition with the slaughter of a sacred animal for sport whilst in that country. The difficulty of dating the event to Alexander's time in Egypt is complicated further by the fact that the ichneumon had already appeared in Greek vase painting and seems to have become a feature of Greek decoration. It appears to have become a well-known device amongst the Greeks, also appearing as a decorative item on the rim of a late fourth century shield from Thrace, Delemen (2006), 265-68, fig. 18; cf. Fritzilas (2003).

[3] Plut. *Alex*. 40.1. Although tempting to date this event between the burning of Persepolis in Spring 330, after which this is recorded, and the fall of Philotas in September/October that year, the extensive range of this digression means it cannot be placed with any certainty. For example, the same digression refers to the punishment received by Ephialtes and Cissus when they reported the flight of Harpalus (Plut. *Alex*. 41.5). Berve (1926), 161, 203 suggests this refers to the first flight of Harpalus shortly before the battle of Issus in 333 (Arr. *Anab*. 3.6.4-7), but in light of the reference to Peucestas' hunt it could just as easily refer to the second flight of Harpalus in 324 (Curt. 10.2.1; Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.108.6).

[4] Plut. *Alex*. 23.

ἐν δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς, recall the ἀρετή derived from the pursuit of leisure (σχολή) outlined as part of Greek political philosophy in Chapter 3 suggesting that, however they were conducted, Plutarch was attributing them to Greek concepts of establishing legitimate authority through virtue.[5] Furthermore, Pliny indicates that non-elite hunting and the capture of animals was also common throughout Alexander's empire.[6] The question this chapter addresses is how each of Alexander's recorded hunts contributed to his engagement with local traditions of royal behaviour and the reconciliation of local elites within his new empire.

These hunting activities are indicative of a seemingly distinctive feature of Alexander's royal hunting as opposed to that of the neo-Assyrians and Achamenids, or even the aristocratic hunts of the Greek cities and previous Macedonian kings, that is they are undertaken whilst the king is actively engaged in a military campaign. This poses two questions, firstly whether this is a truly unique feature of Alexander's hunts and secondly whether it is a significant issue relevant to the manner in which Alexander conducted his hunts or the role they played at his court.

With regards to the first question it may be observed that Alexander's hunting on campaign, though apparently atypical based on the available evidence, was not unique. Assurbanipal, for example, recorded hunting lions on campaign and Xenophon demonstrates how easily hunting and campaigning against the enemy can become indistinguishable.[7] The Assyrian evidence in particular highlights that despite the limited evidence for royal hunting whilst on campaign, the conceptual nexus between war and hunting ensured that ideologically all hunts were military campaigns. Assurbanipal's text, for example, is unclear as to whether the lion hunt represented a detour during the war or was conceived as a military operation in itself.[8] It is also quite likely that due to its regular migrations between the capitals, Achaemenid hunting will have frequently taken place on the march even if these were not active campaigns.[9] There was certainly very little to distinguish a royal hunt from a military campaign in terms of personnel where there was exceptional continuity, typically being the same high status members of the royal court. Chang has examined this feature in some detail for the Qianlong court and its relevance to the hunts of Alexander is evident throughout this chapter as his named partners in the hunt are typically extraordinarily high-ranking Macedonian noblemen

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[5] See Chapter 3 (3.3.1), especially n.199.
[6] Pliny, *HN*. 8.17. Appearing to confirm the report by Xenophon, *Cyn*. 11.1-4 that non-elite destruction and capture of big cats was undertaken in the Near East, cf. Anderson (1985), 56.
[7] Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 757; Xen. *Cyr*. 1.4.16-19.
[8] See also the assessment of the Broken Obelisk at Chapter 1.
[9] Xen. *Cyr*. 8.6.22; Plut. *Mor*. 78D, 604C; Dio Chrys. *Or*. 6.1-7; Ath. 12.513f ; cf. Lane Fox (2007), 268; Llewellyn-Jones (2013), 81.

such as Perdiccas, Craterus and Lysimachus, in addition to the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες.[10] Furthermore, the scale of royal hunts equally made them indistinguishable from military campaigns. These hunts afforded the monarch an opportunity to display his own martial prowess and also to demonstrate his ability to marshal military forces, both from the high nobility and the rank-and-file.[11] As is evidenced by Alexander's participation in a ring hunt at Bazaira (see full discussion below), literal armies were deployed on these hunts to guard the king, flush out the prey and to encircle the field.[12] The necessary infrastructure for a royal hunt, as discussed in the Introduction, was therefore identical to that of an army camp requiring a mobile city of tents for the noble participants, their horses, grooms, armourers, servants and provisions in addition to the soldiers.[13]

This leads to the secod question of whether this perpetual movement of Alexander and his court on campaign affected the manner in which his hunts were conducted or their significance. As indicated above, there was probably no impact on the practical requirements for conducting these royal hunts whilst on campaign, nor was it something wholly novel. The royal hunt required the court to mobilise and be accompanied by an army, a state of affairs that in Alexander's case existed throughout his campaigns in Asia. Such royal peregrinations have been seen to be a feature of Near Eastern great kings engaging in royal hunts and even if it was a remarkable feature in a Greek context, the description of Plutarch observed above that Alexander hunted ἐν δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς shows that the practice of hunting on the march could be accepted within Greek models. The key impact of Alexander's constant campaigning upon his royal hunts was the introduction of new practices and personnel designed to engage multiple groups within his expanding empire. As he advanced local elites were introduced to the royal hunt alongside the Macedonan nobility and the hunt itself carefully adapted to ensure it engaged with traditional local conceptions of legitimate kingship. This is the central argument of this thesis and the details of this process are examined in this chapter and the Conclusion. To a certain extent we might suppose that this process was partly assisted by having a king on campaign as it ensured the ideological nexus between war and the hunt, and the traditional significance of both within the Near Eastern ideological framework of the king suppressing chaos was always fully realised.

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[10] Chang (2007), 118-38; Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.1. For summaries of the exceptional careers of these three Macedonian noblemen see Heckel (2009), *s.v.* Craterus; Lysimachus [2]; Perdiccas [1].
[11] Allsen (2006), 8-9.
[12] Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 750. See also Figure 8.
[13] The traditional Achaemenid order of march described at Hdt. 7.40f. and Curt. 3.3.8-25 highlights the extent of the royal party on the road and Curtius is especially valuable in this regard for also identifying the presence of elite families and camp-followers.

The first two sections of this chapter follow the structure of the thesis and, broadly, of Alexander's advance into Asia. First to be examined are those hunts which are suggestive of an appeal to wider Near Eastern traditions and the inclusion of elites at court who were certainly not Persian. Neither of the pieces of evidence relate to specific hunts recorded in the literary sources. The first, the Alexander Sarcophagus from Sidon will be discussed as representative of an otherwise unrecorded hunt whereas the second, Diodorus' account of Hephaestion's funeral pyre at Babylon, offers evidence for Alexander projecting the significance of hunting imagery before a largely non-Persian audience. Both are, essentially, hunting imagery connected with Alexander and his court. As such, consideration will have to be given to issues of audience and the intended interpretation of Alexander's hunting iconography. Section two then examines the recorded hunts which refer to the use of specifically Achaemenid practices being adopted by Alexander. Due to the literal meaning of Persianisation applied in this thesis, it considers the hunt in terms of its intent to use these Achaemenid traditions to appeal to a broader Iranian audience. As seen in the Introduction and in Chapter 1, Persians were part of the broader ethnic group of Iranians and Alexander's adoption of Achaemenid ceremonial and protocol seems more appropriately considered in terms of Iran than Persia.[14] This thesis argues the royal hunt should be appreciated as part of these strategies for engagement with local elites and therefore follows the approach as one aimed at Iranians rather than Persians alone. The second part of this chapter highlights the specifically Macedonian and Greek concerns that appear in the recorded hunts of Alexander. This primarily focuses on Alexander's use of the royal hunt as an extramural court. Calculated strategies of behaviour during the hunt expressed his engagement with Macedonians as a traditional Argead king, and also the response of the Macedonian nobility to Alexander's development of his court style. The royal hunt of Alexander in Greek tradition examines the appeals Alexander was making to Greek political philosophy through his hunting and the response of at least some Greek writers. The final assessment of Alexander's use of the royal hunt to engage with numerous local traditions of kingship and authority will be made in the following Conclusion.

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[14] See Introduction, 18-19, nn. 94, 95, 98, 101.

Table 1. Recorded Macedonian Hunts During Alexander's Campaigns in Asia

Date	Hunt	Source
332[15]	Lion hunt in Syria witnessed by Spartan embassy. Represented at Delphi with Craterus coming to the aid of the king.	Plut. *Alex*. 40 *FD* 3.4.2, no.137
332	Lion hunt in Syria. The animal was slain by Lysimachus. Possibly a second incident involving Lysimachus, this time engaging in single combat against a lion.	Plut. *Demetr*. 27 Curt. 8.1.13-17 Just. *Epit*. 15.3
332/ spring 331	Lion hunt in Phoenicia with Alexander hunting alongside Asian nobles.	Alexander Sarcophagus[16]
328	Royal ring hunt in paradeisos at Bazaira.	Curt. 8.1.13-17
327	Royal hunt involving βασιλικοὶ παῖδες, notably Hermolaus. Prey included boar.	Arr. *Anab*. 4.13.1-2 Curt. 8.6.2-7.
324	Bear hunt undertaken by Peucestas. Presumably in Persis.[17]	Plut. *Alex*. 41
324/3	Royal hunts undertaken in Achaemenid royal dress from chariot with bow and arrow as well as spears.	Ephippus *BNJ* 126 F 5 = Ath. 12.537e[18]

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[15] Palagia (2000), 183; Dunn and Wheatley (2012), 39-48. Stewart (1993), 270 observes the possibility that the hunt may have occurred later and further East than is usually expected due to the interchangeable use of Syria and Assyria by the Greeks; cf. the same issue raised in relation to the Craterus *ex voto* long ago by Perdrizet (1899), 275-76. It is unclear why Hamilton (1969), 107 believes the interchangeable use of these terms should also make Sogdiana a possible location, and the suggestion is quite unlikely.

[16] K. Schefold (1968); von Graeve (1970); Stewart (1993), 294-306.

[17] Heckel (2009), 21 *s.v.* Alexippus; cf. Berve (1926), 21-22 suggested the hunt occurred after Peucestas was given the satrapy of Persis in 325/4 (Arr. *Anab*. 6.30.2; cf. 7.6.3, 23.3; Diod. Sic. Sic. 19.14.5). If this is the case it must also have taken place sometime before June 323 since Peucestas was at Babylon when the king became fatally ill (Arr. *Anab*. 7.26.2).

[18] Accepting the interpretation of Spawforth (2012). The account of Ephippus would suggest the term costume would be more appropriate here as Alexander was supposedly dressing up as, among others, the goddess Artemis. The interpretation of this passage by Spawforth which is developed in this chapter suggest however that Alexander's apparel should be considered as genuine elements of Achaemenid royal dress worn whilst engaging in Iranian style royal hunts.

5.2. Broader Near Eastern Traditions

5.2.1. The Alexander sarcophagus

The Alexander Sarcophagus is unique in that it undoubtedly represents an aspect of Alexander's attempts to establish a court that included both Europeans and Asians. More significantly, the context of the sarcophagus means it was intended for a member of the local elite who actively engaged with and promoted his integration into Alexander's royal court. Unfortunately, identification of the events and individuals depicted remains a contested issue. An attempt to resolve the position is therefore made below.

The sarcophagus was discovered at Sidon in 1887 alongside three other large, decorated sarcophagi in the so-called royal necropolis.[19] The decoration consists of elaborately carved panels in high relief on all four faces and both pediments. It is the scenes on the long and short faces which primarily interest us here. One of the short faces depicts three Asians, two on foot, one on horseback, battling three Europeans. The three Europeans may be identified as Greeks or Macedonians as they are all heroically nude (one wears a chlamys), clean-shaven, carry *aspides* and two wear Phrygian helmets. All three of the Asians wear a form of the riding outfit seen on the Apadana reliefs and the soft tiara with face covering prominent on the Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii and on the Hadish Palace at Persepolis.[20] Their clothing most likely is intended to be typically Persian.[21] Only the mounted figure is clearly moustached, and presumably bearded. The defeated figure to the right has had his hood removed revealing that he is clean-shaven and the hood of the duellist to the left is pulled too high over the face to reveal any moustache. The combatants appear evenly matched with one member of each side receiving a final blow whilst the remaining two continue to do battle. Probably the most unique feature of this scene is the surviving traces of pigment depicting an Achaemenid audience on the interior of the Asian soldier's shield.[22] Although the ethnicity of

[19] von Graeve (1970), 9. Seventeen sarcophagi of various types were discovered in the rock cut subterranean necropolis covering a period of almost 200 years from at least the early fifth to the late fourth century B.C. cf. Houser (2017), 281. On the discovery of the necropolis and its contents see Hamdy Bey and Reinach (1892).
[20] Llewellyn-Jones (2013), 62, 220 F13; Razmjou (2010), 233-38. It is also represented very clearly on a gold plaque from the Oxus treasure (Figure 29).
[21] It appears frequently in Greco-Persian seals depicting a range of activities, both domestic and martial. Although this outfit is described as Median in many sources, Llewellyn-Jones (2013), 62 observes that this label is inappropriate as it is not restricted to the Medes. Unfortunately, he offers no evidence of its use by additional groups. The kandys is depicted as an identifying feature in the garb of Medians, Arians and Cappadocians on the base of the statue of Darius at Susa, see Yoyotte (2013b). It seems reasonably safe to assume that the combat is between those in the riding outfit and the Greeks/Macedonians rather than a battle between mixed forces as in Ridgway (1969), 482.
[22] See von Graeve (1970), pl. 69.2-70.3 for a series of images of the shield interior including under different light spectrums and of the plate originally provided by F. Winter, *Der Alexandersarkophag aus Sidon* (Strasbourg: K.J. Trübner, 1912).

this individual cannot be clearly identified, he is clearly represented as fully identifying with Achaemenid ideology by keeping this image from the very heart of the empire so close. Even if the scene does not depict ethnic Persians, the individuals have fully Persianised and we may reasonably refer to them as Persian.[23]

Figure 29. BM 1897,1231,48. © Trustees of the British Museum.
Gold plaque from the Oxus Treasure

The opposite short face depicts a panther hunt undertaken by five Asians who are similarly dressed, although only three are wearing the kandys over their sleeved tunics. The outfits of the figures are not simply representative costumes of Asian, Persian or barbarian, but differentiate individuals. It is not easy to be certain, but the trousers of the figure wielding an axe, presumably to deliver the *coup de grâce*, appear to be of a different style to those of his companions. They seem to be of the tight herringbone patterned type often used by horsemen in the Near East from at least the neo-Assyrian period and depicted by Greeks as typical Eastern garb alongside the baggy *anaxyrides*.[24] The four actively engaged in striking the animal are moustached whilst the fifth tries to control a horse, apparently spooked by the

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[23] Stewart (1993), 301 suggests that these figures represent the Phoenician aristocracy and makes the same point in light of the dress which he considers distinctively Persian. He describes the clothing as symbolically collapsing the differences between the races of Asia and also of any distinction between Greeks and Macedonians. On cultural identity and ethnicity see Hall (1990), 222-25 and Skinner (2012).

[24] Brøns (2016) suggests both types of trouser were called *anaxyrides* by the Greeks; cf. Miller (1997), 185 who notes Eur. *Kyklops* 182 and Ar. *Wasps* 1087 that the Athenians at least nicknamed the trousers of Trojans and of Persians θύλακοι, "bags." This nickname could only really be applied to the type of trouser worn by the majority of figures, but not to the axe-wielding figure or the figure holding the horse (see n.45 below). Brinkmann (2008), 31-36 refers to a study on the use of polychrome on the Alexander Sarcophagus and provides two reconstructions of parts of the faces which suggest the individuality of each figure was highly pronounced. Some of the patterns of trousers indicated in the reconstructions appear similar to the herringbone pattern, but Brøns is clearly correct in identifying different types of trouser worn.

panther and a dog rushing to the fray beneath its legs. This individual's trousers also seem to have been represented with an individual pattern, corresponding to those worn by the Persian rider votive on the Athenian acropolis.[25]

Figure 30. Alexander Sarcophagus Panther Hunt from Schefold (1968), pl.6.

The sarcophagus is named for one of its long faces. The scene is titled the Alexander Slaughter by von Graeve.[26] Alexander himself is clearly recognisable at the far left on a rearing horse by his lion scalp headdress. He also wears a long sleeved garment, described as a chiton by Stewart, but often viewed as an example of Alexander's adoption of Achaemenid royal dress.[27] The scene is framed by Alexander on the left and another Macedonian horseman on the far right, both of whom charge towards the centre, compressing the remaining eleven battling figures.[28] These remaining figures consist of armoured, unarmoured and nude Macedonians on foot and on horseback, engaged in a fierce battle against Asians in the same variety of clothing as seen in the previous two faces. They too are a mix of infantry and cavalry and the two sides are engaged on a battlefield littered with the corpses of dead Asians and at least one Macedonian. Many studies have commented on a number of apparent

[25] Acropolis Museum inv. No. Acr. 606.
[26] von Graeve (1970), "*Alexanderschlacht*."
[27] Stewart (1993), 294-95; Palagia (2000), 188.
[28] The explicit inclusion of Alexander means we may conclude that these Europeans, many of whom wear Phrygian or Boiotian helms and a cuirass similar in style to that discovered in Vergina Tomb II (Figure 22), worn by Alexander in the Alexander Mosaic (Figure 32) and by three Macedonians who also wear the kausia at Agios Athanasios (Figure 20), are in fact Macedonian.

parallels with the Alexander Mosaic and concluded they must derive from the same source.[29] The far left of the scene certainly shares a compositional similarity as Alexander charges into the fray spearing a Persian nobleman whose horse collapses beneath him. However, the principle connection shared by the two scenes of battle is the artist's treatment of the Persians. In both cases the Persians, though being overcome, display courage in the face of defeat.[30] The Alexander Sarcophagus in particular embodies the values of the Persian nobility, displaying both personal valour and absolute loyalty.[31] The scene finds a ready parallel in Herodotus' account of the Persians at Plataea as they struggled to recover the body of Masistes and fought courageously alongside Mardonius.[32] Alexander is effectively side-lined at the edge of the panel whilst the main figures are to the right and centre. As one of the Persians falls before the advancing Macedonian horseman, he is caught and shielded by a companion. Behind them, another Persian noble, identified by Heckel as the scene's central figure, fixes his gaze on a nude Greco-Macedonian soldier and prepares to strike him.[33] The chaotic nature of the conflict means we cannot say for certain that this rider is also coming to aid his fallen comrade, but the scene clearly projects Persian aristocratic values of social cohesion and loyalty to their lord. Briant attributes the governor of Damascus' murder when he tried to surrender, and Batis' refusal to surrender Gaza, to this same aristocratic loyalty to

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[29] See for example von Graeve (1970), 11-13; cf. Havelock (1972); Cohen (2010), 162-64. Havelock's reservations seem justified, especially since this would create a direct relationship between the Vergina frieze (often attributed to the same artist or workshop as the mosaic's original, see for example Andronikos (1981), 359), the Alexander Mosaic and the Alexander Sarcophagus. As Stewart (1993), 148 observes, this only serves to generate circular reasoning which cannot be substantiated. The source for the Alexander Mosaic is usually considered to be the lost painting of Alexander in battle against Darius by Philoxenos of Eretria. See however the arguments of Moreno (2001) in favour of Apelles. An equally likely source of inspiration, or even artist, for the Alexander Sarcophagus is the son of Lysippus, Euthycrates. Pliny *NH* 34.66 records that Euthycrates was known to have produced several especially noteworthy pieces including an Alexander Hunting, a Cavalry Engagement, a Pack of Hounds, King Demetrius, and Peucestas. His style is specifically contrasted with that of his father, copying the harmony of Lysippus rather than the elegance. This would account for the classical idealising features and apparent lack of influence of Lysippus over the sculpture; cf. von Graeve (1970), 114; Ridgway (1969). The similarities between the known subject matter of Euthycrates' works and the sarcophagus were observed by Bieber (1965), 185.
[30] Stewart (1993), 142. On the levels of reading the Alexander Mosaic, especially sympathy for the Persians see Cohen (1997). This is entirely different to the representation of a Persian in the hunt mosaic from Piazza della Vittoria, Palermo, Sicily, who flees the wild animals while his European companions engage them; cf. Wootton (2002), fig. 5. Stewart proposes interpreting the violent advance of Alexander against an impotent Darius in terms of sexual domination. Cohen (2010), 162-70 examines this interpretation in light of wider Greek evidence that clearly associates rape with war and concludes that aggressive sexuality is not the primary image of the mosaic.
[31] Briant (2002), 324-35, 354 on the values of the Persian nobility; the ultimate purpose of Persian education was to train noble youths into faithful servants. Aristocratic houses were directed and organised in the same way and similarly promoted hierarchical loyalty.
[32] Hdt. 9.20-24, 62-63; cf. Pelling (1997), 63-64.
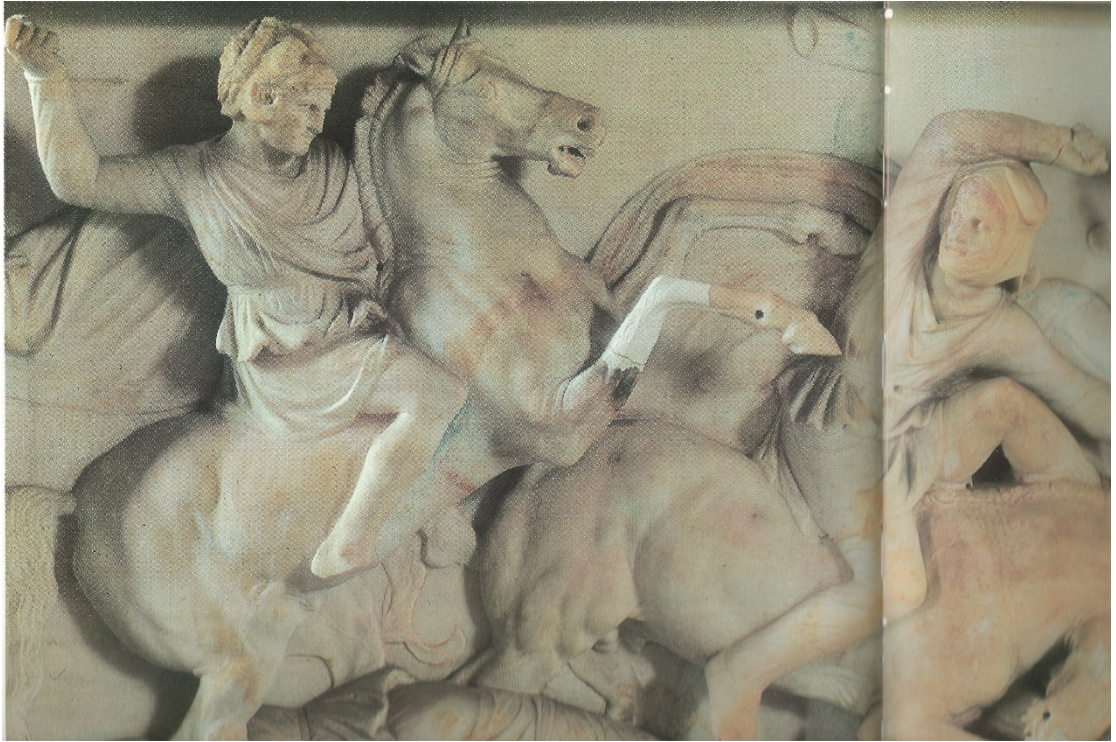[33] Heckel (2006).

Figure 31. Detail of Alexander in battle scene of Alexander Sarcophagus from Schefold (1968), pl.49

Figure 32. Detail of Alexander Mosaic produced on concession of the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and of Tourism - National Archaeological Museum of Naples.

the king.[34] It was also identified in Chapter 2 as one of the key features of Achaemenid ideology recognised in the Greek sources being demonstrated in the royal hunt. The promotion of these virtues leads Stewart to describe the sarcophagus as a highly conflicted monument, without a unified iconographic program, but a mix of Eastern and Western, that must have been intended for both audiences.[35] As will be shown below, the monument does in fact conform to Sidonian conventions that reflect local tradition and a long history of interaction with the Achaemenids. The iconographic program is unified and communicates to multiple audiences. Loyalty to the king is expressed in the same terms as to the Achaemenids, the martial skill and courage of all concerned is self-evident and the relationship between these nobles of different races and the king is strongly promoted.

The hunt scene on the remaining face completes this set of values. A noble Persian rider engages a lion as it mauls his horse. Two Greco-Macedonian riders rush to his aid. The rider on the left is regularly identified as Alexander on the basis of the diadem and the long-sleeved garment he wears which is linked to the reported adoption of Achaemenid royal dress.[36] An axe-wielding Persian stands over the lion as another shoots his bow at it and a Macedonian advances with a spear. To the right, a Persian and a Macedonian both engage in a stag hunt. Again, the Persians are the equals of the Macedonians and the lead hunter is in fact Persian rather than the Alexander figure. As Heckel observes, there is no suggestion here of reserving for the king the privilege of being the first to strike.[37] In this sense it recalls the services to the king on the hunt exhibited by Tiribazus and the companion of Cyrus the Younger in addition to promoting the loyalty and status of the principle hunter by emphasising his proximity to Alexander.[38] Signalling an individual's status by advertising their proximity to Alexander on the royal hunt is also apparent in Diodorus' account of Hephaestion's funeral pyre and the significance attached to such events by the Diadochi to legitimise their claims to power.[39] His status is certainly distinguishable from that of the royal youth, Hermolaus, who was beaten for interfering with Alexander's strike against a boar.[40] That status, and the status of Alexander

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[34] Briant (2002), 844-45; cf. Curt. 3.13.2-4, 17; 4.6.7. Briant repeatedly addresses this loyalty (see n.24 above), referring to it as the "dynastic pact" at 354 regulating the relationship between king and satraps.
[35] Stewart (1993), 298-302.
[36] Hamdi-Bey and Reinach (1892), 299-300 identifies him by the diadem; Heckel (2006), 386-87, Palagia (2000), 188-89; Stewart (1993), 295.
[37] Heckel (2006), 386.
[38] See Chapter 2, 65. Tiribazus was able to defend himself from a charge of treason against Artaxerxes II by appealing to his past services in the hunt, Diod. Sic. 15.8-10.4; and Cyrus the Younger greatly rewarded the man who assisted when he was attacked by a bear: Xen. *Anab*. 1.9.6.
[39] Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.115.1-5. Palagia (2000), 171; McKechnie (1995), 428 interprets the lower levels of the pyre (including the hunt) as representing Hephaestion's own prowess in life, whilst the upper levels show how he is now taking his place among the great men of legend. On the projections of proximity to Alexander by the Diadochi see Briant (1991).
[40] Arr. *Anab*. 4.13.1-2; Curt. 8.6.2-7 and see below.

himself, is further enhanced by the prey they engage in this scene. The panther is undoubtedly a dangerous creature, but never appears to have attained the same status as royal prey as lions in the ancient Near East.[41] As has been observed throughout this thesis, the lion was the pre-eminent prey for royal hunters throughout the Near East where there is sufficient evidence of an ideological basis for their destruction which validated the king's position as monarch. There is also evidence for lion hunting as a particular activity projected by the Argeads. The sarcophagus depicts three scenes of heroic hunting, but only one of which, that featuring Alexander, can be readily identified as a royal hunt according to the traditions of all those represented. The iconography therefore seems explicitly to recognise the status of Alexander, and most probably his Asian partner in the hunt, as kings. The Alexander Sarcophagus is therefore a highly significant piece of evidence for the incorporation of local elites to Alexander's royal court and the role of the hunt in facilitating these relations between the new king and the old aristocratic societies. The key question, however, is precisely which elite group does the sarcophagus depict engaging with the new court of Alexander?

It would be reasonable to assume, based on the clear archaeological context in the city of Sidon, that it was the Phoenician elite, specifically that of Sidon. The representation of Alexander himself, the deliberate promotion of the entombed individual's personal association with him and the obviously high status of the burials in the royal necropolis even lead to an identification as king Abdalonymus.[42] Although there are errors in the sources recording the appointment of Abdalonymus to the kingship of Sidon, the key features are consistent.[43] Alexander removed the ruler of Sidon from his position due to his support of Darius and entrusted Hephaestion with the task of appointing a replacement. Hephaestion initially favoured his Sidonian hosts, but they refused due to their lack of royal credentials, recommending instead Abdalonymus. Abdalonymus was a distant member of the royal line working in a garden who could scarcely believe it when he was presented with the royal robes by his countrymen. Diodorus includes that he became a φίλος to Alexander and Plutarch that he was admitted to the ἑταῖροι.[44] Even without the evidence of the sarcophagus, these accounts show us that as early as 332 local, non-Persian elites were engaging with Alexander's royal court and cultivating relationships of friendship with his marshals. We also

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[41] Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 338.

[42] See for example Bieber (1965), 184-85; Schefold (1968), 7 who identifies the lion hunt as the primary scene of the sarcophagus and argues the scenes are best understood when one accepts Abdalonymus as the lord of the grave; Palagia (2002), 186; Houser (2017); Stewart (1993), 294. von Graeve (1970).

[43] Curt. 4.1.15-26 and Just. *Epit*. 11.10.8 both correctly place the events in Sidon. Diod. Sic. 17.47 and Plut. *De fort. Alex*. 2.340 C-D give substantively similar accounts except that Diodorus locates Abdalonymus in Tyre and Plutarch at Paphos on Cyprus. Arrian does not include the story.

[44] Diod. Sic. 17.47.6; Plut. *De fort. Alex*. 2.340D.

see the continuation of the future king as gardener topos being applied in the wider Near Eastern environment by the classical sources.[45]

The identification of the owner of the sarcophagus as Abdalonymus has however been challenged. Von Graeve considered there to be a lack of firm evidence to decide between Abdalonymus or the later Philokles, and Heckel argues instead that the sarcophagus was intended for the Persian satrap, Mazaeus.[46] Both feasibly fall within the period of the construction of the sarcophagus in the last third of the fourth century. Mazaeus' death was reported to Alexander whilst he was in Sogdiana after the death of Spitamenes and before marching on the Rock, and is therefore dated to the latter part of 328.[47] Philokles first appears c. 310 and remains active in the eastern Mediterranean as both king of Sidon and acting on behalf of the Ptolemies for the next three decades.[48] However, it is not clear when Abdalonymus died, although a date around 312 is often suggested as a result of interpreting the short battle scene of the Alexander Sarcophagus as the Battle of Gaza.[49] Even if this were the case, it is unlikely that Philokles immediately succeeded him since he had a son who made a dedication to Aphrodite-Astarte at Cos.[50] Philokles was undoubtedly a prominent Sidonian nobleman and supporter of the Ptolemies, but his actual accession to the royal office is dated by Lipiński no earlier than 301, potentially as late as 294 when Sidon came under permanent Ptolemaic control.[51] Under such a dating, Philokles becomes an unlikely candidate for the sarcophagus designed in the last third of the fourth century. There is also no evidence at all to support the personal relationship with Alexander suggested in the sarcophagus lion hunt. As a potential candidate for kingship in Sidon, Philokles and his family would appear to be excluded even from the group of aristocrats who engaged with the royal court through Hephaestion.[52] His age would likewise seem to exclude Philokles from such contact with Alexander. Philokles is recorded amongst benefactors to Thebes in 310 when, as stated by Hauben, he must have been at least in his twenties and his career continues until he is last

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[45] The future king as gardener topos was observed in Chapter 1, n.78 with regard to Sargon of Akkad, Cyrus the Great and Cyrus the Younger. The significance of the king as gardener was demonstrated in Chapters 1.2 and 2.4.

[46] von Graeve (1970), 125-33; Heckel (2006).

[47] Arr. *Anab*. 4.17.4-18.4; Curt. 8.3.16-17.

[48] *SIG*³ 337. On the career and role of Philokles with bibliography including the epigraphic and single literary (Aelian, *VH* 3.16) see Hauben (2004); Seibert (1970).

[49] von Graeve (1970), 142-46. Lauter (1973), 182-83 is critical of this identification, as is Heckel (2006) who suggests it is in fact Mazaeus participating at Gaugamela; Schefold (1968), 7 suggests Abdalonymus died c. 311.

[50] *SEG* 36.758; cf. Hauben (2004), 29-34 on the dating of this dedication during the lifetime of Abdalonymus and including periods after the Battle of Gaza.

[51] Lipiński (2004), 172 nn. 156 and 157, following Hauben (1987); cf. Merker (1970), 144.

[52] As seen above, a common feature of the sources is that Hephaestion's hosts refused the kingship as they were not of the royal line. As a king in service to, and clearly recognised by, Ptolemy, it is likely that Philokles did belong to the line of Sidonian kings, cf. Merker (1970), 143.

mentioned c. 280. The only opportunity for Alexander to engage in a Sidonian royal hunt is however 332 until autumn, or spring 331.[53] All the participants in the lion hunt are, and almost certainly would have been, men in their prime (presumably all born in the 360s to 350s). Either Philokles was far too young to claim any personal involvement with Alexander in such a hunt, or he must have come to the kingship rather late in life and lived to quite an exceptional age.[54]

The dating of the Alexander Sarcophagus, the scenes represented on the sides and the circumstances of their respective histories therefore seems to favour Abdalonymus as the potential lord of the grave over Philokles. It therefore remains to consider the arguments of Heckel that specifically reject the identification of Abdalonymus in favour of the Persian Mazaeus. Heckel establishes four criteria for identifying the owner of the sarcophagus: 1) that due to the exclusively Persian garb and features of the Asian figures he must be a Persian nobleman; 2) who had fought against Alexander on at least one occasion; 3) but was later reconciled with Alexander; and 4) had connections with the city of Sidon.[55]

To begin with the possible connections to the city of Sidon: Heckel seems to overestimate Mazaeus' links to this city and at times to purely hypothesise such a link. He is recorded by Diodorus as the governor of Cilicia (Κιλικίας ἄρχων) at the time of the Sidonian revolt against Artaxerxes III.[56] He evidently was not in Sidon at this time, as the Persians present in the city were arrested at the outbreak of the revolt, and was presumably based at Tarsus in Cilicia.[57] The regions of Cyprus, Phoenicia and Cilicia had been involved in the preparations against the Egyptian revolt of Inarus in the fifth century and were presumably responsible for mustering ships, arsenals and supplies for the campaigns of Artaxerxes III against Egypt.[58] His relationship with the city of Sidon in the years after the revolt is less certain. He is recorded in 331 as guarding the Euphrates crossing at Thapsacus and commanding the forces

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[53] This period accounts for Alexander's stay in Syria and Phoenicia after Issus, before advancing into Egypt and his return to the region and reorganisation of his Asian territories before crossing the Euphrates *en route* to Gaugamela. Cf. Arr. *Anab.* 2.13.7-3.7.1.

[54] Not impossible given there are a number of contemporary figures who lived exceptionally long lives: Antipater, Ptolemy I and Hieronymus of Cardia.

[55] Heckel (2006), 388.

[56] Diod. Sic. 16.42.1. It is unclear if there is any significance to the fact that Diodorus describes Mazaeus as governor of Cilicia but Belesys as satrap of Syria, cf. Kuhrt (2010), 9.75, n.7. The precise date of the revolt is uncertain, Diodorus suggests it occurred immediately after the failed Egyptian campaign (351), but it is widely believed that the revolt was in fact a response to the material demands of Artaxerxes for a second expedition, see for example Briant (2002), 1004; cf. Ruzicka (2012), 164-69 suggests Sidon was free from Persian control from late 348 on the basis of independent coinage of king Tennes. The revolt had certainly come to an end by October 345 when prisoners of war taken from Sidon to Babylon and Susa arrived at Babylon, Kuhrt (2010), 9.76 [*ABC*, n.9].

[57] Diod. Sic. 16.42.1-2. He certainly minted coins at this city, see Figure 33. Cf. Bing (1998), 58.

[58] Diod. Sic. 11.75.1-2, 77.1.

from Koile-Syria and Mesopotamian Syria at Gaugamela.[59] Although he minted coins at Sidon, Phoenicia seems to have retained a measure of independence and self-rule under native dynasts and did not come under Mazaeus' direct control.[60] The area over which Mazaeus seems to have had control after the revolt largely corresponds to the Achaemenid satrapy of Ebir-Nāri.[61] Although Herodotus' division of the empire suggests this may have given him responsibility over the cities of Phoenicia, this does not provide an obvious connection between Mazaeus and the city of Sidon. The continuation of self-rule under local dynasts indicates that the satrapal seat for this region was not Sidon.[62]

Briant rejects the suggestion that Sidon was the satrapal seat of Ebir-Nāri as based entirely on a single reference in Diodorus to "the satraps and generals idling in Sidon" immediately prior to the revolt (τῶν δὲ σατραπῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐν τῇ Σιδωνίων διατριβόντων).[63] This is regularly translated as "living in Sidon" and gives rise to the suggestion that Achaemenid provincial government was based in Sidon.[64] This does not convey the usual meanings of spending or wasting time with amusement that lead onto the behaviour that caused such offence to the Sidonians.[65] Though the satraps and generals were resident in Sidon at the time, no doubt whilst making preparations for the Egyptian campaign, the passage suggests this was a temporary posting to the city rather than the seat of a satrapy. Instead, the persistent prominence of Damascus makes it a more likely satrapal seat for Ebir-Nāri.[66] This is supported by the actions of Darius III and the Persian nobility who left their families, money and royal paraphernalia at Damascus before marching to Issus.[67]

Based on the available source material, the cities for which we can reasonably suggest a strong connection to Mazaeus are: Tarsus, the seat of his first known satrapy; Damascus, the seat of the Ebir-Nāri satrapy he appears to have received after the Sidonian revolt; and

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[59] Delaying Alexander's crossing of the rivers: Arr. *Anab.* 3.7.1-2; Curt. 4.9.7-15; Diod. Sic. 17.55.1-2. Command of Syrian troops at Gaugamela: Arr. *Anab.* 3.8.6. On the location of Thapsacus in the time of Alexander see Gawlikowski (1996), 123-33.
[60] See Bosworth (1974), 48-50 for the meaning of Koile-Syria in the ancient sources. In all cases the regions designated Syria are distinguished from the region of Phoenicia containing cities such as Tyre and Sidon. Cf. Briant (2002), 713 on the coinage consistently minted by Mazaeus at Sidon 343-33 not implying a drastic reduction in the independence of Sidon.
[61] "Across the River" from the perspective of Persia. Also often termed Transeuphratene in modern scholarship. The term was already in existence in the neo-Assyrian period, used by Esarhaddon to describe his campaign into Syria and Palestine, *ANET*, 291. Cf. Tuell (1991). The reference to both Koile-Syria and Mesopotamian Syria would suggest some parallel with the ethnos of the Assyrians on the statue of Darius at Susa.
[62] Badian (1965), 169 goes so far as to state that Phoenicia had no satrap.
[63] Diod. Sic. 16.41.2; Briant (2002), 951.
[64] See for example the Loeb translation of Diodorus by Sherman and Stronk (2017), 259. The latter acknowledges at n.255 that "Diodorus is here quite hazy in what he intends to convey."
[65] *LSJ s.v.* διατρίβω.
[66] Briant (2002), 951, cf. 487.
[67] Arr. *Anab.* 2.11.9-10; Plut. *Alex.* 20.6.

Babylon, the seat of the satrapy he received under Alexander and with which he may have had a personal connection as well.[68] Those of Mazaeus' sons named in the Alexander histories have Babylonian names leading to speculation that he had at least one Babylonian wife.[69] No source gives any indication of the location of Mazaeus' personal estates within the empire, nor do we have any indication of his family history. There is no basis on which we can reasonably suggest a connection between the Persian Mazaeus and the city of Sidon that was so strong as to cause his body to be taken there from Babylon for burial in an ornate Greek style sarcophagus alongside Sidonian royalty.[70]

Figure 33. Silver stater of Mazaeus from Tarsus mint. 361-333 B.C.
Weight: 10.863g.
Obv. Baalstater std.I holding eagle, grape cluster, grain ear and sceptre.
Rev. Lion attacking bull with legend Mazaeus in Aramaic.
© American Numismatic Society 1944.100.54414

As for Heckel's first criteria, that the lord of the grave must be a Persian nobleman, it will be seen this is not necessarily forced to be the case.[71] As already accepted above, the outfits of the Asian figures, though varied to distinguish individuals, are typical of Persian aristocrats; in particular the headgear with face covering and the long-sleeved tunics worn together with the kandys and trousers. Heckel argues that although there may have been similarities between the clothing of the Phoenician and the Persian nobility, they were not exactly the same and yet the garb and features depicted on the Alexander Sarcophagus are clearly Persian.[72] First, as seen in the figures and descriptions of the sarcophagus above, most of the Asian figures wear headgear completely covering their faces. We can see that several of the figures are cleanshaven, some appear even to be without moustaches and have short hair. There is therefore very little basis on which to state that the facial features of the Asians are clearly Persian. The argument further struggles in the face of the figure on the gable battle

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[68] Mazaeus appointed satrap: Arr. *Anab*. 3.16.4; Curt. 5.1.44; cf. Arr. *Anab*. 4.18.3; Curt. 8.3.17.
[69] Badian (1965), 175. The named sons of Mazaeus are Antibelus, Artiboles and Brochubelus; cf. Arr. *Anab*. 3.21.1; 7.6.4; Curt. 5.1.17, 13.11. On the uncertainties regarding the number of Mazaeus' sons and possible confusion in the sources regarding their names see Heckel (2009), *s.v.* Antibelus, Artiboles, Brochubelus, and n.59; Bosworth (1980), 340-4, (1995), 40. Regardless of whether there is duplication as a result of the Hellenistic sources, all the names given are Babylonian; cf.Badian (2000), 248.
[70] As suggested by Heckel (2006).
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

scene who wears full oriental dress of tiara, *anaxyrides* and long-sleeved chiton beneath a cuirass. The style of cuirass worn is identical to that of his Greek and Macedonian counterparts and quite different to the Persian armour described by Herodotus or depicted on the Çan sarcophagus or Alexander mosaic. Second, Heckel does not consider the specific circumstances of Sidon, and Abdalonymus in particular, in relation to the clothing worn by the Asians of the sarcophagus.

Sidon had a particularly strong tradition of engaging with the iconography and ideology of the Achaemenid kings. Coinage from Sidon prior to the revolt shows the influence of Achaemenid royal motifs. Numerous issues show a variety of Achaemenid inspired designs on the reverse which find parallels in Achaemenid coinage and seals.[73] In particular we see copies of Types II and III of Achaemenid darics and sigloi, but also images of the king in his chariot making the same gesture of greeting as Darius at Behistun and Naqš-i Rustam and variations of the royal hero motif. As Briant observes, there can be "no doubt that kings of Sidon deliberately copied motifs of Achaemenid iconographic repertoire when they had coins struck".[74]

Bull protomes from Sidon also highlight the strength of Persepolitan Achaemenid influences in Sidon, as does the presence of royal *paradeisoi* in the vicinity of the city recorded in Diodorus.[75] The kings of Sidon appear to be unique in Phoenicia for demonstrating such close ties with the Achaemenid ideology and this must have been to demonstrate their particular integration into the empire.[76] Not only did the kings of Sidon traditionally align themselves with Achaemenid ideology, but in the account of Curtius, one of the only two ancient sources to correctly preserve the name of Abdalonymus and to locate him in Sidon, Alexander specifically rewards the new king not only with the royal equipment of his predecessor, Straton, but also with many items from the Persian booty.[77] We therefore cannot dismiss this as the sarcophagus for Abdalonymus on the basis that the clothing of the Asian figures is Persian necessitating a Persian nobleman.

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[73] On Achaemenid glyptic and coinage see Chapter 2.
[74] Briant (2002), 606-8.
[75] Bull protomes from Sidon see von Graeve (1970), pl.74. On the *paradeisos* at Sidon see Diod. Sic. 16.41.5. Not only was there a royal *paradeisos*, but its significance within Achaemenid royal ideology was clearly understood by the Sidonians as its destruction was the first act of aggression in their revolt. The rebellion itself should not be interpreted as a rejection of Achaemenid ideology, but a reaction to particular circumstances. Diod. Sic. 16.43.3-4 suggests that Tennes remained willing to engage with Artaxerxes within an Achaemenid framework. He sought a guarantee of good faith from Artaxerxes symbolised by the king giving his right hand. Diodorus, 17.38.3 Alexander performs the same gesture to the wife and mother of Darius as a gesture of good faith after Issus.
[76] Briant (2002), 606-8, 765.
[77] Curt. 4.1.26.

The sarcophagus is in fact entirely consistent with Sidonian tradition.[78] Several of the sarcophagi of the royal necropolis demonstrate both the Sidonian engagement with Achaemenid ideology and practices alongside the simultaneous adoption of the Greco-Persian style. The three sarcophagi discovered in the same chamber as the Alexander sarcophagus share many similarities of design and decoration although they lack the figural relief panels and have simple blank sides.[79]

a.

Silver 1/16 sheckel, 435-420 B.C.
Mint: Sidon.
Obv. Galley with mast and partially filled sail.
Rev. Achaemenid king running r. shooting bow.
Copy of Type II daric and siglos.[80]
© American Numismatic Society 1944.100.71264.

b.

Silver ½ sheckel, 435-420 B.C.
Mint: Sidon.
Obv. Galley with mast and partially filled sail.
Rev. Achaemenid king in court robe shooting bow.
© American Numismatic Society 1977.158.736.

c.

Silver 1/32 sheckel, 450-350 B.C.
Mint: Sidon.
Obv. King running with bow and spear. Copy of Type III daric and siglos.
Rev. Galley.
© American Numismatic Society 1969.157.13.

d.

Silver ½ sheckel double sheckel, 385-372 B.C.
Mint: Sidon.
Obv. War galley with oars and rows of shields.
Rev. Achaemenid king and driver in chariot.[81]
© American Numismatic Society 1944.100.71302.

e.

Silver 1/16 sheckel, 385-372 B.C.
Mint: Sidon.
Obv. War galley with oars and rows of shields.
Rev. Achaemenid royal hero motif in combat with lion.
© American Numismatic Society 1944.100.71307.

Figure 34. Sidonian coins showing the active engagement of that city with Achaemenid royal iconography.[82]

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[78] Houser (2017), 289.
[79] von Graeve (1970), plates 8-21; cf. Houser (2017), 284.
[80] Note the arrow in left hand reminiscent of Assyrian kings.
[81] Note a potentially problematic double sheckel (American Numismatic Society 1944.100.71290) issued at the same time which also depicts the Achaemenid king in chariot pulled by driver, but includes a figure following, identified as the Sidonian king dressed in Egyptian garments with cultic sceptre and votive vase.
[82] The dates given are those of the American Numismatic Society. This places all the issues within the dynasty of Baʿlšallim known from a dedication at the temple of Ešmun, cf. Mullen (1974); Betlyon (1976), 13-24; (1982), 3-11.

The closest parallels to the Alexander Sarcophagus are also from the royal necropolis and consist of the Satrap Sarcophagus, Lycian Sarcophagus, and Mourning Women Sarcophagus.[83] The Mourning Women Sarcophagus, dated to the second quarter of the fourth century, is unusual within this group for displaying wholly Greek figural representations on the main faces with no obvious relation to Achaemenid themes.[84] The balustrade however depicts a funeral procession in which the men wear typical Persian clothing and stand in poses apparently derived from Persepolitan art.[85] Similarly Persian attire of long-sleeved chitons and trousers is worn by the figures on the Satrap Sarcophagus and the primary figure of the panther hunt also wears the kandys. A long-sleeved chiton and a tiara is also worn by one of the chariot hunters of the Lycian Sarcophagus and two of the boar hunters on the opposite face also wear tiaras in marked contrast to the petasos worn by two others. Similar headgear is worn by various figures on the Satrap Sarcophagus. The only item that is conspicuously different in these earlier sarcophagi is the tiara they depict which is not tied beneath the chin and lacks the cover across the mouth seen in the Alexander Sarcophagus.[86]

Despite this difference in representation of a single item within the Sidonian evidence, it was not unusual for local elites of the Achaemenid Empire to wear the tiara in this way. The boar hunter of the Çan sarcophagus, dated to the early fourth century, wears an outfit almost identical to that of the lead hunter of the Alexander sarcophagus.[87] These four sarcophagi from the royal necropolis all demonstrate consistent Sidonian engagement with Achaemenid themes and attributes represented in Greek styles according to the Greco-Persian model. With the exception of the Mourning Women sarcophagus, they all prominently depict the Sidonian elite hunting big game such as boar, panther and lion from horseback or from chariots in Persian attire.[88] The Lycian sarcophagus even presents a similarly mixed hunt with nude, petasos wearing Greeks, and Sidonians with long-sleeved chitons and tiaras. The Satrap sarcophagus shares many features with the Nereid Monument with scenes of hunting, dining and audience. The style of these Sidonian royal sarcophagi is Greek and Hauben observes that the Greek name of Abdalonymus' son, Diotimos, shows that the dynasty Hellenised.[89]

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[83] Hamdi-Bey and Reinach (1892), 179-242; Houser (2017), 285.
[84] Dating according to Fleischer (1983), 63.
[85] Weller (1970), 219-21 with plates 1-4.
[86] Stewart (1993), 301; cf. Palagia (2017b), 182 similarly observes that the Mourning Women and Satrap sarcophagi depict Phoenicians in Persian clothing.
[87] Sevinç et al. (2001): 388-95 with Figs. 3-7.
[88] There are incredibly discrete hunting scenes of a very similar type and style to those of the Satrap sarcophagus on the bottom ledge of the Mourning Women sarcophagus, see Palagia (2000), figs. 3-5.
[89] Hauben (2004), 31 discussing the significance of *SEG* 36.758.

The evidence strongly suggests the Alexander Sarcophagus was commissioned by Abdalonymus within Sidonian tradition and the hunt scene in particular was intended to advertise his own integration into the new empire and status as king appointed by Alexander. This face was the most prominent and presumably on display.[90] The sarcophagus is therefore the strongest and clearest piece of evidence for Alexander's use of the royal hunt to engage with the wider local elites of Asia beyond the Persian nobility. Even acknowledging the unusually close association of the Sidonian aristocracy and royalty with Achaemenid iconography, this remains a self-evidently Sidonian representation of Alexander's royal hunt within a Sidonian context rather than Persian Achaemenid. Not only do we see Alexander wearing elements of the mixed dress described in the sources, but the royal Alexander is explicitly contrasted with a traditional image of Achaemenid royal authority in the short face battle scene.

Stewart argues that it is a mistake to see the long-sleeved garment worn by Alexander as the item of Achaemenid dress adopted by Alexander.[91] He suggests this is to misunderstand both the texts describing Alexander's adoption of the Persian royal tunic, the χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν μεσόλευκον as described by Xenophon and seen on the Alexander Mosaic, and the images of the sarcophagus.[92] Instead he sees the item as a short chiton, an authentic piece of Macedonian dress, and observes a sleeveless version of the same item in the Vergina Tomb II hunting frieze. It is however clearly not the same traditional item of clothing by virtue of the fact that it is sleeved. The evidence from contemporary Macedonian tomb paintings shows that sleeves were not traditionally part of Macedonian clothing in the late fourth century. None of the figures from the Vergina hunting frieze, Agios Athanasios, Alexander Mosaic, or any of the examples of traditional attire presented by Saatsoglou-Paliadeli feature long sleeves.[93] Only the Kinch Tomb combat scene presents an exception, depicting a rider wearing a long-sleeved, multi-coloured chiton with chlamys charging an Asian soldier on foot.[94] The European soldiers of the Alexander Sarcophagus wear a variety of outfits, some with sleeves, others without. The rider to the far right of the *Alexanderschlacht* even wears a long-sleeved chiton beneath a cuirass whereas the second Greek rider of the lion hunt wears a chiton with short sleeves. The item of traditional Macedonian garb conspicuous by its absence

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[90] Schefold (1968), 7; Ridgway (1969), 482; Heckel (2006), n.9. On the display of the sarcophagus see Stewart (1993), 298, 302.
[91] Stewart (1993), 305.
[92] Ibid. cf. Xen. *Cyr*. 8.3.13; Arr. *Anab*. 4.7.4; Diod. Sic. 17.77.5; Curt. 6.6.4-5; Plut. *Alex*. 45, *De Alex. fort*. 329f-330a; Just. *Epit*. 12.3.8-12. See Introduction above, 6-7, ns. 28-29.
[93] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (1993).
[94] The painting no longer survives except for a watercolour produced by the excavator, K.F. Kinch, Le Tombeau de Niausta. Tombeau Macédonien (København, 1920).

is the kausia.[95] As this item is seen in representations of elite Macedonians hunting and in battle, or at least in military costume, at Vergina Tomb II, Agios Athanasios and the Alexander Mosaic, we would expect it to be present if these elite Macedonians were wearing traditional Macedonian dress. Where we see Alexander and his Companions appearing to break with Macedonian tradition when engaging with Near Eastern nobility it is probably connected with his adoption of Near Eastern practices.

Whether the long-sleeved chiton worn by Alexander is the purple and white Achaemenid tunic becomes less relevant within the context of Alexander's engagement with the Sidonian aristocracy. The only Macedonians to wear the long-sleeved chitons are mounted and they are identical in design, though not in patterning, to those of the Sidonians. Stewart views the shorter length of the Macedonian chitons as evidence that they are entirely different garments to those worn by the Sidonians.[96] However, in all other respects they are worn in the same way. The longer length of the Sidonian chiton is simply a result of the Near Eastern practice of wearing the garment "girt women fashion" (*muliebriter cinctus*).[97] This must be the view of Curtius' source that Sekunda is likely correct in interpreting as allowing the tunic to fall to the knees below the belt as opposed to the Greek style of wearing it girt up to the thighs.[98] Only two of the Asians allow their tunics to fall straight from their belts to below the knee, the prominent mounted warrior of the short face battle scene, and the kneeling warrior of the gable battle scene. The remainder have girted their tunics so they fall to the knee. Curtius therefore probably refers to the general fashion of girting the tunic so that it falls to the knees, with a deep fold hanging over a belt. Alexander and some of his Companions can therefore be seen to be wearing Near Eastern dress which, potentially due to its association with the Achaemenid Persians, was popular amongst elites throughout the empire. The only difference being that they wear it according to contemporary Greek fashion and it appears to be less ornately patterned, "aux chlamydes monochromes des Grecs ou des Macédoniens, s'opposent les tuniques bariolées, les pantalons tigrés et les *candys* aux manches flottantes."[99] Reinach does not comment on the tunic worn by Alexander and the reconstructions based on pigment analysis present several possible variants, but do confirm it as generally (bright) monochrome except for gold colouring at the cuffs.[100]

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[95] von Graeve (1970), 87, n.28 on earlier misidentification of the kausia in the sarcophagus.
[96] Stewart (1993), 305.
[97] Curt. 3.3.17-19 on the dress of Darius III.
[98] Sekunda (2010), 256.
[99] Hamdi Bey and Reinach (1892), 299.
[100] The reconstructions consistently present the inner lining of Alexander's chlamys as decorated with a field of golden sunbursts.

It is therefore unlikely that this is an anachronistic representation of Alexander in the mixed Achaemenid court dress adopted in 330 that has been projected onto his relations with Sidon.[101] The identification of Alexander in the hunt scene by the presence of the diadem, an item specifically attached to his adoption of Achaemenid clothing, is the only piece of evidence to suggest that this represents the later mixed dress rather than an engagement with the wider elites of the Achaemenid empire. This is due to the position in scholarship that Alexander adopted the diadem as his exclusive royal emblem and this was followed by the diadochi.[102] Whatever the role of the diadem as royal insignia of Hellenistic kings, it cannot in any way be described as an exclusive royal device in the reign of Alexander. Diodorus, Curtius and Justin all record that this was one of the pieces of royal paraphernalia deliberately adopted by Alexander. However, Xenophon reports that in his own time the Persian diadem was a badge of honour not restricted to the king, but worn by those with the status of kinsmen: εἶχε δὲ καὶ διάδημα περὶ τῇ τιάρᾳ· καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σημεῖον εἶχον, καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔχουσι.[103] No source informs us that when Alexander adopted the diadem its use by others became prohibited.

It must also be observed that there is insufficient evidence with which to categorically identify the diadem worn by the Alexander hunter as that adopted from Achaemenid royal dress. Regardless of the terminology used, or their precise significance, Macedonian kings clearly wore headbands. This can be seen by their consistent representation in Macedonian royal coinage as discussed in Chapter Four above. It has been suggested that these related to their function as chief priest of the kingdom.[104] Fredricksmeyer has argued that some form of exclusive royal headband existed in Macedonia before Alexander's conquest in addition to headbands as badges of honour, but that the diadem Alexander is recorded as adopting in Persia was the badge of Dionysus and unconnected with the mixed royal dress.[105] Fredricksmeyer's argument that Alexander adopted the diadem as the badge of Dionysus seems doubtful as it not only detaches the diadem from the items of mixed Achaemenid dress, but also locates its adoption one year earlier than usually accepted at Arbela.[106] As already seen, those sources who report the adoption of Achaemenid clothing chronologically locate it at the Parthia-Hyrcania border. What is clear from Macedonian coinage, the central youth of

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[101] As suggested by Palagia (2000), 188.
[102] Hamdi Bey and Reinach (1892), 299; Fredricksmeyer (1997), 97.
[103] Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.13.
[104] Tsigarida (2002), 183-84; cf. Fredricksmeyer (1966).
[105] Fredricksmeyer (1983), 99-100; (1997), 98-99.
[106] Fredricksmeyer (1997), 105-07, but acknowledges that the evidence is wholly circumstantial.

the Vergina hunting frieze, and from Attic vase painting is that the wearing of wreaths and headbands was common practice among Greeks and Macedonians associated with hunting.[107]

Although this removes anything that might reasonably be considered (purely on the basis of surviving material rather than speculation) an exclusively royal symbol from the left-hand rider of the Alexander sarcophagus, it does not seriously challenge his identification as Alexander. As seen above, Alexander is clearly identified in the opposite face, the *Alexanderschlacht*, by his lion-scalp headdress. With no evidence of a sacerdotal context to the hunt, any exclusive Argead headband based on their role as chief priest is irrelevant. It also would not be a natural item to include in this monument to the deceased Phoenician nobleman. To the Greek and Macedonians, such a crown or headband is most likely to be a στέφανος, or ταινία, both of which are associated with success and victory.[108] The headband itself is missing from the sarcophagus, leaving only a cut for a metal attachment. This may have been purely decorative, or indicative of an item similar to the silver-gilt crown, identified as a στέφανος by Calder, discovered in Tomb II at Vergina.[109] Although the crown could not be tied like a διάδημα, it is decorated to imitate a tied band and so describing it as such is not objectionable. Identifying these gold decorated crowns as elaborated traditional symbols of military success and triumph means we cannot accept Tsigarida's interpretation of them as symbols of, potentially hereditary, priestly office.[110] The example from Vergina was found close to the iron helmet and shield and the two further examples considered by Tsigarida are also associated with high status Macedonian male burials of the second half of the fourth century.[111] Such a device depicted opposite a scene of Alexander's military victory is therefore entirely appropriate for a representation of the conqueror prior to his adoption of the Achaemenid diadem.

Identifying the Alexander Sarcophagus hunting scene as a representation of Alexander engaging with local elites according to their own customs as early as 332 resolves the inherent issue of "Persianisation." It establishes that he was using the hunt to engage with Near Eastern elites in their own terms prior to 330, but these were not necessarily identical to those of the Achaemenid court and, above all, this policy was successful, at least in the case of Sidon, in

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[107] The mounted youth on the interior of a bilingual eye cup by Hischulos and Epiktetos (BM 1842,0407.23) and also the various hunting scenes of the Leagros group, for example Figures 15 and 16.

[108] *LSJ, s.v.* στέφανος; ταινία.

[109] On the discovery of the gilt silver crown, see Andronikos (1978), 35-37 who unequivocally identifies the headband as a diadem; cf. Andronikos (1992), 171-75. The term is disputed by Calder (1983), 102-03.

[110] Tsagarida (2002).

[111] Ibid.

incorporating those elites into Alexander's court. The sarcophagus is the only piece of contemporary evidence produced by the local elite to show them engaging with Alexander's court. The arguments of Spawforth and of Brunelle that at least after Issus Alexander began to adopt Achaemenid tents support this position.[112] This use of Achaemenid tents and of the royal hunt to engage with local elites seems not to have been recognised by the Alexander historians. In the case of the royal tent and the casket version of the *Iliad* Brunelle has further developed the argument of Spawforth that the Achaemenid tent was adopted by Alexander. His suggestion appears to indicate that initially Alexander's adoption of Near Eastern items was deliberately mixed with Greek/Macedonian elements to make engaging with his court palatable to all parties. Only when these adoptions and the numbers of Near Eastern personnel incorporated became significant and overt were objections raised.

5.2.2. Hephaestion's pyre

Palagia has discussed the significance of the hunting scenes on the third tier of Hephaestion's pyre as described by Diodorus.[113] She rightly interprets these as emphasising the intimacy he enjoyed with the king in life that was demonstrated through his participation in the royal hunt.[114] This fully accords with the position presented throughout this thesis that the royal hunt was an institution of the court and with the significance attributed to hunting with Alexander projected by the Successors. Questions have been raised regarding the historicity of Diodorus' account, based primarily on the recorded place of Hephaestion's death (Ecbatana) and a later reference to the pyre not being completed.[115] McKechnie argues that the funeral at Babylon is fiction, likely a product of Ephippus' literary needs, and that the funeral most likely took place at Ecbatana, where he died, and was suitably honoured by the erection of the lion monument there.[116] However, there is no convincing reason to dispute the claims of both Diodorus and Arrian that the pyre was constructed at Babylon, although it now seems unlikely that the base of the pyre was discovered in 1904.[117]

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[112] Spawforth (2007b); Brunelle (2017).
[113] Palagia (2000); cf. Diod. Sic. 17.115.3.
[114] Palagia (2000), 171.
[115] Perdiccas apparently cancelled the last plans of Alexander to complete the pyre of Hephaestion, Diod. Sic. 18.4.2.
[116] McKechnie (1995), 429-32. The attribution of the pyre to Ephippus follows Hammond (1983b), 75.
[117] Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.8-9. Collins (2013), n.71 disputes the basis of McKechnie's argument. Palagia (2000), 173 accepts the identification of a brick platform showing evidence of burning as the base of the pyre, but see Potts (1997), 279 and Boiy (2004), 12, 75.

As a monument, even a temporary one, commissioned by Alexander this must in the first instance be considered to commemorate the achievements of Hephaestion and the relationship of this Macedonian nobleman to his Macedonian king. As Palagia observes, the features such as gold and ivory images, symbols of military triumph, hunting and weaponry, possibly even the nature of the pyre consisting of a brick structure directly associated with the later tomb, all have precedents in Macedonian burials.[118] The only point where this monument departs from Macedonian tradition is in its sheer scale, appearing to dwarf even the luxurious extent of offerings and grave goods from Vergina Tomb II. We are of course entirely unaware of what style or school of artwork these friezes took. Although Palagia suggests the theme of the hunt, and especially the mounted hunt of multiple quarry, only entered Macedonian tradition after Alexander's death, it was seen in Chapter 4 that this was not the case. The mounted hunt of big game was already an established motif in Macedonia by the time of Philip II's death, but, there is in fact nothing in the text of Diodorus that allows us to assume the hunters on the third frieze were equestrian.

It is the extremely public nature of the monument on the edge of Babylon and increasing role of Asians in the army and bureaucracy of the empire that means these images appealed to the broader Near Eastern, and in this case specifically Babylonian, tradition. Regardless of the style of the images, their significance must have been readily understood by their audience. That Alexander went to great lengths to respect Babylonian tradition and present himself as a legitimate Babylonian monarch is widely accepted.[119] As a result, we should expect the images of hunting to conform to Babylonian conventions of the royal court.

5.3. Evidence of Achaemenid Style Hunting and Engagement with Iranians

This thesis argues that Alexander's royal hunts formed part of his legitimation strategies for ruling his empire. The most well-known features of this strategy are his adoption of elements of Achaemenid court protocol, royal dress and ceremonial. Examination of Alexander's adoption of Achaemenid practices for his royal hunts and engagement with Iranians must take account of these other developments and acknowledge that they formed part of an overall strategy. All surviving sources mention these developments in court protocol and those who place them chronologically agree they were introduced at the Parthia-Hyrcania border. The

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[118] Palagia (2000), 172-75. In addition to the examples given by Palagia: as discussed above, the diadems present in Macedonian elite tombs are most likely symbols of military triumph and the assorted weaponry representative of prowess in both war and the hunt.
[119] See Introduction, 20-21. See also Collins (2013), 135ff.

details of these changes differ, but all sources report the adoption of recognisably Achaemenid clothing, protocol and ceremonial, especially that of doing obeisance before the king.[120] Members of the local elites were also incorporated as members of Alexander's royal court holding offices allowing them to restrict access to the king in addition to simply engaging with the court.[121]

The timing and location of these court reforms is surely significant. They are widely, though not universally, considered to have been introduced after the death of Darius and usurpation of Bessus.[122] Plutarch and Arrian both suggest they were part of a deliberate attempt by Alexander to align himself with the political and cultural traditions of his subjects and so reconcile them to his rule.[123] For the purposes of this thesis it is not relevant whether the death of Darius or usurpation of Bessus inspired these reforms since the goal of reconciling the Persian nobility remained the same. That being said, the evidence for the adoption of the Achaemenid style hunt alongside these innovations suggests a date prior to the capture of Bessus. Alexander's daily use of a chariot on the march and his practicing both chariotry and archery are most likely connected with the adoption of the Achaemenid style hunt and elements of Achaemenid court ceremony.[124] The Achaemenid order of march is recorded by Herodotus and Curtius as making extensive use of chariots, but they are not referred to at all in fourth century Macedonian military or royal usage.[125] The only significance for the chariot in Macedonia seems to have been Philip's victory in the Olympic chariot race celebrated on his coinage. The account of Arrian however records that Alexander was already using a chariot on the march when Bessus was captured:

καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος γυμνὸν ἐν κλοιῷ δήσαντα οὕτως ἄγειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ

καταστήσαντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ᾗ αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρελεύσεσθαι

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[120] See Introduction 11-12.

[121] Plut. *Alex.* 50.5-51.2 Cleitus complains of the presence of "barbarians and enemies" (βαρβάροις καὶ πολεμίοις) at the banquet. He also complains of having to beg "Persians to get audience with our king" (Περσῶν δεομένους ἵνα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέλθωμεν); cf. Carney (1981b), 153-55. Bosworth (1980a) identifies the adoption of Persian personnel and protocol as extensive, especially by the end of Alexander's reign.

[122] Curt. 6.5.22-6.1; Plut. *Alex.* 45; Diod. Sic. Sic. 17.77; Just. *Epit.* 12.3. Bosworth (1980a), 5-6 places the adoption of clothing and ceremonial after the death of Darius in response to Bessus' usurpation. Spawforth (2007b), 93-107 indicates a more gradual development towards an Achaemenid-style court before the overt adoption of clothing and ceremonial in 330 B.C. The view that Alexander introduced the distinctly Achaemenid features to his court before learning that Bessus had assumed the upright tiara as Artaxerxes V (Diod. Sic. 17.74.2; Curt. 6.6.13; Arr. *Anab.* 3.25.3) is advocated by Lane Fox (2007), 278.

[123] Plut. *Alex.* 45.1; 47.3-7; *de. Alex. fort.* 329b-330e is especially interesting in that it explains Alexander's new costume as analogous with hunting techniques; Arr. *Anab.* 7.29.3-4.

[124] Plut. *Alex.* 23.

[125] Hdt. 7.40f.; Curt. 3.3.8-25.

ἔμελλε…

 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν Βῆσσον ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἅρμα...

   And Alexander ordered [Ptolemy] to lead him [Bessus] bound naked in a wooden collar
   and fix him to the right of the road, for himself and the army to pass…
   But when Alexander saw Bessus he stopped his chariot…[126]

It does not follow a priori that Alexander's intention was to be recognised as the next Achaemenid Great King with an official investiture at Pasargadae.[127] These innovations appear to be genuinely Persian features of court ceremonial,[128] but are introduced after the burning of Persepolis and precisely at the point when Alexander was departing Persia.[129] Parthia is certainly considered to be outside of Persia in Achaemenid royal inscriptions such as Darius' tomb at Naqš-i Rustam.[130] The burning of Persepolis severely reduces the likelihood that Alexander was seeking to become the next Achaemenid Great King. As seen in Chapter 2, the palace at Persepolis projected to all visitors a vision of Achaemenid imperial order securing peace with the willing support of all the king's subjects.[131]

Both Brosius and Lane Fox suggest that the significance of Persepolis as an embodiment of the relationship between king and nobility was so great that its destruction made it impossible to integrate the Persian nobility into Alexander's new court.[132] This overlooks the wider non-Persian nobility and the role of the court and the royal hunt in establishing relations between the nobility and the famously itinerant Achaemenids.[133] The destruction of Persepolis marked the end of claims to an empire ruled by the Achaemenid dynasty and centred on the region, ethnos and city of Persia.[134] The practical function of the royal court and the royal hunt in establishing relations between king and nobility were however continued under Alexander.

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[126] Arr. *Anab*. 3.30.3-4.
[127] As Suggested by Badian (2000), 265. Fredricksmeyer (2000), 151-52 suggests this is the generally held position. The investiture ceremony is recorded by Xen. *Cyr*. 8.3.13-14; Curt. 3.3.17-19.
[128] These are recorded as elements of Achaemenid court ceremonial and dress by Xen. *Cyr*. 8.3.1-3, 13-16, 21-23; cf. Curt. 3.3.17-20.
[129] Burning of Persepolis: Diod. 17.72.1-7; Curt. 5.7.3-7; Arr. *Anab*. 3.18.11-12; Plut. *Alex*. 38.1-7.
[130] DNa §16-18…22-30; cf. DB II §35 the Parthians and Hyrcanians are associated together and the role of Darius' father as military commander in Parthia (see Briant (2002), 64-5) likewise suggests that this region was outside of Persia.
[131] Root (1979); Nylander (1979); Wiesehofer (2001), 21-26; Winter (1993), 36-39; Stronach (2001), 103-105.
[132] Brosius (2003), (2007), n.71; Lane Fox (2007).
[133] The itinerant nature of the Achaemenid court is reported by Xen. *Cyr*. 8.6.22; Plut. *Mor*. 78D, 604C; Dio Chrys. *Or*. 6.1-7; Ath. 12.513f and is considered one of its fundamental features by Lane Fox (2007), 268. The routines of these migrations are not consistent throughout the sources, cf. Llewellyn-Jones (2013), 81. The seasonal travels of the Achaemenid court are reported in the Greek sources and the corresponding evidence of Babylonians traveling to Susa on a seasonal basis appears to offer support for these migrations. See for example Waerzeggers (2010), 801-03.

[134] Borza (1972).

The only realistic explanation of Alexander's apparently contradictory actions, destroying the symbolic centre of Achaemenid Persian imperial power and incorporating features of Achaemenid court ceremonial, is that he was not presenting himself as an Achaemenid Great King, but as a king of many lands including Persia.[135]

As he advanced beyond Persia Alexander clearly attached real political significance to holding court in a style increasingly similar to that of the Achaemenid kings as a means of integrating local elites and thereby extending his authority.[136] Spawforth examined developments in Alexander's court protocol and gave particular attention to Alexander's use of increasingly extravagant tents, suggesting that they were inspired by, or perhaps even captured Persian royal tents. He mentions in passing that it would be nice to know more about Alexander's hunts in Asia to determine if he likewise used this institution to manage his empire's elite persons *à la Perse* in the same way as he used Achaemenid royal tents and court ceremonial.[137]

The extent to which Alexander's successors used participation in his royal hunts to project their proximity to him and thereby justify their own claims to power and kingship demonstrates the significance of the hunt within his court society.[138] As can be seen from the table above, the lion hunt in Syria where Craterus saved the king was publicly celebrated with a monument at Delphi. It is unlikely that this large and expensive monument, executed by Alexander's favorite artists, was commissioned in his lifetime.[139] The significance of the hunt in Alexander's court was evidently so great that not only did Craterus use it to advertise his relationship the king, but his son then used that relationship as a vehicle to promote his own status as well. Lysimachus, when he became king, is likewise recorded as frequently referring to his proximity to Alexander and his hunting exploits.[140] Briant observes that these legitimising legends seem primarily to be set within the ideological context of the Near East where the image of the king as hunter had a long history.[141] The royal hunt and the royal hunter remained potent images throughout the Hellenistic period as even Herod of Judaea is

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[135] This view is advocated by Fredricksmeyer (2000), 136, observing this is contrary to the widely held position that Alexander was seeking to establish himself as the next Great King, cf. Briant (2002), 868-76. Briant does primarily consider it to be the ideological mechanisms for securing the cooperation and support of the ruling classes throughout the empire. It is similarly argued by Coppola (2010) that Alexander was not interested in succeeding Darius as Great king. She sets her arguments that Alexander was however genuinely willing to engage with and adapt Persian customs (and appeal to local habits and customs) against the trend in modern scholarship to downplay the significance of his adoption of Persian customs.
[136] Spawforth (2007b), 82, 106-11.
[137] Spawforth (2007b), 111.
[138] Palagia (2000), 181-85; Dunn and Wheatley (2012), 40
[139] Dunn and Wheatley (2012), 40.
[140] Plut. *Demetr*. 27.
[141] Briant (1991), 223.

considered in terms similar to those of Darius at Naqš-i Rustam as a fine bowman and spearman on foot and on horseback whilst on the hunt.[142]

5.3.1. Ephippus

This thesis follows the interpretation of Ephippus (*BNJ* 126 F 5 = Ath. 12.537e -538b) proposed by Spawforth, that the allegation of Alexander engaging in hubristic transvestism should be viewed as a misrepresentation of his adoption of Achaemenid royal dress and the Achaemenid royal hunt from a chariot.[143] Whilst the text has been considered by a number of scholars only Lane Fox and Spawforth have considered what light the fragment sheds on hunting practices and court ceremonial of Alexander in Asia.[144]

> Ἔφιππος δέ φησιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, ὁτὲ μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πορφυρίδα καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ κέρατα καθάπερ ὁ θεός, ὁτὲ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἅρματος ἐφόρει πολλάκις, ἔχων τὴν Περσικὴν στολήν, ὑποφαίνων ἄνωθεν τῶν ὤμων τό τε τόξον καὶ τὴν σιβύνην, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ· τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σχεδὸν καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν χλαμύδα τε πορφυρᾶν καὶ χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον καὶ τὴν καυσίαν ἔχουσαν τὸ διάδημα τὸ βασιλικόν, ἐν δὲ τῇ συνουσίᾳ τά τε πέδιλα καὶ τὸν πέτασον ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸ κηρύκειον ἐν τῇ χειρί, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ λεοντῆν καὶ ῥόπαλον ὥσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς.

> Ephippus says that Alexander also used to wear sacred vestments at his dinners, sometimes the purple robe of Ammon and slippers and horns like the god, at others those of Artemis, which he also wore frequently on his chariot, wearing the Persian garb, the bow and the hunting spear just showing above his shoulders, and sometimes that of Hermes; on other occasions one might say and every day the purple chlamys and the chiton with a white middle and the kausia having the royal diadem, but in social intercourse the sandals and the petasos on his head and the herald's wand in his hand, and also regularly the lionskin and the club like Heracles.

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[142] Allsen (2006), 16; Joseph. *BJ*. 1.429-430. Strootman (2014).
[143] Spawforth (2012), 170.
[144] Lane Fox (2004), 447; Spawforth (2012). Those who accept the passage include: Fredricksmeyer (1986), 216; Worthington (2001), 129 accepts Ephippus' account of Alexander dressing as Ammon, Hermes and Herakles, but does not comment on the Artemis costume. Bosworth (1993), 287 considers the adoption of the horns of Ammon at least to be historical.

When considering this passage, it is important to remain aware of the potential drawbacks of using Ephippus as transmitted through Athenaeus as evidence for Alexander's adoption of Persian traditions. A particular problem is that the surviving fragments of Ephippus' works are invariably hostile towards Macedonians. This might be particularly directed against Philip and Alexander, the one having destroyed Ephippus' home town of Olynthos and the other having refused to rebuild it.[145] The surviving fragments of his works concerning Alexander suggest a marked hostility towards the king.[146] There is also the suggestion that whilst Ephippus was potentially a contemporary of Alexander, he was probably not an eye-witness to many of the events.[147] Spawforth suggests that Ephippus was present with Alexander for at least parts of the campaign in Asia, but that he was probably not an intimate courtier as the information he presents in this passage as first hand observation is all from outside the residential quarters of the palace when the king was in public view.[148] Ephippus' account must therefore be treated with extreme caution and he is often treated with outright scepticism.

Not only must the motives of Ephippus be considered potentially suspect, but the intentions of Athenaeus may also provide a distorted view of Alexander's actions. This passage forms part of a section of the *Deipnosophists* dedicated to "the luxury of Alexander".[149] This sits within a wider topic on luxury and places Alexander alongside several historical figures known for their extravagance. Athenaeus is able to select, cut and even to re-interpret the array of texts he had available in order to achieve his desired effect. As such it is possible that this passage presents the reader with the opinions of a writer who lived five hundred years after the event rather than an accurate reflection of the original ancient sources.[150]

The passage provides two indications of Alexander's adoption of Achaemenid practices. The second, the wearing of a purple chlamys with the χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον and the diadem with the kausia, conforms to the accounts of the major Alexander histories. It is the allegation that he dressed as various gods which Spawforth has suggested indicates the adoption not just of Achaemenid clothing, but also hunting practices. The most significant feature being "those [the sacred vestments] of Artemis, which he also wore frequently on his chariot, wearing the Persian garb, the bow and the hunting spear just showing above his shoulders." Of the gods

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[145] Lane Fox (2004), 445.
[146] Pearson (1960), 63.
[147] Baynham (2003), 4.
[148] Spawforth (2012), 177.
[149] Ath. 537d.
[150] Lenfant (2007), 51.

referred to, Artemis is curiously out of place. Herakles and Ammon, as Zeus-Ammon, are traditional Argead dynastic gods.[151] Even in the hunt, the Argeads are likely to have preferred to invoke their ancestor, Herakles in his manifestation as kynagidas, over Artemis. She is therefore peculiar both for her lack of Argead associations and by being the only female whose costume Alexander is supposed to have worn.[152] In no other account is Alexander said to have publicly dressed as any god outside of dinners or social intercourse.[153] Lane Fox argues that the accusation of transvestism is therefore plainly slander as there is no evidence for Alexander wearing female costume.[154] He was the first to suggest that Ephippus was in fact deliberately misinterpreting the king dressed to hunt in the tradition of the Achaemenids.[155]

The costumes are apparently distinguished between those worn indoors at dinners and social intercourse, and the vestments of Artemis which are worn outside in his chariot with the Persian robe, bow and the spear.[156] This distinction can only exist in the sense of Ephippus' own perception of the king defined by his access to him, but in real terms is collapsed when we identify the reference to Artemis as a rhetorical flair but accept the description of the outdoor chariot costume as identical to the mixed court dress. This further supports the assessment of the royal hunt as the court out of doors. Identifying this passage as a reference to the use of the mixed dress in the royal hunt makes sense of the association with Artemis. The claim should be viewed alongside the report of Curtius that the Achaemenid king wore the purple and white tunic with a belt "girt women fashion" (*muliebriter cinctus*).[157] The Alexander Sarcophagus provides a visual representation of this Near Eastern fashion of wearing a long-sleeved chiton girt up to the knee allowing a long fold to hang over the belt and secured with an additional (probably) belt or sash. This style of wearing the chiton in this fashion is quite unusual in a Greek context, being almost exclusively worn by females, generally goddesses, and most frequently by Artemis who wears it with boots, bow and quiver over her shoulder.[158] For Alexander to wear his chiton in this manner, especially when engaging in the hunt, would naturally invite comparison with Artemis and therefore be

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[151] Fredricksmeyer (1966). See also Chapter 4.

[152] In the context of Ephippus' account of Alexander's dress it is appropriate to use the term costume as it is the author's intent to misrepresent Alexander's genuine efforts to legitimate his rule according to Greek and Iranian political traditions, see n.11 above.

[153] Lane Fox (2004), 446.

[154] Lane Fox (2004), 447.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Spawforth (2012), 179-180.

[157] Curt. 3.3.17-19 on the dress of Darius III.

[158] Houston (1931), 36-42; Abrahams and Evans (1964), 70. This type of garment appears to have been so unusual in a Greek context that it does not appear in the recent work of Lee (2015).

viewed as effeminate. The perception that the Great King wore his tunic in an effeminate fashion may also result from the Near Eastern fashion of having the chiton fall to the knees as opposed to the Greek fashion of wearing it girt up to the thigh.[159]

Chapter 2 has already examined the role of the hunt in Achaemenid royal ideology as an institution of the court and means of projecting the martial virtues of the king, centred on images of him as an archer engaging in the hunt with a bow from a chariot. The continued importance of the royal chariot and the king as archer within Achaemenid ideology of the fourth century can be seen from the reaction of Darius' mother, wife and daughters when they saw Alexander with them after Issus in 333 B.C.:

> Τρεπομένῳ δὲ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ φράζει τις ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀγομένας μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα Δαρείου καὶ θυγατέρας δύο παρθένους ἰδούσας τὸ ἅρμα καὶ τὰ τόξα κόπτεσθαι καὶ θρηνεῖν, ὡς ἀπολωλότος ἐκείνου.

> As he was turning himself towards dinner someone told him that among the prisoners being led into captivity were the mother and wife of Darius and his two unmarried daughters who fell down lamenting when they saw the chariot and the bow, believing he was slain.[160]

Taking control of the royal chariot and the king's bow, as well as the royal tent,[161] is therefore seen in Arrian's account of the punishment of Bessus, the Ephippus passage under discussion here and is suggested by Plutarch.[162] Plutarch also provides evidence that Alexander not only hunted on a regular basis whilst campaigning in Asia, but used the bow and the chariot.

> ἐν δὲ ταῖς σχολαῖς πρῶτον μὲν ἀναστὰς καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς εὐθὺς ἠρίστα καθήμενος· ἔπειτα διημέρευε κυνηγῶν ἢ δικάζων ἢ συντάττων τι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἢ ἀναγινώσκων. εἰ δὲ ὁδὸν βαδίζοι μὴ λίαν ἐπείγουσαν, ἐμάνθανεν ἅμα πορευόμενος ἢ τοξεύειν ἢ ἐπιβαίνειν ἅρματος ἐλαυνομένου καὶ ἀποβαίνειν. πολλάκις δὲ παίζων καὶ ἀλώπεκας ἐθήρευε καὶ ὄρνιθας, ὡς ἔστι λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐφημερίδων.

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[159] Sekunda (2010), 256.

[160] Plut. *Alex*. 21.

[161] On the adoption of Achaemenid tents see Spawforth (2007b) and Brunelle (2017); cf. Plut. *Alex*. 20.6-8: "Μὰ τὸν Δία" εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρου· τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἡττωμένων εἶναί τε δεῖ καὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι τοῦ κρατοῦντος." No by God" said one, "but that of Alexander; for the possessions of those vanquished must go to the conqueror."

[162] See n.28 above on Alexander's use of the chariot on the march prior to the capture of Bessus.

In his times of leisure after first waking and sacrificing to the gods he sat down to breakfast; then he would spend the day hunting, or administering justice, or arranging his military affairs, or reading. If he were making a march which was not very urgent, he would practice, as he went along, either archery or mounting and dismounting from a chariot that was under way. Often, too, for diversion, he would hunt foxes or birds, as may be gathered from his journals.[163]

Archery and chariotry do not feature in Macedonian tradition. The gorytus containing 74 arrows from Vergina Tomb II cannot safely be attributed to the Macedonian elite, having been deposited in the antechamber with the female burial.[164] The Scythian style of the gorytus is often interpreted as indicating that it was a gift or plunder from a Scythian or Thracian campaign, or an object associated with Philip II's Thracian wife, Meda.[165] That Alexander not only hunted, but incorporated the distinctly non-Macedonian skills of chariotry and archery suggests he sought to conform with the Persian image of kingship as a good archer. As seen in Chapter 2, this royal attribute was projected by the Achaemenids in royal inscriptions such as Darius at Naqš-i Rustam who claimed to be a good bowman both on foot and on horseback;[166] in the Achaemenid royal coinage showing the king as archer; the frequent depiction of a royal figure as archer in glyptic; and the recognition of this image of the king as pre-eminent archer in Greek sources such as Aeschylus who refers to Darius as τόξαρχος, and Herodotus' account of Cambyses' failure to draw the bow of the Ethiopians.[167]

Although Chapter 4 concluded that royal lion hunting was part of Macedonian royal tradition and was therefore nothing new to Alexander, the manner of hunting witnessed by Ephippus belongs to a distinctly non-Macedonian tradition centred around the chariot and the bow. This thesis has recognised hunting as a key feature of Macedonian and Achaemenid kingship, both ideologically and as a court institution for negotiating relationships between the king and his nobility. Lane Fox suggests that this common institution was used by Alexander to unite the Macedonian and Persian aristocracies as brother officers, servants of the king.[168] Briant likewise sees Alexander's royal hunts in these terms, raising the possibility, but considering it as yet to be shown, that Alexander practiced hunting in the style of the Persian kings.[169]

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[163] Plut. *Alex*. 23.
[164] Discovery in the antechamber see Andronikos (1978), 44-46.
[165] Andronikos (1992), 186; Carney (2000), 236-37; cf. Ath. 13.557d. The marriage to Meda is dated to c. 340/39 by Tronson (1984).
[166] DN c-d.
[167] Aesch. *Pers*. 556; Hdt. 3.30.
[168] Lane Fox (1996), 143-44.
[169] Briant (1991), 229.

Spawforth's reassessment of this passage of Ephippus presents us with convincing evidence that Alexander did indeed adopt Achaemenid hunting practices.[170]

Hunting in this style with the chariot and bow may also have appealed to the wider Near Eastern traditions of royal imagery. As seen in Chapter 2, this was an image of kingship and a feature of the royal court throughout the Near East prior to Persian rule with which the Achaemenids engaged. There can be little doubt however that the style of hunting described by Ephippus was undertaken in an Iranian context and for an Iranian audience. The use of both the chariot and bow whilst wearing the χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον shows this to be a practice dated after the adoption of the mixed court dress in 330 and should be considered alongside it as a means of integrating the Persian elite to the new king's court. Individual features may have been incorporated at various stages, or on specific occasions, such as the Achaemenid royal tent and chariot.[171] It has also been seen that Alexander adopted some features of Near Eastern fashion prior to his adoption of the mixed court dress. The Alexander sarcophagus clearly shows him wearing his tunic girt in the same manner as the goddess Artemis and the Sidonian aristocracy which conforms to Curtius' description as *muliebriter cinctus*. The proposed restorations of the painted decoration of the sarcophagus though do not indicate anything that might be considered χιτῶνα μεσόλευκον.

5.3.2. The nets of Philotas

As seen above there are additional incidents suggesting not only that Alexander hunted in the style of the Achaemenid kings when in Iran, but that at least some of his Companions also embraced these traditions. Plutarch, for instance, records the adoption of extraordinarily long nets for hunting by Philotas.[172] Although this cannot be located in Iran with certainty due to its appearance in a potentially wide-ranging digression, Plutarch is clearly indicating that the use of such extensive nets for hunting is not the norm within Macedonian or Greek tradition. Certainly nothing in Xenophon suggests that nets of such length were used by Greeks. In his discussion on the use of nets, the longest he recommends are 180 feet with a warning that

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[170] Spawforth (2012), 181.

[171] Curt. 5.1.22-23 for example records that he entered Babylon in a chariot. This may have been an Achaemenid chariot, but used to appeal to native Babylonian tradition, see Collins (2013), 135-37; Kuhrt (1990), 123-28.

[172] Plut. *Alex*. 40.1; cf. Ath. 12.539c-d and Aelian *VH* 9.3 identify Menelaus and Leonnatus as having the 100 stade nets rather than Philotas. Hamilton (1969), 106 accepts Jacoby's suggestion that Plutarch's source here is Onesicritus, whereas Athenaeus records his sources as Agatharchides of Cnidus and. Both the alternatives were high ranking Macedonians like Philotas (Heckel (2009), *s.v.* Leonnatus [2] and Menelaus).

anything of greater length will be unwieldy.[173] The netting depicted in the Vergina frieze likewise does not suggest anything of the scale adopted by Philotas in Asia.

Hunts of this type using such extensive nets (in modern units Philotas' nets must have been in the region of 18km) have a long history in the Near East and Asia. Allsen observes numerous ring hunts in Iran and Asia from the middle ages and early modern period which are of similarly vast scale.[174] This includes the seventeenth century record of Sir Thomas Herbert on hunting in Safavid Iran with nets so massive they required six hundred camel loads of supporting posts.[175] What Allsen omits, reasonably since it is not relevant to his study, is that Herbert specifically identifies a parallel between the elite hunting he witnessed and that of Philotas.[176] Although Athenaeus attributes the extravagantly long hunting nets to Menelaus and Leonnatus rather than Philotas, he highlights the purpose of these nets for engaging in ring hunts.[177] Similar styles of ring hunt including large numbers of men, nets and pits are depicted in neo-Assyrian palaces. In a number of cases of neo-Assyrian royal hunting exploits the sheer quantity of game killed and captured indicates that a ring hunt is being described. The Broken Obelisk records a series of hunting exploits undertaken by a king against exotic game including dolphins and elephants before claiming:

> 120 lions with his brave heart and with his courageous attack, he slew from his hunting(?) chariot, or on foot with the javelin,…
> [ ] ibexes and mountain goats, [   ] hinds and stags, he captured in nets, and large herds of them he collected, he caused them to bring forth (young).[178]

We can therefore say with confidence that Philotas was engaging in a Near Eastern style of hunt and cautiously suggest that it may have been in Iran. Despite the wider Near Eastern tradition of royal hunting, there had been no Assyrian king in 270 years and no Babylonian king for 210 to engage in this particular type of hunt. The Achaemenids most likely adopted the large scale ring hunt from the royal traditions of their Akkadian forebears. It is therefore most probable that Philotas adopted this type of hunting and obtained the necessary equipment from an Iranian source.

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[173] Xen. *Cyn.* 2.5, "ἐὰν δὲ ἦ μείζω, δυσμεταχείριστα ἔσται".
[174] Allsen (2006), 28-29.
[175] Allsen (2006), 29 citing Sir Thomas Herbert, *Travels in Persia, 1627-1629*. Ed. W. Foster, 1929. (Reprint Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1972), 81.
[176] Herbert (2005) [1928], 81.
[177] Ath. 12.539d: Λεοννάτῳ δὲ καὶ Μενελάῳ φιλοκυνήγοις οὖσιν αὐλαῖαι σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἠκολούθουν, αἷς περιστάντες τὰς θήρας ι ἐκυνήγουν. *"And because Leonnatus and Menelaus liked to hunt, their baggage included about 12 miles of fabric screens, with which they surrounded the areas where they hunted."*
[178] Broken Obelisk, BM 118898. Inscription col. IV: *ARA* I §392.

5.3.3. An Achaemenid style ring runt at Bazaira

Similar factors apply to the great hunt undertaken by Alexander with the whole army in the region of Bazaira in 328.[179] The hunt is reported by Curtius and, unlike the adoption of Near Eastern hunting by Philotas, there can be no doubt that it took place in an Iranian context and within an Achaemenid *paradeisos*.

> *Barbarae opulentiae in illis locis haud ulla sunt maiora indicia quam magnis nemoribus*
> *saltibusque nobilium ferarum greges clusi. Spatiosas ad hoc eligunt silvas crebris*
> *perennium aquarum fontibus amoenas; muris nemora cinguntur turresque*
> *habent venantium receptacula. Quattuor continuis aetatibus intactum saltum fuisse*
> *constabat, cum Alexander cum toto exercitu ingressus agitari undique feras iussit. Inter*
> *quas cum leo magnitudinis rarae ipsum regem invasurus incurreret, forte Lysimachus,*
> *qui postea regnavit, proximus Alexandro venabulum obicere ferae coeperat; quo rex*
> *repulso et abire iusso, adiecit tam a semet uno quam a Lysimacho leonem interfici*
> *posse…*
>
> *Ceterum Macedones, quamquam prospero eventu defunctus erat Alexander, tamen*
> *scivere gentis suae more, ne aut pedes venaretur aut sine delectis principum atque*
> *amicorum. Ille, IIII milibus ferarum deiectis, in eodem saltu cum toto exercitu epulatus*
> *est.*

There are no greater indications of the wealth of the barbarians in those regions than their herds of noble wild beasts, confined in great woods and parks. For this purpose they choose extensive forests made attractive by perennial springs; they surround the woods with walls and have towers as stands for the hunters. The forest was known to have been undisturbed for four successive generations, when Alexander, entering it with his whole army, ordered an attack on the wild beasts from every side. Among these when a lion of extraordinary size rushed to attack the king himself, it happened that Lysimachus, who was afterwards a king, being beside Alexander, began to oppose his hunting-spear to the animal; but the king pushed him aside and ordered him to retire, adding that a lion could be killed by himself alone as well as by Lysimachus…

But the Macedonians, although Alexander had been successful in his attempt, nevertheless voted in the manner of their nation that he should neither hunt on foot nor

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[179] On dating to the summer of 328 see Bosworth (1981).

without being accompanied by selected officers or friends. He, after having laid low 4000 wild beasts, banqueted in that same park with his entire army.[180]

This description of walled off forests filled with herds of animals conforms precisely with the hunting park type *paradeisos* as defined by Tuplin.[181] Curtius even reports the event in such a way as to leave no doubt that this is a ring hunt of extraordinary size utilising the entire army. Later evidence suggests that such a hunt is entirely plausible. Hulagu, the first Mongolian Ilkhan whose power centred on Iran, is recorded as organising a *jerge* (hunting circle) to hunt lions along the lower Amu Darya (Oxus) in the thirteenth century.[182] As with Alexander's hunt almost 1,500 years earlier, Sogdiana contained lions in sufficient numbers to be the subject of a royal ring hunt. The additional detail that the *paradeisos* had not been disturbed for four generations is not unusual in environments where royal ring hunts are practiced as such an interval is necessary to prevent over hunting.[183]

Curtius presents Alexander's hunt as an expedition into Bazaira which originated at Marakanda and then returned there.[184] Unfortunately, we are given no indication as to the location of Bazaira in relation to Marakanda. We do know that during the campaigns to subdue the region Alexander had marched along the entire length of the Zeravshan.[185] Once again, this type and scale of hunting is entirely absent from Greek or Macedonian tradition and, even if the royal ring hunt was adopted from Mesopotamian tradition, there had been no centralised authority to introduce this scale of organised hunt into Sogdiana until the Achaemenids. When Alexander undertook this kind of hunt in Sogdiana it could therefore only appeal to Achaemenid traditions of kingship in the region.

An Achaemenid style hunt in Sogdiana at the end of the campaigning season of 328 fits into the historical context of Alexander's conquests and adoption of Achaemenid court

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[180] Curt. 8.1.10-19.
[181] Tuplin (1996), 93-101.
[182] Allsen (2006), 26-28 on the development of the term *jerge* and cites Rashid al-Din, *Jāmiʿ al-tavārīkh* II, ed. Karīmī (Tehran: Eqbal, 1959), 689 for the hunt of Hulagu. Alexander was operating out of Marakanda (modern Samarkand) which sits on the River Zeravshan (ancient Polytimetus). This river flows west and then turns south towards the Amu Darya, but drains into the desert a few miles north rather than becoming a true tributary, Arr. *Anab.* 4.6.6. It would appear that only once in its history has the Zeravshan joined the Amu Darya as a result of flooding in 1874, see Berg (1953), 801.
[183] Allsen (2006), 98.
[184] Bosworth (1981), esp. 17 prefers the account of Curtius over Arrian for the chronology of events in Bactria-Sogdiana. His concerns are well-founded, but both accounts are clear that Marakanda was the centre of operations in Sogdiana and Bactria
[185] Arr. *Anab.* 4.6.6.

practices. Bosworth's reconciliation of the Alexander histories to create a coherent timeline for the subjugation of the satrapal revolts between 329-27 identifies the main campaigning as effectively over by the end of summer 328. Spring of 327 saw only the mopping up of isolated pockets of resistance, which included a degree of reconciliation by the marriage to Roxane, and the advance towards India.[186] The event should therefore be seen alongside the feasting at Marakanda where Cleitus was murdered, the adoption of clothing and ceremonial which had begun two years previously, and the distribution of offices that followed in 328/7.[187] It is within this environment that we also see the increase in the significance of proskynesis at court leading to the attempt to introduce it to Greeks and Macedonians.[188] A natural condition of introducing Iranian elites into the court after a period of resistance will have been that they demonstrate acceptance of Alexander as their social superior. Proskynesis to the king represents a traditional Iranian gesture of greeting that signified the respective status of two individuals.[189] With an increase in the number of Iranians coming to and engaging with the court to preserve their status, proskynesis will have become an ever more common feature. It may also reasonably be suggested that in hunting at Bazaira after a four generation hiatus Alexander was conforming to the Achaemenid calendar of royal activities.

The royal hunt is therefore seen deliberately being employed in Achaemenid style to demonstrate the status Iranian nobles could enjoy by engaging with Alexander as the new king at his court. Following Curtius we find Oxyartes already in Alexander's service as an intermediary securing the surrender of Sisimithres.[190] For this he was permitted to retain his satrapy with a promise of greater reward if he remained loyal. Whether Oxyartes had already engaged with Alexander's court and entered his service prior to the siege of Sisimithres in response to the king's engagement with local tradition as demonstrated by participating in Achaemenid style hunts, or did so at a later date to secure the safety of his own family who were within "the Rock" is not immediately clear. Arrian has become hopelessly confused at this point, applying the

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[186] Bosworth (1981), 36-38.
[187] Distribution of offices: Curt.8.3.17-18 Phrataphernes given Hyrcania and the Mardi with the Tapuri, Arsaces sent to Media; cf. Arr. *Anab*. 4.18.1-3 confirms Phrataphernes as satrap of Parthia and is sent to remove Autophradates from his satrapy over the Mardi and Tapuri; and gives the correct name of Arsaces, Atropates, restored as satrap of Media.
[188] Curt. 8.5.6ff; Plut. *Alex*. 54; Arr. *Anab*. 4.12.1-5; Justin, *Epit*. 12.7.
[189] Hdt. 1.134; Carney (1981), 223-24. Lane Fox (2004), 320 "Only if courtiers and aristocrats fell into disgrace or begged a favour would they prostrate themselves before the king."
[190] Curt. 8.2.25-33 who refers to him as Oxartes. Cf. Plut. *Alex*. 58.

story of Sisimithres' surrender to a later date and with the name Chorienes, but otherwise with many of the same features of the tradition.[191] In particular, we see that Oxyartes acts as intermediary between Alexander and Sisimithres/Chorienes (although Arrian records that he only surrendered after the capture of his family in the Rock).[192] Alexander's effective subjugation of Bactria and Sogdiana during the previous year combined with the brief duration of the siege as a result of the speed with which Oxyartes was brought in as an ambassador suggests that he had already declared his loyalty to Alexander.[193]

Oxyartes, then, had already engaged with Alexander's royal court by the end of 328, having been among Bessus' forces in 329.[194] There can therefore be little doubt that he will have participated in the grand court occasions of the hunt at Bazaira and the feasting at Marakanda.[195] These events were intended to encourage the Iranian nobility to accept Alexander as king in traditional Achaemenid terms whereby they pledge their loyalty to him and in return maintain their estates and status.[196] These privileges were distributed and the resulting status displayed by proximity to the king in the environment of the court. Oxyartes engaged with Alexander's court and loyally served to encourage other formerly recalcitrant Bacrian and Sogdian nobles to accept him as king. As a result, he was confirmed as satrap of Bactria and his daughter, Roxane, was married to Alexander.[197] Under this proposal the marriage itself is not the act of rapprochement, but rather Oxyartes' reward, alongside being confirmed in his position in Bactria, for promptly acknowledging Alexander as king and helping to induce others to do the same.[198] Oxyartes, Phrataphernes and Atropates therefore provided an excellent example for other Iranian noblemen to follow rather than continue resistance.[199] Though a romanticised anecdote based on the topos of scheming oriental

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[191] Arr. *Anab*. 4.21.6-7; Bosworth (1981), 30-36; cf. Heckel (2009) *s.v.* Sisimithres. who considers them to be one and the same person.

[192] Arr. *Anab*. 4.18.4, 19.4-20.3.

[193] The brevity of the siege is clear from the extent of supplies remaining after Sisimithres' surrender. He was able to comfortably supply Alexander's men afterwards: Arr. *Anab*. 4.21.10; Curt. 8.4.18-20. It may also be indicated by the traditions accusing Sisimithres of cowardice: Plut. *Alex*. 58; Curt. 8.2.28.

[194] Arr. *Anab*. 3.28.9-10.

[195] For the indication of Iranians and other Near Eastern noblemen at this banquet see above n.111.

[196] Briant (2002), 305-24, 781, 868-71.

[197] Curt. 8.4.21-30; Arr. *Anab*. 4.19.5ff.

[198] Uncertain exactly what office was held by Oxyartes.

[199] Mazaeus offered a similar example, but was not present having been left as satrap of Babylon (see above). Sisimithres certainly seems to have recognised this trend and surrendered promptly which not only ensured his survival, but also allowed him to retain his lands with the promise of greater reward is he remained loyal (Curt. 8.2.25-33).

women, Curtius' account of Spitamenes' murder may offer further support to this proposal. She was inspired to surrender by the reports of Alexander's clemency.[200]

5.3.4. Peucestas' bear hunt

The final hunt which might realistically have been undertaken according to Achaemenid tradition is, like the example of Philotas above, another one in which Alexander did not take part. It must also be acknowledged at the start that the evidence for it is fleeting. In a list of anecdotes intended to show the high-esteem with which Alexander held his friends Plutarch records that:

> Πευκέστᾳ μὲν ἔγραψε μεμφόμενος ὅτι δηχθεὶς ὑπ᾽ ἄρκτου τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔγραψεν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐκ ἐδήλωσεν. "Ἀλλὰ νῦν γε," φησί, "γράψον πῶς ἔχεις, καὶ μή τινές σε τῶν συγκυνηγετούντων ἐγκατέλιπον, ἵνα δίκην δῶσι."

> He found fault with Peucestas by letter because, after being bitten by a bear, he wrote about it to the rest of his friends but did not tell him. "Now, however," said he, "write me how you are, and tell me whether any of your fellow-huntsmen left you in the lurch, that I may punish them."[201]

The most likely time for such a hunt is when Peucestas was separate from Alexander, but of sufficiently high standing to receive a personal letter from the king, as satrap of Persis.[202] He achieved prominence late in the king's reign, first appearing in our sources among the trierarchs of the Hydaspes fleet in India.[203] His promotion to the bodyguard and then the satrapy of Persis seems to be as a reward for his exceptional bravery protecting Alexander at the Malli town.[204]

Placing the bear hunt in Persis dramatically increases the probability that it will have been undertaken according to local custom and that this event was a genuine act of Persianisation. Although it is not entirely clear from the sources whether Peucestas chose to adopt Persian ways and was commended by Alexander for doing so, or whether Alexander permitted him to do so as satrap of Persis to engage with his Persian

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[200] Curt. 8.3.2ff.
[201] Plut. *Alex*. 41.2-3.
[202] See above, n.10. On the appointment: Arr. *Anab*. 6.30.2. His position was confirmed at Babylon: Diod. Sic. 18.3.3; Justin, *Epit*. 13.4.23; and then again at Triparadeisos: Diod. Sic. 18.39.6.
[203] Arr. *Ind*. 18.6.
[204] Malli town: Arr. *Anab*. 6.9.3ff.; *Ind*. 19.8; Curt. 9.4.26ff.; Plut. *Alex*. 63; Diod. Sic. 17.98.5ff. Promotion to the bodyguard and satrap of Persis: Arr. Anab. 6.28.3-4, 30.2-3. Cf. Hamilton (1969), 108.

subjects, there is no doubt that he did Persianise.[205] Both Arrian and Diodorus specifically identify his habits as Persian.[206] Both also specify these as efforts aimed at the Persians. As seen in the Introduction, Arrian (and Plutarch) do not specify Alexander's own adoption of Near Eastern clothing and customs as intended for Persians, although they are clearly recognised as a significant audience, but speak in more general terms of Asians and barbarians.

Where we have a big game hunt being undertaken in Persia by an individual known to have embraced Persian customs it seems likely that it was according to Persian tradition. This will have allowed Peucestas to create his own satrapal court that engaged the local Persian elite and encouraged them to accept the status and offices available within the satrapy and at Alexander's own court rather than embarking on rebellion. His success is evident from the number and variety of Persian troops Peucestas was consistently able to raise from his satrapy. Diodorus records that in 324 he was able to provide twenty thousand Persian slingers and bowmen as reinforcements for the army and that a further thousand were assigned to the hypaspists.[207] The latter unit would seem to be incorrect and in fact they were enrolled into the Companion cavalry.[208] Regardless, it is clear that Peucestas was the satrap of Persis at the point when Persian noblemen began to be incorporated into the army as equals in substantial numbers.[209] By 317 he was still able to field ten thousand Persian slingers and archers, three thousand men of every sort who may have included Persians, and four hundred Persian horsemen.[210] Clearly the adoption of Persian customs, including the Persian style hunt, had allowed Peucestas to engage with the Persian elite so they were willing to answer his calls for men.

[205] Arr. *Anab*. 6.30.2-3; 7.6.3; Diod. Sic. 19.14.4-5; cf. Bosworth (1980), 12. Hammond (1983a) rejects emendation of the text, but only considers the role of barbarians in the Companion cavalry contra Bosworth (1980).

[206] Arrian describes Peucestas as adopting Median: μόνος τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων μεταβαλὼν τὴν Μηδικὴν. Diodorus however states Περσικὴν φορεῖν στολήν. Defining Achaemenid royal clothing as Median or Persian is fundamentally flawed since both the riding outfit and court robes were worn at the Achaemenid court.

[207] Diod. Sic. 17.110.2; cf. Arr. *Anab*. 7.6.3.

[208] Arr. Anab. 7.6.3. See Bosworth (1980), 14ff.; Brunt (1963), 42ff.; Griffith (1963); Badian (1985).

[209] Individual Persians such as Oxyathres had already been admitted to the Companions and Iranian units had been recruited ever since 330, but maintained as ethnic contingents (see Bosworth, Brunt, Griffith and Badian in n. above).

[210] Diod. Sic. 19.14.5.

5.4. Macedonian Tradition

Even where he deviated from traditional Macedonian practice, as the Macedonian king all of Alexander's hunts were to some extent targeted towards his countrymen. Both Briant and Palagia claim that the Macedonian royal hunt had a different status than that of the Achaemenid kings, exemplified by representations such as the Pella mosaic and the Vergina frieze, which promoted the egalitarian nature of the Macedonian court.[211] This notion of an egalitarian court society is hard to justify given the very distinct status claimed by the Argeads. Hammond has argued that their status as the only true Greeks in Macedonia as descendants of Herakles established them in an unrivalled social position within the kingdom and it is clear that the king and the state were effectively one entity.[212] It is probable that the Argead claims to Hellenic identity were less significant within the kingdom than Hammond suggests. It is generally accepted that their Hellenism was primarily intended to facilitate engagement with their Greek neighbours.[213] The political impotence of the Argead kings in the fourth century caused by foreign interference and dynastic infighting may have compelled them to tolerate the claims to equal status of their own nobility and those of Upper Macedonia, but that does not mean we should see the relations between king and nobles in general as essentially egalitarian.

5.4.1. The Hermolaus incident

Müller suggests that the conspiracy of Hermolaus and other βασιλικοὶ παῖδες to murder Alexander when they were on guard duty was in response to a deliberate shift in the balance of power between king and Macedonian nobility.[214] It has long been recognised that the motivations for the conspiracy are indeed entirely Macedonian and fit a pattern of tensions between king and nobility.[215] Both Arrian and Curtius state the immediate cause of the conspiracy to have been when Hermolaus slew a boar before Alexander during a royal hunt and was whipped as punishment.

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[211] Briant (1991), 228, 242; Palagia (2000), 185.
[212] Hammond and Griffith (1979), 158; Bosworth (2000), 26.
[213] See Chapter 4.
[214] Müller (2010), 29-30. Full accounts of the conspiracy appear in Arr. *Anab*. 4.13.1ff. and Curt. 8.6.1ff. See also Just. *Epit*. 12.7.1-3 and Plut. *Alex*. 55 for further, very brief, references to this conspiracy against Alexander.
[215] Carney (1981), 229.

Igitur Hermolaus, puer nobilis ex regia cohorte, cum aprum telo occupasset, quem rex ferire destinaverat, iussu eius verberibus affectus est.

Then Hermolaüs, a noble boy of this royal band, because he had been first to attack a wild boar which the king had intended to strike, by his order was punished by scourging.[216]

ὑπὲρ τούτου λόγος κατέχει, ὅτι ἐν θήρᾳ προσφερομένου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συὸς ἔφθη βαλὼν τὸν σῦν ὁ Ἑρμόλαος· καὶ ὁ μὲν σῦς πίπτει βληθείς, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ ὑστερήσας ἐχαλέπηνε τῷ Ἑρμολάῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς ὀργὴν πληγὰς λαβεῖν ὁρώντων τῶν ἄλλων παίδων, καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀφείλετο.

The story is prevalent about him that in a hunt a wild boar charged Alexander and that Hermolaus struck it before Alexander could; it fell from his stroke, and Alexander, too late for his chance, was angry with Hermolaus and in his passion ordered him to be whipped in the presence of the other [royal] youths, and took his horse from him.[217]

Although Carney considers it unlikely that a personal vendetta could provoke a plot this significant, we cannot ignore the fact that the sources who give any detail of the events consistently report the cause to be a personal slight suffered during a royal hunt.[218] This setting unifies the apparent differences between those such as Carney who see wider political motivations behind the plot, Lane Fox who considers the personal honour and standing at court as the primary factor, and those like Bosworth who find there is "nothing known to have united the attested conspirators in a political nexus."[219] The royal hunt, as the court outdoors, was the centre of status and prestige and as such, any personal insult there was received publicly as an indication of status. As such, Müller argues, the flogging and the confiscation of his horse were imposed as an ongoing manifestation of Hermolaus' inferior status to the king. Alexander was using the etiquette of the royal hunt, and his ability to control access to it, to reinforce his own superior status as king.

Whilst acknowledging the limitations of the available evidence, this thesis proposes that the Hermolaus incident represents a more concrete manifestation of royal dominance in the interactions between king and nobility than is suggested by Müller, in which both groups viewed the hunt as the appropriate forum to express claims of status. The chronology of

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[216] Curt. 8.6.7.
[217] Arr. *Anab*. 4.13.2.
[218] Carney (1981), 226 *contra* Lane Fox (2004), 327.
[219] Carney, (1981), 226; Lane Fox (2004), 327; Bosworth (2008), 118.

events is uncertain. Not only is Arrian's chronology for the period 328-327 hopelessly confused,[220] but he deliberately deviates from chronological narrative to discuss Alexander's adoptions of foreign customs in which he includes the adoption of proskynesis and the Hermolaus incident.[221] Despite these drawbacks, this thesis follows Lane Fox in accepting Arrian's chronology for the dispatch of Sopolis (the father of Hermolaus),[222] Epocillus and Menidas to Macedonia before the resumption of campaigning in spring 327.[223] As will be seen, this chronology best explains the spontaneous and urgent sense of disaffection among the βασιλικοὶ παῖδες, a group that enjoyed a particularly intimate relationship with the king at court.[224] In all our sources, this plot stands out as the only occasion when the younger Macedonians at court objected to Alexander's practices. Older Macedonians are consistently recorded as griping, but something in this hunting incident caused such alarm among at least some of the youths that they responded with attempted murder.[225]

Lane Fox observes the special significance of boar hunting as the act in Macedonian tradition by which young men earned the right to recline at dinner as a particular source of Hermolaus' grievance in response to his punishment.[226] There may be an extremely indirect reference to this Macedonian custom in a rumour recorded by Curtius that Callisthenes consoled Hermolaus after his flogging by reminding him that he was now a man.[227] However, there is no other suggestion that this was indeed Hermolaus' first boar and it is quite an exaggeration to suggest that the feat admitted Macedonians youths into the ranks of men as opposed to regulating the manner of their participation in male society. Indeed, while it was considered worthy of note that Cassander was unable to recline even at the age of 35 because he had not accomplished this feat, he does not seem to have been excluded in any way from adult male

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[220] See above n.184.
[221] Arr. *Anab.* 4.14.4 says of these events ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον πραχθέντα ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κλεῖτον ξυνενεχθεῖσιν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀνέγραψα, τούτοις μᾶλλόν τι οἰκεῖα ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν. ("They occurred a little later, but I have recorded them in connection with the affair between Cleitus and Alexander, thinking them to be more relevant here to my narrative.")
[222] Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.2; Curt. 8.7.2-3.
[223] Arr. *Anab.* 4.18.3; cf. Lane Fox (2004), 327 states "a month or so before the plot, his father had been sent back to Macedonia, stripped of his position, 'in order to fetch reinforcements.'" The period of Sopolis' absence before the Hermolaus incident was likely longer than this unless he had been dispatched at the very beginning of the 327 campaigning. Carney (1981), 228, n. 24 also accepts that Sopolis departed from camp before his son was put on trial.
[224] Arr. *Anab.* 4.13.1 and Curt. 8.6.2-6 detail the features of their regular and personal contact with the king.
[225] Curt. 8.5.19 states it was the older Macedonians in particular who approved of Callisthenes' resistance to proskynesis at court. Such a generational gap among the Macedonians is accepted by Lane Fox (2004), 325. Carney (1981), 230-31 has suggested the conspiracy of Hermolaus and other βασιλικοὶ παῖδες offers strong evidence against such a generational divide, but this section demonstrates this group of young men plotted murder in response to specific concerns that affected them as young Macedonian noblemen.
[226] Lane Fox (2004), 326; cf. Ath. 1.18a.
[227] Curt. 8.6.25.

society.[228] All the same, the prominence of the boar as an especially heroic prey in Macedonian where such hunts were so significant as to be a rite of passage should not be underestimated.

Lane Fox's characterisation of Sopolis' departure from court to fetch reinforcements from Macedonia as being "stripped of his position" also needs moderating. Menidas, one of the officers dispatched to Macedonia with Sopolis, was reunited with the army at Babylon in 323 with cavalry reinforcements under his command.[229] His four year absence did not result in any loss of status since he returned with a cavalry command and was immediately admitted to the highest ranks at court.[230] Regardless of whether the records claiming to be derived from the royal journals are genuine or not, Menidas could clearly be associated with some of the most exalted personages such as Peithon, Peucestas and Seleucus at the end of Alexander's reign.[231] Even the eminent Craterus could be sent back to Macedonia, and in his case it was clearly not a demotion as this constituted an independent command of about ten thousand Macedonians to be followed by what amounted to the independent command over Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly and the Greeks.[232] Sopolis' mission to Macedonia should therefore be viewed as an independent command which, though limited in scope, represented recognition of his ability and provided opportunity to exercise authority and display his wealth and status throughout the empire and especially in Macedonia. A very simple factor overlooked by Lane Fox is that if Sopolis were truly disaffected as a result of demotion he would surely be quite ineffective as a recruiting officer. The main factor in Sopolis' disappearance from the historical record after his departure and why he failed to return with Menidas is his son's attempt to assassinate the king.[233]

Sopolis' departure therefore cannot be interpreted as being stripped of his rank and a source of resentment in his son. His absence did however create a vacancy for his position of *ilarch* in the Companion cavalry.[234] Hermolaus' actions in the hunt are therefore best explained as a claim to his father's status. As already seen, whilst Alexander may not have welcomed direct

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[228] Ath. 1.18a.
[229] Arr. *Anab*. 7.23.1.
[230] Arr. *Anab*. 7.26.2.
[231] Seleucus is recorded as having command of the royal hypaspists at the Hydaspes (Arr. *Anab*. 5.13.4) and received Apame, the daughter of Spitamenes as his wife at Susa (Arr. *Anab*. 7.4.6; Plut. *Demetr*. 31.5). Peithon and Peucestas were both Bodyguards (Arr. *Anab*. 6.28.4). Peucestas was also satrap of Persis at the time (see above n.105).
[232] Arr. *Anab*. 7.12.1-4. Bosworth (1980), 7 implies the independent commands of Craterus, including the return to Macedonia, represented a form of exile from court imposed after he earned Alexander's hatred by opposing the adoption of Near Eastern, especially Achaemenid, customs.
[233] Carney (1981), n.24.
[234] Sopolis is recorded as having this rank at Gaugamela (Arr. *Anab*. 3.11.8).

assistance in the hunt, he tolerated it when it came from prominent men at court. Both Craterus and Lysimachus had intervened in Alexander's hunting in Syria, and stories of such participation in the royal hunt were clearly circulating in order for scenes like those of the Alexander Sarcophagus to be produced or the significance of the hunting images of Hephaestion's pyre to be fully understood. As a member of the Macedonian aristocracy and a *basilikos pais* the (presumably eldest) son of Sopolis must have felt entitled to inherit his father's position when he was sent on an extended mission away from court and the main army.[235] Alexander's kingship, however, had developed beyond the stage of having to accept hereditary claims to status within his court. Offices were now the king's to dispense among an ever increasing pool of courtiers and the possession of estates in far-away Macedonia was no longer a guarantee of promotion in the imperial court of Alexander.

However, these hereditary claims could not be, and were not, wholly ignored by Alexander.[236] Despite his punishment, Hermolaus clearly remained a member of the high status βασιλικοὶ παῖδες entrusted with guarding the king (or at least his tent) at night. His punishment at Alexander's hands temporarily reduced his status by preventing him riding with his peers and therefore also presumably from participating in further royal hunts and accompanying the king in battle.[237] Confiscation of his horse was therefore clearly humiliating, but does not appear to have had even a significant short-term effect on Hermolaus' status. The confiscation can therefore be viewed as a particularly pertinent demonstration that commands in the Companion cavalry were now distributed entirely at Alexander's discretion rather than being hereditary offices. Such a demonstration would certainly have caused the necessary alarm among some of these young Macedonian aristocrats for them to contemplate murdering the king as a means of dissolving the new royal court. The uncertainty regarding what were probably considered hereditary rights may have been made even more acute because of Sopolis' departure. With his father absent, Hermolaus had no advocate to plead on behalf of

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[235] Hermolaus may even have been the only son of Sopolis since our sources do not record him as having any other children. There is no real doubt that Hermolaus was Sopolis' heir. It must also have been clear that Sopolis would be absent for an extended period of time. The career of Epocillus, who accompanied Sopolis and Menidas makes this obvious. In 330 at Ecbatana he was detached from the main army and conveyed the Thessalian cavalry and the rest of the allies to the sea (Arr. *Anab*. 3.19.5-6). It appears to have taken him at least a year to reach the sea, see the allies on board and return to Alexander at Zariaspa (Arr. Anab. 4.7.2). We are not told if Epocillus took the allies to the Ionian coast to facilitate the transport of horses or, since the Thessalians had sold most of their horses, he led them to the nearest conquered ports in Cilicia, Syria or Phoenicia. Herodotus (5.50-54) details the journey from Ephesus to Susa and records that it takes three months and three days. These men had to travel much further, raise suitable reinforcements before provisioning and marching them to wherever Alexander happened to be by then. The four years it took Menidas cannot have seemed unduly slothful since he was immediately readmitted to the upper ranks at court.
[236] Though hereditary claims could never be wholly ignored in court society where overlap between personal and official interests were inevitable, cf. Elias (1983), 1.
[237] Müller (2010), 30.

his grievance.[238] In a constantly operational army the prospect of having no guarantee that in the event of their fathers dying they would inherit their status, especially when such a death would also remove the individual who would be expected to intervene on their behalf at court, must have seemed catastrophic to at least some of these youths in the ever more grand court of Alexander.

We do not know the manner in which this hunt was undertaken, or who else was present besides the pages, but Curtius suggests that after the Bazaira ring hunt Alexander's hunts became much more formal and would always include a group of officers or friends.[239] This must have been in addition to the attendant βασιλικοὶ παῖδες. Even if the incident with Hermolaus had incorporated specifically Achaemenid features, which is likely given the increased formalisation and that it took place among Iranian lands, the actions of both Hermolaus and Alexander were clearly derived from Macedonian tradition and were directed towards a Macedonian audience.[240] In particular, we see Alexander applying seemingly Achaemenid protocols to a boar hunt, an event which had no specific royal significance in Iranian, wider Near Eastern or even Macedonian tradition, but was a highly charged activity within elite Macedonian society. This certainly seems to anchor the event in a specifically Macedonian debate.[241] These events show how Alexander was developing a truly multi-faceted royal hunt that incorporated features of Near Eastern custom to facilitate engagement with all the diverse peoples of his empire. Macedonians continued to use the royal hunt as a means of accessing the king to obtain status and secure offices. Hermolaus' grievance was not caused by the nature of the new court, but resulted from Alexander's firm dismissal of his claims to higher status. He was clearly comfortable within the new style of royal court, understanding how status was demonstrated during the royal hunt. Fundamentally, this was the same as it had always been under the Argead kings, only now on a grander scale and with Near Eastern decoration. His error was in misjudging his own position within that environment and the extent of Alexander's authority over the court. The Hermolaus incident clearly demonstrates that Alexander used the royal hunt as a means of elite management, the

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[238] It may be significant that Alexander had likewise acted against Philotas when his influential and respected father was absent.

[239] Curt. 8.1.18.

[240] The primary source of debate regarding potential Achaemenid influences on this hunt is whether the flogging of Hermolaus represents an adoption of the supposed Near Eastern royal prerogative to strike first in the hunt. As discussed in Chapter Two such a formal prerogative probably did not exist, but rather reflected a convention built on etiquette and common sense. Müller likewise examines the evidence for such a prerogative in the Hermolaus incident and concludes the flogging cannot firmly be declared to be an element of Achaemenid court culture borrowed by Alexander. Curt. 8.8.3 suggests there was no Near Eastern precedent in the punishment Hermolaus received.

[241] Briant (2017), 491.

court out of doors, and highlights the constant requirement for the aristocratic courtiers to publicise their own good relations with the king as he could offer both reward and punishment.

5.5. Greek Tradition

None of Alexander's recorded royal hunts, or the hunts of his associates, took place in Greece or conformed to the style of hunting undertaken by Greek aristocrats. As seen above, there are however some suggestions that Greek concepts of hunting were applied to the royal hunts of Alexander. It may be that smaller scale hunting that took place without incident was not considered significant enough to be recorded. Greeks were however present at court as actors, diviners and Companions, they were present in the army as mercenaries, and were part of his empire as subjects and members of the Corinthian League. We must therefore look to the contemporary Greek concepts of royal authority, as discussed in Chapter 3, to determine how Greek audiences would have interpreted Alexander's royal hunts. This will highlight how Alexander used this institution to incorporate Greeks within his royal court even as he incorporated features from the Near East.

5.5.1. Ἀρετή and Alexander's royal hunt

Hunting was a firmly established signifier of authority within Greek communities providing an opportunity to display ἀρετή. This then formed the basis of the concept of the παμβασιλεύς as proposed by Aristotle. This section proposes that the increased scale of the royal hunt that resulted from engaging with Near Eastern, and especially Achaemenid, hunting practices acted as the very basis by which Alexander could demonstrate superlative ἀρετή and therefore claim absolute authority according to the Greeks' own political philosophy. It presents two key features of the royal hunt in Alexander's relations with Greeks. First, the role of the hunt as an extramural court that representatives of Greek communities were encouraged to engage with and which Alexander could control and validate access to ἀρετή in the same way the later Hellenisitic courts operated as centres for the redistribution of royal wealth, power and prestige. The second is the role of the hunt as a display of superlative ἀρετή by which Alexander legitimated his absolute authority over those Greek communities. By the time Alexander began to adopt Achaemenid royal dress and

ceremonial at the Parthia-Hyrcania border he was manifestly the ruler over many *ethnē*. This chapter has shown that even before this point he had embraced local traditions of the peoples within his empire. Whether or not the reports of his diplomatic correspondence with Darius are genuine, the Alexander historians' use of the title "lord of Asia" was evidently accurate.[242] If Nagle's separation of the παμβασιλεύς and the best-man king of superlative virtue is accepted, then Alexander already met the criteria.[243] The royal hunt also presented Alexander as the best-man king, possessed of superlative virtue and therefore entitled to the willing obedience of his Greek subjects. The royal hunts in Asia, especially of big game, provided an ever-grander environment to display one's prowess in glorious deeds. The ring hunt at Bazaira resulted in a bag of four thousand and single combat against lion, bear and boar is a recurring motif in the examples above. Nobody in any state could match the scale of these exploits. In Greek communities individuals who did engage lions in single combat, such as Polydamas of Skotoussa, were distinguished by the heroic associations of such a feat.[244] In this way Alexander was using the hunt to follow a pattern of extra-constitutional Greek monarchic rule which sought to legitimate the rule of the individual through appeals to heroic values demonstrated through personal success, namely personal ἀρετή.[245]

Alexander's vast royal hunts, being on a scale that nobody else could possibly match, were therefore the ultimate expression of heroic ἀρετή in the Greek world.[246] No matter how the ἀρετή of the best-man king is defined as being μὴ συμβλητὴν, whether the sum of his own virtue must exceed the total of others in the polis or be of a different, heroic, sort entirely, Alexander alone had the capacity to display such incomparable virtue through his hunting exploits. Not only did the royal hunt demonstrate Alexander's own superlative ἀρετή, but as an institution of the court participation was exclusively at the king's invitation.[247] Alexander

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[242] On the correspondence between Darius and Alexander see Mikrojannakis (1970); Briant (2002), 832-39 rejects accounts of Darius' diplomatic overtures as deriving from a single source based on false Macedonian propaganda Fredriscksmeyer (2000).

[243] Nagle (2000), 123-26.

[244] Diod. Sic. 9.15; Paus. 6.5.5.

[245] See for example Luraghi (2013) and Mann (2013).

[246] The scale of Alexander's feasting fulfilled the same purpose and is likewise associated with both the absolute ruler of Aristotole's *Politics* and Achaemenid tradition. Arist. *Pol.* 1281b3 and 1286a30 discuss how under most circumstances it is unlikely that one man should surpass the sum of others' virtue with the example that public dinners to which many contribute are better than those supplied at one man's cost. The reports of feasting at Alexander's court show that he was equally capable of providing greater dinners at his own expense than many states. According to Plut. *Alex.* 23.10 Alexander's expenditure on feasting had apparently reached ten thousand drachmae per occasion before he fixed a limit which prevented others from exceeding this sum. Ephippus gives the same figure for Alexander's spending on dinners, BNJ 126 F 2 = Ath. 4.27.146c. Ath., 4.146d comments that this scale of feasting corresponds exactly with that of the Achaemenid kings; cf. Hamilton (1969), 60 and Collins (2012), 419, esp. n.27.

[247] Allsen (2006), 202, 205.

was able to claim superlative virtue for himself by the scale of his royal hunts and at the same time control the access of others to this source of ἀρετή. Due to the short length of his reign, to explore the workings of this relationship in which the king secured and validated Greek access to ἀρετή, we must look to the engagement of Greek communities with the courts of Hellenistic kings. Their courts were the locus for the redistribution of royal wealth, power and prestige and thereby became the focal points of networks of patronage relationships between the king and local elites. This allowed the king to extend his influence throughout the kingdom as aristocrats who wished to share in that royal power, wealth and prestige needed to attend court and join the ranks of φιλοί in order to cultivate a relationship with the king.[248] The privileged status of being a friend of the king likewise ensured these individuals status within their local communities as they were seen as valuable intermediaries able to advance the interests of the community at court.[249] The position discussed in the Introduction and followed throughout this thesis is that the royal hunt functioned in exactly the same way as an extramural court access to which was controlled by the king and demonstrated royal favour.This engagement between king and local elites through the medium of the court was very similar to the traditional service relationship between the Achaemenid king and his aristocracy which was adopted by Alexander and became a feature of his relationship with Iranians.[250] Ambitious Greeks therefore had to engage with the royal court in exactly the same way as their Near Eastern and Macedonian counterparts if they were to secure status in the new empire. In this context participation in Alexander's royal hunt became particularly important to Greeks. Not only did being permitted to join the hunt bolster their prestige by signaling their status as associates of the king, the centre of power, but it also allowed them to share the same source of exemplary heroic ἀρετή on which Alexander's authority over Greeks was legitimated. Becoming the king's partners in the chase thereby contributed greatly to their status within their local communities as individuals whose own hunting exploits had to be recognised as a source of ἀρετή that could not be matched by rivals at home. This participation in the royal hunt therefore perpetuated royal sovereignty and acted as an effective tool in managing the elites who sought to gain access to the king. Royal dominance was reinforced as courtiers had to be seen in the company of the king, as loyal servants, to

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[248] Herman (1997), 200; Strootman (2014), 34-37.
[249] Strootman (2014), 36. It should be observed that individuals who engaged with the court in this way were likely suitable for the role precisely because they were already local aristocrats.
[250] Briant (2002), 305-24, 781, 868-71.

retain their status, and to accompany him on the hunt in order to establish themselves as possesors of heroic ἀρετή validating that status.[251]

We cannot know whether it was Alexander's own initiative to legitimate the reality of his absolute authority over Greeks with claims to superlative ἀρετή, but both parties fully engaged with the principle of the παμβασιλεύς. Alexander's history with Aristotle means it is certain he was aware at least of the basic principles of his tutor's philosophies.[252] That he clearly respected at least parts of Aristotle's academic philosophy as an adult in Asia is evidenced by his copy of the *Iliad* edited by Aristotle and the deliberate inclusion of the work within the royal treasury.It may be that some of the original sources for the Alexander histories sought to minimise Macedonian involvement in the adoption of Near Eastern ceremonial. Despite this qualification, the surviving histories are consistent in presenting the attempt to introduce obeisance at court and the controversy it raised as an essentially Greek debate. It is the Greeks at court who advocate the introduction of obeisance and present this in terms of divine honours.[253] It is then Callisthenes, another Greek, who opposes the new ceremonial. The arguments of Callisthenes as related by Arrian appear to be based in the concepts of παμβασιλεία, objecting only to the introduction of the customs of the conquered and the extent of the honours that should be paid to the living man, Alexander. He does however accept that Alexander possesses the attributes that contribute to ἀρετή to a superlative degree.

> "Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ πόρρω τοῦ ἱκανοῦ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν τὸν ἄριστον εἶναί τε καὶ δοκεῖν, καὶ βασιλέων τὸν βασιλικώτατον καὶ στρατηγῶν τὸν ἀξιοστρατηγότατον."

> "Alexander both is and is thought to be above all measure the bravest of the brave, most kingly of kings, most worthy to command of all commanders."[254]

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[251] Elias (1994), 474.

[252] As suggested by Tarn (1948), 365-69; cf. Balsdon (1950), 364-65 who accepts that Alexander may have learned of Aristotle's political theory, but doubts this would have inspired him to divinity. Badian (1971), 42 likewise observes that Aristotle undeniably had a political and scientific influence on Alexander, though cautions against romantically exaggerating his significance.

[253] The source tradition does not agree on which Greeks suggested obeisance should be made to Alexander. Arr. *Anab*. 4.10.5-6 attributes the scheme to unnamed sophists and Anaxarchus of Abdera cf. Heckel (2009), *s.v.*; Curt. 8.5.5-8 names instead Agis of Argos and Cleo from Sicily.

[254] Arr. *Anab*. 4.11.5.

Callisthenes does not object to acknowledging the status of Alexander as the best of men, but rather how best to honour the king as a living man.[255] This was not a new issue. The extent of honours to be paid to an individual who demonstrated exceptional ἀϱετή before and after death was discussed by Aristotle in the *Nicomachian Ethics* and also appears in Isocrates' letters to Philip.[256] It has been recognised for many years that Alexander was the author of the proskynesis episode and was certainly not seeking to be recognised as a god by this gesture.[257] Usually the introduction is interpreted as an attempt to unify and regularise court ceremonial.[258] Carney observed that in introducing proskynesis Alexander was not seeking to be recognised as a god, but was no longer uncomfortable with the divine overtones of the gesture in a Greek context.[259] In fact, the connotations with superlative heroic ἀϱετή and divine status were probably not unwelcome. The παμβασιλεύς, or best-man king, is an individual of such superlative ἀϱετή that he stands as a god among men.[260] Balsdon, in his assessment of the divinity Alexander is sometimes argued to have claimed in his lifetime, draws attention to Aristotle's use of ὥσπεϱ, to describe such an individual of incomparable virtue rhetorically *as* a god among men in what he describes as a "quasi-metaphysical grading of a humanly inconceivable paragon."[261] Aristotle may have included the best-man king only as a theoretical extreme, but at least a section of the Greeks at court were willing to apply the concept to Alexander in light of his achievements and the power (and wealth) he held. These Greeks placed the possible rewards of engaging with Alexander's court above any potential religious offence. The case of the actor Athenodorus exemplifies this as he went to great lengths to perform before Alexander in Phoenicia, but was fined by Athens for breaking his undertaking to appear at the Dionysia.[262]

Balsdon has argued it is fanciful to imagine that Alexander would be occupied with the problem of establishing a theocratic basis of rule over Greeks, Macedonians and Persians alike whilst in remote Bactria and on the cusp of a major campaign into India.[263] This is to overlook the recent historical context of Alexander's operations in Bactria and Sogdiana. He

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[255] Arr. *Anab*. 4.11.2-7.
[256] Arist. *NE*. 1145a15ff; Isoc. *Philip* 132
[257] See Hamilton (1969), 151 for an evaluation of the bibliography up to that date and conclusion that the introduction of proskynesis was intended to produce a uniform court procedure. Its significance was social and political.
[258] For example: Balsdon (1950), 376-82; Lane Fox (2004), 320-25; Bosworth (1993), 285-87.
[259] Carney (1981), n.4. Bosworth (1993), 285 considers the religious connotations of the gesture to have been merely disquieting though would not have been interpreted as an attempt to receive divine honours.
[260] Arist. *Pol*. 1284a3-11; cf. 1284b30-34.
[261] Balsdon (1950), 370-71; cf. Arist. *Pol*. 1284a11.
[262] Plut. *Alex*. 29.5.
[263] Balsdon (1950), 382.

had singularly failed at first to sustainably establish his authority in these regions causing them to rise in open revolt and forcing an additional year and a half of campaigning to restore order.[264] Alexander secured his authority not only through brutal repression, but also by adopting features of Achaemenid/Iranian tradition, especially of the hunt, in order to engage the local nobilities with his court. Balsdon had even acknowledged earlier in his article that the proskynesis affair was in response to the pressing problem of increasing numbers of Iranians at court after Gaugamela.[265] It is therefore not at all fanciful to interpret the increasing adoption of Iranian customs whilst in Bactria as an attempt to establish a unified basis of rule over his subjects before moving even further East. His status as a Macedonian king was undisputed and continually reinforced by participating in traditional royal activities such as the hunt. His need to engage Iranian nobles within the court led to the increased adoption of Iranian practices, particularly in the hunt. This facilitated their involvement at court and, as seen by the analysis of the Hermolaus Incident above, these hunting innovations did not disturb the Macedonian nobility. Indeed, the Macedonian nobles may already have been wholeheartedly adopting some of these practices independently. It was the Greeks who posed a potential problem. This was solved by interpreting Alexander's efforts to reinforce his superiority over Macedonian nobles and to integrate Iranians within this same system according to Greek political concepts which raised these actions to the quasi-divine and therefore legitimised his authority and Greek engagement with these court activities.

5.5.2. Ephippus again

This promotion of ἀρετή as the basis of Alexander's absolute authority over Greeks means we must return to Ephippus' claims that the king would dress as the goddess Artemis when going out in his chariot. This section aims to further expand upon Spawforth's reinterpration of the famous Ephippus passage that claims Alexander would dress as the goddess Artemis when venturing out in his chariot.[266] As seen above, this account is a misinterpretation of Alexander's genuine efforts to incorporate Persians and Iranians within the court by adopting elements of the Achaemenid royal hunt. What this section seeks to develop is a new appreciation of Ephippus by considering the content of this passage as part of a range of Greek responses to Alexander's use of the royal hunt to appeal simultaneously to traditional

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[264] Revolt and unrest in this time extended from Bactria to Parthia, see Arr. *Anab*. 4.1.4ff.; Curt. 7.6.13-15, 7.7.31-39; cf. Bosworth (1981), 20ff.
[265] Balsdon (1950), 376; cf. Briant (2002), 843-56.
[266] *BNJ* 126 F 5 = Ath. 12.537e-538b.

Greek concepts of royal authority, based on superlative ἀρετή, even as he adopted Achaemenid practices. It argues that Ephippus' deliberate misinterpretation of Alexander embarking on a royal hunt was a sophisticated manipulation of the very principles of legitimate authority Alexander was attempting to utilise in his engagements with Greeks. The author recognised that Alexander's participation in vast Achaemenid style hunts, quite possibly of lion,[267] were intended to operate equally within the Greek cultural framework of demonstrating ἀρετή and the king's status as the παμβασιλεύς. By acknowledging the intent of Alexander's regal self-representation on the hunt to raise the king to a god-like status, Ephippus was able to corrupt the royal image and minimise the significance of Alexander's hunting. He was able to take the king's claim to superlative ἀρετή and god-like status as demonstrated in the chase and twist it into an image of effeminate luxury. Whilst Ephippus' reputation in modern scholarship for hostility towards Alexander is undoubtedly deserved, this suggests that he was a far more accomplished and sophisticated author than his usual title of pamphleteer and reputation as a scandal monger suggests.[268] Such a revaluation of Ephippus also demonstrates the success Alexander had in engaging with traditional Greek conceptions of legitimate royal authority. It shows not only that he sought to project himself as the παμβασιλεύς, but that Greek audiences responded to this regal self-representation. Although Ephippus' response was clearly negative, this section argues that the issue of Alexander's divinity in Greece falls within the same range of responses and indicates that some Greeks willingly engaged with this royal ideology.

Ephippus has not invented any features when he describes Alexander wearing the vestments of Artemis and the Persian royal robe with the bow and the spear whilst riding in his chariot. He has skilfully misrepresented the clothing Alexander wore when engaging in a specific court activity. Why though did he choose to use the goddess Artemis as the model onto which to drape Alexander's new royal dress and ceremonial? The answer lies in Alexander's own use of Greek political philosophy to legitimate his authority. He was deliberately using the royal hunt to demonstrate superlative ἀρετή and thus raise himself above all others, to be as a god among men. The royal hunt was a versatile institution which operated within numerous

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[267] Having established that the passage is evidence of Alexander's Achaemenid style hunting to appeal to Iranian traditions of kingship in section 5.3.1 it is reasonable to assume that the prey was lion. The killing of lions had long been associated with kingship in the Near East and the description of Alexander hunting in a chariot with bow and spear recalls the neo-Assyrian images of royal lion slaughter and the cylinder seal of Darius (Fig. 9), cf. Garrison (2010b), 151-52; Llewellyn-Jones (2017), 318; Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2018), 322-27, 759.
[268] Modern scholarship tends to characterise Ephippus' work almost exclusively by its hostility towards Alexander and minimise it as a result: Pearson (1960), 63-65; O'Brien (1992), 6-7; Lane Fox (2004), 444-45; Spawforth (2007b), 118.

legitimating traditions. The experiment with proskynesis, with its intimations at divinity in Greek eyes, had been a further attempt to use a single ritual that would highlight the king's exceptional status within Macedonian, Greek, Persian and wider Near Eastern traditions.[269]

Ephippus has accurately observed the central features Alexander was seeking to project to his Greek audience and his means of doing so. The key institution was the royal hunt, which by its scale and magnificence raised Alexander's position to the quasi-divine by displaying superlative ἀρετή according to Greek concepts of authority. The royal hunt had also been adapted to engage Iranian and wider Near Eastern traditions of participation in the royal court by adopting Eastern royal hunting practices and clothing. These practices further increased the scale of the hunt and the heroic qualities of the king by appealing to a tradition of royal single combat with wild beasts. The Near Eastern riding or hunting outfit, with its deep fold and second belt which caused Curtius to describe it as *muliebriter cinctus*, strongly resembled the garb frequently worn by Artemis. The royal hunt with its intimation of divine status achieved through superlative heroic ἀρετή was recognised by Ephippus as part of a unified court practice intended to legitimate Alexander's authority over Greeks. The use of Near Eastern clothing within the same institution to appeal to his heterogeneous Asian subjects allowed Ephippus to skilfully (and wilfully) misinterpret the royal ensemble as a bizarre pretension to female divinity. Characterising Ephippus as "flagrantly prejudiced against the Macedonians" and malicious in his writing is entirely apt.[270] It would however be unwise to dismiss him as a scandal-monger.[271] This fragment of his pamphlet on the Deaths of Hephaestion and Alexander demonstrates Alexander's successful engagement with Greek concepts of authority even as he adopted traditions of kingship from elsewhere in his empire. It was the projection of this royal ideology of the best-man king, the παμβασιλεύς, among Greeks that allowed Ephippus to manipulate the image of the king in his writing.[272]

The Exiles Decree delivered at Olympia in 324 demonstrated that Alexander by now exercised absolute authority over Greek communities.[273] The significance of the decree and the extent to which it illuminates Alexander's relations with the Greek cities has been much

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[269] Gestures involving prostration before the king had been used in Egypt and are referred to in the Amarna Letters: *EA* 314-326; Moran (1992), 347-53. Similar types of gesture towards a superior, whether a god or the king, were familiar throughout the Near East having been used in the Assyrian court: Llewellyn-Jones (2013), 72; Barjamovic (2011), 40 describes the procedure for the introduction of officials at a royal banquet which includes kissing the ground before the king; cf. *CAD s.v.* ardūtu with its meaning similar to OP bandaka.
[270] Lane Fox (2004), 444-45.
[271] O'Brien (1992), 6-7.
[272] As a forerunner of Juvenalian satire.
[273] Diod. Sic. 17.109.1, 18.8.2-5; Curt. 10.2.4-7.

debated.[274] There is some evidence that his appeals to Greek political philosophies of authority based on ἀρετή not only encouraged Greek engagement with his royal court, but also represents a genuine effort to legitimate his own authority.[275] This is not to go so far as to suggest he sought deification as only divine status would give him the right to interfere in the internal affairs of cities in the League of Corinth.[276] Being the παμβασιλεύς, or best-man king, did create a legitimate expectation for absolute obedience from all poleis to the king who was as a god among men, but did not amount to a claim to divinity. Alexander's efforts to legitimate the reality of his authority in these terms was recognised and responded to by the cities of Greece as well as among the Greek courtiers in Asia. This inevitably led to a degree of ambiguity regarding his status and opened the door to similar misinterpretation as undertaken by Ephippus. Those who accepted the reality of the situation and engaged with this royal ideology were also made vulnerable to potential allegations of blasphemy.

The various references to divine honours in his own lifetime should be viewed in this context.[277] The difficulties of a fragmentary passage of Hyperides which refers to the erection of a statue of Alexander in Athens in 324/23 are discussed by Worthington.[278]

στῆσαι εἰκό[να Ἀλεξάν]δρου βασιλ[έως τοῦ ἀνι]κήτου θε[οῦ

"To erect a statue of king Alexander the invincible god."[279]

As Worthington observes, it seems unlikely that a statue implying cult was ever erected at Athens in Alexander's lifetime.[280] We are therefore left with confused and undoubtedly hyperbolic references to a statue of Alexander which, for a prosecution case, had become an accusation of supporting divine honours for the king. There are reports of several individuals

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[274] See in particular Badian (1961), 29-38; Bosworth (1993), 220-28.

[275] Although Antipater had been given authority to enforce Greek compliance with the decree, it was desirable to present Alexander's authority as legitimate and so convince the Greeks to comply willingly. Curt. 10.2.6-7 mentions extreme reluctance among the Greek cities, especially Athens, to accept the return of their exiles. Worthington (1990), 213-14 even argues that the Mytilene Decree (*IG* xii 2, 6, *OGIS* 2; cf. the text of Heisserer and Hodot (1986), 109-28).) should be detached from the context of the 324 decree and only Tegea (*SIG*³ i 306, cf. emendations of Plassart (1914), 101-88) might offer any evidence of compliance with Alexander's order. Even if his argument is not accepted, there remain only two pieces of evidence that Alexander's orders were obeyed.

[276] Argued by Tarn (1948), 111f.; 138f.; ii 370f., but rejected by Robinson (1948), 298; Balsdon (1950) and Badian (1961), 29-30. The proposal that Alexander (and the Greeks) were engaging with the concept of the παμβασιλεύς offers synthesis between these two positions, refusing to dismiss the allegations that Alexander sought deification in his lifetime and even accepting a genuine basis for them, but recognising them as (often wilful) misinterpretations of an ambiguity Alexander created himself.

[277] Mitchell (2013b).

[278] Worthington (2001).

[279] Hyp. 5.32. the text and translation is that of Worthington.

[280] Stewart (1993), 207-09; Worthington (2001), 129-31. That the term used for the image is εἰκών suggests any statue that may have existed or been proposed was not a cult image, cf. *LSJ. s.v.*

acknowledging the prospect of affording Alexander divine honours. Demades, recorded as a captive after Chaeronea where he showed his willingness to flatter a Macedonian king as a hero, pursued a pro-Macedonian policy thereafter and was fined ten talents for proposing that Alexander be recognised as a god.[281] Hyperides accused Demosthenes of telling the assembly that "Alexander could be the son of Zeus and of Poseidon if he wanted," and a similar statement is attributed to Damis, the king of Sparta.[282] It is generally accepted that the issue of divine honours should be considered either an attempt to flatter him, or an ironic response to Alexander's own requests to receive divine honours.[283]

Despite the lack of evidence to support the existence of divine honours for Alexander in his lifetime, these allegations cannot have been entirely fictitious. They were raised in public environments and law courts where the speaker would need them to be believed. The most likely explanation is that pro-Macedonian factions in Greece and politicians who in 324 could see the stark reality of Alexander's absolute authority recognised the need to engage with the royal court.[284] The desire of both parties to present this power as legitimate was met by appealing to the principle of superlative ἀρετή. The means of demonstrating this as a heroic quality and engaging with the Greeks when they came to court, rather than in a military context, was through participation in the hunt. As with Ephippus, the ambiguity of the heroic best-man king or παμβασιλεύς, made it relatively easy for opponents of the king to interpret his claims to absolute authority through superlative ἀρετή as a desire for deification. The criticism suffered by those who were prepared to acknowledge Alexander in these terms highlights the success of his policy. This image of the king had clearly become sufficiently widespread that it was open to misinterpretation.

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[281] Ath. 6.251b; Ael. *VH*. 5.12. Demades is said in Diod. Sic. 16.87.1-2 to have rebuked Philip for jeering at his captives by saying "Βασιλεῦ, τῆς τύχης σοι περιθείσης πρόσωπον Ἀγαμέμνονος αὐτὸς οὐκ αἰσχύνη πράττων ἔργα Θερσίτου;" "O King, when Fortune has cast you in the role of Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act the part of Thersites?" For evidence of his pro-Macedonian policies see: Plut. *Phoc.* 1.1, 16.5, 17.6; *Mor.* 818e; Arr. *Anab.* 1.10.3ff.; Diod. Sic. 17.15.3.

[282] Dem. Hyp. 5.31, Damis: Plut. *Mor.* 219e.

[283] Tarn (1948), ii 370f.; Balsdon (1950), 383f.; Badian (1981), 54-58; Bosworth (1988), 288-90; Worthington (2001).

[284] Bosworth (1988), 289 simply suggests "some honours may have been voted [to Alexander] in the hope of short-term political gains." Worthington (2001), n.3 suggests the Athenians were willing to acknowledge Alexander as a god if doing so allowed them to engage with the court and receive exemption from the Exiles Decree. Earlier Athenian politicians appear to have recognised the importance of engaging with the royal court of the Achaemenid kings as is suggested by Epicrates' suggestion (Ath. 6.251b) that they should no longer elect nine archons each year, but nine ambassadors to the king.

Conclusion

When he crossed into Asia, Alexander was the unchallenged Argead king of Macedonia and leader of most of Greece. As he advanced through the Near East he absorbed the numerous ethnic groups who made up the Achaemenid empire and had their own traditions of royal authority. In 330, the burning of Persepolis signalled the termination of Persia as the imperial heartland of the Achaemenids, and by 327 Iran was largely pacified.[1] The approach of this thesis has been to consider Alexander's engagement with local elites in terms of their own traditions of royal behaviour, especially through participation on the hunt, to offer a wider understanding of his legitimation strategies. This thesis has examined the traditions of royal hunting in Alexander's native Macedonia, in Greece, the Achaemenid empire he overthrew, and the pre-Achaemenid Near East. Sufficient evidence exists to see that hunting played a significant role in the royal ideologies of these societies and that Alexander hunted himself. The final task of this thesis is to consider the extent to which Alexander's royal hunts were calculated to appeal to these diverse traditions of kingship and facilitate the engagement of local elites with him as king.

From the very beginning of his reign, Alexander used his royal hunts as a means of communicating his position as king. This was automatically the case in Macedonia where the combined weight of evidence such as the consistent use of hunting themes, including lion hunts, on royal coinage; the literary sources for lions and hunting; the presence of different types of spears in high status burials; and the hunting frieze at Vergina itself all point to strong traditions of royal hunting in Macedonia since the early fifth century. Due to the lack of any record of a royal hunt being undertaken by Alexander in Greece, the final section of the previous chapter has already examined in some detail the response of Greeks to these hunts within their own traditions, but there is scope for further development of the arguments advanced in the previous chapter.

As early as his father's funeral we find evidence that Alexander used the image of the royal hunt to signal his status as king. Identifying Vergina Tomb II as that of Philip II means the hunting frieze must be considered as representative of Macedonian kingship in 336. Indeed, the image of a royal hunt conforms to the iconography of Argead kingship that had consistently been projected within the kingdom and abroad through its coinage since the early fifth century. The hasty completion of Vergina Tomb II means we may even interpret the

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[1] Diod. 17.72.1-7; Curt. 5.7.3-7; Arr. *Anab*. 3.18.11-12; Plut. *Alex*. 38.1-7.

frieze as being among the earliest images commissioned by Alexander, or at least completed before he crossed into Asia. The iconography of the hunt scene is, as stated above, entirely consistent with Argead traditions of kingship which emphasised descent from Herakles and advertised royal participation in the hunt. However, the frieze also offers some evidence that Alexander was already using such imagery of the Macedonian royal hunt to project his claims to legitimate authority over Greece in terms that were meaningful to a Greek audience. The theme is entirely consistent not just with Argead traditions of kingship, but also incorporates a number of features that recall sacral and heroic paradigms of Classical Greece.[2] In addition to the pillar and tree with votive offerings and the nudity of many of the hunters, the act of hunting itself had a long history as a signifier of authority in Greece. Hunting similes indicate the prowess of Homeric warriors whose own hunting exploits are used to display their skill and demonstrate their status as kings. Archaic Greek aristocrats capitalised on this association between hunting and heroes to promote their own claims to authority. By creating an ambiguity between the hunting undertaken by heroes in myth and that undertaken by themselves they were able to claim heroic ἀρετή as a basis for their status as aristocrats. The role of the hunt as both a source and a display of heroic ἀρετή continued to contribute to aristocratic behaviour in the fourth century as evidenced by Xenophon's recommendation that it must form the basis of a young aristocrat's behaviour.[3] Possession of this heroic ἀρετή then became the basis of a political philosophy of kingship expressed by Aristotle as the παμβασιλεύς. This stated that any individual of incomparable, superlative ἀρετή should be accepted as king.

Mitchell has argued that Alexander's alleged claims to divinity as the unconquered god (ἀνικητος θεος) at the end of his reign should be taken seriously as a natural consequence of engagement with Aristotle's philosophy.[4] Her position is surely correct and supported by the passage of Ephippus discussed in Chapter 5 which suggests Alexander's claims to authority based on superlative ἀρετή were indeed recognised by Greeks even if they were misrepresented by the pamphleteer. The limitation of Mitchell's argument is that the basis she proposes for Alexander's claim to authority, his position as the unconquered god, can only be applied to the very late stages of the king's life. In fact, Alexander had been using a number of strategies to claim legitimate authority over the affairs of Greece from the moment of his accession in order to ensure the success of his Asian expedition. It is therefore necessary to

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[2] Borza and Palagia (2007), 91-93. Cohen (2010), 254ff.; Franks (2012).
[3] Xen. *Cyn*. 1.18-2.1.
[4] Mitchell (2013b).

identify the grounds on which Alexander could persistently claim legitimate authority beyond the limits of his diplomatic settlements.

The Vergina hunt frieze suggests the king actively appealed to the concept of the παμβασιλεύς throughout his dealings with Greeks. The inclusion of Greek paradigms of heroic imagery alongside a lion hunt recognisable as distinctly Macedonian by the presence of the kausia establishes the same ambiguity regarding the status of the participants in the same away as Attic vase paintings of aristocratic and mythological hunting.[5] Significantly, these heroic Greek elements are placed alongside those of the royal lion hunt and are suggestive of a claim to authority that is based on ἀρετή and extends across Greece as well as the traditional Macedonian kingdom. No change is evident in the style of the royal hunt, but we see the iconography of Alexander's hunts being carefully positioned within the political philosophies of the Greek societies he effectively ruled even at this early stage of his kingship. The evidence of Ephippus indicates that this was a calculated strategy pursued throughout his reign and adapted to account for new developments in Alexander's royal hunts whenever they were introduced.

From 336 then, Alexander was using the royal hunt as part of his legitimation strategies by encouraging his participation to be interpreted according to distinctly local traditions. It is during the Asian campaign though that a genuine evolution in Alexander's royal hunts may be detected to achieve this as he adapted the style of his hunting and actively incorporated members of the diverse elites from his new empire. The first examples of Alexander hunting in Asia are from his time in Syria following the battle of Issus. The Alexander Sarcophagus highlights the role of the royal hunt in the king's engagement with local elites. The source tradition testifies to the thorough integration of Abdalonymus into Alexander's court and his sarcophagus appears to record his participation in a hunt alongside Alexander.[6] Alexander himself is depicted as having already adopted items of Near Eastern clothing some two years before the substantial incorporation of Achaemenid court practices on the Parthia-Hyrcana border. Even if we do not take this monument at face value and question the features of the sarcophagus, suggesting the clothing worn is not an accurate rendering of historical fact, but a result of applying Sidonian norms to the iconography, or that the hunt never took place all, we still observe Alexander being perceived in terms of local traditions of kingship.

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[5] Cohen (2010), 89-93.
[6] Diod. Sic. 17.47.6; Plut. *De fort. Alex*. 2.340D.

Additional points arise regarding the hunts in Syria. Despite the developments that were taking place in the attire and participants in the royal hunt, it remained comprehensible to a Greek audience. It was after Alexander killed a lion in Syria that a Spartan ambassador is said to have commented, "Καλῶς γε, Ἀλέξανδρε, πρὸς τὸν λέοντα ἠγώνισαι περὶ τᾶς βασιλείας" ("nobly indeed, Alexander, you have fought against the lion for the kingship").[7] Not only was a Spartan ambassador able to witness the king engaged in the hunt, but he understood the significance of the event in the context of Alexander's claims to legitimate kingship. Brunelle's suggestion that the casket copy of the *Iliad* represents an appeal to Persian and Greek customs seems to conform precisely to these other events in Syria.[8] Consideration of the hunt as an extramural court finds support in these events as it is used as an environment for international diplomacy, a symbolic centre, a centre for redistribution and administration of the empire and defining the status of individuals in relation to the king.

More importantly for this royal court, the parallel use of Persian paraphernalia and Greek heroic epic, the Spartan ambassador perceiving success in the hunt in terms of kingship, and hunting in accordance with local tradition to signal the status of a newly appointed subordinate ruler, together suggest the royal hunt had developed into a sophisticated middle ground.[9] This particular middle ground was focused not on a geographic location, but on the person of the king and facilitated acceptance of Alexander in that role. It was a particularly sophisticated example of a middle ground due to the number of individuals who were able successfully to apply their own conceptions of appropriate royal action onto the hunt. It had evidently developed first as part of Alexander's use of this traditional Argead institution to appeal to Greek political philosophy. In Syria, that middle ground between Greeks and Macedonians was expanded to include Sidonians who, with some assistance from Alexander, were able to identify their own congruences with this royal practice.

The next stage in the evolution of Alexander's royal hunts appears to be connected with the adoption of Achaemenid court ceremonial. Indeed, five of the seven hunts discussed above took place after 330 among Iranians and should be viewed as part of the effort to incorporate Persians and Iranians at court. Similarly, it has already been observed that the passage of Ephippus is a misrepresentation of Alexander's hunting according to Achaemenid practice, wearing items of court dress and undertaken from a chariot. Ideologically it is much more difficult to identify Alexander's royal hunts as a deliberate attempt to engage with the Near

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[7] Plut. *Alex*. 40.3.
[8] Brunelle (2017). Cf. Plut. *Alex*. 8; 26.
[9] White (2011).

Eastern and Iranian traditions of kingship discussed in this thesis. For example, although there is some circumstantial evidence that Alexander successfully engaged with features of Iranian tradition, even appearing as a legitimate Achaemenid in the Persian epic *Shahnameh*, none exists to suggest his royal hunts promoted the same relationship between king and god as the Achaemenid or earlier Near Eastern hunts.[10] The Argeads enjoyed a particularly close relationship with Zeus through Herakles, the progenitor of the dynasty and celebrated Herakles in his manifestation as kynagidas. They are also recognised as the chief priests of the kingdom, but despite Alexander's promotion of his connection with Zeus and the syncretism of Zeus and Herakles with Near Eastern deities, we cannot naturally equate this with the royal relationships with Aššur or Ahura Mazda seen in Chapters 1 and 2.[11] The Iranian and Near Eastern elites might have inserted Alexander's Argead kingship into their own ideological models, but we have no evidence for this.

It is the role of the hunt as the extramural court that we see him adopting aspects of the Achaemenid hunt. This primarily took the form of massively increased scale and etiquette that was also incorporated in other areas of ceremonial. As with the hunt alongside Abdalonymus, the grand state hunting events such as at Bazaira provided an opportunity for Iranian nobles to attend court and demonstrate their loyalty to the king. Their attendance marked their entry into Alexander's court society and the constant negotiation of status between and amongst king and nobility that this brought. In particular, hunting and holding court in the Achaemenid style whilst in Iran allowed the local elites to acknowledge Alexander as king in their own terms and enter into the reward and service relationships they had previously enjoyed.

The benefits to Alexander are also clear. Adoption of the immense royal ring hunts from the neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid periods represented a substantial increase in the scale of the event compared to Macedonian custom which translated into enhanced prestige for the king who organised and excelled in the event. It also involved an escalation in the number of participants. The adoption of the Achaemenid style hunt, with its emphasis on grand scale and the royal hero engaging wild beasts in single combat, was also used to further adapt Alexander's claims to legitimate royal authority according to traditional Greek political philosophies. The increased scale of royal hunting, especially of big game, in an environment that also promoted the image of single combat with bulls and lions, provided Alexander with an unrivalled source of ἀρετή that recalled the exploits of his ancestor Herakles. The

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[10] On the evidence for Alexander's successful engagement with Persian customs and ideology see Ferdowsi, *Shahnameh*, 454ff.; Hanaway (1982); Olbrycht (2010); Jamzadeh (2012).
[11] Fredricksmeyer (1966); Curt.4.2.2-3.

adoption of specifically Persian aspects of royal hunting therefore equally adhered to Greek concepts of legitimate kingship.

What is evident from this thesis is that although classical literary tradition leaves us with the impression that Alexander's adoption of Near Eastern, especially Achaemenid, court customs was mutually exclusive to adherence with Greek and Macedonian tradition, this was not the case. In fact, the royal hunt could be tailored to the expectations of widespread elites for their relations with royal authority. In the royal hunt Alexander was able to draw together the diverse traditions of his subjects and create a unified court protocol. Hunting was a traditional activity of the Macedonian court, of Greek aristocrats, throughout the Near East and of the Achaemenids and their satrapal courts. As he progressed through formerly independent, and still culturally distinct, kingdoms he undertook hunting expeditions alongside the local elites who declared their loyalty to him, demonstrating his recognition of their status within the new empire according to their own traditions.

The primary point of contact between the king and nobility, and therefore the arena for negotiating status and power relationship was the royal court. This thesis has followed the principles of recent studies of court societies, but suggests the court itself, and especially the hunt, operated as a middle ground in which ethnically distinct elites could simultaneously participate in the rituals of kingship, but interpret them according to their own conceptions of legitimate royal authority. In this respect, it seeks to broaden our understanding of Alexander's engagement with the diverse peoples of his empire by discarding the conventional models of Persianisation and Orientalising, and to appreciate the need for a more flexible paradigm of relationships between the king and the elites of his heterogeneous empire. Only by ensuring that these elite societies recognised his position as king and acknowledged that he possessed legitimate authority could he hope to effectively rule the lands he had conquered.

Plates

Plate I. The hunting frieze from Tomb II at Vergina. Photo: courtesy Hans. R. Goette.

Plate II. Agios Athansios tomb façade: Photo: Courtesy directorate of antiquities of the Thessaloniki ephorate.

Plate III. Agios Athanasios tomb frieze. Photo: Courtesy directorate of antiquities of the Thessaloniki ephorate.

Plate IVa. Macedonian with kausia. Detail of Agios Athansios façade. Photo: Courtesy directorate of antiquities of the Thessaloniki ephorate.

Plate IVb. Macedonian with kausia. Detail of Agios Athansios façade. Photo: Courtesy directorate of antiquities of the Thessaloniki ephorate.

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