

AI KHANUM IN THE FACE OF EURASIAN GLOBALISATION: A TRANS-LOCAL APPROACH TO A CONTESTED SITE IN HELLENISTIC BACTRIA*

MILINDA HOO

Abstract

This paper reassesses the material culture of Ai Khanum, the most important site of Hellenistic-period Bactria, from a trans-local globalisation approach. While ‘Hellenism’ is a commonly cited explanation for cultural change in what is often referred to as ‘The Far East’, it begs the question how particular cultural elements were used and perceived socially on the ground. In rethinking Ai Khanum’s cultural features in the face of ancient globalisation processes that made Eurasia a smaller world, this paper opts for a more dynamic approach to cultural interaction in Hellenistic-period Central Asia by arguing that re-contextualised cultural elements may have served to act out multiple (trans)-local identities according to the social sphere.

The ancient city of Ai Khanum in north-eastern Afghanistan is the most important and most extensively excavated site in Central Asia from the Hellenistic age.¹ At present it is the only monumental city unearthed in Hellenistic-period Bactria out of the ‘thousand cities’ that the land was known for in classical sources (Justin 41. 1, 41. 4; Strabo 15. 1, 11. 11).² Fifteen years of exhaustive excavations by the Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA) under the direction of Paul Bernard in the 1960s and 1970s were cut short by the Soviet invasion and the successive Afghan civil wars, leaving two-thirds of the city unexcavated and unprotected from the ravaging effects of continuous political unrest in the region.³

* This paper is an updated and adapted version of a previously published article in Dutch: Hoo 2015. Very warm thanks to Rolf Strootman, Miguel John Versluys, Josef Wiesehöfer and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful thoughts, comments and suggestions on the draft versions. Many thanks to Rachel Mairs, Julio Bendezu-Sarmiento and the late Paul Bernard for their kindness to allow me to use the figures.

¹ For a general overview and discussion, see, for example, Bernard 1982; 1999; 2012; Rapin 1990; 1994; Mairs 2013; 2014a; Lecuyot 2014; Martinez-Sève 2014; 2015.

² The ancient name of Ai Khanum is not documented in literary sources. Scholars have speculated that Ai Khanum may have been an Alexandria (Alexandria-Oxeiana) or a name-city of one of the Bactrian kings: Diodotopolis (after the first Bactrian dynasty of the Hellenistic period) or Eucratideia (after the last Bactrian dynasty of the Hellenistic period). For a clear discussion on the name and nature of the settlement of Ai Khanum, see Martinez-Sève 2015, 23–25.

³ Bernard 2001. The results of the excavations have been published extensively by the DAFA; the official series *Fouilles d’Ai Khanoum* consists of nine volumes (so far), respectively dedicated to the

Ai Khanum's material culture displays Greek cultural elements alongside and seemingly blended with Mesopotamian, Iranian and Central Asian features. The city has been referred to as a Hellenistic paradigm – a 'Shangri-la of modern scholarship' – serving as a perfect culturally ambiguous case to test the prospects and pitfalls of research on culture contact and interaction in the Hellenistic world.⁴ As the only major Bactrian settlement site on the fringes of the Hellenistic *oikoumene*, Ai Khanum has indeed been given exceptional prominence in the scholarly literature as an exotic example of Hellenism.⁵ Rather than grounding Ai Khanum in its regional context, standard descriptions have tended to emphasise the 'overt Greekness' of the city, appraising the presence of a theatre and a gymnasium as unequivocal evidence of the cultural achievements of Alexander the Great and his Seleucid successors.

Such standard assessments are influenced by a tradition of colonial and wishful thinking. Until the discovery of the site, the intellectual history of the region had been dominated by colonial views of the Greeks in Bactria and India, with clear analogies to British endeavours in India in the 19th century.⁶ Alfred Foucher, DAFA's first director, had been excavating in Afghanistan since the 1920s in a hopeful search for Greek traces in Bactria, which would substantialise the 'missing link' in a presumed line of cultural transmission between the Mediterranean and the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhara.⁷ When Ai Khanum was discovered 40 years later, the city was proudly presented as a 'Greek *polis* in Central Asia' – a true outpost of Hellenism in 'The Far East' and a paradigmatic example of the diffusion and robustness of Greek civilisation after Alexander.⁸

preliminary campaigns of 1965–1968, the *propylaea*, the Temple with Indented Niches, the coins, the ramparts, the gymnasium, the small objects, the palace treasury and the houses. Information in these volumes still has to be supplied by original reports published in *CRAI*, *BEFEO* and *BCH*.

⁴ Holt 1999, 9–14; Mairs 2011, 14–15.

⁵ The reconstruction of the history of Hellenistic-period Bactria was, until the discovery of Ai Khanum, solely based on coinage and fragments in historical sources. For a concise introduction to the intellectual history of Ai Khanum, see Mairs 2014a, 11–26.

⁶ The publications of two important British historians on 'Hellenism in the East' – Edwyn Bevan (1901, 1–20) and William Woodthorpe Tarn who wrote his seminal book *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (1938, cf. Narain 1957 for a direct response and contrasting opinion) – have undoubtedly left their mark on perceptions of Ai Khanum and its material culture. Both authors explicitly asserted a parallel between Alexander the Great's 'civilising' campaigns in the 'barbarian East' and the 19th-century British colonisation of India, expounding the superiority of Western powers over the primitive East.

⁷ Foucher 1927, 118. For an overview of DAFA's history, see Olivier-Utard 1997.

⁸ Bernard 1967a, 77, 91. Bernard has nuanced his opinion in later publications.

Although diffusionist interpretations are still adopted through time, current discussions of Ai Khanum take other cultural elements into account as well. More nuanced assessments now state that Ai Khanum was not a pure Greek city, but rather a Hellenistic or a Graeco-Bactrian one. However, exactly what these denominators stand for and what they mean for matters such as cultural and social identity, is often under-theorised.⁹ This paper aims to rethink Ai Khanum's 'hybrid' East–Western art and architecture and explore how they may have functioned in social contexts. How did local populations experience the 'Greekness' or 'Orientalness' of the city on the ground? Did these questions matter on a daily basis? How can we gain a better understanding of Ai Khanum and the cultural behaviour of its inhabitants? The following sections will delve into Ai Khanum's cultural features and ground them in both a local and trans-regional context through the heuristic lens of globalisation theory.

Ai Khanum on the Oxus

Ai Khanum was strategically located near important trade and caravan routes leading into Iran, India and China, which later would become part of what we now call the Silk Roads. The city commanded considerable military and economic importance as indicated by its locale on the confluence of two focal rivers of Central Asia: the Kokcha and the Amu Darya (the ancient Oxus). These rivers connected the city with the adjacent Kokcha and Kizil Su valleys in the Badakhshan Mountains (the best known source of lapis lazuli in the ancient world), the Pamir-Hindu Kush region in the south-east, the Iranian plateau in the west, and the north-western territories towards the Aral Sea and the Black Sea region.¹⁰ The city itself enjoyed natural protection: it was founded on a triangular plain with a natural 60 m high 'acropolis' that closed off its eastern side, while its western and southern sides were protected by steep 20 m river cliffs.¹¹ Ai Khanum's fertile hinterland further provided the population with important resources; evidence of large networks of irrigation canals indicate that the land was exploited agriculturally since the Bronze Age.¹²

⁹ This has started to change over the past decade: theoretically grounded approaches to Hellenistic Bactria are increasingly adopted, see, for example, publications of Rachel Mairs on ethnic identity in particular.

¹⁰ For the inland waterways that connected Ai Khanum with the Mediterranean and the Black Sea region, see Lerner 2014, 162–64.

¹¹ Leriche 1986.

¹² Gardin and Gentelle 1976, 59–99.

The Site

In its current excavated form, the city dates from the late 4th/early 3rd to the mid-/late 2nd century BC.¹³ Its stratigraphy can roughly be divided into three building phases: a first ‘foundational’ phase in the late 4th/early 3rd century BC, a second extensive building program during which most buildings were built in the mid-to-late 3rd until the early 2nd century BC, and (re)constructions carried out just before the destruction of the city (2nd quarter of the 2nd century BC).¹⁴

Ai Khanum’s urban layout (Fig. 1) is conventionally divided into a sparsely occupied upper city (the ‘acropolis’) and an urban lower city, neither of which conformed to a Hippodamian grid plan, often used for Greek city foundations.¹⁵ The main street cut across the lower city where most buildings were clustered in

¹³ Ceramic, numismatic and archaeological analyses give a fluctuation of 325–300 BC as the beginning date and 145–50 BC as the end date of the city (Lyonnet in Lecuyot 2013, 181). The ‘fall’ of Ai Khanum is often ascribed to nomadic invasions (*cf.* Lerner 2012, 82–85; Mairs 2014a, 91, 146–76; Martínez-Sève 2014, 272 – who emphasises a decline rather than a fall, with the possibility that the local population may have played a role in the city’s destruction). Most scholars stick to an ending date of *ca.* 145 BC, based on the mention of a regnal year 24 in an economic text (IK 65.329 = Rougemont 2012, no. 117) from the city’s treasury (Bernard 1980a, 442–43). Due to the long timespan of 24 years, the document can be connected to king Eucratides of Bactria, whose lengthy reign (in contrast to other Bactrian kings) ended when he was killed by his son, as documented by Pompeius Trogus in Justin (41. 6. 5). Justin (41. 6. 1) records that Eucratides ascended the throne the same year as Mithridates I (170 BC), from which a date of 146/5 BC (170 minus 24 years) can be inferred (for the discussion, see Lerner 2012, 82–83). The *terminus post quem* is supported by a set of coins *in situ*, the youngest amongst which were pieces of Eucratides (Bernard 1985, 97; Holt 2012). Although the date of 145 BC has become conventional in mainstream publications, the consensus is not absolute and has been disputed by various scholars who argue for the city’s demise in the mid- or late 1st century BC rather than the mid-2nd century BC (for example, Narain 1987, 277–82; Lerner 2010, 69–72; 2011). This is supported by archaeological evidence of life after 145 BC, when the city was shortly reoccupied after the first wave of destructions, until the late 2nd to the early or mid-1st century BC (Lerner 2011; 2012, 83–84; Lyonnet 2012, 353; Bernard in Lecuyot 2013, 145–56). There is also no absolute consensus on the founding date of Ai Khanum. While some have proposed that the city was a new foundation by Antiochos I (r. 281–261 BC) based on bronze coins found in the sanctuary and ceramic styles compared to those at the Athenian *agora* (Martínez-Sève 2010a; 2015; Lyonnet 2012, 143–59, 169–70; Lyonnet in Lecuyot 2013, 181–83), others suggest that the city may not have been a new foundation on virgin soil, but a refoundation of an older Achaemenid or perhaps even earlier settlement (Leriche 1986, 24, 71–72; Francfort 2005, 338; Martínez-Sève 2012, 377; Mairs 2013, 100). This position is based on the use of Achaemenid-style ceramics in the oldest building layers, evidence for habitation on the acropolis in the Achaemenid period, the early date of the temples and their Achaemenid analogies and the longevity of the irrigation networks on the hinterland.

¹⁴ Ai Khanum’s chronology is not uncontested, as reflected in the above footnote. The three building stages mentioned here are general trends discernible in Ceramic Periods I–VIII (I–III, IV–VI and VII–VIII respectively), as established by Lerner 2003–04 and Lyonnet 2012, 147–55. It should be kept in mind that different buildings derive from different phases, and that our view of Ai Khanum in its entirety stems only from the last building phase.

¹⁵ For example, Dura Europos, Apameia and Antioch in Syria (see Demir 2004). We should however be careful not to attach too much cultural meaning to the absence of ‘Greek’ grid-planning.

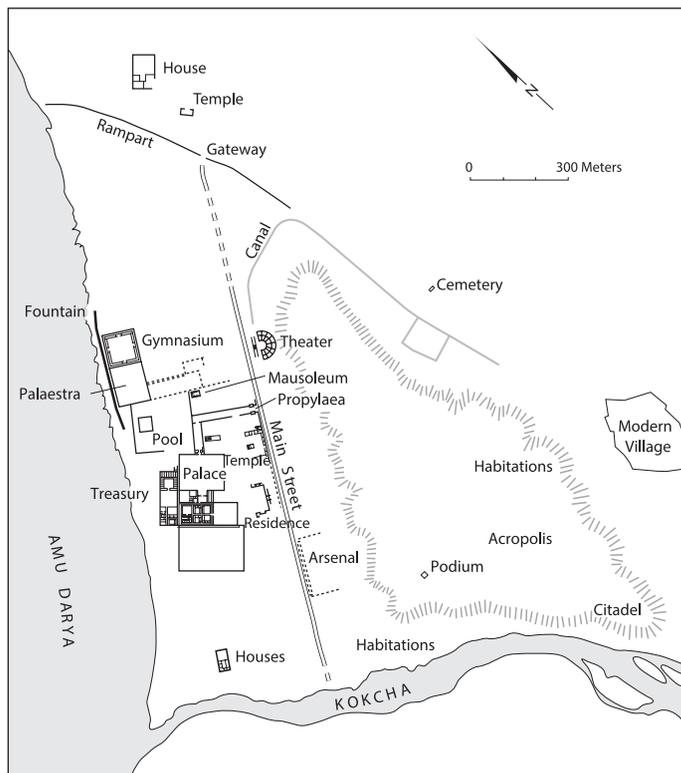


Fig 1: Map of Ai Khanum (after Holt 1999/Mairs 2014).

uneven lines. The theatre, the main temple, a large residence and the arsenal were accessible from and aligned to the main street. The excavators further unearthed monumental gates (*propylaea*) that led to a large administrative complex, two mausolea and a gymnasium. Houses and habitations were uncovered in the southern district, near the mausoleum and the main sanctuary, on the acropolis and outside the northern city walls.

The Theatre and the Gymnasium

The presence of a gymnasium and a theatre – two structures often seen as emblematic of the Greek lifestyle and *paideia* – led to the popular assumption that Ai Khanum had been a Greek city *pur sang*.¹⁶ Although the buildings have obvious

Mutatis mutandis, the presence of a Hippodamian grid plan at Sirkap (Taxila, Pakistan) for instance should neither be seen as proof of Greekness (see Mairs 2009).

¹⁶ For example, Karttunen 1997, 278; Holt 1999, 44; Martinez-Sève 2012, 381. Cf. Traina 2005, 2, who comments that ‘Greek cities’ cannot be treated as a homogeneous category.

similarities with Greek theatres and gymnasia, both reveal unusual traits. They were constructed from local sun-dried mud-brick instead of stone, and their enormous dimensions suggest that they accommodated people from the whole region.¹⁷ The theatre had a strict orthogonal ground plan and its *koilon* contained three elevated spacious lodges symmetrically arranged halfway up slope, which possibly functioned as honorary seats for the leading aristocracy.¹⁸ Both the perpendicular angles and the spacious benches are features that rarely occur in conventional Greek theatres. The gymnasium (Fig. 2) also displayed architectural peculiarities: its square ground plan was exceptionally symmetrical and, instead of a peripteral column gallery, the courtyard was surrounded by an uninterrupted circumambulatory corridor.¹⁹ Significant to note here is that both buildings were only constructed in the last building phase of the city (first half of the 2nd century BC), and thus appeared considerably late in Ai Khanum's urban landscape.²⁰

The Central Complex

The central administrative complex is often identified as a palace because of similarities in function and plan with palaces in ancient Mesopotamia and Iran under the Achaemenids.²¹ The compound was constructed from local sun-dried mud-brick, and limestone for the columns. It housed a large Corinthian columned peristyle courtyard (Fig. 3a) which gave access to different rooms through a hypostyle portico supported by three rows of Doric columns (Fig. 3b).²² Behind the portico were clusters of rooms, divided from one another by a distinct system of long corridors that regulated access to and circulation in between the different spaces. There were two residential quarters adorned with pebble mosaic tiled bathrooms (Fig. 3f, and the adjoining quarter on its right), a cluster of administrative rooms (Fig. 3c), a smaller Doric columned peristyle courtyard (Fig. 3d) and a treasury with several storerooms (Fig. 3e). Here, Greek and Aramaic administrative vase inscriptions have

¹⁷ Bernard 1978, 431–32. Limestone was available in the region; the choice to construct the theatre from mud-brick instead of stone may therefore have been socially significant.

¹⁸ Bernard 1978, 431–32, 435. The theatre is not fully published.

¹⁹ Bernard 1976a, 293, 297; Veuve 1987, 23, 33.

²⁰ The theatre dates to the 1st half of the 2nd century BC based on ceramic fragments in its embankment (Bernard 1978, 437), while the gymnasium (in its function as such) dates to end of the second quarter of the 2nd century BC (Veuve 1987, 102) and was left unfinished. The 'gymnasium' structure was only recognisable as a gymnasium in the latest phase of the building's existence; prior to that, the building seems to have served domestic purposes, as indicated by the presence of bathrooms and kitchens in phases III–V (Bernard 1978, 429; Veuve 1987, 57–58, 107–08; Lecuyot 2013, 198).

²¹ For example, the palaces at Persepolis, Susa, Babylon and Dura Europos (see Bernard 1976b, 252–57; Downey 1986, 33–35; Mairs 2014a, 75–82).

²² For the central complex and its inner organisation, see Bernard 1971, 385–406; 1978, 444–61.

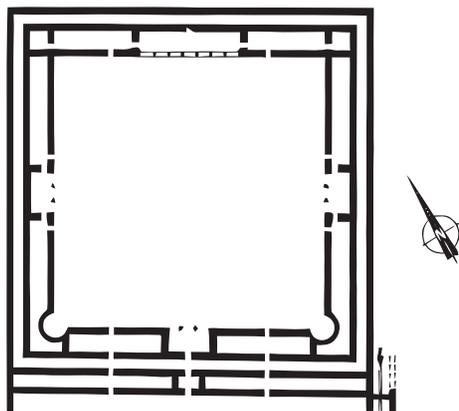


Fig 2: Plan of the northern part of the gymnasium (J.-C. Liger).

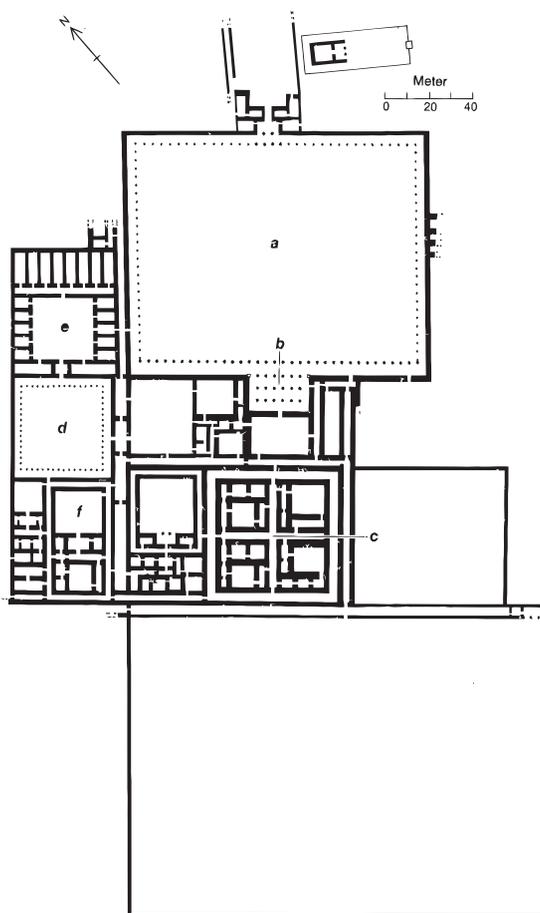


Fig 3: Plan of the central complex (J.-C. Liger).

been unearthed which mention both Greek and Iranian names (for example Oxoboakes, after the local river, the Oxus), as well as Greek literary fragments.²³

Domestic Architecture

The houses at Ai Khanum – located in the southern district, outside the northern city walls and within the central complex – date to the last architectural phase of the city (first half of the 2nd century BC) and were constructed from local sun-dried mud-brick.²⁴ They were built according to roughly the same ground plan (Fig. 4), which does not conform to Mediterranean models where the courtyard functioned as a central space providing equal access to and from different units of the house. Instead, the houses consisted of an open-air courtyard oriented towards the north, which functioned as a forecourt that gave privileged passage to and from the living units of the house through a two-columned porch.²⁵ These units were organised in a modular structure comparable to the layout in the palace, with long and narrow corridors regulating access to and circulation between the different rooms.

Religious Structures

The religious structures of Ai Khanum – an extramural temple, the main temple on the main street and an open-air podium on the acropolis – all date to the earliest building phase of the city. In architecture and style they feature elements of Mesopotamian and Iranian temples.²⁶ They were constructed from local mud-brick, were oriented towards the sun, had flat roofs, and were raised on high platforms with

²³ Bernard 1978, 450–60; Grenet 1983, 377–78; Rapin *et al.* 1987, 232–34. For a recent discussion of Ai Khanum's documentary texts, see Mairs 2016. The Greek literary fragments concern a philosophical tractate on papyrus, reminiscent of a Platonic dialogue, and a text of a theatre play on parchment, written in iambic trimeter or in choliambic verse, often used in Greek comedy plays (Rapin *et al.* 1987, 249–59). It is possible that the texts were locally produced at Ai Khanum (Lerner 2003, 50). The western room (no. 107) on the south side of the treasury in which the texts were found may have functioned as a royal library, as suggested by Bernard 1978, 458; Rapin *et al.* 1987, 259–65.

²⁴ Bernard 1976a, 289–93; Lecuyot 2013, 193–97, 214, fig. 73. These houses mostly concern mansions and stately residences. There were also other habitations, dated from the late 3rd or early 2nd until the 1st century BC (Lecuyot 2013, 211). These were located in a domestic quarter in the north and south of the main sanctuary, in the deeper layers of the gymnasium, along the main street, on the acropolis, and in a 'post-Greek' domestic quarter between the Kineas mausoleum and the palace, and have only been photographed aerially, surveyed or partially excavated. These houses had more modest proportions (apart from the residence along the main street) and do not seem to have followed a structured ground plan (Lecuyot 2013, 197–99).

²⁵ Lecuyot 2013, 193–95, fig. 73.

²⁶ Bernard 1969, 334–37; 1990, 51–54; Rapin 1992, 111–14; Downey 1988, 67; Shenkar 2011, 128; Mairs 2013, 97–99.

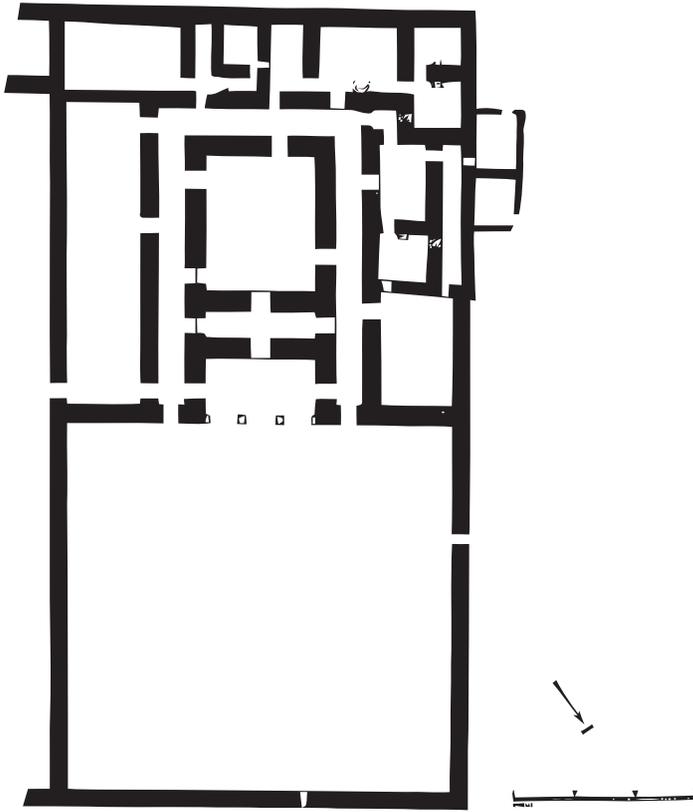


Fig 4: Plan of a house in the southern district (J.-C. Liger).

monumental staircases. The acropolis podium possibly housed an open-air cult, a common form of worship in Iranian and Central Asian religions.²⁷ The two temples – both prominently located along the main street and close to the entrance gate – followed the same ground plan (Fig. 5) with a vestibule leading to the main chamber which was flanked by two small side chapels. The massive exterior walls were decorated with triple indented niches, a distinctive feature that gave the main temple its archaeological name: *le temple à niches indentées*. This temple is one of the oldest buildings in Ai Khanum, dating to the late 4th or early 3rd century BC.²⁸

Several objects found in and around the main temple have led to significant debate on the deity and the cult practices. Ivory furniture fittings, plaster casts and

²⁷ Bernard 1990, 54; Rapin 1992, 106–08; Boyce and Grenet 1991, 181–83.

²⁸ Bernard 1971, 430. For a full discussion on this temple, see Mairs 2013; Martinez-Sève 2010a.

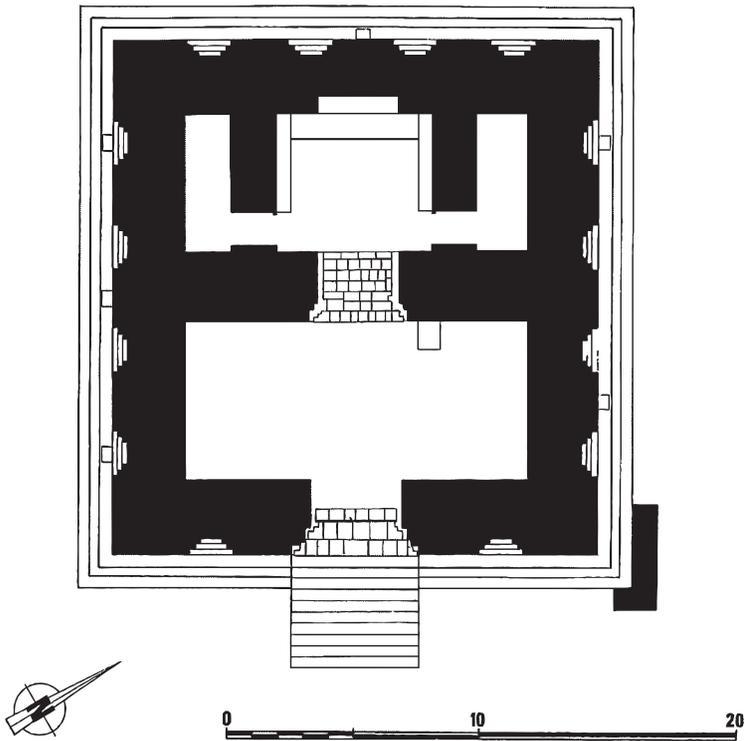


Fig 5: Plan of the temple with indented niches (J.-C. Liger).

marble fragments of a sandaled foot of the cult statue, all in Greek form and style, are often connected to the worship of a Greek deity.²⁹ The sandal was decorated with a winged thunderbolt, which may point to Zeus or a syncretistic form thereof.³⁰ Other objects, however, point to a variety of cult practices – of which some are recognised as Iranian.³¹ Mud-brick altars, limestone pedestals and locally produced *pyxides* made of schist were found throughout the sanctuary, as well as ivory and terracotta figurines of animals, fertility goddesses and Persian horsemen in Asiatic and Persian style; large clay sculptures and plaster casts of human figures were found in the vestibule; and a silver plate with the Anatolian goddess Kybele

²⁹ Bernard 1969, 340; 1970, 327; Francfort 1984, 18, 35–37.

³⁰ For example, Zeus-Ahura Mazda (Bernard 1970, 327), Zeus-Mithra (Grenet 1991; Boyce and Grenet 1991, 162–65; Rapin 1992, 120) or Zeus-Oxus (Martinez-Sève 2010b, 13; 2014a, 248). The cult of the local fluvial god Oxus is attested elsewhere at the site Takht-i Sangin along a tributary of the Oxus in southern Tajikistan, some 150 km west of Ai Khanum.

³¹ Coloru (2009, 277) connects these Iranian practices with the veneration of Zeus-Mithras.

was found in one of the side chapels.³² At the backside of the temple ‘non-Greek’ libation vessels were buried dating from the first until the third phase of the temple, indicating continued practice of chthonic rituals common among Indo-Iranian tribes across Central Asia.³³

Mausolea

Like the temples, the two mausolea near the central complex were built on a high podium reminiscent of Iranian practice, yet following a Greek ground plan with a vestibule preceded by a two-columned portico (*pronaos distyle in antis*).³⁴ Only one mausoleum has been thoroughly excavated, wherein a Greek inscription on a stele was found from the mid-3rd century BC.³⁵ The inscription records that a man named Klearchos had copied the Delphic maxims and brought them ‘here, to the sanctuary of Kineas’.³⁶ Like the temples, the Kineas mausoleum dates to the earliest construction period (the late 4th or early 3rd century BC) which led many scholars to assume that Kineas was the founder-hero (the *oikist*) of Ai Khanum.³⁷ Significant to note here is the fact that the inscription dates to the mid-3rd century BC and was thus placed after the mausoleum itself was built.

From Hellenisation to Globalisation

Ai Khanum’s ‘eclectic’ material culture of mixed styles and elements can be interpreted in different ways along different trends within the Hellenisation debate. This debate revolves around the notion of Hellenisation or Hellenism – often used interchangeably to refer to the spread of Greek culture and its adoption by non-Greek people – as an explanation for cultural change in situations of cultural contact.³⁸ The discourse on the nature of Hellenism has changed through time, specifically concerning the direction of cultural changes, the target object (what Hellenises?) and the agency of local populations in these processes.³⁹ Scholars

³² Bernard 1969, 329; Francfort 1984, 14–29, 39–47, 81–84, 93–104.

³³ Bernard 1970, 327–30; 1971, 427; Canepa 2013, 331.

³⁴ Bernard 1967b, 310.

³⁵ Robert 1968, 422; Mairs 2014b, 115.

³⁶ IK 65.382 = Rougemont 2012, no. 97a. Of the inscribed Delphic maxims (IK 65.383) only the last couplet has survived (IK 65.384 = Rougemont 2012, no. 97b). See Robert 1968, 427–29.

³⁷ Robert 1968, 431–32, 442.

³⁸ In general it can be said that the Hellenisation debate follows the rapid trends of the more vigorous debate concerning its equally controversial sister-term Romanisation – a debate which in turn is influenced by trends in the social sciences (for a concise overview and discussion, see Versluys 2014). Although both terms are modern concepts, scholars have difficulty to abandon the terms.

³⁹ For concise historiographic overviews of the Hellenisation debate, see, for example, Rossi 2011; Mairs 2012; Strootman 2012.

have acknowledged the ethnocentric inadequacies of the colonial paradigm that maintained Hellenisation as ‘an inevitable outcome of mere contact between ‘barbarians’ and ‘civilised’ Greeks’ – a statement which required no further explanation.⁴⁰ The term has been reevaluated and redefined as a process that did not concern unidirectional acculturation (diffusion from A to B and assimilation of B to A’s culture with the Greeks as politically dominant and therefore culturally civilising power) but rather a multidirectional interactive process in which local populations actually had an active role in the adoption and transformation of Greek cultural elements. This reactionary counterapproach is characteristic for the postcolonial school of the 1980s and 1990s that argued that scholars should nuance Greek influences and focus on continuities to highlight native agency.⁴¹

Alternative Postcolonial Models

Although this specific approach is still influential within ancient studies, a commonly cited criticism is whether thinking in binary terms of ‘Greek’ (dominant/coloniser) versus ‘non-Greek’ (subaltern/native) brings us anywhere beyond the ethnocentric bias. Since the 1990s a series of alternative concepts emerged that aim for a more productive way of thinking than the strict coloniser–native dichotomy. Popular concepts are hybridity, middle ground, syncretism and creolisation, which all roughly try to explain cultural interaction by focusing on the social dynamics of cultural mixture: what happens *socially* when cultures mix?⁴² In asking this question, the focus shifts from cultural imperialism and determinism to cultural creativity, social functionality and the changing meaning of cultural elements.

Although these concepts take an important step forward, a critical point is that they oppose while *simultaneously* presuppose the existence of authentic cultural entities that are associated with a certain ethnic group, situated in a certain geographical area and assumed to have a certain homogeneous cultural (re)production.⁴³ When we assume the existence of hybridity we necessarily accept the existence of non-hybridity; a hybrid culture implies the mixture of two or more non-hybrid and therefore pure cultures.⁴⁴ As a result, an essentialist notion of purity is unconsciously reproduced

⁴⁰ Dietler 1998, 296–98. See also J. Hall 2003, 24–25; Traina 2005, 1.

⁴¹ See, for example, contributions in Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987, particularly Millar 1987 and van der Spek 1987; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1993, especially 141–87.

⁴² For hybridity, see Bhabha 1994; Young 1995. For middle ground, see White 1991. For syncretism, see Stewart 1999. For creolisation, see Deagan 1983; L. Ferguson 1992. For how these concepts relate to one another in archaeological practice, see Liebmann 2013.

⁴³ Jones 1997, 40–55.

⁴⁴ Friedman 1997, 82–83: ‘hybridity is founded on the metaphor of purity.’ See also Young 1995, 25; Friedman 1999, 234–36; Nederveen Pieterse 2001, 226; Bhabha 2004, 210. It should be noted that a ubiquitous notion of hybridity is described here, deprived from the political semantic substance

while in reality cultures are not pure at all; no culture is original or ethnically or geographically limited.⁴⁵ Although they are often reified as such by both emic outsiders and etic agents, all cultures are inherently emergent as social constructs and historically subject to constant change through interactions with, adaptations to and influences from 'outside'.⁴⁶ Thinking in terms of fixed cultural containers however, persists.

Globalisation and Culture

Globalisation theory seems to overcome this paradox.⁴⁷ With regards to culture, globalisation pertains to increasing connectivity, de-territorialisation, constant disjuncture and continuous change, rather than blocks of authentic cultures that clash or mix.⁴⁸ There are several definitions of globalisation. In simple terms, it can be described as social 'processes by which localities and people become increasingly interconnected and interdependent'.⁴⁹ Cultural, social and geographical distances become smaller because of increasing mobility (made possible by economic and technological progress), resulting in the awareness of being part of a rapidly widening world that becomes progressively smaller in mind.⁵⁰ Structurally, this means that globalisation facilitates the proliferation of situations, possibilities and means to express and identify oneself socially or culturally: trans-regionally, regionally and locally.⁵¹

Whereas hybridity and other theories of cultural amalgamation presume the mixture of authentic cultures from which a hybrid form emerges, globalisation theory takes up an entangled approach to culture, starting from *inherently hybrid* cultures that influence and are influenced in trans-cultural ways.⁵² Within the globalisation narrative cultures are fluid and trans-local as they are constructed in context from socio-historically relevant cultural elements that circulate in trans-regional webs of cultural entanglements and possible cultural meanings. Their reification on the

in Bhabha's work which specifies the term's use for colonial contexts in which indigenous peoples mimic the culture of the colonisers as a counterhegemonic action, resulting in ambivalent ('hybrid') cultural production. Liebmann 2013 is a good example of an analysis using 'hybridity' that stays close to Bhabha's original use of the term. For recent criticisms on the weaknesses of hybridity, see Stockhammer 2012; 2013; Pappa 2013; Silliman 2013; 2015; Palmié 2015.

⁴⁵ Stockhammer 2013, 12.

⁴⁶ S. Hall 1989, 225; Bhabha 2004, 55.

⁴⁷ Globalisation should not be seen as a uniform theory, but as several threads of theories in interdisciplinary discussions about globalisation. This paper only articulates how globalisation (theory) is viewed here and which of its threads are relevant for this particular subject.

⁴⁸ Harvey 1989; Giddens 1990; Appadurai 1990; Tomlinson 1999.

⁴⁹ Pitts and Versluys 2015, 11.

⁵⁰ Robertson 1992; Harvey 1989, 201–10, 240; Giddens 1990, 14–21.

⁵¹ Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 70–75; Tomlinson 1999, 27–31.

⁵² Nederveen Pieterse 2009, 70–73, 83–87.

ground as 'local' culture only comes into being in specific socio-historical and spatial contexts.⁵³ Cultures can thus be seen as temporary products of continuous socially constituted processes of appropriation, adaptation and transformation. In this light, no culture is finished, pure or authentic.

The Paradox of Globalisation

Cultures are not only constituted in constant cultural appropriation, they also have an enabling potential to mobilise and disseminate particular cultural influences. This dynamic is central to globalisation processes, generating a pull-and-push tension between, on the one hand, influential cultural currents (techniques, language, iconographies, fashion styles, etc.), and on the other the appropriation of specific elements from those currents in local contexts. The awareness of a wider world impacts and informs which particular cultural elements become 'globalised' as cultural currents, as well as the potential selection, adoption and reinterpretation of 'globalising' cultural elements as re-authenticated features of local society.⁵⁴

Therefore, in contrast to what is often thought, globalisation does not entail a 'triumph of culturally homogenizing forces' that obliterate local cultures or local histories.⁵⁵ The global enables and is enabled by the local, and *vice versa*; rather than conflicting opposites, the 'universalisation' of particular culture and the 'particularisation' of universal culture form a continuum as complementary and interpenetrative processes of globalisation.⁵⁶ 'Globalising cultures' are created from influential regional and local cultural elements, while local cultures are created through the

⁵³ Robertson (1995, 35) calls this the 'invention of locality', similar to Hobsbawm's concept of the invention of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, *passim*). See also Appadurai 2005, 178–99.

⁵⁴ Appadurai 1990; 2005; Friedman 1990; 1995; 2002; Hahn 2008; Whitmarsh 2010. The localisation of the global is what distinguishes globalisation theory from Wallerstein's World Systems Theory (1974). The latter focuses solely on the global macro-scale and is therefore structurally overdetermined in emphasising the central role of the core through which a necessary centre-periphery narrative is maintained and perpetuated.

⁵⁵ Robertson 1995, 25. M. Ferguson (1992, 79–82) addresses global cultural homogeneity as one of the 'myths of globalisation'. See also Appadurai 1990; Hannerz 1992a. Cf. Tronchetti and Van Dommelen (2005, 203), who dismiss the term in a short final note as an overarching neo-colonialist structure not suited to analyse local contexts.

⁵⁶ Robertson 1992, 97–114, especially 100; 1995, 30–31; Tomlinson 1999, 1–27; Friedman 2001, 30–34; Harvey 1989, 275. Appadurai (1990, 307) rightly emphasises that the 'globalization of culture is not the same as its homogenization, but globalization involves the use of a variety of instruments of homogenization... which are absorbed into local political and cultural economies, only to be repatriated as heterogeneous dialogues.' Additionally, Hannerz (1992b) points out that 'global culture' is by no means homogeneous, because flows of goods, objects and meanings are mediated through asymmetrically organised channels.

appropriation and re-contextualisation of regional and globalising cultural elements.⁵⁷ The globalisation narrative thus highlights both the wider macro-context, i.e. how particular local cultural elements can be known and shared across vast distances, as well as how those ‘globalising’ elements can be appropriated and ‘made local’ in a variety of micro-contexts in which their earlier meanings may no longer be relevant, adhered to, or even known.⁵⁸

Globalisation and Hellenism

How, then, does this affect the notion of Hellenism, and how can a globalisation approach help to rethink Ai Khanum’s material culture? Within traditional colonial and postcolonial Hellenisation paradigms it is tempting to relate material culture to the ethnic make-up of the city. The Greek institutions in the city centre (the theatre, the gymnasium and the mausoleum of Kineas with the Delphic inscription) could easily be seen as an expression of Greekness. Ai Khanum would have been a Greek colony, founded with the permission of the oracle of Delphi, with a population of ethnic Greek settlers ruling over native populations;⁵⁹ its society ethnically segregated, multicultural or a hybrid diaspora community resulting from intermarriage and integration of later generations.⁶⁰

However, the culture-historical conflation of material culture and ethnicity is highly flawed and has been criticised by many as inadequate.⁶¹ Ethnic identity is not a sum total of similarities (and differences) in cultural traits, but rather a contextual affiliative self-construction that can be preserved in spite of cultural changes. People can claim to be ethnically different while practising the same culture as their acclaimed ethnic ‘others’, as well as expressing themselves differently in terms of culture while ascribing to the same ethnicity.⁶²

⁵⁷ This is also called ‘glocalisation’, which concerns local and global push-and-pull tensions, the effects of which are felt locally as well as globally. Robertson 1992 was the first who appropriated the term ‘glocalisation’ – used in Japanese marketing business (Robertson 1995, 28) – for social sciences.

⁵⁸ Friedman 1990, 314. Cultural objects and elements can thus build up a ‘biography’ of life stages (i.e. contexts) in which they move into or out of, each stage (context) defining the identity and valuation of the object or element. This may be built on identities or valuations of the object or element in earlier ‘life stages’, depending on the extent of knowledge that the user/producer holds about these earlier stage(s) and whether or not he chooses to select associative elements thereof (see Kopytoff 1986; Appadurai 1986).

⁵⁹ For example, Martinez-Sève 2014, 278–80; Holt 1999, 40–46.

⁶⁰ For example, Holt 2005, 154–64; Mairs 2008; Martinez-Sève 2012.

⁶¹ Jones 1997, 15–39, 106–27.

⁶² As Brubaker (2002, 164) rightly points out, (ethnic) groups are not ‘real, substantial things-in-the-world’, but a perspective on the world. The focus of analysis should therefore not be on groups

Viewed in the wider context of Central Asia during the Hellenistic period – a time of accelerated and intense mobility, interaction and connectivity across Eurasia – it can be questioned to what extent Ai Khanum’s Greek- or ‘hybrid’-looking culture also entailed a Greek or ‘hybrid’ identity discourse of its inhabitants.⁶³ How ethnically laden was the use of cultural Greek elements, and to what extent were these (still) connected to a Mediterranean motherland? How much of its original significance did Delphi still hold for Ai Khanum’s inhabitants?⁶⁴ How do the peculiarities of the gymnasium and the theatre, the non-Greek houses and, especially, the non-Greek temples fit into the picture of Ai Khanum as a Greek colonial settlement? What did Greek, Mesopotamian or Iranian-looking architecture mean to its users and producers in a strategic, interconnected city such as Ai Khanum?

Hellenism and other -isms

When we take up an alternative globalisation approach to the cultural ‘mixture’ at Ai Khanum, the focus shifts to the social dynamics and practices behind cultural appearances. Rather than connecting ‘Central Asian Hellenism’ necessarily with a Greek ‘motherland’ and the diffusion of Greek culture and (ethnic) Greek settlers, through which the fusion of colonist and native cultures simply happens, the globalisation narrative urges to think outside the cultural box and take up a semiotic approach to what we perceive as Greek (and any other) culture.⁶⁵ In the Romanisation debate the notion of appropriation of Greek culture(s) by ‘local Romans’ to express ‘Romanitas’ *without assimilating to a Greek ethnic identity* is long acknowledged.⁶⁶ Already in the 1970s it was proposed that Hellenisation (in the Roman period) should not be seen as the spread of Greek culture through political actions of hierarchical acculturation, but instead as the ‘free-masonry of workshops’ in which an ‘international’ group of specialists used Greek artistic models without the intention of Hellenising (acculturating) themselves.⁶⁷ For these specialists, it was

(i.e. substantial entities attributed with interest and agency) but on the ‘processes through which categories are used by individuals to make sense of the social world’ (Brubaker 2002, 170).

⁶³ Mairs 2014a, 185–86.

⁶⁴ Mairs 2014b, 113–15. Mairs argues that the Delphic connection is indeed an invention of tradition: the inscription did not mention that Ai Khanum was a Delphic colony or that Kineas went to Delphi to ask the oracle for permission to establish a colony. It only named Klearchos, who installed the inscription at Ai Khanum only after the city and the mausoleum were built. This might mean that there was a tendency or a need in the mid-3rd century BC, to express oneself in ‘Greek’ terms to be seen on both the regional and ‘international’ stage. See the paragraph below.

⁶⁵ Especially when it concerns material culture (see Stek 2013; Versluys 2013; 2014; van Oyen and Pitts 2017).

⁶⁶ For example, Hölscher 1987; Mattingly 1997; Wallace-Hadrill 1998. However, *Romanitas* still remains a contested term.

⁶⁷ Veyne 1979, 3.

argued, Hellenisation meant civilisation: to Hellenise was a voluntary and selective process to adhere to good international manners, free from ethnic associations.⁶⁸

More recently a semantic distinction between Hellenisation and Hellenism has been proposed – between being or becoming Greek and *doing* Greek – which allows for cultural code-switching without changing ethnic identity:⁶⁹

Hellenisation is about culture contact between different regions and thus about the *inter-cultural*. Hellenism is about concepts associated with those cultures and applied to a different region and/or time period and thus about the *intra-cultural*. Hellenism, in other words, is always and inherently about social imaginary and about cultural memory. Hellenism, therefore, primarily belongs to the field of cultural production.⁷⁰

Consequently, *Hellenisation* involves (the colonisation or diaspora of) ethnic Greek ‘transmitter’ agents, whereas *Hellenism* refers to ‘Greek’ as cultural means to a social end, as a specific cultural concept adopted, reinterpreted and reused as an associative source of social value by agents who are not necessarily Greek.⁷¹ Redefined as such Hellenism is more about appropriative *social* transformation than the continuity of an essential cultural idea of Greekness.⁷² Taking up a globalisation narrative, the Eurasian landmass can then be seen as one world of cultural entanglement, in which cultural processes take place on an intra-cultural level (within the same cultural sphere) rather than an inter-cultural one (between different monolithic cultures), and localities are formed through intra-cultural appropriation and re-contextualisation of trans-local elements. This approach leaves room not only for the possibility of coexisting and overlapping Hellenisms, but also for potential social code-switching between different cultural ‘-isms’ available.⁷³

⁶⁸ Veyne 1979, 3–8, cited after Versluys 2017, 211. A comparable view is offered by Invernizzi 2012 on Hellenism in the East, although he still assumes that these artists were necessarily Greek in ethnic origin.

⁶⁹ Versluys 2015; 2017, 209–13.

⁷⁰ Versluys 2015, 128.

⁷¹ For an elaborate assessment of these and related concepts, see Strootman and Versluys 2016, 16–21. As they point out, there can be many different and differing ‘Hellenisms’, which makes context key (Strootman and Versluys 2016, 9–10). See also Strootman 2014a, 7–11; Versluys 2010; 2013.

⁷² Traina 2005, 11; Martinez-Sève 2016, 104–06. Hellenism in the sense of ‘doing Greek’ was already known in ancient times. In 2 *Maccabees* 4:9–13, for instance, we read about Jews (non-Greeks) who act in ‘Greek ways’ on initiative of the High Priest Jason. Nevertheless, ‘Greek-doings’ are still labelled and recognised by modern scholars as Greek in essentialist terms, necessarily entailing ethnic Greek people.

⁷³ Versluys 2013, 434–36.

Ai Khanum in its (Trans)locality

Within a globalisation framework, all cultures are inherently hybrid because they are historically constructed in a conjunction of constant appropriation and transformation. It can be questioned therefore, to what extent the etically perceived ‘Greekness’ or ‘Orientalness’ of Ai Khanum’s material culture, was not already an appropriation of ‘globalising’ (i.e. transregionally shared and known) cultural elements that were re-authenticated as local and functioned in specific social spheres.⁷⁴ We do not know much about Ai Khanum before the 2nd century BC as our image of the city in its entirety stems from the last building phase, prior to which localisation and potential de-contextualisation processes had been set in motion since at least a century before. It is therefore more constructive to view these elements in their local, regional and trans-regional contexts, rather than to focus on the geographical provenance of the cultural elements and the ethnic groups which they supposedly represent.

Leaving aside ethnicity, one can state that the inhabitants of Ai Khanum deemed Greek-looking cultural elements suitable for the civic sphere (visible in buildings as the theatre, the gymnasium, the mausoleum, the Kineas inscription and the literary fragments); Mesopotamian and Iranian cultural elements for the religious and dynastic sphere (as seen in the temples and the palace); and Central Asian and Iranian elements for the domestic sphere.⁷⁵ The propriety of these elements, or why *these* particular elements have been chosen to be adopted to these contexts, may have been mediated and informed through the intensification of trans-regional trade, communication and connectivity under the Seleucid kings and the Achaemenids before them. The Seleucid rulers instigated the profound integration of localities and civic elites across Eurasia by developing new forms of high culture and political ideology which affected the specific cultural media used for peer polity interaction among these elites, who gained stature in performing (elements of) trans-regionally shared civic culture.⁷⁶ In this period therefore, ‘Hellenism’ may have developed to function as trans-regionally (and locally) recognised civic culture, as reflected in the context, use and date (2nd century BC) of most of the buildings at Ai Khanum in which Greek elements are discernible, in order to express (associative) power, civic

⁷⁴ Versluys (2013, 434–36; 2017, 241–48) calls this ‘cultural scenarios’.

⁷⁵ These spheres are, of course, etic constructs (*categories of analysis* as opposed to *categories of practice*, to speak in Brubaker’s terms) which would be more difficult to distinguish in ancient reality where the lines between the religious, the political and the domestic were often blurred and entangled (Brubaker 2002, 165–67). It should therefore be emphasised that these spheres should not be seen as absolute categories, but as loose analytical groupings of social contexts, which could overlap in practice, as reflected in the Kineas mausoleum (which arguably belongs to both the civic and religious spheres).

⁷⁶ Ma 2003, 25–27; Strootman 2014b, 52–54.

status and social distinctiveness within as well as beyond the locality.⁷⁷ Along the same lines the Mesopotamian and Iranian-looking architecture in Ai Khanum's religious and dynastic spheres, which seem to be older than the 'Greek' elements, may have resulted from local appropriations of 'globalising' Mesopotamian and Iranian-looking elements shared across Eurasia. This can be historically grounded in the sustained Achaemenid rule over Middle Eastern, Iranian and Central Asian lands, subjecting the vast region between Asia and Europe to accelerating processes of communication, trans-regional integration and cultural negotiation.⁷⁸

Greek, Mesopotamian and Iranian do not refer to *ethnic* Greek, Mesopotamian (Persian) or Iranian, but to *cultural* Hellenism, Mesopotamianism and Iranism as trans-regionally shared concepts of social expression, which may or may not have been imbued with ethnic significance.⁷⁹ The cultural elements could have been appropriated from a repertoire 'globalising' cultural elements, mediated by the vast Eurasian empires of the Achaemenids and the Seleucids. This local-making re-authenticating process of social integration can explain the peculiar features of Ai Khanum's seemingly 'Greek' and 'Oriental' buildings: the lodges in the theatre, the northern orientation of the houses, the southern orientation of the temples, the long circulating and space-regulating corridors of the gymnasium, the palace, the houses and the overall use of sun-dried mud-brick.

These distinctive traits can be considered as those local elements that made the material culture of Ai Khanum typically Bactrian.⁸⁰ This notion of Bactrianism should not be seen as another synonym for nativism; in the face of Eurasian globalisation i.e. accelerating trans-regional integration processes through which the trans-local constituted the local and *vice versa*, the nature of this Bactrianism can be described as a specific trend of Eurasian localism. Ai Khanum's distinctive features make sense if we position them in regional and trans-regional contexts. A palatial structure unearthed at Saksanokhur in south Tajikistan dated to the mid-2nd century BC, was built with the same ground plan, materials and architectural decorations as the palace at Ai Khanum.⁸¹ Here, movement, circulation and access

⁷⁷ The use of 'Hellenism' (as doing Greek) as 'a supranational form of culture ... in the light of a more cosmopolitan world view' (Strootman 2014a, 9), i.e. as both an imperial and civic culture employed by local elites to communicate with the Seleucid imperial court, and their peers from other communities across the Hellenistic world, as well distance themselves from socially inferior groups in their home communities, has been argued extensively by Rolf Strootman. See especially Strootman 2013, 71–73; 2014a, 7–11, 163–64, 267; 2014b, 54–56; 2016.

⁷⁸ The mediation of Achaemenid influence has been pointed out earlier by Mairs 2013, 100–03.

⁷⁹ See also Strootman and Versluys 2016.

⁸⁰ Mairs 2014a, 99–100.

⁸¹ Litvinskii and Mukhitdinov 1969, 174–75; Mairs 2014a, 79–82.

were similarly regulated by long, narrow corridors. Domestic comparanda are present at Dilberjin in north Afghanistan, Dalverzin Tepe in south Uzbekistan, Nisa in south Turkmenistan, Abu Qubur in Iraq and the residential quarters at the Saskanokhur palace, all of which contained structures similar to the houses at Ai Khanum, with a layout of a forecourt oriented to the north and living quarters that were crisscrossed by circumambulatory corridors.⁸² Close analogies with Ai Khanum's religious structures can be found in Mesopotamia (particularly the temples of Zeus and Artemis at Dura Europos, and the temple of Assur in Babylonia), as well as in Bactria, such as the temples at Dilberjin in north Afghanistan and Takht-i Sangin in south Tajikistan, both dating to the Hellenistic period, and two open-air podia at Kok-Tepe and Pashmak-Tepe in south-eastern Uzbekistan from the Achaemenid period.⁸³ These regional (Central Asian) and trans-regional (Mesopotamian) analogies may reflect a historically constituted *koine*: a cultural '*lingua franca*' of architectural traditions trans-regionally shared across Hellenistic-period Eurasia.⁸⁴

Conclusion: Eurasian Localism

The idea of overlapping regional and trans-regional *koines* seems to have more explanatory and analytical value than simplistic Hellenisation as acculturation or hybridisation interpretations. Rather than focusing on Ai Khanum as 'a Greek polis', it is more constructive to view Ai Khanum as the result of local choices and selections from a repertoire (a set of possibilities to make meaning) of globalising cultural elements that were trans-regionally shared across Eurasia and locally appropriated. The appropriated cultural elements could be imbued with ethnic significance, as well as serving multiple social, political, religious and cultural agendas, depending on the social scenario.⁸⁵ Hellenism may be considered as one of the globalising cultural codes which was deemed suitable to act out civic status and distinction while Mesopotamianism, Iranism and Bactrianism may have been considered appropriate to serve more communal purposes in the dynastic,

⁸² Francfort 1977, 267–80; Kruglikova 1977, 409; Bernard 1980b, 320–30; Lecuyot 2013, 201–05, figs. 78, 79.

⁸³ Kruglikova 1977, 410; Bernard 1990; Hannestad and Potts 1990, 95–96; Rapin 1992, 111–13; Canepa 2013, 340–42; Mairs 2014a, 75–89.

⁸⁴ Canepa (2013, 340–42), Mairs (2013, 102; 2014a, 79–81, 98–101) and recently Martínez-Sève (2016, 105) have argued earlier for a cultural *koine*. For the sustained incorporation/integration of Central Asia in a 'global' Hellenistic *koine*, see Strootman 2016; Wenghofer forthcoming.

⁸⁵ This does not mean that ethnic Greeks were not present at all, but that we have to take other agents into account as well – agents who may have code-switched between multiple ethnic and cultural identities according to the social sphere.

religious and domestic spheres respectively. It is clear that Ai Khanum should not be seen as a city in isolation of which its different cultural elements can directly be connected to an ethno-geographic motherland. The city's material culture was also not purely local, but simultaneously local, regional and trans-regional through its Eurasian connectedness. Ai Khanum's *Eurasian localism* shows not only that its population was socially engaged with the wider Eurasian world, but also that trans-regional cultural elements were appropriated, re-contextualised and made local according to the social sphere.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- IK 65* F. Canali Di Rossi, *Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente: Un repertorio* (Bonn 2004).
BEFEO *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient*.

- Appadurai, A.** 1986: 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value'. In Appadurai, A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge), 3–64.
 —. 1990: 'Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy'. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7, 295–310.
 —. 2005: *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis/London).
Bernard P. 1967a: 'Ai Khanum on the Oxus: A Hellenistic City in Central Asia'. *ProcBrAc* 53, 71–95.
 —. 1967b: 'Deuxième campagne de fouilles d'Ai Khanoum en Bactriane'. *CRAI* 111.2, 306–24.
 —. 1969: 'Quatrième campagne de fouilles à Ai Khanoum'. *CRAI* 113.3, 313–55.
 —. 1970: 'Campagne de fouilles 1969 à Ai Khanoum en Afghanistan'. *CRAI* 114.2, 300–49.
 —. 1971: 'La campagne de fouilles de 1970 à Ai Khanoum'. *CRAI* 115.2, 385–453.
 —. 1976a: 'Campagne de fouilles 1975 à Ai Khanoum', *CRAI* 120.2, 287–322.
 —. 1976b: 'Les traditions orientales dans l'architecture gréco-bactrienne'. *JAs* 264, 245–75.
 —. 1978: 'Campagne de fouilles 1976-1977 à Ai Khanoum'. *CRAI* 122.2, 421–63.
 —. 1980a: 'Campagne de fouilles 1978 à Ai Khanoum'. *CRAI* 124.2, 435–59.
 —. 1980b: 'Une nouvelle contribution soviétique à l'histoire des Kushans: la fouille de Dal'verzintépé (Ouzbékistan)'. *BEFEO* 68, 313–48.
 —. 1981: 'Problèmes d'histoire coloniale grecque à travers l'urbanisme d'une cité hellénistique d'Asie centrale'. In *150 Jahre Deutsches Archäologisches Institut 1829–1979. Festveranstaltungen und Internationales Kolloquium 17.–22. April 1979 in Berlin* (Mainz), 108–20.
 —. 1982: 'An Ancient Greek City in Central Asia'. *Scientific American* 246, 126–35.
 —. 1985: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum IV: Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire grécobactrienne* (Paris).
 —. 1990: 'L'architecture religieuse de l'Asie centrale à l'époque hellénistique'. In *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988* (Mainz), 51–59.
 —. 1999: 'The Greek kingdoms of Central Asia'. In Harmatta, J., Puri, B.N. and Etemadi, G.F. (eds.), *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. The development of sedentary and nomadic civilizations: 700 B.C. to A.D. 250* (Delhi), 99–131.
 —. 2001: 'Ai Khanoum en Afghanistan hier (1964–1978) et aujourd'hui (2001): un site en péril. Perspectives d'avenir'. *CRAI* 145.2, 971–1029.
 —. 2012: 'Ai Khanum: A Greek Colony in Post-Alexandrian Central Asia, or How to Be Greek in an Oriental Milieu'. In Aruz, J. and Fino, E.V. (eds.), *Afghanistan: Forging Civilisations along the Silk Road* (New York), 42–53.

- Bevan, E. 1902: *The House of Seleucus* (London).
- Bhabha, H.K. 2004: *The Location of Culture* (London/New York).
- Boyce, M. and Grenet, F. 1991: *A History of Zoroastrianism 3: Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman Rule* (Leiden).
- Brubaker, R. 2002: 'Ethnicity without groups'. *European Journal of Sociology* 43, 163–89.
- Canepa, M.P. 2013: 'The Transformation of Sacred Space, Topography, and Royal Ritual in Persia and the Ancient Iranian World'. In Ragavan, D. (ed.), *Heaven on Earth: Temples, Ritual, and Cosmic Symbolism in the Ancient World* (Chicago), 319–72.
- Coloru, O. 2009: *Da Alessandro a Menandro : Il regno greco di Battriana* (Pisa/Rome).
- Deagan, K. 1983: *Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community* (New York).
- Demir, A. 2004: 'The urban pattern of Antakya streets and houses'. In Cabouret, B., Gatier, P.-L. and Saliou, C. (eds.), *Antioche de Syrie : Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique* (Lyons), 221–38.
- Dietler, M. 1998: 'Consumption, Agency and Cultural Entanglement. Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter'. In Cusick, J.G. (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology* (Carbondale), 288–315.
- Downey, S.B. 1986: 'The Citadel Palace at Dura Europos'. *Syria* 63, 27–37.
- . 1988: *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture: Alexander through the Parthians* (Princeton).
- Ferguson, L. 1992: *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650–1800* (Washington, DC).
- Ferguson, M. 1992: 'The Mythology About Globalization'. *European Journal of Communication* 7.2, 69–93.
- Foucher, A. 1927: 'La Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (octobre 1922–novembre 1925)'. *CRAI* 71.2, 117–23.
- Francfort, H.-P. 1977: 'Le plan des maisons gréco-bactriennes et le problème des structures de "type megaron" en Asie Centrale et en Iran'. In Deshayes, J. (ed.), *Le Plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique: Leurs relations à la lumière des documents archéologiques* (Paris), 267–80.
- . 1984: *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum III: Le sanctuaire du temple à redans. Les trouvailles* (Paris).
- . 1985: 'Asie Centrale'. In Briant, P. and Boucharlat, R. (eds.), *Archéologie de l'empire achéménide: Nouvelles recherches* (Paris), 313–52.
- Friedman, J. 1990: 'Being in the World: Globalization and Localization'. *Theory, Culture and Society* 7, 311–28.
- . 1997: 'Global Crises, the Struggle for Cultural Identity and Intellectual Porkbrelling: Cosmopolitans versus Locals, Ethnics and Nationals in an Era of De-hegemonisation'. In Werbner, P. and Modood, T. (eds.), *Debating Cultural Hybridity. Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism* (London), 70–89.
- . 1999: 'The Hybridization of Roots and the Abhorrence of the Bush'. In Featherstone, M. and Lash, S. (eds.), *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World* (London), 230–56.
- . 2002: 'From roots to routes: Tropes for trippers'. *Anthropological Theory* 2.1, 21–36.
- Gardin, J.C. and Gentelle, P. 1976: 'Irrigation et peuplement dans la plaine d'Aï Khanoum, de l'époque achéménide à l'époque musulmane'. *BEFEO* 63, 59–110.
- Giddens, A. 1990: *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge).
- Grenet, F. 1983: 'L'onomastique iranienne à Aï Khanoum'. *BCH* 107, 373–81.
- . 1991: 'Mithra au temple principal d'Aï Khanoum?'. In Bernard, P. and Grenet, F. (eds.), *Histoire et cultes de l'Asie centrale préislamique. Sources écrites et documents archéologiques* (Paris), 147–51.
- Hahn, H.P. 2008: 'Diffusionism, Appropriation, and Globalization: Some Remarks on Current Debates in Anthropology'. *Anthropos* 103, 191–202.
- Hall, J.M. 2003: "'Culture" or "Cultures"? Hellenism in the late sixth century'. In Dougherty, C. and Kurke, L. (eds.), *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture: Contact, Conflict, Collaboration* (Cambridge), 23–34.

- Hall, S. 1989: 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora'. *Framework* 36, 222–37.
- Hannerz, U. 1992a: *Cultural Complexity* (New York).
- . 1992b: 'The Global Ecumene as a Network of Networks'. In Kuper, A. (ed.), *Conceptualising Society* (London), 34–56.
- Hannestad, L. and Potts, D.T. 1990: 'Temple architecture in the Seleucid kingdom'. In Bilde, P., Engberg-Pedersen, T., Hannestad, L. and Zahle, J. (eds.), *Religion and Religious Practice in the Seleucid Kingdom* (Aarhus), 91–124.
- Harvey, D. 1989: *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford).
- Hobsbawm, E.J. and Ranger, T.O. (eds.) 1983: *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge).
- Hölscher, T. 1987: *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System* (Heidelberg).
- Holt, F.L. 1999: *Thundering Zeus: The Making of Hellenistic Bactria* (Berkeley).
- . 2005: *Into the Land of Bones: Alexander the Great in Afghanistan* (Berkeley).
- . 2012: 'When Did the Greeks Abandon Ai Khanoum?'. *Anabasis* 3, 161–72.
- Hoo, M. 2015: 'Maanvrouwe aan de Oxus. Bactrisch Ai Khanoum als casus voor globalisering in de oudheid'. *Tijdschrift voor Mediterrane Archeologie* 54, 34–40.
- Invernizzi, A. 2012: 'Remarks on the Intercultural Encounters in the Hellenized Orient'. *Parthica* 14, 89–108.
- Jones, S. 1997: *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present* (London/ New York).
- Karttunen, K. 1997: *India and the Hellenistic World* (Helsinki).
- Kopytoff, I. 1986: 'The Cultural Biography of Things'. In Appadurai, A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge), 64–95.
- Kruglikova, I. 1977: 'Les fouilles de la mission archéologique soviéto-afghane sur le site gréco-kushan de Dilberdjinn en Bactriane'. *CRAI* 121.2, 407–27.
- Kuhrt, A. and Sherwin-White, S. (eds.) 1987: *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander* (London).
- . 1993: *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* (Berkeley).
- Lecuyot, G. 2013: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum XI: L'habitat* (Paris).
- . (ed.) 2014: *Il y a 50 ans... la découverte d'Ai Khanoum, 1964–1978: Fouilles de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (DAFA)* (Paris).
- Leriche, P. 1986: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum V: Les remparts et les monuments associés* (Paris).
- Lerner, J.D. 2003: 'The Ai Khanoum Philosophical Papyrus'. *ZPE* 142, 45–51.
- . 2003–04: 'Correcting the Early History of Āy Kānom'. *AMIran und Turan* 35–36, 373–410.
- . 2010: 'Revising the Chronologies of the Hellenistic Colonies of Samarkand-Marakanda (Afghanistan II–III) and Ai Khanoum (Northeastern Afghanistan)'. *Anabasis* 1, 58–79.
- . 2011: 'A Reappraisal of the Economic Inscription and Coin Finds from Ai Khanoum'. *Anabasis* 2, 103–47.
- . 2012: 'Eastern Bactria under Da Yuezhi Hegemony'. In Jayaswal, V. (ed.), *Glory of the Kushans: Recent Discoveries and Interpretations* (Delhi), 79–86.
- . 2014: 'On the Inland Waterways from Europe to Central Asia'. *AWE* 13, 155–74.
- Liebmann, M. 2013: 'Parsing Hybridity: Archaeologies of Amalgamation in Seventeenth Century New Mexico'. In Card, J.J. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture* (Carbondale), 25–49.
- Litvinskii, B. and Mukhitdinov, K. 1969: 'Antichnoe gorodishche Saksanokhur (Yuzhnyi Tadzhikistan)'. *SA* 2, 160–78.
- Lyonnet, B. 2012: 'Questions on the Date of the Hellenistic Pottery from Central Asia (Ai Khanoum, Marakanda and Koktepe)'. *ACSS* 18.1, 143–73.
- Ma, J. 2003: 'Peer Polity Interaction in the Hellenistic age'. *Past and Present* 180, 9–40.
- Mairs, R.R. 2009: 'The "Greek Grid-Plan" at Sirkap (Taxila) and the Question of Greek Influence in the North West'. In Willis, M. (ed.), *Migration, Trade and Peoples* (London), 135–47.
- . 2011: *The Archaeology of the Hellenistic Far East: A Survey* (Oxford).

- . 2012: 'Hellenization'. In Bagnall, R.S., Brodersen, K., Champion, C.B., Erskine, A. and Huebner, S.R. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (Malden, MA/Oxford).
- . 2013: 'The "Temple with Indented Niches" at Ai Khanoum: Ethnic and Civic Identity in Hellenistic Bactria'. In Alston, R., Van Nijf, O.M. and Williamson, C. (eds.), *Cults, Creeds and Identities in the Greek City after the Classical Age* (Leuven), 85–117.
- . 2014a: *The Hellenistic Far East: Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia* (Oakland).
- . 2014b: 'The Founder's Shrine and the Foundation of Ai Khanoum'. In Mac Sweeney, N. (ed.), *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies. Dialogues and Discourses* (Philadelphia), 103–28.
- . 2016: 'New Discoveries of Documentary Texts from Bactria: Political and Cultural Change, Administrative Continuity'. In Derda, T., Lajtar, A. and Urbanik, J. (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrology* (Warsaw), 2037–61.
- Martinez-Sève, L.** 2010a: 'À propos du temple aux niches indentées d'Aï Khanoum. Quelques observations'. In Carlier, P. and Lerouge, C. (eds.), *Paysage et religion en Grèce antique* (Paris), 195–207.
- . 2010b: 'Pouvoir et religion dans la Bactriane hellénistique. Recherches sur la politique religieuse des rois séleucides et gréco-bactriens'. *Chiron* 40, 1–27.
- . 2012: 'Les Grecs d'Extrême Orient: communautés grecques d'Asie Centrale et d'Iran'. *Pallas* 89, 367–91.
- . 2014: 'The Spatial Organisation of Ai Khanoum, a Greek city in Afghanistan'. *AJA* 118.2, 267–83.
- . 2015: 'Aï Khanoum and Greek Domination in Central Asia'. *Electrum* 22, 17–46.
- . 2016: 'Aï Khanoum: Échanges et résistances'. In Espagne, M., Gorshenina, S., Grenet, F., Mustafayev, S. and Rapin, C. (eds.), *Asie centrale: Transferts culturels le long de la Route de la soie* (Paris), 97–114.
- Mattingly, D.J.** (ed.) 1997: *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism: Power, Discourse and Discrepant experience in the Roman Empire* (Portsmouth, RI), 7–26.
- Millar, F.** 1987: 'The Problem of Hellenistic Syria'. In Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987, 110–33.
- Narain, A.K.** 1953: *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford).
- . 1987: 'Notes on Some Inscriptions from Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)'. *ZPE* 69, 272–82.
- Nederveen Pieterse, J.** 2001: 'Hybridity, So What? The Anti-Hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition'. *Theory, Culture and Society* 18, 219–45.
- . 2009: *Globalisation and Culture: Global Mélange*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD).
- Olivier-Utard, F.** 1997: *Politique et Archéologie. Histoire de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (1922–1982)* (Paris).
- Palmié, S.** 2013: 'Mixed Blessings and Sorrowful Mysteries: Second Thoughts about "Hybridity"'. *Current Anthropology* 54, 463–82.
- Pappa, E.** 2013: 'Postcolonial Baggage at the End of the Road: How to Put the Genie Back into its Bottle and Where to Go from There'. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28.1, 21–42.
- Pitts, M. and Versluys, M.J.** 2015: 'Globalisation and the Roman World: perspectives and opportunities'. In Pitts, M. and Versluys, M.J. (eds.), *Globalisation and the Roman World: World History, Connectivity and Material Culture* (Cambridge), 3–31.
- Rapin, C.** 1990: 'The Greeks in Afghanistan: Ai Khanoum'. In Descœudres, J-P. (ed.), *Greek Colonists and Native Populations* (Oxford), 329–42.
- . 1992: 'Les sanctuaires de l'Asie centrale à l'époque Hellénistique: état de la question'. *Etudes de Lettres* 4, 101–24.
- . 1994: 'Ai Khanoum and the Hellenism of Bactria'. In Cimino, R.M. (ed.), *Ancient Rome and India: Commercial and Cultural Contacts between the Roman World and India* (Delhi), 197–203.
- Rapin, C., Hadot, P. and Cavallo, G.** 1987: 'Les textes littéraires grecs de la Trésorerie d'Aï Khanoum'. *BCH* 111.1, 225–66.
- Robert, L.** 1968: 'De Delphes à l'Oxus, inscriptions grecques nouvelles de la Bactriane'. *CRAI* 112.3, 416–57.

- Robertson, R. 1992: *Globalization. Social Theory and Global Culture* (London).
- . 1995: 'Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity-Heterogeneity'. In Featherstone, M., Lash, S. and Robertson, R. (eds.), *Global Modernities* (London), 25–44.
- Rossi, R. 2011: 'Introduction: From Pella to Gandhara'. In Kouremenos, A., Chandrasekaran, S. and Rossi, R. (eds.), *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East* (Oxford), 1–9.
- Rougemont, G. 2012: *Corpus inscriptionum Iranicarum 2: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian periods of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*, vol. 1. *Inscriptions in non-Iranian Languages 1: Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale* (London).
- Shenkar, M. 2011: 'Temple Architecture in the Iranian World in the Hellenistic Period'. In Kouremenos, A., Chandrasekaran, S. and Rossi, R. (eds.), *From Pella to Gandhara: Hybridisation and Identity in the Art and Architecture of the Hellenistic East* (Oxford), 117–39.
- Silliman, S.W. 2013: 'What, Where, and When Is Hybridity?'. In Card, J.J. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture* (Carbondale), 486–500.
- . 2015: 'A requiem for hybridity? The problem with Frankensteins, purées, and mules'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 15.3, 277–98.
- Stek, T. 2013: 'Material Culture, Italic Identities and the Romanisation of Italy'. In DeRose Evans, J. (ed.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic* (Malden, MA/Oxford), 337–53.
- Stewart, C. 1999: 'Syncretism and Its Synonyms: Reflections on Cultural Mixture'. *Diacritics* 29.3, 40–62.
- Stockhammer, P.W. 2012: 'Questioning Hybridity'. In Stockhammer, P.W. (ed.), *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach* (Berlin/Heidelberg), 1–3.
- . 2013: 'From Hybridity to Entanglement, from Essentialism to Practice'. In Van Pelt, W.P. (ed.), *Archaeology and Cultural Mixture* (Cambridge), 11–28.
- Strootman R. 2012: 'A Western Empire in the East? Historiographical Approaches to the Seleucid Empire and the Cultural Boundaries of Modern Europe'. (Unpublished discussion paper, available on Academia.edu).
- . 2013: 'Babylonian, Macedonian, King of the World: The Antiochos Cylinder from Borsippa and Seleucid Imperial Integration'. In Stavrianopoulou, E. (ed.), *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images* (Leiden), 67–97.
- . 2014a: *Courts and Elites in the Hellenistic Empires: The Near East After the Achaemenids, c. 330 to 30 BCE* (Edinburgh).
- . 2014b: 'Hellenistic Imperialism and the Idea of World Unity'. In Rapp, C. and Drake, H. (eds.), *The City in the Classical and Post-Classical World: Changing Contexts of Power and Identity* (Cambridge/New York), 38–61.
- . 2016: 'Imperial Persianism: Seleukids, Arsakids, and Fratarakā'. In Strootman, R. and Versluys, M.J. (eds.), *Persianism in Antiquity* (Stuttgart), 169–92.
- Strootman, R. and Versluys, M.J. 2016: 'From Culture to Concept: The Reception and Appropriation of Persia in Antiquity'. In Strootman, R. and Versluys, M.J. (eds.), *Persianism in Antiquity* (Stuttgart), 7–30.
- Tarn, W.W. 1938: *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge).
- Tomlinson, J. 1999: *Globalization and Culture* (Cambridge).
- Traina, G. 2005: 'Notes on Hellenism in the Iranian East (Classico-Oriental Notes, 6–8)'. *Iran and the Caucasus* 9.1, 1–14.
- Tronchetti, C. and Van Dommelen, P. 2005: 'Entangled Objects and Hybrid Practices: Colonial Contacts and Elite Connections at monte Prama, Sardinia'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 18.2, 183–209.
- van der Spek, R.J. 1987: 'The Babylonian City'. In Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987, 57–74.
- van Oyen, A. and Pitts, M. (eds.) 2017: *Materialising Roman Histories* (Oxford/Philadelphia).
- Versluys, M.J. 2010: 'Understanding Egypt in Egypt and Beyond'. In Bricault, L. and Versluys, M.J. (eds.), *Isis on the Nile: Egyptian Gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Leiden), 7–36.

- . 2013: 'Material Culture and Identity in the Late Roman Republic (c. 200–c. 20)'. In DeRose Evans, J. (ed.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic* (Malden, MA/Oxford), 429–40.
- . 2014: 'Understanding objects in motion. An archaeological dialogue on Romanisation'. *Archaeological Dialogues* 21, 1–20.
- . 2015: 'Haunting Traditions. The (Material) Presence of Egypt in the Roman World'. In Boschung, D., Busch, A.W. and Versluys, M.J. (eds.), *Reinventing "The Invention of Tradition"?* (Paderborn), 127–58.
- . 2017: *Visual Style and Constructing Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Cambridge).
- Veuve, S.** 1987: *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum VI : Le gymnase. Architecture, céramique, sculpture* (Paris).
- Veyne, P.** 1979: 'The Hellenisation of Rome and the Question of Acculturations'. *Diogenes* 27, 1–26.
- Wallace-Hadrill, A.** 1998: 'To be Roman, Go Greek. Thoughts on Hellenisation at Rome'. In Austin, M., Harries, J. and Smith, C. (eds.), *Modus Operandi: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman* (London), 79–91.
- Wallerstein, I.** 1974: *The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (New York/London).
- Wenghofer, R.** forthcoming: 'Rethinking the Relationship between Hellenistic Bactria and India to the Seleucid Empire'. In Erickson, K. and McAuley, A. (eds.), *War Within the Family: The First Century of Seleucid Rule* (Swansea/Oxford).
- White, R.** 1991: *The Middle Ground. Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge).
- Whitmarsh, T.** 2010: 'Thinking local'. In Whitmarsh, T. (ed.), *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World: Greek Culture in the Roman World* (Cambridge), 1–16.
- Young, R.** 1995: *Colonial Desire. Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London).

Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel
 Institut für Klassische Altertumskunde
 Graduate School "Human Development in Landscapes"
 Leibnizstr. 3, 24118 Kiel
 Germany
 mhoo@gshdl.uni-kiel.de