with a bandeau which served also for a sling. The contrast with the passage in Diodorus betrays a difference of attitude on the part of the original narrators: Eumenes' companions were enjoying themselves, Alexander's were not. But it also serves to underline the very real contrast between summer and winter conditions; and it is thus easier for us to understand the hardiness that was an essential part of the Persian character.

VI. THE EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE

The names of peoples who composed the Achaemenid empire are listed in Old Persian texts and in Herodotus.

The oldest of the Persian lists is that in the preamble of the Behistun inscription (about 520 B.C.). The word with which Darius introduces it is *dahyāva*, which is taken to mean districts or lands; and it is mainly lands that are named in this first list (e.g. Pārsa = Persis). But on the façade of his tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam and on those of his successors the names appear as ethnics (e.g. *iyam Pārsa* = "this is the Persian"), and there each name refers to an individual figure in the relief of dais-bearers, so that the dahyāva are seen to correspond to peoples of distinctive dress and physical appearance. Darius' original list is as follows: Pārsa (Persis); Ūvja (Elam, Herodotus' "Kissian land"); Bābairuš (Babylon); Athurā (i.e. "Assyrians");[1] Arabāya (Arabia); Mudrāya (Egypt); *tayaiy drayahyā* ("who are at/in the sea"); Sparda (Sardis); Yaunā ("Ionians" = Greeks); Māda (Media); Armina (Armenia); Katpatuka (Cappadocia);[2] Parthava (Parthia); Zranka (Drangiana, no doubt the people called "Sarangai" in Herodotus); Haraiva (Areia); Uvārazmīy (Chorasmia); Bākhtriš (Bactria); Sugda (Sogdiana); Gandāra (Paruparaēsan(n)a in the Babylonian and Elamite);[3] Sakā (Sakai, Scyths);[4] Thataguš (land of Herodotus'

[1] Herodotus (VII. 63) speaks of the "Assyrioi" in Xerxes' army who were so called "by the barbarians"; but he seems in general to include the Babylonians in the term.

[2] Herodotus himself calls the Cappadocians by the name "Syrioi" but says (VII. 72) that the Persians call them "Kappadokai". The proposal to identify Katpatuka with Cataonia, and not Cappadocia, is therefore misconceived.

[3] Gandāra has recently been identified with Kandahar. The origin of the name Kandahar is quite uncertain; for we have no means of choosing between the three derivations that have been proposed (Alexandria, Gondopharron, and, by a conjectural migration of the name, Gandāra). But it is clear that Kandahar cannot have been in the dahyāuš of Gandāra because its situation on the Argandāb (Arachotos) river places it securely in Arachosia, which is a separate dahyāuš (Harauvatiš) (see below, p. 249).

[4] Sakā, and Yaunā are plurals in Old Persian, the inhabitants denoting the country.

Sattagydai); Harauvatiš (Arachosia); Maka. In all, twenty-three dahyāva: excluding Pārsa twenty-two.

There are changes in later lists, both in the order of citation (Māda and Ūvja being next to Pārsa, and the eastern lands generally coming higher up), and by the addition of new names which bring the total up to 30 or 31.[1] Hi(n)duš (Sind) appears for the first time, and Asagarta (Herodotus' Sagartioi) for the only time, in Darius Persepolis e; Putāyā (Libyans?), Kušiyā (Aethiopians), Karkā (Carians), and Skudra (Thrace?) make their first appearance in Darius Naqsh-i Rustam, Dahā (nomads of the north) and Ākaufačiyā (a mountain folk) in Xerxes Persepolis h. The lists show subdivisions of the Sakā and Yaunā entries: S.haumavargā (the "Amyrgian Sakai" of Herodotus, apparently = "haoma-drinkers"), S.tigrakhaudā ("pointed-hood wearers"), and (at Naqsh-i Rustam) S.paradraya (= "beyond the sea" and apparently in a western context, so evidently the Scythians of Europe whose territory Darius had raided but not occupied): the Yaunā (Greeks) in Darius Persepolis e have three locations, on the mainland, by (or in) the sea, and beyond the sea (apparently repeated in Susa e and Xerxes Persepolis h), while in Darius Naqsh-i Rustam they are divided into Yaunā unspecified and Yaunā takabarā (apparently "(shield-shaped) sun-hat wearers", so probably of northern Greece). The dais-bearer reliefs of the later royal tombs seem to follow the model set by Darius without consideration of any changes the empire might have undergone; but in Xerxes' list (Persepolis h), if not already in Darius Susa e, one entry (Sakā beyond the sea) has justly been omitted. Apart from this the changes in the lists of Darius and Xerxes seem to reflect new acquisitions, whether major ones like Hinduš or minor ones like Karkā.

The standard unit of provincial administration was the satrapy. Herodotus enumerates twenty territorial divisions of the empire, which he calls *archai* or *nomoi*, at the same time remarking that the Persians call them satrapies; Persis itself is excluded as not being subject. These satrapies, he says, were established by Darius at the beginning of his reign. Unfortunately, they do not correspond to Darius' dahyāva either in number or in identity, and attempts like Olmstead's and Kent's to explain the differences as a matter of administrative changes over the years have not been successful. Equally unconvincing are imaginative

[1] R. G. Kent, "Old Persian Texts", *JNES* II (1943), 302–6. For the significance of the word "*dahyāva*" see now G. G. Cameron, "The Persian satrapies and related matters", *JNES* XXXII (1973), 47–50, with the comments of Gershevitch, *TPS* 1979, 16off.

hypotheses like Junge's and Toynbee's contention that the twenty nomoi were not, as Herodotus supposed, administrative divisions but represent a quite separate subdivision of the empire into fiscal districts.[1] It thus appears that one of two things must be the case: either Herodotus' information is quite erroneous, or Darius' dahyāva are not satrapies. There is a strong presumption that it is the latter which is true. Of the twenty nomoi ten receive attestation as satrapies outside the pages of Herodotus; of the thirty dahyāva only seven or eight can be attested as corresponding to satrapies, and it is difficult to make out a case that Athurā, Arabāya, Karkā, Kuš, and the three distinct groupings of both Yaunā and Sakā could have been separate satrapies under Persian rule. On the other hand, if we take the dahyāva in the lists of Darius to represent major ethnic groups (with a few lesser ones in cases where new conquests are being publicized) we obtain a broad sample of peoples in the empire which corresponds well to Herodotus' more detailed list of about 57 peoples who took part in Xerxes' expedition of 481–480 against the free Greeks.

Herodotus gives two lists. The one just mentioned (VII. 61–95) comprises the peoples in Xerxes' army in 481–480. Scholars often speak of it as though it must depend on a Persian parade-state document; but military intelligence is not a modern invention, and it would be astonishing if a people as alert as the Greeks, of whom many were arrayed on Xerxes' side or watched his army go past, had failed to identify the different enemy contingents and note their equipment. Similarly, the view that Herodotus is there drawing names from Hecataeus' gazetteer of before 480 B.C. seems unnecessarily far-fetched. This list should contain firm information that Herodotus found ready to hand. The other (III. 90–97) is the list of nomoi or satrapies (above, p. 245), in which the different peoples contained in each are recorded. There are 50–53 names of peoples which can be regarded as common to both lists. About 18 peoples seem to occur only in the satrapy list, whereas there are only two or three names in the army list which do not admit of any rapprochement with the other. The satrapy list, which most concerns us, is here given in Herodotus' numbering, which will hardly have constituted an official order of precedence:

1. Ionians, Magnesians in Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyeis, Pamphylians: assessment for tribute 400 talents of silver.

[1] The apparently decisive point in the argument, that Herodotus (I. 72) says that the lands east of the Halys were in the Median *arche*, is in fact fallacious; what Herodotus is referring to is not the Persian satrapy of Media but the old Median empire.

2. Mysians, Lydians, Lasonioi, Kabalioi, Hytenneis: 500 talents of silver.

3. Hellespontioi, Phrygians, Thracians in Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynoi, Syrioi (= Cappadocians): 300 talents of silver.

4. Cilicians: 360 horses, 500 talents of silver (140 spent locally on cavalry).

5. Phoenicia, Syria called Palestine, Cyprus: 350 talents of silver.

6. Egypt, with Libya, Cyrene, Barca: 700 talents of silver, Moeris fishery dues (in silver), corn for garrison troops.

7. Sattagydians, Gandarians, Dadikai, Aparytai: 170 talents of silver.

8. Susa and the territory of the Kissioi: 300 talents of silver.

9. Babylon and the rest of Assyria: 1,000 talents of silver, 500 eunuch boys.

10. Agbatana and the rest of Media, Parikanioi, Orthokorybantioi: 450 talents of silver.

11. Caspians, Pausikai, Pantimathoi, Dareitai: 200 talents of silver.

12. Bactrians as far as Aiglai: 360 talents of silver.

13. Paktyike, Armenians and their neighbours as far as the Euxine: 400 talents of silver.

14. Sagartians, Sarangai, Thamanaioi, Outioi, Mykoi, islands of the 'Red Sea': 600 talents of silver.

15. Sakai, Caspians: 250 talents of silver.

16. Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Areioi: 300 talents of silver.

17. Parikanioi, Aethiopians of Asia: 400 talents of silver.

18. Matienoi, Saspeires, Alarodioi: 200 talents of silver.

19. Moschoi, Tibarenoi, Makrones, Mossynoikoi, Mares: 300 talents of silver.

20. Indians: 360 talents of gold dust, valued at 4,680 Euboic talents of silver.

Total: 14,560 Euboic talents of silver.[1]

Gifts were brought by the Aethiopians bordering on Egypt (gold, ebony, boys, ivory), the Colchians and their neighbours as far as the Caucasus (boys and girls), the Arabians (incense).

Ethnically, the most homogeneous bloc within the empire was the Iranians of the upper satrapies. Trousered and heavily turbaned, these Aryans lived in the valleys and basins of the multiple mountain crust that encloses the central deserts of what is now Iran or that

[1] The assessment for silver (nomoi 1–19) was in Babylonian talents, which were heavier than the Euboic: hence the discrepancy in the addition.

radiate from the snow-capped massif of central Afghanistan. North of Persis was Paraitakene, the border country of the Greater Media which stretched to Rhagae and the Caspian Gates (see pl. 1*c*). Beyond this the route led eastward through the bare inhospitable land called Parthia (Parthava) across which, we are told, the Kings had to journey in haste for lack of sustenance; Isidorus' "Parthian Stations" shows that then, as now, villages were few there, and the Greeks noted that the inhabitants became less civilized to the east of the Gates (Strabo XI. 518); the centre of this satrapy may have been at Shahr-i Qūmis (the later Hecatompylus) near Dāmghān. Beyond this were the dahyāuš of Haraiva (Areia) with fertile land up the valley of its river (the modern Harī Rūd) and its capital at Artakoana, and the oasis of Marguš down the river of Marv.

East of Persis the road led to Karmania (originally perhaps included in Pārsa), whose principal centre was further south than the modern city of Kirmān, probably in the direction of Harmozia (Hurmuz).[1] With some broad valleys, which were well cultivated until the later middle ages, the land produced vines and all fruits except the olive; it had also a variety of mines, and it provided a special sort of timber (sissoo) for Darius I's palace at Susa. Its ancient inhabitants, we are told, lived and fought like the Persians, though they used asses rather than horses.[2] Further east beyond the sand desert was the dahyāuš of Zranka, later known to the Greeks as Drangiana (and presumably the Sarangai of Herodotus' 14th nomos); the region received its name Sakastana (Sīstān) after it was occupied by Sakai in Parthian times. Fed by the Helmand (Haētumant = "with dams" in the Avesta, Greek Etumandros), the low-lying, wind-blasted basin supports sedentary cattle-breeders and raises good crops of wheat under the pale skies. Sīstān, with the lower Helmand valley as far up as Beste (Bust)[3] is capable

[1] The present city of Kirmān only received the name in medieval times. The centre in Karmania where Alexander the Great halted was five good days' journey inland from Harmozia; it may have been in the fertile Jīruft valley, where Abbott's and Sykes' enormous Islamic site of Shahr-i Dakyanus at Sabzvārān could go back to ancient times.

[2] Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia* speaks of Cyrus the Great's Persians as not having been accustomed to ride horses until he formed his army. This sounds like an invention to give greater credit to Cyrus. But there may be something in it; for the famous Nesaean horses of the Achaemenids were bred in Media on a great plain six days' journey from Agbatana; and it is the donkey, with its great endurance on desert marches, that provides transport for the sedentary population of Fārs as well as Karmania. The Bashakird country east of Hurmuz has been particularly noted for its donkeys.

[3] This place, which Pliny speaks of as in Arachosia, is marked by the great mound on which the Ghaznavid citadel was built (Qal'a-yi Bust); it yields coins of the Greco-Bactrian rulers and their successors, and an Achaemenid stone weight has recently been reported from there. This

of great fertility; and it must have had a larger cultivated area in antiquity than it now has. The Drangae were said to live like the Persians in all respects save for a shortage of wine. In Sīstān the river has from time to time dictated the position of the capital city, and it is not clear what the pattern was in Achaemenid times; but remains of what may have been a satrapal centre have recently been uncovered by an Italian mission at Dahan-i Ghulāmān on the edge of the creeping sandhills west of the Helmand.

To the east of this was Arachosia (Harauvatiš, which is a dahyāuš in the royal inscriptions but does not appear in Herodotus' satrapy list). It is curious that in his Susa building inscription Darius I speaks of Harauvatiš as one of the places from which the ivory came. Many centuries later the Ghaznavids kept elephants at Bust in the valley where the Argandāb river (Harahvaitī, Greek Arachotos) joins the Helmand, but there is no reason to think that the Achaemenids did so. Strabo (XI. 516) in fact makes the territory of the Arachosians descend to the Indus, but in Alexander's time there were people called Indians between the two. According to the Elamite text of the Behistun inscription (§47 Weissbach) the seat of the satrap of Arachosia in 521 B.C. was Aršada, perhaps at the key position of Kandahar, where there is a huge fertile oasis on the main route to India and third-century inscriptions of Aśoka have come to light.[1] The wind-swept, treeless Hindu Kush (Greek Paropanisos or Paropamisos) in the region of the Kabul River and its northern tributaries cannot have been in Arachosia; it seems rather to have been part of Gandara (Paruparaēsana in the Babylonian and Elamite versions at Behistun, Greek Paropamisadai),[2] perhaps with Kapisa in the Kūh-dāman plain as its principal centre

stretch of the Helmand probably belonged to the Ariaspae who befriended Cyrus the Great and were given the name (Euergetae = Benefactors) on that account; they would have been in a position to earn his gratitude if he had arrived exhausted after a desert crossing. They were, according to G. Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland* (Naples, 1980), pp. 44ff, 227, one of the peoples among whom Zoroaster personally spread his teaching.

[1] Pliny speaks of Arachosia as having a town and river of the same name. From the road mileages which he cites from Alexander the Great's pacers the town of the Arachosians would seem to have been at Kalat-i Ghilzai, whose great mound 90 miles north-east of Kandahar still awaits exploration; and the situation at over 5000 ft. would have been much less sultry in the summer months. But Kandahar must have been the main inhabited centre of the country, and a report of soundings there in 1974 speaks of Achaemenid and earlier levels underlying the existing fortification trace.

[2] [The Babylonian name of Gandara suggests that that country lay south of the Hindu Kush; see Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959), 174f., where of the three peoples next mentioned in the text above Thataguš and the Aparytai are sought west of Gandara, and the Dadikai are regarded, following Marquart, as possible ancestors of the present day Dardic tribes. Ed.]

(see pl. 2*a*). The Gandarian does not, however, wear the wintry garb of the upper Iranians on the Achaemenian tomb-reliefs, but seems more akin to the light-clad Sattagydian (Thataguiya) and Indian (Hinduya) and Gandara presumably extended down-river to Charsadda (Peukela) and the Indus. From its placing in Herodotus' 7th nomos, whose total tribute is said to be only 170 talents of silver, and the fact that it was in the empire before Darius I came to the throne, we may infer that Thataguš did not, as some scholars believe, lie beyond the Indus, and the light clothing seems to place it south rather than north or west of Gandara; but we can hardly imagine that the Persians would have attempted to control the tribes of the ragged south-eastern edge of the Iranian plateau where the rivers cut their way through the barren Sulaiman range. Aparytai could conceivably be the same name as the modern Afridi in the Khyber region. The remaining people in the 7th nomos, the Dadikai, have recently been identified with the present-day Tājīks; but Tājīk is a word that had its origin long after Achaemenid times on the borders of Mesopotamia, where it was first applied to the bedouin. Hinduš may have been some distance down the Indus from the confluence of the Kabul River.

From Herodotus we learn that the 20th nomos (Indians) had a great population and paid a tribute in gold dust whose value was enormous.[1] It was conquered by Darius I and no doubt corresponds to his dahyāuš of Hinduš. At the same time Herodotus speaks of many peoples of India who were not included in the Persian empire; and later Greek writers, including Megasthenes who went on embassies to the Mauryan court a couple of decades after Alexander the Great, seem to have believed that the Persians never conquered "India" (i.e. the lands east of the Indus). From the Alexander historians it seems clear that Achaemenid rule did not extend east of the river under Darius III, and we cannot be sure whether it ever did. To the Greeks Arianē, the greater Iran, ended at the Indus (below, p. 290).

To the south of the Iranian plateau the shore of the Indian Ocean from the Straits of Hurmuz (Harmozia) to the vicinity of the Indus delta is torrid almost beyond endurance, much of it barely even fit for palms. It was along this coast of what is now Balūchistān that Alexander's naval

[1] The problems created by this apparent wealth in gold in the 20th nomos cannot be discussed here. Tarn (106ff.) considered Herodotus' information erroneous, and we may question whether all the gold was provided by the one Indian satrapy – the tribute in silver payable by the 7th nomos is surprisingly light.

mission under Nearchus encountered Stone Age communities and fish-eaters (the Ichthyophagi) living in almost total seclusion. The coast is backed by the rocky mountain ranges of Makrān; and beyond them is a great area east of Karmania in which water and food are barely procurable save in a few relatively favoured localities. This is what was called Gedrosia, with a satrapal seat at Pura (almost certainly the modern Bampūr with its huge mound which shows ancient occupation) (see pl. 2*b*). A sparse population of no very settled abode may eke out a meagre living in the wilderness by a combination of herding and occasional agriculture. But no power could take out of this country more than it is prepared to put in; and to an army such as Alexander led through it in imitation (as he believed) of Semiramis and Cyrus the region east of the Bampur river is a desert.[1] In Herodotus' satrapy list the floating 17th nomos, whose only known connection is with the Indians, could take in Gedrosia, and the 14th nomos includes the western part of the coast south of Persis together with the interior as far as Drangiana. There is no name among Darius' dahyāva which can possibly be assigned to this unproductive belt except Maka; and most scholars therefore attempt to fill the gap by identifying Maka with the Mykoi of the 14th nomos (and with the modern name Makrān). But the land of the ancient Makai in 'Umān is an equally acceptable candidate for Maka;[2] so it is not certain that the barren belt of southern Iran has a place in the Persian dahyāva lists. This unpatrollable region, which no army could easily traverse without heavy loss, was probably of as little interest to the Achaemenids as it seems later to have been to the Arabs of the eastern caliphate. Philostratus, who composed a biography of Apollonius of Tyana for Julia Domna in which he brought the sage back from India by this route, could not improve on the Alexander historians; nor was any accurate knowledge of the region to be had until the last century.

[1] From the researches of Sir Aurel Stein and others it seems clear that human occupation was more widespread in the third millennium B.C. than it is now. The factor here is probably not so much climatic change as denudation due to cultivation and grazing which has robbed the ground of its ability to retain water; and there is no evidence that conditions in Achaemenid times differed greatly from those which prevail now.

[2] In the Fortification tablets (of Darius I's middle years) at Persepolis there is mention of two satrapal seats or centres – Makkaš (PF 679 and 680) and Puruš (PF 681). Puruš is presumably Pura in Gedrosia. As regards Makkaš we may note that in PF 679 a wine ration for the satrap seems to have been issued at Tamukkan (or Tawukkan), which Hallock identified with the port of Taoke on the Persian Gulf (below, p. 596). This new evidence makes the equation Makrān (Gedrosia) = Maka more difficult to sustain.

On the north side of the Paropamisos lay Bactria. Its green valley bottoms led down to fertile basins in steppe land reaching to the sand dunes of the Oxus; and to it may well have been attached the valleys that join that river from the north in Tājīkistān, where groups of village sites of Achaemenid date have recently been discovered. The capital was Zariaspa (Bactra, presumably at Balkh). Bactria was an extensive satrapy; and in fact it seems to have been the key province of eastern Iran both in Achaemenid times and later. Beyond the Oxus was Sogdiana, a land where nobles of heroic temper fought a running fight against Alexander the Great or defied him in well provisioned fastnesses. Its chief centre was Maracanda (Samarkand); but, as with Bactria, irrigation could produce great fertility in the vicinity of the rivers, and settlements were evidently fairly numerous, especially in the rich Polytimetus (Zarafshān) valley. Down the Oxus is the great outlying oasis of Khwārazm (Chorasmia) or Khiva, which may once have been included in the empire of the Achaemenids.[1] These oases north of the Iranian plateau, such as Khwārazm, Marv, and Bukhārā, were later to blossom as leading centres of Islamic civilization; but – unless material evidence from Russian excavations can eventually substantiate a different estimate – upper Asia generally would seem not to have been culturally advanced when Achaemenid sway was established there.[2] Beyond Khiva the Oxus strains to its end in the shallows of the Aral Sea; but there does not seem to be sufficient reason to doubt that in antiquity, as in later medieval times, an arm flowed west to the Caspian and so provided a corridor linking Chorasmia to Hyrcania (Vrkāna, the modern Gurgān). Apart from the Sakai, Darius' dahyāva on this flank of the empire are readily identifiable. Herodotus' nomoi, on the other hand, are at their most intractable here. He puts the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Areioi all together in a single satrapy (the 16th) paying only 300 talents, and this has rightly caused disquiet to modern scholars. Though Areia and Parthia were separate satrapies at the end of the empire, there is no insuperable difficulty in their being

[1] The combined testimony of Hecataeus and Herodotus would by itself lead to the assumption that in earlier Achaemenid times the Chorasmians were living south of the steppe (in Khurāsān). Recent Russian discoveries have been brought into relation with this; and the theory that the Chorasmians only moved down to the Oxus when Achaemenid control had begun to slacken has much to commend it now. But the archaeological evidence here is not easy to appraise. In antiquity there seems to have been a much greater area of habitation than now, extending north-eastward to the Jaxartes along a network of watercourses in what is now desert and marshland. Cf. Frumkin, 82ff.

[2] Some recent assessments of the cultural condition of the upper satrapies may be found in Deshaves (ed.), *Le Plateau iranien*.

united at this time, perhaps along with Hyrcania, not listed by Herodotus, which was united to Parthia later; but the extension of the satrapy eastward to the Farghāna Gate might seem to set a strain on our credulity. The people called Caspians would most naturally be placed where Strabo places the memory of them, on the west side of their sea; but they are named in two separate nomoi (the 11th and 15th). In the 15th, if the text is correct,[1] they form a satrapy with Sakai. The other names in the 11th nomos cannot be identified; the Pausikai could perhaps be the same as the Apasiakai of Polybius and Strabo between the Oxus and the Jaxartes; the Pantimathoi and Dareitai have been placed by the Caspian Gates, but without compelling reason.[2]

The gently undulating deserts of salty flats and shifting sand billows that stretch for hundreds of miles to either side of the lower Oxus are devoid of running water and have only rare brackish wells. The lesser rivers lack the energy to traverse this waste; and so agriculture is confined to relatively short riverain strips like those of the Zarafshān (Polytimetus) and to the basins where their streams go to ground. The extent of this oasis-cultivation depends on the use of artificial irrigation (Russian explorations seem to indicate that in Marv and Khwārazm, as well as up the Oxus opposite Bactria, irrigation systems had been established by the middle of the first millennium B.C., and a date far back in the prehistoric has been claimed for canals in the terminal basin of the Harī Rūd at Tājand). But outside the oases the only way of life that has been possible up to our own times amid formidable extremes of summer and winter climate is the nomadic one; and the archaeological evidence from Central Asia seems to show that that way of life was especially dominant in the Iron Age before the Achaemenids set their frontier there.

The Persians gave the single name Sakā both to the nomads whom they encountered between the Hunger steppe and the Caspian, and equally to those north of the Danube and Black Sea against whom Darius later campaigned; and the Greeks and Assyrians called all those who were known to them by the name Skuthai (Iškuzai). Sakā and Skuthai evidently constituted a generic name for the nomads on

[1] Leuze preferred to emend Herodotus' text slightly so as to have "Caspian Sakai" instead of "Sakai and Caspians"; other scholars have tried to find a home for these Caspians further east (in Kashmir for instance).

[2] Tomaschek proposed to interpret Apasiakai as Āpa-sakā = 'water-Sakai', and Tolstov has more recently assigned this name to the Iron Age culture that he discovered in the waste south-east of the Aral which once formed the delta lands of the Jaxartes (above, p. 252, n. 1). Dareitai suggests the Parthian Dara on the south edge of Turkestan east of the Caspian.

the northern frontiers.[1] Some specific names are recorded, notably Massagetae for a great nation of these nomads against whom Cyrus campaigned on the Jaxartes (above, p. 127), and Dahā (Daai in Greek) for an apparently intrusive people who first appear in Xerxes' list of dahyāva.[2]

In Darius' first list of dahyāva at Behistun, which enumerates peoples already in the empire at the commencement of his reign, there is a single entry Sakā. But soon after this he engaged in his campaign against the tribesmen of Skunkha (above, pp. 219–20), who seem to be spoken of as wearing pointed hoods; and the annexe at the right end of the relief shows the captive chief with a very high pointed headpiece (see pl. 34). After this we find two dahyāva of Sakā with descriptive names (the tigrakhaudā = "with pointed hood", and the haumavargā); and a third ("those beyond the sea") is added later, evidently after Darius' incursion into the western Scythia north of the Danube. The first two must be placed in Central Asia east of the Caspian. This does not necessarily mean that in this great area there were two (and no more than two) distinct groupings of Sakā; we may note that all the Sakā on the Persepolis reliefs wear pointed hoods (or, to be correct, caps), and Herodotus remarks that the Sakai in Xerxes' army wore pointed caps but he calls them "Amyrgian" (i.e. haumavargā). But if Darius' campaign against Skunkha followed on the insurrection in Margiana (above, pp. 218–19) and it was Sakā of the Caspian-Aral region who then received the special title "tigrakhaudā", there is a presumption that the title "haumavargā" should be applied to the "Sakā beyond Sogdiana" whom Darius cites (Persepolis h and Hamadān) as forming the opposite limit of his empire to Kush (the Aethiopians). The dahyāuš of the haumavargā should therefore be placed further east than that of the tigrakhaudā. Some scholars have looked to the Pamirs, or (with Canon Rawlinson) Sinkiang. But in that case these Saka should have been spoken of as beyond Bactria rather than (as Darius says) Sogdiana; so the frontier on the Jaxartes seems the most appropriate location; this agrees with Gershevitch's suggestion that the word "haumavargā",[3]

[1] The name Gimirri (= Cimmerians) which the Babylonian scribes used in place of Sakā is obviously an archaism.

[2] In later times the Daai formed a large group of nomadic tribes on the east side of the Caspian.

[3] In the 5th century B.C. the Greek writer Hellanicus spoke of a plain of the Sakai called Amyrgion. An eponymous Saka king (Amorges or Homarges) appears in Ctesias. Haoma (soma) was the Indo-Iranian sacred intoxicant, obtained by pounding the fibres of a plant that cannot now be identified.

which he interprets etymologically as meaning "consuming haoma", was a nickname of the people called Tūra in the Avesta.[1]

It is questionable whether the Sakā known to the Persians were racially so homogeneous as is commonly supposed. No doubt there were major Indo-European-speaking elements. But the graphic representations of Saka cavalrymen who were stationed at Memphis in Egypt show Mongol features; and Nöldeke's interpretation of the name Carthasis for the Saka king's brother in an Alexander historian[2] as the Turkish *kardaşı* ("—, brother of him") is perhaps still worth bearing in mind. Darius I represents his three divisions of the Sakā as subject peoples. We know this is not true of the European Scythians; and though Herodotus does include some Sakai in his 15th nomos, others seem later to have been serving as mercenaries rather than subjects when the Greeks came face to face with them. We may therefore doubt whether these nomads as a whole were subjected to regular Persian rule. The Persians certainly seem to have been successful in maintaining peaceful relations on this long frontier. But though their manufactured carpets travelled far afield, their knowledge of the world beyond their borders may have been slight; for it was from Greco-Scythian sources on the Black Sea that Herodotus acquired such knowledge as he possessed of the tribes of Central Asia, and Alexander the Great seems to have been unable to obtain correct information about the waterways there.

Adjoining the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea was the low-lying piedmont of Hyrcania (Vrkāna in the Behistun inscription), whose capital was at Zadrakarta when Alexander went that way. With forested mountainsides leading down to yellow fields and thick copses, with numerous muddy streams, thatched houses, and well-fed horses, the countryside now has a rustic charm (see pl. 2*c*). But during antiquity, as into recent times, it was underdeveloped because of the destructiveness of the nomads of the steppe. The Hyrcanians are not named in the lists of dahyāva; but they are found as garrison troops in the provinces, and in his *Cyropaedia* Xenophon speaks of them as being given positions of trust in Cyrus the Great's empire. The greater part

[1] See Gershevitch, "An Iranianist's view of the Soma controversy", in P. Gignoux and A. Tafazzoli (eds), *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (Louvain, 1974), 54–6.

[2] Curtius Rufus VII. 7, 1. The skulls from supposedly Saka burials of Achaemenid date by the Ili river in Central Asia are said to show an admixture of Mongoloid features; the description of Scyths in the Hippocratic Corpus also reveals Mongol traits. Relics of a Saka cap 20 ins. high have come to light recently in a burial.

of the humid coast at the south end of the Caspian, with the high deciduous-forested mountains that back it, belonged to a numerous and warlike people, the Kadousioi, against whom Artaxerxes II is said to have carried out an unprofitable campaign that he inherited from his father and left to his son to complete half a century later. Being then far away from the seats of Persian rule, they were probably not often under effective control, and it is significant that there seems to have been no continuous road along the south shore of the Caspian when Alexander the Great tried to force his way along it at the east end. Protection against the steppe nomads counted for more there than Persian control.

The bare elevated highland of Armenia, a country where living beings went to ground in the long winter until the melting snows gave way to corn lands and green hill pastures, had been incorporated in the Median empire presumably not long after the fall of Nineveh; and it is connoted by a single entry (Armina) in the Achaemenid dahyāva lists. But Herodotus divides it between two nomoi; and in the winter of 401 B.C., when they cut a devious route across it, the Ten Thousand encountered the levies of two different satraps in turn there. Some scholars prefer to envisage a single satrapy and have therefore argued that one of the two satraps must have been subordinate to the other; but it is difficult to imagine that either Orontes, the King's son-in-law, or Tiribazus, the King's most trusted friend, would have been appointed in a junior capacity. The one nomos (the 13th, which would correspond to Tiribazus' satrapy) probably encompassed the territory occupied by an Indo-European-speaking people called Haik, who must have been asserting their identity in what we might call the greater western part of Armenia in the decline of the kingdom of Urartu (Ararat), while the other (the 18th) included a remnant of the older Haldian population that presumably remained in the region of Tušpa (Van) and the later Urartian fortress-capitals in the Araxes valley beyond the present Mt Ararat (Alarodioi, a name identified with Urartu by Sir Henry Rawlinson),[1] together with parts of Greater Media (Matiene around Lake Urmīya and the tangled belt of crags and deep gorges above the

[1] The name also survived (Uraštu) in the vocabulary of Babylonian scribes in place of Armina in the Babylonian texts of the Old Persian inscriptions. The name Haldian occurs as "Chaldaean" in Xenophon, applying to a warlike people not then controlled by the Persians (and supposedly at enmity with the Armenians before Cyrus' time). The high civilization of Urartu had no successor under the Armenians, who seem to have left nothing substantial for the archaeologists to find.

Tigris valley, with the Saspeires further north). In 401 B.C. the Kardouchoi in the mountains east of the confluence of the Eastern and Western Tigris were no longer subject to the Persians, and the King's writ did not run in the north where the "neighbouring peoples as far as the Euxine (Black Sea)" that Herodotus speaks of – the Taochoi, Chalybes, and Phasianoi of Xenophon – seem to have been quite independent. The region name Paktyikē that Herodotus gives is unintelligible in the context of the 13th nomos, and we may perhaps suppose that an error has crept in there. There is an inscription of Xerxes on the Rock of Van, but the only known relics of palatial buildings of Achaemenid times in the region of the 18th nomos seem to be at Arinberd by Erivan and perhaps Armavir. In the 13th nomos a similar establishment may possibly have existed at Altıntepe near Erzincan.[1] In Matiene an early Achaemenian stratum has been reported in the recent excavation at the stronghold of Haftavan Tepe near the north-west corner of Lake Urmīya.

North of Armenia the empire extended to the barrier of the Caucasus in Herodotus' time. The Arab geographers called the Caucasus the "mountain of languages"; Strabo talks of seventy different tongues being spoken there (the figure of 300 given by Pliny from Timosthenes is hardly to be credited), and a good fifty are reported even at the present day. This mountain-girt refuge between the Black Sea and the Caspian would seem to have been a museum of forgotten races for the best part of three thousand years. On the west was an organized nation, the Colchians, who lived in humid jungle and forest under gloomy skies; according to Herodotus they paid no tribute to the Persians but did send gifts. To the east in the region of Mtskheta (by Tiflis) and the Kur there may possibly have been a satrapy (the 15th or the 11th nomos); there are certainly links with ancient Iran, but it is not clear how much goes back to Achaemenid times.

Media is the country of the Zagros, whose ranges rise in succession with increasing steepness from the Tigris to wall in and constrict the Iranian plateau, reaching 11–12,000 ft. above Behistun and Agbatana

[1] The arrangement of the two satrapies here proposed depends on the assumption that the Saspeires are to be placed in the region of Persian Azerbaijan and the Araxes valley, and that they cannot be identified with the Hesperitai of Xenophon and the modern kaza name Ispir between Erzurum and Trebizond. The independent Kardouchoi, who seem to have broken away from Orontes' satrapy (the 18th nomos), are thought to have been the ancestors of the Kurds, or at least the original nucleus to which Iranian-speaking peoples in what is now Kurdistān have been attached since Sasanian times.

(see pl. 3*a*) and greater heights further to the south-east. It is a land of many fertile valleys, mostly at altitudes of 4,000–6,000 ft. and suitable for cultivation in settled times (see pl. 3*b*).[1] But on the north Media always included the plateau as far as the Alburz (Ariobarzanes in Orosius, 5th century) mountains and the Caspian Gates (see pl. 1*c*), and its eastern region of Paraitakene extended to the central deserts and marched with Persis well south of the modern Iṣfahān. The Median dominion in Asia, which preceded that of the Achaemenids, was made possible by the centralization of authority in the capital city of Hagmatāna (= "the moot", Greek Agbatana or Ekbatana) in the high basin behind Mt Alvand (Orontes) (see pl. 3*a*). Until we have some definite archaeological evidence to set against Herodotus, we cannot positively discredit the tradition that Deioces, the founder of the dynasty, selected the site for a city and built a kremlin there about the end of the eighth century. This is Herodotus' 10th nomos, consisting of Agbatana and the rest of Media together with the Parikanioi and the Orthokorybantioi. Modern attempts to extend the limits of the satrapy to Turkestan by identifying these Parikanioi with the people of Hyrcania (Vrkāna) or even Farghāna, and by interpreting the name Orthokorybantioi in Herodotus as a distortion of a Greek word meaning "upright-topped", which would be equivalent to (Sakā) tigrakhaudā, seem to be insufficiently thought out; in fact a Median region of Barikānu in the Zagros is mentioned in the annals of the Assyrian king Sargon II.

In the windless plain south of the Median homelands was the old city of Susa (Šušan), long the capital of a substantial kingdom but devastated by Ashurbanipal and apparently under Babylonian control from the time of Nebuchadnezzar. Its territory, which is separated from Mesopotamia by a belt of marshes, was known by three different names: (i) in the native tongue Ha(l)tamti, more widely known as Elam, (ii) the land of the Kissioi (Herodotus' 8th nomos), which is thought to be related to the Babylonian and Assyrian name Kaššu, and (iii) Ū(v)ja in the Old Persian dahyāva lists (Arabic Hūz, modern Khūzistān). The territory evidently reached up into the Zagros; and we find two of these names, if not indeed all three, applied to peoples that the Greeks later

[1] Luristān has been intensively surveyed by archaeologists in recent years; but unfortunately the dating of the Iron Age cultures there is still uncertain, and it is not clear how far we are justified in believing that settlement was lacking in Achaemenid times. For a lowering of the pottery dates which would affect this issue see D. Stronach, "Achaemenid Village I at Susa and the Persian migration to Fars", *Iraq* XXXVI (1974), 239–48.

encountered and described as divided into cultivators in the lower ground and predatory nomads in the mountains: (i) Elymaioi and (ii) Kossaioi, which between them covered the greater part of Luristān and the Bakhtiari country, and perhaps also (iii) the Uxii (Ouxioi) who opposed Alexander's passage when he entered the mountains south-east of Susa. Some scholars have believed that the original kingdom of Anšan that Cyrus the Great inherited was centred on Susa, or at least adjacent to it,[1] and have maintained that Persian landlords were already established in Elam before the Achaemenid empire came into being. Junge even claimed that the delegates of the Elamites (Ūvja) depicted on the Persepolis reliefs have a recognisably Indo-European physiognomy; but this is not to be distinguished within the conventions of the art. What is understandable is that, straddling the exits of the main rivers of the central Zagros, Susa was well situated to dominate the winter grounds of the mountain tribes and so to maintain its influence over them; and certainly there was contact between Susa and Persis with messengers and products of handicrafts coming and going before the time of Cyrus.

Before leaving Media and Elam we may note one point of archaeological interest that has been overlooked. The palaces at Susa and Agbatana were royal residences; and they could hardly have housed a satrap with his court and harem in addition to the King's court. Satrapal residences are therefore to be sought at or near both of these centres. At Susa the newly discovered "Palace of the Shaour" is too royal and too central to be a satrap's court. At Agbatana the regional palace where Antigonus wintered in 316 B.C. was at a village in the countryside (Diodorus XIX. 44), perhaps (as Isidorus would lead us to believe) in the sheltered plain of Asadābād at the foot of the declivity of Mt Alvand.

The great plain of the two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, stretches 700 miles from the foot of the Armenian mountains to the Persian Gulf. About halfway down, at less than fifty metres above sea level, the dry undulating steppe gives way to the alluvial deposit of the rivers, and only a little higher up than this is the limit at which dates ripen. Thus Upper and Lower Mesopotamia are quite different in character. The lower, alluvial part of the plain, which we may call Babylonia, could be irrigated by a system of canals from the Euphrates; in antiquity it produced fabulous crops of barley, while the palm trees provided

[1] This is now untenable (above, p. 210, n. 2).

abundant food and served a great variety of other needs. The upper Mesopotamian plain is largely steppe or desert. But the Assyrian homeland on the middle Tigris, together with the shelves and deep mountain valleys east of the river, yields winter cereals and temperate fruits. At an elevation of 400–500 metres the mountain foot at the north end of the Mesopotamian plain likewise affords fertile patches where streams emerge; but the flat ground below it is too dry to be inhabited in comfort all the year round save in the stream valleys, and so it has tended to lie open to the nomadic peoples of the Syrian desert.

West of the Euphrates was the complex of lands that had for centuries been known under the name Abarnahara ("Across the River").[1] From the point of view of settled habitation this amounted to a zone rarely reaching as much as a hundred miles inland from the Levant shore, with the former neo-Hittite principalities in the north coalescing with the Aramaeans of Syria, Sidon and the other prosperous Phoenician cities along the middle stretch of coast, and Palestine trailing off into desert on the south. The fertility of the coast was repeated in the long trough of the Orontes valley and Hollow Syria that separated the Lebanon from Antilebanon and Hermon; but to the east of the mountain barrier only a few favoured regions – around Aleppo and Homs (Emesa) in the north, the intensely fertile oasis of Damascus under Antilebanon, and in a small degree the plateau of Amman east of the Jordan – receive the water needed for cultivation. In the economy of Syria a large part seems to have been played by sheep raising, which was well situated to provide wool for the Phoenician purple-dyers. The great triangle between these settled lands and the Euphrates was the Syrian desert, difficult for travellers to cross save where a line of hills links up with the basin of Palmyra to provide the necessary string of water points between the Euphrates and Damascus. The main axis of communications ran from the Syrian Gates on the Cilician frontier or the boat bridge on the Euphrates at Thapsacus (somewhere below Carchemish) (see pl. 3*c*) by Emesa to Damascus, then south of Lake Tiberias to the pass of Megiddo and down the coast to Gaza and the "brook of Egypt". The residence of the satrap which Xenophon saw in 401 B.C. was in the north near Aleppo, close to the entries to the province.

The neo-Babylonian kingdom seems to have embraced upper Mesopotamia after the fall of Nineveh, and "Across the River" was added

[1] The name does not occur in the texts in Old Persian; Abarnahara is the form read in Aramaic (Babylonian Ebirnari).

to it under Nebuchadnezzar. So when Cyrus captured Babylon in 539 B.C. the Persians acquired another empire. Babylonian documents show that at first the whole was administered as one combined satrapy of Babylon and Abarnahara. But at some date later than the sixth year, and probably after the middle of Darius I's reign it was split into two; and in Herodotus we find one nomos (the 9th) comprising "Babylon and the rest of Assyria", and a second (the 5th) which contains all Phoenicia from the Orontes mouth, the Syria called "Palestine", and the island of Cyprus. The Babylon satrapy paid a huge tribute (1000 talents of silver, in addition to other great impositions). Herodotus believed that it included upper Mesopotamia to the borders of Armenia (I. 194); and in his closely argued book on the satrapies of Syria and Mesopotamia Leuze has abundantly demonstrated that this must normally have been the case. Dillemann has recently argued that the "Royal Road" which Herodotus describes as leading from Sardis to Susa (v. 52) must have diverged southward from the Western Tigris at Amida (Diyarbakır) and traversed the piedmont of upper Mesopotamia to Nisibis and the Tigris, and he therefore maintains against Leuze that this piedmont must have been in the satrapy of Armenia, through which Herodotus makes the road run in the relevant sector. As far as concerns the royal road, his argument seems persuasive. But it is now clear from the new Harran stelae of Nabuna'id that Harran itself and adjacent neo-Hittite lands belonged to Babylon at the time of Cyrus' attack in 539 B.C., and Nisibis had at least fallen into the hands of the Babylonians in 612 B.C. Presumably therefore this edge of the plain will have been included in the Babylon satrapy, except perhaps at its extreme east end if Cyrus was able to cross it in 547 B.C. without violating Babylonian territory (above, p. 212).

The Old Persian dahyāva lists name Babylon, but not Abarnahara, which could not be considered a distinct people. They do, however, include a name Athurā, which corresponds to the old name Ashur (Assyria). This name was known to later Greeks, who recognized a region of Atouria, apparently in the Assyrian homeland around Nineveh. The name Athurā has caused great difficulty in the minds of scholars who believe the dahyāva to be satrapies. Despite the documentary evidence, some have followed Meyer in regarding it as the official name of the Babylonian satrapy (Herodotus' 9th nomos). But the discovery of copies of Darius' building text Susa f revealed that people of Athurā (explained as Ebirnari, i.e. Abarnahara, in the Babylonian

version) brought timber from Mt Lebanon to Babylon, and a historically ill-conceived identification of Athurā with the satrapy of Abarnahara became prevalent. From Cameron's re-reading of the Behistun inscription in 1948 it is now certain that a name cited in connection with Darius' Armenian campaign and as being a district in Athurā is in fact Izalā, the mountain that lies behind Nisibis; and so there can no longer be any doubt that Athurā had a foot in high Mesopotamia. Since Abarnahara cannot have included Izalā, it is now certain that Athurā cannot have been an administrative unit in the Persian empire. What precisely the word meant to the Achaemenids is less clear; we may suggest that the ethnic Athuriyā comprised Assyrians/Syrians of the former Assyrian kingdom, which the Medes would have known as distinct from Babylonia. Athurā appears in the original list of dahyāva of the time of Darius' accession when Abarnahara was not yet a separate satrapy.

One other dahyāuš is named in south-west Asia. This is Arabāya, whose representatives are depicted leading an Arabian camel in the Persepolis Apadana reliefs.[1] The Persians must have been in contact with nomadic or semi-nomadic Arabs at many points on the fringes of the Syrian desert; and Cambyses had made an alliance with the bedouin before he invaded Egypt (above, p. 214). It could be of these latter that Herodotus reported that they are not tributary, though they (or other Arabs) made a regular annual gift of frankincense. But from the new Harran stelae we now know that only half a dozen years before Cyrus' conquest of Babylon Nabuna'id had conquered and perhaps colonised a group of six oases in Western Arabia which extended some 200 miles between Tema and Medina; grave stelae of the ensuing period in Aramaic have been coming to light at Tema, Dedan and the Suez canal zone and yielding inscriptions from which it can be inferred that Persian authority was recognised a hundred years later. It therefore seems probable that Arabs of this region were among the tent-dwelling sheikhs who made their submission to Cyrus after the capture of Babylon (above, p. 212) and that the dahyāuš of Arabāya, though of comparatively little consequence, did consist of more than just shadows on the desert fringe. Southern Arabia, however, was not under Achaemenid rule, and Minaean merchants came to control Dedan in the 4th century.

[1] It has been suggested (e.g. by Sidney Smith) that the dahyāuš of Arabāya is the same as the satrapy of Abarnahara. But the reliefs seem to show Arabs with the peculiar haircut that Herodotus describes (III. 8); and it is the dahyāuš of Athurā that figures as Ebirnari in the Babylonian version of Susa f (see above).

With only brief interruptions, Egypt (Mudrāya) was governed by the Achaemenids for 120 years after its conquest by Cambyses in 525 B.C. Persian rule in the satrapy is the subject of Chapter 12. With Egypt went the Libyans and the Greeks of Cyrenaica, whom Aryandes had incorporated in the empire. These are now generally identified as the Put of the Persian lists, with the Aethiopians as Kush. The Aethiopians according to Herodotus were not tributary but brought biennial gifts of boys, gold, and ebony, and elephant tusks such as are shown (along with a giraffe-like animal) on the Apadana reliefs at Persepolis; but like the Arabs with their camel column, the Aethiopians did provide one of the most colourful, as well as warlike, contingents in the army with which Xerxes invaded Greece. From the fact that the Persian frontier defence was based at the first cataract we may conclude that Herodotus was right in making these gift-bearers the blacks who bordered on Egypt and not the 'long-lived' Aethiopians of Meroe against whom Cambyses' campaign had been directed.

In Hellenistic and Roman times Cilicia was a region on the eastern half of the south coast of Asia Minor, consisting of the "Rough" where the Taurus bulges out to make a mountainous riviera and (on the east) the "Plain" where it withdraws into the interior. But it had once been bigger than this. A ruler of Cilicia appears in history not long after the collapse of Assyria when Syennesis – a name or title applied to the kings of Cilicia – acted as a mediator to end the Lydo-Median war on the Halys; and the dynasty seems to have been in possession of a considerable realm.[1] The kingdom was narrow in a north–south direction, being entered from the Anatolian plateau by the pass through the Taurus called the "Cilician Gates". But between the Pisidian border on the west and the Euphrates in Melitene where the corner of the kingdom was intersected by the Achaemenid "Royal Road" the Cilicia of Syennesis stretched over 400 miles; and it included the Amanus on the Syrian border and presumably Kummuh (Commagene) in the bend of the Euphrates.

[1] The evolution of this kingdom cannot be satisfactorily explained. The Cilician plain must more or less correspond to the Que (Huwē) of Assyrian and Babylonian texts, which was invaded and traversed by a succession of kings down to Nabuna'id in 555 B.C. It would be tempting to suggest that the original Cilician kingdom of Syennesis lay further north-east between the Halys and the Euphrates, and that the plain was a later acquisition. But Ḫilakku, which appears as an invaded mountain land alongside Que in the texts and must have given its name to the Cilician kingdom (Hilik in Aramaic), seems also to have lain in the west of the region not far from Tarsus; and the Greeks associated the name Cilicians (Kilikes) with a people who had moved by sea from the Aegean.

As an independent ruler on friendly terms with the Medes and no doubt welcoming protection from Babylonian aggression, Syennesis was not conquered; and after Cyrus' victories in the West converted it into an enclave, Cilicia seems to have entered the Persian empire as a client kingdom. To some extent its territorial integrity may have been respected; the route to Anatolia followed by the royal post road was not the direct line of communication that leads through the Cilician plain but a northerly one traversing only fifty miles of Cilician territory; and guard posts were maintained on both sides of the frontier crossings. But according to Herodotus Cilicia ranked as a nomos (the 4th); tribute was paid of which a part was spent on a cavalry garrison in the country; Syennesis led a fleet of a hundred ships in Xerxes' invasion of Greece, and Darius I used Cilicia as a base of operations a couple of times and also requisitioned ships there.

The client status of Cilicia evidently depended on unhesitating co-operation with the Persians. Retiring into his eyrie above Tarsus the Syennesis of 401 B.C. endeavoured to steer a course of ostensible loyalty to each of the two brothers when Cyrus the Younger passed through to contest the throne with Artaxerxes II. But it seems likely that he was afterwards punished for not waging war against the loser; for in the early 4th century the "part of Cilicia next to Cappadocia" is found incorporated in a new satrapy (Cappadocia), and coins show that from 380 B.C. Persian military commanders minted in Tarsus and other Cilician cities, while after the middle of the century Hilik was governed by a regular Persian satrap (Mazdai = Mazaeus).[1]

Until the 4th century the bulk of peninsular Asia Minor was divided between two satrapies. The one (Herodotus' 2nd nomos) was centred on the old Lydian capital of Sardis, which gave its name to the dahyāuš of Sparda; like Bactria in the East, this seems to have played a key role. It included Mysians on the north-west and some minor peoples on the south-east towards the Taurus. The other nomos (Herodotus' 3rd) had its centre at Daskyleion south of the Sea of Marmara and was ruled by five generations of a family known to us best in the Pharnabazus of Xenophon's *Hellenica*. The satrapy was already established before the time of Darius I, and the governor's seat at Daskyleion yields Greco-Persian reliefs and Achaemenian sealings. Until the early 4th century the satrapy extended across the bare Phrygian

[1] Silver staters of the later 5th century show Nergal (the local Baal of Tarsus) on the reverse and in some cases Syennesis on horseback on the obverse.

plateau to Tyana and the approaches of the Cilician Gates and apparently took in what was then Cappadocia (the Katpatuka of the Persian lists, Herodotus' "Syrians"). It thus comprised practically the whole of the central Anatolian plateau – an expanse superficially similar to the Iranian plateau, but with the great difference that big rivers have cut through the mountain rim and so drain their basins instead of forming salt wastes. To judge by the survival of Iranian names and cults in later times, there must have been many fiefs granted to Persians in the east part between the Halys and the upper Euphrates, and none more attractive than that at the modern Bünyan with its orchards and waterfalls. In the north of Asia Minor, where steep mountain ridges run parallel with the coast, Paphlagonia and, to the east of it, a string of barbarous tribes which Herodotus places in the 19th nomos were nominally subject to the King; they provided contingents for Xerxes' great expedition, but they had been independent for a generation and more when the Ten Thousand descended on them in 400 B.C., and the Paphlagonians were ruled by kings of their own. Here, as along the south coast of the Caspian, the Persians do not seem to have constructed a road, and without control of sea communications they could not effectively dominate the inhabitants until in the 4th century their satraps became implicated in Greek inter-state politics on their own account.

Though yielding a tribute of 500 talents of silver, the Lydian nomos was not so large in extent; but it had good river plains, and many Persians seem to have held fiefs there and in the temperate valleys of mid-western Anatolia. The entry Yauna (Greeks, or rather their land) in the preamble of the Behistun inscription must refer to the Greeks of western Asia Minor who had been conquered by Cyrus. Herodotus speaks of a nomos (his 1st), consisting of Ionians and other Greeks of the west coast and (continuing round the south coast eastward) the native peoples of Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia. This of course purports to refer to the time of Darius before the Ionians and others were liberated from the Persians in 479 B.C. It is nevertheless surprising, because on the occasions on which they are referred to in a Persian context by 5th-century Greek writers these peoples appear to have been subject to the satrap in Sardis, and Darius himself more than once speaks of Sparda as the limit of his empire opposite Hinduš, which he would hardly have done if the jurisdiction of his Sardis satrap had not extended to the sea. So on the evidence it seems more likely that Herodotus had no precise information about the satrapal organization here prior to the

preparations for the great invasion of Greece and was making an erroneous assumption. A dahyāuš of the Karkā, which first appears in Darius' tomb inscription (Naqsh-i Rustam), has been variously identified; the old conjectures Colchians (who brought gifts) and Carthaginians (who might have sent tokens of submission) ceased to be satisfactory when the discovery of Darius' Susa building text (f) revealed Karkā, along with Yaunā, as ferrying timber from Babylon to Susa. Though philologically awkward, the identification with Carians (Kares) is now confirmed and so enables us to date the inscription on Darius' tomb later than the commencement of the Ionian revolt in 499 B.C.,[1] and the Susa inscription should be later than the collapse of the revolt (494 B.C.). There was of course no satrapy of Caria until 395 B.C., when Hyssaldomos and his son Hecatomnos set up the fortunes of a dynasty which reached its peak under Mausolus.

In Europe the Persian dominion was short-lived. Though named in Darius' later lists the Scythians north of the Danube and Black Sea were never subjected; for this is a matter in which the Ionians could not have been ignorant of the facts.[2] After the Scythian expedition Darius left Megabazus behind as general in Europe; a garrison position was established at Doriskos by the mouth of the Hebrus, and a Persian army seems to have penetrated beyond the Strymon into Macedonia. Several of the Greek islands were also captured at different times. Whether a satrapy was established on the north coast of the Aegean and tribute was regularly exacted is uncertain; but from the freedom with which Greeks who refused to recognize Darius' suzerainty were able to move about in the vicinity of the Bosporus, the Hellespont, and even Doriskos itself, we might infer that southern Thrace was not in any real sense occupied before the preparations for an invasion of Greece commenced. And after 479 B.C. only a couple of Persian garrisons remained to be cut out.

[1] Cameron's contention that it is earlier than 499 (*JNES* II (1943), 312 n. 31) is theoretically possible but historically very improbable. From mentions of individuals with this ethnic in Bablyonian documents of the early years of Darius I, W. Eilers was able to make a strong case for the identification of Karkā (Akk. Karsa) with Carians ("Das Volk der karkā in den Achämenideninschriften", *OLZ* XXXVIII (1935), cols 201–13). Herzfeld preferred to regard the Karkā as exiled Carians of a supposed "naval base" in the Persian Gulf, and this seems now to be the prevailing opinion for the Susa palace inscription (Darius Susa f), to which may now be added the tablets DSz and DSaa, discovered in 1970.

[2] It may be that Darius' expedition did not come so near to disaster as Herodotus believed; but with their colonies among the Scythians, the Ionians had much more accurate information about the aftermath of the expedition than Darius could ever have obtained. See below, pp. 301–3.

It is difficult to keep track of the various Yaunā in Darius' dahyāva lists, the more so because in Persepolis e we find "Yaunā by (or in) the sea" in the list of subjects but nothing to suggest that the Scythian expedition had yet occurred. At Naqsh-i Rustam, dating later than the Scythian expedition, there is a dahyāuš called Yaunā takabarā = "bearing shields" (glossed in the Babylonian text "on their heads", so referring to sun-hats) which must relate to Greeks of either part or the whole of the land between Thessaly and the Black Sea; unfortunately the evidence does not suffice to show whether or not the Persians regarded the Macedonians at that time as Greeks.

There remains the dahyāuš of Skudra, whose representatives on the Apadana reliefs of Persepolis (if correctly recognized) are cloaked and seem to be hooded like Sakai but not trousered. From their position in the lists they would seem to be people of Thrace between the Danube and the Marmara. Persian occupation of the interior of what is now Bulgaria does not seem to be attested by archaeological discoveries. For the name Skudra no explanation has yet proved acceptable; but the resemblance to Skythai-Iškuzai might not be fortuitous. A problem is created by the appearance of what Hallock takes to be Skudrian workers in the Fortification tablets of Persepolis between the 18th and 24th years of Darius I's reign. The mentions of these people (Iškudra) are numerous and the groups very large (one containing no less than 520 workers); and the associated words or names do not suggest that a dahyāuš is in question. Possibly we are dealing with a people who had been deported, like the Paeonians whom Herodotus speaks of as having been settled in Phrygia (v. 12–23, 98); but the name in the tablets at Persepolis could be that of some local community or group.

VII. THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SATRAPIES

As the King's governors in the provinces, the satraps ("protectors of the realm") were viceroys. Their jurisdiction embraced the spheres of civil and military action; they seem to have been responsible for the payment of the annual tribute, the raising of military levies, and for justice and security; their courts are also said to have been frequented by the Persian notables in the satrapies and to have served as cadet schools for the education of their children.

The above view of the duties of a satrap is based on the known evidence of their actions or the King's expectations of them. But it is

not a universally accepted view; and the arguments must therefore be considered. Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia* speaks of Cyrus the Great sending out the first satraps to be civil governors on the understanding that the existing garrison commanders in the provinces were to remain responsible directly to himself (VIII. 6); and in the same passage he speaks of a King's controller-general who visits the provinces every year with an army and corrects abuses or derelictions of duty. But in another idealizing passage, in his *Oeconomicus* (IV. 4), where this notion of control of the provinces by separation of the civil and military arms is developed at greater length, he underlines the unreality of what he has been saying by an unexpected concluding remark: "but where a satrap is appointed the charge of both arms is combined in him". This last statment seems to be the truth. The Behistun inscription shows Darius using the existing satraps as military commanders in regions beyond his reach, and after that we constantly find satraps having armed forces at their disposal and taking the field when necessary in their provinces. This was regular practice not only after the mid 5th century when the western satraps began to interest themselves in recruiting Greek mercenaries for their own service, but for instance under Darius I in 521 B.C. and also when Artaphernes, the satrap of Sardis, took the field as a commander of operations in his satrapy. There is, as we shall see, no other level in the provincial administration at which Xenophon's theory of dual control could apply; and the picture he presents is on his own showing fictitious. We may therefore reject the notion of divided control in the provincial government.[1]

Another theory, competing with Xenophon's rather than harmonizing with it, that has become prevalent in recent years, is that of "toparchies", which was put forward by scholars versed in Iranian institutions and built into an imposing structure from the Greek side. The assumption behind it is that the main military divisions of the empire were not the satrapies as we know them from Herodotus but a smaller number of larger areas each forming a single command. Christensen originally thought in terms of the four "toparchs" among

[1] Since Herodotus (III. 128) speaks of a royal secretary as being attached to every satrap (*hyparch*), modern scholars have inclined to the belief that these officials were responsible directly to the King and have seen this as a further restriction on the satraps' powers. But the secretary in Herodotus' story (the Sardis satrapy in 521 B.C.) simply read out the King's messages as they were handed to him; and the other Persian cited by some scholars as a royal secretary, Hieramenes, sounds more like a trusty emissary sent by the King in 411 B.C. and adviser at court five years later.

whom the Sasanian empire was quartered; he sought to project the arrangement backwards through Parthian to Achaemenid times, apparently with the same ruling families. This involved a self-evident contradiction, that the Achaemenid empire, which comprised Egypt and Asia west of the Euphrates, could not be fitted into the Sasanian fourfold division; and Ehtécham proposed to increase the number of the original Achaemenid toparchies to a maximum of seven; but the effect of this was to convert a speculative hypothesis into a specific contention which is impossible if tested against the known facts.

From the Greek side the evidence is at first sight more substantial, and the notion of four army commands in the fourth century in fact goes back to E. Meyer. Xenophon speaks more than once of locations (*syllogoi*) for the marshalling or inspection of army groups, and in his *Anabasis* (I. 9, 7) he says that Cyrus the Younger was given command of all those whose marshalling point was Kastollou Pedion, and that he was designated 'karanos' – a word that may be related to Old Persian *kāra* = army: from this the conclusion is drawn that Cyrus' military command, which certainly exceeded the territorial limits of a single satrapy, was one of a small number of great "Armeebereichen" which formed the major divisions of the empire – if not indeed, as Junge and Toynbee would have it, the true "satrapies" of Darius. Xenophon might carry more authority here if the two syllogoi which he actually names were not both in the west of Asia Minor – hardly a likely location for the normal marshalling point of a group of satrapies; and here, as elsewhere, he seems to be converting an isolated phenomenon that he has only half understood into a general rule.[1] In fact, Cyrus the Younger's command as we know it in Xenophon was not at all in accordance with rule; it was what as aspirant to the throne he made out of a unique situation. The rest of the evidence that has been brought into play lends no positive support to the theory of "Armeebereichen". The concentrations of great military forces that we meet in the sources were not associated with standing territorial commands but with campaigns in which armies were assembled. For instance, when Pharnabazus was in command in Syria in the early 4th century it was not that he had been promoted to the post of "toparch of Western Asia", but that the King had appointed him commander-in-chief of the expedition to recover Egypt; and similarly in 401 B.C., when Xenophon

[1] Local musters were held as for instance (on the evidence of tablets) at Uruk in 421 B.C. and perhaps at Ur.

found the general Abrocomas and not the satrap Belesys in control in the north of Syria, we can assume that Abrocomas had been appointed as the King's commander-in-chief in the West with a view to preventing Cyrus from invading Babylonia – or possibly, as Rehdantz and Judeich, and more recently Olmstead, have supposed, to prepare for an expedition against the newly revolted Egypt. There can be no doubt that the standard territorial divisions of the empire were the satrapies as, following the Greek writers, we understand the term.

This is not to say that the satrapies were immutable. In the 4th century, if not earlier, there was some breaking up of satrapies, with the formation of new ones (as Caria after the death of Tissaphernes in 395 B.C., and Cappadocia in the dismemberment of Cilicia sometime after 401 B.C.; in the East probably a separate satrapy of Karmania (including southern Fārs), and a dismemberment of Herodotus' composite 7th and 16th nomoi, if we believe in them). We also once find two satrapies under the rule of a single satrap, though perhaps not before the last years of the empire (Abarnahara joined to the reduced Cilicia under Mazaeus after the reconquest of Phoenicia in 345 B.C.). But in general the satrapies were stable units. What did constitute a danger to the empire was the hereditary principle by which in some of the satrapies, as Abarnahara, Matiene, Daskyleion, and finally Caria, sons seem to have succeeded their fathers as though by right, with the result that some of them became semi-independent principalities. This enabled the hereditary Persian dynasties of eastern Anatolia to perpetuate their rule after Alexander and resulted in the kingdoms of Pontus, Cappadocia and Armenia; but it may already have been a cause of serious disunity in the empire before Artaxerxes III. It is in fact necessary to bear in mind that the first half of the 4th century witnessed a very great change in the character of Persian rule in Asia Minor. With the loosening of the links between the satraps and the central authority went a new understanding between the Persian grandees and the Greeks or natives with whom they were in contact. When even the King did not know for certain which of his satraps were loyal and which in revolt, it ceased to be a simple matter of Persians versus subjects (or Persians versus Greeks); and our picture of Persian rule in the West would be seriously distorted if we allowed the evidence of this period to be brought into play along with that for the 6th and 5th centuries.

For Darius I's "reform" of the satrapal system Leuze's lengthy discussion remains the locus classicus.[1] According to Herodotus (III.

[1] *Die Satrapieneinteilung*, especially pp. 13ff. and 43ff. in the separate page numbering.

89), after his accession Darius proceeded to establish the twenty satrapies, fixing for the first time the amount of tribute due from each, and fixing it in each case in silver (or gold). It is difficult to accept without qualification his statement that under Cyrus and Cambyses nothing had been fixed about tribute and the subject peoples simply brought gifts; for at several different points in his work Herodotus speaks of the fixing of tribute before Darius' time. But there must have been some fiscal innovation, since it was for this above all that Darius is said to have received the soubriquet "shopkeeper"; and it is in the statement that the tribute was fixed in gold and silver that the principal reform must be sought. The procession reliefs of the Persepolis Apadana have frequently been adduced as evidence that the subject peoples did nevertheless continue to bring their tribute in kind; but there are serious objections to this interpretation of the scene.[1] What the reform of Darius did was to guarantee the receipt of fixed revenues by the King; there is no certainty that it entirely guaranteed the subject peoples against extortion at the hands of Persian officials or grandees on the spot but it meant that there was no occasion for the latter to seek favour or preferment by exacting a greater tribute for despatch to the treasury. As regards the date, it is hardly possible to envisage the reform of the satrapal system as emerging complete in the opening years of Darius' reign; for the necessary step of detaching Abarnahara (the 5th nomos) from Babylon was not taken before his sixth year at the earliest (above p. 212), and if the land measurement was an essential part of his assessment for taxation, Ionia was not finally incorporated in the system until late in his reign (Herodotus VI. 42).

On the infrastructure of rule in the satrapies our information is patchy. In Egypt the "nomes" continued in being; and some at least of the governors of these territorial divisions of the country were Persians holding office under the satrap. In Abarnahara, on the other hand, there

[1] Some of the objects carried by subject peoples in the reliefs (as the Indians' pots of gold and the Aethiopians' elephant tusks) do correspond to tribute and statutory gifts mentioned by Herodotus. But this sort of literal interpretation of the scenes on Achaemenid reliefs creates more difficulties than it solves; and we may note that the scholars who insist upon it are nevertheless prudent enough to apply the term "throne-bearers" to the subject people on the reliefs who are depicted lifting the entire canopied dais which supports the royal party. In fact, the objects shown on the Persepolis Apadana reliefs seem to correspond quite well with the presents brought to the Persian kings in more modern times by envoys of governors and other rulers: in Chardin (the 1670s) we read of horses, cloth, and jewels, of hunting dogs from a place in Armenia, and of an ostrich and young lion from Basra; a giraffe also was noted by J. Barbaro in 1471 (from an Indian prince), and likewise an Indian buffalo by Pietro della Valle.

was a variety of governors, none of whom was normally a Persian. The cities of Cyprus, as well as Phoenicia, were governed by their own kings. The Greek cities of Asia Minor had a considerable degree of local autonomy, at first under bosses (tyrants) supported by the Persians, and after 494 B.C. under oligarchic regimes on the occasions when they found themselves subject to Persian rule. It is commonly said that in the Persian empire the great "Statthalterschaften" (the satrapies) were divided into "Unterstatthalterschaften", and these into smaller "Bezirke".[1] At first sight the resulting pyramid of power seems to apply well, as Leuze applied it, to the situation in Abarnahara at the beginning of Darius' reign. But it only needed the establishment of the separate satrapy there to make it appear totally different: after that only a Persian satrap, perhaps generally resident at the north corner near Aleppo, stood between the King and the native governors in Samaria, Jerusalem, and Amman, the Qedarite Sheikhdom and the authorities in Philistine Ashdod, perhaps priestly rulers as at Bambyce-Hierapolis, and Phoenician and Cypriot city princes. In general these native governors and princes will have had their chanceries which maintained contact with the satrap. There does not seem to be evidence of any other link in the chain of command. It is true that in Ionia towards 400 B.C. we find men, some of them Persians, named in our Greek sources as governors (*hyparchs*) of Tissaphernes and Cyrus the Younger in cities of the Aegean coast, and an impression is thereby created of a regular establishment of "Unterstatthalter" in the Sardis satrapy. But this was a time of war, with the Sardis satrapy as the seat of command; and in fact there seems to be no doubt that these were men of the satrap's entourage who were sent to act as his lieutenants in places where operations or negotiations were taking place. A similar example is provided by the Persian naval commander Sandoces, a former King's judge, whom Herodotus (VII. 194) names as being hyparch at Cyme on the coast of the Aeolis in 480 B.C.; this might have greater significance if we did not learn also from Herodotus (VIII. 130) that Cyme was serving as the main fleet base of the Persian armada in the autumn of that year. Phrygia on the Anatolian plateau may possibly have become a subordinate hyparchy in the course of time; but the normal organization of rule in the Asia Minor satrapies did not have the neatly graded structure that Leuze's hierarchies would imply.[2]

[1] As formulated by Leuze (his p. 40).

[2] One great difficulty in this study is that in the Greek writers the words "satrap", "hyparch", and "archon" are used almost as synonyms and do not in themselves permit the distinction of grades. Similarly, a single word is applied to governors at all levels both in Babylonian documents and in the relevant books of the Old Testament.

There were standing garrisons at many places in the empire: at satrapal centres like Memphis and Sardis, in frontier zones as at the first cataract, the southern border of Palestine, and the entry points of the Delta, or at the crossings into Cilicia, and no doubt at other nodal or dominant points.[1] These garrisons seem commonly to have been composed of imperial troops and not of local levies; so it is possible that in theory Xenophon is right in portraying the garrison commanders as directly responsible to the King. Canon Rawlinson took the mention in Herodotus (III. 91) of 120,000 measures of wheat due from the Egyptians for the maintenance of the Persians (or, to be accurate, of the Persians and their auxiliaries) in the White Fort at Memphis as indicating that there was a standing garrison of that number of Persians at Memphis, and this has even been used as a base for estimating the population of Persia. But it is not within the bounds of credibility; and in fact Herodotus' phrase, if taken in conjunction with a passage in Demosthenes, yields a figure of 16,000 men, not necessarily composed mainly of Persians.[2] From what little evidence there is, it does not seem to be the case, as has been supposed, that the principal activity of the male Persians consisted in garrisoning the empire; as regards numbers, it would seem clear that the Sardis garrison, assumed to be the most important one in the West, was no more than a guard on the citadel in 499 B.C. when the Ionians captured and burnt the city, and that it did not constitute an operational field force. Reinforcements were available in 499, and they arrived in time to engage the Ionian commando before it left Ephesus; but they were contingents brought by "the Persians who held nomoi within [i.e. west of] the River Halys".[3]

With the burning of Sardis in mind we may turn to the question of

[1] For graves attributed to imperial garrison troops in the vicinity of Aleppo and the extreme south of Abarnahara see Culican, *Medes and Persians*, 146ff., P. R. S. Moorey, "Iranian troops at Deve Hüyük in Syria in the earlier fifth century B.C.", *Levant* VII (1975), 108–17; for a sanctuary of Arabs in the vicinity of Darius' Suez canal see I. Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions from a Shrine in Egypt", *JNES* XV (1956), 5–9.

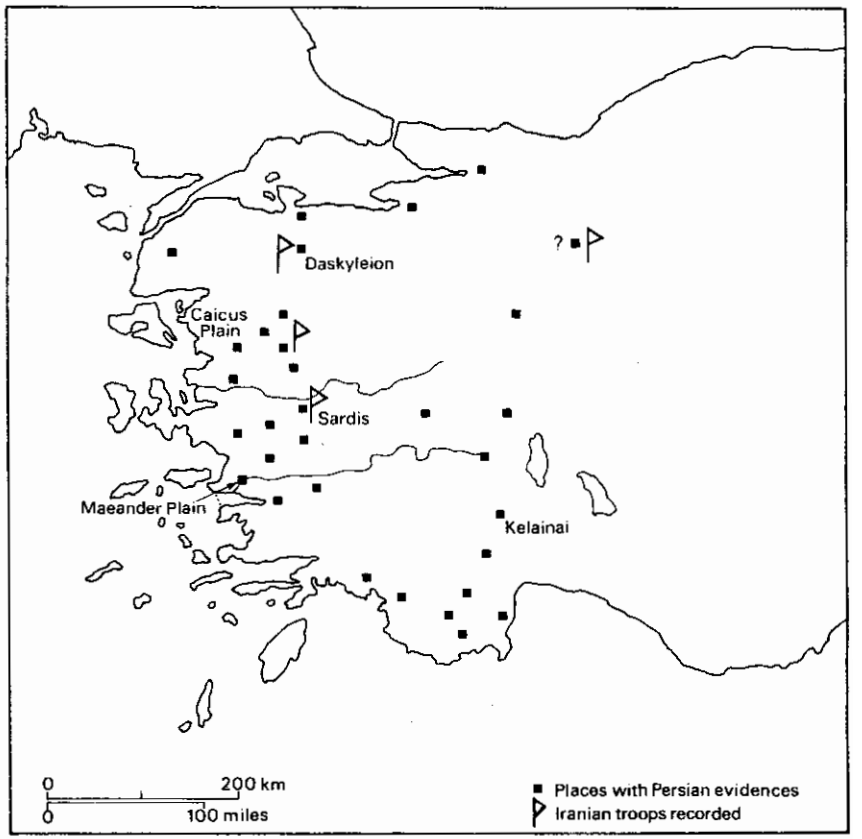
[2] We have evidence, for instance, for Chorasmian, Caspian, Saka, Babylonian, Syrian, Cilician, and Jewish troops in Egypt. For the garrisons there see E. Bresciani, "La satrapia d'Egitto", *Studi classici ed orientali* VII (1958), 147–53.

[3] Herodotus V. 102. The word *nomos* is the one that Herodotus applies, along with *arche* (command, empire) and the Persian word satrapy, to Darius' provinces. But it cannot have the same precise meaning here. The normal range of meaning covers "assigned abode" as well as "administrative division"; in this context it could as well mean "estate or fief assigned by the King" as "sphere of command". In 521 B.C. the satrap of Sardis had a guard of 1,000 Persian spearmen (Hdt. III. 127). The account of the Ionian expedition against Sardis given above comes from Herodotus; Burn points out that according to Plutarch the Persian forces were depleted at the time because of an offensive against Miletus (below, p. 309).

the Persian military presence in western Asia Minor. The evidence from the Greek sources is scrappy, but we know of a number of cases of fiefs being granted and of Persians having taken over good land. It is generally in rich plain land that we discover Persian landowners, in the Maeander valley, in the Colophonian plain, the Hermus plain (Buruncuk), and the Caicus plain. Between these last two plains is the rough mountain country of Southern Aeolis, where we are told that the King's writ did not run in the 460s when Themistocles went into hiding in one of the Greek cities there; and when the Persians took over the Maeander plain after the fall of Miletus (494 B.C.) the mountain country of the Milesians to the south was handed over to intransigent herdsmen of the Halicarnassus peninsula. We also know that to the north, in the region of Mt Ida, there were cities that had not been subjected by the Persians until well on in Darius I's reign; and the impression that we receive is that the Persians occupied the good land without troubling themselves unduly over the control of the unproductive hill country, which was not suitable for fiefs.

In the fertile regions we find Persian landowners maintaining their own household brigades (our information comes mainly from Xenophon and so dates to the years around 400 B.C.). Details are not often given; but we are told that Spithridates had a force of 200 cavalry, and we hear of Hyrcanian and Bactrian cavalry and Assyrian infantry in the west. The nearest troops were brought quickly into action when Greek raiding parties appeared, just as those from a wider area had rallied to the defence of Sardis a hundred years earlier. This pattern is different from that of the satraps with their substantial corps of Greek mercenaries. It is a matter of mobile squadrons. The landowners who maintained these brigades were presumably the same Persian grandees who are said to have frequented the satrapal courts.

In the extreme west, on the troublesome Greek fringe, the situation was more of a compromise. In the Daskyleion region around 400 B.C. we find the Persian noble Spithridates established with his 200 cavalry somewhere to the east or the south; but a Greek was given a big fief in the hinterland of Cyzicus, and on the west in the less secure valley of the Scamander the maintenance of order was entrusted to a Greek or native despot, Zenis, who held the inland Greek cities with garrisons of Greek mercenaries. Down the coast we find the families of Greek refugees such as Demaratus, Gongylus of Eretria, and Themistocles holding fiefs alongside the Persian landowners. In Lycia, where fertile



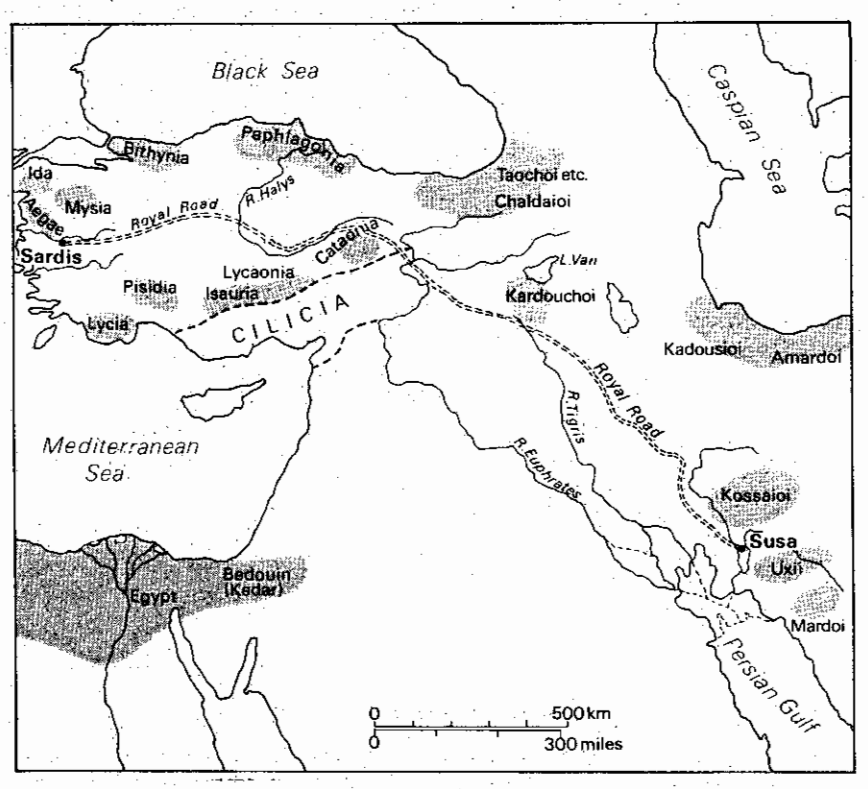
Map 9. The Persian presence in western Asia Minor.

valleys lie at the foot of the mountains, Persian control was evidently patchy; but among the names of magnates in western Lycia around the beginning of the 4th century we encounter Iranian ones like Harpagos, Otanes, Mitrobates, Arsames, and Artembares the Mede. These people seem to have been despots (a deputy of the Sardis satrap Autophradates is also mentioned), and unfortunately we cannot be certain that we are dealing with long-established landowning families. But it is presumably grandees such as we have mentioned who constituted the permanent infrastructure of Persian rule in western Asia Minor both in 499 B.C. and a hundred years later.

Our evidence for this Persian presence in peninsular Asia Minor will some day build up into a well-dotted map, of which Map 9, though hastily drawn up without adequate research, may nevertheless rank as

a distant precursor. The evidence comes in the first instance from the literary sources; but unfortunately these do not multiply. To this we may add Persian names in inscriptions, to some extent contemporary ones like the Lycian, but in a greater degree Greek inscriptions of Hellenistic times which bear witness to the survival of Persian proper names, as well as the cults of the Persian deities in regions like Lydia and Lesser Armenia. No less important are the archaeological evidences of buildings and tomb architecture of Persian types, reliefs (and at Elmalı even tomb paintings) in Greco-Persian style reproducing the favourite despotic themes, of sealings at places where written contact was maintained with the Persian authorities, silver vessels, jewellery, and other objects of Iranian types, and (with their provenience far too rarely recorded) Greco-Persian and Achaemenian seals. The evidence is as yet too thin on the ground for firm patterns to emerge. But in general the fiefs on which Persians were established seem to have been in plains and in fruitful valleys such as those where the Phrygian hill country descends towards the river plains of the west coast.

These pleasant places could be beautiful with lodges, woods, animal parks, gardens and orchards, and no doubt in places with fountains of running water. The mountain country, on the other hand, offered little attraction, and the Persian presence seems generally to have been lacking there. We have seen that in the west of Asia Minor the King's writ did not run in the mountain regions. Further back, the whole of the mountainous Pontic region was virtually independent during much of the 5th and 4th centuries. We read of punitive expeditions being mounted, or at least contemplated, by Cyrus the Younger or Pharnabazus against Bithynians, Mysians, and Pisidians; and in the east of the Anatolian plateau the Cataonians and Lycaonians were accustomed to prey upon the neighbouring settled lands. In his description of the "Royal Road", which ran for ninety days' journey from Sardis to Susa with its royal posting stations, guards, and hostelries, Herodotus (v. 52f.) speaks of the King's highway as traversing inhabited and safe country throughout its entire length. This has caused modern scholars to assume that in the mid 5th century complete peace and security prevailed in the western empire. But it would seem that Herodotus' words must be taken more literally. Presumably the road worked its way through country settled with Persian fiefs and was kept secure from interference. But there would be no guarantee for the traveller who turned off into the hills. The lifeline of Persian communications with



Map 10. Trouble spots of the western empire.

the West, like that of the Seleucids with Bactria and the East, must be thought of as a pacified and patrollable corridor. Map 10, which shows the course of the "Royal Road", also marks the trouble-spots – the regions which we know that at different times the Achaemenids failed to keep under regular control; it prompts the reflection that quite apart from the revolts and rebellions with which the later Achaemenids were faced, one of the inherent weaknesses of Persian rule was the lack of security within the provinces.[1]

[1] For the Percepolis road see above p. 243. In the years around 400 B.C. Cyrus the Younger was blinding highwaymen who infested roads in Asia Minor and Ezra had qualms about travelling to Palestine without an armed guard.

VIII. THE QUALITY OF ACHAEMENID RULE

The organization of the empire and the machinery of government have been considered, and it now remains to attempt some sort of appraisal of the prevailing conditions and the acceptability of Achaemenid imperial rule. This is – or was at the beginning of the 1970s – still a relatively uncharted field, for oriental empires have not usually been studied in this way; and in the circumstances we cannot hope to reach more than a very tentative assessment, whose value is likely to consist as much in the identification of problems as in the solutions offered.

First we may consider the question to what extent the subject peoples were admitted into the ranks of those who governed. Despite Herodotus' clear statement that the Medes were enslaved by the Persians (I. 129f.) and the evident lack of Medes as well as other provincials in important positions of which we have record, a view has become accepted that the Medes and Persians merged into a single ruling people. This requires serious consideration.

Herodotus (VII. 61) describes the Persian military costume (*skeuē*), and he goes on to say that it is in origin Median, not Persian, but the Persians adopted it from the Medes. He elsewhere, in a non-military context (I. 135),[1] speaks of the Persians adopting the Median dress (*esthēs*), which they found more congenial than their own. It is clear that he regards the Persians as dressed in the Median style whether at court or in the field. Scholars like Canon Rawlinson recognized that it is not possible to distinguish Medes from Persians in terms of the normal costumes worn on Achaemenian reliefs. By convention, however, a habit has been formed of distinguishing one dress prevalent on reliefs – the flowing court habit and straight-sided cap worn for instance by the King (cf. pl. 24*a*) – as Persian, and the other prevalent costume – the cavalryman's trouser-suit and round felt cap worn by the King's principal officials (cf. pl. 23) – as Median; and scholars now take it for granted that those who wear the one are Persians and those who wear the other are Medes.[2] An impression is thus created that the principal officials of the court were largely Medes, and that Medes alternated with Persians in

[1] This is clear from the fact that he immediately adds that for warfare they adopted the Egyptian breastplate.

[2] A further refinement that some scholars affect is the distinction of Elamites, as well as Medes, among the guardsmen depicted on Achaemenid reliefs; the criteria used for this (a braided hair-style and a dagger-type) are of course artistic variations which need not have any special significance.

the corps of ushers, among the great body of courtiers, and – despite the quite explicit statements of Herodotus and Heracleides of Cyme to the contrary – in the ranks of the Immortals. If this view is correct, there could be no doubt that Medes did have their place with Persians in the high échelons of Achaemenid rule.

The difficulties in this current view are considerable. We are obliged to assume that while the holders of the office of hazārapatiš or chiliarch known to us in reputable literary sources were Persians, the holders of the office at the times represented by the audience reliefs of Darius I[1] and Artaxerxes I happened to be Medes. Aspathines, the bow-bearer of Darius I, has come to be spoken of as "Aspathines the Mede" because on the King's tomb front he is depicted wearing the 'Median' costume; but we have seen reason to believe that Aspathines came of a very high-ranking Persian family (that of Prexaspes, above p. 204). If we seek for a test, we must turn to the stairway reliefs of Darius' Apadana at Persepolis, where there is little doubt about the identification of the Median delegation at the head of the procession. There all members of the Median delegation wear the familiar trouser-suit. But only the leader wears the round felt cap; the eight Medes who follow him wear a hood rising over the brow to a triple peak. It thus appears that there is a distinct head-dress by which Medes can be recognized, but it is extremely rarely worn by the "Median" courtiers, officials, and Immortals of the reliefs. For the question of Medes in high positions we are therefore thrown back on the literary evidence, and above all on Herodotus.

Under Cyrus the Great and his son there is no doubt that Medes and indeed others of the subject peoples were promoted to positions of responsibility. Harpagos and Mazares, the first generals of Cyrus, were both Medes. In 522/521 B.C. Darius presumably had no choice but to use commanders already in post; of seven whom he despatched against the revolting subjects five (as he tells us) were Persians, one was a Mede, and one an Armenian. After this the Mede Datis was Darius' special agent for Greek affairs and was in joint command at Marathon (490 B.C.); and his two sons were accepted into the aristocracy of empire and held posts as cavalry officers in 480 B.C. But that is all. Every satrap of Darius known to us was a Persian. We have no detailed knowledge of Persian military activities under Darius save in the West; but every one of the fifteen or so high-ranking officers that we know to have been

[1] Or Xerxes. See above, p. 230, n. 1.

despatched there by him was a Persian. The evidence for 480 B.C. is the same. Of forty top-ranking officers all seem to have been Persians.

Here we see the further development of a practice that was already noticeable under Darius; approximately half of this body of commanders in 480 B.C. came from the immediate kin, by blood or by marriage, of the King himself. Achaemenid rule was becoming a family concern. And it was not only at the King's court that this narrowing of the circle of the élite took place. As we descend beyond the reign of Xerxes we find the satraps also tending to use their own relatives for important commissions. The notion that the Persians associated the subject peoples with them in their rule stands revealed as a chimera. It would be unreasonable to expect anything else from a proud imperial people in that age. But the fact must be stated, without any implied criticism, that there was no sharing of the perquisites of empire, little encouragement of talent or training of suitable candidates for high office, no conception of an integrated empire. The ranks of the administrative hierarchy were of course filled with native officials; for they possessed the knowledge and skills that were needed. But the governing class was Persian. Only in the 4th century do we find natives of the provinces assuming the higher control; and that resulted from their own ability to outface their rulers in an international epoch when the central authority had decayed and even Persian satraps were glad to ally themselves with strong men. In 522 B.C. there is no doubt what the Seven were fighting for; it was absolute and undivided imperium for the Persian nobles.

The Persian fief-holders have been discussed in the last section. To what extent the empire suffered from the curse of absentee landlords is not clear. Some of course must have been so, like Arsames, the satrap of Egypt, who seems to have had substantial estates not only in his satrapy but in Abarnahara and Babylonia and as far north as Arbela, and the queen-mother Parysatis, whose possessions included a group of villages (her "girdle") near the Tigris, or Warohi, who lived in Babylon and had an estate in Egypt; and 5th-century Babylonian tablets show Persians who had landholdings managed for them by agents. But Babylonia and Egypt may have been exceptional. It is in fact Xenophon who speaks of the fief-holders in the provinces as being normally absentee; and in western Asia Minor – the region that he knew at first hand – the evidence in favour of his contention is by no means

satisfactory. The eastern half of the empire is inscrutable. We cannot judge the situation in the upper satrapies when we do not know whether the great landowners who dominated Bactria and Sogdiana were the old native nobility or (as in the West) immigrant Persian grandees (Altheim, Bickerman and Soviet scholars have assumed the one, and Junge and Frye the other).

As regards the growth of a feudal system under Achaemenid rule, the evidence is slight and difficult to interpret. G. Widengren in his recent study[1] devotes several pages to this topic, but only succeeds in isolating two or three minor facets of the matter. The general assumption that the classes (nobility, priesthood, clerks, workers) found in Sasanian times must go back to the Achaemenids carries no conviction; a clerical caste could hardly have come into being so soon, and the Magi seem rather to have been a clergy in the service of Persian (and, more generally, Iranian) masters.[2] Almost certainly the Achaemenid empire was more of a "Beamtenstaat" and less of a "Feudalstaat" than the Parthian and Sasanian states. In the Iranian social structure we have no evidence of a legal concept of slavery other than that by which, to commence at the highest level, all men were slaves of the King; but there seem to have been imported workers, at Persepolis and elsewhere, whose condition (whether permanently or not) was effectively that of slaves.[3] At the same time the development of a market economy in 482–480 in preparation for Xerxes' expedition (Herodotus VII. 23) and apparently of a monetary economy after that time in the Persepolis Treasury tablets implies that corvée workers were not quite slaves. Similarly, temple craftsmen at Uruk in Cyrus' time could bargain about their terms of employment.

One of the chronic problems of Asiatic empires is the control of nomadic tribes. The Achaemenid empire did not lack for them. According to Herodotus four of the ten clans of which the Persians were composed were nomadic.[4] One of these tribes – the Mardoi – is marked on map 11, with the Uxii and other non-Persian nomadic folk

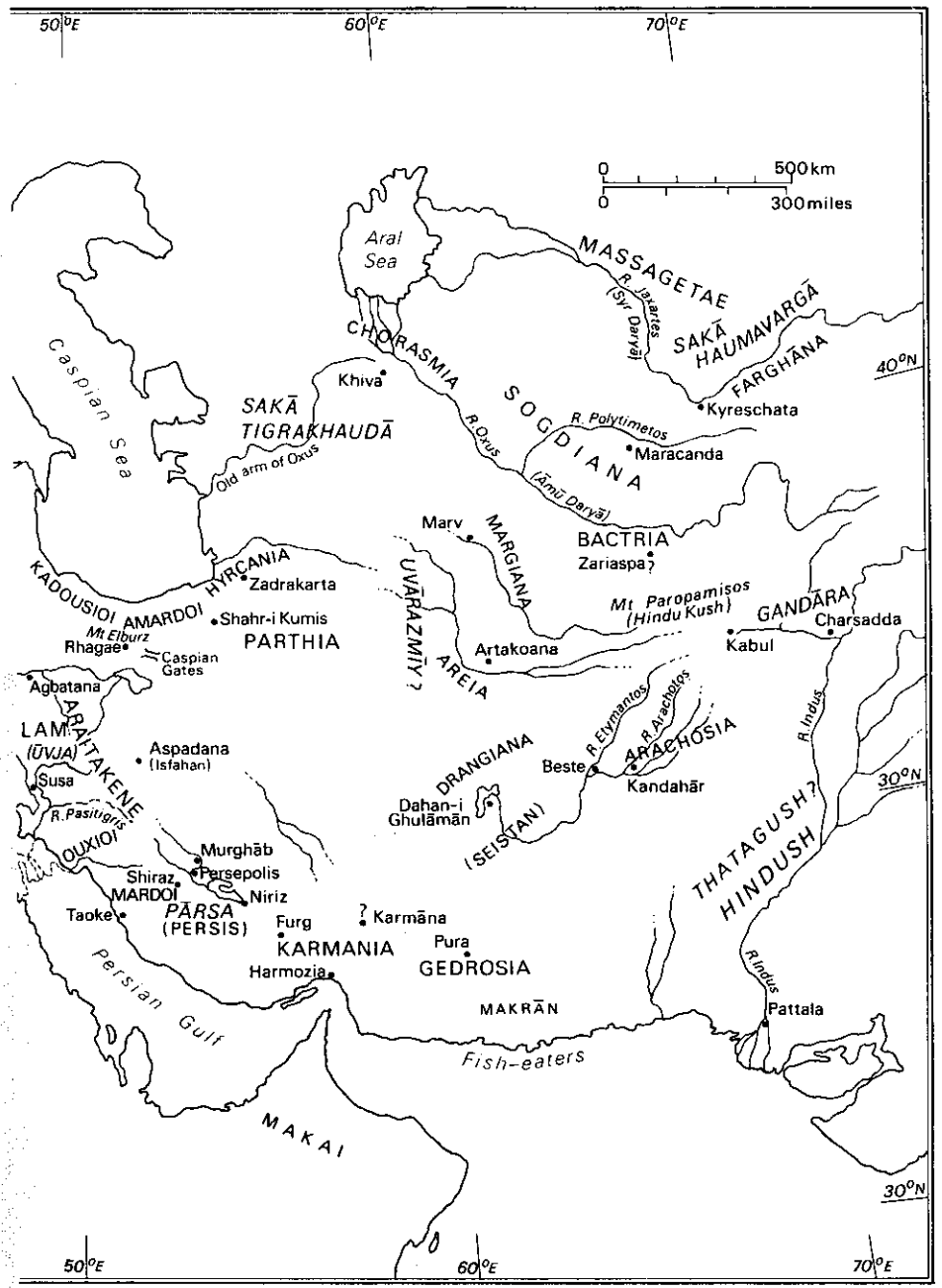
[1] *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Cologne, 1969), 102–8.

[2] The problems associated with the Magi cannot be discussed here. But we may say that they seem not to have been disseminators of a religion so much as officiants who performed ceremonies as needed. Herodotus recognized the Magi as a Median clan (I. 101), and there seems to be no good reason for regarding them as non-Aryan.

[3] For a sober statement of our knowledge of the social structure see Frye, *Heritage*, 51–5, and *idem*, "The institutions", in Walser, *Beiträge*, 83–93, and on slavery M. A. Dandamayev, in *ibid.*, 33–45.

[4] The Greek word of course means simply pastoral people as opposed to cultivators.

Map 11. The Achaemenian empire.



stretching north-west along the Zagros. It seems generally to have been supposed that the nomads of ancient Iran were tribes of the plateau who ranged freely over steppe and desert; and the lassoo-throwing Persian clan of Sagartians (Asagartiyā), whose cavalry accompanied Xerxes to Greece, has been cited in evidence of such movement because Herodotus (III. 93) places them in his 14th nomos south or east of Persis whereas it was in Media north of Persis that Darius defeated them in 521 B.C. (Behistun inscription).[1] This is a case where comparison with modern practice could after all be illuminating. At the present day the principal nomad confederation of Persis is the Qashgais. In summer they are to be found as far north as the high Zagros south of Iṣfahān, that is to say in Median Paraitakene; but in the autumn they descend through central Persis to the lower lands near the Persian Gulf. If the ancient Sagartians worked to a similar pattern, they would have spent the summer months in Media, where Darius' general fought them in the high summer of 521, but in winter, when they would be approachable by the fiscal authorities, their habitat would have been in the lower lands of the 14th nomos; and despite all this they could have been, as Herodotus makes them out to be (I. 125), a Persian tribe. With regard to the Sagartians we can of course only conjecture. But with the Mardians and the non-Persian tribes of the Uxii, Elymaioi, and Kossaioi of the Zagros we can infer from the Greek writers that these nomads were semi-nomadic or transhumant, moving high up the mountains in summer and descending to the low ground in winter without transgressing the limits of their own territory. As far as concerns internal security the problem was one of seasonal nomadism.

In Iranian monarchies nomads have been kept under control in periods of firm centralized rule. They are encouraged to co-operate by the opportunity of gainful employment in the armed forces, provided always that the government ensures that agreements are honoured and the promised maintenance, equipment, and payments are regularly supplied. At the end of Achaemenid times we find the Zagros nomads out of control. The Uxii even demanded payment from the King in return for allowing him to travel between Susa and Persis (they incautiously made the same demand of Alexander in 331 B.C., but he was accustomed to conquering tribesmen, not conciliating them, and so they disappear from history). In earlier Achaemenid times, however,

[1] The most recent tendency among scholars is to place the Sagartians in the region of the Karmanian desert; but that is no country for horsemen.

we hear nothing of these nomads save as auxiliaries in the armed forces, and there is no evidence of patrol posts or defensive measures to contain them; indeed the Fortification tablets of Persepolis, of Darius I's reign, seem to envisage unhampered movement of small parties of people between Persis and Susa, and the recently discovered Achaemenian pavilion or residence at Jinjān near Fahliyān looks like an entirely peaceful establishment on flat ground near the river. In Ctesias also, at the end of the 5th century, there is still no hint of interference with the route to Persis. On the evidence, slight as it is, it seems fair to assume that until a late period the Achaemenids were on good terms with the mountain tribes of the Zagros. What we may perhaps reasonably infer, when we take into account the apparent slightness of traces of permanent habitation of this date in the mountain regions, is that the Achaemenids were not greatly interested, as other rulers have been, in promoting sedentary agricultural settlement in the Zagros, and that the tribesmen of the mountains were left in undisputed possession both of the potentially fertile high folds and of the winter camping grounds in the warm lands. Under these circumstances there should have been little cause for friction.[1]

One measure that is often adopted in the interests of internal security in Asiatic empires is deportation, the aim being to transfer troublesome communities to strange surroundings where they inevitably become less refractory. We know of a number of examples of deportation by the Achaemenids. It was generally a punishment inflicted on communities that had revolted, though in one instance (the Paeonians) Darius I is said to have acted with the intention of improving the human stock inside his realm, while the Branchidae were removed to Bactria for their own safety. In the nature of the evidence we know only of those cases which were of interest to the Greek writers and so recorded by them, that is to say, of Greek and other western communities which were deported eastward (Milesians and Carians, Eretrians, Barcaeans of Cyrenaica, Jews, and Sidonians); and of course there will have been more instances of deportation which have left no record (unless we place the work-gangs of the Persepolis tablets in this category). But what we

[1] For a concise attempt at a reconstruction of the history of nomadism in Iran see *CHI* I (1968) 410ff. (X. de Planhol). H. Bobek, whose theoretical reconstruction of ecological conditions in post-glacial Iran (*Geogr. Jahresb.* XXV (1953–4) 30ff.) fits excellently with what the Greek writers tell us about Persis (above, p. 241), seems to assume that in the first millennium the centre and the inner parts of the mountain crust of Iran were in the grip of militant "Vollnomadentum"; this cannot, however, be reconciled with the settlement pattern as it appears in the Greek descriptions (especially Diodorus XIX. 19–44, dating 317–316 B.C.).

do know of was on a relatively small scale; and it seems unlikely that the Achaemenids used deportation systematically as an instrument of imperial policy in the way that the Assyrians did or that Stalinist Russia has more recently done. Still less likely is Narain's contention that the hellenization of the eastern satrapies (as seen in Greek script and coinages) dates back to Greeks already settled there before the time of Alexander the Great.

The Arab problem seems to have been successfully handled. Admittedly, the revolt of Egypt caused confusion in the adjacent parts of Asia, of which Nabataeans may have taken advantage; and before 333 B.C. Arabs had established themselves in the Lebanon and were ready to prey upon the settled lands when the opportunity arose. But no disturbances are heard of before this late period of Achaemenid rule. In the 5th century Geshem of Qedar and his son seem to have been good march wardens. Persian authority was respected in Dedan; the camel-leading bedouin seem regularly to have brought their gifts, and their natural desire to harry the settled fringe lands in their seasonal movements or to annex them must have been curbed by the satraps of Babylon and Abarnahara. Here again, as on the north-eastern frontier where the dangerous tribesmen of the *limes* were evidently encouraged to participate in its defence, peace (as Toynbee remarked) seems to have been maintained with remarkably little exertion of force. As regards the other frontiers, the Caucasus seems to have presented no serious problem during Achaemenid times; and strong garrisons at the first cataract neutralized any threat from Aethiopians. The more thorny problems of the western frontiers belong to another chapter. The recently claimed recognition of a chain of fortified sites of Achaemenid stamp along the Levant coast requires closer investigation before credence can be given to it. In general, after the failure of the great expeditions against the Greeks, Persian military undertakings in the West came to labour under an increasingly cautious and cumbrous organization which allowed little scope for bold leadership, and the Persians' most effective weapon was the gold which they used to divide their enemies or to secure for themselves the services of Greek commanders and mercenaries.

Babylonia has provided much written material for the study of economic history in the period of Persian rule. But we can hardly ascribe an economic policy to the Achaemenids. Darius I may have had some idea of the benefits of commerce, as well as of navigation. But none

of his successors show signs of having been conscious of the common market potential of their realm. So long as the revenues of empire continued to accumulate in the royal treasury, the King need feel no concern about the economic well-being of the realm; and in the hoarding of wealth the world has rarely seen anything comparable. Ehtécham's complaint in the peroration of his book that the greatest crime of the Balkan (i.e. Macedonian) hordes consisted in wantonly dissipating the carefully husbanded treasures of the Achaemenids seems to be a reversal of any reasoned judgement. Babylonia seems to have gone into a decline after Xerxes' reign. After a rapid rise in commodity prices shortage of money (silver) was cramping the economy; and the alienation of the land must have resulted in increasingly widespread impoverishment. The impression is given that it was only by a cultivation of the date palm as intensive as that of the potato in early 19th-century Ireland that the population continued to subsist.[1]

The Achaemenids were Persians. They had a love of natural beauty and a desire to live in pleasant surroundings; Darius I even wanted others to benefit, for the Gadatas letter shows him commending a governor for transplanting fruit trees from Abarnahara to Ionia. They liked their setting to be an "oasis", with parks and gardens and running water, with animals for the hunt, game, and fish. Whether they could think beyond the oasis to a larger whole, whether it is true that (to quote Ghirshman) "throughout the country public works were undertaken to increase productive capacity" is by no means so certain. It is true that under Darius I and Xerxes there were gangs of workmen and labourers in Persis paid for by the treasury there, and Persian nobles may have profited by the opportunity of providing a labour force; but we hardly know what works were going on apart from palace-building and tomb-cutting, and the evidence from literary sources is disconcertingly slight.

In Iran the greatest of all problems is water. Artificial irrigation by channels was practised in neolithic times on the fringes (Khūzistān and Turkestan) and in the southern uplands at least. These methods were no doubt used under the Achaemenids, but they cannot as yet be placed

[1] There is much detailed information in Olmstead, Chs 5, 14 and 21, though it was written before the publication of Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašū*. Recent essays on Achaemenid Babylonia are Meuleau's Ch. 17 in Bengtson, *Medes and Persians*, M. A. Dandamayev, "Achaemenid Babylonia", in I. M. Diakonoff (ed.), *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Moscow, 1969), 296–311 and in Walser, *Beiträge* 15–58, and R. Zadok, "The Nippur region during the Archaemenian period", *Israel Oriental Studies* VIII (Tel Aviv, 1978), 266–332.

in a time-scale calibrated in centuries. What is currently attributed to the Achaemenids is the introduction of two altogether grander and more effective methods of irrigation – the dam and the long underground aqueduct (*qanāt* or *kārēz*). Of the first there may be a notable example in Herodotus (III. 117). There was, he tells us, a mountain-ringed plain with a great river which ran off through openings in five directions. It had belonged to the Chorasmians but passed into the possession of the Persian Kings (this statement has given rise to a modern notion that a Great Chorasmian State existed in Khurāsān-Sīstān until the time of Cyrus!). One of the Kings blocked the openings, so that the water ceased to flow out to the people who depended on it. In the meantime he had sluice gates constructed; and when they protested, the gates were opened and turn by turn the inhabitants received their water again; but they now had to pay a fancy price for it. As it stands, the story is barely intelligible; and the circumstantial detail has a fairy-tale quality. But presumably an attempt at water control is being described, and it is attributed to a Persian King. Some modern scholars take the story as proof that great works of land improvement were carried out by the Achaemenids. But it is impossible to tell what it is that we have here and whether it constitutes the rule or the one exception to the rule which was worth relating; and in any case the story is presented as an example not of land improvement (there is no hint of that intention) but of fiscal rapacity. Apart from this, there are traces of dams on the river near Persepolis and perhaps Pasargadae which could be of Achaemenid date. But we are not yet in a position to say how the Achaemenids' achievement in water conservation compared, for instance, with that of Shāh 'Abbās: certainly the Persepolis tablets give no hint of anything on the scale of his attempt to divert the upper waters of the Kārūn to Iṣfahān.[1]

The question of qanāts is more easily resolved. There certainly were qanāts in existence in Iran in Achaemenid times. Polybius in his description of the eastern campaign of Antiochus the Great in 206 B.C. (X. 28) accurately describes the qanāts (*hyponomoi*) of the north edge of the desert under the Alburz (his Taurus); he speaks of them as numerous and as being so long that in Antiochus' day those who used the water no longer had any idea where it came from! Ctesias (about 400 B.C.) also refers to an aqueduct or qanāt that brought water to Agbatana in Media from Mt Orontes (Alvand); its great age is indicated

[1] Herbert speaks of 40,000–100,000 men being employed on this project.

by the fact that the work was already attributed to the mythical queen Semiramis.[1] Qanāts, then, were almost certainly older than the Achaemenids. But the Achaemenids recognized the value of this method of irrigation, for in this matter they were prepared to make a remarkable financial concession: Polybius tells us that they had allowed anyone who brought water to barren land to reap the benefits of it for five generations (i.e. before it passed to the crown). Because of that, he says, the inhabitants of the Alburz undertook the construction themselves. The reason why qanāt-building has been so infrequently undertaken is that the expense is great and no private person could afford such an outlay when the benefit from it went to the crown. The Achaemenids are here shown as forbearing and far-sighted, unique perhaps in this among Iranian monarchs before our own times.

No empire easily escapes the charge of oppressiveness. Herodotus tells us, and the documents tend to confirm, that Babylonia and Egypt both suffered grievously after their revolts at the end of Darius' reign; and in the west the Greeks with their insistence on freedom were intolerant of the Persian yoke. But this does not mean that the subject peoples as a whole resented it; accustomed to alien masters, many of them may have found the Persian rule relatively easy-going. It does no service to the Achaemenids to represent them, as some recent writers have done, as a great civilizing force in the ancient world, or as an imperial people whose political thought rose superior to that of the Greeks and "transcended the narrow limits of the polis". They did not build cities, though the peace they brought may have encouraged others to do so.[2] There was no ancient Persian literature or cultural development, no Persian scholarship or science; the doctors at the Achaemenid courts were Egyptian specialists and Greek general practitioners. The Achaemenids' monumental architecture from the time of Cyrus the Great was firmly rooted in Greek and Lydian (and to some extent Egyptian) practice. Their imperial art was a composite with an imposing present

[1] The canal at Tušpa (Van), attributed to Semiramis both in antiquity and at the present day (Turkish "Şamransu"), dates back to Urartian rule about 800 B.C. Qanāts seem to have made their appearance not long after this in Urartu and Assyria. There is a fair case for believing that Darius I had qanāts made in the Khargeh oasis.

[2] As in the Indus valley, where Wheeler has pointed out that the revival of cities like Charsadda dates to Achaemenid times. On the other hand, there is remarkably little trace of settled life in that era in eastern Anatolia and Armenia; and in Iran it was the Seleucids, and especially the Sasanians, who concerned themselves with city-building, with Greco-Bactrians and Kushans active in the upper satrapies.

but no past or future; and where it breaks through the ceremonial to present the individual and informal it could be that we are justified in sensing the originality of an Ionian master. But their rule was one which induced racial and cultural fusion.[1] They respected the institutions and religious beliefs of their subjects.[2] They were rarely bloodthirsty, and often they were magnanimous;[3] and until corruption became prevalent they seem to have had the gift of commanding loyalty, for our sources give no hint of treachery or defection in the motley army of Xerxes and Mardonius in 480–479 B.C. In particular, we may surmise that there was a strong sense of Iranian unity lending solidarity to the eastern half of the empire. It is only in the generations after Alexander, in Eudemus and in Eratosthenes (ap. Strabo), that we find mention of the concept of a greater nation of Iran (Ārianē) stretching from the Zagros to the Indus; but the sense of unity must have been there, for Herodotus tells us that the Medes were formerly called Arioi,[4] and Darius I (followed by Xerxes) in his inscriptions proclaims himself an Iranian (Ariya) by race – he speaks of himself in ascending order as an Achaemenid, a Persian, and an Iranian (Naqsh-i Rustam). Certainly the Seleucids were never able to obtain the support of cavalry from the upper satrapies in the way that the Achaemenids had done.

The impression that we get of the Persians in the Greek writers is in some ways a deceptive one. Too much emphasis is laid on what is

[1] We may here quote Bickerman in *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano*, 103: "In Persian Babylonia we see men of all nationalities living peacefully together – from Egyptians, Jews and Moabites to Afghans and Indians – under the rule of the Achaemenids. A contract of marriage between a Persian and an Egyptian woman is written in cuneiform script. Arameans, Babylonians, Egyptians are witnesses." Dandamayev reckons non-Babylonians as forming about a third of the names that occur in records of the great estate-management firm of Murashu in Nippur and including Persians, Medes, Sakai, Areians and other Iranians; he also mentions as resident in Babylonia West Semites (especially Aramaeans), Elamites, Lydians, Greeks, Phrygians, Carians, Arabs, Egyptians, Indians etc. (Walser, *Beiträge*, 57).

[2] Exceptions can be found, notably in the behaviour of Xerxes and Artaxerxes III towards the gods of subject nations (Babylon and Egypt) who had revolted. But in addition to their generally favourable attitude towards the responsible priesthoods in the satrapies, the Kings showed a remarkable propensity to flatter Jewish religious sentiments at least, even to the detriment of good-neighbourly relations; and Darius I, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II are on record as concerning themselves personally with religious concessions in different places.

[3] Any remark of this sort is of course relative. There were barbaric punishments and tortures. Some of the Achaemenids showed themselves cruel, especially if Ctesias is to be believed; and Artaxerxes III (Ochus) was undoubtedly ruthless. Darius I consigned the "Kings of the Lie" to atrocious deaths; but, whether justly or not, this could rank as exemplary condign punishment. In general, the Achaemenids do not seem to have been in the habit of shedding the blood of enemies and subject peoples unnecessarily, and they were honourable in their treatment of hostages.

[4] This word is quite distinct from the name Areioi which designates the inhabitants of the dahyāuš of Areia (Old Persian Haraiva); etymologically there is no connection between the two names, and so there can be no question here of a metropolis of the Aryans.

pejorative – the familiar clichés of the Persian Wars in which the weaknesses of the imperial people were exposed, and the commonplaces of a later era when decadence and corruption were plain to see. If we read Herodotus carefully, we find in him not only tolerance but a genuine respect for the Persian nobles who figure in his pages: for their courage, their loyalty, their feeling for beauty, and on occasion generosity. Aristocratically-minded Greeks like Xenophon found still more to admire. Cyrus the Younger, who fell at Cunaxa, was Xenophon's great hero, and in his *Cyropaedia* the Cyrus whom he had known can never have been far from his thoughts; by contrast of course Tissaphernes, the satrap of Sardis and adversary of Cyrus, in whose eyes loyalty to the King ranked higher than honouring his agreements with others, appears as a treacherous scheming Oriental. But nothing in Xenophon creates a stronger impression than the chivalrous exchange in which another great Persian noble, Pharnabazus, was involved with the Spartan king Agesilaus when the two adversaries met to parley in a field near Daskyleion. The story is told in another chapter (below, p. 362); but it is relevant to refer to the effect that the Persian's reply to the invitation to join forces had on Agesilaus and Xenophon. To Greeks brought up on Homer honour could not shine brighter than this.

It was this almost Homeric sense of honour that made the most favourable impression on Greeks and may equally have won the admiration of the subject peoples. Alexander the Great, who himself traced his descent from Achilles, affected to despise the Persians, and as far as Persepolis he continued overtly in this frame of mind; but he had in fact learned to appreciate them, and thereafter he sought to make them partners with his own followers in empire. This was not a matter of an imaginative ideal, of the brotherhood of mankind, but a hard-headed appraisal of those qualities which are required in a ruling race. Once again, it is from the Greek writers, and from them alone, that we can come to an understanding of the ancient Persians, and see what were the qualities that made them an imperial people.