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## Convoy Commanders and other Military Identities in Tomb Art of Western Anatolia around the time of the Persian Wars

### Introduction

Western Anatolia is a region which is not rich in textual sources for its history, but for the periods termed 'late archaic' and 'early classical' in Classical archaeology, it is relatively rich in image-decorated tombs that can reveal a great deal about the claims and aspirations of the richer members of society. The range of themes and styles embraced in these tomb images is striking; one has the impression of a wide landscape interlaced by a network of related themes generally termed 'Graeco-Persian', comprising banquets, hunts and convoys, but marbled with alternative, less 'Persian'-related image choices, such as the wall paintings depicted in the Aktepe Tomb paintings in Eastern Lydia and the very Greek-looking late archaic reliefs on the Polyxena Sarcophagus in the Troad and the Harpy Monument in Lycia<sup>1</sup>.

At first glance, it may not be clear that military themes predominate among these tomb images. This is partly to do with the *mélange* of styles noted above, but also with the kind of military guises shown, the military nature of which is in some cases not immediately apparent. While images of warriors are clearly military, for instance, I argue here that at least some of the very popular 'Graeco-Persian' convoys may be added to the military category. This is not in itself an entirely new suggestion, but it is key to a further argument about the nature of military life and identities relevant to Western Anatolian history<sup>2</sup>.

It is not so much the predominance of military imagery that is crucial. Indeed, though counting the convoys one can effectively contrast the weighting of military themes here with other samples of grave images, such as 'Neo-Hittite' reliefs where banqueting predominates and Classical Attic tomb stones, where family groups are foremost, it is also important to remember that the Western Anatolian burials are not what might be described as 'warrior burials'<sup>3</sup>. Drinking sets and jewellery, rather than armour, predominate in the tomb goods that have been recovered. As well, while military images might be higher in number than other thematic choices in the paintings and reliefs overall, they do not always predominate within specific tomb image programmes.

<sup>1</sup> Aktepe paintings: ATEŞLIER 2002; BAUGHAN 2004, 482–483, cat. A34; ÖZGEN, ÖZTÜRK, and MELLINK 1996, 40–46, 71–73, cats. 7–10; ROOSEVELT 2003, 576–578, no. 433 (TG Gure 59) and Baughan in these Proceedings. Polyxena Sarcophagus: ATEŞLIER and ÖNCÜ 2004; REINSBERG 2001, 2004; SEVINÇ and ROSE 1996; STEUERNAGEL 1998. Harpy Monument: *infra* N. 45.

<sup>2</sup> For instance BORCHHARDT 2002, sees the Tatarlı-Munich convoy as departure for war and cf. esp. the emulation of war chariots proposed in JACOBS 1987.

<sup>3</sup> Neo-Hittite grave reliefs: ARO 2003; BONATZ 2000; Classical Attic grave reliefs: CLAIRMONT 1993–1995; CONZE 1890; JOHANSEN 1951. See DRAYCOTT forthcoming, for an excerpt on this issue, with some adjustments.

What is more significant is the kind of military guises shown at this time, and the fact that they reveal some polarisations in cultural identity which may have been exacerbated by the Persian Wars. From Herodotus, we understand that from at least the later sixth century, with Darius' Scythian campaign, through to the campaigns of Xerxes, there was an intensified Persian royal presence in the region. Western Anatolia was the Western front of the Persian Empire and cities like Sardis the base camps for attempts to move even farther West. It was here that giant armies were amassed for these campaigns.

When Herodotus describes Xerxes' huge army, one of the aspects he chooses to emphasise is the variation in panoply distinguishing regional contingents. This description may be less an accurate record than an impression – the type of impression, in fact, of wide-reaching, all encompassing Empire that the Achaemenids themselves promoted in their sculptural programmes, where a multitude of peoples are differentiated through dress and attributes<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, the articulation of regional, ethnic or cultural difference may not have been solely top-down ideology; especially in the context of a massive, collective army, one might expect that group identities would crystallise, and that local groups too would use panoply styles to symbolise their identities.

The varied military guises represented among tomb sculptures and paintings partly support this expectation that panoply was used symbolically at this time. They also offer a different, local perspective on ideal panoply types, presenting a picture different to the one Herodotus paints. And there is another dynamic: rather than purely local styles of panoply, as Herodotus portrays, the images show that some nobles identified themselves with starkly Persian-style guises. Others chose alternatives, either harnessing local traditions or inventing new styles. With a more Persian choice on offer, these alternatives suggest either limited access to or refusal of that kind of identification. The overall impression is that of a period of changing horizons which provoked tensions and introspection among Western Anatolian elites about their military affiliations and cultural identities.

### **Case study 1: paintings from the Tatarlı Tomb, near Kelainai**

Among the paintings on wood from the walls of a tomb chamber near Tatarlı, just east of the ancient Phrygian town of Kelainai (fig. 1), there are a relatively large number of military images, among them a battle, antithetic pairs of warriors and a convoy. Along with numerous other tombs in Turkey, this one was subjected to plundering in the late 1960s.<sup>5</sup> At that time, some of the painted timbers were stolen. Archaeologists managed to recover ones which had been left during rescue excavations, and these are now stored in the Afyon Museum.



Fig. 1 – Map showing approximate locations of sites (by Author).

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Miller and John Ma, in personal communication, have suggested the depiction of peoples as symbolic, and as part of a language of empire, respectively. Cf. BRIANT 2002, 183–185 on the ideology of country lists and peoples in the Achaemenid Empire's language. Herodotus' accuracy and sources are a topic of much discussion, which cannot be dwelt on here.

<sup>5</sup> Original publication of the tomb: UÇANKUŞ 1979 (reprinted in: UÇANKUŞ 2002a).

The best known of these come from the rear wall of the chamber and comprise seated felines, the dueling warriors, shown wearing crested helmets and greaves and holding round shields and sickle weapons, part of a chariot convoy and a procession of winged bulls (fig. 2). Other painted timbers left in the chamber are poorly preserved, showing only scraps of other images.

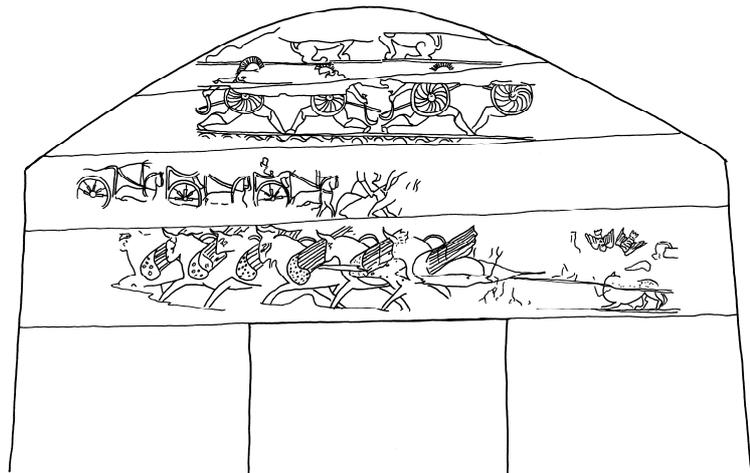


Fig. 2 – Drawing of the rear wall of the Tatarlı Tomb showing positions of paintings (adapted from UÇANKUŞ 1979, figs. 22–24).

To these we may now add two well-preserved painted timbers in Munich, which Lâtife Summerer has confirmed belong to the Tatarlı Tomb<sup>6</sup>. First published in the early 1990s by Peter Calmeyer, the Munich paintings have now recently been republished by Summerer, whose study using different

lighting and photography techniques has revealed further details and enabled new high quality illustrations<sup>7</sup>. (The reader is referred to her articles for these illustrations.) Here, my remarks are naturally confined to the military-related images on the already published timbers, but it should be noted that Summerer is furthering the study with an examination of remaining timbers in Afyon, toward a reconstruction of the whole tomb and its programme, about which there is much yet to learn<sup>8</sup>. Peter Kuniholm's dendrochronology so far suggests a rough date of the middle of the fifth century BC<sup>9</sup>.

The Munich timbers carry two paintings, one of a 'Graeco-Persian' convoy of the type noted in the introduction and another showing a battle between Persians and Scythians. These paintings themselves are unusual in respects which will be discussed below, but their attribution to the Tatarlı Tomb is also very revealing. The combination of 'Greek'-looking warriors with round shields and crested helmets on the rear wall and a chariot convoy below already suggested that seemingly 'Greek' and 'Persian' themes co-existed in this tomb, but the addition of the Munich paintings indicates an unexpected level of Persian affiliation attributable to a tomb owner who would also have been represented by such warriors<sup>10</sup>.

To address first the convoy painting in Munich, about which some extended argument is required: it is a particularly extensive version of a theme that is very widespread in Western Anatolian tomb imagery. In general, convoy scenes consist of either an open chariot-like carriage with a seated male figure accompanied by an entourage, or a covered carriage or cart with an entourage, or both open and covered carriages as in this case (e.g. also shown in figs. 3 and 5). There has been extensive debate about the meaning of these images, the main crux being whether the processional shown is funerary or not<sup>11</sup>. Many scholars prefer to see the convoys as funeral corteges, since chariots found in burials suggest that they were used in actual funerary processions<sup>12</sup>. Additionally, an abbreviated depiction of a convoy in reliefs on a stele from near Daskyleion in Northwest Anatolia (fig. 3) shows a long-bodied carriage with Ionic column decoration

<sup>6</sup> Earlier suggestion of this provenance in: BORCHHARDT 2002, 95–96.

<sup>7</sup> CALMEYER 1992; SUMMERER 2007b; SUMMERER 2007a; SUMMERER 2008. See also: SUMMERER and VON KIENLIN 2007, 2009.

<sup>8</sup> For an introduction to the project with further illustrations, see: Summerer. *Tatarlı: Eine perserzeitliche bemalte Holzgrabkammer bei Kelainai*. Page hosted by Institut für klassische Archäologie, Ludwigs-Maximilians-Universität, Munich. <http://www.klass-archaeologie.lmu.de/varia/Holzmalerei.htm> (access date: 18/12/2008).

<sup>9</sup> See appendix of Summerer 2007a.

<sup>10</sup> Suggestions of 'Graeco-Persian' themes and mixed iconographies: BINGÖL 1997, 39–42; ECKERT 1998, 3.1.1.3.

<sup>11</sup> The arguments are laid out with further references in: DRAYCOTT 2007b, 14–16, 125–129; NOLLÉ 1992, 88–92; SUMMERER 2007b; SUMMERER 2008; DRAYCOTT forthcoming. An earlier important article is METZGER 1975.

<sup>12</sup> Chariot burials, esp. in Western Anatolia: KÖKTEN 1998; KÖKTEN ERSÖY 1998. Further: CARSTENS 2005 (on horse burials).

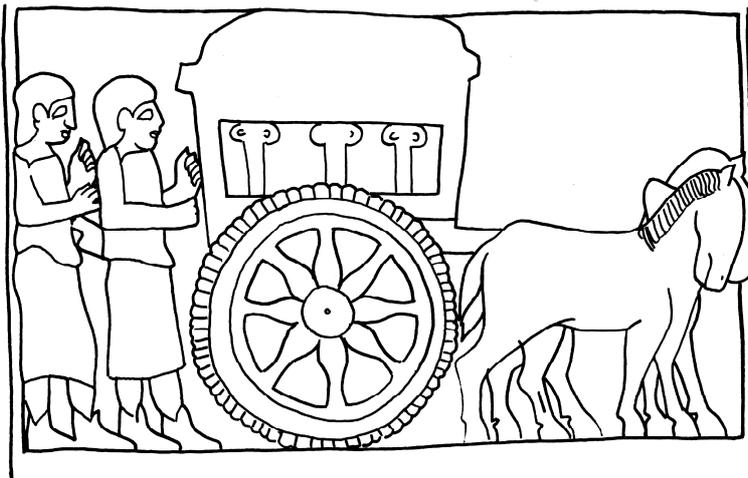


Fig. 3 – Drawing of the convoy relief in the lower of two registers on Elnâf's Stele from Aksakal near Daskyleion, now in Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. 5764. H. of reliefs panels: 0.63 m. Marble. C. 460 BC (?) (Drawing by Author).

along the sides, which resembles a stone sarcophagus found on Samos<sup>13</sup>. This has prompted some to identify the object in the Daskyleion relief as a sarcophagus rather than a carriage body. Finally, the one truly similar convoy depiction from outside Western Anatolia, on the 'parapet' of the lid on the Mourning Women's Sarcophagus from Sidon, does demonstrably show a funeral procession<sup>14</sup>. Although, as in the images from Western Anatolia, no body is shown and here the carriages are of the usual square-bodied domed type which does not resemble a sarcophagus, the funerary context of the procession is assured by the gestures of figures in the procession, who are shown mourning<sup>15</sup>.

On the other hand, while chariot burials and the Mourning Women's Sarcophagus relief show that carriages and chariots *were* used in funerary corteges, there are good reasons to think that the 'Graeco-Persian' convoy images from Western Anatolia do not specifically depict funeral processions. First, there are no explicit gestures of mourning shown in the images, as there are on the Mourning Women's Sarcophagus. In some cases a woman in the entourage following a carriage is shown touching it, but whether this is a gesture of sorrow, which is usually expressed by showing hand on head or cheek, is unclear<sup>16</sup>. Secondly, there are ample literary sources which show that both chariots (*harma*) and covered carriages, (usually termed *harmamaxa*), were used for travel by rich males and females within the Persian Empire (e.g. Herodotus 1.199, 7.41, 9.76; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.2.16; *Cyropaedia* 3.1.40 and 6.4.11; Aristophanes, *Ach.* 70)<sup>17</sup>. A variant term is used by Aeschylus in *The Persians* 1000, where Xerxes is described as using a wheel-drawn tent (*skenais trochelatois*).

With the Munich convoy painting there is a significant similarity to one of these descriptions of traveling nobles in particular. At the centre of the painting is a regal-looking bearded man wearing a *kandys* (Median coat), seated in a chariot, which is similar if not identical to the chariots shown in the battle painting on the other Munich timber (discussed below)<sup>18</sup>. Some way behind is another carriage of the dome-covered type familiar from other convoy images. Unusually here the entourage is very extensive and comprises a heavy military component not seen in the other convoy images: cavalier archers and footmen holding lances with their points down and wearing striped costumes. Behind the covered carriage are women.

The main elements of this image, especially the seated figure, the carriages and the armed entourage are virtually an illustration of Herodotus' description of Xerxes' war train as it departed Sardis on way to Greece (7.40–41). Specifically, he says:

<sup>13</sup> The particular stele is known as 'Elnâf's Stele', found re-used in a later grave along with two other stelai near the village of Aksakal. Now in Istanbul Arch. Mus. 5764, marble, H. 2.88 m, c. 460 BC (?): NOLLÉ (néé Tappeiner) 1992, 11–16, cat. S1, pls. 1 and 2. Samos sarcophagus, Samos Arch. Mus. 267, marble, L. 2.18 m: HITZL 1991, 209, cat. 43, figs. 17–22.

<sup>14</sup> Mourning Women's Sarcophagus, from Sidon, now in Istanbul Arch. Mus. 368, marble, H. 1.78, c. 370–360 BC (?): FLEISCHER 1983.

<sup>15</sup> For the mourning gestures on the sarcophagus see further: WELLER 1970.

<sup>16</sup> A gesture of lamentation: ATEŞLIER 2002, 86; SUMMERER 2007b, 140, although she is sceptical, noting the lack of iconographic support. On gestures of grief in Greek art: NEUMANN 1965; SHAPIRO 1991.

<sup>17</sup> BROSIUS 1996, 87–93; NOLLÉ (néé Tappeiner) 1992, 88–92; SUMMERER 2007b. Alternatively, for the chariots as containers of sacred objects: JACOBS 1992.

<sup>18</sup> Summerer feels that the chariots differ in 'construction and armour': SUMMERER 2008, 280–281, but they are not markedly different.

7.40.2 *A thousand picked Persian horsemen led the king's retinue, and behind them came a thousand spearmen, also elite fighting men, who marched with their lances pointing down at the ground.* (Next are sentences describing sacred Nisean horses and a sacred chariot of 'Zeus'.) 7.40.4 *...Behind him came Xerxes himself, seated on his chariot (harmatos) drawn by Nisean horses...*

7.41 *This was how Xerxes left Sardis, but he used to get out of his chariot (harmatos) and into a covered wagon (harmamaxan) instead, if he felt so inclined*<sup>19</sup>.

The seated man, the covered carriage and the armed entourage, although obviously with fewer men, correspond with Herodotus' description. Herodotus does not mention women in this case, but there is other evidence to show that women often formed part of the entourages of traveling and campaigning grandees<sup>20</sup>. Details such as the golden pomegranates or apples which adorned the spears of those following the Persian King are not apparent in the Munich-Tatarlı painting<sup>21</sup>. However, costumes with white vertical stripes are associated with the Persian King and his spear bearers, at least in the late fifth and fourth centuries<sup>22</sup>. And there is another feature which may be important: one of the spear bearers behind the open chariot with the seated figure carries what has been tentatively identified as a fan, but it could be a standard, which are attested for Persian regiments both in literary sources and art, in Greek vases and in the later Alexander Mosaic<sup>23</sup>. This identification remains open to question, since the preservation of the painted object is poor.

This combination of details strongly suggests that the Munich painting depicts a convoy of the Royal Persian type. It does not necessarily follow that what is shown is a departure for war: Summerer, for instance, notes that this explanation would not work for other convoy images, some of which are limited to a covered carriage, and she sees the Munich painting as a militarised (perhaps Persianised) version of an Anatolian funerary convoy<sup>24</sup>. However, other passages in Herodotus which surround Xerxes' campaigns suggest that it could be a war convoy: at 7.8 Xerxes offers rewards to the Persians who joined him with the best contingent: *"Here is what you can do to please me. When I let you know that the time has arrived for you to come, you should all do so without hesitation. I will reward the one who brings with him the best-prepared force."* As well, in an episode where Xerxes rebukes the rich Lydian Pythios for trying to excuse his son from military service, he shouts: *"Damn you! Look at me: I am going in person to make way on Greece, and I am taking with me my sons, brothers, relatives and friends. How dare you mention a son of yours, when you are no more than my slave, and should follow in my train with your whole household, wife and all!"* (7.39).

These passages indicate that it behooved army commanders, whether ethnically Persian or not, to follow the King into battle in the grandest style possible, with their own court entourage. Although they do not explicitly state that the 'best-prepared force' should emulate the King's, the correlation between the Munich-Tatarlı painting and Herodotus' description of Xerxes' convoy points in this direction<sup>25</sup>. Bearing this in mind, rather than a funerary cortege, the painting may depict the fulfilling of what would have become an important role for grandees in the time of the Persian Wars – commander with his troops. The social advantages

<sup>19</sup> Translation: R. Waterfeld, Oxford World's Classics 1998.

<sup>20</sup> For concubines and wives in campaign convoys see: BORCHHARDT 2002, 96; BRIANT 2002, 187; BROSIUS 1996, 87–91; NOLLÉ (né Tappeiner) 1992, 88–92; SUMMERER 2008, 280.

<sup>21</sup> SUMMERER 2008, 276. The upper part of the painting is eroded.

<sup>22</sup> SEKUNDA 1992, 30–32 (referencing Hesychius and Photius (s.v. *sarapis*), Curtius 3.3.17–19, Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.3.13). See the Attic cup tondo painting illustrated on his p. 18. The figures in the Aktepe paintings wear long dresses which also have vertical stripes, as pointed out by Summerer 2008, n. 50.

<sup>23</sup> Standards: SEKUNDA 1992, 17–18 (citing Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 8.5.13; Herodotus 9.59). Summerer considers the possibility of a standard, but prefers a fan: SUMMERER 2008, 277.

<sup>24</sup> SUMMERER 2007b, 140–141; 2008, 275–282, esp. 281–282. Note that she does see the convoy of multiple chariots on the rear wall of the tomb as a departure for war: 2008, 270–271 and 285–287. See also SUMMERER forthcoming.

<sup>25</sup> SEKUNDA 1992, 9–10 on regimental uniforms in the Persian army, although here he is speaking of Persian forces.

offered by willingly joining the army and the internal competition it must have stimulated is a context in which such self-representation could well have emerged<sup>26</sup>.

Rather than the Munich painting being a militarised extension of a pre-existing formula, it may be the case that the shorter versions are variations on the theme. The royal convoy or caravan was an established institution prior to the Persian War period, and kings and nobles travelled for numerous reasons<sup>27</sup>. Overall, as well, it is the prestige of the convoy itself, the *travelling court*, which may be said to have been adopted in the Western provinces. But rather than a general ‘impact of empire’ from the conquest on, the appearance of the ‘Graeco-Persian’ convoy type, with its chariots and distinctive two-wheeled, covered carriages, seems to belong in the first half of the fifth century BC, at a time when the Persian armies, especially that of Xerxes, were being amassed. The Munich-Tatarlı painting provides an explanation for why this mode of travel became so important in Western Anatolia at around this time: it suggests that a context of competitive campaigning stimulated emulation of the Persian nobility’s convoys, and that this triggered a state of affairs in which travel and carriages became major status symbols. In some cases, the associated affiliation with Achaemenid styles of leadership is less pronounced than at Tatarlı, where the affiliation with the Persian army seems clear.

The battle painting on the other timber in Munich further articulates the strength of Persian affiliation in the Tatarlı case. Space constraints mean I can address it only briefly<sup>28</sup>. Shown is a battle between two parties, both of whom at first glance appear to be similarly dressed. The party on the right, however, wear pointed hats and carry small axes stereotypical of Scythians<sup>29</sup>. The other party on the left includes three figures that are differently dressed: the central protagonist, who grabs an opponent by the beard, and two archers on the far left. All three are shown in long robes similar to those worn by Persians depicted in central Achaemenid art, such as the reliefs at Persepolis<sup>30</sup>. The theme, clearly ‘Persians versus Scythians’, is shown in abbreviated versions on Persian period seals, and the motif may be taken as a generic representation of battle against the archetypal enemy<sup>31</sup>. In this sense, one can compare the contemporary Greek version of archetypal enmity in the Greeks versus Persians duels shown on Attic painted pots of the fifth century.

What is interesting here is that this is the only Western Anatolian tomb painting so far to depict the Scythian enemy<sup>32</sup>. Other battles in tombs, one of which will be discussed below, show the enemy as Greek or Greek related. The extension of the generic Persians versus Scythians battle motif in this tomb underscores the extent to which the tomb owner identified with Persian mentality. Summerer attributes this strong affiliation to the proximity to Kelainai, where Xenophon says Xerxes built a royal residence (*Anabasis* 1.2.7–9)<sup>33</sup>. One might remark that it also suggests that the Persian Wars from the Persian and *also* some Western Anatolian perspectives encompassed more than the excursions against the Greeks.

Contrasting with these images showing tremendous Persian affiliation is the painting of the sickle-bearing warriors from the rear wall of the tomb, now housed in Afyon Museum (fig. 2). The panoply of the warriors is comparable to that of the hoplite except for the sickles. Herodotus distinguishes ‘Phrygians’ in Xerxes’ army as being dressed like Paphlagonians, wearing ‘plaited helmets’ and boots which reached halfway up their shins, and carrying small shields, medium sized spears, javelins and daggers (7.72–73). He does not mention sickle weapons, but they are at home in Southwestern Anatolia, especially Pisidia and

<sup>26</sup> Compare esp. Jacobs 1987, who already stressed the context of battle and strife in Western Anatolia when this status symbol emerged in tomb images. Borchhardt also already suggested the Munich painting showed departure for battle: BORCHHARDT 2002, 95–96, although he saw the seated man as the Persian King and the archer within the same chariot as the tomb owner.

<sup>27</sup> See BRIANT 2002, 186–192 on the power of the travelling King in the Empire.

<sup>28</sup> For full details and discussion, see the above noted articles by Summerer, esp.: SUMMERER 2007a and 2008.

<sup>29</sup> For details on the costume and Scythians with reference to earlier identifications: SUMMERER 2007a, 18–20.

<sup>30</sup> Persepolis and the Apadana reliefs: SCHMIDT 1953–1970; WALSER 1966.

<sup>31</sup> As SUMMERER 2007a, 24–27, with good illustrations of representative Persian seals; SUMMERER 2007b, 135–136; 2008, 283–284, where she questions whether the image is totally generic or loosely historic.

<sup>32</sup> As SUMMERER 2007a, 27–28.

<sup>33</sup> SUMMERER 2007a, 28; 2008. Summerer and Alexander von Kienlin have launched a new study of Kelainai; see SUMMERER *ET AL.* forthcoming. On the Persian diaspora at Kelainai: ROBERT 1963, 349; BRIANT 2002, 500–501, 705.

Lycia, where they appear in reliefs and on coins<sup>34</sup>. Herodotus describes the Lycians in Xerxes army as carrying *drepana*, sometimes translated as 'scimitars' (7.92) – perhaps something similar. Possibly Herodotus' Phrygians are northern Phrygian speakers.

It is notable that as far as can be seen, no sickle-bearing warriors are shown in the entourage of the convoy or in the battle in the paintings in Munich. Instead, these warriors seem abstracted from the battle context. Summerer has suggested that their poses resemble armed dancers<sup>35</sup>. Musicians would ascertain this identity, but it is possible that without specifically being dancers, the heraldically arranged warriors perform a function similar to that of armed dancers. That is, they display a local martial arts style in a way that is similar to armed dance displays, such as those later witnessed by Xenophon.

This inclusion of such a display within the tomb programme suggests that the tomb owner or owners wanted to insert a reference to specifically local and non-Persian martial styles. The inclusion of 'native' warriors could function to distinguish two ethnic or cultural groups: the tomb owner and his immediate circle on the one hand and locals on the other. This could tie into an Achaemenid Empire habit of expressing power through showing exotic peoples they dominated<sup>36</sup>. It could also function, even at the same time, to insert a local identity on the part of a local tomb owner, whose adoption of Persian military identities might have required some resolution. In this way, one can see how the Persian Wars, with the army building in this Western front of the Empire, could have had a profound impact on the identities of elites living in the region, who were faced with the choice of being 'Persian', 'other', or perhaps both.

### Case study 2: the Karaburun II Tomb in the Milyad

The Persian local or 'Persian with local support' identity noted in the Tatarlı paintings may also be sensed in the paintings in the tomb chamber of Karaburun II in the Elmalı Plateau, North Lycia – a region known as the Milyad in antiquity<sup>37</sup>. Here, however, local and 'Persian' military elements are shown in hierarchic cooperation against a common 'other'. Among the paintings on the tomb's walls, the banquet on the rear wall is the best known. Of the others, the two shown on opposing side walls are of interest here: they show a convoy and a battle (figs. 4, 5 and 6). Most accept the date pro-

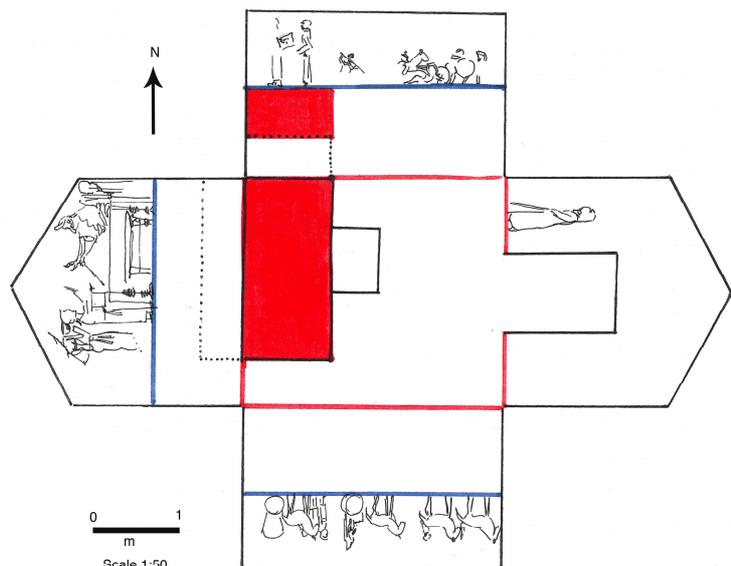


Fig. 4 – Sketch plan of the layout and paintings of the Karaburun II tomb in North Lycia/the Milyad (by author after descriptions and photos in MELLINK 1971–1975). NB. Figs. 4 through 6 are intended to provide an impression for the reader and are not to be relied upon as precise recordings of the paintings.

<sup>34</sup> SEKUNDA 1996; KEEN 1998, 228–230; SUMMERER 2007b, 143 (with further references in n. 47).

<sup>35</sup> SUMMERER 2007b, 143; 2008, 267–270.

<sup>36</sup> I thank John Ma for making this point, that the 'native' warriors might be interpreted as not so much an element of resistance, as much as a part of the language of power within an empire, as in the Raj in India, pers. comm.

<sup>37</sup> Final publication of the tomb has not yet appeared. Original reports: MELLINK 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975. Also: BINGÖL 1997, 54–57, fig. 37 and pls. 7.1 and 2; MELLINK 1976. : NB. Summerer is organising an exhibition in Istanbul: Tatarlı – The Return Of Colours. Nedim Tör Müzesi 18. June–26 September 2010, which will illustrate aspects of these paintings. There will be an accompanying book. On the nomenclature of the region: COULTON 1993.

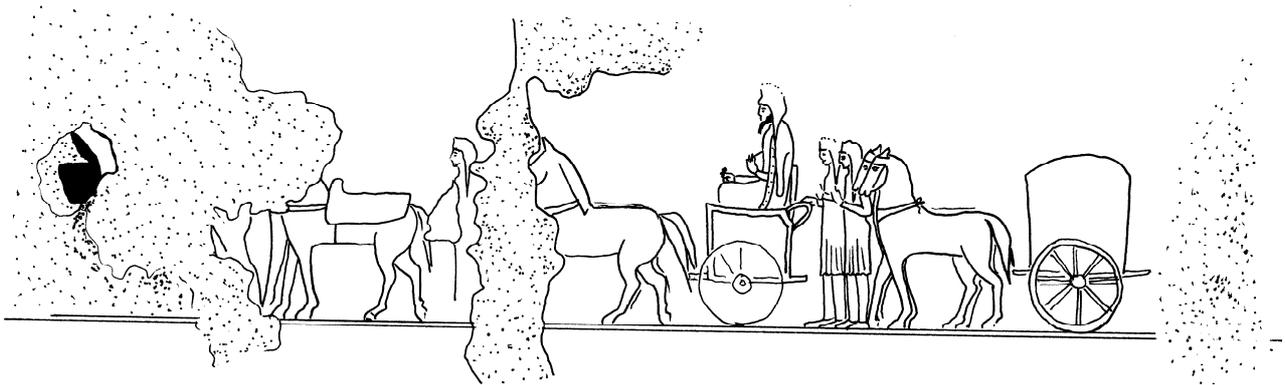


Fig. 5 – Sketch of the remains of the convoy painting in the Karaburun II tomb chamber (by author, after photos in MELLINK 1971–1975).

The black mark on the far left is part of the black horse at the front of the procession. There should be another two attendants behind the final carriage.

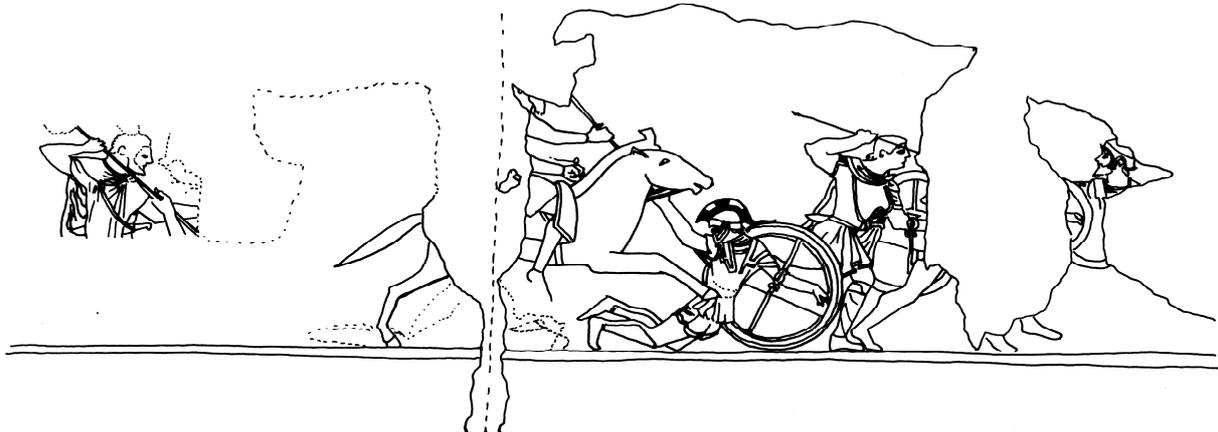


Fig. 6 – Sketch of the remains of the battle painting in the Karaburun II tomb chamber (by author, after photos in MELLINK 1971–1975).

The horse in the centre is black - the colour is not filled in here.

posed by Machteld Mellink of c. 470 BC, based on similarities with renderings on Attic vases dated to this period<sup>38</sup>

As with the Munich-Tatarlı convoy, the Karaburun painting shows both the open carriage and the covered, dome-roofed one (fig. 5). There are two spare horses shown toward the front of the procession. Here, the mannerisms of the man seated in the carriage, who is shown twirling a string of his *kandys*, is paralleled in reliefs of court attendants at Persepolis<sup>39</sup>. A difference between this convoy and the Tatarlı version is the lack of obvious military entourage; the six attendants here are all shown on foot, leading horses and carrying furniture. This is not, therefore, a depiction of a regiment, but a related form of power display, and there may be a connection to the battle painting on the other wall. Mellink suggested that the black horse shown at the head of the procession in the convoy painting may be imagined to be the same black horse that the protagonist is shown riding in the battle painting on the opposite wall (fig. 6)<sup>40</sup>. Certainly

<sup>38</sup> MELLINK 1971, 254.

<sup>39</sup> As noted by MELLINK 1974, 356–357, pl. 68.14 and 15

<sup>40</sup> MELLINK 1974, 356.

the protagonist himself is the same man, identified by his distinctive black beard, as also in the banquet. So while not showing a regiment in transit, one wonders if here, and at Tatarlı, one is to imagine battle as the ultimate destination of a 'court convoy'.

If so, there are significant differences in the battles idealised in each case. In the Tatarlı Tomb, the generic Persian–Scythian battle and the convoy do not seem to show the same protagonist, and the battle image makes no specific claims about the tomb owner's deeds – indeed, this is part of what makes that painting so striking. The Karaburun battle, on the other hand, makes direct claims of personal achievement, and shows a different kind of enemy – perhaps one the tomb owner knew himself. The protagonist, who may be equated with the tomb owner, is shown on horseback, wearing a 'Persian'-style tunic and leggings, spearing a hoplite style warrior who has fallen before him. He is assisted by foot soldiers dressed in capes, tunics and leg bindings, who pursue other hoplite-style warriors.

The distinctive costumes indicate that the foot soldiers are to be understood as locals, although whether we should call them Lycians or Milyans is debatable. Herodotus describes Lycian soldiers as wearing "*cuirasses and greaves, and (they) carried cornel-wood bows and unfeathered arrows and javelins; goat-skins hung from their shoulders, and they wore on their heads caps crowned with feathers; they also had daggers and scimitars (drepana).*" (7.92) The capes here might be compared to the goatskin ones he describes, but other aspects of their dress do not conform, and reliefs from the southern, mountainous region of Lycia show different, hoplite-type warriors (see further, below). Jim Coulton has suggested that the capes are held by fibulae, which Herodotus describes as part of Milyan dress (7.77)<sup>41</sup>.

Here, the panoplies and dress distinguish a fundamentally local military identity from Persian, and there is clearly a hierarchy. Both are defined in opposition to the 'hoplite others'. It is possible that these 'hoplites' could represent southern Lycians rather than Greeks specifically, but it seems unavoidable that an overall generic opposition to 'Greeks' or Greek-related people is intended. The hoplite-style warriors in the earlier paintings of the nearby Kızılbél tomb suggest that this opposition was not always conceptualised in the Elmalı area<sup>42</sup>. Although it must be remembered that it is only one tomb, the Karaburun Tomb suggests that by the first half of the fifth century military identities were configured along different lines, which distanced Milyans or Northern Lycians from Greek-related culture and defined this local identity within a two tier system with Persians at the top. This distinction can again be understood as a symptom of affiliation and identification choices made in the context of the Persian War period.

### **Case study 3: the Harpy Monument, Xanthos, Southern Lycia**

In light of the iconography of the Karaburun Tomb, the military identity chosen for depiction on the roughly contemporary Harpy Monument in Xanthos, to the south can be seen as the alternative choice. The Harpy Monument belongs to a family of tombs peculiar to Lycia, called pillar tombs<sup>43</sup>. These tall, tower-like monuments had monumental monolithic shafts and chambers in the top for burials. In some cases, reliefs were carved around the chambers.

In earlier relief-decorated pillar tombs, military themes tend to predominate<sup>44</sup>. Typical is the shield holding victory motif. Details are not always well preserved, but it is clear that the warriors are shown with crested helmets and round shields – the 'hoplite'-style guise. The Harpy Monument is a later member of the pillar tomb family<sup>45</sup>. Larger and grander than its predecessors, its reliefs were added in marble. Their style

<sup>41</sup> COULTON 1993, 81. See also KEEN 1998, 108, 228–232, esp. 230–231.

<sup>42</sup> MELLINK *ET AL* 1998. BRIANT 2002, 84 on prevailing Greek cultural influence in the Kızılbél Tomb paintings.

<sup>43</sup> On pillar tombs: DELTOUR-LEVIE 1982.

<sup>44</sup> Warrior reliefs: AKURGAL 1941; BORCHHARDT 1998; DRAYCOTT 2007a; MARKSTEINER 2002.

<sup>45</sup> DEMARGNE 1958; DRAYCOTT 2007a; FRONING 2002; 2004; JENKINS 2006; RUDOLPH 2003; ZAHLE 1975. Description and details also to be found at: British Museum Online Collection Database, s.v. 'Harpy Monument': [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/search\\_results.aspx?orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch\\_the\\_collection\\_database.aspx&searchText=Harpy+Monument&x=12&y=17&images=on&fromDate=&fromadbc=ad&toDate=&toadbc=ad](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_results.aspx?orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database.aspx&searchText=Harpy+Monument&x=12&y=17&images=on&fromDate=&fromadbc=ad&toDate=&toadbc=ad) (access date: 21/12/2008).

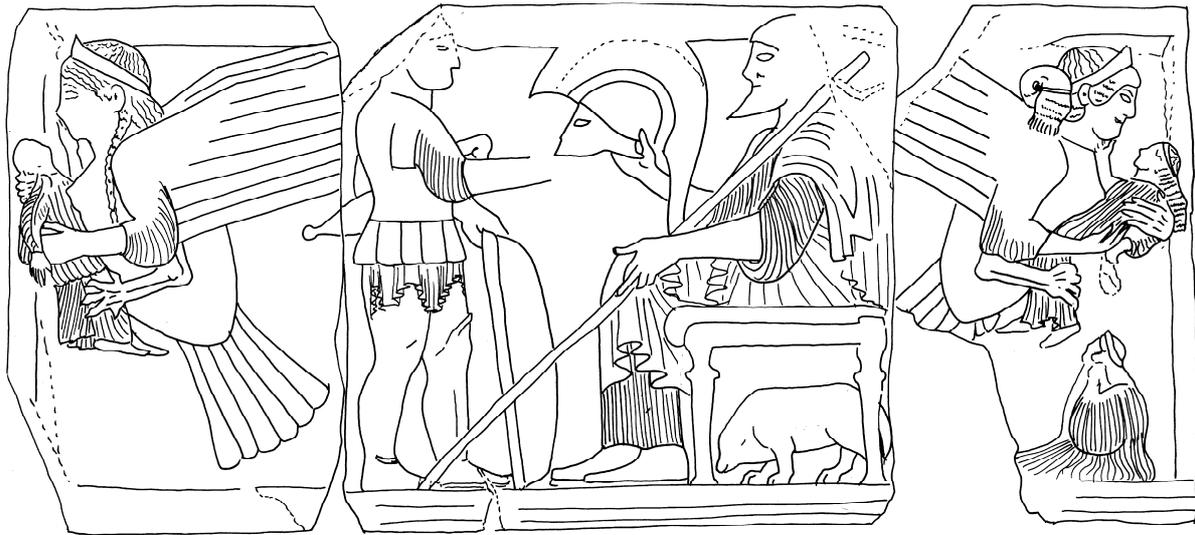


Fig. 7 – Drawing of the relief on the North side of the Harpy Monument at Xanthos, showing a seated man and a standing ‘hoplite’.  
London, British Museum B 287, H. 1.08 m, marble, ca. 480–70 BC before  
(by Author).

points to a date of c. 480 BC. These reliefs avoid the kind of war themes seen in earlier pillar tombs and in the tomb chamber paintings already discussed. Most of the reliefs show what can basically be described as enthronements<sup>46</sup>. Only one shows a warrior before a seated figure (fig. 7). He partly conforms to Herodotus’ description of the Lycian warriors in Xerxes’ army (see above), in that he is shown with greaves and a cuirass, but he lacks the more exotic elements. This is more the traditional ‘hoplite’ – that is, precisely the type of warrior seen being routed in the Karaburun paintings. The Persian-like nature of the enthronements shown in the Harpy Monument’s reliefs has often attracted attention, but this kind of panoply emphasises in fact how un-Persian the Harpy Monument’s imagery is. The closest parallels are to be found in images on contemporary Attic vases, known collectively as the ‘departure of the warrior’<sup>47</sup>. The only odd element is the short sword of the warrior, which appears to terminate in an ornament – a flourish which would be out of place for a hoplite but might be acceptable in Western Anatolia.

This choice of panoply may not represent an anti-Persian stance exactly, but one can infer that there was some level of consciousness about the contrast between this military identity and the victors of the battle depicted in the Karaburun Tomb. The attitude reflected in that painting was surely no secret. In the context of ongoing Persian-Greek battles in Asia Minor and the fact that the Xanthians at some point became allies of the Delian League, one wonders the extent to which such self-representation corresponded to the erection of political and cultural boundaries through North and South Lycia. But without needing to insist on a political affiliation, the choice to identify with the ‘Greek’ type of warrior rather than embracing a Persian-style panoply still culturally aligns the Xanthian court with the larger ‘Greek’ world, in a period when other choices could have been made.

<sup>46</sup> DRAYCOTT 2007a; DRAYCOTT 2008, (on the ‘harpies’).

<sup>47</sup> For a particularly compelling comparandum see a now lost cup by the Brygos Painter, once on the art market in Rome, drawings in the DAI Rome (neg. 75. 1682-1684): SEKUNDA and HOOK 2002, 44. JACOBS 1987, 37 suggests, intriguingly, that local political tensions may have been a reason for a relatively low level of ‘Persian’ displays on the part of the Xanthian dynasty, who he argues were of Median origin, prior to ca. 400 BC. On tensions over foreign allegiances of dynasts during the Delian League period, cf. also ZAHLE 1991, 153 and BORCHHARDT 2000, esp. 108.

#### **Case study 4: Yılan Taş, in the Phrygian Highlands**

The final tomb included in this study is from the Phrygian Highlands – a rocky area in the Western part of the Phrygian speaking area of Anatolia<sup>48</sup>. Famed for its religious monuments above all, it also boasts some outstanding tombs<sup>49</sup>. The tombs are cut into the sides of low rocky outcrops, some of which supported settlements. They can be divided into two main groups, located on either side of a mountainous range that runs through the area.

On the West side of this range is a long valley with numerous rock cut tombs, which might have been the major necropolis of the area, bordering the settlement zone. Among the tombs here are two very prominent ones. They are significantly larger than any of the other tombs in the whole region, especially those on this side of the mountains, and they are the only ones on this side to have been sculpted. One is the giant Arslan Taş (Lion Rock), which depicted huge rampant lions on its façade. The other is a neighbour. Known as Yılan Taş (Snake Rock) because one of the reliefs reminded modern day locals of a snake, this tomb also depicted giant lions, this time on the side of the tomb rather than the front. The tomb has now collapsed, leaving a pile of huge stones which carry fragments of the reliefs scattered over the ground (figs. 8 and 9)<sup>50</sup>. Along with the lions, these show fragments of warriors, which were originally depicted confronted on the front of the tomb, flanking its door (figs. 9 and 10). A gorgon head was shown over the door, between the warriors.

Ekrem Akurgal convincingly dated the reliefs of Arslan Taş to about 550 BC, while Hubertus von Gall has provided parallels in Achaemenid period metalwork which suggest that the Yılan Taş lions belong two or three generations later, in the fifth century BC<sup>51</sup>. The two tombs then represent two major points at which one family or unrelated families in the region asserted power through tomb display, Yılan Taş updating and besting its predecessor.



Fig. 8 – Part of the tumbled blocks from Yılan Taş, also known as the Broken Lion Tomb, Kohnuş Valley Necropolis, near Afyon, Phrygian Highlands (photo by author).



Fig. 9 – Fragment from Yılan Taş showing part of a relief of a warrior - the hand holding a spear and the rear of the helmet's crest (photo by author).

<sup>48</sup> On the Phrygian Highlands: BERNDT 2002; HASPELS 1971; SIVAS 1999; UÇANKUŞ 2002b; SIVAS 2008.

<sup>49</sup> On the religious monuments: BERNDT-ERSÖZ 1998, 2006; DE FRANCOVICH 1990; ROLLER 1999; SIVAS 2005.

<sup>50</sup> Good photograph showing the two tombs: HASPELS 1971, fig. 127.

<sup>51</sup> AKURGAL 1955, 60–61; VON GALL 1999.

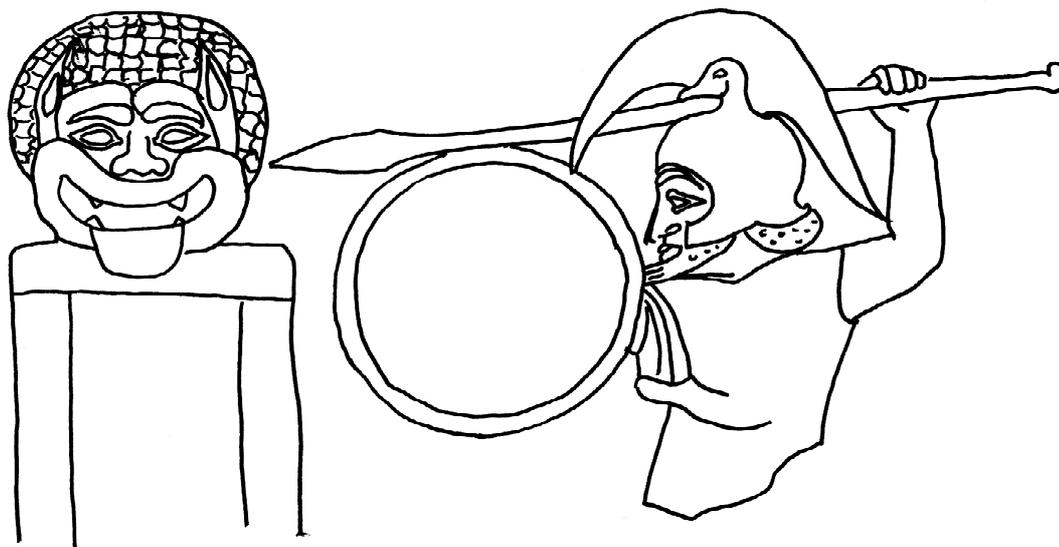


Fig. 10 – Reconstruction of the right hand warrior from the front of Yılan Taş, and the gorgon head over the door (after PRAYON 1987, fig. 16a and AKURGAL 1961, 306 fig. 19). Another pendant warrior was shown on the other side of the door.

The inclusion of warriors in the programme of Yılan Taş, and their position on the front of the tomb, suggests in itself that by this time military identities played an increased role in the social status of elites. And here, the style of the warriors is curious. Although the giant lions on the side of the tomb use details of style which are prevalent not only in contemporary metalwork in Asia Minor, but also sculpture at Persepolis, the style of the warriors does not indicate that the tomb owners were interested in adopting a wholly ‘Persian’ appearance. Rather, more like those on the Harpy Monument, the warriors here are foot soldiers wearing short-sleeved chitons and crested helmets, and holding round shields and lances.

These are not, however, ‘hoplites’. Other details distinguish these warriors as unique: the duck head ornament holding the crest of the helmet, again another reference to modish metalwork of the time, and the small size of the shields both differentiate this warrior from the traditional ‘hoplite’. Here this difference is felt more strongly than in the Harpy Monument, where the warrior conforms much more closely to hoplite norms. The small shields and spears correspond to Herodotus’ description of Phrygian warriors (like the Paphlagonians, 7.72–73), although the crested helmets do not. And further details of the Yılan Taş warrior hint at personal styling which is ‘Persian’. The poor preservation makes distinguishing difficult, but the warrior seems to have curled hair and beard similar to the people shown in the reliefs on the Persepolis Apadana<sup>52</sup>. The shape of his nose too recalls these same reliefs. This is almost the opposite of the way that ‘Graeco-Persian’ art has traditionally been understood: rather than Persian subject matter in Greek style, this is more ‘Greek’-like subject matter in the style of Persian palace art.

In this period, it is significant that a Persian-style convoy commander was not shown on this tomb. The tomb owners were identifying themselves with another military style. The style is not Greek, although it may be considered closer to Greek than to the Persian convoy commander or the cavalier shown in the Karaburun painting. Neither does this warrior conform to Herodotus’ description of Phrygians in Xerxes’ army. This is rather a different local identity – one which preserves a local costume resembling the Greek, but which is modified (as are the lions) with stylish embellishments, boosting the impact of these warriors within a world where such methods of competition perhaps brought more accolades than accusations of Medizing. While the other tombs in the sample considered here have shown military identities which may be

<sup>52</sup> Photos and reliefs in HASPELS 1971, figs. 154–156.

described as 'Persian' or 'not-Persian', this warrior is more of a hybrid, and at the boundary of the Phrygian Highlands, it signposts both independence and integration into the Achaemenid Anatolian world.

### **Conclusions**

The analysis of the military imagery in the four tombs presented here illustrates the adoption of a range of military identities in the context of the Persian Wars and army building at the Western Front of the Empire. I have argued that, rather than funeral corteges, there is good reason to see the 'Graeco-Persian' convoy images as a military or military related identity which emerged from competition between nobles keen to ingratiate themselves with the Persian rulers. This commander guise may have required supplementation with other military identities, Others chose not to affiliate themselves in this way and adopted culturally independent guises even if politically they belonged within the Empire.

Along with a series of other studies of Graeco-Persian or Perso-Anatolian art, the analysis presented here sees this phenomenon as a product of appropriating new elitist status symbols in the aftermath of the Persian conquest. The contribution that I hope to have made is to point out that rather than copying the trappings of Persian royalty in general, some of the typical 'Graeco-Persian' iconographies, such as the convoy, can be understood as an identity which emerged in the context of politically charged 'job opportunities' in the Persian Wars. That this identity was not embraced uniformly suggests that this was a period of compromise and tension in Western Anatolia, at a time when their Greek neighbours were asserting sharp distinctions between their own identity and that of 'the Mede'.

### *Acknowledgements*

*Research for this paper was enabled by a doctoral studies funding award from the AHRC, UK, the Thomas Greene Scholarship awarded by the Craven Committee, Oxford and the Meyerstein Research Award, awarded by the School of Archaeology, Oxford. The British Academy awarded me an Overseas Conference Grant and the Craven Committee a travel grant to attend the AIAC colloquium. Thanks are due to Irene Lemos, Alexandra Villing, R.R.R. Smith, Sir John Boardman, Lindsay Allen, Susanne Berndt-Ersöz, Elizabeth Baughan, Christopher Roosevelt, Lâtife Summerer, Anja Slawisch, John Ma, Christopher Tuplin and Margaret Miller for their critique of the ideas contained in this paper. Errors are naturally attributable to the author.*

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