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Published in:

Achaemenid Anatolia: Persian presence and impact in the Western Satrapies 546-330 BC

2020

Document Version:

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Berndt Ersöz, S. (2020). The Upright Tiara of the Persian King. In A. P. Dahlén (Ed.), *Achaemenid Anatolia: Persian presence and impact in the Western Satrapies 546-330 BC: Proceedings of an international symposium at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 7-8 September, 2017* (pp. 65-79). (Boreas : Uppsala studies in ancient Mediterranean and Near-Eastern civilizations; Vol. 37). Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University.

Total number of authors:

1

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The Upright Tiara of the Persian King

by

Susanne Berndt

Abstract

This paper examines a piece of headgear, usually referred to in modern literature as a Phrygian or Persian cap, but variously described as *tiara*, *kurbasia* or *kidaris/kitaris* in the ancient sources. According to Greek texts only the Persian king had the right to wear the headgear in an upright position, usually referred to as *tiara orthé*. The cap was part of the so-called Median riding dress, and was worn together with trousers, a sleeved garment and a *kandys*, i.e. a cloak used as a mantle. On the basis of literary sources and iconographic evidence it is suggested that *tiara orthé* referred to the attached hood of a *kandys*, or alternatively another upper garment, in an upraised position, i.e. when it was worn upon the head. Xenophon, our earliest and most trustworthy source regarding the *tiara orthé*, explicitly wrote that only the king may wear the *tiara* upright, that is upon the head.

Introduction

This paper examines a piece of headgear, usually referred to in modern literature as a Phrygian or Persian cap, which the ancient sources variously described as *tiara*, *kurbasia* or *kitaris*. The ancient sources further told that it could be used in an upright position, *tiara orthé*, and that only the Persian king was entitled to wear it as such. Several scholars have discussed both the difference between the various terms and what the upright position may have signified.¹ There is today no consensus among scholars as to what the ancient sources actually meant by *tiara orthé*, i.e. the upright or upraised *tiara*.

The most characteristic feature of the headdress is its extended, forward-pointing, which sometimes is raised, but often lies gently forward or sideways. The cap is usually furnished with long ear flaps as well as a neck flap. The cap probably received its characteristic shape from the material from which it was originally made, and Gerard Seiterle has, in my opinion, convincingly demonstrated that the original material was the pouch covering the testicles of a bull.² Most probably other materials, such as wool and linen, were also used for the caps, in addition to leather.

¹ The literature is vast, but see e.g. Schlumberger 1971; *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* IV (1972–1975), 357–359, s.v. Herrscher (W. Nagel); von Gall 1974; Eilers & Calmeyer 1977; Tuplin 2007.

² Seiterle 1985.

Literary sources

From the Classical period onwards three different terms, *tiara*, *kurbasia*, and *kitaris*, were applied by Greek authors for what appears to have been a more or less similar cap. Ancient sources confirm that the cap was regarded as a Persian or rather Median headdress and was part of the so-called Median (riding) dress, which besides the cap, consisted of *anaxyrides* (trousers), a sleeved *chiton* (tunic), and a *kandys*, i.e. a coat that functioned as a mantle since the sleeves generally remained unused.³ Iconographic evidence further attests that these articles of clothing were worn together, and often by horse-men (*Fig. 1*).⁴ It has proved difficult to distinguish between the three different terms referring to the headdress. It has been suggested that at least two of the words have different linguistic origins. *Kitaris* has been suggested to be of Semitic origin, *kurbasia* of Iranian origin, while *tiara* is of unknown origin,⁵ though in the literary sources it was used to describe a Persian or Median cap. Hence, both *tiara* and *kurbasia* were used to describe an item of headgear of Iranian use. We may further consider another aspect, namely that the various terms reflected the material of the cap rather than its design or origin. It is possible that one term referred to a cap of leather, while another term was originally used for those made from textiles, in particular wool. We may here note that the soft cap with which Persians are usually depicted appears to have been made of a very soft material, a woven/filted textile or thin smooth leather.

We have further to take into consideration the possibility that not all Greek authors were aware of the differences between these three terms, which would have contributed to the confusion, especially from the Hellenistic period onwards.⁶

Herodotos mentioned at least two of the terms, the *kurbasia* and the *tiara*, but plausibly also the third term *kitaris* (see below). The *kurbasia*, according to Herodotos, was a tall, stiff and erect cap worn by the Sakas, a Scythian people, while the *tiara* was used by the Persians. To explain *tiara*, Herodotos used the word *pilos*.⁷ A Greek *pilos* was made of filtled wool and was used as helmet padding.⁸ When comparing these descriptions with Greek icono-

³ For ancient sources, see e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.2, 8.3.10, 8.3.13; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.8; Xen. *An.* 1.5.8; Strab. 11.13.9; Curt. 3.3.19; Arr. *Anab.* 4.7.4. For modern scholars, Gow 1928, 144–146; Schoppa 1933, 47; Widengren 1956; Thompson 1965; Shahbazi 1992; Sekunda 2010, 255–260.

⁴ See e.g. images of horsemen in the Tatarlı tomb (Summerer 2010, figs. 3, 10a, b), or a statuette of a rider from the so-called Oxus Treasure (London, British Museum, inv. no. 124098) or images of Persian soldiers on the Alexander Sarcophagus (*Fig. 1*).

⁵ Widengren 1956, 234, 241; *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* IV (1972–1975), 358, s.v. Herrscher (W. Nagel); *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 786, 792–793, s.v. Tiara (W. Hinz); Schmitt 1984, 468–469; Shahbazi 1992; Tuplin 2007, esp. 70–71, 78; *New Pauly* 14 (2009), 652–653, s.v. Tiara (R. Hurschmann). For references to various suggested etymological theories, see Beekes 2010, 694, 806, 1481. It has been suggested that *tiara* may be derived from the Old Persian word *civara* (begging dress), *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 787, s.v. Tiara (W. Hinz).

⁶ Plutarch variously used the terms *tiara* and *kitaris*, and according to him both were part of the Median dress (*Ant.* 54.8), while in another passage (*Them.* 29.5) he used both terms to describe the headgear.

⁷ *Hdt.* 7.64, 3.12.17, 7.61.3.

⁸ *New Pauly* 11 (2007), 258–259, s.v. Pilos (R. Hurschmann).

graphic material, we find that there are many variations of the cap. However, the *kurbasia* described by Herodotos may be compared with the stiff pointed caps worn by the so-called Scythian archers on Greek vases, especially in the black-figured ware.⁹ In addition to these stiff pointed caps, there are also representations of soft and loose caps that are usually worn together with trousers and long-sleeved garments. This type appears frequently in the later red-figured ware and was plausibly intended to represent Persians rather than Scythians.¹⁰ However, the distinction between these two groups is uncertain, and for our discussion it is sufficient to determine that in Greek as well as Persian images, both a pointed stiff cap as well as a looser soft cap were represented.



Fig. 1. Detail of the Alexander Sarcophagus. Alexander to left, and a Persian soldier dressed in riding dress (i.e. trousers, sleeved garment, kandys and Iranian headgear). Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Photo R. Slabke.

The stiff caps were preferably made of leather, while the soft caps were probably of very soft leather or wool, as Herodotos wrote that they were loose.¹¹ The top of such a cap is not upright but instead lies on the side of the head. Both types had side flaps as well as a neck flap. In Persian images these side flaps are often wrapped around the chin or jaws as protection. This is the type frequently depicted in Achaemenid art.¹² A good illustration of the distinction between these two types is provided by the wall paintings of

⁹ The Attic black-figure ware usually represents bowmen who are wearing stiff pointed caps and using so-called Scythian bows, i.e. sigmoid in shape (Ivanchik 2018), but who are not wearing trousers or long-sleeved garments (see e.g. the famous archer taking part in the Calydonian boar hunt on the François krater, c. 570 BC, Firenze, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, inv. no. 4209; *ABV*, 761.6, 682; *BADP*, no. 300000).

¹⁰ See e.g. a plate from Vulci, c. 500 BC (London, British Museum, inv. no. *E* 135; *ARI*², 78.93, 1623; *BADP*, no. 200621).

¹¹ Hdt 7.61.3.

¹² See e.g. a man in Median dress on a gold plaque from the Oxus Treasure (London, British Museum, inv. no. 1897, 1231.48/123949). The image is available online at <https://www.britishmuseum.org>

the Achaemenid tomb at Tatarlı, close to Dinar in Asia Minor. Two groups of armed horsemen, dressed in riding costume, approach each other. They are identically dressed except for the shape of their caps. The warriors, identified as Persians wear a low cap, probably to be identified as the soft *tiara*, while the other group, identified as Scythians, wear a cap with an erect stiff top, to be identified as the *kurbasia*.¹³

Let us now move on to the third term, the *kitaris* or *kidaris*. Herodotos may refer to the headgear as one used by non-royal Cypriots,¹⁴ while Theophrastos probably referred to it as a kind of Cyprian headgear.¹⁵ Many variations of a cap/helmet where the top is tipped forward are known from terracotta figurines from Kourion on Cyprus.¹⁶ The headwear appears to be a kind of helmet, and the versions dating to around 500 BC are in general quite tall.

To sum up so far, I would like to suggest that the *kurbasia* and the *tiara* were terms used for two similar types of essentially one headdress of Iranian origin, which because of their differing materials and methods of productions came to look different. The *kurbasia* was stiff and made of leather, while the *tiara* was soft and made of wool or perhaps soft leather. The word *kitaris* would originally have been applied to a similar looking headdress of non-Iranian origin, plausibly originating from Cyprus.

The literary sources provide us with some additional information regarding the *tiara*, namely that it was often used together with a band or diadem (διάδημα).¹⁷ Most certainly the band was wrapped around the *tiara* and such bands are known from the iconographic evidence.¹⁸ I have not, on the other hand, found any evidence for such bands being used together with the stiff *kurbasia*,¹⁹ which makes sense. A band was needed to keep a loose cap of soft material in place, while a stiff pointed cap of leather would not require a band.

¹³ Summerer 2010, 132, 136, fig. 3.

¹⁴ Hdt 7.90. Preserved manuscripts describe that non-royal Cypriots wore tunics, i.e. chitons (κιθών), but based on Pollux Onom. 10.162 de Pauw proposed that it should be emended to read *kitaris* (κίταριος), which in my opinion makes more sense, as Herodotos' comment follows a description of the type of headgear Cyprian princes wore. See the comment by Macan 1908, vol. 1:1, 113–114, nn. 3–4; How & Wells 1912, vol. 2, 160; Ritter 1965, 170–172; and the discussion by Tuplin 2007, 70, n. 16.

¹⁵ Theophrastos frg. 602 (preserved by the Suda, s.v. tiara). The Greek text Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ βασιλείας Κυπρίων τὴν κίταριν, ὡς διάφορον may, as suggested by David C. Mirhady, be translated as “Theophrastos in the work On Kingship [says] the *kitaris* is Cyprian, on the grounds that it is something different.” (Suda On Line, <http://www.stoa.org> s.v. Τίαρα, no. 2). See also Tuplin 2007, 70.

¹⁶ See e.g. Buitron-Oliver 1996, pls. 19, 24, 25, 31.

¹⁷ See e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.13; Plut. *Mor.* 488D; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 1.79; Lucian *Navigium* 30; Lucian *Reviventes sive Piscator* 35; Dio Cass. 36.1b.3, 36.52.3 (using ἀνάδημα for the band).

¹⁸ See e.g. coins of satraps, such as those from Mallos and Soloi, both in Cilicia (Hill 1900, 100, 149, pls. 17.9, 26.3).

¹⁹ Curtius 3.3.17–19, who wrote in Latin, labelled the Persian royal headgear as *cidaris* (instead of *tiara*), but noted that it was circumscribed by a band (*fascia*).

The *tiara orthé*

The *tiara* was often mentioned in connection with the Persian king, and he was the only one who was entitled to wear it in an upright position (*tiara orthé*) according to Greek authors. These statements have caused some confusion among modern scholars, because regardless of who wears the cap, it looks more or less the same in the iconographic evidence. The upraised look is also mentioned a few times together with the *kurbasia* and the *kitaris*, but it occurs most frequently with the *tiara*. The *kurbasia* was probably more or less always upraised as the descriptions reveal, while *kitaris* was used synonymously with *tiara*, at least from the Roman period onwards.

The earliest author to mention a *tiara orthé* is Xenophon,²⁰ who is the only contemporary source, and he was probably an eyewitness to the appearance of the upright *tiara*. He wrote:

τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθῆν ἔχειν,

[the King alone may wear upright the tiara that is upon the head,]²¹

An important aspect here is the clarification that describing a *tiara* as upraised meant that it was worn upon the head. We may ask what the opposite of an upraised *tiara* was, which other men than the king were allowed to wear. If we base our answer on Xenophon's description of the upraised *tiara*, it should have meant that the opposite was a *tiara* lying down, and that it was not on the head. This may seem like as an odd inference to make from Xenophon's description, but let us now examine the iconographic material to search for a type of headgear that would correspond with such an interpretation.

Iconographic evidence

The Persian king is generally represented in public art in what is labelled as the court dress, which consisted of a long, loose, pleated robe with very wide sleeves, a kind of trumpet sleeves, accompanied with a cylindrical hat, sometimes fluted.²² This type of hat is usually thought to be of Assyrian origin and does not resemble the *tiara orthé*.²³ This dress, including the hat, appears not to have been documented in Greek art.²⁴ Greek contemporary illustrations instead adopted versions of the Median riding costume to

²⁰ Xen. *An.* 2.5.23; *Cyr.* 8.3.13.

²¹ Xen. *An.* 2.5.23 (Loeb translation).

²² Schmidt 1953, pls. 98–99, 105, 121–123; von Gall 1974; Miller 1997, 156, fig. 12. Another type of crown that was crenelated is also known from the iconographic evidence (Schmidt 1953, pls. 22, 25, 26). The archer on Achaemenid coins (so-called darics) e.g. is wearing a crenelated crown (Calmeyer 1993).

²³ This type of hat is labelled as *mitra* by Shahbazi (1992), but a *mitra* is otherwise usually thought to be a band around the head (*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* IV (1972–1975), 358, s.v. Herrscher [W. Nagel]; *New Pauly* 9 [2006], 89, s.v. Mitra [R. Hirschmann]).

²⁴ Miller 1997, 156.

represent foreigners or Barbarians of various origins, such as Scythians and Persians. As stated above, the *tiara* was part of this Median riding dress; i.e. it was worn together with *anaxyrides*, a sleeved tunic, and often a *kandys*.

The *kandys*

None of the warriors in the painted frieze of the Tatarlı tomb, mentioned above, wore a *kandys*, but in another frieze at the same tomb, there is a man plausibly represented as dressed in a *kandys*.²⁵ He is taking part in a procession, is wearing a *tiara* and apparently is a man of high status, as he is the only one seated in a chariot. His *kandys* was probably intended to imitate a fur trimming as indicated by the zigzag line along the front border. The earliest literary source to mention the *kandys* is again Xenophon, who described it as a purple cloak worn by high Persian dignitaries and the king.²⁶ It is therefore a garment we would expect the king to wear as part of his riding costume. There are very few preserved contemporary images of the king dressed in riding costume. There is a seal impression from Persepolis of Cyrus I, which, however, is not detailed enough to reveal any details of the dress.²⁷ There are a few monuments from Lycia and elsewhere which may represent the Great King,²⁸ but only the Heroon at Limyra depicts prominent men in riding costume. However, before discussing that monument we will examine another image of some accuracy that definitely represents the Persian king: the Alexander Mosaic from Casa del Fauno in Pompeii.²⁹

²⁵ Summerer 2010, figs. 21, 23, 28. For literature on the *kandys*, see e.g. Widengren 1956; Thompson 1965; Linders 1984; Knauer 1985.

²⁶ Xen. *An.* 1.5.8; *Cyr.* 8.3.13

²⁷ Hinz 1976, 53, figs. 16–17.

²⁸ The so-called Harpy Tomb or the Tomb of Kybernis from Xanthos (London, British Museum, inv. no. 1848,1020.1) has on the east frieze a seated man, who has been suggested to represent Xerxes I (Borchhardt 1980, 10, pl. 1b). He is not, however, represented in Persian clothing. The Nereid monument, also from Xanthos (London, British Museum, inv. nos. 1848,1020.62/B 879 and 1848,1020.97/B 903; for images, see the Online collection of the British Museum, <https://www.britishmuseum.org>), has been suggested to have two representations of Artaxerxes II (Borchhardt 2016, 403–404). Regardless of who the men are, the first image of the second frieze is of a seated man who is not dressed in riding dress, apart from the headgear. The second image of the fourth frieze is a banquet scene displaying a reclining man in Greek clothing. The so-called Satrap Sarcophagus from Sidon (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum) is suggested by Borchhardt (1983, 105–120, pls. 22 A–C) to include the Great King in three of the reliefs. The person in question is only depicted in riding dress in two of these, and regardless of who the person is supposed to represent (see e.g. the comments by Jacobs 1987, 73), the surface of the relief is too eroded to provide any details of the headgear.

²⁹ There are some Greek and South Italian vase representations, some of which may depict a Persian king in riding costume (see Gow 1928, 148–151; Tuplin 2007, 75–76, and the list provided by Schoppa 1933, 58–62), but most depict the Persian man, king or not, in a rather fanciful outfit; see e.g. the so-called Darios krater (c. 340–320 BC, Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale, inv. no. 81947/H3253; *BADP*, no. 9036829; Gow 1928, 148, n. 45; Tuplin 2007, 75). In addition to the vase images, there is a relief on the base of the statue of Polydamas from Olympia, where Darius II is represented, but there he is dressed more or less in a Greek manner, apart from his headgear. Unfortunately his head is not preserved well enough to be of much help (Olympia, Museum of the History of the Olympic Games of

The mosaic is considered to be a trustworthy copy of a painting of a battle between Darius III and Alexander. The mosaic itself dates to around 100 BC, while the original painting is thought to date close to the end of the fourth century BC (Fig. 2).³⁰ Darius is pictured in riding dress; his *tiara*, sleeved *chiton* and what probably is a *kandys* are all visible.³¹ The latter garment appears to have fur trimming as can be seen below his outstretched right arm. The Persian king appears to be the only Persian wearing a *kandys* in this image, which further distinguishes him from the other warriors. As this is one of the very few known illustrations of a Persian king wearing the *tiara* as part of the riding costume, its appearance has been much discussed. Darius' *tiara* is slightly taller than the others, and it has been suggested that some kind of internal supporting device may have been used to make it upright.³² However, there is no mention of any such device in the literary sources. On the contrary, the *tiara orthé* could easily be taken off; at least if we are to believe Plutarch, who wrote that the *tiara* could be thrown off after the diadem had been removed.³³ It is further doubtful whether the *tiara* of the king is really any different from the caps worn by the other Persian warriors in this mosaic. The tip of Darius' cap is not erect, but like the others is bent forward. The major difference is that the king is emphasised in the painting with a central, elevated position and by being slightly larger than the persons around him. The king's head is one of the few that are not depicted in profile. It is in a three-quarters view and therefore is the angle of his cap also different, which may contribute to its slightly more elongated look. A fallen Persian soldier almost directly beneath Darius is depicted from behind, but his face is reflected in the shield held before him (Fig. 2). The tip of his cap is not lying down but standing up, which further contradicts the suggested theory. We may in addition note that the diadem mentioned in the literary sources as wrapped around the *tiara*, is actually missing from Darius' headgear in the mosaic. How accurately the clothing was depicted in the original painting we do not know, nor do we know how trustworthy the painting's details were copied in the mosaic. Therefore, we have to be very cautious when interpreting this image.³⁴

Let us now examine other images of men in riding costume. Apparently the *kandys* is an important part of the riding costume which the king used. There were probably two types of *kandys*. The most common type appears to have had an attached hood, but there was probably also one without a hood, i.e. with only a neckline.³⁵ However, the only image I have been able to find

Antiquity, inv. no. Λ 45; Lippold 1950, 278, 284. An image is available online at http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh430.jsp?obj_id=11041

³⁰ Museo archeologico nazionale, Naples. It is suggested that it may be a copy of a painting by Philoxenos, *New Pauly* 1 (2002), 488, s.v. Alexander Mosaic (N. Hoesch).

³¹ For a discussion of this matter, see Linders 1984, n. 30; Knauer 1985, 622.

³² Shahbazi 1992.

³³ Plut. *Mor.* 488 D. Plutarch used the word *καταβάλλω* probably intending to indicate that the *tiara* was thrown off the head.

³⁴ Besides the Alexander Mosaic, the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus (Istanbul Archaeological Museum) from about the same time depicts a battle between Greeks and Persians, where the Persian soldiers are dressed in the riding costume, including the *kandys* (Fig. 1). However, the Persian king is not depicted, so it does not help us much regarding the *tiara orthé*.

³⁵ Widengren 1956, 237; Gervers-Molnár 1973, 5; Knauer 1985, 607–608, 613–614.

of a *kandys* without a hood is that of a young Greek woman dressed in a *kandys* on a grave stele from Attica,³⁶ while most Persian images do not allow one to decide whether a hood was attached to the *kandys* or not.



Fig. 2. Detail of the Alexander Mosaic, with Darius III in the centre. Museo archeologico nazionale, Naples. Photo D. & M. Hill Kleerup.

Be that as it may, the hood or capuche can be found on several figurines. A male silver figurine in Berlin depicts him with *anaxyrides*, a sleeved tunic, and a *kandys* with the hood lying on his back, i.e. in a non-upraised position.³⁷ What is interesting is that in spite of the hood of the *kandys* he is wearing a separate piece of headgear. Two male gold statuettes from the Oxus Treasure are similarly dressed, each wearing a *kandys* with an attached hood hanging down at the back (Fig. 3).³⁸ Apparently they are not using their hoods, but are instead wearing separate caps. A third example is a fragmented terracotta pitcher in the shape of a man from Sardis. The erect phallus forms the spout, while the man is dressed in trousers/*anaxyrides*, a shirt-like garment, *kandys*, shoes, but no headgear.³⁹ Also, his *kandys* has an

³⁶ Grave stele of Myttion, c. 400 BC (Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 78.AA.57; Kingsley 1975; Linders 1984, 109, n. 16, fig. 2).

³⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatisches Museum, inv. no. VA 4852. For images, see e.g. Gow 1928, fig. 5, Shabazi 1992, pl. 57, fig. 18.

³⁸ London, British Museum, inv. nos. 123902, 123903. The two gold figurines standing in a chariot of the Oxus Treasure appear to be similarly dressed and not to be making use of their hoods (London, British Museum, inv. no. EPH-ME.490); see drawing of the back of one of the figurines in Gervers-Molnár 1973, fig. 18.

³⁹ Greenewalt 1971.

attached hood, lying on his back, i.e. in a non-upraised position. Even though he is not wearing a separate cap, he is not making use of the attached hood. Besides these figurines, there are probably more examples, but I am not aware of them because figurines are rarely pictured from behind.⁴⁰ Preserved reliefs usually depict men in profile, so in those cases it is uncertain whether a *kandys* is represented with a hood or not. On the Apadāna reliefs, for example, may the lining of the *kandys* just as well continue at the back into a hood as well as being part of a neckline.⁴¹

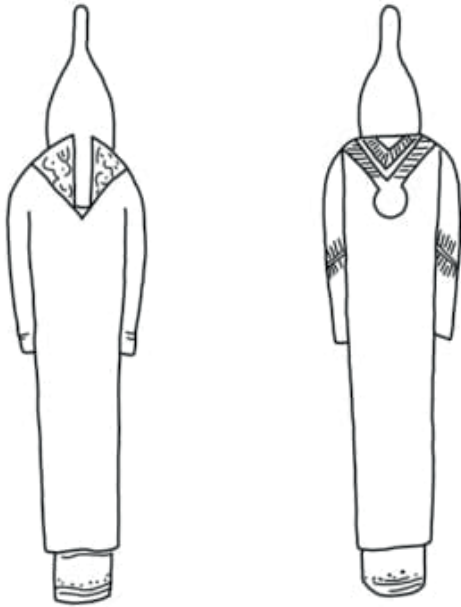


Fig. 3. The back of two figurines from the Oxus Treasure. Fifth century BC. London, British Museum, inv. nos. 123902, 123903. Drawing after J.E. Curtis in Gervers-Molnár 1973, fig. 8.

Let us now return to the Heroon at Limyra and the west frieze, where a prominent man, without a beard, is seen in profile on a horse dressed in riding costume.⁴² Borchhardt has suggested that he should be identified as the Great King,⁴³ but not all scholars agree, and other possible identifications have been proposed.⁴⁴ It is not my intention to discuss the identity of the man, but the relief is of some interest as he is dressed in a *kandys* and is wearing what I would like to interpret as a helmet, perhaps of leather. Below the helmet at the back, covering his neck, a strip of soft material is represented. This is not part of the helmet, but rather seems to be attached to his *kandys*, at least if we are to trust the published drawings (*Fig. 4*).⁴⁵ My

⁴⁰ For references to Scythians wearing sleeved coats with an attached hood, see Knauer 1985, n. 77.

⁴¹ Schmidt 1953, pls. 52, 57, 58.

⁴² Borchhardt 1976, 53, 50–60, pls. 23.4; 24.1, 4, 5; figs. 12–13 (the prominent man is no. 22);

⁴³ Borchhardt 2016, 405–406.

⁴⁴ Jacobs 1987, 71–73; Tuplin 2007, 76–77; Şare 2013, 64–68.

⁴⁵ Borchhardt 1976, figs. 12–13, no. 22. It is uncertain whether or not Borchhardt (1980, 53, 60) meant that he is wearing a helmet, resembling the so-called Phrygian helmet, with a Persian *tiara* underneath. Tuplin (2007, 76) interpreted it as Borchhardt suggested: namely that he is wearing a Phrygian hat over a Persian *tiara*.

interpretation is that he is wearing something underneath the helmet, and the most plausible thing to wear under a helmet is some kind of padding, i.e. a *pilos*. We may recall here that Herodotos used the word *pilos* in order to explain the Persian *tiara* (see above). Whether the suggested headgear under the helmet was attached as a hood to the *kandys* and worn upon the head, i.e. upraised, in this particular relief is, however, not possible to conclusively determine because of the poor state of the preserved relief,⁴⁶ and the uncertainty about whether it is really the king who is represented.



Fig. 4. Detail of the rider with *kandys* from the west frieze of the Heroon at Limyra (after Borchhardt 1976, fig. 12). The drawing by Jürgen Borchhardt was based on the surviving fragments of the relief.

With the possible exception of the Heroon at Limyra, we may conclude that in all other known iconographic images of a *kandys* with a hood attached, the hood is never used; instead the person in question wears a separate cap or none at all. When the ancient sources refer to the upraised

⁴⁶ The poor condition of the relief is made clear from a photo of the head in Şare 2013, fig. 10.

tiara, my interpretation is that they simply mean the hood of the *kandys* used upon the head,⁴⁷ i.e. in upraised position, as Xenophon explicitly wrote. It is further possible that this upraised hood was used by the king, like a *pilos*, below a helmet.

Further evidence for this theory of the upright *tiara* may be found in Greek vase paintings that indirectly refer to the Persian king, but in the disguise of king Midas.

King Midas in Persian dress

On a red-figured stamnos dated to around 450 BC (*Fig. 5*) King Midas is dressed as the Persian king in a scene that reflects the Greek perception of the Persian court.⁴⁸ Midas was a ridiculed figure in the Greek Classical world, and perhaps therefore was used as a metaphor for the Persian king.⁴⁹ Midas is depicted with ass's ears, which according to Ovid he hide beneath his purple *tiara*,⁵⁰ but in the vase painting the ears are made visible as they were characteristic attributes of Midas. Midas wears headgear and a long, draped dress. His upper garment is depicted in a strange manner and to some extent resembles the upper part of the Persian King's court dress with trumpet sleeves.⁵¹ The painted dress resembles a sleeved garment, but what is odd is that not only the arm but also the hand is covered by the "sleeve", which is probably a misunderstanding of the Persian garment it was supposed to imitate. Miller has suggested that the vase painter had misunderstood the draped sleeve of the Achaemenid royal robe,⁵² which is possible. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that another foreign garment, such as the *kandys*, was intended to be represented. The earliest literary evidence of this garment in Greek sources comes, as previously mentioned, from Xenophon (c. 400 BC), while the *kandys* begin to appear in Attic art in the last quarter of the fifth century BC.⁵³ Hence around 450 BC, a *kandys* was probably not a familiar garment for the painter of this vase. It is possible that he only knew it from oral descriptions declaring that the sleeves were generally not used, and therefore did not know how to paint this detail.⁵⁴ It is further possible that the painter was not aware that the *kandys* and the robe of the royal court were two different garments, as both were worn by the king, which would also explain its appearance on the vase.

⁴⁷ We cannot exclude that other garments also had attached hoods.

⁴⁸ London, British Museum, inv. no. 1851,0416.9/E 447; *BADP*, 213470.

⁴⁹ Roller 1983; Miller 1988; Berndt 2018.

⁵⁰ *Ov. Met.* 11.181.

⁵¹ Schmidt 1953, pls. 98–99, 105, 121–123.

⁵² Miller 1988, 86.

⁵³ Linders 1984, 110, 112, 114. See e.g. the Talos vase, where Medea is wearing both a *kandys* and *tiara* (425–400 BC; Ruvo, Mueso Jatta, inv. no. 36933; *BADP*, 217518; *ARI*², 1338.1; Linders 1984, fig. 3). The so-called Peliades relief (Roman copy of an Attic relief from c. 420/10 BC) depicts Medea with a *kandys* where the sleeves are unused (Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. Sk 925/K186).

⁵⁴ See Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.10 who states that the horsemen inserted their arms into the sleeves in the presence of the king.



Fig. 5. King Midas as the Great King on a red-figured Attic stamnos from Chiusi, c. 450 BC. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1851,0416.9/E 447. © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Let us now turn to the headdress Midas is depicted as wearing in the vase painting. According to the myth, he was supposed to hide his ears under a *tiara*, but in this scene he is not wearing the usual *tiara*, like the guard to the far left in front of him. It has been suggested that Midas is wearing a *sakkos*,⁵⁵ but I cannot see any reason why he would be depicted with a typically female head covering,⁵⁶ especially when the myth states that he wore a

⁵⁵ De Vries (1973, 39) interpreted Midas' headgear as being a *sakkos* that oddly was elaborated with the flaps of a Persian or Phrygian cap. Miller 1988, 81; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 849, s.v. Midas (M.C. Miller).

⁵⁶ On the *sakkos*, see e.g. Lee 2015, 159. Besides women, there are examples of male komasts represented with the turban or the *sakkos* in Greek vase paintings (Kurtz & Boardman 1986, 50–56).

tiara. There are two more vase images of Midas where he wears similar looking headgear that has this characteristic pouch at the back of the head.⁵⁷ Both vases, a krater and kylix, are unfortunately damaged at the upper part of the heads, but Midas as represented on the krater is definitely not wearing a *sakkos* or anything similar, while the Midas on the kylix has been interpreted as wearing a headband or the like.⁵⁸ Midas' beard and hair are similarly represented on all three images, and I would suggest that a similar headdress was intended for all three images, and the intention may have been to represent Midas with the *tiara orthé*, i.e. with an upraised hood, a concept with which the vase painters were not so familiar.

Several details in the painting of the stamnos support such an interpretation: a *sakkos* would have covered more of the hair, especially on the forehead, while a hood would leave both the fringe and the side hair visible, as in this case, and like on the krater where Midas is wearing a hood or cap. Furthermore, there is a thin black line below the upper loose part, which I think was intended to imitate the diadem or band used by Persians to keep the hood or *tiara* in place. Such a black line is also visible on the kylix, but it should be noted that in this image the fringe is missing, though that may be due to the dominant ass's ears with which Midas is represented. A hood attached to his upper garment would explain why the garment lacks a distinct neckline on both the stamnos and the kylix.

To conclude, the vase image on the stamnos is an illustration of the Greek perception of the Persian court and the king, and although the painter did not get all the details of Persian clothing correct, it is possible that he was aware that a *tiara orthé* was indeed the upraised hood of a *kandys*, although we cannot exclude other possible interpretations.

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⁵⁷ 1. Krater (450–425 BC), Lentini, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 9131; *BADP*, 6908; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 849, s.v. Midas, no. 39 (M.C. Miller); Crispino & Musumeci 2008, 86. 2. Kylix (c. 440 BC), Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. no. 16585; *BADP*, 9513; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 849, s.v. Midas, no. 40 (M.C. Miller).

⁵⁸ De Vries 1973, 38–39; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 849, s.v. Midas, no. 40 (M.C. Miller).

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