

## The Persians in a Near Eastern Context – Week 3 King, Court, and Persian Nobility

### Videos to Watch

- Ideology of Kingship (10 mins)
- Administration in the Empire (10 mins)
- Selection of case studies related to administrative records (5 x 1 min)

### Reading (sources): read at least two

- The Tomb of Cyrus the Great p. 3
- Marduk leads Cyrus into Babylon (Kuhrt 2007: 3.21) p. 5
- Xerxes restates and elaborates the imperial ideology (Kuhrt 2007: 7.88) p. 9
- Inscription from the façade of Darius I's tomb (Kuhrt 2007: 11.17) p. 11
- Xenophon *Hellenica* 3.1.10-16 p. 13

### Reading (scholarship): choose one reading from each list

#### List One

- Kuhrt, A (1984) 'The Achaemenid Concept of Kingship', *Iran* 22, 156-160.

#### List Two:

- Allen, L (2005) 'Le roi imaginaire: An Audience with the Achaemenid King', in R Fowler, and O Hekster *Imaginary Kings: Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece, and Rome*. Stuttgart. 39-62.
- Root, MC (2012) 'Defining the Divine in Achaemenid Persian Kingship: The View from Bisitun' in Mitchell, L and Melville C *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds: Rulers and Elites* 23-65.
- Finn, J (2011) 'Gods, Kings, Men: Trilingual Inscriptions and Symbolic Visualizations in the Achaemenid Empire', *Ars Orientalis* 41. 219-275.

#### List Three:

- Tavernier, J (2020) 'Persian in Official Documents and the Process of Multilingual Administration' in C Tuplin and J Ma (eds) *Aršāma and His World: The Bodleian Letters in Context: Volume III: Aršāma's World*. Oxford. 75-96.
- Tuplin, C (1987) 'The Administration of the Achaemenid Empire' in I Carradice (ed) *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires*. Oxford. 109-166.
- Jigoulov, V (2009) 'Administration of Achaemenid Phoenicia: A Case for Managed Autonomy' in GN Knoppers, LL Grabbe, and DN Fulton (eds) *Exile and Restoration Revisited: Essays on the Babylonian and Persian Periods*. London. 138-151.

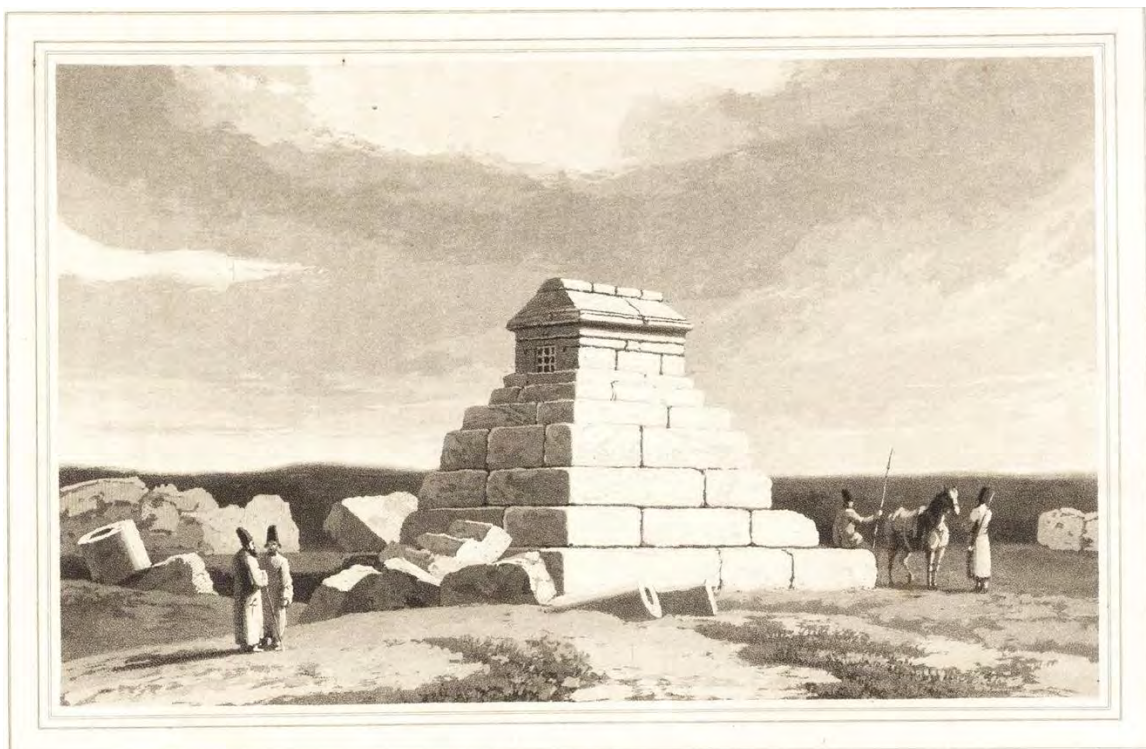
### Challenge Reading: choose one, six times per semester

- Farazmand, A (1998) 'Administration of the Persian Achaemenid World-State Empire: Implications for Modern Public Administration', *International Journal of Public Administration* 21.1, 25-86.
- Saleh, A and J Worrall (2015) 'Between Darius and Khomeini: Exploring Iran's National Identity Problematique', *National Identities* 17.1. 73-97.
- An article of your own choosing, from a journal in ancient history, Near Eastern/Iranian studies, classics, archaeology, etc. (if choosing your own article this must be the topic of your reflexive journal)

**Reading (sources) handout**  
**The Tomb of Cyrus the Great**



By Bernd81 CC BY-SA 4.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=63225153>



*Tomb of Madri Suleiman.*

*Drawn by James Morier Esq.*

Published by Messrs. Colman, Moore, Rosse, and Co. in the Year 1810. Price 1s. 6d.

By James Justinian Morier (1780 – 1849) - Public Domain,  
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=44572204>

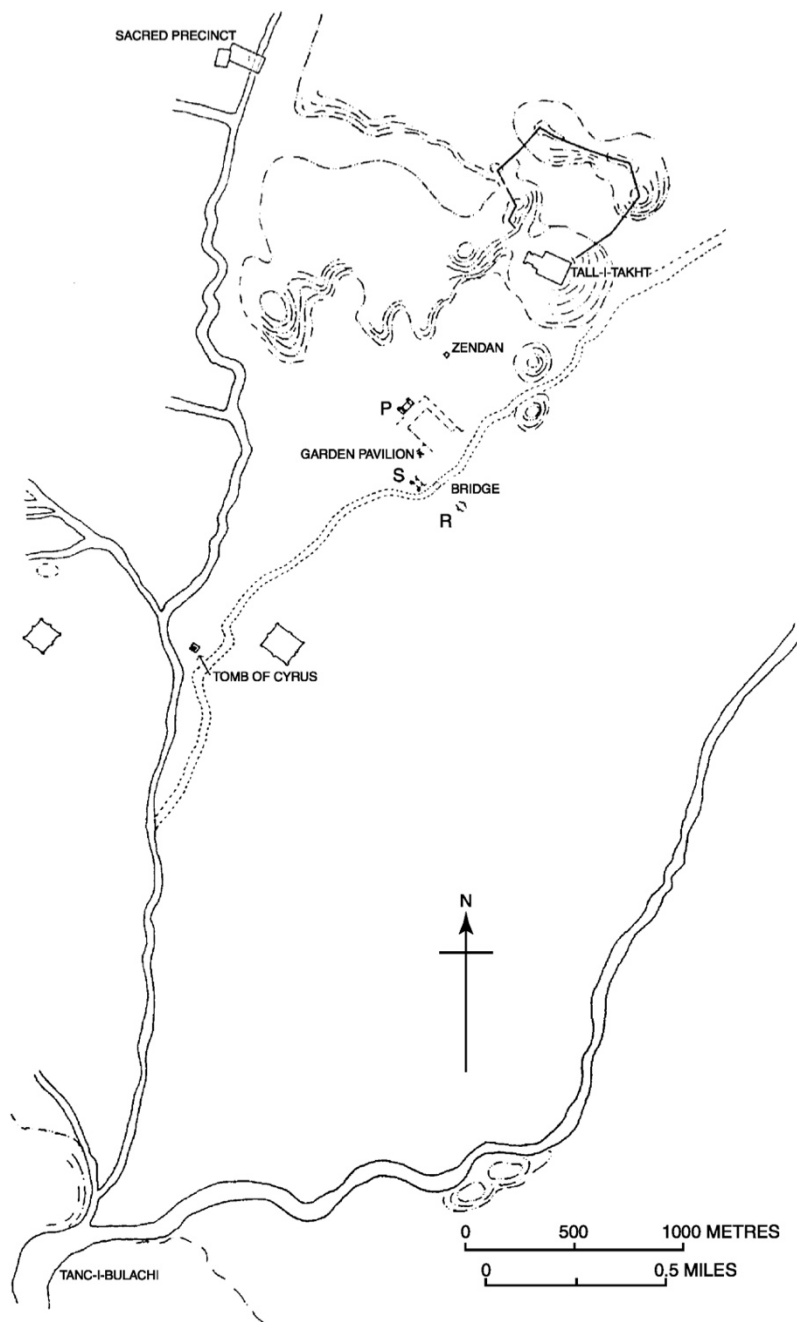


Figure 3.5 Plan of Pasargadae.

(a) Pasargadae, north of Persepolis, was founded by Cyrus the Great. The principal visible remains are of stone and distributed over an area of  $3 \times 2$  km. Recent research has revealed the presence of many more building remains of mud-brick below the surface, see Boucharlat 2003b; Boucharlat and Benech 2002. Both Darius I and Xerxes are known to have done some building at the site. The Persepolis texts and references by Graeco-Roman writers attest to its continued use throughout the Achaemenid period, as does the find of artefacts and a few inscriptions by some later rulers. Excavation has further shown that certainly part of the site was occupied down to the second century. For reconstructions of the Sacred Precinct and Zendan, see **figs.11.19; 11.50**; for Cyrus' tomb, see **fig.3.8** and **3, no.29**. (After Nylander 1970.)

From Kuhrt 2007: 88

Information on the specifications of the tomb, several quotes from witness statements, and many more photographs (including the tomb made out of gingerbread) can be found on the Wikipedia entry:<sup>1</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tomb\\_of\\_Cyrus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tomb_of_Cyrus)

There is an animated circle around the tomb here:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tomb\\_of\\_Cyrus#/media/File:Tomb\\_of\\_Cyrus\\_the\\_Great\\_animated.gif](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tomb_of_Cyrus#/media/File:Tomb_of_Cyrus_the_Great_animated.gif)

There are several 'walk arounds' on YouTube which you may want to watch – such as this one: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bpC6sStqaWE>

#### Arrian *Anabasis* 6.29.4-7

The tomb of the famous Cyrus was in Pasargadae in the royal park (*paradeisos*); a grove had been planted round it with all sorts of trees and irrigated, and deep grass had grown in the meadow; the tomb itself in the lower parts as built of stones cut square and was rectangular in form. Above, there was a stone chamber with a stone roof and a door leaving into it so narrow that it was hard and caused much distress for a single man of low stature to get through. In the chamber lay a golden sarcophagus, in which Cyrus' body had been buried; a couch stood by its side with feet wrought of gold; a Babylonian tapestry served as a coat (*kandys*) and other garments of Babylonian workmanship. According to Aristobulus, Median trousers and robes dyed blue lay there, some dark, some of other varying shades, with necklaces, daggers (*akinakes*) and earrings of stones set in gold, and a table stood there. It was between the table and the couch that the sarcophagus containing Cyrus' body was placed. Within the enclosure and by the ascent to the tomb itself there was a small building put up for the magi who used to guard Cyrus' tomb, from as long ago as Cambyses, son of Cyrus, an office transmitted from father to son. The king used to give them a sheep a day, a fixed amount of flour and wine, and a horse each month to sacrifice to Cyrus.

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<sup>1</sup> On Wikipedia: by and large, Wikipedia is a trustworthy source for initial information and a quick overview. As with any source you must read Wikipedia with *critical awareness*, be sceptical and curious. A good Wikipedia entry will have references cited in all the same sorts of places you would put a citation in an essay. If those citations do not exist, be even more critical. Follow the citations you find on Wikipedia, especially to scholarly and ancient sources. Do not cite Wikipedia in your own work (though, as always, there are some very specific exceptions to this rule!)

**Marduk leads Cyrus into Babylon** (Kuhrt 2007 21, cf. ANET 315-316)<sup>2</sup>

*The Cyrus Cylinder. Akkadian text inscribed on a clay cylinder, found at Babylon, in the area of the sanctuary of the chief Babylonian god, Marduk, now in the British Museum: V R p1.35 + BIN 2, no.32; Weissbach 1911: 2-9; Eilers 1971/4; Berger 1975; Arfa'i 1978; Schaudig 2001: 550-6 (see fig.3.4).<sup>3</sup> Translations: ANET, 315-16 (lacking the final lines); TUAT I14, 407-9; Lecoq 1997: 181-5; Brosius 2000, no.12; Tavernier 2003, no.4.*

[first four lines broken]

5. An imitation of Esangil<sup>4</sup> he made [ ... ] to Ur and the other cult-centres.
6. A cult order that was unsuitable [ ... ] he spoke daily, and, an evil thing,
7. he stopped the regular offerings [ ... ] he placed in the cult-centres. The worship of Marduk, king of the gods, he removed from his mind.
8. He repeatedly did that which was bad for his city. Daily [ ... ] he destroyed all his [subjects] with an unending yoke.
9. In response to their lament the Enlil of the gods<sup>5</sup> grew very angry [ ... ] their territory. The gods who lived in them left their dwelling-places,
10. despite his anger (?) he brought them into Babylon.<sup>6</sup> Marduk [ ... ], to all the places, whose dwelling-places were in ruins,
11. and to the inhabitants of Sumer and Akkad,<sup>7</sup> who had become like corpses,<sup>8</sup> he turned his mind, he became merciful. He searched through all the countries, examined(them),
12. he sought a just ruler to suit his heart, he took him by the hand: Cyrus, king of Anshan,<sup>9</sup> he called, for dominion over the totality he named his name.<sup>10</sup>
13. Gutium<sup>11</sup> and all the Umman-manda<sup>12</sup> he made subject to him. The black-headed people,<sup>13</sup> whom he allowed his hands to overcome,

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<sup>2</sup> All footnotes and images in this and the following two texts are from Kuhrt's volume and references to figures and texts refer to that volume.

<sup>3</sup> The function of the cylinder (fig.3.4) was that of a building inscription to commemorate work carried out on the Babylon temple by Cyrus, after his victory over the Babylonian king, Nabonidus (October 539, cf. 3, no. 1, iii, 12-16). Such pious acts of temple work were part of a standard process of legitimisation in Babylonia, and thus follow conventional forms: the right to rule of the new king is stressed by vilifying his defeated (or deposed) predecessor (11.1-8); the wickedness of the previous king has led the god(s) to seek a new candidate to take over rule of Babylonia (11.9-14); the victor has been given the throne by the divine will of the god(s) (11.15-19); the new king will put right everything that had been done wrong and ensure that divine offerings are made (or increased) (11.23-6), that abandoned sanctuaries are rebuilt and restaffed, that displaced persons are returned to their proper homes (11.30-4); the blessings of the gods are sought for these reverent acts, which include continuing maintenance and repairs of the whole city, in the manner of earlier rightful kings (11.34-45). For fuller discussions, see Kuhrt 1983; 1987a; 1990b; van der Spek 1983.

<sup>4</sup> Marduk's temple in the city of Babylon.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., the chief god of the Babylonian pantheon, Marduk.

<sup>6</sup> Nabonidus gathered the divine statues into Babylon, for protection, several months before Cyrus' invasion, see 3, no.1, iii, 10-12, cf. Beaulieu 1993 (some, such as those from Ashur and Susa (1. 3 0), could have been there already). The description of this act as being against the will of the gods in this context is, of course, the result of hindsight: i.e. because Nabonidus was defeated, what he did must have run counter to the divine will.

<sup>7</sup> This is a traditional term for Babylonia.

<sup>8</sup> Both in Second Isaiah (3, no. 26) and in the 'Verse Account' (3, no.23, vi, 15, perhaps i, 11-15), the subjects of the Babylonian king before the coming of Cyrus are likened to prisoners, enclosed by darkness. The image of the Babylonians as 'corpses' here is intended to evoke the deathlike trance in which Babylonia was shrouded before Cyrus' conquest, which serves to enhance the image of a joyful bursting into life with which Cyrus' arrival is greeted in 11.18-19.

<sup>9</sup> For Anshan, see 3, Introduction. For a discussion of the significance of the Akkadian phrase qata tamahu = 'to seize (with/by) the hand', see Miglus 2000: 454-6, esp. 455, n.30.

<sup>10</sup> Compare with this 3, no.26(iv)

<sup>11</sup> Gutium is an archaic term for the mountains north-east of Babylonia; it indicates broadly the territory of Media here.

<sup>12</sup> The Umman-manda describes the Medes here; for discussion of the term, see 2, no. 10, n.14.

<sup>13</sup> The 'black-headed people' is a traditional way of describing the inhabitants of Babylonia.

14. he protected in justice and righteousness. Marduk, the great lord, who cares for his people, looked with pleasure at his good deeds and his righteous heart.
15. He ordered him to go to Babylon, and let him take the road to Babylon. Like a friend and companion he went by his side.
16. His massive troops, whose number was immeasurable like the water of a river, marched with their arms at their side.
17. Without battle and fighting he let him enter his city Babylon.<sup>14</sup> He saved Babylon from its oppression. Nabonidus, the king who did not honour him, he handed over to him.<sup>15</sup>
18. All the inhabitants of Babylon, the whole of the land of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors knelt before him, kissed his feet, rejoiced at his kingship; their faces shone.
19. 'The lord, who through his help has brought the dead to life, who in (a time of) disaster and oppression has benefited all' - thus they joyfully celebrated him, honoured his name.
20. I, Cyrus, king of the universe, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters,<sup>16</sup>
21. son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anshan,<sup>17</sup>
22. eternal seed of kingship, whose reign was loved by Bel<sup>18</sup> and Nabu<sup>19</sup> and whose kingship they wanted to please their hearts - when I had entered Babylon peacefully,
23. I set up, with acclamation and rejoicing, the seat of lordship in the palace of the ruler. Marduk, the great lord, [ ... ] me the great heart, [ ... ] of Babylon, daily I cared for his worship.
24. My numerous troops marched peacefully through Babylon. I did not allow any troublemaker to arise in the whole land of Sumer and Akkad.
25. The city of Babylon and all its cult-centres I maintained in well-being. The inhabitants of Babylon, [who] against the will [of the gods ... ] a yoke unsuitable for them,
26. I allowed them to find rest from their exhaustion, their servitude I relieved. Marduk, the great lord, rejoiced at my [good] deeds.
27. Me, Cyrus, the king, who worships him, and Cambyses, my very own son,<sup>20</sup> as well as all my troops
28. he blessed mercifully. In well-being we [walk] happily before him. [At his] great [command] all the kings, who sit on thrones,
29. from all parts of the world, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, who dwell [in distant regions], all the kings of Amurru, who dwell in tents,

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<sup>14</sup> Technically, this is correct, see 3, no. 1, iii, 15, 18-19; but the author of the cylinder has been careful to avoid any mention of the Battle of Opis, 3, no. 1, iii, 12-14, which preceded the entry.

<sup>15</sup> For the capture of Nabonidus, see 3, no. 1, iii, 16

<sup>16</sup> From here until the end of the cylinder, Cyrus is presented as speaking in the first person; he begins with a roll-call of the age-old Mesopotamian imperial titles, to which he is laying claim. Note, especially, 'king of the four quarters (Sc. of the world)' used by the kings of Agade, who created the first empire in Mesopotamia in the third millennium, and were regarded as the perfect exemplars of world conquerors (Liverani 1993; generally Franke 1995; Kuhrt 1995a: 44-55).

<sup>17</sup> Cyrus lists his predecessors as Cam byses (I), Cyrus (I) and Teispes; all were 'great kings' and ruled in 'Anshan', the archaic name for Parsa/Fars. This runs counter to the idea that Persia was subject to the Medes and flatly contradicts the romantic legends of Cyrus' birth and youth (Kuhrt 2003; 3, nos.30-2). Note also that he does not name Achaemenes as a predecessor; Achaemenes appears as founder of the Persian dynasty only from the reign of Darius I, whose genealogical statement is highly problematical (see 5, no. 1, para.2 & n.5; Stronach 2000: 682-5).

<sup>18</sup> Bel (= 'Lord') is another way of referring to the god Marduk.

<sup>19</sup> Nabu was the god of writing and wisdom who, at this time, was often presented as Marduk's son.

<sup>20</sup> Cyrus installed Cambyses as sub-king of Babylon after his conquest in the course of a traditional Babylonian ceremony (3, no. 1, iii, 24-8 & n.16), which perhaps explains the fact that he is linked by name with Cyrus in the divine blessings received.

30. brought their heavy tribute to me and kissed my feet in Babylon.<sup>21</sup> From [ ... ],<sup>22</sup> Ashur and Susa,
31. Agade, Eshnunna, Zamban, Meturnu and Der as far as the territory of Gutium, the cities on the other side of the Tigris, whose dwelling-places had [of 0 ]Id fallen into ruin
32. the gods who dwelt there I returned to their home and let them move into an eternal dwelling. All their people I collected and brought them back to their homes.<sup>23</sup>
33. And the gods of Sumer and Akkad, which N abonidus to the fury of the lord of the gods had brought into Babylon, at the order of Marduk, the great lord, in well-being
34. I caused them to move into a dwelling-place pleasing to their hearts in their sanctuaries.<sup>24</sup> Mayall the gods, whom I have brought into their cities,
35. ask before Bel and N abu for the lengthening of my life, say words in my favour and speak to Marduk, my lord: 'For Cyrus, the king, who honours you, and Cambyses, his son,
36. [ ... ] the kingship.' The lands in their totality I caused to dwell in a peaceful abode.
37. [ ... ] goose, 2 ducks and 10 wild doves, over and above the goose, ducks and wild doves
38. [ ... ] I supplied in plenty. To strengthen the wall Imgur-Enlil, the great wall of Babylon [ ... ], I took action.
39. [ ... ] The quay-wall of brick on the bank of the moat, which an earlier king had built, without completing the work
40. [ ... ] on the outer side, what no other king had done, his craftsmen (?), the levy [ ... ] in Babylon
41. [ ... with ] asphalt and bricks I built anew and [completed the work on it (?) ].
42. [ ... ] with bronze bands, thresholds and nukuse (door-posts) [ .. .in ] their [gates ]
43. [ ... An inscription] with the name of Ashurbanipal,<sup>25</sup> a king who preceded me [ ... ] I found [ ... ]
44. [ ... ] eternity.

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<sup>21</sup> The author of the cylinder presents the conquest of Babylon as the climax of Cyrus' achievements, leading automatically to the surrender of other rulers and dominion over 'the world'. Xenophon in the *Cyropaedia* assigns Cyrus' Babylonian victory a similar significance, placing his final triumph there, followed by the cession of Media, and moving on to Cyrus' organisation of court-ceremonials, as befitted a king. The identity of the people who, in fact, may have paid tribute to Cyrus after his Babylonian victory, we do not know. An earlier conqueror, Sargon II of Assyria (722-705), also described his conquest of Babylonia as resulting in immediate obeisance paid by rulers at the edges of the Assyrian empire. (Note that the phrase 'from the Upper Sea (i.e. Mediterranean) to the Lower Sea (i.e. Persian Gulf)' is an age-old way of visualising 'world rule' in Mesopotamia.) Provincial governors, subject-kings and city rulers (such as the Phoenicians, see 4, no.7 (iv)» within the Babylonian empire probably acknowledged Cyrus at this point (Amurru is a Mesopotamian term for 'the west', i.e. Syria-Palestine), as, probably, would the rulers of the Arab groups (those 'who dwell in tents '), whose territories abutted the empire and whose prosperity depended on maintaining good relations with any power controlling the outlets for their trade (cf. Hdt. III, 88.1; Briant 1982 b, ch. 3).

<sup>22</sup> It was thought that the surviving traces here could be read as Nineveh, but Finkel (1997) has shown this to be impossible; a plausible restoration could be 'Babylon'.

<sup>23</sup> L1.30-2 have been used to underpin the Old Testament account that Cyrus gave orders for the temple in Jerusalem to be restored and the Israelites deported by Nebuchadnezzar II (597/6, 587/6) to return. But (a) the cities to be restored are in Assyria, south-west Iran and east of the Tigris; (b) the order for restoration and repatriation was part of the roster of conventional acts of 'reversal' > 'restoration' initiated by a new conqueror (cf. n.1 above). Whether Cyrus really played a role in restoring the people of Jerusalem is disputed and the cylinder cannot help to resolve the question (cf. Kuhrt 1983; Bedford 2001).

<sup>24</sup> Cf n .4 [=n. 6] above.

<sup>25</sup> The Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal. reigned from 669 to around 630. He was responsible for an enormous amount of restoration work in Babylon, which had been sacked by his grandfather, Sennacherib (705-681). Cyrus' reverent acknowledgement of him as his predecessor in pious reconstruction shows that he cast himself in the same mould as the Assyrian king. The statement helps to dispel any notion that Cyrus presented himself, or was perceived by the Babylonians, as ushering in a novel style of imperial government and religious tolerance, which contrasted with Assyrian 'oppression' (see the discussions referred to above, n. 1[=n. 3]).



Figure 3.4 Clay cylinder (BM 90920 + NBC 2504) inscribed with an account of Cyrus' conquest of Babylon (3, no.21), now in the British Museum. (Photograph reproduced with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

**Xerxes restates and elaborates the imperial ideology** (Kuhrt 2007: 7.88)

*XPh. Trilingual text inscribed on limestone slabs (approx. 50 x 50 x 10 cm), found in the Persepolis garrison quarters; one copy was found in the Tall-i Takht, Pasargadae (Stronach 1978: 152). There are three Old Persian versions, one each in Elamite and Babylonian: Kent, XPh; Schmitt 2000, XPh.<sup>26</sup>*

*Translations: Lecoq 1997: 256-8; Stolper 1998b, XPh; Brosius 2000, no.191*

- §1 A great god is Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created blissful happiness<sup>27</sup> for man, who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many
- §2 I (am) Xerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries containing all kinds of men, king on this great earth far and wide, son of Darius the king, an Achaemenid, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage.<sup>28</sup>
- §3 Xerxes the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda, these are the countries of which I was king outside Persia; I ruled them; they bore me tribute. What was said to them by me, that they did. The law that (was) mine, that held them (firm/stable):<sup>29</sup> Media, Elam, Arachosia, Armenia, Drangiana, Parthia, Areia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Sattagydia, Lydia, Egypt, Ionians who dwell by the Sea and (those) who dwell beyond the Sea, the Maka people, Arabia, Gandara, Indus, Cappadocia, Dahae, Scythians (Saca) who drink haoma, Scythians (Saca) who wear pointed hats, Thrace, the Akaufaka people, Libyans, Carians, Nubians.<sup>30</sup>
- §4a Xerxes the king proclaims: When I became king, there is among those countries which (are) inscribed above (one, which) was in turmoil.<sup>31</sup> Afterwards Auramazda brought me aid; by the favour of Auramazda I defeated that country and put it in its proper place.
- §4b And among those countries<sup>32</sup> there were (some) where formerly the daivas<sup>33</sup> had been worshipped. Afterwards by the favour of Auramazda I destroyed that place of the daivas, and I gave orders: 'The daivas shall not be worshipped any longer!' Wherever formerly the daivas have been worshipped, there I worshipped Auramazda at the proper time and with the proper ceremony.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The text is a commemorative foundation document, although its find spot cannot have been the place for which it was intended. Important discussions: Sancisi- Weerdenburg 1980; Briant 1996a: 567-71 [2002b: 550-4], with references; see also 7, Introduction. For a comparison of themes in this inscription with an episode in the story of Kai Khusru of the eleventh-century AD Persian epic Shah-Nama, see Jamzadeh 2004.

<sup>27</sup> See 7, no. 83, n. 3.

<sup>28</sup> Both these sections are identical to the introductory paragraphs of one of Darius I's tomb inscriptions (DNa, see 11, no.16; see also 11, no.12, n.3).

<sup>29</sup> The first part of §3 virtually repeats DNa para.3 (11, no.16), with the significant difference that, where Darius introduces the list of subject peoples with the proclamation that these are the countries he conquered ('seized'), Xerxes emphasises his smooth take-over of an existing populous and diverse empire.

<sup>30</sup> It should be noted that, although it is likely that the inscription dates after the Greek campaign, the royal rhetoric of the inscription acknowledges no territorial losses on the north-western front. In fact, it expands the standard lists of the royal inscriptions (for which see, e.g., 11, nos.2; 4; 12; 16) by adding the Dahae (Central ASia) and Akaufaka (location unknown), giving the impression that Xerxes has not just kept intact, but added to, his paternal heritage. Another unusual feature of the list is its departure from the conventional arrangement whereby countries to the east and west of the Persian centre were listed, respectively, together (Calmeyer 1982; 1983; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001), whereas here they are jumbled.

<sup>31</sup> OP *yaud-* has a meaning of 'effervescence', 'movement'. This contrasts sharply with the word used by Darius (OP *hamiciya*) to describe the revolts in the Bisitun inscription. The same word, referring to non-specific turmoil demanding royal action, appears in DSe para.4 and DNa para.4 (11, nos.12; 16). The impression, therefore, is of a generalised restlessness threatening to disturb the imperial tranquillity, rather than the king reporting on a specific act of rebellion in his realm.

<sup>32</sup> The vague syntax leaves it unclear whether Xerxes is referring here to the place(s) where the 'turmoil' was or somewhere else.

<sup>33</sup> Within a general Iranian context, this seems to designate a demonic being or false god, c£ Lecoq 1997: 1 54-5; but see Kellens 1991 for the uncertainties.

<sup>34</sup> OP *arta brazmaniya*, translated by some as 'I worshipped Auramazda and Arta (truth)' but the uncertainties loom large, see Schmitt 2000, ad loc. with references. Xerxes is building on Darius I's equation of loyalty to the

- §4c And there was something else, that had been done wrong, that too I put right.<sup>35</sup> That which I have done, all that I have done by the favour of Auramazda. Auramazda brought me aid, until I had done the work.
- §4d You, who shall be hereafter, if you shall think: 'Happy may I be (while) living and (when) dead may I be blessed', obey that law, which Auramazda has established! Worship Auramazda at the proper time and with the proper ritual! The man who obeys that law which Auramazda has established, and (who) worships Auramazda at the proper time and in the proper ceremonial style, he both becomes happy (while) living and blessed (when) dead.<sup>36</sup>
- §5 Xerxes the king proclaims: Me may Auramazda protect from evil, and my (royal) house and this land! This I pray of Auramazda; this may Auramazda grant me.

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Persian king with proper honouring of Auramazda (see 5, no. 1, paras. 72-3; 75-6) and proclaiming that those who do not adhere to Auramazda's order as embodied by the Persian king are equivalent to rebels and will be punished. What he is doing here is reframing and elucidating his father's earlier message, which indicates the crystallisation of a stricter royal ideology. Note the repeated exhortations in para.4d.

<sup>35</sup> This seems to be a general characterisation of Xerxes' reign as correct and good: whatever might have been wrong or bad has been put right by the king.

<sup>36</sup> This encapsulates the royal promise to all mankind in life and death: loyalty to the king, who defends Auramazda's creation, will bring happiness/blessed tranquillity (OP *siyati* -) on earth to each individual and ensure a condition of blessedness (or justification: OP *artava*-) in the hereafter; for discussion, see Kellens 1995.

**Inscription from the façade of Darius I's tomb at Naqsh-I Rostam** (Kuhrt 2007: 11.17)

*DNa. Old Persian and Elamite inscription behind the royal figure on Darius I's tomb; the Babylonian version is on the left side of the façade wall: Kent, DNa; Schmitt 2000, DNa.<sup>37</sup> Translations: Lecoq 1997: 219-21; Brosius 2000, nos.48, 100, 136.*

- §1 AA great god (is) Auramazda, who created this earth,<sup>38</sup> who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created happiness<sup>39</sup> for man, who made Darius king, one king of many, one lord of many.
- §2 I (am) Darius the great king, king of kings, king of countries containing all kinds of men, king on this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage.<sup>40</sup>
- §3 Darius the king proclaims: By the favour of Auramazda these are the countries which I seized outside Persia; I ruled over them; they bore me tribute;<sup>41</sup> what was said to them by me, that they did; my law<sup>42</sup> - that held them (firm); Media, Elam, Parthia, Areia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, India, Saca who drink hauma, Saca with pointed hats<sup>43</sup> Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sardis, Ionia, Scythians who are across the sea,<sup>44</sup> Thrace, petasos-wearing Ionians,<sup>45</sup> Libya, Nubia, Maka,<sup>46</sup> Caria
- §4 Darius the king proclaims: Auramazda, when he saw this earth in commotion, thereafter bestowed it upon me, made me king; I am king. By the favour of Auramazda I put it in its proper place; what I said to them, that they did, as was my desire. If now you should think: 'How many are the countries which King Darius held?', look at the sculptures (of those) who bear the throne,<sup>47</sup> then shall you know, then shall it become known to you: the spear of the Persian man has gone forth far; then shall it become known to you: the Persian man has delivered battle far indeed from Persia.
- §5 Darius the king proclaims: This which has been done, all that by the favour of Auramazda I did. Auramazda bore me aid, until I had done the work. Me may Auramazda protect from evil, and my royal house, and this land! This I pray of Auramazda, this may Auramazda give to me!
- §6 Oh man, that which is the command of Auramazda, let this not seem evil to you! Do not leave the right path! Do not be disobedient!

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<sup>37</sup> The cross-shape of Darius I's tomb, and its decoration (see fig. 1 1.14) became the norm for royal burials from his time onwards. Naqsh-i Rostam, the location of the tombs some 6 km from the Persepolis terrace, probably lay on the outskirts of the city. Artaxerxes II and III relocated their burials, while keeping the same form, close to the Persepolis terrace itself (see fig. 1 l. 8). Only Darius I's tomb carries royal statements (DNa; DNb (= 11, no.17», although Artaxerxes' tomb near the terrace (see 11, no.4, n.l, for attribution) also identifies the throne-bearers in words.

<sup>38</sup> OP bumi-, argued to indicate the inhabited, known world, over which the Persian kings reign, see Herrenschildt 1976.

<sup>39</sup> See 7, no.87, n.3.

<sup>40</sup> See 11, no.12, n.3.

<sup>41</sup> See 11, no.7, n.2.

<sup>42</sup> See 11, no.12, n.S.

<sup>43</sup> See 11, no.4, n.2.

<sup>44</sup> See 11, no.12, n.8.

<sup>45</sup> See 11, no.4, n.3.

<sup>46</sup> See 11, no.2, n.16.

<sup>47</sup> A literal reference to the figures forming the supporting struts of the long carved throne-platform (OP gathu-) on which the king is depicted as standing (fig.11.14) or sitting; see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1992, for a probable reference of its use by Alexander. Note that its feet are always shown slightly raised off the ground.

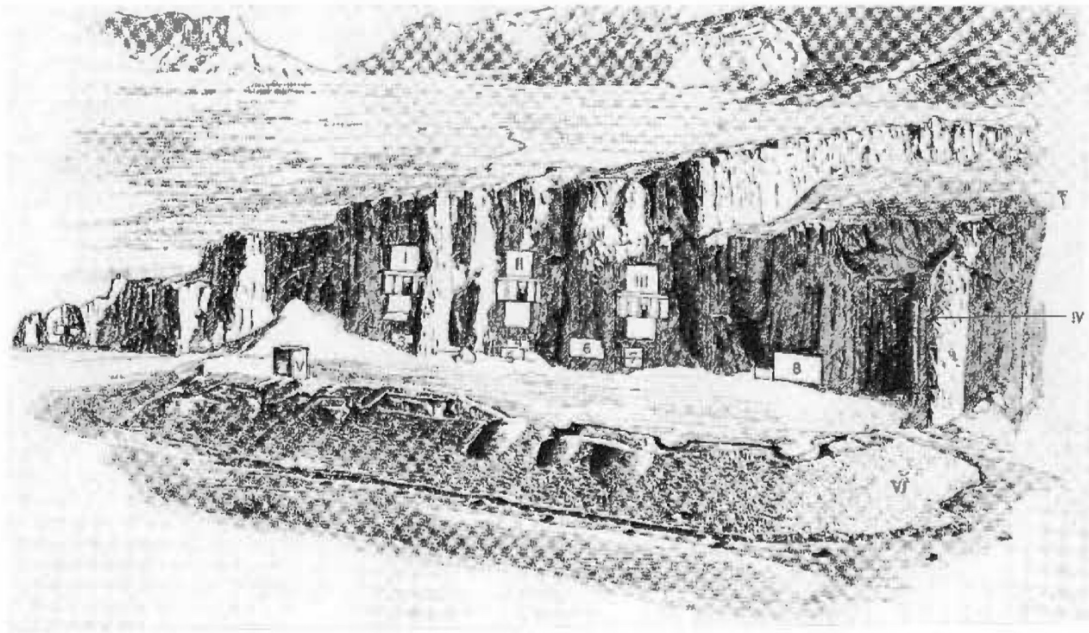


Figure 11.15 View of the royal tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam.

Key: I: Tomb of Darius II(?); II: Tomb of Artaxerxes I(?); III: Tomb of Darius I; IV (not visible): Tomb of Xerxes(?) (for the stylistic criteria of attributions, see Calmeyer 1990a); V: Kabah-i Zardusht (see **fig.11.48**); VI: Sassanian enclosure wall; 1–8: Sassanian rock reliefs. Various installations at the site are now covered by a deposit of earth and debris at least 5 m deep. (After L. Trümpelmann, *Zwischen Persepolis und Firuzabad*, Mainz, 1992.)

**Xenophon *Hellenica* 3.1.10-16**

This Aeolis belonged, indeed, to Pharnabazus, but Zenis of Dardanus had, while he lived, acted as satrap of this territory for him; when Zenis fell ill and died, and Pharnabazus was preparing to give the satrapy to another man, Mania, the wife of Zenis, who was also a Dardanian, fitted out a great retinue, took presents with her to give to Pharnabazus himself and to use for winning the favour of his concubines<sup>14</sup> and the men who had the greatest influence at the court of Pharnabazus, and set forth to visit him. And when she had gained an audience with him, she said: [11] “Pharnabazus, my husband was not only a friend to you in all other ways, but he also paid over the tributes which were your due, so that you commended and honoured him. Now, therefore, if I serve you no less faithfully than he, why should you appoint another as satrap? And if I fail to please you in any point, surely it will be within your power to deprive me of my office and give it to another.” [12] When Pharnabazus heard this, he decided that the woman should be satrap. And when she had become mistress of the province, she not only paid over the tributes no less faithfully than had her husband, but besides this, whenever she went to the court of Pharnabazus she always carried him gifts, and whenever he came down to her province she received him with far more magnificence and courtesy than any of his other governors; [13] and she not only kept securely for Pharnabazus the cities which she had received from her husband, but also gained possession of cities on the coast which had not been subject to him, Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae—attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force, while she herself looked on from a carriage; and when a man won her approval she would bestow bounteous gifts upon him, so that she equipped her mercenary force in the most splendid fashion. She also accompanied Pharnabazus in the field, even when he invaded the land of the Mysians or the Pisidians because of their continually ravaging the King's territory. In return for these services Pharnabazus paid her magnificent honours, and sometimes asked her to aid him as a counsellor. [14] Now when she was more than forty years old, Meidias,<sup>15</sup> who was the husband of her daughter, was disturbed by certain people saying that it was a disgraceful thing for a woman to be the ruler while he was in private station, and since, although she guarded herself carefully against all other people, as was proper for an absolute ruler, she trusted him and gave him her affection, as a woman naturally would to a son-in-law, he made his way into her presence, as the story goes, and strangled her. He also killed her son, a youth of very great beauty about seventeen years old. [15] When he had done these things, he seized the strong cities of Scepsis and Gergis, where Mania had kept the most of her treasure. The other cities, however, would not admit him into their walls, but the garrisons that were in them kept them safe for Pharnabazus. Then Meidias sent gifts to Pharnabazus and claimed the right to be ruler of the province, even as Mania had been. And Pharnabazus in reply told him to take good care of his gifts until he came in person and took possession of them and of him too; for he said that he would not wish to live if he failed to avenge Mania. [16]