



Oriens et Occidens – Band 25

Franz Steiner Verlag

Sonderdruck aus:

# Persianism in Antiquity

Edited by Rolf Strootman and Miguel John Versluys



Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2017

## CONTENTS

Acknowledgments. . . . .	7
<i>Rolf Strootman &amp; Miguel John Versluys</i> From Culture to Concept: The Reception and Appropriation of Persia in Antiquity . . . . .	9
<b>Part I: Persianization, Persomania, Perserie . . . . .</b>	<b>33</b>
<i>Albert de Jong</i> Being Iranian in Antiquity (at Home and Abroad) . . . . .	35
<i>Margaret C. Miller</i> Quoting ‘Persia’ in Athens . . . . .	49
<i>Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones</i> ‘Open Sesame!’ Orientalist Fantasy and the Persian Court in Greek Art 430–330 BCE . . . . .	69
<i>Omar Coloru</i> Once were Persians: The Perception of Pre-Islamic Monuments in Iran from the 16th to the 19th Century. . . . .	87
<i>Judith A. Lerner</i> Ancient Persianisms in Nineteenth-Century Iran: The Revival of Persepolitan Imagery under the Qajars. . . . .	107
<i>David Engels</i> Is there a “Persian High Culture”? Critical Reflections on the Place of Ancient Iran in Oswald Spengler’s Philosophy of History. . . . .	121
<b>Part II: The Hellenistic World . . . . .</b>	<b>145</b>
<i>Damien Agut-Labordère</i> Persianism through Persianization: The Case of Ptolemaic Egypt. . . . .	147
<i>Sonja Plischke</i> Persianism under the early Seleukid Kings? The Royal Title ‘Great King’ . . . . .	163
<i>Rolf Strootman</i> Imperial Persianism: Seleukids, Arsakids and <i>Fratarakā</i> . . . . .	177

<i>Matthew Canepa</i> Rival Images of Iranian Kingship and Persian Identity in Post-Achaemenid Western Asia . . . . .	201
<i>Charlotte Lerouge-Cohen</i> Persianism in the Kingdom of Pontic Kappadokia. The Genealogical Claims of the Mithridatids. . . . .	223
<i>Bruno Jacobs</i> Tradition oder Fiktion? Die „persischen“ Elemente in den Ausstattung- programmen Antiochos' I. von Kommagene . . . . .	235
<i>Benedikt Eckhardt</i> Memories of Persian Rule: Constructing History and Ideology in Hasmonean Judea . . . . .	249
<b>Part III: Roman and Sasanian Perspectives.</b> . . . . .	267
<i>Valeria Sergueenkova &amp; Felipe Rojas</i> Persia on their Minds: Achaemenid Memory Horizons in Roman Anatolia . .	269
<i>Richard Gordon</i> <i>Persae in spelaeis solem colunt</i> : Mithra(s) between Persia and Rome . . . . .	289
<i>Eran Almagor</i> The Empire brought back: Persianism in Imperial Greek Literature . . . . .	327
<i>Michael Sommer</i> The Eternal Persian: Persianism in Ammianus Marcellinus. . . . .	345
<i>Richard Fowler</i> Cyrus to Arsakes, Ezra to Izates: Parthia and Persianism in Josephus. . . . .	355
<i>Josef Wiesehöfer</i> Ērān ud Anērān: Sasanian Patterns of Worldview . . . . .	381
<i>Touraj Daryaee</i> The Idea of the Sacred Land of Ērānšahr . . . . .	393
<i>M. Rahim Shayegan</i> Persianism: Or Achaemenid Reminiscences in the Iranian and Iranicate World(s) of Antiquity . . . . .	401
Abbreviations . . . . .	457
Bibliography . . . . .	459

## THE ETERNAL PERSIAN: PERSIANISM IN AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS

*Michael Sommer*

In AD 238 the Roman city of Histria in Lower Moesia, a little south of the estuary of the Danube into the Black Sea, became the target of a large group of tribal warriors who captured and sacked the place and then withdrew, loaded with booty, to the plains to the north of the delta. As we know, the warriors who devastated Histria were the vanguard of a new tribal confederacy that had, unbeknownst to the Romans, formed in southern Russia and Ukraine in the course of the past decades. The Roman observers had largely been ignorant of the profound changes in the ethnographic setup of South-eastern Europe and western Central Asia. To the Athenian historiographer Dexippus, a contemporary of the calamities, the events at Histria were the overture to the “Scythian Wars”.<sup>1</sup>

The nomenclature employed here by Dexippus betrays an ethnographic worldview that is both simplistic and lacking any notion of dynamism. Ethnic groups, in this case ‘Scythians’, are pinpointed in given areas, here the Pontic Steppe to the north of the Black Sea, once and for all. Invariably, changes in the ethnic composition of such areas’ inhabitants go unnoticed for a long time: the ‘successors’ to the Scythians in the Pontic Steppe were, from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC onwards, the Sarmatians. They shared the Scythians’ nomadic lifestyle, their warlike habitus, solid build and Iranian language. Without further ado, Greek historiographers and their Roman counterparts identified them with their predecessors in the northern steppe. The Scythian had become the prototypical northern barbarian, along with the Celt, who, for the Greeks at least, populated the northern space to the west of the Rhine.<sup>2</sup>

‘Scythian’ to Greeks and Romans was hence a placeholder for all those nomads roaming about the northern steppe. Similarly, collective designations such as *Arabes*, *Araboi*, *Arabi*, *Sarakenoi* or *Saraceni* were used, interchangeably but indiscriminately, for the nomads of the Syro-Mesopotamian desert; *Mauri* for those of the Sahara. Greek and Roman ethnographers were not too concerned about the *identity* of their interest’s objects; constructing *alterity* was what they regarded as their primary mission. The nomads from far-flung areas of this world were profoundly different from Greeks and Romans, the champions of the Mediterranean *oikoumene*, whose profile was sharpened through the objectifying view of writing intellectuals: the only reason why such barbarians were noteworthy was the perception that they were exotic and in all their actions did the precise opposite of what Hellenes would have done – like the nations in Herodotus’ Sahara excursus: the

1 Dexipp. fr. 20 (14).

2 Fundamental on the representation of Scythians in Greek literature and art is still Minns (1913). On stereotypes about Scythians in Greek ethnography see now Skinner (2012), 68–79.

Garamantes, for instance, whose cattle walk backwards, or the Atarantes, who have no names, or the Aithiopians, whose language sounds like the buzzing of bats.<sup>3</sup> Names, concepts and stereotypes were impressively long-lived, easily surviving several centuries and diverse historical watersheds. The ancient *oikoumene*'s orientalism was the ethnographers' and historians' 'barbarianism'; as Disraeli put it for the Orient: to Greek and Roman writers, the 'barbarian' was "a career".<sup>4</sup>

Now, where was the Persians' place in this geography of alterity? My working hypothesis for this paper claims that the people inhabiting the only empires that rivalled Rome after the fall of Carthage, the Parthian and Sasanian kingdoms respectively, were pressed into stereotypical patterns similar to those made for the nomadic groups on the Greco-Roman world's northern, eastern and southern fringes. In other words: as the steppe was populated by the eternal *Scythikoi*, *Arabes* and *Mauri*, the imperial enemy in the east was the eternal Persian featuring a whole set of conveniently tailored characteristics.

In order to explore the landscape of stereotypes into which Greek and Roman intellectuals place the Persians, we shall first revisit Herodotus' Persian ethnography and then see as to whether and to what degree this image persists in Ammianus' portrayal towards the end of antiquity. In such a way, it is hoped, we can retrace the continuity of Persia as an idea as it lived in the cultural memory of Greeks and Romans. It can be seen how 'basic patterns'<sup>5</sup> observed by travellers and elaborated into a narrative by Herodotus rapidly crystallised into a solid core of notions of alterity. Such notions, in turn, helped Greeks and Romans to define their respective identities: knowing who the Persians were told those who took pride in their Greek *paideia*, who they were themselves – even in the later, Christianising Roman world.

## 1. MOTLEY CANVAS: HERODOTUS' PERSIANS

The starting point for any exploration of Greek and Roman narratives about Persians has to be Herodotus' famous excursus in book one, beginning with the words: "These are the customs, so far as I know, which the Persians practise".<sup>6</sup> In this digression, aspects of Persian religion, cuisine, social practices, values and onomastics come up. Persians are different from Greeks, as they do not worship *ἄγαλματα* and have neither temples nor altars. None of the rituals associated with Greek sacrifice is practiced when Persians sacrifice to their gods; instead, a *Μάγος ἀνήρ* has to be present, and the king and all Persians are included into the prayer.<sup>7</sup> The Magi are said to differ from all other Persians in that they kill and eat any animal, except dogs and men.

3 Herodot. 4, 183–184.

4 Disraeli, Tancred.

5 "Irreduzible Grundbedingungen des Menschseins" or "Grundstrukturen" as described by Assmann (1997), 133.

6 Herodot. 1, 131 (Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρῶμενους). See Müller (1972); Bichler (2000); Harrison (2007); Nesselrath (2009); Gruen (2011); Miller (2011); Thomas (2011); West (2011); Dan (2013).

7 Ibid., 131–132.

Herodotos also reports burial customs: corpses are covered with wax before buried, and at least the Magi do not bury their dead until it has been torn by a wild animal.<sup>8</sup>

The meals of the Persians consist of several courses; the main course is followed by several deserts; Persians eat and drink more lavishly than the Greeks, whom they claim to get up from dinner hungry.<sup>9</sup> The Persians frown upon vomiting and urinating in public; which, according to Herodotos, gives evidence of their sternness.<sup>10</sup> The way they greet each other strictly reflects social hierarchy: kisses are in order between coequals or when the difference in rank is only slight; inferiors salute higher-ranking Persians with proskynesis. They give honour in proportion to distance, thinking of themselves very highly and holding those in low honour who dwell furthest from them.<sup>11</sup>

This somewhat contradicts the next item in Herodotos' list: the historian reports that no people is as open-minded as the Persians, who easily borrow innovations from other civilisations – costume from the Medes, armour from the Egyptians, paederasty from the *Hellenes*.<sup>12</sup> In addition, each Persian married to several women. Persians hold bravery and truthfulness in high esteem. They teach their sons only three things: to ride a horse, to use the bow and to tell the truth. Herodotos praises their shunning of death penalty and the absence of parricide.<sup>13</sup> Finally, according to Herodotos, all Persian names end in 's' and are associated with characteristics of the body.<sup>14</sup>

To be sure, this is a crude collection of oddities. What makes it puzzling is the fact that many items from the excursus blatantly contradict Herodotos' own narrative. It is downright opposed to the representation of the individual kings: Kambyses, Kyros, Dareios and Xerxes invariably appear as cruel despots, driven by hubris and corrupted by decadence. Dareios is shrewd, deceitful, manipulative – features that pave his way to supreme power. When, for instance, the Persian king Dareios praises deception as the strategy of choice in warfare, this is hardly reconcilable with the claim that no virtue was held in higher esteem than truthfulness. "For where it is necessary that a lie be spoken, let it be spoken", are the words Herodotos puts into the Dareios' mouth.<sup>15</sup> To make things worse, Dareios does not see any significant difference between the liars and the truth-tellers: "those lie whenever they are likely to gain anything by persuading with their lies, and these tell the truth in order that they may draw to themselves gain by the truth, and that things may be entrusted to them more readily."<sup>16</sup> Xerxes, his son, on the other hand, is a decadent, immature weakling aspiring for world domination. Decadence,

8 Ibid., 140.

9 Ibid., 133 (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι).

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid., 134.

12 Ibid., 135.

13 Ibid., 136–138.

14 Ibid., 139.

15 Ibid., 3, 72 (ἔνθα γὰρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω).

16 Ibid. (οἱ μὲν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἑπεὶν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδει πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τῇ ἀληθείῃ ἐπισπᾶσονται κέρδος καὶ τι μᾶλλον σφι ἐπιτραπίηται).

hubris and tyranny – three leitmotifs altogether absent from the excursus – guide Herodotos' representation of his Persian protagonists.

The purpose of such overt discrepancies is not, as Erich Gruen has recently pointed out, “to expose hypocrisy, contrasting lofty principles with shabby behaviour”.<sup>17</sup> Nor is it the historian's intention to portray the Persians as “craven minions of a despotic ruler, by contrast with Hellenic freedom fighters”.<sup>18</sup> What emerges from the eclectic compilation of ethnographic detail and historical action is rather a strikingly multi-dimensional image of the Persians, whose invading armies the Greeks had fought off just a little more than a generation before Herodotos wrote the histories. Again in Gruen's words: “Herodotos presents a motley canvas, no black-and-white images.”<sup>19</sup>

The historian's motley canvas is largely consistent with other voices from the 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC: In his *Persai*, the tragedian Aischylos, himself a veteran of the Battle of Salamis, combines a differentiated view of the Persians with the topos of Xerxes' despotism and hubris; Timotheos of Miletus, in his poem *Persai*, of which fragments survive, likewise depicts the Battle of Salamis from a Persian point of view; like Aischylos and Herodotos, Timotheos refrains from black-and-white images: the listener suffers with Persian commoners, but is led to condemn Xerxes for his weak-mindedness.<sup>20</sup> Even Xenophon's *Kyrou paideia* paints a picture with many shades of grey: while Kyros, owing to his *paideia*, is of course the prototypical good ruler, the antithesis of an Oriental despot as it were, the Persian empire after Kyros is disfigured by the scourges of despotism and decadence.<sup>21</sup>

As we can see, the perception of the Persians who, albeit enemies and barbarians, were regarded as a civilised people and deemed worthy of a differentiated analysis, was quite different from how the nomadic nations were treated by Greek ethnography. While their portrayal was by no means free from stereotypical patterns, intellectuals at least abstained from obvious absurdities and from reducing them to the role of anti-Hellenes noteworthy only for their spectacular exoticism. In that respect the image of the Persians stands out from the clichés and stereotypes usually nurtured about ‘barbarians’ by Greek historiography and ethnography. While certainly not Greek, Herodotos' and his fellow Greek intellectuals' Persians could still lay claim to participating in the civilised world.

17 Gruen (2011), 74.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid., 80.

20 Keil (1913); Ebeling (1925).

21 Xen. *Cyrop.* 8, 8, 27.

## 2. FROM XERXES TO SHAPUR: AMMIANUS' PERSIANS

The set of stereotypes implicit in Persianism proved to be remarkably persistent despite all historical changes and disruptions. As with nearly all ethnic stereotypes, those associated with the Persians were attached to the area where the Persians had once ruled: western Asia in general and the Parthian empire in particular.<sup>22</sup> When, in AD 224 and 226, Ardashir, the representative of a new dynasty from the Persis (Fars), defeated the rivalling Parthian kings, Vologaeses and Artabanos, Cassius Dio was quick to call him a Persian.<sup>23</sup> Even the Hellenised name used by Cassius Dio, Artaxerxes, evokes an unbroken tradition, stretching all the way from the Achaemenid empire to Dio's own days. And of course the imperialist ambition he senses in Ardashir has its roots in the olden days of Achaemenid hegemony over the Near East. According to the Roman historiographer, Ardashir "boasted that he would win back everything that the ancient Persians had once held, as far as the Grecian Sea, claiming that all this was his rightful inheritance from his forefathers."<sup>24</sup>

While it is unlikely that Ardashir and the early Sasanians had any notion of the Achaemenid past, Roman intellectuals, throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, continued to identify the Sasanians with their alleged forefathers, employing wholesale the stereotypes once created by Herodotus and his contemporaries. One particularly striking example for how potent Persianism after so many centuries still was, is Ammianus Marcellinus' *Res Gestae*. At the end of book 23 Ammianus, himself a participant in the emperor Julian's disastrously failed Persian campaign of 363, gives a detailed account, in no less than 88 paragraphs, of what he knows about the Persian empire of the Sasanians, its history, territory and people. This is merely one of many ethnographical digressions in Ammianus' work. In the extant parts of the *Res gestae*, the author interrupts his historical narrative in regular intervals in order to provide background information on, for instance, the peoples of the Rhine area (15, 4–6), the Saracens (14, 4), the Huns and Alans (31, 2) or indeed, even twice, the city of Rome (14, 6; 28, 4).<sup>25</sup>

There is some scholarly debate as to the purpose of such excursions. Were they simply meant to show off knowledge – or was there some sort of hidden narratological concept underneath?<sup>26</sup> At any rate they add, in a manner of speaking, a third dimension to the canvas of events unfolding in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, giving them a degree of historical depth they would otherwise be lacking. The Persian digression makes Julian's campaign the – from Ammianus' perspective – final link in a chain of struggles between west (Greece and Rome) and east (Persia). In order to create

22 On the representation of Parthians in Roman art see Landskron (2005); for a more comprehensive approach Lerouge (2007).

23 Cass. Dio 80,3,1.

24 Ibid. 4,1.

25 For an overview see now Feraco (2011) and Vergin (2012); on the Persian digression Feraco (2004). See also Brok (1975); Drijvers (1999); Teitler (1999); Drijvers (2006), 59–65; Hartmann (2007), 50–52; Drijvers (2011).

26 In favour of the latter Vergin (2012), 287 and passim, who claims that Ammianus created "Erfahrungsmuster der Welt [...], durch die die Rahmenhandlung sinnkonstituierend untermauert wird."



this effect, Ammianus evokes a historical continuum which is, to put it mildly, idiosyncratic.

The digression is preceded by a speech by the emperor Julian that, in its turn, works like a teaser for the events to follow.<sup>27</sup> First, Julian addresses those (“some evil-minded men”) who believe the campaign to come were just another Roman aggression against Persia.<sup>28</sup> He then recalls the whole series of clashes between Rome and “Persia”, from (wrongly) Lucullus and Pompey all the way down to Gordianus III, whose epitaph Julian visited when invading Babylonia. Julian mentions Trajan, Lucius Verus and Septimius Severus, who all “returned from here victorious and adorned with trophies”<sup>29</sup>, but he omits, for obvious reasons, Valerian and his ill-fated campaign against Shapur I. Julian frankly admits to the fact that the Romans in all these instances were the aggressors: “Those emperors, indeed, their own desire, inclined as they were to lofty enterprise, drove to undertake noteworthy exploits.”<sup>30</sup> His own intentions, Julian claims, are quite different: “we are urged on to our present purpose by the pitiful fate of recently captured cities, by the unavenged shades of armies destroyed, by the great disasters that have been suffered, and by the loss of many a camp.”<sup>31</sup> In order to achieve this purpose, “we must wipe out a most mischievous nation [*natio molestissima*], on whose sword-blades the blood of our kinsmen is not yet dry.”<sup>32</sup> It is good Roman tradition, Julian reminds his soldiers, to get rid of such nations. Julian, he claims, fears nothing “save the craft and treachery of the over-cunning enemy [*dolos et insidias hostium nimium callidorum*].”<sup>33</sup>

This is the first stereotype about the Persians Ammianus, through Julian’s mouth, introduces to his narrative. Downright choke-full of stereotypes is the digression, on which he embarks in the following chapter. It is clearly structured into three sections: one opening paragraph (§ 1) and a very short outline of Persian history (§§ 2–8), followed by a detailed geographical survey (§§ 9–74) and another brief passage on customs and mentalities (§§ 75–84). At last, there is a coda-like and not very elegantly introduced excursus on pearls (§§ 85–88).

Of particular interest for the purpose of this paper is, of course, the history section. The enemy kingdom, Ammianus sets out, was “once small [*quondam exiguum*]” and “for reasons which we have often given was called before by various names [*multisque antea nominibus appellatum*]”.<sup>34</sup> In other words: to Ammianus, the Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanian kingdoms are all manifestations of the same political entity, Persia. Arsakes, the mythical founder of the Parthian kingdom, in this version appears as the restorer of Persian power: the king who defeats

27 Amm. 23, 5, 16–23.

28 Ibid. 23, 5, 16 (*ut maledici mussitant*).

29 Ibid. 5, 17 (*hinc sunt digressi victores et tropaeati*).

30 Ibid. 5, 18 (*et illos quidem voluntas ad altiora propensior subire inpulit facinora memoranda*).

31 Ibid. (*nos vero miseranda recens captarum urbium et inultae caesorum exercituum umbrae et damnorum magnitudines castrorumque amissiones ad haec, quae proposuimus, hortantur*).

32 Ibid., 5, 19 (*abolenda nobis natio molestissima cuius in gladiis nondum nostrae propinquitatis exaruit cruor*).

33 Ibid. 5, 21 (*nihil enim praeter dolos et insidias hostium vereor nimium callidorum*).

34 Ibid. 6, 2 (*hoc regnum quondam exiguum multisque antea nominibus appellatum ob causas quas saepe rettulimus*).

Seleukos Nikator, the successor of Alexandria, imposes Persian rule on neighbouring nations and fills his land with cities. After this, Ammianus goes further back in history, to Kyros, Dareios and Xerxes under whom the Persian empire “extended its domain as far as the Propontis and Thrace”.<sup>35</sup> But the hubris (*superbia*) of its leaders brought disaster upon Persia: due to imperial overstretch, Ammianus points out, and because they “lawlessly extended their raids”, the Greeks inflicted catastrophic defeats on the empire.<sup>36</sup> The collapse of the Achaemenid kingdom and the interlude of Alexander the Great is worth no more than a side note to Ammianus. “After this was done and a long time had passed, during which the Roman commonwealth was governed by consuls and later brought under the sway of the Caesars, these nations carried on wars with us from time to time, and sometimes the contest was equal, at other times they were conquered, and occasionally they came off victorious”, he concludes his summary of Persian history.<sup>37</sup>

This historical account is remarkable in three respects:

1. it artificially constructs an historical continuity stretching from Kyros to Shapur II. Alexander is a mere interlude; Arsakes, the founder of the Parthian kingdom, is a restorer of Persian power; the transition from Arsakid to Sasanian rule is not mentioned at all; the appearance of different imperial outfits in the Persian sphere is explained away by – in this context – unnamed *causae* leading to *multa nomina*.
2. it takes up the motif of hubris (*superbia*) we know from the classical period: hubris afflicts Persian leaders and brings about calamity for the empire.
3. vital information is omitted: not a single Sasanian king is mentioned, not even Shapur I, Gordian’s and Valerian’s adversary; he does not refer to any Parthian ruler but Arsakes; no individual conflicts between Parthians and Sasanians on the one hand, the Romans on the others are accounted for.

This being said, it is obvious that Ammianus’ account is neither very accurate nor is it complete – nor indeed very original. For Ammianus, the Persians Julian encounters in AD 363 are essentially the same the Greeks fought at Marathon and Salamis. After all, it does not come as a surprise that the historian shamelessly borrows from the stereotypes Herodotos, Aischylos and the likes of them have created.

The geographic survey, which is likewise flawed in many details, comprises an area far larger than the Sasanian empire. The account starts with a description of the Persian Gulf and neighbouring areas (§§ 10–13) and then proceeds to a list of *regiones maximae* (§ 14), which, according to Ammianus are ruled by *vitaxae*, officials whom he believes to be roughly equivalent to Roman *magistri equitum*.<sup>38</sup> Among the *regiones* he counts well-known provinces of Persian empire, such as Assyria, Susiana, Media, Persis, Carmania, Hyrcania, Sogdiane, Bactria, Arachosia

35 Ibid., 6, 7 (*regna [...] dilatasse ad usque Propontidem et Thracias*).

36 Ibid. (*licenter grassantium per longinqua*).

37 Ibid., 6, 9 (*quibus peractis transcursisque temporibus longis sub consulibus et deinceps in potestatem Caesarum redacta re publica, nobiscum hae nationes subinde dimicarunt paribusque momentis interdum, aliquotiens superatae, non numquam abiere victrices*).

38 Ibid. 6, 14.

and Gedrosia; but also territories well beyond the empire's frontiers (Seria – China, Arabia Felix – Yemen) and such areas which cannot be clearly defined in geographical terms.

The following paragraphs (15–73) provide further information on all these areas and the people inhabiting them, a lot of which is utterly stereotypical: “The Seres themselves are frugal beyond all others”, reports Ammianus, “live a quiet life, and avoid intercourse with the rest of mortals.”<sup>39</sup> Similarly, the *Arabes beati* are rich, “have an abundance of towns” and know how to take advantage from the natural benefits of their country.<sup>40</sup> Even more curious is the reference to the *Arabes beati*, the inhabitants of present-day Yemen, whom Ammianus takes for neighbours of the Persian heartland of Persis. Evidently, his main point of reference for the geography is Klaudios Ptolemaios, who deals with the areas in question in precisely the same order.<sup>41</sup> Ammianus' dependence on Ptolemaios is further highlighted by his inclusion of places with little or no connection to the Persian empire. Once again, Ammianus shows that he has “only the vaguest of notions” of the topic he writes about.<sup>42</sup> After centuries during which the Indian Ocean was used as a commercial hub by westerners, one should expect intellectuals to know a lot more about the geography of the world beyond Rome's frontiers.

Of particular interest in the present context is his image of the Sasanian empire's core regions. A lengthy digression within the digression is dedicated to the Magi (§§ 32–36). Ammianus outlines their origin and gradual coming to power and then dwells on their role in Persian society. The magi had a very mixed press in the Roman world, but Ammianus seems to take a rather positive view: they are specialists of the divine world, possessing reliable knowledge of all things religious. Nothing of this is very original, and again it is more interesting what Ammianus omits than what he actually tells us: though he mentions Zoroaster and his coming into contact with Brahmins in India, nothing is being said about the role of the Zoroastrian church in contemporary Persia.

The final passage of Ammianus' Persian digression is some sort of ‘anthropology’: the author lists factual or fictional attributes of Persian physical appearance and mentality: “in general” (*generaliter*) they are “almost all” (*paene omnes*) slender and dark, “with eyes grim as goats”, joined, curvy eyebrows, beards and “long shaggy hair”;<sup>43</sup> “all of them, without exception”, bear swords at all times, which Ammianus believes to be “an old Greek custom”.<sup>44</sup> What follows is a list of topical traits all related to decadence: the Persians have an extravagant sex life, are promiscuous, have numerous wives and concubines; on the other hand, they avoid lavish banqueting and “immoral relations with boys”; they also boast impeccable

39 Ibid., 6, 68 (*ipsi praeter alios frugalissimi pacatioris vitae cultores vitantes reliquorum mortali-um coetus*).

40 Ibid., 6, 45–47.

41 For instance Aria being treated immediately following Serica (Ptol. 6, 16–17). See Boeft et al. (2000), 209.

42 Ibid.

43 Amm. 23, 6, 75.

44 Ibid., 6, 76.

manners, refraining from urinating and defecating in public.<sup>45</sup> However, they do not eat in fixed intervals, but whenever they are hungry.<sup>46</sup> Ammianus' Persians appear "free and easy" (*dissoluti*) and "move about with such a laxity of their limbs and such an extravagant gait" that one could take them for *effeminatos*. But in fact they are *acerrimi bellatores*, formidable more through sophistication than through strength.<sup>47</sup> While they are "boastful, harsh and offensive", "flay men alive" and treat their servants most rigorously, they are also excessively law-obedient. Some of their laws are "detestable", namely the one that condemns all the relatives of a single offender to death. Ammianus praises Persian jurisdiction: in contrast to the Romans, they employ judges who know their business, not eloquent men. He reports an ancient custom, now defunct or altogether legendary, according to which judges had to sit on the skins of such predecessors who had been condemned for injustice.<sup>48</sup> Then follow some remarks on the Persians' military performance: training is constant, hard and of good quality; the *nobilitas* serves in the cavalry, which outweighs the infantry in vigour and prominence. However, the power of the Persian military is thwarted by constant fighting, which includes civil war.<sup>49</sup> Finally, the Persians wear clothes that "flutter in the wind", cover the whole body and are "gleaming with many colours".<sup>50</sup>

Some of this, in particular the remarks about promiscuity, food and table manners, but also the passage on jurisdiction, is borrowed directly from Herodotos or from sources based on the *pater historiae*'s narrative, like Curtius Rufus and Diodoros. Some bits and pieces conspicuously contradict Herodotos: while the Greek historiographer reports the Persians to have adopted paederasty from the *Hellenes*, Ammianus – along with Curtius Rufus<sup>51</sup> – believes them to abstain from this custom. But even where Ammianus differs from Herodotos, he accepts his analytical toolbox as timelessly relevant. The only subject where Ammianus possibly displays some degree of independence is the Persian military. Here, the historiographer could rely on his autopsy as a participant in Julian's war. Being an officer, he could observe the Persian army in action and judge their performance. Yet, even in this regard his description is hardly analytical and, from a professional point of view, rather poor.

This being said, it is remarkable how profoundly ahistoric this historian's narrative is. In the entire digression about Persia, there is no visible awareness of historical development, diachronic ruptures or structural patterns that may or may not be genetically related to each other. To Ammianus, the "Persians" are simply the "Persians", once and for all. Their portrayal is, hardly surprisingly, saturated with prejudice and stereotype. There is no evidence for any attempt to overcome, deconstruct or replace such established patterns.

45 Ibid., 6, 77–79. See Herodot. 1, 133; Xen. Cyrop. 8, 8, 11.

46 Amm. 23, 6, 79.

47 Ibid., 6, 80.

48 Ibid., 6, 81–82. See Herodot. 5, 25; Val. Max. 6, 3, ext. 3; Diod. 15, 10.

49 Amm. 23, 6, 83–84.

50 Ibid., 6, 84.

51 Curt. 10, 1, 26.

On the contrary. While Herodotos' Persian digression clearly betrays the author's intention to present a multi-dimensional image of the enemy the Greeks fought some two generations before him, the counterpart composed by Ammianus shows no trace of such a motley canvas. There are a few positive characteristics he sees in his Persians, but they are invariably put into perspective with the subsequent sentence: Persians fight gallantly, but their army is the instrument of a despotic system; Persian judges are commendable, but the legal system they represent is unduly harsh; Persians move freely and with grace, but they appear effeminate. This is what the audience expects: an enemy that can be reduced to a few pithy attributes; an enemy that can be abominated.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdi (2010):

K. Abdi, 'The Passing of the Throne from Xerxes to Artaxerxes I: Or How an Archaeological Observation can be a Potential Contribution to Achaemenid Historiography', in J. Curtis and St. J. Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of a Conference at the British Museum 29th September–1st October 2005* (London and New York, 2010), p. 275–284.

Achenbach (2013):

R. Achenbach, '“Genocide” in the Book of Esther: Cultural Integration and the Right of Resistance against Pogroms', in R. Albertz and J. Wöhrle (eds.), *Between Cooperation and Hostility. Multiple Identities in Ancient Judaism and the Interaction with Foreign Powers* (Göttingen, 2013), p. 89–114.

Adams (1968):

C. D. Adams, *The Speeches of Aeschines* (Cambridge, MA, 1968).

Adams (2007):

C. D. Adams, 'Travel Narrows the Mind: Cultural Tourism in Graeco-Roman Egypt', in: C. Adams and J. Roy (eds.), *Travel, Geography and Culture in Ancient Greece, Egypt and the Near East. Studies in Ancient Society 10* (Oxford, 2007), p. 161–184.

Adiego (1993):

I.–X. Adiego, *Studia Carica. Investigaciones sobre la escritura y lengua carias* (Barcelona, 1993).

Adiego (2007):

I.–X. Adiego, *The Carian Language* (Leiden and Boston, 2007).

Adorno (1955):

T. W. Adorno, 'Spengler nach dem Untergang. Zu Oswald Spengler 70. Geburtstag', in *Prismen. Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt, 1955), p. 51–81.

Africa (1982):

T. Africa, 'Worms and the death of kings. A cautionary note on disease and history', in *Classical Antiquity 1* (1982), p. 1–17.

Agut-Labordère (2014):

D. Agut-Labordère, 'Créer la route. Le canal des Pharaons entre la mer Rouge et la Méditerranée', in *Égypte, Afrique et Orient 75* (2014), p. 61–66.

Agut-Labordère and Gorre (2015):

D. Agut-Labordère and G. Gorre, 'Les sanctuaires d'Égypte face à la couronne des Saïtes aux Ptolémées VI<sup>e</sup>–II<sup>e</sup> siècle', in P. Clancier and J. Monnerie (eds.), *Les sanctuaires autochtones et le roi dans le Proche Orient hellénistique entre autonomie et soumission* (Lyon, 2015), p. 7–47.

Akurgal (1966):

E. Akurgal, *The Birth of Greek Art* (London, 1966).

Alavi (1983):

B. Alavi, 'Critical Writings on the Renewal of Iran', in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran. Political, Social, and Cultural Change, 1800–1925* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1992), p. 243–254.

Alcock (2002):

S. Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past: Landscapes, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge 2002).

Alföldi (1952):

A. Alföldi, 'Der Kreislauf der Tiere um Mithras', in *Germania 30* (1952), p. 363–368.

- Allen (2005):  
L. Allen, 'Le roi imaginaire: An Audience with the Achaemenid King', in O. Hekster and R. Fowler (eds.), *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*. Oriens et Occidens 11 (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 39–62.
- Allsen (2006):  
T. T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History* (Philadelphia, 2006).
- Almagor (2011):  
E. Almagor, 'Plutarch on the end of the Persian Empire', in *Graeco-Latina Brunensia* 16 (2011), p. 3–16.
- Almagor (2012):  
E. Almagor, 'Ctesias and the importance of his writings revisited', in *Electrum* 19 (2012), p. 9–40.
- Almagor (2014):  
E. Almagor, 'The Aratus and the Artaxerxes', in M. Beck (ed.), *A Companion to Plutarch* (Malden, MA, and Oxford, 2014), p. 278–291.
- Almagor (forthcoming a):  
E. Almagor, 'Plutarch and the Barbarian "Other"', in F. Titchener and A. Zadoroznyi (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Plutarch* (Cambridge, forthcoming).
- Almagor (forthcoming b):  
E. Almagor, 'Josephus and Greek Imperial Literature', in H. Chapman and Z. Rodgers (eds.), *Blackwell Companion to Josephus in his World* (Malden, MA, forthcoming).
- Aram (1986):  
M. Aram, *Nomina propria Iranica in Nummis. Materialgrundlagen zu den iranischen Personennamen auf antiken Münzen*. Iranisches Personennamenbuch 4 (Vienna, 1986).
- Aram (1987a):  
M. Aram, 'Eine neue Drachme des Vahbarz (Oborzos): aus des Persis (?)', in *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonensis* 3 (1987) 147–155.
- Aram (1987b):  
M. Aram, 'Die Vorbildwirkung der Arsakidischen Münzprägung', in *Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonensis* 3 (1987), p. 117–146, pl. 11–19.
- Aram (2008):  
M. Aram, 'Early Sasanian Coinage', in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran III: The Sasanian Era* (London, 2008), p. 17–30.
- Aram & Gyselen (2003):  
M. Aram and R. Gyselen, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum: Paris – Berlin – Vienna. I: Ardashir I.–Shapur I.* Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 317 (Vienna, 2003).
- Aram & Gyselen (2012):  
M. Aram and R. Gyselen, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum: Paris – Berlin – Vienna. II: Ohrmazd I.–Ohrmazd II.* Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 422 (Vienna, 2012).
- Altenmüller, El-Masry and Thissen (2012):  
H. Altenmüller, Y. el-Masry and H. J. Thissen, *Das Synodeldekret von Alexandria aus dem Jahre 243 v. Chr.* (Hamburg, 2012).
- Altnoluk (2013):  
S. Altnoluk, *Hypaipa: A Lydian City during the Roman Imperial Period* (Istanbul 2013).
- Álvarez-Mon (2010):  
J. Álvarez-Mon, *The Arjan Tomb: At the Crossroads of the Elamite and the Persian Empires* (Leuven, 2010).
- Álvarez-Mon and Garrison (2011):  
J. Álvarez-Mon and M. Garrison (eds.), *Elam and Persia* (Winona Lake, 2011).

- Amanat (1999):  
A. Amanat, 'Son of Kaqan and the reconstruction of the Iranian national narrative. Jalal al-Din Mirza and his *Nameh-e Khostravan*' [in Persian], in *Iran Nameh* 17 (1999), p. 5–54.
- Amanat (2011a):  
A. Amanat, *Jewish Identities in Iran. Resistance and Conversion to Islam and the Baha'i Faith* (New York and London, 2011).
- Amanat (2011b):  
A. Amanat, 'Legend, Legitimacy and Making of National Narrative', in C.P. Melville, *A History of Persian Literature. Volume X: Historiography* (London, 2011), p. 292–366.
- Amanat and Vajdani (2008):  
A. Amanat and F. Vajdani, 'Jalāl-al-Din Mirzā', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* XIV(4) (Winona Lake, 2012), p. 405–410.
- Ameling (2003):  
W. Ameling, 'Jerusalem als hellenistische Polis: 2 Makk. 4,9–12 und eine neue Inschrift', in *Biblische Zeitschrift* n.F. 47 (2003), p. 105–111.
- Amighi (1990):  
J.K. Amighi, *The Zoroastrians of Iran. Conversion, Assimilation, or Persistence* (New York, 1990).
- Anderson (1976):  
G. Anderson, *Lucian. Theme and Variation in the Second Sophistic* (Leiden, 1976).
- Anderson (1989):  
G. Anderson, 'The *Pepaideumenos* in Action. Sophists and their outlook in the early Roman Empire', in *ANRW* II.33.1 (1989), p. 79–208.
- Anderson (1993):  
G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic. A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire* (London and New York, 1993).
- Anderson (1994):  
G. Anderson, 'Lucian: Tradition versus reality', in *ANRW* II.34.2 (1994), p. 1422–1447.
- Anderson (2006):  
B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (orig 1983; rev. edn London and New York, 2006).
- Anderson (2015):  
B. Anderson, 'An Alternative Discourse: Local Interpreters of Antiquities in the Ottoman Empire', in *JFA* 40.4 (2015), p. 450–460.
- Andrade (2013):  
N.J. Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge, 2013).
- Andrade (2014):  
N. Andrade, 'Assyrians, Syrians and the Greek language in the late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods', in *JNES* 73 (2014), p. 299–317.
- Andrae (1977):  
B. Andrae, *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji* (Recklinghausen, 1977).
- Andreeva (2014):  
E. Andreeva, 'Russia 1. Russo-Iranian Relations Up to the Bolshevik Revolution', online at [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/russia-i-relations](http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/russia-i-relations). Last accessed 13 February 2016.
- Aperghis (2008):  
G.G. Aperghis, 'Managing an Empire – Teacher and Pupil', in S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-cultural Encounters. 1st International Conference (Athens, 11–13 November 2006)* (Athens, 2008), p. 137–148.
- Ararat (1997):  
K. Ararat, 'State of the Art: Art of the State. Sexual Violence and Politics in Late Archaic and Early Classical Vase-Painting', in S. Deacy and K.F. Pierce (eds.), *Rape in Antiquity* (London, 1997), p. 97–122.



- Armitage and Guldi (2014):  
D. Armitage and J. Guldi, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge and New York, 2014).
- Artamonov (1962):  
M. I. Artamonov, *Istoriya Khazar (History of the Khazars)* (Leningrad, 1962).
- Artzi and Malamet (1993):  
P. Artzi and A. Malamet, 'The Great King. A Preeminent Royal Title in Cuneiform Sources and the Bible', in M. E. Cohen (ed.), *The Tablet and the Scroll* (Bethesda, 1993), p. 28–38.
- Ash (1999):  
R. Ash, 'An Exemplary Conflict: Tacitus' Parthian Battle Narrative (*Annals* 6.34–35)', in *Phoenix* 53 (1999), p. 114–135.
- Asheri *et al.* (2007):  
D. Asheri *et al.*, *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV*. Edited by O. Murray and A. Moreno (Oxford, 2007).
- Ashraf (2006):  
A. Ashraf, 'Iranian Identity i: Perspectives', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* XIII(5) (Winona Lake, 2006), p. 501–504.
- Assar (2003):  
G. R. F. Assar, 'Parthian Calendars at Babylon and Seleucia on the Tigris', in *Iran* 41 (2003), p. 171–191.
- Assar (2005a):  
G. R. F. Assar, 'Genealogy and coinage of the early Parthian rulers I', in *Parthica* 6 (2004), p. 69–93.
- Assar (2005b):  
G. R. F. Assar, 'Genealogy and Coinage of the Early Parthian Rulers II: A Revised Stemma', in *Parthica* 7 (2005), p. 29–63.
- Assmann (1992):  
J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (München, 1992).
- Assmann (1997):  
J. Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, 1997).
- Assmann (1999):  
A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München, 1999).
- Assmann (2006):  
A. Assmann, 'Memory, Individual and Collective', in R. E. Goodin and C. Tilly (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis* (Oxford, 2006), p. 210–224.
- Assmann (2010):  
J. Assmann, 'Globalization, Universalism, and the Erosion of Cultural Memory', in A. Assmann and S. Conrad (eds.), *Memory in a Global Age. Discourses, Practices and Trajectories* (New York, 2010), p. 121–137.
- Aubert (2004):  
J. J. Aubert, 'Aux origines du canal de Suez? Le canal du Nil à la mer rouge revisité', in M. Clavel-Levêque and E. Hermon (eds.), *Espaces intégrés et ressources naturelles dans l'Empire romain* (Besançon, 2004), p. 219–252.
- Avdoyan (2006):  
L. Avdoyan, 'Tigranocerta: The City "Built by Tigranes"', in R. G. Hovannisian (ed.), *Armenian Tigranakert/Diarbekir and Edessa/Urfa* (Costa Mesa CA, 2006), p. 80–95.
- Axworthy (2008):  
M. Axworthy, *A History of Iran, Empire of the Mind* (New York, 2008).
- Aymard (1951):  
J. Aymard, *Les chasses romains des origines à la fin du siècle des Antonins* (Paris, 1951).

- Babaie (2001):  
S. Babaie, 'The Sound of the Image/The Image of the Sound', in O. Grabar and C. Robinson (eds.), *Islamic Art and Literature* (Princeton, NJ, 2001), p. 143–162.
- Babaie (2013):  
S. Babaie, 'Visual Recitations: Neshat's "Persian" Arts', in S. Babaie, R. R. Hart, N. Princen-thal (eds.), *Shirin Neshat* (Detroit, 2013), p. 29–41.
- Badian (1965):  
E. Badian, 'Orientals in Alexander's Army', in *JHS* 85 (1965), p. 160–161.
- Badian (1968):  
E. Badian, review of A. Degassi (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionem Latinarum. Inscriptiones Latinae Literariae Republica: Imagines* (Berlin, 1966), in *JRS* 58 (1968), p. 240–249.
- Bagnall (1997):  
R. S. Bagnall, 'Decolonizing Ptolemaic Egypt', in P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey, E. Gruen (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 26 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), p. 225–241.
- Bahrani, Çelik, Eldem (2011):  
Z. Bahrani, Z. Çelik and E. Eldem (eds.), *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753–1914* (Istanbul, 2011).
- Baldwin (1978):  
B. Baldwin, 'Crepereius Calpurnianus', in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 27 (1978), p. 211–213.
- Ballesteros Pastor (1995):  
L. Ballesteros Pastor, 'Notas sobre una inscripción de Ninfeo en honor de Mitrídates Eupátor, rey del Ponto', in *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 21 (1995), p. 111–117.
- Ballesteros Pastor (1996):  
L. Ballesteros Pastor, *Mitrídates Eupátor, rey del Ponto* (Granada, 1996).
- Ballesteros Pastor (2006):  
L. Ballesteros Pastor, 'El Discurso de Mitrídates en el "Epítome de las Historias Filípicas de Pompeyo Trogo" (Iust. XXXVIII 4–7): un Estudio Sobre las Fuentes', in *Mediterraneo Antico* 9 (2006), p. 581–596.
- Ballesteros Pastor (2011):  
L. Ballesteros Pastor, 'Xerxes redivivus. Mitrídates, rey de Oriente frente a Grecia', in J. M. Cortés, E. Muñoz, R. Cordillo Hervás (eds.), *Grecia ante los Imperios: Actas de la V Reunión de Historiadores del Mundo Griego Antiguo*. Spal Monografías 15 (Sevilla, 2011), p. 253–262.
- Ballesteros Pastor (2012):  
L. Ballesteros Pastor, 'Los herederos de Artabazo. La satrapía de Dascilio en la tradición de la dinastía Mitrídática', in *Klio* 94 (2012), p. 366–379.
- Ballesteros Pastor (2013):  
L. Ballesteros Pastor, *Pompeyo Trogo, Justino y Mitrídates. Comentario al "Epítome de las Historias Filípicas" (37.1.6–38.8.1)*: (Zürich and New York, 2013).
- Bang (2012):  
P. F. Bang, 'Between Aśoka and Antiochos: An Essay in World History on Universal Kingship and Cosmopolitan Culture in the Hellenistic Ecumene', in P. F. Bang and D. Kołodziejczyk (eds.), *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History* (Cambridge and New York, 2012), p. 60–75.
- Bang and Bayly (2011):  
P. F. Bang and C. Bayly, 'Tributary Empires – Towards a Global and Comparative History', in *id.* (eds.), *Tributary Empires in Global History* (London and New York, 2011), p. 1–17.
- Bang and Kołodziejczyk (2012):  
P. F. Bang and D. Kołodziejczyk, "'Elephant of India": Universal Empire Through Time and Across Culture", in *id.* (eds.), *Universal Empire: A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History* (Cambridge and New York, 2012), p. 1–40.

- Barbier De Meynard and Pavet De Courteille (1865):  
C. Barbier De Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille (eds.), *Maçoudi. Les prairies d'or. Tome 4* (Paris, 1865).
- Barbier De Meynard and Pavet De Courteille (1877):  
C. Barbier De Meynard and A. Pavet de Courteille (eds.), *Maçoudi. Les prairies d'or 9* (Paris, 1877).
- Barclay (2005):  
J. M. G. Barclay, 'The Empire Writes Back: Josephan Rhetoric in Flavian Rome', in J. Edmondson *et al.* (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (Oxford, 2005), p. 315–332.
- Bar-Kochva (1976):  
B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army: Organisation and Tactics in the Great Campaigns* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn; Cambridge, 1979 [1976]).
- Bar-Kochva (1989):  
B. Bar-Kochva, 'The Deployment of the Armies at Magnesia', in *id.*, *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle Against the Seleucids* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 567–568.
- Barringer (2001):  
J. Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece* (Baltimore, 2001).
- Bausani (1962):  
A. Bausani, *I Persiani* (Florence 1962).
- Bausani (1975):  
A. Bausani, 'Muhammad or Darius? The Elements and Basis of Iranian Culture', in S. Vryonis Jr. (ed.), *Islam and Cultural Changes in the Middle Ages* (Wiesbaden, 1975), p. 43–57.
- Bausani (1983):  
A. Bausani, 'The Qajar Period. An Epoch of Decadence?', in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran: Political, Social, and Cultural Change, 1800–1925* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1992), p. 255–260.
- Baydur (1994):  
N. Baydur, *Anadolu'daki kutsal dağlar dağ-tanrılar (Klasik çağ)* (Istanbul, 1994).
- Beard (2007):  
M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).
- Beaton (2013):  
R. Beaton, *Byron's War: Romantic Rebellion, Greek Revolution* (Cambridge and New York, 2013).
- Beaulieu (2014):  
P.-A. Beaulieu, 'Nabû and Apollo: The Two Faces of Seleucid Religious Policy', in F. Hoffmann and K. S. Schmidt (eds.), *Orient und Okzident in hellenistischer Zeit. Beiträge zur Tagung "Orient und Okzident – Antagonismus oder Konstrukt? Machtstrukturen, Ideologien und Kulturtransfer in hellenistischer Zeit"*, Würzburg 10.–13. April 2008 (Vaterstetten, 2014), p. 13–30.
- Beazley (1963):  
J. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1963).
- Becatti (1954):  
G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia, 2: I Mitrei* (Rome, 1954).
- Beck (1984):  
R. L. Beck, 'Mithraism since Franz Cumont', in *ANRW* II.17.4 (Berlin, 1984), p. 2001–2115.
- Beck (1987):  
R. L. Beck, 'Merkelbach's Mithras', in *Phoenix* 41 (1987), p. 296–316.
- Beck (1988):  
R. L. Beck, *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithras* (Leiden, 1988).
- Beck (1991):  
R. L. Beck, 'Thus Spake not Zarathuštra: Zoroastrian Pseudepigrapha of the Graeco-Roman World', in M. Boyce and F. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism. Volume 3: Zoroastrianism*

- under Macedonian and Roman Rule*. Handbuch der Orientalistik I.VIII.1.2.2.3 (Leiden and Boston, 1991), p. 491–565.
- Beck (2004a):  
R. L. Beck, 'Mithraism After "Mithraism since Franz Cumont"', 1984–2003', reprinted in Beck (2004g), p. 3–23.
- Beck (2004b):  
R. L. Beck, 'The Rise and Fall of the Astral Identifications of the Tauroctonus Mithras', reprinted in Beck (2004g), p. 235–249.
- Beck (2004c):  
R. L. Beck, 'Astral Symbolism in the Tauroctony: A Statistical Demonstration of the Extreme Improbability of Unintended Coincidence in the Selection of Elements in the Composition', reprinted in Beck (2004g), p. 251–265.
- Beck (2004d):  
R. L. Beck, 'The Seat of Mithras at the Equinoxes: Porphyry, De Antro Nympharum 24', in *JMS* 1 (1976), p. 95–8; reprinted in Beck (2004g), p. 129–132.
- Beck (2004e):  
R. L. Beck, 'History into Fiction. The Metamorphoses of the Mithras Myths', in *Ancient Narrative* 1 (2002), p. 283–300; reprinted in Beck (2004g), p. 93–110.
- Beck (2004f.):  
R. L. Beck, 'The Mysteries of Mithras. A New Account of their Genesis', in *JRS* 88 (1998), p. 115–28; reprinted in Beck (2004g), p. 31–44.
- Beck (2004g):  
R. L. Beck, *Beck on Mithraism. Collected Works with New Essays* (Aldershot, 2004).
- Beck (2006):  
R. L. Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire. Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun* (Oxford, 2006).
- Becker (1923):  
C. H. Becker, 'Spenglers magische Kultur', in *ZDMG* 77 (1923), p. 225–271.
- Bedoukian (1978):  
P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978).
- Bedoukian (1995):  
P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Armenian Kingdoms of Sophene and Commagene* (Los Angeles, CA, 1995).
- Begg and Spilsbury (2005):  
C. T. Begg and P. Spilsbury, *Judean Antiquities Books 8–10: Translation and Commentary (Volume 5 of Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary)*, ed. S. Mason (Leiden and Boston, 2005).
- Beinlich (1984):  
H. Beinlich, *Die "Osirisreliquien". Zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion* (Wiesbaden, 1984).
- Belayche and Mastrocinque (2013):  
N. Belayche and A. Mastrocinque, 'Introduction historiographique', in N. Belayche, and A. Mastrocinque (eds.), *Bibliotheca Cumontiana. Scripta maiora 3: Les mystères de Mithra* (Torino, 2013), p. xiii–xc.
- Bell (1763):  
J. Bell, *Travels From St. Petersburg in Russia to Diverse Parts of Asia* I (Glasgow, 1763).
- Beller and Leerssen (2007):  
M. Beller and J. Leerssen (eds.), *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters* (Amsterdam, 2007).
- Bembo (1676):  
A. Bembo, *Viaggio e giornale per parte dell'Asia di quattro anni incirca fatti da me Ambrosio Bembo Nobile Veneto* (manuscript; 1676).

- Bembo (2007):  
A. Bembo, *The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo*. Transl. C. Bargellini, ed. A. Welch (Berkeley, CA, 2007).
- Bengston (1944):  
H. Bengston *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit: Ein Beitrag zum antiken Staatsrecht II*. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 32 (München, 1944).
- Bernard (1985):  
P. Bernard, 'Les rhytons de Nisa. I: Poétesses grecques', in *Journal des Savants* (1985), p. 25–118.
- Bernard and Bernard (1960):  
A. Bernard and É. Bernard, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Colosse de Memnon*. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale – Bibliothèque d'Étude XXXI (Paris, 1960).
- Berve (1926):  
H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopografischer Grundlage* (2 vols; München, 1926).
- Besios (2010):  
M. Besios, *Περίδων Στέφανος: Πύδνα, Μεθώνη και οι αρχαιότητες της βόρειας Περγίας* (Katerine, 2010).
- Beulé (1862):  
C. E. Beulé, 'Le siège du prêtre de Bacchus', in *RA* 6 (1862), p. 349–350.
- Bevan (1902):  
E. Bevan, 'Antiochus III and his title "Great King"', in *JHS* 22 (1902), p. 241–244.
- Beyer (1990):  
K. Beyer, 'Das syrische Perlenlied. Ein Erlösungsmythos als Märchengedicht', in *ZDMG* 140 (1990), p. 234–259.
- Beyer-Rothhoff (1993):  
B. Beyer-Rothhoff, *Untersuchungen zur Außenpolitik Ptolemaios' III.* (Bonn, 1993).
- Bianchi (1979a):  
U. Bianchi, 'The Religio-Historical Question of the Mysteries of Mithra', in U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae. Atti del seminario internazionale su 'La specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia', Roma e Ostia, 28–31 Marzo 1978* (Leiden, 1979), p. 4–60.
- Bianchi (1979b):  
U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae. Atti del seminario internazionale su 'La specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia', Roma e Ostia, 28–31 Marzo 1978* (Leiden, 1979), p. 4–60.
- Bianchi (1984):  
U. Bianchi, 'La tipologia storica dei Misteri di Mitra', in *ANRW* II.17.4 (1984), p. 2116–2134.
- Bianchi and Vermaseren (1982):  
U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren (eds.), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' Impero Romano. Atti del colloquio internazionale, Roma, 24–28 Settembre 1979* (Leiden, 1982).
- Bickerman (1944):  
E. Bickerman, 'The Colophon of the Greek Book of Esther', in *JBL* 63 (1944), p. 339–362.
- Bickerman (1983):  
E. Bickerman, 'The Seleucid Period', in E. Yarshater (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Iran. Volume 3.1: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 3–20.
- Bidez and Cumont (1938):  
J. Bidez and F. V. M. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés: Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe, d'après la tradition grecque* (2 vols; Paris, 1938).
- Bidmead (2004):  
J. Bidmead, *The Akitu Festival. Religious Continuity and Royal Legitimation in Mesopotamia* (Piscataway, 2004).

- Biegstrate (2008):  
 J. Biegstrate, 'Omar Khayyam xi: Impact on Literature and Society in the West', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* IX(3) (Winona Lake, 2008 [online]).
- Bigwood (2004):  
 J. M. Bigwood, 'Queen Mousa, Mother and Wife (?) of King Phraatakes of Parthia: A Re-evaluation of the Evidence', in *Mouseion* 4 (2004), p. 35–70.
- Bigwood (2008):  
 J. M. Bigwood, 'Some Parthian Queens in Greek and Babylonian Documents', in *IrAnt* 43 (2008), p. 235–274.
- Bilde (2003):  
 P. G. Bilde, 'Wandering Images: From Taurian (and Chersonesean) Parthenos to (Artemis) Tauropolos and (Artemis) Persike', in P. G. Bilde, J. M. Højte and V. F. Stolba (eds.), *The Cauldron of Ariantas: Studies Presented to A. N. Ščeglov on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (Aarhus, 2003), p. 165–183.
- Billows (2010):  
 R. Billows, *Marathon: How One Battle Changed Western Civilization* (New York and London, 2010).
- Bingöl (1997):  
 O. Bingöl, *Malerei und Mosaik der Antike in der Türkei*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 67 (Mainz, 1997).
- Binning (1857):  
 R. B. M. Binning, *A Journal of Two's Years Travel in Persia, Ceylon etc.* (2 vols; London, 1857).
- Birley (2000):  
 A. R. Birley, 'Hadrian to the Antonines', in A. K. Bowman, E. Champlin and A. Lintott (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History* 11, (Cambridge, 2000), p. 132–190.
- Bivar and Fehèrvéri (1966):  
 A. D. H. Bivar and G. Fehèrvéri, 'The Walls of Tammisha', in *Iran* 4 (1966), p. 35–50.
- Bivar (1983):  
 A. D. H. Bivar, 'The Political History of Iran Under the Arsacids', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. Volume 3.1: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 21–99.
- Bivar (1998):  
 A. D. H. Bivar. *The Personalities of Mithra in Archeology and Literature*. Biennial Yarshater Lecture Series 1 (New York, 1998).
- Blackman (1948):  
 E. C. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence* (London, 1948).
- Blanshard (2015):  
 A. Blanshard, 'Fantasy and the Homosexual Orgy', in M. Masterson, N. S. Rabinowitz and J. Robson, *Sex in Antiquity. Exploring Gender and Sexuality in the Ancient World* (London, 2015), p. 99–114.
- Blömer (2012):  
 M. Blömer, 'Religious Life of Kommagene in the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman Period', in A. Merz and T. Tielemans (eds.), *The Letter of Mara bar Sarapion in Context* (Leiden and Boston, 2012), p. 95–128.
- Boardman (1970):  
 J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings: Early Bronze Age to Late Classical* (London, 1970).
- Boardman (1980):  
 J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas. Their Early Colonies and Trade* (London, 1980).
- Boardman (2000):  
 J. Boardman, *Persia and the West. An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Persian Art* (London, 2000).

- Boardman (2015):  
 J. Boardman, *The Greeks in Asia* (London, 2015).
- Boffo (1985):  
 L. Boffo, *I re ellenistici e i centri religiosi dell'Asia Minore* (Firenze, 1985).
- Böhler (1997):  
 D. Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras α und Esra/Nehemia. Zwei Konzeptionen der Wiederherstellung Israels* (Göttingen, 1997).
- Böhler (2010):  
 D. Böhler, 'Literarischer Machtkampf. Drei Ausgaben des Esrabuches im Streit um das wahre Israel und die Legitimation von Herrschaft', in U. Dahmen and J. Schnocks (eds.), *Juda und Jerusalem in der Seleukidenzeit. Herrschaft, Widerstand, Identität* (Göttingen, 2010), p. 125–145.
- Bohm (1989):  
 C. Bohm, *Imitatio Alexandri im Hellenismus. Untersuchungen zum politischen Nachwirken Alexanders des Grossen in hoch- und späthellenistischen Monarchien* (München, 1989).
- Boiy (2002):  
 T. Boiy, 'Royal Titulature in Hellenistic Babylonia', in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 92.2 (2002), p. 240–257.
- Boiy (2004):  
 T. Boiy, *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon* (Leuven, 2004).
- Boiy and Mittag (2011):  
 T. Boiy and P. F. Mittag, 'Die lokalen Eliten in Babylonien', in B. Dreyer and P. F. Mittag (ed.), *Lokale Eliten und hellenistische Könige: zwischen Kooperation und Konfrontation* (Berlin, 2011), p. 105–131.
- Bonanno (2013):  
 D. Bonanno, 'L'atelier de Franz Cumont: "L'introduction du culte de Mithra en Occident". Manuscrit inédit retrouvé dans les Archives de l'Academia Belgica (annoté par Th. Mommsen)', in N. Belayche and A. Mastrocinque (eds.), *Bibliotheca Cumontiana, Scripta maiora III: Les mystères de Mithra* (Torino, 2013), p. 229–258.
- Bonfante (1989):  
 L. Bonfante, 'Nudity as Costume in Classical Art', in *AJA* 93 (1989), p. 543–570.
- Bonfante (1990):  
 L. Bonfante, 'The Naked Greek: How Ancient Art and Literature Reflects the Custom of Civic Nudity', in *Archaeology* 43.5 (1990), p. 28–35.
- Bonnet (1997):  
 C. Bonnet, *La correspondance scientifique de Franz Cumont conservée à l'Academia Belgica de Rome*. Institut Historique Belge de Rome: Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes 35 (Brussels, 1997).
- Bonnet and Bricault (2013):  
 C. Bonnet and L. Bricault (eds.), *Pantheé: Religious Transformations in the Graeco-Roman Empire*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 177 (Leiden and Boston, 2013).
- Bonnet and Grand-Clément (2013):  
 C. Bonnet and A. Grand-Clément, 'Quand les statues divines se meuvent et (s')émeuvent entre Grecs et Barbares', in P. Borgeaud and D. Fabiano (eds.), *Perception et construction du divin dans l'Antiquité* (Genève, 2013), p. 35–59.
- Bonnet and Van Haepelen (2006):  
 C. Bonnet and F. van Haepelen, 'Introduction historiographique', in *id.* (eds.), *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*. Bibliotheca Cumontiana, Scripta Maiora I (Torino, 2006).
- Bonnet, Pirenne-Delforge, Praet (2009):  
 C. Bonnet, V. Pirenne-Delforge and D. Praet (eds.), *Les religions orientales dans le monde grec et romain: cent ans après Cumont (1906–2006). Bilan historique et historiographique*. Collo-

- que de Rome, 16–18 novembre 2006, Institut Historique Belge de Rome. Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes* 45 (Brussels, 2009).
- Bopearachchi (1991):  
O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques. Catalogue raisonné* (Paris, 1991).
- Borchhardt & Pekridou-Gorecki (2012):  
J. Borchhardt and A. Pekridou-Gorecki, *Limyra: Studien zu Kunst und Epigraphik in den Nekropolen der Antike. Forschungen in Limyra* 5 (Vienna, 2012).
- Borgeaud and Volokhine (2000):  
P. Borgeaud and Y. Volokhine, 'La formation de la légende de Sarapis: une approche transculturelle', in *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2 (2000), p. 37–76.
- Börker-Klähn (1994):  
J. Börker-Klähn, 'Ahnengalerie und letzte Dienste derer von Hattuša', in *Cinquante-deux réflexions sur le Proche-Orient ancien: Offertes en hommage à Léon De Meyer. Edited by Hermann Gasche* (Leuven, 1994), p. 355–367.
- Börm (2007):  
H. Börm, *Prokop und die Perser. Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike. Oriens et Occidens* 16 (Stuttgart, 2007).
- Börm (2008):  
H. Börm, "'Es war allerdings nicht so, dass sie es im Sinne eines Tributes erhielten, wie viele meinten...': Anlässe und Funktion der persischen Geldforderungen an die Römer', in *Historia* 57 (2008), p. 327–346.
- Börm (2013):  
H. Börm, 'Dynastie und Charisma im Sasanidenreich', in D. Boschung and J. Hammerstaedt (eds.), *Das Charisma des Herrschers* (Paderborn, 2013), p. 253–280.
- Boschung, Busch, Versluys (2015):  
D. Boschung, A. W. Busch, M. J. Versluys, *Reinventing 'The Invention of Tradition'? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present* (Paderborn, 2015).
- Bosworth (1980):  
A. B. Bosworth, 'Alexander and the Iranians', in *JHS* 100 (1980), p. 1–21.
- Bosworth and Wheatley (1998):  
A. B. Bosworth and P. V. Wheatley, 'The origins of the Pontic house', in *JHS* 118 (1998), p. 155–164.
- Bosworth (2003):  
E. C. Bosworth, 'Hira', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* XII(3) (Winona Lake, 2003), p. 322–323.
- Bowen-Savant (2013):  
S. Bowen-Savant, *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran: Tradition, Memory, and Conversion* (Cambridge, 2013).
- Bowersock (1969):  
G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1969).
- Bowersock (1986):  
G. Bowersock, 'The Mechanics of Subversion in the Roman Provinces', in D. van Berchem, K. A. Raafaub and A. Giovannini (eds.), *Opposition et résistances à l'Empire d'Auguste à Trajan: neuf exposés suivis de discussions. Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique* 33 (Geneva, 1986), p. 291–317.
- Bowie (1970):  
E. L. Bowie, 'The Greeks and their past in the second Sophistic', in *Past and Present* 46 (1970), p. 3–41.
- Bowie (1990):  
E. L. Bowie, 'Greek Poetry in the Antonine Age', in D. A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature* (Oxford, 1990), p. 53–90.



- Boyce (1957):  
M. Boyce, 'The Parthian *Gosān* and Iranian Minstrel Tradition', in *JRAS* (1957), p. 10–45.
- Boyce and Grenet (1975–1991):  
M. Boyce and F. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism* (3 vols; Leiden, 1975–1991).
- Boyce (1975):  
M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism. Volume I: The Early Period* (Leiden, 1975).
- Boyce (1991):  
M. Boyce, 'The "Parsis" or Persians of Anatolia', in *K.R. Cama Oriental Institute Platinum Jubilee Volume* (Mumbai, 1991), p. 43–53.
- Boyce and Grenet (1991):  
M. Boyce and F. Grenet, *A History of Zoroastrianism. Volume III: Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (Leiden and Boston, 1991).
- Boyce (1996):  
M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism. Volume I: The Early Period*. Handbuch der Orientalistik I.VIII.1.2 (2a) (3rd edn; Leiden and Boston, 1996).
- Boyce (2005):  
M. Boyce, 'Further on the Calendar of Zoroastrian Feasts', in *Iran* 43 (2005), p. 1–38.
- Boyce and De Jong (forthcoming):  
M. Boyce and A. de Jong, *A History of Zoroastrianism IV: Parthian Zoroastrianism. Part One: Parthia and the Parthians* (Leiden and Boston, forthcoming).
- Boyes-Stones (2001):  
G. Boyes-Stones, *Post-Hellenistic Philosophy. A Study of its Development from the Stoics to Origen* (Oxford, 2001).
- Bradley-Birt (1910):  
F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Through Persia From the Gulf to the Caspian* (Boston, 1910).
- Briant (1979):  
P. Briant, 'Des Achéménides aux rois hellénistiques: Continuités et ruptures. Bilan et propositions (1979)', in P. Briant, *Rois, tributs et paysans. Études sur les formations tributaires au Moyen-Orient ancien* (Paris, 1982), p. 291–330.
- Briant (1980):  
P. Briant, 'Conquête territoriale et stratégie idéologique: Alexandre le Grand et l'idéologie monarchique achéménide', in *Actes du colloque international sur l'idéologie monarchique dans l'antiquité. Cracovie-Mogilany du 23 au 26 Octobre 1977* (Krakau, 1980), p. 37–83.
- Briant (1985a):  
P. Briant, 'Dons de terres et de villes. L'Asie mineure dans le contexte achéménide', in *REA* 87.1–2 (1985), p. 53–71.
- Briant (1985b):  
P. Briant, 'Les Iraniens d'Asie Mineure après la chute des Achéménides. A propos de l'inscription d'Amyzon', in *DHA* 11 (1985), p. 166–195.
- Briant (1987):  
P. Briant, *Alexandre le Grand. De la Grèce à l'Inde* (Paris, 1987).
- Briant (1988):  
P. Briant, 'Ethno-classe dominante et populations soumises dans l'Empire achéménide: le cas de l'Égypte', in A. Kuhrt and H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History III: Method and Theory* (Leiden, 1988), p. 137–173.
- Briant (1989a):  
P. Briant, 'Les Grecs et la "décadence perse"', in *Mélanges P. Lévêque* II (Paris, 1989), p. 33–47.
- Briant (1989b):  
P. Briant, 'Table du roi, tribut et redistribution chez les Achéménides' in P. Briant and C. Herrenschildt (eds.), *Le tribut dans l'Empire achéménide*, (Paris and Leuven, 1989), p. 35–44.
- Briant (1990):  
P. Briant, 'The Seleucid Kingdom, the Achaemenid Empire and the History of the Near East in

- the First Millennium BC', in P. Bilde *et al.* (eds.), *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom* (Aarhus 1990), p. 40–65.
- Briant (1996):  
P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris, 1996).
- Briant (1996/2002):  
P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. Translated by P.T. Daniels (Winona Lake, 2002) = *Histoire de l'empire perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre*. Achaemenid History 10 (Paris, 1996).
- Briant (1998):  
P. Briant, 'Droaphernès et la statue de Sardes', in M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*. Achaemenid History 11 (Leiden and Boston, 1998), p. 205–226.
- Briant (2001a):  
P. Briant, 'History and Ideology. The Greeks and "Persian Decadence"', in T. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians* (Edinburgh, 2001), p. 193–210.
- Briant (2001b):  
P. Briant, *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide II. BHach II, 1997–2000. Persika 1* (Paris, 2001).
- Briant (2002a):  
P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, 2002).
- Briant (2002b):  
P. Briant, 'History and Ideology: The Greeks and Persian Decadence' in T. Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians* (Edinburgh, 2002), p. 193–210.
- Briant (2003a):  
P. Briant, *Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre* (Paris, 2003).
- Briant (2003b):  
P. Briant, 'Quand les rois écrivent l'histoire. La domination achéménide vue à travers les inscriptions officielles lagides', in N. Grimal (ed.), *Événement, récit, histoire officielle. L'écriture de l'histoire dans les monarchies antiques* (Paris, 2003), p. 173–186.
- Briant (2003c):  
P. Briant, 'Histoire et archéologie d'un texte. La Lettre de Darius à Gadatas entre Perses, Grecs et Romains', in M. Giorgieri, M. Salvini, M.-C. Trémouille and P. Vannicelli (eds.), *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione: Atti del Convegno internazionale, Roma, 11–12 Ottobre 1999*. Monografie Scientifiche (Roma, 2003), p. 107–144.
- Briant (2006):  
P. Briant, 'L'Asie mineure en transition', in P. Briant and F. Joannès (eds.), *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques*. Persika 9 (Paris, 2006), p. 309–351.
- Briant (2009):  
P. Briant, 'Le passé réutilisé dans les cours Hellénistiques', in H. M. Barstad and P. Briant (eds.), *The Past in the Past: Concepts of Past Reality in Ancient Near Eastern and Early Greek Thought* (Oslo, 2009), p. 21–36.
- Briant (2010):  
P. Briant, 'The Theme of "Persian Decadence" in Eighteenth-Century European Historiography: Remarks on the Genesis of a Myth', in J. Curtis and S. J. Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East* (London, 2010), p. 3–16.
- Briant (2013):  
P. Briant, *Darius dans l'ombre d'Alexandre* (Paris, 2013) = Briant (2015a).
- Briant (2015a):  
P. Briant, *Darius in the Shadow of Alexander*. Translated from the French by J. M. Todd (Cambridge, MA, 2015) = Briant (2013).
- Briant (2015b):  
P. Briant, 'À propos de l'"empreinte Achéménide" en Anatolie ((Notes de lectures)', in E. Win-

- ter and K. Zimmermann (eds.), *Zwischen Satrapen und Dynasten. Kleinasien im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Asia Minor Studien 76 (Bonn, 2015), p. 175–194.
- Briant and Joannès (2009):  
 P. Briant and F. Joannès (eds.), *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques, (vers 350–300 av.J.-C.). Actes du colloque international, Paris, Collège de France, 22–23 novembre 2004.* Persika 9 (Paris, 2009).
- Bricault and Bonnet (2013):  
 L. Bricault and C. Bonnet (eds.), *Panathée: Religious Transformations in the Graeco-Roman Empire.* RGRW 177 (Leiden and Boston, 2013).
- Bridges (2015):  
 E. Bridges, *Imagining Xerxes: Ancient Perspectives on a Persian King* (London, 2015).
- Brijder (2014):  
 H. Brijder, *Nemrud Dağı. Recent Archaeological Research and Conservation Activities in the Tomb Sanctuary on Mount Nemrud* (Boston and Berlin, 2014).
- Brodersen (1986):  
 K. Brodersen, 'The Date of the Secession of Parthia From the Seleucid Kingdom', in *Historia* 35 (1986), p. 378–381.
- Brodersen (1991):  
 K. Brodersen, *Appians Antiochike (Syriake 1.1–44.232). Text und Kommentar nebst Anhang: Plethons Syriake-Exzerpt* (München, 1991).
- Brosius (1998):  
 M. Brosius, 'Artemis Persike and Artemis Anaitis', in M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis.* Achaemenid History 11 (Leiden and Boston, 1998), p. 227–238.
- Brosius (2007):  
 M. Brosius, 'New Out of Old? Court and Court Ceremonies in Achaemenid Persia', in A. J. S. Spawforth (ed.), *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 17–57.
- Brosius (2011):  
 M. Brosius, 'Keeping Up with the Persians: Between Cultural Identity and Persianization in the Achaemenid Period', in E. S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Los Angeles, 2011), p. 135–149.
- Brown, Rostovtzeff, Welles (1939):  
 F. E. Brown, M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles (eds.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons, 1933–1934 and 1934–1935* (New Haven, 1939).
- Brown and Hamilakis (2003):  
 K. S. Brown and Y. Hamilakis, 'The Cupboard of the Yesterdays? Critical Perspectives on the Usable Past', in K. S. Brown and Y. Hamilakis (eds.), *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories* (Lanham, MD, 2003), p. 1–19.
- Brüggemann (2010):  
 T. Brüggemann, 'Vom Machtanspruch zur Herrschaft. Prolegomena zu einer Studie über die Organisation königlicher Herrschaft im Seleukidenreich', in T. Brüggemann (ed.), *Studia Hellenistica et Historiographica. Festschrift für Andreas Mehl* (Gutenberg, 2010), p. 19–57.
- Buckler (2000):  
 J. Buckler, 'Demosthenes and Aeschines', in I. Worthington (ed.), *Demosthenes: Statesman and Orator* (London, 2000), p. 114–158.
- Buckler and Robinson (1932):  
 W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson, *Sardeis. Volume VII: Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Leiden, 1932).
- Bulliet (1979):  
 R. W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period. An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, 1979).

- Buresch (1898):  
K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien. Epigraphisch-geographische Reisefrüchte* (Leipzig, 1898).
- Burkert (1979):  
W. Burkert, 'Von Ullikummi zum Kaukasus: Die Felsgeburt des Unholds. Zur Kontinuität einer mündlichen Erzählung', in *Wurzbürger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft N.F.* 5 (1979), p. 253–261.
- Burkert (1992):  
W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution. Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age* (Cambridge, MA, 1992).
- Burns (2006):  
J. E. Burns, 'The special Purim and the Reception of the Book of Esther in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Eras', in *JSJ* 37 (2006), p. 1–34.
- Burstein (2010):  
S. M. Burstein, 'Changing Greek Views of Achaemenid Persia in the Classical Period', in *IJAIS* 10 (2010), p. 3–14.
- Buruma and Margalit (2004):  
I. Buruma and A. Margalit, *Occidentalism: The West in the Eyes of its Enemies* (Harmondsworth, 2004).
- Busine (2009):  
A. Busine, 'De Porphyre à Franz Cumont: La construction des "religions orientales" de Firmicus Maternus', in C. Bonnet, V. Pirenne-Delforge and D. Praet (eds.), *Les religions orientales dans le monde grec et romain: cent ans après Cumont (1906–2006). Bilan historique et historiographique. Colloque de Rome, 16–18 novembre 2006, Institut Historique Belge de Rome. Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes* 45 (Brussels, 2009), p. 413–426.
- Callieri (1998):  
P. Callieri, 'A proposito di un'iconografia monetale dei dinasti del Fārs post-achéménide', in *Ocnus* 6 (1998) 25–38.
- Callieri (2003):  
P. Callieri, 'Some Notes on the so-Called Temple of the Fratarakas at Persepolis', in M. Vittoria and B. (eds.), *Studi in Onore di Umberto Scerrato* (2 vols; Napoli 2033), p. 153–165.
- Callieri (2006):  
P. Callieri, 'At the Roots of the Sasanian Royal Imagery: The Persepolis Graffiti', in M. Compareti, P. Raffetta and G. Scarcia (eds.), *Ēran ud Anērān. Studies Presented to Boris Ilich Marshak on the Occasion of His 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday* (Venice, 2006), p. 129–148.
- Callieri (2007):  
P. Callieri, *L'Archéologie du Fārs à l'époque hellénistique: Quatre leçons au Collège de France 8, 15, 22 et 29 mars 2007. Edited by Pierre Briant. Persika* 11. (Paris, 2007).
- Calmeyer (1992):  
P. Calmeyer, 'Zwei mit historischen Szenen bemalte Balken der Achaimenidenzeit', in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 43 (1992), p. 7–18.
- Campbell (1968):  
L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology* (Leiden, 1968).
- Canali De Rossi (2004):  
F. Canali De Rossi, *Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco. Un repertorio* (Bonn, 2004).
- Canepa (2009):  
M. P. Canepa, *The Two Eyes of the Earth: Art and Ritual of Kingship Between Rome and Sasanian Iran. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage* 45 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 2009).
- Canepa (2010a):  
M. P. Canepa, 'Technologies of Memory in Early Sasanian Iran: Achaemenid Sites and Sasanian Identity', in *AJA* 114 (2010), p. 563–596.
- Canepa (2010b):  
M. Canepa, 'Achaemenid and Seleucid Royal Funerary Practices and Middle Iranian King-

- ship', in H. Börm and J. Wiesehöfer (eds.), *Commutatio et Contentio. Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East in Memory of Zeev Rubin* (Düsseldorf, 2010), p. 1–21.
- Canepa (2013a):  
M.P. Canepa, 'Building a New Vision of the Past in the Sasanian Empire: The Sanctuary of Lake Kayansih and the Great Fires of Iran', in *JPS* 5 (2013), p. 69–94.
- Canepa (2013b):  
M.P. Canepa, 'The Transformation of Sacred Space, Topography and Royal Ritual in Persia and the Ancient Iranian World', in D. Ragavan (ed.), *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World* (Chicago, 2013), p. 319–372.
- Canepa (2014a):  
M.P. Canepa, 'Seleukid Sacred Architecture, Royal Cult and the Transformation of Iranian Culture in the Middle Iranian Period', in *Iranian Studies* 48.1 (2014), p. 1–27.
- Canepa (2014b):  
M.P. Canepa, 'Topographies of Power: Theorizing the Visual, Spatial and Ritual Contexts of Rock Reliefs in Ancient Iran', in Ö. Harmanşah (ed.), *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place* (Oxford, 2014), p. 53–92.
- Canepa (2015):  
M.P. Canepa, 'Dynastic Sanctuaries and the Transformation of Iranian Kingship Between Alexander and Islam', in S. Babaei and T. Grigor (eds.), *Of Architecture and Kingship: Strategies of Power in Iran from the Achaemenids to the Pahlavis* (London, 2015), p. 65–117.
- Canepa (forthcoming a):  
M.P. Canepa, 'From Paradise to Dastgird: Continuity and Change in Hellenistic, Parthian and Sasanian Royal Estates', in *JRAS* (forthcoming).
- Canepa (forthcoming b):  
M.P. Canepa, *The Iranian Expanse* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, forthcoming).
- Cannadine (2001):  
D. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism. How the British Saw their Empire* (London, 2001).
- Capdetrey (2007):  
L. Capdetrey, *Le pouvoir séleucide. Territoire, administration, finances d'un royaume hellénistique (312–129 avant J.-C.)* (Rennes, 2007).
- Capdetrey (2008):  
L. Capdetrey, 'Le royaume séleucide. Un empire impossible', in F. Hurlet (ed.), *Les Empires. Antiquité et Moyen Âge* (Rennes, 2008), p. 57–80.
- Capdetrey (2013):  
L. Capdetrey, 'La "Table du roi": une institution hellénistique?', in C. Grandjean, C. Hugoniot and B. Lion (eds), *Le banquet du monarque dans le monde antique* (Tours and Rennes, 2013), p. 173–198.
- Cary (1917):  
E. Cary, *Dio Cassius, Roman History, Books 46–50* (LCL) (Cambridge, MA, 1917).
- Carlier (1978):  
P. Carlier, 'L'idée de monarchie impériale dans la Cyropédie de Xénophon', in *Ktèma* 3 (1978), p. 129–158.
- Carr (2011):  
D.M. Carr, *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible. A New Reconstruction* (Oxford, 2011).
- Carter (1994):  
E. Carter, 'Bridging the Gap Between the Elamites and the Persians in Southeastern Khuzistan', in H.W.A.M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg *et al.*, (eds.), *Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and Change* (Leiden and Boston, 1994), p. 65–95.
- Cartledge (1998):  
P. Cartledge, 'The Machismo of the Athenian Empire or the Reign of the Phallus?', in L. Foxhall and J. Salmon, *When Men Were Men. Masculinity, Power and Identity in Classical Antiquity* (Routledge, 1998), p. 54–67.

- Cartledge (2006):  
P. Cartledge, *Thermopylae: The Battle that Changed the World* (New York, 2006).
- Casevitz and Chamoux (1992):  
M. Casevitz and F. Chamoux (eds.), *Pausanias: Description de la Grèce* (Paris, 1992).
- Castoriadis (1975/1987):  
E. Castoriadis, *L'Institution imaginaire de la société* (Seuil 1975) = *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Translated by K. Blamey (Cambridge, MA, 1987).
- Cavalier (2003):  
C. Cavalier, 'Le "colophon" d'Esther', in *RB* 110 (2003), p. 167–177.
- Cawkwell (1969):  
G. L. Cawkwell, 'The Crowning of Demosthenes', in *CQ* 19 (1969), p. 163–180.
- Cereti (2010):  
C. G. Cereti *et al.* (eds.), *Iranian Identity in the Course of History: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Rome, 2014 September 2005* (Rome, 2010).
- Chaniotis (2002):  
A. Chaniotis, 'Old Wine in a New Skin: Tradition and Innovation in the Cult Foundation of Alexander of Abonouteichos', in E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient World*. Electrum 6 (Cracow, 2002), p. 67–85.
- Chaniotis and Rojas (forthcoming):  
A. Chaniotis and F. Rojas, 'A Second Lydian Inscription from Aphrodisias', in R. R. R. Smith, K. Welch and A. Sokolicek (eds.), *Aphrodisias Papers* 5 (forthcoming).
- Chardin (1711):  
J. Chardin, *Voyages de monsieur le chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient* III (Amsterdam, 1711).
- Chegini *et al.* (2013):  
N. Chegini, M. V. Fontana, A. A. Asadi, M. Rugiadi, A. M. Jaia, L. Ebanista, 'Estakhr Project: Second Preliminary Report of the Joint Mission of the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, the Parsa-Pasargadae Research Foundation and the Sapienza University of Rome, Italy', in *Vicino Oriente* 17 (2013), p. 7–20.
- Chemiss (1932):  
H. Chemiss, 'On Plato's Republic X 597 B', in *AJPh* 3 (1932), p. 233–242.
- Cherpion *et al.* (2007):  
J. Cherpion, J. P. Corteggiani, J. F. Gout, *Le tombeau de Pétoisiris à Touna el-Gebel. Relevé photographique* (Le Caire, 2007).
- Chick (2012):  
H. Chick, *A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia: The Safavids and the Papal Mission of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries* I. With an introduction by Rudi Mathee (London and New York, 2012).
- Choksy (1988):  
J. K. Choksy, 'Sacral kingship in Sasanian Iran', in *BAI* 2 (1988), p. 35–52.
- Christensen (1944).  
A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1944).
- Chua (2009):  
A. Chua, *Day of Empire: How Hyperpowers Rise to Global Dominance – And Why They Fall* (New York, 2009).
- Chuvin (1991):  
P. Chuvin, *Mythologie et géographie dionysiaques: recherches sur l'œuvre de Nonnos de Panopolis*. Vates 2 (Clermont-Ferrand, 1991).
- Clancier (2012):  
P. Clancier, 'Le "Rab Sikkati" de Babylone contre "l'homme de renom venu d'Égypte". La troisième guerre syrienne dans les rues de Babylone', in P. Goukowsky and C. Feyel (eds.), *Folia Graeca in honorem Edouard Will: Historica* (Nancy, 2012), p. 9–31.
- Clauss (1988):  
M. Clauss, 'Omnipotens Mithras', in *Epigraphica* 50 (1988), p. 151–156.

- Clauss (2012):  
M. Clauss, *Mithras. Kult und Mysterium* (Darmstadt and Mainz, 2012).
- Clemen (1920a):  
C. Clemen (ed.), *Fontes historiae religionis Persicae* (Bonn, 1920).
- Clemen (1920b):  
C. Clemen, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion*. RGVV 17.1 (Gießen, 1920).
- Cohen, A (2010):  
A. Cohen, *Art in the Era of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 2010).
- Cohen, A (2011):  
A. Cohen, 'The Self as Other. Performing Humor in Ancient Greek Art', in E. S. Gruen, *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Los Angeles, 2011), p. 465–490.
- Cohen, B (2006):  
B. Cohen (ed.), *The Colours of Clay. Special Techniques in Athenian Vases* (Los Angeles, 2006).
- Cohen, G. (1995):  
G. M. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 17 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995).
- Cohen, S. S. A. (1994)  
S. S. A. Cohen, 'Ioudaios to Genos and Related Expressions in Josephus?', in F. Parente and J. Siever (eds.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period* (Leiden, 1994), p. 23–38.
- Colburn (2011):  
H. P. Colburn, 'Orientalism, Postcolonialism, and the Achaemenid Empire: Meditations on Bruce Lincoln's *Religion, Empire, and Torture*' in *BICS* 54.2 (2011), p. 87–103.
- Colburn (2013):  
H. P. Colburn, 'Art of the Achaemenid Empire, and Art in the Achaemenid Empire', in B. Brown and M. H. Feldman (eds.), *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art* (Berlin, 2013), p. 773–800.
- Colburn and Hughes (2010):  
H. P. Colburn and R. C. Hughes, 'Movement and Materiality: Mobile Cores and the Archaeology of Political Boundaries', in *ARC* 25.2 (2010), p. 43–56.
- Cole (1996):  
J. R. I. Cole, 'Marking Boundaries. Marking Time. The Iranian Past and the Construction of the Self by Qajar Thinkers', in *Iranian Studies* 29.1/2 (1996), p. 35–56.
- Coleman (1993):  
K. M. Coleman, 'Launching into History: Aquatic Displays in the Early Empire', in *JRS* 83 (1993), p. 48–74.
- Colledge (1967):  
M. A. R. Colledge, *The Parthians* (London, 1967).
- Colledge (1987):  
M. Colledge, 'Greek and Non-Greek Interaction in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East', in A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations From Syria to Central Asia After Alexander* (London, 1987), p. 134–162.
- Coloru (2013):  
O. Coloru, 'Alexander the Great and *Iskander Dhu'l-Qarnayn*. Memory, Myth and Representation of a Conqueror from Iran to South East Asia through the Eyes of Travel Literature', in E. Stavrianopoulou (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 389–412.
- Connerton (1989):  
P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge, NY, 1989).
- Conte (2004):  
D. Conte, *Oswald Spengler. Eine Einführung* (Leipzig, 2004).

- Cook (1983):  
J. M. Cook, *The Persian Empire* (New York, 1983).
- Cool Root (1979):  
M. Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art. Essays on the Creation of an Iconography of Empire* (Leiden, 1979).
- Cool Root (1991):  
M. Cool Root, 'From the Heart: Powerful Persianisms in the Art of the Western Empire', in H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History 6: Asia Minor and Egypt. Old Cultures in a New Empire* (Leiden and Boston, 1991), p. 1–25.
- Cool Root (1994):  
M. Cool Root 'Lifting the Veil: Artistic Transmission Beyond the Boundaries of Historical Periodisation', in H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt and M. Cool Root (eds.), *Achaemenid History 8: Continuity and Change* (Leiden and Boston, 1994), p. 9–37.
- Cool Root (2011):  
M. Cool Root, 'Embracing Ambiguity in the World of Athens and Persia', in E. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Malibu, 2011), p. 86–95.
- Corfù (2010):  
N. A. Corfù, 'Die sogenannten achaimenidischen Bogenschützenmünzen. Die Herkunft von Dareikoi und Sigloi', in *AMI* 42 (2010), p. 165–206.
- Cornelius (1973):  
F. Cornelius, *Geschichte der Hethiter. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der geographischen Verhältnisse und der Rechtsgeschichte* (Darmstadt, 1973).
- Cotton Money (1828):  
R. Cotton Money, *Journal of a Tour in Persia during the Years 1824 and 1825* (London, 1828).
- Coulon (2005):  
L. Coulon, 'Les reliques d'Osiris en Égypte ancienne. Données générales et particularisme thébain', in P. Borgeaud and Y. Volokhine (eds.), *Les objets de la mémoire* (Berne, 2005), p. 14–56.
- Coulon (2010):  
L. Coulon, 'Le culte osirien au I<sup>er</sup> millénaire av. J.-C. Une mise en perspective', in L. Coulon (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris au I<sup>er</sup> millénaire av. J.-C.* (Cairo, 2010), p. 1–17.
- Coulton (1976):  
J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford, 1976).
- Crijns (2014):  
M. Crijns, 'Astro-Religion in Commagene', in H. A. G. Brijder, *Nemrud Dağı: Recent Archaeological Research and Conservation Activities in the Tomb Sanctuary on Mount Nemrud* (Boston and Berlin, 2014), p. 563–599.
- Crowther (2003):  
C. Crowther, 'Inscriptions of Antiochos I of Commagene and other Epigraphical Finds', in *Zeugma: Interim Reports. Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 51* (Portsmouth, RI, 2003), p. 57–68.
- Crowther (2013):  
C. Crowther, 'Inscriptions on Stone', in W. Aylward (ed.), *Excavations at Zeugma, Conducted By Oxford University I* (Los Altos, 2013), p. 192–219.
- Crowther and Facella (2003):  
C. Crowther and M. Facella, 'New Evidence For the Ruler Cult of Antiochus of Commagene From Zeugma', in G. Heedemann and E. Winter (eds.), *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens. Elmar Schwertheim zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Asia Minor Studien 49 (Bonn, 2003), p. 41–80.
- Crowther & Facella (2011):  
C. Crowther and M. Facella, 'A New Commagenian Nomos Text from Samosata', in E. Winter (ed.), *Von Kummulj nach Telouch: Historische und archäologische Untersuchungen in Kommagene*. Asia Minor Studien (Bonn, 2011), p. 355–366.



- Crowther and Facella (2012):  
 C. Crowther and M. Facella, 'Die Heiligtümer des Antiochos I. im Spiegel neuer epigraphischer Funde', in J. Wagner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat: Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (Darmstadt and Mainz, 2012), p. 71–76.
- Csapo (1993):  
 E. Csapo, 'Deep Ambivalence: Notes on a Greek Cockfight', in *Phoenix* 47 (1993), p. 1–28 and 115–124.
- Csapo (2010):  
 E. Csapo, 'The Context of Choregic Dedications', in O. Taplin and R. Wyles (eds.), *The Pronomos Vase and its Context* (Oxford, 2010), p. 79–130.
- Csapo (2013):  
 E. Csapo, *The Dionysian Parade and the Poetics of Plenitude* (London, 2013).
- Cumont (1894–1899):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (2 vols; Brussels, 1894–1899).
- Cumont (1900):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra* (Brussels, 1900).
- Cumont (1906):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, *Studia Pontica II: Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le pont et la petite Arménie* (Brussels, 1906).
- Cumont (1913):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra* (Brussels, 1913) = N. Belayche, D. Bonanno, A. Mastrocinque (eds.), *Bibliotheca Cumontiana. Scripta maiora* III (Torino, 2013).
- Cumont (1917):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, *Études syriennes* (Paris, 1917).
- Cumont (1926):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922–1923)*. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 9 (Paris, 1926).
- Cumont (1929):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (Paris, 1929; reprint Paris, 1963) = N. Belayche, D. Bonanno, A. Mastrocinque (eds.), *Bibliotheca Cumontiana. Scripta maiora* I (Torino, 2013).
- Cumont (1931):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, 'La fin du monde selon les mages', in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 103 (1931), p. 29–96.
- Cumont (1933):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, 'L'iniziazione di Nerone da parte di Tiridate d'Armenia', in *Rivista di Filologia* 11 (1933), p. 145–154.
- Cumont (1939):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, 'Mithra en Asie Mineure', in *Studies in Honour of W. H. Buckler* (Manchester, 1939), p. 67–76.
- Cumont (1975):  
 F. V. M. Cumont, 'The Dura Mithraeum', in J. R. Hinnells (ed.), *Mithraic Studies: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* (Manchester, 1975), p. 151–214.
- Curtis (1998):  
 V. S. Curtis, 'The Parthian Costume and Headdress', in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 62–73.
- Curtis (2000):  
 V. S. Curtis, 'Parthian Culture and Costume', in J. Curtis (ed.), *Mesopotamia and Iran in the Parthian and Sassanid Periods: Rejection and Revival c. 238 BC–AD 642* (London, 2000), p. 21–34 and 81–85.

- Curtis (2004):  
V.S. Curtis, 'Investiture II: The Parthian Period', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* XIII(2) (New York, 2004), p. 182–184.
- Curtis (2005):  
V.S. Curtis, 'The Legacy of Ancient Persia', in J. Curtis and N. Tallis (eds.), *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia* (London, 2005), p. 250–263.
- Curtis (2007a):  
V.S. Curtis, 'The Iranian Revival', in V.S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Age of the Parthians* (London and New York, 2007), p. 1–25.
- Curtis (2007b):  
V.S. Curtis, 'Religious Iconography on Ancient Iranian Coins', in J. Cribb and G. Herrmann (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam* (Oxford, 2007), p. 413–434.
- Curtis (2010):  
V.S. Curtis, 'The Frataraka Coins of Persis: Bridging the Gap Between Achaemenid and Sasanian Persia', in J. Curtis and S. J. Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East* (London and New York, 2010), p. 379–394.
- Curtis (2012):  
V.S. Curtis, 'Parthian Coins: Kingship and Divine Glory', in P. Wick and M. Zehnder (eds.), *The Parthian Empire and its Religions: Studies in the Dynamics of Religious Diversity and Das Partherreich und seine Religionen: Studien zu Dynamiken religiöser Pluralität*. Pietas 5 (Gutenberg, 2012), p. 68–81.
- Curtis and Stewart (2005):  
V.S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran. Volume 1: Birth of the Persian Empire* (London and London, 2005).
- Curtis and Stewart (2007):  
V.S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran. Volume 2: The Age of the Parthians* (London and London, 2007).
- Curtis and Stewart (2008):  
V.S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran. Volume 3: The Sasanian Era* (London and London, 2008).
- Curtis and Tallis (2005):  
J. E. Curtis and N. Tallis (eds.), *Forgotten Empire: The World of Ancient Persia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2005).
- Cusick (1998):  
J. G. Cusick, 'Historiography of Acculturation: An Evaluation of Concepts and Their Application in Archaeology', in *id.* (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology* (Carbondale, 1998), p. 126–145.
- D'Agostini (2013):  
M. D'Agostini, 'La strutturazione del potere seleucidico in Anatolia: il caso di Acheo il Vecchio e Alessandro di Sardi', in *Erga/Logoi* 1 (2013), p. 87–106.
- Dandamaev (1989):  
M. A. Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire* (Leiden, 1989).
- Dąbrowa (1983):  
E. Dąbrowa, *La politique de l'État parthe à l'égard de Rome – d'Artaban II à Vologèse I (ca II – ca 79 de n.è.) et les facteurs qui la conditionnaient* (Krakow, 1983).
- Dąbrowa (1998):  
E. Dąbrowa, 'Philhellên. Mithridate I<sup>er</sup> et les Grecs', in E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *Ancient Iran and the Mediterranean World*. Electrum 2 (Cracow, 1998), p. 9–17.
- Dąbrowa (1999):  
E. Dąbrowa, 'L'expédition de Demetrios II Nicator contre les Parthes (139–138 avant J.C.)', in *Parthica* 1 (1999), p. 9–17.
- Dąbrowa (2010):  
E. Dąbrowa, 'The Parthians and the Seleucid Legacy', in R. Rollinger *et al.* (eds.), *Interkul-*

- turalität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen es Kontakts* (Wiesbaden, 2010), p. 583–590.
- Dąbrowa (2012a):  
E. Dąbrowa, 'The Arsacid Empire', in T. Daryae (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Iranian History* (Oxford and New York, 2012), p. 164–186.
- Dąbrowa (2012b):  
E. Dąbrowa, 'The Arsacids and their State', in R. Rollinger, G. Schwinghammer, B. Truschneegg, K. Schneegg (eds.), *Altertum und Gegenwart: 125 Jahre Alte Geschichte in Innsbruck: Vorträge der Ringvorlesung* (Innsbruck, 2012), p. 21–52.
- Dalaisson, Bernard, Amandry (2009):  
J. Dalaisson, R. Bernard and M. Amandry, *Zéla sous l'empire romain: étude historique et corpus monétaire*. Numismatica Anatolica 4 (Pessac, 2009).
- Dalton (1964):  
O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus (With other Examples of Early Oriental Metal-Work)* (3rd edn; London, 1964).
- D'Andria (2013):  
F. D'Andria, 'Il Ploutonion a Hierapolis di Frigia', in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 63 (2013), p. 157–217.
- Darbandi and Zournatzi (2008):  
S. M. R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran. Cross-Cultural Encounters* (Athens, 2008).
- Darwin (2007):  
J. Darwin, *After Tamerlane: The Rise and Fall of Global Empires, 1400–2000* (London, 2007).
- Daryae (2002a):  
T. Daryae, 'Memory and History: The Construction of the Past in Late Antique Persia', in *IJAIS* 1.2 (2002), p. 1–14.
- Daryae (2002b):  
T. Daryae, *Šahrestānīha ī Erānšahr: A Middle Persian Text on Late Antique Geography, Epic, and History. With English and Persian Translation, and Commentary* (Costa Mesa, 2002).
- Daryae (2002c):  
T. Daryae, 'The Changing "Image of the World": Geography and Imperial Propaganda in Ancient Persia', in *Electrum* 6 (2002), p. 99–109.
- Daryae (2003):  
T. Daryae, 'The Ideal King in the Sasanian World', in *IJAIS* 3 (2003), p. 33–46.
- Daryae (2005):  
T. Daryae, 'Ethnic and Territorial Boundaries in Late Antique and Early Medieval Persia (Third to Tenth Century)', in F. Curta (ed.), *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2005), p. 124–138.
- Daryae (2006):  
T. Daryae, 'Sasanians and Their Ancestors', in A. Panaino and A. Piras (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th Conference of the Societas Iranologica Europaea. Volume 1: Ancient and Middle Iranian Studies* (Milano, 2006), p. 387–393.
- Daryae (2006):  
T. Daryae, 'The Construction of the Past in Late Antique Persia', in *Historia* 55.4 (2006), p. 493–503.
- Daryae (2007):  
T. Daryae, 'Imitatio Alexandri and Its Impact on Late Arsacid, Early Sasanian and Middle Persian Literature', in *Electrum* 12 (2007), p. 89–97.
- Daryae (2009):  
T. Daryae, *Sasanian Persia: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* (London, 2009).
- Daryae (2010a):  
T. Daryae, 'To Learn and to Remember From Others: Persians Visiting the Dura-Europos Synagogue', in *Scripta Judaica Cracoviensia* 8 (2010), p. 29–37.

- Daryae (2010b):  
 T. Daryae, 'The Idea of Ērānšahr: Jewish, Christian and Manichaean Views in Late Antiquity', in C. G. Cereti (ed.), *Iranian Identity in the Course of History. Proceedings of the Conference Held in Rome, 21–25 September 2005* (Rome, 2010), p. 91–108.
- Daryae (2012):  
 T. Daryae, *Memory and Identity in Sasanian Persia: Sacred History and the Historiography of Ancient Iran* (London and New York, 2012).
- Daryae (2016):  
 T. Daryae, 'Refashioning the Zoroastrian Past', in: A. Williams, S. Stewart A. Hintze (eds.), *The Zoroastrian Flame: Exploring Religion, History and Tradition* (London, 2016), p. 135–144.
- Daumas (1985):  
 M. Daumas, 'Aristophane et les Perses', in *RÉA* 89 (1985), p. 289–305.
- Davidson (1997):  
 J. Davidson, *Courtesans and Fishcakes. The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (London, 1997).
- Davies (1995):  
 P. R. Davies, 'Scenes From the Early History of Judaism', in D. V. Edelman (ed.), *The Triumph of Elohim. From Yahwisms to Judaisms* (Grand Rapids, 1995), p. 145–82.
- Davis Bledsoe (2012):  
 A. M. Davis Bledsoe, 'The Identity of the "Mad King" of Daniel 4 in Light of Ancient Near Eastern Sources', in *Christianesimo nella storia* 33 (2012), p. 743–58.
- Dayet (1949):  
 M. Dayet, 'Monnaies arsacides a bonnet satrapal', in *RN* 11 (1949) 9–26.
- Debevoise (1938):  
 N. C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938).
- De Blois (2003):  
 F. de Blois, 'Pahr(ag)', in A. van Tongerloo (ed.), *Iranica Selecta: Studies in Honour of Professor Wojciech Skalmowski on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*. *Silk Road Studies* 8 (Turnhout, 2003), p. 37–40.
- De Bode (1845):  
 C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan II* (London, 1845).
- De Bruyn (1718):  
 C. de Bruyn, *Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales II* (Amsterdam, 1718).
- De Callatāy (1994):  
 F. De Callatāy, *Les tétradrachmes d'Orodès II et de Phraate IV. Étude du rythme de leur production monétaire à la lumière d'une grande trouvaille* (Paris, 1994).
- De Callatāy (1996):  
 F. De Callatāy, 'Abdissarès l'Adiabénien', in *Iraq* 58 (1996), p. 135–45.
- De Callatāy (1997):  
 F. de Callatāy, *L'histoire des guerres mithridatiques vue par les monnaies*. *Numismatica Lovaniensia* 18 (Paris, 1997).
- De Callatāy (2009):  
 F. De Callatāy, 'The First Royal Coinages of Pontus. From Mithridates III to Mithridates V', in J. M. Højte (ed.), *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*. *Black Sea Studies* 9 (Aarhus, 2009), p. 59–90.
- De Callatāy & Lorber (2011):  
 F. de Callatāy, and C. C. Lorber, 'The Pattern of Royal Epithets on Hellenistic Coinages', in P. P. Iossif, A. S. Chankowski, C. C. Lorber (eds.), *More than Men, Less than Gods: Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship: Proceedings of the International Colloquium Organized by the Belgian School at Athens (November 1–2, 2007)*. *Studia Hellenistica* 51 (Leuven, 2011), p. 417–455.

- Debord (1982):  
P. Debord, *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie Gréco-Romaine*. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain 88e (Leiden, 1982).
- Debord (1986):  
P. Debord, 'La survie des cultes iraniens en Anatolie', in *Les grandes figures religieuses: fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'antiquité*. Besançon 25–26 Avril 1984. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 329 (Paris, 1986), p. 85–91.
- De Certeau (1990):  
M. de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien, 1: arts de faire*, ed. L. Giard (Paris, 1990).
- Defernez (2010):  
C. Defernez, 'Quatre vases Bès provenant de Tell el-Herr (Nord-Sinai)', in *ENIM* 3 (2010), p. 109–136.
- De Jong (1997):  
A. de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi: Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin Literature*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 133 (New York, 1997).
- De Jong (2003):  
A. de Jong, 'Vexillologica sacra: Searching the Cultic Banner', in C. G. Cereti, M. Maggi, E. Provasi (eds.), *Religious Themes and Texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday on 6th December 2002*. Beiträge zur Iranistik 24 (Wiesbaden, 2003), p. 191–202.
- De Jong (2010):  
A. De Jong, 'Religion at the Achaemenid Court', in B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Der Achämenidenhof. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema "Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen", Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 23.–25. Mai 2007*. Classica et Orientalia 2 (Wiesbaden, 2010), p. 533–558.
- De Jong (2013):  
A. de Jong, 'Hatra and the Parthian Commonwealth', in L. Dirven (ed.), *Hatra. Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome* (Stuttgart, 2013), p. 143–160.
- De Jong (2014):  
A. de Jong, 'The Cologne Mani Codex and the Life of Zarathushtra', in G. Herman (ed.), *Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians. Religious Dynamics in a Sasanian Context* (Piscataway, 2014), p. 129–147.
- De Jong (2015a):  
A. De Jong, 'Religion and Politics in Pre-Islamic Iran', in M. Stausberg and Y. Vevaina (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* (Oxford, 2015), p. 85–101.
- De Jong (2015b):  
A. de Jong, 'Armenian and Georgian Zoroastrianism', in M. Stausberg and Y. Vevaina (eds.), *The Blackwell Companion to Zoroastrianism* (Oxford, 2015), p. 119–128.
- De la Vaissière (2008):  
E. de la Vaissière, *Islamisation de l'Asie Centrale. Processus locaux d'acculturation de VIIIe au XIe siècle*. Cahiers de Studia Iranica 39 (Leuven, 2008).
- Della Torre (1700):  
F. Della Torre / P. a Turre), 'De Mithra eiusque tabulis symbolicis', in *Monumenta veteris Antii* (Rome, 1700; 3rd edn; Rome, 1724), p. 157–252.
- Del Monte (1997):  
G. F. Del Monte, *Testi dalla Babilonia Ellenistica I: Testi cronografici* (Pisa and Rome, 1997).
- Demandt (1980):  
A. Demandt, 'Spengler und die Spätantike', in *Ludz* (1980), p. 25–49.
- Demandt (2014):  
A. Demandt, *Der Fall Roms. Die Auflösung des Römischen Reiches im Urteil der Nachwelt* (München, 2014).
- Demandt and Farrenkopf (1994):  
A. Demandt and J. Farrenkopf (eds.), *Der Fall Spengler. Eine kritische Bilanz* (Cologne, 1994).

- Demargne (1974):  
P. Demargne, *Tombes-maisons, tombes rupestres et sarcophages. Fouilles de Xanthos V* (Paris, 1974).
- Den Boeft *et al.* (2000):  
J. den Boeft, J. W. Drijvers, D. den Hengst, H. C. Teitler, *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus XXIII* (Groningen, 2000).
- De Menasce (1967):  
J. De Menasce, 'Problèmes des Mazdéens dans l'Iran musulman', in G. Wiessner (ed.), *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers* (Wiesbaden, 1967), p. 220–30.
- Dench (1995):  
E. Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman, and Modern Perceptions of Peoples of the Central Apennines*. Oxford Classical Monographs (Oxford and New York, 1995).
- De Planhol (1999):  
X. de Planhol, 'Fārs i: Geography', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica IX*(3) (New York, 1999), p. 331–334.
- Derakhshani (1999):  
J. Derakhshani, *Die Arier in den nahöstlichen Quellen des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. VChr. Grundzüge der Vor- und Frühgeschichte Irans* (Teheran, 1999).
- De Thévenot (1674):  
J. De Thévenot, *Suite du voyage de Levant, dans laquelle après plusieurs remarques tres-singulieres sur des particularitez de l'Egypte, de la Syrie, de la Mesopotamie, de l'Euphrate et du Tygre, il est traité de la Perse, et autres Estats sujets au Roy de Perse, ainsi que de sa cour, et des religions, gouvernements, moeurs, forces, langues, sciences, arts et coùtumes des peuples de ce grand empire, et aussi des antiquitez de Tchehelminar et autres lieux vers l'ancienne Persepolis. Et particulièrement de la route exacte de ce grand voyage, tant par terre en Turquie et en Perse, que par mer dans la Méditerranée, Golfe Persique et Mer des Indes. Seconde partie* (Paris, 1674).
- Devauchelle (1995):  
D. Devauchelle, 'Le sentiment anti-perses chez les anciens Égyptiens', in *Transeuphratène* 9 (1995), p. 67–80.
- Develin and Yardley (1994):  
R. Develin and J.C. Yardley, *Justin, Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus* (Atlanta, 1994).
- Devine (1987):  
A. M. Devine, 'The Battle of Hydaspes: A Tactical and Source-Critical Study', in *AW* 16.3–4 (1987), p. 91–113.
- Dhalla (1938):  
M. N. Dhalla, *History of Zoroastrianism* (New York, 1938).
- Diakonoff (1979):  
I. Diakonoff, 'Artemidi Anaëiti anastesen', in *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 54 (1979), p. 139–188.
- Diakonoff and Livshits (1977–2001):  
I. M. Diakonoff and V. A. Livshits, *Parthian Economic Documents from Nisa* (6 vols; London, 1977–2001).
- Diba (1998):  
L. S. Diba (ed.), *Royal Persian Paintings. The Qajar Epoch 1785–1925* (Brooklyn and London, 1998).
- Diba (2005):  
L. S. Diba, 'An Encounter Between Qajar Iran and the West. The Rashtrapati Bhavan Painting of Fath 'Ali Shah at the Hunt', in D. Behrens-Abouseif and S. Vernoit (ed.), *Islamic Art in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism* (Leiden and Boston, 2005), p. 281–304.
- Dignas (2003):  
B. Dignas, *The Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* (Oxford, 2003).

- Dignas and Winter (2007).  
 B. Dignas and E. Winter, *Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity: Neighbours and Rivals* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Dihle (2009):  
 A. Dihle, *Hellas und der Orient. Phasen wechselseitiger Rezeption* (Berlin, 2009).
- Dillen (2014):  
 R. Dillen 'Coins of Commagene', in H.A.G. Brijder, *Nemrud Dağı. Recent Archaeological Research and Conservation Activities in the Tomb Sanctuary on Mount Nemrud* (Boston and Berlin, 2014), p. 533–562.
- Dinkler (2010):  
 D. Dinkler, 'Die Rekonstruktion von eng anliegenden, antiken Bekleidungsstücken', in *Mannheimer Geschichtsblätter* 9 (2010), p. 147–157.
- Dirven (1999):  
 L. Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos. A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria*. Studies in Graeco-Roman Religion 138 (Leiden and Boston, 1999).
- Dirven (forthcoming):  
 L. Dirven, 'The Battle between Good and Evil in the Huarte Mithraeum: Painted Testimonies to Mithraic and Manichaean Interaction in Late Antiquity' (paper delivered at Naples, January 2015).
- Dmitriev (2006):  
 S. Dmitriev, 'Cappadocian dynastic rearrangements on the eve of the first Mithridatic war', in *Historia* 55 (2006), p. 285–297.
- Dobesch (1980):  
 G. Dobesch, *Die Kelten in Österreich nach den ältesten Berichten der Antike* (Vienna 1980).
- Dopsch (1923–1924):  
 A. Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der europäischen Kulturentwicklung aus der Zeit von Caesar bis auf Karl den Großen* (2 vols; Vienna, 1923–1924).
- Dover (1978):  
 K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, MA, 1978).
- Downey (1941):  
 G. Downey, 'The Seleucids: The Theory of Monarchy', in *The Greek Political Experience: Essays in Honour of William Kelly Prentice* (London, 1941), p. 162–172.
- Dörner (1981):  
 F.K. Dörner, *Kommagene – Götterthron und Königsgräber am Euphrat*, Neue Entdeckungen der Archäologie (Bergisch Gladbach, 1981).
- Dörner (1996):  
 F.K. Dörner, 'Epigraphy Analysis', in D.H. Sanders (ed.), *Nemrud Dağı: The Hierothesion of Antiochus I. of Commagene: Results of the American Excavations Directed by Theresa B. Goell I* (2 vols.; Winona Lake, IND, 1996), p. 361–377.
- Dörner and Goell (1963):  
 F.K. Dörner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios. Die Ausgrabungen im Hierothesion des Mithradates Kallinikos von 1953–1956*. Istanbuler Forschungen 23 (Berlin, 1963).
- Dörner and Naumann (1939):  
 F.K. Dörner and R. Naumann, *Forschungen in Kommagene*. Istanbuler Forschungen 10 (Berlin, 1939).
- Dörner and Young (1996):  
 F.K. Dörner and J.H. Young, 'Sculpture and Inscription Catalogue', in D.H. Sanders (ed.), *The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene I* (Winona Lake, 1996), p. 175–360.
- Draycott (2010):  
 C.M. Draycott, 'Convoy Commanders and Other Military Identities in Tomb Art of Western Anatolia around the Time of the Persian Wars', in *Bollettino di Archeologia on line* 1 (2010), p. 7–23.

- Drews (1973):  
R. Drews, *The Greek Accounts of Eastern History* (Cambridge MA, 1973).
- Dreyer (2007):  
B. Dreyer, *Die römische Nobilitätsherrschaft und Antiochos III. (205 bis 188 v. Chr.)*. Frankfurter Althistorische Beiträge 11 (Hennef, 2007).
- Drijvers (1998):  
J. W. Drijvers, 'Strabo on Parthia and the Parthians'. In J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1998), 279–293.
- Droysen (1833):  
J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte Alexanders des Großen* (Berlin, 1833).
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J. (1978a):  
J. Duchesne-Guillemin (ed.), *Études mithriaques: Actes du 2e Congrès international, Téhéran, 1er–8me septembre 1975*. Acta Iranica 1.4 (Leiden, 1978).
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J. (1982):  
J. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'Ahriman', in E. Yarshater et al. (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* I(6/7) (London, 1982; updated version online at [www.iranica.com](http://www.iranica.com) [2014]), p. 670–673.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J. (1984):  
J. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'Der "Persepolis" teppich', in *Antaios* 5 (1984), 551–561.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, M. (1978b):  
M. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'Une statuette équestre de Mithra', in id. (ed.), *Études mithriaques: Actes du 2e Congrès international, Téhéran, 1er–8me septembre 1975*. Acta Iranica 1.4 (Leiden, 1978), 187–189.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, M. (1982):  
M. Duchesne-Guillemin, 'Une seconde statuette équestre de Mithra', in U. Bianchi and M. J. Vermaseren (eds.), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' Impero Romano. Atti del colloquio internazionale, Roma, 24–28 Settembre 1979*. EPROER 92 (Leiden, 1982), 168–170.
- Dueck (2000):  
E. Dueck, *Strabo of Amaseia: A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (London and New York, 2000).
- Duerr (1993):  
H. P. Duerr, *Obszönität und Gewalt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1993).
- Duling (1983):  
D. C. Duling, 'Testament of Solomon. First to Third Century A. D.', in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Volume I: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (New York, 1983), p. 935–987.
- Dunbabin (1957):  
T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and Their Eastern Neighbours. Studies in the Relations Between Greece and the Countries of the Near East in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C.* (London, 1957).
- Dusinberre (1999):  
E. Dusinberre, 'Satrapal Sardis: Achaemenid Bowls in an Achaemenid Capital', in *AJA* 103 (1999), p. 73–102.
- Dusinberre (2003):  
E. R. M. Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge, 2003).
- Dusinberre (2010):  
E. R. M. Dusinberre, 'Anatolian Crossroads: Achaemenid Seals From Sardis and Gordion', in J. Curtis and S. J. Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East* (London, 2010), p. 323–336.
- Dusinberre (2013):  
E. R. M. Dusinberre, *Empire, Authority and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia* (Cambridge, 2013).
- Ebeling (1925):  
H. L. Ebeling, 'The Persians of Timotheus', in *AJPh* 46 (1925), 317–331.



- Eckhardt (2008):  
 B. Eckhardt, 'Herodes der Große als Antiochos redivivus in apokrypher und josephischer Deutung. Mit einem Ausblick auf eine konstruktivistische Herodesforschung', in *Klio* 90 (2008), p. 360–373.
- Eckhardt (2009):  
 B. Eckhardt, 'Reclaiming tradition. The book of Judith and Hasmonean politics', in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 18 (2009), p. 243–263.
- Eckhardt (2013):  
 B. Eckhardt, *Ethnos und Herrschaft. Politische Figurationen jüdischer Identität von Antiochos III. bis Herodes I.* (Berlin, 2013).
- Eckhardt (2015):  
 B. Eckhardt, 'Achaemenid Religious Policy after the Seleucid Decline: Case Studies in Political Memory and Near Eastern Dynastic Representation', in J. Silverman and C. Waerzeggers (eds.), *Political Memory in and After the Persian Empire* (Atlanta, 2015), p. 269–298.
- Eddy (1962):  
 S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead: Studies in Near Eastern Resistance to Hellenism, 334–31 BC* (Lincoln, 1961).
- Edelman (2005):  
 D. Edelman, *The Origins of the 'Second' Temple. Persian Imperial Policy and the Rebuilding of Jerusalem* (London, 2005).
- Edsman (1949):  
 C. M. Edsman, *Ignis divinus: le feu comme moyen de rajeunissement et d'immortalité. Contes, legends, mythes et rites* (Lund, 1949).
- Edson (1958):  
 C. Edson, 'Imperium Macedonicum. The Seleucid Empire and the literary evidence', in *Classical Philology* 53 (1958), p. 153–170.
- Ego (2010):  
 B. Ego, 'The Book of Esther: A Hellenistic Book', in *JAJ* 1 (2010), p. 279–302.
- Ehling (2001):  
 K. Ehling, 'Mithras equitans auf den kaiserzeitlichen Münzen von Trapezunt', in *EA* 33 (2001), p. 129–133.
- Ellerbrock and Winkelmann (2012):  
 U. Ellerbrock and S. Winkelmann, *Die Parther. Die vergessene Großmacht* (Darmstadt, 2012).
- El-Masry, Altenmüller, Thissen (2012):  
 Y. El-Masry, H. Altenmüller and H. J. Thissen, *Das Synodeldekret von Alexandria aus dem Jahre 243 v. Chr.* (Hamburg, 2012).
- Engels (2007):  
 D. Engels, "'Wir leben heute zwischen den Zeiten.'" Die "Jahre der Entscheidung" und die Krise des 20. Jahrhunderts im Geschichtsbild Oswald Spenglers', in H. Scholten (ed.), *Die Wahrnehmung von Krisenphänomenen. Fallbeispiele von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit* (Cologne, 2007), p. 223–249.
- Engels (2008):  
 D. Engels, 'Cicéron comme proconsul en Cilicie et la guerre contre les Parthes', in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 86 (2008), p. 23–45.
- Engels (2009):  
 D. Engels, "'Ducunt fata volentem, nolentem trahunt". Spengler, Hegel und das Problem der Willensfreiheit im Geschichtsdeterminismus', in *Saeculum* 59 (2009), p. 269–98.
- Engels (2011):  
 D. Engels, 'Middle Eastern "Feudalism" and Seleukid Dissolution', in K. Erickson and G. Ramsey (eds.), *Seleucid Dissolution: The Sinking of the Anchor*. *Philippika* 50 (Wiesbaden, 2011), p. 19–36.
- Engels (2013):  
 D. Engels, 'A New Frataraka Chronology', in *Latomus* 72 (2013), p. 28–82.

- Engels (2014a):  
D. Engels, 'Antiochos III der Große und sein Reich. Überlegungen zur "Feudalisierung" der seleukidischen Peripherie', in F. Hoffmann and K. S. Schmidt (eds.), *Orient und Okzident in hellenistischer Zeit* (Vaterstetten, 2014), p. 31–75.
- Engels (2014b):  
D. Engels, 'Historising Religion between Spiritual Continuity and Friendly Takeover. Salvation History and Religious Competition During the First Millenium AD', in D. Engels and P. Van Nuffelen (eds.), *Religion and Competition in Antiquity* (Brussels, 2014), p. 237–284.
- Engels (2014c):  
D. Engels, "'Je veux être calife à la place du calife?'" Überlegungen zur Funktion der Titel "Großkönig" und "König der Könige" vom 3. zum 1. Jh. v. Chr.', in V. Cojocaru and A. Coskun (eds.), *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and the Roman Periods* (Cluj-Napoca, 2014), p. 333–362.
- Engels (2015a):  
D. Engels (ed.), *Biologismus und Zyklizität in der Geschichtsphilosophie von der Antike bis zur Moderne* (Brussels, 2015).
- Engels (2015b):  
D. Engels, 'Construction de normes et morphologie culturelle. Empire romain, chinois, sassanide et fatimide: une comparaison historique', in T. Itgenshorst and P. Le Doze (eds.), *Les fabriques de la norme* (Bordeaux, 2015, forthcoming).
- Engels (in press):  
D. Engels, 'The Achaemenid and the Seleucid Court. Structural Continuities, Personal Changes', in A. Erskine and L. Llewellyn-Jones (eds.), *The Hellenistic Royal Court* (Swansea and Oxford, in press).
- Erickson (2011):  
K. Erickson, 'Apollo-Nabû: The Babylonian Policy of Antiochus I', in K. Erickson and G. Ramsey (ed.), *Seleucid Dissolution. The Sinking of the Anchor* (Wiesbaden, 2011), p. 51–65.
- Enßlin (1933):  
W. Enßlin, Review of A. M. Harmon ed., *YCS 2* (1931), in *Philologische Wochenschrift* (1933), p. 266–276.
- Erickson (2013):  
K. Erickson, 'Seleucus I, Zeus and Alexander', in: L. Mitchell and C. Melville (eds.), *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds. Rulers & Elites 5* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 109–128.
- Erickson and Wright (2011):  
K. Erickson and N. L. Wright, 'The "Royal Archer" and Apollo in the East: Greco-Persian Iconography in the Seleucid Empire', in N. Holmes (ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Numismatic Congress in Glasgow, August 30-September 3* (Glasgow, 2011), p. 163–168.
- Erskine (2003):  
A. Erskine, *Troy between Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 2003).
- Ettinghausen (1969):  
R. Ettinghausen, 'A Case of Traditionalism in Iranian Art', in O. Aslanapa and R. Naumann (eds.), *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens. In Memoriam Kurt Erdmann, 9 September 1901–30 September 1964* (Istanbul, 1969), p. 88–110.
- Esler (2009):  
P. F. Esler, 'Judean Ethnic Identity in Josephus' *Against Apion*', in Z. Rodgers et al. (eds.), *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Séan Freyne* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), p. 73–91.
- Euphronios (1991):  
*Euphronios der Maler*. Exhibition Catalogue. Berlin, Antikenmuseum (Berlin, 1991).
- Facella (2005):  
M. Facella, 'Φιλορώμαιοι καὶ Φιλέλλην: Roman Perception of Commagenian Royalty', in O. Hekster and R. Fowler (eds.), *Imagining Kings: From Persia to Rome*. *Oriens et Occidens 11* (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 87–103.

- Facella (2006):  
M. Facella, *La dinastia degli Orontidi nella Commagene ellenistico-romana*. Studi ellenistici 17 (Pisa, 2006).
- Facella (2009):  
M. Facella, 'Darius and the Achaemenids in Commagene' In P. Briant and M. Chauveau (eds.), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide: Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la 'Chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre' et le 'Reseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides'* (GDR 2538 CNRS), 9–10 novembre 2007. Persika 14 (Paris, 2009), p. 379–414.
- Facella (2010):  
M. Facella, 'Advantages and Disadvantages of an Allied Kingdom: The Case of Commagene', in T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*. Oriens et Occidens 19 (Stuttgart, 2010), p. 181–198.
- Fallah and Sabri (2013):  
M. Fallah and H. Sabri, 'The last Iranian bas-relief. The depiction of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar on the Harāz Road', in *Antiquity* 87.337 (2013), with the online Project Gallery at antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/fallah337/.
- Fant (1989):  
J. C. Fant, "Cavum antrum Phrygiae": *The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia*. BAR International Series 482 (Oxford, 1989).
- Farridnejad (2014):  
S. Farridnejad, *Die Sprache der Bilder: Eine Studie zur ikonographischen Exegese der anthropomorphen Götterbilder im Zoroastrismus* (PhD Thesis Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, 2014).
- Farrokh (2005):  
K. Farrokh, *Sassanian Elite Cavalry AD 224–642* (Oxford, 2005).
- Fauth (2006):  
W. Fauth, *Hekate Polymorphos: Wesensvarianten einer antiken Gottheit. Zwischen frühgriechischer Theogonie und spätantikem Synkretismus*. Altsprachliche Forschungsergebnisse 4 (Hamburg, 2006).
- Fauvelle-Aymard (2009):  
F. X. Fauvelle-Aymard, 'Les inscriptions d'Adoulis (Érythrée). Fragments d'un royaume d'influence hellénistique et gréco-romain sur la côte africaine de la mer Rouge', in *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale* 109 (2009), p. 135–160.
- Favard-Meeks and Meeks (2010):  
C. Favard-Meeks and D. Meeks, 'Les corps osiriens: du Papyrus du Delta au temple de Behbeit', in L. Coulon (ed.), *Le culte d'Osiris au I<sup>er</sup> millénaire av.J.-C.* (Cairo, 2010), p. 39–48.
- Feeney (1998):  
D. Feeney, *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs* (Cambridge, MA, 1998).
- Feldman (1965):  
L. H. Feldman, *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities Books 18–20* (LCL) (2 vols; Cambridge, MA, 1965).
- Feldman (1998):  
L. H. Feldman, *Studies in Josephus' Rewritten Bible* (Leiden and Boston, 1998).
- Felken (1988):  
D. Felken, *Oswald Spengler. Konservativer Denker zwischen Kaiserreich und Diktatur* (München, 1988).
- Feraco (2004):  
F. Feraco, *Ammiano Geografo. La digressione sulla Persia* (23, 6). Studi Latini 54 (Napoli 2004).
- Feraco (2011):  
F. Feraco, *Ammiano Geografo. Nuovi studi*. Studi Latini 76 (Napoli, 2011).

- Ferrary (2011):  
J.L. Ferrary, 'La Géographie de l'hellénisme sous la domination romaine', in *Phoenix* 65 (2011), p. 1–22.
- Finkelstein (2008):  
I. Finkelstein, 'Jerusalem in the Persian (and early Hellenistic) period and the wall of Nehemiah', in *JSOT* 32 (2008), p. 501–520.
- Finkelstein (2011):  
I. Finkelstein, 'Geographical Lists in Ezra and Nehemiah in the Light of Archaeology: Persian or Hellenistic?', in L.L. Grabbe and O. Lipschits (eds.), *Judah between East and West. The Transition from Persian to Greek Rule (ca. 400–200 BCE)* (London, 2011), p. 49–69.
- Fischer (1971):  
Th. Fischer, "King Kamniskirès" ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΚΑΜΝΙΣΚ(Ε)ΙΠΟΥ', in *Chiron* 1 (1971), p. 169–175.
- Fischer (1989):  
K. P. Fischer, *History and Prophecy. Oswald Spengler and the Decline of the West* (New York, 1989).
- Fisher (2013):  
G. Fisher, *Between Empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2011).
- Fitzpatrick-MacKinley (2015):  
A. Fitzpatrick-MacKinley, *Empire, Power and Indigenous Elites. A Case Study of the Nehemiah Memoir* (Leiden and Boston, 2015).
- Flamerie de Lachapelle (2010):  
G. Flamerie de Lachapelle, 'L'image des rois hellénistiques dans l'œuvre de Florus', in *Arctos* 44 (2010), p. 109–122.
- Fleischer (1996):  
R. Fleischer, 'Hellenistic Royal Iconography on Coins', in P. Bilde *et al.* (eds.), *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship. Studies in Hellenistic Civilization* 7 (Aarhus, 1996), p. 28–40.
- Folmer (1995):  
M. L. Folmer, *The Aramaic Language in the Achaemenid Period: A Study in Linguistic Variation* (Leuven, 1995).
- Fontana *et al.* (2012):  
M. V. Fontana, S. M. Mireskandari, M. Rugiadi, A. A. Asadi, A. M. Jaia, A. Blanco, L. Colliva, 'Estrakhr Project: First Preliminary Report of the Joint Mission of the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, the Parsa-Pasargadae Research Foundation and the Sapienza University of Rome, Italy', in *Vicino Oriente* 16 (2012), p. 167–180.
- Fowden (1993):  
G. Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, NJ, 1993).
- Fowler (2005):  
R. Fowler, "Most Fortunate Roots": Tradition and Legitimacy in Parthian Royal Ideology', in O. Hekster and R. Fowler (eds.), *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome* (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 125–155.
- Fowler (2007):  
R. Fowler, 'Kingship and Banditry: The Parthian Empire and Its Western Subjects', in T. Rajak *et al.* (eds.), *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers* (Berkeley, 2007), p. 147–162.
- Fowler (2010):  
R. Fowler, 'King, Bigger King, King of Kings: Structuring Power in the Parthian World', in T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East* (Stuttgart, 2010), p. 57–77.
- Fragner (1999):  
B. Fragner, *Die "Persophonie": Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens* (Halle, 1999).

- Frame (1995):  
G. Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia From the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157–612 BC)* (Toronto, 1995).
- Francfort, Ligabu, Samashev (2006):  
H.-P. Francfort, G. Ligabu and Z. Samashev, 'The Gold of the Griffins: Excavation of a Frozen Tomb in Kazakhstan', in J. Aruz, A. Farkas and E. Valtz Fino (eds.), *The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Perspectives on the Steppe Nomads of the Ancient World* (New York, 2006), p. 114–127.
- Francis (1975):  
E. D. Francis, 'Mithraic graffiti from Dura-Europos', in J. R. Hinnells, *Mithraic Studies 2* (1975), p. 424–445.
- Francklin (1788):  
W. Francklin, *Observations Made on a Tour from Bengal to Persia, in the Years 1786–1787. With a Short Account of the Remains of the Celebrated Palace of Persepolis and Other Interesting Events* (Calcutta, 1788).
- Franks (2009):  
H. M. Franks, 'Hunting the Eschata. An imagined Persian Empire on the lekythos of Xenophantos', in *Hesperia* 78 (2009), p. 455–480.
- Fraser (1825):  
J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasān in the Years 1821 and 1822. Including Some Account of the Countries to the North-East of Persia. With Remarks upon the National Character, Government, and Resources of that Kingdom* (London, 1825).
- Fredericksmeyer (2000):  
E. Fredericksmeyer, 'Alexander the Great and the Kingdom of Asia', in A. B. Bosworth and E. J. Baynham (eds.), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (Oxford, 2000), p. 136–165.
- Federici (2014):  
F. M. Federici, 'A Servant of Two Masters: The Translator Michel Angelo Corai as a Tuscan Diplomat (1599–1609)', in F. M. Federici and D. Tessicini (eds.), *Translators, Interpreters, and Cultural Negotiators: Mediating and Communicating Power from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era* (New York, 2014), p. 81–104.
- Fredericksmeyer (2000):  
E. Fredericksmeyer, 'Alexander the Great and the Kingdom of Asia', in A. B. Bosworth and E. J. Baynham (eds.), *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction* (Oxford, 2000), p. 136–65.
- French (1996):  
D. H. French, 'Amasian notes 5: The temenos of Zeus Stratiotes at Yassağal', in *EA* 27 (1996), p. 75–92.
- Fried (2002):  
L. Fried, 'Cyrus the Messiah? The historical background to Isaiah 45:1', in *Harvard Theological Review* 95 (2002), p. 373–393.
- Frood (2010):  
E. Frood, 'Horkhebi's Decree and the Development of Priestly Inscriptional Practices in Karnak', in L. Bareš, F. Coppens and K. Smoláriková (eds), *Egypt in Transition. Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE. Proceedings of an International Conference. Prague, September 2009* (Prague, 2010), p. 103–128.
- Frye (1962a):  
R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (London, 1962).
- Frye (1962b):  
R. N. Frye, 'Some Early Sasanian Titles', in *Oriens* 15 (1962), p. 352–359.
- Frye (1964):  
R. N. Frye, 'The charisma of kingship in ancient Iran', in *Iranica Antiqua* 4 (1964), p. 36–54.
- Frye (1985):  
R. N. Frye, 'Two Iranian Notes', in *Papers in Honour of Prof. M. Boyce I. Acta Iranica* 24 (2 vols; Leiden, 1985), p. 185–190.

- Frye (1988):  
R. N. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia: The Arabs in the East* (London, 1988).
- Frye (1993):  
R. N. Frye, 'Iranian Identity in Ancient Times', in *Iranian Studies* 26.1–2 (1993), p. 144–145.
- Frye (1996):  
R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Central Asia: From Antiquity to the Turkish Expansion* (Princeton, NJ, 1996).
- Funck (1996):  
B. Funck, "'König Perserfreund". Die Seleukiden in der Sicht ihrer Nachbarn. Beobachtungen zu einigen ptolemäischen Zeugnissen des 4. und 3. Jhs. v. Chr.', in B. Funck (ed.), *Hellenismus. Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und politischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters* (Tübingen, 1996), p. 195–215.
- Gabelko (2009):  
O. Gabelko, 'The Dynastic History of the Hellenistic Monarchies of Asia Minor according to the Chronography of George Synkellos', in *Munk Højte* (2009), p. 47–62.
- Gantz (1993):  
T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth. A Guide to the Literary and Artistic Sources* (Baltimore, 1993).
- Gardner (1984):  
A. E. Gardner, 'The relationship of the additions to the Book of Esther to the Maccabean crisis', in *JSJ* 15 (1984), p. 1–8.
- Gardner et al. (2007):  
I. Gardner et al. (eds.), *Kellis Literary Texts*, 2. Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 15 (Oxford, 2007).
- Gariboldi (2004):  
A. Gariboldi, 'Royal Ideological Patterns between Seleucid and Parthian Coins. The Case of θεοπάτωρ', in R. Rollinger and C. Ulf (eds.), *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World. Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction. Oriens et Occidens 6* (Stuttgart, 2004), p. 366–84.
- Gariboldi (2007):  
A. Gariboldi, 'Antioco I di Commagene sulle monete', in T. Gnoli and F. Muccioli (eds.), *Incontri tra culture nell'oriente Ellenistico e Romano: Ravenna 11–12 marzo 2005* (Milano, 2007), p. 133–138.
- Garrison and Cool Root (2001):  
M. B. Garrison and M. Cool Root, *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, I: Images of Heroic Encounter* (Chicago, 2001).
- Garsoïan (1967):  
N. G. Garsoïan, *The Paulician Heresy. The Study of the Origin and Development of Paulicianism in Armenia and the Eastern Provinces of the Byzantine Empire* (The Hague, 1967).
- Garthwaite (2007):  
G. R. Garthwaite, *The Persians* (Malden, Oxford, Carlton, 2004; 2nd edn 2007).
- Gasimov and Lemke Duque (2013):  
Z. Gasimov and C. A. Lemke Duque (eds.), *Oswald Spengler als europäisches Phänomen* (Göttingen, 2013).
- Gaslain (2003):  
J. Gaslain, 'De l'esclave à la reine. Remarques sur la présence féminine dans le monde parthe', in *De Kémi à Birt Nāri* 1 (2003), p. 100–111.
- Gauger (1977):  
J. D. Gauger, *Beiträge zur jüdischen Apologetik. Untersuchungen zur Authentizität von Urkunden bei Flavius Josephus und im I. Makkabäerbuch* (Köln, 1977).
- Gauger (1990):  
J. D. Gauger, 'Überlegungen zum Programm Antiochos' III. für den Tempel und die Stadt Jerusalem (Jos. Ant. Jud. 12.145–146) und zum Problem jüdischer Listen', in *Hermes* 118 (1990), p. 150–164.

- Gauger (2000):  
J.D. Gauger, *Authentizität und Methode. Untersuchungen zum historischen Wert des persisch-griechischen Herrscherbriefs in literarischer Tradition*. Studien zur Geschichtsforschung des Altertums 6 (Hamburg, 2000).
- Gauger (2002):  
J.D. Gauger, 'Der "Tod des Verfolgers": Überlegungen zur Historizität eines Topos', in *JSJ* 33 (2002), p. 42–64.
- Gauger (2007):  
J.D. Gauger, 'Antiochos III. und Artaxerxes. Der Fremdherrscher als Wohltäter', in *JSJ* 38 (2007), p. 196–225.
- Gawlikowski (2007):  
M. Gawlikowski, 'The Mithraeum at Hawarte and its paintings', in *JRA* 20 (2007), p. 337–361.
- Gehrke (1982):  
H.J. Gehrke, 'Der siegreiche König. Überlungen zur Hellenistischen Monarchie', in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 64.2 (1982), p. 247–277.
- Geiger (1882):  
W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum* (Erlangen, 1882).
- Gelzer, Hilgenfeld, Cuntz (1995):[1889]  
H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld and O. Cuntz, *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina Latine, Graece, Coptice, Syriace, Arabice, Armeniace* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1995 [1889]).
- Gemelli Careri (1699):  
G.F. Gemelli Careri, *Giro del mondo del dottor D. Gio. Francesco Gemelli Careri. Parte seconda: Contente le cose più ragguardevoli vedute nella Persia* (Napoli, 1699).
- Georges (1994):  
P. Georges, *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience from the Archaic Period to the Age of Xenophon* (London, 1994).
- Georgiadou and Larmour (1994):  
A. Georgiadou and D.H.J. Larmour, 'Lucian and Historiography: *De historia conscribenda* and *Veræ historiae*', in *ANRW* II.34.2 (1994), p. 1448–1509.
- Gera (1993):  
D.L. Gera, *Xenophon's Cyropaedia: Style, Genre and Literary Technique* (Oxford, 1993).
- Gera (2014):  
D. Gera, 'The Seleucid Road Towards the Religious Persecution of the Jews', in M.F. Baslez and O. Munnich (eds.), *La mémoire des persécutions. Autour des livres des Maccabées* (Paris, 2014), p. 21–57.
- Gershevitch (1959):  
I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959).
- Gervers-Molnár (1973):  
V. Gervers-Molnár, *The Hungarian Szür, an Archaic Mantel of Eurasian Origin*, Royal Ontario Museum – History, Technology and Art Monograph 1 (Toronto, 1973).
- Ghirshman (1964):  
R. Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran from its Origins to the Time of Alexander the Great*. Translated by S. Gilbert and J. Emmons (New York, 1964).
- Gignoux (1983):  
Ph. Gignoux, 'La chasse dans l'Iran sassanide', in G. Gnoli (ed.), *Iranian Studies*. *Orientalia Romana* 5 (Rome, 1983), p. 101–118.
- Gignoux (1991):  
Ph. Gignoux, *Les quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdīr. Textes et concordances*. *Studia Iranica* 2.1 (Paris, 1991).
- Gignoux and Tafazzoli (1993):  
Ph. Gignoux and A. Tafazzoli (eds., transl.), *Wiz̄daḡthā ī Zādspram, Anthologie de Zādspram* (Paris, 1993).

- Gil (2012):  
L. Gil, 'The Embassy of Don García de Silva y Figueroa to Shah 'Abbas I', in W. Floor and E. Herzog (eds.), *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age* (London and New York, 2012), p. 161–180.
- Gnoli (1989):  
G. Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on Its Origin* (Rome, 1989).
- Gnoli (1993):  
G. Gnoli, *Iran als religiöser Begriff im Mazdaismus* (Opladen, 1993).
- Gnoli (1994):  
G. Gnoli, 'Iranic Identity as a Historical Problem: The Beginnings of a National Awareness Under the Achaemenians', in *The East and the Meaning of History. International Conference (23–27 November 1992)* (Rome, 1994), p. 147–167.
- Gnoli (1998):  
G. Gnoli, 'L'Iran tardoantico e la regalità sassanide', in *Mediterraneo Antico* 1 (1998), p. 115–39.
- Gnoli (2002):  
G. Gnoli, 'The "Aryan" language', in *JSAI* 26 (2002), p. 84–90.
- Gnoli (2007):  
T. Gnoli, *The Interplay of Roman and Iranian Titles in the East* (Vienna, 2007).
- Golden (1975):  
L. Golden, 'Plato's concept of mimesis', in *British Journal of Aesthetics* 15 (1975), p. 118–131.
- Goldhill (1990):  
S. Goldhill, 'The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology', in J.J. Winkler and F.J. Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing To Do With Dionysos?* (Princeton, 1990), p. 97–129.
- Goldman (1993):  
B. Goldman, 'Darius III, the Alexander Mosaic, and the Tiara Ortho', in *Mesopotamia* 28 (1993), p. 51–69.
- González De Clavijo (1582):  
R. González De Clavijo, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan e Itinerario y Enarracion del Viage, y relacion de la Embaxada que Ruy Gonçalez de Clavijo le hizo, por mandado del muy poderoso Señor Rey Don Henrique el Tercero de Castilla* (Sevilla, 1582).
- Gorbunova (1997):  
X. Gorbunova, 'Arimaspoi', in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* VIII. Supplement (Zürich, München, Düsseldorf, 1997), p. 529–534.
- Gordon (1975):  
R.L. Gordon, 'Franz Cumont and the Doctrines of Mithraism', in J.R. Hinnells (ed.), *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* (Manchester, 1975), p. 215–248.
- Gordon (1977–1978):  
R.L. Gordon, 'The date and significance of CIMRM 595 (British Museum, Townley Collection)', in *JMS* 2.2 (1977–1978), p. 148–174.
- Gordon (1994):  
R.L. Gordon, 'Who worshipped Mithras?', in *JRA* 7 (1994), 459–474.
- Gordon (1996):  
R.L. Gordon, *Image and Value in the Graeco-Roman World* (Aldershot, 1996).
- Gordon (1998):  
R.L. Gordon, 'Viewing Mithraic Art: The Altar From Burginatum (Kalkar), Germania Inferior', in *Antigüedad: Religiones y Sociedades* 1 (1998), p. 227–258.
- Gordon (2001):  
R.L. Gordon, 'Trajets de Mithra en Syrie romaine', in *TOIIOI* 11.1 (2001 [2004]), p. 77–136.
- Gordon (2007):  
R.L. Gordon, 'Institutionalised Religious Options: Mithraism', in J. Rüpke (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Roman Religion* (Malden and Oxford, 2007), p. 392–405.



- Gordon (2012):  
 R. L. Gordon, 'Individuality, Selfhood and Power in the Second Century. The Mystagogue as a Mediator of Religious Options', in J. Rüpke and G. Woolf (eds.), *Religious Dimensions of the Self in the Second Century CE*. Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 76 (Tübingen, 2012), p. 146–172.
- Gordon (2013):  
 R. L. Gordon, 'On Typologies and History. "Orphic Themes" in Mithraism', in G. Sfameni Gasparro, A. Cosentino and M. Monaca (eds.), *Religion in the History of European Culture. Proceedings of the Ninth EASR Conference and IAHR Special Conference, Messina 14–17 Sept. 2009*. Biblioteca dell'Officina di Studi Medievali 16 (Palermo, 2013), p. 1023–1048.
- Gordon (2014):  
 R. L. Gordon, 'Coming to Terms with the "Oriental Religions of the Roman Empire"', in *Nu-men* 61 (2014), p. 657–672.
- Gordon (forthcoming):  
 R. L. Gordon, "'Den Jungstier auf den goldenen Schultern zu tragen". Mythos, Ritual und Jenseitsvorstellungen im Mithraskult', in K. Waldner, W. Spickermann and R. L. Gordon (eds.), *Burial and Afterlife in the Roman Empire* (Stuttgart, forthcoming).
- Goukowsky (1978):  
 P. Goukowsky, *Essai sur les origines du mythe d'Alexandre (336–270 av.J.-C). I: Les origines politiques. II: Alexandre et Dionysos* (Nancy, 1978).
- Gozzoli (2006):  
 R. Gozzoli, *The Writings of History in Ancient Egypt During the First Millennium BC (ca. 1070–180 BC): Trends and Perspectives* (London, 2006).
- Grabbe (2004):  
 L. L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period. Volume 1: The Persian Period (539–331 BCE)* (London, 2004).
- Grabbe (2006):  
 L. L. Grabbe, 'The "Persian Documents" in the Book of Ezra: Are They Authentic?', in O. Lipschits and M. Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (Winona Lake, 2006), p. 531–570.
- Graf (1979):  
 D. F. Graf, *Medism: Greek Collaboration with Achaemenid Persia* (PhD dissertation: University of Michigan, 1979).
- Graf (1984):  
 D. F. Graf, 'Medism: The Origin and Significance of the Term', in *JHS* 104 (1984), p. 15–30.
- Graillot (1912):  
 H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'empire romain*. Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 1.107 (Paris, 1912).
- Grainger (2010):  
 J. D. Grainger, *The Syrian Wars* (Leiden and Boston, 2010).
- Grainger (2014):  
 J. D. Grainger, *The Rise of the Seleukid Empire: Pen and Sword* (Barnsley, 2014).
- Greatrex (1998):  
 G. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532* (Leeds, 1998).
- Grenet (2002):  
 F. Grenet, 'Regional Interaction in Central Asia and Northwest India in the Kidarite and Hephthalite Period', in N. Sims-Williams (ed.), *Indo-Iranian Languages and Peoples* (Oxford, 2002), p. 203–224.
- Grenet (2003):  
 F. Grenet, Review of C. G. Cereti, M. Maggi, E. Provasi (eds.), *Religious Themes and Texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday on 6th December 2002*. Beiträge zur Iranistik 24 (Wiesbaden, 2003), in *Abstracta Iranica* 26 (2003), p. 71–72.

- Grenet (2005):  
 F. Grenet, 'Découverte d'un relief sassanide dans le Nord de l'Afghanistan (note d'information)', in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 149.1 (2005), p. 115–134.
- Grenet (2007):  
 F. Grenet, 'The Sasanian Relief at Rag-i Bibi', in J. Cribb and G. Hermann (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam* (Oxford, 2007), p. 243–267.
- Greatrex and Lieu (2002):  
 G. Greatrex and S.N.C. Lieu (eds.), *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars. Part II: AD 363–630* (London, 2002).
- Grenet, Lee, Martinez, Ory (2007):  
 F. Grenet, J. Lee, P. Martinez, F. Ory, 'The Sasanian Relief of Rag-i Bibi (Northern Afghanistan)', in J. Cribb and G. Herrmann (eds.), *After Alexander: Central Asia Before Islam. Proceedings of the British Academy* 133 (London, 2007), p. 243–267.
- Grigor (2009):  
 T. Grigor, *Building Iran. Modernism, Architecture and National Heritage Under the Pahlavi Monarchs* (New York, 2009).
- Grosrichard (1998):  
 A. Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East* (London and New York, 1998).
- Gruen (2005):  
 E. S. Gruen, 'Persia Through the Jewish Looking Glass', in *id.* (ed.), *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*. *Oriens et Occidens* 8 (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 90–104.
- Gruen (2006):  
 E. S. Gruen, 'Novella', in J. W. Rodgers and J. M. Lieu (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies* (Oxford, 2006), p. 420–431.
- Gruen (2007):  
 E. S. Gruen, 'Persia Through the Jewish Looking-Glass', in T. Rajak *et al.* (eds.), *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers* (Berkeley, 2007), p. 53–75.
- Gruen (2010):  
 E. S. Gruen, 'Herodotus and Persia', in *id.* (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean: Issues and Debates* (Los Angeles, 2010), p. 67–85.
- Gruen (2011):  
 E. S. Gruen, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton and Oxford, 2011).
- Gundel and Gundel (1950):  
 W. and H. G. Gundel, 'Planeten', in *RE* 20.2 (1950), p. 2017–2185.
- Gunter (2009):  
 A. C. Gunter, *Greek Art and the Orient* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Günther (2011):  
 L. M. Günther, 'Herrscher als Götter: Götter als Herrscher? Zur Ambivalenz hellenistischer Münzbilder', in L. M. Günther and S. Plischke (eds.), *Studien zum vorhellenistischen und hellenistischen Herrscherkult. Verdichtung und Erweiterung von Traditionengeflechten*. *Oikumene* 9 (Berlin, 2011), p. 98–112.
- Gusmani (1964):  
 R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch, mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung* (Heidelberg, 1964).
- Gusmani (1982):  
 R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch. Ergänzungsband II: mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung* (Heidelberg, 1982).
- Gyselen (2006):  
 R. Gyselen, 'L'art sigillaire: Camées, sceaux et bulles', in F. Demange (ed.), *Les Perses sassanides: Fastes d'un empire publié (224–642)*. *Musée Cernuschi, Musée des Arts de l'Asie de la Ville de Paris, 15 septembre–30 décembre 2006* (Paris, 2006), p. 199–213.

- Gyselen (2010):  
 R. Gyselen, 'Romans and Sasanians in the Third Century: Propaganda Warfare and Ambiguous Imagery', in H. Börm and J. Wiesehöfer (eds.), *Commutatio et Contentio: Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East in Memory of Zeev Rubin*. Reihe Geschichte 3 (Düsseldorf, 2010), p. 71–87, plates v–x.
- Gzella (2010):  
 H. Gzella, 'Das sprachliche Prestige des Reichsaramäischen', in R. Rollinger *et al.* (eds.), *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts* (Wiesbaden, 2010), p. 489–506.
- Gzella (2015):  
 H. Gzella, *A Cultural History of Aramaic. From the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam* (Leiden and Boston, 2015).
- Habicht (1953):  
 C. Habicht, 'Über eine armenische Inschrift mit Versen des Euripides', in *Hermes* (1953), p. 251–256.
- Habicht (1969):  
 C. Habicht, *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (Berlin, 1969).
- Habicht (1997):  
 C. Habicht, *Athens From Alexander to Anthony*. Translated by D.L. Schneider (Cambridge, MA, 1997) = *Athen. Die Geschichte der Stadt in hellenistischer Zeit* (München, 1995).
- Hackl, Jacobs, Weber (2010):  
 U. Hackl, B. Jacobs and D. Weber, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches. Textsammlung mit Übersetzungen und Kommentaren. Band 2: Griechische und lateinische Texte, Parthische Texte, Numismatische Evidenz* (Göttingen, 2010).
- Haebler (1982):  
 C. Haebler, 'Κάρανος: Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Betrachtung zu Xen. Hell. I 4, 3', in J. Tischler (ed.), *Serta Indogermanica. Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag*. Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 40 (Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts der Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1982), p. 81–90.
- Hafner (2003):  
 J.E. Hafner, *Selbstdefinition des Christentums. Ein systemtheoretischer Zugang zur frühchristlichen Ausgrenzung der Gnosis* (Freiburg, 2003).
- Hahn (2004):  
 H.P. Hahn, 'Global Goods and the Process of Appropriation', in P. Probst and G. Spittler (eds.), *Between Resistance and Expansion. Dimensions of Local Vitality in Africa*. Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung 18 (Münster, 2004), p. 213–231.
- Hall, E. (1989):  
 E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian. Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford 1989).
- Hall, E. (1993):  
 E. Hall, 'Asia Unmanned. Images of Victory in Classical Athens', in J. Rich and G. Shipley, *War and Society in the Greek World* (London 1993), p. 108–133.
- Hall, E. (2006):  
 E. Hall, *The Theatrical Cast of Athens. Interactions Between Greek Drama and Society* (Oxford, 2006).
- Hall, E. (2007):  
 E. Hall, 'Aeschylus' Persians via the Ottoman Empire to Saddam Hussein', in E. Bridges, E. Hall and P.J. Rhodes (eds.), *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars* (Oxford, 2007), p. 167–200.
- Hall, J. (1981):  
 J. Hall, *Lucian's Satire* (New York, 1981).
- Hall, J.M. (2002):  
 J.M. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago, 2002).

- Hamilakis (2007)  
Y. Hamilakis, *The Nation and its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford and New York, 2007).
- Hamilakas (2014):  
Y. Hamilakis, *Archaeology and the Senses: Human Experience, Memory, and Affect* (New York 2014).
- Hammond (1983):  
N. G. L. Hammond, *Three Historians of Alexander the Great: The So-Called Vulgate Authors, Diodorus, Justin and Curtius* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Hammond (1993):  
N. G. L. Hammond, *Sources for Alexander the Great. An Analysis of Plutarch's Life and Arrian's Anabasis Alexandrou* (Cambridge, 1993).
- Hanaway (1971):  
W. L. Hanaway, 'The concept of the hunt in Persian literature', in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 69.355/356 (1971), p. 21–69.
- Hansen, Wieczorek, Tellenbach (2009):  
S. Hansen, A. Wieczorek and M. Tellenbach (eds.), *Alexander der Große und die Öffnung der Welt Asiens Kulturen in Wandel* (Mannheim, 2009).
- Hardie (1997):  
P. Hardie, 'Fifth-century Athenian and Augustan images of the barbarian Other', in *Classics Ireland* 4 (1997), p. 46–56.
- Hardie (2007):  
P. Hardie, 'Images of the Persian Wars in Rome', in E. Bridges, E. Hall and P. J. Rhodes (eds.), *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to The Third Millennium* (Oxford, NY, 2007), p. 127–143.
- Harland (2014):  
P. Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations and Commentary. Volume II: North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor* (Berlin and Boston, 2014).
- Harrington (2013):  
H. K. Harrington, 'The use of Leviticus in Ezra-Nehemiah', in *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 13 (2013).
- Harris (1995):  
E. Harris, *Aeschines and Athenian Politics* (Oxford, 1995).
- Harrison (2000):  
T. Harrison, *The Emptiness of Asia. Aeschylus' Persians and the History of the Fifth Century* (London, 2000).
- Harrison (2010):  
T. Harrison, 'Reinventing Achaemenid Persia', in J. Curtis and S. J. Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East* (London, 2010), p. 21–32.
- Harrison (2011a):  
T. Harrison, *Writing Ancient Persia. Classical Essays* 5 (Bristol, 2011).
- Harrison (2011b):  
T. Harrison, 'Respectable in Its Ruins': Achaemenid Persia, Ancient and Modern', in L. Hardwick and C. Stray (eds.), *A Companion to Classical Receptions* (London, 2011), p. 50–61.
- Hartmann (2010):  
U. Hartmann 'Die Ziele der Orientpolitik Trajans', in R. Rollinger, B. Gufler, M. Lang, I. Madreiter (eds.), *Interkulturalität in der alten Welt: Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts. Philippika* 34 (Wiesbaden, 2010), p. 591–634.
- Hartmann (2015):  
U. Hartmann, 'Herrscher mit geteilten Loyalitäten: Vasallenherrscher und Klientelkönige zwischen Rom und Parthien', in E. Baltrusch and J. Wilker (eds.), *Amici – socii – clientes?: Abhän-*

- gige Herrschaft im Imperium Romanum*. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 31 (Berlin, 2015), p. 301–362.
- Haruta (2013):  
S. Haruta, ‘Aramaic, Parthian, and Middle Persian’, in D. Potts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (Oxford, 2013), p. 779–794.
- Haubold (2013):  
J. Haubold, *Greece and Mesopotamia: Dialogues in Literature* (Cambridge, 2013).
- Hauser (2005):  
S. R. Hauser, ‘Die ewigen Nomaden? Bemerkungen zu Herkunft, Militär, Staatsaufbau und nomadischen Traditionen der Arsakiden’, in B. Meissner, O. Schmitt and M. Sommer (eds.), *Krieg, Gesellschaft, Institutionen. Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Kriegsgeschichte* (Berlin 2005), p. 163–208.
- Hayes (2002):  
C. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities and Jewish Identities: Inter-marriage and Conversion from the Bible to the Talmud* (Oxford, 2002).
- Heckel (2006):  
W. Heckel ‘Mazaeus, Callisthenes and the Alexander Sarcophagus’, in *Historia* 55.4 (2006), p. 385–396.
- Hegel (1923):  
G. W. F. Hegel, *Vorlesungen zur Philosophie der Weltgeschichte*. Sämtliche Werke 9. Ed. G. Lasson, Introduction (Leipzig, 1923).
- Heilen (2005):  
S. Heilen, ‘Zur Deutung und Datierung des “Löwenhoroskops” auf dem Nemrud Dağı’, in *EA* 38 (2005), p. 145–158.
- Helck (1968):  
W. Helck, *Jagd und Wild im alten Vorderasien* (Hamburg and Berlin, 1968).
- Helliot-Bellier (2000):  
F. Helliot-Bellier, ‘France. iii. Relations with Persia, 1789–1918’, in E. Yarsahter *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica* X(2) (New York, 2000), p. 131–136; updated version online [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/france-iii-relations-with-persia-1789-1918](http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/france-iii-relations-with-persia-1789-1918), (2012) accessed 15 February 2016.
- Henkelman (1996):  
W. F. M., Henkelman ‘The Royal Achaemenid Crown’, in *AMI* 28 (1995–1996), p. 175–193.
- Henkelman (2003a):  
W. F. M. Henkelman, ‘An Elamite Memorial: The šumar of Cambyses and Hystaspes’, in W. F. M. Henkelman and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *A Persian Perspective. Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*. Achaemenid History XIII (Leiden and Boston, 2003), p. 101–172.
- Henkelman (2003b):  
W. F. M. Henkelman, ‘Persians, Medes and Elamites: Acculturation in the Neo-Elamite Period’, in G. B. Lanfranchi, M. Roaf and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Continuity of Empire (?): Assyria, Media, Persia* (Padova, 2003), p. 181–231.
- Henkelman (2008):  
W. F. M. Henkelman, *The Other Gods Who Are: Studies in Elamite-Iranian Acculturation Based on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*. Achaemenid History 14 (Leiden and Boston, 2008).
- Henkelman (2011):  
W. F. M. Henkelman, ‘Cyrus the Persian and Darius the Elamite: A Case of Mistaken Identity’, in R. Rollinger, B. Truschneegg and R. Bichler (eds.), *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich / Herodotus and the Persian Empire*. *Classica et Orientalia* 3 (Wiesbaden, 2011), p. 577–634.
- Henkelman (2012):  
W. F. M. Henkelman, ‘The Achaemenid Heartland: An Archaeological-Historical Perspective’, in D. T. Potts (ed.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (Malden, MA, and Oxford, 2012), p. 931–962.

- Henning (1958):  
W. B. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', in *Iranistik. Linguistik* (Leiden, 1958), p. 20–130.
- Henning (1968):  
W. B. Henning, 'Ein persischer Titel im Altaramäischen', in *Selected Papers. Volume II. Acta Iranica* 15 (Leiden and Thera, 1977; orig. 1968), p. 559–666.
- Hensen (2013):  
A. Hensen, *Mithras. Der Mysterienkult an Limes, Rhein und Donau*. Die Limesreihe 62 (Darmstadt, 2013).
- Herrenschmidt (1976):  
C. Herrenschmidt, 'Désignations de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius 1<sup>er</sup> d'après ses inscriptions en vieux perse', in *Studia Iranica* 6 (1976), p. 17–58.
- Herrmann, G. (1965 [1967]):  
G. Herrmann 'Antiochos der Große und Teos', in *Anadolu / Anatolia* 9 (1965), p. 29–159.
- Herrmann and Howell (1980):  
G. Herrmann and R. Howell, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur I: Bishapur III: Triumph Attributed to Shapur I*. Iranische Denkmäler, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs 9 E. (3 vols; Berlin, 1980).
- Herrmann, MacKenzie, Howell (1983):  
G. Herrmann, D. N. MacKenzie, R. Howell, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur II: Triumph of Shapur I and Sarab-i Bahram / The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur III: Bishapur I: The Investiture / Triumph of Shapur I*. Iranische Denkmäler, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs 11 G. (Berlin, 1983).
- Herrmann, MacKenzie, Howell (1989):  
G. Herrmann, D. N. MacKenzie, R. Howell, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam VI: The Triumph of Shapur I (together with an account of the representations of Kerdir)*. Iranische Denkmäler, Reihe II: Iranische Felsreliefs 13, I (Berlin, 1989).
- Herrmann, P. (1996):  
P. Herrmann, 'Mystenvereine in Sardeis', in *Chiron* 26 (1996), p. 315–438.
- Herrmann, P. (2002):  
P. Herrmann, 'Magier in Hypaipa', in *Hyperboreus* 8 (2002), p. 364–369.
- Herzfeld (1935):  
E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (London, 1935).
- Hill (1922):  
G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia (Nabataea, Arabia Provincia, S. Arabia, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, Alexandrine Empire of the East, Persis, Elymais, Characene)* (London, 1922).
- Hinnells (1975):  
J. R. Hinnells (ed.), *Mithraic Studies: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies* (Manchester, 1975).
- Hinnells (1994):  
J. R. Hinnells (ed.), *Studies in Mithraism: Papers associated with the Mithraic panel [at] the XVIIth Congress of the IAHR, Rome 1990*. Storia delle Religioni 9 (Rome, 1994).
- Hinz (1961):  
W. Hinz, *Zarathustra* (Stuttgart, 1961).
- Hinz (1976):  
W. Hinz, *Darius und die Perser. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Achämeniden* (2 vols; Baden-Baden, 1976).
- Hirsch (1985):  
S. W. Hirsch, *The Friendship of Barbarians. Xenophon and the Persian Empire* (Hanover and London, 1985).
- Hirt (2010):  
A. M. Hirt, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World: Organizational Aspects, 27 BC–AD 235* (Oxford, 2010).

- Hobsbawn and Ranger (1983):  
 E. J. Hobsbawn and T. O. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*. Past and Present Publications (Cambridge and New York, 1983).
- Hodder (2006):  
 I. Hodder, *The Leopard's Tale: Revealing the Mysteries of Çatalhöyük* (London, 2006).
- Hoffman (1984):  
 R. J. Hoffman, *Marcion, on the Restitution of Christianity. An Essay on the Development of Radical Paulist Theology in the Second Century* (Missoula, MT, 1984).
- Hoffmann and Quack (2007):  
 F. Hoffmann and J. F. Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie* (Münster, 2007).
- Højte (2009):  
 J. M. Højte (ed.), *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*. Black Sea Studies 9 (Aarhus and Oakville, CT, 2009).
- Holford-Strevens (2003):  
 L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius. An Antonine Scholar and his Achievement* (Oxford, 2003).
- Holland (2005):  
 T. Holland, *Persian Fire: The First World Empire and the Battle for the West* (New York, 2005).
- Hollard (2010):  
 D. Hollard, 'Julien et Mithrā sur le relief de Tāq-e Bostān', in *Res Orientales* 19 (2010), p. 147–163.
- Hollingbery (1814):  
 W. Hollingbery, *A Journal of Observations Made during the British Embassy to the Court of Persia in the Years 1799, 1800 and 1801* (London, 1814).
- Holloway (2002):  
 S. W. Holloway, *Aššur is King! Aššur is King! Religion in the Exercise of Power in the Neo-Assyrian Empire* (Leiden and Boston, 2002).
- Homeyer (1965):  
 H. Homeyer, *Lukian. Wie man Geschichte schreiben soll* (München, 1965).
- Honigman (2014a):  
 S. Honigman, *Tales of High Priests and Taxes: The Books of the Maccabees and the Judean Rebellion Against Antiochos IV* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2014).
- Honigman (2014b):  
 S. Honigman, 'The Religious Persecution as a Narrative Elaboration of a Military Suppression', in M. F. Baslez and O. Munnich (eds.), *La mémoire des persécutions. Autour des livres des Maccabées* (Paris, 2014), p. 59–75.
- Hoo (forthcoming)  
 M. Hoo, 'Ai Khanum in the Face of Eurasian Globalisation: A Translocal Approach to a Contested Site in Hellenistic Bactria', in *Ancient West & East* (forthcoming).
- Hood (1967):  
 D. C. Hood, *Plutarch and the Persians* (PhD diss. University of California, 1967).
- Hoover (2008):  
 O. D. Hoover, 'Overstruck Seleucid Coins', in A. Houghton, C. Lorber, O. D. Hoover, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part 2: Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII* (2 vols; New York, Lancaster, PA, London, 2008), p. 209–217.
- Horden (2002):  
 J. H. Horden, *The Fragments of Timotheus of Miletus* (Oxford, 2002).
- Horn (1985):  
 H. G. Horn, 'Eine Mithrasweihe vom Niederrhein', in *Ausgrabungen im Rheinland 1983/84* (Cologne and Bonn, 1985), p. 151–155.
- Hornblower (1994):  
 S. Hornblower, 'Epilogue by Simon Hornblower', in D. M. Lewis (ed.), *The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume 6: The Fourth Century* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 876–881.

- Houghton and Lorber (2008):  
A. Houghton and C. Lorber, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part II: Seleucus IV Through Antiochus XIII* (2 vols; Lancaster, PA, 2008).
- Howard-Johnston (2004):  
J. Howard-Johnston, 'Pride and Fall: Khusro II and His Regime 626–628', in G. Gnoli (ed.), *La Persia e Bisanzio. Atti dei convegni lincei 201* (Rome, 2004), p. 93–113.
- Howard-Johnston (2006):  
J. Howard-Johnston, *East Rome, Sasanian Persia and the End of Antiquity: Historiographical and Historical Studies* (Aldershot, 2006).
- Howard-Johnston (2010):  
J. Howard-Johnston, *Witnesses to a World Crisis. Historians and Histories of the Middle East in the Seventh Century* (Oxford, 2010).
- Hölscher and Miller (2014):  
T. Hölscher and M.C. Miller, 'Wealth and Social Identity, East and West: Between cultural anthropology and political ideology', in N. Zenzen, T. Hölscher and K. Trampedach (eds.), *Aneignung und Abgrenzung. Wechselnde Perspektiven auf die Antithese von "Ost" und "West" in der griechischen Antike* (Heidelberg, 2014), p. 367–420.
- Huber (2005):  
I. Huber, 'Ersatzkönige in griechischem Gewand: die Umformung der šar pūhi-Rituale bei Herodot, Berossos, Agathias und den Alexander-Historikern', in M.K. Schretter and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Von Sumer bis Homer: Festschrift für Manfred Schretter zum 60. Geburtstag am 25. Februar 2004*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 325 (Münster, 2005), p. 339–397.
- Huff (2008):  
D. Huff, 'The Functional Layout of the Fire Sanctuary of Takht-i Sulaimān', in D. Kennet and P. Luft (eds.), *Current Research in Sasanian Archaeology, Art and History*. BAR International Series 1810 (2008), p. 1–14.
- Huld-Zetsche (2008):  
I. Huld-Zetsche, *Der Mithraskult in Mainz und das Mithräum am Ballplatz*. Mainzer Archäologische Schriften 7 (Mainz, 2008).
- Humann and Puchstein (1890):  
C. Humann and O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien, ausgeführt im Auftrage der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin, 1890).
- Humbach & Faiss (2016)  
H. Humbach and K. Faiss, 'The Avestan World, With Particular Reference to the Mihr Yašt (Yt. 10, 14–15)', in *id.*, *Avestica* (Dettelbach, 2016), p. 35–42.
- Hunger and Van der Spek (2006):  
H. Hunger and R.J. Van der Spek, 'An Astronomical Diary Concerning Artaxerxes II (Year 42 = 363–2 BC): Military Operations in Babylonia', in *Arta* (2006), p. 7–16.
- Hurwitt (1999):  
J.M. Hurwitt, *The Athenian Acropolis. History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Huss (2001):  
W. Huss, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v. Chr.* (München, 2001).
- Huyse (1989):  
Ph. Huyse, 'Zum iranischen Namengut in Dura-Europos', in *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philologisch-historische Klasse* 125, No. 1–9 (1989), p. 19–32.
- Huyse (1993):  
Ph. Huyse, 'Vorbemerkungen zur Auswertung iranischen Sprachgutes in den *Res Gestae* des Ammianus Marcellinus', in W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo (eds.), *Medioiranica: Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, from the 21st to the 23rd of May 1990*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 48 (Leuven, 1993), p. 87–98.



- Huyse (1999):  
Ph. Huyse, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. An der Ka'ba-i Žardušt ĞŠKZ. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III. I.I* (2 vols; London 1999).
- Huyse (2002):  
Ph. Huyse, 'La revendication de territoires achéménides par les Sassanides: une réalité historique?', in *id.* (ed.), *Iran: Questions et connaissances I: Études sur l'Iran ancien* (Paris, 2002), p. 294–308.
- Huyse (MS)  
Ph. Huyse, *Histoire orale et écrite en Iran ancien entre mémoire et oubli* (unpublished manuscript).
- Huyse and Wiesehöfer (2006):  
Ph. Huyse and J. Wiesehöfer (eds.), *Eran ud Aneran. Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen dem Sasanidenreich und der Mittelmeerwelt* (Stuttgart, 2006).
- Hyland (2013):  
J. Hyland, 'Vishtaspa krny: An Achaemenid Military Official in 4th-Century Bactria', in *Arta* (2006), p. 1–7.
- Ilan (1999):  
T. Ilan, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (Tübingen, 1999).
- Imanpour (2015):  
M.-T. Imanpour, 'Re-establishment of Achaemenid History and Its Development in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Iranian Studies* 48.4 (2015), p. 515–530.
- Imhoof-Blumer (1897):  
F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen* (Leipzig, 1897).
- Insler (1978):  
S. Insler, 'A New Interpretation of the Bull-slaying Motif', in M. B. De Boer and T. A. Edridge (eds), *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*. EPROER 68 (Leiden, 1978), p. 519–538.
- Invernizzi (1985):  
A. Invernizzi, 'Heracles at Rest', in E. Quarantelli (ed.), *The Land between Two Rivers: Twenty Years of Italian Archaeology in the Middle East. The Treasures of Mesopotamia* (Torino, 1985), p. 423–425, No. 231.
- Invernizzi (1998):  
A. Invernizzi, 'Parthian Nisa: New Lines of Research', in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 45–59.
- Invernizzi (2001):  
A. Invernizzi, 'Arsacid Dynastic Art', in *Parthica* 3 (2001), p. 133–157.
- Invernizzi (2005a):  
A. Invernizzi, *Il Genio Vagante. Viaggiatori alla scoperta dell'antico Oriente (secc. XII–XVIII)* (Torino, 2005).
- Invernizzi (2005b):  
A. Invernizzi, 'Representations of gods in Parthian Nisa', in *Parthica* 7 (2005), p. 71–79.
- Iqbal (1908):  
M. Iqbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (London, 1980).
- Iqbal (1964):  
M. Iqbal, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*. Edited by S. Abdul Vahid (Michigan, 1964).
- Isaac (2004):  
B. Isaac, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (Princeton NJ, and Oxford, 2004).
- Ivanov and Loukonine (1996):  
A. Ivanov and V. Loukonine [Lukonin], *Lost Treasures of Persia. Persian Art in the Hermitage Museum* (Washington, DC, 1996).
- Ivantchick (2006):  
A. Ivantchick, 'Scythian archers on archaic attic vases: Problems of interpretation', in *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 12 (2006), p. 197–271.

- Jackson (1906):  
A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present. A Book of Travel and Research* (New York, 1906).
- Jacobs (1987):  
B. Jacobs, *Griechische und persische Elemente in der Grabkunst Lykiens zur Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft*. *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 78 (Jonsered, 1987).
- Jacobs (1991a):  
B. Jacobs, 'Forschungen in Kommagene III. Archäologie: Der Kopf des Antiochos von der Ostterrasse des Hierothesions auf dem Nemrud-Dağ', in *EA* 18 (1991), p. 133–140.
- Jacobs (1991b):  
B. Jacobs, 'Der Sonnengott im Pantheon der Achämeniden', in J. Kellens (ed.), *La religion iranienne à l'époque achéménide*. Actes du Colloque de Liège 11 décembre 1987, *Iranica Antiqua*. Supplément V (Gent, 1991), p. 49–80.
- Jacobs (1994a):  
B. Jacobs, *Die Satrapienverwaltung im Perserreich zur Zeit Darius' III*. *Tübinger Atlas zum Vorderen Orient* 87 (Wiesbaden, 1994).
- Jacobs (1994b):  
B. Jacobs, 'Drei Beiträge zu Fragen der Rüstung und Bekleidung in Persien zur Achämenidenzeit', in *Iranica Antiqua* 29 (1994), p. 125–167.
- Jacobs (1996):  
B. Jacobs, 'Die "Verwandten des Königs" und die "Nachkommen der Verschwörer". Überlegungen zu Titeln, Ämtern und Insignien am Achämenidenhof', in F. Blakolmer (eds.), *Fremde Zeiten. Festschrift für Jürgen Borchardt zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1996 dargebracht von Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden Volumen I* (Wien, 1996), p. 273–284.
- Jacobs (1998):  
B. Jacobs, 'Zur relativen Datierung einiger kommagenischer Heiligtümer: Sofraz Köy, Samosata, Arsameia am Nymphaios, Nemrud Dağı', in R. Rolle, K. Schmidt and R. Docter (ed.), *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt, Veröffentlichungen der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 87 (1998), p. 37–47.
- Jacobs (1999):  
B. Jacobs, *Der Herkunft und Entstehung der römischen Mithrasmysterien. Überlegungen zur Rolle des Stifters und zu den astronomischen Hintergründen der Kultlegende*. Xenia: Konstanzer Althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen 43 (Konstanz, 1999).
- Jacobs (2000):  
B. Jacobs, 'Die Reliefs der Vorfahren des Antiochos I. von Kommagene auf dem Nemrud Dağı: Versuch einer Neubenennung der Frauendarstellung in den mütterlichen Ahnenreihen', in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 50 (2000), p. 297–306.
- Jacobs (2002a):  
B. Jacobs, 'Die Galerien der Ahnen des Königs Antiochos I. von Kommagene auf dem Nemrud Dağı', in J. M. Højte (ed.), *Images of Ancestors*. Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity 5 (Aarhus, 2002), p. 75–88.
- Jacobs (2002b):  
B. Jacobs, 'Bergheiligtum und heiliger Berg: Überlegungen zur Wahl des Nemrud Dağı-Gipfels als Heiligtum und Grabstätte', in J. Hahn and C. Ronning (eds.), *Religiöse Landschaften*. *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 301 (Münster, 2002), p. 31–47.
- Jacobs, (2003):  
B. Jacobs, 'Überlegungen zu Ursachen und Gründen für die Konzeption von Heiligtumsausstattungen in der späthellenistischen Kommagene', in K. S. Freyberger, A. Henning, H. von Hesberg (eds.), *Kulturkonflikte im Vorderen Orient an der Wende vom Hellenismus zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. *Orient-Archäologie* 11 (Rahden, 2003), p. 117–124.
- Jacobs (2010):  
B. Jacobs, 'From Gabled Hut to Rock-Cut Tomb: A Religious and Cultural Break Between Cyrus and Darius?', in J. Curtis and S. J. Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East* (London, 2010), p. 91–102.

Jacobs (2012a):

B. Jacobs, 'Das Heiligtum des Antiochos I. im Spiegel neuer epigraphischer Funde', in J. Wagner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (2nd edn; Darmstadt and Mainz, 2012), p. 77–86.

Jacobs (2012b):

B. Jacobs, 'Zur Baupolitik des Antiochos I. von Kommagene und seines Sohnes Mithradates II', in J. Wägner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (2nd edn; Darmstadt and Mainz, 2012), p. 99–108.

Jacobs (2012c):

B. Jacobs, 'Die Religionspolitik des Antiochos I. von Kommagene', in J. Wagner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (Darmstadt and Mainz, 2012), p. 99–108.

Jacobs (2013):

B. Jacobs, 'Berossos and Persian Religion', in J. Haubold, R. Rollinger, J. M. Steele (eds.), *The World of Berossos. Proceedings of the 4th International Colloquium on "The Ancient Near East Between Classical and Ancient Oriental Traditions"*, Hatfield College, Durham 7th–9th July 2010. *Classica et Orientalia* 5 (Wiesbaden, 2013), p. 123–135.

Jacobs (2014a):

B. Jacobs, 'Images and Inscriptions on Nemrud Dağı in the Perception of Ancient Visitors', in H. A. G. Brijder (ed.), *Nemrud Dağı: Recent Archaeological Research and Conservation Activities in the Tomb Sanctuary on Mount Nemrud* (Boston and Berlin, 2014), p. 511–521.

Jacobs (2014b):

B. Jacobs, 'Bildkunst als Zeugnis für Orientierung und Konsens innerhalb der Eliten des westlichen Achämenidenreichs', in R. Rollinger and K. Schnegg (eds.), *Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: Vom Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel. Proceedings des internationalen Kolloquiums aus Anlass des 60. Geburtstags von Christoph Ulf, Innsbruck, 26.–30. Januar 2009*. *Colloquia Antiqua* 10 (Leuven, Paris, Walpole, 2014), p. 343–368.

Jacobs (2014c):

B. Jacobs, 'Repräsentative Bildkunst im Partherreich', in B. Jacobs (ed.), *"Parthische Kunst": Kunst im Partherreich. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Basel, 9. Oktober 2010* (Duisburg, 2014), p. 77–126.

Jacobs (im Druck)

B. Jacobs, 'Die Angleichung von Gott und König in der achämenidischen Kunst', in W. F. M. Henkelman and C. Redard (eds.), *La religion perse à l'époque achéménide. État de la question et perspectives de recherche* (Paris, in press).

Jacobs and Rollinger (2005):

B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger, 'Die "himmlischen Hände" der Götter: Zu zwei neuen Datierungsvorschlägen für die kommagenischen Reliefstelen', in *Parthica* 7 (2005), p. 137–154.

Jacobs and Rollinger (2010):

B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Der Achämenidenhof. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema „Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen"*, Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 23.–25. Mai 2007. *Classica et Orientalia* 2 (Wiesbaden, 2010).

Jakobsson (2011):

J. Jakobsson, 'Antiochus Nicator, the Third King of Hellenistic Bactria?', in *Numismatic Chronicle* (2011).

Jal (1987):

P. Jal, 'A propos des *Histoires Philippiques*: quelques remarques', in *REL* 65 (1987), p. 194–209.

James and Steger (2013):

P. James and M. Steger, 'Levels of Subjective Globalization: Ideologies, Imaginaries, Ontologies', in *PGDT* 12.1/2 (2013), p. 17–40.

- Jaspers (1949):  
K. Jaspers, *Vom Ursprung und Ziel der Geschichte* (München, 1949).
- Joll (1985):  
J. Joll, 'Two prophets of the twentieth century: Spengler and Toynbee', in *RIS* 11.2 (1985), p. 91–104.
- Jonas (1954):  
H. Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist* (2 vols; Göttingen, 1954).
- Jones (1971):  
C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford, 1971).
- Jones (1980):  
C. P. Jones, 'Prosopographical Notes on the Second Sophistic', in *GRBS* 21 (1980), p. 373–380.
- Jones (1986):  
C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Cambridge MA, 1986).
- Jones (1996):  
C. P. Jones, 'The Panhellenion', in *Chiron* 26 (1996), p. 29–56.
- Jones (1999):  
C. P. Jones, *Kinship Diplomacy in the Ancient World*. *Revealing Antiquity* 12 (Cambridge, MA, 1999).
- Jones (2004):  
C. P. Jones, 'Multiple Identities in the Age of the Second Sophistic', in B. Borg (ed.), *"Paideia": The World of the Second Sophistic* (Berlin and New York, 2004), p. 13–21.
- Jones (2010):  
C. P. Jones, 'Ancestry and Identity in the Roman Empire', in T. Whitmarsh (ed.), *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 111–124.
- Jones (unpublished):  
C. P. Jones, 'Strabo and the "Miracle" of Lake Coloe near Sardeis' (unpublished).
- Jones (1917–1933):  
H. L. Jones, *Strabo: Geography*. Loeb Classical Library (London and Cambridge, MA, 1917–1933).
- Jones (1931–1955):  
W. H. S. Jones, *Pausanias: Description of Greece*. Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA and London, 1931–1955).
- Joukowsky (1986):  
M. Joukowsky, *Prehistoric Aphrodisias: An Account of the Excavations and Artifact Studies*. (Providence, RI, 1986).
- Jung (2006):  
M. Jung, *Marathon und Plataiai. Zwei Perserschlachten als lieux de memoire im antiken Griechenland* (Göttingen, 2006).
- Justi (1895):  
F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895).
- Kadoi and Szántó (2013):  
Y. Kadoi and I. Szántó, 'Why Persian Art Needs to be Studied and Collected', in Y. Kadoi and I. Szántó (eds.), *The Shaping of Persian Art. Collections and Interpretations of the Art of Islamic Iran and Central Asia* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2013), p. 2–28.
- Kaempfer (1712):  
E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediarum fasciculi v., quibus continentur variae relationes, observationes et descriptiones rerum persicarum et ulterioris Asiae. Collectae ab auctore Engelberto Kaempfero* (Lemgoviae, 1712).
- Kahn and Tammuz (2008):  
D. Kahn and O. Tammuz, 'Egypt is Difficult to Enter. Invading Egypt: A Game Plan (Seventh–Fourth Centuries BCE)', in *JSSEA* 35 (2008), p. 37–66.
- Kaldellis (2003):  
A. Kaldellis, 'The religion of Iohannes Lydus', in *Phoenix* 57.3–4 (2003), p. 300–316.

Kaldellis (2007):

A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, 2007).

Kashani-Sabet (1998):

F. Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions: Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804–1946* (Princeton, 1998).

Kaptan (1996):

D. Kaptan, 'The Great King's Audience', in F. Blakolmer (eds.), *Fremde Zeiten. Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1996 dargebracht von Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden I* (Wien, 1996), p. 259–271.

Kaptan (2013):

D. Kaptan, 'Déjà vu? Visual Culture in Western Asia Minor at the Beginning of Hellenistic Rule', in E. Stavrianopoulou (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*. Mnemosyne Supplements 363 (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 25–49.

Kastriotis (1914):

P. Kastriotis, 'Τὸ Ὠδεῖον τοῦ Περγυλλέου', in *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1914), p. 143–166.

Kastriotis (1922):

P. Kastriotis, 'Περγύλειον ὦδειον', in *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (1922), p. 36–38.

Kastriotis (1929):

P. Kastriotis, 'Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν τῷ Ὠδεῖῳ τοῦ Περγυλλέου', in *Praktika* (1929), p. 52–57.

Katchadourian (2012):

L. Katchadourian, 'The Achaemenid Provinces in Archaeological Perspective', in D. T. Potts (ed.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East* (Malden, 2012).

Katchadourian (2013):

L. Katchadourian, 'An Archaeology of Hegemony: The Achaemenid Empire and the Remaking of the Fortress in the Armenian Highlands', in G. E. Areshia (ed.), *Empires and Diversity: On the Crossroads of Archaeology, Anthropology, and History*. Ideas, Debates, and Perspectives 7 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2013), p. 108–145.

Kawami (1987):

T. S. Kawami, 'The Artistic Heritage of the Parthians in Iran', in *ead.*, *Monumental Art of the Parthian Period in Iran*. Acta Iranica 26 (Leiden, 1987), p. 17–31.

Kazemzadeh (1984):

F. Kazemzadeh, 'Anglo-Iranian Relations ii. Qajar', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* (London, 1984); updated version online at [www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anglo-iranian-relations-ii](http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anglo-iranian-relations-ii) (2011).

Keall (1989):

E. J. Keall, 'Bīšāpūr', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* IV(3) (New York, 1989), p. 287–289.

Keen (1998):

A. G. Keen, 'Persian *karanoi* and their Relationship to the Satrapal System', in T. W. Hillard, R. A. Kearsley, C. E. V. Nixon, A. M. Nobbs (eds.), *Ancient History in a Modern University: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Macquarie University, 8–13 July* (Grand Rapids, MI, 1998), p. 88–95.

Keil (1913):

B. Keil, 'Zu den Persern des Timotheos', in *Hermes* 48 (1913), p. 99–140.

Keil (1953):

J. Keil, 'Vertreter der zweiten Sophistik in Ephesus', in *Jahrshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 40 (1953), p. 5–22.

Kellens (2002):

J. Kellens, 'L'idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides', in *JA* 290 (2002), p. 417–464.

- Kellens (2005):  
 J. Kellens, 'Les Airiia- ne sont plus des Āryas: ce sont déjà des Iraniens', in G. Fussman, J. Kellens, H.-P. Francfort, X. Tremblay, *Āryas, Aryens et Iraniens en Asie Centrale* (Paris, 2005), p. 233–252.
- Keller (2010):  
 D. Keller, 'Die arsakidischen Münzen', in U. Hackl, B. Jacobs and D. Weber (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches II* (Göttingen and Oakville, CT, 2010), p. 613–639.
- Kennedy (2009):  
 H. Kennedy, 'Survival of Iranianness', in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran 4: The Rise of Islam* (London, 2009), p. 13–29.
- Kennell (2005):  
 N. M. Kennell, 'New light on 2 Maccabees 4:7–15', in *JJS* 56 (2005), p. 10–24.
- Keppel (1827):  
 G. T. Keppel, *Personal Narrative of Travels in Babylonia, Assyria, Media, and Scythia in the Year 1824* (London, 1827).
- Ker and Pieper (2014):  
 J. Ker and C. Pieper (eds.), *Valuing the Past in the Greco-Roman World* (Leiden and Boston, 2014).
- Kettenhofen (1994):  
 E. Kettenhofen, 'Darband', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (ed.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* VIII(1) (New York, 1994), p. 13–19.
- Kettenhofen (2002):  
 E. Kettenhofen, 'Die Einforderung der achaimenidischen Territorien durch die Sāsāniden – eine Bilanz', in S. Kurz (ed.), *Yādname-ye Iradj Khalifeh-Soltani. Festschrift Iradj Khalifeh-Soltani zum 65. Geburtstag* (Aachen 2002), p. 49–75.
- Keuls (1985):  
 E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (California, 1985).
- Khaleghi-Motlagh (1997):  
 D. Khaleghi-Motlagh (ed.), *Abu 'l Qasem Ferdowsi: The Shahnameh (The Book of Kings) Volume V. Persian Text Series n. s. 1–8* (8 vols; New York, 1997).
- Khatchadourian (2007):  
 L. Khatchadourian, 'Unforgettable Landscapes. Attachments to the Past in Hellenistic Armenia', in N. Yoffee (ed.), *Negotiating the Past in the Past. Identity, Memory, and Landscape in Archaeological Research* (Arizona, 2007), p. 43–75.
- Khatchadourian (2008):  
 L. Khatchadourian, *Social Logics Under Empire. The Armenian "Highland Satrapy" and Achaemenid Rule ca. 600–300 BC* (PhD Dissertation; University of Michigan, 2008).
- Khoury and Kostiner (1990):  
 P. S. Khoury and J. Kostiner (eds.), *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990).
- Kilmer (1993):  
 M. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases* (London, 1993).
- Kilmer (1997):  
 M. Kilmer, 'Rape in Early Red-Figure Pottery. Violence and Threat in Homo-Erotic and Hetero-Erotic Contexts', in S. Deacy and K. F. Pierce, *Rape in Antiquity* (London, 1997), p. 123–141.
- King (2011):  
 A. D. King, *Living with Koryak Traditions: Playing with Culture in Siberia* (Lincoln, NB, 2011).
- King and Thompson (1907):  
 W. King and R. C. Thompson, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia* (London, 1907).

- Kissinger (1950):  
H.A. Kissinger, *The Meaning of History. Reflections on Toynbee, Spengler and Kant* (Cambridge, MA, 1950).
- Klein (1991):  
W. Klein, *Die Argumentation in den griechisch-christlichen Antimanichaica* (Wiesbaden, 1991).
- Kleiner (1953):  
G. Kleiner, 'Bildnis und Gestalt des Mithradates', in *JDAI* 68 (1953), p. 73–95.
- Kleiner (1955):  
G. Kleiner, 'Pontische Reichsmünzen', in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 6 (1955), p. 1–20.
- Klenner (2012):  
I. Klenner, 'Breaking News! Meldungen aus der Welt des Mithras', in P. Jung (ed.), *Utere felix vivas: Festschrift für Jürgen Oldenstein*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie 208 (Bonn, 2012), p. 113–128.
- Klinkott (2005):  
H. Klinkott, *Der Satrap. Ein achaimenidischer Amtsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume*. Oikumene. Studien zur antiken Weltgeschichte 1 (Berlin, 2005).
- Klose and Müseler (2008):  
D.O. Klose and W. Müseler, *Statthalter, Rebellen Könige. Die Münzen aus Persepolis von Alexander dem Großen zu den Sasaniden* (München, 2008).
- Klotz (2013):  
D. Klotz, 'Who was with Antiochos III at Raphia? Revisiting the Hieroglyphic Versions of the Raphia Decrees (CG 31008 and 50048)', in *Chronique d'Égypte* 87 (2013), p. 45–59.
- Knäpper (2011):  
K. Knäpper, *Die Religion der frühen Achaimeniden in ihrem Verhältnis zum Avesta* (München, 2011).
- Knauer (1985):  
E.R. Knauer, 'Ex oriente vestimenta – Trachtgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Ärmelmantel und Ärmeljacke', in ANRW II.12.3 (Berlin and New York, 1985), p. 578–741.
- Koch (2011):  
H. Koch, 'Iran', in V. Haas and H. Koch (eds.), *Religionen des Alten Orients I: Hethiter und Iran* (Göttingen, 2011), p. 17–144.
- Koch and Rehm (2006):  
A. Koch and E. Rehm, *Pracht und Prunk der Grosskönige. Das Persische Weltreich* (Pfalz Speyer, 2006).
- Koktanek (1965):  
A.M. Koktanek (ed.), *Spengler Studien. Festgabe für M. Schröter zum 85. Geburtstag* (München, 1965).
- Kohl (1915):  
R. Kohl, *De scholasticarum declamationum argumentis ex historia petites* (PhD dissertation; Münster, 1915).
- Koktanek (1968):  
A.M. Koktanek, *Oswald Spengler in seiner Zeit* (München, 1968).
- König and Whitmarsh (2007):  
J. König and T. Whitmarsh, *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Kornemann (1912):  
E. Kornemann, 'Die römische Kaiserzeit', in A. Gercke and E. Norden (eds.), *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft III* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), p. 205–296.
- Korres (1980):  
M. Korres, 'Α Εφορεία προϊστορικών και κλασικών αρχαιοτήτων Ακροπόλεως', in *Archaiologikon Deltion* 35B (1980 [1988]), p. 9–21.
- Korres, Spathari, Tanoulas (1985):  
M. Korres, E. Spathari, T. Tanoulas, *Athens in Prehistory and Antiquity* (Athens, 1985).

- Kosack (2014):  
W. Kosack, *Geschichte der Gnosis in Antike, Urchristentum und Islam. Texte, Bilder, Dokumente* (Basel, 2014).
- Koselleck (1989):  
R. Koselleck, *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989).
- Koshelenko and Pilipko (1994):  
G.A. Koshelenko and V.N. Pilipko, 'Parthia', in J. Harmatta *et al.* (eds.), *History of the civilizations of Central Asia. Volume II: The Development of Sedentary and Nomadic Civilization, 700 B.C. to A.D. 250* (Paris, 1994), p. 131–150.
- Kosmin (2014a):  
P. Kosmin, *The Land of the Elephant Kings: Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2014).
- Kosmin (2014b):  
P. Kosmin, 'Seeing double in Seleucid Babylonia: Rereading the Borsippa Cylinder of Antiochus I', in A. Moreno and R. Thomas (eds.), *Patterns of the Past: Epit̄deumata in the Greek Tradition* (Oxford, 2014), p. 173–198.
- Kosmopoulou (2002):  
A. Kosmopoulou, *The Iconography of Sculptured Statue Bases in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Madison, 2002), p. 156–164.
- Kottsieper (1998):  
I. Kottsieper, 'Zusätze zu Esther', in *Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Apokryphen V* (Göttingen 1998), p. 109–207.
- Kouremenos, Chandrasekaran, Rossi (2011):  
A. Kouremenos, S. Chandrasekaran and R. Rossi (eds.), *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East*. BAR International Series 2221 (Oxford, 2011).
- Krawulsky (1978):  
D. Krawulsky, *Irān, das Reich der Ilhāne: Eine topographisch-historische Studie* (Wiesbaden, 1978).
- Krawulsky (1989):  
D. Krawulsky, 'Zur Wiederbelebung des Begriffes "Irān" zur Ikhânzeit', in *id.*, *Mongolen und Ilkhānen: Ideologie und Geschichte. 5 Studien* (Beirut, 1989), p. 113–130.
- Kropp (2013):  
A.J.M. Kropp, *Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC–AD 100* (Oxford, 2013).
- Kühnen (2008):  
A. Kühnen, *Die Imitatio Alexandri in der römischen Politik, 1. Jh. v. Chr.–3. Jh. n. Chr.* (Münster, 2008).
- Kuhr (1983):  
A. Kuhr, 'The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid Imperial Policy', in *JSOT* 25 (1983), p. 83–97.
- Kuhr (2007a):  
A. Kuhr, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources From the Achaemenid Period* (London, 2007).
- Kuhr (2007b):  
A. Kuhr, 'The Problem of Achaemenid "Religious Policy"', in B. Groneberg and W. Spickermann (eds.), *Die Welt der Götterbilder* (Berlin and New York, 2007), p. 117–142.
- Kuhr (2010):  
A. Kuhr, 'Der Hof der Achämeniden: Concluding Remarks', in B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Der Achämenidenhof/The Achaemenid Court* (Stuttgart, 2010), p. 901–912.
- Kuhr and Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1987):  
A. Kuhr and H.W.A.M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History 2: The Greek Sources. Proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop* (Leiden, 1987).



- Kuhr and Sherwin-White (1987):  
A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East. The Interaction of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations From Syria to Central Asia After Alexander* (London, 1987).
- Kuhr and Sherwin-White (1991):  
A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White (1991), 'Aspects of Seleucid Royal Ideology. The Cylinder of Antiochos I from Borsippa', in *AJA* 111 (1991), p. 71–86.
- Kuhr and Sherwin-White (1993):  
A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (London, 1993).
- Kuiper (1961–1962):  
F. B. J. Kuiper, 'Remarks on the Avestan Hymn to Mithra', in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 5 (1961–1962), p. 36–60.
- Kuttner (2005):  
A. Kuttner, "'Do You Look Like You Belong Here?': Asianism at Pergamon and the Makedonian Diaspora', in E. S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*. *Oriens et Occidens* 8 (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 137–206.
- Lambert (1972):  
M. Lambert, 'Hutélutush-Insushnak et le pays de Anzan', in *RA* 66 (1972), p. 61–76.
- Lambton (1953):  
A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (London, 1953).
- Lane Fox (2006):  
R. Lane Fox, 'The Letter to Gadatas', in G. E. Malouchou and A. P. Matthaiou (eds.), *Χιταρον συμποσιον: εις μνημην W.G. Forrest* (Athens, 2006), p. 149–171.
- Langer (2013):  
A. Langer, *The Fascination of Persia: The Persian-European Dialogue in Seventeenth-Century Art and Contemporary Art from Tehran* (Zürich, 2013).
- Laqueur (1936):  
R. Laqueur, 'Timagenes', *RE* 6.A.1 (1936), p. 1063–1071.
- Lasserre (1975):  
F. Lasserre (ed.), *Strabon. Géographie. Tome IX: Livre XII*. Collection des Universités de France (Paris, 1975).
- Lassner (1993):  
J. Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba. Boundaries of Gender and Culture in Postbiblical Judaism and Medieval Islam* (Chicago, 1993).
- Lausberg (1998):  
H. Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric. A Foundation for Literary Study*. Translated by Matthew T. Bliss, A. Jansen, and D. E. Orton (Leiden and Boston, 1998).
- Layard (1894):  
A. H. Layard, *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia* (London, 1894).
- Lecoq (1997):  
P. Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* (Paris, 1997).
- Lee (2015):  
M. Lee, *Body, Dress and Identity in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge, 2015).
- Lefebvre, G (1924):  
G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris* (Cairo, 1924).
- Lefebvre, H (1991):  
H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, 1991).
- Leglay (1966):  
M. Leglay, *Saturne africain: Monuments I: Afrique proconsulaire* (Paris, 1966).
- Le Guen (2001):  
B. le Guen, *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique. Études d'archéologie classique* 11/12 (2 vols; Nancy, 2001).

- Lehmann-Haupt (1902a):  
C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, 'Zur Geschichte und Überlieferung des ionischen Aufstandes', in *Klio* 2 (1902), p. 334–340.
- Lehmann-Haupt (1902b):  
C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, 'Gobryas und Belsazar bei Xenophon', in *Klio* 2 (1902), p. 341–345.
- Lenfant (2001):  
D. Lenfant, 'La décadence du Grand Roi et les ambitions de Cyrus le Jeune', in *REG* 114 (2001), p. 407–428.
- Lenfant (2004):  
D. Lenfant, *Ctesias de Cnide: La Pers, l'Inde* (Paris, 2004).
- Lenfant (2007):  
D. Lenfant, 'Greek Historians of Persia', in J. Marincola (ed.), *A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography*. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. (2 vols; Chichester and Malden, 2007), p. 200–920.
- Lenfant (2011):  
D. Lenfant (ed.), *Les Perses vus par les Grecs. Lire les sources classiques sur l'empire achéménide* (Paris, 2011).
- Lenfant (2014):  
D. Lenfant, 'Greek Monographs on the Persian World: The Fourth Century BCE and Its Innovations', in G. Parmeggiani (ed.), *Between Thucydides and Polybius: The Golden Age of Greek Historiography* (Washington, DC, 2014), p. 197–210.
- Lepper (1948):  
F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (Oxford, 1948).
- Le Rider (1965):  
G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes. Les trouvailles monétaires et l'histoire de la ville* (Paris, 1965).
- Le Rider (1998):  
G. Le Rider, *Séleucie du tigre. Les monnaies séleucides et parthes* (Florence, 1998).
- Lerner, J. A. (1980):  
J. A. Lerner, 'Three Achaemenid "Fakes": A Re-evaluation in the Light of 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Iranian Architectural Sculpture', in *Expedition* 22.2 (1980), p. 5–16. (with the errata at [www.academia.edu/4970695/Three\\_Achaemenid\\_Fakes\\_-\\_Errata](http://www.academia.edu/4970695/Three_Achaemenid_Fakes_-_Errata)).
- Lerner, J. A. (1991):  
J. A. Lerner, 'A Rock Relief of Fath 'Ali Shāh in Shiraz', in *Ars Orientalis* 21 (1991), p. 31–45.
- Lerner, J. A. (1998):  
J. A. Lerner, 'Sasanian and Achaemenid Revivals in Qajar Art', in V. S. Curtis, R. Hillenbrand and J. M. Rogers (eds.), *The Art and Archaeology of Ancient Persia. New Light on the Parthian and Sasanian Empires* (London, 1998), p. 162–167.
- Lerner, J. A. (2015):  
J. A. Lerner, 'A Case of Synchronicity: Photography and Qajar Iran's Discovery of Its Ancient Past', *The Eye of the Shah: Qajar Court Photography and the Persian Past* (New York, 2015), p. 158–177.
- Lerner, J. A. (forthcoming):  
Lerner, J. A., 'The Achaemenid Parasol: Symbol of Authority and Element of Court Protocol', in K. Abdi (ed.), *Mazdešn Shāpur ke čīhr az yazdān: Essays in Memory of A. Shahpur Shahbazi* (Tehran, forthcoming).
- Lerner, J. D. (1995–1996):  
J. D. Lerner, 'Seleucid Decline on the Eastern Iranian Plateau', in *Berytus* 42 (1995–1996), p. 103–112.
- Lerner, J. D. (1999):  
J. D. Lerner, *The Impact of Seleucid Decline on the Eastern Iranian Plateau: The Foundations of Arsacid Parthia and Graeco-Bactria*. Historia Einzelschriften 123 (Stuttgart, 1999).

- Lerner, J.D. (2003–2004):  
 J.D. Lerner, 'Correcting the Early History of Ây Kânom', in *AMI* 35/36 (2003–2004), p. 373–410.
- Lerouge-Cohen (2007):  
 C. Lerouge-Cohen, *L'image des Parthes dans le monde gréco-romain de la fin du 1<sup>er</sup> siècle av.J.-C. jusqu'à la fin du Haut-Empire romain* (Stuttgart, 2007).
- Lerouge-Cohen (2013):  
 C. Lerouge-Cohen, 'La référence aux "Sept" dans les royaumes gréco-iraniens de l'époque hellénistique: la survivance d'un usage achéménide?' in *Ktêma* 38 (2013), p. 107–114.
- Lerouge-Cohen (2014):  
 C. Lerouge-Cohen, 'La référence aux "Sept" dans les monarchies gréco-iraniennes d'Anatolie à l'époque hellénistique: enjeux et signification', in S. de Vido (ed.), *Poteri e legittimità nel mondo antico / Pouvoirs et légitimités dans le monde antique. De Nanterre à Venise, en mémoire de Pierre Carlier*, (Venise, 2014), p. 93–99.
- Lerouge-Cohen (forthcoming):  
 C. Lerouge-Cohen, 'Birth, Charisma and Legitimation: Once Again on Mithradates' Speech in Justin's Epitome of Trogus' Philippic History', in D. Braund, A. Dan, H.-J. Gehrke (eds.), *The Charisma of the King. New Insights into Mithridates VI Eupator's Rule and Legitimation of Rule* (Stuttgart, forthcoming).
- Lewy (1978):  
 H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire*. Edited by M. Tardieu (2nd edn; Paris, 1978).
- Lezzi-Hafter (2008):  
 A. Lezzi-Hafter, 'Clay, Gold, and Craft: Special Techniques in Three Vases by the Eretria Painter and Their Apotheosis in Xenophantos', in K. Lapatin (ed.), *Special Techniques in Athenian Vases* (Los Angeles, 2008), p. 173–186.
- Lightfoot (1990):  
 C. S. Lightfoot, 'Trajan's Parthian War and the Fourth-century Perspective', in *JRS* 80 (1990), p. 115–126.
- Lincoln (2007):  
 B. Lincoln, *Religion, Empire, and Torture. The Case of Achaemenian Persia, with a Postscript on Abu Ghraib* (Chicago, 2007).
- Lincoln (2012a):  
 B. Lincoln, *Happiness for Mankind. Achaemenian Religion and the Imperial Project*. *Acta Iranica* 53 (Leuven, Paris, Walpole, 2012).
- Lincoln (2012b):  
 B. Lincoln, 'From Ritual Practice to Esoteric Knowledge: The Problem of the Magi', (Lecture given at the Samuel Jordan Center for Persian Studies and Culture, UC Irvine, November 29, 2012, available online at [www.youtube.com/watch?v=02709Ii0Aj4](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=02709Ii0Aj4)).
- Lindner (2002):  
 H. Lindner, 'Der Bau des größeren Tempels (A 15:380–390). Herodianische Propaganda und Josephus' Auffassung der jüdischen Geschichte', in F. Siegert and J.U. Kalms (eds.), *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Paris 2001* (Münster, 2002), p. 152–160.
- Linssen (2004):  
 M.J.H. Linssen, *The Cult of Uruk and Babylon. The Temple Ritual Texts as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practises* (Leiden and Boston, 2004).
- Lintz (2008):  
 Y. Lintz, 'Greek, Anatolian and Persian Iconography in Asia Minor: Material Sources, Method, and Perspectives', in S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-cultural Encounters. 1st International Conference (Athens, 11–13 November 2006)* (Athens, 2008), p. 257–264.

- Lipschits (2011):  
 O. Lipschits, 'Jerusalem Between Two Periods of Greatness: The Size and Status of the City in the Babylonian, Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods', in L. L. Grabbe and O. Lipschits (eds.), *Judah Between East and West. The Transition From Persian to Greek Rule (ca. 400–200 BCE)* (London, 2011), p. 163–175.
- Lissarrague (1987):  
 F. Lissarrague, *Un Flot d'images: une esthétique du banquet grec* (Paris, 1987).
- Lisson (2005):  
 F. Lisson, *Oswald Spengler. Philosoph des Schicksals* (Schnellroda, 2005).
- Liverani (1979):  
 M. Liverani, 'The Ideology of the Assyrian Empire', in M. T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (Copenhagen, 1979), p. 297–317.
- Livingstone (1997):  
 A. Livingstone, 'New Dimensions in the Study of Assyrian Religion', in S. Parpola and R. M. Whithing (eds.), *Assyria 1995. Proceedings of the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Helsinki, September 1995* (Helsinki, 1995), p. 165–177.
- Llewellyn-Jones (2002):  
 L. Llewellyn-Jones, 'Eunuchs and the Harem in Achaemenid Persia', in S. Tougher (ed.), *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond* (London and Swansea, 2002), p. 19–49.
- Llewellyn-Jones (2003):  
 L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise. The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea, 2003).
- Llewellyn-Jones (2010):  
 L. Llewellyn-Jones, 'The Big and Beautiful Women of Asia: Ethnic Conceptions of Ideal Beauty in Achaemenid-period Seals and Gemstones', in S. Hales and T. Hodos (eds.), *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 171–200.
- Llewellyn-Jones (2012):  
 L. Llewellyn-Jones, 'Great Kings of the Fourth Century BCE and Greek Conceptions of the Persian Past', in J. Marincola, L. Llewellyn-Jones and C. McIver (eds.), *Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras* (Edinburgh, 2012), p. 317–346.
- Llewellyn-Jones (2013a):  
 L. Llewellyn-Jones, "'Empire of the gaze": Despotism and Seraglio Fantasies à la Grecque in Chariton's Callirhoe', in S. Blundell, D. Cairns and N. Rabinowitz (eds.), *Vision and Viewing in Ancient Greece*. *Helios* 40 (Lubbock, 2013), p. 167–191.
- Llewellyn-Jones (2013b):  
 L. Llewellyn-Jones, *King and Court in Ancient Persia 559–331 BCE* (Edinburgh, 2013).
- Llewellyn-Jones (2015):  
 L. Llewellyn-Jones, "'Beautiful to Behold is the King': The Body of the Achaemenid Monarch", in F. Wascheck and A. Shapiro (eds.), *Fluide Körper-Bodies in Transition* (Cologne, 2015 [in press]).
- Llewellyn-Jones (2016):  
 L. Llewellyn-Jones, 'Reviewing Space, Context and Meaning: The Eurymedon Vase Again', in D. Rodriguez Perez (ed.), *New Studies in Greek Art* (Oxford, forthcoming 2016).
- Llewellyn-Jones and Robson  
 L. Llewellyn-Jones and James Robson, *Ctesias' History of Persia: Tales of the Orient* (London, 2009).
- Lockhart, Morozzo Della Rocca and Tiepolo (1973):  
 L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo Della Rocca and M.F. Tiepolo (eds.), *I viaggi degli ambasciatori veneti Barbaro e Contarini* (Rome, 1973).
- Loftus (1857):  
 W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana in 1849–1852* (London, 1857).

- Logue (2004):  
W. Logue, 'Set in Stone: The Role of Relief-Carved Stone Vessels in Neopalatial Minoan Elite Propaganda', in *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 99 (2004), p. 149–172.
- Loinaz (2012):  
T. Loinaz, 'Balīnās Almutāsim Arrūmī. La tradició talismànica d'Apolloni de Tíana en la literatura geogràfica araboislàmica', in R. Puig and I. Bejarano (eds.), *Homenatge a Francesc Castelló. Geografies/Jugrafiyyāt* (Barcelona, 2012), p. 171–233.
- Longden (1931):  
R. P. Longden, 'Notes on the Parthian Campaigns of Trajan', in *JRS* 21 (1931), p. 1–35.
- Ludz (1980):  
C. Ludz (ed.), *Spengler Heute. Sechs Essays mit einem Vorwort von Hermann Lübbe* (München, 1980).
- Luft (2001):  
P. Luft, 'The Qajar rock reliefs', in *Iranian Studies* 34 (2001), p. 31–49.
- Luke and Roosevelt (2015):  
C. Luke, and C. H. Roosevelt, 'Memory and Meaning in Bin Tepe, the Lydian Cemetery of a "Thousand Mounds"', in O. Henry and U. Kelp (eds.), *Tumulus as Sema: Proceedings of an International Conference on Space, Politics, Culture, and Religion in the First Millennium BC*, TOPOI Excellence Cluster series (Berlin, 2015), p. 403–424.
- Lukonin (1983):  
V. Lukonin, 'Political, Social and Administrative Institutions. Taxes and Trade', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. Volume 3.2: The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sassanian Periods* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 681–746.
- Luschey (1968a):  
H. Luschey, 'Studien zu dem Darius-Relief in Bisutun', in *AMI* 1 (1968), p. 63–94.
- Luschey (1968b):  
H. Luschey, 'Der Löwe von Ekbatana', in *AMI* 1 (1968), p. 115–122.
- Luschey (1996):  
H. Luschey, 'Die seleukidische Heraklesfigur', in W. Kleiss and P. Calmeyer (eds.), *Bisutun. Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1963–1967. Teheraner Forschungen* 7 (Berlin, 1996), p. 59–60.
- Luschey-Schmeisser (1983):  
I. Luschey-Schmeisser, 'Nachleben achämenidischer Element in der späteren Kunst Irans', in H. Koch and D. N. Mackenzie, *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben* (Berlin, 1983), p. 267–288.
- Luttikhuisen (2007):  
G. P. Luttikhuisen, *La pluriformidad del Cristianismo primitivo* (Cordoba, 2007). Spanish translation by L. Roig Lanzillota of *De veelvormigheid van het vroegste christendom* (Delft, 2002).
- Lynch (2011):  
K. M. Lynch, *The Symposium in Context: Pottery from a Late Archaic House Near the Athenian Agora* (Princeton, 2011).
- Ma (2000):  
J. Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (Oxford, 2000).
- Ma (2003a):  
J. Ma, 'Kings', in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (Malden and Oxford, 2003), p. 177–195.
- Ma (2003b):  
J. Ma, 'Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic Age', in *Past and Present* 180.1 (2003), p. 9–39.
- Ma (2003c):  
J. Ma, 'Dans les pas d'Antiochos III; L'Asie Mineure entre pouvoir et discours', in F. Prost (ed.), *l'Orient Méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée: Cités et royaumes à l'époque hellénistique: Colloque international de la SOPHAU, Rennes, avril*

2003. Pallas 62 (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail & Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), p. 243–259.
- Ma (2008):  
J. Ma, 'Paradigms and Paradoxes in the Hellenistic World', in V. Biagio (ed.), *Studi ellenistici* 20 (Pisa, 2008), p. 371–385.
- Macchi (2007):  
J.D. Macchi, 'Le livre d'Esther: écrire une histoire perse comme un Grec', in D. Doré (ed.), *Comment la Bible saisit-elle l'histoire?* (Paris, 2007), p. 197–226.
- Mackay (forthcoming):  
E.A. Mackay, 'Exekias and Co. Evidence of Cooperative Work in the Workshop of Exekias, Group E and their Associates', in S. Schmidt and N. Eschbach (eds.), *Meister Schule Werkstatt. Zuschreibungen in der griechischen Vasenmalerei und die Organisation antiker Keramikproduktion*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Beihefte zum CVA 7 (München, forthcoming).
- MacKenzie (1998):  
D.N. MacKenzie, 'Ērān, Ērānšahr', in E. Yarshater *et al.*, *Encyclopædia Iranica* VIII(5) (New York, 1998), p. 534.
- MacLeod (1991):  
M.D. MacLeod, *Lucian. A Selection* (Warminster, 1991).
- MacLeod (1994):  
M.D. MacLeod, 'Lucianic Studies since 1930', in *ANRW* II.34.2 (1994), p. 1362–1421.
- MacMullen (1981):  
R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven, 1981).
- Mac Sweeney (2015):  
N. Mac Sweeney, 'Introduction', in id. (ed.), *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies: Dialogues and Discourses* (Philadelphia, 2015), p. 1–19.
- Macuch (2009):  
M. Macuch (ed.), *The Literature of Pre-Islamic Iran* (London, 2009).
- Madarassy (1991):  
O. Madarassy, 'Die bemalte Kultwand im Mithräum des Legionslagers von Aquincum', in *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 24 (1991), p. 207–211.
- Maddoli (1995):  
G. Maddoli (ed.), *Pausania, Guida della Grecia v. 5. L'Elide e Olimpia (Commento a cura di Gianfranco Maddoli e Vincenzo Saladino.)* (Milano, 1995).
- Magie (1950):  
D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton, 1950).
- Mahamedei (2004):  
H. Mahamedei, 'Wall as a System of Frontier Defense During the Sasanid Period', in T. Daryae and M. Omidasalar (eds.), *Mēnōg ī Xrad: The Spirit of Wisdom. Essays in Memory of Ahmad Tafazzoli* (Costa Mesa, CA, 2004), p. 145–159.
- Mairs (2010):  
R. Mairs, 'An "Identity Crisis"? Identity and Its Discontents in Hellenistic Studies', in M. Dalla Riva (ed.), *Meetings between Cultures in the Ancient Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Rome 22–26 September 2008* (Rome, 2010).
- Mairs (2013):  
R. Mairs, 'The Hellenistic Far East: From the Oikoumene to the Community', in E. Stavriano-poulou (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*. Mnemosyne Supplements 363 (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 365–387.
- Malandra (1983):  
W.W. Malandra, *An Introduction to Ancient Iranian Religion. Readings from the Avesta and Achaemenid Inscriptions* (Minneapolis, 1983).
- Marashi (2008):  
A. Marashi, *Nationalizing Iran: Culture, Power, and the State, 1870–1940* (Seattle, 2008).

- Marashi (2009):  
A. Marashi, 'The Nation's Poet: Ferdowsi and the Iranian National Imagination', in T. Atabaki (ed.), *Iran in the 20th Century: Historiography and Political Culture* (London, 2009), p. 93–111.
- Marchand (2011):  
S. Marchand, 'La transposition céramique dans l'Égypte ancienne', in D. Aston *et al.* (eds.), *Under the Potter's Tree. Studies on Ancient Egypt Presented to Janine Bourriau on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday* (Leuven, 2011), p. 603–631.
- Marciak (2012):  
M. Marciak, 'The historical geography of Sophene', in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 52 (2012), p. 295–338.
- Marcus (1933–1937):  
R. Marcus, *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities Books 5–14* (LCL) (Cambridge, MA, 1933–1937).
- Marcus and Wikgren (1963):  
R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, *Josephus, Jewish Antiquities Books 15–17* (LCL) (Cambridge, MA, 1963).
- Marinatos (1984):  
N. Marinatos, *Art and Religion in Thera. Reconstructing a Bronze Age Society* (Athens, 1984).
- Marincola (1999):  
J. Marincola, 'Genre, Convention and Innovation in Greco-Roman Historiography', in C.S. Kraus (ed.), *The Limits of Historiography. Genre and Narrative in Ancient Historical Texts* (Leiden and Boston, 1999), p. 281–324.
- Marincola, Llewellyn-Jones, Maciver (2012):  
J. Marincola, L. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones and C.A. Maciver (eds.), *Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras: History Without Historians*. Edinburgh Leventis Studies 6 (Edinburgh, 2012).
- Markwart (1932):  
J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānšāhr*. Ed. by G. Messina (Rome, 1932).
- Marshak (2015):  
A.K. Marshak, *The Many Faces of Herod the Great* (Grand Rapids, 2015).
- Martin (1974):  
R. Martin, *L'urbanisme dans la Grèce Antique* (2nd edn; Paris, 1974).
- Martin-Pardey (1990):  
E. Martin-Pardey, 'Zum Koptosdekret Antef's V', in *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990* (Hildesheim, 1990), p. 185–197.
- Marttila (2012):  
M. Marttila, *Foreign Nations in the Wisdom of Ben Sira. A Jewish Sage Between Opposition and Assimilation* (Berlin, 2012).
- Mason (1994):  
S. Mason, 'Josephus, Daniel, and the Flavian House', in F. Parente and J. Sievers (eds.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period. Essays in Memory of Morton Smith* (Leiden and Boston, 1994), p. 161–191.
- Mason (2005):  
S. Mason, 'Figured Speech and Irony in the Works of T. Flavius Josephus', in J. Edmondson, S. Mason and J. Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome* (Oxford, 2005), p. 243–88.
- Mason (2007):  
S. Mason, 'Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History', in *JSJ* 38 (2007), p. 457–512.
- Mason (2009a):  
S. Mason, 'Josephus as Authority for First-Century Judea', in *id.*, *Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins: Methods and Categories* (Peabody, MA, 2009), p. 7–43.

- Mason (2009b):  
S. Mason, 'Contradiction or Counterpoint? Josephus and Historical Method', in id., *Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins: Methods and Categories* (Peabody, MA, 2009), p. 103–137.
- Massé (1973):  
H. Massé (ed.), *Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadhānī. Abrégé du livre des pays* (Damascus, 1973).
- Mastrocinque (1999):  
A. Mastrocinque, *Studi sulle guerre mitridatiche* (Stuttgart, 1999).
- Mathys (2010):  
H. P. Mathys, 'Der Achämenidenhof im Alten Testament', in B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Der Achämenidenhof* (Wiesbaden, 2010), p. 231–308.
- Matthäus (1993):  
H. Matthäus, 'Zur Rezeption orientalischer Kunst-, Kultur-, und Lebensformen in Griechenland', in K. Raaflaub (ed.), *Anfäng politischen Denkens in der Antike. Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und die Griechen* (München, 1993), p.165–186.
- Matthee (2008):  
R. Matthee, 'Safavid Dynasty', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* (forthcoming; online version available at [www.iranicaonline.org](http://www.iranicaonline.org) [2008]).
- Matthee (2012):  
R. Matthee, 'Safavid Iran through the Eyes of European Travelers', in *Harvard Library Bulletin* 23.1/2 (2012), p. 10–24.
- Matthey (2011):  
P. Matthey, 'Récits égyptiens et grecs à propos de Nectanébo II. Une réflexion sur l'historiographie égyptienne', in N. Belayche and J.D. Dubois (eds.), *L'oiseau et le poisson. Cohabitations religieuses dans les mondes grecs et romains* (Paris, 2011), p. 303–328.
- Matthiae (1999):  
P. Matthiae, *Geschichte der Kunst im Alten Orient, 1000–330 v. Chr. Die Großreiche der Assyrer, Neubabylonier und Achämeniden* (Stuttgart and Darmstadt, 1999) = *Storia dell'arte dell'Oriente Antico* (Milano, 1996).
- Mattingly (1979):  
H. B. Mattingly, 'L. Julius Caesar, Governor of Macedonia', in *Chiron* 9 (1979), p. 147–167.
- Mayrhofer (1973):  
M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana: Das altiranische Namenbuch der Persepolis-Täfelchen* (Vienna, 1973).
- McCaskie (2012):  
T. C. McCaskie, "'As On a Darkling plain": Practitioners, Publics, Propagandists, and Ancient Historiography', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54.1 (2012), p. 145–173.
- McCow (1922):  
C. C. McCow, *The Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig, 1922).
- McEwan (1934):  
C. W. McEwan, *The Oriental Origin of the Hellenistic Kingship* (Chicago, 1934).
- McGing (1986),  
B. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus* (Leiden, 1986).
- McGing (2009):  
B. McGing, 'Mithridates VI Eupator: Victim or Aggressor?', in J. M. Højte (ed.), *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*. Black Sea Studies 9 (Aarhus, 2009), p. 203–216.
- McGing (2014):  
B. McGing, 'Iranian Kings in Greek Dress? Cultural Identity in the Mithradatid Kingdom of Pontus', in T. Bekker-Nielsen (ed.), *Space, Place and Identity in Northern Anatolia*. Geographica Historica 29 (Stuttgart, 2014), p. 21–38.
- McNiven (2000):  
T. McNiven, 'Behaving Like an Other. Tell-tale Gestures in Athenian Vase Painting', in B. Cohen (ed.), *Not the Classical Ideal. Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art* (Leiden and Boston, 2000), p. 71–97.



- Meeks (1986):  
D. Meeks, 'Zoomorphie et image des dieux dans l'Égypte ancienne', in C. Malamoud et J. P. Vernant, *Le corps des dieux. Le temps de la réflexion* 7 (Paris, 1986), p. 171–91.
- Meiggs (1973):  
R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (2nd edn; Oxford, 1973).
- Meisami (2001):  
J. S. Meisami, *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Edinburgh, 2001).
- Melikian-Chirvani (1971):  
A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, 'Le royaume de Salomon. Les inscriptions persanes de sites achéménides', in *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam* 1 (1971), p. 1–41.
- Melikian-Chirvani (1992):  
A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, 'Qajar Metalwork', in E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (eds.), *Qajar Iran. Political, Social, and Cultural Change, 1800–1925* (Costa Mesa CA, 1992), p. 311–328.
- Mellink (1973):  
M. J. Mellink, 'Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1972', in *AJA* 77 (1973), p. 293–303.
- Mellink (1974):  
M. J. Mellink, 'Excavations at Karataş-Semayük and Elmalı, Lycia, 1973', in *AJA* 78 (1974), p. 351–359.
- Melville (2011):  
C. Melville (ed.), *Shahnama Studies* I (Leiden and Boston, 2011).
- Mendels (1981a):  
D. Mendels, 'A Note on the Tradition of Antiochos IV's Death', in *IEJ* 31 (1981), p. 53–56.
- Mendels (1981b):  
D. Mendels, 'The Five Empires: A Note on a Propagandistic Topos', in *AJPh* 102 (1981), p. 330–337.
- Merkelbach (1984):  
R. Merkelbach, *Mithras* (Königstein and Taunus, 1984).
- Merkelbach and Stauber (2005):  
R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, *Jenseits des Euphrat. Griechische Inschriften* (Leipzig, 2005).
- Merlio (1982):  
G. Merlio, *Oswald Spengler. Témoin de son temps* (Stuttgart, 1982).
- Merlio and Meyer (2014):  
G. Merlio and D. Meyer (eds.), *Spengler ohne Ende* (Frankfurt am Main, 2014).
- Merrillees (2005):  
P. H. Merrillees, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum. 6: Pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid Periods* (London, 2005).
- Mertens (2010):  
J. Mertens, *How to Read Greek Vases* (New Haven, CT, 2010).
- Meshorer (2001):  
Y. Meshorer, *A Treasury of Jewish Coins. From the Persian Period to Bar Kokhba* (Jerusalem, 2001).
- Messerschmidt (2011):  
W. Messerschmidt, 'Grabstele eines Herrschers von Kummuh. Zu den späthethitischen Wurzeln des kommagenischen Königs- und Ahnenkultes', in E. Winter (ed.), *Von Kummuh nach Telouch: Historische und archäologische Untersuchungen in Kommagene*. Asia Minor Studien 64 (Bonn, 2011), p. 283–307.
- Messerschmidt (2012):  
W. Messerschmidt, 'Zwischen Tradition und Innovation: Die Ahnengalerie des Antiochos I. von Kommagene', in J. Wägner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (Mainz, 2012), p. 87–98.

- Metzler (2000):  
 D. Metzler, 'Kommagene von Osten her gesehen', in J. Wagner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (Mainz, 2000), p. 51–55.
- Meyer, C. (2013):  
 C. Meyer, *Greco-Scythian Art and the Birth of Eurasia* (Oxford, 2013).
- Meyer, E. (1879),  
 E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Königreichs Pontos* (Leipzig, 1879).
- Meyer, E. (1899):  
 E. Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte II* (Halle, 1899).
- Meyer, H. (1991):  
 H. Meyer, *Antioos: Die archäologischen Denkmäler unter Einbeziehung des numismatischen und epigraphischen Materials sowie der literarischen Nachrichten. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der hadrianisch-frühantoninischen Zeit* (München, 1991).
- Meyer, M. (1990):  
 M. Meyer, 'Die Felsbilder Shapurs I.', in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 105 (1990), p. 237–302.
- Michels (2009):  
 C. Michels, *Kulturtransfer und monarchischer "Philhellenismus". Bithynien, Pontos und Kapadokien in hellenistischer Zeit* (Göttingen, 2009).
- Michels (2013):  
 C. Michels, 'The Spread of the *Polis* Institutions in Hellenistic Cappadocia and the Peer Polity Interaction Model', in E. Stavrianopoulou (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 283–307.
- Mielczarek (1993):  
 M. Mielczarek, *Cataphracti and Clibanarii. Studies on the Heavy Armoured Cavalry of the Ancient World* (Lodz, 1993).
- Mileta (2008):  
 C. Mileta, *Der König und sein Land. Untersuchungen zur Herrschaft der hellenistischen Monarchen über das königliche Gebiet Kleinasien und seine Bevölkerung* (Berlin, 2008).
- Millar (1993):  
 F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1993).
- Millar (2006).  
 F. Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408–450)* (Berkeley, 2006).
- Millar (2013):  
 F. Millar, *Religion, Language and Community in the Roman Near East: Constantine to Muhammad* (Oxford, 2013).
- Miller (1978):  
 S. G. Miller, *The Prytaneion: Its Form and Architectural Function* (Berkeley, 1978).
- Miller (1988):  
 M. C. Miller, 'Midas as the Great King in Attic Fifth-Century Vase Painting', in *Antiker Kunst* 2 (1988), p. 79–89.
- Miller (1991):  
 M. C. Miller, 'Foreigners at the Greek Symposium?', in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context* (Ann Arbor MI, 1991), p. 59–82.
- Miller (1992):  
 M. C. Miller, 'The parasol: An oriental status-symbol in late archaic and classical Athens', in *JHS* 112 (1992), p. 91–105.
- Miller (1993):  
 M. C. Miller, 'Adoption and adaptation of Achaemenid metalware forms in attic black-gloss ware of the fifth century', in *AMI* (1993), p. 109–46.

- Miller (1997):  
M. C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the Fifth Century BC. A Study in Cultural Receptivity* (Cambridge, 1997).
- Miller (2003):  
M. C. Miller, 'Art, Myth, and Reality. Xenophantos' Lekythos Re-Examined', in E. Csapo and M. C. Miller (eds.), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis: The Social Life of Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 2003), p. 19–47.
- Miller (2004):  
M. C. Miller, 'In Strange Company: Persians in Early Attic Theatre Imagery', in *Mediterranean Archaeology* 17 (2004), p. 165–172.
- Miller (2006):  
M. C. Miller, 'Orientalism and Ornamentalism: Athenian Reactions to Achaemenid Persia', in *Arts: The Proceedings of the Sydney University Arts Association* 28 (2006), p. 117–146.
- Miller (2006–2007):  
M. C. Miller, 'Persians in the Greek Imagination', in *Mediterranean Archaeology* 19–20 (2006–2007), p. 109–123.
- Miller (2010a):  
M. C. Miller, "I am Eurymedon". Tensions and Ambiguities in Athenian War Imagery', in D. M. Pritchard, *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 304–338.
- Miller (2010b):  
M. C. Miller, 'Luxury Toreutic in the Western Satrapies, Court-Inspired Gift-Exchange Diffusion', in B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Der Achämenidenhof. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema „Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen“, Landgut Castelen bei Basel, 23.–25. Mai 2007*. *Classica et Orientalia* 2 (Wiesbaden, 2010), p. 853–897.
- Miller (2011a):  
M. C. Miller, 'Town and Country in the Satrapies of Western Anatolia. The Archaeology of Empire', in L. Summerer, A. Ivantchik and A. Von Kienlin (eds.), *Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos. Développement urbain dans le contexte anatolien* (Bordeaux, 2011), p. 319–344.
- Miller (2011b):  
M. C. Miller, "'Manners Makyth Man". Diacritical Drinking in Achaemenid Anatolia', in E. S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Los Angeles, 2011), p. 97–134.
- Miller (2013):  
M. C. Miller, 'Clothes and Identity. The Case of Greeks in Ionia ca. 400 BC', in P. Burton (ed.), *Culture, Identity and Politics in the Ancient Mediterranean World*. *Antichthon* 47 (2013), p. 18–38.
- Miller (forthcoming a):  
M. C. Miller, 'Of Thrones, Griffins and Seals: The Iconography of the Throne of the Priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus, Athens' (forthcoming).
- Miller (forthcoming b):  
M. C. Miller, 'The Theatre of Dionysos: Throne of the Priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus', in *Jdl* (forthcoming).
- Miller and Hölscher (2014):  
M. C. Miller and T. Hölscher, 'Wealth and Social Identity, East and West: Between Cultural Anthropology and Political Ideology', in N. Zenzen, T. Hölscher and K. Trampedach (eds.), *Aneignung und Abgrenzung. Wechselnde Perspektiven auf die Antithese von 'Ost' und 'West' in der griechischen Antike* (Heidelberg, 2014), p. 367–420.
- Miller and Paspalas (forthcoming):  
M. C. Miller and S. A. Paspalas, 'Perserie: Receptivity of the Persian Empire in Athens and Macedonia, 6th–4th century BC', in B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *A Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire* (Oxford, forthcoming).

- Ministry of Culture and Art (n. d.)  
 Ministry of Culture and Art, *The Garden of Afif Ābād* (Tehran or Shiraz, n. d.).
- Minns (1913):  
 E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks: A Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine From the Danube to the Caucasus* (Cambridge, 1913).
- Minunno (2008):  
 G. Minunno, 'Aspetti religiosi nella conquista assira e persiana dell'Egitto', in *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 31 (2008), p. 127–143.
- Mir (2006):  
 M. Mir, *Iqbal. Makers of Islamic Civilization* 6 (London and New York, 2006).
- Mishra (2012):  
 P. Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia* (New York, 2012).
- Mitchell (1993):  
 S. Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* (Oxford and New York, 1993).
- Mitchell (2002):  
 S. Mitchell, 'In Search of the Pontic Community in Antiquity', in A. K. Bowman (ed.), *Representations of Empire: Rome and the Mediterranean World*. Proceedings of the British Academy 114 (Oxford, NY, 2002), p. 35–54.
- Mitchell (2007):  
 S. Mitchell, 'Iranian Names and the Presence of Persians in the Religious Sanctuaries of Asia Minor', in E. Matthews (ed.), *Old and New Worlds in Greek Onomastics*. Proceedings of the British Academy 148 (Oxford, 2007), p. 151–171.
- Mitchell (2010):  
 S. Mitchell, 'The Ionians of Paphlagonia', in T. Whitmarsh (ed.), *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*. Greek Culture in the Roman World (Cambridge, 2010), p. 86–110.
- Mitchell (2012):  
 A. Mitchell, *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour* (Cambridge, 2012).
- Mitford (1980):  
 T. B. Mitford, 'Cappadocia and Armenia Minor: Historical Setting of the *Limes*', in *ANRW* II.7.2 (1980), p. 1169–1228.
- Mittag (2002):  
 P. F. Mittag, 'Beim Barte des Demetrios. Überlegungen zur partischen Gefangenschaft Demetrios' II.', in *Klio* 84.2 (2002), p. 373–399.
- Mittag (2006):  
 P. F. Mittag, *Antiochos IV. Epiphanes. Eine politische Biographie*. Klio Beihefte 11 (Berlin, 2006).
- Mittag (2012):  
 P. F. Mittag, 'Zur Entwicklung des Herrscher- und Dynastiekultes in Kommagene', in L.-M. Günther and S. Plischke (eds.), *Studien zum vorhellenistischen und hellenistischen Herrscherkult*. Oikumene 9 (Berlin, 2012), p. 141–160.
- Moles (1983):  
 J. Moles, 'The date and purpose of the fourth kingship oration of Dio Chrysostom', in *Classical Antiquity* 2 (1983), p. 251–278.
- Momigliano (1975):  
 A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* (Cambridge, 1975).
- Moorey (1988):  
 P. R. S. Moorey, 'The technique of gold-figure decoration on Achaemenid silver vessels and its antecedents', in *Iranica Antiqua* 23 (1988), p. 231–251.
- Morier (1818):  
 J. J. Morier, *A Second Journey Through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople Between the Years 1812 and 1816* (London, 1818).

- Morris (1992):  
S. P. Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton, 1992).
- Morris (2011):  
I. Morris, *Why the West Rules – For Now: The Patterns of History, and What They Reveal About the Future* (2nd edn; New York, 2011).
- Mosig-Walburg (2009):  
K. Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser. Vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahr 363 n. Chr.* (Gutenberg, 2009).
- Moss (2007):  
J. Moss, 'What Is Imitative Poetry and Why Is It Bad?', in G.R.F. Ferrari (ed.), *Cambridge Companion to Plato's Republic* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 415–444.
- Mosshammer (1984):  
A.A. Mosshammer (ed.), *Georgius Syncellus: Ecloga chronographica.* (Leipzig, 1984).
- Mousavi (2002):  
A. Mousavi, 'Persepolis in retrospect. Histories of discovery and archaeological exploration at the ruins of ancient Parseh', in *Ars Orientalis* 32 (2002), p. 209–255.
- Mousavi (2003):  
A. Mousavi, 'Hamadān. vii: Monuments', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* IX(6) (Winona Lake, 2003), p. 612–615.
- Mousavi (2012):  
A. Mousavi, *Persepolis: Discovery and Afterlife of a World Wonder* (Boston, 2012).
- Moyer (2011):  
I. Moyer, 'Finding a Middle Ground. Culture and Politics in the Ptolemaic Thebaid', in P.F. Dorman and B.M. Bryan (eds.), *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop* (Chicago, 2011), p. 115–145.
- Muccioli (2004):  
F. Muccioli, 'Il re dell'Asia: ideologia e propaganda da Alessandro Magna a Mitridate VI', in *Simblos* 4 (2004), p. 105–158.
- Muccioli (2013):  
F. Muccioli, *Gli epiteti ufficiali dei re ellenistici* (Stuttgart, 2013).
- Murgotten (1924):  
F.C. Murgotten (ed.), *The Origins of the Islamic State, Being a Translation from the Arabic Accompanied with Annotations, Geographic and Historic Notes of the Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān of al-Imām abu-l 'Abbas Aḥmad al-Balādhuri II* (New York, 1924).
- Müseler (2005–2006):  
W. Müseler, 'Die Sogennaten dunkelen Jahrhunderte der Persis: Anmerkungen zu einem lange nachverlässigten Thema', in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* (2005–2006), p. 55–56, 75–103.
- Mustafa, Tubach, Vashalomidze (2007):  
A. Mustafa, J. Tubach, and G.S. Vashalomidze (eds.), *Inkulturation des Christentums im Sasanidenreich* (Wiesbaden, 2007).
- Müller, A. (1886):  
A. Müller, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* (Freiburg, 1886).
- Müller, C. (2010):  
C. Müller, *D'Olbia à Tanaïs. Territoires et réseaux d'échanges dans la mer Noire septentrionale aux époques classique et hellénistique* (Paris, 2010).
- Munk Højte (2009):  
J. Munk Højte (ed.), *Mithradates VI and the Pontic Kingdom* (Aarhus, 2009).
- Murray (1993):  
O. Murray, *Early Greece* (2nd edn; London, 1993).
- Murray and Moreno (2007):  
O. Murray and A. Moreno (eds.), *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV*, eds. (Oxford, 2007).

- Naerebout (2014):  
 F. Naerebout, 'Cuius Regio, Eius Religio? Rulers and Religious Change in Greco-Roman Egypt', in L. Bricault and M. J. Versluys (eds.), *Power, Politics and the Cults of Isis. Proceedings of the Vth International Conference of Isis Studies, Boulogne-sur-Mer, October 13–15, 2011* (Leiden and Boston, 2014), p. 36–61.
- Nagel (1972–1975):  
 W. Nagel, 'Herrscher – B. In der Bildkunst', in *Reallexikon des Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* IV (Berlin, 1972–1975), p. 345–367.
- Naster (1968):  
 P. Naster, 'Note d'épigraphie monétaire de Perside : *Fratakara, Frataraka ou Fratadara?*', in *Iranica Antiqua* 8 (1968), p. 74–80.
- Naveh and Shaked (2012):  
 J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria from the Khalili Collections* (London, 2012).
- Nawotka (2012):  
 K. Nawotka, 'Persia, Alexander the Great and the Kingdom of Asia', in *Klio* 94 (2012), p. 348–356.
- Nehamas (1982):  
 A. Nehamas, 'Plato on Imitation and Poetry in Republic X', in J. Moravcsik and P. Temko (eds.), *Plato on Beauty, Wisdom and the Arts* (Totowa, 1982), p. 47–78.
- Nell (1995):  
 G. S. Nell, *The Savaran. The Original Knights* (Norman OK, 1995).
- Nelson (2012):  
 W. B. Nelson, *Daniel* (Grand Rapids, 2012).
- Nercessian (1985):  
 Y. T. Nercessian, 'The Evolution of the Armenian tiara', in *Armenian Numismatic Journal* 11.1 (1985), p. 2–12.
- Nercessian (1995):  
 Y. T. Nercessian, *Armenian Coins and their Values* (Los Angeles, 1995).
- Nercessian (2006):  
 Y. T. Nercessian, *Silver Coinage of the Artaxiad Dynasty of Armenia* (Los Angeles, 2006).
- Netzer (1993):  
 A. Netzer, 'Dānāl-e Nabī, i. In the Biblical and Popular Traditions', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* VI(6) (London, 1993), p. 657.
- Neumann (1965):  
 G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1965).
- Neusner (1963):  
 J. Neusner, 'Parthian political ideology', in *Iranica Antiqua* 3.2 (1963), p. 40–59.
- Neusner (1969):  
 J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia. Volume I: The Parthian Period* (2nd edn; Leiden, 1969).
- Neusner (1965–1970):  
 J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia* (5 vols; Leiden, 1965–1970).
- Newman (2006):  
 A. J. Newman, *Safavid Iran. Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London and New York, 2006).
- Newsom (2014):  
 C. A. Newsom, *Daniel. A Commentary* (Louisville, KY, 2014).
- Nezam-Mafi (2012):  
 M. E. Nezam-Mafi, 'Qajar Iran (1795–1921)', in T. Daryaee (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Iranian History* (Oxford 2012), p. 319–345.
- Nicolai (2001):  
 R. Nicolai, 'Strabone e la campagna partica di Antonio. Critica delle fonti e critica del testo', in

- G. Traina, A.A. de Siena and B. Tisé (eds.), *Studi sull'XI Libro dei Geographika di Strabone*. Università di Lecce. Dipartimento di Scienze dell'antichità 6 (Galatina, 2001), p. 95–126.
- Nicolai and Traina (2000):  
R. Nicolai and G. Traina, *Strabone. Caucaso, Anatolia, Asia centrale. Libri XI–XII: Introduzione, traduzione e note* (Milano, 2000).
- Nicolson (1924):  
H. Nicolson, *Byron: The Last Journal, April 1823–April 1824* (London, 1924).
- Nieswandt and Salzman (2015):  
H.-H. Nieswandt and Salzman, 'Eine Registerstele aus Alaşehir in Lydien. Anmerkungen zur Phänomen der anatolisch-persischen Kunst', in E. Winter and K. Zimmermann (eds.), *Zwischen Satrapen und Dynasten. Kleinasien im 4. Jahrhundert*. Asia Minor Studien 76 (Bonn, 2015), p. 83–134.
- Nilsson (1950):  
M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion II* (München, 1950).
- Nimmo Smith (2001):  
J. Nimmo Smith, *A Christian's Guide to Greek Culture. The Pseudo-Nonnus Commentaries on Sermons 4, 5, 6, and 43 by Gregory of Nazianzus*. Translated Texts for Historians 37 (Liverpool, 2001).
- Noble (1997):  
L. L. Noble, *The Life and Works of Thomas Cole (1853)*. Ed. E. S. Vesell (Hensonville, NY, 1997).
- Nokandeh and Sauer (2006):  
J. Nokandeh and E. W. Sauer *et. al.*, 'Linear Barriers of Northern Iran: The Great Wall of Gorgan and the Wall of Tammishe', in *Iran* 44 (2006), p. 121–173.
- Nollé (1992):  
M. Nollé, *Denkmäler vom Satrapensitz Daskyleion. Studien zur graeco-persischen Kunst* (Berlin, 1992).
- Nollé (2012):  
J. Nollé, 'Zum Kult der Anaitis Artemis von Hypaipa und zu einigen Patriatraditionen der Torrheischen Kästertal-Stadt', in *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 62 (2012), p. 127–195.
- Nora (1989):  
P. Nora, *Les lieux de mémoire. Tome 2: La Nation* (Paris, 1989).
- Nyberg (1938):  
H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig, 1938).
- Nylander (1970):  
C. Nylander, 'Achaemenid Imperial Art', in M. T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (Copenhagen, 1979), p. 345–359.
- O'Donnell (n. d.)  
T. O'Donnell, *The Narenjestan. A Brief History and Interpretation of the House* (Shiraz, n. d.).
- Oelsner (1964):  
J. Oelsner, 'Ein Beitrag zu keilschriftlichen Königstitulaturen in hellenistischer Zeit', in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie* 56 (1964), p. 262–274.
- Oelsner (1975):  
J. Oelsner, 'Randbemerkungen zur arsakidischen Geschichte anhand von babylonischen Keilschriften', in *Alt-Orientalische Forschungen* 3 (1975), p. 25–45.
- Oelsner (1986):  
J. Oelsner, *Materialien zur babylonischen Gesellschaft und Kultur in hellenistischer Zeit*. Assyriologia VII (Budapest, 1986).
- Oeming (2006):  
M. Oeming, "'See, We Are Serving Today'" (Nehemiah 9:36). Nehemiah 9 as a Theological Interpretation of the Persian Period', in O. Lipschits and M. Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period* (Winona Lake, 2006), p. 571–588.

- Ogden (2000):  
J. Ogden, 'Metals' in P. T. Nicholson and I. Shaw (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 148–176.
- Olbrycht (1997):  
M. J. Olbrycht, 'Parthian king's tiara. Numismatic evidence and some aspects of Arsacid political ideology', in *Notae Numismaticae* (1997), p. 27–61.
- Olbrycht (2005):  
M. J. Olbrycht, 'Creating an Empire: Iran and Middle Asia in the Policy of Seleukos I', in P. Nikonorov *et al.* (eds.), *Central Asia From the Achaemenids to the Timurids* (St. Petersburg, 2005), p. 231–234.
- Olbrycht (2007):  
M. J. Olbrycht, 'The Military Reforms of Alexander the Great During His Campaign in Iran, Afghanistan, and Central Asia', in C. Galewicz, J. Pstrusińska, L. Sudyka (eds.), *Miscellanea Eurasiatica Cracoviensia* (Kraków, 2007), p. 223–235.
- Olbrycht (2009):  
M. J. Olbrycht, 'Mithridates VI Eupator and Iran', in J. M. Højte (ed.), *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*. Edited by. Black Sea Studies 9 (Aarhus, 2009), p. 163–190.
- Olbrycht (2011a):  
M. J. Olbrycht, 'First Iranian Units in the Army of Alexander the Great', in *Anabasis: Studia Classica et Orientalia* 2 (2011), p. 67–84.
- Olbrycht (2011b):  
M. J. Olbrycht, 'On Coin Portraits of Alexander the Great and His Iranian Regalia: Some', in *Notae Numismaticae* 6 (2011), p. 13–27.
- Olbrycht (2013):  
M. J. Olbrycht, 'Iranians in the Diadochi Period', in V. Alonso Troncoso and E. M. Anson (eds.), *After Alexander: The Time of the Diadochi (323–281 BC)* (Oxford, 2013) 159–182.
- Olbrycht (2013):  
M. J. Olbrycht, 'The titulature of Arsaces I, king of Parthia', in *Parthica* 15 (2013), p. 63–74.
- Olearius (1659):  
A. Olearius, *Relation du Voyage d'Adam Olearius en Moscovie, Tartarie et Perse, Augmentee en Cete Nouvelle Edition de plus d'un tiers, and particulièrement d'une seconde Partie Contenant le Voyage de Iean Albert De Mandelslo aux Indes Orientales* (2 vols ; Paris, 1659).
- Olmstead (1937):  
A. T. Olmstead, 'Cuneiform Texts and Hellenistic Chronology', in *Classical Philology* 32.1 (1937), p. 1–14.
- Olshausen (1978):  
E. Olshausen, 'Pontos', in *RE Suppl.* 15 (1978), col. 396–442.
- Olshausen (1990):  
E. Olshausen, 'Götter, Heroen und ihre Kulte in Pontos: ein erster Bericht', in *ANRW* II.18.3 (1990), p. 1865–1906.
- Olyan (2004):  
S. M. Olyan, 'Purity ideology in Ezra-Nehemia as a tool to reconstitute the community', in *JSJ* 35 (2014), p. 1–16.
- Omidisalar (2008):  
M. Omidisalar, 'Jamšid ii: In Persian Literature', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* XIV(5) (Winona Lake, 2008), p. 522–528.
- Oppenheimer (1983):  
A. Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period* (Wiesbaden, 1983).
- Osborne (1973):  
M. J. Osborne, 'Orontes', in *Historia* 22 (1973), p. 515–551.
- Osmancevic (2007):  
S. Osmancevic, *Oswald Spengler und das Ende der Geschichte* (Vienna, 2007).



- Ouseley (1819):  
W. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East: More Particularly Persia. A Work Wherein the Author Has Described, as Far as His Own Observations Extended, the State of Those Countries in 1810, 1811 and 1812 I* (London, 1819).
- Overtoom (2013):  
N. Overtoom, 'Six Polybian Themes Concerning Alexander the Great', in *CW* 106.4 (2013), p. 571–593.
- Özgen and Öztürk (1996):  
İ. Özgen and J. Öztürk, *The Lydian Treasure: Heritage Recovered* (Istanbul, 1996).
- Özgüç (1986):  
N. Özgüç, 'Samsat 1984 Yılı Kazıları', in *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 7 (1986), p. 221–227.
- Özgüç (1987):  
N. Özgüç, '1985 Yılında Yapılmış Olan Samsat Kazılarının Sonuçları', in *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 8.1 (1987), p. 297–304.
- Özgüç (1996):  
N. Özgüç, 'The early Hellenistic findings at Samsat', in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 46 (1996), p. 213–216.
- Pakzad (2005):  
F. Pakzad, *Bundahišn: Zoroastrische Kosmogonie und Kosmologie. Volume I: Kritische Edition*. Ancient Iranian Studies 2 (Tehran, 2005).
- Palagia (2015):  
O. Palagia, *The Impact of Alexander the Great on the Arts of Greece (Ninth BABESCH Byvanck Lecture)* (Leiden, 2015).
- Palaima (2008):  
T. G. Palaima, '13b. Mycenaean Religion', in C. Shelmerdine (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Aegean Bronze Age* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 342–361.
- Panaino (2003):  
A. Panaino, 'The Bayān of the Fratarakas: Gods or 'Divine' Kings?', in C. G. Cereti, M. Maggi, E. Provasi (eds.), *Religious Themes and Texts of pre-Islamic Iran and Central Asia: Studies in Honour of Professor Gherardo Gnoli on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday on 6th December 2002*. Beiträge zur Iranistik 24 (Wiesbaden, 2003), p. 265–288.
- Panaino (2007):  
A. Panaino, 'Τύχη e χαρκακτήρ del Sovrano tra iranismo ed ellenismo nelle iscrizioni di Antiocho I di Commagene', in T. Gnoli and F. Muccioli (eds.), *Atti del convegno di studi. Incontri tra culture nell'oriente ellenistico e romano, Ravenna 11–12 marzo 2005* (Milano, 2007).
- Panitschek (1987–1988):  
P. Panitschek, 'Zu den genealogischen Konstruktionen der Dynastien von Pontos und Kappadokien', in *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 17/18 (1987–1988), p. 73–95.
- Panitschek (1990):  
P. Panitschek, 'Zur Darstellung der Alexander- und Achaemenidennachfolge als politische Programme in kaiserzeitlichen Quellen', in *Klio* 72 (1990), p. 457–492.
- Papaconstantinou (2015):  
A. Papaconstantinou, review of F. Millar, *Religion, Language and Community in the Roman Near East*, in *English Historical Review* 130 (2015), p. 1517–1518.
- Parker (1996):  
R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History* (Oxford, 1996).
- Parlasca (1979):  
K. Parlasca, 'Persische Elemente in der frühptolemäischen Kunst', in *Akten des VII internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie* (München, 1976) (München, 1979), p. 317–323.
- Parry (1988):  
E. C. Parry, *The Art of Thomas Cole: Ambition and Imagination* (Newark, 1988).

- Paspalas (2005):  
S. A. Paspalas, 'Philip Arrhidaios at Court – An Ill-Advised Persianism? Macedonian Royal Display in the Wake of Alexander', in *Klio* 87.1 (2005), p. 72–101.
- Patton (2009):  
K. C. Patton, *Religion of the Gods. Ritual, Paradox, and Reflexivity* (Oxford, 2009).
- Paul (2013):  
L. Paul (ed.), *Handbuch der Iranistik* (Wiesbaden, 2013).
- Pavia (1999):  
C. Pavia, *Guida dei Mitrei di Roma antica. Dai misteriosi sotteranei della capitale: oro, incenso e Mithra* (Rome, 1999).
- Payne (2013):  
R. E. Payne, 'Cosmology and the Expansion of the Iranian Empire, 502–628 CE', in *Past and Present* 220.1 (2013), p. 3–33.
- Payne (2015):  
R. E. Payne, *A State of Mixture: Christians, Zoroastrians, and Iranian Political Culture in Late Antiquity*. Transformation of the Classical Heritage 56 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2015).
- Peck (1993):  
E. H. Peck, 'Crown. ii. From the Seleucids to the Islamic conquest', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.) *Encyclopædia Iranica* VI(4) (New York, 1993), p. 408–418.
- Pelling (2011):  
C. B. R. Pelling, *Plutarch Caesar. Translated with Introduction and Commentary* (Oxford, 2011).
- Penn (2015):  
N. Penn, 'Son, Men Don't Get Raped', in *GQ Magazine* (on-line; accessed January 5, 2015. [www.gq.com/long-form/male-military-rape.html](http://www.gq.com/long-form/male-military-rape.html)).
- Perikhanian (1971):  
A. Perikhanian, 'Les inscriptions araméennes du roi Artachès', in *REArm* 8 (1971), p. 169–174.
- Perlès (2001):  
C. Perlès, *The Early Neolithic in Greece. The First Farming Communities in Europe* (Cambridge, 2001).
- Perrin-Saminadayar (2008):  
E. Perrin-Saminadayar, *Éducation, culture et société à Athènes. Les acteurs de la vie culturelle athénienne, 229–88: un tout petit monde* (Paris, 2008).
- Perrot (1872):  
G. Perrot, *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie, d'une partie de la Mysie, de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont* 1 (Paris, 1972).
- Perrot (1888):  
G. Perrot, 'Dalle de marbre de style asiatique, trouvée en Attique', in *BCH* 5 (1888), p. 19–25.
- Petrie (1896):  
F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896).
- Petroff (1998):  
P. Petroff, 'Die griechisch-persische Tradition in Kultordnung und Herrscherrepräsentation des Antiochos I. von Kommagene', in L. Schumacher (ed.), *Religion – Wirtschaft – Technik. Althistorische Beiträge zur Entstehung neuer kultureller Strukturmuster im historischen Raum, Nordafrika / Kleinasien / Syrien*. Mainzer Althistorische Forschungen 1 (1998), p. 21–97.
- Petzl (2012):  
G. Petzl, 'Die Königsinschriften von Kommagene', in J. Wagner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat: Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (Darmstadt and Mainz, 2012), p. 61–70.
- Pfeiffer (2004):  
S. Pfeiffer, *Das Dekret von Kanopos (238 v. Chr.). Kommentar und historische Auswertung eines dreisprachigen Synodaldekretes der ägyptischen Priester zu Ehren Ptolemaios' III und seiner Familie* (München, 2004).

- Pfrommer (1996):  
M. Pfrommer, 'Roots and Contacts: Aspects of Alexandrian Craftsmanship', in K. Hamma (ed.), *Alexandria and Alexandrianism* (Malibu, 1996), p. 171–189.
- Pfrommer (1998):  
M. Pfrommer, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Komposition des Alexandermosaiks auf antiquarischer Grundlage*. Aegyptiaca Treverensia 8 (Mainz, 1998).
- Pfrommer (1999):  
M. Pfrommer, *Im Schatten der Pyramiden* (Mainz, 1999).
- Picard (1957):  
G. C. Picard, *Les trophées romains: contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome*. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 187 (Paris, 1957).
- Piejko (1991):  
F. Piejko, 'Antiochus III and Teos Reconsidered', in *Belleten: Türk Tarih Kurumu* 55 (1991), p. 13–69.
- Pinney (1984):  
G. Pinney, 'For the heroes are at hand', in *JHS* 104 (1984), p. 181–183.
- Pirenne (1937):  
H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne* (Paris and Brussels, 1937).
- Pitts and Versluys (2015):  
M. Pitts and M. J. Versluys (eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman world: World History, Connectivity and Material Culture* (Cambridge, 2015).
- Plischke (2014):  
S. Plischke, *Die Seleukiden und Iran. Die seleukidische Herrschaftspolitik in den östlichen Satrapien*. *Classica et Orientalia* 9 (Wiesbaden, 2014).
- Pollitt (1986):  
J. J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, 1986).
- Pollock (2006):  
S. Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men. Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Pre-modern India* (Berkeley, 2006).
- Pond Rothman (1977):  
M. S. Pond Rothman, 'The Thematic Organization of the Panel Reliefs on the Arch of Galerius', in *AJA* 81.4 (1977), p. 427–454.
- Porter (2006):  
J. I. Porter (ed.), *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome* (Princeton, NJ, 2006).
- Potts (1999):  
D. T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (Cambridge, 1999).
- Potts (2005):  
D. T. Potts, 'Cyrus the Great and the Kingdom of Anshan', in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran. Volume 1: Birth of the Persian Empire* (London, 2005), p. 7–28.
- Potts (2007):  
D. T. Potts, 'Foundation Houses, Fire Altars and the *Frataraka*: Interpreting the Iconography of Some Post-Achaemenid Persian Coins', in *Iranica Antiqua* 42 (2007), p. 271–300.
- Pourshariati (2014):  
P. Pourshariati, 'New Vistas on the History of Iranian Jewry in Late Antiquity: Patterns of Jewish Settlement in Iran. Part I', in H. M. Sarshar (ed.), *The Jews of Iran: The History, Religion and Culture of a Community in the Islamic World* (New York and London, 2014), p. 1–32.
- Powell (1939):  
J. E. Powell, 'The sources of Plutarch's Alexander', in *JHS* 59 (1939), p. 229–240.
- Price and Trell (1977):  
M. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and Their Cities: Architecture on the Ancient Coins of Greece, Rome, and Palestine* (London and Detroit, 1977).

- Priestley (2014):  
J. Priestley, *Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture. Literary Studies in the Reception of the 'Histories'* (Oxford, 2014).
- Primo (2010):  
A. Primo, 'The Client Kingdom of Pontus between Mithridatism and Philromanism', in T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East. Oriens et Occidens 19* (Stuttgart, 2010), p. 159–179.
- Pshenichniuk (2006):  
A. Pshenichniuk, 'The Filippovka Kurgans at the Heart of the Eurasian Steppes', in J. Aruz, A. Farkas and E. V. Fino (eds.), *The Golden Deer of Eurasia: Perspectives on the Steppe Nomads of the Ancient World* (New York, 2006), p. 21–30.
- Qazvīnī (1984):  
M. Qazvīnī, 'Moghadame-ye Šāhnāme-ye Ghadīm', in A. Iqbāl (ed.) *Bīst maghāle-ye Qazvīnī. Volume II* (Tehran, 1984), p. 49–55.
- Quack (2011):  
J. F. Quack, 'Ist der Meder an allem Schuld? Zur Frage des realhistorischen Hintergrundes der gräkoägyptischen prophetischen Literatur', in A. Jördens and J. F. Quack (eds.), *Ägypten zwischen innerem Zwist und äußerem Druck. Die Zeit Ptolemaios' VI bis. VIII* (Wiesbaden, 2011), p. 103–131.
- Raaflaub (2009):  
K. Raaflaub, 'Learning From the Enemy: Athenian and Persian Instruments of Empire', in J. Ma, N. Papazarkadas and R. Parker (eds.), *Interpreting the Athenian Empire* (London, 2009), p. 89–124.
- Raditsa (1985):  
L. Raditsa, 'Iranians in Asia Minor', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 3.1: The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 100–114.
- Raja and Rüpke (2015):  
R. Raja and J. Rüpke, 'Appropriating Religion: Methodological Issues in Testing the "Lived Ancient Religion" Approach', in *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1.1 (2015), 11–19.
- Rajak (1996):  
T. Rajak, 'Hasmonean Kingship and the Invention of Tradition', in P. Bilde *et al.* (eds.), *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship* (Aarhus, 1996), p. 96–116; reprinted in T. Rajak, *The Jewish Dialogue with Greece and Rome* (Leiden and Boston, 2002), p. 39–60.
- Rajak (1998):  
T. Rajak, 'The Parthians in Josephus', in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 309–324.
- Rajak (2002):  
T. Rajak, *Josephus. The Historian and his Society* (2nd edn; London, 2002).
- Ramage (1997):  
N. H. Ramage, 'The Attic Pottery', in J. S. Schaeffer, N. H. Ramage and C. H. Greenwalt, *The Corinthian, Attic, and Lakonian Pottery From Sardis* (Cambridge MA, 1997), p. 63–130.
- Rapp (2014):  
S. H. Rapp, *The Sasanian World through Georgian Eyes. Caucasia and the Iranian Commonwealth in Late Antique Georgian Literature* (Aldershot, 2014).
- Rathmann (2010):  
M. Rathmann, 'Athen in hellenistischer Zeit. Fremdbestimmung und kulturelle Anziehungskraft', in R. Krumeich and C. Witschel (eds.), *Die Akropolis von Athen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Wiesbaden, 2010), p. 55–94.
- Raubitschek (1941):  
A. E. Raubitschek, 'Two notes on Isokrates', *TAPA* 72 (1941), p. 356–364.
- Razanajao (2006):  
V. Razanajao, 'La stèle de Gemeneffhorbak (Caire JE 85932). Dieux, fêtes et rites osiriens à Imet', in *Bulletin de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale* 106 (2006), p. 219–244.

- Redfield (1985):  
J. Redfield, 'Herodotus the Tourist', in *Classical Philology* 80.2 (1985), p. 97–118.
- Rees (1885):  
J. D. Rees, *Notes of a Journey From Kasveen to Hamadan Across the Karaghan Country* (Madras, 1885).
- Reese (1999):  
G. Reese, *Die Geschichte Israels in der Auffassung des frühen Judentums. Eine Untersuchung der Tiervision und der Zehnwochenapokalypse des äthiopischen Henochbuches, der Geschichtsdarstellung der Assumptio Mosis und der des 4. Esrabuches* (Berlin, 1999).
- Rehm (2006):  
E. Rehm *et al.*, *Pracht und Prunk der Großkönige – Das persische Weltreich* (Stuttgart, 2006).
- Reinach (1888):  
T. Reinach, *Numismatique ancienne. Trois royaumes de l'Asie Mineure: Cappadoce, Bithynie, Pont* (Paris, 1888).
- Reinach (1890):  
T. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* (Paris, 1890).
- Reiner (1973):  
E. Reiner, 'The Location of Anšan', in *RA* 67 (1973), p. 57–62.
- Rezakhani (2013):  
Kh. Rezakhani, 'Arsacid, Elymaean and Persid Coinage', in D. T. Potts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (Oxford and New York, 2013), p. 766–777.
- Rigsby (1988):  
K. J. Rigsby, 'Provincia Asia', in *TAPA* 118 (1988), p. 123–153.
- Rigsby (1996):  
K. J. Rigsby, *Asylia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*. *Hellenistic Culture and Society* 22 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1996).
- Risom (1913):  
S. Risom, 'Le siège du prêtre de Dionysos Eleuthereus au théâtre d'Athènes', in *Recueil de mémoires concernant l'antiquité grecque offert à Maurice Holleaux en souvenir de ses années de direction à l'École française d'Athènes, 1904–1912* (Paris, 1913), p. 257–263, pl. 9–11.
- Ristvet (2014):  
L. Ristvet, 'Between Ritual and Theatre: Political Performance in Seleucid Babylonia', *World Archaeology* 46.2 (2014), p. 256–269.
- Ritter (1965):  
H. W. Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft. Untersuchungen zu Zeremonien und Rechtsgrundlagen des Herrschaftsantritts bei den Persern, bei Alexander dem Großen und im Hellenismus*. *Vestigia. Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte* 7 (München and Berlin, 1965).
- Rivadeneira (1880):  
A. Rivadeneira, *Viaje al interior de Persia II* (Madrid, 1880).
- Rix (1985):  
H. Rix, Review of J. Tischler (ed.), *Serta Indogermanica: Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 60. Geburtstag*. *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 40 (Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts der Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1982), in *Kratylos* 30 (1985), p. 69–78.
- Roaf (1988):  
M. Roaf, 'Persepolitan Echoes in Sasanian Architecture: Did the Sasanians Attempt to Re-create the Achaemenid Empire?', in V. S. Curtis, R. Hillenbrand and J. M. Rogers (eds.), *The Art and Archaeology of Ancient Persia: New Light on the Parthian and Sasanian Empires* (London and New York, 1988), p. 1–7.
- Roaf (2010):  
M. Roaf, 'The Role of Medes in the Architecture of the Achaemenids', in J. Curtis and S. J. Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia: History, Art and Society in Iran and the Ancient Near East* (London, 2010), p. 247–254.

- Robert (1949):  
L. Robert, 'Inscriptions Séleucides de Phrygie et d'Iran', *Hellenica* 7 (1949), p. 22–24.
- Robert (1975):  
L. Robert, 'Une nouvelle inscription de Sardes. Règlement de l'autorité perse relatif à un culte de Zeus', in *CRAI* 306–330 (1975), p. 485–509.
- Robert (1976):  
L. Robert, 'Types monétaires à Hypaipa', in *RN* 18.6 (1976), p. 25–56.
- Robert (1977):  
L. Robert, 'Documents d'Asie Mineure', in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 101 (1977), p. 43–132.
- Robert (1978):  
L. Robert, 'Maledictions funéraires grecques', in *CRAI* (1978), p. 241–289.
- Robert (1980):  
L. Robert, *À travers l'Asie Mineure: poètes et prosateurs, monnaies grecques, voyageurs et géographie*. Bibliothèque des écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 1.239 (Athens and Paris, 1980).
- Robert (1983):  
L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amizon en Carie. Tome 1: Exploration, histoire, monnaies, inscriptions* (Paris, 1983).
- Robert and Robert (1952):  
J. Robert and L. Robert in *Bulletin épigraphique* (1952), p. 176.
- Robertson (1992):  
M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge, 1992).
- Robinson (1963):  
B. W. Robinson, 'The Court Painters of Fath 'Alī Shāh', *Eretz-Israel*. L. A. Mayer Memorial Volume 7 (Jerusalem, 1963) 94–105.
- Robkin (1976):  
A. L. H. Robkin, *The Odeion of Perikles. Some Observations on Its History, Form and Functions* (PhD dissertation; Washington, 1976).
- Robson (2014):  
J. Robson, *Sex and Sexuality in Classical Athens* (Edinburgh, 2014).
- Rocha Pereira (1973–1981):  
M. H. Rocha Pereira (ed.), *Pausaniae Graeciae descriptio*. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig, 1973–1981).
- Rojas (forthcoming):  
F. Rojas, 'Kings of the Deep: The Lydian Lakes and the Archaeological Imagination', in K. Galinsky and K. Lapatin (eds.), *Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire* (forthcoming).
- Rojas and Sergueenkova (2014):  
F. Rojas and V. Sergueenkova, 'Traces of Tarhuntas: Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Interaction with Hittite Monuments', in *JMA* 27 (2014), p. 135–160.
- Rollinger (1998):  
R. Rollinger, 'Der Stammbaum des achaimenidischen Königshauses oder die Frage der Legitimität der Herrschaft des Dareios', in *AMI* 30 (1998), p. 155–209.
- Rollinger (1999):  
R. Rollinger, 'Zur Lokalisation von Parsu(m)a(š) in der Färs und zu einigen Fragen der frühen persischen Geschichte', in *ZA* 89 (1999), p. 115–139.
- Rollinger (2011):  
R. Rollinger, 'Herrscherkult und Königsvergöttlichung bei Teispiden und Achaimeniden. Realität oder Fiktion?', in L. M. Günther and S. Plischke (eds.), *Studien zum vorhellenistischen und hellenistischen Herrscherkult* (Berlin, 2011), p. 11–54.
- Rollinger (2012):  
R. Rollinger, 'From Sargon of Agade and the Assyrian kings to Khusrau I and beyond: On the persistence of Ancient Near Eastern Traditions', in G. Lanfranchi et al. (eds.), *LEGGO! Studies*

- Presented to Prof. Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Wiesbaden 2012), p. 725–743.
- Romeo (2002):  
I. Romeo, 'The Panhellenion and ethnic identity in Hadrianic Greece', in *Classical Philology* 97 (2002), p. 21–40.
- Roosevelt (2010):  
C. H. Roosevelt, 'Lydia Before the Lydians', in N. D. Cahill (ed.), *The Lydians and Their World. Catalogue of an Exhibit at the Yapı Kredi Vedat Nedim Tör Museum, İstanbul* (İstanbul, 2010), p. 37–73.
- Roosevelt (2012):  
C. H. Roosevelt, *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander* (Cambridge, 2012).
- Roosevelt et al. (2014):  
C. H. Roosevelt, C. Luke, P. Cobb, C. O'Grady and B. Sekedat, 'The Central Lydia Archaeological Survey: 2012 Work at Kaymakçı and in the Marmara Lake Basin', in *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 31.1 (2014), p. 333–355.
- Rose (2005):  
C. B. Rose, 'The Parthians in Augustan Rome', in *AJA* 109 (2005), p. 21–75.
- Rosenbloom (2006):  
D. Rosenbloom, *Aeschylus: Persians* (London, 2006).
- Rosenmeyer (2008):  
P. Rosenmeyer, 'Greek verse inscriptions in Roman Egypt: Julia Balbilla's Sapphic voice', in *Classical Antiquity* 27 (2008), p. 334–358.
- Rosivach (1984):  
V. J. Rosivach, 'The Romans' view of the Persians', in *CW* 78 (1984), p. 1–8.
- Rossi (2010):  
A. V. Rossi, 'Elusive Identities in Pre-Achaemenid Iran: The Medes and the Median Language', in C. G. Cereti et al. (eds.), *Iranian Identity in the Course of History: Proceedings of the Conference Held in Rome, 2014 September 2005* (Rome, 2010), p. 289–330.
- Rossi (forthcoming):  
A. V. Rossi, 'Once Again on DB/AE I and DB/OP IV 89–92' in *Achaimenidika* (forthcoming; preliminary online at [www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu)).
- Rostovtzeff (1919):  
M. Rostovtzeff, 'Queen Dynamis of Bosphorus', in *JHS* 39 (1919), p. 88–109.
- Rostovtzeff (1935):  
M. I. Rostovtzeff, 'ΠΙΠΟΓΟΝΟΙ', in *JHS* 55 (1935), p. 56–66.
- Rostovtzeff (1936):  
M. I. Rostovtzeff, 'The Sarmatae and Parthians', in S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, M. P. Charlesworth (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume XI: The Imperial Peace A.D. 70–192* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 91–130.
- Rostovtzeff (1938):  
M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and Its Art* (Oxford, 1938).
- Rostovtzeff and Bradford Welles (1930):  
M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. Bradford Welles, 'Un contrat de prêt de l'an 121 ap. J. -C. trouvé à Doura', in *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1930), p. 158–181.
- Rostovtzeff and Bradford Welles (1931):  
M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. Bradford Welles, 'A Parchment Contract of Loan from Dura-Europos on the Euphrates', in *YCS* 2 (1931), p. 1–78.
- Rostovtzeff et al. (1939):  
M. I. Rostovtzeff, F. E. Brown, and C. B. Welles (eds.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons, 1933–34 and 1934–35* (New Haven, 1939).

- Rostovtzeff (1941):  
M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (3 vols; Oxford, 1941).
- Rougemont (2013):  
G. Rougement, 'The Use of Greek in Pre-Sasanian Iran', in D. Potts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (Oxford, 2013), p. 795–801.
- Rowe (1966):  
G. O. Rowe, 'The portrait of Aeschines in the Oration on the Crown', in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 97 (1966), p. 397–406.
- Rubin (1955):  
B. Rubin, 'Die Entstehung der Kataphraktenreiterei im Lichte der chorezmischen Ausgrabungen', in *Historia* 4 (1955), p. 264–283.
- Rubin (1995):  
Z. Rubin, 'The Reforms of Khusro Anurshivan', in A. Cameron (ed.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East* (3 vols; Princeton, NJ, 1995), p. 227–298.
- Rubin (2004):  
Z. Rubin, 'Nobility, Monarchy and Legitimation Under the Later Sasanians', in J. Haldon and L. I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East VI* (Princeton, NJ, 2004), p. 235–273.
- Rubin (2008):  
Z. Rubin, 'Ḥamza al-İşfahānī's sources for Sasanian history', in *JSAI* 35 (2008), p. 27–58.
- Ruby (1996):  
J. Ruby, 'The Behistun inscription and the decipherment of Akkadian', in *The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin* 31 (1996), p. 15–21.
- Rung (2015):  
E. Ring, 'Some Notes on *karanos* in the Achaemenid Period', in *Iranica Antiqua* 50 (2015), p. 333–356.
- Russell (1983):  
D. A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge, 1983).
- Russell (1987):  
J. R. Russell, *Zoroastrianism in Armenia*. Harvard Iranian Series 5 (Cambridge, MA, 1987).
- Russell (1994):  
J. R. Russell, 'On the Armeno-Iranian roots of Mithraism', in J. R. Hinnells (ed.), *Studies in Mithraism* (Rome, 1994), p. 183–193.
- Rüpke (2010):  
J. Rüpke, 'Representation or presence? Picturing the divine in ancient Rome', in *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 12 (2010), p. 181–197.
- Ryholt (2004):  
K. Ryholt, 'The Assyrian Invasion of Egypt in Egyptian Literary Tradition', in J. G. Dercksen (ed.), *Assyria and Beyond. Studies Presented to Mogens Trolle Larsen* (Leiden and Boston, 2004), p. 483–510.
- Ryholt (2009a):  
K. Ryholt, 'Egyptian Historical Literature from the Greco-Roman Period', in M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Das Ereignis. Geschichtsschreibung zwischen Vorfall und Befund* (London, 2009), p. 231–238.
- Ryholt (2009b):  
K. Ryholt, 'The Life of Imhotep', in G. Widmer and D. Devauchelle, *Actes du IXe congrès international des études démotiques* (Cairo, 2009), p. 305–315.
- Ryholt (2012):  
K. Ryholt, *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library* (Copenhagen, 2012).
- Ryholt (2015):  
K. Ryholt, 'Imitatio Alexandri in Egyptian Literary Tradition', in T. Whitmarsh and S. Thomson (eds.), *The Romance Between Greece and the East* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 59–78.



- Sachs and Hunger (1996):  
A. J. Sachs and H. Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia. Volume III: Diaries From 164 B.C. to 61 B.C.* (Vienna, 1996).
- Sahlins (2000):  
M. Sahlins, *Culture in Practice. Selected Essays* (New York, 2000).
- Said (1978):  
E. W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London, 1978).
- Said (2001):  
S. Said, 'The Discourse of Identity in Greek Rhetoric from Isocrates to Aristides', in I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Cambridge MA, 2001), p. 275–299.
- Saller (1980):  
R. Saller, 'Anecdotes as historical evidence for the Principate', in *G&R* 27 (1980), p. 69–83.
- Sánchez (2009):  
M. G. Sánchez, *El Gran Rey de Persia: Formas de Representación de la Alteridad Persa en el Imaginario Griego* (Barcelona, 2009).
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1987):  
H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 'Decadence in the Empire or Decadence in the Sources? From Source to Synthesis', in ead. (ed.), *Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures and Syntheses. Proceedings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid History Workshop* (Leiden, 1987), p. 33–45.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al. (1987–1997).  
H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al. (eds.), *Achaemenid History* (8 vols; Leiden, 1987–1997).
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1991):  
H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 'Nowruz in Persepolis', in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and J. W. Drijvers (eds.), *Achaemenid History VII: Through Travellers' Eyes* (Leiden and Boston, 1991), p. 173–201.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg (2001):  
H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, 'Yauna by the Sea and Across the Sea', in I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity* (Cambridge, MA, 2001), p. 323–346.
- Sanders (1996):  
D. H. Sanders (ed.), *Nemrud Dağı. The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene. Results of the American Excavations Directed by Theresa B. Goell* (2 vols; Winona Lake, 1996).
- Sanzi (2003):  
E. Sanzi (ed.), *I culti orientali nell'impero romano*. Hierá: Collana di studi storico-religiosi 4 (Cosenza, 2003).
- Saprykin (1989):  
S. Saprykin, 'Tempelkomplexe in Pontischen Kappadokien', in *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4 (1989), p. 119–148.
- Sarshar (2003):  
H. Sarshar, 'Hamadān viii: Jewish Community', in E. Yarshater et al. (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* XI(6) (New York, 2003), p. 615–623.
- Sartre (2006):  
M. Sartre, 'Religion und Herrschaft: Das Seleukidenreich', in *Saeculum* 57 (2006), p. 163–190.
- Sartre (2014):  
M. Sartre, 'Histoire et mémoire(s) des Maccabées', in M. F. Baslez and O. Munnich (eds.), *La mémoire des persécutions. Autour des livres des Maccabées* (Paris, 2014), p. 1–20.
- Sauer et al. (2013):  
E. Sauer et al., *Persia's Imperial Power in Late Antiquity: The Great Wall of Gorgan and the Frontier Landscapes of Sasanian Iran* (Oxford and New York, 2013).
- Savant (2008):  
S. B. Savant, '"Persians" in Early Islam', in *Annales Islamologiques* 42 (2008), p. 73–91.

- Savant (2013):  
S. B. Savant, *The New Muslims of Post-Conquest Iran: Tradition, Memory, and Conversion* (Cambridge and New York, 2013).
- Sayar (2001):  
M. H. Sayar, 'Von Kilikien bis Thrakien. Neue Erkenntnisse zur Politik Antiochos' III. zwischen 197–195 v. Chr. anhand von zwei neugefundenen Inschriften', in A. Bresson and R. Descat (ed.), *Les cités d'Asie Mineure occidentale au II<sup>e</sup> siècle a.C.* (Bordeaux, 2001), p. 227–234.
- Scarce (2006):  
J. M. Scarce, 'Ancestral Themes in the Art of Qajar Iran, 1785–1925', in D. Behrens-Abouseif and S. Vermeir (eds.), *Islamic Art in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Tradition, Innovation, and Eclecticism* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), p. 231–256.
- Scarpi (2002):  
P. Scarpi (ed.), *Le religioni dei misteri, 2: Samotraccia, Andania, Iside, Cibele e Attis, Mitraismo* (Milano, 2002).
- Schaper (2000):  
J. Schaper, *Priester und Leviten im achämenidischen Juda. Studien zur Kult- und Sozialgeschichte Israels in persischer Zeit* (Tübingen, 2000).
- Schaudig (2001):  
H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen* (Münster, 2001).
- Schauenburg (1975):  
K. Schauenburg, 'Εὐρυμέδων εἶμ', in *MDAI(A)* 90 (1975), p. 97–121.
- Schäfer (1974):  
G. Schäfer, *König der Könige: Lied der Lieder. Studien zum paronomastischen Intensitätsgenitiv* (Heidelberg, 1974).
- Schäfer (1997):  
T. Schäfer, *Andres Agathoi* (München, 1997).
- Schäfer (2011):  
D. Schäfer, *Makedonische Pharaonen und hieroglyphische Stelen. Historische Untersuchungen zur Satrapenstele und verwandten Denkmälern* (Leuven, Paris, Walpole, 2011).
- Schefold (1968):  
K. Schefold, *Der Alexander-Sarkophag* (Berlin, 1968).
- Schefold and Jung (1988):  
K. Schefold and F. Jung, *Die Urkönige, Perseus, Bellerophon, Herakles und Theseus in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (München, 1988).
- Schellekens (2009):  
J. Schellekens, 'Accession days and holidays. The origins of the Jewish festival of Purim', in *JBL* 128 (2009), p. 115–134.
- Schindel (2004):  
N. Schindel, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum: Paris – Berlin – Vienna. Volume III: Shapur I.–Kawad I.* Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse 325 (Vienna, 2004).
- Schipperheijn (2011):  
M. Schipperheijn, *Gewoner dan gedacht. De hellenistische heerserscultus van Antiochos I van Kommagene* (PhD dissertation; Groningen University, 2011).
- Schischkoff (1965):  
G. Schischkoff, 'Spengler und Toynbee', in *Koktanek* (1965), p. 59–76.
- Schlerath (1970):  
B. Schlerath (ed.), *Zarathustra. Wege der Forschung* 169 (Darmstadt, 1970).
- Schlumberger (1969):  
D. Schlumberger, *Der hellenisierte Orient. Die griechische und nachgriechische Kunst ausserhalb des Mittelmeerraumes* (Baden-Baden, 1969).

- Schmidt, E. F. (1939):  
E. F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis and Other Discoveries in the Homeland of the Achae-menians* (Chicago, 1939).
- Schmidt, E. F. (1953):  
E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications LXVIII (Chicago, 1953).
- Schmidt, E. F. (1970):  
E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis III: The Royal Tombs and Other Monuments*. The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications LXX (Chicago, 1970).
- Schmidt, M. (1960):  
M. Schmidt, *Der Dareiosmaler und sein Umkreis. Untersuchungen zur spätapulischen Vasen-malerei*. Orbis Antiquus 15 (Münster, 1960).
- Schmidt, T. S. (2011):  
T. S. Schmidt, 'Sophistes, barbares et identité grecque: le cas de Dion Chrysostome', in T. Schmidt and P. Fleury (eds.), *Perceptions of the Second Sophistic and Its Times* (Toronto ON, 2011), p. 105–119.
- Schmitt, H. H. (1964):  
H. H. Schmitt, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Großen und seiner Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1964).
- Schmitt, H.-P. (1977):  
H.-P. Schmitt, 'Mithras the Horseman and Revanta the Lord of Horses', in S. K. Chatterjee *et al.* (eds.), *Some Aspects of Indo-Iranian Literary and Cultural Traditions*. Commemoration Volume of Dr. V. G. Paranjpe (Delhi, 1977), p. 132–153 with Plate IX.
- Schmitt, R. (1972):  
R. Schmitt, 'Persepolitänisches II', in *Die Sprache* 18 (1972), p. 188–193.
- Schmitt, R. (1983):  
R. Schmitt, 'Sūrēn, aber Kārin: Zu den Namen zweier Parthergeschlechter', in *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 42 (1983), p. 197–205.
- Schmitt, R. (1989):  
R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium Linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden, 1989).
- Schmitt, R. (1998):  
R. Schmitt, 'Parthische Sprach- und Namentüberlieferung aus arsakidischer Zeit', in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse: Beiträge des internationalen Colloquiums, Eutin 27.–30. Juni 1996*. Historia Einzelschriften 122 (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 163–204.
- Schmitt, R. (2000):  
R. Schmitt, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum I. I. II (London, 2000).
- Schmitt, R. (2009):  
R. Schmitt, *Die altpersischen Inschriften der Achaimeniden: Editio minor mit deutscher Übersetzung* (Wiesbaden, 2009).
- Schmitt, R. (2011):  
R. Schmitt, *Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr. V: Iranische Namen in der Nebenüberlieferungen indogermanischer Sprachen*. Iranische Onomastik 9 (Vienna, 2011).
- Schmitt, R. (2014):  
R. Schmitt, *Wörterbuch der altpersischen Königsinschriften* (Wiesbaden, 2014).
- Schneider (1998):  
R. M. Schneider, 'Die Faszination des Feindes. Bilder der Parther und des Orients in Rom', in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 95–146.
- Schneider (2007):  
R. M. Schneider, 'Friend and Foe: Images of the Orient in Imperial Rome', in S. V. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran 2: The Age of the Parthians* (London and New York, 2007), p. 50–86.

- Schneider (2012):  
R. M. Schneider, 'The Making of Oriental Rome: Shaping the Trojan Legend', in P. F. Bang and D. Kołodziejczyk (eds.), *Universal Empire. A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasia* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 76–129.
- Schoeps (1955):  
H. J. Schoeps, *Vorläufer Spenglers. Studien zum Geschichtspessimismus im 19. Jahrhundert* (Leiden, 1955).
- Schrader and Wiegand (1904):  
H. Schrader and T. Wiegand, *Priene. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898* (Berlin, 1904).
- Schröter (1922):  
M. Schröter, *Der Streit um Spengler. Kritik seiner Kritiker* (München, 1922).
- Schröter (1949):  
M. Schröter, *Metaphysik des Untergangs. Eine kulturkritische Studie über Oswald Spengler* (München, 1949).
- Schürer (1973):  
E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135). Volume I*. Ed. by G. Vermes et al. (Edinburgh, 1973).
- Schürer (1986):  
E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135). Volume III.1*. Ed. by G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman (rev. edn; Edinburgh, 1986).
- Schütte-Maischatz (2003):  
A. Schütte-Maischatz, 'Götter und Kulte Kommagenes: Religionsgeographische Aspekte einer antiken Landschaft', in E. Schwertheim and E. Winter (eds.), *Religion und Region: Götter und Kulte aus dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum*. Asia Minor Studien 45 (Bonn, 2003), p. 103–114.
- Schwartz (2007):  
D. R. Schwartz, "'Judaean" or "Jew"? How Should we Translate *Ioudaios* in Josephus?', in J. Frey et al. (eds.), *Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World* (Boston, 2007).
- Schwartz (2013):  
D. R. Schwartz, *Reading the First Century: On Reading Josephus and Studying Jewish History of the First Century* (Tübingen, 2013).
- Schwertheim (1974):  
E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland*. EPROER 40 (Leiden, 1974).
- Schwertheim (2000):  
E. Schwertheim, 'Die Kommagene: Ein Königreich am Rande des Imperium Romanum: Zur Bedeutung des Nemrud Dağ', in H.-P. Müller and F. Siegert (eds.), *Antike Randgesellschaften und Randgruppen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum: Ringvorlesung an der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster* (Münster, 2000), p. 75–86.
- Schwertheim (2005):  
E. Schwertheim, *Kleinasion in der Antike. Von den Hethitern bis Konstantin* (München, 2005).
- Seager (1980):  
R. Seager, 'Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos: Horace, the Parthians and Augustan Foreign Policy', in *Athenaeum* 48 (1980), p. 103–118.
- Seidl (1994):  
U. Seidl, 'Achaemenidische Entlehnungen aus der urartäische Kultur', in H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt and M. Cool Root (eds.), *Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and Change* (Leiden and Boston, 1994), p. 107–129.
- Sekunda (1985):  
N. V. Sekunda, 'Achaemenid Colonization in Lydia', in *REAnc* 87 (1985), p. 7–29.
- Sekunda and Chew (1992):  
N. V. Sekunda and S. Chew, *The Persian Army* (Oxford, 1992).

- Sellwood (1971):  
D. G. Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (London, 1971).
- Sellwood (1980):  
D. G. Sellwood, *An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia* (2nd edn; London, 1980).
- Sellwood (1983):  
D. Sellwood, 'Parthian Coins', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. Volume 3.1: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, (Cambridge, 1983), p. 279–298.
- Seltman (1955):  
C. T. Seltman, *Greek Coins. A History of Metallic Currency and Coinage Down to the Fall of the Hellenistic Kingdoms* (2nd edn; London, 1955).
- Sergueenkova & Rojas (forthcoming):  
V. Sergueenkova and F. Rojas 'Asianics in Relief: Making Sense of Bronze and Iron Age Monuments in Classical Anatolia', in *Classical Journal* (forthcoming).
- Shahbazi (1977):  
A. Sh. Shahbazi, 'From *Parsā* to *Taxt-e Jamshīd*', *AMI* 10 (1977), p. 197–207.
- Shahbazi (2001):  
A. Sh. Shahbazi, 'Early Sasanians' Claim to Achaemenid Heritage', in *IJAIS* 1.1 (2001), p. 61–73.
- Shahbazi (2005):  
A. S. Shahbazi, 'The History of the Idea of Iran', in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran. Volume 1: Birth of the Persian Empire* (London, 2005), p. 100–111.
- Shaked (1990):  
S. Shaked, 'Zoroastrian Polemics Against Jews in the Sasanian and Early Islamic Period', in S. Shaked and A. Netzer (eds.), *Irano Judaica 2* (Jerusalem, 1990), p. 85–104.
- Shaked (2008):  
S. Shaked, 'Religion in the Late Sasanian Period: Eran, Aneran, and Other Religious Designations', in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran 3: The Sasanian Era* (London, 2008), p. 103–117.
- Shapiro (1992):  
H. A. Shapiro, 'Theseus in Kimonian Athens: The Iconography of Empire', in *MHR* 7 (1992), p. 29–49.
- Shapiro (2009):  
H. A. Shapiro, 'The Invention of Persia in Classical Athens', in M. Eliav-Feldon, B. Isaac and J. Ziegler, *The Origins of Racism in the West* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 57–87.
- Shayegan (1998):  
M. R. Shayegan, 'The Evolution of the Concept of *xwadāy* in Middle Persian', in *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 51.1–2 (1998), p. 31–54.
- Shayegan (2005a):  
M. R. Shayegan, 'On the Rationale Behind the Roman Wars of Šābuhr II the Great', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18 (2005 [2009]), p. 111–133.
- Shayegan (2005b):  
M. R. Shayegan, 'Nugae Epigraphicae', in C. Altman Bromberg, N. Sims-Williams, U. Sims-Williams (eds.), *Iranian and Zoroastrian Studies in Honor of Profs Oktor Skjervø*. Bulletin of the Asia Institute 19 (Bloomfield Hills, MI, 2005 [2009]), p. 169–179.
- Shayegan (2007):  
M. R. Shayegan, 'Prosopographical Notes: The Iranian Nobility during and After the Macedonian Conquest', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 21 (2007), p. 97–126.
- Shayegan (2008):  
M. R. Shayegan, 'On the Rationale Behind the Roman Wars of Šābuhr II the Great', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 18 (2008), p. 111–133.
- Shayegan (2011):  
M. R. Shayegan, *Arsacids and Sasanians: Political Ideology in Post-Hellenistic and Late Antique Persia* (Cambridge and New York, 2011).

- Shayegan (2012):  
M.R. Shayegan, *Aspects of History and Epic in Ancient Iran. From Gaumāta to Wahnām*. Hellenic Studies 52 (Washington, DC, 2012).
- Shayegan (2013):  
M.R., Shayegan, 'Sasanian Political Ideology', in D.T. Pott (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (Oxford, 2013), p. 805–813.
- Shenkar (2014):  
M. Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits and Graven Images. The Iconography of Deities in the Pre-Islamic Iranian World* (Leiden and Boston, 2014).
- Sherk (1989):  
R.K. Sherk, *The Roman Empire. Augustus to Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1989).
- Sherwin-White (1977):  
A.N. Sherwin-White, 'Ariobarzanes, Mithridates, and Sulla', in *CQ* 27 (1977), p. 173–183.
- Sherwin-White (1987):  
S. Sherwin-White, 'Seleucid Babylonia: A Case Study For the Installation and Development of Greek Rule', in A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East* (London, 1987), p. 1–31.
- Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993):  
S. Sherwin-White and A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (London, 1993).
- Simonetta, A. (2007):  
A. Simonetta, 'The Coinage of the Cappadocian Kings. A Revision and a Catalogue of the Simonetta Collection', in *Parthica* 9 (2007), p. 9–152.
- Simonetta, B. (1977):  
B. Simonetta, *The Coins of the Cappadocian Kings* (Fribourg, 1977).
- Simonini (1986):  
L. Simonini, *L'antro delle Ninfe nell'Odissea* (Milano, 1986).
- Simpson (1996):  
R.S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* (Oxford, 1996).
- Sims (2002):  
E. Sims, *Peerless Images. Persian Painting and Its Sources* (New Haven and London, 2002).
- Sims-Williams (2003):  
N. Sims-Williams, *Indo-Iranian Languages and People* (London, 2003).
- Sinclair (1994):  
T. Sinclair, 'The site of Tigranocerta I', in *REArm* 25 (1994), p. 183–253.
- Sinclair (1996):  
T. Sinclair, 'The Site of Tigranocerta II', in *REArm* 26 (1996), p. 51–117.
- Sinisi (2008):  
F. Sinisi, 'Tyche in Parthia. The image of the goddess on Arsacid tetradrachms', in *NZ* 116/117 (2008), 231–248.
- Sinisi (2012a):  
F. Sinisi, 'The Coinage of the Parthians', in W.E. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage* (Oxford, 2012), p. 275–294.
- Sinisi (2012b):  
F. Sinisi, *Sylloge Nummorum Parthicorum New York, Paris, London, Vienna, Tehran, Berlin. Volume VI Vologases I–Pacorus II* (Vienna, 2012).
- Sinisi (2014 [2015]):  
F. Sinisi, 'Sources for the History of Art of the Parthian Period', in *Parthica* 16 (2014 [2015]), p. 9–59.
- Skinner (2012):  
J.E. Skinner, *The Invention of Greek Ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus* (Oxford, 2012).

- Skjærvø (1997 [2000]):  
 P.O. Skjærvø, 'The Joy of the Cup: A pre-Sasanian Middle Persian Inscription on a Silver Bowl', in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 11 (1997 [2000]), p. 93–104.
- Skjærvø (2008):  
 P.O. Skjærvø, 'Jamšid i: Myth of Jamšid', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* XIV(5) (Winona Lake, 2008), p. 501–522.
- Smith, A. (1999):  
 A. Smith, 'Eurymedon and the Evolution of Political Personifications in the Early Classical Period', in *JHS* 119 (1999), p. 128–141.
- Smith, J.Z. (2004):  
 J.Z. Smith, 'God Save this Honourable Court. Religion and Civic Discourse', in *id.*, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago, 2004), p. 375–390.
- Smith, R.R.R. (1986):  
 R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford, 1986).
- Smith, S. (1975):  
 S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon* (Hildesheim, 1975).
- Sommer (2005):  
 M. Sommer, *Roms orientalische Steppengrenze: Palmyra, Edessa, Dura Europos, Hatra: Eine Kulturgeschichte von Pompeius bis Diocletian* Oriens et Occidens 9 (Stuttgart, 2005).
- Sommerstein (1996):  
 A.H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylean Tragedy* (Bari, 1996).
- Sonnabend (1986):  
 H. Sonnabend, *Fremdenbild und Politik: Vorstellungen der Römer von Ägypten und dem Partherreich in der späten Republik und frühen Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986).
- Soucek (1975):  
 P.P. Soucek, 'The Influence of Persepolis on Islamic Art', in C. Cahen (ed.), *Études arabes et islamiques. Actes du XXIXe Congrès international des Orientalistes, Paris, juillet 1973 I: Histoire et civilization* (Paris, 1975), p. 195–200.
- Soudavar (2003):  
 A. Soudavar, *The Aura of Kings: Legitimacy and Divine Sanction in Iranian Kingship* (Costa Mesa, CA, 2003).
- Sparkes (1997):  
 B. Sparkes, 'Some Greek Images of Others', in B. Molyneaux, *The Cultural Life of Images. Visual Representation in Archaeology* (London, 1997), p. 130–158.
- Sparkes and Talcott (1970):  
 B.A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora., Volume 12: Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th, and 4th Centuries B.C.* (Princeton, NJ, 1970).
- Spawforth (1994):  
 A. Spawforth, 'Symbol of Unity? The Persian Wars Tradition in the Roman Empire', in S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography* (Oxford and New York, 1994), p. 233–247.
- Spawforth (2001):  
 A. Spawforth, 'Shades of Greekness: A Lydian Case Study', in I. Malkin (ed.), *Ancient Perceptions of Greek Ethnicity*. Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia 5. (Washington, DC, and Cambridge, MA, 2001), p. 375–400.
- Spawforth (2006):  
 A. Spawforth, 'Macedonian Times: Hellenistic Memories in the Provinces of the Roman Near East', in D. Konstan and S. Saïd (eds.), *Greeks on Greekness: Viewing the Greek Past Under the Roman Empire* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 1–26.
- Spawforth (2012):  
 A. Spawforth, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge and New York, 2012).

- Spawforth and Walker (1985):  
A. Spawforth and S. Walker, 'The World of the Panhellenion I: Athens and Eleusis', in *JRS* 75 (1985), p. 78–104.
- Spawforth and Walker (1986):  
A. Spawforth and S. Walker, 'The World of the Panhellenion II: Three Dorian Cities', in *JRS* 76 (1986), p. 88–105.
- Spencer (2002):  
D. Spencer, *The Roman Alexander. Reading a Cultural Myth* (Exeter, 2002).
- Spengler (1937):  
O. Spengler, 'Heraklit. Eine Studie über den energetischen Grundgedanken seiner Philosophie', in O. Spengler, *Reden und Aufsätze* (München, 1937), p. 1–47.
- Spengler (1997):  
O. Spengler, *Der Untergang des Abendlandes, Umriss einer Morphologie der Weltgeschichte (1918/1922)* (München, 1997).
- Spranger (1958):  
P.P. Spranger, 'Der Große: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des historischen Beinamens', in *Saeculum* 9 (1958), p. 28–58.
- Squaciapino (1962):  
M.F. Squarciapino, *I culti orientali ad Ostia* (Leiden, 1962).
- Starr (1975):  
C.J. Starr, 'Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century BC. Part I', in *Iranica Antiqua* 11 (1975), p. 39–99.
- Starr (1977):  
C.J. Starr, 'Greeks and Persians in the Fourth Century BC. Part II', in *Iranica Antiqua* 12 (1977), p. 49–116.
- Starr (2013):  
S.F. Starr, *Lost Enlightenment: Central Asia's Golden Age from the Arab Conquest to Tamerlane* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford, 2013).
- Stavrianopoulou (2013):  
E. Stavrianopoulou 'Hellenistic World(s) and the Elusive Concept of "Greekness"', in *ead.* (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*. Mnemosyne Supplements 363 (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 177–205.
- Stephani (1866):  
L. Stephani, 'Erklärung einiger Vasengemälde der Kaiserlichen Ermitage, Tafel IV', in *CRPétersb.* (1866), p. 139–147.
- Stern (2012):  
S. Stern, *Calendars in Antiquity. Empires, States, and Societies* (Oxford, 2012).
- Stevens (2012):  
K. Stevens, 'Collations to the Antiochos Cylinder (BM 36277)', in *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* 2.35 (2012), p. 46–47.
- Stevens (2014):  
K. Stevens, 'The Antiochus Cylinder, Babylonian Scholarship and Seleucid Imperial Ideology', in *JHS* 134 (2014), p. 66–88.
- Stevenson (1997):  
R. B. Stevenson, *Persica. Greek Writing About Persia in the Fourth Century BC* (Edinburgh, 1997).
- Stiehl (1969):  
R. Stiehl, 'Chronologie der Frätadära', in F. Altheim (ed.), *Geschichte der Hunnen. I: Von den Anfängen bis zum Einbruch in Europa* (5 vols; Berlin, 1969), p. 375–379.
- Stiehl (1973):  
R. Stiehl, 'Nochmals zur Datierung der frataraka', in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl (eds.), *Christentum am Roten Meer II* (2 vols; Berlin, 1973), p. 350–355.



- Stocker (1998):  
D. Stocker, 'A Hitherto Unidentified Image of the Mithraic God Arimanius at Lincoln?', in *Britannia* 29 (1998), p. 359–363.
- Stökl (2013):  
J. Stökl, 'Nebuchadnezzar. History, Memory, and Myth-Making in the Persian Period', in D. V. Edelman and E. Ben Zvi (eds.), *Remembering Biblical Figures in the Late Persian and Early Hellenistic Periods. Social Memory and Imagination* (Oxford, 2013), p. 257–269.
- Strauss (2004):  
B. S. Strauss, *The Battle of Salamis: The Naval Encounter that Saved Greece – And Western Civilization* (New York, 2004).
- Strobel (1994):  
K. Strobel, 'Zeitgeschichte unter den Antoninen. Die Historiker des Partherkrieges des Lucius Verus', in *ANRW* II.34.2 (1994), p. 1315–1360.
- Stronach (1974):  
D. Stronach, 'La statue de Darius le Grand decouverte à Suse', in *Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran* 4 (1974), p. 61–72.
- Stronach (1978):  
D. Stronach, *Pasargadae: A Report of the Excavations Conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963* (Oxford, 1978).
- Strootman (2006):  
R. Strootman, 'Van wetsgetrouwen en afvalligen. Religieus geweld en culturele verandering in de tijd der Makkabeëën', in B. Becking and G. Rouwhorst (eds.), *Religies in interactie. Jodendom en Christendom in de Oudheid* (Zoetermeer, 2006), p. 79–97.
- Strootman (2007):  
R. Strootman, *The Hellenistic Royal Courts: Court Culture, Ceremonial and Ideology in Greece, Egypt and the Near East, 336–30 BCE* (PhD dissertation; University of Utrecht 2007).
- Strootman (2008a):  
R. Strootman, 'Seleucid Empire', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* (forthcoming; online version available at [www.iranicaonline.org](http://www.iranicaonline.org) [2008]).
- Strootman (2008b):  
R. Strootman, 'Seleucus II Callinicus', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* (forthcoming; online version available at [www.iranicaonline.org](http://www.iranicaonline.org) [2008]).
- Strootman (2010a):  
R. Strootman, 'Queen of Kings: Cleopatra VII and the Donations of Alexandria', in M. Facella and T. Kaizer (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East. Occidens et Oriens* 19 (Stuttgart, 2010), p. 139–158.
- Strootman (2010b):  
R. Strootman, 'Literature and the Kings', in J. Clauss and M. Cuijpers (eds.), *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature* (Malden, MA, and Oxford, 2010), p. 30–45.
- Strootman (2011a):  
R. Strootman, 'Hellenistic Court Society: The Seleukid Imperial Court under Antiochos the Great, 223–187 BCE', in J. Duindam, M. Kunt, T. Artan (eds.), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective. Rulers and Elites 1* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), p. 63–89.
- Strootman (2011b):  
R. Strootman, 'The Seleukid Empire Between Orientalism and Hellenocentrism: Writing the History of Iran in the Third and Second Centuries BCE', in *IJAIS* 11.1–2 (2011), p. 17–35.
- Strootman (2012):  
R. Strootman, 'Antiochos III Megas', in R. S. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C. B. Champion, A. Erskine, S. R. Huebner (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Malden, MA, Oxford and New York, 2012), p. 476–479.
- Strootman (2013a):  
R. Strootman, 'Babylonian, Macedonian, King of the World: The Antiochos Cylinder from Borsippa and Seleukid Imperial Integration', in E. Stavrianopoulou (ed.), *Shifting Social Imag-*

- inaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images*. Mnemosyne Supplements 363 (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 67–97.
- Strootman (2013b):  
R. Strootman, 'Dynastic Courts of the Hellenistic Empires', in H. Beck (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Greek Government* (Malden, MA, and Oxford, 2013), p. 38–53.
- Strootman (2014a):  
R. Strootman, *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires: The Near East After the Achaemenids, 330–30 BCE*. Studies in Ancient Persia 1 (Edinburgh, 2014).
- Strootman (2014b):  
R. Strootman, 'Hellenistic Imperialism and the Idea of World Unity', in C. Rapp and H. Drake (eds.), *The City in the Classical and Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity* (Cambridge and New York, 2014), p. 38–61.
- Strootman (2015a):  
R. Strootman, 'The heroic company of my forebears: The Seleukid and Achaemenid ancestor galleries of Antiochos I of Kommagene at Nemrut Dağı and the role of royal women in the transmission of Hellenistic kingship', in: A. Coşkun and A. McAuley (eds.), *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire. Papers Chosen from Seleukid Study Day IV (McGill University, Montreal, 20–23 February 2013)*. Historia Einzelschriften 240 (Stuttgart, 2015 [in press]), p. 209–230.
- Strootman (2016a):  
R. Strootman, *The Birdcage of the Muses: Royal Patronage of the Arts and Sciences at the Early Ptolemaic Court, 305–222 BCE* (Leuven, 2016 [in press]).
- Strootman (2016b):  
R. Strootman, 'The Great Kings of Asia: Imperial Titulature in the Seleukid and Post-Seleukid Middle East', in R. Oetjen and F.X. Ryan (eds.), *Seleukeia: Studies in Seleucid History, Archaeology and Numismatics in Honor of Getzel M. Cohen* (Berlin, 2016 [in press]).
- Strootman (2016c):  
R. Strootman, 'Eunuchs, Renegades and Concubines: The "Paradox of Power" and the Promotion of Favorites in the Hellenistic Empires', in A. Erskine, L. Llewellyn-Jones, S. Wallace (eds.), *The Hellenistic Royal Court* (Swansea and Oxford, 2016 [in press]).
- Strootman (2016d):  
Strootman, R., 'Civic Feasting and the Entanglement of City and Empire in Hellenistic Greece', in J.H. Blok, R. Strootman, and F. van den Eijnde (eds.), *Feasting and Polis Institutions* (Leiden and Boston, 2016 [in press]).
- Strootman (in press):  
R. Strootman, 'The Coming of the Parthians: Crisis and Resilience in Seleukid Iran in the Reign of Seleukos II', in K. Erickson (ed.), *War Within the Family: The First Century of Seleucid Rule. Proceedings of a Panel at the Celtic Conference of Classics (Bordeaux Sept. 2012)* (Swansea and Oxford, in press).
- Strootman (forthcoming):  
R. Strootman, 'Anchoring Empire in the Hellenistic Near East: The Seleukid Appropriation of the Babylonian Past', in M. Munn et al. (eds.) *Building a New World Order? Hellenistic Monarchies in the Mediterranean World* (forthcoming).
- Strootman (MS)  
R. Strootman, 'A Western Empire In The East? Historiographical Approaches to the Seleukid Empire and the Cultural Boundaries of Modern Europe' (unpublished discussion paper; draft version online at [www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu)).
- Strugnell (2008):  
E. Strugnell, 'Thea Musa, Roman Queen of Parthia', in *IrAnt* 43 (2008), p. 275–298.
- Struys (1681):  
J.J. Struys, *Les voyages de Jean Struys, en Moscovie, en Tartarie, en Perse, aux Indes, et en plusieurs autres pays étrangers* (Amsterdam, 1681).

- Stuart Hughes (1952):  
H. Stuart Hughes, *Oswald Spengler. A Critical Estimate* (New York, 1952).
- Sturtevant (1925):  
E. H. Sturtevant, 'Remarks on the Lydian Inscriptions', in *Language* 1.3 (1925), p. 69–79.
- Sullivan (1977):  
R. D. Sullivan, 'The Dynasty of Commagene', in ANRW II.8 (Berlin and New York, 1978), p. 732–798.
- Sullivan (1990):  
R. D. Sullivan, *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome, 100–30 BC* (Toronto, 1990).
- Summerer (2007a):  
L. Summerer, 'Picturing Persian Victory: The Painted Battle Scene on the Munich Wood', in *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 13 (2007), p. 3–30.
- Summerer (2007b):  
L. Summerer, 'From Tatarlı to Munich. The Recovery of a Painted Wooden Tomb Chamber in Phrygia', in I. Delemen and O. Casabonne (eds.), *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Population and Cultures in Anatolia (6th–4th B.C.) Proceedings of the International Workshop in Istanbul, May 19–22* (Istanbul, 2007), p. 129–156.
- Summerer (2008):  
L. Summerer, 'Imagining a Tomb Chamber: The Iconographic Program of the Tatarlı Wall Paintings', in S. M. R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-cultural Encounters. 1st International Conference (Athens, 11–13 November 2006)* (Athens, 2008), p. 265–299.
- Summerer and Kienlin (2010):  
L. Summerer and A. von Kienlin, 'Achaemenid Impact in Paphlagonia. Rupestral Tombs in the Amnias Valley', in J. Nieling and E. Rehn (eds.), *Black Sea Studies II: Achaemenid Impact in the Black Sea. Communications in Power* (Aarhus, 2010), p. 195–221.
- Summers (1993):  
G. D. Summers, 'Archaeological Evidence for the Achaemenid Period in Eastern Turkey', in *Anatolian Studies* 43 (1993), p. 85–108.
- Sundermann (1979):  
W. Sundermann, 'Namen von Göttern, Dämonen und Menschen in iranischen Versionen des manichäischen Mythos', in *Alt-Orientalischen Forschungen* 6 (1979), p. 95–133.
- Sundermann (1990):  
W. Sundermann, 'Bidaxš', in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* IV (Winona Lake, 1990), p. 242–244.
- Swain (1989):  
S. Swain, 'Favorinus and Hadrian', in *ZPE* 79 (1989), p. 150–158.
- Swain (1996):  
S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250* (Oxford, 1996).
- Swassjan (1998):  
K. Swassjan, *Der Untergang eines Abendländers* (Berlin, 1998).
- Sweeney (1969):  
R. D. Sweeney, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the Scholia to Statius*. Mnemosyne Supplements 8 (Leiden, 1969).
- Sweeney (1997):  
R. D. Sweeney (ed.), *Lactantius Placidus. In Statii Thebaida Commentum, I* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1997).
- Swerdlow (1991):  
N. M. Swerdlow, 'On the cosmical mysteries of Mithras', in *Classical Philology* 86 (1991), p. 48–63.

- Tafazzoli (1986):  
A. Tafazzoli, 'Āraš', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* II(3) (London, 1986), p. 267–268.
- Takács (1995):  
S. Takács, *Isis and Serapis in the Roman World*. RGRW 124 (Leiden and Boston, 1995).
- Talebian (2008):  
M.H. Talebian, 'Persia and Greece: The Role of Cultural Interactions in the Architecture of Persepolis-Pasargadae', in S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-cultural Encounters. 1st International Conference (Athens, 11–13 November 2006)* (Athens, 2008), p. 175–194.
- Taplin (2007):  
O. Taplin, *Pots and Plays. Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase Painting of the Fourth Century BC* (Los Angeles, 2007).
- Tarn (1923):  
W. W. Tarn, 'Queen Ptolemais and Apama', in *CQ* 29 (1923), p. 138–141.
- Tarn (1933):  
W. W. Tarn, 'Two notes on Ptolemaic History', in *JHS* 53 (1933), p. 57–68.
- Tarn and Griffith (1952):  
W. W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (3rd edn; London, 1952).
- Tate (1932):  
J. Tate, 'Plato and "imitation"', in *CQ* 26 (1932), p. 161–169.
- Tavakoli-Targhi (2001):  
M. Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran. Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography* (Basingstoke and New York, 2001).
- Tavakoli-Targhi (2009):  
M. Tavakoli-Targhi, 'Historiography and Crafting Iranian National Identity', in T. Atabaki (ed.), *Iran in the 20<sup>th</sup>-Century: Historiography and Political Culture* (London and New York, 2009), p. 5–21, 265–272.
- Tavernier (2008):  
J. Tavernier, 'Multilingualism in the Fortification and Treasury Archives', in P. Briant, W.F.M. Henkelman and M. W. Stolper (eds.), *L'archive des fortifications de Persépolis: état des questions et perspectives de recherches: actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la "Chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre" et le "Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides"* (GDR 2538 CNRS), 3–4 novembre 2006. *Persika* 12 (Paris, 2008), p. 59–86.
- Taylor (2004):  
C. Taylor, *Modern Social Imaginaries* (Durham, 2004).
- Teixidor (1990):  
J. Teixidor, 'Interpretations and Misinterpretations of the East in Hellenistic Times', in P. Bilde *et al.* (eds.), *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom. Studies in Hellenistic Civilization* 1 (Aarhus, 1990), p. 66–78.
- Ter-Martirosov (2008):  
F.I. Ter-Martirosov, 'Drevnie Stolitsi Armenii Ervandashat', in *Patma-banasirakan handes. Istoriko-filologicheskii Zhurnal* 177/179 (2008), p. 3–19.
- Thackeray (1926–1930):  
H. St.J. Thackeray, *Josephus, The Life, Against Apion, The Jewish War Books 1–7, Jewish Antiquities Books 1–4* (LCL) (multiple volumes; Cambridge, MA, 1926–1930).
- Thiers (2007):  
C. Thiers, *Ptolémée Philadelphie et les prêtres d'Atoum de Tjékou. Nouvelle édition commentée de la "stèle de Pithom"* (Montpellier, 2007).
- Thompson (1984):  
J.B. Thompson, 'Ideology and the Social Imaginary: An Appraisal of Castoriadis and Lefort', in *id.*, *Studies in the Theory of Ideology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984), p. 16–41.

- Thonemann (2009):  
P. Thonemann, 'Estates and the Land in Early Hellenistic Asia Minor: The Estate of Krateuas', in *Chiron* 39 (2009), p. 363–393.
- Thurn (2000):  
H. Thurn (ed.), *Ioannis Malalae Chronographis* (Berlin, 2000).
- Tilia (1977):  
A. B. Tilia, 'Chronologies in old world archaeology, 1976. Recent discoveries at Persepolis', in *AJA* 81.1 (1977), p. 66–77.
- Tirats'yan (2003):  
G. A. Tirats'yan, 'On the Towns of Armenia in the Pre-Hellenistic Period (6th–4th Centuries BCE)', in R. Vardanyan (eds.), *From Urartu to Armenia: Florilegium Gevork A. Tirats'yan in Memoriam* (Neuchâtel, 2003), p. 127–138.
- Tiverios (1997):  
M. Tiverios, 'Die von Xenophantos Athenaios signierte große Lekythos aus Pantikapaion: Alte Funde neu betrachtet', in J. H. Oakley, W. D. E. Coulston and O. Palagia (eds.), *Athenian Potters and Painters* (Oxford, 1997), p. 269–284.
- Török (2001):  
L. Török, *Hellenizing Art in Ancient Nubia 300 BC–AD 250 and its Egyptian Models. A Study of "Acculturation"* (Leiden and Boston, 2001).
- Török (2005):  
L. Török, *Transfigurations of Hellenism. Aspects of Late Antique Art in Egypt AD 250–700* (Leiden and Boston, 2005).
- Toumanoff (1963):  
C. Toumanoff, 'The Orontids of Armenia', in *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), p. 277–354.
- Townend (1983):  
G. B. Townend, 'A clue to Caesar's unfulfilled intentions', in *Latomus* 42 (1983), p. 601–606.
- Traina (2010):  
G. Traina, 'Teatro greco nell'Armenia antica', in E. Migliario, L. Troiani and G. Zecchini (eds.), *Società indigene e cultura grecoromana* (Rome, 2010), p. 95–103.
- Travlos (1971):  
J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York, 1971).
- Trehuedic (2014):  
K. Trehuedic, 'Une mémoire des Maccabées dans le livre d'Esther? Occultation de la propagande Hasmonéenne', in M. F. Baslez and O. Munnich (eds.), *La mémoire des persécutions. Autour des livres des Maccabées* (Paris, 2014), p. 133–154.
- Trendall (1982):  
A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia II* (Oxford, 1982).
- Treu (1897):  
G. Treu, *Olympia – Die Ergebnisse der vom Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung 3, Die Bildwerke von Olympia in Stein und Thon. Tafelband* (Berlin, 1897).
- Tsingarida (2009):  
A. Tsingarida, 'À la santé des dieux et des hommes. La phiale: un vase à boire au banquet Athénien?' in *Métis* 7 (2009), p. 91–109.
- Tsingarida (2014):  
A. Tsingarida, 'The Attic Phiale in Context. The Late Archaic Red-Figure and Coral-Red Workshops', in J. H. Oakley (ed.), *Athenian Potters and Painters III* (Oxford, 2014), p. 263–272.
- Tubach (2000):  
J. Tubach, 'Mani, der bibliophile Religionsstifter', in R. E. Emmerick (eds.), *Studia Manichaeica IV. Internationaler Kongreß zum Manichäismus, Berlin, 14.–18. Juli 1997*. Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berichte und Abhandlungen, Sonderband 4 (Berlin, 2000), p. 622–638.

- Tuck (2005):  
S.L. Tuck, 'The origins of Roman imperial hunting imagery: Domitian and the redefinition of *virtus* under the Principate', in G&R 52.2 (2005), p. 221–245.
- Tuplin (1996a):  
C. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies* (Stuttgart, 1996).
- Tuplin (1996b):  
C. Tuplin, 'The Parks and Gardens of the Achaemenid Empire', in C. Tuplin (ed.), *Achaemenid Studies*. *Historia Einzelschriften* 99 (Stuttgart, 1996), p. 80–131.
- Tuplin (2005):  
C. J. Tuplin, 'Darius' Accession in (the) Media', in P. Bienkowski, C. Mee and E. Slater (eds.), *Writing and Near Eastern Society* (New York, 2005), p. 217–244.
- Tuplin (2007a):  
C. Tuplin (ed.), *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural Interaction With(in) the Achaemenid Empire* (Swansea and Oxford, 2007).
- Tuplin (2007b):  
C. Tuplin, 'Treacherous Hearts and Upright Tiaras: the Achaemenid King's Head-Dress', in C. Tuplin (ed.), *Persian Responses. Political and cultural Interaction With(in) the Persian Empire* (Swansea, 2007), p. 67–97.
- Tuplin (2008):  
C. Tuplin, 'The Seleucids and Their Achaemenid Predecessors: A Persian Inheritance', in S.M. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (ed.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran. Cross-Cultural Counters*. Athens, 11–13 November 2006 (Athens, 2008), p. 109–136.
- Tuplin (2009):  
C. Tuplin, 'The Gadatas Letter', in L.G. Mitchell and L. Rubinstein (eds.), *Greek History and Epigraphy: Essays in Honour of P.J. Rhodes* (Swansea and Oakville, CT, 2009), p. 155–184.
- Tuplin (2010a):  
C. Tuplin, 'The Limits of Persianization: Some Reflections on Cultural Links in the Persian Empire', in E.S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean: Issues and Debates* (Los Angeles, 2010), p. 150–182.
- Tuplin (2010b):  
C. Tuplin, 'Historical Significance of the Tatarlı Tomb Chamber', in L. Summerer and A. von Kienlin (eds.), *Tatarlı: renklerin dönüşü* (Istanbul, 2010), p. 186–195.
- Tuplin (2014):  
C. Tuplin, 'The Sick Man of Asia', in G. Parmeggiani (ed.), *Between Thucydides and Polybius: The Golden Age of Greek Historiography* (Washington, DC, 2014), p. 211–238.
- Turcan (1975):  
R.A. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus. Recherches sur l'hellénisation philosophique de Mithra*. EPROER 47 (Leiden, 1975).
- Turcan (1982):  
R.A. Turcan, *Firnicus Maternus, L'erreur des religions païennes* (Paris, 1982).
- Turcan (2000):  
R.A. Turcan, *Mithra et le mithriacisme* (3rd edn; Paris, 2000; orig. Paris 1981).
- Turcan (2001):  
R.A. Turcan, 'Comment adore-t-on un dieu de l'ennemi?', in *TOΠΟΙ* (2001 [2004]), p. 137–148.
- Uehlinger (1999):  
C. Uehlinger, "'Powerful Persianisms" in Glyptic Iconography of Persian Period Palestine', in B. Becking and M.C.A. Korpel (eds.), *The Crisis of Israelite Religion: The Transformation of Religious Tradition in Exilic and Post-Exilic Times* (Leiden and Boston, 1999), p. 134–181.
- Ulansey (1989):  
D. Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World* (New York, 1989).

Ussishkin (2012):

D. Ussishkin, 'On Nehemiah's City Wall and the Size of Jerusalem during the Persian Period: An Archaeologist's View', in I. Kalimi (ed.), *New Perspectives on Ezra-Nehemiah. History and Historiography, Text, Literature, and Interpretation* (Winona Lake, 2012), p. 101–130.

Ustinova (1999):

Y. Ustinova, *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom. Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 135 (Leiden and Boston, 1999).

Valeri (2003):

C. Valeri, 'Il Mitra di Kriton e la copia della Collezione Giustiniani' (online at [www.ostia-antica.org/fulltext/valeri/valeri03.htm](http://www.ostia-antica.org/fulltext/valeri/valeri03.htm); last visited 08-04-2015).

Vallat (2011):

F. Vallat, 'Darius, l'héritier légitime et les premiers Achéménides', in J. Álvarez-Mon and M. B. Garrison (eds.), *Elam and Persia* (Winona Lake, 2011), p. 263–284.

Van Andringa and Van Haepereen (2009):

W. Van Andringa and F. Van Haepereen, 'Le Romain et l'étranger: formes d'intégration des cultes étrangers dans les cités de l'Empire romain', in C. Bonnet, V. Pirenne-Delforge and D. Praet (eds.), *Les religions orientales dans le monde grec et romain: cent ans après Cumont (1906–2006). Bilan historique et historiographique. Colloque de Rome, 16–18 novembre 2006, Institut Historique Belge de Rome. Études de philologie, d'archéologie et d'histoire anciennes* 45 (Brussels, 2009), p. 23–42.

Van De Mierop (1997):

M. Van de Mierop, *The Ancient Mesopotamian City* (Oxford, 1997).

Vanden Berghe (1983):

L. Vanden Berghe, *Reliefs rupestres de l'Irān ancien (vers 2000 av.J.C.–7e s. après J.C.)* (Brussels, 1983).

Van der Spek (2014):

R. J. van der Spek, 'Cyrus the Great, Exiles and Foreign Gods: A Comparison of Assyrian and Persian Policies on Subject Nations', in W. F. M. Henkelman, M. Kozuh, C. E. Jones and C. Woods (eds.), *Extraction and Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew Stolper*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 68 (Chicago, 2014), p. 233–264.

Van der Toorn (1990):

K. Van der Toorn, 'Het Babylonische nieuwjaarsfeest', in *Phoenix* 36 (1990), p. 10–29.

Van Essen and Vermaseren (1965):

C. C. Van Essen and M. J. Vermaseren, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (Leiden, 1965).

Van Nuffelen (2011):

P. Van Nuffelen, *Rethinking the Gods. Philosophical Readings of Religion in the Post-Hellenistic Period* (Cambridge, 2011).

Van Steen (2010):

G. van Steen, *Liberating Hellenism From the Ottoman Empire. Comte de Marcellus and the Last of Classics* (London and New York, 2010).

Van Wickevoort Crommelin (1998):

B. van Wickevoort Crommelin, 'Die Parther und die parthische Geschichte bei Pompeius Trogus-Iustin', in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 1998), p. 259–277.

Vardanyan (2001):

R. Vardanyan, 'Tendenze culturali e ideologiche nell'impero partico riflesse dalla monetazione', in *Parthica* 3 (2001), p. 25–132.

Vaziri (1993):

M. Vaziri, *Iran as Imagined Nation: The Construction of National Identity* (New York, 1993).

Veblen (1899):

T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1899).

- Vergin (2000):  
W. Vergin, *Das Imperium Romanum und seine Gegenwelten. Die geographisch-ethnographischen Exkurse in den "Res Gestae" des Ammianus Marcellinus* (Berlin, 2012).
- Verheyden (2013):  
J. Verheyden (ed.), *The Figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Tradition: King, Sage and Architect* (Leiden and Boston, 2013).
- Vermaseren (1951):  
M.J. Vermaseren, 'The Miraculous Birth of Mithras', in *Mnemosyne* 4 (1951), p. 285–301.
- Vermaseren (1956–1960):  
M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (The Hague, 1956–1960).
- Vermaseren (1963):  
M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God* (London, 1963); translation by T. and V. Megaw of M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithras de geheimzinnige God* (Amsterdam, 1959).
- Vermaseren (1971):  
M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca 1: The Mithraeum at Santa Maria Capua Vetere*. EPROER 16.1 (Leiden, 1971).
- Vermaseren (1977):  
M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque (CCCA), 3: Italia: Latium*. EPROER 50.3 (Leiden, 1977):
- Vermaseren (1982):  
M.J. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca 3: The Mithraeum at Marino*. EPROER 16.3 (Leiden, 1982).
- Vermaseren and Van Essen (1965):  
M.J. Vermaseren and C. C. Van Essen, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome* (Leiden, 1965).
- Versluys (2010):  
M.J. Versluys, 'Understanding Egypt in Egypt and Beyond', in L. Bricault and M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Isis on the Nile: Egyptian Gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Proceedings of the IVth International Conference of Isis Studies. Michel Malaise in Honorem* (Leiden and Boston, 2010), p. 7–36.
- Versluys (2012a):  
M.J. Versluys, 'Making Meaning With Egypt: Hadrian, Antinous and Rome's Cultural Renaissance', in L. Bricault and M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Egyptian Gods in the Hellenistic and Roman Mediterranean: Image and Reality Between Local and Global* (Caltanissetta, 2012), p. 25–39.
- Versluys (2012b):  
M.J. Versluys, 'Cultural Responses From Kingdom to Province: The Romanisation of Comma-gene, local Identities and the Mara Bar Sarapion Letter', in A. Merz and T. Tieleman (eds.), *The letter of Mara Bar Sarapion in Context* (Leiden and Boston, 2012), p. 43–66.
- Versluys (2013):  
M.J. Versluys, 'Orientalising Roman Gods', in L. Bricault and C. Bonnet (eds.), *Pantheé: Religious Transformations in the Graeco-Roman Empire*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 177 (Leiden and Boston, 2013), p. 235–259.
- Versluys (2014a):  
M.J. Versluys, "'Lost in the Hinterland?" The Monument on Nemrud Dağı in Its Hellenistic Context', in H. A. G. Brijder (ed.), *Nemrud Dağı: Recent Archaeological Research and Conservation Activities in the Tomb Sanctuary on Mount Nemrud* (Boston and Berlin, 2014), p. 600–605.
- Versluys (2014b):  
M.J. Versluys, 'Nemrud Dağ, Archaeology of', in C. Smith (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (New York 2014), p. 5222–5229.
- Versluys (2015a):  
M.J. Versluys, 'Roman Visual Material Culture as Globalising Koine', in M. Pitts and M.J. Ver-



- sluys (eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman world: Perspectives and Opportunities* (Leiden and Boston, 2015), p. 141–174.
- Versluys (2015b):  
M.J. Versluys, 'Haunting Traditions: The (Material) Presence of Egypt in the Roman World', in D. Boschung, A. Busch and M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Reinventing The Invention of Tradition? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present* (München, 2015), p. 127–158.
- Versluys (2016a):  
M.J. Versluys, *Visual Style and Constructing Identity in the Hellenistic World. Nemrud Dağ and Commagene under Antiochos I* (Cambridge and New York, 2016).
- Versluys (2016b):  
M.J. Versluys, 'Exploring Aegyptiaca and Their Material Agency Throughout Global History', in T. Hodos, A. Geurds, P. Lane, I. Lilley, M. Pitts, G. Shelach, M. Stark and M.J. Versluys (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalisation* (London, 2016), p. 74–89.
- Vinogradov (1990):  
J. G. Vinogradov, 'Côte septentrionale du Pont, Caucase, Asie centrale', in *REG* 103 (1990), p. 531–560.
- Vittmann (1997):  
G. Vittmann, 'Das demotische Graffito vom Satetempel auf Elephantine', *MDAI(K)* 53 (1997), p. 263–281.
- Vlassopoulos (2013):  
K. Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians* (Cambridge, 2013).
- Vogt (1961):  
J. Vogt, *Wege zum historischen Universum* (Stuttgart, 1961).
- Voltaire (1756):  
Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (Geneva, 1756).
- Von Gall (1970):  
H. von Gall, 'Beobachtungen zum arsakadischen Diadem und zur parthischen Bildkunst', in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 19/20 (1970), p. 299–318.
- Von Gall (1995):  
H. von Gall, 'Dokkân-e Dāwūd' in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* VII(5) (Winona Lake, 1995), p. 472–474.
- Von Gall (1990):  
H. von Gall, *Das Reiterkampfbild in der iranischen und iranisch beeinflussten Kunst parthischer und sasanidischer Zeit*. Teheraner Forschungen 6 (Berlin, 1990).
- Von Graeve (1970):  
V. von Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt*. Istanbuler Forschungen 28 (Berlin, 1970).
- Von Gutschmid (1892):  
A. von Gutschmid, 'Untersuchungen über die Geschichte des pontischen Reichs', in id., *Kleine Schriften* III (Leipzig, 1892), p. 480–561.
- Von Mandelslo (1658):  
J.A. von Mandelslo, *Des Hoch Edelgebornen Johan Albrechts von Mandelslo Morgenländische Reyse-Beschreibung. Worinnen zugleich die Gelegenheit und heutiger Zustand etlicher fürnehmen Indianischen Länder, Provinzien, Städte und Insulen, sampt derer Einwohner Leben, Sitten, Glauben und Handthierung: wie auch die Beschaffenheit der Seefahrt über das Oceanische Meer* (Hamburg, 1658).
- Von Möllendorf (2001):  
P. von Möllendorf, 'Frigid enthusiasts: Lucian on writing history', in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 47 (2001), p. 117–8.
- Von Salis (1956):  
A. von Salis, *Löwenkampfbilder des Lysipp*. Winckelmannsprogramm der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin 112 (Berlin, 1956).

- Von Soden (1956):  
H. von Soden, *Urchristentum und Geschichte 2* (Tübingen, 1956).
- Von Stadten (1976):  
H. von Stadten, 'Nietzsche and Marx on Greek Art and Literature: Case Studies in Reception', in *Daedalus* 105 (1976), p. 79–96.
- Vos (1963):  
M. F. Vos, *Scythian Archers in Archaic Attic Vase-Painting* (Groningen, 1963).
- Voss (1987):  
J. A. Voss, 'Antiquity imagined. Cultural values in archaeological folklore', in *Folklore* 98.1 (1987), p. 80–90.
- Waerzeggers (2010):  
C. Waerzeggers, *The Ezida Temple of Borsippa. Priesthood, Cult, Archives* (Leiden and Boston, 2010).
- Waerzeggers (2014):  
C. Waerzeggers, 'A Statue of Darius in the Temple of Sippar', in M. Kozuh, W. M. F. Henkelman, C. E. Jones and C. Woods (eds.), *Extraction and Control. Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 68 (Chicago, 2014), p. 323–329.
- Wagner (1983):  
J. Wagner, 'Dynastie und Herrscherkult in Kommagene: Forschungsgeschichte und neuere Funde', in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 33 (1983), p. 177–224.
- Wagner (2000):  
J. Wagner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (Mainz, 2000).
- Wagner (2012):  
J. Wagner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (2nd edn; Darmstadt and Mainz, 2012).
- Wagner (2012b):  
J. Wagner, 'Die Könige von Kommagene und ihr Herrscherkult', in id. (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat: Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (Darmstadt and Mainz am Rhein, 2012), p. 43–60.
- Wagner and Petzl (1976):  
J. Wagner and G. Petzl, 'Eine neue Temenos-Stele des Königs Antiochos I. von Kommagene', in *ZPE* 20 (1976), p. 201–223.
- Waldmann (1973):  
H. Waldmann, *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen unter König Mithradates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I.* Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain 34 (Leiden, 1973).
- Waldmann (1991):  
H. Waldmann, *Der kommagenische Mazdaismus*. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen Beiheft* 37 (Tübingen, 1991).
- Waldmann (1994):  
H. Waldmann, 'Der Nemrud Dag, seine Terrassen und das indische Somaopfer', in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 44 (1994), p. 107–124.
- Walker and Fenton (1997):  
J. Walker and P. Fenton, 'Sulaymān b. Dāwūd', in C. E. Bosworth (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam* IX (Leiden and Boston, 1997), p. 822–824.
- Walser (1980):  
G. Walser, *Persepolis. Die Königspfalz des Darius* (Tübingen, 1980).
- Wangenheim (2015):  
T. Wangenheim, 'Der verschlafene Frimaire des Arnold Toynbee', in D. Engels (ed.), *Biologismus und Zyklizität in der Geschichtsphilosophie von der Antike bis zur Moderne* (Brussels, 2015), p. 290–303.

- Wannagat (2001):  
 D. Wannagat, 'EURYMEDON EIMI. Zeichen von ethnischer, sozialer und physischer Differenz in der Vasenmalerei des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', in R. Van Den Hof and S. Schmidt, *Konstruktionen Von Wirklichkeit. Bilder Im Griechenland Des 5 Und 4 Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 2001), p. 51–71.
- Waters (2004):  
 M. W. Waters, 'Cyrus and the Achaemenids', in *Iran* 42 (2004), p. 91–102.
- Weber (2009):  
 U. Weber, 'Wahrām II.: König der Könige von Ērān und Anērān', in *Iranica Antiqua* 44 (2009), p. 559–643.
- Weber (2010a):  
 U. Weber, 'Zu den Feldbildernissen des Königs Narseh', in R. Gyselen (ed.), *Sources for the History of Sasanian and Post-Sasanian Iran*. Res Orientales 19 (Bures-sur-Yvette, 2010), p. 305–319.
- Weber (2010b):  
 U. Weber, 'Wahrām III.: König der Könige von Ērān und Anērān', in *Iranica Antiqua* 45 (2010), p. 353–394.
- Weber and Wiesehöfer (2010):  
 U. Weber and J. Wiesehöfer, 'König Narsehs Herrschaftsverständnis', in H. Börm and J. Wiesehöfer (eds.), *Commutatio et Contentio: Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East. In Memory of Zeev Rubin*. Reihe Geschichte 3 (Düsseldorf, 2010), p. 89–132.
- Weissbach (1931):  
 F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (Leipzig, 1931).
- Weitzman (2004):  
 S. Weitzman, 'Plotting Antiochos's persecution', in *JBL* 123 (2004), p. 219–234.
- Welles (1934):  
 C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period. A Study in Greek Epigraphy* (Chicago, 1934).
- Wenghofer & Houle (2015):  
 R. Wenghofer and D. J. Houle, 'Marriage Diplomacy and the Political Role of Royal Women in the Seleukid Far East', in A. Coškun and A. McAuley (eds.), *Seleukid Royal Women: Creation, Representation and Distortion of Hellenistic Queenship in the Seleukid Empire. Papers Chosen from Seleukid Study Day IV (McGill University, Montreal, 20–23 February 2013)* (Stuttgart, 2015 [in press]).
- Wenghofer (in press):  
 R. Wenghofer, 'Rethinking the Relationship Between Hellenistic Bactria and India to the Seleucid Empire', in K. Erickson and A. McAuley (ed.), *War Within the Family: The First Century of Seleucid Rule Proceedings of a Panel at the Celtic Conference of Classics (Bordeaux Sept. 2012)* (Swansea and Oxford, in press).
- West (1880):  
 E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts. Volume I. Sacred Books of the East 5* (Oxford, 1880; repr. Delhi, 1965).
- West (1885):  
 E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts. Volume II. Sacred Books of the East 18* (Oxford, 1885; repr. Delhi, 1965).
- West (1997):  
 M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth* (Oxford, 1997).
- Whitcomb (1979):  
 D. Whitcomb, 'The City of Istakhr and the Marvdasht plain', in *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongress für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7.–10. September 1976* (Berlin, 1979), p. 363–370.

- White (2012):  
L. M. White, 'The Changing Face of Mithraism at Ostia. Archaeology, Art and Urban Landscape', in D. L. Balch and A. Weissenrieder (eds.), *Contested Spaces: Houses and Temples in Roman Antiquity and the New Testament* (Tübingen, 2012), p. 431–492.
- Whitmarsh (2001):  
T. Whitmarsh, *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire. The Politics of Imitation* (Oxford, 2001).
- Whitmarsh (2005):  
T. Whitmarsh, *The Second Sophistic* (Oxford, 2005).
- Whitmarsh (2010):  
T. Whitmarsh, 'Thinking Local', in id. (ed.), *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 1–16.
- Whitmarsh (2011):  
T. Whitmarsh, *Narrative and Identity in the Ancient Greek Novel* (Cambridge, 2011).
- Widengren (1965):  
G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart, 1965).
- Widengren (1966):  
G. Widengren, 'The Mithraic Mysteries in the Roman World: With Special Regard to Their Iranian Background', in *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano*. Quaderno 76 (Rome, 1966), p. 433–455.
- Widengren (1978):  
G. Widengren, *Mithra and the Question of Iranian Monotheism* (Tehran and Leuven, 1978).
- Widengren (1980):  
G. Widengren, 'Reflections on the Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries', in *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980), p. 645–668.
- Wiegand and Schrader (1904):  
T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895–1898* (Berlin, 1904).
- Wiemer (2007):  
H. U. Wiemer, 'Alexander: der letzte Achaimenide? Eroberungspolitik, lokale Eliten und alt-orientalische Traditionen im Jahr 323', in *HZ* 284 (2007), p. 281–309.
- Wiesehöfer (1986):  
J. Wiesehöfer, 'Iranische Ansprüche an Rom auf ehemals achämenidische Territorien', in *AMI* 19 (1986), p. 177–186.
- Wiesehöfer (1991):  
J. Wiesehöfer, 'Prtrk, rb hyl', sgn und mr'. Zur Verwaltung Südägyptens in achaimenidischer Zeit', in H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History 6: Asia Minor and Egypt. Old Cultures in a New Empire* (Leiden and Boston, 1991), p. 305–309.
- Wiesehöfer (1993):  
J. Wiesehöfer, 'A me igitur ... Figurarum verum auctorem ... Nemo desideret. Engelbert Kaempfer und der Alte Iran', in D. Haberland (ed.), *Engelbert Kaempfer. Werk und Wirkung. Vorträge der Symposien in Lemgo (19–22.9.1990) und Tokyo (15–18.12.1990)* (Stuttgart, 1993), p. 105–132.
- Wiesehöfer (1994a):  
J. Wiesehöfer, *Die "Dunklen Jahrhunderte" der Persis: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Kultur von Fars in frühhellenistischer Zeit (330–140 v. Chr.)* (München, 1994).
- Wiesehöfer (1994b):  
J. Wiesehöfer, 'Zum Nachleben von Achaimeniden und Alexander in Iran', in H. W. A. M. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt and M. Cool Root (eds.), *Achaemenid History 7: Continuity and Change* (Leiden and Boston, 1994), p. 289–287.
- Wiesehöfer (1998):  
J. Wiesehöfer, 'Discordia et Defectio – Dynamis kai Pithanourgia: Die frühen Seleukiden und Iran', in B. Funck (ed.), *Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Erforschung von Akkulturation und poli-*

- tischer Ordnung in den Staaten des hellenistischen Zeitalters: Akten des Internationalen Hellenismus-Kolloquiums 9.–14 März 1994 in Berlin* (Tübingen, 1998), p. 29–56.
- Wiesehöfer (1999a):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'Färs. ii. History in the Pre-Islamic Period', in E. Yarshater *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopædia Iranica* IX(3) (New York, 1999), p. 330–331.
- Wiesehöfer (1999b):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'Kontinuität oder Zäsur. Babylon unter den Achämeniden', in J. Renger (ed.), *Babylon: Focus mesopotamischer Geschichte. Wiege früherer Gelehrsamkeit als Mythos der Moderne* (Saarbrücken, 1999), p. 167–188.
- Wiesehöfer (2001):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, *Ancient Persia: from 550 BC to 650 AD*. Translated from the German by A. Azodi (London and New York, 2001).
- Wiesehöfer (2003):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'Vom "Oberen Asien" zur "gesamten bewohnten Welt": Die hellenistisch-römische Weltreiche-Theorie', in M. Delgado, K. Koch and E. Marsch (eds.), *Europa: Tausendjähriges Reich und Neue Welt. Zwei Jahrtausende Geschichte und Utopie in der Rezeption des Danielbuches*. Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte I (Freiburg and Stuttgart, 2003), p. 66–83.
- Wiesehöfer (2005a):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, *Iraniens, Grecs et Romains*. Cahiers à Studia Iranica 32 (Paris, 2005).
- Wiesehöfer (2005b):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'Rome as Enemy of Iran', in E. S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*. Oriens et Occidens 8 (Stuttgart, 2005), p. 105–120.
- Wiesehöfer (2007a):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'From Achaemenid Imperial Order to Sasanian Diplomacy: War, Peace and Reconciliation in Pre-Islamic Iran', in K. Raaflaub (ed.), *War and Peace in the Ancient World*, Oxford, 2007), p. 121–140.
- Wiesehöfer (2007b):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'Fars under Seleucid and Parthian Rule', in S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds.), *The Idea of Iran. Volume 2: The Age of the Parthians* (London and New York, 2007), p. 37–49.
- Wiesehöfer (2009):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'Kawad, Khusro I and the Mazdakites. A New Proposal', in P. Gignoux (eds.), *Trésors d'Orient* (Paris, 2009), p. 391–409.
- Wiesehöfer (2011a):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'Frataraka Rule in Seleucid Persis: A New Appraisal', in A. Erskine and L. Llewellyn-Jones (eds.), *Creating a Hellenistic World* (Swansea and Oxford, 2011), p. 107–122.
- Wiesehöfer (2011b):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'The "Accursed" and the "Adventurer": Alexander the Great in Iranian Tradition', in Z. D. Zuwiyya (ed.), *A Companion to Alexander Literature in the Middle Ages* (Leiden and Boston, 2011), p. 113–132.
- Wiesehöfer (2013a):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'Mehrfrentenkriege: Ostrom und das Sasanidenreich zu Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.', in F. Feder and A. Lohwasser (eds.), *Ägypten und sein Umfeld in der Spätantike*. Philippika 61 (Wiesbaden, 2013), p. 193–206.
- Wiesehöfer (2013b):  
 J. Wiesehöfer, 'Fratarakā and Seleucids', in D. T. Potts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran* (Oxford and New York, 2013), p. 718–727.
- Wikander (1951):  
 S. Wikander, *Études sur les mystères de Mithras*. Vetenskapen societeten i Lund (Lund, 1951).
- Will (1979):  
 É. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323–30 av.J.-C.) I* (Nancy, 1979).

- Will (1982):  
É. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323–30 av.J.-C.)* II (Nancy, 1982).
- Will (2008):  
É. Will, 'Pour une "anthropologie coloniale" du monde hellénistique', in W.J. Eadie and J. Ober (eds.), *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (Lanham, 1985), p. 273–301.
- Windischmann (1857):  
F. H. H. Windischmann, *Mithra: ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients* (Leipzig, 1857; repr. Nendeln, 1966).
- Winnicki (1994):  
K. Winnicki, 'Carrying off and Bringing Home the Statues of the Gods. On an Aspect of the Religious Policy of the Ptolemies Towards the Egyptian', in *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 24 (1996), p. 149–190.
- Winter, F. (1909):  
F. Winter, *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji* (Straßburg, 1909).
- Winter, E. (2008):  
E. Winter, 'Stadt, Herrschaft und Territorium in der Kommagene. Siedlungs- und Polisstrukturen in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit', in E. Winter (ed.), *PATRIS PANTROFOS KOMMAGHNH: Neue Funde und Forschungen zwischen Taurus und Euphrat*. Asia Minor Studien 60 (Bonn, 2008), p. 37–49.
- Wise (2003):  
M. O. Wise, 'Dating the teacher of righteousness and the floruit of his movement', in *JBL* 122 (2003), p. 53–87.
- Wiseman (1959):  
D. J. Wiseman, *Cylinder Seals of Western Asia* (London, 1959).
- Witschel (2012):  
C. Witschel, 'Orientalische Kulte' im römischen Reich. Neue Perspektiven der altertumswissenschaftlichen Forschung', in M. Blömer and E. Winter (eds.), *Iuppiter Dolichenus. Vom Lokalkult zur Reichsreligion* (Tübingen, 2012), p. 13–38.
- Witschel (forthcoming):  
C. Witschel, 'Mithras in the East: A Backward Flow of a Western Construct?', in C. Witschel and J. F. Quack (eds.), *Religious Flows in the Ancient World. The Diffusion of the Cults of Isis, Mithras and Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Imperium Romanum. Proceedings of the International Conference, Heidelberg Nov. 26–29, 2009*. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 7 (Tübingen, forthcoming).
- Wittfogel (1957):  
K. Wittfogel, *Oriental Despotism. A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven CT, 1957).
- Wolski (1947):  
J. Wolski, 'L'effondrement de la domination Séleucides en Iran au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.', in *Bulletin International de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres. Supplement V* 13. (Cracow, 1947), p. 13–70.
- Wolski (1950/1969):  
J. Wolski, 'Das Problem des Andragoras', in F. Altheim (ed.), *Der Hellenismus in Mittelasien* (Darmstadt 1969), p. 275–280; = 'Le problème d'Andragoras', in *Serta Kazaroviana* 16 (1950), p. 111–114.
- Wolski (1954):  
J. Wolski, 'Parthian and Iranian Titles in the Parchment No. 10 From Dura', in *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 7–8 (1954), p. 285–294.
- Wolski (1956–1957):  
J. Wolski, 'The Decay of the Iranian Empire of the Seleucids and the Chronology of the Parthian Beginnings', in *Berytus* 12 (1956–1957), p. 35–52.

- Wolski (1962):  
 J. Wolski, 'Arsace II et le généalogie des premiers Arsacides', in *Historia* 11 (1962), p. 138–145.
- Wolski (1969):  
 J. Wolski, 'Der Zusammenbruch der Seleukidenherrschaft im Iran im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (1947)', in F. Altheim and J. Rehork, *Der Hellenismus im Mittelasien* (Darmstadt, 1969), p. 188–254.
- Wolski (1979):  
 J. Wolski, 'L'orgine de la relation d'Arrien sur la paire des frères Arsacides, Arsaces et Tiri-date', in J. Harmatta (ed.), *Studies in the Sources on the History of the Pre-Islamic Central Asia*. Collection of the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia 2 (Budapest, 1979), p. 67–74.
- Wolski (1990a):  
 J. Wolski, 'Alexandre le Grand et l'Iran: Contribution à l'histoire de l'époque séleucide at arsacide', in J. Harmatta (ed.), *From Alexander to Kül Tegin: Studies in Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Arabic, Aramaic, Armenian, Chinese, Türk, Greek, and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1990), p. 1–9.
- Wolski (1990b):  
 J. Wolski, 'Le titre de 'Roi des Rois' dans l'idéologie monarchique des Arsacides', in J. Harmatta (ed.), *From Alexander to Kül Tegin: Studies in Bactrian, Pahlavi, Sanskrit, Arabic, Aramaic, Armenian, Chinese, Türk, Greek, and Latin Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1990), p. 11–18.
- Wolski (1991):  
 J. Wolski, 'L'époque parthe entre l'hellénisme et l'iranisme', in P. Bernard and F. Grenet (eds.), *Histoire et Cultes de l'Asie Centrale Préislamique* (Paris, 1991), p. 49–55.
- Wolski (1993):  
 J. Wolski, *L'Empire des Arsacides*. Acta Iranica 32 (Brussels, 1993).
- Wolski (1999):  
 J. Wolski, *The Seleucids: The Decline and Fall of Their Empire*. Translated by B. D. McQueen (Kraków, 1999).
- Woodman and Martin (1996):  
 A. J. Woodman and R. H. Martin (eds.), *The Annals of Tacitus. Book 3*. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 32 (New York, 1996).
- Woolf (1998):  
 G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge and New York, 1998).
- Worman (2004):  
 N. Worman, 'Insult and oral excess in the disputes between Aeschines and Demosthenes', in *AJPh* 125 (2004), p. 1–25.
- Worthington (2012):  
 M. Worthington, *Principles of Akkadian Textual Criticism* (Boston and Berlin, 2012).
- Wright (2007):  
 J.L. Wright, 'A New Model for the Composition of Ezra-Nehemiah', in O. Lipschitz, G.N. Knoppers and R. Albertz (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Fourth Century B.C.E.* (Winona Lake, 2007), p. 333–348.
- Wroth (1899):  
 W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of the British Museum: Greek Coins of Galatia, Capadocia and Syria* (London, 1899).
- Wuttmann (1996):  
 M. Wuttmann, 'Premier rapport préliminaire des travaux sur le site de 'Ayn Manawir (oasis de Kharga)', in *BIFAO* 96 (1996), p. 396–451.

- Yardley (2003):  
J. C. Yardley, *Justin and Pompeius Trogus. A Study of the Language of Justin's Epitome of Trogus* (Toronto, 2003).
- Yardley & Develin (1994):  
J. Yardley and R. Develin, *Justin, Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus. Translation and Commentary* (Atlanta, 1994).
- Yarshater (1971):  
E. Yarshater, 'Were the Sasanids Heirs to the Achaemenids?', in *La Persia nel Medioevo* (Rome, 1971), p. 517–531.
- Yarshater (1983):  
E. Yarshater, 'Iranian National History', in *id.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran. Volume 3.2: The Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 359–477.
- Yarshater (1989):  
E. Yarshater, 'Persia or Iran', in *Iranian Studies* 27.1 (1989), p. 62–65.
- Yıldırım (2004):  
B. Yıldırım, 'Identities and Empire: Local Mythology and the Self-Representation of Aphrodisias', in B. Borg (ed.), *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic* (Berlin and New York, 2004), p. 23–52.
- Yon (2002):  
J. B. Yon, *Les notables de Palmyre* (Beyrouth, 2002).
- Yoyotte (2013):  
J. Yoyotte, *Histoire, géographie et religion de l'Égypte ancienne. Opera selecta (textes édités et indexés par Ivan Guermeur)* (Leuven, 2013).
- Zacharia (2008):  
K. Zacharia, *Hellenisms. Culture, Identity and Ethnicity From Antiquity to Modernity* (London, 2008).
- Zakeri (2011):  
M. Zakeri, 'Qawādiyān (Kawādiyān) Balkhī-Istakhri Atlas and Its Middle Persian Ancestry', in *Cahier de Studia Iranica* 45 (2011), p. 213–224.
- Ziegler (1964):  
K. H. Ziegler, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Partherreich* (Wiesbaden, 1964).
- Zourmatzi (forthcoming):  
A. Zourmatzi, 'Cyrus the Great as a "King of the City of Anshan"', in D. Akbarzadeh (ed.), *Proceedings of the First International Conference 'Iran and the Silk Road': National Museum of Iran, 11–14 February 2011* (Tehran, forthcoming).
- Zumbini (1994):  
M. F. Zumbini, 'Macht und Dekadenz. Der "Streit um Spengler" und die Frage nach den Quellen zum Untergang des Abendlandes', in A. Demandt and J. Farrenkopf (eds.), *Der Fall Spengler. Eine kritische Bilanz* (1994), p. 75–96.

