



Received: 2024/03/10  
Accepted: 2024/07/10  
Published: 2024/09/14

1. Assistant Professor of Archaeology, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran. \*Corresponding Author.

Email: s.khorashadi@modares.ac.ir

2. Student of Archaeology, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran.

Email: a.enteshari@modares.ac.ir

How to cite this article:  
Khorashadi, S., & Enteshari, A. (2024). Achaemenid Period Phoenicia, Part 2: Persian influence on Phoenician art and culture based on archaeological findings and literary sources. *The International Journal of Humanities* 31(3): 23–48.

## RESEARCH ARTICLE

### Achaemenid Period Phoenicia, Part 2: Persian influence on Phoenician art and culture based on archaeological findings and literary sources

Sorour Khorashadi <sup>1\*</sup> , Alireza Enteshari Najafabadi <sup>2</sup> 

This article serves as a continuation of our exploration into "Achaemenid Phoenicia," following our previous work on "Persian influence on Phoenician architecture. In this research, we delve into additional available evidence concerning Achaemenid Phoenicia, along with pertinent historical sources. Our primary objective is to provide a more holistic view of Persian influence on Phoenicia. The next step is to offer possible corrections or complements to the results of previous paper, which focused on the presence and dominance of the Achaemenids in the region, the non-uniformity of Persian elements in the architecture of Phoenician city-states, and the absence of a connection between the importance of a city-state and the extent of Persian influence on it. By studying additional evidence, we surmise that Persian influences were popular among the upper class and, to some extent, the middle class of society. When it comes to royal art, the evidence from Sidon indicates a notable influence, whereas that from Tyre suggests a certain conservatism, despite the significance of the city-state. However, other movable findings discovered in the territory of Tyre reveal Persian influence, indicating the lack of conservatism among the elites of Tyre in contrast to their local royal court. Regarding the entry of Persian elements into Phoenicia, the available evidence suggests that the presence of Persian officials in Phoenicia, as well as Phoenicians who visited centers such as Susa and Persepolis, could have been two major factors in this cultural penetration. Overall, our findings support and enhance those of our previous study.

**Keywords:** Phoenicia, Achaemenid Empire, Sidon, Tyre, Movable Archaeological Findings, Historical Approach.

## Introduction

The current article serves as the second part of the "Achaemenid Phoenicia" topic, complementing the authors' prior paper titled "Study of Persian influence on Phoenician Architecture in the Achaemenid period based on archaeological findings and literary sources."

While acknowledging the undeniable importance of architectural data, it's essential to recognize that they represent only a portion of the available evidence. Hence, a thorough examination of additional related materials and historical evidence was deemed necessary for achieving comprehensive results. Given the breadth of the topic, this task wasn't addressed in the previous paper and was thus assigned to the present article. Consequently, the authors have endeavored to complement or refine previous findings by scrutinizing archaeological (non-architectural) evidence alongside related historical documents. Preceding discussions on research background, historical geography, and political history have been omitted as they were adequately covered in the prior article. Additionally, the issue of sites located within the territory of each Phoenician city-state during the Achaemenid period has been addressed using the territorial boundaries established in the previous article, with further elaboration omitted. Despite the presentation of new and supplementary evidence, some repetition of key points was unavoidable due to their significance. Since this article is based on movable findings, it is also worth mentioning that the authors have been significantly inspired by Stern (1982, 2001) in their classification and titling.

### Research questions

- (1) To what extent the Persian influence can be observed in the artistic and cultural data recovered from the Achaemenid Phoenicia?
- (2) To what extent did each Phoenician city-state adopt Achaemenid artistic and cultural elements?
- (3) In the case of the presence of Persian elements, how did they end up in the realm of Phoenician art and culture?

### Research method

After reviewing historical texts, documents, archaeological reports, and non-architectural archaeological evidence, the authors have utilized a historical approach to investigate the interactions and mutual influences between the Achaemenids and the Phoenicians, who were prominent members of the Achaemenid Empire.

### Local coinage

#### *Arwad*

No Achaemenid motifs have been observed in the current assemblage of Arwad coinage (see Babelon 1981: 199-204; Jigoulov 2014: 76-77; Johananoff and Tal 2021: 114-115). The only Achaemenid influence on some of this city-state's coinage is the adherence to the Persian weight standard (Stern 2001: 556; Jigoulov 2014: 76; Johananoff and Tal 2021: 115). This issue likely stemmed from Arwad's isolation from other Phoenician cities (Jigoulov 2014: 76) and its closer proximity to Anatolia, particularly, and Cyprus, the former being the host of Achaemenid mints (Johananoff and Tal 2021: 115).<sup>1</sup>

### ***Byblos***

In the coinage of Byblos, influences from various civilizations are discernible. The Persian element is the famous imagery of a lion attacking a bull. This motif is reminiscent of the Apadana staircase relief, a well-known example of official art from the Achaemenid empire, suggesting that Byblos' minting workshops drew inspiration from Achaemenid art (see Figure 1, 2). This motif appears on the reverse side of the latest group of coinage from the city-state during the Achaemenid period (Jigoulov 2014: 80-81; Johananoff and Tal 2021: 109).<sup>2</sup>

It's worth noting that this motif has its origins in Neo-Assyrian art (Markoe 1989: 100, Fig. 6), and similar imagery has been documented in pre-Achaemenid Phoenicia (ibid: 103, Fig. 1). In fact, this motif was adapted from earlier artistic traditions and eventually became a symbol of the empire. The Achaemenids likely revived the motif, as it can be observed in various territories of the Mediterranean World during this period (Markoe 1989: 104-109, Pl. 7; Bayani 1991: Fig. 54; Bivar 2021: Fig. 23).

### ***Sidon***

The most abundant and widespread among the Achaemenid-Phoenician coinage are those of Sidon (Jigoulov 2014: 84-85; Johananoff and Tal 2021: 112). The Achaemenid-Sidonian coinage, which features an Achaemenid motif (Johananoff and Tal 2021: 112), includes the following:

- (1) The image of a royal chariot is depicted on the reverse of Sidonian coins from the mid-5th century B.C. until the end of the Achaemenid period (see figure 2).<sup>3</sup> Various interpretations have been proposed concerning the identity of the mounted and dismounted figures (Babelon 1981: 233; Briant 2006: 954; Jigoulov 2014: 87). However, it's noteworthy that this motif predates the Achaemenid period (Briant 2006: 1062-1063; Jigoulov 2014: 88-89). Nonetheless, during this era, it likely symbolized the Achaemenid king, given the king's distinctive crenelated crown, which bears resemblance to known examples in Achaemenid art (Jigoulov 2014: 87-89, 93).<sup>4</sup>
- (3) The figure of the bowman seen on the early Sidonian coins is derived from the Achaemenid royal coinage, on which the image of the Achaemenid king wearing a crenelated crown and drawing a bow is depicted (Uehlinger 1999: 177; Briant 2006: 952-953; Jigoulov 2014: 83, 91-92) (figure 3).
- (4) The motif featuring a crowned champion and a lion is regarded as another element of Achaemenid iconography, appearing on Sidonian coins from the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. (Jigoulov 2014: 89-90; Johananoff and Tal 2021: 113; also see Briant 2006: 952-953) (Figure 4). This motif originates from Mesopotamian art (Ehrenberg 2007: 107; also see Albenda 1974). However, based on a Phoenician ivory discovered in Nimrod<sup>5</sup> and pre-Achaemenid Phoenician glyptic evidence (Culican 1968: 91-92, Pl. III, 2), we know that such a motif also had roots in Phoenicia. Hence, it's not feasible to attribute the entirety of the champion versus lion fight iconography on the coinage of Sidon solely to Achaemenid influence. However, the champion adorned in Persian attire (Babelon

1981: 440) indeed corroborates the presence of Achaemenid elements within the iconography. Overall, drawing from reliefs and seal impressions of Persepolis (see Garrison and Root 2001: 297, 304, Pls. 184 g-h, 185 a-b), it can be inferred that the motif of battling a lion or mythical creature held significant importance during the Achaemenid period and extended to subdued territories as well (see Colburn 2019: 63), or rather, it was revitalized by the Achaemenids.

### ***Tyre***

During the Achaemenid period, Tyre emerged as the second most prominent Phoenician city-state, with only Sidonian coinage surpassing its abundance (Jigoulov 2014: 97-98; Johananoff and Tal 2021: IIII-II12). However, scholars generally do not attribute any Persian influence to Tyrian coinage (Uehlinger 1999: 176; Jigoulov 2014: 86). It's noteworthy that on the coins of Kition, likely under Tyrian control at the time, a motif featuring a lion attacking a stag is observed (Bivar 2021: 63, Fig. 17), reminiscent of the image of a lion striking a bull.

A review of numismatic evidence suggests that among the four major Phoenician city-states, significant Persian royal art elements are exclusively found on Sidonian coins. This reinforces the prevailing view that local administrations were not compelled by the Achaemenids to adhere to specific weight patterns or motifs for their coinage (Meadows 2013: 426).

### **Reliefs**

#### ***Byblos***

On the stele of Yehawmilk, the renowned king of Byblos during the Achaemenid period, housed in the Louvre, the king is portrayed wearing Achaemenid attire (Babelon 1981: 215; Jigoulov 2014: 45-46; Nigro 2020: 69; Nunn 2021: 241) (figure 5). Such a motif can indicate the Achaemenid impact on the local court of Byblos and even other Phoenician city-states.

#### ***Sidon***

Achaemenid elements are evident in the reliefs found on three sarcophagi (the sarcophagi of Alexander<sup>6</sup>, the satrap<sup>7</sup>, and the wailing woman<sup>8</sup>), as well as a relief in the temple complex of Eshmun in Sidon (Held 2017: 215-216). On the so-called sarcophagus of Alexander, imagery influenced by Achaemenid royal audience scenes is evident (Brosius, 2020: 147, 150; Lerner 2020: 161). A comparable motif is also present on the Sarcophagus of the Satrap. Here, amid two bands resembling rows of flowers akin to those at Persepolis, a figure attired in Persian garb sits upon a throne, holding a staff, with a platform beneath his feet, reflecting inspiration from Achaemenid art.<sup>9</sup> This man is probably the satrap or the king of Sidon (perhaps Baalshillel I) (Briant 2006: 954). If the latter attribution is correct, it can indicate the influence of the iconography of the Achaemenid court on its Sidonian counterpart (Jigoulov 2014: 189), and even the imitation of the garments of the Persian king and other elements of the Achaemenid court by the Sidonian king. Moreover, in all three aforementioned sarcophagi, along with the relief in the Eshmun temple complex (see figures 6-7), a recurring motif can be

observed: the depiction of a horseman, attired in Persian fashion, engaged in the pursuit or slaying of a lion, leopard, or stag. While pointing out the Assyrian origin of this motif, Held has referred to the seal impression of one of the prominent ladies of the Achaemenid court<sup>10</sup>, which probably dates back to the Neo-Elamite era (Root 2013: 55-56), and the Persian clothing and saddle of the horseman in the Phoenician and Asia Minor examples. Held concludes that this motif was used by the people who lived in the subjugated domains of the Achaemenid Empire, probably in imitation of the Persians (Held 2017: 215-219).

### Figurines

The Persian influences are mainly related to the so-called 'Persian rider' figures, which are less frequent in Phoenicia compared to other figurines, of course (Stern 1982: 165-168, 2001: 492; Edrey 2018: 192-193).<sup>11</sup> These figurines depict horsemen wearing Persian clothes and hats (Stern 1982: 168, 2001: 492; Edrey 2018: 193). They were acquired from the territories of the three Phoenician city-states:

- (1) Arwad: Tell Tweini (Sader 2019: 62), Amrit (Khries 2016: Tab. 3.3).
- (2) Byblos: -
- (3) Sidon: Sidon (Curtis 2017: 189)<sup>12</sup>, Beirut (Elayi 1982: 93), Tel Qasile (Stern 1982: Tab. B; Khries 2016: 122), Jaffa (Erlich 2018: 575).
- (4) Tyre: Tel 'erani (?), Tel Zippor, Gil'am, Tel Megadim (Stern 1982: Tab. B; Also see: Erlich 2018: 575).

Apart from the Persian rider, other Persian elements can be found in the clothing of some of the bronze statues of Baal discovered from Ashkelon in the territory of Tyre (Stern 1982: 177, 181).

### Seals and Amulets

The Phoenician findings are decentralized and scattered, and in some cases, they even made their way outside the mainland of Phoenicia. Various foreign elements, including Persian influences, can be observed on these seals (Leith 1997: 15). However, it's important to note that these Persian influences are relatively restricted (Uehlinger 1999: 171). Some of these influences will be delineated in the subsequent section.

A green oval-shaped seal from Tell Keisan, located in the territory of Tyre where an Achaemenid garrison may have existed<sup>13</sup>, contains the image of a Persian champion (Leith 1997: 215).

A glass seal from Tel Kedesh in the territory of Tyre depicts the image of an Achaemenid king subduing two lions. This seal probably belonged to an eminent Phoenician individual (Berlin 2013: 375; Berlin and Herbert 2020: 149-150). Another seal from the Ashmolean Museum, acquired from an antique market in Beirut in the late 19th century, features motifs of the Achaemenid court style, sometimes inspired by Mesopotamian examples, or common motifs in ancient Iranian art, such as those found in the metal works of Luristan (Moorey 1978)

(see Figure 8). On certain Phoenician seals from this era, the deities are portrayed donning a loose-sleeved robe, likely of Persian origin, as indicated by a seal impression found in the private collection of Fouad and A. Karam in Beirut (Culican 1968: 60, Pl. II A).

On an oval-shaped Phoenician signet from Atlit, in the territory of Sidon, which was part of a golden ring, a bearded man is depicted in the form of an Achaemenid king (Stern 1982: 199). Two other stamp seals from Atlit also feature the archer motif (Culican 1968: Pl. I: 5, 9), one of which combines Greek and Persian elements (ibid: 88-89, Pl. I5).

According to Stern Two pyramidal and beetle-shaped glass seals featuring Persian elements were discovered at the ancient city of Dor, in the territory of Sidon. One depicts a Persian fire-altar, while the other combines motifs of a rider, a chariot, and a driver, similar to the coinage of Sidon, with the rider facing away and holding two animals by the back of their legs (i.e., the master of animals) (Stern 1984).

Stern has also published photos of three other Persian-Phoenician stamp seals from Dor, in which a champion is depicted between two upside-down animals, seemingly under his control<sup>14</sup> (Stern 2001: 542, III 50). A glass seal from Tel Ya'oz contains the figure of a kneeling Hercules, which Fischer and his colleagues consider to be of Greco-Persian type (Fischer et al 2008: 133, 151, Fig. 30).

Among the archival seal impressions of Wadi ed-Daliyeh in Samaria, outside Phoenicia, there are also seal impressions in the Persian style. Some of these seals were imported from Iran and Mesopotamia, while others were manufactured in Samaria and Phoenicia (Leith 1997: 23). Those potentially made in Phoenicia include WD 13, 15A, 18, 41, 48, and also the golden signet-ring B (ibid: 29, 199-201, 204-208, 231-234, 237-242).

Uehlinger (see Uehlinger 1999) has also discussed the Phoenician origin of the workshop of some seals recovered from different parts of the Levant, including items from Samaria (Nos. 3), Wadi ed-Daliyeh (No. 17-21), Gezer (No. 10), Tell Zakariya (No. 28), Kamid el-Loz (No. 28a), etc. These seals have Achaemenid court style motifs such as the confrontation between a champion and a lion or a mythological creature, or the motif of the charioteer.

### **Military equipment**

During the excavations of Mizpe Yammim in Upper Galilee, three Irano-Scythian arrowheads were discovered. The dating of the arrowheads corresponds to the Achaemenid period in the chronology of the complex. These arrowheads are of the same type used by the Achaemenid army, which have been obtained from Persepolis and the sites associated with the Greco-Persian engagements (Berlin and Frankel 2012: 53). However, this is a rather complicated case, as such arrowheads were in widespread use before the Achaemenid period in Syria and Palestine, in imitation of Babylonians (who were in turn influenced by the Scythians) (Stern 1982: 154-156, 2001: 532). Regardless, Achaemenid influence may be discerned in the augmented utilization of the aforementioned arrowheads rather than their initial introduction.

Other Phoenician sites where Irano-Scythian bronze arrowheads have been documented include Jaffa and Tel Michal in the territory of Sidon, as well as Tell el-Hesi and Megadim in the territory of Tyre (Raphael 2018: 496). Additionally, alongside the arrowheads, Achaemenid bronze horse bits of the Irano-Scythia type were recovered from the sea near Atlit (Stern 2001: 532).

### **Rhyta, vessels, strainers, and other household goods**

The items in this section can be categorized into two groups: terracotta and metal. Persian elements are less commonly observed among the terracottas. Rhyta make up a substantial part of the collection. Levantine rhyta exhibit influences from Persian art and are specific to the Achaemenid period (Stern 2001: 516). Three rhyta, including an intact terracotta with Achaemenid and Egyptian<sup>15</sup> elements, were recovered from a private luxury dwelling in Section C of Tel Ya'oz, located in the territory of Tyre (Khries 2016: 131). Other objects include a rhyton in the form of a goat's head and anterior from Tel Mevorakh in the territory of Sidon, a ram-shaped rhyton from Tell Abu Hawam in the territory of Tyre (Stern 1982a), and a rhyton in the shape of a ram's head from Tel el-Hesi near Ashkelon in the territory of Tyre (Stern 2001: 411). These rhyta were mainly crafted in regional workshops (Stern 1982a).

Achaemenid elements are more visible among metal objects. Three Achaemenid-style bronze bowls were serendipitously unearthed at Khirbet Ibsan in the Lower Galilee, likely associated with Tyre during this period. Similar vessels, displaying influences from Mesopotamia and Egypt, have been documented at sites like Gezer and Tell es-Safi, situated in proximity to or within the territories of Tyre, as well as other locations in Palestine. It appears that many items from outside Phoenicia were crafted in Phoenician workshops. Additionally, Achaemenid elements are evident in the adornments of metal strainers discovered at certain sites in the Levant, particularly in Palestine, which were also manufactured by Phoenician workshops (Stern 1982: 68, 143, 145, 147, 268, 269, 2001: 526).

Other products from Phoenician workshops include a silver jug from Gezer and a lion-shaped handle, likely from a jug or pot, found in Atlit (Stern 2001: 526). An Achaemenid-style throne was recovered from a Phoenician shipwreck near Atlit, within the territory of Sidon (ibid: 525). Stern also notes that other metal household items found in the shipwreck were also in the Persian style, including possibly locally produced metal vessels (ibid: 525). Additionally, a unique two-handled Achaemenid-style cup was discovered in Sarepta, according to Curtis (Curtis 2013: 98).

Regarding ivory/bone items, on a comb from Ashkelon in the territory of Tyre, we see the figure of the Achaemenid king with his particular crown, as well as a Persian rider pursuing animals (Stern 2001: 528).

## Ornaments

The available evidence demonstrates that the Phoenicians produced metal ornaments in the Achaemenid style. This is supported by the discovery of a stone mold found in Byblos, corresponding to the Achaemenid style of jewelry manufacture. Notable examples of Persian-style jewelry include a golden earring from Ashdod, situated in Tyre, shaped like an antelope and a ram (Stern 1982: 151, 153, 2001: 529-530). Additionally, two bronze bracelets featuring ends shaped like animals have been uncovered during excavations of the administrative building of Tel Kedesh (Berlin 2013: 375; Berlin and Herbert 2020: 149).

## Religion and rituals

Unfortunately, information regarding the Phoenician religion is scarce (Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 123), posing certain research challenges. Overall, the Persian influences on Phoenician religion and sacred rituals have been showcased by two types of evidence: (1) Historical texts, and (2) Archaeological evidence. These pieces of evidence will be discussed separately in the following section.

## Literary sources

### The worship of Anahita

According to Berossus, a Hellenistic-era Babylonian historian, the worship of the goddess Anahita was recommended by Artaxerxes II in various centers throughout the empire such as Damascus in the Levant. Evidence from Anatolia in the western part of the empire confirms the spread of the cult of Anahita, who was also known as the Persian Artemis (Boyce et al. 1989; Abedi 2017). Although the available evidence from Syria and Phoenicia regarding Anahita is not comparable to Anatolia, perhaps based on some similarities and connections between Anahita and the Phoenician goddess Astarte (Farajzadeh 2015: 77, 78, 80)<sup>16</sup>, and also the ascension and expansion of the cult of Astarte in the Achaemenid period, which is attested by temples and votive inscriptions, as well as figurines of female deities (Bloch-Smith 2014: 191; Jigoulov 2014: 163), it can be said that Anahita was also equated with a native goddess in Phoenicia.

### The presence of the magi in Phoenicia

The presence of the magi, the most prominent members of the Iranian clerical class from the Median and Achaemenid periods onwards, in Achaemenid Syria and Phoenicia (5<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> B.C.) is attested in some Greek narratives related to the biography of Socrates and Plato (Bivar 2021: 117-118). The presence of magi in territories such as Babylon (Dandamayev 2000, 2015), Egypt (Dandamayev 2000), and Anatolia (Dandamayev 2000; Abedi 2016: 55) has been also confirmed. This dispersion could be linked to the presence of Iranian officials and military personnel (Dandamayev 2000). The presence of the magi in Phoenicia and their performance of religious rituals in this region can be considered a significant factor in the possible impacts of the Persian religion on the Phoenicians.



## *The archaeological evidence*

### **Burial traditions**

In the Achaemenid period, the inhabitants of the Levant had various burial traditions. An important one, probably associated with the Phoenicians, was the Shaft tomb. Some anthropoid sarcophagi, characteristic of this period, are related to this type of burial (Stern 1982: 87-88; 2001: 474; Edrey 2018: 251-252). This type of sarcophagi has been reported from the territory of Arwad, Byblos, and Sidon, but no example has so far been obtained from Tyre (Stern 2001: 471). Achaemenid-style reliefs can be observed in some of these sarcophagi, which were discussed earlier (see 3, 2). Some researchers have also compared some of the cist tombs discovered in the Achaemenid Levant such as Gezer, Tel Michal, Khirbet Ibsan, Ugarit, etc., with cist tombs excavated in Iran and Mesopotamia. Based on their Persian-style burial goods and their similarity with cist tombs of Iran and Mesopotamia, the aforementioned researchers have labeled the Levantine cist tombs as Persian, Iranian, or Achaemenid and have associated them with Achaemenid garrisons and imperial officials stationed in the region (Stern 1982: 84-85, 92, 2001: 470-473). These cist tombs are also attested in the pre-Achaemenid Levant (Edrey 2018: 249-250) and cannot be considered a burial tradition entirely influenced by the Achaemenids. However, it can be said that these burials were of interest to people in the Levant who had particular ties to the empire, such as military commanders, soldiers, etc. (Stern 1982: 92).

Regarding the Persian influence on Phoenician burials, some hypotheses have been presented. For example, some changes in burial traditions can be attributed to Achaemenid influences. These include the cessation of burning corpses, as well as a greater tendency to bury the dead in stony and rocky contexts instead of burying them under the soil, especially related to sarcophagi. It is worth noting that the latter became so common in Achaemenid Sidon and has been abandoned since the beginning of the Hellenistic Period, which strengthens the hypothesis of Persian influence (Edrey 2023: 216-217). It seems that the greater preference for cist tombs by the officials and soldiers of the empire in the region is also in line with this hypothesis (ibid). But we should consider that the anthropoid sarcophagi which became particularly popular in Phoenicia during the Achaemenid period, had a lot to do with the Egyptian culture (Stern 1982: 87, 2001: 474; Elayi 2006: 16; Nunn 2021: 240; Edrey 2023: 217). Furthermore, their usage before the Achaemenid period is documented (Elayi 2018: III-III2; Sader 2019: 82; Edrey 2023: 217). Therefore, our evidence can only suggest the Achaemenid influence on the expansion and growing acceptance of this type of burial in Phoenicia (Edrey 2023: 217).

### **Dog burials**

One of the controversial phenomena regarding the archaeology of the Achaemenid period Levant is the extension of dog burials. Phoenician dog burials, divided by city-states territories,

include (Stern 2001: 487; Çakırlar et al. 2013; Dixon 2018: Tab. 1-2; Edrey 2018: 212, 2023: 220-223):

- (1) Arwad: -
- (2) Byblos: -
- (3) Sidon: Sidon, Beirut, Tell el-Burak, Khalde, Dor, Tel Qasile, Apollonia–Arsuf.
- (4) Tyre: Ashdod, Ashkelon, Akko, Tel el-Hesi, Megadim.

As mentioned, the reported cases of dog burials in the Achaemenid period are related to the territory of Tyre and Sidon and their associated southern lands. Regarding the connection of these burials with the Achaemenids, some researchers have associated it with Iranian religious impacts, to some extent (for a review of different opinions, see Dixon 2018: 27, Tab 3; Sapir-Hen and Shalev 2022: 126-127; Edrey 2023: 220-223); Since according to the Avesta (especially Vendidad) and other Zoroastrian texts, the dog had a high and sacred status among the ancient Iranians (Lipiński 2004: 331-332). On the other hand, some scholars like Dixon have considered the Persian influence as completely improbable and even contrary to the religious beliefs of the ancient Iranians (Dixon 2018: 27). According to Vendidad, burying dogs under the ground is considered a very unworthy act and a great sin (for instance, see: Vendidad, Fargard III, Part II, 8; Fargard III, Part III, 12; Fargard III, Part IV, 36-40). The contents of Vendidad have been subjected to two different readings, which has led to contradictory hypotheses. Edrey has acknowledged the indigenous roots of this ritual, but he considers the hypothesis of Achaemenid-era flourishing and escalating dog burials due to its compatibility with the religion of the Persian authorities, to be one of the major possibilities regarding this tradition (Edrey 2008: 276-277; Edrey 2023: 223).

In fact, the background of dog burial in the Levant dates back to the Chalcolithic Period. This tradition reached its zenith during the Achaemenid period (Edrey 2018: 209-211; Also see Edrey 2008: 275-277). This local background, along with the lack of a similar burial in Achaemenid Iran (Dixon 2018: 27; Also see: Edrey 2013: 29), and also its condemnation in Vendidad, challenges the influence of the Iranian religion hypothesis. Some of the evidence, however, can demonstrate that the Achaemenids were sensitive to the Phoenicians' views and actions regarding the treatment of dogs. For example, Darius I, in part of his edict to the inhabitants of Carthage (Northern Africans of Phoenician descent), forbade them from consuming dog flesh (Edrey 2008: 277, 2023: 224; Also see Abedi 2021). It should be mentioned that this tradition was abandoned since the end of the Persian Period. Therefore, considering some of the mentioned cases, especially the latter one, it may be possible to optimistically consider partial Persian influences on the flourishing and popularization of the dog burial tradition and perhaps the role of the Achaemenians in elevating the value of dogs among the Phoenicians, rather than introducing this custom (Edrey 2023: 220-223).

### The bone-pottery deposit of Dor

An interesting ritual evidence from the Achaemenid Phoenicia has been discovered at an open-air site in the ancient city of Dor (in the territory of Sidon). According to Sapir-Hen and Shalev (2021), here, along with several dog burials (see 7, 2, 1), a stone-covered and sealed pit containing a multi-layered circular deposit with fragments of horse/donkey and cattle, pig and goat bones, as well as several pottery shards including imported and local pottery of late Persian - early Hellenistic period was excavated. These materials were arranged together in a specific configuration. The bone-pottery deposit found here is a unique case. They believe that the bones recovered from this deposit, in addition to being remarkably different from the bones obtained from the rest of the site (which indicates the selection of specific animals for placement in this deposit), also have an interesting correspondence with the animals mentioned in the Vendidad as the reward of the purifier for performing the purification ritual. Therefore, they hypothesize that it might have been a local version of the purification ritual that was inspired by foreign ideas (Iranian religion) (Sapir-Hen and Shalev 2022: 120-127). The instructions for the purification ritual in Vendidad (See Vendidad, Fargard VIII, Part VII, 35-72, Fargard IX, Part I A: 2-II, I B, 12-44), however, do not provide any clues that the mentioned ritual leads to such a deposit. Additionally, the list of animals designated for the purifier does not include pigs, despite reports of their presence in the deposit. Conversely, camel bones, also noted in the deposit, are absent from the list. Therefore, their hypothesis remains questionable. Given their emphasis on the uniqueness of this discovery in their conclusion, we must await future discoveries and research for more accurate interpretations.

#### *The god Shadrapa*<sup>17</sup>

Shadrapa was one of the gods worshiped in the Levant and North Africa in the first millennium B.C. (Britannica 2011). The Persian Period worship of Shadrapa is attested in the temple of Sarepta, in the territory of Tyre, in the vicinity of Eshmun (Lipiński 1995: 195-196; Bloch-Smith 2014: 176; Jigoulov 2014: 57). In most sources, the name 'Shadrapa' has a Semitic origin and means 'healing deity/demon' (Hvidberg-Hansen 2012) or 'Spirit of Healing' (Britannica 2011). Stern believes that Shadrapa is not of Levantine origin but has Babylonian roots (Stern 2001: 75).

One of the intriguing perspectives on this deity comes from Bivar. He challenges the notion of its Semitic origin, instead proposing Iranian roots for the name Shadrapa, derived from the Median word<sup>18</sup> *Xša- $\square$ rapati*, which means 'ruler of the state' or 'lord of power'<sup>19</sup>. Bivar has associated Shadrapa with <sup>d</sup>*Šetrapattiš* in the Elamite tablets of the Persepolis Fortifications<sup>20</sup> and ḤŠTRPTY in the Aramaic version of the trilingual inscription from Xanthus in Asia Minor (from the Achaemenid period). In the end, he has considered this word/deity to be a title or, to put it better, a manifestation of Mithra. Bivar has also attributed the famous stele of Amrit in the territory of Arwad, which contains the name of the god Shadrapa, to the Achaemenid period and the 5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. (Bivar, 2021: 32-35, 38-39, 54).<sup>21</sup>

Some objections can be made to some of Bivar's statements. For instance, the *<sup>d</sup>Šetrapattiš* of the Elamite texts of Persepolis could be translated as *Šērapatiš* < *Šai* *rapatiš*, meaning 'lord of the dwelling', and associated with Ahura-Mazda (Tavernier 2007: 98, 4.I.7). In addition, some researchers have proposed a pre-Achaemenid dating for the Amrit Stele (or Nahra el-abrash stele), based on its iconography and paleographic features (Lipiński 1995: 195; Oggiano 2021: 68-69). The authors maintain that while Bivar's opinion cannot be entirely discounted based solely on these discrepancies, his broader linguistic arguments retain validity. Additionally, the pre-Achaemenid dating of the Amrit Stele lacks conclusive evidence and even the proposed dates are not far from the Achaemenid period. Consequently, the Iranian origin of this deity remains neither wholly acceptable nor refutable, necessitating patience for future discoveries to provide further clarity on the matter.

### Discussion

Persian elements observable in the data obtained from Phoenician territories are usually associated with the royal family, nobility, and local statesmen. However, it appears that the dominance of the Persians did not have a significant or profound impact on the lifestyle of ordinary people (Jigoulov 2014: 163-164). Nevertheless, two bronze bracelets recovered from Kedesh in the territory of Tyre (see 7) may alter this perspective. The authors remind us that, according to a general principle in archaeology, acquiring evidence that reflects the lifeways of common people is much more challenging than obtaining evidence related to the upper class of society. Hence, assessing commoners and formulating insights about them based on archaeological evidence poses a considerable challenge. At the level of local kings, it is understood that some of them maintained specific affiliations with the empire's central authority, or at least pretended to have such connections. A notable example in this regard is the inscription of Eshmunazar II's coffin (For the full text of the inscription, see Haelewyck 2012; Jigoulov 2014: 51-52):

‘Moreover, the lord of kings [probably Cambyses II<sup>22</sup>] gave us Dor and Joppa, the mighty lands of Dagon, which are in the Plain of Sharon, as a reward for the brilliant action I did. And we have annexed them...’

As Briant has acknowledged the conscious adaptation of Achaemenid motifs by the Sidonians (Briant 2006: 952-953), and based on the above inscription as well as numerous Achaemenid elements discovered in Sidon (especially in coins and architecture) that have been introduced before<sup>23</sup>, is it possible to conclude that this connection was an exclusive feature of Sidon? Without adequate sources, we are unable to extrapolate similar conclusions for other city-states. However, in the course of his narrative on the Greco-Persian wars, Herodotus mentioned the hierarchy of the Phoenician kings as Sidon, Tyre, and Arwad (respectively) under Xerxes, along with this king's interest in the Sidonian fleet (Herodotus 7:100, 8:67; Elayi 1982: 94-95; Kaelin 2021: 590). As discussed earlier, Sidon probably hosted a part of the 'Beyond the River' satrapy's court. Based on some evidence, however, it is possible to challenge the assertion that

Sidon had a monopoly and special privileges. First of all, there is an inscription from Byblos, probably belonging to Shipitbaal III, and despite the existence of lacunas, it has a similar reference to the Achaemenid king (Jigoulov 2014: 44):

‘...king of the Persians] and Medes, lord of kingdoms and dominions...’

Additionally, archaeological evidence concerning Tyre, despite the limited epigraphic evidence from this period, indicates that this city-state expanded into new territory in the Galilee region during the Achaemenid period. Such an expansion would have been improbable without authorization and oversight from the central government. Therefore, what likely occurred in Tyre may resemble the narrative of Sidonian Eshmunazar (Berlin and Herbert 2020: 151).

The second question raised is whether the abundance of elements in Sidon's royal art was due to its importance and precedence. In response, it should be noted that, based on architectural evidence (as mentioned earlier), there is no direct correlation between the importance of a city-state and the extent of Persian influence. The examination of non-architectural evidence has also contributed to this understanding. It is worth considering that Tyre was the second most important Phoenician city-state for much of the Achaemenid period and was far more significant than a city-state like Byblos. The Achaemenid influence appears to have had a more pronounced impact on the architecture<sup>24</sup> and coinage of Byblos compared to similar evidence from Tyre. Even after the Sidonian revolt at the end of the Achaemenid period, when Tyre probably replaced Sidon as the most important Phoenician city-state (Elayi 1982: 96; Jigoulov 2014: 166), no Achaemenid elements can be observed on their coinage (see 4, 2). Therefore, according to the results of the authors' first article and the evidence presented here, we can express our previous conclusion more confidently that the application of Achaemenid-style elements by local city-states as a sign of accepting the empire's sovereignty was not mandatory.<sup>25</sup>

On the whole, the reasons for the existence of numerous elements of Achaemenid style in the city of Sidon can be summarized as follows:

- (1) The open-mindedness of the Phoenician people in accepting the artistic and cultural elements of the other lands, which Jigoulov calls the Phoenician ‘cosmopolitanism’ (Jigoulov 2014: 60, 63, 98, 112, 117, 131, 164-165, 170, 172, 184). It seems that this was a prominent characteristic of the late Achaemenid era Sidonians, especially regarding their interactions with the Greeks (see Elayi 2018: 262-263). On the contrary, there appears to have been more conservatism in Achaemenid-era Tyre. This issue is confirmed by the motifs of this city-state's coinage (Johanoff and Tal 2021: III-II2), as well as the excavated temple of the Achaemenid period in its center<sup>26</sup>.
- (2) The presence of a part of the satrap's court in Sidon and the function of this city as one of the capitals of the ‘Beyond the River’ satrapy, in addition to its function as the capital of the local kings of Sidon.<sup>27</sup> As accepted by most scholars, satrapial courts were influenced by the court of the Great King and were a smaller model of it (Dandamayev 1993). Consequently, some of the architectural elements and motifs of the Achaemenid

style obtained from Sidon, such as the Persian palace and the royal park, were probably remnants of the satrapial court and things such as Bustan el-Sheikh Temple of Sidon<sup>28</sup> and the sarcophagi, were probably related to the local royal court and influenced by the satrapial court.

The second case also led to the visitation and potential stationing of Iranian officials, including Persian, and Median, followed by Magi, in the region. Their presence had an impact on the lifestyle of local elites (Edrey 2023: 224), as indicated by historical texts referencing their engagement in Phoenicia, particularly in Sidon. However, there is limited archaeological evidence available for studying the daily life of the elite in Sidon. Conversely, on the southern coast, where more archaeological excavations were conducted and the direct military presence of the empire intensified during the 4th century B.C., notably in Akko (Elayi 1982: 96-97; Christian 2014: 375), significant Persian influence can be observed. Luxury items, typically associated with the upper class of society, such as metal artifacts, drinking vessels, seals, and more, bear witness to Persian influence (Stern 1982: 143). Additionally, primary sources indicate the potential for a notable Persian presence in the inner regions of the Levant, as evidenced by the Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri (see Dušek 2020: 3-5), as well as within the territory of Phoenicia (Stern 2001: 486). The latter include some bronze vessels and cymbals from Eliachin in the territory of Sidon, which has been associated with the temple of the goddess Ashtorim of the Sharon, and the names of their donors are inscribed on them in Aramaic or Phoenician. The Iranian name "bgwy" is inscribed on one of these artifacts (ibid: 486, 488).<sup>29</sup> The authors suggest that this inscription may signify the substantial presence of Persian authorities in the coastal regions. Furthermore, it could indicate the Persians' respect for local deities, perhaps as a result of their assimilation into the native culture of the region or even as part of their political strategies.

Regarding the Achaemenid influences in the territory of Byblos, the neighboring city-state of Sidon probably played a major role. Perhaps the similarity of the stone-made podium of Bustan el-Sheikh to the temple of Byblos can be attributed to this issue.<sup>30</sup> Some influence can also extend beyond the borders of Phoenicia. A notable example of this is the motif of a lion attacking a bull found on the coinage of this city-state. Moreover, by referring to a Babylonian tablet from the reign of Darius I, the possible kingly installation of an Achaemenid governor of Babylonian origin in Byblos can be discussed (Briant 2006: 1664; Jigoulov 2014: 48; Elayi 2018: 228-229).<sup>31</sup> If such installations have continued in the Achaemenid period, the presence of officials in Byblos who were affiliated with the seat of power becomes more probable<sup>32</sup>, and perhaps the Persian attire of King Yehawmilk in his famous stele can be justified in the same manner. The authors remind that based on the motifs of some sarcophagi, the Sidonian King may also have occasionally worn Persian clothing.

Finally, another complementary reason worth mentioning is Phoenician visits to the imperial centers (Edrey, 2023: 224). In the archaeological excavations of Susa, most of the discovered Achaemenid era coinage were those of the Phoenician city-states (Amiet 2013: 333; Frank 2013:

347). In addition, some ivory objects obtained from Susa are in the Syro-Phoenician style, and an amphora from this ancient city depicts a Phoenician warship (Mecquenem 1933; Amiet 2013: 333, 339-340). All these instances can strengthen the possibility of Phoenician presence in Susa.

Traces of Phoenician presence can also be found in Persepolis, another significant center of the Achaemenid Empire. Among the Elamite tablets of the Persepolis fortification, such as the royal inscriptions, the general title 'Assyrian' is mainly used to refer to the Levantine ethnic groups present in Persepolis (Dandamayev 1987).<sup>33</sup> Also, 12 names with West Semitic roots (which also included the Phoenician language) can be seen among the names recorded in the tablets of Persepolis (Tavernier 2002: 147). It's possible that some of these "Assyrians" and Western Semites were of Phoenician origin. The PF 1799 tablet can be cited in this context, in which an individual (one of the 12 aforementioned people) named 'Attar-nūrī (<sup>HAL</sup>*Ad-d[a]-ir-nu-ri-iš*)(Tavernier, 2002: 47), from Assyria, is introduced as the person in charge of cedar wood in Persis (Hallock 1969: PF 1799). It is recognized that cedar wood was a significant export commodity of the Phoenician people (Moscati 1999: 23; Briant 2006: 1128; Sader 2019: 13). Hence, by considering the reputation of the Tyrians and Sidonians in exploiting this wood (1 Kings 5:6; 2 Chronicles 2:8), it may be said that the people who were associated with cedar wood in imperial centers were usually from Tyre and Sidon. Moreover, a man named Mattēn (<sup>m</sup>*Ma-ti-e-na*), whose name can have Phoenician roots, is mentioned in 5 tablets (Tavernier 2002: 147; Tavernier 2007: 530)<sup>34</sup>. This individual appears to have been a prominent person in Persis.

Moreover, it's noteworthy that two seals discovered within this archive depict the image of a Phoenician warship (Briant 2006: 768, 1143), indicating likely ownership by an individual from Phoenicia. Additionally, certain researchers believe that the widespread presence of Egyptian Bes imagery on artifacts originating from the Achaemenid heartlands (see: Abdi 1999, 2002) was through the mediation of the Phoenicians (Culican 1968: 93). As a result, the presence of Phoenicians as political representatives, administrative officials, merchants, artisans, labor force and even the clergy in the heartland of the empire, i.e. Persis and Elam, could lead to the passage of artistic and cultural ideas from the center to their homeland.

## Conclusion

In response to the first question of the research, it can be argued that while the Persian influence observed in the available data from Achaemenid Phoenicia may not be as prominent as that of the Greeks and Egyptians, this does not imply that Persian elements were insignificant. Rather, they have been distributed across a broad spectrum of archaeological findings<sup>35</sup>, including architectural evidence and movable finds. First of all, these findings enhance our understanding regarding the presence of the Persians in Phoenicia and their dominion over this region (which is also certified by the historical narratives). They also indicate that the utilization of artifacts influenced by Achaemenid art and the culture of the Persian court was embraced by the upper class and likely the middle class (to some extent) of Phoenician society.

Regarding the second question, it appears that the extent of Persian impact on various Phoenician city-states' local royal art, particularly coinage, was not uniform. Evidence from Tyre suggests that Persian influence wasn't necessarily correlated with a city-state's importance or power. Additionally, Phoenician city-state courts weren't obliged to incorporate Persian elements into their artistic works to acknowledge imperial sovereignty. In Sidon's court art, significant Persian elements are evident, possibly influenced by the presence of a segment of the 'Beyond the River' satrap's court in the city. Movable findings, like ornaments, seals, and figurines, predominantly associated with the upper and partially middle class, also display considerable Persian influence. This time, the data from Tyre showcases such elements, indicating the presence of Persian authorities in Phoenicia and, more broadly, the elite's acceptance of Achaemenid court art and culture. However, there seems to have been a conservative attitude toward adopting Persian elements, perhaps even avoidance, at the level of Tyre's royal family. Moreover, Persians likely impacted Phoenician religion, potentially through the presence of Persians and their accompanying Magi in Phoenicia. These influences could have played a role in shaping religious practices in the region.

Regarding the third question of the research, it can be inferred that Persians originating from imperial centers, including satraps, administrative officials (at the imperial level), Magi, military leaders, soldiers, and even ordinary immigrants (supported by scattered historical and archaeological evidence), along with visits by Phoenicians—likely predominantly from Sidon—to the imperial heartland (Susa and Persepolis), facilitated the transfer, reception, and acceptance of Persian artistic and cultural elements by the Phoenicians. In addition, Sidon likely played a significant, though not exclusive, role in transferring elements of the Persian court to other Phoenician city-states such as Byblos. This was due to Sidon's superior cultural standing and its role as the host of the satrapy court. However, other Phoenician city-states may have also been influenced directly by Persian culture and interactions with Persians.

In conclusion, the authors note that the results of this research are complementary, strengthening, and confirmative to the results of their previous article entitled 'Study of Persian influence on Phoenician Architecture in the Achaemenid period based on archaeological findings and literary sources'.

#### پی‌نوشت‌ها

1. Among the other available material that provides further information on the subject of weight standards in Phoenicia, we can mention a bone-lead weight from Ashkelon (in the territory of Tyre), weighing one karsha (Stern 2001: 573). Furthermore, in the first book of Chronicles and the Book of Ezra, Daric cognates are used to refer to gold (ibid: 555).
2. It should be noted that Jigoulov has also mentioned another interpretation of this motif. Although, he has assumed that the Persian influence is more likely.
3. The time frames mentioned here are mainly based on Johananoff and Tal (2021).
4. In the primary interpretations of Babelon, Briant, and Uehlinger, the figure represents the Achaemenid king (Babelon 1981: 233, 237; Uehlinger 1999: 177; Briant, 2006: 952).
5. [metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/325871](https://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/325871)



6. This sarcophagus probably belongs to Abdalonymos, the first king of Sidon during the reign of Alexander (Jigoulov 2014: 189).
7. The sarcophagus possibly belongs to Baalshillem I, c. 425 B.C. (Elayi 2018: 250).
8. This sarcophagus probably belongs to Abdashtart I, c. 360-355 BC (Elayi 2018: 262).
9. compare with the Nereid Monument in Lycia (see Hejebri Nobari et al. 2013: 113).
10. For more information on this seal impression, see: (Garrison and Henkelman 2020).
11. For more information regarding 'Persian riders' from other parts of the empire, see: (Stern 1982: 165, Tabs. B, D).
12. It must be noted that this figure is heavily damaged and its reconstruction is hypothetical (Curtis 2017: 189).
13. [archaeology.org/news/7265-181223-israel-acre-persian-encampment](http://archaeology.org/news/7265-181223-israel-acre-persian-encampment).
14. For comparable items among the seal impressions of Persepolis, see (Garrison and Root 2001).
15. It should be noted that the Achaemenids also popularized the usage of rhyta in Egypt (Colburn 2019: 25-26).
16. For instance, under the impact of Babylonian culture, the goddess Anahita was associated with the planet Venus (Boyce et al 1989), and the goddess Ishtar was also associated with that planet (Esteban and Pelin 2016).
17. Shadrapa/Shadrafa; ŠDRP' (Šadrapē) in Phoenician (Krahmalkov 2000: 458; Hvidberg-Hansen 2012).
18. The ancient Persian pronunciation of this word is xšačapati (see Tavernier 2007: 98).
19. The second interpretation is made by Tavernier (see: Tavernier 2007: 98).
20. Hinz and Koch have also reconstructed it as Xšačapati (see Hinz and Koch 1989: 1154).
21. Teixidor has attributed the stele to the Achaemenid period, while Gubel has proposed the same dating for the inscription of the Stele (Oggiano 2012: 69).
22. See (Elayi 2018: 231).
23. By examining the architectural evidence in the first part of the 'Achaemenid Phoenicia', it was surmised that the architecture of Sidon showcases more Achaemenid elements than other city-states.
24. By examining the architectural evidence in the first part of the 'Achaemenid Phoenicia', it was found that despite the great importance of the city-state of Tyre at this time, there were not many Achaemenid elements in its architecture; these Persian influences were much stronger on the architecture of Byblos.
25. Jigoulov has also pointed out the voluntariness of this issue (Jigoulov 2014: 93).
26. For more information on this regard, see the first part of the 'Achaemenid Phoenicia'.
27. Regarding the possibility of being a satrapy capital, some explanations were provided in the first part of the 'Achaemenid Phoenicia'.
28. For these architectural works, see the first part of the 'Achaemenid Phoenicia'.
29. It must be noted that written records from mainland Achaemenid Phoenicia are scant (see Elayi 2021). Consequently, the occurrence of a Persian name in the discussed evidence should not necessarily be interpreted as an indicator of the limited presence of Persians in the region.
30. For the Persian elements of these two stone-made podiums of Byblos and Sidon, see the first part of the 'Achaemenid Phoenicia'.
31. Although the URUGub-ba-al mentioned in the tablet is usually identified with Byblos, there is also a possibility that the mentioned place coincides with the Jableh Plain in the north of Arwad (Elayi 2018: 228-229).
32. While Jigoulov cites this tablet in his analysis of why Byblos was influenced by Achaemenid art and architecture, he ultimately asserts that the Persian influence stemmed primarily from the city-state's adaptation and imitation of Achaemenid art. Moreover, he argues against the notion that the presence of Persian officials necessarily impacted the inhabitants of Byblos (Jigoulov 2014: 187).
33. There are some exceptions in this regard. For instance, in two tablets PF1477 and PF1507, Arabs are mentioned independently, and also in tablets PT12, PT15, PT22, and PFNN2348 (Tavernier 2002: 145), the Hattians who lived in northern Syria are mentioned.
34. It should be noted that some researchers such as Hintz and Gershevitch have attributed Iranian origin to this name (see Tavernier 2007: 530).
35. See the first part of the 'Achaemenid Phoenicia'.

**References:**

- [1] Abdi, K. 1999. 'Bes in the Achaemenid Empire', *Ars Orientalis* 29, 111-140.
- [2] Abdi, K. 2002. 'Notes on Iranianization of Bes in the Achaemenid Empire', *Ars Orientalis* 32, 132-162.
- [3] Abedi, F., 2017. 'Artemis Persike and the Great Mother of Gods (In Search of a Persian-Anatolian Goddess According to Classical Texts and the Archaeological Evidences)', *Journal of Iran's Pre Islamic Archaeological Essays* 2(2), 49-64. (in Persian).
- [4] Abedi, F., 2021. 'Study of the political, social and cultural dimensions of the decree of Darius I to the people of Carthage', *Social History Studies, Institute for Humanities and Cultural Studies* 11 (1), 127-161. (in Persian).
- [5] Albenda, P., 1974. 'Lions on Assyrian Wall Reliefs', *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 6, 1-27.
- [6] Alram, M., 1994. 'Daric', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Vol. VII, Fasc. 1, pp. 36-40.
- [7] Amiet, P., 2013. 'Decorative Arts at Susa during the Persian Period', in J. Perrot (ed.). *The Palace of Darius at Susa*, Transl G. Collon, Translation editing by D. Collon, London and New York: I.B.Tauris and Co Ltd, 331-346.
- [8] Amiet, P., 2015. *Musee du louver suse 6000 and d'histoire*. Transl A. Mousavi, Tehran: Farzan Ruz. (in Persian).
- [9] Babelon, E., 1981. *Catalogue des Monnaies Grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Les Perses Achéménides, les Satrapes Et les Dynastes Tributaires de Leur Empire Cypre Et Phénicie*. transl M. Bayani and Kh. Bayani, Tehran: The Society for the National Heritage of Iran. (in Persian).
- [10] Balcells Gallarreta, J. E., 2017. *Household and Family Religion in Persian Period Judah an Archaeological Approach*, Atlanta: SBL Press.
- [11] Bayani, M., 1991. *The history of coins from the oldest period to the Sasanian period*, Tehran: University of Tehran Press.
- [12] Berlin A. M., Frankel R., 2012. 'The Sanctuary at Mizpe Yammim: Phoenician Cult and Territory in the Upper Galilee during the Persian Period', *BASOR* 366, 25-78.
- [13] Berlin, A. M., 2013. 'Tel Kedesh'. in D. Master (ed), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology*, Oxford University Press, 373-381.
- [14] Berlin, A. M., Herbert, Sh. C., 2020. 'The Achaemenid–Ptolemaic Transition: The View from Southern Phoenicia', in S. Honigman, C. Nihan and O. Lipschits (eds), *Times of Transition. Judea in the Early Hellenistic Period*, Pennsylvania: The Institute of Archaeology of Tel-Aviv University and Eisenbrauns University Park, 143-160.
- [15] Bivar, A. D. H., 2021. *The Personalities of Mithra in Archaeology and Literature*, Transl A. Bahrami, Tehran: Mahi. (in Persian).
- [16] Bloch-Smith, E., 2014. 'Archaeological and Inscriptional Evidence for Phoenician Astarte', in D. Sugimoto (ed), *Transformation of a Goddess: Ishtar - Astarte – Aphrodite*, Fribourg: Academic/Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 167-194.
- [17] Boyce, M. 1989. 'Achaemenid Religion', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I (4), 426-429.
- [18] Boyce M., Chaumont M.L, Bier C., 1989. 'Anāhīd,' *Encyclopædia Iranica*. I (9), 1003-1011.
- [19] Briant, P., 2006. *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*. Vol. 1, 2, Transl N. Forughan, Tehran: Farzan ruz and Ghatreh. (in Persian).
- [20] Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. 2011. 'Shadrafa', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Retrieved from [britannica.com/topic/Shadrafa](http://britannica.com/topic/Shadrafa).
- [21] Brosius, M. 2020. 'The Royal Audience Scene Reconsidered', in J. Curtis and S. J. Simpson (eds), *The World of Achaemenid Persia History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, Transl Kh. Bahari, Tehran: Farzan ruz, 145-156. (in Persian).
- [22] Çakırlar, C., Amer, V., Kamlah, J. and Sader, H., (2013) 'Persian Period dog burials in the Levant: new evidence from Tell el-Burak (Lebanon) and a reconsideration of the phenomenon', in de Cupere, B., Linseele,

- V. and Hamilton-Dyer, S. (eds), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium on the Archaeozoology of South-Western Asia and Adjacent Areas, Archaeozoology of the Near East X*, Leuven: Peeters, 243-264.
- [23] Christian, M. A., 2014. 'Mediterranean Grottos and the Umm El-Amed: Coastal Shrines and Regional Inland Temples,' in A. Lemaire et al. (eds.), *Phéniciens d'Orient et d'Occident. Mélanges Josette Elayi*, Cahiers de IPOA 2, 373-92.
- [24] Colburn, H. P. 2019. *Archaeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- [25] Culican, W. 1968. 'The Iconography of Some Phoenician Seals and Seal Impressions', *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1(1), 50-130.
- [26] Curtis, J. 2013. 'The archaeology of the Achaemenid period', in J. Curtis and N. Talis (eds.). *Forgotten empire: The world of Ancient Persia*, Transl Kh. Bahari, Tehran: Farzan Ruz, 71-118 (in Persian).
- [27] Curtis, J. 2017. 'The Persian Period at Sidon', *BAAL Hors-Serie XVIII*, 185-95.
- [28] Dandamayev, M. A. 1993. 'Courts and Courtiers i. In the Median and Achaemenid periods', *Encyclopædia Iranica* VI (4), 356-359.
- [29] Dandamayev, M. A., 2000. 'Magi', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Retrieved from <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/magi>.
- [30] Dandamayev, M. A., 2015. 'Mesopotamia i. Iranians in Ancient Mesopotamia', *Encyclopædia Iranica*, Retrieved from [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mesopotamia-01-iranians](http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/mesopotamia-01-iranians).
- [31] Diodorus Siculus. 'Library, Fragments of Book', Retrieved from: [www.perseus.tufts.edu](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu).
- [32] Dixon, H. 2018. 'Late 1st-Millennium BCE Levantine Dog Burials as an Extension of Human Mortuary Behavior', *BASOR* 379, 19-41.
- [33] Doustkhah, J. 1992. *Avesta the oldest Iranian hymns and texts*. vol. 2, Tehran: Morvarid.
- [34] Dusinger, E. R. M., 2019. *Empire, Authority and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*. Translated M. Maleki, Tehran: Shafiee. (in Persian).
- [35] Dušek, J. 2020. 'The Importance of the Wadi Daliyeh Manuscripts for the History of Samaria and the Samaritans', *Religions* 11(2): 63, 1-13.
- [36] Edrey, M., 2008. 'The dog burials at Achaemenid Ashkelon revisited', *Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University* 35(2), 267-282.
- [37] Edrey, M., 2013. 'Dog Cult in Persian Period Judah', in R.J. Zalashik and P. Ackerman-Lieberman (eds), *A Jew's Best Friend? The Image of the Dog Throughout Jewish History*, Sussex Academic Press, 12-35.
- [38] Edrey, M., 2018. *The Phoenicians in the Eastern Mediterranean during the Iron Age I-III, ca. 1200-332 BCE: Ethnicity and Identity in Light of the Material Culture*, Inauguraldissertation, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz.
- [39] Edrey, M. (2023). 'Achaemenid/Early Zoroastrian Influences on Phoenician Cultic Practices During the Persian Period', *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies*, 11(2-3), 209-228.
- [40] Ehrenberg, E., 2007. 'Dieu et Mon Droit: Kingship in Late Babylonian and Early Persian Times', in Nicole Brisch (ed), *Religion and Power. Divine Kingship in the Ancient World and Beyond*, Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 103-132.
- [41] Elayi, J., 1982. 'Studies in Phoenician Geography during the Persian Period', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 41(2), 83-110.
- [42] Elayi, J., 2006. 'An Updated Chronologie of the Reigns of Phoenician Kings during the Persian Period (539-333 BCE)', *Transeuphratène* 32, 11-43.
- [43] Elayi, J., 2018. *The history of Phoenicia*, Lockwood press.
- [44] Elayi, J., 2021. 'Phoenician Sources', in B. Jacobs, R. Rolinger (eds), *A companion to The Achaemenid Persian Empire*, vol. 1, Willy Blackwell, 149-154.
- [45] Erlich, A., 2018. 'Terracota figurines', in In A. Burkert and M. Peilstöcker (eds), *The Jaffa cultural series project, vol. 3: Ancient Jaffa from the Persian to the Byzantine Period*, Munster: Zaphon, 573-588.

- [46] Esteban, C., Pellin, D. I. 2016. 'Temples of Astarte across the Mediterranean', *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 16 (4), 161-166.
- [47] Farajzadeh, S., (2015). *Study and analysis of Anahita motifs in pre-Islamic art, master's thesis in archaeology*, Ardabil: Mohaghegh Ardabili University. (in Persian).
- [48] Fischer, M., Roll, I., and Tal, O., 2008. 'Persian and Hellenistic Remains at Tel Yaoz', *Tel Aviv* 35(1), 123–163.
- [49] Frank, C. 2013. 'The Acropolis tomb', in J. Perrot (ed), *The Palace of Darius at Susa*. Transl G. Collon, Translation editing by D. Collon, London and New York: I.B.Tauris and Co Ltd., 347-355.
- [50] Garrison, M. B. 2021. 'Seals and Sealing', in B. Jacobs, R. Rolinger (eds.). *A companion to The Achaemenid Persian Empire*, Vol. 1, Willy Blackwell, pp. 769-792.
- [51] Garrison, M. B., Root, M. C., 2001. *Seals on Persepolis fortification tablets Vol 1: Images of Heroic Encounter*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- [52] Garrison, M. B., Henkelman, W.F., 2020. 'The seal of prince Aršāma: From Persepolis to Oxford', in C. J. Tuplin and J. Ma (eds), *Bullae and seals (Aršāma and his world: The Bodleian letters in context 2)*, Oxford 2020, 46-166.
- [53] Haelewyck, J. C.. 2012. 'The Phoenician Inscription of Eshmunazar an Attempt at Vocalization', *BABELAO* 1, pp. 77-98.
- [54] Hallock, R., 1969. *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- [55] Hejebri Nobari, A. R., Veisi, M., Mousavi, M., Neyestani, J. 2013. 'Study of Achaemenid Period work's in Lycia Satrapi's', *Iranian Studies* 3(1), 99-118 (in Persian).
- [56] Held, W. 2017. 'Achämenidische Hofkunst in der hellenistischen Levante eine Jagdszene in Marisa, der Pavillon in Jericho und der Paradeisos von Sidon', in Winfried Held (ed), *The Transition from the Achaemenid to the Hellenistic Period in the Levant, Cyprus, and Cilicia: Cultural Interruption or Continuity? Symposium at Philipps-Universität Marburg, Marburger Beiträge zur Archäologie* 6, 209-228.
- [57] Herodotus 2010. *History of Herodotus*. transl M. Saghebar, vol. 1- 2, Tehran: Asatir. (in Persian).
- [58] Hinz, W., Koch H., 1989. *Elamisches Wörterbuch*. TEIL 1- 2. Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran Ergänzungsheft 17. Berlin: Reimer Verlag.
- [59] Hvidberg-Hansen, F.O. 2012. 'Shadrapa', in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History, Religion*, Retrieved from [www.onlinelibrary.wiley.com](http://www.onlinelibrary.wiley.com).
- [60] Jigoulov V. S., 2014. *The Social History of Achaemenid Phoenicia Being a Phoenician, Negotiating Empires, Negotiating Empires*, London and New York: Routledge.
- [61] Johananoff, M., Tal, O., 2021. 'The Coinages of Phoenicia in the Persian Period in Light of Contemporaneous Neighboring Minting Practices', in G. Garbati and T. Pedrazzi (eds), *Transformations and crisis in the Mediterranean 'identity' and interculturality in the Levant and Phoenician west during the 5th-2nd centuries BCE*, Roma: CNR – Istituto di scienze del patrimonio culturale CNR edizioni, 105-121
- [62] Kaelin, O., 2021. 'The Levant', in B. Jacobs, R. Rolinger (eds), *A companion to The Achaemenid Persian Empire*. vol. 1, Willy Blackwell, 583-593.
- [63] Katzenstein, H. J., Sperling, S. D. 2007. 'Phoenicia, Phoenicians', in F. Skolnik and M. Berenbaum (eds), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. second edition, vol. 16, 118-124.
- [64] Khries, H. M., 2016. *The Architecture of the Persian Period in the Levant*, Dottorato di ricerca in archeologia e storia dell'arte, Alma Mater Studiorum, Università di Bologna.
- [65] Krahmalkov, C. R., 2000. *Phoenician Punic Dictionary*, Leuven: Peeters.
- [66] Lerner, J.A., 2020. 'An Achaemenid Cylinder Seal of a Woman Enthroned', in John Curtis and St John Simpson (eds), *The World of Achaemenid Persia History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East*, Transl Kh. Bahari, Tehran: Farzan Ruz, 157-168. (in Persian).
- [67] Leith, M. J. W., 1997. *Wadi Daliyeh I: The Wadi Daliyeh Seal Impressions. Discoveries in the Judaeian Desert*, XXIV, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- [68] Lipiński, E. 1995. *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique (Studia Phoenicia, 14)*, Leuven: Peeters.
- [69] Lipiński, E. 2004. *Itineraria Phoenicia*. Leuven: Peeters.
- [70] Markoe, G.E. 1989. 'The 'Lion Attack' in Archaic Greek Art: Heroic Triumph', *Classical Antiquity* 8(1), 86-115.
- [71] Meadows, A., 2013. 'The administration of the Achaemenid empire', in J. Curtis and Nigel Talis (eds), *Forgotten empire: The world of Ancient Persia*, Transl Kh. Bahari, Tehran: Farzan Ruz, 377-430 (in Persian).
- [72] Mecquenem, R. de. 1933. "Travaux et resultats", Roland de Mecquenem Archives de Suse 1912-1939, <http://www.mom.fr/mecquenem/index/rapports>.
- [73] Moorey, P. R. S., 1978. 'The Iconography of an Achaemenid Stamp-Seal Acquired in the Lebanon', *Iran* 16, 143-154.
- [74] Moscati, S., 1999. *The Phoenicians*. Transl R. Behazadi, Tehran, Pazhuhandeh. (in Persian).
- [75] Nigro, L., 2020. 'Byblos, an ancient capital of the Levant', in P. Zalloua (ed), *La revue phénicienne: Spécial 100 ans*, Beyrouth: Les éditions de la Revue phénicienne, 61-74.
- [76] Nunn, A., 2021. 'Syria', in B. Jacobs, R. Rolinger (eds), *A companion to The Achaemenid Persian Empire*. Vol. 1, Willy Blackwell, 233-244.
- [77] Oggiano, I., 2021. 'Phoenician gods: tell me your name, show me your image!', in C. Bonnet and T. Galoppin (eds), *Divine Names on the Spot Towards a Dynamic Approach of Divine Denominations in Greek and Semitic Contexts*, Leuven, Paris and Bristol: Peeters, 61-92.
- [78] Raphael, K., 2018. 'The metal finds', in A. Burkert and M. Peilstocker (eds), *The Jaffa cultural series project, vol. 3: Ancient Jaffa from the Persian to the Byzantine Period*, Munster: Zaphon, 480-517.
- [79] Root, M. C., 2013. 'The lioness of Elam: Politics and dynastic fecundity at Persepolis', in W. Henkelman and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *A Persian Perspective, Essays in memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, Vol. 13, Transl M. Saghebfar, Tehran: Tus, 33-60. (in Persian).
- [80] Sader, H., 2019. *The history and archaeology of Phoenicia*, Atlanta: SBL Press.
- [81] Sapir-Hen L., Shalev, Y., 2021. 'Animal Rituals from the Persian Period at Tel Dor', in U. Davidovich, N. Yahalom-Mack and S. Matskevich (eds.), *Material, Method, and Meaning. Papers in Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology in Honor of Ilan Sharon. Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments Band 110*, Zaphon: Münster, 117-129.
- [82] Stern, E., 1982. *Material culture of the land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538-332 B.C.*, Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris and Phillips; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- [83] Stern, E., 1982a. 'Achaemenid Clay Rhyta from Palestine', *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1), 36-43.
- [84] Stern, E., 1984. 'Two Phoenician Glass Seals from Tel Dor', *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 16 (1), 213-216.
- [85] Stern, E., 2001. *Archaeology of the land of The Bible volume ii The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- [86] Tavernier, J., 2002. 'Non-Elamite Individuals in Achaemenid Persepolis', *Akkadica* 123, pp. 145-152.
- [87] Tavernier, J., 2007. *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 B.C.)*. *Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*, Leuven: Dudley, MA: Peeters.
- [88] Uehlinger, C. 1999. 'Powerful Persianisms in Glyptic Iconography of Persian Period Palestine', in B. Becking and M.C.A. Korpel (eds), *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times*, Leiden: Brill, 134-182.



Figure 1. Left: The image of a lion attacks a bull on a coin from Byblos, first half of the 4th century B.C. (<https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=186495#>). Right: The relief of a lion attacking a bull on the Apadana staircase of Persepolis. ([https://isac.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1F12\\_72dpi.png](https://isac.uchicago.edu/gallery/apadana#1F12_72dpi.png))



Figure 2. The image of an Achaemenid king (?) riding a chariot on a Sidonian coin from the first half of the 4th century B.C. (<https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=208284>).



Figure 3. A half shekel from Sidon belonging to an unnamed king with a battleship and archer motif, c. 450-430 B.C. (<https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=96815>)



Figure 4. Left: a half shekel from Sidon belonging to an unnamed king with the battle of champion and lion imagery, last quarter of the 5th century B.C. (<https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=215634#>). Right: The relief of a champion fighting a winged in Persepolis ([https://isac.uchicago.edu/gallery/throne-hall#2F10\\_72dpi.png](https://isac.uchicago.edu/gallery/throne-hall#2F10_72dpi.png))



Figure 5: The figure of King Yehawmilk wearing Persian clothes on the stele of Yehawmilk, photo by Rene-Gabriel Ojeda (collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010120347).

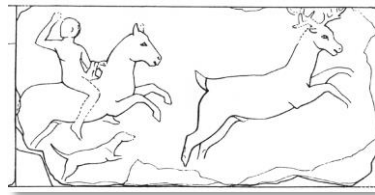


Figure 6. Detail of a drawing from the stag hunt scene on the top of Ashtart's throne (Held 2017: Abb. 6).



Figure 7. A horseman wearing a Persian hat and dress hunting a leopard, on the sarcophagus of the satrap from Sidon, Achaemenid period (Held 2017: Abb. 5).



Figure 8. Drawing of the Phoenician-Achaemenid seal of the Ashmolean Museum, which was acquired from an antique market in Beirut (Moorey 1978: Fig. 4).

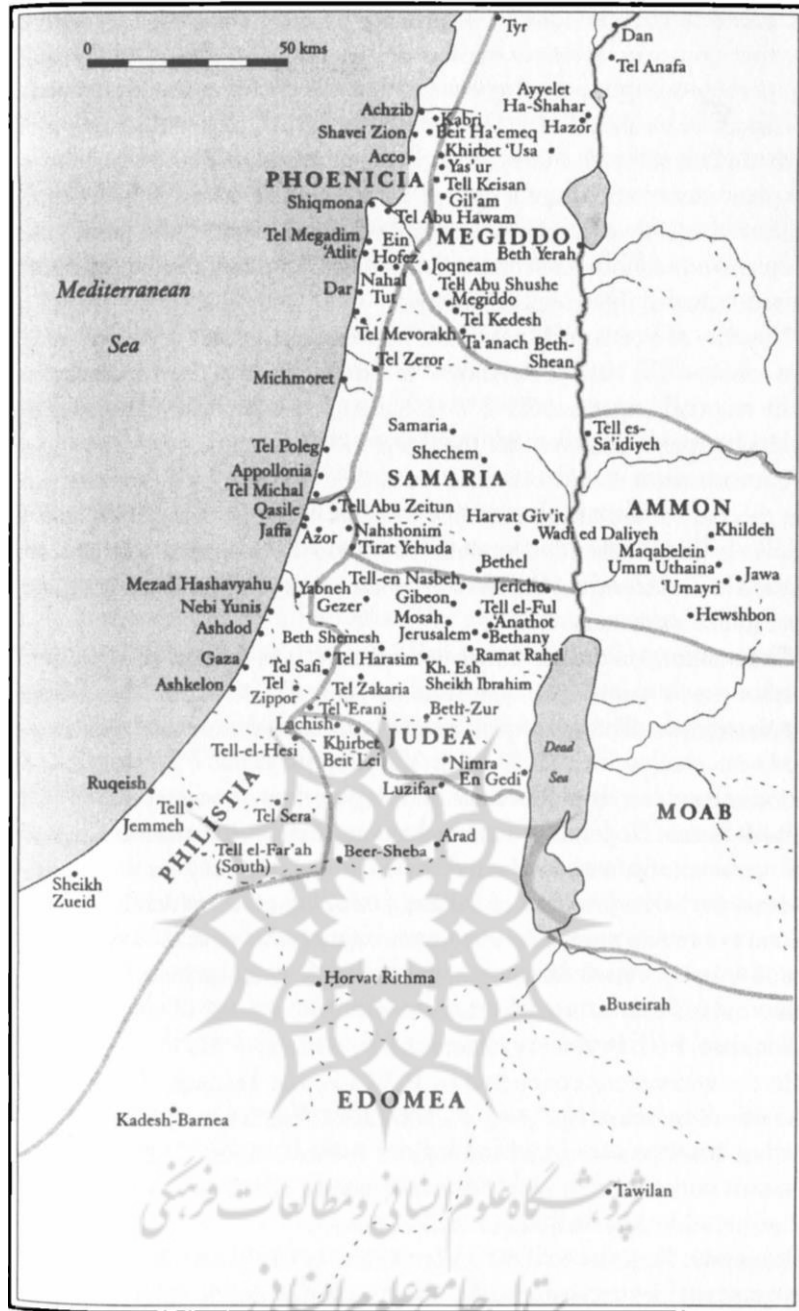


Fig 9. Persian Period Sites of southern Phoenicia and the other parts of Levant (Stern 2001: 375, III6)





Fig 10. Sites of Northern and Central Phoenicia (Sader, 2019: fig. 3.1)





## فنیقیه دوره هخامنشی (۲): تأثیرات پارسی بر هنر و فرهنگ فنیقی بر اساس یافته‌های باستان‌شناختی و منابع مکتوب

سرور خراشادی<sup>۱\*</sup>، علیرضا انتشاری نجف‌آبادی<sup>۲</sup>

### چکیده

جستار حاضر بخش دوم از موضوع «فنیقیه دوره هخامنشی» و در پیوستار مقاله «بررسی تأثیرات پارسی بر معماری فنیقی» است که پیش‌تر توسط نگارندگان این سطور نگاشته شده‌است. در این پژوهش، به دیگر شواهد موجود درباره فنیقیه هخامنشی یعنی داده‌های باستان‌شناختی منقول و نیز منابع تاریخی مرتبط با آنها پرداخته شده تا نخست، به تصویری کلی‌تر از تأثیرات پارسی بر هنر و فرهنگ این تمدن در دوره هخامنشی دست‌یابیم و سپس، نتایج مقاله پیشین که عبارت بود از حضور و سلطه هخامنشیان در منطقه، یکسان‌نبودن عناصر پارسی در معماری دولت‌شهرهای مختلف و نیز عدم وجود ارتباط میان اهمیت یک دولت‌شهر با میزان تأثیرات پارسی را تصحیح یا تکمیل کنیم و در نهایت، نحوه راهیابی این عناصر به فرهنگ و هنر فنیقیه را توضیح دهیم. با مطالعه شواهد غیرمعماری چنین مستفاد شد که تأثیرات پارسی علی‌رغم چشمگیر نبودن، در طیف وسیعی از داده‌ها قابل رؤیت است؛ نکته‌ای که نشان‌می‌دهد این عناصر مورد استقبال طبقه بالا و تا حدی طبقه متوسط جامعه بوده‌است؛ همچنین در سطح هنر سلطنتی (سکه‌ها، نقوش برجسته و...) شاهد تأثیرپذیری یکسانی نیستیم؛ به طوری که شواهد صیدون تأثیرپذیری چشمگیر، اما دولت‌شهر صور علی‌رغم اهمیتش، نوعی محافظه‌کاری را می‌نمایاند؛ باین حال در دیگر آثار منقول مکشوفه از قلمروی صور، تأثیرات پارسی وجود دارد که نشان‌دهنده عدم محافظه‌کاری نخبگان این دولت‌شهر برخلاف دربار سلطنتی محلی‌شان است. درباره نحوه ورود عناصر پارسی به فنیقیه، شواهد موجود حاکی از آن است حضور پارسیانی در فنیقیه که با دستگاه اداری امپراتوری مرتبط بودند و نیز رفت‌وآمد قابل توجه فنیقیان به مراکز شوش و تخت‌جمشید، دو عامل عمده در این رسوخ فرهنگی بوده‌است. نگارندگان در پایان خاطر نشان می‌سازند که نتایج این پژوهش در تکمیل، تقویت و تأیید نتایج مقاله پیشین است.

**کلیدواژگان:** فنیقیه، امپراتوری هخامنشی، صیدون، صور، یافته‌های منقول باستان‌شناختی، رهیافت تاریخی.

۱. استادیار، گروه باستان‌شناسی،  
دانشگاه تربیت مدرس، تهران،  
ایران. \* نویسنده مسئول  
Email:  
s.khorashadi@modares.ac.ir

۲. دانشجوی گروه  
باستان‌شناسی، دانشگاه تربیت  
مدرس، تهران، ایران.  
Email:  
a.enteshari@modares.ac.ir

مقاله مستخرج از پایان‌نامه کارشناسی ارشد، به راهنمایی دکتر سرور خراشادی می‌باشد.