

The Foundation of Philo-Persianism in Classical Greek World¹

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Abstract

The establishment of the Achaemenid Empire as the most important occurrence of the 6th century B.C. changed all of cultural and social parameters in the most important civilization centres of the ancient world. Greece, with all of its ancient rich culture has been effected by this new government of the world and has shown this effect in all of its cultural and social proportions of Hellenic societies. After the great march of Xerxes I the communications between West and East found a new opportunity for making new multi-cultural societies and the luxury of the Achaemenid Empire influenced some of Greek peoples to make a new style of life, culture and even cult, that is known as “*Philo-Persianism*”. The Cultural policies of the capital and the local satraps, the Darics of Susa, and the multi-national houses stepped up this process. Since the great march of Xerxes, these social identities became a great problem for some of Greek city-states. The process of Philo-Persianism was different according to the social and cultural situation of the regions. It happened sometimes by the mythological narrations, sometimes by the unified cults and sometimes by the coins of the Empire, but all of them made new Persian sympathy societies that sometimes could play as the fifth columns of the Achaemenid Empire. The city-state of Argos, the multi-national houses³ of Asia Minor and the Philo-Persian religious houses and cults could be count as the most important Philo-Persian societies of Greek world, that could change important results of the political events during the Classical period.

Keywords: Philo-Persian, Achaemenid, Greece, Myth, Daric

Klasik Yunan Dünyasında Pers-Severlik Oluşumu

Öz

Akhaemenid İmparatorluğu'nun M.Ö 6. yüzyılın en önemli olayı olan kuruluşu, antik dünyanın en önemli medeniyet merkezlerindeki tüm kültürel ve sosyal parametreleri değiştirdi. Antik zengin kültürünün tümü ile, Yunanistan, dünyanın bu yeni hükümetinden etkilenmiş ve bu etkiyi Yunan toplumlarının bütün kültürel ve sosyal oranlarında göstermiştir. I. Kserkses'in büyük yürüyüşünden sonra, Batı ile Doğu arasındaki iletişim yeni çok kültürlü toplumlar yaratmada yeni bir fırsat buldu ve Akhaemenid İmparatorluğu'nun lükslüğü bazı Yunan halklarını yeni bir yaşam tarzı, kültür ve hatta kült hâline getirecek şekilde etkiledi ve bu olay “*Philo-Persianizm*” (Pers Severlik) olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Başkent in kültürel politikaları ve yerel Pers vâileri, Susa'nın Derikleri ve çok uluslu aileler bu süreci hızlandırdı. Kserkses'in büyük yürüyüşünden bu yana, bu sosyal kimlikler bazı Yunan kent-devletlerinde büyük bir problem hâline geldi. Philo-Persianizm süreci, bölgelerin sosyal ve kültürel durumuna göre farklıydı ve bazen mitolojik anlatılar, bazen birleşmiş kültür ve bazen de İmparatorluğun madeni paraları aracılığıyla gerçekleşti, ama bu yöntemlerin hepsi bazen Akhaemenid İmparatorluğu'nun beşinci uzantısı olarak oynayabilecek yeni, Pers sempatisi olan toplumları yarattı. Argos kent-devleti, Küçük Asya'nın çok uluslu aileleri ve Pers Sever dinî hânedanlar ve kültürler, Klasik Dönemde, dünyadaki önemli siyasî olayların sonuçlarını değiştirebilecek Yunan dünyasının en önemli Pers Seviciler toplulukları olarak sayılabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Pers Severlik, Akhaemenid, Yunanistan, Mit, Susa'nın Derikleri

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³ Anatolian-Persian or Greco-Persian families.

Introduction

The Philo-Persianism (translated as loving Persians) as one of the important cultural concepts of the Classical period influenced many aspects of the culture of the Aegean people. The satraps of the Achaemenid Emperor as the flagships of this concept used different approaches to make a new versions of belief, religion and society. Semi-Persian families and houses as the helper of these flagships could be counted as the accelerators of this process and the coins of The King of Kings could be the most impactful tools for representing this idea. The Greco-Persian wars, in spite of expectations converts Philo-Persianism to a common social mindset in Classical Greece and in a short time after the wars, Spartan Pausanias and Athenian Themistocles were accused of siding with the Achaemenid Empire.

It seems that the concept of Philo-Persianism was known as *Medism* in Classical Greece. The explanation of *Medism* word by David Frank Graf would be one of the first comprehensive studies on the Philo-Persianism as a Greek concept. Graf in "(1984). "*Medism: The Origin and Significance of the Term*". *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. 104" speaks about the different dimensions of Medism. I think his concentration on the reasons of using Medism word for "*siding with the Persians*" is the most important part of his article (Graf, 1984).

The most important explanations of Classical texts about Medism is from Herodotus (Hdt. 4. 144) and Thucydides (Thuc. 3. 62-64). According to Herodotus, we encounter this word as *μηδιζω*- *mēdizō* and according to Thucydides as *μηδιζω* (Liddell and Scott, 1889, "*Μηδιζω*" entry) and *μηδίσσαντες*. The first one as a verb and the second one as an adjective. Both of them mean "*siding/sided with the Persian Empire in the Greco-Persian wars*" ,but not just as the military aids of some of Medised city-states. The word of Midizo signifies "*siding with the Persian Empire and living in a Persian manner*"(Ibid, 15). The most famous example for this life style is Pausanias the Spartan, during the Peloponnesian wars (See. Lazenby, 1975). But it is not just about the individual persons. According to the Classical texts and the archaeological evidence, Medism or Philo-Persianism was also the mindset of some of Greek city-states like Argos(See pages 5-6). This Mindset has influenced Arts, Literature and even Religion during Classical and Hellenistic periods.

According to the Classical texts we know that the coins of the Persian king was playing an impactful role in all of the political events during the Classical period⁴. The expansion of Philo-Persianism can be counted as a part of these events. The royal treasuries that was sent to the venerable sanctuaries of the Greek Gods (Briant, 2002, p. 38) could be counted as the first piercing of Medism into the ancient Greek Religion. But this was just the first step. The presence of the Persian or Median governors, satraps and suwārs⁵ of the Achaemenid Empire in the western Anatolia was the beginning of the creation of multi-national families in the Eastern coast of the Aegean sea (Sekunda, 1988, p. 83). The creation of these societies in the Eastern part of Classical Greece and the background of the economic assistance of the Achaemenid Empire to the Greek temples gave a great opportunity

⁴ The most famous narration about this impact came by Plutarch about the quote of Agesilaus "I have been driven out by 10,000 Persian archers" (Plut. Art. 15. 6) that is a connotation of Darics with Persian Archer figures. Thucydides has the most comprehensive narrations about the economic policy of the Achaemenid Empire during the Peloponnesian wars.

⁵ Knights.

for Philo-Persianism to enter the sanctuaries of Greek Gods, like Artemis and Apollo. The effect of this medised Greek cults prevailed in all of Greece during the Classical period⁶.

In this paper, I will try to expose the backgrounds of the prevailing of Philo-Persianism in the different parts of Classical Greek societies according to the Classical texts and the archaeological evidence. The purpose of this article is concentration on society, in both of meanings. The First part of the article, with focus on society as a community and the second part will consist of a society as an association and lastly, the article will speak about the political and social approaches of the basics of the expansion of Philo-Persianism in Greek communities and associations during the Classical period.

The Children of Perseus

In the mythical insight of the Greeks, the concept of Persian was different from its true meaning. One of the popular believes about the Persians has come in the Alcibiades dialogue of Plato:

“Then let us consider, by comparing our lot with theirs, whether the Spartan and Persian kings appear to be of inferior birth. Do we not know that the former are descendants of Hercules and the latter of Achaemenes, and that the line of Hercules and the line of Achaemenes go back to Perseus, son of Zeus?” (Plat. Alc. 1 120e)

In this passage, Socrates speaks about the superiority of Persian generation as a supreme part of the Greeks. The importance of this believe could be the first step of accepting the Persians as an ideal pattern for a Greek life and creation and leading a Greek society. There is an another narration from Herodotus, that includes the believe of relationship between Persians and Perseus;

“When Perseus son of Danae and Zeus had come to Cepheus son of Belus and married his daughter Andromeda, a son was born to him whom he called Perses, and he left him there; for Cepheus had no male offspring; it was from this Perses that the Persians took their name.” (Hdt. 7. 61)

As we see, both of the narrations are speaking about the Persians as the children of Perses son of Perseus son of Zeus. More detail information about Achaemenes son of Perses has come in the texts of *Nicolaus of Damascus* and *Dionysius Periegetes* (Tyrwhitt, 1868, p. 744). Another mythical names that are in connection with *Persian* word, apparently can prove that Persian has been accepted as a Greek identity, since archaic period. Perhaps the apparent similarity between *Persis* and the Greek verb, *πέρθω- pertho*⁷ was the main reason of this conceptualization about the Persians. In my notion the mythical stories of the children of *Perseis*, the Oceanid-nymph must have been attached to the antique hymns just after the historical contact of the Greeks and Persians. The similarity of the story feature of *Perseis*'s children and the historical event of generational relationships

⁶ The pieces of the archaeological evidence is the most important source that prove the Classical narrations about the Persian effects in the Greek sanctuaries.

⁷ to ravage, to sack.

between the Persian and Medians can support this idea.

Perseis bore four children for *Sol* (Helios); *Circe*, *Pasiphae*, *Aeetes* and *Perses* (Pseudo-Hyginus, Preface). Aeetes, the witch-king of *Colchis* had been overthrown by his brother Perses. When *Medea*, the daughter of Aeetes found that, she killed Perses and restored the kingdom to her father (Apollodorus, 1.9.28). In my opinion, the relationship between Medea and Medians, Perses and Persians and the magic-based power of the children of Perseis shows a mythical narration of the family conflicts of the Persians and Medians during the 6th century B.C.

Study of the identity of the Persians in the mythical insight of the Greeks can help us have a mythical background information of Philo-Persianism during the Greco-Persian wars, as the beginning of a new mythical basic policy of the Achaemenid Empire in facing the Greek societies. According to the Classical texts, there were three person with *Perses* name in Greek mythology; firstly Perses, the titan of destruction and the son of Crius (Hes. Theog. 377), secondary Perse, the king of Colchis and the son of Helios (Apollodorus, 1.9.28) and lastly Perses, the son of Perseus and Andromeda (Hdt. 7. 150). In all of future Classical texts, these three persons are in relationship with the Persians or Medians, but Perses, son of Perseus is the most famous one.

The family relationship of the Persians and Perseus was one of the most impactful mythical basic approaches of the Achaemenid Empire for founding the basis of Philo-Persianism in Classical Greece.

“There is another story told in Hellas, namely that before Xerxes set forth on his march against Hellas, he sent a herald to Argos, who said on his coming (so the story goes) “Men of Argos, this is the message to you from King Xerxes. Perses our forefather had, as we believe, Perseus son of Danae for his father, and Andromeda daughter of Cepheus for his mother; if that is so, then we are descended from your nation. In all right and reason we should therefore neither march against the land of our forefathers, nor should you become our enemies by aiding others or do anything but abide by yourselves in peace. If all goes as I desire, I will hold none in higher esteem than you.” The Argives were strongly moved when they heard this, and although they made no promise immediately and demanded no share, they later, when the Greeks were trying to obtain their support, did make the claim, because they knew that the Lacedaemonians would refuse to grant it, and that they would thus have an excuse for taking no part in the war.”(Hdt. 7. 150)

The narration speaks about the first steps of mythical basic policies of the Achaemenid Empire for expanding the foundation of Philo-Persianism in the heart of Classical Greece. What is important here is the role played by the Greek advisors of the Empire in describing this mythical narrations in the heartland of the Empire and for the supreme Persian or Median governors and Satraps of the Achaemenid Empire, and providing the raw materials for the production of these policies. Herodotus also speaks about the presence of Argive representatives in the court of the Persian king for debating about the promise of the Empire to the Argives;

“This is borne out, some of the Greeks say, by the tale of a thing which happened many years

afterwards. It happened that while Athenian envoys, Callias son of Hipponicus, and the rest who had come up with him, were at Susa, called the Memnonian, about some other business, the Argives also had at this same time sent envoys to Susa, asking of Xerxes' son Artaxerxes whether the friendship which they had forged with Xerxes still held good, as they desired, or whether he considered them as his enemies. Artaxerxes responded to this that it did indeed hold good and that he believed no city to be a better friend to him than Argos.”(Hdt. 7. 151)

The Presence of the Argive representative group in the court of Artaxerxes I must not just be about the promise of the Empire. They could be there for receiving the rewards of their neutrality in the Greco-Persian wars. As Herodotus is known to have said, we know that Argos was not the sole Medised city-state of Greece. All of the cities belonged to the seven nations of Peloponnes have been chosen to be neutral in the war, and in this way, they were siding with the Achaemenid Empire (Hdt. 8. 73). According to the Alcibiades’ dialogue of Socrates that we spoke about here, the mythology makes all of basic foundations of Greek thought. So it does not seem that the topic of this narration is just a political agreement between the Persians and Argives.

“...there is another tale current, according to which it would seem that it was the Argives who invited the Persian into Hellas, because the war with the Lacedaemonians was going badly, and they would prefer anything to their present distresses.” (Hdt. 7. 152)

Herodotus speaks about the wars of the Lacedaemonians and Argives and a story about the invitation of the Persians to Greece. It is very hard to accept something like this as a true reason of the Persian march to Greece. The action of Argives in the Greco-Persian wars as neutral peoples must be the reason of creation of these stories about the betrayal of the Argives.

There is another narration from Diodorus that proves that the attempts of the Achaemenid empire for attributing itself to Greeks was not unprecedented. Datis, the Median commander of Darius I had an unsuccessful experience in this mythical basic political approach during the invasion of Greece;

“Datis, the general of the Persians and a Mede by descent, having received from his ancestors the tradition that the Athenians were descendants of Medus, who had established the kingdom of Media, sent a message to the Athenians declaring that he was come with an army to demand the return of the sovereignty which had belonged to his ancestors; for Medus, he said, who was the oldest of his own ancestors, had been deprived of the kingship by the Athenians, and removing to Asia had founded the kingdom of Media. Consequently, he went on to say, if they would return the kingdom to him, he would forgive them for this guilty act and for the campaign they had made against Sardis; but if they opposed his demand, they would suffer a worse fate than had the Eretrians. Miltiades, voicing the decision reached by the ten generals, replied that according to the statement of the envoys it was more appropriate for the Athenians to hold the mastery over the empire of the Medes than for Datis to hold it over the state of the Athenians; for it was a man

of Athens who had established the kingdom of the Medes, whereas no man of Median race had ever controlled Athens. Datis, on hearing this reply, made ready for battle.” (Diod. 10. 27)

Perhaps, the topic of this narration was the beginning and the base of the political approach of Xerxes about the Argives. We can say that the Achaemenid empire had advisors with classified information about the Greek myths. A sociological system of this approach shows the bases of a scientific procedure of the political system at the court of the Empire. Datis or at least his advisors knew the story of Medea and the relationship between Medea and the Medians, He also must have comprehensive information about the connections of the Athenians and Medians according to the Greek mythology. There is the same approach in the case of the message of Xerxes to the Argives. Exposing the role of Datis has an important place in these cases. As Rüdiger Schmitt believes Datis can be counted as a kind of specialist on Greek affairs in the government system of the Achaemenid Empire (Schmitt, 1994, p. 127). His activities in Delos (Hdt. 6. 97), beside the case of Athenians uncovers his interest in the Greek mythology and using them in the political decisions. The mythical basic approaches of the expansion of Philo-Persianism could be the impact of his experiences.

Greek Commanders with the Persian Attire

There is no doubt that according to the Classical texts, the most impactful Greek military commanders intended to have more relations with the Achaemenid Empire and to be appointed as the officials of the Persian Emperor. Before the beginning of the Greco-Persian wars, some of them like Demaratos, the former king of Sparta had claimed this position many years ago (Hdt. 6. 70) and was advising the Empire against the Greeks. It must be told that the loyalty of Demaratos to the Persian King is still disputable. Some of the supreme commanders of the Empire had not trusted him thoroughly and some parts of the narrations prove that they were not wrong (Carr, 2012, Demaratos). Demaratos might be the first official example for *Medism* as siding with the Persian Empire, militarily and politically. Herodotus had used him to show a dramatic contrast of a person during the Greco-Persian wars (Burkert, 2001, p. 97) and this makes the judgement about him more difficult.

Demaratos was not the first and the last Greek Philo-Persian commander. Sparta can be counted as the factory of producing Philo-Persian persons. The famous quote of Agesilaus about the reason of popularity of Medism in Sparta uncovers the place of Sparta and Lacedaemonia in the expansion of Philo-Persianism.⁸ I think Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus and the commander of Greeks in the the battle of Plataea was the most important Philo-Persian commander of Greece. Study of the biography of Pausanias provides a classified list of the economic background of the expansion of Philo-persianism and the results of its appearance in behavior and attires in the heart of Classical Greece. According to Thucydides (Thuc. 1. 94), after the defeat of the Persian Empire in the Mycale and the beginning of the historical clash of Sparta and Athens, a navy with the command of Pausanias could capture Cyprus and Byzantium. After this capture, the behavior of Pausanias has changed and shown his arrogance (Thuc. 1. 95). He was accused of Medism, but the court could not find him guilty. After the

⁸ “To one who remarked that the Lacedaemonians were favouring the Medes, Agesilaus replied that the Medes were the rather favouring the Lacedaemonians.” See. Plut. Ages. 23.2

capture of Byzantium, Pausanias released some of the relatives and friends of the Persian king who had been captured and sent them with a letter to Xerxes;

“Pausanias, the general of Sparta, anxious to do you a favour, sends you these his prisoners of war. I propose also, with your approval, to marry your daughter, and to make Sparta and the rest of Hellas subject to you. I may say that I think I am able to do this, with your co-operation. Accordingly if any of this please you, send a safe man to the sea through whom we may in future conduct our correspondence.”(Thuc. 1. 128)

The king became pleased and sent Artabazos, son of Pharnakes to the sea, as the satrap of Daskyleion with a letter to Pausanias. Xerxes commanded him to cooperate with the Pausanias (Thuc. 1. 129). In the letter, the king spoke about his financial support;

“Thus saith King Xerxes to Pausanias. For the men whom you have saved for me across sea from Byzantium, an obligation is laid up for you in our house, recorded forever; and with your proposals I am well pleased. Let neither night nor day stop you from diligently performing any of your promises to me, neither for cost of gold nor of silver let them be hindered, nor yet for number of troops, wherever it may be that their presence is needed; but with Artabazus, an honourable man whom I send you, boldly advance my objects and yours, as may be most for the honour and interest of us both.”(Thuc. 1. 129)

The text of these letters shows the attitude of Xerxes and Pausanias to a Greco-Persian cooperation according to their positions. The Achaemenid Empire as the heir of the Lydian kingdom was signified with the economic power. The function of Lydian Electrums that was familiar for the Greeks now was a duty of Persian archers; Daric and Siglos. We know that these imperial coins were the most powerful swords in all of the periods of Peloponnesian wars and perhaps all of the Classical period. The letter of Xerxes made it work and Pausanias became the most famous employee of the Empire in Classical Greece;

“Pausanias, after the receipt of this letter, became prouder than ever, and could no longer live in the usual style, but went out of Byzantium in a Median dress, was attended on his march through Thrace by a bodyguard of Medes and Egyptians, kept a Persian table, and was quite unable to contain his intentions, but betrayed by his conduct in trifles what his ambition looked one day to enact on a grander scale. He also made himself difficult of access, and displayed so violent a temper to every one without exception that no one could come near him. Indeed, this was the principal reason why the confederacy went over to the Athenians.”(Thuc. 1. 130)

The cultural, social and political identity of Pausanias had been changed and he was proud of this new identity and did not hide it. I think the narration of Pausanias's Medism might be a supreme example for what that happens a few years later in a great part of the Aegean coast. It seems that he was confident about the capture of Greece by Xerxes and he wanted to be a part of this new system. The Achaemenid Empire was not compelling

the captured peoples to dress in Persian (Median) style. This was not the policy of the Empire, but according to the archaeological evidence and Classical texts, we can guess that the persons and societies that wanted to impute themselves to the Empire family was trying to appear with the Persian attire and behaving in the Persian morality. The Hecatomnid Dynasty of Caria was one of these societies. The Persianised policy of Pixodarus⁹ (Sears, 2014, p. 215) and the Persian style of the burial objects of the Carian Princess (Probably Ada, the last Hecatomnid queen)¹⁰ shows this in the best way. The appeal of Pausanias for marriage with the daughter of Xerxes indicates another aspect of his Medism, that is straightly in connection with joining the Imperial House. It seems that he wanted to be an Achaemenid thoroughly. So he acted in a non-hidden manner with the Greeks, because he thought that would be their later supreme master.

The plans of Pausanias did not proceed as he wished because of his exaggerated behavior. After a long period of investigations, Pausanias took refuge in the shrine of Athena Χαλχιορχος and starved to death (Thuc. 1. 134). The historicity of some of the stories about Pausanias is in doubt. P. J. Rhodes has discussed about it in “Rhodes, P. J., (1970). “Thucydides on Pausanias and Themistocles”, in: *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Bd. 19, H. 4 (Nov., 1970), pp. 387-400*”, partly. The most important result of this article is the paradoxical events according to Thucydides (Rhodes, 1970, p. 51). Pausanias was an unsuccessful project of Medism in Classical Greece. There are pieces of evidence that can prove that the activity of the Empire for expanding Philo-Persianism in Peloponnese has not finished after the death of Pausanias. The later order of the Delphian God, about the burial of Pausanias in the sanctuary of Athena Χαλχιορχος temple (Thuc. 1. 134), and the appearance of a Persian-attired Zeus transmits another features of these activities via the Philo-Persian Gods of Greece that I will focus on it in the next chapter.

The second Philo-Persian Greek commander, that I will speak about here is Themistocles, the commander of the navy of Athens during the Greco-Persian wars. The wars had not proceeded according to the desire of the Achaemenid Empire in military results, but clash with the majestic powerful administration of the Empire with all of its various ethnicities, might be a different face of the government that was unknown to the Greeks. And this could be the most effective reason of expansion of the Philo-Persianism among the political and military elites. The power of this new face of government made some of Greek circles to produce new anti-Persian cults and movements in all of Greece. The Narration of Themistocles's Medism in Thucydides comes after the narration of Pausanias.

“At the same time that Pausanias came to his end, the Lacedaemonians by their ambassadors to the Athenians accused Themistocles, for that he also had Medised together with Pausanias, having discovered it by proofs against Pausanias, and desired that the same punishment might be likewise inflicted upon him. Whereunto consenting for he was at this time in banishment by ostracism; and though his ordinary residence was at Argos, he travelled to and fro in other

⁹ For example Pixodarus married his daughter Ada to the Persian Orontobates (Strab. 14. 2. 17) this was something like the request of Pausanias for marrying the daughter of Xerxes.

¹⁰ The burial objects of the Carian Princess are in exhibition in The Archaeological Museum of Bodrum, Turkey.

places of Peloponnesus.”(Thuc. 1. 135)

As we see, the name of Argos comes again in a narration about Medism. Themistocles had been banished from Athens and occupied in Argos, the famous Philo-Persianised city-state of Greece because of his corrupt treatment with the Greeks. As we saw, he resided in Argos and after a while, he decided to seek refuge with the Achaemenid Emperor (Thuc. 1. 137). In my opinion, the narration of Thucydides shows that he must have had coordinated with the Persian Empire and its governors in the western Anatolia. Argos, the Greek city of the lovers of the Empire was the best choice for the beginning of this coordination. Themistocles knew that he must be a part of the Empire to be accepted by it. He spent one year learning Persian language and being familiar with the Persian costumes and then he went to the court of the Emperor (Thuc. 1. 138). After a while he was appointed as the governor of ‘Magnesia on the Maeander’.

“The King assigning to him, for bread, Magnesia, which produced a revenue of fifty talents in the year; for wine, Lampsacus, which was considered to be the richest in wine of any district then known; and Myus for meat.”(Thuc. 1. 138)

The features of his activities in Magnesia transmits different attitudes of his Philo-Persianism. After a short time, Themistocles honoured many privileges in the court of Artaxerxes I. He could participate in the royal hunts and entertainments and he became the best friend of king’s mother, Amestris (Plut. Them. 29. 6). After a while, he was sent to ‘Magnesia on the Maeander’. It seems that the presence of Themistocles in Magnesia was a ring of the chain of some religious activities of the Empire in western Anatolia. Cybele, the ancient mother goddess of Anatolia, that had been accepted in the pantheon of local Persians, was the subject of these activities. After the arrival of Themistocles to Magnesia, and after the guidance of the Mother of the Gods in his dream, he built a temple in Magnesia in honour of *Dindymené* and made his daughter, *Mnesiptolema* her priestess (Plut. Them. 30. 1). These religious activities could not happen without the knowledge and satisfaction of the king. According to the archaeological evidence and Classical texts, we know that, the appearance of a new multi-national goddess in the western Anatolia was one of the most important religious policies of the Achaemenid Empire. After a while, this new goddess became one of the approaches of the expansion of Philo-Persianism in Classical Greece and Aegean.

We know that the name of *Batakes*, the priest of the Mother of the Gods at Pessinus in 102 B.C.(Plut. Mar. 17. 5-6) probably has an Iranian origin. N. Sekunda has a comprehensive research about the studies about this name (Sekunda, 1988, p. 134). He made a connection between Batakes in the tradition of Plutarch and the name of the father of Apame¹¹ (the right hand of Darius) in Apocrypha book of Esdras (I Esdras 4, 29) and a tradition from Josephus (J. AJ. 10, 3, 5) Walter Hinz also believes that the name of Batakes is derived from *Bata*- (wine) and its original form in Old Persian must be *Bataka* (Sekunda, 1988, p. 134). The priestly name of Batakes can be in connection with the Iranian Priestly name of Megabuxos in Artemision of Ephesus. Both of these

¹¹ The name of her father is Bartakes.

names in the priesthood houses of Artemis and Cybele show a set of parallel religious actions by the Achaemenid Empire. We have this information also about the priesthood House ‘*Bagadates and Ariaramnes*’ at the Artemision of *Amyzon*, since 320 B.C. (Robert 1953, p. 410). According to all of the archaeological evidence and Classical texts, the official process of the presence of the Persian or Philo-Persian priesthood houses in the temples of Classical Greece and Aegean begins at the period of Artaxerxes II ¹²(Abedi, 2018). In my opinion, the appointment of the daughter of Themistocles as the priestess of The Grand Mother in Magnesia could be the first step of the expansion of Philo-Persianism in local religions of the Aegean societies. I will bring the description of these activities and the creation of new religious Philo-Persian societies in the next chapter.

A Philo-Persian Greek God

“The god at Delphi afterwards ordered the Lacedaemonians to remove the tomb [of Pausanias] to the place of his death—where he now lies in the consecrated ground, as an inscription on a monument declares—and, as what had been done was a curse to them, to give back two bodies instead of one to the goddess of the Brazen House. So they had two brazen statues made, and dedicated them as a substitute for Pausanias.”(Thuc.1. 134)

Religion is the most important reason of the creation of societies. Religion was controlled by associated religious societies, that all of historical evolution of it back to their decides. The effect of the activities of these religious societies, usually was more powerful than the king wishes. The Achaemenid Empire knew the impact of religion and paid considerable attention to it. In my opinion, the religious society of Delphi was the greatest religious supporter of the Achaemenid Empire in Classical Greece. The above text from Thucydides is just a part of spiritual supports of Delphi from Philo-Persianism in Greece. The God of Delphi believes that Pausanias was not a traitor and he deserved to be buried in a holy sanctuary.

If we classify all of the divinations of the oracles of Apollo, it can be understood that, approximately all of them were in favour of the Achaemenid Empire. These divinations of the oracles of Apollo are as follows;

The divination of Delphi for Croesus about destroying a kingdom (Hdt. 1. 56).

The divination of Branchidae for men of Cyme about handing over Pactyes¹³ to the Persians (Hdt. 1. 158-159).

The divination of Delphi for the Athenians about the capture of Athens by the Persians (Hdt. 7. 140).

The divination of Delphi for the Argives about their neutrality in the war against the Persians (Hdt. 7. 148).

The divination of Delphi for men of Crete about their neutrality in the war against the Persians (Hdt. 7.

¹² I had a comprehensive discussion about this process in my paper in “*The Second International Conference of Young Archaeologists, Tehran*”. For more information see; Abedi, 2018.

¹³ After the capture of Sardis, Cyrus appointed Tabalus the Persian as the satrap of Sardis and Pactyes the Lydian to take charge of the gold of Croesus and the Lydians. But in a short time, Pactyes, started a revolt against the Persian satrap.

169).

The divination of Delphi for Spartans about the capture of Sparta by the Persians (Hdt. 7. 220).

Amir Mahdi Badi has discussed the advocates of Delphi from the Achaemenid Empire in his book “(1969). *Les Grecs et les Barbares, Lausanne :Payot*” (Badi, 1969), but he failed to point out the divination of Branchidae at Didyma. It seems that, Branchidae was one of the most powerful reasons of the creation of relationship between Persia and Delphi since Cyrus’s period. Both archaeological evidence and the Classical texts prove that Branchidae was one of the most famous Philo-Persian Greek sanctuaries during the 6th and 5th century B.C. and even after it beside ‘The Great Artemision of Ephesus’.

The first historical meeting between Persians and Apollo must have had happened just after the capture of Sardis by Cyrus. We know for a long time, the offerings of the Lydian kingdom to the sanctuaries of Apollo was the topic of the Greek stories. The close relationship between Croesus and Apollo was the result of these majestic gifts of the Lydian king to the God (Briant, 2002, p. 38). Pierre Briant has an accurate discussion about the transition of this royal tradition from Croesus to Cyrus (*Ibid.*). I think the relationship between Persia and Delphi, might have had happened before the historical clash of the Persians and Lydians at 546 B.C.. It seems that the level of their relationship after the capture of Sardis is deeper than a relationship between a new invisor kingdom and an ancient local religion, but this idea can be challenged. At the divination of Delphi for Croesus about the beginning of the war with the Persians, we do not have a clear answer from the Pythian; the Pythian just says “*if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire*” (Hdt. 1. 53) This unclear divination shows the political management of situation by Delphi. Delphi did not know the result of the war and it did not want also to lose the support of the winner. So Delphi’s divination was in favour of the conqueror’s side. In spite of this notion, the letter of Darius to Gadatas speaks about a probably historical relation between the Persians and Apollo’s cult. In this letter, Darius warns Gadatas, a governor in Magnesian on Meander about exacting tribute from Priest-Gardeners of Apollo and ordering them to plow unsacred fields “*ignorant of his ancestors’ attitude to their god*” and at the end of the letter “*who enjoined strict uprightness on the Persians and ...*” he says (Boffo 1978, p. 267). I think this uncomplete sentence is the most important part of this inscription. What was the strict uprightness that Apollo enjoined on the Persians? We can find its clue at the narration of later Greco-Persian wars during the period of Xerxes. As I told, before the beginning of the Greco-Persian wars, the divination requests of some of Greek city-states from Delphi was encountered with this answer that do not participate in the war against the Persians. It is possible that perhaps the strict uprightness of Apollo on the Persians was something like this religious support of Apollo against the participation of the local cities and governments in the Lydia-Persian war during the period of Cyrus. Perhaps the economic supports of the Empire was in the background of these religious supports but we are not sure about offering the majestic gifts of the Persian king to the sanctuaries of Apollo before or after the war. Anyway, it was a smart decision by the popular Greek god of western Anatolia.

I think the narration of Herodotus about handing over Pactyes the Lydian to the Persians, uncovers a

new level of relationships between the Persians and the sanctuaries of Apollo;

“Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was approaching, was frightened and fled to Cyme. Mazares the Mede, when he came to Sardis with the part that he had of Cyrus' host and found Pactyes' followers no longer there, first of all compelled the Lydians to carry out Cyrus' commands; and by his order they changed their whole way of life. After this, he sent messengers to Cyme demanding that Pactyes be surrendered. The Cymaeans resolved to make the god at Branchidae their judge as to what course they should take.” (Hdt. 1. 157-158)

The first part of the narration of Herodotus has some important pieces of information about the beginning of the expansion of Philo-Persianism by the Achaemenid Empire after the revolt of Pactyes the Lydian, probably. *“Change their whole way of life”*, this was the command of Cyrus. But what does it mean? Perhaps, this was a punishment for Lydians that Cyrus had trusted before. He has choosed a local as an officer of the Empire, but his revolt, made him to change his political manner in Sardis. So he commanded them to change their whole way of life. This new way of life might be living as a Persian. We know that after the creation of the Achaemenid Empire, Sardis was one of the cities with the most Persian basic manners of life outside of the heartland of the Empire.¹⁴ Anyway, this could be the first political emprise of Persia for foundation and expansion of Philo-Persianism in the westernmost territory of the Kingdom. So what happened after the refuge of Pactyes to Cyme?

“The men of Cyme, then, sent to Branchidae to inquire of the shrine what they should do in the matter of Pactyes that would be most pleasing to the gods; and the oracle replied that they must surrender Pactyes to the Persians. When this answer came back to them, they set about surrendering him. But while the greater part were in favour of doing this, Aristodicus son of Heraclides, a notable man among the citizens, stopped the men of Cyme from doing it; for he did not believe the oracle and thought that those who had inquired of the god spoke falsely; until at last a second band of inquirers was sent to inquire concerning Pactyes, among whom was Aristodicus. When they came to Branchidae, Aristodicus, speaking for all, put this question to the oracle: “Lord, Pactyes the Lydian has come to us a suppliant fleeing a violent death at the hands of the Persians; and they demand him of us, telling the men of Cyme to surrender him. But we, as much as we fear the Persian power, have not dared give up this suppliant of ours until it is clearly made known to us by you whether we are to do this or not.” Thus Aristodicus inquired; and the god again gave the same answer, that Pactyes should be surrendered to the Persians. With that Aristodicus did as he had already decided; he went around the temple, and took away the sparrows and all the families of nesting birds that were in it. But while he was doing so, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying,

¹⁴ The pieces of archaeological evidence exposed different dimensions of Persianization in Sardis. The Tumulus tombs and their burial objects, The Persian styled official objects, and the Persian effects in the religious objects of the temples of Sardis are just some parts of the evidence about the Persianization in Sardis. For more information see; Dusingberr, 2003.

“Vilest of men, how dare you do this? Will you rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?” Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: “Lord,” he said, “will you save your own suppliants, yet tell the men of Cyme to deliver up theirs?” But the god replied, “Yes, I do command them, so that you may perish all the sooner for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle about giving up those that seek refuge with you.” (Hdt. 1. 158-159)

At this narration, there is an unexpected political support of Branchidae, as the second important sanctuary and oracle of Apollo, for the Achaemenid Empire. This might be a new level of relationship between the Persians and Apollo that continued until the Roman period. I suggest the presence of the great king at Sardis provided a great opportunity for Branchidians to achieve a new impactful political and military support of an aborning power in the world. Branchidians were a family that traditionally had responsibility of the temple of Apollo at Didyma and the priests of this temple most have belonged to the clan of Branchidae (Graf, 2009, p. 50). At the next times, this priesthood house has been immigrated to Bactria by the Achaemenid Empire. I think House Branchidian might be the original reason for beginning the relationship between Persia and Delphi. What that happened at Didyma after the capture of Sardis was not just an economic and political support. The architectural evidence of the Hellenistic temple of Didyma transmits something more than an economic support even after the defeat of the Achaemenid Empire. B. Fehr has a conclusion about the Persian effects in the plan of Didyma Temple (Fehr, 1971, pp. 45-47) and in the result of my field reviews in the temple, I could find some column bases with an indisputable similarity to the Achaemenid column bases in style and the decorative aspects (Plate i), even if these pieces of evidence be inadequate in describing the direct Persian effects in the Branchidian temple probably can expose a later interest of the builders of Didyma in The Persian architecture¹⁵. All of these could be the beginning of strict uprightness of Apollo on the Persians that Darius speaks about it at the letter of Gadatas.

The signs of the relationship of Apollo and the Persians during the period of Darius the Great have been proved by the archaeological evidence and the Classical texts. The archaeological evidence is the letter of Gadatas that we spoke about and the Classical narration is an important report from Herodotus about the activities of Datis the Median in Delos.

“While they did this, the Delians also left Delos and fled away to Tenos. As his expedition was sailing landwards, Datis went on ahead and bade his fleet anchor not off Delos, but across the water off Rhenea. Learning where the Delians were, he sent a herald to them with this proclamation: “Holy men, why have you fled away, and so misjudged my intent? It is my own desire, and the king’s command to me, to do no harm to the land where the two gods were born,

¹⁵ I had conversations about these column bases with Prof. Pierre Briant, Prof. Elspeth Dusinberre and Dr. Shahrokh Razmjou. All of them were agree with me in the similarity of the column bases (especially the bell-shape aspect) to the Achaemenid column bases. Prof. Elspeth believed that if it be possible to find a reasonable connection between these bases and the Achaemenid bases, these column bases can be the westernmost effect of the Achaemenid columns in the territory of the Empire (Personal conversation). Dr. Razmjou believed that due to the uncompleted archaeological investigations in Didyma it is difficult to speak about a direct connection (Personal conversation).

neither to the land itself nor to its inhabitants. So return now to your homes and dwell on your island.” He made this proclamation to the Delians, and then piled up three hundred talents of frankincense on the altar and burnt it.”(Hdt. 6. 97)

The proclamation of Datis is a clear manifest of the Empire about supporting Apollo and Artemis. We have the process of supporting Artemis, the sister of Apollo, since the first relationships between Persia and Delphi and even before this¹⁶. The role of Datis as the manifestor of the expansion of Philo-Persianism has been exposed by the narration of Diodorus that I spoke about. If we accept the accuracy of the narration of Herodotus, here we have a direct command of the King about Apollo and Artemis. This signifies the highest level of relations between Persia and Delphi. After a short period, the famous divinations of Delphi in favour of the Achaemenid Empire begun. The first one was to the Athenians;

“Wretches, why do you linger here? Rather flee from your houses and city, Flee to the ends of the earth from the circle embattled of Athens! The head will not remain in its place, nor in the body, Nor the feet beneath, nor the hands, nor the parts between; But all is ruined, for fire and the headlong god of war speeding in a Syrian chariot will bring you low. Many a fortress too, not yours alone, will he shatter; Many a shrine of the gods will he give to the flame for devouring; Sweating for fear they stand, and quaking for dread of the enemy, Running with gore are their roofs, foreseeing the stress of their sorrow; Therefore I bid you depart from the sanctuary. Have courage to lighten your evil.”(Hdt. 7. 140)

The divination of Delphi for the Athenians beside its propagandaic support for the Persians has a new feature; putting godship aspect beside the Persians. This is a new step of the expansion of religious Philo-Persianism that can be seen at the later divinations of Delphi in the trenches of the march of Xerxes. Using the “*God of war speeding in a Syrian Chariot*” phrase is the culmination of this artistic divination. This could be the beginning of the “*Father King God*” concept in the Achaemenid and Arsacid periods¹⁷ that is the topic of another paper of mine.

The second divination of Delphi was for the Argives and commanded them to be neutral in the war. I spoke about the former mythical basic deal between the Persians and the Argives. Concentrating on the divination of Delphi for the Argives seems to be in the subsequence of that deal;

“Hated by your neighbors, dear to the immortals, Crouch with a lance in rest, like a warrior fenced in his armor, Guarding your head from the blow, and the head will shelter the body.”
(Hdt. 7. 148)

The divination clearly speaks about the conflicts of Argos and other Greek city-states and also the

¹⁶ If we accept the narration of Strabo about the establishment of the sancturay of the Persian Gods like Anaitis in Zela in Cyrus’s period (Strab. 11. 8. 5), this can be the first official connections between the Persians and Artemis.

¹⁷ The most important evidence about “Father God King” concept in known from the reliefs of the Kingdom of Commagene. For more information see. Jacobs, 2011.

support of the Achaemenid Empire for the Argives. Herodotus has used *ἀθάνατος-athánatos* phrase that means immortals. “*Dear to the immortals*” has a ambiguous meaning; The Immortals¹⁸ of the Achaemenid Empire or The gods and immortal divines. This notion is in the subsequence of the former divination of Delphi about giving the godship power to the Persians. Something that we can see also in the divination for the Spartans;

“For you, inhabitants of wide-wayed Sparta, Either your great and glorious city must be wasted by the children of Perseus, Or if not that, then the bound of Lacedaemon must mourn a dead king, from Heracles' line. The might of bulls or lions will not restrain him with opposing strength; for he has the might of Zeus. I declare that he will not be restrained until he utterly tears apart one of these.” (Hdt. 7. 220)

Here, we have; “*the children of Perseus*” phrases again, that I conversed about and “*the might of Zeus*” that is in the same way for giving the power of gods to the Persians. So we know that the cult of Apollo was in favour of the Achaemenid Empire in all of Classical Greece. Delphi, Delos and Didyma as the holiest sanctuaries of Apollo were the most impactful operators of the expansion of Philo-Persianism in religious and socio-political dimensions under the support of the Empire. Even after the Greco-Persian clashes and the last defeat of the Persian army, the Delphian-Persian deal did not expire. Delphi did not accept the spoils of the Persians in the sanctuary of Apollo¹⁹ and Xerxes settled the priesthood House Branchidae at the eastern territories of the Empire²⁰, Perhaps because of securing them from the anger of the fanatic Ionians. The Persian attired statues of the priests of *Apollo Amyklos* in *Idalion* of Cyprus (Gaber, 1986, p. 19) also signifies a new level of religious Philo-Persianism in the cult of Apollo in the Eastern Mediterranean.

A similar process happened for the cult of Artemis sometimes more clear than Apollo. But in this topic we can also see the effects of Delphi. In 320 B.C. after the advise of Pythia of Delphi, Bagadates son of Ariaramnes has been appointed as the *Νεωκόρος-Neocoros* of the temple of Artemis at Amyzon²¹ (Robert, 1983, p. 98). There is to much discussions about the responsibility of the Neocoros. The most famous suggestion is by Barbara Burrell that explains Neocoros word as “*temple warden*” (Burrell, 2004, pp. 3-6) But there is no certitude about it. We just know that Neocoros was a supreme religious title for the responsables of the temples of western Anatolia since the Achaemenid period. Megabyzoi as the supreme neokoroi of the temple of Artemis of Ephesus could be counted as the most famous neocoroi of Classical Greece since the Achaemenid period. The presence of a subsequence of the religious officials with a Persian name/title (Megabyzos) demonstrates the reality of the presence of a Persian or at least a Philo-Persian priesthood house at the most popular Greek temples

¹⁸ For more information see. Schmitt, 2004.

¹⁹ Paus. 10. 14. 5; this is one of the paradoxical narrations about the contacts of Persia and Delphi. Sometimes it has been accepted that this narration denies Medism of Delphi. Casson believes that the narration is just a later attempt of Delphi for proving that Apollo was not siding with the Persians (Casson, 1914, p. 147), but I think there is a great question here; why the Persian sympathy temple of Apollo must accept the spoils of its old friend?

²⁰ Strab. 14. 1. 5, N. G. L. Hammond has a comprehensive article about this topic, for mor information see. Hammond, 1998.

²¹ Present Mazinkalesi in Koçarlı/Aydın, Western Turkey.

of the Eastern Aegean. Just like *House Ariéramnès* in Amyzon or the topic of Pessinus that we spoke about it. According to the Classical texts²² and the archaeological evidence that I have classified in one of my former articles we know that Megabyzoi had the official responsibility of the Artemision of Ephesus at least since 394 B.C till 330 B.C. (Abedi, 2018: 740-741). Maybe the refusing of Alexander's fund for the reconstruction of the temple of Artemis (Strab. 14. 1. 22) was in the supsequence of this long-time presence of a Persian/Philo-Persian priesthood at the temple. The effects of the presence of the Philo-Persian religious societies at the temple of Artemis results to the appearance of A Persian-Anatolian-Greek goddess (Artemis Persike) that the invocations to her is in a non-Greek language (Paus. 5. 27. 5-6) (Probably Persian or Aramic). The beginning of this religious dimension of Philo-Persianism must be the "*flutes in Persian manner*" in the invocations to The Tmolian goddess Artemis that Diogenes speaks about (Ath. 14. 38).

Study of the archaeological evidence and the Classical texts proves that the process of Persianization did not happen just for Apollo and Artemis and their cults. The policy of the Achaemenid Empire was treating with every god according to his identity. But some of them were in the direction of the expansion of different dimensions of Philo-Persianism. When we speak about Zeus, the policy is in a close connection with the later cult of 'Father God King' that transformed to one of the original local cults of Anatolia after the fall of the Achaemenid Empire (Jacobs, 2011). The results of my field observations at the Archaeological Museum of Olympia concluded to detect perhaps new dimensions of Persianization in the sculpture of Classical Greece. The most important part of my speculations was about the famous terracotta of Zeus and Ganymede with its special oriental aspects. I think the style of beard of Zeus and the details of decorative aspects of his dress has indisputable similarity to the attire of the Persian nobilities. In my travel to Olympia, I found this opportunity to visit the terracotta and took photographs from different directions. The terracotta has cyproit effects in Lacedaemonian art, but it is not the same. It has the effects of Persian attire clearly and the wavy beard with the mustache with right corners in tow sides reminds the faces of the Persian sculpture (Plate ii-1-3). In a close perspective, I found out that the decorative aspects of the hem of Zeus' dress has the images of rows of winged quadruped animals (probably horse or bulls). According to the reliefs of the Achaemenid king in Persepolis, we know that the row of animals, especially lions, was one of the most important decorative aspects of the hem of the kings dress (Plate ii-4-5). All of these possibilities might be a new Persianised perspective about God in Classical Greece. This process that was under the effects of accepting Xerxes as a God-King in some of local notions and narrations concluded to producing a new Father-God-King concept in the later periods.

The Process of Persianization of the Greek Gods was not just about Zeus, Artemis and Apollo. There are various pieces of archaeological evidence that prove the quantity of Philo-Persian Greek Gods in different places and according to the historical events more than once.

Conclusion

The foundation of an empire like the Achaemenid Empire needs to a comprehensive strong

²² Xen. Anab. 5. 3, Ael. VH. 2. 2, Plut. Alex. 42, Plin. Nat. 35. 36, Strab. 14. 1. 23.

management system. It seems that the handling of a country with a wide extent and different peoples with various cultures might be impossible without an advanced advisory system. Controlling of this empire was just the first level of managing it. There was an important reason for conflicts at the western borders of the Empire that the Achaemenid Empire needed to be ready to neutralize its interference. The city-states of Greece that had an unrivaled power in the western Anatolia before the Lydian Kingdom, could control their impact on that lands untill the fall of Croesus. Now they encountered with a new different power that was unprecedented in the Aegean. The Ionian Revolt was the result of an unthoughtful reaction of Ionians under the encourage of this city-states. The Achaemenid Empire needed a new tool to neutralize these effects of the Greeks. So the background of the religious tolerance policy helped the Empire in producing a new concept. Philo-Persianism was this new concept. Making the sympathies of the Achaemenid Empire by the mythology, the religious services and the financial supports were the plan of the advanced advisory system of the Empire. The role of religion was unparalleled in this process. As I conversed about, Delphi was the pioneer representative of Philo-Persianism. The second approach that was in connection with the first one was the mythical narrations about the relationship of the Persians and the Greeks. After a while the process completed with a new factor from inside of Greece; the famous Greek commanders of the Greco-Persian wars became the sympathies of their former enemies. The Achaemenid Empire did not have a plan for this one but used it in the best way. The effects of local aristocrats also must be considered. Some of these aristocrats tried to make a balance between the central government and local peoples for reducing probable hostilities. The influences of semi-Persian aristocrats was more important and Philo-Persianism could be counted as an effective tool in realizing the purpose of making a peaceful realm. The most important result of the expansion of Philo-Persianism was changing the subsequence of the historical events during the Greco-Persian wars and after it. The mythical basic proclamations of the Empire and the consecutive divinations of Apollo in favour of the Achaemenid Empire concluded to the lack of a unified consensus against the Persians in Classical Greece. Perhaps the primary result of the wars was not in favour of the Empire but the later events during the Peloponnesian wars and the conclusion of the Peace of Antalcidas displays the outcome of the expansion of Philo-Persianism in Classical Greece. Now the Persians were not foreign barbarian peoples. The Greeks knew them clearly and accepted them as an important solution for resolving their problems. Perhaps it was just after this events that the word of Mede became forgotten and the Greeks called this new governors of the world the Persians.

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Plates

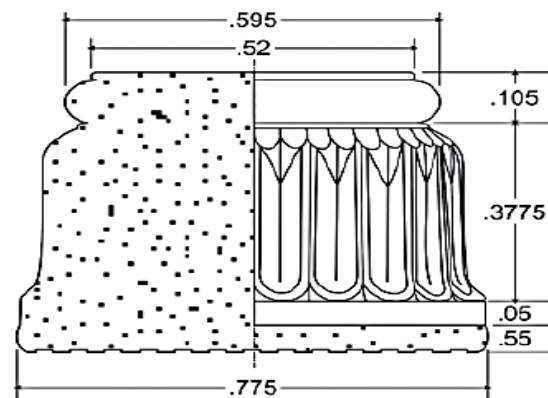
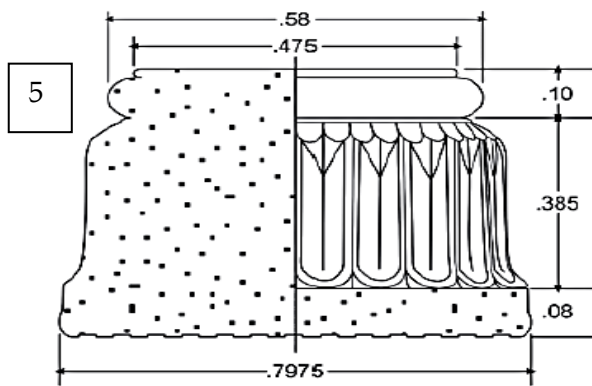
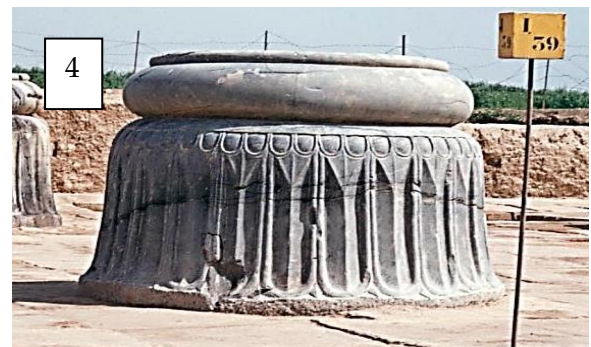


Plate i: (1-2-3)The Column bases in the west of the platform of the temple of Didyma (Photo by Farzad Abedi), (4) a column base from Shaur Palace, Susa, Iran (Archives de la Maison Archéologie & Ethnologie, René-Ginouvès, JP_V03) and (5) the column bases from Harem in Persepolis (Schmidt, 1953: fig. 107, H, G).

