

NOTES

Alexander's Sacrifice *dis praesidibus loci* before the Battle of Issus*

On a fall night before Issus in 333 BC, we are told by Curtius Rufus, Alexander ascended by torchlight to the summit of a lofty mountain, and in accordance with ancestral custom performed sacrifices to the chief guardian deities of the place: an intriguing historical remnant, the more challenging because Curtius provides no other details, and no other Alexander account gives reliable information about this particular display of piety.¹ Consequently the gods in question remain unknown. The purpose of this study is to establish the likelihood that Alexander did in fact perform these rites, and to determine the probable identities of the deities in the light of what is known about religious cults at Issus before he arrived.

The king's sacrifice is believable on the basis of three criteria: 1) his behavior at critical moments in general; 2) his critical situation before Issus; and 3) the credibility of Curtius Rufus regarding Alexander's behavior at this point.

Alexander stood in perpetual need of supernatural reassurance. The stakes for which he was playing were high, and he demanded all the help, human and divine, he could muster. His piety served him well in enlisting both human support and divine intervention. Under the circumstances, it would have been extraordinary had Alexander not invoked the divine, and on this basis alone Curtius' description of his nocturnal torchlight ascent and the sacrifices to local deities should be accepted as historical.

Beyond circumstantial evidence, however, there are other reasons to credit Curtius' account. In the first place, Alexander often sacrificed to local deities,² so his deference to resident spirits at Issus is not in itself unusual. In the second place, information which only Curtius furnishes about Alexander's religious activities just prior to Issus as well as immediately following the battle appears to be historically reliable. Curtius alone includes Athena with Asclepius as receiving offerings from Alexander in gratitude for his recovery from an almost

terminal illness at Tarsus, and this report is confirmed by contemporary sources.³

Following Issus, writes Curtius, Alexander erected altars on the banks of the Pinarus River to Jove, Hercules, and Minerva.⁴ Although no other account mentions this event, there is reason to believe that Curtius provides another accurate detail. The site of the three altars came to be known as Hieron, and appears in the *Stadiasmus Maris Magni*.⁵ It is not without interest that Cicero, while governor of Cilicia in 51 BC, camped at the Three Altars following a minor campaign, and at that propitious place his soldiers hailed him as *imperator*.⁶ The ambitious governor dramatized his achievements as worthy of a triumph in Rome by comparing himself to Alexander. The Roman senate thought otherwise; however, Cicero's correspondence does verify the existence of Alexander's altars in the middle of the first century, and strengthens the historicity of Curtius' report of the king's piety following Issus.

Alexander's altars also provide evidence for the identity of three of the gods to whom he sacrificed before the battle: Zeus, Heracles, and Athena. It would have been extraordinary for Alexander to invoke several gods beforehand and then to commemorate his victory with three altars to different divinities afterward. Royal Macedonian veneration of Zeus, Heracles, and Athena had a long history before Alexander, and Curtius says that his sacrifices were made in accordance with ancestral custom. But Curtius' phrase *dis praesidibus loci* raises questions: by what names were these gods worshipped locally, and what form did they take in the vicinity of Issus before Alexander's arrival?

I. Jove/Zeus

The satrapal coinage and Alexander's issues at Tarsus and Issus⁷ how that the king and his officials chose to see Zeus in the image of the local Ba'al Tarz, Ba'al of Tarsus. This deity consistently appears on the Persian coins of Tarsus throughout the fourth century, and on the Issus issues from about the second quarter of the same century and continuing to the end of Mazaeus' control of the city as satrap in 333. The god is almost always identified by the Aramaic legend, *b'l trz*. Of course

* The author thanks Professor Ralph W. Haskins for his critical reading of this article. The author assumes sole responsibility for its errors.

¹ Curtius iii 8.22: 'Ipse in iugum editi montis escendit multisque collucentibus facibus patrio more sacrificium *dis praesidibus loci* fecit'. The deities enumerated in *POxy* 1798 can be dismissed as unhistorical. See F. Jacoby's comment: *FGH* 148, F44, col 2. For the chronology of Issus, see Arrian ii 11.10; also A. B. Bosworth, *A historical commentary on Arrian's history of Alexander I* (Oxford 1980) 219.

² A point made by J. E. Atkinson, *A Commentary on Q. Curtius Rufus' 'Historiae Alexandri Magni' Books 3 and 4* (Amsterdam/Uithoorn 1980) 467. Mentioned there are Ister, the god of the Danube, on the Danube (Arrian i. 4.5); Athena of Megarsus at Megarsus (Arrian ii 5.9); Apis in Memphis (Arrian iii 1.4); and another would be Athena of Soli (Curtius iii 7.3) which is Atkinson's point, 466-9.

³ Curtius iii 7.3; Atkinson, *ibid.* 173-4, 466-9, notes that Hyperides iv 19, and the Athena image on Soli coinage substantiate Curtius' account.

⁴ Curtius iii 12.27: 'Tribus aris in ripa Pindari amnis Iovi atque Herculi Minervaeque sacratis . . .' See Atkinson, *ibid.*, 470-1.

⁵ No. 154; in C. Müller, ed., *Geographi Graeci Minores*, (1855-61) i 477.

⁶ Cicero, *Ep. ad fam.* xv 4. 8-9; see also Atkinson, *ibid.*, for the location of the Three Altars.

⁷ For the Tarsus coinage: E. T. Newell, *Tarsos under Alexander* (New York 1919); and *BMCLycaonia* lxxvi-lxxxv 162-77. For the Issus mint, see J. D. Bing, 'Reattribution of the "Myriandrus" Alexanders: The case for Issus,' *American Journal of Numismatics*, 2nd Series, i (1989), iff., which depends on Newell's die analysis but rejects his attribution in *Myriandros—Alexandria kat' Isson* (New York 1920).

this too represents the identification of a local divinity by aliens, Persian officials, using their administrative language to render the name of the god of Tarsus. Yet Ba'al Tarz is essentially a generic term, and rather than referring to the particular Canaanite god, Ba'al, the son of 'El, this Aramaic legend more likely should be translated 'Lord of Tarsus'. The title in no way identifies the patron deity of the capital city of Cilicia.

The close affinities between Ba'al Tarz on the Persian coinage and Tarhunzas, the Luwian storm god, as he appears in the Hieroglyphic Luwian monument at Ivriz (a short distance northwest of the Cilician Gates), make their identification likely.⁸ Particularly significant is the similar way in which the divinity is associated with symbols of agricultural fertility, clusters of grapes and shafts of wheat in both contexts. The Karatepe bilingual inscription, a rich source for Luwian deities and their translation into Phoenician in the late eighth century BC, supports this identification. The Luwian Tarhunzas is always translated Ba'al in Phoenician.⁹ Since Ba'al Tarz (or Tarhunzas) was originally a storm god, he was especially worshipped in celebration of the agricultural fertility of the Cilician plain from Tarsus to Issus.¹⁰ His numismatic representation increasingly associates him with Ahura Mazda and royalty, especially by the eagle which perches on his extended hand or on his staff and the radiate solar crown he wears on some Mazaeus staters at Tarsus.¹¹ The highest god of the local pantheon already identified with royal power was a logical recipient of the sacrifice before Issus, a battle which Alexander recognized as a contest for the kingship of Asia.

II. Hercules/Heraclēs

Alexander's offering to Heracles and his later altar dedicated to this deity are certainly appropriate under the circumstances. Heracles was particu-

larly important to the king both as heroic model and divine ancestor.¹² Heracles was also well known in Cilicia prior to Alexander's arrival, appearing on satrapal issues of all the eastern Cilician mints. The obverse of a coin minted at Soli shows his head with the lion's head cap and paws knotted around the neck; the reverse displays a bearded satrap and the name of the city in Greek [ΣΟΛ]ΙΚΟΝ.¹³ The Tarsus mint issued at least two types showing Heracles. One is similar to the Soli coin, except that his head is shown almost facing; the bearded satrap on the reverse is helmeted, with the Greek legend reading [ΤΕΡ]ΣΙΚΟΝ. The second coin displays Aphrodite on the obverse, and Heracles wrestling a lion with his club at his feet.¹⁴ A coin from Mallus resembling the specimens from Soli and Tarsus shows Heracles on the obverse and the bearded head of a satrap on the reverse, but this time bearing the Greek legend ΜΑΛ.¹⁵ Heracles also appears prominently on a couple of issues from Issus. On one, the triple-crested helmeted head of Athena is on the obverse and the head of a young Heracles on the reverse with the Greek legend ΙΣΣΙΚΟΝ. Another minting depicts Heracles on the obverse standing naked with the lion skin draped over his arm; the reverse displays a standing Apollo with the Greek legend ΙΣΣΙ.¹⁶ Heracles, however, is only the Hellenized veneer obscuring the presence of Sumero-Babylonian Nergal, Northwest Semitic Resheph, and native Luwian Runzas, deities whose veneration in Cilicia is attested by numismatic and epigraphic evidence.¹⁷

⁰Most of the attributes and symbols of these gods found in Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Cyprus also are associated with them in Cilicia. Nergal appears on the Tarsus coinage in the late fifth and fourth centuries BC.¹⁸ An early Persic stater, dated to c.420 BC, shows on its reverse the Aramaic legend *nrgl trz*, Nergal of Tarsus: the god stands on

⁸ O. H. Zervos, 'Near Eastern Elements in the Tetradrachms of Alexander the Great: The Eastern Mints', in O. Mørkholm and N. M. Waggoner, eds., *Greek numismatics and archaeology: essays in honor of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren, 1979) 295-8, for a comparison between Ivriz monument and Ba'al Tarz. P. Chuvin, 'Apollon au trident et les dieux de Tarse', *Journal des Savants* (1981), 306-26, esp. 314 and n.27, identifies Ba'al Tarz with Tarhunzas.

⁹ See J. D. Hawkins and A. Morpurgo Davies, 'On the Problems of Karatepe: The Hieroglyphic Text', *Anatolian Studies* xxviii (1978) 103-56, especially 114-18, for the translation of both Phoenician and Hieroglyphic Luwian texts. See E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites I* (Paris 1960) no. 199, for Tarhunzas as the Luwian name in the Ivriz inscription.

¹⁰ In Hittite cuneiform texts, Tarhunzas is sometimes written with the Sumerogram ⁴ISKUR/⁴IM, the sign for the storm god; the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign is the lightning bolt or thunder (TONITRUS). See Laroche (n.9). Mazaeus' Lion Staters, reattributed to Issus by the author, testify to the veneration of Ba'al Tarz at Issus: Bing (n.7).

¹¹ E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaine*, ii.2 (Paris 1910) 453-4, nos. 700-1, and Plate 112, 19-20, shows two specimens with radiate Ba'al Tarz. At Karatepe 'Tarhunzas of Heaven' parallels Ba'al Shamem, possibly giving Tarhunzas a solar identity: Hawkins and Davies (n.9) 118, LXXIII; and J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic inscriptions* iii (Oxford 1982) 52-3: A iii, 18, and 63.

¹² For the importance of Heracles to the Macedonian dynasty in general and Alexander in particular, see references to Heracles in Bosworth (n.1); also P. A. Brunt, *Arrian: History of Alexander and Indica*, i (Cambridge, MA 1976) 464-5.

¹³ *BMCLycaonia* 149, no. 27, Pl. 26, 3.

¹⁴ *BMCLycaonia* 166, no. 22, Pl. 19, 6; E. S. G. Robinson, 'Greek coins acquired by the British Museum 1938-48', *Numismatic Chronicle* viii (1948), 58, no. 11.

¹⁵ *BMCLycaonia* 100, no. 28, Pl. 17, 9.

¹⁶ Robinson, *op. cit.* (n.14) 66, no. 9; and for a second specimen, 'A stater of Issus', *Numismatic Chronicle* ix (1949), 114. E. T. Newell, 'A Cilician find', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1914, 14-6; and C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and classical Greek coins* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1976) 286.

¹⁷ For the Heracles-Nergal syncretism, see H. Seyrig, 'Antiquités syriennes', *Syria* xxiv (1945) 62-80, and W. Al-Salihi, 'Hercules-Nergal at Hatra', *Iraq* xxxiii (1971) 113-5. For the syncretism of Resheph and Nergal, their symbols, and characteristics, see D. Conrad, 'Der Gott Reschef', *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* lxxxiii (1971), 157-83. Resheph and Nergal have functions ranging from death and the underworld to agricultural fertility and war. For Resheph's association with gardens and wilderness meadows: Conrad 173-4. Both are portrayed with bow, quiver, and arrows. For Nergal with double axe or bipennis, see J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near East in pictures* (Princeton 1969) no. 699; and Seyrig, *op. cit. passim*.

¹⁸ L. Mildenberg, 'Nergal in Tarsos: Ein numismatischer Beitrag', *Antike Kunst*, Suppl. 9(1973) 78-80.

the back of a crouching lion, and holds a scepter and a bow. In the left field is a tree.¹⁹ Another Tarsus stater issued somewhat later, c.390 BC, displays on the reverse the same Aramaic legend with Nergal in Persian dress facing left, a double axe in his right hand, and a bow over his shoulder. To the left is a long, narrow shaft of wheat, to the right a large bush.²⁰ The iconography of these and other similar Tarsus coinage identifies Nergal of Tarsus as a god of war, the hunt, a subduer of lions, and a vegetation god of the meadow.²¹

While no Cilician evidence can be found to supplement the testimony from other regions of the Levant for the Nergal-Resheph syncretism, the Phoenician text of the Karatepe bilingual inscription from the late eighth century does provide evidence for the veneration of Resheph in Cilicia, probably by Phoenician traders and settlers.²² The deity occurs twice in the Phoenician, appearing in both instances with an epithet, *ršp sprm*, variously translated, but most likely to be rendered 'Resheph of the (He-)Goats.' The Phoenician epithet is an attempt to invest him with a unique local character as the god who with Ba'al/Tarhunzas commanded that the fortress at Karatepe be built. The parallel Hieroglyphic Luwian text provides the name of the native Luwian divinity to be identified with the Phoenician Resheph: Runzas, sometimes referred to as the Stag god, because his name is written in Hieroglyphic with the head of a stag or its antlers. This god known as the protector of wild animals, is therefore a fitting deity to be identified with Nergal, Resheph, and Heracles. The local Cilician deity to whom Alexander prayed before Issus, and to whom he built an altar afterward, Hellenized by Curtius' source as Heracles, was most likely the Luwian god Runzas.²³

III. Minerva/Athena

Athena's importance for the cities of Cilicia Tracheia and especially Soli was recently surveyed, particularly on the numismatic evidence.²⁴ That

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Taf. 28, 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Taf. 28, 5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

²² For the Phoenician text and translation, see Gibson (n.11) 41-64.

²³ Hawkins and Davies (n.9) 116, XL and XLI. Although Greek-Phoenician bilinguals on Cyprus identify Resheph with Apollo, Gibson (n.11) 60 stresses that Resheph at Karatepe translates the Luwian divine name. The author knows no Cilician evidence for Heracles-Resheph syncretism, and sees the identification of Resheph with Runzas as a clue to the Luwian identity of the Cilician Heracles based on the mutual identification of Heracles and Resheph with Nergal.

Another possibility is that Heracles refers to the local deity Santas, although evidence for the identification is quite late in antiquity. For a recent effort to identify Santas and Heracles, see R. Lebrun, 'L'Anatolie et le monde phénicien du X^e au IV^e siècle av. J.-C.' in E. Lipiński, *Studia Phoenicia v: Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium BC.* (Leuven 1987) 23-33 (esp. 29-32). Evidence for the veneration of Santas at Issus may be seen in the theophoric name of Sanduarri who controlled Issus in the early seventh century BC. See the author's forthcoming article cited below, n.44.

²⁴ Atkinson (n.2).

will be supplemented here with regard to Athena's iconography in eastern Cilicia, especially at Issus. As early as the first decade of the seventh century Tarsus seems to have possessed a temple which Greek sources identified as a temple of Athena.²⁵ Later, under Alexander's satrap Balacrus, the goddess appears on a satrapal issue of silver Persic staters at Tarsus.²⁶ This portrayal is quite distinctive: she is shown facing and wearing a triple-crested Attic helmet, earrings, and necklace. Arsames, the last Persian satrap at Tarsus, very likely initiated this issue not long before Alexander's arrival.²⁷ However, Athena of the helmet had an earlier appearance at the Issus mint in the fourth century, and it may be that this type originated there.²⁸ Since Alexander's sacrifice before Issus was rendered to the influential gods of the place (*loci*), the occurrence of Athena on early Issus coinage is much more relevant for our purposes than the evidence from Cilicia Tracheia, Soli, Tarsus, and even Mallus. Inasmuch as the numismatic as well as literary references to other gods in Cilicia indicate a native or eastern deity behind the Hellenic facade, one might suspect the same is also the case for the Athena of Issus.²⁹

At Issus Athena is connected to Tanit/'Anat who in turn is identified—at least in this region—with Babylonian Ishhara. Numismatic evidence supports the view that a Phoenician cult of Tanit/'Anat existed at Issus during the fourth century. A variation of the 'sign of Tanit' () occurs on early silver issues.³⁰ Many numismatists believe that this was a mint mark for the city and that many Persian coins issued in Cilicia without the specific municipal mint named may have been struck at Issus

²⁵ The author suggested that a Greek tradition preserved in a late text describing the construction of an 'Athenian' temple at Tarsus in the seventh century BC should be emended to read 'temple of Athena'. See 'Tarsus: a forgotten colony of Lindos', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* xxx (1971) 103.

²⁶ E. T. Newell, *Tarsos* (cited in n.7), 42-7; also H. von Aulock, 'Die Prägung des Balakros in Kilikien', *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* xiv (1964) 79-82.

²⁷ Kraay (n.16) 284; and Bing (n.7) note 73.

²⁸ Robinson (n.14) 56, pl. 5, 9; Robinson (n.16) 114; also Bing (n.7) note 34.

²⁹ Athena Megarsis in Megarsus: Arrian ii 5.9; also the enthroned Aphrodite on early Nagidos coins flanked by sphinxes probably represents 'Astarte': *BMCLycaonia* 112, no 15. For the sphinx and 'Astarte', see J. Teixidor, *The pagan god: popular religion in the Greco-Roman Near East* (Princeton 1977) 38. The coinage of Lapethos on Cyprus displays a martial goddess with a local bovine character: *BMCCyprus* 30-1, nos. 7-9; Babelon (n.11) 821-4, nos. 1362-3. For epigraphical evidence at Lapethos identifying 'Anat and Athena, see n.33.

³⁰ *BMCLycaonia* cxxvii; Newell (n.16); Kraay (n.16), pl. 59, 1028. Numismatists describe the sign as an *ankh* or *croix ansée*: see Babelon (n.29) 348-9, for variations on Cilician coinage. As a Hieroglyphic Luwian sign meaning 'life', see Laroche (n.9) no.

369. Its appearance on Issus Alexanders () is a more standard form of the 'sign of Tanit'. Its earlier design at Issus () may be another form: see variants in E. Linder, 'A cargo of Phoenicio-Punic figurines', *Archaeology* xxvi (1973), 185.

because of its presence on the coinage.³¹ The Phoenician goddess Tanit possessed a composite nature, and could be identified with one or more of the great Phoenician triad: 'Anat, 'Asherah, and 'Astarte.³² Given the importance of Athena on other Issus issues, and her martial appearance with the triple-crested Attic helmet, Tanit at Issus is more likely to be identified with 'Anat whose syncretism with Athena is attested on Cyprus in the early third century.³³ For the further identification of Tanit/'Anat with the goddess Ishhara, the evidence of the early Alexander coinage at Issus must be considered.

Beginning with Newell's Series 2 and lasting through Series 3 of the Alexander tetradrachms which he attributed to Myriandrus and which the author has argued should be reattributed to Issus, the 'sign of Tanit' appears in a prone position in the left field of the reverse side.³⁴ The emblem in this posture persists on the Alexander reverses numbered by Newell 14 through 41. It reappears on all reverses (61-88) of Series 4, in association with another symbol which may represent an object used in the Athena/'Anat cult at Issus.³⁵ The first emblem, however, to appear in the left field of

these tetradrachms, lasting throughout Series 1, was a scorpion.³⁶

The scorpion is the well known symbol of the Sumero-Babylonian goddess Ishhara whose connection with military victory may have invited her identification with 'Anat and Athena at Issus.³⁷ In Babylonia Ishhara became closely identified with Ishtar and was associated with the fertility ritual of sacred marriage. Her cult apparently enjoyed a revival at Babylon during the Persian era especially in the reign of Darius I.³⁸ Her veneration extended far beyond the boundaries of Babylonia and Assyria. The cultic contexts in which the scorpion can be found on glyptic evidence from north Syria sustain the view that its representation has religious significance.³⁹ Bronze Age texts from Anatolia and Syria associate Ishhara with Ishtar and 'Asherah. For the Hittites she was guardian of oaths and 'the Lady of the mountains and rivers of the Hittite land.'⁴⁰ Other Hittite texts also attest to Ishhara's worship in Cilicia itself.

Cilicia was the location of a mountain named for Ishhara, a temple for her cult, and a priest of Ishhara noted for his composition of a purification ritual came from Cilicia.⁴¹ The Hattusas text Bo. 4889 is a list of land grants for temples first confirmed by two kings of Cilicia (Kizzuwatna) and then by the Hittite monarch.⁴² The grant enumerates 16 toponyms probably to be located in eastern Cilicia. One is the Pyramus River (modern Ceyhan), easternmost of the major rivers flowing through the Cilician plain. Most noteworthy for our purposes is the last name in the list—Mt. Ishhara, which might very well be located in the vicinity of Issus itself—possibly the very mountain on which Alexander made his prior sacrifices. Athena at Issus apparently had the attributes of Phoenician 'Anat and Babylonian Ishhara combining martial qualities with those of a guardian of rivers and mountains.⁴³ That Alexander was sacrificing on a mountain and about to fight a battle at the Pinarus River . . . carries a certain divine logic.

IV. Conclusion

Issus had an ancient history even in Alexander's day. It was inhabited by Hurrians and Luwians,

³¹ Babelon (n.29) 393-4, no. 587; 397-8, no. 596; also 347-9, 857-8, note 5, and *Les Perses achéménides* (Paris 1893) 21, no. 158; F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen* (Vienna 1901-2) 347-50, 450; O. Mørkholm, 'A South Anatolian coin hoard', *Acta Archaeologica* xxx (1959), 187 and note 17.

³² F. M. Cross, *Canaanite myth and Hebrew epic: Essays in the history of the religion of Israel* (Cambridge 1973) 28-36; R. A. Ogden, Jr., *Studies in Lucian's 'de Syria dea'*, (Missoula 1977) 65-73, 92 and 98, 140-9; J. B. Carter, 'The masks of Oretheia' *AJA* xci (1987) 378. Cross and Ogden favor Tanit's identification with 'Asherah. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the gods of Canaan* (Garden City 1968) 42-3, n.86, 130, 134-5, identified her with 'Anat. F. O. Hvidberg-Hansen, *La déesse TNT: une étude sur la religion cananéno-punIQUE*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1979) esp. I, 129-43, concludes that Tanit is 'Anat in Punic regions.

³³ H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden 1964-9) no. 42, for a late fourth century Phoenician-Greek bilingual inscription found at Lapethos in which the parallel אֵינַן מַעֲיִן / Ἀθηναῖς Σωτειρά Νίκη occurs. For further evidence of the connection between the 'sign of Tanit', Athena, and 'Anat at Lapethos, see J. C. Greenfield, 'Larnax tes lapethou III revisited', *Studia Phoenicia* v E. Lipiński, ed.] (Leuven 1987) 397, n. 20, and 394 figs. 2 and 3. Greenfield's figures illustrate two coins of Demonikos II. He asks whether the 'ayin on the left side of the standing Athena polemarchos (fig. 2) might represent the initial of 'Anat. If it does, then the 'ankh' sign which seems to replace the 'ayin on other issues of this same coin type (fig. 3) might be interpreted as the 'sign of Tanit', and like the 'ayin identify Lapethos' Athena polemarchos with 'Anat. Also see Pritchard (n.17) no. 492, for 'Anat holding an 'ankh' or possibly the 'sign of Tanit' in her right hand. Note the wing over her garment, and 'Anat's association with birds: *Ancient Near Eastern texts relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton 1969) 152-3, iv, 16-7, and iv, 33; also RS 24. 252, lines 6-8 in *Ugaritica* v, 551-3.

³⁴ Bing (n.7) n. 95, for an explanation of the sign's prone position.

³⁵ Newell, *Myriandros* 32-5. The enigmatic sign associated with Tanit throughout Series 4 may be a tambourine. Cf. D. R. Hillers, 'The goddess with the tambourine: reflections on an object from Taanach', *Concordia Theological Monthly* xli (1970) 606-19. Newell believed it is a wreath surrounding the club of Heracles: *Myriandros*, 39.

³⁶ Newell (n.7) 32, and pl. 1, 5-7; and Bing (n.7) pl. 1, 11-5.

³⁷ E. D. Van Buren, 'The scorpion in Mesopotamian Art and Religion', *Archiv für Orientforschung* xii (1937-9) 1-28; esp. 3-4 for Ishhara as goddess of victory.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2-5, 14-6, and 25. She is mentioned in connection with sacred marriage in the Gilgamesh Epic, III, v, 28.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 23-4.

⁴⁰ For her temple, association with Ishtar, and theophoric names in Cappadocia, H. Hirsch, *Untersuchungen zur altassyrischen Religion in Archiv für Orientforschung Beiheft xiii/xiv* (1972) 25; for her connection with 'Asherah at Ugarit, Van Buren (n.37) 6, and note 79.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica. An ethnic and cultural study in West Semitic impact on Mycenaean Greece* (Leiden 1965) 43-4; also A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the problem of Hittite geography* (New York 1940) 61.

⁴³ The local name for 'Anat/Ishhara was possibly Kubaba: W. Fauth, 'Kybele', *Der Kleine Pauly* iii (Stuttgart 1969) 383-9.

and conquered by the Neo-Assyrians in the Iron Age when it was called Sissū. It was an important coastal city where Assyrians, Phoenicians, Greeks, and native Luwians formed a unique cultural blend.⁴⁴ Yet despite Greek presence, Cilicia was where Alexander's military intelligence failed him. When the Macedonians observed an Assyrian royal monument near Tarsus, the translators may have been descendants of Greek settlers, for they misunderstood it and provided the conquerors with Hellenic stereotypical imagery of the debauched tyrant. Alexander did not receive the full cooperation of places like Soli and Issus: the inhabitants failed to tell him of the Bahçe Pass which Darius would use to cross the Amanus. The conqueror was in an alien country among hostile peoples.

The ancient account of Alexander's religious behavior before and after Issus seems deceptively familiar because of the divine names in our text: Jove, Hercules, and Minerva. But the king's actions are clarified by the information distilled through the thoughts and writings of a Latin author. Too little attention has been paid to Curtius Rufus where he described the gods whom Alexander exhorted as being *dis praesidibus loci*. The deities to whom the king appealed and to whom he dedicated altars should be recognized as Ba'al Tarz/Tarhunzas, Nergal/Resheph/Runzas, and 'Anat/Ishhara—Cilician gods whose complex syncretistic nature reflects the historical fact that the region's culture represented a blending of Anatolian, Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Greek components. Their names sound strange, but they bring us closer to the actual, unfamiliar time and place of Alexander: the year 333 BC, the northeast corner of the Mediterranean in regions called by the Persians Hilik and 'Abernaharā but better known by the Greek names Cilicia and Syria.

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⁴⁴ See Bing, 'Sissū/Issus, and Phoenicians in Cilicia' to appear in *AJAH*; and also A. Goetze, 'Cuneiform inscriptions from Tarsus' *JAOS* lix (1939) 1-16, for Cilicia's ethnic mix in the Neo-Assyrian period.

History and image: the Penelope Painter's Akropolis (Louvre G372¹ and 480/79 BC)

Why the Athenians of the classical era seem never to have set their own greatest historical moments into representational art has remained a

major problem for historians and art historians alike. In attempting an answer, perhaps more attention should be given to one of the explanations by Aischines of why it would be wrong for the Demos to honor Demosthenes with a crown (iii 183-192). In brief, Aischines says that in the great days of the democracy, the days of unforgettable victories, it was undemocratic for a great man to be exalted in art when the achievement in truth belonged to the Demos. He adds pointedly that some great men of that era adhered to this patriotic ethic themselves, while others like Miltiades had their attempts at prominence in representational arts rebuffed or sharply diminished in scale. And certainly in succeeding ages, once democracy was discredited and

omits all wash lines, some ornament, and substitutes *digamma* for initial *gamma* in 'Gigas' name.

c) O. Rossbach, 'Verschollene Sagen und Kulte auf griechischen und italischen Bildwerken', *NJbb* vii/viii (1901) 390-2. A, B, Devillard's drawings.

d) B.V. Farmakovski, *La peinture des vases attiques* (St Petersburg 1902) 449-454, cat. # 10.59, pls. VIII, IX. In Russian; A, B, evidently Devillard's plates redrawn with errors.

e) H. Bulle, 'Der Bau der Akropolismauer auf einem Vasenbilde', *Festgabe Hugo Blümner* (Zürich 1914) 96-101. A, B, Devillard's drawings.

f) E. Buschor, 'Skyphos im Louvre: Bau der Akropolis', in A. Furtwängler, K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* iii (Munich 1932) 298-301, pl. 168.2 (A,B). Buschor's text and Reichhold's plates were available in a 'Lieferung' before 1917. Reichhold adds the wash lines, some ornament, and the *digamma* in 'Gigas' that Devillard omits.

g) F. Studniczka, 'Zu den Friesplatten vom ionischen Tempel am Ilissos', *JDAI* xxxi (1917/1918) 193-195. A,B, Devillard's drawings, but citing Buschor's text of vol. iii.

h) E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* iii (Paris 1922) 239; pl. 138. A,B, photographs. Photographs omit important details painted in 'rouge mat' (both inscriptions, the cord on B); for these one must rely on Reichhold's or Devillard's drawings.

i) A. von Salis, 'Die Gigantomachie am Schilde der Athena Parthenos', *JDAI* lv (1940) 149-152. A, Reichhold's drawing.

j) F. Vian, *La guerre des Géants* (Paris 1952) 149, 276-277 (discussion). *id.*, *Répertoire des Gigantomachies* (Paris 1951) pl. 42 # 387: A,B, Reichhold's drawing much reduced.

k) K. Schefold, *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Munich 1981) 91. A,B, photographs, brief discussion.

l) H. Meyer, *Kunst und Geschichte* (Munich 1983) 24 following Buschor; A, B, Devillard.

m) P. Demargne, 'Athena', *LIMC* ii (Zürich 1984) 962 # 50, pl.709. A, photograph, brief discussion.

n) F. Vian, M. Moore, 'Gigantes', *LIMC* iv (Zürich 1988) 234 # 387 (no fig.); *cf. id.* 289 (Lykabettos).

I cite this painter's work by museum entry number as listed in *ARV*² 1300-1302, 1689; Beazley, *Paralipomena* (Oxford 1971) 475, 518; and T. Carpenter, *Beazley addenda*² (Oxford 1989) 360. Add Matera, Museo Ridola 9967 from Pisticci, rf. skyphos of Corinthian shape: *Mon. Ant.* xlvi (1973) pls. 20.1-2, 22.2; *Atti del convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia* xiii (1973) pl. 19.1 (A); *BdA* liii (1968) 2-3, opp. p.119, figs. 58-9. For related pieces by this painter, see J. Oakley, 'Attic red-figured skyphoi of Corinthian shape', *Hesp.* lvii (1988) 182-184, pls. 50-51, 53; add the (non-Corinthian-shape) skyphos showing Eros on a rock: Basel market, *Kunstwerke der Antike: Münzen und Medaillen*, A. G. Sonderliste N (Basel May, 1971) 51 # 68 (A,B), 'unter dem Einfluss der Penelopemaler' (Cahn), dating it 430-400 BC. The correct number of *ARV*² 1302.27, Para. 475 is Athens 17982 (Oakley).

¹ Previous discussion of Louvre G372 is cited as follows:

a) J.D. Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase-painters*² (Oxford 1963) 1300.4.

b) F. Hauser, 'Der Bau der Akropolismauer', *Strena Helbigiana* (Leipzig 1900) 115-121. A,B, drawings by Jules Devillard. Hauser (115) gives the text of the earlier Campana catalogue entry (Ser. xi no.72; Louvre inv. Campana 768). Devillard