

Orientalism and Ornamentalism: Athenian Reactions to Achaemenid Persia

MARGARET C. MILLER*

Sometime in the later fifth or fourth century BC a woman named Diophante made a dedication of an item of clothing to the goddess Artemis at Brauron (*IG II² 1523.8–9; 1524.181–182*).¹ We know nothing about her beyond this simple entry:

Kandys. Diophante, wife of Hieronymous of Acharnae.
With gold attachments. Worn.

The inclusion of her husband's demotic, Acharnae, tells us that Diophante was the daughter of an Athenian citizen. We do not know the occasion of the dedication but typically prized personal items were dedicated to Artemis at times of transition. The fact that her dedication is described as 'worn' fits the characterisation of prized personal possession, as does the fact that it was decorated with gold spangles.

What makes this dedication worthy of note is the fact that it was a *kandys*, the most quintessentially Persian item of clothing known to the Greeks. It is easily recognisable in Persian art as the cloak-like garment worn hussar-style with empty sleeves hanging down (see Figure 7 below). What is an Athenian woman doing dedicating a *kandys* as a used personal garment?

Amidst the hundreds of other items of clothing dedicated to Brauronian Artemis, we find records of five other women who similarly owned a *kandys*. Two of the *kandys* were deemed worthy of

* Margaret Miller is Arthur and Renee George Professor of Classical Archaeology in the University of Sydney. This inaugural lecture was delivered to the Arts Association on 26 October 2006.

placement on the cult statue. One was multi-coloured and described as *amorgine*, which may signify 'silk.' Another was made of linen, with colourful inweaving predominantly in green. The earliest listed is simply defined *poikilos*, 'multi-coloured'. These were luxury garments, to judge from both their rarity and their rich decoration.

Another foreign garment that appears in the dedications inventory list, the *cheiridotos chiton*, was so foreign that it does not even get a real name.² The term is descriptive and picks up on the most surprising aspect of the garment: it had tailored sleeves (Figure 1). A



Figure 1: A basket-bearer (*kanephoros*) leads a sacrificial procession to the altar of Apollo decked out in her sleeved chiton over a Greek chiton, a cloak (*himation*) over the top. Attic red-figured volute crater, Kleophon Painter, ca 440–430, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ferrara 44894 (T 57c VP). Photograph courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Emilia – Romagna – Bologna.

hard look at Attic vase painting recovers a few instances of depictions of Athenian women and children who wear a sleeved garment. Sometimes the sleeved garment is an open jacket, which is perhaps a Hellenised *kandys* (Figure 2). We can wax lyrical about the heights of Greek art and culture – their philosophy, their drama, their poetry, their Parthenon – but we have to be honest about one thing: Greek dress was primitive,

comprised of rectangular lengths of cloth as removed from the loom, and wrapped or pinned about the body without further ado. In the traditional Greek wardrobe, quality of dress was conveyed solely through the fineness of the wool from which it was woven and the amplitude with which it was draped.

The inclusion of tailored sleeves is a radical departure from traditional Greek dress and so sleeves stand out in contrast to the norm of dress in art (and doubtless life, much as Persian trousers – *anaxyrides*



Figure 2: A little girl festively dressed in an open sleeved jacket (*kandys*?) over an elaborately decorated foreign garment, possibly the sleeveless ependytes, itself over a chiton. Attic red-figured chous, unattributed, ca 380, Museo Civico Archeologico, Bologna PU 295. Photograph courtesy Soprintendenza Archeologica dell'Emilia – Romagna – Bologna.

– became emblematic of Persian dress and were nicknamed ‘bags’ in Attic comedy). Such garments quote a sartorial grammar recently introduced throughout the Near East by the conquests of Cyrus the Great.

To discover a taste for items of Persian dress in Classical Athens is a surprise. Whenever Diophante first acquired her *kandys* – whether in 420 or 350 – Athenians did not like to think of themselves as copying Persians. Quite the contrary. In fact, Said accused the Athenians of inventing the phenomenon that he termed ‘Orientalism’. This he defined as an

interwoven cluster of ideas which included ‘Oriental despotism, Oriental splendour, cruelty, sensuality’.³

The concept of Orientalism has proved very fruitful for all areas of scholarship in the Humanities, the Classics not least. New work on Classical Greek drama, poetry, rhetoric and historiography has exposed the Orientalist basis of much ancient expression. Yet even now, the ancient rhetorical contrast between Greek manliness and Persian effeminacy has a continuing negative impact on modern scholarly opinion. One can still find intimations that in the fourth

century, Alexander 'easily' toppled the Persian Empire because it was so weak, internally divided, and mismanaged that it was ready to fall. This is an attitude against which Achaemenid historians have been battling of late, Pierre Briant at the fore.⁴

Our problem: in classical Athenian thought, we find frequent expression of the opinion that *barbaroi* were inferior, unstable, cowardly, to be despised. In classical Athenian experience, Diophante and her peers were wearing something they called a *kandys*, and shoemakers in Athens were rushing to satisfy the demand for a lady's item known as *persikai*, Persian shoes.⁵ How is such a contradiction to be explained?

Attraction and Repulsion: The Persians as Neighbours

In the mid-sixth century, the Persian Cyrus the Great founded the largest empire the world had yet known. For the Greeks, the crucial moment was his conquest of the Lydian Empire about 546. The fall of King Croesus put some Greeks actually into Persian hands and the rest into extreme jeopardy. The next logical step in the westward expansion was across the Hellespont into Thrace, Macedon and then southern Greece. It was only a matter of time. A revolt of the East Greeks in the 490s forced the Persian hand.

Darius Great King, King of Kings, King of countries containing all kinds of men, King in this great earth far and wide (these are some of the titles he claimed in his inscriptions⁶ – the message is clear), Darius responded by ordering a foray into mainland Greece. It ended with the battle of Marathon in 490, at which an army essentially of Athenians managed to repel a larger Persian invading force. Ten years later Xerxes led an invasion of Greece, and added more battle sites to the Greek honour rolls: Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea, where the decisive land battle took place in 479 – the very same day, tradition had it, that the Greek fleet defeated a Persian fleet at Mykale in the eastern Aegean (Hdt. 9.90).⁷

In the early 460s there was one more Persian attempt at invasion, which resulted in the battle at the Eurymedon River. This was the great double land and sea victory for the Greeks led by the Athenian Kimon,

though we know little about it owing to the lack of a continuous ancient historical narrative for the period. Soon thereafter (Aug. 465) Xerxes was assassinated. Some suspect a causal relationship.

Xerxes' successor Artaxerxes decided it was simpler and more cost-effective to manipulate the Greeks by means of diplomacy and bribery. There were certainly other points of armed conflict all along the eastern Mediterranean coast throughout the rest of the fifth century. But no more major invasions. We particularly see the results of this shift in Persian policy during the Peloponnesian War at the end of the fifth century, when Persian gold played an important if not decisive role in the outcome.⁸

Two generations after the Persian invasions, when Herodotos was composing his *Histories*, there were many Greeks who remembered the period and many more who knew about it from talking to someone who was there. One persistent element in the oral tradition about the Persian Wars was the incredible wealth of booty; for centuries afterwards, booty remained visible as sanctuary dedications, to reinforce popular memory.⁹ Some few objects excavated in Greece may stem from the Persian Wars. The most famous is the Near Eastern helmet at Olympia, inscribed 'taken from the Medes'; other more recently published items at Olympia may also be Persian spoils.¹⁰

The most spectacular booty came at Plataea in 479. Herodotos tells us of Greeks breaching the palisade of the Persian camp (Hdt. 9.70.3):

The Tegeans were the first to enter, they were the ones who plundered Mardonius' tent, taking from it, among much else, the manger for his horses. It was all bronze, well worth a sight. They dedicated Mardonios' manger in their Temple of Athena Alea, but everything else they seized they contributed to the common booty of the Greeks.

Later on we learn that the Greeks believed that the tent used by Mardonius was actually the royal campaign tent of Xerxes left behind in his flight from Greece. Whether or not it is true is immaterial to us. The important thing is that it was luxurious enough to be believably a royal tent. Herodotos says of it (9.82):

When Pausanias saw the tent of Mardonios, wrought with gold and silver

and multi-coloured hangings, he commanded the bakers and cooks to prepare a meal just as they used to make for Mardonios. They prepared everything as instructed. When Pausanias saw gold and silver klinai draped in textiles, and gold and silver tables, and the rich preparation for the feast, he was astonished at the good things set out. For a joke, ordered his own servants to prepare a Spartan dinner. The difference between the two was indeed considerable, and Pausanias laughed and sent for the Greek generals. When they arrived, Pausanias showed them the two prepared meals, and said, 'Gentlemen, I asked you here in order to show you the folly of the Persians, who, living in this style, have come against us to rob us of our poverty'.

It is a memorable line, and regardless of its historicity, captures well the Greek perspective.

Herodotos' description of Mardonios' tent might seem fanciful were it not for the fact that we know other examples of palatial architecture translated into the medium of the campaign tent. The best comparanda are Ottoman Turkish campaign tents, not least owing to the preservation of a number of them thanks to the parallel of a more recent, better-documented, repulsed invasion of Europe from the East: the siege of Vienna in 1683.¹¹ In that year Kara Mustafa, Grand Vizier of Sultan Mehmet IV, advanced into Hapsburg territory, to the very gates of Vienna. His action provoked an international crisis to which the European powers responded, slowly. In the beleaguered city supplies ran out and defences crumbled. Then, under the coordinated attack of the united powers of Christendom, the Ottoman forces collapsed and their camp fell to the victorious Europeans. The luxury campaign tents of the Turkish noblemen were full of exotic surprises, including a monkey on a silver chain and parrots. A number of these tents were carefully preserved as booty by the European victors. They are adorned with bright textiles, leather appliqués, elaborate embroidery.

The tent of Kara Mustafa himself is lost but its layout is recorded in a copperplate by Nicolo Billy in the Vienna Stadthistorisches Museum. It was a complex of several different elements including four round pavilion 'towers' at the corners of a courtyard formed by four long narrow 'corridor/wall' tents. In the open court space they create on axis with the entrance were set two round tents of large scale, each

roughly five metres in diameter. The guards depicted at the entrance give an indication of the scale: the complex must have measured at least 18–20 metres square. The whole complex bears an extraordinary resemblance to fortified palace architecture.

The Turkish booty from this campaign was staggering. It passed from noble collections to state museums, and contributed to emerging national identity. The victory remains, for example, a great moment in modern Polish history thanks to the participation of King Jan III Sobieski. Just as in the second century AD Pausanias could be shown Persian spoils on display on the Athenian Acropolis, the best collections of Turkish artefacts of this period are even now to be found in those very cities whose princes played significant roles in the campaigns of 1683: Vienna, Karlsruhe, Cracow. Here you will see the armour and banners, the saddles and weapons, battle drums and flasks of the vanquished enemy.

At Plataea the Greeks similarly collected and retained Persian items. Herodotos briefly summarises the categories of booty collected by order of Pausanias (9.80):

... tents adorned with gold and silver, and klinai overlaid with gold and silver. There were golden kraters, *phialai*, and other drinking vessels (*alla ekpomata*); and they found sacks on wagons with *lebetes* (round-bottomed bowls) of gold and silver. From the dead lying there they stripped bracelets and torques (*pselia kai streptous*) and daggers of gold (*akinakai*), while no account was made of the multi-coloured clothing (*esthes poikile*).

Herodotos goes on to tell how portions were set aside for the gods' share, and he specifies that they divided the rest:

Every man received what was due to him – the Persians' concubines, the gold, the silver, the other goods and the pack-animals (9.81.1) ... Pausanias [the commander-in-chief] himself was granted ten of everything – women, horses, talants, camels, and every other sort of item (9.81.2).

So wrote Herodotos some 40 or 50 years after the battle, a good reflection of the collective memory. If every participant really did receive his bit of booty – and there is no reason not to believe Herodotos on the matter – then some developments in Athens are more explicable.

Along the Paths of Emulation with Ceramic Chronology as a Guide

A major category in Herodotos' lists of booty is gold and silver vessels. The words he uses – *phialai* (shallow round-bottomed offering bowls) and *lebetes* (deep round-bottomed bowls) – were probably the most precise Greek terms available to him to convey the distinctive shapes of Achaemenid metalware vessels. Greeks liked to have a base or foot and handle on their vessels, and, alone out of all their repertoire, the *lebes* and *phiale* had neither (owing to their Eastern origin in the more distant past). In contrast, the Persian repertoire specialised in handle-less foot-less vessels. It is a regrettable fact of Iranian archaeology that very few metalware vessels have good archaeological provenances, but the two bowl types are well attested: both survive in silver and bronze. The deep bowl appears on the reliefs in the Apadana at Persepolis.¹²

Herodotos also mentions 'other drinking vessels' – perhaps he had no applicable Greek term for a foreign form. Perhaps he refers to the horizontally fluted beaker also visible on the reliefs, or perhaps he means the animal-head or animal-protome cup, which later on was known as *protome* in Greek. The animal head cup is more elusive archaeologically as it is not rendered at Persepolis and few examples have good provenances (Figure 3). Their presence in booty has been deduced from some animal *protomes* on the coinage of Delphi about the Persian War period.

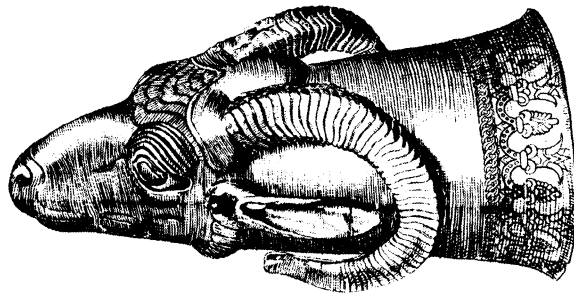


Figure 3: Achaemenid silver ram-head vessel excavated at Ust Kamenogorsk. St Petersburg, Hermitage. Photograph after A. U. Pope, *A History of Persian Art I*, Oxford, 1938, figure 87.

What, if anything, was the Greek response to the mass of wealth and exotica acquired as booty? About the time of the Persian Wars, we see an introduction of new vessel types in the Attic ceramic repertoire, whose origin is best explained as ceramic imitations or adaptations of Achaemenid luxury toreutic vessels. The most famous example is a series of animal-head drinking cups, similar in many respects to the Persian model, but the Greeks added *kantharos* handles to the Persian handle-less vessel (Figure 4). Moreover, as Hoffmann pointed out, while Attic potters sometimes retained the Persian bestiary (lions, griffins, rams), more frequently they substituted less noble animals, like the dog or donkey.¹³

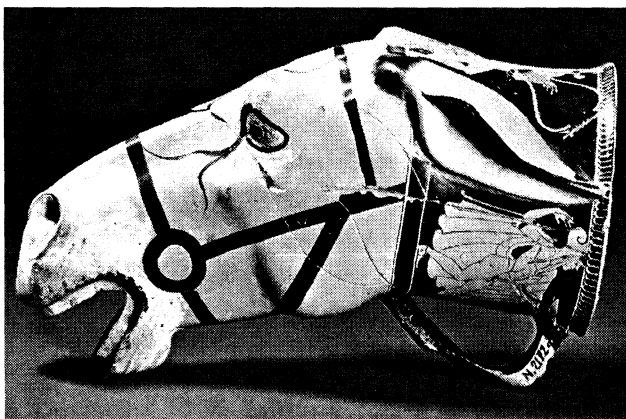


Figure 4: Donkey-head cup, Attic imitation of a Persian animal-head vessel. Attic red-figured mould-made cup, Brygos Painter, ca 480. Musée Jérôme Carcopino, Aleria 2172, Jehasse 1902. Photograph after museum postcard.

Somewhat less well attested, but equally interesting, is the appearance of imitations and adaptations of the Persian deep and shallow bowls in Attic black gloss ceramic. The Greek *phiale* is generally better attested in metalwares as the implement for pouring libations to the gods in religious contexts; it typically has a shallow continuously curving profile. The new series offers an offset everted lip and horizontal fluting on the bowl, both of which were Persian features.

For years, almost everyone happily followed Hoffmann in accepting animal-head cups as inspired by Persian booty in 479, until

Robert Guy published one fragmentary ram-head that on stylistic grounds should antedate Xerxes' invasion by ten, even twenty years.¹⁴ It might tempt one, along with Michael Vickers, to rejig the whole stylistic chronology of Attic red-figure pottery to allow the ram-head vessel to date after 480. But other evidence corroborates an Athenian response to Persian metal vessels before the Wars. Securely dated deposits of the Athenian Agora make it clear that already late in the sixth century, black-gloss ceramic *phialai* of Persian form were being produced in Athens. A group of horizontally fluted bichrome *phialai* (red bowls and black rims) similarly provide good evidence that Persian luxury *toreutic* was present in Athens before the Persian Wars and that it was deemed worthy of emulation in ceramic.¹⁵ The great era of imitation may have been after 479; but the spoils of Plataea neither created the taste nor, in the first instance, supplied the need.

Over the past twenty years or so, examples of precisely this phenomenon have also been surfacing in the western Achaemenid empire. Imitation Persian bowls reproduced in local ceramic are known from Harta and Sardis in western Turkey. The occasional Lydian inscription on Persian style silverware suggests manufacture in Lydia; while they may be mere ownership inscriptions and say nothing about the locus of production, the evidence of provenance and the gifts of the Lydian delegations on the Persepolis reliefs tend to support a local manufacture of Persian-looking luxury *toreutic* in the western provinces of the empire. The local production was for use by local élites in a classic case of emulation of status goods, already in the early fifth century.¹⁶

In the literary tradition a recurrent handful of items indicates the range of gifts given to 'the man whom the King wishes to honour' (*Esther* 6.7–9). The list includes such items as a suit of clothing, a horse with a golden bit, a gold torque, gold bracelets, gold *akinakes* and gold and silver *phialai*. It is interesting that royal names occur most frequently on two categories of Persian items: cylinder seals and bowls of gold and silver (both deep bowls and lobed *phialai*). It may be that royal names on metalware signify royal gift.¹⁷ The appearance of such prestige vessels in the hands of Greek mythological aristocrats (see further below) offers corroboration of the social role

of such drinking bowls.

Cannadine has written interestingly about the development of hierarchies of distinctions in the nineteenth-century British Empire to encourage competition in loyalty among the élites of the empire; he dubbed the phenomenon 'Ornamentalism'.¹⁸ It would appear that the range of gifts given by the Great King of Persia (whose court clearly had carefully ordered ranks) had a set range of value so that the hierarchy of honour was articulated by gift-giving. This is ornamentalism Persian-style: for a subject member of the élite to have a bowl of the King added mythical value to an item already inherently valuable. With such added value, it is not surprising to find imitations of metal bowls in local ceramic traditions within the Persian Empire.

The evidence of Attic black gloss wares show that before, during and after the Persian War period some Athenians wanted to own pots that looked like precious metalware vessels from the Persian Empire. What can we understand this to signify? First of all, some such vessels were introduced in Athens before 500, presumably from Achaemenid-held Anatolia. Perhaps they arrived as a result of aristocratic gift-exchange, or perhaps diplomatic gift-exchange. Either source might conceivably enhance the mythical notion of their value. Their occasional replication in ceramic, generally not otherwise decorated, testifies to devolution of status goods within Athens. What does this tell us about Graeco-Persian relations?

A concomitant question arises: how might we get an understanding of the Greek attitude to foreigners and its evolution over time in the Archaic and Classical periods in view of the general lack of literary evidence? The only method I have been able to identify to help in this matter is to study the representation of foreigners in scenes of myth.

Mythical Orientals as an Index of Aristocratic Ideology

The peninsula of modern Greece was surrounded by foreign peoples in antiquity. To the east the coast of Anatolia had Lydians, Lycians, Carians. Thracians and Scythians lay to the north and north-east.

South-east lay the peoples of the Levant and Egypt. In life, each people had its own distinctive language, culture, and mode of dress; in Greek myth, each people played a role. Mythological subjects predominate in Archaic Greek art. Yet we search in vain for visual clues of foreign ethnicity in the arts of eighth-century or seventh-century-BC Greece. In art, as in Homeric epic, all heroic figures appear as Greek. They wear Greek clothes, use Greek armour and equipment, invoke Greek gods. Ethnicity does not matter in the heroic world. One is god-like or not; the foe must be heroic in order that the combat be heroic.¹⁹ Yet we must never make the mistake of supposing that this mentality arose from ignorance: there is ample evidence for trade throughout the Mediterranean in this period. Greeks knew that different peoples wore different clothes and bore different styles of armour; they chose not to depict mythical figures from, say, Phrygia, as foreign.

In the art of the sixth century there is an occasional hint of



Figure 5: Memnon, ally of Troy, King of Ethiopia, is indicated as such by being flanked by black attendants who bear Ethiopian arms (clubs). Attic black-figured neck amphora, Acheloos Ptr., ca 510, Munich 1507. Photograph Courtesy the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, München.

ethnographic interest. But we find it in highly suggestive contexts: subordinate figures, or parody. Bousiris king of Egypt complete with *uraeus* is himself the vanquished foe of Herakles who adopts the stance of the triumphant Pharaoh. Even more revelatory is the situation of the hero Memnon, King of the Ethiopians, who fought with the Trojans in the Trojan War. In the sixth century Memnon is typically depicted in Greek hoplite armour, with Greek physiognomy. His ethnicity is indicated by means of

his attendants whose physiognomy and weapons (clubs and bows) identify them as Ethiopians (Figure 5).²⁰ This 'aristocratic internationalism' parallels the outlook of more recent aristocracies.²¹

A characteristic feature of aristocratic ideology is a world-view in which fellow aristocrats, even of an enemy state, are perceived to be socially closer to the aristocrat than his fellow-citizens; for an aristocrat, the great divide is between those with good birth and those without. Cannadine has argued compellingly that an important feature of the British Empire in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries was the perception on the part of British élite that the élites of their imperial subjects were their own natural allies against a rising tide of industrial, urban egalitarianism.²² Furthermore, he found ample evidence that racism was more readily associated with the sub-élite; the comments of Lady Gordon, wife of the governor of Fiji, best capture the situation:²³

She thought the native, high-ranking Fijians ‘such an undoubted aristocracy’. ‘Their manners,’ she continued, ‘are so perfectly easy and well bred ... Nurse can’t understand it at all, she looks down on them as an inferior race. I don’t like to tell her that these ladies are my equals, which she is not!’

Race, not rank, was what lower-class Britons abroad could see.

In Athens, the great era of interest in foreign ethnicity is the fifth century, the great century of democracy. We can most easily see the phenomenon in the myth of Troy with the iconography of Paris.

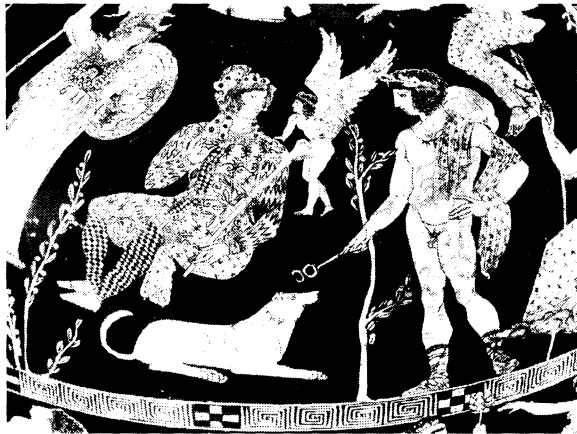


Figure 6: Paris of Troy judging the goddesses, orientalisised by sleeved garments and trousers, soft shoes, floppy Persian hat. Attic red-figured *kalpis*, ca 410, Painter of the Karlsruhe Paris, Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe B36.

Archaic scenes of the Judgement of Paris show a Greek-looking mature figure interrupted in his rural idyll by the arrival of divinities. He is younger in early classical red figure or white ground, but still Greek-looking. By the late-fifth century, Paris has been transformed into an Oriental prince, who is not averse to bribery or secret council. Often the elements of his dress are generic Oriental – floppy hat and sleeved garment (Figure 6). Yet Paris can even wear specifically Persian



Figure 7: Paris of Troy wooing Helen, dressed in full Persian garb: *kandys* worn Persian-style as a cloak with sleeves hanging empty; *anaxyrides*, sleeved *chiton* with central stripe, soft shoes, upright tiara. Attic red-figured *kalpis*, Helena Painter, ca 380, St Petersburg, Hermitage IO.26 (St. 1924).

clothes: the Persian *kandys* worn correctly with the sleeves hanging empty, a Persian sleeved *chiton*, and on his legs, Persian *anaxyrides* (Figure 7). The same transformation occurs in many other figures of Greek mythology whose tales are set in an Eastern land. In the case of Memnon it can be seen on a fragmentary red-figure *krater* where Memnon falls to his knees under attack by Achilles. Here the painter has given Memnon the patterned sleeves, soft shoes, and *anaxyrides* of the Persian. Two processes have taken place: he has been personally Orientalised, that is, made into a foreigner, and his precise ethnic, Ethiopian, has been subsumed within the one great foreign Persoid 'Other'.²⁴

In the translation of Hellenoid mythical foreigners into Persians over the course of the fifth century, hostility against the Persians played a role. But hostility against Persians is not a sufficient explanation for the pattern and extent of the change. Internal social factors within the Greek world were more significant:

I would associate the Orientalisation of myth with the shift from aristocratic to democratic dominant ideology, much as Cannadine would associate the rise of racist discourse in the modern western world with the decline of aristocracy.

The social divisions between 'us' and 'them' in ancient Athens can be schematised:

ARCHAIC ARISTOCRATIC MINDSCAPE	CLASSICAL DEMOCRATIC MINDSCAPE	
'US': élites everywhere	'US':	'THEM':
—————	citizens of	anyone outside
'THEM': all social inferiors	the state	the state
(Horizontal divisions based on CLASS)	(Vertical divisions based on RACE)	

Chart 1: Mapping of contrasting aristocratic and democratic mindscapes.

To the aristocrat the natural divisions were the divisions between upper and lower classes; his personal connections knew no state boundaries. I would chart this as showing a horizontal division between the élite and the masses. In the dominant ideology of the Greek archaic period, the mythical Trojan stood at the same social level as the mythical Achaean: they spoke Greek to each other on the battlefield; they wore comparable armour in art.

In contrast to the horizontal divisions of aristocratic ideology, the social divisions of classical democratic ideology were vertical, separating citizens of one state from those of another, and most particularly separating Greeks from non-Greeks. The fifth-century Athenian emergent democracy did not need to seek a foreign enemy; the Persians conveniently presented themselves at a critical moment. Focus on an external enemy could only enhance internal unity. In the classical Athenian mindscape race, not class, provided the axis of division; and race was itself topographically determined.

Rendering of Real Persians as an Index of Greek Orientalism

If we turn from mythological foreigners to real Persians, we find evidence of a similar shift in outlook.²⁵ About the time of the Persian

Wars and in contrast to the typical mythical perspective in Greek art, something approaching historical art appears in the image repertory of the Athenian pot-painter: battles between Greeks and Persians. Just as Herodotos gives ethnographically precise indications about Persian weaponry and finds heroism and honour among Persians, so too in the first generation of representations of battles against Persians: in the earlier fifth century, we find that Persian armour and weaponry can be depicted with great accuracy. Although Persians are typically (though not universally) presented as in retreat, giving way to a victorious Greek hoplite, they are presented as valiant men who are simply out-weaponed. They fall and die still fighting; they do not flee. Their courage in defeat complies with an aristocratic vision through which a soldier gains greater glory through defeat of a greater foe.

Within a generation, full-blown Orientalism appears in battle scenes: Persians flee, inadequately armed, in frontal-faced terror. Their dress is still accurate, more or less, but their Greek opponents are heroised through presentation as nude or virtually nude. By the end of the fifth century, when we find (very rarely) battle scenes, Persians flee almost before a blow is struck. Earlier, before the mid-fifth century, their famed cavalry had been subjected to ridicule: a Persian knight with his pot-bellied squire sits side-saddle on a donkey that refuses to budge, ears stubbornly twitched back (Figure 8). The raised tail offers a narrative explanation for the anti-heroic stance.

The second half of the fifth century is the great era of Orientalism in the visual arts with a focus on non-martial contexts. Sometimes late-fifth-century Attic vase-paintings showing enthroned Persians do show some familiarity with Persian royal imagery – the use of footstool, the presence of the royal weapons carrier, and occasionally even flywhisk-bearer translated to fan-bearer. More striking is the deviation from the Persian imagery. In Attic art the enthroned personage is surrounded by symbols of luxurious living. He is attended by women and eunuchs rather than courtiers. He often sits on the delicate *klismos* which more properly belongs in scenes of Athenian women at home (Figure 9). On the hunt noble Persians flee their quarry or pursue fabulous creatures (Figure 10).²⁶



Figure 8: Persian knight and attendant. Orientalist ridicule of Persian cavalry. Attic red-figured oinochoe, Painter of the *Brussels Oinochoe*, ca 470, London BM 1912.7-9.1. © Copyright The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 9: A Persian seated on the delicate *klismos* rather than a proper throne, attended by women: one offers a bow while the other adjusts a cloak that looks suspiciously like a *kandys* – in Persia worn only by men. Attic red-figured *oinochoe*, ca 430, Stockholm Medelhäusmuseet V294.



Figure 10: A lion-hunt gone wrong: a Persian starts back while a lion mauls his horse. Attic red-figured *oinochoe*, 420-390, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France 473.

Athenian Aristocrats and the East

One distinctive element of the Persian War period is the phenomenon of Medizing. The term is specifically used to refer to those aristocrats who sympathised with Persians.²⁷ Inspired by the sight of Persians ruling through Greek tyrants in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, we are told, such men even worked to betray the state. Remember the shield signal allegedly flashed at Marathon (Hdt. 6.123); and the *ostraka* cast against Kallias Kratiou in 471, which call him 'The Mede' or show him in Persian dress.²⁸ Kallias came from one of the wealthiest families of Athens.

It is consistent with Persian War Medizing by Greek aristocrats that the earliest figures in Greek art to bear a *phiale* of the Oriental type are sixth-century Greek heroes. On the example chosen, Achilles, best of the Achaeans, reclines at ease, lobed *phiale* in hand, when Priam arrives to ransom his son (Figure 11); later versions of the Ransom of Hektor shift the Oriental bowls to Priam's retinue carrying stacks of



Figure 11: Achilles reclines with lobed *phiale* in hand. Attic black-figured *hydria*, 570-560, Zürich, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich. Photograph by Silvia Hertig, Archäologisches Sammlung der Universität Zürich.

gifts for the ransom. Alföldi long ago identified this mythic imagery as revealing what he called the *iranisches Lebensideal* as a goal in aristocratic archaic Greece.²⁹ Recent scholarship has come to realise the extent to which the arts of *tryphe* or luxury from the East figured within the aristocratic ideology of sixth-century Greece. Near-Eastern goods were a welcome means of showing social distinction – there was little gap between the Lydian court of Sardis and the Greek aristocrat; and when in the second half of the sixth century the Persians took over Asia Minor, and landed gentlemen became a feature of the area, with their hunting parks and planted gardens, East Greeks as well as Persians could be granted such a fief of land.³⁰

Against this background I would place the first generation of Attic ceramic vessels that emulate Persian metalware forms discussed above. Their excavation from well-stratified Agora deposits guarantees both their date before the Persian invasion and their social context: these were not designed for export, nor intended for dedication to the gods, nor were they cheaper substitutes for burial. They are blatant imitations of prestigious metalware vessels in a typical instance of devolution of status forms. What we cannot know is whether – as Brian Shefton pointed out some time ago – these *phialai* were used in the Greek manner (held with thumb on lip and index finger at *omphalos*, for libation) or the Persian manner (balanced on finger-tips for drinking).³¹ And we cannot know the precise context of their introduction; we only know from Lydian tombs that there was a production of Persian style metalware vessels to serve the needs of the élite at Sardis.³²

Within Athenian Democracy

I have spoken of a dominant aristocratic ideology in the sixth century, and implied a dominant democratic ideology at the end of the fifth. The stress here is on 'dominant', as contrary ideologies can and do co-exist in a single state. In the Persian war period, a particular circumstance – the fact of invasions – made it convenient to start to view the world in terms of vertical ethnic divisions, though the fact of élite Medizing shows the horizontal divisions of aristocratic mindset

continued. And certainly in the Persian War period itself, despite the fact of a democratic constitution in Athens, aristocratic mentality continued, even among the hoplites who fought Persians. The *opinio communis* has it that the increasing importance of the Athenian navy rowed by hundreds of sub-hoplite citizens encouraged the florescence of democratic ideology in Athens.

The Athenian democratic state response to Persians is very interesting, and worked in different ways at different times. On the one hand, from the 470s and especially 460s, the Athenians developed a new mythology to convey their struggles and victories against the Persians in mythical terms: they turned Persians into Amazons, Amazons invading Attica to retrieve their queen who had run off with Theseus. Battling Persians largely disappear from Greek art – the Marathonomachy in the Stoa Poikile was a first and last monumental representation, unless we accept the battle with Orientals on the Nike Temple frieze.³³

An even more interesting development happened from about the mid-fifth century, in a process by which the citizens of classical Athens collectively laid claim to aristocratic privilege: they insisted on their ‘pure blood’ in a new mythology based on the Attic chthonic heroes – they had always ruled their land, and were no Johnny-come-latelies like the Spartans who migrated to the Peloponnesos with the return of the children of Herakles a mere few hundred years before.³⁴

Athenians prided themselves in being the metropolis – mother-city of all those Ionian Greeks who had migrated through the Aegean to the west coast of Anatolia. They safe-guarded their privileged standing by introducing strict citizenship laws. Within the citizenship ranks, egalitarianism was introduced to a degree never since matched. Yet the distinction between citizen and non-citizen was in some senses merely a reformulation of the old distinction between aristocrat and non-aristocrat. The Athenian military hegemony over their allies in their common war against Persia metamorphosed into an empire with surprising speed. Just as in the heroic age aristocrats did the battling while their inferiors held their spears or stayed at home to till the soil, the Athenians justified their imperial acts of tribute collection and suppression of succession attempts on the grounds that they

were actively defending their allies from continuing Persian threat (Plut., *Per.*12).

A less frequently recognised aspect of classical Athens is the range of imperial Persian symbols of power that the Athenian state collectively incorporated. The Athenian adoption of Persian ornamentalism is best seen in two places: an under-appreciated element of the Periklean building programme; and the new procession rhetoric adopted in the major state festivals of Athens.

Odeion of Perikles

In antiquity one of the most notorious buildings of Athens was the so-called Odeion of Perikles, part of the Periklean building programme. It stood on the South slope of the Acropolis just to the east of the theatre of Dionysos (Figure 12). It was clearly an unconventional structure, to judge from the ancient literary sources: it had many columns and many angles. Vitruvius knew a tradition that Themistokles roofed

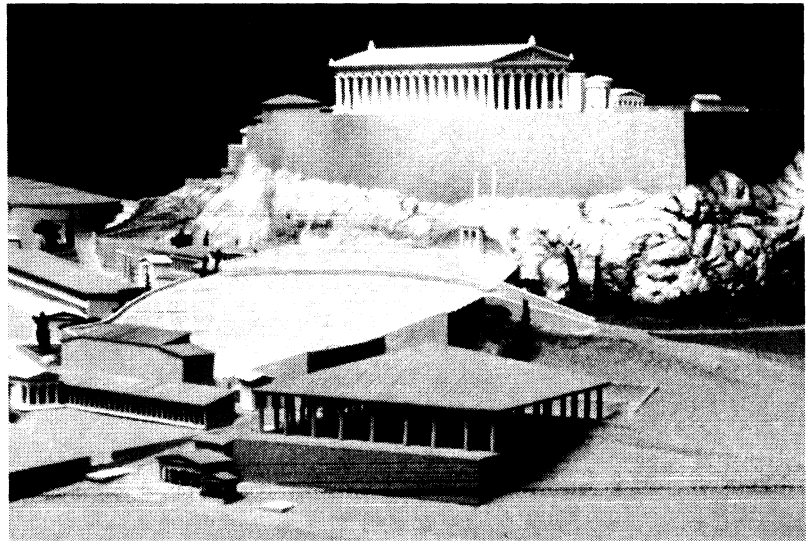


Figure 12: The 'Odeion of Perikles' on the south-west slope of the Acropolis, conspicuous owing to its many columns and pyramidal roof. Model of the Acropolis (1985) in the Acropolis Studies Center, designed by M. Korres. Photograph courtesy Manolis Korres.

it with the masts and spars of Persian ships; and both Plutarch and Pausanias understood that it imitated the Persian king's tent (Vitruvius 5.9.1, and Plut. *Per.*13.9–11).³⁵ The building is only partially excavated, but it is enough to show that it indeed had many columns. It was huge, at 62 x 68 metres in length the largest roofed building in the Greek world.

The building was strange. It evidently consisted of rows and rows of columns that supported a roof in the shape of a four-sided pyramid. The columns made it seem Persian to the ancient viewer; the pyramidal roof made it look like a tent. I was greatly relieved to discover that Korres, the great Greek architect in charge of the works on the Akropolis, independently came to the conclusion that the building had no walls.³⁶ Now, 'Odeion' literally in Greek means 'music-hall' and at least one late-fifth-century source uses the name,³⁷ though the majority of attestations of actual uses for the building have nothing to do with music (like serving as a waiting room for *dikasts* and stables for the cavalry). How could Perikles build an Odeion with impossible sightlines and acoustics?

The building is unparalleled in Greek architecture, but hypostyle halls with rows of columns and the use of high platforms are characteristic features of the audience halls of Achaemenid Persian palatial architecture. The terrace at Persepolis, with its imposing Apadana rising above a high platform wall, is visible in Krefter's model. The Apadana at Susa was the destination of most Athenian ambassadors to the Great King. It similarly rose several metres above the plain on a substantial terrace.³⁸

The columns of the Odeion similarly rose from a platform about seven metres above the processional way known as the Street of the Tripods. Once a year as part of the Greater Dionysia festival, along this route the Greek peoples euphemistically called 'the allies of the Athenians' were required to bring their imperial tribute for display in the theatre of Dionysos. The procession proceeded from the Agora along the Street of the Tripods around the east end of the Akropolis and past the towering façade of the Odeion. The importance of procession rhetoric in articulating social standing and state policy is known in many societies; the parallels between the Dionysia

procession and the Durbars of Victorian India are striking. Like the Ornamentalist vice-regal Durbar, the Dionysia procession at once embraced the allies within the body politic and at the same time placed them in a position firmly subordinate to that of Athens.

In producing the Odeion, the Athenians deliberately adapted a building type developed in Iran to convey a specific message of imperial majesty; and in giving it a pyramidal roof, they modified it slightly, to make it buildable by Greek construction methods. Resonating against its Persian prototypes, the Odeion was a proud statement of empire. In public art as in private life, the citizens of Athens looked to the East, to provide models for the effective presentation of rank and power. It is a telling development that over time the building came to be believed to copy a captured tent, such was the evocative power of its design.

Panathenaia

In the mid-fifth century a second state procession in Athens, the Greater Panathenaic procession, became an important, if transient, locus for the display and articulation of Athenian society and aspirations. Once every four years the procession took a newly woven peplos to the ancient statue of Athena on the Acropolis. In this procession, the Athenian allies were required to bring a cow and panoply to dedicate to Athena, goddess of the metropolis. This ornamentation – this extension of the privilege of inclusion within a public procession to one's allies surely also owed something to the Persian model. We do not know the precise relationship between Apadana procession reliefs and reality, but the imperial rhetoric of incorporation is strong and analogous.

At the head of all sacrificial processions went the *kanephoroi*, the mature Athenian girls who carried the offering baskets; it was an honour to play this role (see Figure 1). We are told that at some point in the fifth century, the *kanephoroi* in the Panathenaic procession were given an added distinction: the daughters of the metics, that is the resident aliens in Athens, were required to act as parasol-bearers for the Athenian girls. Such a regulation has no evident ritual significance.

It appears to be part of a deliberate new strategy to create hierarchical distinctions between citizen and non-citizen in this, the greatest public festival of Athens. It would be as if the Australian teenage girls resident in the USA were required by law to carry parasols for American teenagers in a fourth of July parade in Washington DC. It is difficult to track the history of parasol-usage in archaic and classical Athens: such conspicuous consumption of slave labour does not fit easily into the social economics of the Archaic period and it is very tempting to see the use of parasols privately as well as publicly as a status-conferring import from the east.

Later authors viewed the introduction of parasol-bearing at the Panathenaia as characteristic of Athenian arrogance. We do not know when it started, but it fits best into the period of the 440s, when the Athenian-led league set up to fight Persians had evolved into an empire, in which Athens ruled over other Greeks.

It is striking to find an Oriental status-symbol redeployed at the heart of Athenian civic imagery. Parasol-bearing for the Panathenaia was part of a carefully orchestrated public display of the imperial power vested in the people of Athens, using the imagery of the Persian East but reworked in Greek terms. Such adoption of Oriental status-symbols reveals a response to the Persian enemy of a wholly different order from those that we have been viewing so far.

Perserie

Some years ago I decided to employ the term 'Perserie' to describe the range of responses of classical Athens to contemporary Persia. Such receptivity to an alien, even hostile, culture occurs elsewhere in world history. The immediate inspiration for my term was a phenomenon known to historians of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe as *Turquerie* or *Türkerei*. *Türkerei* developed in the midst of the great contest between the Ottoman Turkish Empire and the kingdoms of Europe which came to a head at the siege of Vienna in 1683 – the siege that resulted in all those captured luxury tents and weaponry.

As a result of this and similar encounters with the Ottoman Empire, a new fashion known as 'Türkerei' swept across Europe. Composers

like Mozart produced versions of Turkish music and many a drama, ballet or opera was given a Turkish setting. European aristocrats adopted Turkish goods and fashions because they connoted wealth and power. Aristocrats who had fought in the Turkish wars posed for portraits wearing Turkish dress.

But already a generation earlier, the arrival of Suleyman Aga in 1648 as ambassador to the French court had inspired fashionable ladies of European capitals to have their gowns designed *à la turque*. Captive Turkish seamstresses were treasured for their embroidery-work, and for a brief period in fifteenth-century Italy elegant women even adopted the Turkish veil. Clearly trade and diplomacy had already started the phenomenon of *Türkerei* before the siege of 1683. After Vienna a quantitative and qualitative change occurred. What had previously had mere curiosity value was now adopted wholesale by the upper echelons of society from whom it filtered down to the rest of the populace.³⁹ Loyalty to the Christian cause and pride in its victory played a role, to be sure; but, more importantly, the élites of Europe eagerly adopted new status symbols that could help them to distinguish themselves in their domestic struggle for prestige.

The cultural historical record for Athens is inevitably less complete, though there are hints that such intangibles as music and food also changed in Athens in the later fifth century in response to the Achaemenid East; perhaps embroidery entered Athens to enrich the decorative potential of textiles beyond pattern-weaving. There are also hints that even decades after cheaper ceramic imitations of Persian metalware bowls were produced, the Athenian élite continued to look to Persia to provide models of distinguishing élite practice.

Our best source for this is comedy, but even the philosopher Plato lets slip that about 435 Kallias, the richest man in Athens, had a eunuch door-keeper (*Protagoras* 314C). Eunuchs rarely appear in Greek literature, but any reference to them is marked by a strong distaste as aberrant practice. Veblen observed that the practice of trussing out footmen in livery and making them stand, bored, throughout a noble home or palace was a conspicuous consumption of labour: strong, young men should be out in the fields.⁴⁰ Eunuchs are even more excessive: they can not even contribute to the domestic

reproduction of the servile population.

Perhaps more notorious were the peacocks kept by Ppyrilampes and inherited by his son Demos. Ppyrilampes counted Perikles among his friends. For thirty years, we are told about 415, people had come from as far as Thessaly and Sparta to see the peacocks when once a month they could be viewed – for a charge. Some even tried to steal the eggs. A breeding pair was valued at 1,000 drachmas, basically the cost of a good cavalry horse. Peacocks were expensive to maintain: they required special peacock-keepers, a special form of enclosure.⁴¹ Yet the birds were noisy and inedible, manifestly useless. Pavoniculture was all about status and status distinction: the peacocks conferred even greater prestige than four-horse chariot racing because of their genealogy. Anybody with the cash could raise chariot teams; you could get peacocks only if you went on embassy to Persia.

The new status symbols taken up by male members of the élite in later fifth-century Athens are noteworthy: they involve conspicuous inutility and conspicuous waste. So far as we can make out, the adoption of foreign items of dress was largely limited to women. Moreover the *kandys* adopted by women was in the Persian world a man's garment, so far as we can tell. So, too, the adoption of Persian status symbols, the use of parasol-bearing and fan-bearing attendants: élite women, not men, are shaded and fanned. Hence the importance of the message of parasol-bearing in the Panathenaic procession. Was this gender distinction in response a facet of the new Orientalism?

For centuries, Greece had looked to the Near East for status-conferring objects. Within an aristocratic world, this was unproblematic. Élites had access to direct imports; local imitations permitted devolution of status symbols throughout society, nullifying their utility to the élite. Democratic egalitarianism made little difference to this ongoing process, because even within democracy, those of standing variously responded to the changing climate. Some, like Perikles, worked to elevate the whole of the demos to aristocratic standing vis a vis the world; others like Alkibiades, Kallias, and Ppyrilampes, struggled, each in his own way, to maintain some form of personal distinction. And if things failed at home, there was always the option of decamping to Asia Minor and learning Persian.

The rush of foreign objects as booty at Plataea and Eurymedon upset the balance; everyone had their bit of patterned cloth and foreign slaves had become the norm. The mass availability of exotic objects must have reduced their individual value, which in turn encouraged Orientalism.

Orientalism: Reprise

There is one significant difference between the ancient and modern Orientalism: Said stressed that in the modern form 'The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony ...'.⁴² In the fifth century, the Orientalist discourse of classical Athens developed precisely to mask the real power structures. Greece or, more particularly, Athens had greater power only temporarily, in the second quarter of the fifth century, just after the Persian wars.

It is a curious and significant contradiction. In the later fifth century the Athenians vied with other Greeks to court the Great King's favour, to borrow money to help maintain their own empire. The Athenian élite wore exotic dress, displayed vain possessions, and were luxuriously attended by chattel slaves, all coded to an Oriental referent. The lower orders emulated their *Perserie* with black gloss vessels and home-grown Persizing garments.

From the Persians, too, even while proclaiming the liberty of the Greeks, the Athenian state adopted the trappings of empire. At the same time the Athenians professed to despise the peoples of the Persian Empire, as luxurious soft-living slaves who lacked courage as well as free will; and in the next century many a diplomat returned from Susa was prosecuted in Athens for bribery thanks to the rich royal gifts he had received. The constant renegotiation of Persian symbolism among the élite and more widely in fifth-century Athens occurred precisely because throughout the century both democratic and aristocratic ideologies co-existed within the state.

Notes

- 1 M. C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century B.C. A Study in Cultural Receptivity*, Cambridge, 1997, 165–66, for full references.
- 2 Miller, *Athens and Persia*, 157–58, gives full references.
- 3 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, London, 1978, pp.56–57 on Athenian Orientalism; quotation, p.4.
- 4 P. Briant, *Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre*, Paris, 2003, esp. pp.525–55, articulates the problem; see also his *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*, Winona Lake, 2002, pp.695–97.
- 5 Known from references in Aristophanes, where they seem to be considered luxurious: *Ar.Lys.* 229; *Th.* 734, *Clouds* 149. See Miller, *Athens and Persia*, pp.153–54.
- 6 DNa 2.8–11, as translated by R. G. Kent, *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*, New Haven, 1953, p.138.
- 7 Modern understanding of this period is almost exclusively based on the *Histories* of Herodotos, (hereafter abbreviated Hdt).
- 8 Miller, *Athens and Persia*, pp.7–28.
- 9 Thuc. 2.13.3–5 (*skyla Medika*); IG i³ 343.8 (*akinakai*); Paus. 1.27.1 (Masistios' corslet).
- 10 Olympia B5100; to the summary presented in Miller, *Athens and Persia*, pp.29–43, add H. Baitinger, 'Waffen und Bewaffung aus der Persebeute in Olympia', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1999, pp.124–39.
- 11 A number of interesting publications and exhibitions held on the three-hundredth anniversary are the basis for the following, notably R. Waissenberger *et al.*, eds, *Die Türken vor Wien. Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau*, Vienna and Salzburg, 1982; others are listed in Miller, *Athens and Persia*, p.50, n.94. See also now the standing exhibition catalogue, Ernst Petrasch *et al.*, *Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute. >>Die Türckische Kammer<< des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden-Baden*, Munich, 1991.
- 12 M. C. Miller, 'Adoption and Adaptation of Achaemenid Metalware Forms in Attic Black-Gloss Ware of the Fifth Century', *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* (1993), pp.109–46; see also B. B. Shefton, 'Persian Gold and Attic Black Glaze', *Transactions du IXème Congrès Internationale d'archéologie classique, Damascus 1969 = AAS 21* (1971): 109–11.
- 13 H. Hoffmann, 'Rhyta and Kantharoi in Greek Ritual', *GettyMusVases 4* (1989): 131–66.
- 14 H. Hoffmann, 'The Persian Origin of Attic Rhyta', *Antike Kunst*, 4 (1961): 21–26, and *Attic Red Figured Rhyta*, Mainz, 1962. R. Guy, 'A Ram's Head Rhyton Signed by Charinos', *Arts in Virginia* 21.2 (1981): 2–15, especially the Cahn Collection fragment, Figure 12. All this is analysed in greater detail in Miller, 'Adoption and Adaptation', with references, and Miller, *Athens and Persia*, pp.135–52.

- 15 A good colour image of one example, Kassel T550: A. Koch *et al.*, *Das Persische Weltreich. Pracht und Prunk der Grosskönige*, Stuttgart, 2006, p.108.
- 16 E. R. Dusinberre, 'Satrapal Sardis: Achaemenid Bowls in an Achaemenid Capital', *AJA* 103 (1999) 73–102. I. Özgen and J. Öztürk, *Heritage Recovered: The Lydian Treasure*, Ankara, 1996. M. C. Miller, 'The Poetics of Emulation in the Achaemenid World: The Figured Bowls of the "Lydian Treasure"', *AWE* 6 (2007).
- 17 Discussed in Miller, *Athens and Persia*, pp.128–29, with references. See A. C. Gunter and M. C. Root, 'Replicating, Inscripting, Giving: Ernst Herzfeld and Artaxerxes' Silver Phiale in the Freer Gallery of Art', *ArsOr* 28 (1998): 3–38, investigating the silver *phiale* in Washington (inv. 74.30) with the name Artaxerxes inscribed, and more generally about gifting practices.
- 18 D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism. How the British Saw their Empire*, London, 2001.
- 19 Cf. M. C. Miller, 'Priam King of Troy', in J. B. Carter and S. P. Morris, eds, *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin, 1995, pp.449–65, esp. p.450.
- 20 Bousiris as defeated foe of Egyptian Pharaoh: Caeretan black figure *hydria*, ca 530, Vienna 3576; see M. C. Miller, 'The Myth of Bousiris: Ethnicity and Art', in Beth Cohen, ed., *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, Leiden, 2000, pp.413–42. Memnon: the most famous example is Exekias' amphora (London D 209, ca. 540, *ABV* 144.8; M. Robertson, *Greek Painting*, Geneva 1959, p.67), of which the illustrated amphora may be an imitation.
- 21 Term: Martin Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes: from the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1999, pp.36–39.
- 22 Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*; also D. Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, New Haven, 1990.
- 23 Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p.59.
- 24 Paris, Louvre G342, Attic RF calyx krater fragments, Altamura Ptr., ca 460, *ARV* 590.12; *LIMC* I, 'Achilles' no.839, plate 139.
- 25 The subject of a book in progress; see preliminary studies: M. C. Miller, 'Persians in the Greek Imagination', *Mediterranean Archaeology* 18 (2006), *Acta of the AAIA XXVth Anniversary Symposium*, forthcoming, and M. C. Miller, 'Persians, Pots and Plays: The Arts as Vehicle for Democratic Discourse on the Enemy', in D. Pritchard, ed., *War, Culture, and Democracy in Classical Athens*, Cambridge, forthcoming.
- 26 For throne: see Miller, 'Persians in the Greek Imagination.' For hunting: see M. C. Miller, 'Art, Myth, and Reality: Xenophantos' Lekythos Re-Examined', in E. Csapo and M. C. Miller, eds, *Poetry, Theory, Praxis: The Social Life of Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*, Oxford, 2003, pp.19–47.

- 27 D. Graf, *Medism: Greek Collaboration with Achaemenid Persia*, Ann Arbor, 1979. C. Tuplin, 'Medism and its Causes', *Transeuphratène* 18 (1997): 155–85.
- 28 Kerameikos Ostrakon 849; S. Brenne, *Ostrakismos und Prominenz in Athen: Attische Bürger des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. auf den Ostraka*, Stuttgart, 2001, Cat. No. 119, pp.179–81.
- 29 A. Alföldi, 'Die Geschichte des Throntabernakels', *NouvClio* 1–2 (1949–1950): 537–66, esp. 557. M. C. Miller, 'Priam King of Troy', in J. B. Carter and S. P. Morris, eds, *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin, 1995, pp.449–65.
- 30 Miller, *Athens and Persia*, pp.91–97. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, pp.697–709. E.R. Dusinger, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, 2003, on the 'poly-ethnic élite' of Persian Sardis.
- 31 Shefton, 'Persian Gold'.
- 32 Miller, 'The Poetics of Emulation', with references.
- 33 T. Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Würzburg, 1973.
- 34 H. A. Shapiro, 'Autochthony and the Visual Arts in Fifth-Century Athens', in K. Raaflaub and D. Boedeker, eds, *Democracy, Empire and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1999, pp.127–52.
- 35 A history of excavation and scholarship is available in Miller, *Athens and Persia*, pp.218–30.
- 36 As evidenced by the model made under his direction, in the Center for Akropolis Studies. See M. Korres, E. Spathari, and T. Tanoulas, *Athens in Prehistory and Antiquity* (Exhibition, 22 June–8 September, 1985), Athens, 1985, pp.30–31.
- 37 Kratinos, *PCG* iv *Thrattai* fr.73.
- 38 Persepolis: see new digital model in A. Koch, et al., *Das Persische Weltreich*, pp.98–99.
- 39 The Hungarian *szür* worn by shepherds would seem to have derived from the dress of Turkish officers: V. Gervers, *The Hungarian Szür*, Toronto, 1973.
- 40 T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York, 1899, pp.43, 85 ('vicarious leisure').
- 41 All Antiphon fr.57–59 Blass.
- 42 Said, *Orientalism*, p.5.