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Detail from above the entrance of Tehran's fire temple, 1286š/1917–18. Photo by © Shervin Farridnejad

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Between Myth and History: Susa and Memnon through the ages

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‘Le passé de l’Élam se cache encore derrière des brumes épaisses.’¹

Introduction

Despite the importance of Susa for archaeologists and historians working on ancient Iran, Babylonia and Assyria, the site’s association with Memnon has been largely forgotten. Once a topic of interest for many 19th century scholars, including Marcel Dieulafoy, one of Susa’s excavators, the study of Memnon’s links to Susa and, by extension, Susa’s links to Troy, is now almost exclusively the province of Classicists. Yet specialists on ancient Iran and its neighbors who choose to simply ignore these topics are distorting the historiography of Susa. The present study, while not pretending to resolve the many questions involved in Memnon’s relationship to Susa, aims to clarify a number of issues that have been forgotten in the past century of scholarship on the site.

Enter Memnon

The semi-divine, mythical hero Memnon makes his first appearance in three of the earliest, if undated,

¹- Dieulafoy 1890/1, 5.

Greek literary works: Hesiod's *Theogony*, the *Aethiopis* of the Epic Cycle and Homer's *Odyssey*. While it must be acknowledged that the dates of these works are both approximate and highly controversial, Kōiv has recently suggested a mid-7th century BC date for Hesiod² while West proposed a late 7th century BC date for the *Aethiopis*, arguing that it pre-dates the *Odyssey*.³ On its own, Hesiod's statement that, 'Eos bare to Tithonus brazen-crested Memnon, king of the Ethiopians'⁴ is opaque, but a late epitome of the *Aethiopis* in Proclus' *Chrestomathy*,⁵ with interpolations from Apollodorus's *Epitome* 5.4 added in brackets, puts this in context: 'Memnon, the son of <Tithonus and> the Dawn, wearing armor made by Hephaistus <and accompanied by a large force of Ethiopians>, arrives to assist the Trojans. Thetis prophesies to her son about the encounter with Memnon. When battle is joined, Antilocus is killed by Memnon, but then Achilles kills Memnon. And Dawn confers immortality upon him after prevailing on Zeus.'⁶ The interpolations in this translation between brackets are from Apollodorus, the 2nd century AD (?) writer, according to whom, 'the Dawn snatched away Tithonus for love and brought him to Ethiopia, and there consorting with him she bore two sons, Emathion and Memnon.'⁷ Memnon is also referred to as 'the illustrious son of the bright dawn' who, in the *Odyssey*, slew 'good Antilochus.'⁸ Thus, these early works tell us that

Memnon was the son of Dawn (Eos, Aurora) and Tithonus.

Memnon was born in Ethiopia and was king of the Ethiopians.

Memnon fought at Troy, on the Trojan side, killing Antilochus before being himself killed by Achilles.

Memnon was granted immortality by Zeus.

2- Kōiv 2011, 376.

3- West 2013.

4- Hesiod, *Theogony* 984. Memnon's Ethiopian character is also explicit in Pindar (c. 522–443 BC), *Olympian Ode* 2.80, 'Memnon the Ethiopian, son of the Dawn'; *Pythian Ode* 6.30, 'the man-slaying commander of the ethiopians, Memnon'; *Isthmian Ode* 5.34, 'the fearless commander of the Ethiopians, bronze-armed Memnon.' Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.488, 'black-browed Memnon' or the 4th century AD writer Quintus of Smyrna's *The Fall of Troy*, 2.31, where Memnon is said to lead 'hosts numberless, Aethiopia's swarthy sons.' According to Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 4.8.3, a 'desire that was not really unreasonable, but untimely, had seized' Alexander who wished 'to visit not only the interior of Egypt, but also Ethiopia; eager as he was to become acquainted with ancient remains, the celebrated palace of Memnon and Tithonus was drawing him almost beyond the limits of the sun.'

5- On the date of Proclus, see Hillgruber 1990. As M.L. West (2003b, 12) noted, 'It is disputed whether the Proclus who wrote the *Chrestomathy* was the famous fifth-century Neoplatonist (as was believed at any rate by the sixth century) or a grammarian of some centuries earlier. It makes little practical difference, as agreements with other mythographic sources, especially Apollodorus, show that Proclus was reproducing material of Hellenistic date.' Cf. Holmberg 1998, 458.

6- Trans. West 2003b, 113. Slatkin 1991, 22.

7- *Library* 3.12.

8- *Od.* 4.188.

Possibly inspired by the *Aithiopsis*,⁹ Aeschylus (c. 525/4– c. 456/5) is known to have written a lost tragedy entitled *Memnon*, of which Strabo wrote, ‘Aeschylus calls the mother of Memnon, Cissia.’¹⁰ Elsewhere, Aeschylus twice used Cissian as a geographical adjective. In one of the opening choruses in *The Persians*, spoken by a group of Persian elders, we hear of the Persian forces which surged westward ‘from Susa, from Ecbatana, from ancient Cissian ramparts,’¹¹ while later in the play they worry, ‘Lest Susa’s ancient stones/ and the high Kissian wall/ Echo with frenzied groans/ Of women for their dead.’¹² Cissia brings us to Susa and Herodotus, who wrote of ‘the Cissian land, in which, on the Choaspes, lies that Susa where the great king lives’¹³ and of ‘Susa and the other Cissian lands’¹⁴, noting that ‘Susa and the other parts of Cissia’ constituted a single tax unit.¹⁵ In discussing the royal road from Sardis to Susa, Herodotus also referred to ‘the king’s abode called Memnonian’ and said of Susa, ‘that is the city called Memnonian.’¹⁶ The association between Cissia, Tithonus and Memnon was also explicit in Strabo who wrote, ‘Susis also is almost a part of Persis. It lies between Persis and Babylonia, and has a very considerable city, Susa....It is said to have been founded by Tithonus, the father of Memnon. Its compass was 120 stadia. Its shape was oblong. The Acropolis was called Memnonium. The Susians have the name also of Cissii.’¹⁷

Writing of a fragment believed to originate in Aeschylus’ *Memnon*, West noted, ‘The speaker, probably Priam himself, is interrogating the newcomer and has learned that he is a native of Ethiopia; he finds no fault with that, but awaits further clarification. Memnon will have gone on to explain that he was the son of Tithonus, whom Eos had carried off from Troy to her radiant East, and thus the nephew of Priam....Aeschylus, then, represented Memnon as arriving at Troy of his own accord, not in response to an appeal from Priam as in some later versions. He came, apparently, not directly from Ethiopia but from Susa, where he had established his kingdom.’¹⁸ Clearly the association between Cissia and Memnon, found in Aeschylus; between Susa and Cissia, found in Herodotus; and between Susa and Tithonus, found in Strabo, would seem to underlie West’s statement that Memnon reached Troy not from Ethiopia but from Susa, the seat of his newly founded kingdom.¹⁹

But for an even more explicit exposition of this ‘Susian’ approach to Troy, we must turn to Diodorus Siculus who wrote in the mid-1st century BC. Here, in contrast to Aeschylus’ presentation of Memnon arriving at Troy on his own initiative, Memnon is instead dispatched as commander of troops sent by

9- Liapis 2009, 284.

10- *Geog.* 15.3.3.

11- *Pers.* 17.

12- *Pers.* 120.

13- *Hist.* 5.49.

14- *Hist.* 3.92.

15- *Hist.* 3.89.

16- *Hist.* 5.53, 5.54, cf. 7.151. Similarly Aelian, *On the nature of animals* 13.18, ‘Memnonia Susa.’

17- *Geog.* 15.3.2.

18- West 2000, 344.

19- West 2000, 344.

the Assyrian king Teutamus, who made a request of his Persian satrap Tithonus, who in turn replied by sending the requested troops under his son Memnon, all because Teutamus had received an urgent request for assistance from his vassal Priam. According to Diodorus,

‘The only event recorded is the reinforcement the Assyrians sent to the Trojans, under the command of Memnon, son of Tithonus. For they say the Greeks under Agamemnon took the field against Troy during the period when Teutamus was ruler of Asia, being the twentieth king after Ninyas, the son of Semiramis. At this time the Assyrians had possessed the hegemony of Asia for upwards of a thousand years, and Priam, who ruled the Troad, was subject to the king of the Assyrians. Being hard pressed in the war, he sent ambassadors to the king seeking aid. So Teutamus dispatched ten thousand Ethiopians, and an equal number of other troops from Susiana, along with two hundred chariots of war; and he appointed Memnon, son of Tithonus, as general. Now Tithonus, who was general of the Persians in those days, was the most esteemed by the king of all the commanders he had appointed. Memnon, in the prime of his life, excelled in manliness and greatness of spirit. He it was who erected, upon the citadel at Susa, the palace which endured until the ascendancy of the Persians and which was called the Memnonian palace after him. He also built across the land a well-traveled highway that is named the Memnonian road right down to the present day. However, the Ethiopians from the vicinity of Egypt tell a different tale, claiming this man was born in their country, and they point to an ancient palace which even now, they say, is called Memnonian. Be that as it may, Memnon is said to have come to aid the Trojans along with twenty thousand foot soldiers and two hundred chariots of war; and he was esteemed both for his courage and because he slaughtered many of the Greeks in battle. But at last he was caught in ambush and slain by the Thessalians; and the Ethiopians, having recovered his body, cremated the corpse and carried his bones to Tithonos. Such, at least, is what the barbarians claim is recorded in their royal archives.’²⁰

Other details on the life and death of Memnon appear in a range of later sources. Thus, Ovid (43 BC – 14 AD) dwells at length on Aurora’s grief for Memnon, and the metamorphosis of the ashes rising from his funeral pyre into birds.²¹ Aelian (c. 165/70–225/35 AD), however, stated that, while ‘the people who still inhabit the Troad assert that there is a tomb there dedicated to Memnon the son of Eos...the actual body was borne through the air by his mother from the midst of the carnage to Susa (celebrated for this reason as “Memnonian”), where it was awarded a becoming burial.’²² In the *Chronicon*, Eusebius of Caesarea (263–339 AD), drawing on Diodorus, identified Teutamus/ Tautanos, the Assyrian king said by Diodorus to have transmitted Priam’s request for support to Tithonus, as the 26th ruler of Assyria, after Ninyas, son of Semiramis, in his Assyrian king lists.²³ Cassiodorus (c. 490–585 AD) reckoned the

20- *Library* 2.22.

21- *Metamorphoses* 13.576–622.

22- Aelian, *On the nature of animals* 5.1.

23- *Chron.* 1, Schoene 1875, 58; de Saulcy 1850, 78off; Heichelheim 1957, 260; Murphy 1989, 28, n. 61, discussed below. Cf. George Syncellus (808–10 AD), *Chronography* 193, who listed him as the 27th king of the Assyrians and also wrote, ‘some know him by the name Tautanes.’

imposing palace at Susa, built for Cyrus the Great, by Memnon, to be one of the wonders of the world.²⁴ Finally, it should be noted that the contest between Memnon and Achilles, and the subsequent mourning of Eos over the body of her dead son, were favorite themes of Greek vase painters.²⁵

From ancient to modern

Early modern and later scholarly and literary interaction with the sources cited above depended, in the first instance, on the accessibility of the texts. The beginning of printing in Subiaco, near Rome, in 1464 was followed within a few years by the production of Latin translations of Strabo (1469), Herodotus (1474) and other Greek writers, making these available to a wider audience for the first time in history.²⁶ Because Greek continued to be much less studied than Latin, such translations were instrumental in diffusing knowledge of many subjects, not least those related to the city of Susa and the Memnon myth.

The citations in Barnabé Brisson's *De Regio Persarum Principatu* (1595) give us a good idea of which sources were available on Susa and its links to Tithonus and Memnon within a century after the diffusion of Classical texts in Europe began.²⁷ These included the following: Herodotus, *Histories*; Strabo, *Geography* 15; Diodorus Siculus, 17; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.27; Aelian, *De Animalibus* 13.18; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*; Josephus, *Antiq. Iud.* 11.5; Cassiodorus 7 *variar. Epistol.* 15; Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*; and Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnika*. More specifically, in his discussion of Tithonus and Memnon, Brisson cited Herodotus, Strabo, Aelian, Diodorus and Cassiodorus.²⁸

Once these and other Greek, Roman and Byzantine sources became widely available, the mythic stories surrounding Memnon became a subject of study and controversy in countless works of scholarship.²⁹ While Memnon's Ethiopian identity remained important³⁰ it was not the only point of African association explored in this body of literature. Equally if not more important was a perceived Egyptian connection, one that was attested both in the Greek and Roman sources and the Egyptian ones. Sir John Marsham's *Chronicus Canon*, first published in 1672, carefully presented all of these sources, noting that Memnon was the Greek name given to Phamenophis or Amenophis (Amenhotep).³¹ Tales

24- Cassiodorus Book 7 *var. Epist.* 15, 'Cyri Medorum regis domus, quam Memnon arte prodiga, illigatis auro lapidibus fabricavit.'

25- See e.g. Millingen 1822, 11 ff.; Burgess 2004, 2009, 27ff.; Smith 2014, 33, calls Memnon 'a Trojan by birth...seen on vases in the presence of Africans, an overt visual reference to his adopted homeland' because 'as a child [he] had been relocated to Ethiopia by his mother.'

26- For these dates and more generally, see e.g. Fryde 1983, Sullivan 1990 and Milanesi 1994.

27- Brisson 1595, 44–6.

28- 'Alioquin enim refragaretur vetustas, quae a Tithono eiusque filio Memnone Susa condita credit,' Brisson 1595, 45. Contemporary observers remarked upon the richness of Brisson's library without, however, specifying the names of the Classical texts that he personally owned. See e.g. Sincerus 1649, 202. Cf. Montgomery 2015, 192–3.

29- To cite just some of the more important works, see e.g. Marsham 1672, Jablonski 1753, Langlès 1795, Creuzer 1819, Millingen 1822, Hengstenberg 1831, Thirlwall 1833, Tyrwhitt 1868, Latronne 1881 or Curzon 1886.

30- Langlès 1795, 164ff.

31- Marsham 1672, 401.

of a statue of Amenhotep III (1411–1379 BC) at Thebes that spoke originated with Strabo, who heard it himself, as did Germanicus a few years later, according to Tacitus.³² Because the sound emanated shortly after dawn, Greek observers interpreted it, by the early 1st century AD, as Memnon uttering a greeting to his mother³³ and termed the area in which the statue was located a Memnonium although in fact the statue stood ‘an eighth of a mile south of the Ramesseum, looking out over the fields and the river [Nile] from the west bank.’³⁴ This was popularly identified with the ‘magnificent edifice styled the *palace of Memnon...at Kourna* [Thebes]’³⁵ but this identification was challenged by Sir William R. Hamilton who considered it ‘the bulding to which the French travellers have given the name of the Memnonion’ at Medinet Habu and, basing himself on Philostratus, mistakenly identified a beautifully sculpted head of Ramses (Ramesses) II there, in the second courtyard of what was in fact the Ramesseum, with that of the ‘vocal Memnon.’³⁶ The Egyptological adventurer Giovanni Belzoni removed the head in the autumn of 1816 and a year later, thanks to the efforts of Henry Salt, the British Consul-General in Cairo, it was on its way to the British Museum. The arrival of this head, mistakenly identified as the ‘younger Memnon’ caused a sensation, sparking countless notices in contemporary journals, poems and essays.³⁷ By the late 19th century, however, G.N. Curzon had roundly rejected all of the hyperbole surrounding Memnon’s Egyptian associations, declaring that, ‘Memnon, if he ever existed, must have been an Asiatic prince, who came from Susa’ and insisting that no notion of an Egyptian connection ‘was suspected till the later period of the Greek settlement in Egypt, when it appears in the Greek papyri

32- Strabo, *Geog.* 17.1.146; Tacitus, *Annals* 2.61. See Curzon 1886, 269 ff., Griffith 1998, 222, for extensive discussion with refs. of these and other ancient sources.

33- Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines* 1.7.3, ‘For the sun, striking the lips of Memnon as a plectrum strikes the lyre, seems to summon a voice from them, and by this speech-producing artifice consoles the Goddess of the Day’; Callistratus, *Descriptiones* 9, ‘There was in Ethiopia an image of Memnon, the son of Tithonus, made of marble; however, stone though it was, it did not abide within its proper limits nor endure the silence imposed on it by nature, but stone though it was it had the power of speech. For at one time it saluted the rising Day, by its voice giving token of its joy and expressing delight at the arrival of its mother; and again, as day declined to night, it uttered piteous and mournful groans in grief at her departure.’

34- Thompson 1937, 60.

35- Browne 1806, 145.

36- Hamilton 1809, 134, 176–7.

37- See e.g. Anonymous 1819; Smith 1821; Anonymous 1825, 494, noting ‘two seated colossi of black granite, the head of one of which is in the British Museum, where it passes for the head of MEMNON’; ‘I’ 1827; Rodenbeck 2004; Colla 2007: 24ff, ‘The artifaçion of the Memnon head’. One of the most effusive pronouncements on the beauty of this sculpture appears in an essay published in 1846 by Thomas de Quincey where we read, ‘that object which some four-and-thirty years ago in the British Museum struck me as simply the sublimest sight which in this sight-seeing world I had seen. It was the Memnon’s head, then recently brought from Egypt. I looked at it, as the reader must suppose in order to understand the depth which I have here ascribed to the impression, not as a human, but as a symbolic head; and what it symbolised to me were: – 1. The peace which passeth all understanding. 2. The eternity which baffles and confounds all faculty of computation; the eternity which *had* been, the eternity which *was* to be. 3. The diffusive love, not such as rises and falls upon waves of life and mortality, not such as sinks and swells by undulations of time, but a procession– an emanation from some mystery of endless dawn. You durst not call it a smile that radiated from the lips; the radiation was too awful to clothe itself in adumbrations or memorials of flesh. In that mode of sublimity, perhaps, I still adhere to my first opinion, that nothing so great was ever beheld’. See de Quincey 1846, 571.

of Thebes, and in the pages of Strabo and Diodorus. There can be little doubt, therefore, that it owed its origin to the omnivorous credulity of the Greek immigrants.³⁸

Throughout the 19th century the implications of Susa's association with Memnon proved to be a fertile subject of conjecture, eliciting a wide range of speculations from many scholars. These ideas may be grouped under the following rubrics.

Aurora/Eos' cognomen Cissia argues for a Susian rather than an Ethiopian setting for the myth

Strabo's report that Aeschylus identified Memnon's mother by the name Cissia was interpreted by some scholars, following Stephen of Byzantium, as proof that the Susians took their own name from that of Cissia, the mother of Memnon.³⁹ To confuse matters, some scholars saw a connection between Cissia and Cush, normally identified with Meroë (Sudan, Nubia), which would support the tradition linking Memnon with Ethiopia but which could apply to an 'eastern Ethiopia' (see below).⁴⁰ By contrast, Häverinck suggested that Aeschylus called Memnon's mother Cissia because of Cissia's association with Susa, as if it had been her actual homeland.⁴¹ Dieulafoy, on the other hand, believed that the personal name of Memnon's mother Cissia was derived from the Kossaioi,⁴² an ethnic group attested principally in the post-Alexander period, whom some scholars consider descendants of the Kassites, although this is doubtful.⁴³ It is not clear how Sir Percy Sykes came to the conclusion that the Greeks 'describe Memnon...as the offspring of a white mountain woman Kissia and of black Tithon.'⁴⁴

Susa was a city of great antiquity

In his monumental *Bibliothèque orientale*, the French Orientalist Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625–95) noted that of all the places named Susa, the most ancient was the one in Khuziṣṭān or Susiana said by historians of Persia to have been built by Hōšang, the founder of the Pēšdādian dynasty.⁴⁵ The Memnonian association of Susa's palace, and a perceived parallelism between Memnon and Hōšang, was highlighted by Dean William Vincent in his famous study of the voyage of Nearchus. Vincent wrote, 'Susa

38- Curzon 1886, 268.

39- E.g. Langlès 1795, 163, n. 2; Knobel 1850, 250.

40- Thus Faber 1816, 459, 'but Cissia was doubtless so called as being the land of Cush; which the Greeks denominated *Ethiopia*...or in one word *Chusistan*...It was part of the large region...which the Greeks knew by the name of the *eastern* or *Asiatic Ethiopia*, as specially contradistinguished from the south-western or African Ethiopia.'

41- Häverinck 1832, 554, 'Daher nennt Aeschylus (bei Strabo, l. XV. p. 728.) Memnons Mutter Kissia, als sey hier sein eigentliches Heimathsland.' Cf. Oppert 1883: 422, 'Comment les auteurs les plus anciens tels qu'Echyle et Hérodote appellent-ils le pays que nous désignons sous le nom de Susiane? Ils ignorent tous les noms sauf celui de la Cissie. Strabon dit expressément que ce fut le nom de la contrée appartenant au bassin du Tigre, qui chez les écrivains postérieurs à Alexandre prit le nom de "Susiane" et d'"Elymaïde"; ils nous ont conservé le nom de Cissia qu'Echyle dans son "Ethiopsis" donne à la mère de Memnon, le héros de Suse. C'était la personnification du pays tout entier.'

42- Dieulafoy 1890, 54–5, 'Kissia, mère de Memnon, tirait son nom grecisé de la tribu des Koussis, qui occupait le nord des monts Bakhtyaris et était, de tous les clans anzanites, le plus connu des vieux auteurs classiques.'

43- Potts 2016, 369 with extensive discussion and refs.

44- Sykes 1915, 55.

45- d'Herbelot 1697, 829 s.v. 'Sous.'

is said by the Oriental writers to be the first city founded after the flood by a prince called Husheng [Hōšang], who is the grandson of Caiumaras [Keyumars/Gayōmard], the first name in their mythology. The Greeks call the founder Memnon, son of Tithonus, which amounts nearly to the same, implying that it existed before there was any real history to appeal to.⁴⁶ The great antiquity of Susa, implied by its association with Memnon, was remarked upon by several 19th century writers⁴⁷ and for some demonstrated clearly that Susa had once been the seat of one or more local dynasties.⁴⁸

The Memnonium at Susa was a well-fortified, pre-Achaemenid, royal castle

Strabo was very clear about the fact that the highest mound at Susa, its citadel, was ‘the Acropolis...called Memnonium.’ This was almost certainly where, during the invasion of Alexander and the subsequent Diadochoi wars, the heavily guarded treasury was located.⁴⁹ At the beginning of the second scene of *The Persian heroine*, written in 1786, the playwright and Classicist Richard Paul Jodrell (1745–1831) had Masištes, a Persian satrap, say, ‘Hail, domes of Susa, hail Memnonian Towers I greet your welcome battlements.’⁵⁰ Although Jodrell’s play was ‘founded upon Herodotus,’ it has been said that it ‘was rejected by Drury Lane and Covent Garden because the elucidatory notes occupied as much space as the text.’⁵¹ Yet, as Wallace Cable Brown noted in 1947, ‘It is a commonplace in the history of drama that the Regency stage, noted for its romantic melodrama, produced dozens of plays about the Near East...Not so familiar, however, is the fact that fidelity to authentic sources became the watchword in the creation of costume, scenery, and setting for these melodramas.’⁵² Jodrell’s scrupulous fidelity to the sources seems to have been his undoing.

In his influential *Geschichte der Baukunst der Alten* (1792), the Leipzig architectural historian Christian Ludwig Stieglitz devoted an entire section to Persepolis and Naqš-e Rūstam but made no reference at all to Susa.⁵³ Six years later, in one of his *Persepolitische Briefe*, addressed to Stieglitz, the German philosopher Johan Gottfried Herder speculated that the citadel (Königsburg) of Susa, the Memnonium, must have been heavily fortified since, during the wars of the Diadochi, it had withstood the attempt of

46- Vincent 1797, 416.

47- Thus Rosenmüller 1823, 309, ‘Die Tradition rückt die Gründung Susas in weit ältere Zeiten hinauf, indem sie dieselbe dem Memnon, einem alten Heroen, zuschrieb, weshalb die Stadt auch Memnonium heißt.’

48- Lassen 1842, 368, ‘die Sagen vom Memnonium beweisen, daß dort früher die Residenz einheimischer Dynastien war.’

49- Potts 2016.

50- Jodrell 1822, 3, Scene II, verse 31.

51- Stoker 1993, 295. Cf. Murphy 1786, 59, ‘Page 28, Xerxes from his *royal chest* issues *three thousand daricks*: words that can be understood by antiquaries only, have no business in tragedy.’

52- Brown 1947, 63.

53- Stieglitz 1792, 123–38.

Antigonus Monophthalmus to gain possession of it⁵⁴ and indeed we know this to have been the case.⁵⁵ As a result of his excavations at Susa, Dieulafoy later extolled the Memnonium or fortress crowning the Acropolis mound as ‘virtually impregnable.’⁵⁶

The Memnonian palace at Susa was identical with ‘Shushan the palace’ or the Apadana

In contrast to the Memnonium, or citadel of Susa, Herodotus referred to the palace as the Memnonia (‘τὰ Μεμνονεῖα’). The image of Susa’s Memnonian palace conveyed by Herodotus seems to have been particularly arresting for Western readers. In 1674 John Milton used it in a famous verse in Book 10 of *Paradise Lost* which makes it the point of departure for Xerxes’ expedition against Greece: ‘So, if great things to small may be compared,/ Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,/ From Susa, his Memnonian palace high,/ Came to the sea, and, over Hellespont/ Bridging his way, Europe with Asia joined,/ And scourged with many a stroke the indignant waves.’⁵⁷

Still, this did not ensure that the physical reality of Susa’s Memnonian palace was credible. Recalling Diodorus’ statement that Memnon ‘erected, upon the citadel at Susa, the palace which endured until the ascendancy of the Persians and which was called the Memnonian palace after him’⁵⁸, Hengstenberg suggested that, as the ancient capital of Elam, Susa had a palace built by Memnon and hence τὰ Μεμνονεῖα, which he believed was the one used by Cyrus when, according to Xenophon, he spent the three winter months there⁵⁹ and which remained in use until the advent of Persian rule, as Diodorus said. While this latter view seems contradicted by the notion that Cyrus used the Memnonian palace, it could be that Diodorus was thereby implying that the Memnonian palace went out of use after Cyrus’ reign, when a new palace was constructed by Darius.⁶⁰ Some writers questioned ‘whether the

54- Herder 1805, 155, ‘Wenn man die Reisebeschreibung Persiens mit Aufmerksamkeit auf ihre Trümmer durchgeht, so wird man allenthalben auf den Gebürgen Gebäude, Schlösser, Burgen und an ihnen Terrassen gewahr, die dahin führten. Auch die Königsburg zu Susa, Memnonium genannt, mußte einen Berg inne haben, da es sich mit seinen Schätzen gegen den Antigonus verthielt.’ Although he later inserted a comment on Susa in his revised and expanded Stieglitz 1837, 94, merely noted, ‘Susa zeigt nur zweifelhafte Ueberbleibsel, die aus einem Haufen von Ziegeln bestehen. Zwei große Hügel zeichnen sich aus, der eine die Burg, der andere der Pallaß genannt, ungefähr einhundert und funfzig Fuß hoch, und einige Studen im Umkreise.’ The source for the denomination of the two mounds as palace and castle was Ker Porter 1821, 412, ‘The people of the country distinguish these two great mounds, by the names of the Castle and the Palace.’

55- Potts 2016b.

56- Dieulafoy 1890, 62, ‘les rois de Suse avaient dès longtemps forifié leurs villes frontières et créé au coeur même de leur capitale une citadelle à peu près inexpugnable, le Memnonium, don’t la renommée parvint jusqu’en Grèce. Cette célèbre forteresse est aujourd’hui connue.’ and n. 3, ‘Au cours des fouilles j’ai eu l’heureuse fortune de mettre à nu la plus grande partie du périmètre fortifié du Memnonium.’

57- Milton, *Paradise Lost* 10.306-311.

58- *Library* 2.22. In reality, there is no trace of a palace on the Acropolis or citadel mound, the site of the Memnonium. Rather, the Achaemenid and almost certainly pre-Achaemenid Elamite palaces stood on the lower (though still elevated) Apadana mound, further north.

59- *Cyropaedia* 8.6.22.

60- Hengstenberg 1831, 45. Cf. Hoeck 1818, 92.

Memnonian palaces of Susa once really existed, or whether they were mere creations of poetic fancy.⁶¹ For Dieulafoy and others, the Memnonium of Susa was not the citadel fortress but rather the Apadana of Darius and his successors, an opinion which seems contradicted by the sources which scrupulously distinguished the Memnonium, i.e. the citadel, from τὰ Μεμνονεῖα, the Memnonian palace.⁶²

Susa was the true site of Memnon's burial

In 1811 Friedrich Jacoby published a study of the tombs of Memnon attested in ancient literature. In contrast to the tombs said to have been on the banks of the Aesepus river in the Troad;⁶³ Palliochis/Phal-liotis,⁶⁴ in Phoenicia; Paltus on the Badas river in Syria;⁶⁵ or near Ptolemais [Acre, mod. Akko] on the Beleus river in Galilee,⁶⁶ Jacoby noted, following Aelian, that the best known and most renowned burial site was at Susa.⁶⁷ Similarly, in his extensive discussion of the Memnon myth and the Susa connection, Georg Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858) pointed out, again in light of Aelian, that when a grieving Aurora carried the corpse of her dead son back from Troy in the west to Susa in the east, it recalled the alterna-

61- Anonymous 1850, 268.

62- Dieulafoy 1888, CCLXXVI, 'Le Memnonium n'avait aucun rapport avec les demeures souveraines découvertes a Kouy-oundjik, Nimroud ou Khorsabad. Il se composait de trois groupes d'appartements distincts, enveloppés chacun dans une enceinte spéciale, mais compris dans la même forteresse' and goes on to describe the apadana and the private apartments, both those of the interior for women (anderoun) and those of the exterior (biroun); and on the final phase of the Memnonium's use: CCLXXXIX, 'La ruine définitive du palais de Suse...postérieure aux luttes d'Eumène, doit correspondre à l'établissement du royaume parthe et aux révolutions qui précédèrent le renversement des Séleucides. Je placerai donc l'abandon définitif du Memnonium, antérieur de quelques années à sa chute, vers la fin du troisième siècle avant J.-C.' Cf. Anthon 1842: 819, contradicted himself when he noted, 'According to Diodorous (2, 22)...Memnon erected at Susa the palace which was afterward known by the name of Memnonium' yet also wrote, 'Herodotus mentions the palace at Susa, called Memnonia, and also says, that the city itself was sometimes described by the same name'. Price 1900, 258, wrote, 'There is no event described in the Old Testament whose structural surroundings can be so vividly and accurately restored from actual excavations as "Shushan the Palace." The discoveries of Dieulafoy have contributed most largely to this result. The Memnonium, or palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon...was the restored palace of Xerxes.'

63- Pausanias 10.31.6, 'the people of the Hellespont say that on stated days every year they [the Memnonides, i.e. birds that rose from the ashes of Memnon's funeral pyre] go to the grave of Memnon, and sweep all that part of the tomb that is bare of trees or grass, and sprinkle it with the water of the Aesepus from their wet things.'

64- Diçtys Cretensis, *The Trojan War* 6.10, 'Memnon's bones came into the hands of those of his men who had stayed on Paphos...Then his sister Himera, or Hemera as some call her after her mother, came to Paphos, looking for the body of her brother. When she found the remains and learned what had happened to the booty, she wanted to recover both. Thereupon, through the influence of the Phoenicians, who composed a majority of Memnon's soldiers there, she was given a choice: she could have either the booty of the bones, but not both. Accordingly, yielding to sisterly affection, she chose the latter; she took the urn and, setting sail carried it off to Phoenicia. When she had come to the part of the country called Phal-liotis, she buried the urn.'

65- Strabo, *Geog.* 15.3.2, 'as Simonides states in his dithyramb entitled *Memnon*, one of his Delian poems.'

66- Josephus, *The Jewish Wars* 2.189, 'At a distance of about two furlongs from the town [Ptolemais] runs the diminutive Beleus; on its bank stands the tomb of Memnon.'

67- Jacoby 1811, 4. Cf. Anonymous 1850, 268–9, 'His tomb was in many places: at Torades, on the banks of the Escpus, where a town bore his name; at Paphos in Cypria, and at Susa. Aurora brought his corpse to the last-named city.'

tion between sunset and sunrise, darkness and light.⁶⁸ Hence an eastern location in Susiana was more plausible in providing the eastern antithesis to the western sunset. In Diodorus' version of the Memnon myth, on the other hand, Memnon's corpse was taken by his Ethiopian troops and burned, after which his bones were brought to Tithonus. For some scholars, like the author of the entry on Memnon in August Pauly's original *Realencyclopädie*,⁶⁹ this tradition and Tithonus' location at Susa was reflected by Herodotus, a fact which explained why Susa was called Memnonian.⁷⁰

In the midst of the ongoing discussion of Memnon's Susian affiliation, Heinrich Hävernick (1811–45) stands out as one of the earliest scholars to recognize that all celebrated cities and states, with which sagas and memories were linked, had foundation stories that could be classified as either mythic or historic.⁷¹ In this regard, he felt, Susa was no exception although Herodotus knew nothing of the founder/builder of Susa, only that it bore the epithet 'Memnonian' which, in his opinion, pointed to the presence there of a Memnonion, i.e. a tomb of Memnon, an attribution given to monuments spread across the length and breadth of both Egypt and the Near East.⁷²

Susa's association with Memnon post-dates Cambyses' conquest of Egypt

Some scholars suggested that Susa's link with Memnon, whom they associated with Egypt, only entered the literature as a result of Egypt's conquest by the Persians under Cambyses.⁷³ Thirlwall argued, for example, that 'the legend that Memnon dwelt at Susa appears to be confirmed by the authority of Herodotus, who repeatedly adds the epithet Memnonian to the name of the city or the palace. But it is still very questionable whether we ought to look upon this as the record of an ancient tradition.... Diodorus (l. 46) relates that the Persians were said to have built or adorned the famous palaces in Persepolis, and Susa, and Media, with the treasures which they carried away from Egypt, and with the aid

68- Creuzer 1819, 461.

69- Identified only as 'K.' Judging by the list of contributors on the title page, this must have been either C. Krafft (Biberach) or J.H. Krause (Halle).

70- 'K' 1846, 1758.

71- Hävernick 1832, 554, 'Was die Erbauung der Stadt anlangt, so zerfallen die Berichte der Klassiker darüber in mythische und historische, wie man an alle hoch gefeierten und durch ihre Besitzer berühmt gewordenen Städte und Staaten gern dergleichen Sagen und Erinnerungen knüpfte.' Hävernick's dense, fifteen-page excursus on Susa and Elam, though ostensibly intended as an elucidation of Susa's place in the Book of Daniel, touched on virtually all points of controversy raised by the Classical sources on the city.

72- I cannot identify any source for the statement in Bouillet 1841, 55, s.v. Memnon, who said the peoples of Susiana mourned Memnon at a temple ('La ville de Suse, bâtie par le père de Memnon, fut appelée ville de Memnon; la citadelle, Memnonium; le palais et les murs, Memnoniens. On bâtit en son honneur un temple où les peuples de la Susiane allaient le pleurer').

73- Anthon 1842, 819, 'The great majority of Greek writers agree in tracing the origin of Memnon to Egypt or Ethiopia; and it is not improbable that the name of Memnon was not known in Susa till after the Persian conquest of Egypt, and that the buildings there called Memnonian by the Greeks were, in name, at least, the representative of those in Egypt.' Cf. Long 1846, 267, 'We cannot help suspecting that the name of Memnon was only known at Susa after the Persian conquest of Egypt, and that the buildings there called Memnonian by the Greeks were, in name at least, the representative of those in Egypt; and this agrees with the tradition mentioned by Pausanias, that Memnon came from Ethiopia, and carried his expeditions as far as Susa.'

of Egyptian artists...and I conceive that this ... satisfactorily accounts for the legend which had become prevalent among the Greeks in the time of Herodotus, that Susa was the abode of Memnon.⁷⁴

The Achaemenid Royal Road is identical to the Memnonian road

Diodorus' statement that Memnon 'built across the land a well-traveled highway that is named the Memnonian road right down to the present day' has attracted considerable notice. Letronne considered the Memnonian road a route across Assyria⁷⁵ whereas Rawlinson suggested that 'the route across the mountains, which is named Jádahi-A'tábeg' and crossed Elymais (eastern Khuzestán), was 'the road of Memnon noticed by Diodorus.'⁷⁶ Later scholars were convinced of the identity of the Memnonian road and the Achaemenid royal road that linked Sardis with Susa, associating this also with Memnon's conquest 'of the territory between Susa and Troy', as related by Pausanias.⁷⁷

Susa's association with Ethiopia reflected Greek geographical concepts

Describing the contingents in the Achaemenid army at Doriscus, Herodotus noted that the 'Ethiopians above Egypt and the Arabians' were part of one command, while the 'Ethiopians of the east (for there were two kinds of them in the army) served with the Indians' and he further noted their external appearance when he wrote, 'the Ethiopians from the east are straight-haired, but they of Libya have of all men the wooliest hair.'⁷⁸ According to Strabo, Homer famously wrote 'that the Ethiopians are "sundered in twain"', but he went on to speculate on 'the absurdity, if Homer, too, was misled by a report...and divided the Ethiopians into two groups, placing the one group in the east and the other in the west, since it was not known whether the intervening people really existed or not?'⁷⁹ Strabo continued, however, that 'the Ethiopians that border on Egypt are themselves, also, divided into two groups, for some of them live in Asia, others in Libya, though they differ in no respect from each other.'⁸⁰

74- Thirlwall 1833, 72-3.

75- Letronne 1833, 71, 'Mais un héros si fameux devait, de toute nécessité, avoir laissé des monuments. En effet, une route en Assyrie portait son nom [Diodorus 2.22]...Grâce à la célébrité du héros, la route de Suse à Troie garda des vestiges de son passage.'

76- Rawlinson 1839: 87, n. ||. Cf. Ritter 1840, 312; Anonymous 1850, 268-9, 'certain it is that Memnon, or some other person whose deeds were ascribed to him, was so famous that the road from Susa to Troy bore traces of his march. In the days of Pausanias they showed in Phrygia the camp where he had rested with his army'; Ainsworth 1890, 24-5.

77- Pausanias 10.31.7. See e.g. Forshaw 1977; Murphy 1989: 29, n. 63; Graf 1995, 168.

78- Herodotus 7.70.

79- Strabo, *Geog.* 1.2.22; 1.2.26. Cf. Murphy 1989: 30, n. 64, 'The confusion over Memnon's simultaneous association with Ethiopia and Susa may reflect very early Greek geographical concepts, which assumed a land connection between Africa and Asia south of the Indian Ocean.'

80- Strabo, *Geog.* 2.3.8.

For Langlès the ancient testimony suggested that the African or Western Ethiopians were originally populated by Eastern Ethiopians from the banks of the Indus river.⁸¹ Broadly agreeing with this, Knobel also suggested that Susiana was an ancient homeland of the Ethiopians, who spread from there to Africa.⁸² George Rawlinson felt that ‘ethnological research is daily adding corroboration’ to the unity of the Ethiopians who dwell ‘along the shores of the Southern Ocean, from India to the pillars of Hercules’, noting that (Elamite) inscribed bricks found along the Persian Gulf coast (i.e. near Bushehr) testified to the Ethiopians who were ‘dominant in Susiana and Babylonia, until overpowered in the one country by Arian, in the other by Semitic intrusion.’⁸³ Spiegel, who followed the same logic, suggested a link between the names ‘C/Kissia’ and Kush.⁸⁴ He further speculated that the ‘non-Aryan (i.e. Elamite) cuneiform of Bisotun, Susa and Persepolis, which had been mistakenly identified as ‘Scythian’ in 1848 by Rawlinson,⁸⁵ belied the presence in southwestern Iran of Egyptian colonies which, in his opinion, was also reflected in Memnon’s frequently cited Egyptian connection and in Nimrod’s identification as a Kushite in Genesis.⁸⁶ Commenting upon Dieulafoy’s excavations at Susa, Ernest Babelon also identified the ‘eastern’ Ethiopia with Elam and this, in his opinion, following Letronne, explained the fact that Memnon’s ‘kingdom’ was located in Susiana.⁸⁷ For Sir Percy Sykes the alleged blackness of Memnon and his Ethiopian connection explained the black pigmentation of some of the Susian guards in the glazed brick friezes excavated by Dieulafoy in the Apadana palace, prompting the suggestion that an

81- Langlès 1795, 166–7, ‘Parmi les anciens il en est d’autres qui, en parlant de Memnon, ont pris l’Éthiopie dans une signification plus étendue, et l’ont portée jusqu’à l’Inde’ and n. 1, ‘Il y a tout lieu de croire que les Indiens partis des bords de l’Indus s’établirent en Afrique au-dessus de l’Égypte, c’est-à-dire dans l’Éthiopie occidentale.’

82- Knobel 1850, 249, Memnon ‘war also ein Aethiopenfürst und wird daher von alten Dichtern niger Memnon, Aethiope und König der Aethiopen genannt. Susiane muß sonach als ein alter Aethiopensitz betrachtet werden. Die Aethiopen waren aber nicht etwa aus Afrika dahin gekommen, wie Spätere annahmen, die nur afrikanische Aethiopen kannten, sondern hatten sich von Osten dahin verbreitet.’

83- Rawlinson 1862, 534. Cf. Tyrwhitt 1868: 521, ‘Bricks of the Susian type and bearing Scythic (Kissian) legends, have been found amid the ruins of *Rishire*, (near Bushire,) and of *Taurie* [Bandar e-Taheri] (*Siraf* of the Arabs); and in all probability, the line of mounds which may be traced along the whole extent of the eastern shores of the Persian gulf, contains similar relics.’

84- Spiegel 1863, 13, ‘griechische Berichte sprechen von Aethiopiern in den Euphrat- und Tigrisländern. Susa galt schon bei Herodot als eine Gründung Memnons, und der Name des östlich von Babylon gelegenen Landes Kissia (nach anderer Lesart gar Kyssia) klingt deutlich an Kusch an.’

85- Rawlinson 1848, 34.

86- Spiegel 1863, 14, ‘Es handelt sich nun zunächst darum, die Herkunft dieser gewöhnlich “scythisch” genannten Völkerschicht näher zu bestimmen, denn der Name scythisch ist viel zu allgemein. Am nächste läge es, an ägyptische Colonien zu denken, da die Genesis den Nimrod einen Kuschiten nennt und die Verbindung, in die Herodot den Memnon mit Susa setzt, gleichfalls auf Aegypten hinzuweisen scheint.’

87- Babelon 1886, 59, ‘we know positively that for the Greeks there were two Ethiopias, one in Asia, beyond the Tigris, that is to say in Elam itself; the other in Africa, at the sources of the Nile. It is hardly necessary to recall the poems of Pindar and Simonides, that sing the fabulous exploits of the black king Memnon, the hero of Asiatic Ethiopia. We will only remark, borrowing the expression of Letronne, that “the kingdom of Memnon was placed in Susiana where his father Tithonos had built Susa; which accords with the tradition followed by Aiskylos”’.

underlying ‘Negrito’ population substratum had previously inhabited southern Iran.⁸⁸

Teutamus and Tithonus reflect historic rulers

Attempts to identify Memnon’s father Tithonus and the Assyrian king Teutamus with historical figures have not been lacking. In the early 19th century Tithonus was identified with the Egyptian king Thon mentioned in the *Odyssey*.⁸⁹ Pursuing the Egyptian connection, it has been observed that the name of Amenhotep III’s father, *Dḥwtj-ms*, “Thoth has begotten him,” was rendered in Greek as *Τούθμωσις* by Manetho, a name which recalls *Τιθωνός*.⁹⁰ Teutamus, too, has been linked with Thutmose/Thothmes, a name held by four rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt.⁹¹ This, however, contradicts all of the sources which consider Teutamus to have been an Assyrian king. In 1957, Heichelheim suggested that Teutamus was a conjunction of the first two names in the Assyrian king list, *Ṭudia* and *Adamu*⁹², who were said to have lived in tents.⁹³

Memnon was an Elamite and his name is based on an Elamite theonym or anthroponym

After the mid-19th century, as work progressed on the decipherment of Elamite, the Memnon myth, with its connection to Susa, was re-examined by Orientalists seeking to demonstrate Memnon’s Elamite origin. Jules Oppert suggested an Elamite etymology for Memnon, corresponding to ‘house of the king’, *Um-man-an-in*.⁹⁴ He later suggested that Memnonium may have been a graecized Elamite Umman Amman, ‘house of the god Amman.’⁹⁵ Dieulafoy seems to have misunderstood Oppert, suggesting that the name Memnon was derived from Memnonium, rather than the other way around.⁹⁶ Billerbeck noted, however, that Weissbach had shown Elamite *anin* did not have the meaning ‘king.’⁹⁷ Later, Georg Hüsing mistakenly attributed the identification of Memnon with Elamite Umman to Billerbeck, acknowledging that the latter was following a suggestion by Oppert. He elaborated, however, noting that, just as Memnon was meant to have been the builder of the Memnonium at Susa, so too was Humban (Umman) Susa’s chief deity (in fact this was Inšušinak). Further, Hüsing suggested that the

88- Sykes 1915, 54.

89- *Od.* 4.219. Cr. Hellanikaos frag. 153; Aelian, *On the nature of animals* 9.21. Anonymous 1825: 495, ‘it is not improbable that Tithonus is the King Thone who is recorded as ruling at Thebes by Homer.’

90- Griffith 1998, 227, 609 F2 [p. 39] *FGrHist*.

91- Tyrwhitt 1868, 520.

92- Heichelheim 1957, 260. For the Assyrian king list see Poebel 1942, Gelb 1954.

93- Yamada 1994, 16, ‘the “tent-dwellers,” a disjointed (not chronologically arranged) list of Amorite tribal-geographical names (and/or possibly the names of tribal leaders), representing the Amorite nomadic origin of Šamši-Adad’s family.’

94- Oppert 1876, 179.

95- Oppert 1877 or 1878, 83, n. 2.

96- Dieulafoy 1890, 54–5, ‘J’indiquerai simplement ici que Memnon vient sans doute de Memnonium, et que Memnonium, comme l’a montré M. Oppert, est une déformation probable des mots susiens *Umman anin*, littéralement “Demeure royale, Palais”.

97- Billerbeck 1893, 166.

name Memnon recalled that of a real Elamite king, roughly contemporary with the Trojan War, namely Humbenumena I, whose later namesakes appear in Assyrian and Babylonian sources as *Ummannenanu* or *Menanu*, from which the Greeks may have derived Memnon.⁹⁸

Explaining the links

Attempts to understand Memnon's relationship with Susa and African Ethiopia have generally fallen into two categories, which might be termed the Egyptian and the Elamite. As Jacobs noted in 1811, those who sought to find plausible historical circumstances for mythological constructs were liable to invoke Assyria as the one power capable of uniting both Susiana and Egypt with Troy. But in fact he went on to criticize this sort of view as simplistic and misguided when dealing with myth.⁹⁹ For some, the Susian origin of Memnon was a dramatic conceit introduced by Aeschylus, seeking to project the East-West, Persian-Greek tensions familiar to his audiences back onto an earlier, Trojan context.¹⁰⁰ For others, the Susian setting of Memnon's building exploits signified that, above all else, Memnon's asso-

98- Hüsing 1917: 47-8, 'Soviel ich weiß, ist es Billerbeck gewesen, der, einem Gedanken J. Opperts folgend, zuerst die Gleichung *Memnon* = *Ummann* ausgesprochen hat. Sie kann sich heute darauf stützen, daß Humban, mit dem Ideogramme *GAL* geschrieben, offenbar der Hauptgott auch von Susa war, als den wir doch Memnon, als Erbauer der Burg, des "Memnoneion", aufzufassen haben....Aber in dem Könige Memnon, der als Bundesgenosse des Priamos nach Ilios zieht, der über Aithiopen und Susianer herrscht, die Burg von Susa erbaut und eine Straße, die seinen Namen trägt, scheint sich doch noch etwas mehr zu verbergen als eine Gottheit. Die Epoche des troischen Krieges, der Zerstörung der Stadt, wird bekanntlich nach Eratoſthenes auf 1184 angesetzt. Die Berechnungen lauteten verschieden, aber hier sind sie gewiß nicht ohne jeden Anhalt aus der Luft gegriffen, und die Frage lag nahe, ob man nicht in Persien erfahren konnte, wann König Memnon regiert habe, denn ob man die anderen Könige noch nach irgend welchen künstlich aufgestellten Listen errechnen konnte, ist mindestens zweifelhaft. Nun regierte in Susa kurz vor der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts König Humbenumena I., der ein bedeutender Bauherr gewesen sein muß, und sein Name wurde später wieder aufgegriffen: es hat mindestens noch einen, vielleicht sogar zwei Könige dieses Namens in neuelamischer Zeit gegeben. Die einheimischen Texte nennen uns einen *Hubanimena*, die assyrischen einen *Ummannenanu*, der 692-688 regierte. Die babylonische Chronik nennt ihn *Menanu*. Das wären die orientalischen Formen des Namens, aus denen bei den Griechen ein *Μεμνων* entstanden sein würde....[Ich will hier vorweg nehmen, daß die örtliche Festlegung der Memnonsage in Elam auch aus nichtgriechischen, von den Griechen unabhängigen Quellen nachweisbar ist, wenigstens inhaltlich, wenn auch ohne den Namen.] Wenn wir uns also fragen, welche elamische Gestalt dem Memnon als Vorbild gedient haben könnte, so bleibt uns nur Humban übrig.' Cf. Henkelman 2008, 354, on 'Georg Hüsing's strange yet intriguing study' – Huban-numena > Memnon.

99- Jacobs 1811, 11, 'Die Oberherrschaft der Assyrier, deren Grenzen so unbestimmt waren, mußte zum Bande dienen, um das entfernte Aethiopien mit Troja, und beydes mit Susa, auf eine scheinbar recht bequeme Weise, zu vereinigen. Diejenigen, welche in dem beunruhigenden Gewirr alter Sagen immer nach einem historischen Faden greifen, den sie gemeinlich für desto fester halten, je ähnlicher er dem Faden der neuern Geschichte ist, werden sich vielleicht bey der Dollmetschung Diodors, welcher dieser Auslegungsart mit einer ganze besonderen Vorliebe huldigt, vollkommen beruhigen.'

100- Thirlwall 1833, 61, 'Æschylus was perhaps the first Greek poet who brought the hero to Troy from Susa; and it is manifest enough why a dramatic poet should have adopted this legend, which gave a new and deeper interest to the combat between Memnon and his Greek antagonist, in preference to any others that he might have heard of. The connexion between Memnon and Susa was so celebrated in the time of Herodotus, probably by means of the drama.'

ciation with ancient Elam had its origins in remotest antiquity.¹⁰¹ Here, it must be stressed, the question is not so much to reconstruct a plausible context for an ancient myth, multiple variants of which patently contended with each other in the works of different authors. Rather, it is to underscore the repeated, long-lived entanglement of Susa, Memnon, Troy, Elam and Ethiopia in the literary tradition of ancient Greece and Rome, and the wide diffusion of these mythic constructs from Greece and Egypt to the conquered East in the post-Alexander era. The mythic constructs that tied Elam and Susa together with Memnon operated on an entirely different level than the political, military or economic ties that bound the disparate regions of the ancient world during the lifetimes of the authors who wrote about them. Yet they were no less ‘real’ than the durable goods that circulated across geo-political boundaries. They are just as much a product of ‘history’ as the *Anabasis* of Arrian or the *Geography* of Strabo. What was ‘true’ in these stories is largely beside the point. The truth lies in their embeddedness in the ancient imagination. They were a reality which modern scholars of Susa and ancient Iran should never ignore, no matter how difficult they are for observers today to integrate into their historical narratives.

101- Goosens 1939, 337, ‘Voilà la première indication sur la patrie de Memnon: il vient de Suse, non d’Égypte, et s’il nous est permis de remonter, par delà Eschyle, jusqu’à Arctinos de Milet, nous devons admettre que dans la tradition primitive Memnon était un Élamite. D’ailleurs au Ve siècle c’est la tradition établie: pour Hérodote, Suse est la “ville de Memnon”, et Ctésias raconte que Memnon fut envoyé au secours de Troie par le roi d’Assyrie Teutamès avec une armée de Susiens et d’Éthiopiens.’

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