

《Article》

Dascylium: An Overview of the Achaemenid Satrapal City

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【Summary】

Dascylium was an Achaemenid administrative centre, and a satrapal seat of north-western Anatolia. This paper investigates this satrapal capital's status, particularly its cultural association with the Persian heartland, and in addition serves to compare Dascylium to similar studies of Lydia, and its capital of Sardis. Archaeological evidence reveals that Dascylium's governors did not inherit monumental structures which they could adopt for their use as public buildings, despite the fact that history of the city dates back to the pre-Persian period. Instead, a new landscape evolved that we assume is the ideal satrapal centre, which can now be studied as a result of the excavations at Dascylium. Among them is included the most intriguing find; an assemblage of bullae – clay lumps bearing seal impressions – recovered from the site of the acropolis. A great number of king's legends shown on the bullae likely point to an intimate relationship between Persian sovereigns and subjects in the capital of their westernmost satrapy. The motifs of impressions also help reconstruct our image of cultural life as it was experienced by the Persian immigrants; for instance, the worship of Ahura Mazda, and hunting in *paradeisoi*. The reflections gleaned from these materials seem to represent those aspects of life colonists enjoyed at the empire's centre and thus brought with them to their new homeland. Some evidence also suggests the persistence of local cultures, but in a much reduced form compared to what is seen in Lydian or Sardian studies.

Dascylium, located approximately thirty kilometres inland from the Propontis coast in north-western Anatolia (see map 1) was an important strategic point for securing the maritime route in the Propontis and Hellespont district. As such, it was an Achaemenid administrative centre, where satraps were permanently stationed. ¹⁾ This paper addresses the status of Dascylium as a satrapal city and its cultural connection with the Persian heartland, by investigating and exploiting the limited material left for us today. A comparison with the study of Sardis, another Anatolian centre of the Achaemenid Empire, will help shed light on the peculiarities of this Phrygian municipality. ²⁾

According to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* 8. 6. 7), Dascylium was selected as a satrapal centre soon after the establishment of the Persian Empire. Cyrus, the first king, dispatched imperial

deputies throughout his land in order to control his dominion. As for the western part of Asia Minor, he is reported to have sent Chrysantas to Lydia and Ionia, and Pharnuchus to Phrygia on the Hellespont; their respective capital cities must have been Sardis and Dascylium. The *Cyropaedia* is however not clear about who Pharnuchus was, and to which family he belonged. His career path also remains obscured, with the exception of his service in the regiment of cavalry (Xen. *Cyrop.* 6. 3. 32; 7. 1. 22). His kinship with Mitrobates, the second earliest satrap of Dascylium that we know of, is also never referred to.

The significant duties that viceroys of Dascylium and Sardis were charged with included watching over and protecting the far western boundaries of the empire. Due to provocation amongst themselves, they were generally on bad terms with each other. When Cambyses fell sick, Herodotus tells us, an antagonistic argument involving the comparison of their respective achievements arose between Mitrobates of Dascylium and Oroetes of Sardis, and this ultimately drove Oroetes to trap Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, and kill him (Hdt. 3. 120-5). Oroetes subsequently murdered Mitrobates and his son Cranaspes, by taking advantage of the confusion that occurred as a result of Cambyses' death (Hdt. 3. 126).³⁾ Just as with Pharnuchus, Mitrobates' lineage, and his relation to the royal family in particular, is not revealed. The successor of Dascylium's satrapship after Mitrobates' death is not mentioned anywhere (the post probably remained vacant for some time), but it is known that Megabates, cousin of Darius the King (Hdt. 5. 32), had occupied its seat at least before the end of the Persian Wars. He was succeeded by Artabazus, son of Pharnaces (Thuc. 1. 129), and a person of distinction in Xerxes' Greek expedition (Hdt. 8. 126). It was upon his return from the battle of Plataea that Xerxes arranged his appointment, which is seen as the beginning of a new era for this satrapal city. The newly invigorated district, 'Phrygia on the Hellespont' in Greek literature, can be recognised in the Persian inscriptions as *Tyaiy Drayahyā*, 'Those of the Sea'.⁴⁾

Pharnaces, father of this new satrap of Dascylium, was the uncle of Darius, and an economic official sufficiently notable to have several mentions in the Persepolis tablets.⁵⁾ Artabazus was succeeded by his descendants, and the satrapy was reformed into a quasi-dynasty, which for reasons of convenience modern classicists refer to as the 'Pharnacids'.⁶⁾ This phenomenon of hereditary succession by a cadet branch of the Achaemenid ruling house is distinctly different from the situation in Lydia, where men were assigned to the post by virtue of their ability to address the prevailing problems of their time.⁷⁾ One downside of having a royal bloodline is that it can foster unrest; Ariobarzanes, satrap of Dascylium in the 360s, was driven into uprising as a result of a disagreement with his royal-blooded half brother Artabazus,⁸⁾ and in turn Artabazus himself rose up in revolt after the death of Artaxerxes II in the middle of the 350s, ostensibly to challenge the recently enthroned king Artaxerxes III.⁹⁾ Thus, Dascylium was

a premier post for those who would serve as an intermediary between the Persian kings and Greek states — Ariobarzanes, for instance, dispatched an emissary to the Greek mainland on behalf of the Persian king in order to secure peace among Greek states (Xen. *Hell.* 7. 1. 27; Diod. 15. 70. 2) —, but at the same time it was a breeding ground for revolt against kings, due to its satrap's royal bloodline.

Despite its prominent historical role, the site of Dascylium was discovered only as recently as sixty years ago.¹⁰⁾ In the early part of the last century, phonological similarity led to suspicion of a link with Daskeli or Diaskeli (Yaskil in Turkish) on the Marmara coast. There was a geographical inconsistency, however. Historical accounts report the existence of a lake, named Dascylitis, which neighboured Dascylium (Strab. 12. 8. 10; *Hell. Oxy.* 22. 3). Its absence today would lead to the necessary assumption that the lake has since dried up and vanished. J.A.R Munro argued against this idea, and pointed to the present day lake of Manyas as a likely candidate, which is situated further inland, and speculated that the city was located somewhere on its south-eastern shore, i.e. in the immediate vicinity of the modern village of Ergili. He was unfortunately never afforded an opportunity to reach the site in person.¹¹⁾ It was the early 1950s when K. Bittel visited the village and proved Munro's suspicions; he also determined that the acropolis of Dascylium had been buried under the mound of Hisartepe ('the castle hill') near Ergili.¹²⁾ Bittel was followed by E. Akurgal, a professor at Ankara University, and a leading scholar with the newly founded study of Classical Archaeology in republican Turkey, who carried out archaeological investigations.¹³⁾ His project, which lasted into 1957, yielded remarkable results, not the least of which being the confirmation of the existence of a city wall. However, the exploration was brought to a halt before a complete city plan could be reconstructed. After a period of inactivity following Akurgal's excavation, work was resumed in 1988 by T. Bakır and the Ege University team, which is ongoing to this day. Compared to Sardis, which has been the site of continuous and systematic excavation since the end of the Second World War, the amount of work carried out at Dascylium is inadequate and delayed, and only a small part of the city has been uncovered to date. In addition, no monograph of the archaeological exploration has been issued so far, although single reports are published in a sporadic manner.¹⁴⁾

Dascylium's Landscape

Dascylium situated its acropolis on Hisartepe, in the district of Ergili village. Nicolaus of Damascus alludes to the site of pre-Persian times in an anecdote (*FGrH* 90 F 63); Sadyattes, King of Lydia or grandfather of the last Mermnad king, was gifted in the matters of warfare

but not a respectable person. He is renowned in Herodotus (1. 18) as the king who conducted an eleven-year war against Miletus. Sadyattes fell in love with his own sister, and although she had previously been married to a nobleman named Miletus, he forced divorce upon her, and took her as his own bride. Being disgusted by this act of brutality, Miletus fled to the island of Proconnesus in the Propontis via the city of Dascylium. This reference is evidence for the existence of the city at the time this mythical episode is to have occurred. However, Nicolaus' questionable account constitutes the only direct mention of Dascylium during the Lydian period in any literary source. Another piece of information, although tenuous and indirect, is that the penultimate king of the Lydian Heraclidae is said to have been called Dascylus (Hdt. 1. 8; Paus. 4. 21. 5); it is not implied anywhere that there is a relation, but the suggestion has been raised that the city of Dascylium was possibly named after him. Excavation produced evidence somewhat more persuasive; a life-sized lion statue and blocks of a gable, dated back to the eighth century, were unearthed. A lion was the attributive animal of Cybele, and the fragmentary materials would have originally belonged to an altar to this goddess.¹⁵⁾ Also, the last quarter of the eighth century witnessed pottery shards in increasing numbers.¹⁶⁾ Human habitation from the eighth and seventh centuries can thus be supported by archaeological evidence, but this does not confirm Dascylium's importance as a political centre. Lydian satraps inherited the legacy of Croesus' well-flourishing capital and were in a position to use the public buildings built in the pre-Persian times.¹⁷⁾ Those sent to Dascylium, on the other hand, had no such infrastructure to inherit, and had to provide their own facilities, designed according to the needs of the new governors.

The early excavation of Hisartepe uncovered evidence of a satrapal palace and an archive.¹⁸⁾ The satrapal palace (τὰ βασιλεια) of Pharnabazus is known from Xenophon's description of Dascylium (*Hell.* 4. 1. 15), but this could not be completely identical to the remains excavated in Hisartepe; 'the beautiful dwelling' which Pharnabazus' father left to him (*Xen. Hell.* 4. 1. 33), was burned to the ground by Agesilaus when this Spartan king made an expedition to Asia Minor for the purpose of 'enfranchising' the Greek states subject to the Persian king. What can be seen today is probably part of the accommodations rebuilt by Pharnabazus after this disaster. Another monument that was brought to light in this early stage was the wall protecting the city, which had its origins in pre-Persian times. The palace terrace, which had been vulnerable towards the south-east, was reinforced by a defensive wall 120 meters long and 5 meters high.¹⁹⁾ The anonymous historian of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* describes the city as 'a very strong point, fortified by the king' (22. 3); Dascylium was a kind of fortress. This is a characteristic Dascylium had in common with Sardis.²⁰⁾

Pharnabazus further accused Agesilaus of having devastated another property of his, 'parks

(παράδεισου), full of trees and wild animals' (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 1. 33). Xenophon expounds the details of these *paradeisoi* by stating, 'round about it [the palace of Pharnabazus] were many large villages, stored with provisions in abundance, and splendid wild animals, some of them in enclosed parks, others in open spaces. There was also a river, full of all kinds of fish, flowing by the palace. And, besides, there was winged game in abundance for those who knew how to take it' (*Hell.* 4. 1. 15-16, translated by C.L. Brownson, Loeb). Although ancient writers left a few pieces of information about the *paradeisoi* of Sardis, the precise location of their allotments is still a matter of contention. The location of Dascylium's *paradeisos* however, is definitely fixed to a wetland on the shore of Lake Manyas; it is now called Kuş Cenneti ('the paradise of birds') and is registered in the Ramsar Convention.²¹⁾ Some more findings, such as architectural blocks, terra-cottas, coins and pottery shards, have been recovered from the eastern shore of the lake; together they provide evidence for the existence of many villages outside the satrapal residence, as Xenophon refers to.²²⁾

The top of the mound was the location for the place of worship. Its protecting wall originally ran around the sanctuary of the Phrygian goddess Cybele, but Professor T. Bakır suspects that at the end of the fifth century it was enlarged to surround a sanctuary of Ahura Mazda, furnished with a fire altar. The unearthed traces of burnt and cobbled floors might point to Pharnabazus' fast restoration of this sacred area after the razing perpetrated by Agesilaus.²³⁾ It is hotly debated whether or not the cult of Ahura Mazda was brought to Sardis in the middle Persian period.²⁴⁾ In stark contrast, its existence in Dascylium is almost indisputable, even though the time of introduction still remains unclear. Besides the suspicious sanctuary in the acropolis, a fragmentary stone relief from Dascylium that is dated to the fifth century, and is assumed to have had its original attribution to a funerary monument, shows two male figures. Garbed in Persian attire, tunic and trousers, and headgear (*bashlyk*), they stand outside a building or before an altar with a long, thick staff in their hands and pray in front of the two heads of sacrificed victims; they were doubtlessly Persian priests, *magi* (figure 1). A relief of a priest adopting the same posture is also carved in a limestone fire altar from the town of Bünyan near Kayseri (800 kilometres away from Dascylium).²⁵⁾ What is more, the association between this religious performance and the fire cult is attested to by a literary source. Dinon, a Greek historian from Asia Minor, who was familiar with Zoroastrianism and even knew the name of its founder (*FGrH* 690 F 5); he recorded its ritual practice by stating that 'the Median (i.e. the Persian) priests consult an oracle with a staff of willow' (F 3). It is highly probable that this account explains a scene such as the one illustrated in these reliefs.²⁶⁾

Discussed above is the landscape of Achaemenid Dascylium, reconstructed from literary sources and archaeological evidence. When a centre of administration was established, this

rural town grew in importance and was populated with governmental buildings. The picture that is being developed here is one of a local way of life influenced, and subsequently changed as a result of the Persian occupation.

The Analysis of Bullae

The 1954 soundings of Dascylium unearthed an assemblage of bullae – clay lumps bearing seal impressions – from debris in a trench on the south slope of Hisartepe. There were more than 400 found.²⁷⁾ A few pieces of textured fabric, still attached to the backs of the bullae, indicate their purpose of sealing the rolls of letters and documents.²⁸⁾ In the vicinity of the bullae, remnants of buildings were also found, which implies the existence of an archive in this area.²⁹⁾ The clay sealings were supposedly baked by the fire which destroyed the acropolis.³⁰⁾ This heating improved the strength of their material, and as a direct result, the quality of their preservation.³¹⁾ The bullae were registered in a catalogue and published by D. Kaptan in 2002.³²⁾

Classical literature often describes how Persian kings exchanged correspondence and maintained communication over long distances. The Spartan general Pausanias is rumoured to have plotted to conspire with the Persians and sent a secret letter to Xerxes (Thuc. 1. 128-129); Themistocles introduced himself to Artaxerxes I and sought to enter his service by means of a letter (Thuc. 1. 137); Artaxerxes II, Evagoras the king of Cypriote Salamis and Conon the exiled Athenian admiral exchanged correspondence many times while they were heading to the naval battle of Cnidus (Ctes. F 30. 72-74). Not only confidential matters, but also edicts and certificates of appointment were communicated via letter. The 'King's Peace', the peace of the Corinthian War, was announced to the heralds of Greek states by Tiribazus; this Lydian satrap displayed the King's seal and then read out the written content to them (Xen. *Hell.* 5. 1. 30. Cf. Xen. *Hell.* 7. 1. 39). When he was sent to Asia Minor, Cyrus the Younger brought with him an authorisation bearing the King's seal. This document, addressed to all the dwellers on the Asian coast, says 'I [King Darius] sent down Cyrus as *caranus* of those whose mustering-place is Castolus' (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 3). Castolus is the name of an open plain to the east of Sardis, and *caranus* signifies one who is the superior of a satrap (Xen. *Hell.* 1. 4. 4).

Naturally, we are curious about the message and style of these royal letters. It is our good fortune that a letter from Darius to Gadatas, his subject and official in Asia Minor, has been preserved. The original letter was translated into Greek and engraved in an inscription (ML 12).³³⁾ This records a mandate, starting with the words 'Thus sayeth King of kings, Darius son of Hystaspes to his subject Gadatas',³⁴⁾ and goes on to state that Darius praises him for cultivating the transplanted fruit trees but threatens Gadatas with punishment for levying a

tax on the sacred gardens of Apollo, and so on. Besides this inscription, a story of Herodotus further gives us a vivid description of procedures, ranging from the drafting of a royal letter to its actual means of delivery. Soon after the start of his reign, Darius dispatched a man called Bagaesus to punish Oroetes, the Lydian satrap, for his assassination of Mitrobates, the satrap of Dascylium, as well as his son. 'Bagaesus wrote a number of letters concerning various matters, and sealed them with Darius' seal. He then took these letters with him to Sardis. Upon his arrival, and meeting with Oroetes, he opened them one by one, before giving them to the royal secretary (these secretaries attend all the provincial governors of the Persian Empire)' (Hdt. 3. 128). The materials used for letters and documentation (papyri or parchment) have long since disintegrated, but the clay seals affixed to them were preserved in the earth and were later brought into the light once again.

Whereas a great number of sealings were recovered from Dascylium, so far only two stamps have been found. One of them is a hematitic seal in the old Babylonian style. The seal depicts two figures; one of them a god on a bull and the other as a long robe-clad king standing in their presence and praying to the god. The three-line legend in Babylonian reads, '... -Istar, Adad's servant.' It is difficult to assume that this seal was of any practical use in Achaemenid Dascylium, because it is dated too early (2000 B.C.) and was recovered from a Byzantine tomb. It could have been brought to Dascylium for use as an amulet or souvenir some time before the medieval periods.³⁵⁾ Of more importance is the other stamp, made of blue chalcedony, which is dated to the sixth century B.C. based on its design and the stratum it was found in. The symbolic style and method of design suggests its Babylonian provenance, although it is not clear whether it was brought from Babylonia or created by a Babylonian artisan who had moved to Dascylium after Cyrus' annexation of Anatolia.³⁶⁾

Among the bullae from Dascylium are included three types bearing the names of Persian kings. One of these depicts a king sitting on a throne and surrounded by his subjects in the 'Hall of Hundred Columns' of Persepolis; the legend of Artaxerxes in the Old Persian cuneiform appears at the top of the impression. Twelve bullae of the same pattern have been found (DS 4). Both of the other two types carry the name of Xerxes. The design of one of them shows a king struggling with or nearly defeating a rampant horned, winged lion (i.e. griffon), along with the two-line legend in Old Persian 'I am Xerxes, the king' (DS 3). The other type of bulla depicts two seemingly hovering sphinxes facing each other, beside a two lined bilingual legend of Xerxes' name in Late Babylonian and Old Persian (DS 2). Of the bullae conveying Xerxes' name, 150 of the former type and three of the latter (two of which are fragmented) were discovered. These seals do attest to the intimate contact maintained between the central power (the Persian king) and the local governor (Dascylium's satrap). D. Kaptan, the editor of the catalogue of the

Dascylium bullae, speculates these seals were not attached to the documents issued by kings themselves, but rather were pressed by satraps who were in a position to hold royal stamps.³⁷⁾ Another possibility, contrary to this opinion, is suggested by a cylinder seal bearing a legend of 'Artimas' (CIS 2. 99). This seal, although its precise provenance and date remains uncertain, might have belonged to the Lydian satrap Artimas (Cf. Xen. *An.* 7. 8. 25).³⁸⁾ This would likely mean that a satrap was not exclusively in charge of administration on behalf of the king. When it is taken into account that only bullae with royal legends are encountered and none of those with vice regal names are found, Kaptan's claim seems convincing. However, despite this being the case, we can still assume comparatively strong relations existed between the Persian kings and their relatives of Dascylium, due to the fact that no seals of Persian kings were discovered at any other cities in Asia Minor.

The reason such a large number of regal stamps came to Dascylium could be associated with the fact that Xerxes, wintering in Sardis, frequently sent instructions concerning the preparation of his great expedition, such as the instruction to bridge the Hellespont strait (Hdt. 7. 32-37). Kaptan alternatively interprets these sealings as corresponding to the post-Persian Wars period, since the renovation of Dascylium as a satrapal capital was being undertaken during the administration of Artabazus.³⁹⁾ However, Herodotus' notorious episode – upon learning that the pontoon bridge was smashed and broken to pieces by a great storm, Xerxes bade his men to whip the water of the Hellespont and to lower into the sea a yoke of fetters as a punishment, and they indeed did so (Hdt. 7. 35) – suggests communication was well-established in this north-western area of Asia Minor. In addition to this, as mentioned above, while there have been no finds of bullae from the early Persian period, a seal has been found. This find seems to call into question the notion that Dascylium had not yet become a political centre at that time. However, examples from other regions of the Persian Empire, such as the Persepolis tablets or the Murashu documents, prompt us to imagine that most of the perishable documents of Dascylium could have originally been concerned with the daily business of the local area. In fact, Dascylium is said to have been surrounded by a large number of villages, maintained reserves of their provisions (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 1. 15), and independently stored gold and silver (*Hell. Oxy.* 22. 3); Dascylium certainly functioned as a collection point and distribution centre of wealth for the region.

We possess some interesting specimens other than bullae of the Persian kings. While I have already argued above in favour of the possible presence of the cult of Ahura Mazda in Dascylium, this can be further supported by looking at sealings. A bulla exists (DS 100) bearing the likeness of a magus priest dressed in the same costume (tunic, trousers and headgear) and performing the same ceremony as the men in the relief of a sepulchral monument mentioned

before (The magus of DS 100 holds staves in both hands, however). Beside the figure is arranged an Aramaic legend 'Aryamanā', which should correspond with the owner of the stamp (figure 2). Another bulla, with a partly damaged impression, might possibly bear an Aramaic legend saying 'fire priest'; it seems most likely in this case that a magus holding this title owned the stamp, though alternative interpretations should also be considered (DS 65).⁴⁰ These bullae contribute to the body of evidence for the presence of Ahura Mazda worship in this frontier province of the empire.

As for the state of religion in Dascylium, two bullae with raptorial figures were excavated (DS 123; DS 125). M.J. Mellink points out that raptors were the attributive animal of Cybele, along with lions, because this mother goddess of Asia Minor was sometimes exhibited as holding with her left hand a raptor, dedicated to her. This association, she further explains, is enforced by the fact that the hieroglyphic character of a bird is incorporated into the middle of the word 'KUBABA' as written in Hieroglyphic Luwian.⁴¹ Applying this hypothesis, D. Kaptan proposes the figure of raptors rendered on these bullae may stand for the offering to Cybele.⁴² In fact, archaeological evidence also points to the existence of an altar of Cybele in the eighth century, as mentioned previously. However in my opinion, it is risky to draw any definite conclusion, since a bird by itself is not a unique motif, and the bullae under discussion depict no goddess to which the bird is dedicated.

The location of the *paradeisos* of Dascylium has been pin-pointed definitively, and is a fertile place, rich in flora and fauna. As might be expected, attributes of this natural environment are mirrored in the seal designs. In so far as observed from the bullae, the stamps employed a diversity of animal figures for their motifs, as well as some that include men hunting wildlife.⁴³ DS 94 depicts a scene where a horseman armed with a bow is poised to strike down a charging lion, and DS 95 pictures a rider on horseback assaulting a bear, most probably with a lance (the impression of his weapon has been abraded). The activities depicted should be categorised as beast-slaying, such as the famous Herodotean episode concerning the Mysian boar (1. 36-45), as opposed to representations of hunting for sport. Such scenes are represented also; there is an impression of a man shooting a lance (but its imprint is no longer discernible) at a fox darting away (DS 79). DS 110 visualises a more elaborate composition; dressed in a Persian style – a garment, a tunic and long trousers – an archer drawing a bow stands at the left edge, while one bird is in flight and another perches on a shrub in the foreground on the right, behind which a wild ungulate (probably a deer) hides (figure 3). This scene catches the exact moment in which a Persian claims his prey. DS 99 is more of a sequence; it depicts a man carrying a freshly hunted kill over his shoulder. Thus, the daily life of the Persians engaged in hunting (probably in *paradeisoî*) is represented in the impressions of bullae.

Nearly half of Dascylium's bullae exclusively feature illustrations, while the rest show inscriptions as well. (However, as mentioned above, a vast number of the bullae bearing the king's legends were impressions from the same styled seals.) The Old Persian language was probably allowed to be used for royal seals,⁴⁴⁾ and almost the entire remainder of legends was inscribed in Aramaic. Such Aramaic inscriptions were found in bullae of 12 types, or 14 bullae in total (DS 16; DS 18; DS 19; DS 23; DS 24; DS 61; DS 65; DS 76; DS 100; DS 108; DS 112; DS 135). As is to be expected, they inform us about their owners. Provided they are legible and recognisable, their names can mostly be classified as Persian or Semitic,⁴⁵⁾ whereas no Greek or Phrygian names have been identified so far.⁴⁶⁾ This fact indicates that the administration of Dascylium was shared exclusively among governors and officials sent from the empire's heartland. This is very different from the case of Sardis, where more than a few seals conveying Lydian legends were found.⁴⁷⁾

In addition to the bullae, three epitaphs written in the Aramaic language were discovered in the Dascylium district; all names of the tomb owners and their relatives are Semitic. This also points out how much more common the presence of immigrants was here than in Lydia.⁴⁸⁾ The earliest discovered inscription among the three (in 1965) is of particular interest, as it is in a good state of preservation and dated to 450 B.C., and reads as follows;

These are the images, which Elnāp, son of Ashyā-
hū, has made for this tomb. I adjure thee
by Bēl and Nabū! May the man, who along this way
will be going, do no harm!⁴⁹⁾

Like many other epitaphs, the main wish expressed by this stele is the safety and integrity of the tomb following the death of its owner,⁵⁰⁾ but the fact that Bēl, i.e. Marduk, and Nabū son of Marduk were prayed to is very noteworthy. This could signify the presence of immigrants in Dascylium not only from Persia, but also from Babylonia.

One aspect of the relationship between these Semitic immigrants and the Persian governors can be inferred from another Aramaic epitaph.⁵¹⁾ This particular stele was brought from Sultaniye-köy, situated roughly ten kilometres north-east of Ergili (Dascylium). Having been dated to 500 B.C., this monument is decorated with two-registered reliefs (a wagon procession in the upper register and a hunting scene in the lower register). An Aramaic inscription below them consists of three lines. According to what is said, the tomb owner is Addâ, a person with a Semitic name, but the individual who actually paid to erect the gravestone is Aryabama, a man with a Persian name, who thanked Addâ for his service over the course of his lifetime.

Although the important part, which would have elucidated the connection between Addâ and Aryabama remains unrevealed, there was without a doubt some sort of established master-servant relationship between them. All the evidence available to us suggests the employment of a Semite colonist who followed the Persian governors, and immigrated to Dascylium.

Besides these Aramaic epitaphs, a well-preserved inscription was excavated from the Kara River, two kilometres north-west of the village of Ergili, in 1997. This inscription was embedded in the river bed, and therefore survived almost intact. Phrygian letters are inscribed below a relief-decoration, whose motif is a banquet scene attended by both men and women – probably a funeral banquet –, a popular and common theme among Anatolian stelae. This monument has been chronologically fixed to the first half of the fifth century, based on this style.⁵²⁾ Although its language is yet to be thoroughly deciphered, the tomb owner seems likely to have been a person called Manes. However, this inscription could be more than a mere funeral memory, and also mentioned some of his life's achievements (a *res gestae*), since the name of Manes makes an appearance more frequently than would otherwise be necessary.⁵³⁾ In any case, the presence in Achaemenid Dascylium of a local élite who could afford to build such a magnificent monument is worth noting. Furthermore, some pottery shards with Phrygian and Lydian graffiti were discovered, although they were too badly damaged to glean any more information from them, other than the presence of the letters themselves.⁵⁴⁾ These finds are an indication that the local languages apparently survived the arrival of the Persians. Nevertheless, the prevalence of these local languages, as well as any interaction between them and the newly introduced languages are not corroborated by bullae. This provides a sharp contrast to the situation in Sardis, where more than a few stamps and seals in the Lydian language were found, and individuals with Persian names had Lydian inscriptions made.⁵⁵⁾

At this point I would like to return to the discussion of sealings. Among the excavated collection, DS 144 is the sole bulla with a Greek inscription– $\Sigma A M$ or $MA \Sigma$ in reverse (figure 4). Half of the bulla has unfortunately chipped away, but we can observe the head of a stag with his neck turned to the left, and three letters of the Greek alphabet placed along the rim of the seal. As to what the Greek legend indicates, D. Kaptan proposes the idea that $\Sigma A M[\dots]$ was part of the signature of a Samian craftsman, by referencing an inscription of a chalcedony scaraboid found at Kerch, in the Crimean peninsula, which says 'Dexamenus, a Samian made (this)' (*GGFR* 468).⁵⁶⁾ However, it seems unlikely to me that the words 'someone-a Samian made (this)' could have been inscribed in this narrow space. It is rather more likely that it represents part of the owner's name, in the same manner as seen in Aramaic bullae. For instance, we know of a Lydian called *SAMatikes*, which seems likely to be a Persian name, from the sacrilege inscription of Ephesus (*IK Ephesos* 2). Alternatively, if the fragment is to be read

in reverse, as [⋯]MA Σ, the owner of this bulla may have been, for instance, named ArtiMAS. Xenophon's *Anabasis* (7. 8. 25) referred to a certain ArtiMAS, who was appointed to the Lydian satrap at the turn of the century. What is more, an 'RTYM makes an appearance as a tomb owner in an Aramaic epitaph from Lycian Limyra (*TL* 152), although he seems most likely to be a person other than the Lydian official with the same name. According to Ctesias, the son-in-law of the last Lydian king was named SpitaMAS (F 9. 1), and furthermore, the father of a man called SpitaMAS was sent to Megabyzus, Xerxes' son-in-law, to persuade him to make a peace with Artaxerxes when Megabyzus rebelled against the king (F 14. 42). Although there is a low probability that one of the individuals mentioned above was coincidentally the very owner of the seal under discussion, a different man with the same name might very well have played an active role in Achaemenid Dascylium. In this case, however, the question of why he did not choose to use Aramaic still remains unresolved. The simplest solution, in my opinion, is that Σ A M stands for the first three letters of the isle of Samos, and that it was a postmark-like sign stamped by a Samian Greek. An additional bulla was discovered, portraying two figures of Greek hoplites (though they wear no armour, but show off the beauty of their naked bodies) confronting each other hand to hand (*DS* 160); this also should not be counted among those of Dascylium provenance. The Persian invasion of Samos was provoked from the very start by quarrelling between the satraps of Lydia and Dascylium (*Hdt.* 3. 120-8; 139-49), and hence it would not at all be unreasonable to assume that a letter or petition was sent from Samos to Dascylium within this context.

I would like, at this point, to conclude my discussion so far. This paper has focused on Dascylium as a satrapal city, and its cultural connection with the Persian heartland. Although Dascylium had its origin in at least the eighth century B.C., its governors could not utilise the existing buildings in service of the public, unlike those of Sardis, which was flourishing well before the Persian period. Instead of this, we are presented with a landscape which we assume is that of a typical satrapal city: a satrapal palace, an archive, a sanctuary of Ahura Mazda, city walls, and a *paradeisos*. What distinguished Dascylium with regard to the availability of historical primary sources was the assemblage of bullae recovered from the acropolis. A number of the legends of the Persian kings which appear in these materials suggest an intimate connection between the satraps of Dascylium and their monarchs, and also a likely significant role of the city even during the period preceding the Persian Wars. At the same time, more than a few bullae bearing Aramaic names imply that governmental management was exclusively shared by immigrants. Depictions on the sealings also contribute to our image of the cultural life of Persians in Dascylium, such as the worship of Ahura Mazda and hunting in *paradeisoi*,

which could be reconstructed from archaeological evidence. What is reflected here seems likely to be the life that colonists enjoyed at the centre of their empire, and consequently introduced to their new homeland. The existing cultures of the pre-Persian colonisation were, of course, not entirely extinguished, as is demonstrated by the Phrygian and Lydian language evidence, and the epitaph of Manes in particular. It is difficult to imagine that these existing cultures did not impart some influence of their own on those that were newly brought in by the Persians, but in comparison with the case of Sardis this effect seems to be of minimal significance.

The excavation at Dascylium is still an ongoing project, and it needs many more decades to run its course. Hence, we are left with the possibility that future excavated evidence will either serve to reinforce or alter the views brought forth by this paper. However, taking into consideration all of the sources available to us today, I believe that the conclusions drawn here are indeed the most plausible.

Abbreviations

<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> , Paris, 1881-.
<i>DS</i>	Daskyleion Seal, in D. Kaptan, <i>The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire</i> , Vol. 2: <i>Catalogue and Plates</i> , Leiden, 2002.
<i>GGFR</i>	J. Boardman, <i>Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical</i> , London, 1970.
<i>IK Ephesos</i>	H. Wankel (ed.), <i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> , Vol. 11-17: <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , 9 parts, Bonn, 1979-1981.
<i>ML</i>	R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis, <i>Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.</i> , <i>Reprinted with Addenda</i> , Oxford, 1988.
<i>TL</i>	E. Kalinka, <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris: Tituli Lyciae: lingua Lycia conscripti</i> , Wien, 1901.

Notes

- 1) In the satrapy of Dascylium, it is speculated that some groups of Persians lived at some distance from their administrative centre, by founding separate settlements such as those in Zeleia, Myrleia and Chius. See N.V. Sekunda (1988), 'Persian Settlement in Hellespontine Phrygia', *AchHist*, Vol. 3, Leiden, 175-196.
- 2) For the study of Achaemenid Sardis, see T. Abe (2009), 'Culture and Society in Achaemenid Sardis (in Japanese)', *Cultura Antiqua* 61, 165-184.
- 3) In the late fifth century, Tissaphernes of Sardis and Pharnabazus of Dascylium, who were anxious to remove the Athenian influence from the Asian coast, sent emissaries to Sparta while at the same time keeping this secret from their rivals (Thuc. 8. 6); this is well-documented proof of their unpleasant and competitive relationship. Tissaphernes' fear of the further success of Pharnabazus is also expressed in Thucydides (8. 109).
- 4) R. Schmitt (1972), 'Die achämenidische Satrapie "tayaiy drayahyā"', *Historia* 21, 522-527.
- 5) R.T. Hallock (1985), 'The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets', in I. Gershevitch (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 2, Cambridge, 588-609, at 589-90; J.M. Balcer (1993), *A Prosopographical Study of the Ancient Persians Royal and Noble c. 550-450 B.C.*, Lewiston, 83-4.

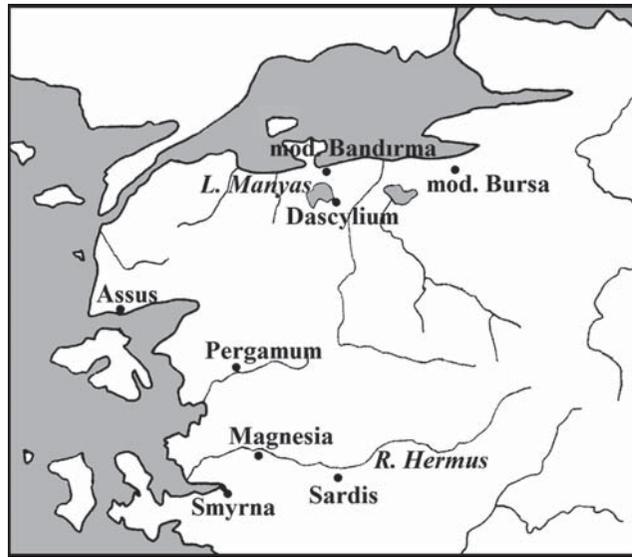
- 6) Thucydides (8. 58. 1) refers to this dynasty by using a term 'the sons of Pharnaces'.
- 7) During the Corinthian War, for instance, a pro-Spartan satrap Tiribazus and anti-Spartan Struthas were alternatively sent down to Sardis in accordance with the change of the war situation (Xen. *Hell.* 4. 8. 15-17; 5. 1. 25). See also Abe (n. 2), 179.
- 8) Pharnabazus father of Artabazus took the daughter of Artaxerxes II for his second wife (Xen. *Hell.* 5. 1. 28; Xen. *Ages.* 3. 3; Plut. *Artax.* 27. 4). See also M.N. Weiskopf (1989), *The So-called 'Great Satraps' Revolt', 366-360 B.C.*, Stuttgart, 54-6.
- 9) R.A. Moyssey (1975), *Greek Relations with the Persian Satraps: 371-343 B.C.*, Diss. to Princeton University, 65-6, 167-8. No literary source, however, makes it obvious why Ariobarzanes and Artabazus rose up in revolt. For the reason of Ariobarzanes' rebellion, Weiskopf (n. 8), 38 is sceptical about the antagonism between the half-brothers, but rather suspects the one between Ariobarzanes and Autophradates, the satrap of Lydia, provoked the uprising.
- 10) One of the reasons why Dascylium was a long lost site is that there are several cities and locations called Dascylium in classical literature. See T. Corsten (1988), 'Daskyleion am Meer: Ein Corpusculum der Inschriften und Nachrichten über die Stadt', *EA* 12, 53-77.
- 11) J.A.R. Munro (1912), 'Dascylium', *JHS* 32, 57-67.
- 12) K. Bittel (1953), 'Zur Lage von Daskyleion', *AA* 1953, 1-15.
- 13) E. Akurgal (1956), 'Recherches faites à Cyzique et à Ergili (au sujet de la date de l'expansion ionienne)', *Anadolu/Anatolia* 1, 15-24.
- 14) The most concise, comprehensive archaeological report, though written in Turkish, is T. Bakır (2003), 'Daskyleion (Tyaiy Drayahya): Hellespontine Phrygia Bölgesi Akhemenid Satraplığı', *Anadolu/Anatolia* 25, 1-26. F. Malikhzade (1973), 'Daskyleion', *Anadolu/Anatolia* 17, 133-140 is an English report on the archaeological findings before T. Bakır's team started the excavation, but its information is too simplistic and is today out of date. The archaeological findings, in particular of funerary monuments, are sketched in D. Kaptan (2003), 'A Glance at Northwestern Asia Minor during the Achaemenid Period', *AchHist*, Vol. 13, Leiden, 189-202.
- 15) T. Bakır (1995), 'Archäologische Beobachtungen über die Residenz in Daskyleion', in P. Briant (ed.), *Dans les pays des Dix-Mille: peuples et pays du proche-Orient vus par un grec: actes de la Table Ronde Internationale, organisée à l'initiative du GRACO, Toulouse, 3-4 février 1995*, Toulouse, 269-285.
- 16) Bakır (n. 14), 11.
- 17) Abe (n. 2), 166-70.
- 18) A. Erdoğan (2007), 'Beobachtung zur achämenidischen Architektur Daskyleions', in İ. Delemen (ed.), *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth-fourth centuries B.C.)*, Istanbul, 177-194.
- 19) Bakır (n. 14), 7-8.
- 20) For the Sardian fortification, see Abe (n. 2), 166-7.
- 21) Bakır (n. 14), 10; T. Bakır (2006), 'Daskyleion', *Byzas* 3, 61-72, at 63-4.
- 22) T. Bakır (2001), 'Die Satrapie in Daskyleion', in T. Bakır (ed.), *Achaemenid Anatolia: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma 15-18 August 1997*, Leiden, 169-180, at 173.
- 23) Bakır (n. 15), 276; Bakır (n. 22), 171-2.
- 24) T. Abe (2012), 'Ahura Mazda in Persian Sardis?', in T. Buitenkamp et al. (eds.), *SOJA Bundel 2011*, in press.
- 25) E. Akurgal (1961), *Die Kunst Anatoliens von Homer bis Alexander*, Berlin, 173-4; P.R.S. Moorey (1988), 'Religion and the Rulers', *CAH²: Plates to Volume 4*, 45-50, at 46-7.
- 26) Cf. D. Lenfant (2009), *Les Hisotires perses de Dinon et d'Héraclide*, Paris, 98-105.
- 27) The preliminary report was provided by K. Balkan (1959), 'Inscribed Bullae from Daskyleion-Ergili', *Anadolu/Anatolia* 4, 122-128.

- 28) Some fragments of the papyri discovered from Egypt and Samaria remained with their bullae still attached. Cf. Kaptan (n. 32 below), 24. For the impact of the old Near Eastern seals on the Achaemenid Empire, see D. Kaptan (2007), 'A Channel of Communication: Seals in Anatolia during the Achaemenid Period', in İ. Delemen (ed.), *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth-fourth centuries B.C)*, Istanbul, 275-290.
- 29) Akurgal (n. 13), 23; Erdoğan (n. 18), 181.
- 30) Dascylium was set on fire by Agesilaus in 395, and it is also assumed to have been razed and plundered by the Macedonians when they took possession of this administrative centre soon after the battle of Granicus. According to Arrian's *Anabasis* (1. 17. 2) Dascylium was captured without any difficulty because it had been evacuated before the Macedonians arrived. A recent archaeological investigation contradicted Arrian, and uncovered evidence for a battle fought between the Macedonians and Dascylium's guards by revealing a burned stratum belonging to this period. See Bakır (n. 14), 9.
- 31) D. Kaptan (1990), 'A Group of Seal Impressions on the Bullae from Ergili/Daskyleion', *EA* 16, 15-27, at 16-7.
- 32) D. Kaptan (2002), *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire*, Leiden.
- 33) Although Thucydides (4. 50) tells of a royal letter written in Assyrian characters, i.e. cuneiforms, this must have been a misunderstanding on the part of the Athenian historian; the letters should have been written in Aramaic, the lingua franca of the Achaemenid chancellery. See D.M. Lewis (1977), *Sparta and Persia*, Leiden, 2-3.
- 34) Thucydides (1. 129) records the content of a letter in reply from Xerxes to Pausanias, which also begins with a similar introduction.
- 35) Bakır (n. 14), 12.
- 36) Bakır (n. 14), 12.
- 37) Kaptan (n. 32), 26.
- 38) A. Lemaire (2000), 'Textes araméens d'Anatolie d'époque perse', *Achemenet* (<http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/arameens/lydie02-05.pdf>).
- 39) D. Kaptan (2001), 'On the Satrapal Center in Northwestern Asia Minor: Some Evidence from the Seal Impressions of Ergili/Daskyleion', in T. Bakır (ed.), *Achaemenid Anatolia: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma 15-18 August 1997*, Leiden, 57-64.
- 40) W. Röllig (2002), 'Aramaic Inscriptions', app. to D. Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae*, Leiden, 198-210, at 205.
- 41) M.J. Mellink (1964), 'A Votive Bird from Anatolia', *Expedition Magazine* 6/2, 28-32.
- 42) Kaptan (n. 32), 52-4.
- 43) Cf. D. Kaptan (1996), 'Some Remarks about the Hunting Scenes on the Seal Impressions of Daskyleion', in M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi (eds.), *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique. Torino, Villa Gualino 13-16 gennaio 1993*, Paris, 85-100.
- 44) R. Schmitt (2002), 'Cuneiform Inscriptions', app. to D. Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae*, Leiden, 194-197, at 195.
- 45) There are possibilities that a patronymic or a certain title are engraved in DS 23, and that a religious title of the 'fire priest', not a personal name, is represented in DS 65.
- 46) Röllig (n. 40), 209.
- 47) Abe (n. 2), 172-3.
- 48) The Aramaic inscriptions of the Dascylium district are registered in A. Lemaire (2001), 'Les inscriptions araméennes de Daskyleion', in T. Bakır (ed.), *Achaemenid Anatolia: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid Period, Bandırma 15-18 August 1997*, Leiden, 21-35.

- 49) The translation is quoted from E. Lipiński (1975), *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, Louvain, 151. The editio princeps was published by M.A. Dupont-Sommer (1966), 'Une inscription araméenne inédite d'époque perse trouvée a Daskyléion (Turquie)', *CRAI* 1966, 44-57. Dupont-Sommer interpreted this inscription not as an epitaph but as a votive inscription to pray for the safety during the voyage of a caravan, but this was disputed later by studying of its content and relief: E. Akurgal (1966), 'Griechisch-persische Reliefs aus Daskyleion', *JA* 6, 147-156; G.M.A. Hanfmann (1966), 'The New Stelae from Daskylion', *BASO* 184, 10-13; F.M. Cross Jr. (1966), 'An Aramaic Inscription from Daskyleion', *BASO* 184, 7-10.

This epitaph was discovered in the necropolis of Dascylium, and it was reused for a Byzantine sarcophagus. In the upper part of the stele were laid out two-registered reliefs, in the lower of which a coffin with the figures of two attendants are drawn, and in whose upper register, although it was worn away, the heads of attendants are recognisable. See M. Nollé (1992), *Denkmäler vom Satrapensitz Daskyleion: Studien zur graeco-persischen Kunst*, Berlin, 11-16.

- 50) The same name of this stele's owner, Elnāp, appears also in a bulla (DS 76), though it is not immediately evident whether he was the owner of the seal. See Kaptan (n. 32), 148; Röllig (n. 40), 205.
- 51) Lemaire (n. 48), 29-32.
- 52) R. Gusmani and G. Polat (1999), 'Manes in Daskyleion', *Kadmos* 38, 137-162.
- 53) The Athenians were said to have nicknamed Phrygian housekeeping slaves as Manes, as it was a common name in this region (Strab. 7. 3. 12). However, actual examples can be found in Lydian sources: see also Abe (n. 2), 172.
- 54) T. Bakır and R. Gusmani (1991), 'Eine neue phrygische Inschrift aus Daskyleion', *EA* 18, 157-164; T. Bakır and R. Gusmani (1993), 'Graffiti aus Daskyleion', *Kadmos* 32, 135-144; R. Gusmani and Y. Polat (1999), 'Ein neues phrygisches Graffito aus Dakyleion', *Kadmos* 38, 59-64.
- 55) Abe (n. 2), 172-3.
- 56) Kaptan (n. 32), 174.



Map 1 Achaemenid north-western Anatolia



Fig. 1 Fragmentary stone relief from Dascylium



Fig. 2 DS 100



Fig. 3 DS 110



Fig. 4 DS 144