Introduction

The hunt and power

The hunt and power are an enduring pair that pervades the entire course of history, from antiquity up to our contemporary societies. For instance, in 2009 a debate in the French press arose about the possibility of bringing back the presidential hunts, defining this practice as "the most visible expression of monarchical survival"[1]. Indeed, the political meaning of hunting is as old as the first manifestations of complex societies, as shown by the lion hunt stele from the "first city" of Uruk (fourth millennium BC).[2]

The investigation of the political values of hunting, notably in connection with power, offers the possibility of tracing a long-honoured tradition in antiquity: however, there are cultural contexts that have not been investigated from this perspective yet, i.e. the Eastern Mediterranean between the end of the fifth and the last decades of the fourth centuries BC. Here, indeed, images of the hunt, more precisely, multiple-quarry hunt images, built around the combination of prey of different species, were generally part of the self-representation of power. In this research I identify the multiple-quarry hunt as the main hunt iconography associated with rulers in the Eastern Mediterranean of this period, although it was not the only hunting iconography used at this time (Fig. 2).

A new transregional approach

In this book the wide area of the Eastern Mediterranean between the end of the fifth and the last decades of the fourth centuries BC is considered from a transregional perspective for the first time: here I discuss the "Eastern Mediterranean" to include the southern coast of Anatolia and the Levant, notably ancient Caria and Lycia in present-day Turkey, and ancient Phoenicia in present-day Lebanon (Fig. 3).

The present research thus aims to pinpoint common features across this wide area by considering regional peculiarities. The multiple-quarry hunt images – in my opinion – are one of the key elements to interpreting this cultural area from a unified perspective, as I shall try to demonstrate in this book.

Between the fifth and the fourth centuries BC the area of the Eastern Mediterranean under consideration here was politically part of the Persian Achaemenid Empire, but the Greek world exerted a significant cultural impact on it. For this reason, the regions belonging to this vast area have traditionally been considered a contact zone between the Persian and the Greek worlds.[3] While the present research will certainly consider the impact of the two important protagonists of that time, the Persian and the Greek worlds, the reality is more complex than such a "black and white" picture. In fact, the Eastern Mediterranean between the fifth and the fourth centuries BC developed a well-defined profile that arose out of its "internal" dynamics, and which this book will attempt to outline and consider in itself for the first time. By outlining local specificities it will be possible to overturn the widespread perception of "influence" from the Persian and Greek worlds. Of course the starting point of the present work is the research on the history and art of the single regions concerned here,[4] but the Eastern Mediterranean under Persian Achaemenid rule will be analysed rather as an interconnected area through the analysis of the "circulation of materials, people, and ideas" between the concerned regions.[5] Methodologically speaking, this will provide a wider and more colourful picture by outlining different kinds of contact, connecting stories which have been unconnected up until now, and reconstructing phenomena from a well-rounded perspective.

While this wide outlook uses the Eastern Mediterranean as the geographical reference of the research, the chronological coordinate is offered by a diachronic approach in which multiple-quarry hunt representations are analysed in the Bronze and Iron Ages. The combination of these coordinates that take into account preceding and contemporary cultural horizons will provide a reliable picture of continuity and novelty in the fifth to fourth centuries BC in southern Anatolia and the Levant.

Finally, moving from multiple-quarry hunt representations, this book intends to delineate a more complex picture of the fifth to fourth centuries BC Eastern Mediterranean: by considering a wide range of visual evidence with multiple-quarry hunts, this research will explore the artistic, cultural and social features of the concerned area.

By doing so, this study aims at overcoming the predictable and universalistic statement of the political values of hunting images in order to assess their meanings in this specific cultural and political context.

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[1] "Longtemps, les chasses présidentielles furent l'un des plus spectaculaires lieux de pouvoir français. Et sans doute aussi la plus visible traduction de survivances monarchiques" (R. Bacqué, *Scénes de chasses présidentielles*, in «Le Monde», 18.12.2009). The translation from French is mine.
[2] *RAVA* V: 236; Groenewegen-Frankfort 1978: 152–3; Börker-Klähn 1982: 113–4, no. 1. On Uruk see Liverani 2006.

[3] See, for instance, Asheri 1983.
[4] Caria: Henry 2013. Lycia: Hoff 2017; Kolb 2018. Phoenicia: Martin 2017.
[5] Quotation from DaCosta Kaufmann, Dossin and Joyeux-Prunel 2016: 2. For overland mobility in the Persian Achaemenid Empire, see Colburn 2013.
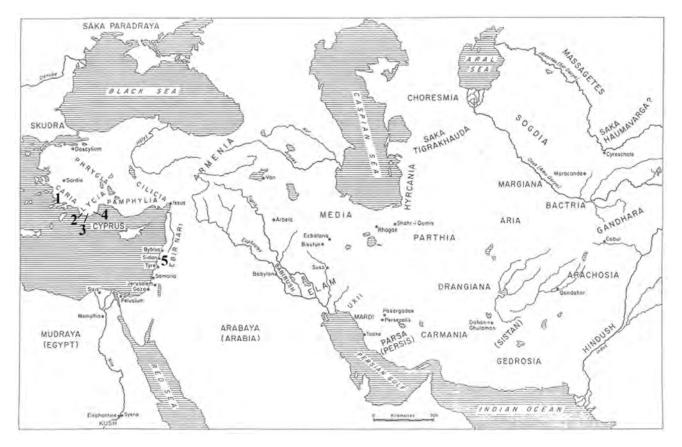
Figure 3. Map of the Persian Achaemenid Empire with the main sites and regions mentioned in the text. The original location of the dynastic monuments considered in the present study: 1 – the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus; 2 – the Nereid Monument of Xanthos; 3 – the Heroon of Trysa; 4 – the Heroon of Limyra; 5 – the Sarcophagi of Sidon. Modified after Wiesehöfer 2001: 6. Courtesy of J. Wiesehöfer.

The visual evidence under examination

Thanks to the tools offered by semiotics and social studies, this book will analyse renowned monuments from the south-western coast of Anatolia, such as the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus and the Nereid Monument of Xanthos, but also the sarcophagi from the Phoenician city of Sidon, which have the hunt as one of the main themes of their lavish decoration.

In support of the transregional perspective proposed here, it is important to consider that against a number of regional peculiarities, these tombs have many common features. They appeared on the coastal regions of the western part of the Persian Achaemenid Empire, mostly dating back to the fourth century BC. On the basis of topographical context, architectural proportions, materials, craftsmanship, and iconography they can be attributed to the local rulers who exerted their power within the wider frame of the Persian Achaemenid Empire, "a range of figures with varying levels of local power" whom scholars normally define as "dynasts", a shorthand that I shall maintain.[6]

A further element shared by these tombs that has drawn my attention is the nearly constant presence of a specific hunting iconography, the aforementioned multiple-quarry hunt. This makes the multiple-quarry hunt iconography well-connected to dynastic power.

Circulation of materials, people, and ideas

My investigation of multiple-quarry hunt images across different regions of the Eastern Mediterranean allows exploration of the mechanisms that made the spread of this iconography possible. In the study of the western part of the Persian Achaemenid Empire between the fifth and the fourth century BC, circulation of materials, people, and ideas appears as the connecting threads across the multiple regional horizons of the Mediterranean.[7]

Current scholarship has been engaged mainly with in-depth stylistic analyses of the above-mentioned dynastic monuments, correctly recognising the role of Greek or Greek-trained artists who worked at meeting the demands of the local dynasts. The present research will take into account these studies but it will additionally focus on connectivity dynamics affecting the regions of the dynastic monuments. Political and cultural processes of interaction will be investigated, and

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[6] Draycott 2007: 103–4. The term "dynast" appears as the most inclusive, although the title of "king" or the claim to "kingship" is attested for the majority of the rulers concerned in the present study. For discussion on royal titles, see Hornblower 1982: 55–62 (for Caria); Keen 2002: 273–7 (for Lycia); Woolmer 2017: 57–62 (for Phoenicia).

[7] On the attention to the regional horizons, see Horden and Purcell 2000.

particular attention will be devoted to connectivity issues related to art. My interest here is to highlight the phenomenon of the mobility of artists, patterns, and materials in order to stress issues that are mostly unconsidered.

For instance, the study of the material dimension of the evidence under examination is particularly promising. In the present study I underline that the making of these dynastic tombs – as shown by macroscopic observations and archaeometric analyses of the materials – marked a growing use of white marble, a costly and prestigious material from the Aegean basin that allowed high quality works: this fact implied a long-distance movement of this material eastwards, along the coasts of southern Anatolia and the Levant, alongside with the mobility of artists and artistic patterns. The presence of such a long-distance movement of marble has not received enough attention, although it was already rooted in previous phases, as shown by recent archaeometric analyses.[8]

The approach adopted here is also inspired by the current interest in ecology and the growing role of geography in providing spatial dimension to human history: routes, modes of circulation, and the use of natural resources such as marble are part of a complex discourse aimed at a better understanding of artistic and cultural phenomena.

The multiple-quarry hunt: *status quaestionis*

Hunting representations from the coastal areas of Anatolia and Phoenicia have been investigated *per se* only with reference to a particular kind of hunt, the boar hunt.[9] Eastern Mediterranean images of multiple-quarry hunts and their values, instead, have never been at the centre of specific research.

B. Tripodi was the first to elaborate a specific definition of the multiple-quarry hunt iconography in his 1991 article.[10] Tripodi focuses his study on the hunting frieze of the Macedonian royal tomb in Vergina. Tracing back similarities to the hunting representations on our dynastic monuments, he considers the Macedonian frieze as a result of the use of "eastern" iconographic patterns.

M.C. Miller, instead, investigated the multiple-quarry hunt further in 2003 by moving from a different artefact, the decorated squat lekythos found in modern Kerch (Crimea) and signed by the Athenian artist Xenophantos. The scholar reaffirmed that such iconography belonged to the Persian Achaemenid context, in particular to the western part of this empire.[11]

These two articles are the most extensive pieces of research on multiple-quarry hunts, but they focus on

visual sources from Macedonia and the Black Sea. This book, instead, focuses on the area that according to these scholars provided the model for the Vergina frieze and the lekythos from Kerch by moving from the observation – as already underlined – that the multiple-quarry hunt was a widely shared iconography among the dynastic tombs of the Eastern Mediterranean under Persian Achaemenid rule.

In this book the multiple-quarry hunt iconography is understood to be the combination of prey of different species in a single scene, or within hunting episodes occupying portions of the same figurative field or at least parts of the same figurative programme. This definition takes Tripodi and Miller's studies as a starting point, but enlarges their definitions in two directions: first, the temporality of the scenes is wider, since it is considered that the various hunts are not necessarily contemporary; second, since the fragmentation of the figurative programmes of these tombs should be avoided, these are interpreted as a whole, therefore different hunting scenes on different parts of the monuments are here considered together.

In this book I address a number of questions: Why was this iconography so popular among the dynasts of the Eastern Mediterranean? Is it possible to assign more specific meanings to this iconography? What kind of artistic and social implications can be inferred by the widespread use of this iconography along the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean? These questions have never been substantially addressed within this context.

Visual evidence: transmediality

Although I am aware that a study of the hunt in antiquity can be carried out using different methodologies and tools such as visual and literary representations, philosophical approaches, juridical perspectives or zooarchaeological analyses, I am interested here mostly in visual evidence.[12] I will explore how multiple-quarry hunting representations – within a rich set of images – conveyed a specific message of power in a corpus of tombs that can be attributed to Eastern Mediterranean dynastic figures ruling under Persian Achaemenid rule.

However, in order to better understand the contexts in which the figurative programmes under examination were produced, I will take into account a wide range of evidence, mainly figurative and textual: different categories of artefacts bearing multiple-quarry hunt images, from monumental decoration to portable objects such as seals, are rigorously considered within their contexts of production in order to interpret the imagery they convey.[13]

Sculpture, in particular those of marble and limestone reliefs, emerge as the main medium of the multiple-quarry

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[8] Lazzarini and Marconi 2014; Poggio 2018c.
[9] Nollé 2001; Borchhardt and Bleibtreu 2008.
[10] "[…] la rappresentazione di una caccia condotta contemporaneamente da più cacciatori a più animali di specie diverse" (Tripodi 1991: 153).
[11] Miller 2003: 30.

[12] For a broad range of issues related to the hunt in different contexts, see Sidéra 2006; Trinquier and Vendries 2009.
[13] I use the term "seal" instead of "gem" following J.E. Gates' observations (Gates 2002: 109–10).

hunts of the Eastern Mediterranean: primarily, the images on the dynastic tombs of the Eastern Mediterranean, and also those on western Anatolian funerary evidence of smaller scale such as the sarcophagi in Lycia, the so-called Graeco-Persian stelae and the Çan Sarcophagus, all dating from the fifth and fourth centuries BC. The depiction of different prey can be traced back to an even smaller scale in Graeco-Persian tabloid glyptic. This means that the iconography of the multiple-quarry hunt was shared not only across different geographical areas but also various media in the same period. In addition, other pieces of evidence that do not belong to the Eastern Mediterranean attest to the use of this iconography elsewhere and in other media. The fourth-century BC lekythos by Xenophantos is the most striking depiction of multiple-quarry hunt on decorated pottery. Wall painting is not excluded since the famous Macedonian Tomb II of the royal tumulus in Vergina and the Thracian tomb of Alexandrovo confirm the role of this iconography in funerary contexts.

From the present research thus it emerges that one of the features of the multiple-quarry hunt is its transmediality.[14] Political and social values, in other words, are conveyed by different media, thus this research will take into account a translational dynamic in order to investigate the multimedial reception of the multiple-quarry hunt iconography and its meaning.

Literary sources

The literary sources used in this book are a medium that requires a specific caveat. Notably, this study makes use of mostly Greek literary sources, which – as underlined by P. Briant – emerge both as crucial and problematic with reference to the Persian Achaemenid Empire.[15] Although they provide precious information that would not be available otherwise, these sources are blamed for offering an external perspective of this topic.[16] This argument was emphasised after the 1970s, when postcolonialism determined criticism of the hellenocentric perspective on the Achaemenid Empire.[17] In parallel, increasing attention to Persian administrative documents, such as monumental inscriptions and archival records, emerged.[18] A further critical element is that many contemporary Greek sources have been transmitted by later authors such as Plutarch.[19] However, a careful use of Greek literary sources is still preferable to their aprioristic rejection.[20] In addition, in the context of this research the label "Greek" appears

vague: undoubtedly, Greeks from Ionia and Caria, regions belonging to western Anatolia and therefore parts of the Persian Achaemenid Empire, had a different perspective of the situation. Scholarly debate on fourth-century BC writers has emphasised the importance of authors of *Persica* such as Ctesias of Cnidus, who served also as a physician at the Persian court, Deinon (perhaps from Colophon) and Heracleides of Cyme.[21] Secondly, considerations on personal experience also play an important role. The Athenian Xenophon, living between the second half of the fifth century BC and the first half of the fourth, wrote the *Cyropaedia* with moralistic intents, but he had first-hand contacts with the Persian world: he travelled through Anatolia and the Near East to Cunaxa, about 80 km away from Babylon, taking part in the Spartan expedition organised by the satrap of western Anatolia, Cyrus the Younger, against the Great King. Finally, this set of observations on Greek authors writing about the Persian world reveals that their idea of the Persian Achaemenid Empire might have been shaped by the Eastern Mediterranean itself, since the dynastic societies described in the present research had to be the most immediate interface of the Persian world from the Greek perspective. Therefore, Greek literary sources are another fundamental medium to investigate the role of multiple-quarry hunt in the discourse of power in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Methodological reference studies

The rich reflection on hunting in the Greek and Roman worlds developed from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards.[22] The success of this theme might be explained through a wide range of reasons: the development of a reflection on this activity in different periods of the Graeco-Roman world thanks to the literary genre of *Cynegetica*; the possibility of a fruitful interplay between literary and archaeological sources; the study of representations and actual techniques and the political value of this activity. The hunting theme was affected by the renovation of classical studies promoted since 1970s by French scholars, who applied the study of imagery in the Greek *polis* – especially on Greek vases – and the tools of historical anthropology through semiotic approaches. A. Schnapp, in particular, investigated social aspects in the world of hunting through Greek imagery, a research culminated in the volume entitled *Le chasseur et la cité*.[23] In his wake it is worth mentioning J.M. Barringer's work, which considers hunting images in Greek vase painting as a source of detecting social values.[24] All these studies will be taken into account since the methods they developed will be useful to explore the socio-historical dimension of the dynastic multiple-quarry hunts. Already J. Fornasier has explored hunting representations in our

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[14] "Transmedial phenomena here refer to those artistic forms or contents that are shared by or spread across various media […]. Transmediality does not presuppose a source medium from which certain patterns are transferred to another" (Wolf 2016: 104–5).
[15] For the sources of Persian history, see Briant 1996: 14–19.
[16] Lenfant 2011; Morgan 2016. For information conveyed by literary sources and archaeological evidence, see the case of Sardis (Dusinberre 1999).
[17] See also Briant 1996: 632–3; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987.
[18] Lenfant 2011: 6–7; Poggio 2018b. See also Jacobs, Henkelman and Stolper 2017.
[19] On Plutarch and the sources on Persia, see Almagor 2018.
[20] See also Briant 1982: 491–506.

[21] On *Persica*, see Stevenson 1997. On these authors, see also Lenfant 2009 and Waters 2017.
[22] See the bibliographical list in Buchholz, Jöhrens and Maull 1973: 191–5. See now Santillo Frizell 2004; Kalof 2007; Fögen and Thomas 2017.
[23] Schnapp 1979a; 1979b; Schmitt Pantel and Schnapp 1982; Schnapp 1997. For the banquet see Schmitt Pantel 1992.
[24] Barringer 2001.

contexts between the sixth and the fourth centuries BC, moving from the Greek world and considering Anatolia and the Levant as contact zones.[25] As already stated, the present research intends to go further: recognising the multiple-quarry hunt as the preferred iconography for dynastic self-representation, this book aims at exploring artistic and social dynamics moving precisely from those societies and adopting – as much as possible – an "Eastern Mediterranean perspective".

Socio-political issues

The political values of hunting have been investigated also for Persia and Macedonia, the two major monarchical powers of that time.[26] Of particular importance for visual studies has been the study of the hunting frieze of Vergina as a visual expression of the Macedonian kingship and Macedonian social values.[27] Court studies, which have developed extensively in recent years both on the ancient and the modern sides, have provided useful methodological tools for the present research.[28] Representations of the court in all its components – dynast and family, officials and servants – had a precise function in the celebratory imagery of funerary monuments from our area: a compact family nucleus, linked to aspects of succession, dignitaries respecting dynastic authority and efficient servants contributed to the creation of positive images of the courts, the core for the different local potentates of the Eastern Mediterranean.

N. Elias's sociological research based on the court of the Sun King, Louis XIV of France, interpreted court etiquette as an instrument of domination: complex rules for ceremonial protocol regulated the tensions and rivalries within the court.[29] This model was well received but it also attracted criticism, notably for the image of an elite, powerless against an omnipotent sovereign.[30] Nevertheless, bearing in mind the necessary caveats, at a methodological level the Elias model is still fundamental for approaching those ancient societies characterised by a strongly hierarchical structure, as was the Persian case and, on a smaller scale, the Eastern Mediterranean dynastic societies.[31] Hunting images offer an effective tool to investigate court dynamics, as recent studies on the political meaning of the hunt in the European courts of the modern age have demonstrated.[32] Eastern Mediterranean representations with crowded hunting teams are not an exception. In the present research whether the visual organisation of the participants can reveal details of the organisation of the dynastic courts and the management of power will be investigated.

Moreover, the emergence of a favoured theme for the dynastic tombs – the multiple-quarry hunt – is investigated for the first time from a socio-historical perspective not only within the single courts but also within a wider dynamic of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Persian Achaemenid period. In particular, this research will outline how – in combination with connectivity issues – a dynamic of competition and emulation among rulers favoured shared artistic processes across different regions of the Eastern Mediterranean.[33]

The present work addresses a wide range of issues from different disciplines, such as Persian and Classical studies, but also Anatolian and Levantine art and history. It encompasses themes related to art and archaeology, but also social and political history, notably in connection with hunting. By doing so, the present research underscores the importance of the dynastic Eastern Mediterranean in the creation of an enduring visual language of power, contributing to shed light on a still underestimated chapter of the hunt in antiquity.

Outline of chapters

The first two chapters are focused on the historical, cultural and artistic context of the present research. Chapter One analyses the Eastern Mediterranean under Persian rule from different perspectives. After introducing the role played by this area in the Persian Achaemenid Empire, this chapter sheds light on those political and cultural dynamics – usually not considered – that interconnected this broad area. Finally, the concept of Graeco-Persian art is explored and reassessed in order to elucidate advantages and limitations of such a label.

Chapter Two introduces on a regional basis the corpus of materials at the core of this work, which are the dynastic funerary monuments from the fifth- and fourth-century BC Eastern Mediterranean. I consider each monument as a whole and – when possible – its role as a landmark. The multiple-quarry hunt depictions I analyse are reliefs that are part of wider figurative programmes and must be considered within them. In addition, this chapter proposes a comparison among these tombs by taking into account different aspects – architecture, topography, display and imagery – in order to outline similarities and differences. Finally, issues such as materials, artists and workshop practices will be taken into account.

The results of this first part of the research provide new observations on the artistic and cultural processes in the Eastern Mediterranean under Persian rule. These data constitute the necessary background for the in-depth analysis of multiple-quarry iconography in the following three chapters.

[25] Fornasier 2001: 231–57.
[26] Seyer 2007.
[27] Cohen 2010; Franks 2012.
[28] For antiquity, see Spawforth 2007a (with a mention of the lesser courts in the Persian Achaemenid Empire in Spawforth 2007b: 92); Strootman 2014; Erskine, Llewellyn-Jones and Wallace 2017. More focused on the Persian court are Jacobs and Rollinger 2010; Llewellyn-Jones 2013. For modern age, see Duindam, Artan and Kunt 2011.
[29] Elias 1983.
[30] Duindam 2011: 5–9.
[31] See Brosius 2007: 17–9.
[32] Merlotti 2017; Barberi Squarotti, Colturato and Goria 2018.
[33] On the role of competition see also Zanker 1988: ch. 1.

Chapter Three intends to explore the artistic roots of the single regional horizons within the wide area under research here. It surveys the presence and the role of earlier multiple-quarry hunting representations in order to detect the previous traditions in this area and in the ancient Near East. Moreover, it investigates the contemporary hunting iconography in Persian and Greek contexts, since these provide reference horizons for Eastern Mediterranean art of the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

Chapter Four considers in detail the iconographic and iconological features of multiple-quarry hunts on dynastic tombs, including also other typologies of monuments and classes of materials such as Graeco-Persian stelae and seals. In order to reassess the multiple-quarry hunt definition and interpretation, this chapter focuses on the most frequently represented prey and the hunting techniques. Moreover, recurrent orders in the sequences of hunting scenes are explored to find a possible criterion for reading them and interpreting their meaning. For this purpose, the interaction between visual details and other sources such as literary is very useful. Finally, this research intends to offer a new interpretation of the multiple-quarry hunts in the area under analysis with reflections on the temporal dimension of these images.

Chapter Five deals with the social values of dynastic multiple-quarry hunts, by focusing on the representation of the actors in the multiple-quarry hunts; in other words, the chapter is centred on what these images can say about the societies that produced them.

Chapter Six draws conclusions from the earlier chapters by offering a new interpretation of cultural and political dynamics within the Eastern Mediterranean under Persian Achaemenid rule. Moreover, this chapter considers case studies of multiple-quarry hunts beyond the chronological or geographical horizons analysed by this study, underscoring the importance of the dynastic Eastern Mediterranean in the creation of an enduring new language of power.