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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Phoenicia in the Achaemenid period, Part 1: Persian influence on Phoenician architecture based on archaeological findings and literary sources

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The presence of the Achaemenid Persians and the archaeological materials that they left in their territories have always been regarded as important topics. Phoenicia was one of their prized dominions. Considering the historical importance of the pioneering universal empire of the Achaemenids as well as the significance of the Phoenician civilization, the study of their interactions would be invaluable. After a historical-geographical introduction and an overview of the role and status of Phoenicia in the history of the Achaemenid Empire, the present research has focused on Phoenician architecture. The questions addressed in this study are: To what extent can Persian influence be observed in the architectural findings recovered from Achaemenid Phoenicia? To what extent did each Phoenician city-state adopt Achaemenid architectural elements? The study of available sources and reports indicated that the Persian influence on Phoenician architecture, despite its insignificance, demonstrates the presence and dominance of the Achaemenid style. Furthermore, the extent of Persian influence on different city-states was not equal, and did not depend on the prominence of a city-state. It even seems that there was no special requirement for the application of Achaemenid elements. It should be noted that architectural findings only constitute a part of the available material. Obviously, in order to achieve a more comprehensive result regarding the research topic, other data from Achaemenid Phoenicia should also be considered.

Keywords Phoenicia, Achaemenid Empire, Sidon, Tyre, Phoenician architecture.

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Introduction

The archaeology of the Achaemenid Empire is not limited to the centers of this government in modern Iran. For about two centuries (550 - 330 B.C.), this empire extended from the Transoxiana and the Indus River in the east to the Mediterranean region and the Red Sea in the west. Gathering archaeological data regarding the presence of the Achaemenids in these regions has always been an important topic for researchers. As Achaemenid art and architecture had varying influences on the subordinate territories[1], it is very important to conduct independent studies on each territory. As a result, the authors have concentrated this research on Phoenicia. The Phoenician language was a subgroup of the Canaanite and Ancient Semitic languages (Krahmalkov 2001: 1; Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 119). These people also shared many characteristics, including script (see Krahmalkov 2001: 1; Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 123-124), some religious aspects (see Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 123; Delaporte 2015: 119-161), seafaring skills (Moscati 1999: 22; Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 122-123), believing to a common origin (Strabo, 2017: 37; Herodotus 7: 89), etc. Most scholars believe that the title 'Phoenician' did not have a native basis and was created by the Greeks (for the opposite opinion, see Krahmalkov 2001: 1). In local sources, the Phoenicians were referred to as 'Canaanites.'.[2] The Phoenicians, however, mostly identified themselves with their hometown. At some point, all Phoenicians were called Sidonian (Moscati 1999: 17-19; Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 118- 120; Edrey 2019: 6-7; Sader 2019: 1-3). This civilization is known for its achievements, such as the establishment of numerous bases on the coastal regions of the Mediterranean and the spread of its culture across the Mediterranean World (Moscati 1999: 141-141 and 377-311; Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 122-123), as well as its role in the standardization, development, and diffusion of the alphabet (Sader 2019: 4.1.3). As a result, the prominence of the Achaemenid Empire and the Phoenician civilization (especially in the first millennium B.C.) has made the study of their assimilation an inevitable task. The authors will address this issue in two papers. The first (this paper) is dedicated to 'architecture,' and the second will cover other 'cultural and civilizational' aspects. The present research has focused on the Persian influences on Phoenician architecture in the Achaemenid period by posing two questions.

Research questions

To what extent can the Persian influence be observed in the architectural findings recovered from Achaemenid Phoenicia?

To what extent did each Phoenician city-state adopt Achaemenid architectural elements?

Research methods

By considering historical texts, documents, archaeological reports, and new research on the Achaemenid Phoenicia, the authors will study the interactions and mutual architectural influences between the Achaemenids and the Phoenicians (as prominent members of the Achaemenid Empire).

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Background

Some studies have been conducted regarding the influence of the Achaemenids on the Phoenicians. One of these studies, which is one of the most comprehensive and has been cited many times in this paper, is Jigoulov's book (2014) on the social history of Achaemenid Phoenicia. In Jigoulov's critical research, various historical and archaeological evidence is utilized to provide an overview of Phoenicia-Achaemenid government relations. Additionally, Stern (1982, 2001) has examined Achaemenid data discovered in biblical lands, while Khries (2016, 2017) has researched the architecture of the Levant, including Phoenicia, during the Achaemenid period, exploring the influences of Achaemenid architecture in this region. Khries' 2017 publication has widely discussed the Persian influences on some of the Phoenician architectural remains, thus making it an important source for the current research. Furthermore, Edrey's studies on various aspects of Phoenician culture and civilization (2018, 2019, 2023) have also addressed the influence of the Persians on the Phoenicians. In the 'Forgotten Empire', Curtis has also briefly introduced the archaeological findings of the Achaemenid period discovered from 'Beyond the River'[3] Satrapy (including Phoenicia) (Curtis 2013: 71-119). Some archaeological case studies do not have a holistic approach, among which we can refer to Curtis (2017) and Zamora-Lopez (2016) regarding the Achaemenid Sidon. The Achaemenid influence on Phoenicia has not garnered much attention in Iran, and we can only refer to the publications of Mohammadifar and Mirsafdari (2014), Abedi (2015). On the whole, it can be concluded that the concentrated study and compilation of Persian influences on Phoenicia, based on various historical and archaeological evidence, has been largely ignored. This issue prompted the authors to gather, study, and assess the aforementioned research in order to achieve a holistic view of the influences of the Achaemenid civilization on various aspects of Phoenician culture. Although the broad spectrum of the subject and the word limits of journal articles have forced the authors to divide the project into two papers, one focusing on architectural data and the other on other aspects of culture and civilization.

Historical geography of Phoenicia

The mainland of Phoenicia is considered to include the coasts of the modern Levant, mostly surrounded by the Mediterranean from the east and various mountains, especially Mount Lebanon, from the west (Sader 2019: 11; see also Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 118-119; Kaelin 2021: 583). During the Achaemenid period, the territory of the Phoenicians, who lived within the borders of the empire, was considered to be limited to their mainland in the Levant along with the island of Cyprus (see below). At this time, the Phoenicians did not have political control over their Mediterranean colonies, and only emotional and religious bounds existed between the city of Tyre and its colonies in the Mediterranean (Elayi 1981; Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 122). During the Persian period, Phoenicia was ruled by four city-states (Elayi 1982, 2006). From north to south, these city-states were: 1. Arwad/Arados (modern-day Ruād) including the Jableh Plain to Nahr al-Abrash (Sader 2019: 59), 2. Gebal/Byblos (see Nigro

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2020: 61) (modern-day Jubayl) including Cape Theouprosopon (Ras Shakka) in the north and Lycus (modern-day Nahr al-Kalb) in the south (Elayi 1982: 93; Khries 2016: 170), 3. Sidon (modern-day Saida) including two separate districts; the first from the area of Beirut (Edrey 2019: 77) up to the top of the Litani River (Elayi 1982: 95). and the second in Dor, Jaffa and the Sharon Plain[4] (Elayi 1982: 98; Haelewyck 2012; Jigoulov 2014: 51-52; Kaelin 2021: 586) as well as the Carmel Coast (Stern 2001: 379-380) in the south of Tyre, 4. Tyre, like Sidon, included two separate districts. The first district extended from the Litani River (Elayi 1982: 96-97) to Akko (Sader 2019: 120-121) or even modern Haifa (Stern 2001: 380), as well as the Galilee region, especially the Upper Galilee, in the east (Berlin and Frankel 2012: 28; Jigoulov 2014: 194; Berlin and Herbert 2020: 151; also see Sader 2019: 120), which had a significant population in the Achaemenid period (Stern 2001: 385). The second district extended from south of Jaffa to Ashkelon (Elayi 1982: 104; Sader 2019: 121-122; Kaelin 2021: 586). Ashkelon probably also had a Persian population at this time (Stern 2001: 410). Additionally, it is probable that the Phoenician areas of Cyprus were under the rule of Tyre at this time (Elayi 1981: 16, 2018: 248-249). The four coastal city-states were part of the great satrapy of 'Babylonia and Beyond the River' from the early Achaemenid period (Rainy 1969: 52; Dandamayev 1996; Stern 2001: 367; Kaelin 2021: 585), and probably from 480-420 B.C. were added to the newly established 'Beyond the River' Satrapy (see Stolper 1987: 396; 1989: 285-286; Stern 2001: 368; Berlin and Herbert 2020: 151). The latter is called 'Assyria'[5] in Achaemenid royal and administrative documents (Rainy 1969: 54-55; Dandamayev 1987; Kaelin 2021: 585), and can be identified with the fifth satrapy mentioned by Herodotus, which also included Cyprus (Herodotus 3:91), as one entity (Rainy 1969: 57; Dandamayev 1987: 816; Jigoulov 2014: 24-25; Kaelin 2021: 585). In Greek, Hebrew, and cuneiform sources, a number of satraps from the Persian period are mentioned (see: Ezra 6; Rainy 1969; Dandamayev 1983, 1996; Stolper 1987, 1989; Kaelin 2021: 584).[6] The exact location of the Satrapy's capital is not known, and researchers have expressed different opinions on the matter. The two most likely cities, however, are Damascus and Sidon. Some historical texts reinforce the possibility of Damascus (see Rainy 1969: 53; Boyce 1993; Briant 2006: 1537; Kosmin 2018: 304-305; Kaelin 2021: 588), while others, along with archaeological and numismatic evidence, strengthen the hypothesis that Sidon was the permanent or temporary capital[7] (see Elayi 2006: 21, 2018: 229, 265-266; Jigoulov 2014: 34-35, 166; Curtis 2017; Khries, 2017: 90; Edrey 2019: 77,143). The authors concur with one of Kaelin's speculations that the satrapy probably had several capitals (Kaelin 2021: 585). Therefore, Sidon may be considered the coastal center, while Damascus could have served as the capital of its interior regions. An overview of the political history of the Phoenicia during Achaemenid period.

After the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, the aforementioned four Phoenician city-states joined the Achaemenid Empire nonviolently (Elayi 2006, 2018: 221-222; Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 122). Despite coming under Achaemenid rule, each city-state retained its own local royalty, who had been in power long before the rise of the Achaemenids (Elayi 2006,

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2018: 223; Nunn 2021: 233). Historical evidence indicates that the Achaemenid Empire did not interfere much in Phoenicia as long as it remained subject to the Persians. The lack of traceable reaction to events like the internal coup of Byblos around 400 B.C. (Elayi 2018: 254, 268) or the slave revolt in Tyre in the first half of the 4th century B.C. (ibid: 268) suggests that the Achaemenids granted significant autonomy to the Phoenicians (For further information, see Jigoulov 2014: 167-171). It is believed that the kings of the city-states established a council in the city of Tripoli, between Arwad and Byblos, where assemblies were held during the Achaemenid period (Diodorus Siculus 16.41.1; Elayi 1982: 91-92, 2018: 268-269; Edrey 2019: 78). However, reconstructing the political history of each Phoenician city-state is challenging due to the lack of coherent and homogeneous sources. Nevertheless, based on available sources, a list for each city-state can be drawn (based on Elayi 2006, 2018: Table 2).[8]

Arwad: Ozbaal II (?) (early 5th century B.C.), Maharbaal (early 5th century B.C.), Dark Age (early 5th century to early 4th century B.C.), 8 or 9 kings with unknown names and precedence (early 4th century to 339 B.C.), Gerashtart (339 - 332 B.C. and possibly later).

Byblos: Shipitbaal III (early 5th century B.C.), Urimilk II (second quarter of the 5th century B.C.), Yehawmilk (mid-5th century B.C.), Dark Age (second half of the 5th century B.C.), Elpaal (late 5th century B.C.), Ozbaal (early to mid-4th century B.C.), Urimilk III (mid-4th century), Aynel (c. 340 - 332 B.C. and possibly after).

Sidon: Eshmunazar II with his mother Amoashtart (third quarter of the 6th century B.C.), Bodashtart (fourth quarter of the 6th century B.C.), Yatonmilk (late 6th century/early 5th century B.C.), Anysus, Tetramnestus (early 5th century B.C.), Dark Age (c. 480 to after 450 B.C.), Tennes I (?)[9] (after 450 – c. 425 B.C.), Baalshillem I, Baana, Abdamon (last quarter of the 5th century B.C.), Baalshillem II (401 - 366 B.C.), Abdashtart I (365 - 352 B.C.), Tennes II (351 - 347 B.C.), Evagoras II (346 - 343 B.C.), Abdashtart II (342 - 333 B.C.).

Tyre: Hiram III (552 - 533 B.C.), Ittobaal IV (533 to the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 5th century B.C.), Hiram IV (?) (early 5th century B.C.), Mattan III (early 5th century B.C.), Dark Age (c. 480 - 400 B.C.), 5 to 8 kings with unknown names and precedence (400 to briefly after 360 B.C.), Abdashtart (shortly after 360 - 349 B.C.), Ozmilk (349 - 333 B.C.).

It seems that the existence of the Achaemenid Empire was in line with the interests of the Phoenicians (Dandamayev 2008: 80-81) and the Achaemenids required the seafaring experiences of the Phoenicians (Kaelin 2021: 586; also see Elayi 2018: 225-228, 234). In the political history of the Achaemenids (6th - 4th century B.C.), the Phoenician fleet had a strong presence in the Empire's expeditions in the Mediterranean and the Aegean.[10] This issue, however, became progressively burdensome for the Phoenician city-states (Elayi 2018: 241; Christian 2014: 375), particularly in the form of economic pressures and taxation (Briant 2006: 1644; Khries 2017: 90). The crisis escalated following the turbulence on the Empire's western frontier in the 4th century B.C. Consequently, two revolts broke out in Phoenicia in the mid-4th century, with the city of Sidon as their epicenter (Elayi 2018: 258-260, 264, 267, 270).

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Artaxerxes III found his casus belli following the second revolt and initiated a military crackdown in Phoenicia (Elayi 2006: 20, 2018: 270-273; Kaelin 2021: 586-587). In the aftermath of Alexander's victory at Issus, the Phoenician city-states accepted his rule in 332 B.C. Only Tyre resisted for several months, compelling Alexander to order a bloody suppression (Elayi 2018: 275-282; also see Briant 2006: 1308, 1354, 1356).

Persian influences on Phoenician architecture

Religious Architecture

Compared to other periods of Phoenicia, as Sader has noted, 'the largest number of Phoenician shrines is attested during the Persian period' (Sader 2019: 203). Most of them were built for the locals in the native style of the region. However, significant foreign influences, particularly from Egypt, Greece, and Iran, can be observed in some of them. In the following section, the authors will discuss the traces of influences by region.

Arwad

Several researchers have noted that the stepped merlons of the Amrit/Marathos temples (Riis 1979: 48) (Table 1), the southern temple of Tell Sukas (Riis 1979: 47-48), and Tell Sianu (Sader 2019: 192) that decorated the upper parts of their walls (ibid) and ceilings (Nunn 2021: 236) were derived from the architecture of the Achaemenid palaces (Jigoulov 2014: 118; Khries 2017: 96, 98; also see Anderson 2002). Since this style of decoration had its roots in the art of third millennium B.C. Iran (Anderson 2002: 175; Khries 2017: 98), it had reached various regions in the ancient Near East before the Achaemenid period (Anderson 2002), including Syria (Khries 2017: 96, 98), Phoenicia and Palestine (Riis 1979: 48). Since no other Achaemenid influences have been traced in these three temples, the Achaemenid origin of the stepped merlons may be questioned.

Furthermore, some researchers believe that the Amrit temple plan is derived from the Persian Apadana (Jigoulov 2014: 223). This issue has been the subject of disagreement among researchers (ibid.). On the whole, there is no similarity between this temple's plan and the Achaemenid pillar halls. Comparable architectural cases can be found in Egypt and Greece (see Oggiano 2012).

Byblos

A temple from the Achaemenid period has been discovered in the territory of Byblos. This temple exhibits Achaemenid influences, however, which include: the construction of the temple on a stone-made podium similar to those discovered from Achaemenid Iran, especially Tal-e Takht at Pasargadae (Khries 2017: 92) and the decorations of the structure (Jigoulov 2014: 186), which are similar to the findings of Arwad territory, including marble plaques with stepped merlons motifs (Table 1). Although the row of rosettes indicates that the structure has close connections to Achaemenid art (Stern 1982: 66), there is also an opinion that the pillared temple on the podium is influenced by the Persian Apadana (see Jigoulov 2014: 186). However,

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the authors do not regard this as a substantiated opinion, as halls with two rows of columns can also be observed in the pre-Achaemenid temples of Phoenicia. A suitable example is the Temple of Astarte in Kition, Cyprus (see Bloch-Smith 2014: 171-173; Edrey 2018: 193, 2019: 135-136).

Sidon [11]

According to the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar II (see: Haelewyck 2012; Jigoulov 2014: 52), he had built several temples in the city of Sidon and its suburbs, of which only the Eshmun Temple (Bustan el-Sheikh) in the outskirts of Sidon has been discovered (Elayi 1982: 98, 2018: 230-231; Bloch-Smith 2014: 183). Construction activities at the temple's complex commenced at the beginning of the Achaemenid period (or slightly before) and continued until the end of this era (Stucky 1998: 3-11; Edrey 2019: 142-143; Elayi 2018: 231-232, 249, 263; Khries 2016: 181-182; Sader 2019: 197-198; Nunn 2021: 234-235). In the territory of Sidon, significant Achaemenid influences can be seen in this temple, along with Egyptian, Greek, and Syrian instances, which include:

a. The construction of a podium consisting of limestone blocks during the reign of Bodashtart,[12] which was influenced by Achaemenid architecture (Curtis 2013: 97; Jigoulove 2014: 190; Khries, 2017: 90-92) and examples within Iran (Mohammadifar and Mirsafdari 2014: figure 1). These include Persepolis (Edrey 2019: 143), and Tal-e Takht at Pasargadae (Khries 2017: 92).

b. Column bases (Khries 2017: 93) (Table 1) and capitals with quadruple bull protomes (Khries 2017: 95; also see Abedi 2015: 7-6) (Table 1), bear similarities to known examples the known examples from the palaces of Susa, Persepolis, and Pasargadae; albeit rougher and with quadruple bull protomes instead of two (Abedi 2015: 5-7; Khries 2017: 95). The latter capitals probably belonged to the inner columns of the so-called Greco-Persian temple (Zamora-Lopez 2016: Fig. 5), which was probably built on the podium during the reign of Abdashtart I and his successors (mid-4th century B.C.) (Elayi 2018: 263). The inner walls of the temple and along the rows of columns were also decorated with bull protomes (Khries 2016: 179) (Table 1). These protomes were likely derived from Achaemenid capitals[13] (Abedi 2015: 6).

c. Considering the Persian-style inner columns of the temple, which supported a cedar roof (Khries 2016: 179), perhaps the four-column design of the temple interior was inspired by Achaemenid architecture, particularly four-column halls such as the 'Gate of All Nations' and the 'Council Hall' of Persepolis.

d. On the facade of the so-called Greco-Persian temple's pediment, which, unlike its interior, was inspired by Western art (Elayi 2018: 263), there is a pair of protruding sphinxes resembling the bas-reliefs of the Achaemenid palaces. . In addition to the Achaemenid art, the sphinxes also incorporate elements of funeral sculptures from Greece (Khries 2017: 95). They bear a striking resemblance to the Achaemenid example obtained from Labraunda in Asia Minor (Stucky 1998: 6; Carstens 2021: 47; also see Dusinberre, 2019: 413). Furthermore, a piece of a

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griffon recovered from Bustan el-Sheikh exhibits the influence of Persian art and resembles the griffon-shaped capitals of Persepolis (Stucky 1998: 6, Fig. 9).

The influence of Achaemenid architecture has also been proposed for the two temples of Beirut and Kharayeb within the territory of Sidon. The plans of these temples, featuring a central courtyard surrounded by rooms, gained popularity in various buildings in the Levant region during this period. This plan is reported from the Apadana palace of Darius in Susa in the Achaemenid period (Edrey 2023: 214). However, the authors believe that further evidence is necessary to solidify this hypothesis.

Tyre

Some researchers have pointed out that the pillared hall of the south-western shrine of Umm el-Amed (Ancient Hammon) (Table 1), built during the Hellenistic Period (Kamlah 2008: 125-130) had been influenced by the Achaemenid pillared halls (Jigoulov 2014: 192). Moreover, some researchesconsidererd the artificial acropolis of milkashtart temple as persian influence (Dunand and Duru 1962: 273; Amiet 1964: 158). This represents an Achaemenid legacy in post-Achaemenid architecture. Surprisingly, despite the considerable importance of Tyre in the Achaemenid period and the discovery of a large number of temples belonging to this period in Tyre's territory, no Achaemenid influence has been observed in its contemporary religious buildings.

Secular architecture

Historical literature as well as scattered archaeological evidence from the so-called College site in Sidon suggest the existence of several Achaemenid-style palaces. According to Diodorus Siculus' account of the Sidon revolt during the reign of Artaxerxes III, there was a royal park in the city of Sidon that was destroyed during this revolt (Diodorus Siculus 16.41.1-6). In the 19th century, during the construction of the American College in Saida, fragments of a column were discovered (Doumet-Serhal 2000: 33) (Table 1), the base of which was in the Assyrian style (Stucky 1998: 6), and the body and capital were in the Achaemenid style (double-protome bulls) (Clermont-Ganneau 1920: 406).[14] This finding was almost immediately attributed to the royal park from Diodorus Siculus' narrative (Clermont-Ganneau 1920: 406; Doumet-Serhal 2000: 33-34; Abedi 2015: 5; Curtis 2017: 185-186; Held 2017: 225; also see Cook 2011: 311; Jigoulov 2014: 190; Nunn 2021: 235).

Recent scientific excavations at the site have yielded Achaemenid evidence, particularly from its southern section. A fragment of an Achaemenid-style capital that may have belonged to the aforementioned capital was among the findings. But more importantly was the discovery of stone column pads, possibly originally situated about two meters apart, as well as traces of a very hard cement-like floor (Curtis 2017: 188-190). The remnants of the stone column, however, are not related to the aforementioned hall (Curtis 2017: 192; Held 2017: 226) (Table 1).

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According to Curtis and based on stratigraphic evidence, the wooden pillared hall probably belonged to the late phase of the Achaemenid period. Curtis also suggests that the secondary use of stone pillars in the site is not improbable, proposing that the stone-pillared hall may have originally been located elsewhere in Sidon (Curtis 2017: 192-193). Some suggest that Saint Louis Castle could be its original location (Jigoulov 2014: 190), while others argue for Bustan el-Sheikh as the seat of Persian satrap (Edrey 2019: 77, 84, 2023: 210, 214). However, without further data, it's challenging to provide a definitive comment on this matter.

Held has an interesting analysis regarding the reconstruction plan of the stone-pillared hall. He assumes that the Hasmonean palace and garden in Jericho, dating to the Hellenistic Period, have comparable plans to the S palace in Pasargadae (Table 1), as modelled after the lost palace of Sidon, to which the capitals probably belong. Therefore, it is possible that Sidon royal park, mentioned in historical texts and probably the capitals also belong to it, was modelled after the Pasargadae campus and its palaces (Held 2017: 219-227).

Some sources attribute the ownership of the palace to the Achaemenid king[15] (Diodorus Siculus 16.41.1-6; Clermont-Ganneau 1920: 406; Katzenstein and Sperling 2007: 122), while others have proposed the king of Sidon (Jigoulov 2014: 190), or a Persian governor (Clermont-Ganneau 1920: 406; Stern 1982: 66). As discussed, Sidon was probably one of the capitals of its satrapy during the Achaemenid period. Given Sidon's likely status as one of the capitals of its satrapy during the Achaemenid period, this Sidonian 'royal park' could have served as the residential place of the satrap (Clermont-Ganneau 1920: 406; Jigoulov 2014: 166).[16] It is important to note that the establishment of such royal parks across the empire served not only as a residence for the satrap and local ruler but also as a means to demonstrate the authority and omnipresence of the empire through architecture and the construction of gardens. This strategy had significant ideological implications (Dusinberre, 2019: 120-117; also see Held, 2017: 227).

Unidentified architecture

An Achaemenid-style column capital in the shape of quadruple bull protomes was obtained from the Arwad Island (Table 1), which probably belongs to the late Achaemenid or the early Hellenistic period (Doumet-Serhal 2000: 34, Fig. 8; Abedi, 2015: 8, Fig. 3). Unfortunately, it is not possible to attribute this capital to a special building definitely..

Discussion

In the conclusion section of his article, Khries notes that the known Persian influences on the ornamental architecture of the Levant are more prominent in Phoenicia (i.e., the Levantine Coast). Although he asserts that they are generally not very impressive (Khries 2017: 98), on the whole, as Khries has also pointed out, the influence of Persian architecture can be observed in centers (ibid: 92-93), such as Lachish in Idumaea (Stern 2001: 513), and Buseirah, the capital of Edom (ibid: 458). As discussed, most Persian influences on Phoenician architecture can only be found in the centers of city-states. Among the cases that are outside the centers, Umm el-

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Amed is dated to the post-Achaemenid period, and the stepped merlons recovered from Amrit and Sukas can not be definitively linked to direct Persian influence. As mentioned earlier, while the stepped merlons originated in Iran, they were used in various regions of the Near East (including Phoenicia) before the Achaemenid period. In general, when tracing Persian influences on Phoenician architecture, it is necessary to consider the architecture of the Iron Age Levant (prior to the Achaemenid period) as well. For example, in the case of the stone podiums found in Sidon and Byblos, it is important to note that similar podium constructions were present in administrative buildings throughout the inner Levant during the Iron Age. Sites such as Megiddo, Samaria, and Jezreel have provided evidence of this architectural style (see Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006; Finkelstein and Silberman 2015: 298-296, 303).[17] Therefore, we may also consider the regional influences of the Iron Age traditions along with the significant Persian influences regarding podium construction.

According to available archaeological data, and supported by scholarly consensus, the most significant Persian influences on Phoenician architecture are evident in Sidon, the capital of the Phoenician city-state. These findings are corroborated by epigraphic evidence, such as the inscription of Eshmunazar II (Haelwyck, 2012: Jigoulov, 2014: 51-52), and historical literature. Herodotus, for instance, records that the Achaemenid king regarded the king of Sidon as the foremost among his Phoenician counterparts (Herodotus 7: 100, 8: 67; Elayi 1982: 94-95; Kaelin 2021: 590). Additionally, drawing from the accounts of Diodorus Siculus, we understand that by at least the mid-4th century B.C., the Persians had a presence in Sidon, evidenced by the existence of a "royal park." As previously mentioned, several researchers link the Achaemenid column fragments recovered from the college site with this royal park. Therefore, the notion that these fragments could have belonged to the palace of the King of Sidon (Jigoulov 2014: 190) appears less probable. It seems more plausible to associate them with the representative of the king and the satrap of the "Beyond the River" satrapy. Supported by the available evidence discussed earlier, it is clear that at least a portion of the government of the "Beyond the River" satrapy was situated in Sidon. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that Sidon served as the coastal and maritime capital of this Achaemenid satrapy.

Indeed, the court of the Achaemenid satraps mirrored a scaled-down version of the court of the King of Kings (Dandamayev 1993). It's worth noting that similar royal parks existed in other regions of the Levant as well, such as near modern Aleppo (Xenophon, Anabasis. I. IV. 10-11; Cook 2011: 311), close to the source of the Orontes River (Kaelin 2021: 588), and at Ramat Rahel, which was likely the capital of Judah, another district within the 'Beyond the River' satrapy (Edrey, n.d). According to Held (2017), however, the Sidonian example was probably more influential. The available evidence suggests that the architecture of the satrap's court in Sidon influenced the local royal architecture. Therefore Sidon, with its ties to the Persian Empire and the presence of Persian officials, acted as a central point for Persian influence in Phoenicia (Edrey 2023: 224). At the temple complex of Eshmun in Bustan el-Sheikh, which was active and undergoing construction throughout the Achaemenid period,

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significant Persian influences are evident. Some of these influences, such as its Achaemenid-style columns, resemble the column fragments associated with the Persian royal park. Interestingly, the columns found at the College site bear a closer resemblance to those of the palaces of Susa and Persepolis compared to those at Bustan el-Sheikh. Some researchers even propose that the Persians were involved in the construction of this temple (Edrey 2019: 143, 2023: 214). Although, in various epigraphic sources that are associated with the construction of this building (see Elayi 2006: 17, 2018: 232-234; Amadasi Guzzu 2012; Haelewyck 2012; Jigoulov 2014: 51-52; Zamora-Lopez 2016: 256-258), all the construction activities are declared as a result of pure innovations by the king of Sidon. While, based on the epigraphic evidence discovered from the Hibis Temple in Egypt, which the Achaemenid government was actively involved in its construction, the reference to the Achaemenid king is clearly stated (Colburn 2019: 124-126). As a result, perhaps by referring to some of the Hebrew Bible narratives (see Ezra 3:7, 4:6-24, 5:1-17, 6:1-16, 7:12-26) , the role of the Achaemenid government can be limited to issuing the license for the construction of this temple complex (also see Abedi 2015: 6).

The extent of Persian influences reported from other Phoenician city-states is not as extensive as those observed in Sidon. While the other three Phoenician city-states may not have held the same prominence as Sidon during this period, it may not be entirely plausible to correlate the extent of Persian influence in the architecture of each city-state with its importance to the Achaemenid government. Let's now turn our attention to Tyre, the second-ranked Phoenician city-state at this time and possibly even the foremost Phoenician city-state after the Sidonian revolt (Elayi 1982: 96; Jigoulov 2014: 166). A temple was excavated on the island of Tyre, and despite all the complexities that manifested in its studies, a significant part of it has been dated to the Achaemenid period (Badre 2015; Edrey 2019: 136–137; Sader 2019: 200). In this temple, which has an Egyptian facade, however, no special Achaemenid influence can be observed. In contrast, Persian-style podium construction has been identified in the city-state of Byblos, which historically held less significance compared to Tyre. This comparison highlights the absence of a direct correlation between the importance of the city-state and the extent of Persian influence, suggesting that the incorporation of Persian architectural elements into city-state centers was largely a matter of taste. In other words, there was no special compulsion or requirement for the adoption of Persian architectural elements. Additionally, it's crucial to consider two further factors. Firstly, not all city-state centers were equally excavated. For instance, more scientific and non-scientific excavations have been conducted in Sidon and its suburbs over the past several decades (Doumet-Serhal 2000). Secondly, excavations conducted in some city-states also failed to meet expectations. For instance, despite the long period of inhabitation in the Arwad city-state, the oldest identified architectural remains in this city consist of its Roman-era walls (Jigoulov 2014: 183). With this in mind, the Arwad column capital may herald further Achaemenid-style discoveries in that city-state. Therefore, to obtain better results, it is appropriate to examine not only architecture but also other archaeological

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and historical evidence related to Achaemenid Phoenicia. This approach will help clarify the extent of the Achaemenid presence in Phoenicia and the breadth of their influence in the region, providing a basis for a better comparison between the four Phoenician city-states during this period. Consequently, the authors have studied and reviewed additional data and evidence in another complementary research paper.

Conclusion

The available data cannot lead us to a valid conclusion regarding the issue of the influence of Achaemenid architecture in Phoenicia. In response to the first question of the research, we may conclude that the available data that indicates Persian influences on Phoenician architecture is not impressive. These data must not be overlooked, however, as they are plausible proof for the historical narratives about the presence of the Persians in Phoenicia and their sovereignty over that land.

As for the second question of the research, it can be surmised that at the level of local royal art, such as court architecture, the distribution of Persian influences among different city-states was not equal.

Also, the available evidence from Tyre shows that, firstly, the Persian influence did not necessarily depend on the importance and power of a city-state, and secondly, the courts of the city-states were not mandated and forced to use Persian elements in order to show their subordination. This issue can strengthen and confirm the policy of tolerance and openness of the Achaemenids towards their subject peoples and nations.

1. For instance, the architecture of the Caucasus was obviously influenced by the Achaemenids (see Beikzadeh and Iravani Ghadim 2019), while such a phenomenon cannot be observed in Achaemenid Egypt (see Colburn 2019: 38-45, 109-124).
2. It is possible that ‘Phoenicia’ and ‘Canaan’ were related to the concept of the purple color (see Katzenstein and Sperling, 2007: 118-119; Oded and Gibson, 2007: 391; Edrey, 2018: 6-7; for the opposite view, also see: Moscati, 1999: 17-18).
3. ebir nāri in Akkadian, abar nahrā in Aramaic (see Dandamayev 1996: 654).
4. The boundaries of Sharon Plain are the coast of Carmel in the north, the Yarkon River in the south, the Mediterranean in the west, and the hills of Samaria in the east (Britannica 2011).
5. Aθura in Old Persian (Kent, 1950: 166), Aššur in Elamite (Hinz and Koch, 1987: 91-92).
6. It should be noted that the contents of the Book of Ezra are about the rebuilding of the First Temple of Jerusalem in Judah, the neighboring state of the Phoenicians.
7. For instance, Elayi believes that Sidon was capital in certain periods and in relation to certain functions (see the references in the present paper).
8. Also see Sader 2019: table 3.1-4.
9. Elayi has not directly referred to Tennes I, but based on the numismatic evidence presented in her article (Elayi 2006: 18-19), we may assume that such a person had a historical existence.
10. For instance, see: Herodotus 3:19, 136, 5:113-116, 6:6, 25, 33, 7:23, 25, 44, 89, 96; Briant 2006: 784; Elayi 2018: 235, 255.
11. The classification of the Persian influences in this section has been partially derived from Mohammadifar and Mirsafdari's classification (Mohamdadifar and Mirsafdari 2014) of the stylistic elements of Achaemenid architecture.

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12. Before Bodashtart's podium, Eshmunazar II and his mother had constructed a podium, which collapsed (see the references in the present paper)
13. For instance, in the case of Susa, see: Amiet 2015: 166.
14. Many researchers assume that the Assyrian style column base and the Achaemenid style capital belong to the same column. Based on this stylistic difference and also the discovery of a similar column base in Bustan el-Sheikh, Curtis has speculated that the column base and capital (that were in the Ford Collection for a long time) were obtained from two different locations in Sidon and should not necessarily be considered as one set and from one site (i.e. the College site) (Curtis 2017: 192).
15. The authors remind us that there is currently no evidence indicating Sidon played the role of one of the empire's capitals or the residential places of the Achaemenid kings.
16. It seems that Jigoulov does not associate the remains of the stone column with the royal park. At one point, he considers the possibility of the existence of a Persian royal park associated with the satrap in Sidon. But after a while, in the introduction of the stone column fragments, he has related it to a structure built by the local kings of Sidon that was influenced by Achaemenid art (see Jigoulov 2014: 166, 190). It should also be noted that Jigoulov does not believe in the widespread presence of Persians in Phoenicia and assumes that the presence of Persian stylistic (along with other foreign influences on the art and culture of Phoenicia) elements in Phoenician works is due to the cosmopolitan nature of the Phoenicians (see Jigoulov 2014: 60, 63, 98, 112, 117, 131, 164 - 165, 170, 172, 184).
17. This type of podium is also known as the lateral access podium (LAP) (Sharon and Zarzecki-Peleg 2006).

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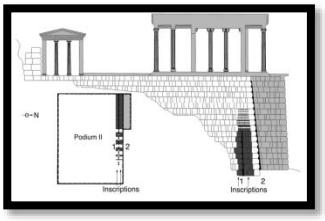
Table 1. Achaemenid elements in Phoenician architecture (Authors)

Achaemenid Influence	Plan	Site name	City-state
 https://www.livius.org/articles/place/sidon/bustan-esh-sheikh/   Khries 2017: figure 12 Khries, 2017: figure 10  Stucky 1998: fig. 3	 Zamora-Lopez, 2016: fig5	Bustan el-Sheikh	Sidon

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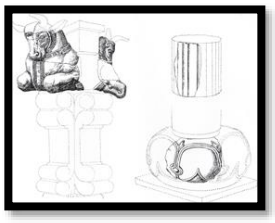
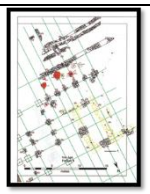
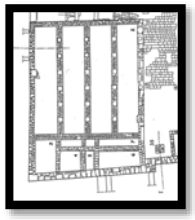
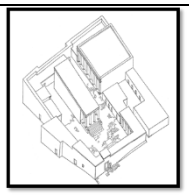
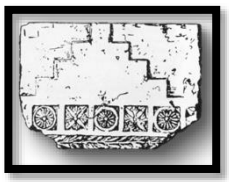
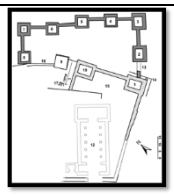
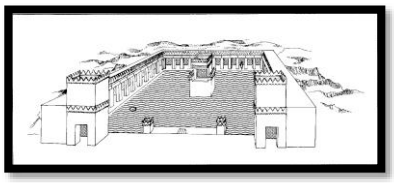
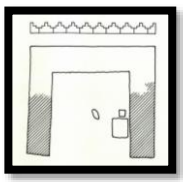
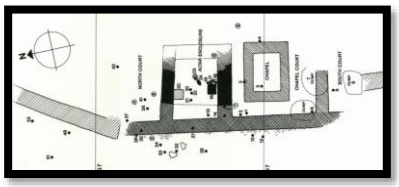
 Held 2017: Abb. 15		Stone columned hall	
 Curtis 2017: figs. 10	 Curtis 2017: figs. 8	Wooden columned hall	
 Kamlah 2008: Abb. 3	 Kamlah 2008: Abb. 4	Umm al-Amed	Tyre
  Khries, 2016: Figure 3.14 Stern 1982: 65, no 78	 Khries, 2016: Plan 3.6	Byblos Temple	Byblos
 Lembke 2004: Taf. 1: E; cited in Khries, 2016: Figure 3.5	 Nunn, 2021: fig 18.1	Amrit temple	Arwad
 Riis, 1979: fig. 219	 Riis, 1979: fig. 221	Tel Sukas temple	

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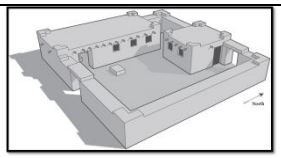
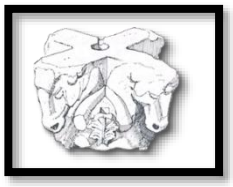
	 Sader, 2019: fig 5.5	Tel Sianu Temple	
 Doumet-Serhal 2000: Fig. 8		Unidentified Buliding	

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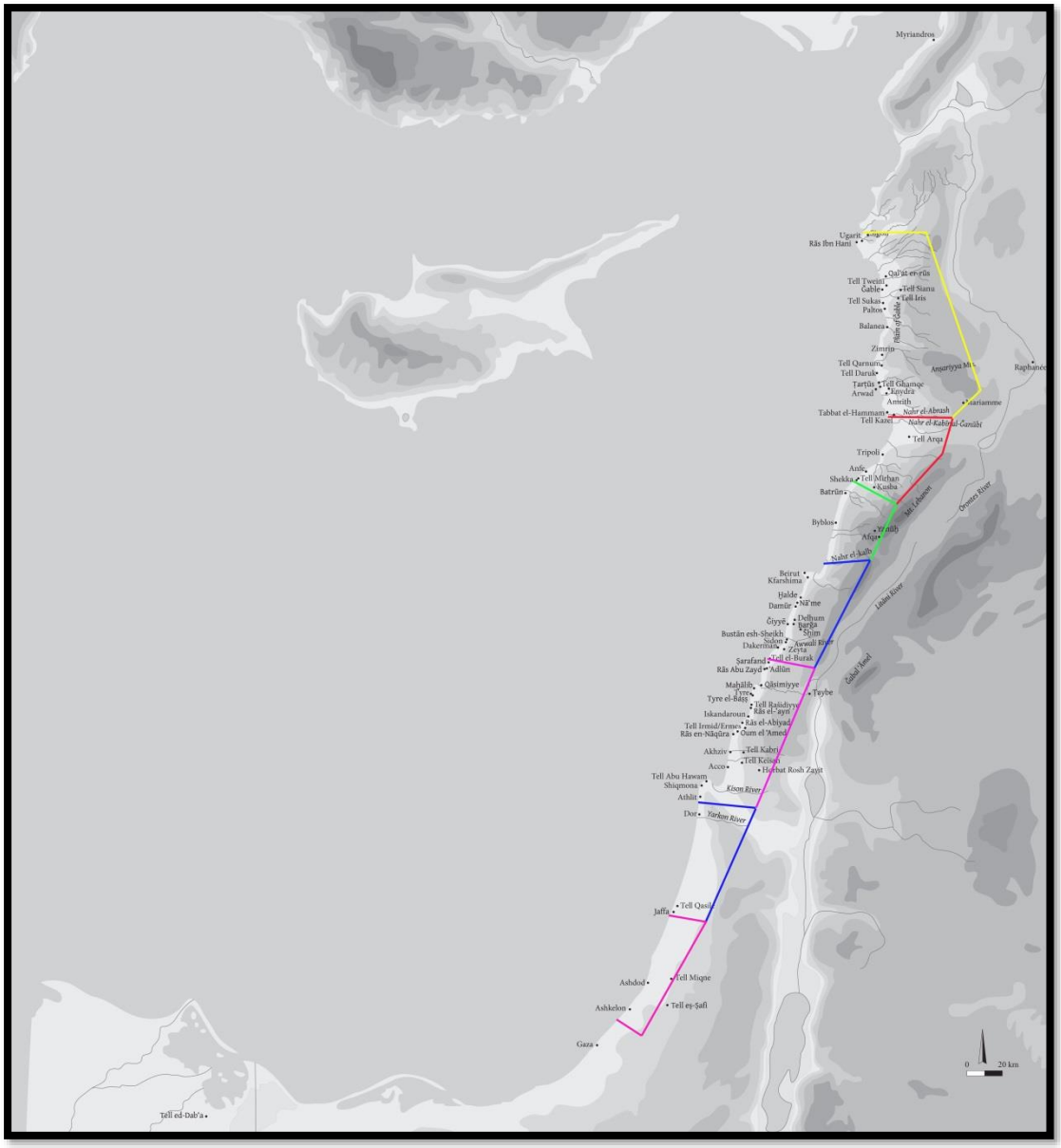

Map 1. territories of the Phoenician city-states during achaemenid period, map from Sader, 2019: 52; Drawing territories by the authors.
Yellow: Arwad. Red: Tripoli. Green: Byblos. Blue: Sidon. Purple: Tyre.

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فنیقیهٔ دورهٔ هخامنشی (۱): تأثیرات پارسی بر معماری فنیقی

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چکیده:

حضور امپراتوری پارسی در مناطق تحت سلطه‌اش و بازتاب این حضور در داده‌های باستان‌شناختی، همواره از موضوعات مهم پژوهش بوده‌است. یکی از سرزمین‌های حائز اهمیت تحت سلطهٔ هخامنشیان، منطقهٔ کنعان ساحلی یا همان فنیقیه بود. نظر به اهمیت مطالعهٔ امپراتوری هخامنشی به عنوان یک امپراتوری جهانی پیشگام در تاریخ و همچنین اهمیت تمدن فنیقی در خاور نزدیک باستان، به‌ویژه در هزارهٔ اول پ.م، مطالعهٔ تلاقی این دو و روابط آنان با یکدیگر از اهمیت پژوهشی بسزایی برخوردار است. پژوهش حاضر، پس از بیان یک مقدمهٔ تاریخی و جغرافیایی و نگاهی به نقش و وضعیت فنیقیه در تاریخ و ساختار اداری امپراتوری هخامنشی، بر بخشی از مدارک باستان‌شناختی فنیقیه یعنی معماری مذهبی و غیرمذهبی آن با طرح دو پرسش تمرکز کرده است: ۱. میزان تأثیرات پارسی بر داده‌های معماری مکشوفه از سرزمین فنیقیه در دورهٔ هخامنشی چگونه بوده است؟ ۲. چه تفاوتی میان دولت‌شهرهای مختلف فنیقی در پذیرش عناصر معماری هخامنشی وجود داشته‌است؟

نتیجهٔ امر از دریچهٔ رهیافت تاریخی (مطالعهٔ تطبیقی شواهد مادی با متون تاریخی) حاکی از آن است که تأثیرات پارسی بر معماری فنیقیه علی‌رغم چشمگیرنبودن، تأییدکنندهٔ حضور و سلطهٔ هخامنشیان بر منطقه است؛ همچنین میزان تأثیرات پارسی موجود میان دولت‌شهرهای مختلف یکسان نبوده و با میزان اهمیت دولت‌شهرها نیز ارتباطی نداشته‌است؛ حتی به‌نظرمی‌رسد که در کاربست عناصر هخامنشی الزام خاصی نیز وجود نداشته‌است. گفتنی‌ست که علی‌رغم اهمیت آثار معماری، این دسته از مدارک تنها بخشی از داده‌های مادی موجود از فنیقیهٔ هخامنشی هستند؛ بدیهی‌ست برای حصول نتیجهٔ بهتر و جامع‌تر دربارهٔ موضوع پژوهش، می‌بایست دیگر مدارک تاریخی و باستان‌شناختی فنیقیهٔ هخامنشی را نیز از نظر گذراند؛ مقوله‌ای که نگارندگان این مقاله، در جستاری دیگر و در تکمیل این پژوهش بدان پرداخته‌اند.

کلیدواژگان: فنیقیه، امپراتوری هخامنشی، صیدون، صور، معماری فنیقی.

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