Hellas Eschate

The Interactions of Greek and non-Greek Populations in Bactria-Sogdiana during the Hellenistic Period

by

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the syncretism between Greek and non-Greek peoples as evidenced by their architectural, artistic, literary and epigraphic remains. The sites under investigation were in the eastern part of the Greek world, particularly Ai Khanoum, Takht-i-Sangin, Dilberdjin, and Kandahar. The reason behind syncretism was discussed in the introduction, which included the persistence of the ancient traditions in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Bactria even after being conquered by the Greeks. The Greeks highly respected these ancient 'repositories of wisdom', and the fluidity and adaptability of Greek culture was not particularly restrictive to foreign elements. Religious freedom and the identification of Greek gods with the local gods by the Greeks appears to have been a primary impetus in some aspects of syncretism, while functionality appears to have been important in the architectural adaptations to the climatic and environmental conditions of Bactria. It was ultimately found that Greek/non-Greek interactions in Bactria-Sogdiana were more complex than originally thought. Syncretism occurred in many cultural and biological aspects, in more than the simple Greek/non-Greek manner. The various non-Greek cultures (viz. Achaemenids, Scythians, Indians, and neo-Babylonians) also had interactions with each other. There was also a coexistence of the various cultures and peoples. Further evidence can only come from renewed excavations in Afghanistan.
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1) Introduction

Matter has been in a state of flux\(^1\) for the entire 20 billion year span of time encompassing the universe. In this rather ordinary part of the cosmos as well growth and decay are the only constants. The unique properties of the Earth, particularly its stable orbit at an intermediate distance from the Sun, have allowed the formation of *living* matter. Plants grow and wilt, animals grow and die, from whose resultant freed matter are comprised new generations of plants and animals. There exists a tertiary stratum upon the stratum of *living* matter which consists of human beings, namely *cultural* matter. Monuments, sculptures, writing, cities, are all examples of *cultural* matter, and just as all other strata of matter, this one is also in a state of flux. Each culture flourishes for some period of time, but inevitably decays, the matter of which may be recycled into the Earth, or its *cultural* matter may be discovered and recycled by another culture.

Matter which has been aligned by geological processes into features such as seas, lakes, rivers, mountains, and a myriad of others, has direct effect on the properties and behaviour of *living* matter. Plants in one region may have properties that are distinct from those of plants in a region a hundred kilometers away, but the plants growing between the two regions will have properties that are intermediate between the two, provided that the barriers lying between do not disallow the flow of genes between them. Human races and cultures obey the same principle. Human genetic, and consequent phenotypic, variation

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\(^1\) Plato, *Cratylus*, 402a8 - quoting Heracleitus, παντά χόρει καὶ οὐδὲν μένει.
follows a gradient dependent on geographical properties of the environment\textsuperscript{2}. As an example, in cooler environments it is energetically more efficient for an individual to have a body shape in which the surface area to volume ratio is the smallest, whereas in hotter environments the opposite is true. This is why one finds the Lapps in Finland having a stocky build, while the Masai in Central Africa are tall and slender\textsuperscript{3}. It follows that, if there were no relatively recent migrations, one would observe intermediate phenotypic expressions in the intervening regions. Hence, it must be stated that cultural matter also follows the same principle. One would expect to find a culture in one region being quite different from a culture in another, but in the intervening regions various expressions of the culture, such as art, architecture, religion, \textit{et cetera}, would have intermediate forms, since without a physical barrier preventing the movement of people from one cultural region to the next, the neighboring cultures will have an effect on each other. Because there were numerous cultures in antiquity on the fringes of the Greek world, one would expect a continuum in which there was a blending of cultures from one geographical region to the next. There were not any island cultures, so to speak, unless the population on which the culture was founded itself occupied a geographical island. Seeing that each Greek polis had its own governing body and distinct character owing to its unique environment, it can be debated what defined 'Greekness', since Greek culture was not uniform. A Greek from Olbia was


\textsuperscript{3} Cf. Cavalli-Sforza 1994, for a detailed discussion of the subject by one of the leading authorities in the field.
remarkably different from an Athenian, who in turn was different from a Pergamene, all of whom were different from an Alexandrian. Certainly the Greek language was a unifying factor, as was religion, while art and architecture had certain qualities which were identifiable as Greek, but all these were somewhat diluted by foreign elements on the fringes of the Greek world. The eastern fringe was a prime example of blending, or syncretism as it is more commonly known, involving various combinations of Greek with Achaemenid, Scythian, or Indian forms. It is evidence for these Greek/non-Greek hybrids which we shall examine after discussing the geography and history of the region where these people and cultures came together, since an understanding of the episode of history in question can only be gained by viewing the 'whole' picture.

1.1) the Geography and Indigenous Peoples of Bactria-Sogdiana

Greek philosopher-geographers had constructed a map of the world in which the Pillars of Heracles marked the westernmost extent of land, Ultima Thule was the northernmost island, while Ethiopia and India were, respectively, the southernmost and easternmost lands. The river Ocean issued from the Underworld and girdled all the land masses of the flat earth and was the source from which the Sun arose in the morning and the haven into which it set at night, by the currents of which the Sun was carried back to the east in a golden cup.

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4 This term is often used in modern scholarship (viz. Preaux 1978; Sherwin-White 1987; et al.).
5 Polybius, Histories, 34.51 1-34.55 1; Strabo, Geography, 1.421-1.429.
6 Hecataeus of Miletus (ca 500 BC) was the first to produce a book on geography, in which he portrayed the Earth as flat. Herodotus, and subsequent geographers were not certain of this, and so other possible forms were proposed by them.
when it was thought of as underground. Armed with this information, Alexander the Great of Macedon set out from Pella, his capital, to deliver vengeance upon the Persians for having attacked Greece a century and a half earlier. After the battle of Issus, the conqueror's instinct which Alexander so vigorously followed led him to believe that Persia was his. A visit to the oracle of Zeus-Ammon in the Siwah Oasis confirmed his belief, having been endorsed by a god. Within a decade he had captured the Near and Middle East, and having replaced the hierarchy of the Achaemenids with his own, it is said that he was on his way to the end of the world, Ocean on the far side of India.

There is insufficient room here to discuss the advancements in cartography during the Hellenistic and subsequent periods, but suffice it to say that the world now appears to be a much smaller place than how it seemed during the 4th century BC. The terrain itself of western and central Asia has not changed to any appreciable extent over the past two millennia when compared to the descriptions of the land by such ancient writers as Strabo, and Pliny.

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8 Tarn 1964a: 352-386.
11 Strabo in his *Geography* (e.g. 12.24.50-53; 12.35.17-20) used sources such as Apollodorus of Artemita and Eratosthenes, and is generally reliable but must be considered with caution since some of his geography is contradictory; Pliny, *Natural History*; Claudius Ptolemy, *Geography*; Curtius, *Alexander* - his account is now considered quite reliable and his work has acquired greater value in recent decades; Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Persia* - is less reliable since he was reporting in the 4th century AD; and Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika* - his book was a compilation of eastern place-names, and thus only somewhat useful. These authors provide the bulk of the geographical knowledge of this period. *Cf.* Holt 1988: 13-16; and Vogelsang 1992:19-85. We know of the Bactrians from these authors, who were the first to mention them by name, *Baktroii*. The Behistun relief also refers to the satrapy of *Baktrish* in the northeastern part of the Achaemenid empire. Olmstead 1948: 48.
Indeed, the population has increased tremendously, but the pressures generated upon these lands have caused the terrain to be modified only in recent years owing to the development of heavy earth-moving machinery. Sogdiana, Bactria, Arachosia, Chorasmia, Seistan, and Fergana formed the eastern regions of the Seleucid Kingdom\(^\text{12}\) (fig.1), which were bounded in the north-west by the steppes and the Scythian hordes, and by the Himalayan Mountain Range in the north-east and east. The Pamir Knot, consisting of over a hundred peaks reaching 7500 meters in elevation, is the dominant geological feature of this area. The Northern Pamirs stretch out across Turkmenistan while another chain sweeps south-west where it forms the central spine of the Hindu Kush\(^\text{13}\), ranging in height from 4200 to 5100 meters (fig.2), and often topped with perennial glaciers. The area is battered by earthquakes as tectonic forces push the plate on which the Indian subcontinent rides northward into Asia, raising the Himalayas yet higher. As one progresses south-westward, the mountainous ridges level out into the easternmost tracts\(^\text{14}\) of the Iranian Plateau. This plateau is dry and stony for the most part and becomes desert and covered in some areas with wormwood as one proceeds into monsoon-governed territory south-

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\(^{12}\) These regions in modern times have been known as the following: Sogdiana - a part of Uzbekistan and most of Tadzhikistan, the capital of which was Afrasiab (modern Samarkand); Bactria - mainly Afghanistan; Arachosia - most of the Panjab; Chorasmia - the Tashkent region; Seistan - Baluchistan; and Fergana - most of Uzbekistan. The Jaxartes is the modern Sur Darya, and the Oxus is the modern Amu Darya.

\(^{13}\) The etymology of Hindu Kush is interesting, since it literally means "place of death or suicide for Hindus", from the Persian verb kushtan - "to kill" (cf. Haim 1989: 516). The central spine is called Koh-i-Baba (Koh being the Persian noun - "mountain"), and the Koh-i-Sufed, known in ancient times as the Parapameisos or the Caucasus Mountains.

\(^{14}\) Called Dasht-i-Margo - "desert of death", consisting mostly of clay and gravel.
eastward before reaching the fertile lands of the Indus tributaries and onwards south-east into the Gangetic Plains occupied by the Indian multitudes. In addition to the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers which emptied into the Aral Sea, there were other rivers such as the Polytimetus, the Hari Rud (the ancient name is unknown) and Helmand-Arghandab which emanate from the Pamirs and Hindu Kush and disappear into the desert. With there being less than 21cm of annual precipitation, all of these rivers relied on rainfall and water from melting snows at high elevations, and underwent occasional flooding due to downpours which often caused heavy damage and casualties. The lowlands between the Hindu Kush and the Amu Darya were subjected to protracted shrinking and were filled with thick layers of crumbly rock, and were the natural extension of the Karakum desert. Then, as now, in the northern regions there was a large expanse of arid land consisting mostly of ephemeral sedge and patches of meadow-grass between the cultivated foothills of the Pamirs and the Oxus River, since none of the minor rivers or oueds (seasonal streams) were able to reach the Oxus due to evaporation and irrigation. On the more humid southern slopes steppes of mixed couched-grass, which burn out in summer, in places gave way to a typical desert. The greater the extent of irrigation, the greater the volume of arable soil, but the shorter the river (or oued), with a consequent

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15 Modern Baluchistan, and Segistan (in the southeast) the Seistan Basin.
16 Named by the Persians, the Panjab - "land of five rivers".
17 Modern Zeravshan.
20 Masson 1992a: 33-34; Holt 1988: 17, 27-29. Irrigation often involved the use of qanats, which were underground canal systems used to keep the water cool during periods of high temperature.
increase in size of arid land\textsuperscript{21}, explaining why there exist oases strewn all over Central Asia, and why it is believed that the region must have had many more rivers and much more cultivable land in antiquity. Bactra, also known as Zariaspa, was called the ancient capital of Bactria, and due to its fertility acquired a legendary status in Islamic and local traditions as the "Mother of all Cities". It was founded by the first Aryan king, who was said to be a close descendant of Noah\textsuperscript{22}, but now stands as a barren ruin, a tomb for its former glory. On the route to Bactra from the west, Alexandria-Aria (Herat) was a major gateway, and to the north of Bactra was Alexandria-Margiana (the Merv Oasis) and the territory around Afrasiab (Samarkand), called by the Greeks "the Jewel of Iran"\textsuperscript{23}, owing to the thousands of streams and canals which criss-crossed the land from the waters of the Poltimetus\textsuperscript{24}. Just as the Nile was Egypt, in a manner of speaking, so was the Oxus considered Bactria.

The Jaxartes River has been conventionally called the northern frontier of Sogdiana both with respect to the Achaemenid Empire and the later Greek Kingdoms\textsuperscript{25}, which is why a city founded along its southern banks has been called \textit{Alexandria-Eschate} ("the farthest"). However, this view, despite being accurate in the sense that this river marked the northernmost boundary \textit{politically}.

\textsuperscript{21} Curtius (\textit{Alexander}) offers a glimpse of this from antiquity, while Dupree 1980: 21-26, offers one from modern times.

\textsuperscript{22} Cf. Tarn 1951: 114-118. Balkh is the modern name of Bactra. Zariaspa is believed to have derived from \textit{Azar-i-Asp} ("horse of gold (color)") which was the name of the great fire temple located here. The fire temple was an important monument in Zoroastrianism, and housed the goddess Anahita, just as Esagila on the ziggurat Etemenanki at Babylon housed its local deity, and as did the temple of Nanaia at Susa.

\textsuperscript{23} Strabo, \textit{Geography}, 11.516 - in Apollodorus' words, τῆς συμπάσης Ἀριάνης προσχήμα.

\textsuperscript{24} Poltimetus - literally "most precious".

\textsuperscript{25} Curtius, \textit{Alexander}, 7.7.2; Strabo, \textit{Geography}, 11.11.2.
as concerns city-building, was inaccurate in the sense that *culturally* it was not a boundary but a meeting-place\(^{26}\). Similarly, the Oxus River did not form the precise southern border of Sogdiana and the northern border of Bactria as has been accepted by historians, but was part of a region in which movement occurred freely between the neighboring populations\(^{27}\). It has also been stated that the Ochus River marked the eastern and western boundaries of Margiana and Bactria respectively\(^{28}\), but once again, it must be emphasised that there were no definite borders between these regions, only approximate ones. These lands formed the eastern part of the Achaemenid Empire, the dominant culture of which was Persian, while the population consisted mostly of individuals of Iranian extraction. It must be pointed out that all Persians were Iranians, but not all Iranians were Persians; Scythians, Massagetans, Sarmatians, Cimmerians, and Bactrians, for example, all belonged to the Iranian *ethnos*\(^{29}\). Thus, there was some intrinsic link between the peoples of these nations in addition to the similarities in their languages, something that allowed them to see a common genesis for themselves and their neighbors. It can be argued that had there not been some underlying feeling of relatedness amongst these peoples, there

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\(^{26}\) Holt 1988: 56f.

\(^{27}\) Bernard and Frankfort 1978: 5-9, 12, believe that the Hellenistic city Ai Khanoum was the ancient Alexandria-Oxiana (*Alexandria on the Oxus*), located on the south side of the junction between the Oxus and Kokcha Rivers. Since Ptolemy, 6.12.5-6, mentioned that this city was in Sogdiana, Bernard and Frankfort argue that Sogdiana did indeed extend south across the Oxus.

\(^{28}\) Curtius, *Alexander*, 7.10.5.

\(^{29}\) Harmatta et al., in *History of Civilization of Central Asia*, vol. I and II, provide an excellent overview; *cf.* Childe 1928; Mallory 1989; and Renfrew 1987, for further reading on the origins and spread of the Indo-European tribes, with an emphasis on the Aryan or Indo-Iranian branch. Here *ethnos* refers to a group of people with a common origin and related both culturally and linguistically.
would have been many more revolts\(^{30}\) than those Darius I *the Great* put down in 522-521 BC\(^{31}\). As a matter of fact, it is debatable whether or not the center of power lay in Persepolis and Susa in the Persian heartland, the *dahyu* of Parsa\(^{32}\), or if in fact the *true* power base belonged to the Persian north-east\(^{33}\). Three facts are evidence for the importance of Bactria: first, Darius, whose lineage was from Bactria\(^{34}\), already having attained the summit of authority, married a woman of Bactrian-Sogdian nobility\(^{35}\) to establish an alliance by marriage (as did Alexander two centuries later, as well as Seleucus\(^{36}\)). Second, there existed a form of reverence for the land of Zarathustra\(^{37}\), and third, much of the strength of the Achaemenid army rested on the shoulders of the eastern *dahyava*. It is

\(^{30}\) There were, in fact, other revolts, but only by provinces which were non-Iranian in ethnicity, such as Egypt, Babylonia, and Asia Minor.

\(^{31}\) Vogelsang 1992: 119-125; Dundamaev and Lukonin 1989: 90-103. This is recorded on the Behistun Relief which depicts the leaders of the rebelling parties being led captive to Darius for judgment. It also commemorates the cooperation of the Bactrians and Sogdians in helping to put down the revolts. Olmstead 1948: 107-118, also offers an informative look at the role of the Bactrians and Arachosians in the history of this period based on the Behistun Relief. Interestingly, the name of the Bactrian satrap in the inscription is Dadarshish (Darius).

\(^{32}\) The Achaemenid Empire was divided into *dahyava*, which were known by the Greeks as *satrapies*, which in turn were administered by Alexander and the Seleucids in the same territorial units. Since the central cities of the Achaemenid Empire were Persis, called *Persepolis* (city of the Persians) by the Greeks, and Susa, both located in the *dahyu* of Parsa, the people and the empire were better known as Persian. The word *satrapiai* - 'satrapies' was used interchangeably with *nomoi* and *archai* by Herodotus (*Histories*, 1.192.8-10), but the word *satrapes* - 'satrap' was never found (he used *archon* and *hyparchos* instead). Xenophon (*Hellenika*, 3.1.31-33) did make use of *satrapes* to refer to the governors of the various *dahyava*.

\(^{33}\) Vogelsang 1992: *passim*. This is the primary focus of his book.

\(^{34}\) Vogelsang 1992: 125-126.

\(^{35}\) Atossa, although she was the daughter of Cyrus, was considered Bactrian since her maternal lineage was Bactrian. She was the wife of three successive kings: Cambyses, the Magian pretender, and Darius. Marriage to her *legitimized* their claim to the throne.

\(^{36}\) Alexander married Roxane; Seleucus married Apama, after whom he named several cities. She gave birth to Antiochus the heir to the Seleucid throne.

\(^{37}\) Zarathustra (or Zoroaster as he came to be known in the Graeco-Roman world), was believed to be of Eastern Iranian stock (cf. Vogelsang 1992: [esp. 306] for a detailed account) since the area in which he preached was called the *airyana vaejo* in the *Avesta*; this land was believed to be Chorasmia.
uncertain, due to the scantiness of evidence for and the complete lack of evidence against, whether the Persians, onward from the founder, Achaemenes\textsuperscript{38}, were westward migrants\textsuperscript{39}.

Much like colonies of bacteria thriving along inoculation paths on agar slants\textsuperscript{40}, it is inevitable for human populations to consider river-beds prime locations for settlement. If the abundance of drinking water and cultivable soil deposited by the river are not enough to attract habitation, then the ease with which one can be transported along the river and the quick route to the fish-rich ocean would have tribal chiefs drooling in Pavlovian response to the anticipation of harnessing the river's potential. This occurred along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, along the Nile, the Indus, the Yellow River, the Mississippi, the Amazon, the Tiber, in effect, along most rivers of the world. The Jaxartes and Oxus rivers were no exception, and one finds early forms of city-states which existed before the arrival of the Indo-Iranians from the north-west\textsuperscript{41}. It is believed that the Oxus civilisation was related to both the Elamite and Indus River civilisations, and that their decline might have been a result of the Indo-Iranian migrations\textsuperscript{42}. By the

\textsuperscript{38} Achaemenes was traditionally held to be the founder of the dynasty (ca 680 BC) and the grandfather of Cyrus I. Dundamaev 1994: 37.

\textsuperscript{39} There is debate whether the Iranian tribes migrated from the Black Sea region through the Caucasus and south into the Iranian Plateau or if they migrated from Central Asia. There has also been significant discussion in recent years about the possibility of a kingdom in Bactria before the advent of the Achaemenid Empire. Dundamaev 1994: 41-43.

\textsuperscript{40} Agar gel is used as a nutrient-rich medium for growing bacteria and fungi, while the agar slant is used to grow bacteria along an interface created when an inoculating loop is used to poke a hole into the slant within which bacteria then grow.


\textsuperscript{42} Harmatta 1992: 375-378. There has been significant controversy about the decline of the Indus Civilization since the main evidence for an Aryan invasion is linguistic; whereas archeological evidence which may provide evidence of wholesale destruction of Harappa, Mohenjo-Daro, and other Indus sites by invaders, thus far is scanty.
middle of the second millennium BC, the Oxus and Indus civilisations no longer existed, and the Indo-Iranians had become the dominant power both linguistically and politically\textsuperscript{43}. The Indo-Iranians split into an eastern group, the Indians, and a western one, the Iranians, and went their separate ways for the next millennium. There being a greater indigenous population in the Deccan Peninsula than on the Iranian Plateau, the Indians underwent greater hybridisation\textsuperscript{44}, but the predominant language and religion, just as in other Indo-European nations, remained a form of Indo-European. The Indians became sedentary, as did the Romans, and the Greeks, and the Persians later, but there remained nomadic tribes throughout the Eurasian steppe which extended from Hungary to the easternmost parts of Turkmenistan\textsuperscript{45}. These nomads were remnants of the earlier migrating Indo-Iranian tribes, but failed to see the value in "settling down", always instead seeking greener pastures for their steeds. These Indo-Iranian tribes became known as Scythians, but in actuality, as mentioned earlier, they formed many distinct groups\textsuperscript{46}.

Owing to the hostile nature of both the terrain and the incursions of the Scythian nomads into Bactria and Sogdiana, it is amazing that the Greeks were able to maintain a hold on these territories for two centuries. The average

\textsuperscript{43} Indo-Iranian culture in this period was only in its infancy, material remains of which consist mostly of \textit{kurgans} or shallow tumulus burials, linear pottery and corded ware, but few dwellings (\textit{cf.} Lehmann 1987: 72-85) and references in the oldest texts in the world the Sanskrit \textit{Vedas} (esp. the Rigveda) of an ancestral tribe called \textit{Aryas} (noble ones) hastening the demise of the \textit{Dasas} (dark ones) by use of chariot warfare.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Cf.} Cavalli-Sforza 1994: 208-210.

\textsuperscript{45} Mallory 1989: \textit{passim}.

\textsuperscript{46} This topic was a brief digression here, but will be dealt with in more detail when discussing the early history of the region (appendix 1).
temperature in January in the Aegean is 13 degrees Celsius, while it is 17 degrees Celsius on the eastern frontier, 30 degrees Celsius in June in the Aegean, and 39 degrees Celsius on the frontier\textsuperscript{47}. As mentioned, the mountains are much higher in the east, and the fact that there is no access to the sea must have made a profound impact on the Greeks who migrated to these lands. Just as the Achaemenids before them, the Greeks must have had interactions with the indigenous peoples, which went beyond the \textit{ruler} and \textit{ruled} relationships, as would have been the case if Bactria had in fact been a fifth Hellenistic state as suggested by William Tarn\textsuperscript{48}. On the other hand, Greek administration could not have been entirely dependent on the native population, as suggested by A.K. Narain in an ethnocentric backlash to Tarn\textsuperscript{49}. It seems more certain, with archaeological evidence collected in the time since the publication of their books, that the situation in the Greek East\textsuperscript{50} was actually more complex than suggested by either scholar.

Before considering the archaeological evidence, however, it will be indispensable to give some consideration to the mythical and historical knowledge of Bactria. Although much of the population was derived of Indo-Iranian stock (from the Bronze Age)\textsuperscript{51}, there were numerous invasions into

\textsuperscript{47} Dupree 1980: 33, 36-37.
\textsuperscript{48} Tarn 1951: xx, 120-128. Of course, the other Hellenistic States were the Seleucid Kingdom, Egypt of the Ptolemies, and Macedonia and Greece of the Antigonid Dynasty, and Pergamum.
\textsuperscript{49} Narain 1966: 6-11.
\textsuperscript{50} The term \textit{Greek East} will be used here to emphasize that the period of this area under discussion is the Hellenistic Period, while \textit{Bactria, Afghanistan} or any other name will be used in accordance with whatever period of history is discussed.
\textsuperscript{51} Cf. appendix 1, section e.
Bactria involving other Indo-European peoples in the 1st millennium BC, namely the Scythians, Achaemenids, and Hellenes.

1.2) Early History

The lands of what became the Greek East had been so shrouded in mystery prior to the conquests of Alexander, that all sorts of legends grew out of this milieu. Conqueror after conqueror tried to subdue these lands of warlike men but met with limited success. Heracles was famed for having travelled to the east at one time, Dionysus at another, and Ninus, the king of Assyria, was said to have waged war against the Bactrians and Indians. As a matter of fact, so warlike seemed the people of these lands and so hostile the terrain that Ninus was said to have invaded the area a second time, after a previously unsuccessful invasion, with 1,700,000 infantry, 210,000 cavalry, and nearly 10,600 scythe-chariots. Even before the Assyrians, the Egyptians were there, as is shown on a pylon indicating that the Pharaoh Ramses of Egypt established

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52 For an examination of the remote past (prior to the 1st millennium BC) of Bactria and central Asia in general, cf. Appendix 1.
55 Strabo, *Geography*, 15.1.5-9. This account was derived from Ctesias (*Persica*), who was a physician in the court of Artaxerxes II (404-359 BC). Ninus was the mythical founder of Nineveh. According to this account, he married Semiramis after subduing all of Bactria except for its capital, Bactra, where she impressed him by being instrumental in capturing the city. She was a masculine woman born of a Syrian goddess, founded Babylon, built massive monuments in Persia, conquered Media, Egypt, Libya, and Bactria, and after conducting an unsuccessful military expedition in India, she died and was turned into a dove. Cf. Roux, 1992 for more background on the history and mythological history of Assyria.
56 Diodorus, *Histories*, 2.5.5-7. It is likely that this is an extreme exaggeration.
his hegemony over Bactria. Cyrus was also said to have invaded Bactria in the hope of adding this prized realm to his growing empire. With the passage of time, some of these events acquired mythical proportions to the detriment of the kernels of truth which lay at their base. Hence one must make use of archaeological evidence to gain a more accurate view of the past, and since the Scythians were among the first of a succession of invaders, for whom there is reliable evidence, it is their past with which we shall begin.

a) the Scythians in Central Asia

The nomadic peoples of the steppes to the north, extending from Bulgaria to the borders of Mongolia, who became known as the Scythians or Sakas, also had burial practices somewhat similar to those of their Indo-Iranian kinsmen. This is evidenced by the burials at Pazyryk and Arjan, where their leaders were buried along with their earthly possessions in large tumulus graves (or kurgans). The Scythians had a different world about them compared to that of the other Indo-Iranians, which is why cows, snakes, bulls, and other animals which figured so prominently in the art and religious beliefs of the latter, gave

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57 Diodorus' (Histories, 1.47-48) account is derived from Hecataeus of Abdera's description of the pylon, with the inscription βασιλεὺς βασιλεῶν Ὀσύμανδας εἰμί. εἰ δὲ τις εἰδεναι βούλεται πολικὸς εἰμί καὶ σὺν κεῖμαι, νικότω τι τῶν ἐμον ἐργῶν. Ozymandias was another name for Ramses II (1292-1225 BC), and for this reason the pylon has often been identified as part of the Ramesseum.

58 Xenophon, Cyropaedia, 1.5.2; Herodotus, Histories, 1.153.4, mentions that Cyrus had intentions to subdue four major peoples: the Babylonians, the Sakae, the Egyptians, and the Bactrians. Thus, again, we see that Bactria was a thriving region even before Hellenism.

59 Rolle 1980: passim (an excellent account of the Pazyryk burials); there is also some interesting information pertaining to the Scythians in Sulimirski 1970: passim. The royal tombs at both Pazyryk and Arjan were immense, having a diameter of about 120 meters, and contained numerous human remains and dozens of horses.
way to deer, goats, wild-cats, and horses in Scythian art. The zoomorphic (or animal) style became the predominant artistic tradition of the Scythians, and had great impact on the artistic traditions of neighboring peoples with whom they had contact (particularly from 700 to 200 BC), including the Greeks on the Black Sea, such as at Olbia, and to a lesser extent on the Parthians and the Hellenistic Greeks of Bactria-Sogdiana.

In Persian sources, such as on the Naqsh-i Rustam inscription of Darius I, and in classical authors such as Lucian, mention is made of Saka-Massagetan kings as leaders of nomadic confederations, alluding to the Scythians having political systems of administration. Evidence from burials also provides evidence that there were social differentiations amongst them. A tripartite stratification of Scythian society is to be expected from the fact that they were of Indo-European stock, and this is hinted at by Lucian's mentioning of the Scythians being divided into a) priests, b) the pilophoroi - 'spear-bearers', who were thought to be members of a military aristocracy headed by a king, and c) the oktapodes -

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60 Scythians were first mentioned in Herodotus, *Histories* (e.g. 1.15.4, 1.73.7); and were known by the term *Tura* in the *Avesta*, represented as the enemies of the sedentary Iranians, and as possessing fleet-footed horses.

61 The other Indo-Iranian art traditions were not called "zoomorphic" because a much smaller proportion (<<50%) of their entire corpus consisted of zoomorphic *objets d'art*, whereas the Scythian tradition was called "zoomorphic" because much (>50%) of their corpus consisted of animal designs.

62 Cf. Minns 1913. This is a voluminous account fundamental to the understanding of Greek-Scythian relations in the Black Sea region.


65 On the Naqsh-i Rustam inscription of Darius I three Saka confederations are listed: the *Saka Haumavarga* - in Fergana where they began to adopt a sedentary mode of life; the *Saka Tigraxauda* in the region beyond the Jaxartes north of Sogdiana; and the *Saka tayaiy paradraya*, or European Sakas, north of the Black Sea.
'eight-footed ones', who were ordinary herdsmen with a pair of oxen and a cart. Slave labor may have been used by the Scythians as well, not on any state-organised level, but at a domestic level\textsuperscript{66}.

Archaeological evidence also paints a picture of the Scythians as wearing iron plate-mail, iron or bronze helmets, and carrying shields\textsuperscript{67}. They also wielded a long iron sword and a short double-edged dagger. Their horses were also protected with leather reinforced with a breast-plate. Hair was usually worn long, sometimes covered with 30 cm long pointed caps, especially among the Saka Tigraxauda\textsuperscript{68}, and sometimes covered with shorter wraps\textsuperscript{69}, such as was the custom of the Saka Haumavarga. It is believed that some of their arms and armor were acquired by trade or conquest from sedentary populations since there is no evidence for any intermediate stages of production in Scythian lands\textsuperscript{70}. But with regard to pottery production, there is ample evidence of coarse ware, and it seems unlikely that this was imported due to its large size and fragility. Along with iron and bronze, the Scythians made extensive use of carnelian and lazurite in beads, and gold, as evidenced by funerary relics, and by the many references made to the "gold-guarding griffins" in the distant heart

\textsuperscript{66} As exists in households in Iran, Pakistan, and India today, where an individual is born into a life of serving the family his ancestors served before him/her. In modern times, the 'slave' is given a subsistence wage, thus fulfilling governmental requests, but must follow all conventions laid out for his/her class. Cf. Mahar, \textit{et al.} 1972, for an overview.

\textsuperscript{67} Rolle 1980: 54-61.

\textsuperscript{68} Called by the Greeks \textit{Orthokorybantioi} - 'men who wear long pointed caps', a direct translation from the Old Persian.

\textsuperscript{69} As seen amongst the nomads of Central Asia and Afghanistan in modern times. Many of the customs can still be observed in relatively unaltered form amongst the Jat Sikhs of the Panjab, who are considered to be direct descendants of Scythian tribes (the Getae) which descended into the region between 200 and 600 AD. For an intriguing account, cf. Pawar 1993.

\textsuperscript{70} Abetekov and Yusupov 1994: 28-33.
of Scythian territory. Some of these Scythian motifs became popular amongst the Greeks and later amongst the Hellenistic Greeks. However, before the Hellenistic kingdom of the Seleucids was eyed by the nomads as a choice sedentary population upon which to make incursions, the Achaemenid Persians filled this role.

b) Bactria under Achaemenid Domination

The first historical reference to Iranian tribes that settled in the region of modern day Iran was in an Assyrian inscription of King Shalmaneser III in 843 BC, in which this province was called 'Parsua' (Parsa in Old Persian). Twenty-seven of these tribes had to pay tribute and it is evident from the inscription that they were socially stratified, just as other Iranian tribes such as the Scythians. Some of these chieftains united and gained independence from Assyria, and within a few decades formed a powerful kingdom called Media. By 612 BC, Media destroyed the Assyrian Empire after capturing its principal cities Assur and Nineveh, and in the process replaced it as the dominant power in Western Asia. Meanwhile, the chieftains in Parsa united at Pasargadae, making this the capital city of their new kingdom of Persia, headed by Cambyses I from

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71 Rolle 1980: 52-53. Many stories of "gold-guarding griffins" and other supernatural beings sprang up at Olbia where tantalizing glimpses of Scythian wealth fired the imagination of many an explorer.


73 As with other Indo-European peoples, social stratification consisted of the family (nmana) being the fundamental social unit headed by the nmanapati (the paterfamilias in Roman households). The clan (vis) consisted of a collection of families, and was headed by a vispati; a tribe (zantu) consisted of a number of clans led by a chief (zantupati), and these in turn were collected into a province (dahyu) governed by a king. Dundamaev and Lukonin 1989: passim.

74 Dundamaev 1994: 36.
600 BC, but for the time being only as a tribute-paying member of the newly founded Median Empire.

In 558 BC Cambyses' son Cyrus II became king, and revolted in 553 BC against Astyages the King of Media, whom he subdued in 550 BC after taking over the Median capital of Ecbatana, and his title 'King of Kings'. In 548 BC, Cyrus II annexed all of Elam, and made a speedy capture of Parthia, Hyrcania, Armenia, and in the following year Lydia and the Greek poleis on the Anatolian coast came under Persian hegemony. By 540 BC, Drangiana, Margiana, Chorasmia, Aria, Gedrosia, Arachosia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandhara, and Sattagydia were also all part of Cyrus' realm. Then in 539 BC, Babylon welcomed Cyrus II as her new master, after resisting for a decade. Syria, Palestine, and Phoenicia fell too. To ward off the Scythians from making incursions, a habit of theirs mentioned earlier, Cyrus II founded numerous frontier settlements, some of which became cities, such as Cyropolis in Sogdiana. Not far to the north-west roamed the Massagetae who were one of the most feared of the Scythian hordes, and it was they who were responsible for the death of Cyrus II in 530 BC during a frontier battle, which was described as

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76 Vogelsang 1992: 16-17. There is some debate that Bactria, and Margiana had their own kings before the Achaemenids, and were attacked by the Assyrians but never captured, nor were they ever captured by the Medians. Some evidence for this comes from Ctesias, Persica, (Photius' summary, paragraphs 6-8) in which it is suggested that Bactria was staunchly resistant to Cyrus' advance, and from Herodotus, Histories, 1.201ff, in which Bactria was mentioned as a major obstacle to Persia.
77 Strabo, Geography, 11.4.
the fiercest ever fought by non-Greek peoples.\(^{76}\)

Cambyses II, his son, came to the throne after his father's death. In 525 BC Persia invaded Egypt, which succumbed quite readily after a short battle. In 522 BC, Cambyses II died, and for seven months Gaumata the Magus occupied the throne until Darius I (522-507 BC) seized it, at which time the dahyava of Babylonia, Parsa, Media, Margiana, Parthia, Sattagydia and the Saka tribes north of Sogdiana revolted.\(^{79}\) Darius I put down these revolts within a year, thus gaining the respect and loyalty of the regions which had risen up against him, particularly of the Sakas, who as mounted archers fought and died bravely in his army.

Darius I went on to make reformations in the administrative and economic aspects of the empire, and used Susa as the administrative capital and the site of his imperial court in the spring, while in the summer Ecbatana assumed this role, and Babylon did so in the winter. Persepolis, Pasargadae, or Susa were used as the sites for the imperial court during the major festivals.\(^{80}\) The official written administrative language and lingua franca of the Empire was Aramaic,\(^{81}\) but inscriptions were written in Old Persian cuneiform adopting many of the features of Aramaic script except for the shape of its signs, which were adapted

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\(^{76}\) Herodotus, *Histories*, 1.205ff. Berossus, *(FGrH* frag. 680F10) however, wrote that it was the Dahae that Cyrus fought this great battle against, since he was writing at a time when the Dahae replaced the Massagetae as the most feared tribes, while Ctesias *(Photius 6-8)* referred to them as Derbices, since they were the most famous faction of the Massagetae.

\(^{79}\) Dundamaev 1994: 43-46.

\(^{80}\) Dundamaev 1994: 46-47.

\(^{81}\) Imperial documents were delivered by a regular postal service, which was made efficient by state maintenance of relay stations located at distances which could be traveled in a day.
from Assyrio-Babylonian cuneiform\textsuperscript{82}. Many Old Persian inscriptions were accompanied by Elamite and Akkadian translations, and those in Egypt by an hieroglyphic text, which appear to have been done as gestures of respect to the older traditions of the various occupied lands. Darius I introduced the gold \textit{daric}, and the silver \textit{siglos} as the standard imperial monetary unit\textsuperscript{83}, and encouraged trade over the major caravan routes which linked the eastern and western parts of the Empire with the center\textsuperscript{84}.

Achaemenid art acquired its character by borrowings and syncretism of various styles found throughout the Empire, as for example, the combination of aspects of the Egyptian hypostyle hall with columns of apparently Ionic form, examples of which can be observed at Persepolis and Ecbatana. Achaemenid art in turn influenced the art of neighboring peoples, such as the Scythians, and Indians, as well as the Hellenistic Greeks later. Some motifs found in Achaemenid art were based on the earlier Iranian religion treating Mithra as the solar deity responsible for fertility and prowess in war, and the religion which eventually replaced it, Zoroastrianism, in which Ahura Mazda was the supreme god pitched against his archenemy Ahriman\textsuperscript{85}. The Egyptian, Babylonian, and Greek religions also had some influence on Achaemenid art in some localities where they retained followers.

\textsuperscript{82} Dundamaev 1994: 47-52; Dundamaev and Lukonin 1989: 379-383. This might have occurred under the influence of the Urartian annalists.

\textsuperscript{83} Dundamaev 1994: 53-54. A \textit{daric} weighed 8.42 grams, and the \textit{siglos} weighed 5.6 grams.

\textsuperscript{84} Gold, ivory and incense were imported from the Indian \textit{dahyava}, turquoise from Chorasmia, and lazurite and carnelian from Bactria-Sogdiana.

\textsuperscript{85} Cf. Cameron 1968: 261-268, for an interesting discussion of the role of Zoroaster in Persian pastoral life.
Between 519 and 512 BC, Thrace, Macedonia, and the Panjab were annexed, and thus the Persian Empire reached its greatest extent. Over the next century, major battles were fought against Greece, but the Greeks proved to be difficult foes owing to their use of hoplite warfare. Numerous Greek soldiers who became accustomed to the glory and salaries of war became mercenaries, selling their services to their former enemies. As a matter of fact, Greek mercenaries became more and more important in the Persian army, which lagged behind the Greeks in developing newer and more potent warfare strategies. The climax came in 334 BC when Alexander of Macedon, perhaps the most brilliant of the Greek strategists, focused his innovative Greek war machine against the Persian Empire.

c) the Hellenic World and its Influences on Western and Central Asia

The world of the Hellenes had a far-flung and diverse impact on other cultures long before the heroic deeds of Alexander had a chance to be recorded in the annals of history. But the influence was not simply unidirectional, the Greeks borrowed conceptual elements as well. Ever since the arrival of the Minyan Ware\textsuperscript{86} people into the southern parts of the Balkan Peninsula, Hellenes had had contacts with the great civilisations to the south and east of their newly found homeland. The Minoans had a great impact on the art and architecture of the Mycenean Greeks\textsuperscript{87}, the Egyptians had some impact during and immediately before the Archaic period, as a result of their awe-inspiring monumental

\textsuperscript{86} An examination of the archeological evidence for the origins of the Greeks is illuminated in Drews 1989:esp. 25-45.
\textsuperscript{87} Palmer 1962: 156-163.
architecture. They had trade contacts with the Phoenicians for a long time, through whom they acquired a script which allowed the development of an efficient means of record-keeping, poetry, history, and even graffiti. Once the infrastructure of the Greek civilisation was sufficiently outfitted to handle innovation, the divine spark of creation set in motion a series of events which allowed the formation of laws, the development of new types of architecture, new genres of fine art, museums, and libraries, all of which made Hellenic Civilisation probably the most successful the world has ever witnessed.

The Lydians who came to control the Greek poleis on the west coast of Asia Minor were one of the first cultures to be transformed by the wand of 'hellenism'. After 600 BC at the Lydian capital of Sardis, Greek influence in architecture can be seen in the column base forms as well as in decorative art. After 547/6 BC the Lydian Empire was destroyed by Cyrus II, and incorporated into his own, which was lacking an innovative imperial art and architecture. As a result Cyrus seems to have assigned the Greek and Lydian artists and craftsmen he had taken as the spoils of war to build a palace complex at Pasargadae. They used mainly Iranian building forms and Mesopotamian, particularly Assyrian, decorative art, but the artisans did not hesitate to add elements of their own Hellenic art. This continued under the reign of Darius I (522 - 486 BC),

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90 Hanfmann 1983: 71-75.
91 Cf. Nylander 1970, for a fuller treatment of this subject.
92 This can be seen in the column base forms, the taper in the columns (entasis), and in the masonry techniques, such as the use of anathyrosis and the setting of iron clamps in lead. Frankfort 1970: 348-349; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987: 135-136.
who further developed the imperial style that is visible at Susa and Persepolis\textsuperscript{93}. Even as far as Gandhara (the Panjab) major Greek influences can be seen in the art and architecture of the 1\textsuperscript{st} century BC and for centuries afterwards, the art of which is considered to belong to a Graeco-Roman/Indian syncretistic style. It was not known how this came about since the Bactrian Greeks who occupied the area were not considered to have lent any of their artistic elements to a syncretistic style which later emerged as Gandharan Art. Graeco-Bactrian art was even considered a \textit{mirage} by scholars\textsuperscript{94}. It was believed that although Alexander had desired the “blending” of Greek and Achaemenid elements\textsuperscript{95}, and had even tried effecting this genetically by marrying 10 000 of his soldiers to Iranian women\textsuperscript{96}, the later Hellenistic kings abandoned his plans. It is debatable whether or not they consciously tried to put a stop to the “blending” process, but it is quite clear that “blending”, nevertheless, did take place in Bactria. The Bactrian Greeks were not simply colonists whose main objective was to keep all foreigners out of their temples, theaters, and other facets of their lives in order to retain their purity. Quite the contrary, as is evident, the Bactrians had a long

\textsuperscript{93} There is a graffito on the foot of a relief figure of Darius made by an Ionian Greek, which attests to the presence of Greeks in the area at this time. Further influences were a result of the introduction of the ‘claw chisel’ with a serrated cutting edge, used for limestone and marble. The fluting of column drums, and drapery folds were Greek innovations. Achaemenid coins too (the \textit{darics} and \textit{sigloi}) had Greek precedents. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987: 136.

\textsuperscript{94} Tarn 1951: 126-128. He believed that the Greeks in Bactria were unresponsive to external suggestions in their art forms. According to those who saw a Graeco-Bactrian \textit{mirage}, the Romans were the ones who transmitted these influences as a by-product of their trade relations with the Northern Indians.

\textsuperscript{95} Generally, he supported architectural and artistic activity of both Greek and Asiatic elements, but also a third: hybridized forms. Colledge 1990: 326-327.

\textsuperscript{96} Of these marriages, only a small percentage actually survived, and Seleucus was the only one of his generals who remained faithful to his wife Apama, Arrian, \textit{Anabasis Alexandri}, 7.4.4-8, but this was inevitable since communication surely would have been a problem.
established tradition as old as that of the Mesopotamians, both of which were viewed by Greek antiquarians as ancient repositories of wisdom. They were not to be destroyed but appreciated for the lessons they could teach the rapidly maturing Hellenic civilisation, and in particular, the Seleucid realms, the history of which will now be briefly discussed.

d) the Eastern Campaigns of Alexander the Great

The greatest epoch of colonisation had already occurred four centuries before Macedonia arrived on the stage of world politics, but because of the extraordinary exploits of her formidable leader another great epoch of Hellenic colonisation had begun. To understand the political atmosphere surrounding this period, one must follow swiftly on the heels of Alexander as he made his way into the vast realm of the Achaemenid empire pursuing his arch-enemy Darius III Codomannus.

In order for Alexander to become king of both Greece and Persia, he had to destroy all the sources of Achaemenid power and eventually establish a line of garrisoned settlements up to the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers. On his way to having this effected, Alexander had defeated Darius at the battles of Issus\textsuperscript{97} in 333 BC and Gaugamela\textsuperscript{98} in 331 BC, and sent him in flight on each occasion. Darius tried to re-muster his forces at Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), where he was joined by his satraps, Bessus of Bactria-Sogdiana, Barsaentes of Arachosia,

\textsuperscript{97} Diodorus, \textit{Histories}, 17.33-35.4.
\textsuperscript{98} Diodorus, \textit{Histories}, 17.56-61.
Satibarzanes of Aria, and others among whom were Greek mercenaries\textsuperscript{99}, but was murdered by these very satraps, whereby the title of "Great King" was assumed by Bessus\textsuperscript{100}. However, this was inconsequential, since Alexander had already proclaimed himself "Lord of Asia" while Darius was still alive\textsuperscript{101}.

Alexander carried his campaigns into central Asia in 330 BC, into the strongholds of the eastern satraps, where he faced staunch resistance. Eventually, the Greek mercenaries split from the eastern satraps and, after being chided by Alexander for betraying their Hellenic homeland, their surrender was accepted by him near the Caspian Gates\textsuperscript{102}. Satibarzanes also submitted and was allowed to keep his position as satrap of Aria\textsuperscript{103}, but had to accept Anaxippus as his general along with a garrison of Macedonian soldiers. However, in the same year (330 BC), he had the general and his entire force massacred, thereby starting a war of "liberation" and inciting revolts in all the eastern provinces that were under Macedonian control. Alexander postponed his

\textsuperscript{99} Diodorus, \textit{Histories}, 17.64.1-2.
\textsuperscript{100} Diodorus, \textit{Histories}, 17.74.1-2.
\textsuperscript{101} \textit{Proskynesis} and other practices of the Achaemenid court, including manner of dress, were adopted by Alexander as a gesture of respect and perhaps to gain favor amongst the locals, but this was to the chagrin of many of his officers. In military matters, in particular, all Iranians in Alexander's army had to use Macedonian arms and armor and Macedonian military practices. Arrian, \textit{Anabasis Alexandri}, 7.6.1.
\textsuperscript{102} Arrian, \textit{Anabasis Alexandri}, 3.23.4-5, 3.24.4-5. The modern pass between the Dasht-i-Kavir and Koh-i-Surkh mountains.
\textsuperscript{103} Alexander usually allowed those who assisted or surrendered to maintain their posts or he assigned them to new ones. Those who resisted were permanently removed from their posts or were killed. For example, the satrap of Uxii, Madates, resisted in the mountains and was killed. Ariobarzanes, on the other hand, offered strong resistance, but eventually surrendered, for which, although he was not allowed to maintain his post because of his resistance, he was spared his life. Diodorus, \textit{Histories}, 17.67.4; Curtius, \textit{Alexander}, 5.3.4.
campaigns in Bactria in order to put down these revolts. After marching victoriously through Aria and Drangiana, he appointed a Macedonian, Stasanor, in charge of Aria\textsuperscript{104}. Upon capturing Arachosia and executing its satrap, Barsaentes, Alexander marched by a circuitous route, for some unknown reason, through the Helmand and Arghandab to reach Bactria in the autumn of 330 BC\textsuperscript{105}.

At the Oxus, Alexander made a surprise attack on Bessus, who did not give open battle, but withdrew to the other side of the river. He was eventually captured and probably killed in 328 BC. Alexander assigned a non-Greek, which he did frequently\textsuperscript{106}, to conciliate the local population or to build a highly efficient administrative machine. He found that for such a job the former Achaemenid satraps were the most adept.

In Sogdiana, the local chiefs allied themselves with nomads from the north-west, the Massagetae, and used guerrilla tactics against Alexander's forces. Having occupied Maracanda (Samarkand) and seven Achaemenid fortresses, he went on to occupy Cyropolis, the Achaemenid stronghold in 328 BC. On his journey northward to the Jaxartes he suffered his first major injury: an

\textsuperscript{104} Plutarch, \textit{Alexander}, 47.
\textsuperscript{105} Green 1991: 338-339.
\textsuperscript{106} In Asia Minor, he replaced all the Iranian satraps with Macedonians, such as at Ada in Caria, and also in Syria and Egypt. After the battle of Gaugamela, his policy changed and he reassigned Mazaios, the former satrap of Syria and Mesopotamia, as satrap of Babylonia, but here as in all other cases, he circumscribed his power by the appointment of a Macedonian as commander of the army and another in charge of taxes. Arrian, \textit{Anabasis Alexandri}, 3.16.4; Diodorus, \textit{Histories}, 17.64.5. He assigned Memnon in charge of Arachosia, but Artabazos in Bactria, and Proexes in the Paropamisadae. Arrian, \textit{Anabasis Alexandri}, 3.28.4. The combined satrapy of Bactria-Sogdiana was given to Artabazos in 330 BC, but two years later, it was reassigned to a Macedonian, Amyntas, at Artabazos' request, who was suffering from old age. Arrian, \textit{Anabasis Alexandri}, 4.22-23.
arrow had pierced his lower leg and shattered the bone. The battles were the most difficult Alexander had to face in all his years of campaigning\textsuperscript{107}. The nomadic tribes had no intention of submitting to a central authority and wished to remain as they were under the Achaemenids, to whom they had pledged only a nominal allegiance. Revolts occurred in all parts of Sogdiana, which Alexander was forced to re-conquer. Maracanda was besieged, but Alexander could not send reinforcements because the Massagetae were using encircling tactics to hinder his troops. Alexander did not wish to lose this territory, so he founded a stronghold (in 228 BC), Alexandria-Eschate ("the farthest", modern Khojand), and broke through the Scythian line. Alexander tried to relieve Maracanda, but was forced to withdraw to Bactria, where he reinforced his position by summoning troops from the western provinces as well as fresh troops from Macedonia. He also strengthened his position by making alliances with Pharasmahes the ruler of Chorasmia and a rival of Spitamenes, the leader of the Sogdian rebels, and with Taxiles, the ruler of Taxila. He then renewed his advance into Sogdiana (in 328 BC) and was successful, because by this time his general Coenus had mastered the tactics of the Massagetae, wherefore Coenus was left in charge of the western part of this satrapy. The Sogdians and Massagetae, who had decapitated Spitamenes and sent his head to Alexander, surrendered. Spitamenes' daughter Apama was married to Alexander's general Seleucus as a political manoeuvre, and Alexander married Roxane, the daughter

\textsuperscript{107} Arrian, \textit{Anabasis Alexandri}, 4.1.5; Curtius, \textit{Alexander}, 7.1.14.
of Oxyartes, an ally of Spitamenes, after fighting against and subduing their remaining strongholds in 327 BC.

As Alexander was not one to rest on his laurels, he immediately made plans to carry his standards into the Panjáb. He made alliances with Sangaeus of Gandhara and Sisicottus of Swat to assist him in his invasion. He sent Hephaistion and Perdiccas as an advance party to conquer Peucelaotis (modern Charsadda), while he went north to subdue the Aspasians. Immediately after this he fought the Assacenians and captured their stronghold, Aornos, which he garrisoned and left to Sisicottus to administer. Taxiles, meanwhile, had given Taxila to Alexander as a gesture of deference with the hope of receiving spoils from the defeat of his arch-rival Porus. Alexander defeated Porus and founded the settlement of Nicaea in commemoration of his victory, and nearby he founded Bucephala in honour of his horse Bucephalus, who had died because of years of exertion and old age. In an extraordinary move, Alexander put Porus in charge of this newly conquered territory (between the Jhelum and Chenab) as well as the adjacent territory of the Glausians (between the Chenab and Ravi), whom he promptly subdued. Alexander marched to the Beas, the eastern limit of the Achaemenid empire, where his men revolted in 326 BC, refusing to go any further. Alexander was said to have conceded to the wishes of his men after some hesitation. However, it is noteworthy that they did not go back whence they came, but proceeded southward, which was also Achaemenid territory. It seems

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106 Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 4.24.6-25.4. Apparently he captured 2 300 000 oxen as booty.
109 Arrian, *Anabasis Alexandri*, 5.3.5.
possible that Alexander may not have had Ocean in mind as his ultimate goal, but only wished to conquer the whole of the Achaemenid realm and did not intend to become the "world conqueror" that ancient historians alleged him to be.

On his way down the Hydaspes to the Great Sea, while exploring the Indus, Alexander was forced to battle six more tribes, which he had relatively little difficulty defeating\(^{110}\). On the shores of the Great Sea he had a fleet built, over which he put Nearchus and Onesicritus in charge. He ordered this fleet to sail westward parallel to his march through Gedrosia. In 323 BC, he arrived in Babylon, where he was weakened by the onset of malaria. After a few days, he died without leaving anyone to succeed him. Alexander had founded numerous strongholds\(^{111}\), which he settled with Greeks, Macedonians, and non-Greeks, to safeguard the route to the east\(^{112}\), but when they heard that Alexander died, many of those in Bactria revolted\(^{113}\) against Perdiccas, who was temporarily in charge of the Asian provinces, and wished to return to Greece and Macedonia.

\(^{110}\) It was falsely reported that Alexander was dead, wherefore the garrison at Bactra revolted and the Graeco-Macedonians sought to return to the west. Curtius, *Alexander*, 9.7.2. Alexander thus abandoned his policy in the east of assigning non-Greek satraps, and began to assign Macedonian officers in these positions to strengthen the allegiance of the eastern satrapies to himself. They were ordered to disband all their mercenary forces as a prerequisite, however, since they were often the driving force of revolts. At the end of his life, many of the Iranian satraps in the western provinces were also replaced with Macedonians. At Persis, for example, Phraortes was eventually replaced by Peucestas; in Babylonia, Mazaios was replaced by Arkhon (in 324 BC); in Parthia-Hyrkania, Phrataphernes was replaced by Philippus (321 BC, after Alexander's death).

\(^{111}\) There is some debate as to how many cities Alexander actually founded. It is apparent that not all Alexandrias were founded by Alexander, that some were some were given the name in his honor by later kings, such as Alexandria-Oxiana, which was founded by Seleucus I. Appian, *Syriake*, 57.

\(^{112}\) Such as Alexandria in Aria (modern Herat), Alexandria Prophthasia in Drangiana (Phrada), Alexandria in Arachosia (Kandahar), and Alexandria ad Caucasum (Kapisa, modern Begram)

\(^{113}\) Diodorus, *Histories*, 18.7.5. It has been suggested that the Greeks and Macedonians revolted because of the garrison-nature of their settlements. Frye 1984: 147.
After the revolts were suppressed, he appointed Philip as satrap.

After Perdiccas was assassinated in 321 BC in Egypt, an agreement was made at Triparadeisos, whereby Antipater became regent for Alexander’s son, Alexander IV, and Alexander’s half-brother, Philip Arrhidaeus, was proclaimed king. A series of conflicts involving Alexander’s generals, Antigonus, Seleucus I, and Ptolemy I, convinced Antipater to remove Philip to Parthia and to appoint Stasanor of Soli, formerly in charge of Herat and Seistan, as satrap of Bactria. In 319 BC, Antipater died and Peithon, the satrap of Media, tried to increase his power, but was checked by a coalition of forces from the eastern satrapies\(^{114}\). He sought the assistance of Seleucus I at Babylon, who in turn was assisted by Antigonus Monophthalmos, a rival of Eumenes, the leader of the eastern coalition. The eastern forces were defeated and forced to withdraw and Eumenes was executed\(^{115}\). Even Peithon, Antigonus’ ally, was executed apparently because he was trying to incite a revolt. Seleucus, on the other hand, fearing death, fled to Ptolemy I in Egypt (in 316 BC). Antigonus did not remove any of the satraps in the east because of their strong positions\(^{116}\), and on the whole, he felt his position there had a solid foundation, so he shifted his attention westward. In 312 BC, his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, was defeated at Gaza by Ptolemy, who encouraged Seleucus to try his hand in the east once

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\(^{114}\) Diodorus, Histories, 19.13, 19.27. The coalition was comprised of forces from Bactria, Aria-Drangiana, Arachosia, the Paropamisadai, and Gandhara. It is interesting that Thracian soldiers were counted amongst the members of the eastern coalition, which of course means that Bactria-Sogdiana was colonized by other western peoples in addition to the Hellenes.

\(^{115}\) Diodorus, Histories, 19.26-27.

\(^{116}\) They were supported by partisans amongst the local populations, who were endeared to them because of their fair method of administration. Diodorus, Histories, 19.48.
again by giving him a small force of soldiers. Seleucus wasted little time arriving at Babylon, where he was welcomed by the citizens, who fondly remembered him from his earlier administration of the city. In 311 BC, the Seleucid era had thus begun.

**e) the Seleucids in the East**

Seleucus I managed to gain control of the eastern satrapies either by conciliation or by military means, but it is uncertain how, since the historical sources are meagre for this period. It is well known, however, that he ceded Arachosia, the Paropamisadae, and Seistan-Drangiana\(^{117}\) to the Mauryan empire under the rule of Chandragupta, who gave him 500 elephants as part of the exchange\(^{118}\). Seleucus made use of these elephants to defeat Antigonus at the battle of Ipsus (in 301 BC), after which he was officially recognised as the ruler of the East\(^{119}\). There appear to have been no revolts under Seleucus or his son, Antiochus I Soter, by either Greeks (and Macedonians) or non-Greeks\(^{120}\).

In 293 BC, Seleucus I, who had made Antioch-on-the-Orontes his capital, appointed his son, Antiochus I (281-261 BC), as a co-ruler to govern the eastern

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\(^{117}\) Amongst these were the Hellenistic cities, Alexandria-Arachosia and Alexandria ad Caucasum, which, however, flourished and remained true to their Greek traditions. This was partly due to Seleucus' insistence that the Mauryan rulers guarantee full rights to children born of intermarriages with Iranian women.

\(^{118}\) Strabo, *Geography*, 15.724.

\(^{119}\) This included only northern Syria, since the southern part was given to Ptolemy, who also received Egypt. Lysimachus had control of the western parts of Alexander's empire, which included Asia Minor, Thrace, and Macedonia.

\(^{120}\) There were no imperial pretenders, whom the inhabitants could support, and many settlements were transformed into cities, in which those who wanted to leave the military settlements could dwell. Mercenaries were re-hired to uphold central authority (so long as they were well-paid). Frye 1984: 144, 147, 152, 165.
satrapies\textsuperscript{121}, basing him in the newly founded city, Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. The courts of these two capitals were copied by the eastern satraps, whom Seleucus and his successors allowed to continue in the Achaemenid tradition as miniature kings. It appears that Greeks (and Macedonians) living in the east at first followed the pattern of "ruling colonisers", meaning that they did not learn Persian or Bactrian to the same extent as non-Greeks had to learn Greek. However, this changed with time, since the Seleucid, unlike the Ptolemaic, cities did not have Greek and non-Greek quarters\textsuperscript{122}. This was the main reason the process of hellenisation, syncretism, and orientalisation occurred over fewer generations than in Egypt. Alexander had introduced coinage on an Attic standard, but the Seleucids were the ones who expanded the regional economies by making the contacts with foreign lands more efficient and by promoting the rules and regulations of banking, both of which dramatically raised productivity and allowed the various regions to prosper\textsuperscript{123}. During the first half of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BC, the central Asian satrapies had frequent contact with Mediterranean influences, through artists, merchants, craftsmen, soldiers, and intellectuals. Clearchus of Soli, an interesting example of the latter, was an Aristotelian philosopher, who visited the east to study Iranian and Indian

\textsuperscript{121} The satrapies were subdivided into hyparchies, toparchies, and sometimes with a meris between a satrapy and hyparchy, as will be seen in Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The use of the word strategos came to be used preferentially over satrapes after the reign of Antiochus II Theos (261-246 BC). This was partly due to the fact that in the west, where there was constant conflict with the other Hellenistic states, the satrap was pre-occupied with his military responsibilities, while in Bactria and Parthia the satrap was able to focus more on his political duties. Frye 1984: 155-156.

\textsuperscript{122} The sizes of these populations in the various colonies is unknown, nor is it known what sort of relations the representatives of the king or satrap had with the local authorities.

\textsuperscript{123} Frye 1984: 167.
religions\textsuperscript{124}. In addition, many new colonists from the western satrapies went to Bactria and provided even greater strength to the hellenising process. It has been suggested that Greek political exiles from western Asia Minor, such as the Branchidae from Miletus, were re-settled in Bactria-Sogdiana by the Achaemenids, which was a primary reason for hellenisation to have taken root so strongly there\textsuperscript{125}, but there is no need to place any importance on this, because, as has been discussed above, the early Seleucids did a remarkable job in promoting Greek culture.

Antiochus I continued the tradition of his father of founding and re-founding cities. He transformed Alexandria in Margiana (modern Gyaur-kala), an Achaemenid settlement in the Merv oasis, to which Alexander added Greeks and Macedonians, into a city surrounded by a 1500m by 1500m rampart. Maracanda, too, he transformed into a Hellenistic city, and built numerous Antiochias\textsuperscript{126}, as well as a Soteira in Aria, after his surname, Soter.

The eastern satrapies were neglected as a consequence of many decades of warfare between the Seleucids and the Ptolemaic and Antigonid empires. They attempted to secede after the death of Antiochus II in 246 BC in the first year of the reign of Seleucus II (246-226 BC). Diodotus I, the satrap of

\textsuperscript{124} At Ai Khanoum a papyrus was discovered, on which he left behind a copy of his aphorisms, which embodied the maxims found in the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Bernard 1978: 458.
\textsuperscript{125} It is not known exactly where in Bactria-Sogdiana the Achaemenids relocated political exiles. Surely the 13500 Hellenic soldiers that were left in the Oxus valley (Arrian, \textit{Anabasis Alexandri}, 4.22) and the 4600 in Arachosia (Curtius, \textit{Alexander}, 7.3-4) when Alexander died had immensely more importance than any Hellenes that might have been there in the Achaemenid period.
\textsuperscript{126} Alexandria-Eschate (modern Khajand-Leninabad), for example, was re-founded as an Antiochia. Strabo, \textit{Geography}, 11.516.
Bactria-Sogdiana\textsuperscript{127}, and Andragoras, the satrap of Parthia reacted in unison to this opportunity, and were successful in establishing the Graeco-Bactrian and Parthian kingdoms, respectively. Seleucus II could not campaign to recover these satrapies because he was entrenched in warfare in Asia Minor. In 239 BC, he suffered a great defeat at the hands of Ptolemy III in the vicinity of modern Ankara and had no choice but to reorganise his forces in Syria and Mesopotamia. Realising that he needed the support and resources of the eastern satrapies to wage a successful war in the west (as was also realised by Seleucus I), he attempted to recover them in 227 BC\textsuperscript{128}, but was unable to. In 226 BC, Seleucus III (226-223 BC) ascended the throne, but only lasted until 223 BC, at which time Antiochus III the Great (223-187 BC), the brother of Seleucus III, succeeded him.

Antiochus III began his famous campaign in the east in 212 BC by securing Armenia\textsuperscript{129}. In 209 BC he despoiled the temple of Anahita at Ecbatana in order to finance his campaigns in Parthia\textsuperscript{130}, which he successfully pacified and made into a tributary. Next he faced Euthydemus (235-200 BC), the ruler of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, at the Arius river (modern Hari Rud), where he defeated him and pursued him to his capital, Bactra\textsuperscript{131}. They made peace and

\textsuperscript{127} Strabo, \textit{Geography}, 11.517. This can be seen from coins, which he struck bearing the name of king Antiochus II, but substituted with his own emblem (Zeus wielding a thunderbolt) and portrait. Not much can be determined regarding the histories of Diodotus I and II, since there is a scarcity of sources.

\textsuperscript{128} Cf. Will 1966: 278-281. This date is debatable.

\textsuperscript{129} Polybius, \textit{Histories}, 8.23.

\textsuperscript{130} Polybius, \textit{Histories}, 10.27.13.

\textsuperscript{131} Strabo, \textit{Geography}, 11.516. Euthydemus was the son-in-law of Diodotus I and ruled as far as Fergana or the Pamirs, but his hold over the outlying territories was tenuous. Frye 1984: 182.
became tribute-paying allies after a long siege and Antiochus' daughter was betrothed to Demetrius I, the son of Euthydemus\textsuperscript{132}. Next, he proceeded south-eastward through the Hindu Kush, made peace with a local potentate and returned west with elephants as tribute. He left the eastern realms in 205/204 BC and never felt the need to return\textsuperscript{133}. In 189 BC, after the battle of Magnesia, in which Antiochus was defeated by the Romans, it is unlikely that the kingdoms in the east continued to be tributaries\textsuperscript{134}.

As Antiochus III passed out of Graeco-Bactrian history, Demetrius I, the successor of Euthydemus (200-190 BC), figured prominently in it, expanding the kingdom's borders southward to include Arachosia, Seistan-Drangiana, and probably the Paropamisadae. He passed away in 190 BC, at which time his younger brother Antimachus Theos (190-175 BC) came to power. The details of his fifteen year rule are not very well documented.

It seems likely that there were \textit{meridarchs}\textsuperscript{135} in Bactria-Sogdiana, who were permitted to mint their own coinage, wherefore one finds coins of Pantaleon from 190 to 180 BC, and of Agathocles from 180 to 170 BC. During the reign of Demetrius II (175-165 BC) Antimachus' son, a governor of one of the provinces of his kingdom, Eucratides I (170-155 BC), revolted and gained power in 170 BC. He transferred his capital to Eucratidia (possibly Ai Khanoum\textsuperscript{136}) and expanded the empire southward past the Hindu Kush, but lost two provinces in

\textsuperscript{132} Polybius, \textit{Histories}, 11.39.
\textsuperscript{133} After this date the Seleucids no longer had any political concerns with Bactria.
\textsuperscript{134} Frye 1984: 177.
\textsuperscript{135} Sub-kings. Else there could have been other forms of territorial division or joint rules.
\textsuperscript{136} Cf. chapter 2, note 11.
the west, Touriva and Aspiones, to the Parthians. In 150 BC, Heliocles I, Eucratides' son, began his rule, but invasions by the Scythians in 145 BC cut it short. It appears that the rulers left the Bactrian towns and headed for the mountains south-eastward, whereas the local settled people decided it was in their best interest to stay and pay allegiance to their new masters. So ended the political history of the Greeks north of the Hindu Kush.

Bactria, then, was the meeting-place of successive conquerors and each had an influence not only upon its political history, but also on its landscape, peoples, and culture. The dynamics of the interactions between the various peoples in Bactria during the Greek presence there are not very well known, particularly because of the dearth of primary historical sources relating to this period. However, there is archaeological evidence, which provides a glimpse into the various ways Greeks and non-Greeks dealt with each other. Through art and architecture one can see that, on some occasions, the various populations produced works owing little or nothing to traditions foreign to their own, but quite often they collaborated to produce works not found elsewhere in the world. It is the evidence for this syncretism involving both Greek and non-Greek elements that will be examined in this paper. In the next chapter the evidence for syncretism in architecture will be considered; chapter three will deal with art, and chapter four will be on epigraphic and literary evidence for the hybridisation process. In the end, one will find that syncretism occurred in numerous ways, viz.

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137 Strabo, Geography, 11.517. It is debatable whether Demetrius still had control of Sogdiana.
Greek/Mesopotamian, Greek/Achaemenid, Greek/Scythian, and Greek/Indian hybrid forms. There were also Scythian/Achaemenid, Achaemenid/Indian, and all the other combinations that are possible between the artistic traditions of these ethnoi, but only their interactions with the Greek tradition fall within the scope of this paper. Once the examination has been completed, the reader will see that the Greeks were not culturally celibate during their time in Bactria, far from it, offspring resulted from their cultural minglings, the most illustrious of which grew up to become Gandharan art.
2) Architecture

There are numerous other archaeological sites that indicate the presence of Greek settlements from the Hellenistic Period, but those that will be particularly examined in this section are Ai Khanoum at the confluence of the Amu Darya (Oxus) and Kokcha Rivers in northern Afghanistan and, where possible, Takht-i-Sangin on the right bank of the Amu Darya headwaters in southern Tajikistan. Ai Khanoum flourished from at least the mid-3rd to the late 2nd century BC and Takht-i-Sangin from as early as the end of the 6th century to the mid-1st century when Bactria was finally overwhelmed by Scythian hordes. It is to the credit of these Bactrian-Greeks, however, that a kingdom was established in the Panjab which existed as the last Greek power anywhere in the world, even longer than Ptolemaic Egypt, despite being almost a hundred times further away from the Greek heartland. The brilliant flame of Greek rule in the

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1 Viz. Gyaur-kala, Maracanda, Khojand-Leninabad, Artacoana, Soteira, Achaea, Bactra, and Merv. Some of these sites will be mentioned in passing, but only those sites for which I could obtain well-documented reports (site reports in particular) were included. The reports for the sites cited above were either in Russian (which I cannot read) or they fell out of the time-period under investigation (250-150 BC).
2 Ai Khanoum (Turkish - "lady moon") was discovered in 1963 by the Afghan crown prince on a hunting expedition, and was excavated by the Délegation archéologique française en Afghanistan under the direction of Paul Bernard and Daniel Schlumberger from 1965 to 1978.
3 Some of the structures have eroded away or have not been hitherto excavated, such as portions of the palace-temple complex which could give additional evidence of residential and administrative architecture.
4 Takht-i-Sangin (Persian - "the Stone Platform") was excavated beginning in 1977 (until the outbreak of the Soviet-Afghan War in 1980) by the South Tajikistan Expedition led by the Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the Tajik SSR, B.A. Litvinskiy.
5 Bernard 1975: 193-197. He believes that the site was founded perhaps as early as 330 BC.
6 This is based on a series of chapes of Achaemenid design found on site which could be dated anywhere from 524 to 404 BC. Pichikyan and Litvinskiy 1981: 152.
East was doused when the last Indo-Greek king in the Panjab, Strato II, died in 10 AD\textsuperscript{7}.

Various architectural features at Ai Khanoum are wholly Greek in design such as the gymnasium\textsuperscript{8}, the 5000-seat theater, the arsenal, and certain funerary monuments such as the mausoleum\textsuperscript{9}, but others, although they may appear Greek in some respects, are either non-Greek in overall aspect, or combine the two traditions. Examples of the latter that will be considered are the fortifications, and the religious, palatial, and domestic architecture. The date of 250 BC will be used as the benchmark, and should be applied to all features under examination unless otherwise indicated, since it marks the period just before the end of the Seleucid domination of Bactria, during which many colonists, craftsmen, merchants, technicians, artisans, and artists made their way to the eastern realms of the Seleucid Kingdom. In 247 BC, the Parthians seceded from the Seleucid Kingdom, as did Bactria-Sogdiana. The other date that will be given some consideration will be 150 BC (this will be indicated), which marks the period when Scythian influence was on the incline, and a century after direct connection with the Hellenic world west of Parthia was severed.

\textsuperscript{7} Bernard 1994b: 102-103. Hermaeus died in 55BC, which is the traditional date given by Narain 1966: 157-162, 181; and Tarn 1951: 326, 349-350; but this applies to Kapisa-Bagram. Greek rule was still maintained in the eastern part of the Panjab.

\textsuperscript{8} Bernard 1968: 276. Identifiable as such after the discovery of a dedication to Hermes and Heracles.

\textsuperscript{9} Considered an innovation of the Greek architects of the Seleucid Empire, with perhaps some minor oriental influence. Bernard 1972: 608-613.
With regard to dating, pottery is generally used to determine the antiquity of the stratum within which it is found. At Graeco-Bactrian sites non-Greek pottery, such as “pilgrim-flasks”, and Hellenistic types, such as “fish plates”, hemispherical bowls with ring-foot, and moulded bowls were often used. Coins also proved noteworthy in dating, and some scholars made use of variations in architectural details as a means to establishing chronology.

It is not known for certain what the ancient name of Ai Khanoum was, but one of two possibilities appear most likely: Alexandria Oxiana or Eucratidia. The presence of an administrative complex along with a stockpile of coins from various regions lends credence to the theory that this polis might have been the site of a mint, and thus perhaps the capital of Bactria-Sogdiana. On the other hand, it has not been surmised what the ancient name of Takht-i-Sangin might have been. It appears to have had more military than economic or political significance.

10 Allchin and Hammond 1978: 225; Bernard 1975: 193-194. The main pottery-types used at Ai Khanoum were: Period 1 (325-310 BC) - ceramics of a local tradition; period 2 (310-290 BC) - kraters; period 3 (290-270 BC) - plates and bowls with palmettes; period 4 (270-250 BC) - moulded bowls (n.b.: it has been found (after the publication of the final site report in 1980) that these bowls actually came into production after 220 BC, thus one must rely on relative chronology for this period); and period 5 (250-150 BC?) - amphoras; Period 6 (150-50BC?) - degraded forms of Period 6 with presence in the top level of Kushan pottery types. The two sets of chronologies established by Bernard, the first in Bernard 1971: 452, and the second in Bernard 1975: 195, cause some confusion with regard to Periods 5 and 6.

11 There is no epigraphical evidence in the site itself which would support these possibilities, but are based on indirect evidence pertaining to the dating of the site. If the site is of an early date, having been founded by either Alexander or Seleucus I (late 4th century or early 3rd century BC) the most likely name is Alexandria Oxiana (defended by Holt, cf. Holt 1988: 28-30); but if it was founded by Eucratides “the Great” in the mid-3rd century BC, of course the most likely possibility is Eucratidia (supported by Bernard, cf. Dani and Bernard 1994: 110).

12 The discovery of valuable sculptures and other works of art at this site is thus considered all the more fortuitous, since objects of such a sort have not been found at other military outposts.
2.1) Fortification

As the facets of warfare became more variegated, siege-craft took on a more important role in the outcomes of war and in time became more sophisticated. Greater importance was then placed on taking measures to fortifying cities and colonies adequately against them. Ramparts had already been used by the Greeks for a long time, and it was not uncommon that some of the Hellenistic versions, like those from the Bronze Age, measured 9m in height and 7m in width. Steadily greater emphasis was placed on counter-attack and on the creation of vantage points such as towers, from which the besieger could be harassed on his flank by missiles. These vantage points were improved through the use of circular, oval, or horse-shoe shaped towers to decrease the 'blind spots' more effectively. The tower and the wall tended to be independent of each other, so that if either should fall, its collapse would not cause the fall of the other. Deep moats were dug in front of the walls to impede the advance of siege towers. Some moats reached a depth of 4m and a width of 10m, and were occasionally filled with water. A second wall was sometimes built on the inner edge of the moat if the site happened to be relatively more important, such

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13 Leriche 1974: 265. Square towers were completely avoided in Hellenistic fortifications because the 'blind spots' were larger than those caused by circular or oval towers. In oval towers the defenders had a larger range of view, thus requiring fewer men as defenders on each tower. Megara Hyblea, Corinth, and Eleusis are a few of the sites where oval and horse-shoe shaped walls have been found.

14 Winter 1971: 240-241. One of the earliest examples of this is found at Mantinea from the early 4th century BC.
as a city\textsuperscript{15}. The non-Greek fortifications at Bactra\textsuperscript{16} and at Old Kandahar, which have been dated to the Achaemenid Period\textsuperscript{17}, were very similar in nature to those of the Greeks. It thus seems that a common goal was often reached through a common means, meaning that both the Greeks and Achaemenids arrived at their methods of fortification independently of each other. This is not to say that the Bactrian-Greeks did not adapt some of their techniques to suit the new habitat they were occupying. Despite the fact that they were unusual in being a wholly inland nation, far removed from the Greek abodes on the coast, their adaptation was effected by the harnessing of rivers in place of the sea. At the same time they made full use of the concept of 'Hippodamian' or orthogonal town planning, as can be seen from the layouts of the streets at both Ai Khanoum and Takht-i-Sangin.

a) Ai Khanoum

Ai Khanoum was protected by, and Takht-i-Sangin was situated on, natural hills. Ai Khanoum occupied a virtual triangle (approx. 1.8 x 1.5 km in area) with two sides protected by rivers and the third side closed off by a natural hill about 60m high (fig.3). A solid rampart of mud-brick construction surrounded the whole polis as an additional measure of defence. The usual method in

\textsuperscript{15} Winter 1971: 74-75. Plataea is an example of a city which, when under siege, built a second wall, since its first wall was being breached (429-427 BC), thus we see that such measures were not an innovation of the Hellenistic Greeks.

\textsuperscript{16} Modern Balkh. Bactra had a triple row of walls of pisé-construction, but there is uncertainty whether these were pre- or post-Alexandrian, with some scholars preferring a pre-Alexandrian or Achaemenid date for the citadel and ramparts (called Bala Hissar) since Bactra was used as a base of operations by Alexander as well as a place to winter (329 BC); this would have been unlikely had the site not been adequately fortified. Cf. Vogelsang 1992: 232-235.

\textsuperscript{17} The ramparts of Old Kandahar were also of pisé-construction. Vogelsang 1992: 231-232; Alchin and Hammond 1978: 230-232, 262.
central Asia, however, involved the use of mud- and pisé-bricks in alternating layers\(^{18}\). These were the preferred media in Bactria owing to the relatively high frequency of seismic activity\(^{19}\). The base (20cm high) was constructed using bricks of pisé\(^{20}\), which was considered unusual because of the rampart’s proximity to a source of water, the Oxus. The usual medium was stone for a base where there was a danger of inundation\(^{21}\), whether it be caused by nature or effected by the enemy. A ditch (20m wide and 5m deep) 12 meters in front of the rampart made this all the more strange, since the ditch, along with a few strategically (enemy-)dug troughs abutting the rampart, could have been flooded by the enemy to cause erosion. Usually a ditch was immediately in front of the rampart, in effect to make the wall appear higher, and often a secondary defensive wall was built, surrounded on both sides by ditches\(^{22}\). On the northern tip, where there was a lack of natural defences, the rampart consisted of a wall 7m thick able to withstand siege machinery\(^{23}\). It was 750m long with 18 rectangular towers (19 by 11m)\(^{24}\) at regularly spaced intervals of 24m\(^{25}\). The

\(^{18}\) Leriche 1974: 269.

\(^{19}\) Pougatchenkova 1991: 216-218. Stone was used mostly for decorative effect. Lawrence 1979: 236. In seismically active areas, ashlar masonry was preferred over stone due to its resistance to collapse.

\(^{20}\) At Begram, however, stone was used as the medium for the base of the south wall. Leriche 1971: 265. This, along with the stone walls at Takht-i-Sangin (2.1b), shows that mud-brick and pisé were not used exclusively (in central Asia).

\(^{21}\) Lawrence 1979: 206. The walls of the Piraeus at Athens, for example, were made of mud-brick on top of a 1.85-2.25m stone base.

\(^{22}\) This structure was called a proteichisma, and was found at both Greek sites, such as at (4\(^{\text{th}}\) century BC) Athens, and at Begram. Lawrence 1979: 282-283.

\(^{23}\) The thickness of walls in central Asia was subject to extreme variations. The wall at Ai Khanoum was relatively a very thick wall, while that found at Maracanda (ancient Samarkand) was only 1.8m thick. Bernard, Grenet, et al. 1990: 363.

\(^{24}\) Leriche 1974: 231.

\(^{25}\) Leriche 1974: 266.
rectangular towers were atypical of normal Greek practice and were more in line with those found in late Achaemenid fortifications. The towers, once again in a manner that would be considered unusual for Greek towers, were solid, perhaps to prevent them from being sapped. The fortifications, base and all, were built on loess and a layer of sand to annul the eroding effects that salt would have should it be piled up at the foot of the rampart. This was a method also used by the Mesopotamians at Babylon to prevent sapping. On top of the hill was the acropolis, the citadel where the citizens could find refuge should the ramparts be breached.

b) Takht-i-Sangin

Similarly, the site of Takht-i-Sangin was on the headwaters of the Amu Darya and was one of the two right-bank fortresses guarding the crossing and controlling the ancient Asian highroad. A double row of powerful stone defensive walls was found extremely well preserved. The stone walls formed the northern

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26 All late Achaemenid fortifications made use of square or rectangular towers, but an example of a semi-circular tower has been found at Khorezm from the early Achaemenid period. Leriche 1971: 266. The belief remains, however, that only square or rectangular towers were used in central Asia during both the late Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods. The spacing between the towers, on the other hand, is not atypical of the Greek standard of between 18 and 25m.


28 A layer of sand was also found beneath the ramparts at Dilberdjin and Maracanda. Bernard, Grenet, et al. 1992: 362-364.

29 An acropolis was very important in Hellenistic sites in central Asia, as can be seen at Maracanda (Samarkand), where the hill was relatively small. A wall was constructed 10m in height (on top of the hill) and filled in with rubble to create a plateau 9 hectares in area to serve as the acropolis. Bernard, Grenet, et al. 1992: 281-282. At Dilberdjin, a square plateau was formed by a wall 400m long and 7m high, which was filled in. In the center of this plateau was the citadel, unusual because it was circular, which was a further 10m in height and built completely of pisé-brick. Both the inner citadel and the square plateau were further protected by ditches. Kruglikova 1977: 407-408.
and southern defences a few kilometers apart. In the center of the city was the acropolis which was guarded by a moat up to 3m deep and by a stone wall rising above it with a thickness of 2m, the corners of which were protected by guard-towers. To the east was the Amu Darya, and to the west the site adjoined the Teshik-Tash mountain range\textsuperscript{30}.

The fortifications of both of these sites can be considered syncretistic in that the Greeks did not use exclusively Greek planning and construction techniques for their ramparts. The Greeks preferred to use either mud-brick or stone, if it could be found in abundance, as witnessed at Takht-i-Sangin. However, the method common to the Achaemenids of using unbaked bricks, or pisé-construction, was also adopted by the Greeks in central Asia. Mud-compared to pisé- bricks, did not last nearly as long, and for this reason, it is interesting that the Greeks in Ai Khanoum did not build the ramparts at least in alternating pisé- and mud-brick layers\textsuperscript{31}. It must be mentioned that walls with hollow curtains were the norm for pre-Greek Bactrian towns, constructed with large, square blocks\textsuperscript{32}. At Ai Khanoum we have an example of a Greek-style wall supported by a non-Greek base, with rectangular and solid towers also non-

\textsuperscript{31} There is evidence that some sections of the western rampart at Ai Khanoum were reinforced with pisé-bricks, but this was merely patchwork that was done to stop the wall from crumbling away. Leriche 1974: 237-238.
\textsuperscript{32} Such as Maracanda. Bernard 1994b: 108.
Greek in design. At Takht-i-Sangin, however, the fortification architecture is Greek or Achaemenid, but using materials regularly used by the Greeks.

2.2) Religious Architecture

It must be noted that the possibility did in fact exist for the inhabitants of Ai Khanoum (as well as those in other Bactrian towns) to build Greek style temples rather than those of non-Greek conception found there (discussed below, sections 2.2a-e). This can be inferred from the design of the mausoleum found in the center of a triangle formed by the gymnasium, theater, and the Heroon of Kineas, on the right side of the main north-south street at Ai Khanoum (fig. 3). It had a three-stepped krepis, and in plan it was a Greek peripteral temple with 6 by 11 columns (figs. 4a and 4b). The columns, being of wood, have decomposed, but some of their stone bases are still evident, and a stone Ionic capital was also discovered in the same location. A vestibule with two columns in antis led into a slightly narrower cella and a smaller chamber behind it, in which two stone sarcophagi were found along with the skeletal remains of five individuals.

This having been said, the following syncretistic temples are all the more interesting:

33 Stone walls have not been found at other Achaemenid or pre-Achaemenid sites on the Iranian Plateau, which is why those found at Takht-i-Sangin were viewed with such wonder over the generations. Pichikian and Litvinskiy 1981: 134-135.
35 Bernard 1972: 613-617. At first glance this appears unusual, since the Greeks did not bury anyone except the founder of the polis within the city walls, but the situation was somewhat different in Ai Khanoum (and perhaps in Bactria in general), as will be discussed in section 2.2d.)
a) Temple à redans

Two temples have been found at Ai Khanoum, and one at Takht-i-Sangin. Of the two at Ai Khanoum, one is in the center of the city on the main north-south street, and the other is outside the northern city ramparts. The former is square in plan, of dimensions approximately 20m by 20m, and set atop a three-stepped platform (the krepidoma) which rose to a height of 1.5m above ground-level, upon which access was gained by a staircase at the front. It was constructed with sun-dried mud bricks, strengthened with a wooden framework. It is called the “temple à redans” because of the triple-stepping on the outer face of the walls which define a row of false niches alternating with them, a feature peculiar to Achaemenid architecture36 (fig.5.1). Additionally, the walls were thick and the temple itself had a simple plan, consisting of a vestibule (antecella), which happened to be the largest chamber, that lead to the cella via a monumental doorway lined with stone. The cella was roughly half of the size of the vestibule, and flanked on both sides by “sacristies”, which in turn were roughly half of the size of the cella. Temples of the 4th - 1st centuries BC in Central Asia tended to house its principal deity in the cella, around which corridors and chambers were set in a way which would allow freedom of movement conducive to the performance of rites and services in praise of the god37. Within the cella was an

36 The niches of this temple are comparable to the purely non-Greek Zoroastrian temple, called a dakhma, found at Erkurgan (ca 3rd - 2nd century BC). Sulejmanov 1991: 167-168.
37 We shall see this to be the case in the Temple hors les murs as well as in the Temple of the Oxus. This can also be seen in later periods, as in the Temple of Kanishka at Surkh Kotal (of the Kushan Period, ca 1st century BC), and in the Iranian fire temples, such as at Erkurgan, cf. note 26 (above). Pougatchenko 1991: 215.
altar of unbaked brick with traces of ashes on top. This temple is remarkably similar to the Mesopotamian (Neo-Babylonian) ‘broad room’ temple type, examples of which have been found from the end of the 4th millennium, and which remained popular in western Asia from the 3rd century BC to about the 3rd century AD (figs. 5c and 5d). It has been suggested that this temple was built by Mesopotamian colonists at the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century BC, or that it was built by Greeks, who adopted the architecture from the Achaemenids, who in turn had adopted it from the Mesopotamian lands that they had occupied for two centuries. The dentils used in the molding of the cornices may very well be of Greek origin, but this is not certain, since they have also been found on Achaemenid monuments. To make matters even more complicated, the podium, although it seems to be a scaled down version of the high podiums found in Mesopotamia, is also found in pre-Greek Bactria. It is not known who, or what, the colonists worshipped in this temple, but judging by the fragments of the cult-image found inside, a foot clad in a Greek sandal decorated with winged thunderbolts and carved in Greek style (fig. 6.1), it seems the cult-image was that of Zeus, possibly identified as a local deity, Zeus-Ahura.

38 Such as the chapel of a palace at Tell Asmar, the temple of Ishtar and Nanaia at Uruk, and temple A at Assur. Frankfort 1970: 104-107, 137-138.
39 Examples of this can be seen at Babylon, such as the temple of Marduk, and the grand temple of Kish. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987: 139-142.
40 At Doura-Europus, Graeco-Parthian temples (ca 250 BC) have been discovered similar in style to this one, where Artemis-Nanaia, Atargatis, and Adonis were worshipped (fig. 5.2). The temple of Artemis-Nanaia was almost identical to the temple à redans. Cumont 1926: 83-84.
41 The tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ and the royal tombs at Naqsh-i-Rustam near Persepolis give evidence of this. Frankfort 1970: 368-370.
42 It may derive from the open-air platforms, such as the one found at Paçmak-Tepe (5th or early 4th century BC), excavated by the Uzbekistan SSR Institute of Archeology under S.R. Pidaev. Cf. Bernard 1976a: 303-307.
Mazda, or even a triple syncretistic god Baal-Zeus-Ahura Mazda. There is also a possibility that the cult-image could be that of the proto-Iranian god Mithra.

b) Temple *hors les murs*

The temple outside the north rampart is called the “temple *hors les murs*”. The podium, similar to that of the temple *à redans*, measured approximately 23m by 21m and 1.8m in height. The building itself was 20m by 16m. It was also decorated with indented niches, and suffice it to say that it was similar to the other temple in most aspects except in possessing a vestibule which had direct access to three cellas instead of one (fig. 6.2). This temple, however, differed in one other way: the temple *à redans* did not undergo much modification over the next century, but the temple *hors les murs* was rebuilt (ca 150 BC) on a one-stepped podium 0.5m above the old podium, and enlarged to contain two more

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43 The possibility that the deity worshipped here was Greek or semi-Greek, is supported by the discovery at Dilberdjin in northern Afghanistan of a temple (founded ca 150 BC) which appears to have been dedicated to the Dioscouri who are represented on paintings in the corridor between the vestibule and cella. Hannestad and Potts 1990: 102-104. Coins also depict various Greek gods in association with the reigning monarch, namely Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Heracles, the Dioscouri, Artemis, and Athena (usually as Athena Alkidemos), as well as Nike, and Tyche. Bernard 1994b: 114-115.

44 Grenet 1991: 147. Baal was the Babylonian equivalent of the sky god, Zeus and Ahura Mazda.

45 Grenet 1991: 148-151. He argues quite persuasively that the deity must be Mithra, owing to the fact that vases were excavated at the foot of the temple which appear to have been purposely buried as votive offerings. Such offerings were only made to Chthonian deities, one of which was Mithra, not to ethereal deities such as Ahura Mazda. Grenet goes on to describe some motifs on coins which support his view, particularly from the Kushan-Sasanid period.


47 Bernard did mention whether there was an altar in each cella or in just the middle one. If only in the middle cella, then the function of this temple would have been virtually the same as that of the temple *à redans*. 
cellas on the short sides of the vestibule, and each cella, except the one in the center, was given a sacristy.  

**c) Temple of the Oxus**

The temple at Takht-i-Sangin, called the "temple of the Oxus" because of the discovery of a votive offering to the deity of the river Oxus (chapter 3), has been dated to the mid-3rd century on the basis of comparisons with the temples at Ai Khanoum. In plan it was slightly more complex than the temple *hors les murs*. Unlike the other temples, the temple of the Oxus did not rest on a podium, but on natural subsoil. Another difference was that the mud-bricks which made up the walls were larger - 0.5m by 0.5m and 0.15m thick. Square bricks of this size were typical of non-Greek (*i.e.* Bactrian) architecture.  

From the vestibule a doorway through the middle of the long side led to the main cella, which was square in shape, and had two corridors leading to sacristies, which in turn had small corridors leading to additional sacristies (fig. 6.3). At the corners of the vestibule were two small corridors leading to chambers a quarter of the size of the cella, which also had corridors leading to other chambers. Triple pylons set on rectangular bases reinforced the jambs of the monumentally-decorated doorways, which appeared stately in a manner reminiscent of those found in the palace at Ai Khanoum.  

The ceiling of the vestibule was supported by eight

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48 The reason for the enlargement is unclear, there is no evidence of a population increase which would in turn have had an increase in housing. Perhaps the earlier sacristies were filled with votive offerings, which necessitated the building of additional ones, as seen at Takht-i-Sangin (2.2c).


columns and that of the cella by four, of which only the stone bases are preserved, consisting of a swollen torus on a square two stepped plinth (fig. 7.1). The conception was non-Greek\textsuperscript{51}, but the stone columns were Greek in origin, since there is no evidence of stone columns in Central Asia prior to the Hellenistic Period\textsuperscript{52}. White stucco appears to have been on the walls of the cella and the floor was finished with white alabaster. Hence it has been dubbed the "white hall"\textsuperscript{53}. Large numbers of dedications were found, which were originally set up in the temple, but successively buried in bothroi in the surrounding corridors, which were later walled up.

\textbf{d) Heroon of Kineas}

In addition to the temples at Ai Khanoum, a tomb of the founder of the city, called the Heroon of Kineas, was found set up on a terrace north-west of the temple à redans. An inscription points it out as the temenos of Kineas, in this case the only individual, according to Greek custom, granted the privilege to be buried within the city walls\textsuperscript{54}. Architecturally, it appears to have been built in more of a Greek style than the temples so far discussed, in the respect that the vestibule contains two columns \textit{in antis}, of which only the crude, rectangular stone bases are preserved. These do not appear to be of the Achaemenid type with plinth and torus as found in other buildings. It is similar, however, to the

\textsuperscript{51} Similar to the Achaemenid bases found in the Treasury at Persepolis. Frankfort 1970: 357.
\textsuperscript{52} I am uncertain what type of capital adorned these columns, since it has not been described in any of the site reports. Perhaps none were found. They may have been Corinthian capitals like those found in the palace complex at Ai Khanoum (cf. section 2.3).
\textsuperscript{53} Hannestad and Potts 1990: 108-110.
\textsuperscript{54} Bernard 1973: 93-96.
other temples in that the vestibule is wider than the cella, and the edifice is built
on a three stepped krepis (fig. 8.1). Below the cella was found a sarcophagus of
limestone, buried in a pit lined with unbaked bricks, which predated the building
of the Heroon (late 4th or early 3rd century BC). In the mid-3rd century BC the
cella was enlarged to the same width as that of the vestibule (fig. 8.2), and the
three-stepped krepis was replaced by a podium55. In the early 2nd century BC the
Heroon was adorned with clay antefixes and large bulb and stylised leaves and,
as in the other temples, the flat roof was remade of earth and covered with tiles
along the edges56. In this period the Heroon was also decorated with outer
niches on the north and west walls in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the
temple à redans57. With the passage of time this building appears to have
undergone modifications, which not only gave it more Greek attributes, such as
decorations of Greek type, but gave it some more non-Greek ones as well, such
as the niches. This suggests that Greek or non-Greek architectural motifs were
used with freedom where ever they were fancied, and not reserved for any
particular building or location.

To round off this discussion of temple architecture, it should be noted that
a chapel was found on the north side of the courtyard in the sanctuary of the
temple à redans, with the same plan as the Heroon of Kineas, having a vestibule

55 A few more individuals were buried in the temenos at this stage, probably relatives of the
founder.
57 Hannestad and Potts 1990: 109-110. The niches were perhaps for votive offerings.
wider than the cella and two columns in antīs. The columns were wooden, but placed on stone bases of Achaemenid type, consisting of a plinth and torus

**e) Temple of the Dioscouri**

In the north-east corner of Dilberdjin, a Hellenistic city founded in ca 150 BC and having lasted until the 5th century AD, a temple was discovered with walls 6m high and built of pisé-bricks. It measures 23m by 17.5m in area and consists of an open-air vestibule leading from the east into an open-air cella 10.5m long and 5.5m wide. The cella is surrounded on three sides by corridors, the north and south sections of which lead into sacristies. The vestibule is also flanked by two independent chambers, perhaps also serving as sacristies. On the whole, the plan and design of the temple is reminiscent of the temple hors les murs found at Ai Khanoum. In the passageway between the vestibule and cella is a fresco of the twin gods, the Dioscouri. They are naked, except for a cape which hangs on their backs from their shoulders. Their flesh is painted red (according to Greek convention) and the figures are painted on a pink and white background, which also depicts the outline of white horses behind each of the Dioscouri. Above this scene is a wrestling one, smaller in scale, but with figures displaying powerful movements. The workmanship of these figures is also typically Greek and does not hint at any form of syncretism with native styles.

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59 Kruglikova 1977: 408.
60 Kruglikova 1977: 410.
61 Boardman 1964b: 166-167.
The Dioscouri were also portrayed on the reverse of coins issued by Eucratides I\(^{62}\), therefore it is thought that this temple was founded under his reign (ca 150 BC). Thus it is apparent that the Dioscouri are another example of Greek deities that were widely popular in central Asia also amongst the non-Greek population, since the temple they were worshipped in, being syncretistic in nature, must have been frequent by both Greeks and non-Greeks.

2.3) Palatial Architecture

A palace was situated in the center of the lower (southern) part of Ai Khanoum and covered an area measuring roughly 350m by 250m. Entry was made from the northern face into a large colonnaded courtyard, which measured 137m by 108m and was lined with 116 stone columns (fig. 9.1). Their profiles were consistent with those of Attic bases, which consisted of the following (with a few variants) from bottom to top: lower torus, fillet, scotia, astragal, upper torus, fillet, caveto, and finally, shaft\(^{63}\). West of this was the treasury, which consisted of storage rooms, in the center of which was a non-colonnaded courtyard. From the large colonnaded courtyard one entered, on its southern side, the hypostyle vestibule adorned with 18 Corinthian columns, three rows deep. From there a monumental doorway led into a large (26m by 16.5m) chamber\(^{64}\), decorated with wooden half-columns (with half-capitals similar to that in fig. 9b) and flanked on the eastern and western sides by rooms used for

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\(^{62}\) Pollitt 1986: 287.

\(^{63}\) Allchin and Hammond 1978: 221.

\(^{64}\) Probably used for reception, or as a Council Hall (bouleuterion), while the vestibule could be easily used as an Assembly Hall. Cf. Bernard 1994b: 110; and Bernard 1976b: 252-253.
administrative purposes. On the southern side of this room was a long corridor which led into the so-called ‘administrative quarter’ which was a large block, approximately 50m by 50m, encircled by a corridor about 3m wide. The block was divided into 4 smaller blocks of equal size, of these the two in the western half were identical in plan, while the two in the eastern half were slightly different from each other, but markedly different from the other two. The latter appear to have been audience halls, because they were decorated with pilasters crowned with painted Corinthian capitals (fig. 10.1), whereas the former appear to have been office rooms. West of this block were the residential sections of the palace, identifiable as such by the presence of forecourts, kitchens, and bathrooms. On the north side was a large colonnaded courtyard, with 60 Doric columns lining its four porticoes, which may have held up a canopy (fig. 8.3).

The colonnaded courtyard, in its decorative use of the columns, the hypostyle vestibule, and the antefixes decorating the roof-edges just above the cornice, were all of Greek conception, while the palace was essentially non-Greek in plan. The use of courtyards surrounded by a corridor or by columns holding up a canopy was found throughout Bactria-Sogdiana in this period.

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65 Bernard 1980: 451. He believes that the dual nature of these chambers must be due to the practice of a joint rule by a king and his son or an associate, possibly a non-Greek satrap. This could also account for the stately maison hors les murs, which could have been a satrapal residence. Audience halls in Mesopotamian buildings were often adorned with pilasters with ornate capitals (with oriental motifs, of course).

66 This is hypothetical in this case, but based on courtyards of a similar type from earlier periods (such as Sapalli-tepe, second-half of the 2nd millennium BC), it is possible that a canopy made of linen or some other textile covered the courtyard to provide shade from the scorching Sun during the summer. Pougatchenkova 1991: 215-216.

The grouping of housing units with administrative and other units is a non-Greek concept as well\textsuperscript{68}.

The antefixes used in 250 BC were of non-Greek execution, as can be seen from their oriental-style palmettes and the somewhat orientalized capitals with a slightly Achaemenid look to them (fig. 10.2), but by 150 BC they were reconstructed completely in Greek fashion\textsuperscript{69}. Nowhere in Greek architecture does one find residential and administrative buildings enclosed within the same structure. Similar architecture is only found in Mesopotamian (Neo-Babylonian) forms adopted by the Achaemenids. The palace of Apadana at Susa provides evidence of the use of neo-Babylonian architecture during Achaemenid times\textsuperscript{70} (fig. 11.1). This architecture continued to be used in Mesopotamia into the mid-3\textsuperscript{rd} century BC as can be seen from the palace at Nippur (fig. 11.2). The plan of the palace is completely unlike the plan of the purely Achaemenid palace at Persepolis\textsuperscript{71}, the former consisting of administrative and juxtaposed residential sections united by long corridors, and the latter with sections given autonomy by variations in the levels on which they were constructed (i.e. 'split-levelled' sections).

As in the temples at Ai Khanoum, the palace walls were constructed in non-Greek fashion using unbaked bricks, with a baked-brick base. The roofs here were flat and made of earth, while stone was reserved for the doorways.

\textsuperscript{68} Pougatchenkova 1991: 451.
\textsuperscript{70} Bernard 1976b: 256.
\textsuperscript{71} The palace at Persepolis makes use of a style peculiar to the Achaemenid Persians.
and the columns. This is an indication of Greek construction, since Greek columns were usually built of solid stone, while the masts or columns (with a wooden core) topped with volutes or palmettes were typical of Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid forms. The capitals too were Greek in style, seeing that Corinthian, Ionic, and Doric capitals were found here. The column bases, on the other hand, were composed of limestone, a characteristic of Achaemenid and neo-Babylonian architecture. A lathe was used to cut the base and drums of the columns. The doorways were certainly of Greek construction, composed of stone blocks laid dry without mortar, tightly fitted by anathyroses and fastened together by metal dowels and cramps sealed by molten lead.

It appears that this palace must have been preferred by the Bactrian Greeks for its efficiency in the use of space, which would have allowed temperatures intermediate between the daytime highs and the night-time lows to be maintained much longer, and thus would have made working and living conditions more comfortable. The use of Greek decor would have been a reminder of home for the colonists, and a simple matter of aesthetics for the later generations. The date for the founding of the palace is uncertain, but it is likely to have been during the reign of Seleucus I, and was in continual use until sometime in the 2nd century BC.

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72 Frankfort 1970: 357.
73 Bernard 1967: 312-316.
2.4) Domestic Architecture

Four complete houses have been excavated at Ai Khanoum: the "maison du quartier sud", found (as the name suggests) in the southern quarter of the city; the "maison hors les murs" 150m from the north rampart; and two more examples of domestic architecture within the palace complex. However, partial remains of as many as fifty mansions have been found south of the palace\textsuperscript{74}. The complete houses proved to be of impressive size, measuring, in the case of the maison hors les murs, 108.5m by 72.5m, and the maison du quartier sud (fig.11.3) measured 65m by 35m. Each of these houses was distinctly different from traditional Greek houses, having a central courtyard, which offset the living-room, to one side and the other rooms, such as the kitchen\textsuperscript{75}, bathroom, and bedrooms, to the other sides. Here, however, each house had a courtyard located in front of it, just under half of the area of the whole house, and all the rooms were centered around the living-room, with which they communicated via a horse-shoe shaped corridor. Thus the living-room served as the focal point of all domestic activity, while the courtyard acted as a precursor to our modern 'front yards'\textsuperscript{76}. A porch with two columns \textit{in antis} adorned the entry from the

\textsuperscript{74} Bernard 1976a: 289-293; Rapin 1990: 339.

\textsuperscript{75} Rapin 1990: 339-340. Many implements of Greek type have been found here, such as double-eared amphorae, plates, imitation kraters, Megarian bowls, grain-mills, and a wine-press. In other parts of the house, ink-pots, loom-weights, lamps, Laconian keys, and sundials have been found. On the other hand, it has also been suggested that the walls were adorned with tapestries in non-Greek fashion, and the floors with carpets, while private furniture was scarce.

\textsuperscript{76} These types of houses were typical of Bactria and not found in the later Indo-Greek cities where Greek-style houses were built, nor in other parts of Western Asia. The houses found in Bactria with a central living room are reminiscent of Megaron-type houses of the Mycenean period, but the latter were not surrounded by ancillary rooms such as the bathrooms and kitchen. Some houses at Priene, Larissa, and Colophon are also of the megaron-type, but, again, that is the only resemblance they have. Bernard 1976b: 258-259.
courtyard into the living room. These stone columns, measuring 8m in height and topped with pseudo-Corinthian\textsuperscript{77} capitals, were also, like those found in the palace, hybrid in character. Another interesting Greek architectural feature were the bathrooms. Each bathroom consisted of three or four rooms which successively led from one to the other\textsuperscript{78}. By 150 BC, they were updated by the use of red stucco to plaster the walls, and rather simple mosaics, Mediterranean in theme, depicting a sea monster, some floral figures, and composed of flagstones, covered the floors\textsuperscript{79} (fig. 12.1).

It has been suggested that the centralisation of the living room was a sign that the stratification of society reached all facets of community life\textsuperscript{80}. The authority of the \textit{paterfamilias} or 'master of the house' had increased\textsuperscript{81}, maybe as a result of the manner in which local non-Greek families were organised. The Greeks could have adopted it either through inter-marriage or simply as a means to establish greater order in their lives in reaction to being in an unstable region of the world. The presence of royal boxes\textsuperscript{82} set halfway up the tiers in the

\textsuperscript{77} Pseudo-Corinthian columns originated in Seleucid Syria, and 'pseudo' because they look like Corinthian columns, but this may be due to their origin being non-Greek - \textit{i.e.} by adornment of Achaemenid volute and palmette capitals with acanthus designs. Allchin and Hammond 1978: 221.

\textsuperscript{78} The first was the dressing room, measuring 4m by 5.4m, followed by a rinsing or showering room of the same dimensions, then by a warm water room, 4m by 2.3m, and finally the hot water bath, 4m by 2.3m. This seems to be a precursor of the Roman baths. Bernard 1994b: 113-114. The bath at Gortys may be a parallel from the Greek world. Yegul 1992: 26-27. It has two large circular rooms surrounded by spaces for secondary use, such as a waiting and dressing room, and service rooms to house the furnace, boiler, and reservoir.

\textsuperscript{79} Bernard 1974a: 289f.

\textsuperscript{80} Rapin 1990: 339-340.

\textsuperscript{81} Bernard 1994b: 114.

\textsuperscript{82} A section was discovered in which the seats, because of their deluxe nature, were clearly intended for individuals of a higher social status. These individuals must have been associated with the king or satrap.
theater, atypical of Greek theaters, lends further evidence of a societal stratification of the population of Ai Khanoum.

It is not known where these forms of domestic architecture originated, but one suggestion is that they might be Achaemenid. The Harem of Xerxes in the palace at Persepolis had a similar layout, such as the centralised living-room, and the peripheral bedrooms laid out in a horse-shoe pattern around it (fig. 12.2). There is also a colonnaded fore-court, but the fact that there is no kitchen, or bathroom, makes the possibility of an Achaemenid origin questionable.

In summary, it can be seen quite clearly that various architectural forms were indeed syncretistic in nature. Each of the temples, namely the temple à redans, the temple hors les murs, the temple of the Oxus, and the temple of the Dioscouri combined Greek and non-Greek construction despite having an edifice in the vicinity as a model of the Greek temple type, the mausoleum. The fortifications at both Ai Khanoum, and Takht-i-Sangin also hint at the blending of traditions, as does the palace at Ai Khanoum, which has a non-Greek monumental nature and plan, but with Greek trappings. Even the private life of the inhabitants was touched by the process, as seen in the baths, a very Greek feature, juxtaposed with the non-Greek central living room. It remains to be seen whether this was true also of the art, which is the subject of the next chapter.

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83 Bernard 1976b: 261. He suggests that the harem escaped the fire set by Alexander at Persepolis, and that Greeks passing through here over the years might have tried to emulate the elegance of the place.
3) Sculpture and Minor Arts

The sites that will be considered here, once again, are Ai Khanoum and Takht-i-Sangin, both of which provide ample evidence of *objets d'art* of Greek conception with non-Greek execution, and *vice versa*. As before the period under consideration will be ca 250 BC, with occasional references to 150 BC. Evidence of this sort must be considered with some caution, however, since not all objects can be determined with certainty to have been fabricated in the locality in which they were found. Greek art was highly prized for its elegance and was thus a favored item of import. Items of hybrid nature were less likely to have been imported, but even if they were, their presence would indicate that they were indeed *desired* and that there was a market for them in Bactria-Sogdiana.

Four examples of syncretistic art found at Ai Khanoum will be discussed first, followed by purely Greek and non-Greek specimens. These, in turn, will be followed by examples of *phalerae*¹ found in the Oxus Treasure as further evidence of syncretism, and finally by five more items, to further illuminate the process, from Takht-i-Sangin.

3.1) Ai Khanoum

a) the Cybele Medallion

A silver-gilded medallion of Cybele was found in the southern sacristy (no.2) of the temple à *redans*² (fig.13.1). It was buried as a votive offering 40 cm

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¹ These were perhaps used to adorn the harnesses of horses.
below the ground against the external part of the southern wall between two large earthen-ware jars also buried as votive offerings. The medallion is a circular disc 25 cm in diameter and varying between 1 and 2 mm in thickness. It appears to have been nailed to a wooden board, judging by some of the holes at the edges and, judging from the fragmentation along these same outer edges, it must have been violently torn from its support\(^3\). It is considered to be an oscillum\(^4\), which was suspended in the temple à redans. It is dated to the mid-3\(^{rd}\) century BC, and thought to be an import from Syria.

On the medallion Cybele is depicted in \(\frac{3}{4}\) view, with her body turned towards the back, on an 8-spoked chariot drawn over mountainous terrain\(^5\) by a pair of lions (which customarily accompany Cybele, either being carried by her, or escorting her\(^6\) [fig. 14a]). A female figure slightly smaller than Cybele, standing on the chariot directly in front of her, is Nike, judging by the presence of a wing over her left shoulder (the other wing is hidden behind Cybele). Nike

\(^3\) Bernard 1970: 339-340. A later inhabitant, possibly during the latter stages of Ai Khanoum's existence as a Greek polis, and quite possibly an invader, could have seen this as a item worth looting, in which case it would not have been buried as a votive offering, but came to lie between the earthenware jars by chance when the looter buried it as a measure to hide it.

\(^4\) Hellenistic oscilla were metal or stone discs adorned with religious motifs, suspended in sanctuaries and private dwellings either as apotropaic devices or to invoke the favor of the god/goddess which were depicted on them.

\(^5\) The mountains were a favorite abode of Cybele, who was often called the Mountain Mother (\textit{meter oreia}), in addition to her other appellations, such as Great Mother, and Idaean Mother. One legend tells of her being exposed in the mountains as an infant, where forest creatures suckled her. Cf. OCD 1996: 416-417.

\(^6\) She could not be one of the two Central Asian goddesses, Nana or Anahita, for the following reasons. Nana, although often accompanied by a lion, is usually depicted with 4 arms, and never on a chariot, whereas Anahita is always accompanied by horses (usually four) and never with lions. Bernard 1970: 341-343. Cybele was first depicted in a similar manner on the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi. She was also usually, as here, depicted with a crown with rising turrets. The votive relief to Cybele and Attis (ca 100 BC) is an example. Havelock 1971: 218. Also consider the Cybele from the Bronze group of Cybele (found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), being drawn by 2 lions on an 8-spoked, but 4-wheeled chariot. Green 1990: 591.
holds the reins and is obviously intended in Hellenistic fashion as 'she who leads to victory'. Standing on the ground behind the chariot is a priest, who holds a parasol over the goddess, shading her from the sun in the sky. Perhaps this represents Helios, portrayed as the bust of a young man wearing a chlamys, whose head is surrounded by a golden corona and turned in 3/4 view towards Cybele. Helios is accompanied by the crescent moon (Selene) and a star (possibly Eos as the morning star). Another priest stands on a three-stepped altar before the chariot, dressed in a long robe and wearing a conical cap. He appears to be making a votive offering of pieces of incense on a small pyre.

This medallion is clearly syncretistic in conception. Nike, as mentioned, was often represented by artists during the Hellenistic Period on coins and in sculpture, but she was also depicted in art during the early Classical Period (fig. 14.2). The fact that she appears on this medallion indicates that either she was adopted by the Achaemenids or Mesopotamians at some point in time, or that the individual who fashioned this must have been Greek, or at least a hellenized non-Greek. The portrayal of Cybele and her attending priests, on the other hand, was a non-Greek practice adopted by the Hellenistic Greeks, particularly in Asia Minor and in Syria. Cybele wears a long cloak in Greek

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7 There were many priests, the korybantes or galli, in Cybele’s service. These were eunuchs, who had mutilated themselves to be initiated, in a terrestrial re-enactment of the self-mutilation of Attis, her lover. Tripp 1970: 179-180.

8 She is depicted on the prow of a ship on the reverse side of a coin in honor of Demetrius Poliorcetes (on the obverse). Cf. Green 1990: 30.

9 The famous Winged Victory of Samothrace is an example. Green 1990: 108.

10 She was represented in the great work of Exekias (550 BC) handling the reins of four horses in a chariot. Seltman 1960:46, pl.36b.

11 She arose in Phrygia, and became an important deity imported later into the Roman religion, in one of the many cults of foreign origin practiced in the Empire. OCD 1996: 416-417.
fashion. The way Helios is represented is reminiscent of the portrait of Alexander as Helios (ca 200-150 BC)\(^{12}\) (fig. 14.3). Alexander was popularly represented as the Sun-god during this period, by his non-Greek devotees, a taste which the Hellenistic Greeks no doubt acquired. Whether or not, however, Helios is really meant to be represented as the deified Alexander, he is indeed represented anthropomorphically as in the Gigantomachy frieze on the Altar of Zeus at Pergamon\(^{13}\) (fig. 14.4) on which he, along with Selene, and Eos are depicted battling the giants on the side of the Olympian gods. Nike is depicted on this frieze as well, which invites the supposition that the medallion was intended to represent deities identifiable in everyday life\(^{14}\), and which worshippers could readily invoke, namely Cybele as the Great Mother Earth, Nike the personification of Victory, Helios the Sun, Selene the Moon, and Eos, the morning star.

Despite the fact that there is an attempt at depicting some of the images in ¾ view, such as that of Cybele, and the offsetting of Nike and Helios to the right, the general treatment of the subject matter is in a non-Greek manner, typical of the Achaemenid\(^{15}\) and Mesopotamian traditions, to represent the subject in profile. A pre-Alexandrian coin from Sidon depicts something similar (fig. 13.2): a charioteer directing an 8-spoked chariot pulled by four horses,

\(^{12}\) Pollitt 1986: 209.
\(^{13}\) Pollitt 1986: 29.
\(^{14}\) Deities associated with astronomical objects, such as the Sun, the moon, earth, etc. were obviously visible on a daily basis and may have been more accepted than the more abstract Olympian gods.
\(^{15}\) As seen on the friezes at Persepolis. Frankfort 1970: 371.
carrying a statue of Baal, behind which follows an attendant carrying an incense dispenser\textsuperscript{16}. The motif is strikingly similar, but the transformation of some of these characters into those acceptable to the Hellenistic mind has altered the \textit{intention} of the work. On the Cybele medallion, the chariot still moves with the same thunderous clatter of hooves and pavement-crushing rotation of wheels, but the entities have been replaced with Hellenistic ones. The three-stepped platform, reminiscent of the one on which the temple \textit{a redans}\textsuperscript{17} was situated, was yet another syncretistic feature on this \textit{objet d'art}.

\textbf{b) Scaraboid of Chalcedony}

A very well preserved white chalcedony scaraboid, oval in shape, was found near the entrance of the cella of the temple \textit{a redans}. It has been dated to the first half of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BC\textsuperscript{18}. It depicts a dog with muscles tensed and about to pounce on its prey (fig. 16.1). The craftsmanship of the scaraboid is magnificent, and has a resemblance to the gems and impressions of Graeco-Achaemenid seals found in the Bhir Mound at Taxila\textsuperscript{19} (fig. 16.2). The tenseness of the muscles is reminiscent of the ripples in the flesh of a bull on an Achaemenid cylinder seal\textsuperscript{20} (fig. 16.3).

\textsuperscript{16} Bernard 1970: 341.
\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Cf.} section 2.2. A syncretistic deity was believed to have been worshipped in this temple.
\textsuperscript{18} Bernard 1969: 346-348.
\textsuperscript{19} Taxila, Panjab, dated to \textit{ca} 300 BC. Wheeler 1968: 91.
\textsuperscript{20} Frankfort 1970: 374.
It is likely that this dog was a hunting dog\textsuperscript{21}, of the same breed as that found in black marble at Persepolis\textsuperscript{22} (fig. 16.4), being a common subject of Mesopotamian and particularly, Achaemenid art. Additionally, it was uncommon for an animal to be portrayed in Greek art without an accompanying human figure. Such use of solitary animals in art was an Achaemenid and Scythian phenomenon. Thus it is likely that this scaraboid was a work either local or imported from Western Asia, with Greek use of movement, realism, and a material quite often used by Greeks, chalcedony, but with a non-Greek motif, further evidence that the Greeks did not abstain from a pastime favored by their former enemies and one of the pursuits Alexander adopted when he proclaimed himself king, the hunt.

\textbf{c) Bilingual Coin of Agathocles}

Numismatics had been the most valuable tool for many decades for the purpose of sorting out the convoluted history of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom. However, due to lack of space, only the artistic value of some Graeco-Bactrian coins can be quantified here. In general, coins were based on a silver standard\textsuperscript{23} much like that of the Seleucids, from which it originated. Bronze coins too were issued for minor purchases. The portrait of the king was engraved on the obverse (see fig.17c as an example), the fine quality of which had impressed

\textsuperscript{21} Hunting dogs were first used by the Egyptians, followed by the Mesopotamians, Persians, and even by the Greeks (hence the verb ΚΥΝΙΤΕΣΑΙΩ). This dog looks like it belongs to some breed of greyhound from the physique of the body and its short hairs, but the head is too large.

\textsuperscript{22} Ghirshman 1954: pl.21a.

\textsuperscript{23} Graeco-Bactrian coins: Drachm weight=4.4g; Tetradrachm weight=17.5g. Indo-Greek coins: Drachm weight=2.4g; Tetradrachm weight=9.8g. Bernard 1994b: 126.
scholars into thinking that these rulers, as a whole, must have been more intent on maintaining their purity than any king of the other Hellenistic kingdoms, while a Greek divinity was depicted on the reverse. There are a few cases, however, where the Greek divinity was replaced by an Indian one, which hint at there having been no rule, spoken or otherwise, that the Greek kings could only use Greek motifs and symbols on their coins.

Six square silver coins of Agathocles (180-170 BC) (similar to those of Pantaleon) were found in the so-called "1970 Hoard" from Ai Khanoum. They have bilingual inscriptions, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ 'ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ on the obverse with a non-Greek figure instead of the usual portrait of the king, while on the reverse there is another non-Greek image with a Prakrit inscription in Brahmi script, Rajane Akathukreyasa (fig. 17.1). Both personages are presented wearing identical items of clothing, shorts (dhoti) covering the thighs and knees, the shawl (uttariya) hangs from the shoulders and upper arms over the back down to the waist, leaving the chest bare, but hiding the hilt of a sword it contains. On their feet they wear a pair of buskins that curve up at the toes. Each also wears a pair

24 Tarn 1951: 126.
25 Green 1990: 739.
26 Head 1967: 837. Some coins of Pantaleon were also square in shape, a typical feature of Indian coins.
27 Guillaume 1991: 80-103. There was also a "1973 Hoard" from Ai Khanoum, and two other Bactrian hoards, the "Qunduz Hoard" and the "Mir Zakah Hoard".
28 The usual language was Kharosthi, a modified form of the Aramaic script. Brahmi was used predominantly southeast of the Panjab, although there were some enclaves in the Paropamisadae where this script was favored. Tarn 1951: 162; it is possible that Agathocles had contacts with Indian populations beyond the territories normally attributed to him. Bernard 1971: 443-446.
29 Allchin and Hammond 1978: 208-209; Bernard 1971: 439-441. Rajane Akathukreyasa is simply a translation of "King Agathocles".
30 Cf. Arrian, Indica, 16.11-55, for a description of Indian clothing and dressing habits.
of large ear-rings and on the head a skullcap with ribbons drooping towards the sides and hoops at the ends. On the apex of the cap is an egret similar to that found on Greek war helmets, particularly of the Corinthian type\textsuperscript{31} (fig. 17.2), but in a transverse direction. Such a head-dress is not found in Indian tradition, and is therefore thought to be a local Bactrian variant\textsuperscript{32}. The two figures differ in their other attributes, however, all of which appear to be Indian implements. The figure on the obverse holds a pestle (\textit{musala}), or a small club (\textit{gada}), in his right hand, and a z-shaped hook held at its center by means of a bar, probably a plough, in his left. The figure on the reverse holds a spoked-wheel with spur-like projections (\textit{cakra}), as well as a wand-like object (\textit{mandala}).

It is not known for certain whom the two individuals represent. They may both be Agathocles himself, but in the guise of a \textit{cakravartin}\textsuperscript{33}, although such a figure is not usually portrayed holding any of the items mentioned above except for the wheel. The most likely explanation is that they are both Indian deities (a few of the most ancient images in existence), probably Sankarshana\textsuperscript{34} on the obverse and his younger brother Vasudeva Krishna on the reverse. They are represented in accordance with Indian conventions, with a frontal, rigid pose, feet turned outward, and with bending of the limbs as a feeble attempt to impart

\textsuperscript{31} Snodgrass 1979: 51-52.
\textsuperscript{32} Bernard 1971: 441.
\textsuperscript{33} The \textit{cakra} was the Indian symbol for the Sun. It was a mythical weapon used to destroy demons, and was believed never to miss its mark. The \textit{cakravarti} was the "wielder of the wheel", with the wheel representing not only the weapon described above, but also the wheel representing the whole world. The \textit{cakravarti} was thus considered the conqueror of the world, a role often associated with the Buddha. Knappert 1991: 65.
\textsuperscript{34} Samkarshana was the "Ploughman", also known as \textit{Balarama} who was often represented as a "Plough Carrier" (\textit{halabhrt}). Guillaume 1991: 81-85.
a sense of motion to the figure\textsuperscript{35}. In addition, the clothing seems starched, without the effect of realism having been imparted to the pleating, all of which signifies that, despite being a coin issued at a Greek mint under a Greek ruler\textsuperscript{36}, it is Indian not only in shape, but in overall essence, and was probably engraved by an Indian artist.

Agathocles may have minted these \textit{Indianized} coins as a gesture of deference to the non-Greek population which he ruled. At the same time, however, he may have legitimised such a coin to his Greek populace by associating Vasudeva-Krishna (on the reverse), the gallant fighter and slayer of monsters, with Heracles\textsuperscript{37}, who, as we shall see, figured prominently also on the reverse sides of Graeco-Bactrian coins.

\textit{Examples of Greek art without non-Greek influences:}

\textbf{d) Hermaic Pillar}

A limestone statue of Hermes was discovered in the gymnasium near the entrance\textsuperscript{38}. It has been dated to the mid-2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC. The bearded head of the statue (fig. 15.1), which had fallen off in antiquity, is crowned with a diadem, while the right arm is covered with a cloak which is pleated over the chest (fig.15.2). The left arm protrudes from the cloak, probably holding a caduceus

\textsuperscript{35} Cf. Coomaraswamy 1956: \textit{passim}, for examples of frontal poses, and other similarities, from Indian art.

\textsuperscript{36} The probable mint for this coin is Taxila, while it was intended to circulate throughout Bactria and Gandhara not further east than the Jhelum. Guillaume 1991: 92-96.


\textsuperscript{38} Bernard 1967: 319-321.
which has been lost. This statue was used as a hermaic pillar and was without
doubt intended to assure protection to the gateway. A similar copy of a herm by
Alkamenes from Pergamum, but made of a marble pillar (430-420 BC), attests
to this, since the head and beard have a similar coiffure, with many ringlets and
fullness of the beard (fig. 15.3). The body of the former lacks the realism typical
of Hellenistic sculpture, but is in keeping with the simple, symbolic, and frontal
style one finds on herms. It lacks a phallus, but this is not unusual particularly for
herms from the Late Classical Period.

e) Bronze Statuette of Heracles

A bronze statuette of a beardless Heracles, identified by an inscription and by the club held in the left hand, portrays Heracles wearing a wreath on
his head (fig. 18.1). It was found near the entrance to the gymnasium located
adjacent to the west rampart. It is difficult to fix a date for it, but it must have
been in existence at about the time the gymnasium was founded, sometime in
the mid-3rd century BC. The left ankle appears to have had a defect, which was
repaired sufficiently to allow it to stand. The statuette appears to be the work of a

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39 Hermes was the patron god of wayfarers, and merchants, and protected roads and gateways. Pollitt 1986: 181-182.
41 Boardman 1995: 72-73.
42 "Triballos and Stratons, the sons of Stratons, (dedicate this gymnasium) to Hermes and
Heracles": Τριβαλλος και Στρατων Στρατωνος Έρμεῑ Ηρακλεῑ. It was engraved on a rectangular
pillar of white limestone (89cm by 48cm by 43cm with letter heights about 2cm). Robert 1968:
417-418.
43 Heracles was often represented in sculpture holding a club, such as in the copy of one of the
originals of Myron's group of Heracles, Athena and Zeus on Samos (450-440 BC). He is depicted
reclining on a club. Also on the metopes from Temple of Zeus at Olympia, his twelve labors are
represented, in four of which he is holding a club. Boardman 1991: 46, 88.
45 Robert 1968: 420. According to Robert the range of dates was 281-260 BC.
relative novice, of someone who was familiar with the works of the masters such as Lysippos, but not having had formal instruction. Features that are not a result of weathering or the ravages of time, such as the lack of proportion of the size and thickness of the two arms, especially of the upper arms, the overly thick right ankle, the way the legs have not been completely separated just under the groin. These aspects give the appearance of an attempt to copy some pre-existing statue, whereby the above mentioned features resulted from imprecision in copying, or from unfamiliarity with proper casting techniques. This statuette does appear to have a resemblance to the statuette of Alexander, a copy of a Lysippan original (ca 330-325 BC) (fig. 18.2), when considering the posture of the latter - the turn of the neck, aspiring glance, slight lean on one leg, one arm raised (probably holding a lance), and the other with palm open.

Alexander was often considered a kind of historical Heracles, and many of the attributes given to Heracles (a divinity popular in Alexander’s patris gaia, Macedonia) were later applied to Alexander, so it would have been easy, and perhaps appropriate, to use a statuette of Alexander as a basis for fashioning one of Heracles, who was becoming a very popular figure in Western and Central Asia.

Numerous examples of Heracles in a similar pose, crowning himself and

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46 0.17m in height. Pollitt 1986: 22.
47 Pollitt 1986: 20. Owing to his great aspirations and deeds of valor, his storming of insuperable obstacles and fighting the foe single-handed, he was equated with Heracles almost as often as he was considered Zeus on earth. Consider the painting of Alexander as Zeus Keraunophoros (holding a thunderbolt) in the painting in the House of the Vetii, Pompeii (possibly based on an Apelles’ original) (1st century AD).
holding a club and lion's skin have been found, including on coins in Bactria during the reigns of Demetrius I (200-190 BC)\(^{48}\) (fig. 18.3), and the Indo-Greek kings Lysias (120-110 BC)\(^{49}\) (fig. 18.4), and Theophilos (?-85 BC)\(^{50}\). Such is also the case on tetradrachms issued under the name of Euthydemus II (the son of Demetrius I, reigned ca 190 BC?). The lion's skin on this statuette is missing. Perhaps it disintegrated over time. There is no doubt that this must have been held in the left hand of the statuette, since, in the way the club is held by the last two fingers, and the way the forefinger seems to be dangling, something appears to be missing.

Lions were commonly depicted in Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid art, but more often than not as victims of lion-hunts\(^{51}\). They were also present in Greek art at Mycenae, for example, all the way through the Classical Period, such as in the cases where Heracles slays the Nemean lion and as gargoyle-type figures on fountain-spouts\(^{52}\). During the Hellenistic Period, when Alexander conquered the Persian Empire, he took part in lion hunts not simply as an adoption of the Achaemenid custom as the new "King of Asia", but

\(^{48}\) Guillaume 1991: 40-43, 125-127, pl.x. Also consider the bronze statuette of the nude Heracles-Nergal (0.17m high) (2\(^{nd}\) century AD) holding a club and lion's skin found in the Parthian temple of Ashur-Baal at Hatra. Colledge 1967: 124.

\(^{49}\) Allchin and Hammond 1978: 206.

\(^{50}\) Green 1990: 739. Cf. the genealogy (5) of the Greek Indo-Bactrian Kings; for numismatic information on this coin, cf. Head 1967: 840.


\(^{52}\) Wycherley 1962: 208.
also to display his bravery to his men. He was also said to have tackled a lion of enormous size near Maracanda, when he pushed aside Lysimachus and stepped forth in the manner of Heracles and slew the monster with a single blow. Thus the Alexander-Heracles duality came to be worshipped with much zeal also by non-Greek inhabitants of Central and Western Asia, who came to regard him as the last of the Achaemenid kings.

An example of non-Greek sculpture without Hellenistic influences:

f) Bone Figurine of a Yakshi

A bone figurine representing a nude female set atop a small pedestal, was found with its arms broken off near the elbows (fig. 19.1). It may be the voluptuous figure of a local fertility goddess judging by its style. It has no apparent Greek influence, but is interesting nevertheless since it indicates that purely non-Greek religions in addition to the Greek, and Greek/non-Greek syncretistic ones were practised here.

It has many folds in the skin caused by thick layers of adipose tissue,

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53 Plutarch, *Alexander*, 40.41-44. Ἐπείτεινεν οὖν ἢ τι μᾶλλον αὐτὸς ἑαυτόν, ἐν ταῖς στρατεύσισι καὶ τοῖς κυνηγεσίσι κυκοπάθει καὶ παραβαλλόμενος, διότι καὶ Λικόνα πρεσβεύην, παραγενόμενον αὐτῷ λέοντα καταβάλλοντι μεγάν. And so he himself extended himself even more, by applying himself and suffering hardships by campaigning and in hunting expeditions, so that the Laconian ambassador, happened to be standing by him overcoming a huge lion...


55 This worship continued into Sassanian and later Iranian traditions, manifested in the myth of Iskandar. The legend and prestige of Alexander grew so great that most people of Western and Central Asia regarded Alexander not as a Macedonian/Greek but as a Persian, the son of Olympias not by Philip II, but by Artaxerxes III. Canfield 1991: 46.

56 Bernard 1968: 302-305. Unfortunately, Bernard has not indicated where in the city it was found, nor has he given a date for it. He simply placed it under the category of *trouvailles diverses*. 
most notably above and below the navel, and around the neck. This, along with
the wide hips, large breasts, and pose, resembles the sandstone Dadarganj
Yakshi (ca 3\textsuperscript{rd}-2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC), a forest deity\textsuperscript{57}, found near Pataliputra of the
Mauryan Empire\textsuperscript{58} (fig. 19.2). It may very well be possible that this goddess was
a Yakshi, carved by a local inhabitant or imported from neighboring Gandhara,
perhaps even brought back by a traveller as an exotic souvenir. In either case, it
was present in Ai Khanoum because it was desired by one or more of the
inhabitants.

3.2) The Oxus Treasure

The Oxus Treasure was found in 1877 at Takht-i-Khawadh (five
kilometers downstream from Takht-i-Sangin) near Kunduz along the south bank
of the Kafiringan River near its confluence with the Oxus. It was an amazing
hoard of 180 mostly gold, and some silver, objects, and may have been a
collection of votive offerings from the Temple of Anahita, which was known to
have stood on the left bank of the Oxus near Bactra\textsuperscript{59}. The items are of various
dates, ranging from the mid-6\textsuperscript{th} to mid-2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC, with most belonging to the
Achaemenid Period. The presence of some items from the Hellenistic Period are

\textsuperscript{57} Yakshis were female forest-dwelling deities who seduced wayfarers. They were often sculpted

\textsuperscript{58} Allchin 1995: 258-259.

\textsuperscript{59} Ghirshman 1954: 228. This, and the other temples of Anahita and Nanaia, were plundered by
Antiochus III and Antiochus IV, since as far as they were concerned, each king was Zeus
incarnate and the consort of the goddess, wherefore he could demand the hoard as a dowry (cf.
section 1.2e).
worthy of attention for their syncretistic features, namely, a pair of disk-shaped silver horse-trappings, which were a specialty of the Bactrian Greeks.\(^6\)

**a) Silver Phalerae**

Some interesting *phalerae* which were perhaps displayed on the harnesses of horses were found amongst the Oxus Treasure. These consisted of a historic or artistic scene depicted on a circular silver plate measuring ca 40cm in diameter. One depicts in profile and in relief an Indian elephant stomping towards the left, carrying a mahout and a war tower, in which two individuals can be seen, probably both Bactrian Greeks (fig. 20.1). The man facing directly ahead is wearing a *petasos*, the Macedonian broad hat, with a tuft of some sort protruding from the top. He holds a spear which points upward slightly off the vertical. He may be a Bactrian king, perhaps Eucratides I (170-155BC), but this is uncertain. Behind him is an attendant with thick locks of hair facing the king's left (i.e. out from the phalera) and also holding a spear. The mahout is sleeveless, wearing a turban-type head-dress, and appears to be holding a small dog. The whole scene is surrounded by a rope, around which are holes and the remains of rivets which fastened the whole disk to the harness. The resemblance of the 'king' to portraits on coins, and the similarity of the elephant-war tower motif to that of the terracotta statuette from Myrina\(^6\) (fig. 20.2), along with its fluidity of movement, is convincing that this phalera is wholly

\(^6\) Barnett 1968: 48-49.

\(^6\) Cf. the portrait on one of his coins, from Narain 1957: pl.2.1.

\(^6\) Green 1990: 140.
Greek in style. This can be used as a type of ‘control’ when discussing the next phalera, and would result in the deduction that the second phalera could not have been made outside of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom owing to the similarity of the characteristics of both phalerae in all aspects except in theme.

The second phalera is also a round silver plate with the same diameter, finished with a trim and revealing the remains of rivets. A griffin is depicted in profile and in relief (fig. 20.3). Detail was meticulously engraved into the wings, but this does not achieve its intended effect of imparting realism since only one of these can be seen (the other must be directly behind the first, which is an anatomically unlikely position). The mythical monster has been stretched so that its body would serve the same stylistic purpose the rope did in the first phalera. The anterior portion of the creature has been pulled to the back so that it would face its posterior. The stretching gives the griffin more of a caricature-like appearance than that of a beast to be feared. The bodies of animals were stretched in such a manner in Scythian art as a standard practice in the fashioning of bracelets and torcs out of gold and silver\textsuperscript{63} (fig. 20.4). Griffins along with panthers, lions, horses, and antlered animals were commonly found in the predominantly animal-oriented style of Scythian art, while griffins were relatively rare in Greek art, though where they do appear they are represented far more realistically\textsuperscript{64} than the griffin found on this phalera.

\textsuperscript{63} Schiltz 1994: 326-327.

\textsuperscript{64} Griffins appear on a bronze cauldron found at Olympia (7\textsuperscript{th} century BC) as handles. Boardman 1978: 12; but they are usually found in relief in the same manner as they appear in Mesopotamian art. Frankfort 1970: 263-264, 297.
3.3) Takht-i-Sangin

Numerous items from the Achaemenid and Hellenistic Periods were found in the Temple of the Oxus, owing to their being concealed during the 1st century BC and also during the 1st century AD in far corners of passages and in gaps behind walls (favissae) and then covered with debris. These have been labelled "Votive Stores" and numbered in the order that they were found. The dates for these items were determined on stylistic grounds.

a) Dedication to the Oxus

A stone altar supporting a bronze figure playing a double flute was found in Votive Store No. 4, at the blind end of Corridor No. 2. There is a Greek inscription on the altar base which reads:

Εὖχήν ᾧ ἀνέβηκεν ὁ Ἀτροσώκης ὁ Ὀξύς

"Atrosokes has dedicated (his) vow to the Oxus"

It has been assigned to the mid-2nd century BC by comparisons with monumental inscriptions of the 3rd century, and with financial ostraka found at Ai Khanoum65 (ch.4).

The bronze figure was cast in one with the pedestal, which was fitted into a recess in the stone altar and fixed with molten lead (fig. 21.1). He appears to be the satyr Marsyas66, who was adept at playing the double flute. With his arms

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66 According to legend, Marsyas was a Phrygian satyr who found a double flute, thrown away by Athena since it distorted her face whenever she played it, and who became a virtuoso. He became too proud, however, and challenged Apollo to a contest. Apollo, of course, won, and had Marsyas flayed alive. Ovid, Metamorphosis, 6.382-400. Satyrs generally were renowned for their musical abilities, but Marsyas was the one most adept at piping. For this reason, along with his association with a river, the satyr in question can only be Marsyas.
bent he holds the flute with both hands, his cheeks swollen as he blows into it. Lines of effort and concentration mark the forehead, as he slowly strolls along slowly, judging by the slight advancement of his left foot. His head is virtually a caricature: large, almost bald, and shocks of long hair emanate from the occipital and parietal regions. His short, broad beard is quite a contrast to the full one, streaking down in dark waves, found on one of the statues of the famous baroque style 'Marsyas Group' (ca. 200-150 BC)⁶⁷ (fig. 21.2). His body too is quite different. Here he has a pot belly, sagging breasts, and narrow shoulders, as compared to the lean and muscular figure of the baroque statue. The sculptor, undoubtedly Greek, of this bronze figure opted to depict the elderly Marsyas (who escaped flaying) for his sage-like qualities, perhaps as the wise (and crude) Silenos.

Marsyas was considered a divine figure with the ability to marshal with his flutes a river to the aid of whoever invoked it⁶⁸. For this reason it would be less surprising to find his figure than any other on a dedication to a river, or more precisely, to a river deity, an act which in itself was unusual. The altar must have been set up within the temple dedicated to the Oxus (dubbed the Temple of the Oxus), since, in keeping with Greek custom votive offerings were usually made within the temenos or elsewhere on the territory of the temple. What is surprising to some scholars is that this Greek dedication was made by an individual with a

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⁶⁸ According to Pausanias (Description Graecae, 10.30.9) the flute floated down the river Marsyas and into the Maeander, then into the Asopus. It was claimed to have brought the waters of his river to the aid of the Phrygians in war.
Bactrian name, *Atrosokes*, derived from Avestan, meaning 'firebrand'. Historical sources do not provide any clues to who this person was, nor can it be surmised whether he was a priest or a wealthy citizen, but it can be inferred that he was a devout follower of a religion that was of non-Greek origin but that had Greek and non-Greek patronage. The fact that the inscription is written in Greek indicates that non-Greek Bactrians were educated to some extent in Greek. Thus this single inscription clearly gives evidence of the spread of Greek language and script, at the very least, amongst the Bactrian (Eastern Iranian) aristocracy and priesthood, since the priests would have had to understand the meaning of this dedication.

b) Heads in Clay and Alabaster

A few fragmented heads sculpted in clay and alabaster of various styles were found in Votive Store No. 4 of the Temple of the Oxus and also at Ai Khanoum. The clay of which they were composed was very fragile, leading to the conclusion that they must have been made locally, since they would not have survived transport. The most remarkable feature of these heads is that owing to their fragmentation a framework of wood was discerned on which the clay was molded with thin lead wires fastened to it to enhance the grip. This

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70 The Greeks worshipped river gods, but these were always personified, usually as human males, or sometimes as bulls or snakes. There is no evidence of a statue representing the Oxus having been erected in the temple at Takht-i-Sangin. While it is possible that if it existed, it may have been plundered, but this is not likely since it would have been buried along with the other 'treasures', which obviously escaped looting.

71 There was no written Bactrian language. In order to accommodate for this, much of Bactrian was transliterated into Aramaic script, as will be seen in chapter 4.

method allowed a more personal style to be developed and is one of the most important reasons why the heads that have been discovered are so different in their respective styles. This technique came to be used widely in later Gandharan art\textsuperscript{73}.

i) Portrait of a Hellenistic Prince

One of the finds from Votive Store No. 4 was a portrait of a beardless young man wearing a diadem and fashioned out of yellow-brown clay, the smoothness of which was interrupted by sand and limestone particles\textsuperscript{74} (fig.21.3). It was half of the size of a real head and multicolored, as attested by the blue-black wavy hair and the pink fillet which was wrapped around it, as well as by the dark paint which delineated the pupils. The deep-set eyes and the straight eyebrows, which outlined the upper arc of the eye socket, contrasted well with the other features of the face which were generally soft, such as the smooth contours of the nose, and the ringlets of hair which fell along the sides. The workmanship was unmistakably Greek, executed by a sculptor familiar with the tradition of some of the great 3\textsuperscript{rd} century Pergamene portraits\textsuperscript{75} (fig. 21.4). Based on such comparisons, this portrait has been dated to the mid- to late 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BC, and might be that of a Hellenistic prince.

ii) Portrait of a Seleucid King

Another head of similar workmanship that was found in Votive Store No.4,

\textsuperscript{74} Pichikyan and Litvinskiy 1981: 155.
\textsuperscript{75} The workmanship of this portrait is similar to that of the marble portrait of Attalos I (ca 200 BC) found in Pergamon. Poliitt 1986: 34.
fashioned of clay and alabaster, made use of a similar framework of wood (fig. 22.1). The individual is depicted wearing a fillet over dark hair, which hangs over the forehead in loose curls and appears to be parted at a point just behind the apex of the head. The thick neck, arched nose and strong chin give the impression of a powerful man. The eyes are deep set and eyebrows slight. It has been tentatively identified as the portrait of Seleucus I Nikator\textsuperscript{76} (fig. 22.2), and dated to the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century BC, but both of these are guesses.

iii) Portrait of a Local Satrap

A clay and alabaster head with a Bactrian-style head-dress, known as a kyrbasia\textsuperscript{77} (fig. 22.3), was also found in Votive Store No. 4\textsuperscript{78}. The white kyrbasia was originally pointed at the top, but that section is now missing, and flaps came down to cover the ears and the rear half of the head, just as did the Legionnaires’ cap (kepi) worn by the French to accommodate for the desert conditions of Algeria.

The face broadens slightly at the jaw and at the base of the nose the nostrils are somewhat arched, beneath which a wide, centrally parted mustache merges with the thick beard. The beard follows the contours of the face and comes to a point at the bottom. Some realism is achieved by the projection of the beard in relief slightly above the surface of the face. The portrait was a third of the size of a real head, and was multicolored, with a tanned face, black beard, and

\textsuperscript{76} Bernard 1994b: 121.
\textsuperscript{77} First described in Greek sources by Herodotus (Histories, 7.64.1-6).
\textsuperscript{78} Pichikyan and Litvinskiy 1981: 155-156.
moustache, eyebrows, and eyes, and red lips. The general form of the face has been carefully depicted, but the overall effect is not as striking as that of the Greek portraits owing to their use of dramatic power and individualism. It would have been difficult to ascribe this portrait as being that of any one Bactrian, since the facial features are not detailed enough. One can see, however, that this individual must have been a man of power, perhaps even a satrap, judging by his intense gaze, well-cropped beard, and the fact that this portrait even exists; only a man of significant importance would have been fortunate enough to have his likeness sculpted.

The techniques used for this portrait were similar to those used for the portrait of the Hellenistic prince: the molding of clay on a framework, and finished with alabaster on the surface, but the style is non-Greek, an interesting contrast to the Greek style of the former. The date for this has been more difficult to assign, but it is believed to belong to the mid-3rd to 2nd century BC. 79

c) Ivory Water-nymph

In Votive Store No. 3 at the southern end of Passage No. 2 was found the chape of an ivory sheath depicting a water-nymph 80 (fig. 23.1). It had the torso of a woman, the posterior section of a fish with caudal and ventral fins, equine legs, and avian wings. Palmettes have been used to try to smooth the transition from the upper body to the scaly sections. There appears to be an oar held vertically in her left hand and some spherical object in her right hand, perhaps a stone or

79 Pichikyan and Litvinskiy 1981: 156.
a shell. She has long, thick hair which has been detailed quite carefully not to appear plastered to her head, but to seem to hang freely. She has a large, broad nose between menacing eyes, bulging as though in a glaucoma-induced state. Her demeanor is made all the more mysterious owing to her smile, which gives her face a rather pleasant glow. The grin of a Cheshire cat perhaps?

The wings, fins, legs, arms, and head have been sculpted in a three-dimensional aspect, while the main parts of the body have been rendered in bas-relief. The details of the scales and feathers were worked meticulously, while the shape of the breasts and arms was imprecise at best. There is also a discrepancy in the directions in which the wings, the legs, and the fins are pointing. The wings are positioned as they should be when rising in preparation for flight when the torso faces forward, but the legs appear to be raised with the intention to move to the left, the same direction towards which the fish-half of the body would propel the creature. For this reason, despite the intentions of the sculptor to impart a feeling of motion, one does not get that sense. The fantastic figure remains just that, a fantasy.

This figure bears some resemblance to the water-nymph Scylla, who was also depicted as having a female torso, fish’s tail, and wings. An oar and a shell were often added as attributes. There is a significant difference, however, and that involves the association of dogs or dog-like traits with Scylla. She was almost always represented with dog-headed tentacles81, barking dogs protruding

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81 As in the “Scylla group” from the *Grotto of Tiberius* at Sperlonga, in Latium, south of Rome. These were marble Hellenistic originals or Roman copies. Based on the associated inscriptions, they were most likely from the 1st century BC or AD. Pollitt 1986: 122-126.
from the loins, or with dog legs (usually 6 pairs). Thus if she cannot be Scylla, perhaps she is a syncretistic deity - the nymph-companion of the god of the Oxus River, or less probably, a version of the goddess Atargatis. Another possibility is that the carving is a result of the combination of Greek and Scythian elements, since horse/fish combinations have indeed been found in the artistic tradition of the latter (fig. 23.2).

Based on its style the figure, which is somewhat dry, has been dated to the early or mid-2nd century BC. It consists mostly of Greek conceptual elements, but these appear to lack the dynamic impact which the Hellenistic masters were able to ingrain in their works. If indeed it is a syncretistic deity which this figure represents, then there is a possibility that it could even have been created by a non-Greek craftsman who was imitating the more elaborate, worthy-of-a-god, Greek style. The frontal aspect of the torso and wings combined with the side aspects of the fish-body hint at an underlying Mesopotamian/Achaemenid/Scythian artistic stratum. This is suggested by the strange way in which various animal forms have been fused, with the decorative layer consisting mostly of Hellenistic elements.

3.4) Jade Intaglio of Sarapis

A jade intaglio in the form of a flat disc 10mm long, 8mm wide, and 2.5mm thick was found at Dilberdjin. One side had been engraved with the bust of...
Sarapis, recognisable because of his kalathos. His low hairstyle was clasped by a diadem and locks of hair spiralled down along the sides of his face. He had a thick beard, and powerful muscles in the neck. Two vertical pleats of the chiton covered his right shoulder. The craftsman was obviously experienced in engraving the characteristics of Sarapis' Hellenistic iconography because of the miniature nature of the work, as well as the difficulty posed by his medium. Jade was commonly found east of the Pamirs (especially in Kashgar and Khotan) and works of art in this material were unknown in the Classical world. Therefore this portrait must have been engraved in central Asia, particularly since it is unlikely that this material was exported to Egypt, worked, and then sent back to central Asia. From the Greek style workmanship the date for this intaglio has been established as the 3rd or 2nd century BC. This is a very interesting discovery since it indicates that a Graeco-Egyptian syncretistic god was introduced to Bactria-Sogdiana by the Greeks, where his religion took root. Other examples of Graeco-Egyptian deities have also been found, but prior to the discovery of this intaglio, it was uncertain whether they were imported due to their artistic value or because of the existence of a local Sarapian religion.

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84 The kalathos was used as a grain measure, and in the Roman period came to be identified with the modios headgear, as seen on the sculptural portrait of Sarapis by Bryaxis. Green 1990: 407. Unfortunately, the plate (cf. Grenet 1982: pl.16.1) is very small and cannot be reproduced with any detail whatsoever, wherefore I've decided to leave it out.


86 Robert 1960: 84-91. A temple of Sarapis was built during the time of Antiochus I (281-261 BC) in Hyrcania.

87 At Begram, 2 syncretistic figures were found, one of Sarapis-Heracles, and another of Harpocrates. Hackin 1954: 147, 277, 282-283; at Taxila, a bronze statuette of Harpocrates was discovered. Marshall 1951: 159, 605; at Fergana, a chrysocale (copper alloy) statuette of Harpocrates was unearthed. Brentjes 1971: 75. Also cf. the end of section 4.1 for an inscription containing the theophoric name Isis.
In summary, as was observed in the case of architecture, the artistic tradition in Bactria-Sogdiana during the Hellenistic period also underwent syncretism. At Ai Khanoum the Cybele Medallion combined Mesopotamian and Greek motifs, while a scaraboid, depicting a hound, blends Greek and Achaemenid traits, and a bilingual coin is manifest with Greek and Indian hybridisation. At Dilberdjin, a jade intaglio of Sarapis was discovered, which indicates that not only were Greek and local deities worshipped in Bactria, but ones with an Egyptian origin as well. In addition, in the Oxus Treasure, phalerae were found which combined Greek and Scythian forms. Further examples were taken from Takht-i-Sangin which utilised Greek motifs but were to be used by non-Greek Bactrians, such as the Dedication to the Oxus, or were fashioned by them using non-Greek techniques, namely the heads in clay and alabaster, or using a Greek technique but with a syncretistic motif, as seen in the Ivory Water Nymph.
4) Epigraphic and Literary Evidence

At this point it will be worthwhile to examine some direct evidence for the presence of non-Greeks amongst Greeks from inscriptions found on ostraka and on public decrees. This will require the isolation of names non-Greek in origin and the determination that languages other than Greek were also spoken in Central Asia.

4.1) Ostraka

Nearly 40 financial records written in ink on ostraka were found in or near the treasury in the north-west quadrant of the palace at Ai Khanoum. Most of the records can be dated to the period from 175-148 BC, the last few decades of the polis' existence before it was occupied by Scythian tribes1.

The purpose these records served was to mark items stored in the 'bank', which included not only money, but also other valuables such as gems, incense, and imported olive oil2. This entailed entering the amount of money (or grains/oil), the date (usually the year and month of the current king's reign), the depositor's name, the name of the functionary, and the name of the 'sealer'3. Detailed records were believed to have been kept on tablets, parchments, papyri, or ostraka stored elsewhere in the palace, but which have not yet been

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1 This was determined from an ostrakon on which "year 24" of the reign of (most likely) Eucratides (the Great) was inscribed. Cf. Rapin 1983: 367-370, for a full discussion. Heliocles was apparently the last Greek king in Bactria (ca 145-130 BC). Bernard 1994b: 103.
2 Olive oil was very valuable in Bactria because olives could not be grown here. Sesame seed and linseed oil could be produced, however, with proper cultivation and irrigation. Cf. Gardin and Gentelle 1976: 72-74.
3 This was the individual (a third party) responsible for sealing shut the container in which the valuables were stored, and certifying it as sealed.
recovered. Most of the records are incomplete, owing to the fragmentation of the ostraka and the effacement of the ink in some spots. Enough detail is present, however, that the style, mostly Greek in both cursive capital and lower case letters, and the formulae which these financial records used, was determined to be similar to that used by treasurers and functionaries in Ptolemaic Egypt. From the extant information on these ostraka, one can also determine quite reliably some of the roles of non-Greek individuals in the economics of Bactria.

The following ostraka will be pertinent to this study:

4. Monetary transaction\(^5\) (fig. 24.1).

   description: an ovoid 8.3L pitcher without handles, cracked at the opening; pink, pasty, hard; 41cm tall; 28cm wide; 11cm wide at the opening; 4 inscriptions (in chronological order):

   4a. Transaction in drachmas (fig. 24.2).

   The text begins 5.5cm from the top of the pitcher; with letters 3-5mm high and with 11-12cm between lines; written along the grooves. dimensions of text: 11 by 5.5cm. 5 complete lines.

   1  Παρά Ζηνώνος
   2  ἡρίθμηται
   3  διὰ Ὀξεβοάκου
   4  καὶ Ὀξεβαζοῦ δρχ φ'
   5  ἔσφραγισται Ὀξεβοάκης

   By Zenon
   there was counted with
   Oxeboakes as intermediary
   as well as Oxybazos, 500 drach.
   Oxeboakes sealed it.

4b. Transaction (fig. 24.3).

   The text begins 6cm from the top, opposite to (4a) on the other side of the pitcher; letters 6mm high with 15-18mm between lines; dim. 12 by 6cm; 4 or 5 incomplete lines; letters missing at the ends of lines 2 and 3; ink fading in line 5.

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\(^4\) This has been determined by examination of the shapes of letters written in the same manner on the various ostraka, such as ε and ν, and the ligatures. The style conforms to that used by administrators during the 3\(^{rd}\) and early 2\(^{nd}\) centuries BC on papyri and ostraka in Egypt. Rapin 1983: 349-351.

4c. **Transaction in kasapanas.**

Below and slightly to the left of (4a); letters are 5-6mm high with 15-17mm between lines; dim. of text: 11 by 7cm; the ink has faded towards the right and on the bottom line.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Παρά Φιλίσκου</th>
<th>By Philiskos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>κασαπανα ταξηνα Α</td>
<td>in kasapana taxaenas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>δια ‘Αρυάνδου και Μ</td>
<td>10 000; with Aryandes as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Στρα...</td>
<td>intermediary and Stra[ton]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. **Transaction.**

description: 4 shards of an ovoid pitcher; orange-pink, pasty, hard whitish exterior; 5 lines of text; letters 4mm tall with 10-15mm between lines; dim. of text: 12 by 5.5cm; ink is a bit pale but legible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>Παρά Φιλίσκου</th>
<th>By Philiskos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>νανδαγαχωραγα</td>
<td>nandaghoraga (toponym?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ηριθμιτατ δια</td>
<td>was counted with [- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>[...7-8...]ς και</td>
<td>as intermediary, as well as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>έσγ.α[- - -]Α</td>
<td>[- - -]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Μ</td>
<td>10 000 (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. **Transaction.**

description: shard of an ovoid pitcher; beige, pasty, soft; letters 3mm high with 10-12mm between lines; dim. of text: 9 by 9cm; the ink has faded in some areas; left side is missing; bottom left is abraded; 6 incomplete lines.

| 1 | [- - -]ετος του δευτέρο [- - -] of the second [- - -] |
| 2 | [- - 'Ερμαιον δρχ μδ' - - ] by Hermaios 44 drachmas |
| 3 | [- - -]4.5.α. και ...υ.νάδων ζ' | [- - -]and with Aryandes (as inter.) |
| 4 | [- - ]σμισσ. τάς ανάφορας [- - -] | [- - -]7 (?) the revenues [- - -] |
| 5 | [- - ]θ' ου ου.ανος δρχ η' | [- - -]8 (?) drachmas (Oumanos?) |
| 6 | [- - ]χξ’ | [- - -]60 drachmas (?) |

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8. Transaction

description: fragmented ovoid pitcher; pink, pasty, hard whitish exterior; abraded on the right side of inscription; 4 incomplete texts (8a,b unreadable, 8c has a few readable letters, possibly ξαφραννος)

8d. Transaction.
The text consists of 5 lines; 3-5mm tall with 12-24mm between lines; dim. of text: 12.5 by 5.5cm; the ends of lines 1, 2, and 3 is missing; not well preserved.

1. Παρὰ Στρατόνος
2. διὰ Μολόσσου καὶ
3. Στρατόνος καὶ ἔσ- - - - -
4. ...βαρα..δοῦ καὶ Τάρζου
5. [κασα]πανα νανδηνα Α

By Straton with
Molossos as intermediary
as well as Straton, and - - -
... and with Tarzos;
[in kasa]päna nändenas (?)
10 000 (?)

12. Transaction

description: an ovoid pitcher with one or two handles; diameter of the rim: 12cm; diameter of the base: 16cm; pink, pasty, hard. 2 texts with most letters missing from (12a).

12b. Transaction.
description: fragment 8cm in width; letters 7mm tall.

Παρὰ Νικ[- - -]
By Nik[eratos - -]

13. Transaction

description: the belly of an ovoid pitcher; in 25 shards; orange, pasty, soft; smooth surface; 3 texts of which 2 have been almost completely abraded.

13c. Verification of Silver (quality).
description: 3 almost complete lines of text; letters 3-7mm tall with 18mm between lines; dim. of text: 17 by 4.5cm; ink well preserved.

1. Διὰ Κοσμοῦ δοκίμου ἀργυρίου
2. δεδοκίμαστα διὰ Νικηρά[του]
3. ἐσφράγισται αὐτὸς Νικηράτος

With Kosmos as intermediary
(the quality of) silver was verified
also with Nikeratos as intermed.
Nikeratos himself sealed (it).

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15. List of Names\textsuperscript{11}

description: fragment; red-orange, pasty, soft; smooth surface; mottled with black blemishes; letters 5mm tall with 12-14mm between lines.

- [- - -]

1  Καλλίσθ[ - - -] (By) Callisth[enes- - -]
2  Σινωφ[ - - -] (with/of) Sinoph[ea]tos [- - -]
3  Ξατράννου [- - -] and Xatrannos [- - -]
4  Ομιάνου [- - -] (of/with) Oumanos [- - -]
5  74 (?) [- - -]

16. Name of an Individual\textsuperscript{12}.

description: two fragments; letters 12-15mm tall; dim. of text: 7 by 5cm; beige, pasty, hard.

'Oξυβ[άζον] Of Oxybazos

28. Aramaic Inscription\textsuperscript{13} (fig. 24.4).

description: On a fragmented plate, 15cm in diameter; letters are 5mm tall with 12mm in between lines; dim. of text: 7 by 2cm; appears to be the Bactrian dialect of Middle Persian transliterated into Aramaic script; the central text appears to be a transaction between some individuals with Iranian names\textsuperscript{14}.

Column 1

\begin{enumerate}
\item 1(?) [ - - -] [lli] [lli]
\item 2 [ - - -] sbwk X VIII [Ux]sevak (i.e. Oxeboakes) X Vlll
\end{enumerate}

Column 2

\begin{enumerate}
\item 1(? ) zbyn XII kwnyk II Zben XII Kav Nevak II
\item 2 kwrkln s XII hmwk [XX]XX Kur Kalan b(arley) XII equal to [XX]XX
\end{enumerate}

On the inscriptions listed above, eight names of non-Greek origin, in fact of Iranian ancestry, have been identified. Some of the names belonged to functionaries of the treasury while at least one was of a depositor\textsuperscript{15}.

\textsuperscript{11} Rapin 1983: 340-341.
\textsuperscript{12} Rapin 1983: 341.
\textsuperscript{13} Bernard 1972: 631-632.
\textsuperscript{14} Allchin and Hammond 1978: 199.
i) From texts 4c, 7, and 8d, we have Aryandes\textsuperscript{16}, considered to be a variation of the name Orontes found in Classical sources\textsuperscript{17}. It is believed that the ‘d’ was pronounced as a ‘t’ as in the Pahlavi “arvand”.

ii) From texts 4a, 4b, and 28, Oxeboakes, from Middle Persian \textit{Uxsysa-bavaka} - “grain growing”\textsuperscript{18}.

iii) From 8c and 15, one finds Xatrannos, from Middle Persian \textit{xsathra} + \textit{an} - “son of” - i.e. the son of Xathra, or perhaps from the Zoroastrian sense of \textit{xathra}, meaning “power” or “powerful”.

iv) From texts 7(?) and 15, Oumanos, most likely a Zoroastrian name, from \textit{hu-manah} - “one whose thinking is good”, or from \textit{Vohu manah} - the Zoroastrian ‘Spirit of Wisdom’.

v) From 4a and 16, there is Oxybazos, from Middle Persian \textit{Vaxsu-vazdah} - “supporter of the god of the Oxus”, or from \textit{Vaxsu-bazu} - “arm(s) of the god of the Oxus”, both of which are of similar meaning.

vi) From text 15, Sinopheatos (or perhaps Sinokrotos). The first component may be a form of Middle Persian \textit{saena} - “eagle”, or “hawk”, or of the Avestan \textit{chinah} - “desire, wish”\textsuperscript{19}. The other component is of uncertain derivation.

vii) From text 28, Kav Nevak, “Lord Brave” from Avestan \textit{kavi} - “valiant”, “prince” and Middle Persian \textit{nev} - “valiant”, “brave” or \textit{nevak} - “good”.

\textsuperscript{16} Avestan, \textit{auruuant} - “rapid”, “swift”, “brave”.
\textsuperscript{17} Such as Orontes the satrap of Mysia. Diodorus, \textit{Histories}, 15.18.
\textsuperscript{18} Grenet suggests it may have been derived from: (component 1) \textit{uxsiya} - “on who grows, causes to grow”, (comp.2) \textit{bav} - “to be sufficient, complete”, \textit{ka} - termination, resulting in \textit{Uxsebuak (uxsiya-bava-ka)} - “one who grows perfectly”. See the appendix to Rapin 1983: 374-375; Harmatta 1994: 401.
\textsuperscript{19} Harmatta 1994: 403.
viii) From text 28, Kur Kalan, "Great Youth" from Eastern Iranian kur - "youth", "boy" and Parthian kalan' - "big".

In these inscriptions, the two prepositions παρά and διὰ appear to show a hierarchy in the administrative system. The individuals belonging to the elite group are preceded by παρά, namely Zenon (from inscription 4a), Timodemos (4b), Stratton (8d), Philiskos (4c and 6), and Nikeratos (12b and 13c) and are all Greek names. The names of functionaries follow διὰ and are usually in pairs: Oxeboakes and Oxybazos (4a), Oxeboakes and Hermais (4b), Stratton and Molossos (8d), Stratton and Aryandes (4c), Stratton (?) and (an)other unknown individual(s) (6), and Kosmos (13c). The names of these functionaries are both of Greek and non-Greek origin. This list, albeit small, seems to indicate that non-Greek individuals did not occupy the upper echelon in economic affairs, but this is not definitive since the Greek names of those of the first category could indeed belong to non-Greek individuals. Greek names were, after all, assumed by non-Greeks in most parts of the Hellenistic world. It is also clear that Greek was the language used by the administrators, but the presence of an inscription in Aramaic also gives the impression that non-Greek individuals were not constrained from using their 'own' language if they preferred amongst themselves.

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22 This is well-documented especially in Ptolemaic Egypt. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993: 151-152. Rostovtzeff 1941: 517-524.
For the sake of completion, it must be briefly stated, that three jars were found in the necropolis, lying side by side, in which there were skeletal remains. On each of the jars was the following inscription: 

\[\text{τοῦ μικροῦ καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς, Λυσάνιου Ἱσιδώρας Κόσμου "of the little Lysanias and little Isidora, (children) of Kosmos". This inscription is significant owing to the presence of the name Isidora, a theophoric name attesting to the possibility, strengthened by the discovery of a portrait of Sarapis (cf. section 3.3), that Isis was worshipped not only in Egypt and countries neighboring her, but perhaps as far afield as Bactria.}

4.2) **Greek Inscriptions from Kandahar**

Two inscriptions, one a bilingual inscription written in Aramaic and Greek, and another in Greek only, were found dating to the mid-3rd century BC in Old Kandahar. Despite the fact that Kandahar, along with the rest of Arachosia, was ceded to the Mauryan Empire by Seleucus and was thus no longer part of the Hellenistic world, these inscriptions are nevertheless important since they provide direct evidence that Greek and eastern Iranian continued to be the predominant languages spoken here half a century later, and if they were

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24 A full epigraphical analysis will not be undertaken here. If interested, cf. Schlumberger 1964. Cf. appendix 2 for the original inscription and translation.
25 The Mauryan emperor reigning during this time was Asoka (265-238BC). The inscription, as will be seen, is dated to at least 8 years after the start of his reign, thus falling in the range 257-238 BC. Allchin 1995: 189.
26 Prakrit was spoken by some inhabitants as well, attested to by the presence of an inscription written in Aramaic, but as a transliteration of the Prakrit. Allchin and Hammond 1978: 193-198.
predominant here, then this would certainly have been the case as well in Bactria-Sogdiana.

Both inscriptions were pious proclamations of the Mauryan emperor Asoka, one in the form of a rock edict, and the other, a pillar edict. The latter will be discussed here since some of its features are more interesting, especially with regard to the Greek translations of the edicts.

The inscription was cut onto a block of porous limestone 12 cm thick and measured 0.45 by 0.70m (fig.25). The text gives the end of Asoka's Edict XII and the beginning of his Edict XIII. The stone itself was probably part of a larger monument, on which all 14 of Asoka's edicts must have been inscribed.

*Koine*, the standard linguistic manifestation of Greek during the Hellenistic Period, was used for the two edicts, which were inscribed by two different translators to judge by the different styles. It appears that the translator of Edict XIII was familiar with the teachings of Pythagoras owing to his use of ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐμψύχων "to abstain from (killing) the living", which was not the usual way...

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27 Old Kandahar (or simply, Kandahar) was refounded as Alexandria-Arachosia, by Alexander (326 BC). There was a village here from Achaemenid times, whence Kandahar derived some of its non-Greek element. Ai Khanoum was founded close to a village, the inhabitants of which would have, no doubt, moved to the city in search of prosperity. Both cities would have thus been quite similar in their demographics. For the geography and importance of Kandahar, cf. Bernard 1974b: 171-175.

28 Allchin and Hammond 1978: 193. Asoka commonly used the language and script of the localities where he set up his edicts, for example, Prakrit with Brahmi or Kharosthi script in India, Aramaic in Taxila, and Greek and Aramaic here.

29 Cf. appendix 2.

30 Πλὴν τοσοῦτοι γε ἄγνείαις φησίν Εὐδόκος ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ τῆς Γῆς περιοδίου κεχρήσθαι καὶ τῇ περὶ τούς φόνους φυγῆ καὶ τῶν φονεύσων, ἀς μὴ μόνον τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαγείρους καὶ θηράτορις μηδέποτε πλησιάζειν. Pythagoras, Testimonia, 9.8-11; This quote has been remarked upon by Diogenes and Strabo as a teaching of Pythagoras: εἰπόντος δ' ὃτι καὶ Πυθαγόρας τουσὰνα λέγοι κελεύοι τε ἐμψύχοιν ἀπέχεσθαι, Diogenes Laertius, Vitae Philosophorum, 8.20; and also Strabo, Geography, 7.3.521-526, 15.1.65.9-15.
of translating such a phrase\textsuperscript{31}, and also used an idiom used by Aristotle, ἔμπαραδρομῆ ἡγεῖσθαι\textsuperscript{32} “to regard as secondary”. The translator of Edict XII, on the other hand, must have been versed at least in the philosophy of the Platonic School, since he used terms such as ἐγκράτεια\textsuperscript{33} “self-control”, γλώσσης ἐγκράτης\textsuperscript{34} “controller/master of the tongue”, δίδαξις\textsuperscript{35} “lesson”, πολυμορφία\textsuperscript{36}, “variegated learning”, and ἐκλάμψειι\textsuperscript{37} “to excel”, all vocabulary characteristic of Plato and Aristotle.

Other interesting observations pertain to the use of Attic forms, usually marks of erudition. The translator of Edict XII used the Attic form διοπράττονται, while the other used διαπρασσόμενων. The latter also used a “hyperkoinistic” form of κατέστραπται, i.e. κατέστρεφανται\textsuperscript{38}.

From these inscriptions we see that not only was there a substantial Greek population in Kandahar under Mauryan domination, but there were well-educated Greeks amongst them. If the supposition that the translators of these edicts were versed in philosophy from Greece proper and the Southern Italian peninsula, then it must be true that either these individuals migrated here before the territory was ceded to Chandragupta Maurya (in which case they would both

\textsuperscript{31} It may have been translated, for example, using an objective infinitive, ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ κτείναι
\textsuperscript{32} Aristotle, \textit{Política}, 1336b24, νῦν μὲν οὖν ἐν παραδρομῇ τοῦτον πεποίημεθα τοῦ λόγου.
\textsuperscript{33} Plato, \textit{Definitiones}, 412a4-a5, ἐγκράτεια γυνῆς πρὸς τὰ φοβερὰ καὶ δεινὰ; and 412b3, ἐγκράτεια δύναμις ὑπὸ μενεθηκῆ λύπης; also refer to Plato, \textit{Respublica}, 390b3 and 430e7.
\textsuperscript{34} Aristotle, \textit{Historia Animalium}, 536b5-b8, τὰ δὲ παιδία ὀσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μορίων οὐκ ἐγκρατή ἑστιν, οὔτος οὖδὲ τῆς γλώττης τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ἑστιν ἄτελής, καὶ ἀπολύται ψυχιτερον, ἢτε γειλέσουσι καὶ τραυλίζουσι τὰ πολλά.
\textsuperscript{35} Plato, \textit{Clitophon}, 409b6.
\textsuperscript{36} Plato, \textit{Alcibiades}, 147a5; \textit{Amatorès}, 133c11, 133e5, 139a5; \textit{Leges}, 811a5, 811b5, 819a5.
have to be at least 65-70 years old), or they migrated recently, in which case this would indicate a relationship between the Hellenistic world and the Mauryan Empire, in which there was relative freedom of movement of goods and peoples, whereby Asoka could have hired these Greek translators, and perhaps other craftsmen. If none of the above, then it would have to be true that some seeds of the teaching traditions of the West were implanted in Arachosian soil, whence these translators gained their knowledge. Perhaps the same was true of Bactria-Sogdiana.

5) Conclusion

In order for this paper to have succeeded, it is hoped that proofs for the following have been convincingly presented: the possibility of a fusion of Greeks and non-Greeks involving a bi-directional movement of artistic elements, not simply a unidirectional “hellenising” impetus, did not end with the death of Alexander, but continued throughout the “Hellenistic” Period; Secondly, Graeco-Bactrian art was not a “mirage”, as was believed for so long, on the contrary, it was a fountainhead of innovation in the easternmost regions of the Greek world; and thirdly, later traditions, such as Gandharan art, had Graeco-Bactrian art as their main source with a much smaller Roman element than previously thought.

Alexander did not decree that syncretism be enforced, he simply provided the framework for the process to occur as naturally as possibly. This he did in various ways. He intended Babylon as the capital of his spear-won empire, and had every intention of allowing its non-Greek citizens to mingle freely with Greeks and encouraged artistic and religious expression by rebuilding (both literally and symbolically) Etemenanki - the great Ziggurat, as well as the temple of Esagila. Other ancient neo-Babylonian edifices were also renovated owing to him, all of which encouraged Greek artisans and colonists in search of work to relocate to the ever-growing city. Evidently, not as many colonists, including soldiers who were given allotments of land as kleroi (pensions), abandoned their posts in the east as ancient writers would have us believe. Numerous newly founded cities experienced growth on a scale not seen since the great "Colonising Period" of the 8th century. If colonists were 'drained' from these sites,
they surely would have lost their Greek flavour, which does not seem to be the case. In actuality, colonists from Asia Minor, particularly from the Meander valley, attested to by names recorded on ostraka and other inscriptions (viz. Kineas and Lysanias), as well as from Mesopotamia, confirmed by the presence of architectural and artistic features reminiscent of this area, continued to drive their wagons east in fair numbers, in search of opportunity. Alexandria-Oxiana (Ai Khanoum) was one such city on the eastern frontier, which received its good share of settlers, and which later became the capital of one of the secessionist Graeco-Bactrian kings, Eucratides (the Great), who established a mint here, and was re-christened Euapotidia in his honour. Other ancient sites were treated with the same respect as was shown to Babylon. Kandahar, Bactra, Merv, for instance, were all spared destruction and were incorporated into the Greek world, while smaller sites such as Takht-i-Sangin experienced unprecedented growth under the new regime. The wealth of the Bactrian poleis, as a result of good administration and excellent relations between the new-comers and locals, must have been immense, since in the latter half of the 3rd century BC Euthydemos (the 3rd Graeco-Bactrian king) was able to withstand the onslaught of the Seleucid king Antiochus III and thus escape the yoke of Seleucid power for ever. But, alas, Euthydemos was not the legitimate sovereign, nay rather, he usurped the throne by having the son (Diodotus II) of the founder (Diodotus I) assassinated. Had there not been political intriguing of such a sort within the Empire, it may have also withstood attacks by the Scythians and, after them, the Kushans, thus perhaps lasting for a few more centuries. There was no concern
of a revolt issuing from the indigenous peoples, inasmuch as they were treated with respect and quite fairly.

The support of the locals dated back to the days of Alexander. The preservation of ancient traditions of the conquered lands did not pose a threat to Greek culture in the mind of this visionary leader. If Greek culture was indeed superior to that of the "barbarians", as was believed by his contemporaries, then it would survive, nay, thrive in the "new order". The Greek language, in its Koine manifestation, was the perfect imperial language. Its script was much easier to work with than the cumbersome cuneiform of Old Persian (which the Bactrians made use of before adopting the Greek script), while the language itself, beautiful and simple yet sturdy enough to be a foundation for such a world-shaking concept as the atom, would certainly be more than adequate as a new Lingua Franca, replacing the less elegant Aramaic. The dedication made to the Oxus found at Takht-i-Sangin attests to the use of Greek by non-Greeks even when communicating with other non-Greeks (in this case a non-Greek deity). This is not to say, however, that Greek was the only language used. The language of the indigenous people continued to be used, such as Bactrian, Aramaic, Prakrit, and Persian, as witnessed on Indo-Greek coins, such as those of Agathocles. It also seems apparent that the Greek language may not have been learnt by everyone with ambition, since Bactrian continued to be spoken even a century and a half after establishment of the Greek Empire, as evidenced by one of the ostraka found at Ai Khanoum inscribed in Bactrian using Aramaic script. Non-Greek individuals retained the freedom to do more or less what they
wished, including the conducting of trade with other non-Greek individuals. Such was the case also with the bestowal of names. Greek names were indeed used by the majority of people in power, but some important roles were also performed by individuals who did not see fit to change their non-Greek names.

All this evidence appears to point to two phenomenon: there was a \textit{coexistence} of Greeks and non-Greeks who had dealings more with people of their own culture than with those of the other cultures; but there was also \textit{syncretism} which occurred when Greeks and non-Greeks interacted, whereby they produced new art forms combining various appealing elements from each culture. The question arises "what made one individual a Greek, and another a non-Greek, when considering that Antiochus I was considered a Greek king, although in actuality his mother was Iranian?" The answer seems to be that phenotypic differences did not matter very much during the Hellenistic Period; attitude was much more important. The whole notion of "Greekness" was redefined. With each successive generation, one could not expect to find a 'pure' Greek in the Hellenistic Kingdoms since there were no "apartheid"-like conditions to prevent admixture. As is evident from Ai Khanoum, Greek poetry continued to be recited, Greek dramas maintained their audiences, and education continued in traditional Greek fashion in the gymnasia. There is no doubt that so called non-Greeks were also in attendance, since this is the means by which they would have received their education. After all, what method of ruling can be more successful than one which makes all its citizens feel like they belong?
Alongside these purely Greek-style buildings, however, were also found the palace, temples, private residences, and even the ramparts which enclosed the city with a protective ‘shell’. The ramparts combined Greek building concepts in some cities, Bactrian (or Achaemenid) concepts in others, while employing Bactrian masonry techniques, a hybridisation of a sort different from that of the other buildings. Antecedents for a palace of the sort found at Ai Khanoum did not exist elsewhere in Greek architecture, hence non-Greek concepts had to be used with Greek decorative styles to give it the impression of an imperial building. The temples too employed such techniques, but for these there were Greek antecedents, including the use of a Greek peripteral temple style for the mausoleum. Hence the same explanation cannot be given for them as for the palaces. The same applies to the residential buildings, which were unmistakably non-Greek in conception. Surely the architects would have been familiar with Greek practices if they had come from Asia Minor. The reason for syncretism in architectural concepts must be attributed to functionality - the most efficient use of space and material to suit the climatic conditions peculiar to the region and to meet environmental exigencies such as earthquakes. They were no doubt also used as symbols of power and prestige to inspire awe and to gain the respect of both the Greek and non-Greek populations.

As is now evident, syncretism in the Greek East was not a matter of small scale. It occurred in most aspects of public and private life, from the external appearances of large monuments to the inner religious beliefs of the citizens. Greek gods and goddesses were commonly identified with the local deity and
the two were merged. Such was the case with Zeus-Ahura Mazda, Artemis-Nanai, and virtually every other god. It must be noted that to the worshippers, the god would not have been thought of as a hybrid; For instance, as far as the Greeks were concerned with respect to the deity called Ahura Mazda, he was Zeus, as Ahura Mazda, only his name and outward appearance were different.

Family life, too, surely must have been different from that of the Greeks in the West. The presence of reserved 'box seats' halfway up the tiers in the theater attest to the presence of an aristocracy, or at least a group of individuals with special privileges. These must have been friends and relatives of the king, the Head of the leading family. The layout of the houses suggests an increased hierarchical arrangement of the members of the household, wherein the living-room stood as the place in which the 'Head of the House' could call familial meetings. At the same time, bathrooms, atypical of Achaemenid and Mesopotamian architecture, allowed them a luxury so difficult to find in the wind-driven dust of central Asia, cleanliness.

Syncretism in sculpture and the minor arts was also widespread. Although purely Greek and indigenous traditions did indeed continue to be practised, they lacked the innovative spirit shown by the hybrid forms which combined elements of the Greek, local Bactrian, Achaemenid, Mesopotamian, Scythian, and Indian traditions. These syncretistic forms are likely to have mirrored the societal makeup of Bactria which was at this time and ever after the "cross-roads" of Asia. Various goods arrived as items of trade which had a direct bearing on the aesthetic tastes of the various artisans, and many foreign artisans and craftsmen
were surely hired for special commissions, or were present to show off their skills in fairs, possibly in competitions, or perhaps simply to sell their wares.

The artistic innovation did not stop with the end of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom, and subsequently result in the reversion to purely non-Greek forms or to that of the invading Scythians and Kushans. These invaders, particularly the latter, saw the appeal of Greek art and were eager to continue the tradition. Greek artisans and craftsmen were employed by them in large numbers. This, combined with local Buddhist art, resulted in a wholly new Gandharan art style, a topic to be explored in its own right.
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Abbreviations: The following are used in this bibliography.

AncW  Ancient World
Antiquity  Antiquity Magazine
BCH  Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique
BEFEO  Bulletin de l’École Francaise de l’Extrême Orient
CAH  Cambridge Ancient History
CRAI  Comptes-rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres
FGrH  F. Jacoby, Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
GCNP  Greek Colonists and Native Populations: Proceedings of the First
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Trendall (Jul. 1985)
HCACP  Histoire et Cultes de l’Asie Centrale Pré-islamique: sources écrites
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earliest times to 700 BC
HCCA-2  History of Civilizations of Central Asia: the Development of
Sedentary and Nomadic Civilizations - 700 BC - 250 AD
IrAnt  Iranica Antiqua
JA  Journal Asiatique
JRAS  Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
Klio  Klio: Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte
MDAFA  Memoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en
Afghanistan
OCD  Oxford Classical Dictionary
PIE-MG  Proto-Indo-European: the Archeology of a Linguistic Problem,
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RA  Revue Archéologique
SA  Soviet Archeology
SAA  South Asian Archeology
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Appendix 1: Prehistoric Background

(a) Lower Palaeolithic

It is uncertain who the first hominid occupants of Central Asia were or at what point in time they first arrived\(^1\), since there is no fossil evidence from this period in time. There is, however, indirect evidence of their presence during the Lower Palaeolithic\(^2\) in the form of stone-tools, some of which belong to the Soan industry of Pakistan\(^3\), and to the Siwalik deposits in the Himalayan foothills in the northern Panjab region\(^4\). These consisted of quartzite tools of the following implement types: cleavers, large scrapers, choppers, chopping tools, and pebble tools. The most ancient tools are a core and a number of flakes 2 million years old, while scrapers and small chopping tools have been dated to have existed between 1.2 and 1.4 million years ago. Hand-axes have been found in strata determined to be 700 000 years old. Piles of such tools indicate that at the

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\(^1\) The "Eve" Hypothesis states that there was a genetic bottleneck 200 000 years ago as determined by the analysis of human mitochondrial DNA. By the fact that mitochondrial DNA is passed on to each offspring by the mother only, geneticists have determined that there must have been a female common to us all who existed 200 000 years ago, and thus dubbed "Eve". This is not to suggest that she was the only female in existence at the time, but that the genetic elements of all other females have met "dead ends" at some time in the past. This supports the theory that one branch of Homo sapiens migrated out of Africa 200 000 years ago, and then split again somewhere in the Near East 100 000 years ago, with one group moving westward and the other eastward. The Multiregional Hypothesis, on the other hand, asserts that Homo sapiens did not migrate out of Africa, but evolved over a period of millions of years in various areas, namely the Tanzania region in Africa (Olduvai, Olorgesailie, and Ismila), Southeast Asia (Choukoutien), in Europe (Terra Amata, and Ambrona), and in the Near East (Ubaidiya, and Latamna). In my opinion, there has to be a compromise between the two theories, in the sense that evolution occurred in multiple regions, but migrations led to hybridization, or possibly replacement, which would account for the genetic "bottleneck". Cf. Jones, et al. 1992: 281-283, 319-321.

\(^2\) Lower Paleolithic - 2.5 million years BC - 250 000 BC; Middle Paleolithic - 250 000 - 60 000 BC; Upper Paleolithic - 60 000 -10 000 BC; Neolithic - 10 000 - 5500 BC; Chalcolithic (Copper Age) - 5500 - 2900 BC.

\(^3\) Allchin and Hammond 1978: 40.

*Homo habilis* stage there must have been some form of organisation of labor, a sign of established social bonds, which in turn indicate permanent settlement patterns, the organisation of residential space, and collective hunting of large animals\(^5\). These cohesive communities were believed to be the forerunners of tribes, with work divided according to gender and with certain taboos governing life within them. It has been suggested that these communities could not have existed without communication by speech, thus we are led to believe that there existed some primordial language indigenous to Central Asia, as in other regions. With the passage of time these indigenous elements had been cycled into new and variant forms with the migration of peoples. As a consequence, hand-axes and choppers constructed using a completely different technique became prevalent in areas where other types existed previously\(^6\).

(b) Middle Palaeolithic

During the Middle Palaeolithic composite tool industries came to the forefront. Sections of microlithic blades, for example, were used, either trimmed or untrimmed to geometrical forms, in combination with suitable mastics, to form the points, barbs and cutting edges of missiles; they have also been recorded as the component parts of composite sickle blades\(^7\). Edge-trimmed flakes were used for a variety of purposes, again combined with mastics, either held directly in the

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\(^5\) Some inferences may seem to be leaps in logic, which may be true, but my intention is to give a brief outline of argumentation used by specialists in early hominid Anthropology. For excellent books on the subject, *cf.* Johanson and Edey 1981; and Gowlett, 1984.

\(^6\) It is possible that this might have been due to trade, but more often than not a group which had superior tools or weapons had a tendency to use them against groups which did not, resulting in the acquisition of territory, slaves, and perhaps wives.

\(^7\) Allchin 1992: 65-68.
hand or mounted on handles\textsuperscript{8}. With a few refinements, particularly in methods of production of flint tools such as thin blades of precise contours capable of being inserted in handles composed of horn or wood, these techniques were continually used on into the Upper Palaeolithic. Creativity was not restricted to tool-making, but also extended to visual art, as seen in the cave paintings of Koist-Tschenker-Agui in Mongolia, and in the cave formations of the Ural Mountains. These paintings involved animal subjects, such as camels, elephants, deer, and other species common throughout these regions, but no human subjects as were common in the cave paintings of Europe, such as at Lascaux\textsuperscript{9}. Despite the increase in overall population, all evidence points to populations being of low density and sporadically distributed. Small settlements did exist, but all these were temporarily established by nomadic transients.

(c) Upper Palaeolithic

As the climate became warmer and somewhat moister at the end of the last ice age (ca 12000 BC), a dramatic leap occurred in the development of the prehistoric economy from reliance on hunting and gathering to the tilling of soil and the rearing of animals. From the haphazard reliance on cereals that grew in

\textsuperscript{8} Allchin 1992: 83-86. Without going into too much detail, there were possibly five varieties of Middle Palaeolithic sites found in the areas of concern to us: 1) Levallois, with single and multiple striking platform cores; triangular and sub-rectangular blades and blade flakes, with simple edge-retouched pieces predominating and only a few formal tool types. 2) Mousterian, this might be a mere resemblance, if not the easternmost aspect, of the Mousterian culture common in Europe at this time; it has more formal tools of several distinct types, some, such as scrapers and to a lesser extent points. 3) Levallois-Mousterian, which is similar to the Levallois, but with more platformed and discoidal cores, with marginally retouched blades predominating. 4) Mousterian or Soan, also include scrapers and points of traditional Mousterian forms, but with them are found a high proportion of choppers and chopping tools made on pebbles. 5) Kulbulak tradition, which is a lone site with a denticulate Mousterian assemblage.

\textsuperscript{9} Derevyanko and Lu Zun-E 1992: 102.
the wild humans moved on to producing them, and from the occasional domestication of animals systematic stock breeding became the norm\textsuperscript{10}. This has been dubbed \textit{the Neolithic Revolution} by the eminent archaeologist V. G. Childe\textsuperscript{11}. The earliest evidence of this comes from Mehrgarh at the foot of the Bolan pass in the north of the Kachi plain\textsuperscript{12} in Pakistan. It is apparent that some of the flint tools found there and in neighboring sites were used as parts of composite arrow or javelin heads, and the animal remains, which include the bones of Persian gazelles, wild bulls, and reindeer, bear witness to their use in communal hunting\textsuperscript{13}. As mentioned earlier, permanent settlements arose only near sources of water, while nomadic hunter-gatherer types of communities also existed, which did not have easy access to such sources. This was because they could not displace any communities which were already settled near and controlled them, or were not under any economic pressure from neighboring \textit{territorial cells} for the purposes of trade\textsuperscript{14}. Thus far, there is no evidence of extensive agricultural settlements in Central Asia in the tenth to sixth millennia BC comparable to those found in Parthia along the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, but there does exist evidence for a production-based economy in Afghanistan. Sickle blades composed of flakes, scrapers, piercers, and chisels,

\textsuperscript{11} Childe's concept was developed further by R. Braidwood. Discussed in Childe 1941.
\textsuperscript{12} A transitional area between the arid inland plateaux of Baluchistan, Afghanistan and Iran, and the Gangetic plain in the southeast. For site reports, cf. Jarrige and Lechevallier 1979: 463f.
\textsuperscript{13} Sarianidi 1992: 119-120.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Territorial cells} are hypothetical hexagonal units (the shape which allows the greatest number of other cells as neighbors) used by archeologists to represent spheres of influence between adjacent communities, cf. Ashmore and Sharer 1988: 153-158, for elaboration. The reasons for the persistence of \textit{nomadism} are manifold, which cannot be discussed here, but a good general discussion of the topic can be found in Khazanov 1984.
bone awls, and burnishers, stone hoes, querns, and steatite and stone vessels appear to be the main tools involved in this economy. This evidence has been dated to the beginning of the seventh millennium BC, and points to the arrival of a new type of economy more typical of sedentary farming communities\textsuperscript{15}. The earliest pottery has been found in a stratum dated to ca 5000 BC made of plain, soft, brittle black paste. An example of a permanent settlement is the site of Mundigak (4000-1500 BC), where in Phase 3 (ca 3000 BC) the first substantial structure consisting of pisé walls has been found\textsuperscript{16}. The first mud-brick dwellings were found in Phases 4-5 (ca 2200 BC)\textsuperscript{17}. Evidence of religious rites is lent by terracotta figurines depicting female fertility goddesses or various ungulates.

The archaeological evidence suggests that, following a period of steady, low-profile economic growth, from 3200 BC almost every local society underwent radical social transformation and reached its peak in about 2500 BC, when the centers of each of these enclaves attained their maximum physical expansion and were marked by all the effects of increasing hierarchical complexity\textsuperscript{18}. It has even been suggested that these centers were no less complex than those emerging around 3000 BC along the great alluvial corridors of Mesopotamia and the Nile, and that it could be claimed that the protohistoric civilisations of eastern

\textsuperscript{15} Sarianidi 1992: 109-116. There are some indications that there was a spread of people (possibly of Elamo-Dravidian stock related ethnically to the Sumero-Babylonians) from the Zagros Mountains in western Iran to the northern foothills of the Hindu Kush via the Caspian coast, and gave rise to the Oxus and Indus civilizations.

\textsuperscript{16} Allchin and Hammond 1978: 91-114; Pisé is a construction method which involves the manufacture of a building "paste" from a mixture of clayish soil with a tempering material, usually chaff. This mixture is then built to a height of less than a meter and allowed to dry. Once dry another layer is constructed atop the dry one and so on until the desired height is reached.

\textsuperscript{17} Cf. Casal 1961: passim, for detailed site reports.

\textsuperscript{18} Tosi, Shahmirzadi, and Joyenda 1992: 204-222.
Iran were the third corner of one and the same triangular area of primary
development of a state society, which lay between the Nile valley, Anatolia, and
the Hindu Kush.  

(d) Copper and Bronze Ages

Technical and political tools required to ensure survival and material
prosperity grew with the communities over many generations, from 5500 BC to
3500 BC, and resulted in a more sophisticated system of social organisation.
Copper was mined actively in central and south-eastern Iran as the material of
choice for tools and weapons, and complex waterworks (qanats) and terraces
were built to make agriculture more efficient. Following this, one observes the
first signs of the emergence of a state in Central Asia/Eastern Iran in about
3300-3200 BC, at about the same time as the emergence of the states of Akkad
and Sumer in Mesopotamia. Proto-Elamite writing tablets, cylinder seals and
their clay impressions, clay counters, and various types of pottery such as
bevelled-rim bowls were found at various sites in Eastern Iran. However, the
fact that there appears to have been no social upheaval, nor any evidence of
'embryonic' forms of these cultural items since they appear to have been
offshoots of the styles found at Susiana in Western Iran, lend credence to the
theory that Eastern Iran/Central Asia was colonised from the west at an early

21 For an excellent book on the origins of the Mesopotamian states and their cultural attributes,
22 Ghirshman 1938: passim.
period (ca 6000-5500 BC)\textsuperscript{23}. Whether or not this area was indeed colonised, there does exist evidence that the art of this area underwent its own unique evolution after 5500 BC, highlighted by the production of elegant and varied vessels carved in marble and chlorite, as well as flat metal button seals with an eye carved on the back\textsuperscript{24}.

There was a considerable increase in the size of each regional center starting between 3000 and 2800 BC, and a climax was reached in 2300-2200 BC as witnessed in Mundigak Phase 4 architecture\textsuperscript{25}. After 2200 BC, the urban system began to decline for reasons which are not as yet adequately explained\textsuperscript{26}. To name a few, the immense capitals of the Harappan culture, Mohenjo-Daro, and Harappa along the Indus, and the urban centers in north-eastern Iran, Tepe Hissar and Turang-depe, were all depopulated\textsuperscript{27}. Evidence shows that upon the decline and disintegration of these centers, there was a transformation of culture rather than a clear break, while new areas began to be

\textsuperscript{23} Weiss and Young 1975: 1-17. I mentioned this earlier, when I stated that the peoples of eastern Iran were of Elamo-Dravidian stock.

\textsuperscript{24} Weiss and Young 1975: 1-17.

\textsuperscript{25} Tosi, Shahmirzadi, and Joyenda 1992: 204-205. Mundigak was mentioned earlier. Other sites which have been investigated are Shahdad and Tepe Hissar in north-western Iran, Shahr-i Sokhta in Seistan (which, lying in the Helmand Valley, is sometimes called the Helmand civilization), and Altyn-depe (southern former-Soviet Central Asia).

\textsuperscript{26} Mortimer Wheeler (cf. Wheeler 1958: 113) suggested that the collapse of the Indus Civilization was due to Aryan invasions, while other investigators have linked the decline to climatic changes, and still others have attributed the decline to changes in types of demographic movement and socio-economic processes. In my opinion, the decline of the Oxus and Indus Civilizations were a result of Aryan invasions, but not in the violent sense - there is no archeological evidence for a violent encounter between the new-comers and the original inhabitants; it seems to me that the old civilizations were in disrepair, which might have been corrected had they been given more time, but the new-comers ended all hope of this when they 'kicked in the door, and to their surprise, the whole rotting structure came tumbling down.'

\textsuperscript{27} Tosi, Shahmirzadi, and Joyenda 1992: 199-200.
cultivated at sites east of the abandoned ones. In the steppe zone of Central
Asia the productive economies of hunters and fishermen were replaced by
herdsmen from the steppes and semi-deserts to the west, who drove light war-
chariots with wheels having a diameter of up to 1 meter with ten spokes each.
The previous inhabitants drove four-wheeled carts pulled by oxen, slow-moving
beasts compared to the swift steeds of the new-comers. The cultural remains of
these incoming people, such as the many forms of ornamented pottery with
meandering patterns, occasionally with swastika motifs, are very closely related
to those found in eastern Europe. In addition, human skeletal remains have been
found in Kazakhstan of the dolichocephalic Europoid variety of the so-called
eastern Mediterranean type. Their remains are better known as steppe bronze
cultures or the Andronovo culture by some, but whether they were part of the
waves of invading Indo-European tribes or a culture from a neighboring region
which was influenced by the Indo-European tradition are matters open to debate;
the evidence, however, does seem to support these possibilities. In eastern
Kazakhstan and Tajikistan there appears to have been syncretism of the original
inhabitants and the new-comers, on the basis of continuation of some of the

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29 Evidence for this comes from the cemetery at Syntashta in northwestern Kazakhstan, where
parts of chariots were found, weapons such as bronze pikes with cross-guards and drop-hafted
axes and stone maces, as well as complete skeletons of horses. Here, due to my inadequate
knowledge of Russian, I am relying on the account of Masson 1992b: 345-348, who analyzed the
31 The economy of these tribes consisted mostly of animal husbandry and land cultivation, with
cattle predominating among the livestock, but a third consisting of horses. Sheep, particularly of
the fine-wooled variety, became widespread. The reconstructed Proto-Indo-European
vocabulary contains words for these and other animals, which, however, although it cannot be
taken too seriously as evidence, does not in any way disprove the theory.
traditions of sedentary farmers, such as partial cremation, and skeletal evidence which appears to have skulls of both the dolichocephalic and brachycephalic variety\textsuperscript{32}. This appears to be the case in Harappa in 1800-1700 BC, where settlers originally lived in dwellings made of wood or bamboo and generally thatched, but after a generation or so these dwellings were replaced by houses with many rooms and walls made of rectangular mud-bricks. This suggests that the new-comers were unacquainted with the clay-daub architecture of the Harappan culture, but after living in the area for a short period of time, they had learnt how to craft permanent dwellings from the remains of those they saw around them\textsuperscript{33}. Painted grey-ware was the predominant ceramic form of this culture, with highly distinctive ornamental motifs consisting of rosettes and solar circles, and other figures, such as a Maltese cross inscribed in a lozenge\textsuperscript{34}.

(e) The Indo-Iranians

At this point it will be useful to discuss briefly the rise of the Indo-Europeans and the spread of their Indo-Iranian branch, since all history subsequent to their arrival is basically their history as the original populations either disappeared, were forced to relocate, or were muted by assimilation. Between 6000 and 5000 BC, economic (mainly pastoral) and social development

\textsuperscript{32} This is what Masson believes, but it may very well be that the new-comers might have been migrating owing to population pressure, in which case they could have been originally sedentary, and had traditions that are associated with sedentary peoples such as partial cremation. Changes in artistic styles over many generations could have occurred as a result of these people adapting to their new surroundings. The fact that there are both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic individuals in these populations could be due to individuals of the original population assimilating into the new one. The craniometrical evidence, however, cannot be taken too seriously since there is not enough of it to be statistically reliable.


\textsuperscript{34} Masson 1992b: 354.
was dependent on the rise of animal husbandry which included cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, and dogs. Two-, or sometimes four-, wheeled vehicles appeared but were of little consequence economically since they were oxen-drawn. However, by about 3500 BC, the domestication of the horse transformed their economic and social nature so drastically that horse-breeding became by far the most important activity. At this time, the spoked-wheel light vehicle was invented, and radically enhanced efficiency of communication. From this the ten-spoked light war chariot was introduced and put in motion a series of events which would change the world. Social differentiation was strengthened, particularly into three main classes or castes35, and royal clans and the classes of war charioteers and warriors developed. These developments allowed the Indo-Iranians to mount expeditions and invasions into the rich territories of the south and south-east. In the next phase, after 1500 BC, the Indo-Iranians who were not a part of the masses invading the lands to the south and south-east acquired the practice of horse-riding enabling them to develop nomadic horse-breeding and to organise great armies of cavalrymen36. Thus they became equestrian nomads, and were compelled by their great herd of horses to change pastures regularly and were driven by their one-sided economy to establish economic ties with the neighboring agricultural peoples either through trade or through robberies and

35 *viz.* the priest, the warrior, and the craftsman and peasant class, which took the form of *brahmana, kshatriya*, and *vaisya* castes in the Aryan tribes.

invasions\textsuperscript{37}. The cemeteries that they left behind provide evidence of Indo-European rites and beliefs such as the cult of fire ceremonies performed by priests who lit funeral pyres around the grave of a leader; burnt offerings of sheep and other animals also provide evidence, as do the burials of the earthly possessions of the deceased\textsuperscript{38}.

In summary, in respect to the migrations in the Bronze Age period (particularly as relates to the Indo-Iranians), there were three migrations, the first of which (6000-3500 BC) was a slow infiltration of small cattle-breeding groups who, for the most part, established friendly relations with the local populations of food-gatherers, fishermen or hunters; the second one (3500-2000 BC) was a movement of larger groups, clans, or tribes, headed by well-organised armies of charioteers and warriors who wanted to settle as leading social groups in new territories, but sometimes adapted themselves to the existing societies or state organisations; the third (2000-1500 BC) was a massive movement of equestrian nomads who, along with their livestock, either looked for new pastures or wanted to conquer agricultural territories to supplement their one-sided economy with new products. In general, just as was the case in the earlier period with the spread of the Elamo-Dravidian races of people across Western, Central, and South Asia, local variants of a cultural complex arose as a result of minglings of populations and due to geographical differences. The same phenomena

\textsuperscript{37} Harmatta 1992: 371-372. Most of the details about these migratory herdsmen have been acquired from their burial grounds rather than from their settlements, of which they left little or no trace since they spent too short a time to leave substantial cultural deposits.

\textsuperscript{38} Litvinskiy and P'Yankova 1992: 385-390.
occurred with the spread of the Indo-Iranian races of people, whereby another cultural stratum was laid over the previous one without completely wiping out all traces of the former peoples either linguistically or genetically\textsuperscript{39}. The linguistic and genetic hybrids which resulted from the new-comers' absorption of some elements of the pre-existing populations caused local variation in the originally homogeneous Indo-Iranian cultural complex which spanned from the Tigris to the Ganges-Jamna basin.

(f) Iron Age

The discovery and transmission of knowledge of the means to attain higher temperatures in smelting led to a metallurgical revolution, since this allowed the production of iron implements. Pure iron, produced from iron ore at a temperature of 900 degrees Celsius, was used in the manufacture of a wide assortment of weapons, tools, and decorative items. Soon after this, when temperatures in excess of 1530 degrees Celsius were attainable, even more robust implements began to be crafted. This led to the formation of various Iron Age complexes (1100-800 BC), such as the Painted Grey Ware culture of the Vedic Aryans in Pakistan and Northern India\textsuperscript{40}, the Dahistan, the Chust, and

\textsuperscript{39} Evidence of this exists in Prakrit by which some Dravidian words were adopted since the Sanskrit vocabulary of the new-comers did not contain appellations for some of the flora and fauna that existed in their strange new environment. Prakrit became the spoken form of Sanskrit, from Old Indian \textit{prakrt} - natural, popular, versus Sanskrit from the Old Indian \textit{samskrta} - artistically composed, prepared.

\textsuperscript{40} Lal 1992: 421-422. This gave rise to the Northern Black Polished Ware culture of the Rigvedic Aryans in the 7th century BC.
other cultures of the Avestan Iranians⁴¹, all of which led to the founding of new urban centers with massive citadels as the residences of the kings. These were akin to the early Helladic citadels, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos, and involved the same manners of inter-polis warfare.

⁴¹ Lal 1992: 457. Their religious beliefs were based on the 'cult of fire' which manifested itself in the shape of temple buildings that contained the remains of small altars. Images of the goddess Aredvi Sura Anahita were becoming more prevalent. The god Mithra, wearing elaborate armor and driving a chariot, became quite popular as well.
Appendix 2: *Greek Inscription of Asoka*\(^{42}\)

**Edict XII**

(1) *εὐθεία* καὶ *ἐγκράτεια* κατὰ πᾶσας τὰς διατριβὰς: ἐγκράτης δὲ μάλιστά ἐστιν (2) δὲ γνῶσις ἐγκράτης ἦ. Καὶ μήτε ἑαυτοῖς ἐποίησασιν, καὶ τῶν πέλας ψέγωσιν (3) περὶ μηδενός: κενὸν γὰρ ἐστὶν καὶ πειράσασθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς πέλας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ (4) μὴ ψέγειν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς αὔξουσι καὶ τοὺς (5) πέλας ἀνακτῶνται παραβαίνοντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀκλέστεροι ταῖς γίνονται καὶ τοῖς (6) πέλας ἀπέχονται. Οἱ δ’ ἂν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινῶσιν, τοὺς δὲ πέλας ψέγωσιν φιλοτιμότερον (7) διαπράττονταί, βουλόμενοι παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐγλάμυσιν, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον βλάπτουσιν (8) ἑαυτοὺς. Πρέπει δὲ ἄλληλοις θαυμάζειν καὶ τὰ ἄλληλων διδάγματα παραδέχεσθαι; (9) ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες πολυμαθέστεροι ἐσονται, παραδιδόντες ἄλληλοις ὡσα (10) ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἐπίσταται. Καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπαληκουοῦσι ταῦτα μὴ ὅκνειν λέγειν ἵνα δει(11)αμείνωσιν διὰ παντὸς εὐσεβοῦντες.

*nb: line numbers are in brackets.*

*Translation*\(^{43}\):

...piety and self-control in all pastimes. But most self-possessed is that (man) who is master of his tongue. And they neither praise themselves nor belittle their peers; for it is in vain. It is better (for them) to praise their peers and not to belittle them in any way. By doing this they would raise themselves (in reputation) and impress their peers; by transgressing this they become ill-reputed and are shunned by their peers. Those who praise themselves and belittle their peers, act too ambitiously, wanting to outshine others, (by doing this) they harm themselves much more. It befits (for them) to respect each other and to accept each others’ teachings. By doing these things, they will become more variegated in their knowledge by providing each other whatever each person knows. And to those practicing these things one is not afraid to say that they persist in being pious through all (conditions).

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\(^{43}\) Translations by G. Jassar.
Edict XIII

In the eighth year of King Piodasses (i.e Priyadarsin=Asoka), he conquered Kalinga. A hundred and fifty thousand bodies were taken prisoner and led away from there and a hundred thousand were slain and almost that many more died. From that time pity and remorse overcame him; and he bore it with difficulty. For this reason he bade that there be abstention from (killing) the living and exercised eagerness and effort with regard to piety. And this (the following) the king bore with more difficulty: i.e. that all the brahmans and sramans who dwelt there or also certain others who were spending their time with a view to piety, it was necessary for those living there to pay attention to matters useful to the king, and to be humble before their teacher, father, and mother, as well as to respect them, and to love their family and friends and not to lie to them, to use their slaves and hired servants as kindly as possible, of those practicing such things there, if someone should die or was led away, and those who are left regard this as a secondary matter, the king was very angry with these. And that amongst the remaining peoples are [---]
Appendix 3: Chronologies

a) the Seleucid Kings

311-281 BC  Seleucus I Nikator
281-261   Antiochus I Soter
261-246   Antiochus II Theos
246-226   Seleucus II Kallinikos
226-223   Seleucus III Soter
223-187   Antiochus III the Great
187-175   Seleucus IV Philopator
175-164   Antiochus IV Epiphanes
164-162   Antiochus V Eupator
162-150   Demetrius I Soter
150-145   Alexander Balas
145-142   Antiochus VI Epiphanes Dionysus
(142-138) Diodotus Tryphon (usurper)
138-129   Antiochus VII Euergetes (Sidetes)
129-125   Demetrius II Nikator
125       Cleopatra Thea
125-96    Antiochus VIII Philometor (Grypos)
125       Seleucus V
115-95    Antiochus IX Philopator (Cyzicenus)
96-95     Seleucus VI Epiphanes Nicator
95-88     Demetrius III Philopator Soter (Eukairos)
95-83     Antiochus X Eusebes Philopator
94        Antiochus XI Epiphanes Philadelphos
94-83     Philip I Epiphanes Philadelphos
87-84     Antiochus XII
83-69     Tigranes I (of Armenia)
69-64     Antiochus XIII (Asiaticus)
65-64     Philip II Philorhomaios

44 Source: Green 1990: 734-735; Burstein 1985: 170-175 (appendix). The chronology of the late 2nd and the early 1st century BC is very uncertain.
b) the Graeco-Bactrian Kings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>King Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>256-248</td>
<td>Diodotus I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248-235</td>
<td>Diodotus II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235-200</td>
<td>Euthydemus I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-190</td>
<td>Demetrius I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190-175</td>
<td>Antimachus I Theos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175-165</td>
<td>Demetrius II</td>
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<tr>
<td>160-130</td>
<td>Menander Soter(^{46})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170-155</td>
<td>Eucratides I (usurper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155-150</td>
<td>Plato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150-140</td>
<td>Heliocles (last king north of the Hindu Kush)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140-130</td>
<td>Eucratides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130-120</td>
<td>Archebios</td>
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<tr>
<td>120-115</td>
<td>Heliocles II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115-100</td>
<td>Antialcidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95-80</td>
<td>Telephos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95-85</td>
<td>Diomedes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-75</td>
<td>Amyntas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-55</td>
<td>Hermaeus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190-180</td>
<td>Pantaleon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180-170</td>
<td>Agathocles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{45}\) These dates given by Green (1990: 739) are approximate and the actual period of his reign may have been at anytime within this period. The dates recorded above for the other Graeco-Bactrian kings are approximations as well.

\(^{46}\) The chronologies and reigns of kings are even more uncertain and complex after the reign of Menander and are better left to studies involving the Indo-Greek kingdoms.
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