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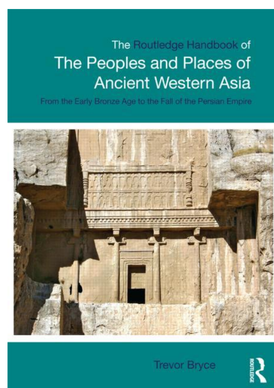


# The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia
# The Near East from the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire

Trevor Bryce, Heather D. Baker, Daniel T. Potts, Jonathan N. Tubb, Jennifer M. Webb, Paul Zimansky

# P

Publication details
https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203875506-16
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**Published online on: 14 Jul 2009**

**How to cite :-** Trevor Bryce, Heather D. Baker, Daniel T. Potts, Jonathan N. Tubb, Jennifer M. Webb, Paul Zimansky. 14 Jul 2009, *P from:* The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia, The Near East from the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire Routledge
Accessed on: 06 Dec 2023
https://test.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9780203875506-16

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# P

**Paddira** Iron Age fortified city located in the upper Diyala/Zagros region in the northeastern Mesopotamian–northwestern Iranian borderlands. The city fell to the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III during his campaign in the region in his sixteenth regnal year (843) (**RIMA* 3: 40). Shalmaneser refers to the city as a possession of Ianziburiash, ruler of Allabria (q.v.). In 827 a man of Paddira called Artasari paid tribute to Shalmaneser's commander-in-chief Dayyan-Ashur while the latter was campaigning in the region (**RIMA* 3: 70), thus saving Paddira from a further Assyrian attack. Shalmaneser's son and successor Shamshi-Adad V calls Paddira a city of the Nairi lands; it is one of the places cited by him in describing the furthest reaches of Assyria (**RIMA* 3: 183).

**Padnu** (Patnu?) Iron Age royal city in northeastern Babylonia destroyed by the Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad V in 813, during his second campaign in Babylonia, at that time ruled by Marduk-balassu-iqbi (**RIMA* 3: 190). Two other royal cities, Makurrete and Qai[. . .]na, are listed with Padnu among Shamshi-Adad's conquests in this campaign. Padnu may be identical with the place Padan which is known, in association with the cities of Zanban and Alman, from texts of the later M2 (*RGTC* 5: 213).

**Pahhuwa** Late Bronze Age Hittite vassal city, located in eastern Anatolia near the upper course of the Euphrates. Early in C14, during the reign of the Hittite king Arnuwanda I, Pahhuwa's king Mita committed a range of offences against his Hittite overlord, which included marrying the daughter of Usapa, a declared enemy of the Hittites. Arnuwanda sent an ultimatum to the city, demanding the extradition of Mita, his family, and all his possessions. In the event that Pahhuwa failed to accede to this ultimatum, Arnuwanda ordered its neighbours to attack it and begin a slaughter of its citizens, pending the arrival of a Hittite army to complete the city's punishment. The document which provides this information belongs to a small group of texts which were originally dated to the last decades of the Hittite kingdom, late C13, but were subsequently redated on philological and palaeographic grounds to the period of the first rulers of the Hittite New Kingdom, early C14.

*Gurney (1948), *RGTC* 6: 296, *HDT* *160–6.

**Pahru** Iron Age city in southern Anatolia, the royal capital of Kate, king of Que. It was attacked by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, possibly on his return from a campaign in the land of Tabal (thus J. D. Hawkins). Shalmaneser captured the city, then shut Kate up in it, carrying off his daughter and her dowry to the Assyrian capital, Nimrud (Calah) (**RIMA* 3: 119). The city is perhaps to be identified with Misis (Classical Mopsuestia).

*CHLI* I: 41.

**Paiteru** Country in the upper Euphrates region. Its ruler was listed by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) as one of twenty-three kings of the Nairi lands (**RIMA* 2: 21). It was among the lands conquered by Tiglath-pileser during his campaigns against a coalition of Nairi countries, which began in his third regnal year (**RIMA* 2: 37, 52).

**Pala** (map 3) Late Bronze Age country, subject to Hatti, lying in the mountainous region of Classical Paphlagonia, northwest of the Hittite homeland, and closely linked in Hittite texts with the neighbouring land of Tummanna. The inhabitants of the region spoke Palaic, an Indo-European language. Pala-Tummanna was one of the few Hittite subject states placed under the direct rule of a Hittite governor, no doubt in recognition of its strategically important location on the edge of the Kaska lands which lay to its east. Inevitably, attacks were made upon it by Kaska mountain tribes. During the reign of the Hittite king Mursili II (1321–1295), an attempt by one of Pala's cities, Wasumana, to establish its independence was aborted when Mursili sent his military commander, Nuwanza, to assist Hudupiyanza, governor of the region, with its recapture (**AM* 106–7). Pala was among the depopulated cities and lands which Mursili's son and successor Muwattalli II (1295–1272) assigned to his brother Hattusili (later King Hattusili III) when he appointed him ruler of the northern part of the Hittite homeland (**CS* I: 201) (see **Hakpis(sa)** and **Turmitta**).

**RGTC* 6: 297–8, van den Hout (*RlA* 10: 191–3).

**Palestine** A name originating from the Peleset, one of the groups of so-called Sea Peoples (q.v.), who in C12 settled in the southern coastal plain of the Levant, where they re-emerged in *OT* tradition as the Philistines (q.v.). Their land was called Philistia. Though in early C6 the Babylonians dealt the final death blow to their existence as a cultural and ethnic entity, Greek sources preserved their name in the geographical term *Palaistine Syria* (Palestinian Syria) (e.g. Herodotus 1.105). This gave rise to *Palaestina* as a standalone place-name covering the region of the Levant between Phoenicia and Egypt. The C1 CE Jewish historian Josephus was the first anc. writer who explicitly linked *Palaestina* with the Philistines. *Palaestina* was the abbreviated name that came to be used of the Roman province which the emperor Hadrian designated as *Provincia Syria Palaestina* in 135 CE (in place of the earlier *Provincia Iudaea*). In Arabic, the name was preserved in the form *Filastin*.

The term 'Palestine' has had a wide range of meanings throughout its history. In a geographical sense, it means different things at different times, its locations and its limits shifting, expanding, or contracting from one period to another. So too the adjective 'Palestinian' differs in meaning from one context to another, depending on whether it is used in an archaeological, a cultural, or a political sense. For surveys of Palestine's history through the ages, see *OEANE* 4: 207–34.

**Palmyra** see under **Tadmor**.

**Pamphylia** (map 4) Classical name for the region located on Anatolia's southern coastal plain between Lycia to the west and Cilicia to the east. 'Pamphylia' is a Greek name meaning 'place of all tribes'. According to Greek legendary tradition, it was settled by Greeks of mixed origin under the leadership of Amphilochus, Calchas, and



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Mopsus some time after the Trojan War. The Pamphylians spoke a distinctive dialect of Greek, which was related to Cypriot and Arcadian and also contained an infusion of native Anatolian linguistic elements. Pamphylia no doubt became subject to Persian sovereignty c. 540 during the Persian commander Harpagus' campaigns along the southern Anatolian coast. But some time after the victory won by the Athenian commander Cimon over the Persian fleet at the Eurymedon r. in Pamphylia (c. 466), a number of its cities became members of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). The tribute assessment of the year 425 includes Aspendus, Perge, and Sillyum. Other important Pamphylian cities were Attaleia, Side, and Magydus. In C3 control over Pamphylia was contested by the Seleucid and Attalid kings, and in C2 by the Attalid kings and the Pisidians.

From textual evidence we know that in the Late Bronze Age the region formed the western coastal part of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa, and probably had a predominantly Luwian population. There is no evidence of Greek settlement in the region during the Bronze Age. However, the Pamphylian city of Perge, a Greek settlement according to Greek legendary tradition, was almost certainly the successor of Late Bronze Age Parha (q.v.), which lay just outside Tarhuntassa's western frontier.

Mitchell (*OCD*: 1102–3).

**Panaru** Mountain land in northeastern Mesopotamia, east of the Tigris, in the vicinity of Kadmuhu. Its capital, Urratinash, was captured by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I in his accession year (1115), when the land was ruled by a certain Shadi-Teshub (**RIMA* 2: 15–16).

**Panaztepe** (map 5) Settlement located on the Aegean coast of western Anatolia on the north side of the Bay of Izmir. Its history of occupation extends, with apparent gaps, from the Late Bronze Age to the Ottoman period. The site has been excavated over a period of two decades by a Turkish archaeological team under the direction of A. Erkanal-Öktü. Four occupational levels dating to the Late Bronze Age have been identified. The earliest, containing a large building with broad walls and extending over seven phases, is contemporary with levels VIh–m at Troy (C13, Late Helladic IIIB). The last M2 level corresponds to Troy VIIb2 (C11, mid–late Late Helladic IIIC), a conclusion based on the artefacts unearthed in a large six-roomed rectangular building from this level. Later levels contain the remains of occupation dating to the Geometric and Archaic (C8–6), late Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods.

Erkanal and Erkanal (1986), Erkanal-Öktü and Çınardalı-Karaaslan (2006), Yıldırım and Gates (2007: 291)

**Panionium** Meeting-place of the twelve members of the Greek Ionian League, probably founded in C9 (Herodotus 1.148). According to Herodotus (1.142), the cities comprising the league were Miletus, Myous, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Erythrae, Clazomenae, Phocaea, and the islands of Samos and Chios. Dedicated to the god Poseidon, the League first met in the sacred precinct associated with Poseidon (Heliconius) at the foot of Mt Mycale (*BAGRW* 61 E2), in the territory of the city of Priene. The mountain was located on the Aegean coast of Anatolia north of Miletus, on a headland jutting out towards the island of Samos. Representatives of the member states met here to formulate common policy. A League temple was built on the site, which also provided the venue for a festival called the Panionia. In C5 the League's



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meeting-place was shifted to Ephesus, apparently for security reasons, but was returned to Mycale the following century.

A survey of Mt Mycale conducted by H. Lohmann in 2004–5 identified a settlement with large fortification walls, 5 km north-northwest of Priene, as the site of the Panionium prior to its shift to Ephesus. Within the walls were the remains of a temple with a large chamber, possibly an assembly chamber. The temple, which may have been that of the Panionium, was used only for a short time, in the second half of C6. C7 ceramic ware and a group of terracotta warrior figurines indicate an earlier phase in the settlement's existence, prior to the construction of the temple and its sanctuary. (The above summary of Lohmann's survey has been adapted from Yıldırım and Gates, 2007: 321.)

Bean (*PECS* 670), Hornblower (1991: 527–9), Lohmann (2006).

**Paphlagonia** (map 4) Mountainous region in central-northern Anatolia, located south of the Black Sea between (the Hellenistic kingdom of) Pontus to the east and Bithynia to the west, and extending inland to Galatia on the Anatolian plateau. In Late Bronze Age Hittite texts, the region was called Pala. Herodotus (7.72) lists a contingent of Paphlagonians among the forces assembled by the Persian king Xerxes for his invasion of Greece in 481. In the Roman imperial period, a major route passed through it from Byzantium to the eastern Roman frontier.

Broughton, Mitchell (*OCD* 1107–8).

**Paphos** (Palaipaphos, ***Kouklia***) (map 14) City on the southwest coast of Cyprus, with a history of occupation extending from the Chalcolithic to the mediaeval period. Originally known simply as Paphos, it was renamed Palaipaphos ('Old Paphos') from late C4 onwards to distinguish it from the harbour town Nea Paphos ('New Paphos'), which lay 16 km to the northwest and was founded c. 320 by Nicocles, Paphos' last king.

The settlement at Paphos was established, according to Greek tradition, by Agapenor, king of Tegea, a city in Arcadia in the Peloponnese (southern mainland Greece). In one version of the foundation legend, Agapenor also founded the cult of Aphrodite in the city, in continuation of an indigenous fertility cult dating back at least to M3. According to Greek mythological tradition, Aphrodite first stepped ashore at Paphos after her birth from the sea foam. In another version of the foundation story, the goddess' cult was established prior to Greek settlement by Cinyras, a legendary king of Paphos, or of all Cyprus, who in Homer's *Iliad* (11.20) sent Agamemnon a corslet (a piece of armour covering the upper body) when he heard of his expedition against Troy. Cinyras continued to be revered by the later priest-kings of Paphos as the founder of their dynasty.

A monumental cult-building was constructed on the site c. 1200 with pillared hall and open temenos layout, reflecting western Asian architectural traditions. Within the hall a large conical stone, found many years ago in the vicinity, perhaps represented the deity in aniconic form (i.e. not bearing an image). Worship of the goddess Aphrodite in such a form during the Iron Age may represent a continuation of a long-established pre-Greek tradition. The Temple of Paphian Aphrodite, which replaced the earlier Bronze Age cult-building, was the most famous cult-place of the goddess in the anc. world.

The early Greek city was one of the largest and most prosperous in Cyprus. Its



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*Figure 81* Paphos, temple of Aphrodite, lustral basin(?).

intermixture of Cypriot, Aegean, and Levantine cultural elements produced thriving craft industries with the manufacture of a range of fine ceramic ware, ivories, and jewellery. But the city reached the peak of its prosperity in the Archaic (C7–6) and Classical (C5–4) periods, as far as we are able to judge from its (admittedly meagre) architectural remains and its tombs. The former include an impressive ashlar building of late C6 or early C5, thought to have been a royal residence, and a C4 'peristyle mansion'. The tombs indicate a large, wealthy elite in Paphos' mid M1 population. Unfortunately, later Roman remodelling has left little trace of Aphrodite's sanctuary as it would have appeared in the Archaic and Classical periods, though the survival of thousands of fragments of terracotta votive figurines from the temple, dating to the Geometric (C8), Archaic, and Classical periods, testify to the cult's continuing popularity throughout these periods.

A reference to Paphos in the inscription on the prism of the C7 Assyrian king Esarhaddon, dated to 673/672 (*Borger, 1956: 60 §27, Heidel, 1956), is one of the very few surviving historical attestations of the city. We do know, however, that in early C5 it joined the anti-Persian Ionian rebellion (499–494). There is substantial material evidence for fierce fighting at the northeast fortifications of the city, where the Persians raised a large mound in the course of their siege of the city and the Paphians responded with counter-siege works. In fact, it is possible to reconstruct in considerable detail the course of the siege and counter-siege, by examining the debris left in the aftermath of the conflict. This debris included hundreds of fragments of sculptures and votive monuments, which the Persians had plundered from a sanctuary outside the walls to use as material for building their siege ramp. The monumental



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sculptures recovered from this debris, obviously dating to the Archaic period, include kouroi (naked male statues) and fragments of lions and sphinxes. Egyptian, Phoenician, and Greek influence are all combined in the products of the Paphian school of sculpture.

Paphos went into decline when a large part of its population was transferred to the city of Nea Paphos. In 294 it lost its status as the capital of the kingdom of Paphos when the Ptolemies conquered Cyprus and abolished its local monarchies. Nevertheless, the old city remained an important centre of the worship of Aphrodite, whose cult continued to flourish through the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Nicolaou (*PECS* 674–6), Maier and Karageorghis (1984), Iacovou (2002).

**Paphu** (**Papanhu**) Small Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age Hurrian(?) state in the upper Tigris region, northeastern Mesopotamia. It was among the countries conquered by the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208) early in his reign (see under **Alzu**) (**RIMA* 1: 250 etc.). In the accession year of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1115) it rebelled against Assyrian rule, on this occasion in support of the land of Kadmuhu. Tiglath-pileser claims to have won a crushing victory, inflicting heavy casualties and carrying off its king, Kili-Teshub, and large numbers of his family and clan (**RIMA* 2: 15). The captured king's palace and capital were destroyed. But in the following year, Tiglath-pileser undertook a further campaign against the tribes of Paphu, and also the land of Haria. This took him deep into the mountains of northern Mesopotamia, where, he claims, no other Assyrian king had ever been (**RIMA* 2: 18). Passage through the rugged mountain terrains was impossible for his chariots, so he ordered his troops to carry them on their necks. He reports that the forces of the entire Paphu land were now massed against him. On this occasion, his slaughter of the enemy resulted, he says, in the hollows and plains of the mountains flowing with their blood. He also reports military operations against the tribes of Paphu in the context of his campaign in this same year against the land of Sugu, which was part of one of the regions called Habhu in Assyrian texts (see **Habhu (2)**) (**RIMA* 2: 19).

Wilhelm (*RlA* 10: 324–5).

**Pappa** see **Sukkia**.

**Paqar(a)hubunu** Iron Age city located on the west bank of the upper Euphrates in the region of mod. Pazarcık, near the border between the kingdoms of Kummuh and Gurgum, and in C9 belonging to the Aramaean kingdom of Bit-Adini, then ruled by Ahuni. It is attested in the Annals of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, who in his first regnal year (858) crossed the Euphrates and attacked the city, killing 1,300 of its troops and laying waste its towns and villages (**RIMA* 3: 15–16). This was a prelude to further successful campaigns by Shalmaneser against the cities of Bit-Adini, which ended with the absorption of the kingdom into the Assyrian empire. In his twelfth regnal year, 847, Shalmaneser again campaigned against Paqarahubunu (**RIMA* 3: 38, 66), which may then, J. D. Hawkins suggests (*CHLI* I: 175), have belonged to the kingdom of Carchemish. The city later provided a focus of resistance against Assyrian rule, and in 805 a major battle was fought there between a military coalition led by Attar-shumki (I), ruler of the Aramaean state of Bit-Agusi, and the forces of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (**RIMA* 3: 205). Though he defeated the coalition on

this occasion, Adad-nirari failed to break it up, and it continued to challenge Assyrian sovereignty in the region for at least the next ten years.

Streck (*RlA* 10: 332).

**Parabeste** City, according to Pliny the Elder (6.92), belonging to the Central Asian land of Arachosia (in the region of mod. Afghanistan) which was among the eastern territories of the Persian empire (C6–4). The fact that there is only a single, late attestation of the city raises doubts about its authenticity. Conceivably, however, its name reflects that of the Persian province of Paropanisadae, which was originally part of Arachosia and is also mentioned by Pliny.

**Paraetaceni** Inhabitants of the mountainous region in southwestern Iran bordering on the territory of Susiana (mod. Khuzestan) in the southwest and Media in the north and east. They are attested by Herodotus as one of the tribes constituting the kingdom of Media (1.101) (cf. *Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.19.2). Their name is perhaps to be read in place of 'Paricani' (q.v.) in Herodotus' listing of the members of what he believed to be the tenth Persian province (3.92) (see glossary under **satrapy**). Strabo (16.1.17) refers to the country of Paraetacene as bordering on the land of Persis.

Treidler (*RE Suppl.* 10: 478–82).

**Parahshum** see **Marhashi**.

**Parala** Iron Age city belonging to the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Kummuh in eastern Anatolia. The Urartian king Sarduri II refers to it in his Annals as one of the royal cities which he captured, c. 750, from Kushtashpi, king of Kummuh (**HcI* 123–4, no. 103).

*CLHI* I: 332.

**Parda** M1 city, capital of the land of Zikirtu (q.v.) which was a sub-kingdom of the land of Mannaea in mod. Iranian Kurdistan. It was destroyed c. 716 by the Assyrian king Sargon II during his campaign against Zikirtu's governor, Mitatti. Mitatti had joined other Mannaean leaders in a rebellion against Assyrian sovereignty (**ARAB* II: 28).

**Parga, Mt** Mountain in Persis, southwestern Iran. It was the site of the final military showdown between Vahyazdata, a pretender to the Persian throne who had rebelled against Darius I, and Darius' military commander Artavadiya (522–521) (**DB* 42). Vahyazdata was decisively defeated and taken prisoner, and suffered death by impalement.

**Parga** (**Parqa**) City of the Iron Age kingdom of Hamath in northwestern Syria. It was among the three 'royal cities' which the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III captured from the Hamathite king Irhuleni (see **Hamath (1)**) during his sixth campaign (853) (**RIMA* 3: 23). (The other two cities were Adennu and Argana.) Its capture is recorded on one of the bronze bands from Balawat (see **Imgur-Enlil**) (**RIMA* 3: 144).

Lipiński (2000: 259–62), Radner (*RlA* 10: 336–7).

**Parha** (map 3) Late Bronze Age city in southern Anatolia located on the Kastaraya r.,



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and almost certainly the ancestor of Classical Perge (which lay on the west bank of the Cestrus r. in Pamphylia). In the 'bronze tablet' treaty which the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV (1237–1209) drew up with his cousin Kurunta, appanage ruler (see glossary) of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa, Parha lay just outside the western boundary of Tarhuntassa, which was marked (at least in part) by the Kastaraya r. (*CS II: 101). It also appears in a fragmentary Hittite text, which perhaps formed part of the Annals of Tudhaliya's father Hattusili III, within the context of a reference to the Lukka Lands (*Gurney, 1997).

Frantz-Szabó (*RlA* 10: 337).

**Paricani** Population group which according to Herodotus (3.94) formed, together with the Asiatic Ethiopians, the seventeenth Persian province. Herodotus (3.92) also refers to a *second* group of Paricanians who allegedly belonged to the tenth province, together with Ecbatana, the rest of Media, and the Orthocorybantes. But given the general unreliability of his account of the Persian provincial system (see glossary under **satrapy**), it is possible that he has mistakenly duplicated the Paricani's name. The name of the group supposedly belonging to the tenth province should perhaps be read as Paraetaceni, who are attested elsewhere in Herodotus as a people of southwestern Iran (see **Paraetaceni**). But there is no reason to doubt the historical reality of a group called the Paricani, located somewhere in Iran during M1 or further east in Central Asia, and it is conceivable that there were two such groups who were related but separately identifiable. Herodotus (7.68, 86) also reports the inclusion of a Paricanian force of infantry and cavalry in the army assembled by Darius' son and successor Xerxes for his invasion of Greece in 481. A city called Paricane, in Persis, is attested in a fragment from Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 282).

**Paripa** see **Surunu**.

**Parium** (map 5) M1 city located on the southern shore of the Hellespont in northwestern Anatolia, near the entrance to the Propontis. Its name is perhaps derived from its putative eponymous founder Parium, son of Jason, who may have established a colony on the site with settlers from the mother city Erythrae. Alternatively, the city was a joint foundation of Miletus and Erythrae, and was named after the legendary Parilarians. Either way, the site was well chosen, and the city prospered as a result of its excellent strategic position. In the first half of C4 the sculptor Praxiteles carved a statue of the god Eros in the city.

During the Hellenistic period, Parium came under the control of the kingdom of Pergamum before being incorporated into the Roman empire in 133.

Bonacasa (*PECS* 676).

**Paropanisadae** A region of Central Asia, according to Pliny the Elder (6.92), north of and perhaps originally belonging to the land of Arachosia in Afghanistan. It occupied a key position on the route between Afghanistan and India. During his campaigns in the region in 327, Alexander the Great appointed a new satrap there, his father-in-law Oxyartes from the country of Sogdiana. The satrapy played a major role in the eastern frontier defence system of Alexander's empire.

Badian (1985: 468–9).



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**Parqa** see **Parga**.

**Parsa (1)** (*Fars*) (map 16) M1 country in southwestern Iran, located to the east of the Persian Gulf, homeland of the Persian dynasty. The relationship between Parsa and the land in the central western Zagros mountains called Parsua (see below) in Neo-Assyrian texts remains a matter of debate. In Greek, the name Parsa was represented as Persis.
*CAH* IV: 902 (index refs s.v. Fars).

**Parsa (2)** = Dur-Kurigalzu (q.v.).

**Parsua** (**Parsuash/Parsumash**) (map 13) Iron Age land in the central western Zagros mountains of Iran, frequently attested in Neo-Assyrian records. Parsua appears to have consisted originally of a number of small polities, each under the rule of a king. The Assyrian king Shalmaneser III reports that it was among the lands and cities he destroyed during his campaign in the upper Diyala and Zagros regions in his sixteenth regnal year (843) (**RIMA* 3: 40, 54), and that twenty-seven of its kings voluntarily offered up tribute to him during his campaign in the region in 835 (**RIMA* 3: 68). When the Assyrian commander-in-chief Dayyan-Ashur was campaigning in Parsua on behalf of Shalmaneser in 828, he received a payment of tribute from its kings. But a number of Parsua's cities refused to accept Assyrian sovereignty. Dayyan-Ashur responded by conquering and plundering them (**RIMA* 3: 70). The following year he conducted a further campaign in Parsua, claiming to have captured and destroyed the fortified cities of Pushtu, Shalahamanu, and Kinihamanu, along with twenty-three other cities (**RIMA* 3: 71). Shalmaneser's son and successor Shamshi-Adad V reports receiving tribute from the people of Parsua during his third campaign in the Nairi lands (**RIMA* 3: 184).

In 781 Parsua was one of the countries against which the Urartian king Argishti I campaigned. The Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (810–783) lists Parsua among his conquests in northeastern Mesopotamia and northwestern Iran (**RIMA* 3: 212). However, the country appears to have remained largely independent of foreign control until the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) who, during his campaign against Namri and other countries in the Zagros region, conquered and annexed it to his empire (**ARAB* I: 285–6, **Tigl. III* 132–3). Its capital was the fortified city of Nikkur. Kiguhtu and Kizahasi were other fortified settlements in the region of Nikkur (**SAA* XV: 37, no. 54). The former has been identified with the city of Ganguhtu, which Sargon II (721–705) annexed to Parsua in 716 (*Sargon II* 435). As an Assyrian province, Parsua held firm in its allegiance to Assyria through the difficult early years of Sargon II's reign, when many other Assyrian provinces in the region rebelled with the encouragement of Urartu. During his campaign in 716 against the rebel states, Sargon rewarded Parsua's loyalty by expanding its territory, adding to it rebel cities which he had conquered in the neighbouring lands, like Ganguhtu.

From then on, Parsua receives scant mention in Assyrian records. There is a brief reference to it in the 'Ashurbanipal Prism' (**PE* 53–4, no. 2) which records the dispatch of tribute to Ashurbanipal by Parsumash's king, Kurash (along with his eldest son as hostage), after Ashurbanipal's defeat of the Elamites in 653. Otherwise Parsua, like several other states in the region, disappears altogether from historical records
Fuchs (*RlA* 10: 340–2).



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**Parsuhanda** see **Purushanda**.

**Parthia** (map 16) Central Asian country located in northeastern Iran, to the southeast of the Caspian Sea. Its capitals were Nysa and later Hecatompylos, possibly the site of Shahr-e Qumis near Mashhad (*BAGRW* 96 C4). 'Parthia' is a Greek form of the name *Parthava*, by which the country was known in both the Persian and the Hellenistic periods (the latter under Seleucid rule). It was probably incorporated into the Persian empire soon after the empire's foundation by Cyrus II (550). Herodotus (3.93) reports that Parthia formed part of the sixteenth Persian province, along with Chorasmia, Sogdiana, and Aria (but see glossary under **satrapy**). It was among the eastern lands of the Persian empire listed several times in the inscriptions of Darius I (522–486), e.g. in Darius' Bisitun inscription (**DB* 6), and also in the *daiva* inscription (see glossary) of his son and successor Xerxes (**XPh* 3). The Bisitun inscription records Parthia's participation in the widespread uprisings against Darius at the beginning of his reign (**DB* 21). The Parthians were supported by the Hyrcanians, with both peoples declaring their support for Phraortes, the Median pretender to the Persian throne. In battles fought at Vishpauzatish and Patigrabana (8 March and 12 July 521 respectively) (**DB* 35–7), the rebels were confronted and crushed by Darius' father Hystaspes, satrap of Parthia. Thenceforth, Parthia appears to have remained submissive to Persian rule. On the reliefs from the Audience Hall (Apadana) at Persepolis, its moccasin-shod representatives are depicted as Delegation XV, bringing tribute to Darius in the form of vessels and a two-humped camel. Herodotus (7.66) lists a contingent of Parthians under the command of Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, among the forces assembled by the Persian king Xerxes for his invasion of Greece in 481.

In the Hellenistic period, Parthia became a province of the Seleucid empire. But in 247 it entered upon a new era in its history with the emergence of a ruler called Arsaces (I), from an Iranian nomadic tribe called the Parni, who founded the so-called Arsacid dynasty. His reign coincided with the decline of Seleucid influence and power east of the Euphrates, and marked the beginning of the development of the Parthian empire (247 BCE–224 CE). At its peak, this empire held sway over territories extending eastwards from the Euphrates to the Indus r., and southwards from the Oxus r. (mod. Amu Darya) to the Indian Ocean.

Debevoise (1938), Keall (*OEANE* 4: 249–50), Streck/Curtis (*RlA* 10: 343–50).

**Parzuta** Iron Age city in southern Anatolia, attested in a Luwian hieroglyphic rock inscription found on the road between mod. Nevşehir and Aksaray near the village of Acıgöl (formerly Topada) (**CHLI* I: 451–61). The inscription features Wasusarmas, a C8 ruler of northern Tabal, and refers to hostilities between Wasusarmas, or one of his lieutenants, and a coalition of eight 'kings' whose base was the city of Parzuta. The hostilities involved the use of cavalry, and seem to have arisen, at least in part, out of a frontier dispute. Parzuta may therefore have been located near Wasusarmas' western frontier. This would be consistent with an identification between Parzuta and Bronze Age Purushanda (Hittite Parsuhanda) – if in fact Purushanda were located, as long believed, at mod. Acem Höyuk. However, the Hittite city is now commonly identified with the site of Karahöyük near Konya (see **Purushanda**).

**Pasanda** M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Caria, southwestern Anatolia, located in the



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vicinity of Caunus (*BAGRW* 65 A4). In C5, it was a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary), paying an annual contribution of half a talent to the Confederacy's treasury. During the Hellenistic period it was apparently, for a time, a deme (i.e. administrative district) of Caunus.

Bean (*PECS* 679).

**Pasargadae** (Elamite **Baktrakatash**) (map 16) Persian royal capital, located in the Morghab plain of southwestern Iran in the province of Fars, 40 km northeast of Persepolis. The unwalled city was founded by Cyrus II in the late 540s, on the site, according to the Greek geographer Strabo (15.3.8), where Cyrus defeated the Median king Astyages. Excavations were carried out by E. Herzfeld for the University of Chicago (1928), A. Sami, for the Iranian Antiquities Service (1949–55), and D. Stronach, for the British Institute of Persian Studies (1961–3). Since 1999, a surface archaeological investigation of the site has been undertaken by the Iranian Cultural Heritage Organisation and a team from the Maison de l'Orient and CNRS (Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique), France. The aim of this investigation has been to determine the limits of the occupied area in the Pasargadae plain and to understand better the layout of the city.

Cyrus' tomb, a freestanding structure with stepped podium, single chamber, and gabled roof, was erected on the site's southern edge. (For a description of the tomb and its contents, see Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.29.4–7 = **PE* 87, no. 29.) When Alexander the Great came here in 330, the lavishly furnished monument allegedly still contained Cyrus' body, interred in a gold sarcophagus. The tomb is located 1 km south of the city's palace area. A freestanding gatehouse, known as Gate R, appears to have provided the ceremonial entrance to the city. Originally adorned with colossal guardian bull statues of Assyrian type, the gate has only one remaining sculpture, a relief on the northeastern side door depicting a winged and bearded human figure, with hair arranged in the Elamite manner, wearing an Elamite royal robe and an Egyptian-type triple crown. The figure's purpose and meaning are a matter for speculation, though a common view is that it represents a genie with apotropaic function (see glossary).

Beyond the gateway lie the remains of two palaces, designated now as Palace S and Palace P. Both feature rectangular hypostyle (i.e. columned) halls, with surrounding porticoes. The columns are surmounted with capitals in the form of adjoining animal protomes – lions, hybrid lion monsters, and bulls – as at Susa and Persepolis. Both palaces border upon formal gardens, divided into four sections by still visible stone water channels. The palace and garden complex also contains two royal pavilions. Though begun by Cyrus, the complex as a whole could not have been completed until many years after his death, as indicated by a number of evolutionary changes in style and architecture in the period from its inception to its completion. Within the garden the so-called Pasargadae treasure, consisting of many gold and silver objects, was concealed, probably some time after 350.

One of Pasargadae's major features is a large stone platform, the Takht ('throne' in Persian), 66 m × 79 m in area, and rising 14.5 m above the plain. It was probably intended as the site of a palace, but was left unfinished at Cyrus' death in 530. Subsequently it was incorporated into a heavily fortified complex, perhaps by Darius I (522–486).

Most puzzling among the monuments from Cyrus' reign are the remains of a



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*Figure 82* Pasargadae, gatehouse.

roughly square tower, 14 m high with pyramidal roof, containing, halfway up, a single room accessed by an external staircase. Traditionally referred to as the 'prison of Solomon' (Zendan-i Suleiman), it has been variously identified as a tomb, a temple, or a storehouse for Zoroastrian religious paraphernalia. Urartian influence has been suggested, both in the plan of the building and in its use of blind windows in black stone.

Several trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian) inscriptions in the name of Cyrus found in Pasargadae are believed to have been added during Darius' reign, in order to bolster the fiction that Cyrus was of the same, Achaemenid, line as Darius (whereas Cyrus' own inscriptions claim descent from Teispes).

Many of the architectural and sculptural features of the Pasargadae complex foreshadow developments which reappear in Darius I's new city of Persepolis, like the hypostyle halls with their animal-protome capitals, sculptured façades and doorjambs, and the raised platforms, accessed by double staircases, on which a number of the palaces and other monumental buildings were constructed. In the art and architecture of both cities, the influence of other civilizations is readily apparent, from the freestanding tomb of Cyrus, for which a Lydian model has been suggested (and which differs markedly from the later rock-cut royal Persian tombs), to the freestanding and relief sculptures, which reflect a range of Assyrian, Babylonian, Egyptian, Lydian, Ionian Greek, Elamite, and perhaps Urartian influences.

Stronach (1978; 1985a; *OEANE* 4: 250–3), Root (1995: 2616–20), Boucharlat (2002; *RlA* 10: 351–63).

**Pashime** (**Bashime, Mishime**) (map 12) Early Bronze Age country (whose history extends into C20) in southern Iran, possibly located on the eastern shores of the Persian Gulf. It is first attested c. 2400 in texts dating to the reign of the Sumerian ruler Eannatum, king of Lagash (Early Dynastic period). Eannatum claims that he conquered

*Figure 83* Pasargadae, tomb of Cyrus.

the country while on a campaign in Elam. However, there is no evidence that Pashime became subject to Eannatum, or to any Mesopotamian overlord, before mid C23, when the Akkadian king Manishtushu installed a governor there. In C21 Shulgi, second ruler of the Ur III dynasty, became the first of three kings of this dynasty who married their daughters to local Iranian rulers. Shulgi's daughter, Taram-Shulgi, became the wife of Shuddabani, king of Pashime. These marriage unions may have been designed to strengthen the Ur III dynasty's alliances with the local Iranian dynasties in Marhashi, Anshan, and Zabshali and Pashime, to offset the coalition being built against Ur under the leadership of Shimashki. But it is likely that the marriage unions reflected a relationship between Mesopotamian overlord and vassal ruler rather than between peers. In either case, Pashime may subsequently have been annexed to the Ur III kingdom, to judge from its appearance among the lands directly governed by the Ur administration. But after the fall of the Ur III dynasty, c. 2004, Pashime was incorporated into, and formed part of the western boundary of, the kingdom of the Shimashki-Elamite king Kindattu. It probably shared a border to its north with the Elamite frontier town of Huhnur (Tol-e Bormi, near Ram Hormuz). It was attacked and destroyed by Gungunum, fifth king of the Larsa dynasty, in the third year of his reign (1930). Though the Elamite language was probably spoken in Pashime, the ethnic origins or affinities of its population remain unclear.

Steinkeller (1982: 240–3), T. Potts (1994: 18–19).

**Patara** (***Kelemiş***) (map 15) City on the coast of Lycia in southwestern Anatolia, 5 km east of the mouth of the Xanthus r., with a history of occupation extending from the Bronze Age to the Byzantine period. Its earliest remains include a stone axe dating to c. 2000, fortification walls, and pottery of Late Bronze Age date.



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In M1 Patara became one of Lycia's major cities, and its most important port. According to Greek mythological tradition it was named after Patarus, a son of the god Apollo by the nymph Lycia. The city was famous in antiquity as an oracular centre of Apollo, who was believed to spend the winter there after summering on the island of Delos. Herodotus (1.182) refers to the city's temple of Apollo, stating that a prophetess spends the night in the temple in communion with the god. The implication is that the responses she gave to her consultants came to her from the god in the form of dreams.

Though Patara is not attested in written sources before late C6 or early C5 (the Greek geographer Hecataeus is the first writer to make mention of it), settlement on the site, as noted above, dates back to a much earlier period. It may have a connection with a mountain called Patara, which a Late Bronze Age Luwian hieroglyphic inscription (the so-called Yalburt inscription; see **Yalburt**) indicates was located in the region. Inscriptions and coin legends inform us that the native form of the city's name was Pttara. There are no surviving refences to the city's history prior to its surrender (along with the rest of Lycia) to Alexander the Great in 333. During the Hellenistic period Patara was subject in succession to Macedonian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid rule, and when the Lycian League was formed early in C2, it became one of the League's six major cities. It maintained this status through the Roman period, its importance enhanced when it became the seat of a provincial governor. In the early Byzantine period it achieved renown as the birthplace of Nicholas, who became bishop of Myra.

Patara's material remains – or at least those currently known to us – belong almost entirely to the Roman and Byzantine periods. However, excavations begun in 2003 on the Tepecik Acropolis at Patara, under the direction of F. Işık of Akdeniz University, have brought to light a building complex, thought to be a grain depot, and a large pottery assemblage dating back to the Archaic period of the city's history (particularly C7 and C6). (An up-to-date report of these excavations is to be published by G. Işın in *AS*.) To date, no trace has been discovered of the famous temple of Apollo where the oracle was located. But a large part of the anc. site has yet to be excavated.

Bean (1978: 82–91; *PECS* 679–80), Yıldırım and Gates (2007: 308).

**Patishkun** Iron Age city belonging to the Aramaean kingdom of Bit-Zamani, located in the upper Tigris region, northwest of the Kashiyari mountain region (mod. Tur ʿAbdin). It was among the cities which fell to the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II during his campaign against Ammi-Baʿal, ruler of Bit-Zamani, in 886 (**RIMA* 2: 171).

**Pat(t)in** (Luwian name, formerly read as 'Hattin'; = Assyrian **Unqi**) (map 7) Neo-Hittite state located in the Amuq plain of northern Syria on the territory of the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Alalah. Its capital was called Kinalua (Kunulua; probably = mod. Tell Tayinat) in Assyrian texts. Other cities of Patin referred to in Assyrian sources are Alimush(?), Aribua, Butamu, Hatatirra, Hazazu, Huzarra, Kulmadara, Nulia, Sagillu, Tae, Taia, Tarmanazi, and Urime. The history of the kingdom is known to us primarily from Assyrian sources, from the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859) to that of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), supplemented by meagre information provided by Patin's own poorly preserved records dating to C9 and C8. Ashurnasirpal invaded the country on his western campaign, c. 870, leading his troops first into Hazazu, and then across the Apre r. (mod. Afrin) into the capital, Kinalua (**RIMA* 2: 217–18).



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Here he was paid a large tribute by Patin's king Lubarna (I), and took hostages, as well as contingents of infantry and cavalry which went with him on the rest of his western campaign. Envoys from Patin were present at the inauguration of Ashurnasirpal's new city of Kalhu (mod. Nimrud), and a number of Patin's inhabitants were resettled there. But when Ashurnasirpal's son and successor Shalmaneser III (858–824) launched an attack against the cities of northern Syria in the first year of his reign, the Patinite king Sapalulme, a successor of Lubarna, joined a coalition of northern Syrian, northern Mesopotamian, and southern Anatolian states against him. The coalition included Sam'al (ruled by Hayyanu), Bit-Adini (ruled by Ahunu), and Carchemish (ruled by Sangara). Shalmaneser won a decisive victory over their combined forces (**RIMA* 3: 9–10), and then proceeded across the Orontes r. to launch a further attack upon Sapalulme's fortified city of Alimush (Alishir). Sapalulme successfully called upon his former coalition partners to support him against the Assyrians, and the coalition was further swelled by troops provided by Kate, ruler of Que, Pihirim, ruler of Hilakku, Burannati, ruler of Yasbuq, and Adanu, ruler of Yahan(u) (for the last, see **Bit-Agusi**) (**RIMA* 3: 10, 17). Once again, the coalition was crushed by Shalmaneser's troops. His pacification of the region is reflected in the payments of tribute which he received on at least two occasions in subsequent years (857 and 853) from the Patinite and the other kingdoms which had joined the coalition.

Sapalulme was apparently succeeded during the second year of Shalmaneser's reign by a king referred to in the record of Shalmaneser's campaigns in 857 and 853 as 'Qalparunda the Unqite' and 'Qalparunda the Patinite' (**RIMA* 3: 11 and 18). He made a payment of tribute to Shalmaneser in these years. A Luwian hieroglyphic inscription bearing the name Halparuntiyas has been found beneath a palace floor at Tell Tayinat (**CHLI* I: 365–7). It is very likely that the man so named is to be identified with the Qalparunda attested in Shalmaneser's texts. (Three persons named Halparuntiyas are also included among the list of kings who ruled the contemporary Neo-Hittite kingdom of Gurgum.) Other attested rulers of the kingdom, mentioned in Shalmaneser's account of his exploits for the year 831, were Lubarna (II), Surri, and Sasi. At least the first of these was apparently a protégé of the Assyrian king. The names Sapalulme and Lubarna had a distinguished pedigree, for they were derived from two of the most famous names in the Bronze Age Hittite ruling dynasty – Suppiluliuma and Labarna. We do not know whether the Patinite kings were in any way linked with the Hittite royal family. But their adoption of the great names of Hittite royalty clearly reflects an ongoing memory of and reverence for their Bronze Age predecessors.

Lubarna II, a successor of Qalparunda, was killed in an uprising by his own people, who replaced him on the throne with a 'non-royal' person called Surri. In response, Shalmaneser dispatched an army to Patin under the command of his commander-in-chief Dayyan-Ashur, who pitched camp by the royal Patinite city Kinalua. But Surri died before a confrontation could take place, and his subjects, fearful of Assyrian reprisals for their overthrow and assassination of his predecessor, arrested his sons and soldiers, and delivered them to the Assyrian commander. Dayyan-Ashur had the soldiers impaled, and appointed a man called Sasi from the land of Kurussa as Patin's new ruler. These events date to Shalmaneser's twenty-eighth regnal year (**RIMA* 3: 69). The appointment was accepted by Patin's inhabitants, who handed over a large tribute to Dayyan-Ashur, as Shalmaneser's representative.



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A pact of alliance was subsequently drawn up between the Assyrian and Patinite kings, which seems to have held until it was breached in 739 by Tutammu, the last of Patin's native rulers. The Assyrian king at the time, Tiglath-pileser III, responded by removing Tutammu from power and converting his kingdom, now renamed Kullanni(a) (a dialectal variant of the name Kinalua), into a province ruled by an Assyrian governor (**Tigl. III* 56–9). Large numbers of deportees from Tiglath-pileser's eastern conquests were settled in the cities of the former kingdom.

*CHLI* I: 361–3.

**Pauza** Iron Age city located in the upper Habur region of northern Mesopotamia at the foot of the Kashiyari mountain range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin), not far from Nusaybin. It is first attested in the reign of the Assyrian king Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056), who fought a battle with the Aramaeans there (**RIMA* 2: 102). At the end of C10 it belonged to the territories ruled by the Aramaean chieftain Nur-Adad from his capital Nusaybin (Nisibis, Assyrian Nasibina). Pauza was conquered along with the other cities of Nur-Adad in the land of Hanigalbat, including Iaridu and Saraku, by the Assyrian king Adad-nirari II during his campaigns in the region in 901 and 900 (**RIMA* 2: 149).

**Pedasa** (**Pidasa**, ***Gökçeler***) (map 5) M1 Carian city, of Lelegian (q.v.) origin, located in the Myndus peninsula, southwestern Anatolia. The city is referred to several times by Herodotus in his account of Persia's campaigns in the west. In his first reference (1.175), he notes that the Pedasians were the only people living in or around Caria who held out against the Persian commander Harpagus during his campaign in southwestern Anatolia c. 546. They caused the Persians major difficulties by building a stronghold on a hill called Lida. (Herodotus also states in this context that whenever disaster was about to strike the Pedasians or their neighbours, their priestess of Athena grew a long beard. This allegedly happened on three occasions.) In 499, the first year of the Ionian rebellion against Persia, Herodotus (5.121) reports that a Persian force was wiped out on the road to Pedasa as it was preparing a campaign against the cities of Caria. Five years later the Ionian rebellion was crushed, and the city of Miletus, which had led the rebel-states fell to the Persian army. According to Herodotus (6.20) the Persians occupied Miletus and the surrounding plain, but handed over the hill country to Carians from Pedasa. In G. E. Bean's view, this apparently means that a number of the Pedasians were transplanted to a new settlement, also called Pedasa, in the hills above Miletus, perhaps in an attempt to weaken potential centres of resistance against Persian rule in the future.

In C5, some time after the withdrawal of the Persians from the west, Pedasa became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Its annual payment of two talents was higher than that of Halicarnassus (one and two-thirds of a talent), which no doubt reflects the relative importance of the two cities in this period. In mid C4 Pedasa was incorporated into Halicarnassus by the Carian satrap Mausolus. (Pliny the Elder, 5.107, wrongly reports that it was one of six Lelegian towns which Alexander assigned to the jurisdiction of Halicarnassus. Their incorporation into Halicarnassus was in fact due to Mausolus prior to Alexander's campaigns.) Thenceforth the city was much reduced in size and status, but apparently continued to function as a military outpost.

Pedasa's material remains, on the site of Gökçeler, are typical of a Lelegian settlement.



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They include a citadel, where traces of buildings can still be seen, a large outer enclosure wall fortified by towers, and beyond the fortified area a number of chamber tombs, dating in some cases to C7 or earlier.

Bean (1971: 115 map, 119–22; *PECS* 682).

**Pelasgians** A mythical people associated in Greek tradition with various parts of western Anatolia, Crete, and mainland Greece. The name has come to be used as a general term for the pre-Indo-European populations of the Greek and Aegean worlds. In Homer's *Iliad* (2.240–3), the Pelasgians are a specific population group listed among the allies of the Trojans, and are said to come from the city of Laris(s)a. Of the various cities so called, this one has been located either south of Troy, on the western coast of the Troad, or in Thrace. The former is more likely.

**Peleset** see **Philistines**.

**Pella** (***Tabaqat/Khirbet Fahl***) (map 8) City in Transjordan, located in the foothills of the eastern Jordan valley, 28 km south of the Sea of Galilee. The region's history of occupation extends from the Lower Palaeolithic period to the present day. Investigation of Pella itself, whose main archaeological feature is an oval mound, began with soundings made by R. Funk and N. Richardson in 1958 for the American Schools of Oriental Research. After the first major excavation was undertaken in 1967 by R. H. Smith for the College of Wooster, USA, the site was subsequently investigated, from 1979 onwards, by Smith with J. B. Hennessy and A. W. McNicoll, the latter two on behalf of the University of Sydney.

Evidence of settlement in the Early Bronze Age has been uncovered both on the principal mound, which lay on the north side of Wadi Jirm el-Moz, and on a dome-shaped natural hill called Tell es-Husn which lay on the south side. On the former, a large building dating to Early Bronze I has been discovered. It is likely that already in this early phase of its existence the settlement was protected by a fortification wall. The major architectural feature of Tell es-Husn in this period is a large stone platform dating to Early Bronze IIA.

Under the name Pihil/Pihilu, the city is attested in a number of Middle and Late Bronze Age Egyptian sources. It appears in the list of Asiatic conquests of the C15 pharaoh Tuthmosis III, and in two of the mid C14 Amarna letters, written by its king Mut-Bahlu to his overlord Akhenaten (**EA* 255, 256). The C13 Egyptian Anastasi Papyrus refers to it as one of the cities which supplied Egypt with chariot parts. Clearly, Pella was an important city during its Middle and Late Bronze Age phases, as indicated also by its material remains which place it firmly within a Canaanite cultural context. There appears to have been a smooth, uninterrupted progression from Middle to Late Bronze Age. The city's prosperity in these phases is indicated particularly by the contents of its tombs, which include many imported luxury items, such as inlaid ivory boxes, alabaster perfume bottles, and objects plated with gold. A combination of trade and manufacture has been suggested as the reason for the city's wealth. The tomb goods indicate trade and/or cultural contact with Egypt by the Middle Bronze II period, and also with Cyprus and the Aegean world in the Late Bronze Age. The city was at this time fortified by a substantial city wall, still used in the Iron Age.

By C13, Pella may have suffered some reduction in size, and though there was some



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degree of cultural continuity into the succeeding Iron Age, the city of this period was apparently smaller and poorer than its Middle and Late Bronze Age predecessors. Several scholars have commented on the absence of any reference to Pella in biblical sources. This may mean either that it was known to the Bible's authors under a different name, that it remained largely outside Israelite influence, or that the early C6 Babylonian conquest of the region resulted in the abandonment of the site. There are virtually no material remains that can be dated to the following Persian period (C6–4).

The anc. tradition that Pella was refounded by Alexander the Great in 332 and named after the Macedonian royal capital is now considered to be fictional. There is no evidence of resettlement on the site in the early Hellenistic period. However, by C2 the city had undergone a major revival with a substantial population increase, and was once more active in international trading enterprises.

Smith (*NEAEHL* 3: 1174–80), Hennessy *et al.* (1989).

**Pergamum** (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city near the western coast of Anatolia, 110 km north of Smyrna and 24 km from the Aegean Sea. It was probably first settled by Aeolian Greeks in C8, but is not attested until 401 when it appears in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. On his return from Persia with his Greek mercenary forces after their abortive expedition to Persia in support of one of Darius II's sons, a pretender to the Persian throne called Cyrus the Younger, Xenophon arrived at Pergamum and sought food and shelter for his forces from the city's tyrant, Gongylus (*Anabasis* 7.8.8). He was hosted in the city by Gongylus' wife, Hellas. In C3 Pergamum came into high prominence as the seat of the Attalid dynasty (282–133), whose empire at the peak of its power extended over large parts of western and southern Anatolia.

E. Akurgal (1973: 69–111), Schäfer (*PECS* 688–92), Spawforth, Roueché (*OCD* 1138–9).

**Perge** (map 4) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Pamphylia, southern Anatolia, 16 km northeast of Antalya. It was among the cities which, according to Greek legendary tradition, were established by Greeks of mixed origin under the leadership of Amphilochus, Calchas, and Mopsus after the Trojan War. In fact, some of the cities may not have been established until C7 or C6. But at Perge evidence has now been found for a Late Bronze Age settlement on the city's acropolis. This settlement is almost certainly to be identified with the city called Parha in Hittite texts, which lay just outside the western boundary of the kingdom of Tarhuntassa. Occupation appears to have continued at Perge without interruption from the Late Bronze Age through the early Iron Age. In C5 the city became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Along with two other Pamphylian cities, Aspendus and Sillyum, it appears in the Athenian Tribute Lists for the year 425. In 333 it provided Alexander the Great's army with a base of operations in Pamphylia. Following Alexander's death the city became subject to the kings of Pergamum, and was later incorporated into the Roman province of Cilicia.

Substantial remains of Perge's lower city survive, on the level ground extending south of the acropolis. Its walls date back to the Hellenistic period, but almost all the other remains, including colonnaded streets and stoas, a theatre, stadium, tombs, and baths, are of Roman date.

Bean (1968: 45–58; *PECS* 692–3), E. Akurgal (1973: 329–33), Yıldırım and Gates (2007: 308).

**Persepolis** (map 16) Persian royal capital, located in southwestern Iran in the



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*Figure 84* Pergamum, Hellenistic theatre.

province of Fars, on the eastern edge of the Marv Dasht plain, 47 km northeast of mod. Shiraz. 'Persepolis' is the name by which the city was known to the anc. Greeks (meaning 'city of Persis'). The Persians themselves called it Parsa (also the name of the Persian homeland). Founded by the Persian king Darius I (522–486) as a new royal seat to replace the former capital, Pasargadae (which lay 40 km to the north), Persepolis became the new administrative centre of the empire, and the place where coronations, royal burials, and other major ceremonies and festivals were held. It was to maintain its pre-eminent status for the remainder of the Persian empire (C6–4). The site was excavated by teams from the University of Chicago between 1931 and 1939. Later excavations carried out under the auspices of the Iranian Archaeological Service brought to light the layout of the remaining unexcavated portions of the site. An Italian restoration team working between 1964 and 1978, with the collaboration of other scholars, contributed important new information on the building techniques used at Persepolis and the various stages of its construction.

Directly west of a hill defended by a circuit wall lies the city's great stone terrace (the Takht, or 'throne' in Persian), some 455 m × 300 m in extent. On it were a series of monumental royal buildings constructed by Darius and his successors, particularly Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, and Artaxerxes III. Entry to these buildings was through the so-called All Nations Gate. This gate structure, which was built or completed by Darius' son and successor Xerxes (**XPa*), featured a pair of colossal stone bulls, and a second pair of winged, human-headed bulls, the two pairs guarding the outer and inner doorways respectively. The gatehouse was reached by ascending a double staircase, 14 m high. This provided the only formal access to the royal complex. Columned halls



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*Figure 85* Perge, colonnaded street, Roman period, with acropolis in background.

and porticoes were prominent architectural features of the complex, whose most notable buildings include the so-called Hall of 100 Columns (the throne-room?), the palaces of Darius and Xerxes, the so-called harem of Xerxes, and the Apadana, a great square Audience Hall covering an area of 60.5 sq. m (*apadana* is an old Persian term used for columned buildings, its use in Persian perhaps largely restricted to the most important of these buildings). The Apadana is one of several buildings that appear on raised platforms, providing scope for sculptural decoration on the retaining walls, such as the representations of files of palace guards and lion-and-bull-fighting scenes on the south side of Darius' palace. Also depicted are human figures climbing the double-reversed staircases which provide access to the palace, on its north and east sides. Both the staircases and the reliefs date to the reign of Artaxerxes III (359–338). Reliefs in other parts of the complex depict the king accompanied by the crown prince or other attendants, bulls, lions, griffins, sphinxes, and most notably, on the north and east sides of the Apadana, files of Median and Persian nobles, and tribute brought to the king by representatives from twenty-three regions throughout his realm. A number of freestanding stone statues, of bulls, ibexes, lions, and large dogs, have also survived. Columns throughout the complex are surmounted by the sculptured protomes of bulls, some human-headed, lions, hybrid lion monsters, and griffins. These served as capitals for supporting the ceiling beams, which were made of cedar. Much of the building and sculptural embellishment of the complex may have been carried out by craftsmen pressed into service from numerous parts of the kingdom, from as far afield as Lydia in western Anatolia. Smaller, private palaces were constructed in the southeast sector of



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*Figure 86* Persepolis, All Nations gate.

the terrace complex. No trace has yet been discovered of the city's residential quarter. Buildings in this quarter were no doubt constructed largely of mudbrick and timber.

A number of small finds came to light in the city during excavation. These include military equipment, seals, ceramic ware, gold jewellery, silver vessels, and bronze and lapis lazuli statuettes. Many of the finds were unearthed in the so-called Treasury, which once housed a vast array of works of art and other precious items, including booty and tributary gifts. A small tablet archive recording payments made by Treasury officials to workers (139 documents; see Cameron, 1948) came to light in this building. However, the most important tablets unearthed on the site are the 15,000–20,000 Fortification Tablets, so called because they were found in two rooms of the city's fortification system (*Hallock, 1969; for later refs, see *PE* 12). Dating from the thirteenth to the twenty-eighth year of Darius' reign (509–494), they are the earliest administrative documents we have of the Persian empire. (See most recently *PE* 763–70, *770–814.) They record food distributions made by Treasury officials from

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*Figure 87* Persepolis, palace of Darius I.

*Figure 88* Persepolis, Treasury.

the imperial stores located around the capital to a large number of recipients (including members of the king's own family, priests, and workers in the employ of the royal court), supplies to travellers, and donations to the gods.

All these finds must represent only a tiny fraction of the city's contents at the time of

its destruction. Persepolis was looted and put to the torch by Alexander the Great in 330. Diodorus (17.70), referring to Alexander's description of it as 'the most hateful of the cities of Asia', provides a graphic account of its destruction. He reports (17.71) that 120,000 talents of gold and silver were taken from the royal Treasury by Alexander; 3,000 camels and a vast number of mules were used to transport the bulk of this treasure to Susa.

Schmidt (1953, 1957, 1970), Root (1995: 2624–32), Stronach and Codella (*OEANE* 4: 273–7), Roaf (*RlA* 10: 393–412).

**Persia(ns)** (map 16) One of several Iranian population groups, who collectively formed a branch of the Indo-European-speaking peoples and are believed to have arrived on the Iranian plateau in the second half of M2, perhaps from a homeland east of the Caspian Sea. Two groups of Persians appear to be identifiable in the written sources: one of them occupied the land in the central western Zagros mountains called Parsua in Neo-Assyrian texts, and the second a region in southwestern Iran, to the east of the Persian Gulf, which was formerly part of the Elamite kingdom and came to be known as Parsa (mod. Fars). There is still debate about the possible relationship between the two groups – if they were in fact two separate groups. Do the names really refer to one and the same people? And if so, do they reflect a migration of these people from north to south? In any case, the Persians seem to have had a long association with the people called the Medes. It is uncertain whether, prior to mid C6, they were subordinate to the Medes, as Herodotus maintains, or of equal status with them.

Following the destruction of the Assyrian empire in late C7 by a Babylonian–Median military alliance, Mesopotamia and Assyria's former subject territories in the Syro-Palestinian region fell beneath the sway of the newly emergent Neo-Babylonian empire. The Medes, according to Classical sources, became the dominant power in western Iran under their king Cyaxares (625–585). (On the question of the reliability of these sources, see **Medes**). In mid C6 the Medes became subject to a new power which arose in the land of Parsa under the leadership of a man called Cyrus (II). Cyrus became the founder of the Persian empire, the most extensive of all anc. empires before the era of imperial Rome.

According to tradition, the city of Anshan in Parsa was the original home of the dynasty to which Cyrus belonged (but see under **Anshan**). The dynasty is commonly referred to as the Achaemenid dynasty. It is so called after the Persian king Darius I's (522–486) ancestor Achaemenes (Old Persian Haxamanish), attested by Darius in the Bisitun inscription (**DB* 2–3), by his successors, and by a number of Greek sources, notably Herodotus (7.11). (See further on this below.) Cyrus, who claimed to be a descendant of Teispes (not Achaemenes) (e.g. Cyrus Cylinder, **PE* 71, no. 21, line 21), succeeded to the dynastic seat in 559, in Anshan according to his own account. Herodotus (1.108–130) provides a vivid and largely fanciful account of his birth, childhood in exile (cf. Ctesias, *FGrH* 90 F66 = **PE* 97–8, no. 32), and subsequent rise to power. Elements of this account strikingly recall the circumstances surrounding the birth and upbringing of the M3 Akkadian king Sargon in Mesopotamian literary tradition, Moses in *OT* tradition, and Romulus and Remus in Roman tradition. There is also much doubt as to whether Cyrus' supposed familial link with the Median king Astyages (Akkadian Ishtumegu) (alleged to have been his maternal grandfather; thus Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.1–3.2 = **PE* 98, no. 33) was anything more than 'a fictional



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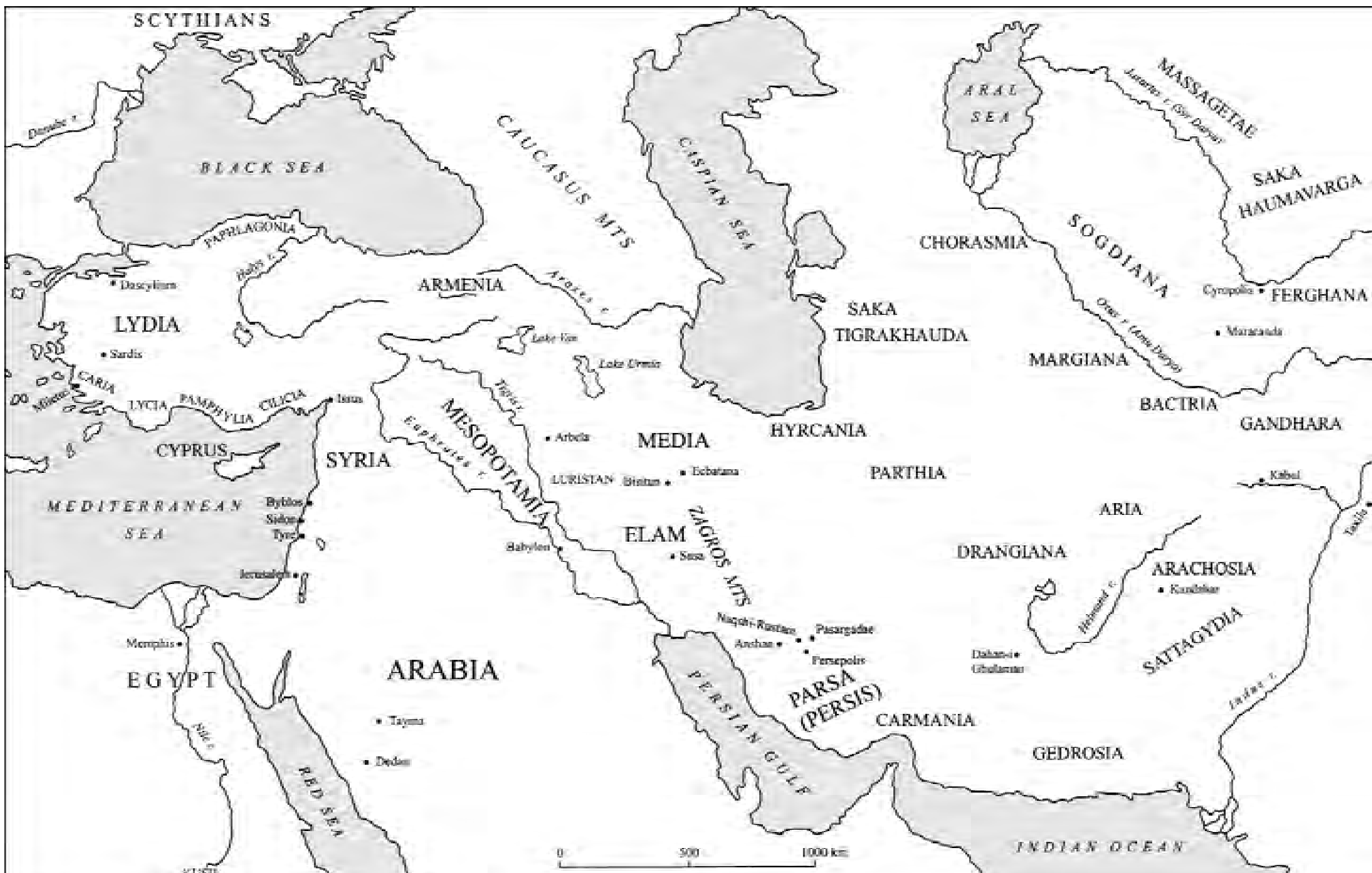


*Map 16* The Persian empire.

addition to the story of conquest in order to legitimate Cyrus' rule in Media' (Brosius, 2006: 8). The C4 writer Ctesias categorically denied that Cyrus was in any way related to Astyages (*FGrH* 688 F9.1 = **PE* 58, no. 8).

In any case, Astyages' allegedly despotic and brutal regime provoked Cyrus, after uniting the Persian tribes, to lead an army of them into Media against his grandfather(?), where a military showdown took place. The battle resulted in a decisive victory for Cyrus, as reported in a Babylonian chronicle (no. 7), the so-called Nabonidus Chronicle (see glossary) (**ABC* 104–11, **Chav.* 418–19, **PE* 50–1, no. 1), and also by Herodotus (1.128). Cyrus' triumph was ensured by the defection of large numbers of Median troops to his side. According to the Nabonidus Chronicle, Astyages' rebellious troops actually handed over their king to Cyrus. In the battle's aftermath, Cyrus marched upon the royal Median city Ecbatana, plundered it, and carried off its spoils to Anshan (**ABC* 106). According to Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F9.1 = **PE* 58, no. 8), Astyages had fled to Ecbatana after his defeat, but gave himself up to Cyrus' agents when the victorious Persian king arrived in the city. Cyrus allegedly set him free and 'honoured him as a father' (cf. Justin 1.6.16 = **PE* 59, no. 9). Thenceforth, the Medes were absorbed within Cyrus' fledgling empire. They were to play an important role within the empire, and were acknowledged as its second most important ethnic group. Indeed, the terms Persian and Median were used almost interchangeably by the contemporary Greeks. Cyrus' foundation of the Persian empire, whose homeland covered roughly the area of mod. Iran, dates to his defeat of Astyages in 550. According to Strabo (15.3.8), it was on the site of his victory that he established his new royal capital of Pasargadae.

The conquest of Media paved the way for Cyrus' conquests in the regions which lay to its north, including perhaps what still remained of the kingdom of Urartu. Far to

*Figure 89* Persian archers.



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the west, in Anatolia, the Lydian king Croesus, an ally and brother-in-law of the vanquished Astyages, became alarmed at the rise of the new power east of the Tigris. In an attempt to forestall a Persian invasion of his own country, Croesus led his army across the Halys r., the former boundary between Lydian and Median territory, where he confronted Cyrus' westward advancing Persian forces (Herodotus 1.75–7). Though the battle they fought was inconclusive, Croesus was forced to retreat to his own territory where the pursuing Cyrus inflicted a devastating defeat upon him on a plain outside the Lydian capital Sardis. Lydia was absorbed into the Persian empire, along with the Ionian Greek states located on the Aegean coast. These had formerly been subject to Lydia. Subsequently Cyrus turned his attention upon Babylonia, now a weak and divided kingdom under its then ruler Nabonidus (556–539). Disaffection amongst Nabonidus' subjects greatly facilitated Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia, Babylon itself falling to the Persian king in 539 without a battle (Nabonidus Chronicle: **ABC* 110, **CS* I: 468, **Chav.* 420, **PE* 51, no. 1; Cyrus Cylinder: **Chav.* 428–9, **CS* II: 315, **PE* 71, no. 21; cf. Herodotus 1.189–92). It was at this time, according to the *OT* sources Ezra 1: 1–4, 6: 2–5, that Cyrus issued a decree permitting the Jews to return to their homeland from their captivity in Babylon, and rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.

Subsequently, Cyrus probably conducted a campaign into Central Asia, which resulted in the incorporation of a number of eastern lands into his empire, as reflected in the list of these lands appearing in Darius I's Bisitun inscription (**DB*), and his successor Xerxes' so-called *daiva* inscription (**XPh*) (see glossary). No contemporary record of such a campaign survives, but a later reference to it may be contained in Pliny the Elder's account (6.92) of Persia's eastern satrapies. Cyrus may now have set his sights on the conquest of Egypt. But he was diverted by uprisings on the eastern frontiers of his kingdom and was killed during a campaign against rebel forces in the region of the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers (mod. Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan). He had established a series of forts along the latter, which came to mark the Persian empire's northeastern frontier. There are, however, different versions in the Classical sources as

*Figure 90* Persepolis, royal audience scene.



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to who precisely was responsible for Cyrus' death. Herodotus (1.214), followed by most other sources, attributes his death in the field of battle to the Massagetae; Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 F9 = **PE* 101, no. 35) to the Derbices; and Berossus (*FGrH* 680 F10) to a Scythian tribe of western Central Asia called the Daai (Dahae). (See discussions by Dandamaev, 1989: 66–9, Vogelsang, 1992: 187–9.) According to Xenophon, however (*Cyropaedia* 8.7 = **PE* 102, no. 36), Cyrus died peacefully at home in his old age, surrounded by his family, friends, and governors.

Cyrus' son and successor Cambyses II (530–522) conquered Cyprus, and resumed his father's plans for the conquest of Egypt, leading a campaign there in 525. He defeated the pharaoh Psammetichus III in a battle outside Memphis (Herodotus 3.10–11), and thenceforth the whole of Egypt was incorporated into the Persian empire (*Autobiography of Udjahorresne(t)*, sec. c = *Brosius, 2000: 15, no. 20, **PE* 118, no. 11). The Persians also made further conquests in Nubia and northern Africa west of Egypt. Cambyses remained in Egypt for three years, before being recalled by news that a rebellion had broken out in his homeland, and that a usurper, perhaps his brother Bardiya, was attempting to seize his throne. (Bardiya is called Smerdis by Herodotus, and is probably to be identified with the Persian priest or magus called Gaumata in Darius I's Bisitun inscription; **DB* 10–14.) Cambyses' death in Syria on his return journey (Herodotus 3.64–6, Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F 13.11–15 = **PE* 163–4, no. 5) enabled Bardiya to claim the throne. But after a reign lasting only eight months, Bardiya was assassinated at the instigation of a rival claimant, Darius, formerly a commander in Cambyses' army and now the new occupant of the Persian throne.

Darius was certainly a member of the Persian aristocracy, but there is considerable doubt as to whether he was actually a member of the royal dynasty. He claimed descent from an ancestor called Achaemenes, whom he identified as the father of Teispes, great-grandfather of Cyrus II, thus linking his family with that of the founder of the Persian empire (see also **PE* 177, no. 19). But scholars have pointed out that none of the Persian records before Darius' reign, including the Cyrus Cylinder (see glossary), refers to an Achaemenes, and suggest that the link between Achaemenes and Cyrus may have been an invention on Darius' part to legitimize his succession (thus Brosius, 2006: 17–18). At all events, with the backing of a large part of the Persian nobility, Darius I (522–486) was installed as ruler of the empire. But in the first year of his reign there were uprisings against his authority throughout the kingdom, and a number of pretenders to the throne sought to remove him from power. He responded swiftly. According to the account he gives in his Bisitun inscription, he fought nineteen battles and took prisoner nine kings in a single year (**DB* 52). By the end of 521 he had crushed the rebellions, and then set his sights on expanding the empire's territories even further afield. Indeed, the empire reached its greatest extent during his reign, with new campaigns in the east, the conquest of parts of northern India, and the addition to the emperor's realm of the region Hindush or Sind along the banks of the Indus r.

Darius now prepared to expand his empire westwards into Europe. A campaign across the Bosporus against the Scythian tribes (perhaps in 513, but the date is disputed) paved the way for further expeditions on European soil, which resulted in the establishment of a Persian presence in Thrace and the northern Aegean. (The Greek sources for the Scythian campaign are collected in **PE* 193–203, nos 5–16.) Though the campaign ended inconclusively, and almost disastrously for the Persians, it paved the way for Darius' conflicts with the mainland Greek states. But it was the rebellion of



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a number of Ionian Greek states against Persian rule (499–494) that provided the actual catalyst for these conflicts. (For the Greek sources for the revolt and its aftermath, see *PE 211–30, nos 31–49.) The rebels were supported by Athens and the small state of Eretria on the island of Euboea (which lay off the eastern coast of mainland Greece). Though Darius finally crushed the rebellion, he was, according to Herodotus, infuriated by Athens' and Eretria's intervention in the affair – which allegedly was the reason for his sending a punitive naval expedition against them in 490. The Persian fleet gained control of a number of Cycladic islands en route, captured Eretria through an act of treachery, and anchored in the bay of Marathon in preparation for an assault upon Athens, which lay 35 km away. But here on the Marathon plain, the Persians were resoundingly defeated by forces from Athens and Plataea (the latter lay in Boeotia in central Greece), and forced to abandon their Greek campaign (Herodotus 6.112–13, 115–17).

However, Darius' son and successor Xerxes I (486–465) made plans for a fresh assault upon the Greek mainland, preparing a massive force for a coordinated invasion by land and sea, under his personal command, via the coast of Thrace and Macedonia. The Persians advanced with little resistance through the Greek mainland until they reached Athens, which they captured and destroyed. But they were forced to abort their invasion when they suffered major defeats by the allied Greek forces in a sea battle in the strait of Salamis just off the coast of Attica (480) and a land battle the following year at Plataea. (For the sources, predominantly Herodotus, which record Xerxes' assault upon the Greek world, and the final Greek victories over his forces, see **PE* 250–85, nos 9–61.) Persia never again posed a direct threat to the city-states of the Greek mainland. However, a number of scholars are now inclined to see the repulse of Persia essentially in terms of a strategic withdrawal on Xerxes' part rather than a military debacle, noting that the Persian defeat and consequent loss of Greek territory to the Persians had no repercussions for the stability of the empire (thus Brosius, 2006: 25).

Xerxes was assassinated in a palace conspiracy in 465 (Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F13, Diodorus 11.69.1–2, Justin 3.1 = **PE* 307–9, no. 92 i–iii; see also **PE* 306, no. 90). His son Artaxerxes I followed him on the throne, after emerging triumphant from disputes with his brothers over the succession. When Artaxerxes died in 424, after forty years as king, contests for the throne broke out afresh, and were in fact to become a feature of every succession until the fall of the Persian empire to Alexander the Great in 330. Artaxerxes' successor Xerxes II occupied the royal seat for only forty-five days before he was assassinated. A contest for the succession between his brother Sogdianus and half-brother Ochus ended with victory for the latter, who assumed the throne as Darius II (424–404) (Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F125.48–50 = **PE* 332, no. 20). Following his death, civil war erupted between Darius' son and successor Artaxerxes II (Arsaces) (404–359) and another of his sons, Cyrus the Younger. The contest ended with Artaxerxes' victory at the battle of Cunaxa (401), a small town on the Euphrates. (The Greek sources relating to the conflict between Artaxerxes and Cyrus are collected in **PE* 353–67, nos 1–27). The end of Artaxerxes II' reign was marked by fresh palace conspiracies (Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 30), as was the reign of his son and successor Artaxerxes III (Ochus) (359–338). The next king, Artaxerxes IV (Arses) (338–336) reigned for only two years before he too was assassinated, and his successor Darius III – who was defeated by Alexander – also met his death, in 330, by an assassin's hand (Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.21.1, 4–5, 10; 3.22.1).



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*Figure 91* Persepolis, griffin protomes.

Undoubtedly, the lack of clear, fixed principles of succession was a major cause of the disputes that broke out between rival pretenders to the Persian throne, almost every time the throne became vacant – and on many occasions even before it became vacant. Nevertheless, a number of those who did succeed in occupying the throne managed to remain there for a considerable time. Moreover, their reigns were sometimes marked by significant achievements. In early C4 the Persians under Artaxerxes II re-established their control over Cyprus and the Greek states in western Anatolia, which had been lost to them in 479, by the terms of a treaty called the King's Peace (386) (see glossary), drawn up with warring mainland Greek states. The Spartan Antalcidas was the most prominent negotiator on the Greek side. Artaxerxes III succeeded in reconquering Egypt, which had successfully rebelled against Persian rule in 405, as well as in putting down revolts in Cyprus and a number of Phoenician cities. And both Artaxerxes I and Artaxerxes III made significant contributions to the monumental architecture of Persepolis, the royal city founded by Darius I.

As with the imperial Roman world in C1 CE, we should be careful not to overestimate the impact of the palace conspiracies and coups on the operation of the Persian empire as a whole. The administrative organization set up primarily by Darius I provided, by and large, efficient and stable government for the vast realm which he and his predecessors had won by military force. Darius divided the empire into twenty provinces, called satrapies (the account of its organization given by Herodotus 3.89–97 is now not considered reliable; see glossary under **satrapy**). In most cases their governors, or satraps, were rulers of local origin who were allowed a large measure of autonomy.

Indeed, they enjoyed many of the trappings of monarchy in their own right, and were responsible directly to the emperor for the collection of tribute within their satrapy, the provision of levies for the Persian army, and just and efficient government in their satrapy. Communications between various parts of the empire were facilitated by the development of a network of major roads, the most famous of the communication routes being the 'Royal Road' which linked Susa with Sardis, a distant of c. 2,500 km. Darius also greatly improved travel and communication by sea, financing naval expeditions to seek out new trade markets, developing harbour facilities on the Persian Gulf, and cutting a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea (**DZc*). To stimulate agricultural productivity in the provinces, he financed irrigation projects and the building of underground water channels in areas where rainfall was meagre or unpredictable. And to facilitate commercial activities throughout the empire, he adopted from the Lydians the practice of minting coins. He issued both silver and gold coins (the latter commonly known as Darics), stamped with the royal insignia as a guarantee of their quality and weight.

While his policies were designed to promote stability throughout the empire by peaceful means, he created a powerful standing army of professional soldiers to ensure maintenance of his authority over the empire. This army could be increased substantially, when necessary, by levies from the satrapies. But the backbone of the army was an elite force of Persians and Medes known as the Ten Thousand Immortals, crack troops whose numbers were constantly replenished to offset casualties. For his

*Figure 92* Persepolis, human-headed capital.



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operations by sea, he had at his disposal a formidable navy, consisting initially of ships provided by Phoenician cities along the Syro-Palestinian seaboard.

The Persian empire fell to Alexander the Great in 330. Even allowing for Alexander's military genius, internal dissensions and upheavals within the empire's central power structure no doubt contributed significantly to its fall, especially in its final years. None the less, Cyrus and his successors built and maintained for more than two centuries what was arguably the greatest of all empires up to this time in human history. And the policy of Darius and his successors of employing craftsmen and artists from every part of the empire for their public works gave a rich, eclectic, cosmopolitan character to Persian material culture, to an extent unparalleled in any earlier or contemporary civilization.

Briant (1984b; 2002), Dandamaev (1989), Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1995), Wiesehöfer (2001), Schmitt/Wiesehöfer/Stausberg (*RlA* 10: 412–24), Allen (2005), Curtis and Tallis (2005), D. T. Potts (2005a), Brosius (2006), Koch *et al.* (2006), Kuhrt (2007b).

**Phaselis** (***Tekirova***) (map 15) M1 BCE–M1 CE town on the eastern coast of Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, 50 km southwest of Antalya. According to Greek tradition, it was founded c. 690 by colonists from Lindos on the island of Rhodes (though in another Greek tradition the city's founder came from Argos in mainland Greece). The site with its three harbours provided an excellent location for a commercial centre on the route between the Aegean world and the Syro-Palestinian coastlands. Around 630, it joined with other Greek cities of Anatolia and the islands off its coast in founding the Greek trading colony of Naucratis in the Nile Delta (Herodotus 2.178). Though today generally included in Lycian territory, its culture remained essentially Greek. Indeed, for much of its existence it was not reckoned part of Lycia, but of the neighbouring country of Pamphylia. In 540 it came under Persian domination, and remained so until the Athenian commander Cimon established his control over it during his campaign along Anatolia's southern coast in 469 (Plutarch, *Cimon* 12.3–4).

Initially, the Phaselitans remained loyal to their Persian allegiance and resisted Cimon. But they eventually came to terms with him, after suffering severely from a siege that he had mounted upon their city, and subsequently Phaselis became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). Its relatively high annual contribution to the Confederacy's funds – three to six talents – is a reflection of its wealth, derived from its commercial enterprises. By the beginning of C4, Phaselis had once more come under Persian overlordship, where it remained (supporting the Carian satrap Mausolus against the Lycians in the satrap rebellion during the 360s) until its peaceful surrender to Alexander the Great in 333 (Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.24.5–6). It was at this time still clearly distinguished from Lycia. During the Hellenistic period it came under both Ptolemaic and Seleucid control. Following the battle of Magnesia in 189, Rome handed it over to Rhodes. In 167, however, it was granted independence by the Roman Senate. Around this time it became a member of the Lycian League, but its attachment to Lycia remained tenuous and sporadic.

Throughout its history, Phaselis was a flourishing city, due very largely to its commercial enterprises, which were greatly facilitated by its excellent harbours. The advantages of its location were to some extent countered by its allegedly unhealthy summer climate and disease-bearing marshes (Livy 37.23.2). To judge from Greek and Roman literary sources, the city acquired a highly unsavoury reputation. Its population were



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noted for mendacity and fraud, breach of faith in commercial contracts, and extreme litigiousness in the courts in actions covered by commercial laws. During the late Roman Republic, Phaselis established an alliance with the Cilician pirates (Strabo 14.5.7, Cicero, *Verrine Orations* 4.10.21), which led Cicero (*Verrine Orations* 4.10.23) to use the term Phaselis as a byword for plunder and extortion.

Phaselis' material remains date almost entirely to the Roman imperial period. They include the remnants of a city wall, three agoras (market-places), a paved main street, a theatre, baths, and a triple-arched gateway dedicated to the early C2 CE emperor Hadrian.

Bean (*PECS* 700–1), Keen (1998: 233–5).

**Phellus** (map 15) M1 BCE–M1 CE located near the central coast of Lycia, in southwestern Anatolia. Phellus is a Greek word meaning 'stony'. The city's native name was Wehñte, as attested in both inscriptions and coin legends probably dating to early or mid C4. Phellus is first attested c. 500 by the Greek geographer Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F258), who wrongly located it in Pamphylia. The city lay slightly inland, and used Antiphellus on the coast, 5 km away, as its port. M. Zimmermann concludes from a survey which he recently conducted at Phellus that the city reached the peak of its urban development in the period C6–C4. During the Hellenistic age it declined in importance and was eclipsed by Antiphellus, which became a major city in the region under Roman rule. Almost all the surviving remains of Phellus are sepulchral monuments, several of which date back to pre-Hellenistic times. Most notable is a freestanding tomb of Lycian house-type. Two inscriptions in the native Lycian language, whose use is attested in Lycia from late C6 to late C4, have also been found on the site.

Bean (*PECS* 701; 1978: 92–100), Zimmermann (2005).

**Philistia** see **Philistines**.

**Philistines** Iron Age population who in C12 occupied that part of the southern coastal plain of Palestine which came to be called Philistia, lying roughly between mod. Tel Aviv and Deir el-Balah. The Philistines are linked by most scholars with the Peleset, one of the groups of Sea Peoples who attacked the coast of Egypt in the eighth year of Ramesses III's reign (1184–1153), as recorded in the so-called Papyrus Harris (see glossary) (*Gertzen, 2008: 91), and in Ramesses' inscription on the walls of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. In the reliefs accompanying the latter, the Peleset are depicted among the captives, wearing tasselled kilts and what appears to be a feathered headdress, though the interpretation of the latter has been disputed.

In the context of the Sea Peoples' dispersal, the Peleset are generally believed to have settled in southwestern Palestine, where they re-emerged in *OT* tradition as the Philistines. Their original homeland is uncertain. An Aegean origin is commonly supposed, on the basis of a number of similarities between Philistine culture and the cultures of the Aegean world (see below). Attention is also sometimes drawn to an *OT* claim that the Philistines came from Caphtor, i.e. Crete (Amos 9:7), though it is not clear whether this is intended to be a reference to their actual homeland. Critics of an Aegean origin for the Peleset/Philistines stress the fact that in the Medinet Habu reliefs, the Peleset land force is accompanied by plough oxen and ox-carts; this, they argue, suggests an



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agriculture-based population in search of new lands to cultivate rather than a people from across the sea.

To judge from *OT* tradition, the Philistines apparently occupied their new homeland in coastal Palestine around the same time as the Canaanites occupied the inland plains, and the Israelites (now believed by some scholars to be a Canaanite sub-group) the hill country beyond. Five main cities, the so-called Philistine Pentapolis, provided the focal points of Philistine civilization. They were Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron, Gaza, and Gath (perhaps = Tell es-Safi). *OT* sources mention a number of smaller settlements as well, including Jabneh, Timnah, and Ziklag. A certain type of painted ceramic ware, derived from the decorative style of Mycenaean Late Helladic IIIC pottery, was one of the distinctive features of the Philistines' material culture. On the other hand, native Levantine influence is evident in a number of the shapes fashioned by Philistine potters, and in various stylistic features used by them in their painted designs. Cypriot and Egyptian influences are also apparent in the repertoire of Philistine ceramic ware. With regard to Philistine cult-practices, attention has been drawn to a number of apparent Aegean influences, illustrated by seated goddess figurines, ritual burial pits, offering benches, and hearthrooms. Another aspect of Philistine culture reflecting an Aegean origin is the use of rock-cut chamber tombs similar to those found at Mycenae.

The Philistines' evident prosperity derived largely from their participation in a thriving, widespread commercial network. Material remains and artefacts uncovered at a number of Philistine sites provide evidence of highly developed architectural, engineering, technological, and craft skills among Philistia's population. But while Philistine society had a strong urban orientation, its economy must have been boosted by a flourishing agricultural industry, which benefited much from the country's fertile coastal plain location. An indication of the importance of agriculture to the Philistines may be provided by the incorporation of the Semitic grain god Dagan into the Philistine pantheon, along with two other Semitic deities, Ashtaroth and Baal-zebub.

*Figure 93* Philistine coffin lid, from Lachish.



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Information about the history of the Philistine nation is largely dependent on *OT* sources, which contain more than 250 references to the Philistines and Philistia. To judge from these sources, the Philistines relatively early in their history sought to expand their territory eastwards, at the same time as the hill country Israelites began expanding their territories westwards. This inevitably led to conflicts between the two peoples, which culminated in the decisive defeat suffered by the Philistines at the hands of the Israelite king David early in C10. Though seriously weakened as a military power after this defeat, the Philistines continued to engage, with varying success, in sporadic conflict with the Israelites until the last decades of C8. (It has recently been argued, primarily on the basis of *OT* sources, that during Iron Age I the Philistine cities were united, perhaps in C10 under the *primus inter pares* leadership of Gath; this unified political structure persisted in Philistia through C10–9, but during C8–7 the existing Philistine cities became separate entities, each under its own ruler and with its own policies; Shai, 2006).

The Philistines had also to deal with a much more formidable power in the region, the kingdom of Assyria. Already by the end of C9, records of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (810–783) indicate that the Philistines were paying tribute to Assyria. Subsequently, a number of Philistine cities were destroyed by the Assyrians, as reported in both *OT* and Assyrian sources. A notable example is the destruction of the city of Ashdod by Sargon II (721–705), reported in Isaiah 20:1. Sargon himself described in his Annals his conquest of Ashdod and other cities of the Pentapolis, and depicted the siege of these cities in the reliefs in his palace at Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin). In fact, all of Philistia's cities must have suffered to a greater or lesser degree from the western campaigns conducted by Sargon and his two predecessors, Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V, which resulted in the imposition of Assyrian sovereignty over the entire Syro-Palestinian region to the borders of Egypt. Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib reported a conquest of the Pentapolis city of Ekron, and Philistine cities were called upon to provide building materials and troops to the Assyrians during the reigns of Sennacherib's successors Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

With the fall of the Assyrian empire in late C7, Palestine's southern coastal cities came under Egyptian control. Shortly afterwards, Philistia fell victim to the newly emerging Neo-Babylonian empire. The campaigns which the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562) conducted in the region resulted in the destruction of a number of Philistine cities, and the mass deportation of their populations. Some of the cities, including Ashdod, Askelon, and Gaza, survived and were reoccupied. But the Babylonians had effectively brought to an end the land and civilization of the people called the Philistines.

T. Dothan (1982; 1995), Görg/Maeir (*RlA* 10: 526–36), Laughlin (2006: 235–42), Gertzen (2008).

**Phocaea** (map 5) Greek city located on the northern Aegean coast of Anatolia. It was the northernmost member of the twelve cities of the Ionian League (see **Panionium**), but in fact lay in the region of Aeolis (q.v.). (Pottery evidence suggests that settlement in the area dates back to the Early Bronze Age.) According to Greek tradition, the earliest Phocaeans occupied land which they had received from the citizens of Aeolian Cyme. Ceramic ware dating to C9 suggests that these first inhabitants were of Aeolian stock. However, by the end of C9 (to judge from the Protogeometric pottery found on the site), settlers of Ionian origin had joined the original population.



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According to Pausanias, these new settlers came from the cities of Teos and Erythrae. The Phocaeans were renowned for their coinage and their manufacture of purple dye. They had a high reputation for seafaring and trading, activities which paved the way for their engagement in a number of colonizing enterprises. Phocaea founded several new settlements on the shores of the Hellespont and the Black Sea. But the main areas which it colonized were in the lands of the western Mediterranean – southern Italy, Corsica, France, and Spain.

Phocaea's flourishing existence was abruptly ended in mid C6 when, along with other cities in the region, it was destroyed by the Persians. The colonies which its citizens had established in the western Mediterranean now provided new homelands for refugees from the devastated city (Herodotus 1.163–9). Some of the refugees may subsequently have returned, but the city never regained the status or level of prosperity it had enjoyed prior to its destruction. In C5 Phocaea became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary). But in 412 it joined other cities in rebelling against Athenian rule. In the Hellenistic period it was subject, successively, to the Seleucid and Attalid dynasties. In C1 Pompey the Great granted it independence.

Among the city's pre-Hellenistic remains are a temple of Athena, dated by ceramic evidence to 590–580, and fortification walls also of C6 date. Excavations are currently being conducted by a Turkish team under the direction of Ö. Özyiğit.

E. Akurgal (1973: 116–18; *PECS* 708–9), Özyiğit (2006).

**Phoenicia(ns)** (map 13) Classical name used to designate an Iron Age region, and the peoples who occupied it, extending along part of the Syro-Palestinian coast and inland to the Lebanon and anti-Lebanon ranges. (Scholarly opinions differ on where the region's precise limits should be set.) The name's most commonly accepted derivation is from the Greek word *phoinix*, meaning 'crimson-red' or 'purple'. This derivation may have been inspired by the copper colour of the hair and skin of the peoples so called, or by the famous purple dye extracted from the murex shellfish found in the region's coastal waters. But other explanations have been proposed. If the Phoenicians themselves did have a sense of a common identity, they probably referred to themselves generically as Canaanites, their direct Bronze Age ancestors.

The point at which these coastal Canaanites attained a specific identity and became Phoenicians is difficult to determine. But it can best be related to the reconfiguration of the political map of the region in C12. With the demise of the Hittite empire, the withdrawal of the Egyptian empire, and the corresponding ascendancy of the Aramaeans, Israelites, and Philistines, the only area left relatively unaffected by these changes was precisely that which would become known as Phoenicia. The reason why this area escaped the upheavals which caused the collapse of many Late Bronze Age centres elsewhere is not known for sure, but almost certainly resulted from a degree of collusion between the Canaanite inhabitants and invading Sea Peoples. The Phoenicians transmitted the purest ideals of Canaanite culture from M2 to M1, along with the Canaanite political configuration: Phoenicia consisted of a number of principalities or city-states, the most prominent of which were Sidon, Tyre, and Byblos. And like the Late Bronze Age Syro-Palestinian principalities, the Phoenician states became subject to one or other of the Great Kingdoms of their period.

With virtually no agricultural hinterland and little opportunity for territorial expansion within the Levant, the Phoenicians turned to the sea as a means of supporting



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and developing their economy. We know from early C11 Egyptian and Assyrian texts that they were already involved in maritime mercantile enterprises at this time. Trading links had been established with Cyprus, and *OT* sources indicate good commercial relations between Tyre and the early Israelite monarchy. The production of timber and purple dye featured among the Phoenicians' most important industries, along with the manufacture of a range of products fashioned from ivory, wood, stone, metal, wool, and linen. The distribution of these products throughout the Mediterranean world was in the hands of Phoenician merchantmen, who also acted as agents for the export and import of goods from other regions. Exotic items figured prominently among the merchandise brought back by Phoenician ships. They included ivory, ebony, precious stones, spices, aromatic substances, gold and silver, and a range of commodity metals.

The search for sources of these goods, especially silver (the main medium of exchange in the western Asian world at this time), took Phoenician trading expeditions to the western limits of the Mediterranean world, above all to western Italy, western Sicily, Sardinia, southern Spain, and the coast of Africa. This great westward expansion of Phoenician commercial enterprise began c. mid C8. Phoenician settlements and trading-posts were established in a number of the western Mediterranean countries. For the most part, these were no more than trading-posts or temporary encampments, which focused primarily on the exploitation of local resources and were abandoned once the reasons for their establishment no longer existed. But some settlements took on a more permanent character, especially in Spain, Sicily, and north Africa. Carthage, founded according to tradition by settlers from Tyre, is the prime example of a fully fledged Phoenician colonial enterprise. Established in late C9, it had already become a major urban centre with a large population by the first half of C8.

Phoenicia's wealth inevitably attracted the interest of the emerging Neo-Assyrian empire, beginning with the reign of the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (883–859), who imposed tributary status on the Phoenician coastal cities. Though Phoenicia's commercial enterprises flourished and indeed expanded during the Neo-Assyrian period, the Assyrians' constant intervention in Phoenician affairs in the reigns of Ashurnasirpal's successors led to escalating tensions and conflicts, culminating in the Assyrian conquest of a number of Phoenician cities, most notably Sidon and Tyre, in the reigns of Sennacherib (704–681) and Esarhaddon (680–669). These cities regained their independence during the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–630/627), though subsequently, for a time, Egypt seems to have exercised some nominal control in the region. But Phoenicia's brief period of relative freedom came to an end in early C6 when it was forced into subjection by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562). With the rise of Persia following the fall of the Babylonian kingdom in the reign of Nabonidus (556–539), the Phoenician cities came under Persian rule, though they continued to enjoy a high degree of local autonomy. Sidon now became the administrative centre of Persia's fifth satrapy (Herodotus 3.94; but see glossary under **satrapy**). With Persian support, Phoenician trade and commerce continued to flourish. And in turn, the largely landlocked Persian kingdom benefited greatly from having a Phoenician navy at its disposal for its military operations conducted by sea. In the late 330s the Phoenician cities were forced to submit to Alexander the Great, Persia's conqueror, though Tyre did so only when it was besieged and sacked by Alexander's forces after offering fierce resistance. On Alexander's death, Phoenicia was contested by the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties, succcumbing first to the former and then to the



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latter before regaining its independence. The region was finally absorbed into the Roman empire.

The Phoenician language, a descendant or later dialect of the West Semitic or Canaanite language, is preserved in a corpus of c. 6,000 inscriptions which were scattered throughout the lands where the Phoenicians had trading contacts and established settlements, as far west as Spain and Tunisia. The script used was alphabetic, consisting of twenty-two consonant symbols. This script was transmitted to the Greek world and became the basis of the Greek alphabet, though the date and manner of the transmission remain uncertain. The earliest surviving example of a Phoenician alphabetic inscription appears on a sarcophagus, the so-called Ahiram sarcophagus, discovered in Byblos and dating to late M2.

Our knowledge of Phoenician deities and religious practices is meagre. Though Phoenician cults derived most of their features from their Bronze Age Canaanite predecessors (including a shared focus on natural and cosmic phenomena, and the notion of divine assemblies), there were clearly some differences. These are reflected, for example, in the appearance of new deities, like Ba'al Hammon, Tanit, Melqart, and Eshmun. The overall picture of Phoenician religion is made more complex by the fact that each city-state appears to have had its own distinctive religious practices, and its own concept of the deities whom it worshipped.

Lipiński (1995), Ward/Guzzo/Markoe (*OEANE* 4: 313–31), Markoe (2000), Moscati (2001), Röllig/Gubel (*RlA* 10: 536–43).

**Phrygia** (map 4) Iron Age kingdom extending over much of central and western Anatolia. In Greek legendary tradition, the earliest Phrygians migrated into Anatolia

*Figure 94* Phoenician figurine (C7–4), perhaps goddess Ashtarte.



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from Macedon and Thrace. According to Homer, the Phrygians were already well established in their new homeland at the time of the Trojan War; they appear on seven occasions in the *Iliad*, and are listed by Homer among Troy's allies. But it is much more likely that Phrygian migration to Anatolia took place during the widespread upheavals associated with the collapse of many centres of western Asian civilization at the end of the Bronze Age. The last decades of M2 probably witnessed the formative stages of a Phrygian state, which was centred on Gordium, located on the Sakarya r. (Classical Sangarius) 100 km southwest of Ankara, and reached its peak in C8. By this time, Phrygian power extended eastwards across the Halys r. into what had been the homeland of the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Hatti.

At some point in their history, the Phrygians became associated with a people called the Mushki in Assyrian texts. Kossian (1997) regards 'Mushki' as a collective term designating numerous related tribes who during the second half of M2 were gradually infiltrating into different areas of the Armenian highlands. In documentary sources, the Mushki are first attested in the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076) when they invaded and captured, with a force of 20,000 troops commanded by their five kings, the Assyrian province of Kadmuhu in the Zagros region (**RIMA* 2: 14). (For the outcome of this episode, see **Kadmuhu**.) Tiglath-pileser elsewhere claims to have defeated a force of 12,000 Mushki troops, and to have added their land to the borders of his own territory (**RIMA* 2: 33). Two centuries later, the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II invaded and devastated Mushki territory in the course of his last recorded campaign (885) (**RIMA* 2: 177). His son and successor Ashurnasirpal II received tribute from the Mushki during a campaign in his first regnal year (883) which took Assyrian forces once more into the land of Kadmuhu (**RIMA* 2: 198). In late C9 or early C8, Shamshi-ilu, commander-in-chief of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III, conquered the lands of both Mushki and Urartu (**RIMA* 3: 232).

The nature, date, and origins of the Phrygian–Mushki association are still matters for debate. However, a widely held view is that towards the end of C8 an amalgamation took place between Phrygian and Mushki groups, and that a Mushki king called Mita, better known by his Greek name Midas, was responsible for the union of the two groups. From his capital at Gordium, Mita/Midas (for his possible regnal dates, see DeVries, 2008: 30–1) ruled a kingdom which extended eastwards towards the Euphrates, southwards into the region later known as Cappadocia, and westwards as far as the Aegean Sea. He was also in contact with mainland Greece, where he made offerings to the god Apollo at Delphi. Though the historical Midas is to be distinguished from his legendary namesake, whose greed for gold caused everything he touched to be turned into the precious metal, it has been suggested that the king of legend may have lain behind the historical character.

The extent of Midas' territories, and especially the contacts which he established with other states in southern Anatolia, as far afield as the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Carchemish on the Euphrates, inevitably led to fresh tensions and conflicts with Assyria. For example, the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705) accused Pisiris, ruler of Carchemish, of communicating with Midas, presumably with a view to forming an alliance with him (**ARAB* II: 4, **CS* II: 293). (For Sargon's retaliatory action, see under **Carchemish**.) In particular, Midas threatened the security of Assyria's western frontiers. He seized border territories of the kingdom of Que, which lay to the southeast of the Phrygian kingdom and was then under the control of an Assyrian governor.



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Subsequently he sought to win local rulers in the country of Tabal away from their Assyrian allegiance, and appears to have had some success in doing so. Several of the Tabalic kings apparently switched their support to Midas, perhaps partly because of their relative proximity to his kingdom, which put them within close striking range of a Phrygian army. Such challenges to Assyrian authority in the region could not go unanswered. In 715, Sargon recaptured two border fortresses of Que which had been seized by Midas, and five years later his governor in Que, Ashur-sharru-usur, claims to have conducted three successful expeditions into Midas' territory.

Even so, Sargon was anxious to reach an accommodation with Midas, very likely to offset the danger of an alliance formed by Midas with Assyria's other great rival in the region, Urartu. Sargon did in fact succeed in making peace with Midas, as he reports in a letter which he sent from Nimrud to Ashur-sharru-usur (***SAA* I: 4–7, no. 1). He refers in the letter to a fourteen-man delegation dispatched to Urartu by Urikki (Luwian Awarikus), known to have been a king of Que already in the reign of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III (745–727). The delegation had been intercepted by Midas and handed over to Ashur-sharru-usur. This action marked a dramatic change in Midas' relations with Assyria which up to this point had been emphatically hostile. Sargon welcomed his gesture, and responded by instructing Ashur-sharru-usur to return to Midas all the Phrygians whom he had detained in his court. (On the likely status of Urikki at this time, see under **Que**.) He no doubt saw a *détente* with Phrygia as a major step towards consolidating his control over a substantial part of Anatolia, notably the kingdoms of Tabal.

It is possible that there is a connection between Midas' about-face and the threat to his kingdom posed by the Cimmerians (cf. Hawkins, 1982: 420–1). In fact, within a few years of this improvement in Phrygian–Assyrian relations, Phrygia fell victim, c. 695, to an invasion from the north by the Cimmerians, who occupied large areas of Anatolia, and in the process destroyed Midas' kingdom. However, a number of Phrygian settlements, including Gordium, recovered from the invasions, and after the final withdrawal of the Cimmerians in late C7 or early C6, they regained some of their former prosperity as small principalities subject to the kings of Lydia. Following the collapse of the Lydian kingdom, Phrygia became part of the Persian empire, until in 333 it fell to Alexander the Great. Subsequently it was absorbed into the Seleucid empire, and in 133 the western part of the country was incorporated into the Roman empire.

The burial tumuli and sculptured rock façades, particularly those found at Gordium, provide the most notable surviving features of Phrygia's material civilization (see **Gordium**). Painted pottery depicting geometric and animal motifs is another distinctive feature of this civilization. Both the tumuli and the pottery indicate ongoing cultural influences from Thrace. Neo-Hittite elements also played an important role in the development of Phrygian culture. Cultural as well as political contacts between Phrygia and Carchemish may be reflected in the possible connection between the most prominent Phrygian deity, the mother goddess Cybele, and the goddess Kubaba, who had been the chief deity of Carchemish since the Old Babylonian period. Crafts and trades flourished in Phrygia, and Gordium in particular has yielded a fine range of artefacts of bronze, iron, wood, and ivory, as well as a wide assortment of ceramic ware.

The Phrygian language survives in two groups of inscriptions which are now only partly intelligible. Inscriptions of the first group are found mainly on the façades of



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rock-cut monuments dating from C8 to C3 (Brixhe and Lejeune, 1984); inscriptions of the second group, consisting mainly of curse formulae, date to C2 and C3 CE. Phrygian belongs to the Indo-European language family, and is written in an alphabetic script. It is very likely that this script was taken over from Greek, but a north Syrian origin is also a possibility.

Haspels (1971), Mellink (1991: 622–43), Masson (1991: 666–9), Sams (1995), Röllig (*RlA* 8: 493–5), Neumann/Strobel/Prayon (*RlA* 10: 543–55), Roller (2008).

**Physcus** (*Marmaris*) (map 5) M1 city in Caria, southwestern Anatolia. By mid C4 it had been incorporated into the state of Rhodes, as an attachment to the Rhodian city of Lindus. It became the most important possession of the Rhodian Peraea (see glossary), due, no doubt, to its excellent harbour facilities. The city's acropolis, located on a hill 2 km northwest of Marmaris, still has remains of fortifications of Classical and Hellenistic date. Nothing survives of the lower city, on the site of mod. Marmaris, beyond some inscriptions and sculptured blocks.

Bean (*PECS* 710).

**Pina(li)** Late Bronze Age city in southwestern Anatolia, attested in a cuneiform text commonly referred to as the 'Milawata letter' (**HDT* 146) and in a hieroglyphic inscription found at Yalburt (q.v.) (*Hawkins, 1995: 70–1), in both cases together with the city of Awarna (for details, see **Awarna**). An identification has been suggested between Pina(li) and the city of Pinara in Classical Lycia, though as yet there is no evidence of Bronze Age settlement at Pinara.

**Pinara** (**Pinale**, ***Minare***) (map 15) M1 BCE–M1 CE city in Lycia, southwestern Anatolia, located 17 km north of Xanthus. Pinara derives its name from Pina(li), a city attested in Bronze Age texts and perhaps Pinara's Bronze Age ancestor. According to the C4 writer Menecrates of Xanthus (in Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Artymnesus), Pinara was founded by colonists from Xanthus, and so called after a native Lycian word meaning 'round'. This proposed derivation clearly arose out of the town's original location on a rounded hill. Remains of the pre-Greek indigenous civilization of Lycia are well represented at Pinara by a number of rock-cut tombs, several inscribed with texts in the Lycian language. Some twelve Lycian inscriptions have survived (**TAM I*: 10–21). In the porch of one of the tombs are reliefs depicting fortified Lycian cities in which houses and tombs can be seen. Hundreds more rudimentary tombs are cut into the face of a 450 m high cliff, one of the site's most distinctive features. A well-preserved theatre reflects later Greek influence at Pinara. In Roman times, Pinara became one of the six most important cities of the Lycian League.

Bean (*PECS* 713; 1978: 82–91).

**Pi-naratim** ('**Mouth-of-the-Rivers**') Middle Bronze Age city in southern Babylonia, perhaps in the vicinity of Cutha and Kish. Its conquest is commemorated in the name of the eighth regnal year of the Larsan king Sumu-El (1887). The king's son-in-law Ibni-shadum, ruler of Kisurra (q.v.), is reported to have built walls for the city, but scholars are uncertain whether he did so with the support of his father-in-law or to protect it against the armies of Larsa. In 1809 the city (along with Nazarum) fell to Larsa's king Rim-Sin, the year after he had defeated a coalition of enemy forces,



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*Figure 95* Pinara, round tower of rock honeycombed with tombs.

including Uruk, Isin, and Babylon. Pi-naratim is possibly identical with Pi-nari, which is known from later M2 (Middle Babylonian) texts.

*Mesop.* 75, 120, Streck (*RlA* 10: 566–7).

**Pirindu** see **Hilakku**.

**Pirria** and **Shitiuaria** Iron Age fortified cities in the western Zagros region near the land of Parsua. They were destroyed by Dayyan-Ashur, commander-in-chief of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, during his campaign in the region in 828 (**RIMA* 3: 71).

**Pisidia** (map 4) Classical name for the country occupying, in M1, the mountainous region of southwestern Anatolia inland from Lycia and Pamphylia. The rugged nature of the land, the strong defences of its cities, and the fierce character of its population presented a formidable obstacle to foreign aggressors. Pisidia remained independent of Persia during the period of the Persian empire (C6–4), and was never fully subjugated by the Persians' Hellenistic successors. But it eventually came under Roman control when it was incorporated into the Roman province of Galatia, created by Augustus in 25 BCE. From C4 onwards Pisidia's cities had become increasingly influenced by Greek civilization. But even under Roman domination a number of elements of the indigenous Pisidian culture persisted. This applied particularly to the country's language and religious cults, which continued to flourish in the region's rural areas.

Mitchell (*OCD* 1186).

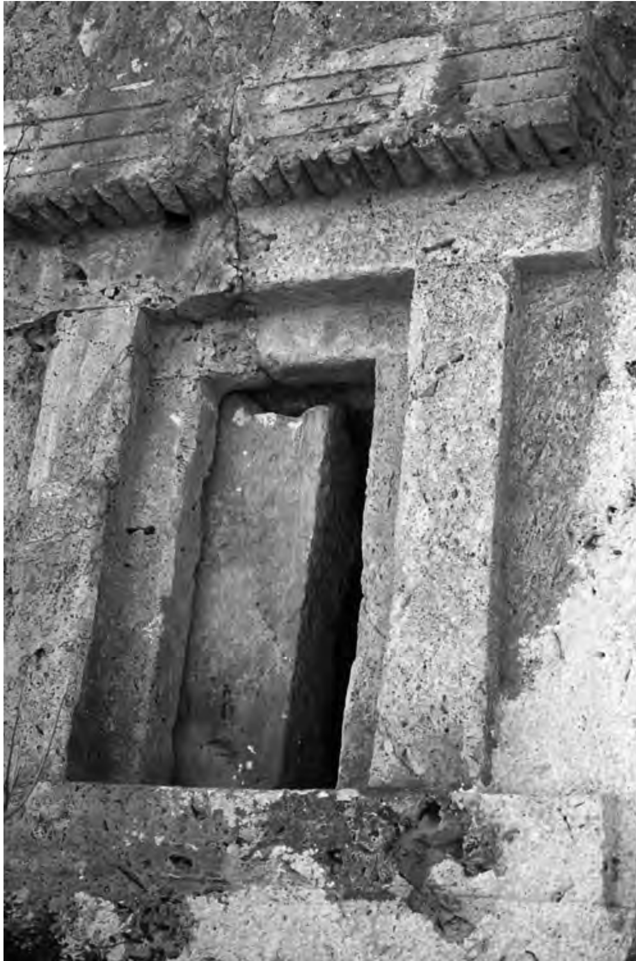

*Figure 96* Pinara, sliding door of tomb.

**Pitane** (map 5) M1 Greek city on Anatolia's Aegean coast, located northeast of Phocaea on a small peninsula near the mouth of the Caicus r. It is listed by Herodotus (1.149) among the eleven original Aeolian communities which remained after the twelfth, Smyrna, was taken over by the Ionians. Strabo (13.1.67) refers to a number of Pitane's features, noting that it had two harbours, that bricks floated on water there, and that the city was the home of Arcesilaus who became, c. 268, head of the Academy founded by Plato in Athens. E. Akurgal observes that Pitane is the only Aeolian site to have produced valuable archaeological material. Excavations conducted in C19 at the necropolis on the isthmus of the peninsula, to the west of the site, brought to light a Late Bronze Age Mycenaean octopus stirrup-jar and Greek Archaic pottery. The tombs in the necropolis were pit-graves. More recent excavations conducted in the necropolis have produced Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, pottery from Chios, orientalizing vases from the first half of C6, and an Archaic statue.

E. Akurgal (*PECS* 715), Mee (1978: 143–4).



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**Pitassa** (map 3) Late Bronze Age Anatolian country in the region of Classical Lycaonia, east of the Salt Lake, and close to the northwestern frontier of Tarhuntassa (**HDT* 110, 114–15, **CS* II: 100). It was ruled by a council of elders. Located in a strategically important area near the Hittite Lower Land, Pitassa became a subject state of the kingdom of Hatti. But it was prone to insurrectionist activity, and on three known occasions in C14 it rebelled against its Hittite overlords – at least twice in collaboration with renegade Hittite subjects from other states (**HDT* 75, 158–9). In 1274, a contingent from Pitassa served in the Hittite army at the battle of Qadesh (*Gardiner, 1960: 8).

de Martino (*RlA* 10: 579).

**Pitru** (Assyrian **Ana-Ashur-uter-asbat**, ***ʿAwšar***) Iron Age city in northwestern Mesopotamia, strategically located, at mod. ʿAwšar (see Lipiński, 2000: 167 map), near an important river-crossing on the west bank of the Euphrates close to its confluence with the Sajur and not far from Til-Barsip (Tell Ahmar). Pitru was established c. 1100 by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I, but during the reign of Ashur-rabi II (1013–973) an Aramaean king seized control of it, along with the city of Mutkinu which lay on the the Euphrates' opposite bank (**RIMA* 3: 19). (The city may also be mentioned in two fragmentary inscriptions of the early C11 king Ashur-bel-kala, who crossed the Euphrates in this area.) For the next 250 years, Pitru remained under Aramaean control, becoming one of the cities in the Euphrates region attached to the Iron Age kingdom of Bit-Adini. (It is uncertain whether the Aramaean king who seized Pitru from Ashur-rabi was an early ruler of Bit-Adini.) In 856, when the kingdom was ruled by Ahuni, these cities were conquered by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III. Following the restoration of Pitru to Assyrian control, Shalmaneser renamed it Ana-Ashur-uter-asbat, meaning 'I seized and restored (it) to Ashur' (he claims that Pitru was the name which the people of the land of Hatti called it), and resettled it with an Assyrian population. It became incorporated into the newly formed 'Province of the Commander-in-Chief' (see glossary). In 853 Shalmaneser visited the city prior to embarking upon his next western campaign and received there tribute from the rulers of the kingdoms on the 'opposite' (i.e. western) bank of the Euphrates (**RIMA* 3: 23). Pitru was among the lands and cities which the Assyrian king Adad-nirari III (810–783) assigned to the governorship of a man called Nergal-erish (Palil-erish) (**RIMA* 3: 209, 211).

Lipiński (2000: 163–8, 193), Radner (*RlA* 10: 585–6).

**Pittiyarik** Late Bronze Age city in eastern Anatolia, subject to Hatti from at least the early years of the Hittite New Kingdom (early C14). It was linked by river transport with the city of Samuha, since grain was carried by boat from Pittiyarik to Samuha. Both these cities were therefore located on a river – probably the upper course of the Marassantiya (Classical Halys), though a Euphrates location for the cities has also been suggested. In any case, Pittiyarik lay near the city of Pahhuwa in the upper Euphrates region. Delegates from its council of elders attended an assembly of cities and countries called upon by the early C14 Hittite king Arnuwanda I to attack Pahhuwa in the event that Pahhuwa failed to hand over to the Hittites its rebel king, Mita.

**RGTC* 6: 319–20, **HDT* 162, 164.



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**Pitura** (*Salat Tepe?*) Fortified Iron Age city in the land of Dirru north of the Kashiyari range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin), northern Mesopotamia, located on the east bank of the Tigris across the river from the city of Tushhan. It was attacked by the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II during a campaign which he conducted in his fifth regnal year (879) in the Kashiyari region (**RIMA* 2: 210, 260). Having left Tushhan, Ashurnasirpal crossed the Tigris and travelled all night to reach Pitura. The city's defences, which included a double wall and a lofty citadel, enabled it to withstand the Assyrian attack until dawn of the second day, when it fell to Ashurnasirpal. It was plundered and destroyed. Many of its defenders were captured and some were burnt alive. Ashurnasirpal built a pile of the living and the heads of those he slaughtered before the city gate. Seven hundred of the city's troops were also impaled there.

Liverani (1992: 60–1), Radner (*RlA* 10: 587–8).

**Pontus** (maps 2, 4) Region on the southern shores of the Black Sea, between the lands of Paphlagonia in north-central Anatolia and Colchis at the eastern end of the Black Sea, and extending southwards into Cappadocia. Its name comes from its location on the Pontus (literally meaning 'sea'), one of the anc. names for the Black Sea. Topographically, the region is dominated by mountain ranges separated by deep valleys. The rugged northernmost regions were the homes of a number of tribal groups. The harsh terrain in which they lived and their lack of any coherent political organization placed them largely beyond the control of the major anc. powers who dominated Anatolia. In the Late Bronze Age, the Kaska people (q.v.) of the Pontic zone were a constant threat to the Hittite homeland which lay to their south. Despite conducting a number of campaigns against them, in the process inflicting heavy casualties, the Hittites never succeeded in fully pacifying them. In the Hellenistic period, the Pontic sub-region lying on the southeastern shore of the Black Sea became the core territory of a kingdom called Pontus, ruled by a line of kings who bore the Persian name Mithridates (Mithradates).

Broughton, Mitchell (*OCD* 1220).

**Posideion** see ***Bassit, Ras el***.

**Priene** (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city founded by Greek Ionian colonists near the anc. mouth of the Maeander r. (though its exact original location is unknown) on the southwestern coast of Anatolia, probably at the end of M2 or very early in M1. It was one of the twelve member states of the Ionian League, whose meeting-place, the Panionium (q.v.), lay in its territory at the foot of Mt Mycale. Bias, one of the Seven Sages of the Greek world, lived here in early C6. During C7 and C6 the city suffered devastation at the hands of several foreign invaders – Cimmerians, Lydians, and Persians. In 494 it provided twelve ships for the Ionians' naval engagement with the Persian fleet in the battle of Lade (q.v.). In the years following the repulse of Persia by the allied Greek states (479), it became a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary), its annual contribution being assessed at the comparatively low sum of one talent. Around 350, the city was shifted to a new location 15 km southwest of mod. Söke. It was enclosed within a strong and still well-preserved city wall, built entirely of local marble. The city's port, Naulochus, lay on a harbour, which gradually disappeared because of the silting up of the Maeander r. Already by the Augustan age (late C1



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BCE–early C1 CE) Priene was, according to Strabo (12.8.17), 40 stades (c. 7.4 km) from the sea, which now lies some some 13 km away.

Priene is particularly noteworthy today for its finely preserved Hellenistic and Roman remains. It provides an excellent example of a city built on the Hippodamian grid plan (see glossary), with streets intersecting at right angles. Most of its distinctive buildings date to the period C4–C2, including a temple of Athena (the building costs of which Alexander the Great subsidized), a sanctuary of the goddess Demeter, a temple of Olympian Zeus, a theatre, two gymnasia, a stadium, and an agora. E. Akurgal notes that despite Roman modifications, the essentially Greek character of Priene was largely preserved. Though the city had sunk into insignificance by the end of the Roman imperial period, it subsequently became the seat of an important diocese in the Byzantine age. The site was excavated between 1895 and 1898 by German archaeological teams under the successive directorships of C. Humann and T. Wiegand. Current excavations are being conducted by W. Raeck, of J. W. Goethe Universität, and W. Koenigs, Technische Universität (Munich).

E. Akurgal (1973: 185–206), Bean (*PECS* 737–9), Raeck (2006).

**Propontis** (***Sea of Marmara***) (maps 2, 3, 4, 19) Sea located between the straits of the Hellespont and the Bosporus, which link it respectively with the Aegean and the Black Seas. It is 225 km long and c. 64 km at its greatest width. The dimensions which Herodotus (4.85) gives are highly exaggerated. There are a number of islands within the sea, the largest of which, known as Proconessus in antiquity, is now called Marmara. This word, which means 'marble', has also been adopted as the mod. name for the Propontis. Four relatively large rivers empty into the sea on its south side: the Granicus, Aesepus, Macestus, and Rhyndacus. There are no significant rivers on its north side.

Bean (*OCD* 1259).

**Pteria** M1 city in north-central Anatolia. Herodotus (1.76) reports that the Lydian king Croesus established a camp there (in 546), after crossing the Halys r. in preparation for his confrontation with the Persian king Cyrus II. He comments that Pteria lay in the most impregnable region of Cappadocia. Croesus allegedly captured Pteria and enslaved its inhabitants. Cyrus took up a position opposite Croesus' camp at Pteria, which became the arena of an inconclusive battle between the Persian and Lydian armies. The city's actual location has yet to be firmly established. Though it was once commonly equated with the Iron Age settlement on the site of Hattusa, the Late Bronze Age Hittite capital, a number of scholars believe it should be identified with the large Iron Age mountain city on Kerkenes Dağ (q.v.). Against this identification, see most recently Rollinger (2003a: 322–6).

**Puqudu** (**Piqudu**) (map 11) Iron Age Aramaean tribe located in southern Babylonia and active in the area from Uruk in the west as far as Elam in the east, but especially around the Tigris r. Letters of the governor of Nippur in the early Neo-Babylonian period indicate the tribe's involvement in religious festivals in Nippur (e.g. **Nippur IV*: 88–9, no. 27) and in diplomatic alliances with other tribes, e.g. Bit-Amukani (with which the Puqudu later came into conflict). The tribe was probably brought under Assyrian control by Tiglath-pileser III (745–727), who claims to have defeated it



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(*Tigl. III* 122–3) and to have attached its lands to the Assyrian province of Arrapha (*Tigl. III* 160–1). However, early in the reign of Tiglath-pileser's grandson Sargon II (721–705) it joined an anti-Assyrian coalition made up of Babylonians, Aramaeans, Chaldaeans, and Elamites, led by Marduk-apla-iddina (biblical Merodach-baladan) from the Chaldaean tribe Bit-Yakin, who was twice king of Babylonia (721–710, 703). In 710 Sargon added Puqudu to the newly formed province of Gambulu, and in the course of his campaigns from 709 to 707 against Dur-Yakin, capital of Bit-Yakin, the Puqudu tribesmen and their leaders were eventually hunted down and forced to surrender. But in the years 704 and 691 they again joined anti-Assyrian uprisings in the reign of Sargon's son and successor Sennacherib. Though apparently subdued and partly resettled in Assyrian territory proper, they continued to threaten Assyrian security and Assyrian interests in southern Mesopotamia. This is evident from letters written by Assyrian-appointed governors in Uruk and Ur during the reign of Ashurbanipal (668–630/627). The governors complained of hostile action by the Puqudu, and sought assistance from their overlord against them. There was also a complaint that the Puqudu had raided the land of the Bit-Amukani tribe, Assyria's faithful ally, and had even settled in their territory.

Although the texts regularly refer to the Puqudu collectively, they seem never to have been a united people, but rather were fragmented into a number of groups, each with its own leader or tribal sheikh. While these leaders may have formed temporary alliances in support of resistance movements against Assyrian sovereignty, there may have been occasions when their support was divided between opposing forces. Thus in the conflict between Shamash-shum-ukin and his brother Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria (see under **Babylon**), some Puqudaean clans may have remained loyal to the Assyrian king, while others joined forces with the rebel.

In the time of the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar II, the Puqudu were counted among the Babylonian peoples. In *OT* sources they are attested under the name Pekod (*Pqd*) (Jeremiah 50:21, Ezekiel 23:23).

Lipiński (2000: 429–537), Radner (*RlA* 10: 113–15).

**Puranda** Late Bronze Age Arzawan city in western Anatolia, perhaps to be identified with the hill now named Bademgediği tepe located a few km west of Torbalı. Hittite deportees sought refuge there (as also in Arinnanda) during the campaigns which the Hittite king Mursili II conducted against Arzawa in the third and fourth years of his reign (c. 1319–1318) (**AM* 62–5, **CS* II: 85–6). Mursili's capture of the city appears to have marked the end of Arzawan hostilities against Hatti for the rest of his reign.

Hawkins (*RlA* 11: 115).

**Puruddum** (**Buruddum, Burunda, Burundum**) Middle Bronze Age city and country probably to be located in the upper Tigris region of northern Mesopotamia. It is attested in the Old Assyrian merchant tablets from Kanesh, in the archives from Mari, on the victory stele of Dadusha, king of Eshnunna, and in the year-name for the thirty-third regnal year of the Babylonian king Hammurabi. It lay on the caravan route linking Ashur with eastern Anatolia, and subsequently became a vassal state of Mari in the reign of the Mariote king Zimri-Lim (1774–1762). According to the Dadusha stele, the land of Burunda was part of Subartu territory (q.v.) (**Chav.* 99). When Mari



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was taken by Hammurabi in 1762, Burundum was among the many cities and countries of upper Mesopotamia which fell to the Babylonian king.
Michel (*RlA* 11: 116–18).

**Purulumzu** (**Purulimzu, Purukuzzu**) Country in northeastern Mesopotamia, attested in Late Bronze Age and early Iron Age Assyrian texts and probably located in the area between the Arsanias r. (mod. Murat Su) and the Kashiyari range (mod. Tur ʿAbdin). It apparently contained a famous cult-centre. Purulumzu joined a general rebellion in the region against Assyrian rule early in the reign of the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208). Subaru, Alzu, and Amadanu were among the principal rebel lands. In the course of his retaliatory campaign against the rebels, Tukulti-Ninurta captured Purulumzu's cult-centre, burnt its inhabitants alive, and took prisoner the surviving remnant of its army (**RIMA* 1: 236, 244). Assyrian sovereignty was imposed upon the country as upon the other rebel lands, and hostages were taken from these lands to ensure their future obedience. Subsequently Purulumzu, along with the land of Alzu, was occupied by settlers from Mushki (see under **Phrygia**). The settlers apparently remained on peaceful terms with the Assyrians by making regular payments of tribute, in effect acknowledging Assyria as their overlord. When Tiglath-pileser I acceded to Assyria's throne in 1115, the Mushki had reportedly been in Purulumzu and Alzu for fifty years (**RIMA* 2: 14). Perhaps emboldened by the change in kingship in Assyria, the Mushki embarked on further expansion, and a force of 20,000 of them, under the command of five kings, invaded and captured the land of Kadmuhu (for the outcome, see **Kadmuhu**). In the context of his campaign of conquest of the Subarian peoples, Tiglath-pileser reports that he reimposed Assyrian control over the lands of Alzu and Purulumzu, forcing them once more to pay tribute, a practice which they had apparently abandoned (**RIMA* 2:17).
Streck (*RlA* 11: 118).

**Purushanda** (**Purushattum, Parsuhanda**) Bronze Age city and kingdom in south-central Anatolia. It was perhaps located on the site of mod. Acem Höyük, to the southeast of the Salt Lake, 6 km northwest of mod. Aksaray, but is now more commonly identified with the site at Karahöyük, near mod. Konya (see ***Karahöyük (1)***). The city is attested in Middle Bronze Age Assyrian Colony texts (see glossary), in the form Burushattum (variant Purushattum), as one of the kingdoms, called *mātu*, which dominated central Anatolia during the Colony period (C20–18) and had regular commercial dealings with Assyrian merchants. Burushattum was linked to Assyria by a major trade route, which passed through the Anatolian cities Washaniya, Nenassa, and Ullamma. The designation of its ruler as a 'Great King' (*rubāʾum rabiʾum*) highlights its important status in the Colony period. Very probably the kingdom incorporated a number of communities, towns, and petty principalities.

Its wealth and power no doubt provided the major incentive for the campaign which Anitta, Great King of Nesa, launched against it after his conquests in other parts of central Anatolia. But when Anitta entered Purushandan territory, its king surrendered to him without resistance. Anitta took him back to Nesa, bestowed honours upon him, and may then have reinstated him as a vassal ruler in his own kingdom, or elsewhere in the territories now subject to Nesa (*Bryce, 2005: 38–9, **Chav.* 218). A tradition preserved in later times, in a text known as the 'King of the Battle' (*šar tamhāri*),



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relates that the Early Bronze Age Akkadian king Sargon (2334–2279) conducted a successful expedition against Nur-Dagan (Nur-Daggal), ruler of Purushanda, in response to an appeal from a delegation of oppressed Akkadian merchants in the city (*J. G. Westenholz, 1997: 118–27). If this tradition (which has been dismissed as a propagandistic fairy-tale) does in fact have an authentic historical basis, it indicates that there was already a kingdom of Burushattum (Purushanda) in the Early Bronze Age.

In the Late Bronze Age, Purushanda is mentioned (in the form Parsuhanda) as one of the territories which the Hittite king Labarna (early C17) assigned to his sons to govern (*Bryce, 2005: 64). It was subsequently the site of one of the storage depots which King Telipinu (1525–1500) established in various parts of his realm. The city then disappears from Hittite records, except for an occasional reference to it in religious texts. An identification with Parzuta (q.v.), attested in Iron Age Luwian hieroglyphic texts, has been suggested.

*RGTC* 6: 323–4, *CMK* 515–16 (index refs), Hecker (*RlA* 11:119–20).

**Pushtu** Iron Age fortified city of the land of Parsua in the central western Zagros mountains. Along with the fortified settlements Shalahamanu and Kinihamanu and twenty-three other cities in Parsua, it was captured and plundered by Dayyan-Ashur, commander-in-chief of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, during his campaign in the region in 828 (*RIMA* 3: 71).

**Puzrish-Dagan** (***Drehem***) Early Bronze Age city in southern Mesopotamia, located 10 km southeast of Nippur, and attested in texts of the C21 Ur III dynasty. Built by Shulgi (2094–2047), second ruler of the dynasty, it was a centrally located tax collection and redistribution centre of the Ur III administration, taxes being paid in the form of livestock by military personnel stationed in the empire's frontier settlements. Its location near Nippur is indicated by the statement that two officials of Shulgi were given leather shoes at Puzrish-Dagan for their journey from Nippur to Susa. Puzrish-Dagan appears to have reached the peak of its importance as an administrative centre of the Ur III dynasty during the reign of Shulgi's successor Amar-Sin (2046–2038). Detailed records were kept in its archives of the receipt and disbursement of goods, and the comings and goings of emissaries. The city served as a stopping-place for ambassadors on diplomatic missions to Mesopotamia from the east, e.g. from the western Iranian highland countries of Kimash and Marhashi. Food and drink, travel equipment, and gifts were bestowed upon the ambassadors. Some of the diplomatic emissaries spent a considerable period of time in the city, which leads M. Sigrist to wonder whether they might have lived there as hostages rather than as envoys (1992: 363). To judge from the Elamite names in the archives, large numbers of Elamites appear to have resided permanently in Puzrish-Dagan, as in other Mesopotamian cities. Puzrish-Dagan was abandoned in the third regnal year of the last Ur III king, Ibbi-Sin (2028–2004).

*Sigrist (1992), D. T. Potts (1999: 132, 138–9), Sallaberger (*RlA* 11: 125–8).

**Puzurran** Middle Bronze Age city in the middle Euphrates region, 12 km downstream from Mari, and just north of the region called Suhum in Middle Bronze Age texts. Originally a possession of the kingdom of Eshnunna, it was allegedly bought by



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the Mariote king Yahdun-Lim (1810–1794) from an Eshnunnite king, probably Iqish-Tishpak (late C19), for three talents of silver (c. 90 kg). A king of the city called Yaus-Addu is attested in a cylinder seal inscription.

*Mesop.* 131–3, 139–40.

**Pyla** (map 14) Late C13 fortified settlement in Cyprus, on the rocky plateau of Kokkinokremos 800 m inland from the northern part of Larnaka Bay, 10 km northeast of mod. Larnaka. The plateau dominates the surrounding plain and controls the pass connecting Larnaka Bay and the central plain. The site was excavated briefly by P. Dikaios in 1952 and by V. Karageorghis and M. Demas in 1981–2 for the Dept of Antiquities. Four complete domestic units and partial plans of three more were uncovered, all built at the same time against a defensive wall with casemates. The settlement was occupied for only twenty-five to thirty years, before being suddenly abandoned at the end of C13. Several hoards of gold jewellery, and bronze and silver, reflect this hasty abandonment and the unsettled conditions which prevailed on the island during late C13 and C12.

Karageorghis identified Pyla-Kokkinokremos as one of the earliest settlements established by Aegean colonists in Cyprus. Alternatively, it may represent a local stronghold established to secure movement of goods, in particular metals, between coastal towns and the hinterland (cf. ***Maa***). The inhabitants clearly enjoyed considerable wealth and wide-ranging contacts, as evidenced by the recovery of Egyptian alabaster vases and transport amphorae, imported Aegean pottery (including a chariot krater), copper and silver ingots, and sheet gold.

(**J. M. Webb**)

Karageorghis and Demas (1984), Steel (2004: 188–90).

**Pyrgos** (map 14) Early and Middle Bronze Age settlement in Cyprus, located below the mod. village of Pyrgos, 3 km from the south coast and 15 km northeast of Limassol. Current excavations by M. R. Belgiorno (Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici, Rome) have uncovered a substantial Middle Bronze Age industrial and storage area. In it was a large room or courtyard with a series of large storage jars which originally contained olive oil. Adjacent spaces with furnaces and associated equipment were used for working metals. Other manufactured items – notably textiles – appear to have been produced in nearby areas. Unstratified material of earlier date indicates initial settlement here from the very beginning of the Early Bronze Age, while associated cemeteries have produced burials dating from the Early Bronze Age through to the Middle Bronze Age.

(**J. M. Webb**)

Belgiorno (2004).

**Pyrnus** (map 5) M1 BCE–M1 CE city of the Rhodian Peraea (q.v.) in Caria, southwestern Anatolia. It is attested in C5 as a member of the Athenian Confederacy (see glossary), and is later referred to by Pliny the Elder (5.104) as situated between Caunus and Loryma.

Bean (*PECS* 746).



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