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KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ YAYINLARI



OLBA

II

(ÖZEL SAYI)
I.CİLT

I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu
Bildirileri

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KILIKIA ARKEOLOJİSİNİ ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ YAYINLARI - II

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ÖNSÖZ

Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörlüğüne bağlı olan "Kilikia Arkeolojisini Araştırma Merkezi"nin düzenlemiş olduğu "I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu"nın bildirilerini içeren bu kitabın basımını sağlayan Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörü sayın Prof. Dr. Uğur Oral'a teşekkürü borç biliriz.

"I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu" 1-4 Haziran 1998 tarihleri arasında Mersin Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, "Kilikia Arkeolojisini Araştırma Merkezi (KAAM)" tarafından düzenlenerek Fen ve Edebiyat Fakültesi Konferans salonunda gerçekleştirilmiştir. Hergün 9.30 - 18.00 saatleri arasında yapılmış olan konuşmalar, sempozyumun son günü olan 4 Haziran'da Kanlıdivane (Kanytelleis)'ye düzenlenmiş bir gezi ile son bulmuştur.

Prehistorik çağlardan İslami döneme kadar tüm dönemleri kapsayan bildiriler, konularına göre belli günlere bölünmüşlerdi: İlk gün Kilikia Arkeometrisi , Prehistoria ve Protohistoria'sı, ikinci gün Protohistoria'ya devam edilerek Klasik ve Hellenistik Yunan Kilikia Arkeolojisine geçiş, üçüncü gün Hellenistik ve Roma Kilikiası ile numismatik, epigrafik ve filolojik açıdan Kilikia, son gün ise bölgenin Bizans ve İslami dönemleri incelenmiştir.

Bildiriler, bölgede kazı, yüzey araştırması ya da bilimsel veriler ile kütüphane çalışmaları yapan araştırmacıların bu konularda ulaştıkları sonuçları içermiştir. Katılımcıların bizzat kendi araştırmalarında elde ettikleri son buluntularını, bulgularını ya da teorilerini anlatmış oldukları bu sempozyum, konularında söz sahibi olan bilim adamları tarafından gerçekleştirilmiştir. Uluslararası Kilikia Sempozyumu'na onur konuğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi, Eskiçağ Dilleri ve Kültürleri Bölüm Başkanı Prof. Dr. Sencer Şahin olmuştur.

Gizemli Kilikia üzerine bilgilerimizi zenginleştirmek için bu sempozyuma katılmış olan tüm meslektaşlarıma teşekkür ederim. Sempozyum'un iki yılda bir tekrar edilmesi amaçlanmaktadır.

Aşağıda adları yazılı bulunan kişi ve kuruluşlara, sempozyum'un gerçekleşmesindeki değerli katkılarından dolayı teşekkür ederim:

Mersin Üniversitesi, Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Dekanı sayın Prof. Dr. Onur Bilge Kula,

Mersin Üniversitesi eski Rektörü sayın Prof. Dr. Vural Ülkü,

Sempozyum organizasyon komitesi üyeleri Öğr. Gör. Murat Durukan, Öğr. Gör. Ümit Aydınoglu ve Okt. Murat Özyıldırım,

Atlas Dergisi Yazı İşleri Müdürü Özcan Yüksek ve Arkeolog Füsün Arman ,

Martı Otel ve Genel Müdürü sayın Cemal Akın,
Royal Restoran ve Mersin Seyahat İşletmesi.

Sempozyum'da sunulmuş olan bildirilerin kalıcılığını sağlamak ve bu bilgiyi geniş kitlelerle paylaşabilmek amacıyla bunları yayınlamak da, sempozyum'u gerçekleştirmek kadar önem taşımaktadır. "Kilikia Arkeolojisini Araştırma Merkezi"nin "Olba I" adlı (sayın İçel Valisi Şenol Engin ve Vali Yardımcısı sayın Muzaffer Güzelant'ın katkılarıyla ve T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı'nın olanaklarıyla basılmış olan) ilk yayınından sonra "Olba - Özel Sayısı-" başlığı ile yayına girmiş olan bu kitap, "I. Uluslararası Kilikia Arkeolojisi Sempozyumu" nun bildirilerini içermektedir.

Bu yayının gerçekleşmesinde bizzat organizasyonu ile ilgilenen ve maddi kaynak yaratan sayın Rektörümüz Prof. Dr. Uğur Oral'a bu değerli katkılarından ötürü sonsuz teşekkürlerimizi sunarız. Çukurova Üniversitesi Basımevi Müdürü sayın Ergin Ören, Müdür Yardımcısı sayın Mustafa Akray ve bilgisayar operatörü Nur Sema Gültepe'nin basım aşamasındaki yardımları ile "Olba -Özel Sayısı-" oluşturulmuştur. Katkı ve ilgilerinden dolayı ayrıca Almanya Federal Cumhuriyeti Ankara Büyükelçiliği, Büyükelçi sayın Dr. Hans-Joachim Vergau ve Kültür Müşaviri sayın Dr. Gudrun Sräga'ya teşekkür ederiz.

Saygılarımla,
Doç. Dr. Serra Durugönül
Arkeoloji Bölüm Başkanı ve
KAAM Müdürü

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LOCAL POWERS AND PERSIAN MODEL IN ACHAEMENID
CILICIA: A REASSESSMENT
(Lev. 7-8)

*Olivier CASABONNE

Documentation and interpretative problems

In a recent study (Casabonne 1996a), I have presented and catalogued the Cilician iconographical documents, dating back to the Achaemenid period (above all to the 5th and 4th cent. B.C.), where a Persian influence can be seen. The documents are coins, relieves and the single terracotta found in the region (from a grave in Kelenderis)¹. I have tried to distinguish:

- First, the images directly referring to the central power : there are the Great King running (Fig. 1) or fighting a lion (Fig. 2), the Persian lancers (Fig. 3) and archers (Fig. 4), and Ahuramazda (Fig. 5) on coins struck in the cities of Cilicia Pedias.

- Secondly, the Persian motives : the griffin (Fig. 6) and the field chair of Baal and Tarkumuwa (Fig. 7-8) on coins struck in Tarsus.

- Thirdly, very persianized local images : it is the case of Aphrodite in Nagidus, on military coins struck by Pharnabazus ca. 380-375 B.C. (Fig. 9). The goddess is dressed like an Iranian woman. Nergal of Tarsus wears the costume of Persian guards, sometimes a tiara (Fig. 10).

- Finally, the so-called "Graeco-Persian" images : one bas-relief found in the vicinity of Silifke (now in Adana Museum), where we see a hunting scene with horses, and the Iranian-dressed rider, identified with the Tarsian dynast, on coins struck in Tarsus. The man rides, on the obverse, sometimes a walking horse (Fig. 11), sometimes a galloping one when he fights a Greek hoplite on the reverse (Fig. 12). Concerning the "Graeco-Persian" documents, M. Root (1991: 1) has shown that they correspond to "a representational expression emanating from the imperial centre". In Cilicia, the best example is surely the ploughing scene on Tarsian coins (Fig. 13) referring to the Persian royal ideology of the King-Farmer. We know a cylinder-seal, maybe from Iran, where the same motive appears (Fig. 14).

Among the Persian, persianized or "Graeco-Persian" images, the relieves found at Meydancikkale are a special case. We see, on two blocks, two processions of five men each, carrying indistinct objects (crockery ?) and converging on a probable entrance of a building or a room guarded by two lancers sculpted on a small side of each block (Fig. 15). The offering-carriers and the lancers are bearded, wear the Achaemenid court robe and the Persian tiara. We can establish, here, a link between these relieves and the tributary

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¹ We must add, now, seals, in glass, from the Adana Museum. See (*forthcoming*) : Hélène PONCY, Erman BEDIZ, Olivier CASABONNE, Francis JOANNES and André LEMAIRE, *Catalogue des sceaux du musée d'Adana (Cilicie) : les sceaux de l'âge du Fer*, to be published in *Varia Anatolica*, Istanbul.

procession at Persepolis. But, in the Persian capital, people in Persian dress are never represented as tributaries. The Persepolitan model exists at Meydancikkale but that does not mean a Persian presence.

In my recent study, I tried to demonstrate that, if we find a so important Persian iconography in Cilicia during Achaemenid period, it is because the Persian King imposed his models and his life style not only to his satraps (Xen., Cyr. VIII.6.10-14) but also on the local dynasts and aristocracies. From a local point of view, the reference to the Persian model is a sign of loyalty and submission. I would like, now, to reassess this problem of acculturation. As N. Wachtel (1974) demonstrated, a process of acculturation generates a great variety and a hierarchy of political situations which have, sometimes, nothing to do with any "imperial" conquest. Recently, P. Briant (1996: 576), from the Lycian example, wondered what links exist between the cultural borrowings and the Achaemenid political influence. Lycian dynasts escaped sometimes the Persian domination but their art could be, at the same time, very persianized : "Les études iconographiques sont elles-mêmes pleines d'embûches, insistant tantôt sur les influences athéniennes², tantôt sur l'influence achéménide. Mais quels rapports peut-on établir entre ces emprunts culturels et l'influence politique achéménide ? Peut-être n'y en a-t-il aucun à proprement parler, surtout si l'on admet que ces œuvres [lyciennes] ont été produites à un moment où la Lycie s'est détachée de la tutelle perse (...). Il est tout à fait frappant de constater que les bâtiments xanthiens, que l'on date généralement des années postérieures à 480-470, sont porteurs d'influences achéménides très notables. Mais cette adéquation n'implique pas nécessairement une soumission dans l'ordre politique, pas plus que l'adoption de motifs grecs ne présuppose une quelconque adhésion aux intérêts athéniens dans la région". More recently, and concerning my recent study (Casabonne 1996a), P. Briant (1997: 102) specifies that I "témoigne d'une prudence interprétative recommandable, et même d'un scepticisme de bon aloi sur les rapports entre diffusion des images et implantation du pouvoir impérial". But, it seems to P. Briant that I "pousse le balancier trop loin dans le sens inverse à propos des reliefs de Meydancikkale (p. 136-139), oubliant le caractère très spécifique de ces reliefs, les seuls de type persépolitain à avoir été trouvés dans les provinces : s'il est vrai qu'on ne peut pas en déduire mécaniquement qu'il s'agissait de la résidence d'un satrape perse, il convient, dans la même logique et avec la même cohérence, de refuser de postuler qu'il s'agissait de la résidence d'un dynaste local au service des Perses ! Une chose au moins est sûre, c'est qu'il est extrêmement risqué, voire imprudent, de tirer des inférences politiques datées du seul examen d'un témoignage iconographique *isolé*". Even if the position of P. Briant seems to me the wisest, we must not forget that the so-called "Persepolitan" reliefs in Meydancikkale do not constitute a "document isolé". If we get them into a historical, archaeological and geographical context, they are not so much isolated as P. Briant seems to

² But, during Classical times, does a Greek artistic influence necessarily mean an Athenian one ?

suggest. But, before coming back to this problem of acculturation, we must consider firstly the Cilician political situation as for the local powers.

A political plurality

According to Xenophon (Cyr. VII.4 and 6), there was not a Persian conquest of Cilicia. The inhabitants of the region became allied, between the conquest of Sardis in 546 and the fall of Babylon in 539, with Cyrus the Great who left them their own dynasts. So, there is a political continuation between the neo-Babylonian period and the Achaemenid times. Around 585, when Cilicia is within the neo-Babylonian empire, we see the Tarsian dynast, whose title is *syennesis* (Casabonne 1996b : 111, n. 2), and Labynetus of Babylon helping the Medes and the Lydians to sign a peace treaty (Hdt. I.74). After the creation of the Achaemenid empire, we meet, in Classical sources, on several occasions, different *syennesis*, called *hyparchos* or *basileus* of the Cilicians till 401 (Hdt. V.118, VII.98, IX.107 ; Æsc., *Persians*, 327 ; Xen., *Anab.* I.2.12-27 ; Diod. XIV.20 ; Ctesias, *Persika* § 63). The *syennesis*' palace (*ta basileia*) is in Tarsus (Xen., *Anab.* I.2.26) and the dynasty have family relations with the Carian nobility (Hdt. V.118). So, when the Tarsian dynast dies at the battle of Salamis, in 480, the Persian Great King replaces him with a Carian aristocrat who receives the "government (*archê*) of all Cilicia" (Hdt. IX.7). In 401, the Tarsian dynast submits to Cyrus the Younger, the satrap of Sardis, who fights against his brother, the Great King Artaxerxes. It has long been assumed that Artaxerxes replaces, after his victory, the *syennesis* with a Persian satrap because the title *syennesis* never appears anymore in the Classical sources after 401 (see the hypothesis in Casabonne 1995). As I have tried to demonstrate (*ibidem*), this thesis is not admissible. First, a possible nomination of a Persian satrap does not mean the disappearance of the local powers. Secondly, the Tarsian coins with the image of the Iranian-dressed rider were struck before and after 401 B.C. (Casabonne *forthcoming*). If the rider is well a representation of the Tarsian dynast, the dating of the coins proves his existence after the Cyrus' revolt. Thirdly, we must take the political personality of Tarkumuwa into account : he was often identified with Datames, a Persian from Caria, but we think now he was a local dynast only known by his Cilician coins (see Le Rider 1997, and my thesis : *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide*, Toulouse 1998). Tarkumuwa could be inserted in the *syennesis*' dynasty. Finally, we know, from Aramean inscriptions, the probable existence, in the 4th cent. B.C., of several local powers to be distinguished from the *syennesis*. At Hemite, on the Ceyhan (anc. Pyramus), H. Bossert (1950) found an inscription mentioning a "satrap" whose father's name is totally Luwian : Sarmapiya (Lemaire 1991, *contra* Dupont-Sommer 1950, who read SNMPY and understood this name as an Iranian one in -pâya). Here, the title "satrap" is not necessarily equivalent to a Persian imperial status. It is a title worn not only by a responsible of a satrapy but also by high an local dignitaries (Pognon 1917 : 397 ; Stolper 1985 : 58 ; Briant 1996 : 733 and 1041. See also Strabo XV.3.18). Recently, M. Sayar has found another Aramean inscription, near Hemite, where another Sarmapiya is mentioned.

After A. Lemaire (1993a : 11-14), we can identify these two Sarmapiya with some representatives of local potentates. According to Strabo (XIV.5.18), Kastabalis³ and the northern Amanus region were always governed by tyrants and dynasts whose Tarkondimotos became the *kurios*⁴ under the beginning of the Roman rule in Cilicia. Another Aramean inscription, dating back also to the 4th cent. B.C., found at Bahadırli, near Karatepe, attests the existence of a "state-temple" of Kubaba whose capital is Kastabala (act. Bodrum Kalesi) during the Persian period (Dupont-Sommer 1964). We know from another Anatolian examples that the Great priest (*archiereus*) of a "state-temple" could be a real dynast (ex. : Comana in Cataonia, Olba in Rough Cilicia) or that a local dynast could play an important role in the life of the sanctuary (ex. : Pessinus in Galatia with Deiotarus, sanctuary of Hermes Korykios in Korykos in Rough Cilicia with Archelaus)⁵. In Rough Cilicia, an Aramean inscription, found in the Lamus valley near the village of Sariaydın, mentions the probable existence of a local dynast named Wašunaš (WŠWNŠ), son of Appuašy ('PWŠY) and grandson of Wašunaš (Heberdey-Wilhelm 1896 : 92-93 ; KAI⁶ : no. 261 ; Gibson 1975 : no. 35). It can be established a link between this Appuašy, the name of Epyaxa (the *syennesis*' wife in 401 B.C.) and the Appuašu who is the dynast of Pirindu during the neo-Babylonian period. According to the practice of the 'papyponymy' in Antiquity, attested by the Sariaydın inscription, we can consider the existence of a local dynasty in Rough Cilicia, the later Ketis, from the 6th to the 4th cent. B.C. (Casabonne 1996b : 111-115).

So, Cilicia seems to have been politically plural. To the dynasts and the "state-temple" of Kubaba, we must add, maybe, the other "state-temple" of Olba, even if we do not know anything about it before the 3rd cent. B.C., and all the coastal cities essentially known by their coins : Nagidus, Kelenderis, Holmi, Soli, Tarsus⁷, Mallus and Issus. This plurality of the local powers exists since the neo-Assyrian period. Azitiwada, who inscribed his name on the bilingual inscriptions at Karatepe, is not the king of the whole of Cilicia but only a kind of 'vassal' of Awariku/Urikki who is mentioned in the Assyrian texts as the king of Kuwe, the Assyrian name of Cilicia Pedias, in the second half of the 8th cent. B.C. (see Bron 1976, especially p. 163). During the 9th cent. B.C., the Assyrian king Šalmanazzar III fights Tulli of Tanakum

³ From an inscription (Heberdey-Wilhelm 1896 : 28, no. 66, 1. 5), the region around Kastabala and between the Ceyhan, the Taurus and the Amanus, is named Kastabalis, but not «Castabalitide» (Briant 1996 : 731).

⁴ About Tarkondimotos' dynasty in the 1st cent. B.C., see : Dagron-Feissel 1987 : 67-71 (with references) ; Hill 1900 : 237-238 (for coinage) ; Robert 1964.

⁵ For the Anatolian sanctuaries and «state-temples», see Debord 1982 and Boffo 1985. Specially for the sanctuary in Korykos, see Hicks 1891 : 243-256, no. 27 ; Heberdey-Wilhelm 1896 : 71-79. Recently, after Ph. Houwink Ten Cate (1961), G. Dagron and D. Feissel have proved that the honoured god in Korykos, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, was Hermes (Luwian Runta) but not Zeus (Luwian Tarhunt) as R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm have proposed.

⁶ KAI = Donner-Röllig 1964.

⁷ We must distinguish the city of Tarsus and the kingdom of the *syennesis*.

in Cilicia. This Tulli is not the dynast of the whole of Cilicia but only what P. Desideri and A. Jasink (1990 : 132) call a "vasallo di Kate", the real king of Kuwe (ARAB I : no. 583⁸). Later, in the beginning of the 7th cent. B.C., the Assyrian king Essarhaddon subdues Sanduarri of Kundi and Sizzû (ARAB II : nos. 513, 528 and 552), two Cilician places respectively identified with classical Kyinda-Anazarbos (act. Anavarza) and Sision (act. Kozan) or Issus (act. Kinet Hüyük) (Casabonne 1997 : 38-41, *contra* Bing 1985). Sanduarri is not called the king of Kuwe whose name, at this period, is unfortunately unknown. During the Iron Age, when Cilicia is within the neo-Assyrian empire, we find in the region a local political organisation comparable with the system we know in Cappadocia at the same time. Assyrian texts (ARAB I : nos. 579, 772, 801-802 & ARAB II : no. 25 ; Naster 1938) and hieroglyphic Hittite inscriptions (see Hawkins 1969 and, now, Jasink 1995 : 128-153) show us some Cappadocian kinglets totally in service of higher dynasts, themselves in a relation of submission with the neo-Assyrian king. There is not only a plurality of local powers but it exists also a hierarchy of political situations. That could be the same phenomenon in Cilicia from the neo-Assyrian period till the Macedonian conquest. We have, in the region, a concentric vision of powers. For example, if Epyaxa is a princess of Rough Cilicia, as we recently suggested (Casabonne 1996b), she is also the *syennesis*'wife. Epyaxa could represent her own territory next to Cyrus the Younger like the power of *syennesis*. The prerogatives of the Tarsian dynast could stretch as far as Rough Cilicia and Pamphylia during Achaemenid period, even if there local powers exist. The study of the countermarks on coins struck in Cilicia and Pamphylia attests that, around 380-360 B.C., the Tarsian dynast, identified with Tarkumuwa, dominated so much the Cilician and Pamphylian regional capitals that he transformed the local monetary politics in Selge, Aspendus, Side, Nagidus, Kelenderis, Holmi, Soli, Tarsus, Mallus and Issus (Callataÿ *forthcoming*). But, in the end of the first quarter of the 4th cent. B.C., Tarkumuwa could assume the responsibilities of a real satrap, as it is the case, at the same period, of the Hekatomnids in Caria. Tarkumuwa, a *syennesis*, was a local dynast for the Cilicians and a satrap for the Persian King. He could have been replaced by Mazday, an Iranian satrap, between ca. 360-333, but that does not mean the disappearance of the other local powers known by inscriptions dating back to the 4th cent. B.C.

Conquest and acculturation

If we take the Cilician political plurality into consideration, it is interesting to come back to Meydancikkale. The site, named Kiršu during Iron Age and Achaemenid times, was a regional and royal capital of Appuašu, the dynast of Pirindu, who rebelled against the neo-Babylonian central power. The principal capital of Appuašu was Ura. The historians situate it at Olba (Ramsay 1929 ; Wiseman 1956 ; Bing 1969), at Kelenderis (Beal 1992) or at (or

⁸ ARAB = Luckenbill 1926 (vol. I or II).

around) Silifke (Davesne-Lemaire-Lozachmeur 1987 ; Lemaire 1993b). The last hypothesis seems to be the most admissible one, according to the archaeological results in the vicinity of Silifke and to Classical sources (Steph. Byz. : s.v. *Seleukeia*). We can consider that Kiršu was a kind of *yayla* for the dynasty of Appuašu : the local power stayed near the coast during Winter and lived in the mountains during Summer, when the temperatures are too much hot and the climate too moist at the seashore. Moreover, it often rains and snows at Meydancikkale and the principal building, in the middle of the site, was probably not roofed⁹. No one could live there during the rainy season. Finally, if we consider that the so-called "persepolitian" reliefs give to Kiršu an official character, it can be assumed that the site played an important role for the control and the exploitation of the round territory. This territory is covered with forests exploited for the naval construction which has been very developed by the Achaemenid power (Wallinga 1991). We must remind us that the deforestation takes place between Spring and Autumn. So, we can think that, during Achaemenid period, Kiršu was still a regional and temporary capital in charge of a local dynasty (with Epyaxa and Appuaşy), as it was the case at the preceding period (with Appuaşu of Pirindu), even if there could have been a garrison (Belšunu, a Babylonian, is buried at Kiršu in the 4th cent. B.C. : Lemaire-Lozachmeur *forthcoming*).

We consider, now, that one of the two Aramean inscriptions found in Meydancikkale could commemorate an important rebuilding of the fortified entrance where it has been discovered. The dating of this rebuilding (according to stratigraphy and palaeography) could be around the end of the 5th cent. B.C. and the beginning of the 4th (Laroche-Traunecker 1993 ; Lemaire-Lozachmeur *forthcoming*). That is the same dating assigned to the "Persepolitian" reliefs (Davesne *forthcoming*). Furthermore, we observe that, between ca. 425 and ca. 380 B.C., Issos (act. Kinet Hüyük) knows important architectural (city walls) changes, more than some revisions (see Ch. Gates in this volume), and that the Cilician monetary production intensifies. I think that these observations could reveal the reorganisation of the Persian Mediterranean front after the loss of the Western territories (Ionia and Thracia) following the creation of the Delian League, the destruction of the Achaemenid navy following the Athenian expeditions in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the reduction of the importation of Athenian currency during the end of the Peloponnesian War (see Casabonne *forthcoming*). The Cilician local powers had to make one's contribution to the Persian central power, more and more, in order to get round the losses. This effort of reorganisation seems to be perfected by the so-called "King's Peace" in 386 B.C. and the nomination to satrapal responsibilities of local dynasties as the Hekatomnids in Caria (and Lycia) and, maybe, Tarkumuwa in Cilicia (and Pamphylia).

⁹ It is the case in the 3rd cent. B.C., but the Hellenistic building has vaguely the same plan as the Persian building (personal observations).

A Persian image is not necessarily given by a Persian *public* and/or to a Persian *public*. The Achaemenid iconography on coins struck in Tarsus and in Mallus, on the relieves at Meydancikkale, for examples, could mean above all the submission of the local powers to the Persian power. J. des Courtils (1995) has recently recapitulated the ways of propagation of the Achaemenid models. We must add the probable role played by some official artists. According to an Aramean letter from Aršama, the satrap of Egypt, to his intendant, we know the existence of such artists, "trained" in the great capitals of the Achaemenid empire like Susa (see Grelot 1972 : 70-71 ; Whitehead 1974 : 84-89). Moreover, the gifts, made by the Great King to the local dynasts or aristocrats (*Esther* VI.6-11 ; Xen., *Cyr.* VIII.2.8 and *Anab.* I.3.27), probably participated to the propagation of the Persian life style. Such gifts were already in use during the neo-Assyrian period (Postgate 1994) and could explain the so-called "assyrianization" of the art in the provinces within the Assyrian empire from the 9th to the 7th cent. B.C., even if this "assyrianization" begins just before the Assyrian conquest (Bittel 1976 : 246-249).

However that may be, even if there are a lot of hypothesis, it is not surprising that in a region remained faithful to the Great King, we find so much Persian or persianized images. Contrary to Lycia, where a Persian influence is also known, Cilicia always stayed in the service of the Achaemenid power. Its situation and wealth, so important for the military conquest and operations in the Eastern Mediterranean world, explain this phenomenon. There is no evidence of a secession of Cilicia in the 360's B.C., during the so-called "Great Satrapal revolt", above all if Tarkumuwa is a dynast-satrap and has nothing to do with Datames as it has often been argued. When Isocrates says that the most of the Cilician cities are in the hands of the allies of Athens as soon as 380 B.C. (*Panegyric* § 161), he wants to "convaincre les Grecs de lancer une offensive en Asie Mineure" (Briant 1996 : 669). It's done some fifty years later with Alexander the Great. When, in 333 B.C., the Macedonian entered Cilicia, he found a region totally submissive to the Great King : the "Barbarians" are in Issus (*Curtius* III.7.3), Soloi is still favourable to the Persians (*Arrian, Anab.* II.5.5 ; *Curtius* III.7.2) and the mountain dwellers of Rough Cilicia revolt against the Macedonian (*Arrian, Anab.* II.5.5).

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1
Great King running
Mallus – stater (obverse and reverse)
Struck c. 380 B.C.



2
Great King fighting a lion
Tarsus – stater (obverse)
Struck c. 380 B.C.



3
Persian lancers
Tarsus – stater (reverse) and tetradrachm (reverse)
Struck c. 430-400 B.C.



4
Persian archer
Tarsus – stater (reverse) and tetradrachm (reverse)
Struck c. 430-400 B.C.



5
Ahuramazda
Issus – stater (reverse)
Struck by Tiribazus c. 382 B.C.



6
Persian griffin
Tarsus – tetradrachm (obverse)
Struck c. 430-400 B.C.



7
Tarkumuwa on a Persian field chair
Stater (reverse)
Struck by Tarkumuwa c. 375-360 B.C.



8
Baal of Tarsus on a Persian field chair
Stater (obverse)
Struck by Mazday c. 360-333 B.C.

Fig. 1-8

Lev 8



9
Aphrodite in Nagidus
Stater (obverse)
Struck by Pharnabazus c 380-375 B C



10
Nergal in Tarsus
Stater (reverse)
Struck c 430-400 B C.



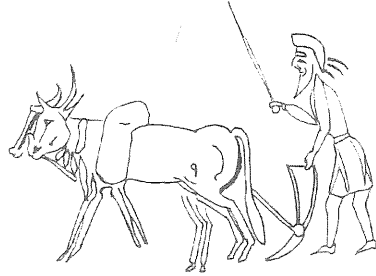
11
The Tarsian dynast in Iranian costume
Stater (obverse)
Struck c 430-410 B C



12
The Tarsian dynast in Iranian costume against a Greek hoplite
Stater (obverse and reverse)
Struck c 410-385 B C.



13
Ploughing scene on a Tarsian coin
Stater (obverse)
Struck c 390-380 B C



14
Ploughing scene on an Achaemenid
cylinder-seal
Drawing Helene Poncy



15
"Persepolitan" reliefs at Meydancikkale (c 420-350 B C.)
Drawing Laroche-Traunecker 1993 : 27

Fig. 9-15