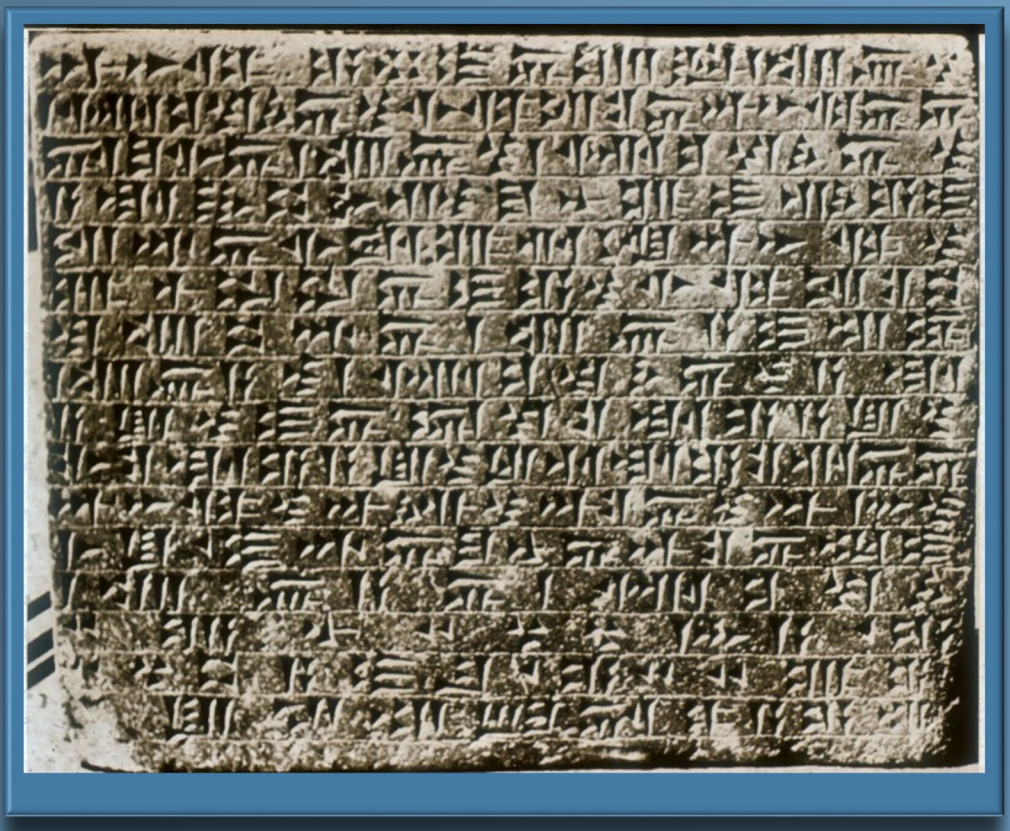
مطالعات ایران کهن

سال دوم شماره دوم، پاییز و زمستان ۱۴۰۱

دو فصلنامه علمی مطالعات ایران کهن



دو فصلنامه علمی تخصصی مطالعات ایران کهن (۸۶۹۳۹)

صاحب امتیاز : منصور حمدالله‌زاده

مدیر مسئول: میرزامحمد حسنی

سردبیر: منصور حمدالله‌زاده

هیات تحریریه(به ترتیب حروف الفبا):

هیات تحریریه بین‌المللی:

گروه مشاوران علمی:

ویراستاران(به ترتیب حروف الفبا):

تصویر روی جلد :

کتیبه سنگ بنای قلعه بسطام (اورارتویی)

راهنمای نگارش، تدوین و ارسال مقاله در صفحات مربوطه سامانه اینترنتی دو فصلنامه توصیح داده شده است. از علاقمندان درخواست میشود به صفحات مذکور طی آدرس زیر مراجعه نمایند: http:// www.historyancient.ir/journal/authors.note

فهرست مطالب

سقوط پادشاهی اورارتو..... ۵
کورو ش و هخامنشیان ۲۵
حفاری‌های روسیه در ارمنستان..... ۳۸
گنجینه مسکوکات دوره ماد از نوشیجان، نزدیک ملایر ۵۷
برده و برده داری در دوره هخامنشیان ۷۸

سقوط پادشاهی اورارتو[۱]

رضا گولر آغگون[۲]
ترجمه دکتر منصور حمدالله‌زاده[۳]

پادشاهی اورارتو در اواسط قرن نهم قبل از میلاد برای اولین بار در آناتولی شرقی یک سیستم اداری مرکزی ایجاد کرد و بیش از ۲۰۰ سال بر این سرزمین سلطنت کرد. بنابراین، افول و سقوط این پادشاهی موضوعی کاملاً جذاب و مملو از مجهولات و علامت سؤال است. اگرچه این فرآیند در زمان‌های اخیر مورد توجه برخی از محققان قرار گرفته است، اما به دلیل کمبود داده‌های مکتوب و باستان‌شناسی، مطالعات در این زمینه محدود شده است. از این رو، بسیاری از پاسخ های مربوط به سقوط آن نامشخص است. برای مثال، مشخص نیست که این کاهش در یک منطقه خاص شروع شده و به مناطق دیگر سرایت کرده یا به طور جمعی رخ داده است. از جمله سؤالات دیگری که باید به آنها پاسخ داده شود این است که آیا دولت و خانواده های سلطنتی پس از آتش سوزی های بزرگی که در اقشار مختلف در مراکز اورارتویی مشاهده شد، ادامه یافتند یا نه؟ و اگر پادشاهانی مانند روسا و سردوری – که در الواح کتیبه ای ذکر شده – در واقع از یک سلسله بودند. کمیاب بودن اسناد مکتوب که بتواند مرگ پادشاهی اورارتو را روشن کند، ما را وادار کرده است که بقایای باستان‌شناسی را مطالعه کنیم تا به نتایج معینی در مورد این روند برسیم.

کلید واژه‌ها: اورارتو، آناتولی‌شرقی، روسا پسر آرگیشتی، روسا پسر اریمنا، آشور

---

[۱] این مقاله بازنشری است از Akgün, R. G. (۲۰۱۸). The Fall of the Urartu Kingdom. In *URARTIANS: A Civilization in the Eastern Anatolia, Symposium I* (pp. ۱۳-۱۵).

[۲] Rıza Gürler Akgün Maltepe University
mansour۰۰۱@gmail.com

[۳] پژهشگر تاریخ و مدرس دانشگاه آزاد اسلامی

The Fall of the Urartu Kingdom

Rıza Gürler Akgün

Özet

Merkezi güçlü devlet yapısı, şehircilik anlayışı, gelişkin mimarisi, maden işleme teknolojisi vb. özellikleriyle Anadolu uygarlıkları içerisinde önemli bir yere sahip olan Urartuların tarih sahnesinden çekilmesi belirsizliklerle dolu bir süreci kapsamaktadır. Bunda Urartu Krallığı'nın yıkılışı konusunun özellikle filolojik kaynakların aktardığı bilgilerin üzerine inşa edilmiş olması ve arkeolojik verilerin katkılarından yeterince yararlanılmamış oluşu etkili olmuştur. Bu durum, Urartu'nun son dönemlerini yaşarken çevresindeki güçlerle olan ilişkisinin niteliği; Urartu tahtında hangi kralların oturduğu ve bunların kronolojisi; devletin kimler tarafından ne zaman yıkıldığı gibi sorulara cevap bulmayı zorlaştırmıştır. Ayrıca yıkılış sürecinde Urartu Krallığı'nın içinde bulunduğu siyasal, ekonomik, askeri vb. koşulların durumu ile yıkılışa giden sürecin dönüm noktaları da yeterince tartışılmamıştır.

Bu çalışmada Urartu devlet sisteminin çöküşü bir süreç olarak ele alınmış, özellikle arkeolojik kazılarla gün yüzüne çıkartılan Urartu kentlerinden elde edilen "son fotoğraflar" ile filolojik verilerin karşılaştırılmasıyla yukarıdaki soruların birçoğunun cevapları bulunmaya çalışılmıştır.

Introduction

The Urartu Kingdom succeeded in establishing a central administrative system for the first time in Eastern Anatolia in mid-9th century BC and reigned over this territory for over 200 years. Therefore, the decline and fall of this kingdom is quite an intriguing subject replete with unknowns and question marks. Although this process has drawn the interest of some researchers in recent times, studies on the subject have been limited due to the shortage of both written and archaeological data. Hence, many answers pertaining to its fall remain unclear. It is, for example, uncertain if the decline began in one particular region and spread to others or occurred collectively. Among other questions to be answered are whether or not the state and the royal families continued after the great fires seen in different strata across Urartian centers; and if kings such as Rusa and Sarduri -mentioned in the inscription tablets- were, in fact, members of a dynasty. The scarcity of written documents that can shed light upon the demise of the Urartu Kingdom has compelled us to study archaeological remains to reach certain conclusions on this process.

Until the reign of the Urartian king known in the literature as Rusa II, whom we will refer to as Rusa, son of Argishti in this article, new formations had begun to emerge around the Urartu Kingdom that ruled over a sprawling territory extending from Lake Urmia Basin in the east to the Euphrates in the west, the Caucasus in the north and the Taurus Mountains in the south. The Meds and the Babylonians were gaining strength in Iran and Mesopotamia, respectively. Moreover, societies of nomadic nature, such as the Scythian and Cimmerian were becoming more influential in Asia Minor (Köroğlu 2008: 175–182; Roaf 1996: 192, 198; Rollinger 2012: pp. 180-183; Zimansly 2011: pp. 106-121).

As mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions, the Urartu Kingdom had encountered waves of Cimmerian migration in mid-8th century BC Both Rusa I and his son Argishti II suffered heavy losses in their struggle against the Cimmerians. During the reign of Argishti II, the Cimmerians traversed the Urartian lands and began living near Shubria, a buffer zone between Assyria and Urartu (Starr 1990: No. 18; Lanfranchi – Parpola 1990: 145; Sivas 1991: 155). The status quo of these nomadic groups is not clearly known due to the scarcity of inscription tablets from the reign of Rusa, son of Erimena. During the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti, on the other hand, Assyrian inscriptions are cited as source material to suggest some kind of collaboration between the Urartians and the Cimmerians (Starr 1990: No. 18).

The Question of Successorship

One of the most complicated points of the study we have conducted to understand the decline and fall of Urartu is, without doubt, the succession of the Urartian kings in the 7th century BC. The inscriptions

1ST OPINION	2ND OPINION	3RD OPINION
I. Sarduri	I. Sarduri	I. Sarduri
Ishpuini	Ishpuini	Ishpuini
Menua	Menua	Menua
I. Argishti	I. Argishti	I. Argishti
II. Sarduri	II. Sarduri	II. Sarduri
I. Rusa	I. Rusa	Sarduri, son of Sarduri
II. Argishti	II. Argişti	I. Rusa
Rusa, son of Argishti	Rusa, son of Argishti	II. Argishti
Sarduri, son of Rusa	Erimena	Erimena
Sarduri, son of Sarduri	Rusa, son of Erimena	Rusa, son of Erimena
Erimena	Sarduri, son of Rusa	Rusa, son of Argishti
Rusa, son of Erimena	Sarduri, son of Sarduri	Sarduri, son of Rusa

Fig. 1 Widely acknowledged lists of Urartian Kings. (This table uses Piotrovsky 1969, Barnett 1982, Belli 1982, Çilingiroğlu 1997, Salvini 2006a and Fuchs – Kroll 2008 as references)

reveal historic characters such as Erimena, Rusa, son of Erimena, Rusa, son of Argishti, Rusa, son of Rusa, Sarduri, son of Rusa, and Sarduri that all presumably lived in the 7th century. In the widely acknowledged lists of kings, all of the kings are recognized as having been enthroned as Urartian kings after Rusa, son of Argishti (Fig. 1).

In order to make a healthier assessment, we must first look at building inscriptions, for their existence demonstrate that the state and the king are both powerful enough to become engaged in construction. Among the last Urartian kings, Rusa, son of Argishti, as well as Rusa, son of Erimena have building inscriptions. This is an important point, which shows that during the reign of Rusa, son of Erimena, the Urartu Kingdom, as mentioned above, had the power to engage in construction activities. There is hardly enough evidence; however, on the existence of a strong state during the reigns of the other names mentioned as kings. Therefore, pinpointing the decline and fall of the Urartu Kingdom is directly related to the order in which these two kings (Son of Argishti, Rusa and son of Erimena, Rusa,) were enthroned (Fig. 2).

An important data on this subject has been presented by Mirjo Salvini. The Gövelek Stele, Salvini studied appears to have changed the generally known presupposition of Rusa, son of Argishti in the general order of kings and the construction of Toprakkale (Salvini 2002; Salvini 2006b; Salvini 2012:

	Name of the City	Stela, Stone Plaque	Bedrock	Metal Object	Tablet	Bulla
ERIMENA	Karmir Blur				√	
RUSA, SON OF ERIMENA	Toprakkale			√		
	Gövelek	√				
	Savacık	√				
	Keşiş Lake	√				
	Arin-berd	√				
	Armavir-blur	√				
RUSA, SON OF ARGISHTI	Ayanis	√		√		√
	Toprakkale			√	√	√
	Kef Kalesi	√				
	Adilcevaz	√				
	Kalekoy	√	√			
	Maku	√				
	Bastam	√				√
	Zvartnots	√				
	Karmir-blur	√		√		√
	Armavir-blur	√				
SARDURI, SON OF RUSA	Karmir-blur				√	
SARDURI, SON OF SARDURI	Bastam				√	
	Karmir-blur			√	√	
RUSA, SON OF RUSA	Karmir-blur				√	

Fig. 2 Provenance and Types of Urartian Inscriptions during the Period of Decline and Fall

131, Fuchs 2012, Kroll 2012, Seidl 2012, Roaf 2012, Kroll-Roaf-Zimansky 2012). If the Gövelek Stele is, in fact, part of the Keşiş Lake Stele, it clearly reads that the king that built Toprakkale was none other than Rusa, son of Erimena. In that case, Rusa, son of Erimena, known as Rusa III must have ascended the throne before Rusa, son of Argishti, known as Rusa II because the tablet discovered in Toprakkale indicates that Rusa, son of Argishti was enthroned in Toprakkale (Payne 2006: 12.3.5). In other words, Rusa, son of Argishti had been enthroned in a city, namely Toprakkale, which was founded before his time. Furthermore, none of the inscription tablets of Rusa, son of Argishti mention his as the founder of Toprakkale.

The entirety of the views citing Rusa, son of Argishti as the founder of Toprakkale is based on the Keşiş Lake Stele. During the earliest studies, the Rusa mentioned in the Keşiş Lake Stele was identified as Rusa, son of Sarduri II, i.e., Rusa I. The increase in the volume of Urartian excavations and particularly in the unearthing of the cities founded by Rusa, son of Argishti brought to fore the view that the Keşiş Lake Stele could belong to this particular king. However, as stated above, Salvini's proposed the idea that the Keşiş Lake and Gövelek Steles could be fragments of the same Stele (Çilingiroğlu 2008; Salvini 2006b; Salvini 2012). Indeed, this view is based on the strongest evidence suggesting to which King Rusa the Keşiş Lake Stele could possibly belong. Therefore, it would not be erroneous to claim that the Keşiş Lake Stele belongs to Rusa, son of Erimena.

Other evidence also supports the view that Rusa, son of Erimena was enthroned before Rusa, son of Argishti. A Stele belonging to Rusa, son of Erimena discovered in Savacık village of Van is one such evidence (Salvini 2006b). In terms of its content, the said Stele is similar to the Gövelek Stele and relates the endeavors of Rusa, son of Erimena in the region. Salvini has associated this particular Stele with the Stele of Keşiş Lake (Salvini 2006b: 250; figür 32). In addition, as we will detail below, it appears that almost all of the Urartian cities fell during the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti.

The inscription tablets of Rusa, son of Erimena have been encountered in centers in the Aras River Basin founded by earlier Urartian kings such as Arin-berd and Armavir. However, the absence of his inscriptions in cities from the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti, such as Ayanis, Bastam, Kef Fortress, and Karmir-blur indicate that these cities had not yet been built during his reign (Fig.3).

The fact remains that when we compare the symbols and ornamentations on metal works between the reigns of Rusa, son of Erimena and Rusa, son of Argishti, we find a significant distinction. While the ornamentation style from the reign of Rusa, son of Erimena resembles the style of earlier periods, the style from the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti is markedly different (Seidl 2012: 179–181).

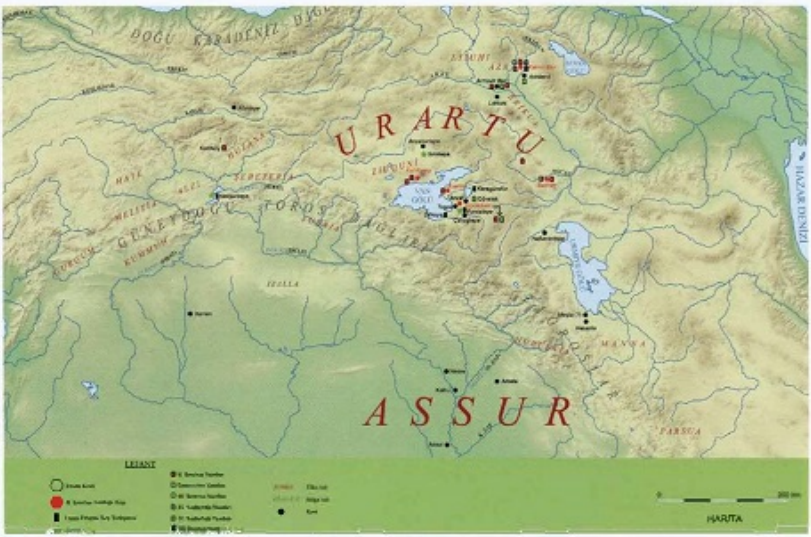


Fig. 3 Urartian Geography and the Distribution of the Inscriptions of the Last Kings – Rulers of Urartu.

When we piece together all this information, we conclude that Rusa, son of Erimena was enthroned before Rusa, son of Argishti and thus Rusa, son of Erimena should be referred to as Rusa II and Rusa, son of Argishti should be acknowledged as Rusa III.

Inscription tablets from the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti mostly recount construction and development initiatives. Unlike inscription tablets of earlier Urartian lings, these particular tablets make less of a mention of military campaigns. The construction activities described in the tablets are also supported by archaeological data. The tablets point to a change in the state policies. Indeed, the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti has always been categorized by scholars as a period of renaissance in every domain. The cities he founded and the developments in the field of arts have left their imprint on this period. Under this king's rule, the Urartu Kingdom emerges as a force that even Assyrian King Esarhaddon fears (Starr 1990: No. 18).

Compared to their counterparts founded by earlier Urartian kings, the cities from the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti sprawl across a larger area. The size of the lower cities on the skirts of the citadels in particular demonstrates the density of the population (Stone – Zimansky 2001; Stone 2012: 99). Inscription tablets of Rusa, son of Argishti reveal that people from other lands were brought to these cities (Payne 2006: 12.2.9).

The intense construction activities during the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti placed a great burden on the kingdom[1]. Considering the limited areas for agriculture across the Urartian lands in particular, feeding these people around the cities must have posed some serious problems. Add to that the possibility of draughts, natural disasters, epidemics, etc., during this period, we can assume that expansion inevitably brought with it a range of other problems.

Following the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti, the tradition of having inscription tablets written was largely abandoned. Sarduri, son of Rusa, Sarduri, son of Sarduri, and Rusa, son of Rusa are among members of the dynasty emerging from the limited number of Urartian inscription tablets in the kingdom's final period. However, not only there is insufficient evidence to prove that all of these rulers were kings, but –with a few exceptions– there is also no evidence to indicate that these individuals lived after Rusa, son of Argishti.

Some researchers suggest that the Urartian inscription LUA.NIN-li found on the seal imprints on the tablets should be read as LUA.ZUM.-li and that this denotes not a prince, but an official (Hellwag 2005). Since both the title and the period in which these individuals lived remain open to discussion, this aforementioned proposition seems plausible.

As an exception, an Assyrian tablet dated to 643 BC mentions the presence of an Urartian king named Ištar-dūri (Sarduri) (Luckenbill 1968: No. 834). Considering the fact that almost all Urartian cities fell during the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti, it can be said that this individual was not a king that held the central authority of Urartians. It is known that prior to the establishment of the Urartu Kingdom, all tribal chiefs, beys, or rulers in Eastern Anatolia were referred to as kings in Assyrian inscription tablets. It can thus be assumed that the Sarduri mentioned here was either a ruler during the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti or a member of the dynasty that lived after the fall of the central authority of the Urartu Kingdom.

Almost all of the written documents from dynasty members that presumably lived after the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti were discovered in Karmir-blur (Fig. 2). This leads researchers to suspect that as of Rusa, son of Argishti, the Urartian dynasty may have withdrawn to the north of the country. Despite all, it still remains unclear for the time being if there were any other kings succeeding Rusa, son of Argishti and if there were, what their realm of sovereignty and level of authority were.

---

1. Partially supporting our view, Çilingiroğlu also states that the construction activities during the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti, as well as the depletion of finances may have played an important role in the decline and fall of the Urartians (See Çilingiroğlu 2002: 484 – 488). Similarly, noting that Rusa, son of Argishti was the last Urartian king engaged in grand construction projects, Zimansky attributes the contrast between the destruction of settlements during his rule and the regular abandonment of these settlements to the people's reaction to Rusa II's endeavors. (See Zimansky 2005: 235)

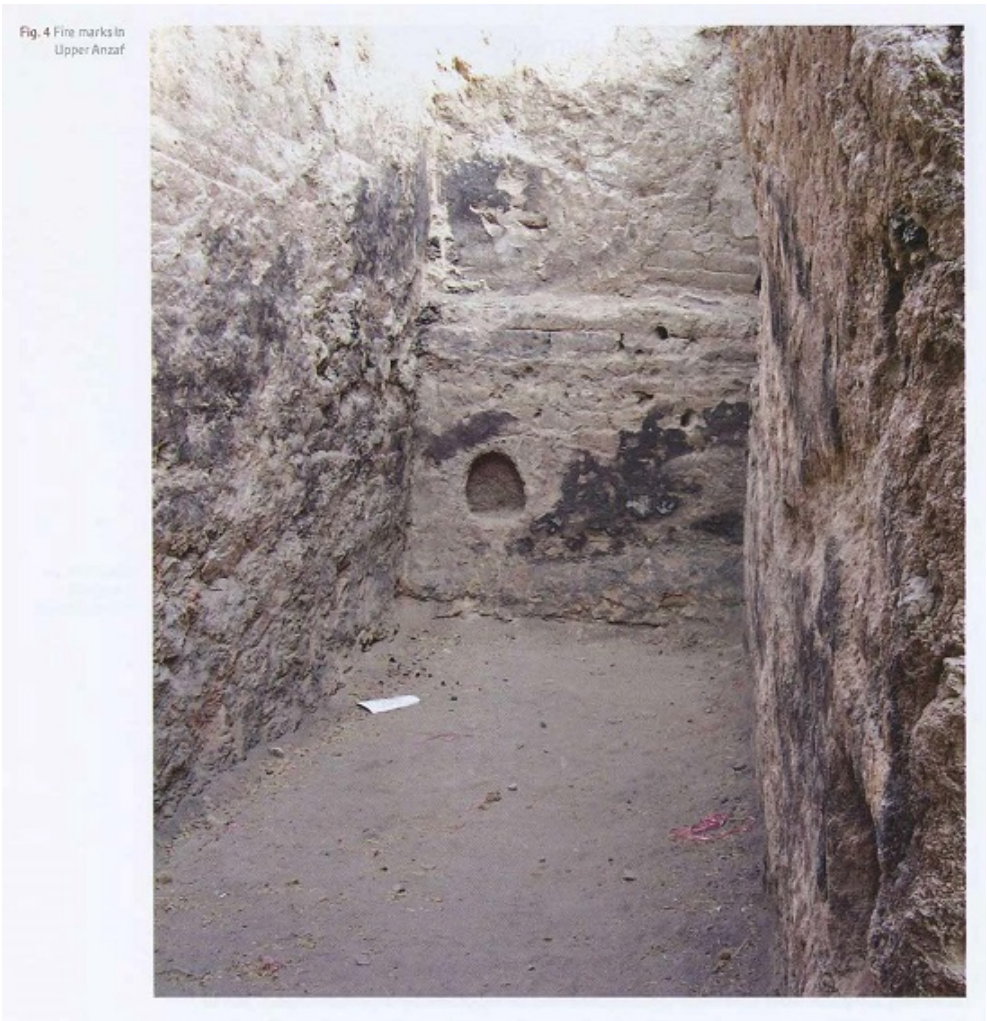


Fig. 4 Fire marks in Upper Anzaf

Farewell: Doors closing, cities burning...

The last king known to have founded cities in the Urartu Kingdom is Rusa, son of Argishti. The kings that presumably ascended the throne after him did not establish any more cities. The various strata of remains from Urartian cities help us much more than the inscriptions do in terms of understanding this particular period.

All of the cities studied in virtually all the studied areas of the vast land of Urartians perished in fires. These fires particularly damaged the citadels of the cities. The burning of the wooden columns and pillars carrying the buildings led to the collapse of buildings with high mudbrick walls. The fire transformed the adobe blocks into bricks and led to the fragmentation of large basalt blocks. This reveals the severity of the fire (Çilingiroğlu 2001b). Paul Zimansky, who conducted several excavations in the lower city of Ayanis, relates that the settlements around the citadels seem not to have been burned down. While this is an important detail, the scarcity of excavations in the lower cities makes it difficult for us to obtain some clear information about these areas. (Fig. 4).

A significant condition encountered in the various strata of destruction is as follows: the doors were walled and blocked before the fires. This is the most important archaeological evidence revealing the presence of a threat lingering over Urartian centers. The northern entrance in Bastam (Kleiss 1996: 293), the main door entrance in the southeast direction in Ayanis (Çilingiroğlu 2001a: 28 – 29; Çevik 2008: 14), the eastern main entrance of the palace in the western citadel in Armavir-blur (Martirosjan 1974: Plate XXVIII) and the doorways of the pavilion building in Yoncatepe as well as the village homes from the same period have all been walled and blocked (Fig. 5).

It is known that the door of the storage room with large pillars in the citadel of Upper Anzaf Fortress, the excavations in which we partook, was closed off and the main gate providing access to the citadel was narrowed. The walling of these gates was, of course, not enough to prevent a large army from accessing the citadel. This might have been a sign that the threat was from the nomadic groups invading the Urartian lands. Assyrian written documents relate that nomadic tribes such as Cimmerians and Scythians began posing problems for Urartu as of the second half of 8th century BC. Rapidly increasing in number within and around the land of Urartians, these groups became a threat for Urartian cities towards the end of the reign on Rusa, son of Argishti. Precautions such as walling the gates must have been taken to avoid the threat posed by crowded nomadic groups. Another possibility we can propose is the idea that residents of the clearly abandoned Urartian cities did contemplate returning home. Considering the presence of a non-military threat in particular, the walling of the gates is important, as it reflects the idea of return even though it does not physically protect the cities.

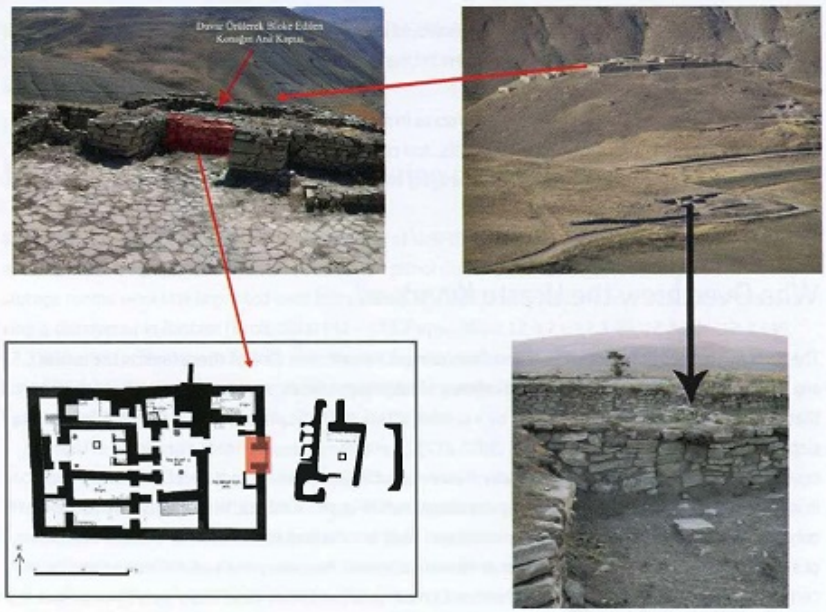


Fig. 5 The walled main gate of Yoncatepe Pavilion

Another common characteristic of Urartian centers is that they are all abandoned. The valuable movable goods in the cities were either taken along during this exodus or were looted by invaders. For example, the golden plates surrounding a podium inside the Ayanis Haldi Temple were taken away (Çilingiroğlu 2007). These must have been stolen before Ayanis burned down or before the fire enveloped the citadel. The most important sign of this abandonment was the absence of any skeletons of people that were trapped in the fire during the great fires across the habitations. With a few exceptions, there are no traces of corpses in the Urartian settlements. This is the clearest evidence that there were no humans during the fire that led to the destruction of Urartian settlements.

A relevant question would be to ask how a fire broke out in these cities. Quite possibly, the cities were first looted by invading migrant groups and then burned down. As it is widely known, burning down cities and settlements was a demonstration of power in ancient times and was an important tool of propaganda. Still, the demolition of Urartian cities and the ensuing fire have also been associated with the earthquake factor as well (Çilingiroğlu 2007: 82; Sağlamtimur 2009: 565). Nevertheless, the spread of the Urartu Kingdom across a vast geography renders the earthquake factor obscure. Still, even if

there were a devastating earthquake, its effects would only remain local. At this point, we are once again reminded of the absence of any human skeletons in Urartian cities.

The excavations have shown that the storage rooms in many Urartian cities were replete with goods. The jars here are filled with wheat, barley, lentils, and chickpeas. Based on this fact, some researchers have suggested that the destruction of the cities may have taken place in the fall season (Kleiss 1979: 73 – 75).

Who Overthrew the Urartu Kingdom?

The finds on the abandonment of Urartian cities are quite significant. One of these finds is the lack of any evidence of war or battle at Urartian centers. Until present times, many researchers have claimed that the cities may have been destroyed by a sudden attack of the Scythians or that they fell following a siege (Barnett 1982; Belli 1998: 29; Belli 2002: 277). Scythian-style spearheads discovered in Urartian centers were cited as evidence of this claim. However, such spearheads do not exceed a few in number in most of the cities. In places where they are discovered in larger numbers, they are concentrated only in certain parts of the towns. Therefore, these finds are not enough to consider them as evidence of a possible attack or siege. The absence of skeletons or their weaponry makes it difficult to ascribe a certain meaning to the spearheads. Furthermore, these spearheads may have been used by Urartians as well. Archaeological excavations have revealed that Urartians also possessed similar spearheads and spurred iron spearheads (Derin – Muscarella 2001). Although it has been noted that some of the spearheads discovered in the Çavuştepe excavations were discovered embedded in the wall, there is no discussion on their quantity and how effective they would have been in the destruction of the city; they are merely associated with the fall of the city instead (Erzen 1978: 6). This phenomenon is not particular to Çavuştepe, but is seen in every excavated Urartian center. Even if only a single spearhead was discovered, its presence was used as the basis for the argument that the Scythians caused the fall of the cities (Belli 1998: 29; Belli 2002: 277). Although it is quite possible that the Urartu Kingdom may have been overthrown by Scythian or Cimmerian nomadic groups, the view that the destruction occurred after a sudden attack is merely a figment of imagination.

In addition to the view arguing the downfall of Urartu Kingdom by Scythians, a similar view attributing its demise to the Meds have also found many proponents among researchers. The relationship between the fall of Urartu and the Meds is based merely on Herodotus' account that the battle between the Meds and the Lydians ended with a solar eclipse in 585 BC (Herodotos: I, 103). Researchers have suggested that if the Meds had gone that far into Anatolia around these dates, they may have overthrown the Urartu Kingdom to reach these lands. The absence of any finds related to

the Meds in the various strata of destruction in the cities or in documents pertaining to the downfall or the Urartu Kingdom, which we believe withdrew from the stage of history in mid-7th century BC, renders this view obsolete.

The Status Quo of the Cities during the Downfall

Another interesting revelation of the excavations at Urartian centers is the appearance of only the name of Rusa, son of Argishti in the bullae found on the pithoi discovered in storage rooms. The pithoi in the storage rooms were last imprinted with seals during his reign. The highest number of bullae of the said king is discovered in Bastam (Kroll 1984: 151 – 170, Payne 2006: 12.3.7 – 12.3.23, 12.3.30 – 12.3.649, 12.3.650 – 891). Similarly, in Ayanis, there are no finds related to any other king that succeeded Rusa, son of Argishti. This is an important data suggesting the possibility that the cities fell during the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti.

Located in Van Lake Basin, the Urartian capital Tushpa also reveals no finds on the presence of a king after Rusa, son of Argishti. While 7th century BC has been documented in Van Fortress Mound, the lower city of Tushpa, archaeological finds do not yield any clear information about the end of the Urartu Kingdom. However, the fire stratum is also present here as well. Architectural remains and archaeological finds are similar to their counterparts in the cities of Rusa, son of Argishti. Having resumed under the direction of Erkan Konyar as of 2010, the excavations seem likely to make significant contributions to the subject of the decline and fall of the Urartu Kingdom (Konyar 2011; Konyar *et.al.* 2013). A clay tablet discovered in the Urartian areas in the 2014 excavation season and dated to 7th century BC is the most important sign of this.

Founded by Rusa, son of Argishti in Van Lake Basin, Ayanis and Kef Fortresses were also demolished in a similar manner towards mid-7th century and were not rebuilt by the Urartians. It appears that the fires that broke out in the cities Upper Anzaf founded earlier by Menua, Çavuştepe founded by Sarduri II, and Toprakkale founded by Rusa, son of Argishti were related to the events that brought the end of Rusa's cities.

It can be said that the villages in Van Lake Basin were also exposed to fires during this period and were eventually abandoned. In Yoncatepe pavilion and village homes, where finds are more conspicuously preserved, the walling of the gates and their exposure to fire, the storage rooms filled with grains, as well as finds dated to the 7th century BC such as fibulae, and Scythian-style spearheads seem to be related to the abandonment of the cities of the same period.

Located in the northern part of Van Lake, Giriktepe pavilion, on the other hand, had been burned down and disappeared with 44 people inside it. It is important, as it is the only Urartian dwelling in which numerous people died. The scarcity of reports and publications on the excavations conducted here makes it impossible for us to study this particular pavilion in detail with respect to the fall of the Urartu Kingdom (Balkan 1964).

Founded in the Aras River basin by Rusa, son of Argishti, Karmir-blur and Bastam perished in fires. Similarly, Arin-berd and Armavir-blur founded in the Aras River basin during the reign of Argishti I also disappeared in a fire.

Final Dates on the Urartians

As Urartu began to disintegrate, the tribes particularly living in closed basins were hanging to the state by a thread. The destruction of Urartian cities by nomadic/migrant groups brought the end of the dynasty and, by extension, central authority. Following the overthrow of the Urartian dynasty, the administrative mechanism that had controlled the region since 9th century BC also ended. No powerful political authority emerged in that region as of this date, nor were big cities established. Quite possibly, some of the tribes comprising Urartu migrated from the region whereas others, as centuries before, continued to exist as small formations influential in limited areas in the same region. The presence of these tribes may have been reflected in the Babylonian tablets. In a tablet dated to 609 BC, King Nabopolassar of Babel speaks of Urashtu Grayson 1975: No. 3). Dated to 594 BC, the Torah (Old Testament) mentions Urartu as *rrt* (Old Testament, book 2 19: 37). Finally, the chronicle of King Nabodinus of Babel dated 547 BC, also mentions the Urashtu region (Rollinger 2008: 57). What is intended by that is not the Urartu Kingdom. However, the continued denomination of the region with a name that phonetically recalls Urartu may possibly indicate that even after the fall of the kingdom, the Urartian culture was upheld, at least for some time, by the tribes in the region.

Conclusion

The Urartu Kingdom witnessed the invasion of migrant groups, particularly in 7th century BC unable to prevent the migrations, the Urartian kings were in dire straits. Particularly Rusa, the son of Arghisti's undertaking of monumental construction and development activities, perhaps to avoid the decline of state authority and his initiative to use immigrants he brought as slaves/workers from outside Urartian lands backfired and accelerated the fall of the kingdom. Perhaps, such extravagant spending also had a negative impact of the kingdom's finances. After all, a significant number of people were employed for

construction, which subsequently led to the problem of accommodation and provisions. This particular problem must have been reflected on the affiliated tribes and societies of Urartu as heavy taxes were levied and solicited severe reactions. These tribes may have gotten rid of the military and financial obligations to the state at the first opportunity they were able to grasp.

The presence of migrant groups possibly upset the locals living in Urartian cities and the cities were abandoned as the volume of migration and eventually invasion grew exponentially. The gates of many of the abandoned cities were walled to avoid access, possibly with the hope that the locals would return one day.

All these events transpired in mid-7th century BC during the reign of Rusa, son of Argishti and state authority collapsed. Princes of the dynasty or administrators quite possibly migrated to the north and, as we learn from Assyrian tablets, made considerable efforts to reinstate state authority. However, a similar administration was not established again in the Urartian geography as of the second half of 7th century BC.

REFERENCES

Balkan, K.
1964 "Patnos'ta Keşfedilen Urartu Tapınağı ve Urartu Sarayı", Atatürk Konferansları I, Ankara: 235 – 243.

Barnett, R. D.
1982 "Urartu", J. Boardman, I. E. S. Edwards, N. G. L. Hammond, E. Sollberger (eds.), Cambridge Ancient History III/1: The Prehistory of the Balkans; the Middle East and the Aegean World, tenth to eighth centuries BC, 3/1, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 314 – 371.

Belli, O.
1982 "Urartular", *Anadolu Uygarlıkları Ansiklopedisi I*, İstanbul, Görsel Yayınları: 140 – 208.

Belli, O.
1998 *Anzaf Kaleleri ve Urartu Tanrıları, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.*

Belli, O.
2002 *"2000 Yılı Anzaf Kaleleri Kazı ve Onarım Çalışmaları", Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı 23/2: 275 – 286.*

Çevik, Ö.
2008 *"Periodisation Criteria for Iron Age Chronology in Eastern Anatolia and Neighbouring Regions", Ancient Near Eastern Studies 45: 1 – 20.*

Çilingiroğlu, A.
1997 Urartu Krallığı Tarihi ve Sanatı, İzmir, Yaşar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı Yayınları.

Çilingiroğlu, A.
2001a "Military Architecture", A. Çilingiroğlu – M. Salvini (Eds), Ayanis I: Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-Kai 1989–1998, Roma, CNR Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici: 25 – 36.

Çilingiroğlu, A.
2001b "Temple Area", A. Çilingiroğlu – M. Salvini (Eds), Ayanis I: Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-Kai 1989–1998, Roma, CNR Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici: 37 – 65.

Çilingiroğlu, A.
2002 "The Reign of Rusa II: Towards the End of the Urartian Kingdom", R. Aslan – S. Blum – G. Kastl – F. Schweizer – D. Thumm (Eds), Mauer Schau Band I: Festschrift für Manfred Korfmann, Remshalden – Grunbach: 483 – 489.

Çilingiroğlu, A.
2007 *"Urartulu Argişti oğlu Kral Rusa: Bir Başarı Öyküsü", Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi Arkeoloji Dergisi (TÜBA-AR) 10: 73 – 89.*

Çilingiroğlu, A.
2008 "Rusa Son of Argishti: Rusa II or Rusa III?", *Ancient Near Eastern Studies (ANES)* 45: 21 – 29.

Derin, Z., Muscarella, O. W.
2001 *"Iron and Bronze Arrows", A. Çilingiroğlu, M. Salvini (eds), Ayanis I: Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-Kai 1989–1998, Roma, CNR Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici: 189 – 217.*

Erzen, A.
1978 *"Çavuştepe Yukarı Kale ve Toprakkale 1977 Çalışmaları", Anadolu Araştırmaları 6: 1 – 15.*

Fuchs, A., Kroll, S.
2008 "Die Könige von Urartu", şurada: *http://www.vaa.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/Iran/urart-kinglist.html* (05.04.2008) ayrıca şurada: *http://www.biainili-urartu.de/Iran/urart-kinglist.html* (10.09.2014).

Fuchs, A.
2012 "Urartu in der Zeit", S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, P. Zimansky (eds), *Bianili – Urartu*, Belgium, Peeters: 135 – 161.

Grayson, A. K.
1975 Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, Texts from Cuneiform Sources, New York, J. J. Augustin

Hellwag, B.
2005 "LUA.ZUM-*li versus* LUA.NIN-*li: Some Thoughts on the Owner of the So-called Prinzensiegel at Rusa II's Court*", A. Çilingiroğlu, G. Darbyshire (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages V. Proceedings of the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6–10 August 2001*, London: 235 – 240.

Herodotos
1983 *Herodot Tarihi (Çev. M. Ökmen)*, İstanbul, Remzi Kitabevi.

Konyar, E.
2011 *"Tuşpa / Aşağı Kent"*, *Aktüel Arkeoloji Dergisi 21: 82 – 95.*

Konyar, E., Avcı, C., Genç, B., Akgün, R. G., Tan, A.
2013 *"Excavations at the Van Fortress, the Mound and the Old City of Van in 2012"*, *Colloquium Anatolicum 12: 193 – 210.*

2001 *Kutsal Kitap, Eski ve Yeni Antlaşma (Tevrat, Zebur, İncil)*, İstanbul, Kitabı Mukaddes Şirketi.

Kleiss, W.
1979 *"Architektur"*, W. Kleiss (ed.), *Bastam I: Ausgrabungen in den urartäischen Anlagen 1972–1975*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag: 11 – 98.

Kleiss, W.
1996 "Die Toranlagen der Urartaischen Festung Rusa-i URU.TUR von Bastam in Iranish-Azerbaidjan", *Anadolu Araştırmaları 14 – Prof. Dr. Afif Erzen'e Armağan*, İstanbul: 289 – 306.

Köroğlu, K.
2008 *Eski Mezopotamya Tarihi. Başlangıcından Perslere Kadar*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları.

Kroll, S.
1984 *"Urartus Untergang in anderer Sicht"*, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen 34: 151 – 170.*

Kroll, S.
2012 *"Rusa Erimena in archäologischen Kontext"*, S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, P. Zimansky (eds.), *Bianili – Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12-14 October 2007 / Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums 12.-14. Oktober 2007, Acta Iranica, 51*, Leuven, Peeters: 183 – 186.

Kroll, S., Roaf, M., Zimansky, P.
2012 "Afterword The Future of Urartu's Past", S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, P. Zimansky (eds.), *Bianili – Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12-14 October 2007 / Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums 12.-14. Oktober 2007, Acta Iranica, 51*, Leuven, Peeters: 445 – 450.

Lanfranchi, G.B., Parpola, S.
1990 *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II. Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces, State Archives of Assyria V, Helsinki*, Helsinki University Press.

Luckenbill, D. D.
1968 *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia II: Historical Records of Assyria from Sargon to the end, New York*, Greenwood Press.

Martirosjan, A. A.
1974 *Argischtichinili, Archeologiceskie Pamjatniki Armenii* 8, Erivan, Akademija Nauk Armjanskoj SSR.

Payne, M.
2006 *Urartu Çivi Yazılı Belgeler Kataloğu, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.*

Roaf, M.
1996 *Mezopotamya ve Eski Yakındoğu (Çev. Z. Kılıç), İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları.*

Roaf, M.
2012 *"Could Rusa son of Erimena have been king of Urartu during Sargon's Eighth Campaign?", S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, P. Zimansky (eds.), Bianili – Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12-14 October 2007/ Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums 12.-14. Oktober 2007, Acta Iranica, 51*, Leuven, Peeters:187 – 216.

Rollinger, R.
2008 "The Median 'Empire', The End of Urartu and Cyrus Great's Campaign in 547 BC (Nabonidus Chronicle II 16)", *Ancient West and East 7: 51 – 65.*

Rollinger, R.
2012 *"Med Krallığı: Hayalet İmparatorluk", N. Karul (ed.), ArkeoAtlas: Son Tunç Çağı'ndan Helenistik Döneme Anadolu'nun Arkeoloji Atlası 2, İstanbul, Doğan Burda Dergi Yayıncılık: 174 – 183.*

Sağlamtimur, H.
2009 *"Urartu Krallığı'nda Fil Dişi Oymacılığı, Ayanis Kalesi Taş Kapları ve Haldi Tapınağı"*, H. Sağlamtimur, E. Abay, Z. Derin, A. Ü. Erdem, A. Batmaz, F. Dedeoğlu, M. Erdalkıran, M. B. Baştürk, E. Konakçı (eds.), *Altan Çilingiroğlu'na Armağan – Yukarı Denizin Kıyısında Urartu Krallığı'na Adanmış Bir Hayat/ Studies in Honour of Altan Çilingiroğlu. A Life Dedicated to Urartu on the Shores of the Upper Sea, İstanbul, Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları: 565 – 579.*

Salvini, M.
2002 *"Una Stele di Rusa III Erimenahi dalla zona di Van", Studi Micenei Ed Egeo – Anatolici 44 / 1: 115 – 143.*

Salvini, M.
2006b *"Le Due Stele di Rusa Erimenahi dal Keşiş Göl", Studi Micenei Ed Egeo – Anatolici 48: 209 – 272.*

Salvini, M.
2012 *"Das Corpus der urartäischen Inschriften", S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, P. Zimansky (eds.), Bianili – Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12-14 October 2007/ Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums 12.-14. Oktober 2007, Acta Iranica, 51,* Leuven, Peeters: 111 – 134.

Seidl, U.
2012 "Rusa son of Erimena, Rusa son of Argišti and Rusahinili/Toprakkale", S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, P. Zimansky (eds.), *Bianili – Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12-14 October 2007/ Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums 12.-14. Oktober 2007, Acta Iranica, 51,* Leuven, Peeters: 177 – 181.

Sivas, H.
1991 *Urartu ile İlgili Assur Kaynakları, İ.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İstanbul.*

Starr, I.
1990 *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria, State Archives of Assyria IV, Helsinki,* Helsinki University Press.

Stone, E. C.
2012 "Social differentiation within Urartian settlements", S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf, P. Zimansky (eds.), *Bianili – Urartu: The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich 12-14 October 2007/ Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums 12.-14. Oktober 2007, Acta Iranica, 51*, Leuven, Peeters: 89 – 99.

Stone, E. C. – Zimansky, P.
2001 "Survey and Soundings in the Outer Town of Ayanis 1996 – 1998", A. Çilingiroğlu, M. Salvini (eds.), *Ayanis I: Ten Years' Excavations at Rusahinili Eiduru-Kai 1989–1998, Roma, CNR Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici: 355 – 375.*

Zimansky, P.
2005 "The Cities of Rusa II and the End of Urartu", A. Çilingiroğlu - G. Darbyshire (Eds), *Anatolian Iron Ages V. Proceedings of the Fifth Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium held at Van, 6–10 August 2001*, London: 235 – 240.

Zimansky, P.
2011 "Urartu ve Çağdaşları", K. Köroğlu, E. Konyar (eds.), *Urartu: Doğuda Değişim / Transformation in the East*, İstanbul, Yapı Kredi Yayınları: 106 – 121.

کورو ش و هخامنشیان[۱]

مت واترز[۲]
ترجمه دکتر منصور حمدالله‌زاده[۳]

درک تاریخ اولیه هخامنشی در مطالعا ت اخیر دستخو ش تغییرا ت قا بل توجهی شده است. تحقیقا ت اخیر بر تمایز خانوادگی کورو ش بزرگ و دار یو ش اول تأکید کرده است و اعتبار بخشیدن به بازسازی سنتی و معاصر ادعاهای خویشاوندی دار یو ش که دلالت بر تبار دوگانه از هخامنش از طر یق تیش‌پیش دارد دشوار شده است. در یک کتیبه مربوط به کوروش و کتیبه دیگر مربوط به داریوش. از آنجایی که کتیبه‌های کوروش در پاسارگاد جعلی نشان داده شد بنابر این سلسله «هخامنشیان» به عنوان تبار داریوش و رابطه بین داریوش و پیشینیانش نیازمند ارزیابی جدیدی است.

کلید واژه‌ها: کوروش، داریوش، استوانه‌کوروش، کتیبه‌بیستون، هخامنشی

---

[۱] ین مقاله باز نشری است از :
Waters, M. (۲۰۰٤). Cyrus and the Achaemenids. Iran, ٤۲(۱), ۹۱–۱۰۲. https://doi.org/۰۵۷۸٦۹٦۷/۲۰۰٤/۱۱۸۳٤٦٤۸/۱۰/۱۰۸۰

[۲] Matt Waters, Ph.D. University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire
[۳] پژوهشگر تاریخ و مدرس دانشگاه آزاد اسلامی mansour۰۰۱@gmail.com

کورو ش و هخامنشیان

CYRUS AND THE ACHAEMENIDS*

By Matt Waters
University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

Understanding of early Achaemenid history has undergone significant changes in recent scholarship. Recent research has emphasised the familial distinction between Cyrus the Great and Darius I, and it has become difficult to give credence to the traditional, modern reconstruction of Darius' kinship claims that implies a dual descent from Achaemenes via Teispes: one line to Cyrus and the other to Darius. With Cyrus' inscriptions at Pasargadae demonstrated as spurious, and the "Achaemenid dynasty" demonstrated as Darius' creation *ex nihilo*, the relationship between Darius and his predecessors requires a new assessment.

Darius has been viewed as an unabashed liar, despite the consistent antipathy toward the Lie (Old Persian *drauga*) emphasised in his royal inscriptions. As typical of the genre of royal apologia, the truth therein reflects the truth as the sovereign portrayed it, with historical accuracy, as we would define it, not a priority. It was certainly not beyond Darius to fabricate a connection to his royal predecessors where none existed. But, to put it somewhat paradoxically, is Darius' mendacity so straightforward? Put another way, may any of Darius' genealogical claims be salvaged by careful consideration of his imperial rhetoric and other ancient sources?

This article supposes a negative answer to the first question and a positive one to the second. To find a link between the lines of Cyrus and Darius one need look no further than Cassandane, wife of Cyrus and daughter of Pharnaspes the Achaemenid (Hdt. III.2). Acceptance of Herodotus' account of the marriage of Cyrus and Cassandane, the evidence for which will be discussed below, serves as the foundation of this article's assertions.[1]

In order to appreciate the historical ramifications of this union, one must not only differentiate the dynastic lines of Cyrus and Darius but also examine the ideological import of Darius' use of the label "Achaemenid". Darius placed great emphasis on being an Achaemenid, i.e., descended from his eponymous ancestor, Achaemenes. Achaemenes is first mentioned in the Bisitun Inscription, wherein Darius traced his lineage to him through four generations: "Darius the king proclaims: My father is Hystaspes, the father of Hystaspes is Arsames, the father of Arsames was Ariaramnes, the father of Ariaramnes was Teispes, the father of Teispes was Achaemenes. Darius the king proclaims: For this reason we are called 'Achaemenids'."[2] This lineal descent, in subsequent inscriptions, became simply "Achaemenid" (i.e., minus the full genealogical progression), used as a dynastic marker. This Achaemenid emphasis is consistently reflected in Darius' titulary, for example, "I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of many countries, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid" (DPe §1 — with minor variations in several other inscriptions).[3]

The name Achaemenes or title "Achaemenid" does not occur in Cyrus' inscriptions (notwithstanding the Pasargadae inscriptions, in fact commissioned and placed by Darius).[4] Cyrus traced his lineage to his great-grandfather Teispes, who, based on the testimony of the Cyrus Cylinder, founded Cyrus' royal line.[5] By tracing his descent to Achaemenes through Teispes, Darius thus established the basis for the traditional (in modern scholarship) dual Achaemenid line and Darius' and Cyrus' shared royal pedigree. The Achaemenid dynasty was a construct of Darius, one way by which he rationalised his claim to the throne.[6] That Darius' accession represented a significant break with his predecessors (even if one retains the shared descent with Cyrus from Achaemenes) has been recognised, but the full magnitude of this break has yet to be explored.

If Cyrus was not an Achaemenid, what then? And what was the relationship between Cyrus and the Achaemenids? Answers to these questions, as best as they may be considered with the limited evidence, are important both with regard to Cyrus' establishment of the empire and Darius' victory in the crisis of 522 B.C. This article's assessment of these questions relies upon a variety of sources, and these are discussed subsequently (roughly in order) based on whether Cyrus or Darius is the focus. The argument rests upon the identification of Cassandane as a wife of Cyrus, as a member of the Achaemenid clan, and as the mother of

Cambyses (and Bardiya). Cassandane's identification as such stems primarily from Herodotus, but it is supported, directly and indirectly, by analysis of ancient Near Eastern evidence. It must be emphasised that the incomplete and sporadic source material precludes definitive conclusions and necessitates qualification even of provisional ones; the attendant analysis must thus be considered provisional.

CYRUS AND CASSANDANE

The marriage of Cyrus and Cassandane provides a key to understanding the relationship between Cyrus and the Achaemenids. That noted, it must be acknowledged that there are different traditions regarding Cyrus' marriages. Herodotus recounted that Cambyses was the son of Cyrus and Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achaemenid: "...Cambyses was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achaemenid, and certainly not of any Egyptian woman" (III.2, see also II.1 discussed below).[7] Ktesias, conversely, reported that Cyrus married Amytis, daughter of Astyages (*Persika* §2). With regard to the Persian royal marriages it may not be necessary to accept one classical account and reject another. The practice of polygamy among subsequent Persian kings is well-attested, and it would be no surprise to learn that Cyrus engaged in it as well.[8] The traditions wherein Cyrus is linked to the Median royal house by marriage may reflect Cyrus' own propaganda to link himself to the Median dynasty; thus Cyrus would have portrayed himself as a legitimate Median king.[9]

The Near Eastern evidence supports Herodotus' account of Cyrus' marriage to Cassandane. Herodotus' account of Cassandane's death echoes the Nabonidus Chronicle. Herodotus noted that Cyrus greatly lamented Cassandane's death and that he insisted on public mourning for her (II.1): "When Cyrus was dead, Cambyses inherited the kingdom. He was the son of Cyrus and Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, and Cassandane had died before Cyrus himself; Cyrus had mourned greatly for her and instructed all his subjects to do likewise. Cambyses, then, was a son of this woman and Cyrus."[10] An entry in the Nabonidus Chronicle provides an exact parallel, which lends credence to (and may have indirectly served as the source of) Herodotus' account. The Chronicle related that Cyrus' wife (whose name is not given) died within a few months after his conquest of Babylon and that there was an official mourning period: "In the month [x] the wife of the king died. From the twenty-seventh of the month Adar to the third of the month Nisan [there was] (an official) mourning in Akkad. All the people bared their heads."[11] The correspondence between these two accounts is too close to be coincidental. It is accepted here that Herodotus, having followed the Nabonidus Chronicle's account, correctly related the name of Cyrus' wife as well as her clan affiliation. A marriage alliance that afforded Cyrus support from a powerful group of Persian nobles (i.e., the Achaemenids) would have gone far in Cyrus' unification of Iran and the discrete, though culturally-similar, tribes therein. I interpret Cyrus' marriage to the Achaemenid Cassandane as just such an alliance.

CYRUS' EARLY CONQUESTS

One of the great conundrums of Cyrus' rise to power is how a seemingly obscure Persian from Fars challenged the might of the Median, Lydian, and Babylonian empires in the course of just over a decade. A significant part of this conundrum involves how and when north-eastern and eastern Iran fell under Cyrus' power. The rapid expansion of the empire under Cyrus was unlikely to have been accidental or incidental. In order to effect this expansion Cyrus, as the king of Anshan (Tall-i Malyan, in modern Fars), must have made alliances with several other Persian and Iranian families or groups, the Achaemenids (by way of Cyrus' marriage to Cassandane) foremost among them.

For Cyrus the Great's early history, a variety of sources may be considered, the vast majority written well after Cyrus' lifetime. Before Cyrus' defeat of Astyages (dated between 550–549 B.C.), the political relationship between Medes and Persians is obscure, confounded by contradictory classical accounts. Herodotus narrated a legend of Cyrus' early life and struggle against the Medes (I.107–30), one of four that he claimed to know (I.95). Herodotus' admission of several stories current in his day is authenticated in the variations found in other classical authors.[12] Babylonian sources disclose only sporadic details of Cyrus' early reign. The Nabonidus Chronicle reports that Astyages marched against Cyrus, was betrayed by a revolt among his troops, and was delivered to Cyrus. Cyrus then marched upon Ecbatana and took its plunder back to

Anshan.[13] The Nabonidus Chronicle confirms Herodotus' account of Median treachery, but it offers no details to elucidate that tradition.

Extant sources do not preserve the course of Cyrus' progression from king of Anshan to the conqueror of Media. Classical authors' confusion disallows an authoritative account, and Near Eastern sources reveal little, and nothing explicitly, about Cyrus' reign as king before the Median conquest. Nothing in the historical record suggests that Cyrus held dominion beyond the territory roughly equivalent to modern Fars before his conquest of the Medes. The combined forces of Elamites and Persians in Fars may have made a formidable force, but is one to assume that they were able to challenge what both contemporary Near Eastern sources and later Greek tradition represent as a leading power of the late seventh and early sixth centuries? Internal troubles in Media contributed to Astyages' downfall, as indicated by his troops' revolt, but such disaffected Median elements would not have linked their fortunes with Cyrus unless he had something significant to offer. Did Cyrus have more resources at his disposal than those of the kingdom of Anshan alone?

According to Herodotus (I.214), Cyrus ruled twenty-nine years (559–530 B.C.). There are serious chronological problems and gaps in our knowledge of Cyrus' reign. The first few years (at least five) are almost a complete blank in the historical record. It seems reasonable to place Cyrus' marriage to Cassandane and the birth of Cambyses in this period (i.e., the 550s), if not before. Cyrus certainly spent these early years consolidating his power, presumably with an eye toward expansion.

By 539, Cyrus had conquered Media (*c.* 550–549), Lydia (*c.* 540s),[14] and Babylon (539). Of these three, only the conquest of Babylon may be dated with any precision: Cyrus entered the city on October 29, 539.[15] The chronology of Cyrus' activity in the east is uncertain. No Near Eastern source provides any explicit information on the incorporation of eastern Iran into the empire. The extent of Median power and influence is also unknown, and this convolutes the issue. Xenophon (*Cyro.* I.1.4) implied that the Hyrcanians accepted Cyrus' rule after he overthrew Astyages, while Ktesias claimed that they had joined Cyrus beforehand (*Persika* §9). After the conquest of Lydia, Herodotus (I.177) noted that Harpagus devastated "lower Asia" (κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης) while Cyrus himself destroyed "upper" (ἄνω) Asia, subduing all people (πᾶν ἔθνος). Herodotus emphasised the great importance of the campaigns against Babylon, Egypt (which ultimately fell to Cambyses), the Bactrians, and the Saka (I.153), as opposed to the conquest of Ionia, which was entrusted to Harpagus. Ktesias (*Persika* §2) reported that Bactria and other eastern regions submitted to Cyrus shortly after he defeated Astyages.[16]

There are scattered and contradictory references in later classical sources to Cyrus campaigning in what became the provinces of Carmania, Drangiana, Areia, Arachosia, and Gandhara — the regions of modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan — between his conquests of Lydia and Babylonia, but the chronology and even sequence of these episodes are uncertain. Whether Cyrus added the territory of eastern Iran between the conquests of Media and Lydia or between the conquests of Lydia and Babylonia, whether in one campaign or over the course of several (perhaps in combination with diplomatic marriages), cannot be determined. Ktesias (*Persika* §8) labelled Bardiya, called Tanyoxarkes in his account, as the lord (δεσπότης) of Bactria. If accurate, Cyrus' assignment of one of his sons to this post demonstrates its importance. That Cyrus died campaigning in the extreme north-east suggests that the regions beyond the Oxus River were not secure, or were attractive targets, even at the end of his reign.[17]

Extant evidence for eastern Iran in the Achaemenid period is considerably less than that for western Iran and Mesopotamia. Relations between the various groups of early Iranians before and during the Achaemenid period are poorly documented, if at all. A great deal of archaeological work bearing on the Achaemenid period has been done in eastern Iran and Central Asia, but without supplementary textual sources it is difficult to posit the course of those regions' political history before Cyrus' conquests and, in many cases, even during the succeeding Achaemenid period.[18] For some scholars, Cyrus' rapid conquests presuppose some sort of political framework, if not established kingdoms, in at least some of these regions (e.g., Bactria).[19]

CYRUS' TITULARY

The Cyrus Cylinder lists Cyrus the Great's forebears through three generations (Cyrus being the fourth) as kings of Anshan. Anshan, modern Tall-i Malyan, is located approximately 50 km. north-by-north-west

from Persepolis and approximately 75 km. west-by-south-west from Pasaragadae.[20] A Cyrus "king of Persia" (Parsumaš) appears in the Assyrian annals paying tribute to Ashurbanipal after the Assyrian campaigns against Elam in the 640s. A sealing of Cyrus, son of Teispes, the Anshanite – generally acknowledged as Cyrus the Great's grandfather – has been found on Elamite texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive. If one accepts the identification of this Cyrus, son of Teispes, with the Cyrus of Ashurbanipal's annals, this pushes back Cyrus the Great's line in Fars into the early seventh century B.C.[21]

It is assumed herein that by the mid-seventh century the toponyms Parsuash/Parsumash (in Fars) and Anshan have become roughly synonymous for the same geographic region, that was later called *Parsa* (Old Persian) and *Persis* (Greek).[22] The only reference that explicitly differentiates Parsuash and Anshan, to my knowledge, is Sennacherib's description of the forces of Huban-menanu arrayed at Halule in 691.[23] It seems clear that both refer to regions in Fars. Subsequently, Assyrian sources typically refer to the region as Parsuash or Parsumash (the orthographic variation has no significance). Anshan occurs in extant texts again only in the (Elamite) inscription on the seal of Cyrus son of Teispes, in some Neo-Babylonian documents, and in Cyrus' royal inscriptions (all noted below). The choice of toponym may have had (and, I argue, frequently did have) ideological significance but did not have geographical significance by the mid-seventh century. Anshan occurs only in texts of, or referring to, Cyrus the Great; it does not occur in conjunction with, or in the titulary of, any subsequent Persian king. It is useful in this context to list the instances of Cyrus' titulary as a reference point.

1) Ashurbanipal's annals, edition H2 II' 7'–13':[24]
"Cyrus, king of Persia"
^{m}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ^{KUR}*par-su-ma-aš*

2) Impressions of Persepolis Fortification Seal *93:[25]
"Cyrus of Anshan ('the Anshanite'), son of Teispes"
[^{v}*k*]*u-raš^{h} an-za-an-*x*-ra* DUMU *še-iš-be-iš-na*

3) Sippar Cylinder of Nabonidus (i 29):[26]
"Cyrus king of Anshan"
^{m}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ^{KUR}*an-za-an*

4) Cyrus Cylinder (see note 5):
"Cyrus king of Anshan" (line 12)
^{m}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ^{URU}*an-ša-an*
"I am Cyrus king of the world, great king, strong king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters" (line 20)
a-na-ku ^{m}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL *kiš-šat* LUGAL GAL LUGAL *dan-nu* LUGAL TIN.TIR^{KI} LUGAL KUR *šu-me-ri ù ak-ka-di-i* LUGAL *kib-ra-a-ti er-bé-et-tim*
Cambyses I, Cyrus I, and Teispes each named "great king, king of Anshan" (line 21)
...LUGAL GAL LUGAL ^{URU}*an-ša-an*

5) Brick from Uruk:[27]
"I am Cyrus, builder of Esagil and Ezida, son of Cambyses, strong king"
^{m}*ku-ra-aš ba-ni-i*[*m*] É.[SAG].ÍL *u* É.ZI.DA A ^{m}*kam-bu-zi-ya* [LUGAL] *dan-nu a-na-ku*

6) Brick from Ur:[28]
"Cyrus, king of the world, king of Anshan, son of Cambyses, king of Anshan..."
^{m}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL ŠÁR LUGAL ^{KUR}*aš-ša-an* DUMU ^{m}*kam-bu-zi-ya* LUGAL ^{KUR}*aš-ša-an*...

7) Nabonidus Chronicle:[29]
"Cyrus king of Anshan" (ii 1)
^{m}*ku-raš* LUGAL *an-šá-an*
"Cyrus king of Persia" (ii 15)
^{m}*ku-raš* LUGAL ^{KUR}*par-su*

8) Verse Account of Nabonidus:[30]
"Cyrus king of the world"
^{m}*ku-ra-áš* LUGAL *kiš-šat*

9) Miscellaneous economic documents:[31]
Cyrus "king of Babylon, king of lands" (and variants)

10) The Dynastic Prophecy:[32]
"king of Elam" (ii 17), a reference to Cyrus the Great
LUGAL ^{KUR}NIM.MA^{KI}

The inscriptions of Pasargadae (labelled CMa and CMc) are not included here, as they have been established as later additions commissioned by Darius (see n. 4). That Cyrus' only extant royal inscriptions are from Babylonia must serve as a caveat for any analysis involving them. Cyrus I specifically referred to himself as the "Anshanite" (no. 2), yet Ashurbanipal referred to the region contemporaneously, or even earlier than this Cyrus the Anshanite, as Persia (i.e., Parsumaš, no.1) — almost a century before Cyrus the Great came to power. Cyrus' contemporary, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, also labelled Cyrus the "king of Anshan", so there is external (i.e., non-Cyrus) evidence for its use. That Cyrus maintained the simple title "king of Anshan" in his own inscriptions (e.g., no. 6) is

noteworthy, especially after his kingdom encompassed much larger tracts of the ancient Near East.

Even if the title "king of Anshan" was, originally and simply, a designation of the geographic place that Cyrus the Great and his predecessors ruled, its continued use by Cyrus himself, as the conqueror of Media, Lydia, and then Babylonia, is significant. From a historiographic perspective the title underscores the impact of the Elamite tradition on Cyrus, especially in contrast with Darius' shift to a Persian and Iranian ideology (see below). That this historiographic perspective reflects something of the historical reality seems beyond dispute, even if clarity on the issue remains elusive.

Adoption of royal titulary involves a conscious choice: to maintain or to change a traditional one, or to create a new one altogether. The use of the title "king of Anshan" supplied legitimacy to a Persian dynasty that had been victorious over indigenous Elamites. Whether it was original or taken from an Elamite dynast whom Teispes overthrew (and this is purely hypothetical), i.e., if the title was not original to Cyrus' line, is not important in this context.[33] The use of the title "king of Anshan" by a Persian goes beyond that of a simple geographical marker; Persian domination of an Elamite area represented, by use of this title, an arrogation of an Elamite tradition. With the decline of Elam by the late 650s and 640s, the legitimately-claimed title "king of Anshan", an Elamite centre of great antiquity, may have carried great weight in a milieu of mixed Elamite and Persian populations, wherein Persians were the relative newcomers. Only with the Cyrus Cylinder may we trace the progression from "king of Anshan" to an expanded titulary of the newly-victorious ruler of Babylonia and most of the ancient Near East (no. 4).

Elamite influence on the Persians was pervasive.[34] For example, a very fragmentary passage of the Nabonidus Chronicle reveals that Cyrus, during Cambyses' investiture ceremony, visited the Nabû temple in east Babylon dressed in Elamite garb.[35] The incident cannot be fully reconstructed, but, if accurately interpreted, it does show that Cyrus (or is it possible to assume Cambyses?) wore Elamite accoutrements even in an age-old Babylonian ceremony — an event notable enough for mention in the chronicle. This harmonises with Cyrus' perpetuation of an Elamite-styled titulary.

In the early seventh century B.C., the Neo-Elamite king Huban-menanu still had political influence in (if not sovereignty over) Fars, as evinced by the participation of troops, including Persians, from that region in the Battle of Halule (691).[36] Elamite political influence was dissipated over the subsequent five decades. Sometime after the sack of Susa (dated to 647 or 646), Ashurbanipal received tribute from Cyrus, king of Parsumash (i.e., in modern Fars). By the mid-seventh century, at least parts of Fars were no longer under Elamite political domination.

While Cyrus' titulary reflects his Elamite orientation, it provides little information with regard to his status as a *Persian* king, i.e., his relations with those Persians who provided the base of his support. With Darius, we encounter a shift in royal titulary: a conscious exclusion of Cyrus' "king of Anshan", which was supplanted by a focus on "Achaemenid" descent and, in some inscriptions, on Persian and Iranian ethnicity (see below).[37] In the Bisitun Inscription, Darius emphasised that he was "an Achaemenid" and "king of Persia". Notably, even in those numerous inscriptions Darius commissioned at Persepolis and Naqsh-i Rustam, "Anshan" never occurs; it has disappeared from the titulary. The same geographic region was meant, i.e., Persia as Anshan, but the nomenclature had changed.

Despite this shift in titulary, Darius actively sought to identify himself with Cyrus in other ways. The inscriptions of Pasargadae, ostensibly commissioned by Cyrus but, in fact, left by Darius (see n. 4), explicitly label Cyrus as an Achaemenid. This label linked Cyrus to Darius' line in order to bolster Darius' legitimacy. Darius' marriages to Cyrus' daughters (Hdt. III.88) strengthened this link in reality for Darius' successors, and they could claim legitimacy both as Achaemenids and as descendants of Cyrus.[38]

When Cyrus is taken out of the Achaemenid line, the dynamics of the early Persian empire and the crisis of 522 change. The accession of Darius was not the reassertion of the Achaemenid dynasty but the creation of that dynasty, with a royal lineage defined by Darius after he took power. Darius' family line or (in the wider sense) clan, the Achaemenids, was one of great influence and import in Persia, but it was not on a par with Cyrus' royal line until Darius made it so — and incorporated Cyrus' line in the process.

HERODOTUS AND THE ACHAEMENIDS

For Herodotus, the term "Achaemenid" was a clan designation. This is in apparent opposition to the sense in which Darius used the term throughout his inscrip-

tions, as a dynastic marker indicative of direct descent from Achaemenes. This opposition is not, however, irreconcilable. Darius emphasised direct descent from an eponymous ancestor, while Herodotus considered the term in its wider, clan sense (I.125): the Achaemenid clan (φρήτρη) was one clan of the Pasargadae tribe (γένος).[39]

The term "Achaemenid" occurs infrequently in Herodotus' *History*. It is used primarily to distinguish a particular individual as a member of the Achaemenid clan.[40] Achaemenes, the eponymous founder of the clan is mentioned twice (III.75 and VII.11), and the clan designation itself, used to refer not to an individual but to the clan or its members in a general sense, occurs twice as well (I.125 and III.65). The Persian kings who appear in the work are not explicitly identified as "Achaemenid", but the implication is clear at, among other places, Xerxes' rehearsal of his lineage in VII.11: "May I be no son of Darius, son of Hystaspes, son of Arsames, son of Ariaramnes, son of Teispes, son of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Teispes, son of Achaemenes…"[41]

Cyrus is also implicitly identified as an Achaemenid by Prexaspes' tracing of Cyrus' family "from Achaemenes downward" (III.75), as he confesses his murder of the real Smerdis (i.e., Bardiya). Herodotus created a dramatic scene here to enliven his narrative, but he was consistent throughout on this matter. The report that the Persian kings came from the foremost clan, that is the Achaemenid clan (I.125), indicates that Herodotus viewed all the Persian kings as Achaemenids — as members of the clan so-named. If Herodotus felt that there was any ambiguity in this regard, it is not obvious.

Darius asserted that his ancestors were kings (DB §3), but the evidence argues against this claim. Xerxes divulged that Darius became king even though both his grandfather Hystaspes and great-grandfather Arsames were yet alive (XPf §3). The spurious inscriptions of Ariaramnes and Arsames were attempts to legitimise Darius' line by claims of royal descent, a further propagation of the dynastic principle established by Darius.[42] Even if Arsames was too advanced in age to claim the kingship, Hystaspes was certainly still capable. The Bisitun Inscription relays that Hystaspes dwelt (Akkadian *ašābu*) in Parthia and that some of the people there revolted (Akkadian *alāku lapani*) against him. This passage indicates that Hystaspes held an important post (i.e., satrap) there, awarded or authorised by Cyrus and/or Cambyses, and that Hystaspes was active in putting down rebellions against Darius (DB §35–36).[43]

Herodotus did not adopt Darius' claim that he and his forebears had been kings. Herodotus indicated that Hystapes held a position of importance under Cyrus, although he confused his role, calling him the governor (ὕπαρχος) of Persia (III.70). Further, Darius was "not yet a man of great account" before he took the kingship — Herodotus' negative exaggeration of Darius' place as a "spear-bearer" (δορυφόρος) of Cambyses.[44] It is obvious from the place of Gobryas on the sculpture of Darius' tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam, where Gobryas is given the same title — *aršṭibara* in Old Persian — that this position was one of high honour, but it did not mark an heir to the throne.[45]

According to Herodotus, it was Otanes who was the moving force among the seven conspirators in the plot to overthrow the false Smerdis. Darius was a late addition to the conspiracy. It is difficult to judge the significance of Otanes as the main figure here and the rationale of his withdrawal from the contest for kingship. It may reflect a pro-Otanes source, one that emphasises his standing (evident elsewhere in Herodotus, e.g., III.68) and at the same time explains why he was not king.[46] Elsewhere, Herodotus described this Otanes as a son of Pharnaspes (III.68). By this account, Otanes and Cassandane were siblings, both children of Pharnaspes the Achaemenid. However, with regard to the identity of Otanes' father, it is possible to check Herodotus against DB §68, where Otanes is named son of Thukhra, a Persian. In matters of Darius' cohorts and their lineage, the Bisitun Inscription must, of course, take precedence over Herodotus. Otanes' father's name Thukhra is irreconcilable with Herodotus' Pharnaspes.

Further, if Cassandane were truly the sister of Otanes, one of the Seven, the evidence from the Bisitun Inscription precludes Pharnaspes being her father. Either Herodotus confused Cassandane and Otanes' relationship or he confused the name of one of their fathers. It is more likely, because of the numerous, homonymous Otanes in Herodotus, that Herodotus erred in naming that Otanes of the Seven to be the son of Pharnaspes. Since he also noted that Darius married Phaidyme, who was a daughter of Otanes and previously wed to Cambyses and to Bardiya (III.68 and III.88), Herodotus may have carried this link between Otanes and the Persian kings back one generation.[47]

This is just the type of tangled genealogy that a Greek source, though informed of Persian politics and the succession legends, may easily have conflated.

CAMBYSES THE ACHAEMENID

The marriage of Cyrus and the Achaemenid Cassandane also lends a measure of credence to Darius' genealogical claims in the Bisitun Inscription. As demonstrated by his own inscriptions, Cyrus did not view himself as an Achaemenid but rather placed emphasis on his lineage as king of Anshan, son of Cambyses, descended from Teispes. But, although Cyrus was not born one, he became linked to the Achaemenids by marriage. Darius did not hesitate to exaggerate this link, even if, in the truest sense, a shared descent from Achaemenes did not exist. Cyrus may have profited immensely (both politically and militarily) from his marriage to an Achaemenid woman, but he did not need it for legitimacy.

Cambyses, as the legitimate son of Cyrus, had an Achaemenid mother, so Darius' claim that Cambyses was of his family (*amāxam taumāyā*, DB §10) may be defensible. This assumes a reading of the Old Persian term *taumā-* in a wider sense of "clan" or the like.[48] Understood in that wider sense, *amāxam taumāyā* intimates that Cambyses was descended from Achaemenes — whether of direct lineal descent or not would not have been of primary concern to Darius. While Cyrus was linked to the Achaemenids only by marriage, Cambyses was linked by blood, courtesy of his mother. Cassandane's kin-relationship with Darius, if there was one, is nowhere elucidated. Even if she was a distant cousin, however, her descent from Achaemenes would have been good enough for Darius. It is upon this relationship that Darius staked his claim to kinship with Cambyses and, by extension, with Cyrus.

Without better knowledge of ancient Persian kinship and social organisation, it is admittedly difficult to assess the formal significance (if any) in Darius' kinship implication, i.e., that Cambyses was an Achaemenid by matrilineal descent. Perhaps there is no need to seek any such significance; once Darius had prevailed on the battlefield, he simply exaggerated, or even created, the significance — based on a real, if extended, kinship relationship — to formalise or legitimise his claim. A link to Cyrus and Cambyses was important, and a familial one (by way of Cassandane), however stretched, may have provided this legitimacy. That Darius literally claimed Cambyses, not Cyrus, as a member of his *taumā-* in DB §10 is telling for this interpretation. Modern scholarship (with few exceptions) no longer maintains that Cyrus was of Achaemenid descent. Cambyses is another matter.

The marriage of Cyrus and Cassandane, then, serves as a backdrop to Darius' and his father Hystaspes' positions of prominence under Cyrus and Cambyses. Hystaspes received an important position in Parthia. Darius' position as a spear-bearer of Cambyses may also be attributed to this vinculum. Other Achaemenids presumably received important posts as well. When the crisis occurred in 522, this Achaemenid support, given to Cyrus (by way of his marriage to Cassandane) and subsequently to Cambyses, reverted to Darius, and it was crucial to Darius' success.

DARIUS THE KING

Darius related in his Bisitun Inscription that in 522. Cambyses, still in Egypt, faced a revolt in his own country by a magus whom Darius named Gaumata. According to Darius, this Gaumata was an impostor of Cambyses' true brother Bardiya, who had been killed by Cambyses sometime before (DB §10–14). Herodotus followed this account in outline and in some of the particulars (III.61–79). With the help of six cohorts, all identified as "Persian", (DB §68), Darius claimed that he slew the magus Gaumata and claimed the kingship. In reality, Darius slew Cambyses' true brother Bardiya to take the throne. Numerous revolts then threw much of the empire into chaos.

Darius' Bisitun Inscription is a victory-monument to the numerous battles he and his supporters fought against a myriad of enemies. Darius included the names, lineages (i.e., "son of" x), and ethnic backgrounds of many of his supporters and enemies. Of Darius' six supporters, Intaphernes, Hydarnes and Gobryas are named in the Bisitun Inscription as active participants in quelling the revolts: Intaphernes against a Babylonian revolt (§50); Hydarnes against rebellious Medes (§25); and Gobryas against an Elamite revolt (§71).[49] Neither the Bisitun Inscription, nor Greek tradition, records where Intaphernes or Hydarnes dwelt or in what regions they held power and influence. Gobryas is identified as a Pateischorian by the

Babylonian version of DB §68 and also in the trilingual DNc; Strabo (XV.III.1) identified the Pateischorians as one of the tribes of Persia.

The Bisitun Inscription does not relate the specific contributions of the other three, although Greek tradition preserves much information regarding all six co-conspirators and their subsequent fates. Intaphernes soon fell out of favour and was apparently replaced by Aspathines, who is prominent at Naqsh-i Rustam but is not named in the Bisitun Inscription.[50] Beyond the six co-conspirators and those individuals already in power under Cambyses and Cyrus (Hystaspes, Vivana and Dadarshi; see below), the names of several other men, who led armies against various rebel forces, are provided. These individuals' political backgrounds, like those of the six conspirators, are unknown — whether they were officials and generals appointed by Cyrus and Cambyses who came over to Darius, or were "new men" selected by Darius.

Only Darius' father Hystaspes and the satraps Vivana and Dadarshi apparently held their political positions before Darius became king. Vivana was the satrap of Arachosia, active against the rebel Vahyazdata in Arachosia (§45). Hystaspes dwelt in Parthia and, presumably, was satrap there.[51] Dadarshi was the satrap of Bactria, active against the rebel Frada in Margiana (§38).[52] All three are identified ethnically as Persians. Thus, beyond the six co-conspirators, Darius had additional supporters who held important positions based in the north (Parthia), east (Arachosia) and north-east (Bactria), from a compass point based in Persis. This indicates a significant, if not broad, base for Darius in central, northern, and eastern Iran. Darius relied upon them to quell trouble on the Iranian plateau and in eastern Iran, while he and others addressed the far more significant and expansive trouble at the core of the empire: Persis itself, Elam, Media and Babylonia. These regions were the mainstays of Cyrus' family's power, and it is probably not a coincidence that they gave Darius so much difficulty.

DARIUS' TITULARY

There are no extant royal inscriptions of Cyrus the Great's sons Cambyses and Bardiya from Mesopotamia, Elam or Persia, so it is uncertain if the title "king of Anshan" was still in use after Cyrus' death. If so, its use would have been strictly traditional, in light of the extent of the Persian Empire even early in Cyrus' reign. With the accession of Darius I, conversely, there is a wealth of inscriptional material, and the change in focus is plain. Darius' earliest titulary reads "Great King, King of Kings, King of Persia, King of countries" (DB §1 and DBa §1) and emphasises descent from Achaemenes (DB §2–3), but nowhere does he name himself or any of his predecessors "king of Anshan". This title is not even used in the Elamite version of the Bisitun Inscription.

After Darius was firmly established, he presented additional, new elements in some inscriptions. Darius was not only king of Persia and an Achaemenid but also the son of a Persian (an ethnic designation, not a royal one) and of Aryan (i.e., "Iranian", also an ethnic designation) lineage. The emphasis on Persian and Aryan ethnicity does not occur in the Bisitun Inscription but finds expression in subsequent dedicatory inscriptions of Darius at Naqsh-i Rustam (DNa §2) and Susa (DSe §2) and of Xerxes at Persepolis (XPh §2).[53]

This emphasis on Persian and Iranian ethnicity in Darius' titulary may be considered in opposition to the emphasis on Anshan (highlighting an Elamite orientation) in Cyrus'. Darius, exhibiting his Persian and Iranian heritage, acknowledged his broader base among Iranian peoples to the apparent exclusion of the Elamite — at least in his titulary. Darius inaugurated a new Persian and Iranian royal ideology, reflected in the creation of an Old Persian script, his inscriptions, his architecture and his art.[54] The disappearance of "Anshan" from the titulary is just one result of this new emphasis.

Darius' identification of himself as an "Iranian" reflects an eastern orientation, an acknowledgement of the importance of his non-Persian, Iranian supporters.[55] This acknowledgement probably reflected the base of Darius' power, the Iranians in a wider sense than the more restrictive (at this time) sense of "Persia" in the geographical sense, i.e., Fars. This was an acknowledgement based upon a political reality that Cyrus (to judge from the extant record) did not make.

In consideration of Darius' eastern orientation, one recalls the question of the connection between the early Persian kings and the Zoroastrian religion, or, as more commonly termed now in reference to the Achaemenid period: "Mazdaism". This question has occupied pages of scholarly discussion, but a few remarks must suffice in this context.[56] Ahura-Mazda is ubiquitous in Darius' inscriptions, another indicator of

his Iranian sensibilities. The Elamite scribe(s) of the Bisitun Inscription differentiated Ahura-Mazda as "the god of the Aryans" (DB §62). The gloss in the Elamite version, even though omitted in the subsequent Old Persian and Babylonian versions, suggests (as does the entire inscriptional corpus) that Ahura-Mazda may have been a relatively recent introduction to western Iran, at least among its non-Iranian (i.e., Elamite) inhabitants. This is not to imply that Ahura-Mazda was unknown there before Darius' reign. Cyrus' personal views on religion are unknown, though it was not beyond him to manipulate religion for his political purposes (e.g., the Cyrus Cylinder's Mesopotamian religious elements).

Defining Mazdaism as it existed in the sixth century B.C., or for that matter how it was practiced by the Achaemenid kings, is currently impossible. It is uncertain whether Cyrus may be considered Mazdaean or to what extent he may have been sympathetic to a correlative belief system. Regardless of Cyrus' attitude, political sensibilities (reflected in continued use of the title "king of Anshan") may have precluded the prominence of a non-traditional, i.e., a non-Elamite, deity. On the other hand, Cyrus may simply not have felt any desire or compulsion to acknowledge Ahura Mazda.

The names of some prominent individuals at this time also reflect Mazdaean and eastern Iranian influence. Darius' father Vishtaspa (Greek *Hystaspes*) had the same name as Zoroaster's patron. The name of Cyrus' daughter Atossa is usually interpreted as of Mazdaean and eastern Iranian origin.[57] Zoroaster's homeland was located in eastern Iran, and later Zoroastrian tradition points to eastern Iran as the ancestral homeland of the Iranians.[58] Other parallels may be cited, but the preceding are generally acknowledged if not wholly accepted. Darius and the Achaemenids' links to the Mazdaean tradition and eastern Iran should not strike one as coincidences, as Mazdaean and eastern Iranian elements indisputably came to the fore in Darius' reign. In light of the fact that Cyrus' family had been entrenched in Fars and immersed in Elamite tradition for at least four generations, when we find eastern Iranian and Mazdaean elements during Cyrus' time it may be productive to look to Cassandane and the increasing prominence of the Achaemenids as the source.

Notes

* This paper is a modified and expanded version of presentations made at the American Philological Association meeting in December 1998, Washington, DC and at the American Oriental Society meeting in April 2003, Nashville, Tenn. Grants from the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs of the University of Wisconsin — Eau Claire allowed travel for research. I acknowledge and thank the *Iran* referee, Amélie Kuhrt, Pierre Briant, David Stronach, and Matt Stolper for some trenchant comments on various drafts of this article. It should not be assumed that they agree with the analysis herein. Responsibility for errors and shortcomings remains my own.

1 Note the remarks of D. Lewis, "Persians in Herodotus", in P.J. Rhodes (ed.), *Selected Papers in Greek and Near Eastern History* (Cambridge, 1997), with whom I agree in principle: "The assumption has to be that Herodotus is right, except when he can be shown to be wrong" (p. 345). I would qualify this statement to include also those instances where Herodotus' testimony is contradictory to our knowledge of ancient Persia.

2 DB §2–3 (Old Persian version): *θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya manā pitā Vištāspa Vištāspahyā pitā Aršāma Aršāmahyā pitā Ariyāramna Ariyāramnahyā pitā Cišpiš Cišpāiš pitā Haxāmaniš θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya avahyarādiy vayam Haxāmanišiyā θahyāmahy*. Old Persian texts and translations herein are after R.G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (New Haven, 1953); for the Bisitun Inscription, see also R. Schmitt, *Bisitun: Old Persian Text* (London, 1991).

3 DPe §1 (Old Persian version): *adam Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya vazraka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya dahyūnām tyaišām parūnām Vištāspahyā puça Haxāmanišiya*. The significance of Darius' titulary will be taken up again later in the paper.

4 For the inscriptions, see H. Schaudig, *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' de Großen*, AOAT 256 (Münster, 2001), 557–61; for discussion see D. Stronach, "Darius at Pasargadae: A Neglected Source for the History of Early Persia", *Topoi: Orient-Occident*, Suppl. 1 (Lyons, 1997), 351–63; "On the Interpretation of the Pasargadae Inscriptions", in *Ultra Terminum Vagari: Scritti in onore di Carl Nylander* (Rome, 1997), 323–29; and "Anshan and Parsa: Early Achaemenid History, Art, and Architecture on the Iranian Plateau", in *Mesopotamia and Iran in the*

Persian Period: Conquest and Imperialism 539–331 B.C. (London, 1997), 35–53.

5 Line 21 of the Cyrus Cylinder; see Schaudig, *Die Inschriften*, 550–56 and A.L. Oppenheim's translation in, *ANET*, 3rd edition (Princeton, 1969), 315–16.

6 See, for example, Stronach, "Darius at Pasargadae", 360–62; A. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 BC*, Vol II (London, 1995), 664–65; and P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, 2002), 111 and 138 — (hereafter, *HPE*). Note in particular the detailed discussion of R. Rollinger, "Der Stammbaum des achaimenidischen Königshauses oder die Frage der Legitimität der Herrschaft des Dareios", *AMIT* 30 (1998), 155–209. For another perspective, see F. Vallat, "Cyrus l'usurpateur," in *Topoi*, Suppl. 1, 423–34.

7 Hdt. III.2: ... δὲ ὅτι Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω Θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίης. Translations from Herodotus herein are after D. Green, *The History: Herodotus* (Chicago, 1987).

8 Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia, 559–331 BC* (Oxford, 1996), 35–38. See C. Herrenschmidt, "Notes sur la parenté chez les Perses au début de l'Empire achéménide", in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History II: The Greek Sources* (Leiden, 1987), 53–67 and Briant, *HPE*, 24 for a general overview of Persian dynastic marriages.

9 Note the remarks of P. Briant, "La Perse avant l'empire (un état de la question)," *IA* 19 (1984), 74–75, echoed by Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia*, 42–43, regarding Ktesias' account as a "Median version" of Cyrus' conquest. For a translation of the Verse Account of Nabonidus, see Schaudig, *Inschriften*, 563–78; *ANET*, 312–15; and note the discussion of P.A. Beaulieu, *The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556–539 B.C.* (New Haven, 1989), 171–72, 206–7, and 214–16.

10 Hdt. II.1: Τελευτησαντος δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν Βασιληίην Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρός τῆς προαποθανούσης Κῦρος αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἦρχε πένθος ποιέεσθαι ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης.

11 A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, Texts from Cuneiform Sources, Vol. 5 (Locust Valley, New York, 1975), 110–11, iii 22–24: *ina* IT[I x] ⌜*aššat*⌝ *šarri mitat*^{MI} *ultu* XXVII *ša* ^{ITI}*Addari adi* UD III *šá* ^{ITI}*Nisanni bi-ki-tum ina Akkadi*[^{KI} *šaknat*^{at} *ni*]*šū*^{MES} *gab-bi qaqqad-su-nu ipaṭṭarū*(du$_6$)^{MES}. Cassandane died in March, 538. For parallel passages, see Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia*, Chapter 3.

12 For a summary of the variant versions of Cyrus' origins in classical literature, see B. Jacobs, "Kyros der Grosse als Geisel am medischen Königshof", *IA* 31 (1996), 85–100 and Briant, *HPE*, 14–16.

13 Grayson, *Chronicles*, 106, ii 1–4. The preceding section of the chronicle is broken, so this event may only be dated in or before the sixth year of Nabonidus (i.e., 553 to 549 B.C.); the Sippar Cylinder of Nabonidus indicates that Astyages' defeat occurred in 553. See Briant, *HPE*, 31–32 for discussion.

14 For the problems with dating the Lydian conquest, see J. Cargill, "The Nabonidus Chronicle and the Fall of Lydia", *AJAH* 2 (1977), 97–116 and Briant, *HPE*, 34–35.

15 Grayon, *Chronicles*, 109f., iii 12–23.

16 See Briant, *HPE*, 33–34 and 882 for discussion of these traditions.

17 Herodotus related that Cyrus met his death battling the Massagatae in the extreme north-east (I.201–14). Most other versions of Cyrus' death point to this same area, even if the details diverge; see W.J. Vogelsang, *The Rise and Organisation of the Achaemenid Empire* (Leiden, 1992), 187–89 and Briant, *HPE*, 49–50. The latest Babylonian administrative text dated by Cyrus is 12 August 530 and the first by Cambyses is 31 August 530; see M. Dandamaev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire*, translated by W.J. Vogelsang (Leiden, 1989), 70–71. Details of Cyrus' activities between the years 539 and 530, the conquest of Babylon and his death in the north-east, are lacking.

18 Vogelsang, *Rise and Organisation*, especially Chapters 1 and 6, contains discussions of the archaeological evidence and references; see also Briant, *HPE*, 38–40, 76–79, and 753–54.

19 For discussion and references, see Vogelsang, *Rise and Organisation*, 58–68; Briant, *HPE*, 76, 892–93, and 1026–27; and Briant, *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide II*, Persika I (Paris, 2001), 162–65.

20 Distances gauged from map 94 of the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, ed. R. Talbert (Princeton, 2000). For the difficulties in determining settlement patterns in mid-first millennium B.C.E. Fars, see W. Sumner, "Archaeological measures of cultural continuity and the arrivals of the Persians in Fars", in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt, and M.C. Root (eds.), *Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and Change* (Leiden, 1994), 97–105.

21 Some historians do not view this Cyrus as Cyrus the Great's grandfather, because of the necessity of assigning the reigns of Cyrus I and Cambyses I to span the period between 646 and 559; e.g., Briant, *HPE*, 17–18 and 878.

22 See my "The Earliest Persians in Southwestern Iran: The Textual Evidence", *Iranian Studies* 32 (1999), 99–107. Compare P. de Miroschedji's discussion in "La fin du royaume d'Anšan et de Suse et la naissance de l'Empire perse", *ZA* 75 (1985), 265–306.

23 D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, OIP 2 (Chicago, 1924), 43 l. 43–44 (both preceded by the determinative KUR).

24 R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Ashurbanipals* (Wiesbaden, 1996), 191–92.

25 For this sealing, see M.B. Garrison and M.C. Root, *Achaemenid History IX: Persepolis Seal Studies* (Leiden, 1996), 6–7 and fig. 2a–c.

26 See Schaudig, *Inschriften*, 409–40 and Beaulieu, *Nabonidus*, 108.

27 O.E. Hagan, "Keilschrifturkunden zur Geschichte des Königs Cyrus", *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 2 (1894), 257 for the text and 214–15 for the transliteration; Schaudig, *Inschriften*, 548.

28 C.J. Gadd *et al.*, *Ur Excavation Texts* (London, 1927), Vol. I — Plates, pl. 194 for the text and Vol. I — Texts, p. 58 for the transliteration; Schaudig, *Inschriften*, 549.

29 Grayson, *Chronicles*, 106–7. The alteration "king of Anshan" and "king of Persia" does not appear to be historically significant; compare F. Vallat, "Cyrus l'usurpateur", 428.

30 S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* (Chicago, 1924), 85, v 4 and plate VIII and Schaudig, *Inschriften*, 569.

31 Usually the conjunctive title "king of Babylon, king of lands" was used, but sometimes one or the other appears alone; see Dandamaev, *Political History*, 55 n. 9. Regarding the evolution of this titulary, see A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, "Xerxes' Destruction of Babylonian Temples", in *Achaemenid History II*, 72–73 and F. Joannes, "La titulature de Xerxès", *Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1989 no. 2, p. 25

32 A.K. Grayson, *Babylonian Historical Literary Texts* (Toronto, 1975), 25 and 32–33.

33 The dynamics of the Persian-Elamite synthesis in Fars is a topic beyond the scope of this article. Is it possible that the title "king of Anshan" was used consciously as a variation of the traditional Elamite title "king of Anshan and Susa"? At the least, it would have recalled a key component of the traditional title that in itself encapsulated a glorious, Elamite past. For a brief discussion of Elamite titulary, see F. Malbran-Labat, *Les Inscriptions royales de Suse: Briques de l'époque paléo-élamite à l'Empire néo-élamite* (Paris, 1995), 176–79.

34 See, among others, D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978), 52–54; Miroschedji, "La fin du royaume", 299–300; and E. Carter, "Bridging the gap between the Elamites and the Persians in Southeastern Khuzistan", *Achaemenid History VIII*, 65–95.

35 Grayson, *Chronicles*, 111, iii 24–28. This passage has been understood in various ways (e.g., Dandamaev, *Political History*, 56–57 and references). The interpretation here reflects A.R. George's collations and discussion, "Studies in Cultic Topography and Ideology", *BiOr* 53 (1996), 379–80. See also A. Kuhrt, "Some Thoughts on P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*", *Topoi*, Suppl. 1 (1997), 300–2. The temple was the É.GIDAR.KALAM.MA.SUM.MA "House which Bestows the Sceptre of the Land" (A.R. George, *House Most High: The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* [Winona Lake, 1993], 132–33.)

36 See also p. 4 and n. 22.

37 There are no extant Mesopotamian or Elamite royal inscriptions, and thus no knowledge of formal titulary, of Cambyses (r. 530–522). The Akkadian version of the Bisitun Inscription (line 12, DB §10) identifies Cambyses as "king of Persia, king of lands" (as is typical in Babylonian economic texts dating to Cambyses' reign): LUGAL ⌜*par*⌝*-su* LUGAL KUR.KUR. The Old Persian and Elamite versions note only that "he was king here" (DB, Old Persian, i 29: *hauvam idā xšāyaθiya āha*) and that "he held the kingship" (DB, Elamite, i 23: SUNKI-*me marriš*). Egyptian texts name Cambyses "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" and "son of Re" (both as expected) as well as "The Great King of All Foreign Lands"; see, for example, G. Posener, *La Première domination perse en Égypte* (Cairo, 1936), 7, 28, and 36. Note also the discussion of A.B. Lloyd, "The Inscription of Udjahorresnet: A Collaborator's Testament", *JEA* 68 (1982), 166–80.

38 See Briant, *HPE*, 132–33.

39 See Briant, *HPE*, 18–19 and 111.

40 Non-royal individuals whom Herodotus labelled as "Achaemenid" are Hystaspes (I.209), Pharnaspes (III.2), Sataspes (IV.43), Megabates (V.32), Tigranes (VII.62) and Artachaees (VII.117).

41 Hdt. VII.11: μὴ γὰρ εἶην ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος τοῦ Ἀρσάμεος τοῦ Ἀριαράμνεω τοῦ Τεΐσπεος τοῦ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Τεΐσπεος τοῦ Ἀχαιμένεος γεγονώς ... Notably, Darius is the first of nine kings in Xerxes' recitation, a direct echo of DB §4 and DBa, wherein Darius claimed to be the ninth king in succession; see Rollinger, "Der Stammbaum", 189–99 and especially pp. 193ff.

42 For the inscriptions of Ariaramnes and Arsames, see Briant, *HPE*, 16 and 877; compare Vallat, "Cyrus l'usurpa-

teur" and P. Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* (France, 1997), 126 (with qualification).

43 DB §35 (Old Persian): *hauv Parθavaiy āha avam kāra avaharda hamiçiya abava*. Elamite: ^{v}*Mištašpa* ^{v}*u* ^{v}*attata* ^{h}*Partumaš šarir hupiri* ^{v}*taššup ir maztemaša beptip*. Akkadian: ^{m}*Uštaspi* AD-*ú-a ina* ^{KUR}*Partū ašibma uqu lapanīšu ana* ^{m}*Parmartiš ittalku*.

44 Hdt. III.139: καὶ λόγου οὐδενός κω μεγάλου. Plato stated outright that Darius was not the son of a king (*Laws* 695c). For further discussion, see Briant, *HPE*, 108–12. Note also that Aelian, *Varia Historia* XII.43 identified Darius as a "quiver-bearer" (φαρετροφόρον) for Cyrus.

45 For the Bisitun relief, see Schmitt, *Bisitun*, pl. 5. For DNc (Naqsh-i Rustam) see R. Schmitt, *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis* (London, 2000), 45 and plate 22.

46 See Briant's discussion, *HPE*, 107–12.

47 See Briant, *HPE*, 132–35 and Brosius, *Women in Ancient Persia*, 53–54. If the Otanes, son of Thukhra, of the Seven was an Achaemenid, this identification would offer more intriguing possibilities of the links between Cyrus' family and the Achaemenids. However, Otanes is nowhere identified as an Achaemenid; like the other six helpers of Darius, he is identified in the Bisitun Inscription only as a Persian. This, though, does not preclude a link to the Achaemenid clan.

48 Note W. Brandenstein and M. Mayrhofer's definition of *taumā-*, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 145: "Geschlecht, Sippe, Familie, Nachkommenschaft". Compare the Akkadian *ša zēriya* "of my line (literally 'seed')" and the Elamite NUMUN.meš *nukami* "of our line". See Rollinger, "Der Stammbaum", 183–86.

49 Herodotus records that another of the Seven, Otanes, was active in the conquest of Samos (III.141–49); see Briant, *HPE*, 122.

50 Since Intaphernes is still named in the Bisitun Inscription, his fall from grace (Hdt. III.118–19) presumably occurred after 519. See Briant, *HPE*, 128–37 for a discussion of Darius' six co-conspirators.

51 See p. 6 and n. 43.

52 This Dadarshi was different than the homonymous individual, an Armenian, who was sent against rebels in Armenia (DB §26).

53 DNa §2 and DSe §2 (Old Persian version): *adam Darayavauš xšāyaθiya vazraka xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām xšāyaθiya dahyūnām vispazanānām xšāyaθiya ahyāyā būmiyā vazrakāyā dūraiapiy Vištāspahyā puça Haxāmanišiya Pārsa Pārsahyā puça Ariya Ariya ciça* "I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries containing all kinds of men, King in this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenid, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage"; Kent, *Old Persian*, 138 and 142 and Schmitt, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, 25 and 30 (DNa §2).

54 See, for example, the seminal treatment of M. Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art* (Leiden, 1979) and *HPE*, Chapters 5–6 (with references). Note that there is not unanimity on the question of the creation of the Old Persian script, see, for example, Vallat, "Cyrus l'usurpateur" and P. Lecoq, *Les inscriptions*, 77 and 85–87.

55 For some of the broader implications of the "Aryan" (Iranian) character of Achaemenid ideology, a complex issue, see G. Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on Its Origin* (Roma, 1989), Chapters 1–3.

56 See G. Gnoli, *Zoroaster in History* (New York, 2000) for discussion and references.

57 M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, Vol. II (Leiden, 1982), 41. Mazdaean and eastern Iranian etymologies have been proposed for other names, but many are of dubious or uncertain value (e.g., Cambyses). See the discussion of Vogelsang, *Rise and Organisation*, 306 for possible eastern connections of the Achaemenids in general and note J. Harmatta, "The Rise of the Old Persian Empire — Cyrus the Great", *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19 (1971), 1–15.

58 Dandamaev, *Political History*, 36–37 contains summary and references for the location of Zoroaster's homeland in Drangiana; compare G Gnoli, *Zoroaster's Time and Homeland. A Study on the Origins of Mazdeism and Related Problems* (Naples, 1980). See also the remarks of T. Cuyler Young, "Early Iron Age Iran Revisited: Preliminary Suggestions for the Re-analysis of Old Constructs", in J.L. Huot *et al.* (eds), *De l'Indus aux Balkans: Recueil à la Mémoire de Jean Deshayes* (Paris, 1985), 369 and Gnoli, *Zoroaster in History*, 50 and 84 n. 42.

حفاری‌های روسیه در ارمنستان[۱]

بارنت و واتسون[۲]
ترجمه دکتر منصور حمدالله‌زاده[۳]

مهم‌ترین کمک به موضوع باستان‌شناسی اورارتویی، انتشار گزارشی مقدماتی در مورد کاوش‌های کارمیربلور در سال ۱۹۵۰ است. این گزارش (*Karmir Blur, I*) کوتاه و در ۹۷ صفحه است که با ۱۶ تصویر و ٦٤ شکل توسط پیوتروفسکی تهیه شده است (*Akademii Nauk Armyanskoy S.S.R., Erivan,1950*). اهمیت آن در این واقعیت نهفته است که اولاً این اولین کاوش علمی و کنترل شده است که در قلمرو اورارتویی انجام شده است و دوم اینکه اشیاء و موارد کشف شده، از نظر ماهیت، توصیف شده است. دقتی که در حفاری مد نظر گرفته شده، بر اهمیت آن افزوده است. از آنجایی که نسخه‌های دیگری از این گزارش بیرون از «پرده آهنین» باید بسیار نادر باشد، ما مناسب دیدیم تا خلاصه‌ای مصور را به نفع پژوهشگران غربی ارائه دهیم. این کتاب نیز ممکن است مقداری فشرده شود.

کلید واژه‌ها: اورارتو، کارمیربلور، ارمنستان، باستان‌شناسی، کاوش‌های ارمنستان

---

[۱] ین مقاله بازنشری است از:
Barnett RD, Watson W. Russian Excavations in Armenia. Iraq. ۱۹۵۲;۱٤(۲):۱۳۲-۱٤۷. doi:٤۱۹۹٥٦۰/۱۰/۲۳۰۷

[۲] R. D. Barnett and W. Watson.

[۳] پژهشگر تاریخ و مدرس دانشگاه آزاد اسلامی mansour۰۰۱@gmail.com

132

RUSSIAN EXCAVATIONS IN ARMENIA

By R. D. BARNETT AND W. WATSON

THE most important contribution to the subject of Urartian archaeology is the publication in 1950 of a preliminary report on the excavations at Karmir-Blur. This (*Karmir Blur*, I) is a short work of 97 pages accompanied by 16 half-tone illustrations and 64 text figures by B. B. Piotrovsky (*Akademii Nauk Armyanskoy S.S.R.*.., Erivan, 1950). Its importance lies in the fact, first, that it is the first controlled excavation of any importance which has taken place in Urartian territory, and second, in the nature of the material discovered and described. The care with which the excavation was evidently conducted further adds to its importance. As copies of this work outside the " Iron Curtain " must be exceedingly rare, we have thought fit to present a detailed and illustrated summary for the benefit of Western students. The book, too, may be condensed with some profit, as it repeats itself in different chapters yet lacks enough cross-references.

Karmir-Blur is an ancient site on the left bank of the River Zanga below Erivan and opposite the village of Jaferabad (fig. 1). On the west of it lies a wide waterless plateau, on the south are irrigated gardens and fields. The plateau is covered with crumbled walls forming red earth, from which the local name meaning " Red Mound " is derived. On the top of the site are remains of mediaeval farm-houses, and, abutting the *tall* on the west, are remains of a large town covering about 60 hectares, in which at least three straight streets with *insulae* on either side can be distinguished. The site was much robbed until 1936 by peasants seeking earth who found many vases and in 1936 a fragment of an inscription mentioning Rusa, son of Argišti (c. 680-645 B.C.). The same year an expedition began work under the joint leadership of Piotrovsky (for the Hermitage) and Kafadarian (for the Armenian Commission for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments) and by representatives of other bodies. Work was concentrated on a huge building on the central mound which turned out to be the domestic wing and storehouses of the citadel (fig. 2). The citadel was found to be a massive structure, the walls of which were built in a series of alternate recessed niches and buttresses, while along the steep slope facing the River Zanga they formed a series of towers proceeding in stepped fashion, one leading in front of the other. The inner face of the citadel building was also treated in this indented fashion and recessed to form a huge courtyard entered through two gates. This courtyard area enclosed the homes of the richer part of the community.

In the small area of the town which was opened, a little information was gained concerning the *insulae*. They represented each a single structure containing several dwellings of the same type; one included as many as five.

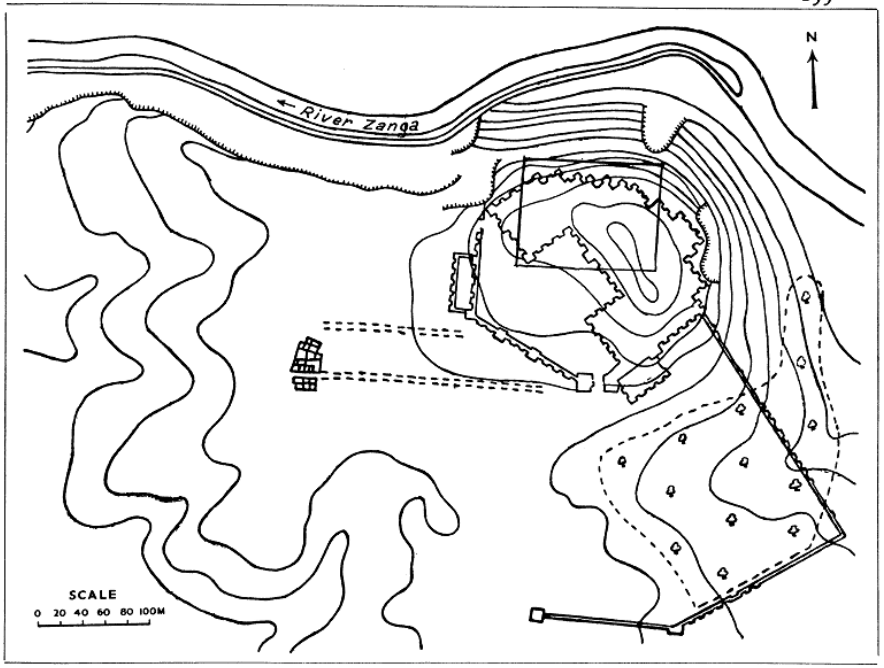


Fig. 1. Plan of the city and citadel of Karmir-Blur.

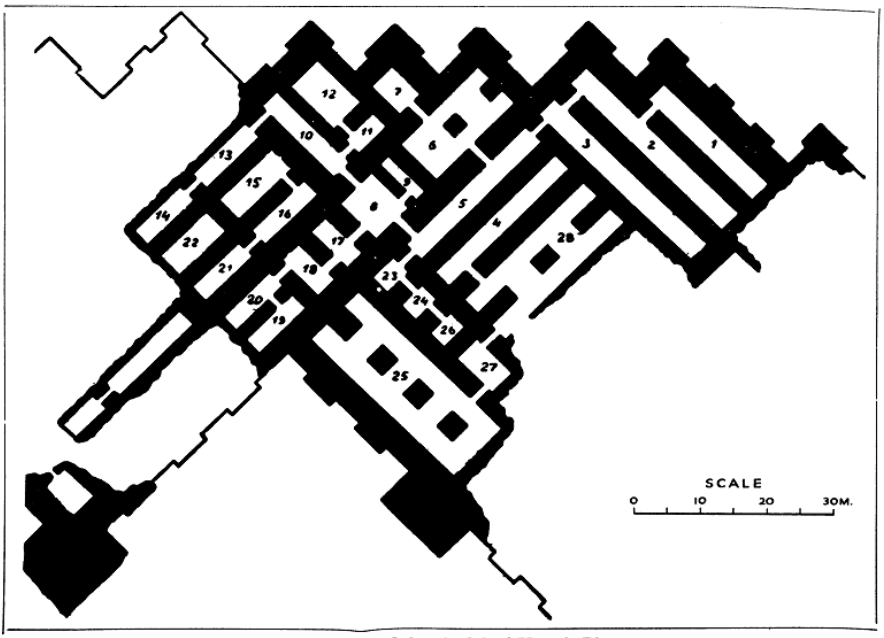


Fig. 2. Plan of the citadel of Karmir-Blur.

Each had its separate entrance, an open court and two living-rooms. The buildings were apparently wholly built of stone, with wooden pillars supporting the roof. The pillars rested on bases of tufa. Whereas the character of the citadel architecture was strongly reminiscent of Mesopotamia, that of the town had closer analogies to the buildings of the ancient Caucasus. Clay pots and a potter's wheel of clay, iron objects and a " stamp-cylinder "[1] were found. A double-sided mould of stone for casting an axe of Transcaucasian type was picked up here on the surface. It would seem that the buildings are contemporary with the citadel.

A cemetery of the Hellenistic period was also excavated, containing skeletons placed in a crouched position in cist graves, in some cases more than one skeleton being placed in the same grave.

There are also traces of graves of a pre-Urartian period to the south-west of the grove of trees outside the citadel. They may, however, have overlapped into the Urartian period. In these the bodies were laid in a crouched position inside a circle or semicircle of upright stones covered with thick stone slabs. In the graves were deposited clay vessels, bronze objects and in one case obsidian arrow-heads.

The Citadel.—The citadel, which formed the main area of excavation, is said to belong to two periods. The date of the earlier is not stated, but from the presence in it of objects bearing the name of Menua, it would seem to us to belong to the late ninth or early eighth century. The main building period however is ascribed to Rusa son of Argišti (c. 680-645 B.C.). It seems to have been destroyed in a violent conflict which took place, according to the excavators, at the beginning of the sixth century B.C. Many arrow-heads of a type recognised as Scythian (see below, p. 147 and fig. 12, local arrow-heads are seen on fig. 13) were found around the West gate, a large number being imbedded in a great mass of fallen brickwork with their tips bent or broken. The excavators date this type of arrow head between 600 and 575 B.C. There is however some reason to doubt this dating, and to place this destruction of Karmir Blur, as T. Sulimirski will show,[2] in about 625 B.C., connecting it with the beginning of the Scythian invasion of Western Asia before the fall of Nineveh. Remains of fruits, such as pomegranate, grapes and water-melon seeds were found in nearby houses, and from this and other indications the excavators judge that the fall of Karmir-Blur took place in the first half of August.

Inside the courtyard were small temporary living rooms, built against the inner façade, roofed originally with light branches and earth, which were used for habitation during the siege. They stood near the north west gate and at the

[1] For this nomenclature see below, p. 145.

[2] In an article which is at present in preparation.

south west corner. The former were burnt and the latter, though unburnt, were plundered, and contained the bodies of the slain defenders. In these rooms were found large quantities of millet, used for making beer, barley, wheat and peas, also fragments of a bronze quiver, which originally hung on the wall.

Fig. 3. Scaraboids.

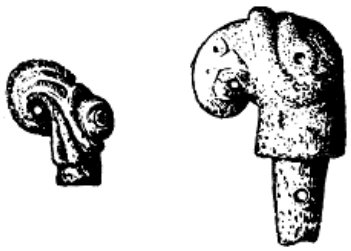


Fig. 4. Griffin heads of horn.

Another dwelling near the west gate contained remains of three wicker shields with bronze conical omphaloi, two of which were inscribed "Argišti[1] son of Menua."

The citadel is thought by the excavators to have been the court of the Urartian viceroy or other royal representative, and contained a number of rooms which were apparently used for storing tribute and supplies. Some of these, however, had been used for temporary habitation during the last days of the siege in which the city was destroyed. At the south side of the courtyard were the residences of the officials. The building as a whole covered 1,600 square metres and contained at least 120 rooms, of which 30 have been so far excavated. The walls are of large unbaked bricks containing chopped straw, which measured 52 × 35 × 14 cm. The bases of the walls consist of huge unworked stones. Some of the walls are preserved up to a height of 7 metres and are about 4 metres in width. The original height of the rooms is thought to have been about 10 metres. The roof was flat and was made of beams of pine, poplar, oak and beech. According to the excavators there were two systems in which these were laid, both of which are still used in the Caucasus. According to the one, the beams are planed on one side and laid close together, and on top of them layers of reed, twigs and rushes, and finally beaten earth, are placed. According to the other, there are transverse beams across which longitudinal beams are laid, and above these a layer of reeds. Windows were inserted in the walls high up near the roof. There are also the remains of light wells. The central part of the palace was two storeys high, and in some

[1] c. 785–760 B.C.

parts it appears that there was a cornice with crenellations, as on the bronze model from Toprak Kale (*Iraq*, XII, pl. 1). The building as we have said seems to have been built in two periods, the earlier belonging to the time of Menua, and the later, containing storehouses of different kinds, to the time of Rusa son of Argišti (c. 680-645 B.C.).

Rooms 1, 2 *and* 3 have whitewashed walls, with a decoration imitating brickwork. Room 2 contained cakes of sesame and refuse of sesame oil, apparently used for fuel or fodder, stone rubbers and a pestle and mortar.

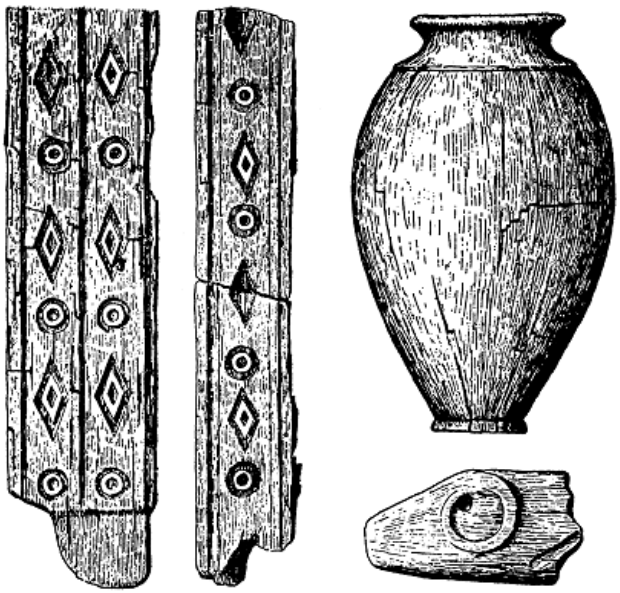
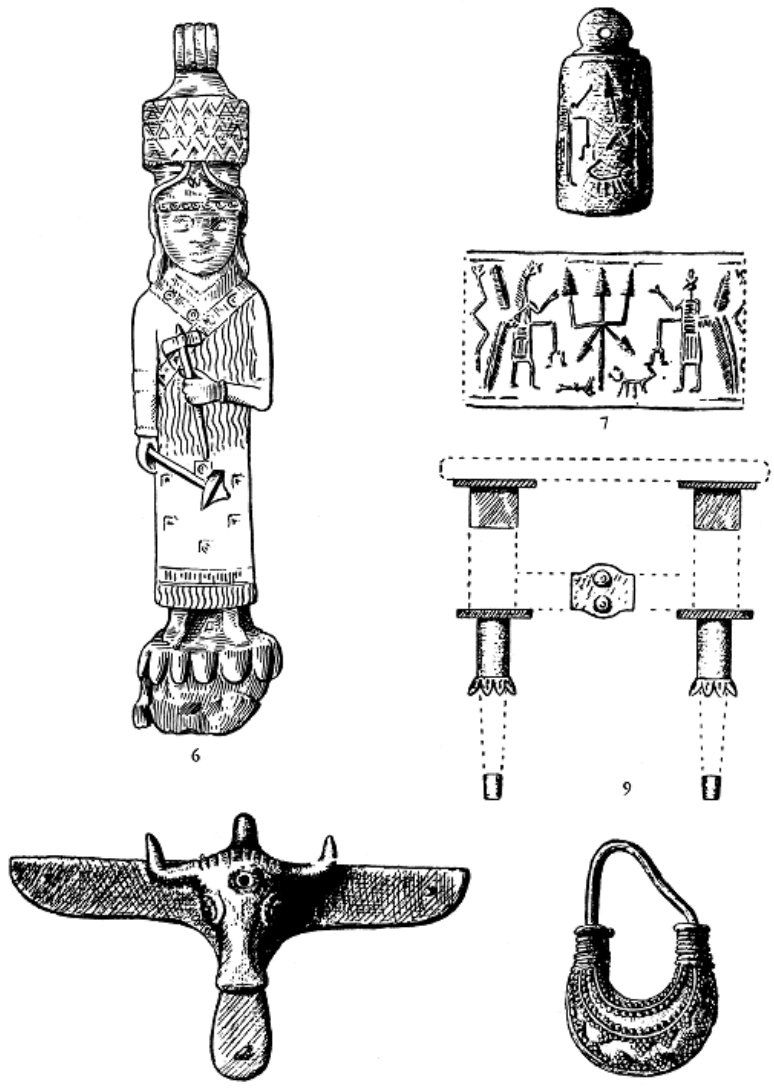


Fig. 5. Wooden objects.

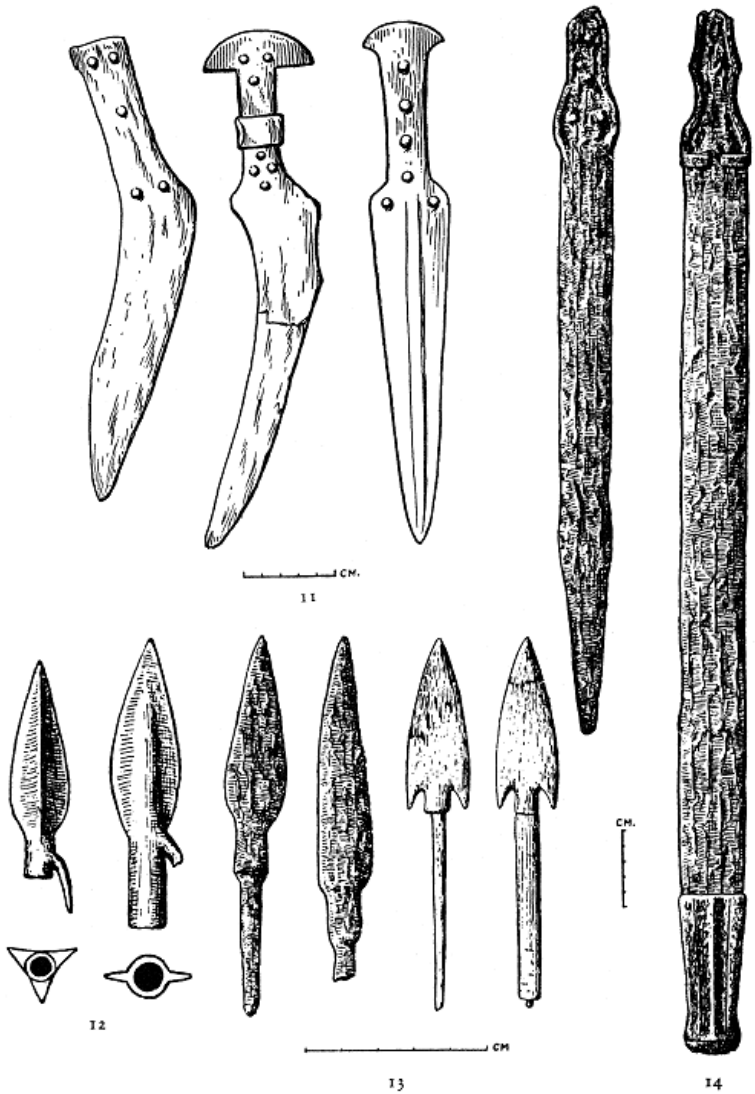
Near the door leading to Room 3 was a large shield of bronze about 1 metre across with a conical centre which had apparently fallen from the wall. It was inscribed " From the fortress of Argišti,[1] son of Menua; this shield Argišti, son of Menua, powerful king, great king, king of Biaina, ruler of the city Tušpa; (dedicated) to the god Haldi."

[1] c. 785-760 B.C. The text is published by Piotrovski, *Epig. Vostoka*, II, 84: (m) *Ar-gi-iš-ti-ni u-ri-iš-ḫu-si-ni-i* (m) *Me-nu-a-ḫi-ni i-ni a-še* (m) *Ar-gi-iš-ti-ni* (m) *Me-nu-a-ḫi-ni* ŠARRU DAN.NU ŠARRU *al-su-i-ni* ŠAR MAT *Bi-i-a-na-u-e a-lu-si* (*alu*) *Tu-uš-pa* (*alu*) (*ilu*) *Hal-di-e e-u-ri-e i-ni a-še* (m) *Ar-gi-iš-ti-še* (m) *Me-nu-a-ḫi-ni uš-tu-ni* (*ilu*) *Hal-di-ni-ni al-su-i-ni* (m) *Ar-gi-iš-ti-ni* (m) *Men-nu-a-ḫi* ŠARRU DAN.NU ŠARRU *al-su-i-ni* ŠAR MAT *Bi-a-na-u-e a-lu-si* (*alu*) *Tu-uš-pa* (*alu*).



Figs. 6–10.

6. Bronze figure of Teišeba. 7. Stamp cylinder. 8. Bronze ornament of vase.
9. Bronze fragment of furniture. 10. Gold earring.



Figs. 11–14.
11. Iron knives and sword. 12. Scythian arrow heads. 13. Arrow heads.
14. Iron sword and scabbard.

Room 4 contained a vat with a gutter leading out of the citadel. Small finds found in it included a bronze belt made of plates ornamented with dotted lines (of a type also found elsewhere in Urarṭu, at Goloveno and Malaklyu near Igdir, Mt. Ararat), fragments of an iron saw and a griffin's head of Scythian style made of horn and remains of another unfinished specimen (fig. 4).[1] There were also cut basalt blocks, which appear to have been lodged in the upper part of the southern wall of the room.

Room 5 had four doors. In it was found half a bronze quiver (the other half being in Room 13) about 66 cm. long (Plate XXXII, 1), decorated with eight bands of horsemen, chariots and ritual scenes, and dedicated by Sarduri[2]; also a bronze statuette of the god Teišeba, apparently the head of a standard (fig. 6). This figure is 25 cm. high. His garment is decorated with small squares like the figure from Toprak Kale (*Iraq*, XIII, Pt. 1, pl. VII), and he holds in his right hand a disc-shaped mace and a double axe in the left. On his head there is a capital pierced with a horizontal hole. He stands on a base which was fixed to an iron rod. In the western part of the room were a quantity of beads, Assyrian cylinder-seals and an Urartian "stamp cylinder."[3]

Room 6 lay below 5 and was reached by descending a staircase. The roof of the room was supported on a central pillar which stood on a stone base. In the western part were heaps of wheat.

Room 7 contained remains of six *pithoi* holding sesame seed and three much damaged cuneiform tablets, now published by I. N. Diakonov, *Epigrafika Vostoka*, II, 1948, 86. Two contained personal names (one is Ištagi), apparently witnesses to a contract, and one has traces of a cylinder-seal impression. The third tablet mentions sending of artisans and oxen.

Room 8 was empty; it led into 9, which had been destroyed by fire. Room 8 gave admittance to *Room* 10 by means of a staircase or ramp. In Room 10, apparently used as a living-room during the siege, were found stone querns and various iron and bronze implements, including curved iron knives (type of fig. 11), whetstones, a short iron sword (fig. 11) and a superb bronze helmet ornamented with a broad frieze of chariots and ritual scenes protected by lion headed snakes (fig. 15 and plates XXXII, 2, XXXIII, 2). This decoration is executed in repoussé, and there is an inscription "To the god Haldi, Sarduri, son of Argišti, for his life" followed by two hieroglyphs. An Assyrian faience cylinder-seal showing a man fighting a monster was also found.

Room 11 contained a bronze loop for latching the door, which bore the inscription "Rusa son of Argišti, fortress of Teišebaina."[4]

Room 12 was filled with about 20,000 litres of wheat to a depth of 25-45 cm.,

[1] On p. 96 of the book however these objects are described as found in the "room of the gate-keeper of the citadel."

[2] c. 760-733 B.C.

[3] For this nomenclature, see below, p. 145.

[4] (*m*) *Ru-sa-a-i* (*m*) *Ar-giš-te-ḫi-ni-i* (*bitu*) *u-ru-*[*iš-ḫu-ši-ni*(*alu*)(*ilu*)] *Te-i-še-ba-i-ni*(*alu*). Published by Piotrovski, Epig. Vostoka II, 84.

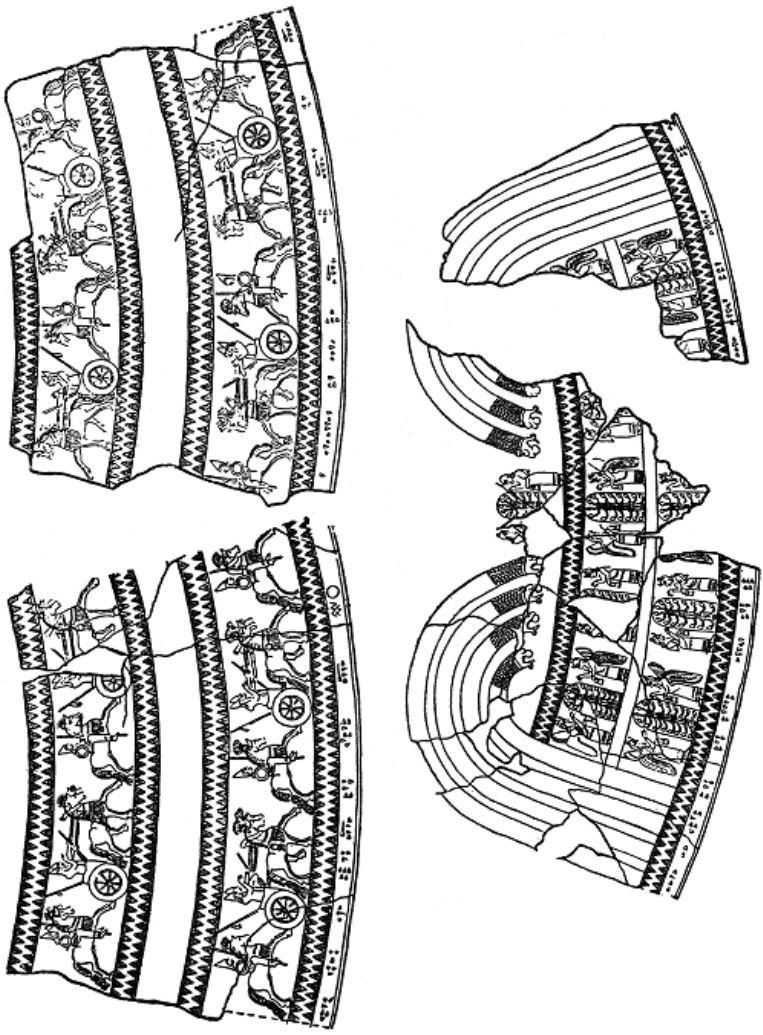
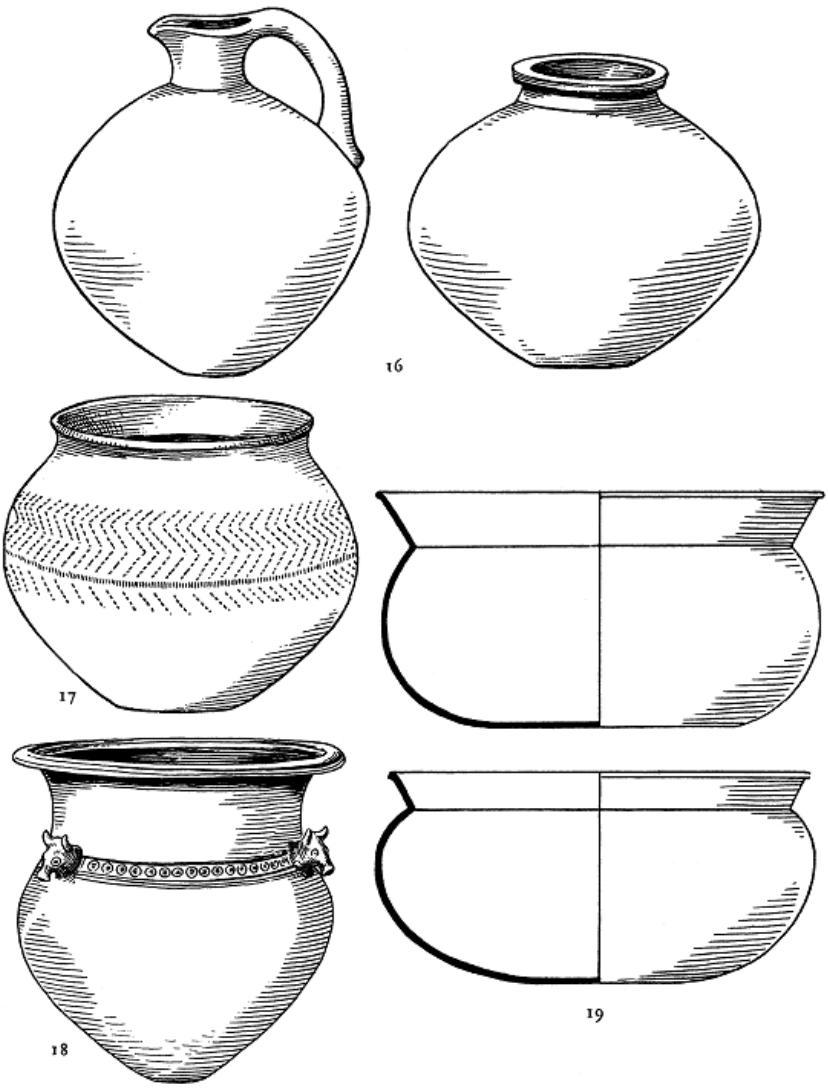


Fig. 15. Decoration of bronze helmet of Sarduri.



Figs. 16–19. 16. Red burnished ware. 17. Coarse ware. 18. Black burnished ware. 19. Bronze bowls.

and amongst it were remains of insects and weevils. In the southern part of the room, on a wooden platform, were bronze pieces of furniture (fig. 9), some cups and *phialae* of Assyrian type, small bells and bracelets and fragments of a bronze belt decorated with a design of a bull and a sacred tree in a cartouche. Inside a cup were some fine gold earrings, decorated with granulation (fig. 10)[1]. A bronze bucket was found, ornamented with two bulls' heads in relief, and also an isolated bull's head of the same type (fig. 8).

Room 13 was also a store-room but had been used as a living-room during the siege. It contained querns, vessels of grain, including one wooden vase turned on a lathe (fig. 5), a wooden handle shaped as a ram's head (fig. 5) and fragments of wooden panelling, perhaps from furniture (fig. 5), inlaid with geometrical shapes in horn, also fragments of an iron javelin. Some pieces of woollen textiles, balls of woollen thread and a distaff with unspun yarn and fragments of net and remains of grass matting were also found.

The same room contained a " huge " quantity of bronzes, fragments of a second belt of thin bronze, ornamented with dotted lines, fibulae[2], a long iron sword of Transcaucasian type, 72 cms. long, with bronze-rimmed handle and a scabbard having a bronze tip (fig. 14), knives, sickles and daggers, many beads and fish bones. Included amongst them were two Urartian seals and a paste bead, hemispherical with ribbing, which is said to be of Scythian origin. A steatite finial, perhaps from a wand, in the shape of a lion's head, and one half of a quiver, the other half of which was found in Room 5, lay in the doorway of this room (see above, p. 139).

Room 14 contained a lamp-stand of iron, 1.45 m. high, with a tripod foot, somewhat similar to one found at Toprak Kale (*Iraq*, XIII, Pt. 1, fig. 13).

Room 15 was apparently used as a brewery. On the floor was a deep vat with a gutter running through Room 13 to the outside. Above this was a stone funnel resting on a wooden structure, and nearby lay an iron shovel with a long handle and a clay pot. In the pot were barley seeds and a filter of straw and twigs covering a hole in the base. This was used for making beer.

Room 16 contained a large burnished black vessel, 50 cm. high, with a painted shoulder-band having concentric circles of black and brown on yellow and bulls' heads in high relief (fig. 18). This also appears to have been used for beer.

Room 17 was empty except for part of an iron lamp and of an iron chain.

[1] The excavators consider this pair of earrings to be Western Anatolian or Ionian, of the sixth century B.C., but one may disagree with this opinion. They would seem to be Oriental, perhaps 625-575 B.C. The closest parallels seem to be Phoenician earrings from Tharros (end of seventh century?)—Marshall, *Catalogue of Greek, etc. Jewellery in the British Museum*, Pl. XXIII, 1495, and a pair from Ur, from below the Persian floor of E-nun-makh (Woolley, *A.J.* III, No. 4. pl. XXX, 1923). Cf., a Cretan example (late seventh century: *J.H.S.*, 1944, pl. IX). For Ionic types, see Vinski, *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung*, I, 1950.

[2] The excavators say that whereas a fibula with thickened arc was the type made locally, another type with flattened arc was used in Urartu proper; but a fibula of this type was found by S. I. Makalatya in the Dran Cemetery (W. Georgia).

Room 18 contained a bronze helmet of Assyrian type originally held by a thong passing under the chin from two metal loops, also six bronze cups with offset rims (fig. 19), knives, sickles, two iron pitchforks, 83 and 54 cms. long, iron bridles and characteristic Scythian horse trappings with bone cheek-pieces (fig. 22) and beak-shaped buckles of bronze.[1] Two paste scaraboid amulets with imitations of Egyptian hieroglyphs were also found (fig. 3).

Room 19 contained a curious padlock of bronze in the shape of ⊓ with a cross-bolt.

Room 20 contained four bronze wall-nails of Assyrian type.

Rooms 21-22 contained nothing of importance. *Room* 23 contained the remains of a wooden door, the planks of which were bolted together with wooden nails. There were also remains found of the iron latch in which it was held.

Room 24 contained a bronze helmet similar to that from Room 18 but decorated with a symbol in relief, perhaps of the god Teišeba (fig. 21), also some Scythian arrow-heads (fig. 12) and a " stamp cylinder " (fig. 7).

Room 25, the roof of which was supported on three columns painted with frescoes in several colours, representing a sacred tree between winged figures surmounted by a (winged?) disc, was a wine-store. It contained 82 *pithoi* half buried in the ground (Plate XXXIII, 1). All are marked with measures of capacity, 62 being in hieroglyphs, 20 in cuneiform, and were evidently meant for wine, which, owing to the season (early August), was not yet made. Of these, a few were filled with wheat, barley and sesame. One, however, contained 97 bronze cups, all inscribed variously with the names of Menua, Argišti, Rusa and Sarduri.[2] The inscriptions on Menua's six cups state that they belong to his fortress. 83 are inscribed " belonging to Sarduri," and five out of six belonging to Rusa also claim to belong to " the fortress " and bear a tree, a turret and a lion's head (fig. 20). One cup refers to the " small town of Rusa," and five, inscribed " Belonging to Argišti " add two hieroglyphs, an eagle and a rhombus.

In the centre of this room was a sacrificial stand with traces of burning and a censer, also five figures of gods in clay in the form of bearded men wearing fish skins. Iron implements, clay lamps, a clay funnel, a bulla with two seal impressions, and a cuneiform inscription, a Scythian iron bridle, beak-shaped

[1] These beak-shaped buckles for crossing straps were apparently taken over in the harnessing of Persian or Median horses, and may be seen illustrated on the sculptures of Persepolis, Pope, *Survey of Persian Art*, Pl. 94B, 99B, cf. 110; Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, pl. LXVII. They are apparently related in function to the cross-over pieces ornamented with figures of animals, in either bronze or ivory, from the Greek coast of Asia Minor, such as that in form of a boar, or that in form of a wild goat, Hogarth *Ephesus*, pl. XXIII, 2, 3, fig. 33, datable to the sixth century B.C.

[2] Most probably Rusa II (660-625) and his son Sarduri III (645-625 B.C.).

buckles (fig. 22), a silver phalera and an ornament in the form of a three-armed swastika, were also found. Among them were the skeletons of four horses which had fallen through the roof, one of which wore horse-trappings of the above-mentioned Scythian type, while the others were bare. The excavator suggests that the horse with Scythian trappings had been captured by the besieged before the fall of the citadel (—he does not explain how these animals, with others mentioned below, found their way on to the roof).

Room 26 was filled with burnt bones, apparently of large and small horned cattle which had been sacrificed, the skulls and legs of the oxen and cows being

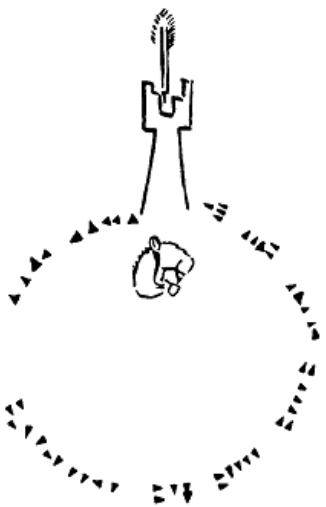


Fig. 20. Inscription and monogram of Sarduri, from bronze bowls.

missing. This was a storeroom, and the bones appear to have been collected from sacrificial pyres. The bronze fittings of a wooden stool with decoration of pendant leaves were also found (cf. fig. 9).

It is mentioned that there were also asses on the roof of the palace which collapsed into the rooms below. Parts of their flesh and skin were found, and, in one case, fragments of a stomach containing water-melon seeds. It is also mentioned that the heavy horned cattle resemble *bos primigenius* and that the horse is of an extinct species smaller than the Scythian horse as known from the South Russian kurgans, while the bones of the ass are identical with those of the

aboriginal type of ass found in Transcaucasia. Remains of a goat and of a pig and of two types of sheep were also found, but where it is not stated.

This concludes the list of things found in various rooms. The excavators mention under the heading of agriculture that grain included remains of *Triticum vulgare vill.*, soft wheat and barley (*Hordeum vulgare L.*) and rye (*Secale L.*) and millet (*Setaria italica*). In a vase found in a house near the west façade was a store of seeds of *Camelina microcarpa* and some fragments of Transcaucasian thyme, while stores of sesame were found in four large vases in Room 1 of the palace. Two kinds of beans, *Cicer arietinum* and *Ervum lens*, were also found. A plum-stone is also mentioned from Room 14 as are remains of pomegranate seeds in a house near the north-west corner of the fortress.

Pottery was of three kinds : (*a*) *Red burnished ware*, consisting of one-handled pitchers, profiled cups and small double vessels. It is remarked that the burnish is less than that on pottery from Central Urartu[1], and that the pitchers often have a hieroglyph stamped under the handle (fig. 16). (*b*) *Coarse black ware* vases with wide neck and herringbone combed design (fig. 17). (*c*) *Plain ware*. The burnished pottery, which was found both in the citadel and in the town, has analogies in Transcaucasian cemeteries of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. in the Debed Valley, at Šhaytan-dağ excavated by de Morgan, a cemetery at Goloveno, and from finds of Lalayan in the Sevan region.

Among miscellaneous finds described by the excavators are seals of seal-cylinder type but with a second design on the bottom—a combination of cylinder- and stamp-seal (cf. fig. 7) which was christened " stamp-cylinder " by R. D. Barnett in a recent article.[2] The guess made there that these stamp-cylinders came from Urarṭu has been amply verified ; 18 were found at Karmir Blur, 14 being of steatite, 3 of faience and 1 of bronze. Some were four-sided and some bell-shaped. Assyrian cylinder-seals were also found.

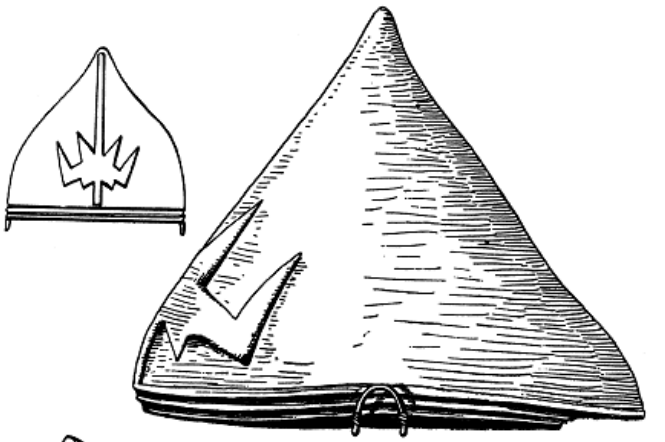
The excavators mention that beads of carnelian, sardonyx, rock crystal and steatite were found in huge quantities, and that the carnelian spherical beads have a funnel-shaped perforation which shows them to be Assyrian, whereas three barrel-shaped beads of golden carnelian are bored with a diamond, giving a strictly cylindrical perforation. An article of Lemmlein[3] is quoted suggesting that they are from Iran or India. A box of birch bark was found in the western part of the palace containing a necklace of agate beads, three Urartian seals and a bronze pendant bearing an inscription in cuneiform.

Scaraboids of Egyptian type have already been mentioned showing connections with Phoenician or Egyptian circles. In addition a small pendant of glazed paste representing Sekhmet was found. (The excavators mention

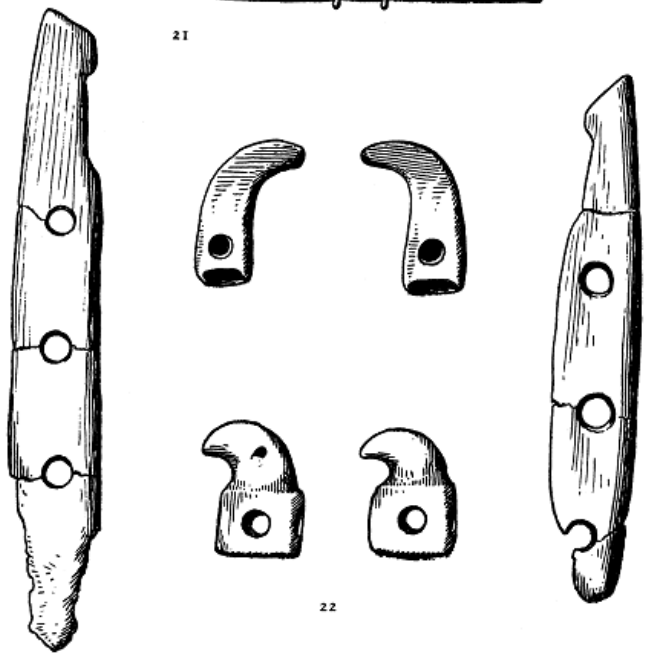
[1] For this see e.g. H. H. von der Osten, *Der Urartäische Töpferei aus Van*, I *Orientalia*, fasc. 21, 1952. (Part II has not yet appeared.)

[2] *J.H.S.* 58, 1949, 13.

[3] *Krat. Soob. I.I.M.K.* XVIII, 1947, 22.



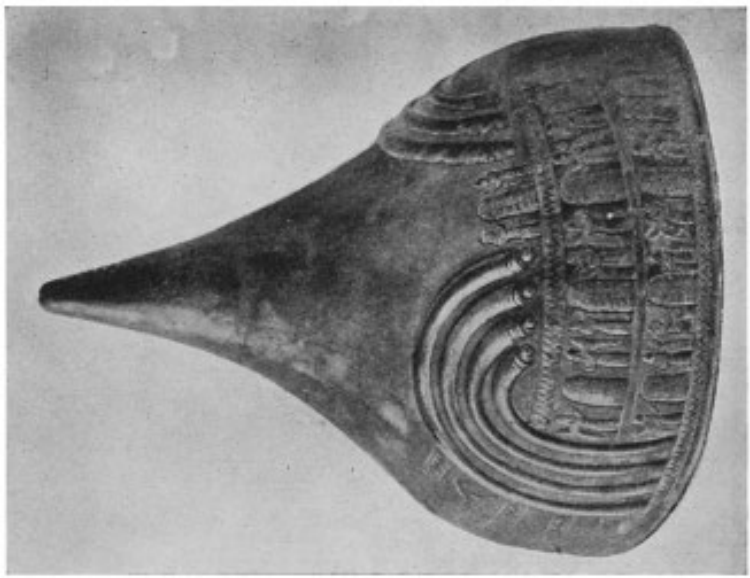
21



22

Fig. 21. Bronze helmet.
Fig. 22. Bone pieces of Scythian bridle and bronze buckles.

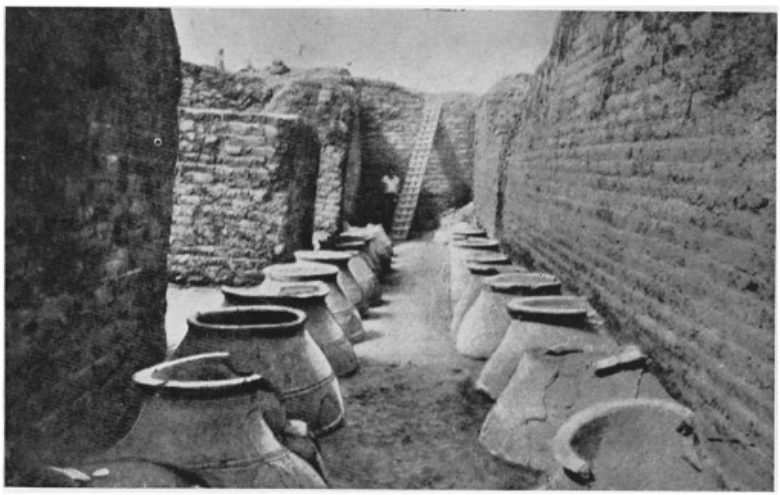
PLATE XXXII



2. Bronze helmet with inscription of Sarduri, from Room 10.

1. Quiver with inscription of Sarduri, from Room 5.

PLATE XXXIII



1. View of Wine Store in Room 25 at Karmir Blur

2. Detail of bronze helmet from Room 10

similar Egyptian objects found at Van and various parts of the Caucasus. In the cemetery of Mingechaur on the River Kur an *ujat* eye was found, and in the upper valley of the River Chegen in the Kabardin republic, 19 scarabs of Naucratite type were found).

Among the most interesting remains are those of Scythian origin associated with the destruction of the city. The room of the gate-keeper in the gate of the citadel contained a griffin's head of deer's antler apparently rubbed by long use (fig. 4). Nearby was another example which had apparently been made on the spot together with the remains of an iron saw.[1] Scythian arrow-heads and harness have been mentioned above.

The excavators report that bones of the following animals were found, apparently used as food: *Bos taurus*, the domestic ox; *Bos bubalus*, the humped ox; *Equus caballus*, the domestic horse; the pig; a gazelle, *Gazella subgutturosa*; a wild ram; a type of large goat resembling the Daghestan Tur (*Capra cylindricornis*); and some small horned cattle. Bones of a domestic dog (*Spitzhund*) (*Canis familiaris palustris*) and of a stone-marten, probably a pet, were also found. In the storehouse of the palace was found the skeleton of a wild cat which had fallen into it while chasing a mouse.

It is clear from this report that these excavations, conducted with very considerable care and skill, are of quite unusual interest and importance. It is much to be hoped that the excavator will in due course follow the work which we have studied, with a full-length publication and adequate photographic illustrations.

NOTE: The line illustrations to this article are all from Piotrovsky's *Karmir Blur* though several have been redrawn. The plates however are reproduced from his article *Urartu* in a collectaneous work, *Po Sledam Drevnikh Kultur* (1951) as the illustrations of the same subjects in *Karmir Blur* are too bad. In obtaining access to these publications we have been greatly helped by our colleague, Mr. J. C. W. Horne.

[1] But see above, p. 139, where according also to the excavators these are said to be from Room 4.

گنجینه مسکوکات دوره ماد از نوشیجان، نزدیک ملایر[۱]

آدریان دیوید هیو بیوار[۲]
ترجمه دکتر منصور حمدالله‌زاده[۳]

کارزار کاوش‌های سال ۱۹۶۷ در نوش جان، حدود یازده کیلومتری شمال غرب ملایر و شصت و نه کیلومتری جنوب شرق همدان، توسط آقای دیوید استروناخ در مقاله‌اش برای بولتن موزه متروپولیتن شرح داده شده است. در ادامه با جزئیات بیشتر در شماره ۱۹۶۹ (ایران. ۲) در آخرین روز فصل، گنجینه ای از اشیاء نقره ای در یک کاسه برنزی کشف شد که در زیر سطح کف در پایه سطح شیب دار در شرق مدفون شده بود. ساختمان یا قلعه این سازه توسط حفاری به فاز نوشیجان اول، مربوط به دوره پادشاهی مادها در قرن هفتم قبل از میلاد نسبت داده شده است. این کشفیات توسط وی، مربوط به ۶۰۰ قبل از میلاد به نظر می رسد که به طور کامل توسط بررسی فعلی این مهم تایید می‌شود. بیش از ۲۰۰ شیء نقره درون کاسه یافت شده است، برخی از آنها به شکل جواهرات بوده و شامل یک گوشواره و چندین مهره مارپیچ دوتایی و چهارگانه بوده است. این کاوش‌ها بایستی در جای دیگری توسط آقای استروناخ مورد بحث قرار گیرد. این مقاله بررسی می‌کند که این اقلام صرفا برای زینت شخصی یا ساخت جواهرات در نظر گرفته نشده باشند بلکه بیشتر به دلیل محتوای ارزشمند آن به لحاظ مسکوکات مد نظر بوده و به عنوان باستانی‌ترین پول مورد توجه قرار گیرد.

کلید واژه‌ها: ماد، نوشیجان تپه، سکه، قدیمی‌ترین پول، باستان‌شناسی

---

[۱] این مقاله باز نشری است از :

Bivar, A. D. H. (۱۹۷۱). A Hoard of Ingot-Currency of the Median Period from Nūsh-I Jān, Near Malayir. Iran, ۹(۱), ۹۷–۱۱۱. https://doi.org/۰۵۷۸۶۹۶۷/۱۹۷۱/۱۱۸۳٤۸۰۸/۱۰/۱۰۸۰

[۲] Adrian David Hugh Bivar

[۳] پژوهشگر تاریخ و مدرس دانشگاه آزاد اسلامی mansour۰۰۱@gmail.com

IRAN

Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies

VOLUME IX 1971

CONTENTS

	Page
Governing Council	ii
Director's Report	iii
Excavations at Sīrāf: Fourth Interim Report, by David Whitehouse	1
Rashīd al Dīn: The First World Historian, by John Andrew Boyle	19
The Chronology of Turbat-i Shaikh Jām, by Lisa Golombek	27
The Fortress of Khān Lanjān, by S. M. Stern, E. Beazley and A. Dobson	45
The Last Ṣafavids, 1722-1773, by J. R. Perry	59
A Problem Piece of Kashmiri Metalwork, by Jennifer M. Scarce and L. P. Elwell-Sutton	71
The Proto-Elamite Settlement at Tepe Yaḥyā, by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky	87
A Hoard of Ingot-Currency of the Median Period from Nūsh-i Jān, near Malayir, by A. D. H. Bivar	97
Towards a Chronology for the "Lūristān Bronzes", by P. R. S. Moorey	113
Lūristān before the Iron Age, by Clare L. Goff	131
Shorter Notices	153
Survey of Excavations in Iran, 1969-70	165

Published annually by

THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF PERSIAN STUDIES

c/o The British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, WIV ONS

Price: £5.00

A HOARD OF INGOT-CURRENCY OF THE MEDIAN PERIOD FROM NŪSH-I JĀN, NEAR MALAYIR

By A. D. H. Bivar

The Circumstances of the Find

The 1967 campaign of excavations at Nūsh-i Jān, some seven miles north-west of Malayir, and forty-three miles south-east of Hamadān, has been described by Mr. David Stronach in his article for the *Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Museum,[1] and subsequently in greater detail in the 1969 issue of *Iran*.[2] On the last day of the season, there was uncovered a hoard of silver objects in a bronze bowl (Pl. IIIc), buried below floor level at the base of the ramp in the Eastern Building or Fort. This structure is ascribed by the excavator to the phase Nūsh-i Jān I, dated to the period of the Median kingdom during the seventh century B.C. Its abandonment is placed by him *c.* 600 B.C., a conclusion which seems to be entirely supported by the present examination of the find. Of over 200 silver objects found in the bowl, some were in the form of jewellery, and included a single earring (139), and numerous double and quadruple spiral beads. These are to be discussed elsewhere by Mr. Stronach. It will be maintained here that the remaining items were not primarily intended for personal adornment or the manufacture of jewellery, but were rather valued for their bullion content, and are thus of interest for the history of ancient currency prior to the introduction of a formal coinage in the ancient Near East. The present writer is indebted to Mr. Stronach not only for his hospitality at Nūsh-i Jān during an earlier stage of the excavation, but also for his kind invitation to publish the monetary portion of the find, and for the illustrative material which is used here. The present examination is also extensively based on the register of the hoard compiled by Mr. 'Alī Sarfarāz of the Iranian Archaeological Service, and by Mrs. Stronach, who assisted in many ways, and in particular weighed many of the pieces, and cleaned some of those obscured by encrustation. At the Mūzeh Īrān Bāstān, Tehran, Mr. Khurramabādī kindly facilitated the writer's examination (during his travel on study leave from the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1969) of the portion of the find which passed to that Museum, and arranged for him to benefit from Mr. Isfandiyārī's help in verifying the register numbers, and other details.

Mention of the town of Malayir in a numismatic context will naturally recall the well-known treasure of Greek coins found there in 1934, of which 306 pieces are reported to be in the Mūzeh Īrān Bāstān.[3] The precise find-spot of that discovery was not officially disclosed, but since it represents the more recent chronological horizon of the fifth century B.C., attested at our site by only a few minor structures in squares S9 and T9,[4] it may be regarded as improbable that the 1934 find had any connexion with the mound of Nūsh-i Jān. At any rate, it is here assumed to have no relevance, even of a marginal nature, to the present discussion.

The "Silversmiths' Hoards"

The occurrence of so-called "Silversmiths' hoards" is a widespread fact in archaeology as late as the Achaemenid period (550–331 B.C.) throughout the Near and Middle East. Typically such finds contain ancient Greek silver coins, entire or subdivided, and frequently bearing characteristic chisel-cuts; fragments of ancient jewellery and metalware; cut lengths of silver wire; chunks of cut silver hacked from larger slabs (the well-known *Hacksilber* of the German writers, for which the term "Cut-silver" is here employed as a standard translation); occasionally thickish, rectangular ingots which we

[1] "Tepe Nush-i Jan: a mound in Media", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* XXVII (3 Nov. 1968), 183.
[2] "Excavations at Tepe Nūsh-i Jān, 1967", *Iran* VII (1969), 15–16.
[3] D. Schlumberger "L'argent grec dans l'empireachéménide", in Raoul Curiel and Daniel Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan* (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan XIV), Paris 1953, p. 50.
[4] Stronach, *Iran VII*, p. 19.

may call " Slab-ingots ";[5] and flat circular ingots of various sizes formed by metal solidifying on the bottom of a jar[6] (the variety known in German as *Silberkuchen*, here Englished as " Cake-ingots "). The one feature which all these objects present in common is that they are all composed of silver. Finds of this character have been recorded from Kabul, Afghanistan;[7] from uncertain sites in Iraq;[8] from Ras Shamra in Syria;[9] from Beni-Hassan (so spelt in the literature), Damanhur and Myt-Rahineh in Egypt.[10] A further considerable list of similar finds from the Palestine area is the basis of the interesting discussion by Mrs. M. S. Balmuth.[11]

It is clear that such finds occur throughout the territory of the Achaemenid Empire, and occasionally beyond. When recognisable Greek coins are present in such contexts, their presence has naturally been found helpful for dating purposes. At the same time, the occurrence of Greek coins has had the useful effect of drawing attention to the antiquarian interest of the material. So seldom, indeed, have " Silversmiths' hoards " *lacking Greek coins* been noticed in the literature that one can suspect casual finds of that class (including, naturally, any pre-Achaemenid in date) may often have gone to the melting-pot without further examination.[12] The date indicated by Greek coins in such a find is of course only the date of deposit. The coins do not always have to be regarded as contemporary with any accompanying " Ingot-currency ", which, as the present discussion will show, is often likely to be older, and indeed substantially so.

The hypothesis is at first sight attractive that the finds of the Achaemenid period described above, no less than that from the seventh century B.C. site of Nūsh-i Jān, had, as earlier students supposed literally formed the stock-in-trade of silversmiths, who would have accumulated such metal for the manufacture of their wares. This was indeed one of the two hypotheses envisaged by the excavator in his preliminary note on the find. Yet in spite of the arguments there cited in favour of an explanation on these lines of the find from Nūsh-i Jān,[13] the present writer believes that even stronger reasoning can be assembled in favour of the excavator's second hypothesis: namely, that these miscellaneous pieces of silver performed the function of an early currency. At Nūsh-i Jān, as in the case of other finds, it is plain that the silver jewellery is in process, not of *construction*, but of *destruction*. On these, and other lines, a strong case has been made in recent years that such accumulations of " Bulk-silver " from the Achaemenid period in themselves constituted the medium of exchange, being weighed out as required upon the scales.[14] Not only a silversmith, therefore, but any person possessing a reserve of wealth could have held it in this form. The new evidence from Nūsh-i Jān further helps to demonstrate, if these views are accepted, that the monetary use of " Bulk-silver " arose well before the Achaemenid period. As we shall see, it can be regarded as a survival from an earlier phase in the history of currency, which lasted on under the Achaemenids in the face of increasing competition from the Hellenic innovation of coined silver. Thus the once-prevalent description of " Silversmith's hoard " should be understood as no more than a picturesque and popular designation; and the excavator's second hypothesis accepted, which refers the find of Nūsh-i Jān, with those of the Achaemenid period, to the wider, monetary, context.

[5] A good specimen appeared in the Taranto Hoard, E. Babelon, " Trouvaille de Tarante ", *Revue Numismatique* XVI (1912), 3.

[6] The casting of silver in jars is noticed by Herodotus III, 96, whose ingots seem likely to have been larger than those reported in the finds. We shall return to the question of 'Cake-ingots' below.

[7] Schlumberger, op. cit. 31–35.

[8] E. S. G. Robinson, " A ' Silversmith's hoard ' from Mesopotamia ", *Iraq* XII (1950), 44–51; G. K. Jenkins, " Coins from the collection of C. J. Rich ", *BMQ* XXVIII (1964), 90.

[9] C. F. A. Schaeffer, " Une trouvaille de monnaies archaïques grecques à Ras Shamra ", *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud I*, Paris 1939, 461–487.

[10] E. S. G. Robinson, " A hoard from Sidon [Beni-Hassan] ", *Numismatic Chronicle* 1937, 197–9. Fuller references to this, and the two succeeding finds may be found through S. P. Noe, *A bibliography of Greek coin hoards*, 2nd ed. New York 1937, under the several site-names. Note especially H. Dressel and K. Regling, " Ägyptische Funde altgriechische Münzen ", *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XXXVII (1927), 1–138, the classic exposition of this whole subject.

[11] M. Balmuth, " Monetary forerunners of coinage in Phoenicia and Palestine " in *International numismatic convention: Jerusalem 27–31 December 1963*, Tel Aviv 1967, 25–32.

[12] As in the case quoted by Jenkins, see n. 8 above.

[13] D. B. Stronach, *Iran* VII, 16: " Any cache that was being stored for its intrinsic value would almost certainly have included other cherished materials, particularly gold if not also agate and carnelian. " Yet just the same argument could be invoked in the contrary sense: on the one hand a jeweller could equally have used a stock of gold and semi-precious stones; on the other, a preference for silver as the medium of exchange could have arisen from its greater convenience for moderate values, wider familiarity in the area, and consequent acceptability.

[14] cf. Dressel and Regling, *Z.f.N.* XXXVII (1927), 12; Robinson *NC*, 1937 p. 198.

The Problem of an Assyrian Coinage

Coinage has been defined as a medium of exchange in metal, prepared in units of accurately standardised weight, and marked with the stamp of an authority by whom their accuracy and fineness had been guaranteed. In this precise sense the view has prevailed amongst numismatists that coinage was developed around 640–630 B.C., either in Lydia or Ionia,[15] but at any rate in Asia Minor. The earliest coins were therefore those struck in electrum, the natural alloy of gold and silver, which afterwards came to be compounded artificially. Some decades later, silver was put to use for coinage in European Greece, in the first place on the island of Aegina.

That coinage should not have been in use by the developed civilizations of Babylonia and Assyria has often occasioned surprise, and indeed incredulity. Passages have been cited from cuneiform tablets which seem to imply the existence of something approaching a real coinage, as when payments in silver are described as being in " Heads of Ishtar ", " Heads of Shamash " or " Heads of Ashur", translations which all suggest the existence of currency units stamped with such motifs.[16] Again, tablets from Anatolia are quoted as referring to payments in " sealed silver ",[17] though not all authorities are agreed that the phrase necessarily refers to silver pieces marked with some sort of impression. It is best not to overstress such purely verbal interpretations of the Akkadian phrases. A layman could suspect, *in the absence of material evidence to the contrary*, that such expressions as " Heads of Ishtar " had a purely abstract sense, possibly implying capital funds from the temple of Ishtar. Only material evidence, so far wholly lacking, of the actual existence of pieces bearing these motifs, could put the old interpretations beyond doubt, and provide a firm base for this view of Assyrian, even Babylonian, currency.

Yet if evidence must be treated as inconclusive for the existence of true coinage in ancient Mesopotamia, and indeed later in the kingdom of the Medes, the same cannot be said of simpler forms of currency. Cuneiform texts are replete with references to the media of exchange. Barley, gold and lead, are occasionally mentioned, but by far the most generally used substance, especially in the later periods was silver.[18] Normally, it was weighed out upon the scales, a procedure requiring indeed a generally recognised system of weights, but one which did not necessitate the manufacture of the metal in units of specific weight or form. At the same time, it will naturally have been convenient to prepare the metal used in business transactions in more or less conventional forms which could be easily handled. A classic summary of textual evidence on this point comes from Bottéro's edition of the Mari tablets:[19]

> Il ne s'agissait évidemment pas de monnaie, au sens moderne du mot: pièces de métal réservées à l'échange, dont le poïs et la valeur *constants* auraient été garanties par un controle et une estampille réservés à l'Etat . . . Pour autant que nos textes nous permettent d'y voir clair, l'argent devait être cependant découpé en morceaux suffisamment réguliers, que l'on pouvait peser, commes nous l'avons vue, en sicles et même en grains. Peut-être ces morceaux affectaient-ils souvent des formes usuelles, anneaux sourtout (*hullu* et principalement *šewēru*), peut-être aussi hachettes (*ḫazzinnu*); la notion de *kaspu šebirtu* s'éclaire alors: il s'agit sans doute de métal en morceaux *informes*, c'est-à-dire non coulé en anneaux, barres, hachettes ou vases: donc plus volontiers en rognures, grenaillé ou cisaillé.

From the literary evidence of cuneiform texts we may turn to that of actual finds containing silver in these, and possibly other, specific monetary forms. By comparison with the much larger number of finds attributable to the Achaemenid period on the evidence of accompanying coins, the material for the Assyrian period seems sparse. Yet it is enough to supply a background to the large and well-documented find from Nūsh-i Jān.

[15] E. S. G. Robinson, " The date of the earliest coins ", *Numismatic Chronicle* 1959, p. 8.

[16] C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian deeds and documents* II, Cambridge 1901, 286 *ŠAK-MEŠ ša Ištar*; p. 108, Ashur.

[17] British Museum, Dept. of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, *Cuneiform texts from Cappadocian tablets* I, 1921, 10; 12: " probably implies a loan for which the borrowers sealed a document ". Seton Lloyd, *Early Anatolia* 1956, 118 understood the phrase as indicating silver handed out in sealed packages.

[18] C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian deeds and documents* II, 274; C. Fossey, " Les rapports de valeur entre l'argent et divers métaux sous la dynastie Chaldéenne ", *Revue des études semitiques* VI (1937), 42–45.

[19] Jean Bottéro, *Textes économiques et administratifs* (*archives royales de Mari*), Paris 1958, p. 332. In a later passage, p. 353, he explains that the axe-ingots (*ḫazzinu*) would have been of copper, and the other objects in silver.

Well-known is the find from Zincirli, which contained three large " Cake-ingots ", accompanied by a number of small cast silver blocks of irregular weight.[20] The largest of the " Cake-ingots " at 497·38 gm. falls close to the standard of the Babylonian *mina*, which under the subsequent Achaemenids at least, approached 504 gm. These ingots are inscribed in Aramaic with the name of a local ruler, BRRKB BR PNMW, who may be dated around 712 B.C. Since " Cake-ingots " are also known from Ras Shamra,[21] and several of the Egyptian finds, the possibility arises that they may be ascribable to a definite area of distribution, around the western fringe of the Fertile Crescent. To this question of distribution-areas we shall shortly return.

More closely comparable, however, with the find from Nūsh-i Jān, and evidently nearer in date, was that uncovered in 1908 by the German excavators of Assur. Here the city's destruction in 614 B.C. provides a lower limit for the deposit, and one not far removed from that suggested on other grounds for the site of Nūsh-i Jān. To the present writer's knowledge the material from Assur has never been the subject of a detailed publication, and indeed its present whereabouts is something of a mystery. None the less, its summary description in the preliminary report of Andrae is enlightening for our purpose:[22]

Ein Topf mit Hacksilber wurde in dD9IV gefunden. Wieder sind hier, wie schon bei früheren Funden dieser Art, Rohgussplatten und aus solchen gehackte kleinere und kleinste Stücke, sowie dünne, geglättete Blechstücke, drahtstift- und ringformige Stücke, zu unterscheiden, ein weitgehende Abstufung des Gewichts, die es mir wahrscheinlich macht, dass das Silber, zum Zuwiegen zerkleinert, als Zahlungsmittel, d.h. als Geld, gedient hat.

It does not appear that after Andrae's account, the ingot-find from Assur was ever again available for study. In fact the present writer could not establish whether it passed unnoticed into one of the German collections, or was lost to sight during the 1914 war in Mesopotamia. None the less, this brief account is helpful in providing a clear chronological horizon, with stratigraphic indications plainly placing the find before the rise of the Achaemenid Empire. After the find from Assur, we turn directly to that from Nūsh-i Jān.

The Contents of the Nūsh-i Jān Find

We have already seen that the treasure of silver was discovered in a bronze bowl, illustrated in Pl. IIIc. The treasure consisted of certain pieces of jewellery, and ingots of silver here interpreted as monetary. Understandably, in the state of society where every fragment of silver has direct monetary value, a distinction between jewellery and currency is not always easy to draw. The earrings and beads of the present find, though they had once served the purpose of jewellery, at the time of their deposit had already been broken up, and seem to have been performing a monetary function like the remainder. None the less, since their primary purpose was that of adornment, it is in that context that they are best examined.

With regard to the residue of the hoard, the simplest classification is to divide the pieces of which it is composed into three categories on the basis of their form. The first category, of which complete examples have not been reported from any previous find, may be designated as " Bar-ingots ". Of these, only three are intact. Others have been divided into portions of various sizes. The three complete specimens differ notably in shape (Pl. I, A1, A2 and A6), and, in the case of A6 (150B), which is especially small, also in weight. The divided specimens further help to confirm that there was not any single uniform pattern. Evidently such ingots were not cast by repeated use of a single mould, but at this stage each was made from an individual mould, presumably of clay, which was broken or abandoned after the casting of each single bar. As already noticed, complete bar-ingots have not been reported in the numerous finds of " Bulk-silver " from the Eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, the present find contains no example of a " Cake-ingot ". This situation raises the possibility of a distinction

[20] Felix von Luschan, *Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli* (Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli V), Berlin 1943, 119–121.

[21] C. F. A. Schaeffer, " Une trouvaille de monnaies archaïques grecques à Ras Shamra ", *Fest. René Dussaud* I, 462 and 486. Their weights of 274·5 gm., 217·50 gr. and 185·5 gr. are not immediately informative.

[22] W. Andrae, *Mitteilungen der Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft* XXXVI (1908), 22.

between the circulation areas of the two currency-forms; it is possible that the "Cake-ingot" was characteristic of the Syrian-Egyptian area, and the "Bar-ingot" of a region further to the East, including, so it seems, the Iranian Plateau, and the eastern margins of the Assyrian world.

Though the find evidence for any general theory of circulation-areas remains for the time being slender, it is markedly strengthened by indications to be derived from the currencies of Ancient India. As is well known, one of the earliest forms of Indian currency is that designated the "Bent-bar" coinage. Twelve specimens were already represented in the find of Chaman Huzûrî, Kabul, of which the deposit is placed towards 380 B.C.[23] In the Chaman Huzûrî find the familiar "Punch-marked" coinage, some of which, at least, belongs to the empire of the Mauryas (3rd Century B.C.) was notably absent. This fact tended to confirm the conclusion of Allan that the "Bent-bars" belong to the fourth or even the fifth century B.C.[24] It was also once observed of the "Bent-bars" that "all of these coins which are of known provenance come from the area over which Persian influence extended".[25] Now with the appearance of "Bar-ingots" in the ancient Median context at Nūsh-i Jān, the possibility presents itself that currency in the form of bars circulated on the Iranian Plateau and eastwards well before the rise of the Achaemenids, and that the Indian "Bent-bar" coinage represents a development from this. The "Bent-bars" are of course adjusted to a standard weight, and stamped with the "six-armed symbol" which no doubt represents some unknown issuing authority. Circular coinage of the Greek type is thought to have been inaugurated on the Iranian Plateau no earlier than the reign of Seleucus I (312 B.C.)[26] so that the hypothesis can easily be entertained that bar-currency had remained in use there from Median times down to the close of the Achaemenid period. Thus there emerges the vista of a wholly unknown province of ancient numismatics.

Attractive though these speculations must seem, at this point in the inquiry the gap between the find evidence of the 7th century B.C. at Nūsh-i Jān, and that of Chaman Huzûrî from the 5th century B.C. naturally seemed a perilous one. It was therefore particularly gratifying, during the writer's visit to Kabul in 1969 in the course of study-leave already mentioned, that material came to notice partially bridging the gap. Whilst occupied in the examination of the coins from the Mir Zakah hoard in the Kabul Museum,[27] the writer's attention was drawn to a small group of residual items, 22 in number, manifestly intermediate between the Median bar-ingots and Indian "Bent-bars". Nineteen of these ranged in weight from 12·76 gm. to 8·34 gm. (the last, of course, being the effective weight of the Babylonian shekel, as exemplified in the gold Daric coinage of the Achaemenids). These pieces all had the form of a straight bar; but whilst two bore traces of the regular "six-armed symbol" characteristic of the "bent-bars", the rest were unstamped. Thus they indicated a clear transition from a plain bar-currency to a stamped bar-coinage of the Indian type. Most striking, perhaps, was the plain bar weighing 8·34 gm., as already mentioned. Its shape, with the enlarged ends, was reminiscent of the "Bar-ingot" A1 (146) from Nūsh-i Jān—the "dog's-bone profile", to use a convenient phrase—but the size was much smaller, the surfaces had been finished by hammering, and the reduced weight at 8·34 gm. was surely indicative of manufacture under the Achaemenids. The "Bar-ingots" of the Mir Zakah residue plainly deserve close study, and cannot be examined in detail here, but a brief notice is necessary for the present discussion.

"*Cut-silver*"

The second category of pieces in the find from Nūsh-i Jān is that well known from the German publications as *Hacksilber*, which we here render by the English translation of "Cut-silver". These are pieces of silver cut with a cold chisel from lengths of varying size and shape. Some are pieces of silver foil, roughly cut, and squeezed into lumps. Others are cut from pieces of wire of varying thickness. The most characteristic are however thickish blocks of silver, most of which have clearly been cut from

[23] D. Schlumberger, "L'argent grec dans l'empire Achéménide", in Curiel and Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, p. 4.

[24] John Allan, *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. xvi.

[25] E. H. C. Walsh, *Punch-marked coins from Taxila* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 59), Delhi 1939, p. 2.

[26] E. T. Newell, *Eastern Seleucid mints*, p. 162.

[27] Raoul Curiel and Daniel Schlumberger, "Le trésor de Mir Zakah, près de Gardēz" in Curiel and Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, p. 67 ff. Since this find was the product of a sacred spring, frequented over many centuries, its content covered a wide chronological range, and the upper limit has perhaps never been closely defined.

" Bar-ingots ". Thus we see that the significance of the " Bar-ingots " extends beyond the three intact specimens occurring in the present find. It becomes increasingly obvious that in the Achaemenid hoards of " Bulk-silver " also, a great deal of the " Cut-silver " must have been derived originally from " Bar-ingots ", so that the currency of the latter must have been more extensive than at first appears. The implication seems to be that the period in which " Bar-ingots " circulated intact was a relatively early one. At some moment in time which is not easy to fix precisely, but which was no doubt during the Achaemenid period, and perhaps towards the beginning of the 5th century B.C., the casting of fresh " Bar-ingots " seems to have been discontinued. Those previously current naturally remained in circulation, and they were progressively subdivided for the purposes of day-to-day transactions as time went on. Thus gradually all the surviving " Bar-ingots " will have been reduced to " Cut-silver ", and the latter in turn to smaller and smaller pieces. This " Cut-silver " seems to have achieved a wider circulation than the original bars, and also to have proved a more lasting phenomenon. While the bars were perhaps restricted to the territory of the former Median empire, the " Cut-silver " seems to have been acceptable throughout Achaemenid territory, even far to the West.

Since much of the " Cut-silver " was derived from " Bar-ingots ", it is not easy to maintain a rigid distinction between the two categories. Where the origin is obvious, I have classed the pieces as " Bar-ingots ". Where there is room for doubt, I have listed them as " Cut-silver ", even where it would be reasonable to suppose that a piece had been derived from a bar. This point should be borne in mind when searching the catalogues for a particular item.

A special point of interest in the present find is that one of the pieces of " Cut-silver " [B28(97b), wt. 4·64 gm.] bears traces of a fragmentary cuneiform inscription. Professor John A. Brinkman, of the Oriental Institute at Chicago has very kindly offered to contribute a note on these cuneiform traces, which is printed on p. 107 below.

Fig. 1. Nūsh-i Jān hoard: 'Cut-silver' fragment B.30 with cuneiform traces.

Because of its very fragmentary nature, the full purport of the Akkadian inscription in the present case cannot easily be established. However, it is clear since the inscription is itself fragmentary, that the " Bar-ingot " from which this block was originally cut had already been inscribed before it was subdivided. Thus it seems that some of the " Bar-ingots " were made with appropriate inscriptions, and therefore hope exists of a complete inscription being eventually recovered, from which further deductions may become possible on the working of the system of " Bulk-silver ". A block so inscribed naturally brings to mind that from the Chaman Ḥuzūrī find at Kabul, with its Elamite inscription elucidated by the late Professor W. B. Henning.[28] The only comment on the latter's view suggested by the piece from Nūsh-i Jān is that the Kabul block may likewise (in view of its substantial thickness) have been cut not from a piece of tableware, but from a " Bar-ingot " which once bore the full Elamite inscription. If so, the bar itself presumably originated during the Achaemenid period, and would help to fix the lower time-limit for this medium of currency.

" *Ring-money* "

The third category of pieces occurring in the Nūsh-i Jān find may be described as " Ring-money ". They vary considerably both in form and weight, the latter from a maximum of no less than 220 gm. to a fraction of a gram, but it seems practical to group them all together. Literary evidence for the existence of " Ring-money " in ancient Babylonia has already been mentioned,[29] but actual specimens seem not to have been systematically studied, nor the working of the system explained. The present find presents especially rich material for the study of the question. Certain groups of the rings seem to be of standardised form, and the question must be considered whether their weights were also intended as standardised. As to their shape, several of the rings are rough and irregular, and would not have served the purpose of adornment. Others could possibly have possessed some function as jewellery.

[28] " The ' coin ' with cuneiform inscription ", *Numismatic Chronicle* 1956, 327–8, where the earlier references will be found.

[29] Above, p. 99.

The group already noticed have some resemblance to earrings, but they have not been decoratively worked, and such spiral rings could hardly have been inserted into pierced ears without much discomfort. For wear, slender hooks would also have been needed, as indeed have been present in other finds.[20] More probably, therefore, the main rôle of these rings was monetary. We are reminded of the gloss of Photius, to which attention has already been drawn by Schlumberger:[21]

σίκλος· καὶ τὸ ἐνώτιον καὶ σταθμὸς βαρβαρικός, δυνάμενος ὀκτὼ ὀβολοῦς Ἀττικούς.

siklos: (signifies) both an earring and an Oriental weight equivalent to eight Attic obols.

If the Attic drachma, equivalent to six Attic obols, is reckoned at 4·2 gm., then eight Attic obols would amount to 5·6 gm., a weight which indeed corresponds with that of the Persian silver coin known as the siglos. It remains to be verified whether quasi-monetary earrings of the type considered here approximate to the same weight of silver.

The possibility may also be considered whether some of these rings could not have been worn as finger-rings. Several of the spiral rings are of dimensions roughly suitable for that purpose. Again, there are two wider rings included in the find, C12 (141) and C5 (145), which have a pronounced resemblance to modern wedding-rings, and could certainly have been worn. It is often claimed that in the modern marriage ceremony, the use of the wedding-ring has a monetary significance, and that it was originally the equivalent of a " bride-price ".[22] To explore this idea in detail would be a complex matter, but it seems true that in the period of our find, the boundary-line between jewellery and cash was particularly blurred, and the conditions postulated by the above assumption were to a large extent effective. Further evidence would naturally be needed before the rings of our find could be claimed as actual wedding-rings.

Numbering and Arrangement

It is a fact of museum life that objects in a collection tend to receive successive and different numbers at different stages in their museum history. Finds coming from excavations receive first excavation numbers, which normally follow the sequence in which the pieces have emerged from the soil. On entry to a museum they further receive accession numbers, usually in order of registration, with such modifications as the particular working routines require. When a systematic catalogue is ultimately compiled, a third system of numbering is almost inevitably imposed, on whatever basis seems most meaningful to the cataloguer. With regard to catalogue sequences, the preferences of succeeding generations may also differ, and recataloguing after a lapse of time is likely to produce a fresh crop of numbers. It can thus be a complex matter to follow a numbered find through different catalogues and registers. In the present case also, attention must be given to numbering and concordance. It is true that the numismatist is usually spared undue dependence on arbitrary numbers owing to the strong chronological thread which pervades his subject and makes it possible, once the identification is made, to go straight to the piece in question without reference to any numerical code. However, with " Ingot-currency " such as the present find, there is no immediately manifest chronological order, and a serial enumeration is therefore necessary. At the time of excavation the pieces were registered in the order of their emergence from the ground, and these numbers retain their value for designation of individual pieces. The portion of the find which passed at the time of division to the Mūzeh Īrān Bāstān retains with but minor modifications its excavation numbering, and so needs no special concordance. It may be noticed that it is by no means easy, even from a photograph, to distinguish from one another the numerous, generally similar rings. Where the number can be inked on, or a label attached, this has usually proved helpful. The additional check afforded by a record of weights is none the less an advantage, and for systematic

[20] e.g. at Shechem, cf. M. Balmuth, " Monetary forerunners of coinage in Phoenicia and Palestine ", *International Numismatic Convention: Jerusalem, 27–31 December 1963*, Pl. I.

[21] D. Schlumberger, " L'argent grec dans l'empire Achéménide " in Curiel and Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, p. 13.

[22] For example in the Jewish ceremony, according to *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* VIII, 462.

arrangement in the present article the handiest method seemed to be to arrange the pieces in three main sections (A. Bar-ingots; B. Cut-silver and C. Ring-money); and within each to arrange the pieces in descending order of weight. Thus a fixed sequence is attained, which virtually excludes the need for any qualitative decision by the cataloguer, and in the event of accidental disarrangement, can be immediately restored merely by reference to a balance. Since the main historical indications provided by this " Bulk-silver " arise from the metrology, the arrangement by weight makes these immediately evident, and has much to recommend it as a practical solution to the problems of classifying a find of this rather unusual nature.[33] The catalogue is therefore arranged in the manner described, and a concordance of the original excavation numbers is provided at the end of the article. I owe to Dr. O. Muscarella, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, registration details of the pieces which passed, after the division into his custody.

The Metrology of the Ingots

It is no exaggeration to say that the heart of any study of an ingot find such as that of Nūsh-i Jān must be the section dealing with its metrology. Investigators who have touched on this matter in the past have tended to the conclusion that the weights attested are purely random ones,[34] and if this view were shown to be correct, we could expect no conclusion of interest to result from an analysis of weights in this particular case. In view of previous negative results, however, it need not be expected that any significant pattern will be a simple and obvious one. At the same time, it has to be borne in mind that methods of examination applied in earlier cases were admittedly insensitive. For seeking to ascertain a possible weight-standard in an assemblage of irregular metal ingots, the method of averaging cannot be too strongly deprecated. It is a well-known witticism that a gathering of five four-year-old infants and five octagenarians have an average age of 42. Yet it would be misleading to conclude from that statistic that any person actually aged 42 (or anything approximating to it) would therefore have been present. Similarly in the determination of weight-standards, the calculation of the average may give a useful result when a single, uniform weight-standard is present in the whole material. Yet even in dealing with regular coinages where such a situation prevails, numismatists have preferred to employ the technique of the frequency-table. Where multiple standards may be present, or multiple denominations of a single standard, the frequency-table is the only reliable method. Indeed the manner of its arrangement and presentation demands some care, a matter to which we shall return after examining some more general considerations.

It has been noticed above that in investigating a currency that lacks any mark of origin, the metrology alone—leaving aside possible future investigation of trace-metals by spectroscopic analysis—offers hope of elucidating the mechanism of the system, and arriving at historical conclusions. We must face the possibility that our inquiry may prove unavailing. Yet the prospect of a wholly new insight into the economic history of the Assyrian and Babylonian worlds cannot lightly be dismissed. If the weight-standards can be shown to have evolved in a chronological sequence, the weighing of an ingot would henceforth give an indication of its date. This is by no means a far-fetched suggestion. It has already been proved of the siglos coinage of Achaemenid Anatolia that only weighing will determine the chronology of certain issues.[35] On the other hand, weight-standards could well show a geographical distribution, and the balance provide indications of the direction and volume of trade. In practice, as in the history of coinage, both factors are likely to operate to a certain extent, and the task of unravelling them could prove a complex, yet informative, inquiry. It would also be interesting to know whether any consistent relationship exists between the weight-standards, and the three classes of material, " Bar-ingots ", " Cut-silver " and " Ring-money ".

[33] The method of arrangement of a find of " amorphous " currency in diminishing order of weight seems first to have been used by Professor D. Schlumberger for the 29 " countermarked coins " of the Chaman Ḥuzūrī hoard at Kabul, cf. 'L'argent grec dans l'empire Achéménide " in Curiel and Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan* p. 42.

[34] e.g. M. S. Balmuth, " The monetary forerunners of coinage in Phoenicia and Palestine " in *International Numismatic Convention: Jerusalem 27–31 December 1963* p. 28 " The only conclusion possible after weighing and observing the hoards from Shechem and Beth Shan is that no weight relationship exists amongst the ingots and that they could be negotiable only by mass ".

[35] E. S. G. Robinson, " The beginnings of Achaemenid coinage ", *Numismatic Chronicle* 1958, p. 191.

It is usually allowed that the metrological systems of ancient Mesopotamia were internally organised in the majority of cases, on a sexagesimal system:

60 shekels = 1 mina
60 minae = 1 talent

Cuneiform texts make constant reference to these denominations and their numerical relationship. The matter is less simple when it comes to determining the absolute values of these denominations in any particular period or location. In practice, the most successful technique for this purpose is the examination of surviving ancient weights, some of which bear inscriptions which are more or less informative, though they do not always specifically name the denomination.[36] Best known of the weight-standards current in Mesopotamia during the pre-Achaemenid period is the Babylonian standard. It is, however, most easily determined from the material of Achaemenid date, when fundamentally the same standard was in use, and when the value of the shekel was close to 8·4 gm., and that of the mina to 504 gm. No doubt difficulties were experienced in antiquity in precisely standardizing the weights, and specimens from excavation may often have suffered from the fraudulent manipulation of which there is biblical evidence.[37]

In addition to the familiar Babylonian standard, the bedrock as it were of ancient metrology, there is considerable evidence, especially in Assyrian times, of the existence of competing systems. There are numerous references to a weight-standard " of the King ",[38] and on the evidence of inscribed weights from Nimrud, its mina has been reckoned at approximately double the Babylonian at some 1010 gm.,[39] which would result in a shekel (assuming the proportions unchanged) of 16·8 gm. Whether such a standard remained constant throughout the Assyrian Empire, and in all periods, is a question for investigation. There is anyway cuneiform evidence for the existence of *local* standards[40]—which implies that they were different—and for the area of Palestine a clear case has been made from the evidence of excavated weights for a shekel of 11·4 gm.[41] The latter finds were linked by Yadin with the Samaria ostraca, ascribed to the date of 738 B.C. It therefore appears that quite a variety of shekel standards may have been current at different dates and places, though there is no certainty that all of these would have been employed for the weighing of silver.

After these preliminary remarks, we may turn to the frequency-table (fig. 2). The data are presented in six parallel ranges, with the scale of each varied proportionately, so that the increasing multiples of the same standard appear conveniently in the same horizontal line. It will be seen at a glance that the weights show a good deal of irregularity, evidence perhaps of unreliable scales, and where the pieces are cut, of imprecise cutting. It is true that there is no massive coincidence in weights that would attest the presence of a single rigid standard. Nevertheless, it can hardly be said that the distribution pattern is a random one. In the two highest ranges there are relatively few specimens, as we might expect. Yet such evidence as the chart does provide is surprisingly coherent. There are two intact bar ingots coinciding closely at a little over 100 gm. The largest piece of cut-silver falls at 51·43 gm.,[42] and there is a neat concentration of items around the 24 gm. mark, all of which decidely suggests a range of multiples of 6 gm., 12 gm., 24 gm., 50 gm. and 100 gm.

The next point to be made is that out of 83 specimens displayed upon the table, no less than 32 fall in what we have designated the Half-Shekel Range, and 22 in the Shekel Range. It is of course evident from the cuneiform documents that the shekel and the half-shekel would have been the most popular denominations in any currency system. The latter in particular, best known under its Aramaic name of *zwz*, and the ancestor of the Greek drachma, would have been a convenient piece in ordinary shopping.

[36] Perhaps the fullest discussion of the older evidence for Assyrian weight-standards is that of C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian deeds and documents* II, 256–73; Sir Max Mallowan, *Nimrud* I, 326 and 338, mentions a half-mina of 250·7 gm., and calls attention to the need for a fresh investigation.

[37] *Deuteronomy* 25. 14: Thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small.

[38] *II Samuel* 14. 26: . . . two hundred shekels after the king's weight.

[39] Johns, *op. cit.* II, 262.

[40] Balmuth, *op. cit.* p. 26 (where the preceding, and further references will be found); Johns, p. 269.

[41] Yigael Yadin, " Ancient Judaean weights and the date of the Samaria ostraca ", *Scripta Hierosolymitana* VIII, 10 ff.

[42] It is interesting in this connexion that the single aberrant weight in Yadin's table (*op. cit.* p. 12), that from el-Jib, weighed 51·58 gm., though the norm of his 4-shekel range was between 45 and 46 gm.

Turning now to the question of specific weight-standards, we see groupings in the shekel range at a little over 12 gm., between 11 and 11·5 gm., between 9·5 gm. and 10 gm., and, perhaps, around 8·5 gm. The second coincides well enough with the Palestinian shekel demonstrated by Yadin, and the last falls close to the Babylonian shekel of Achaemenid times. The other two, though unknown, are quite conceivable shekel standards, and can hardly be dismissed as meaningless. Taking next the half-shekel range, there are evident groupings around 6 gm., and again at 5·6 gm. (the last figure, of course, is known later as the Achaemenid siglos, though the name is something of a misnomer, since rather than a shekel the coin is better regarded as a *zwz* or drachma, of which the weight represented a key figure for the cross-rates between gold and silver in Achaemenid times[43]). Disregarding a few stragglers, a further

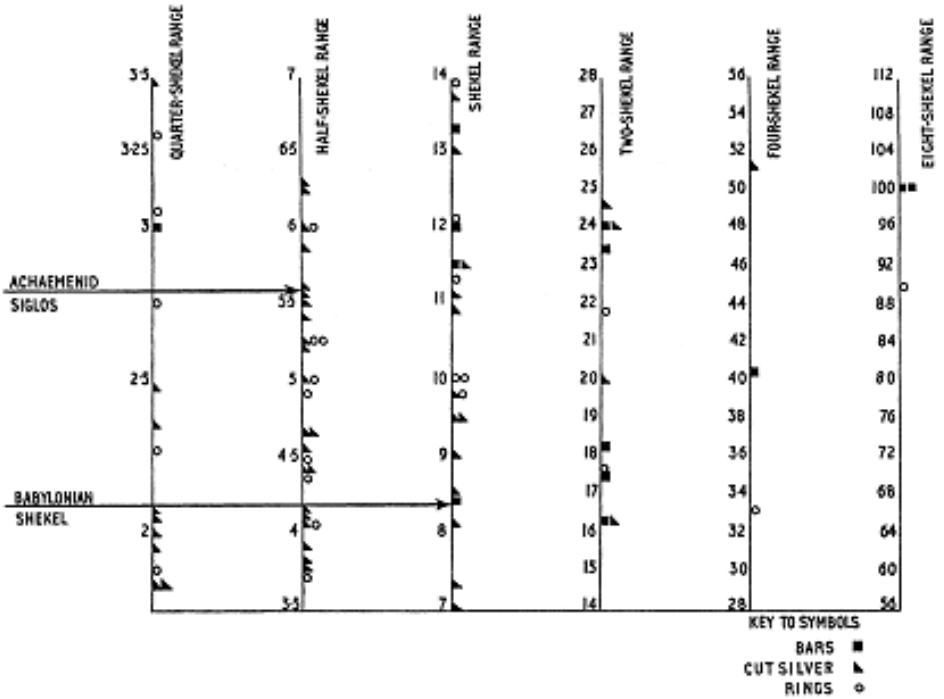
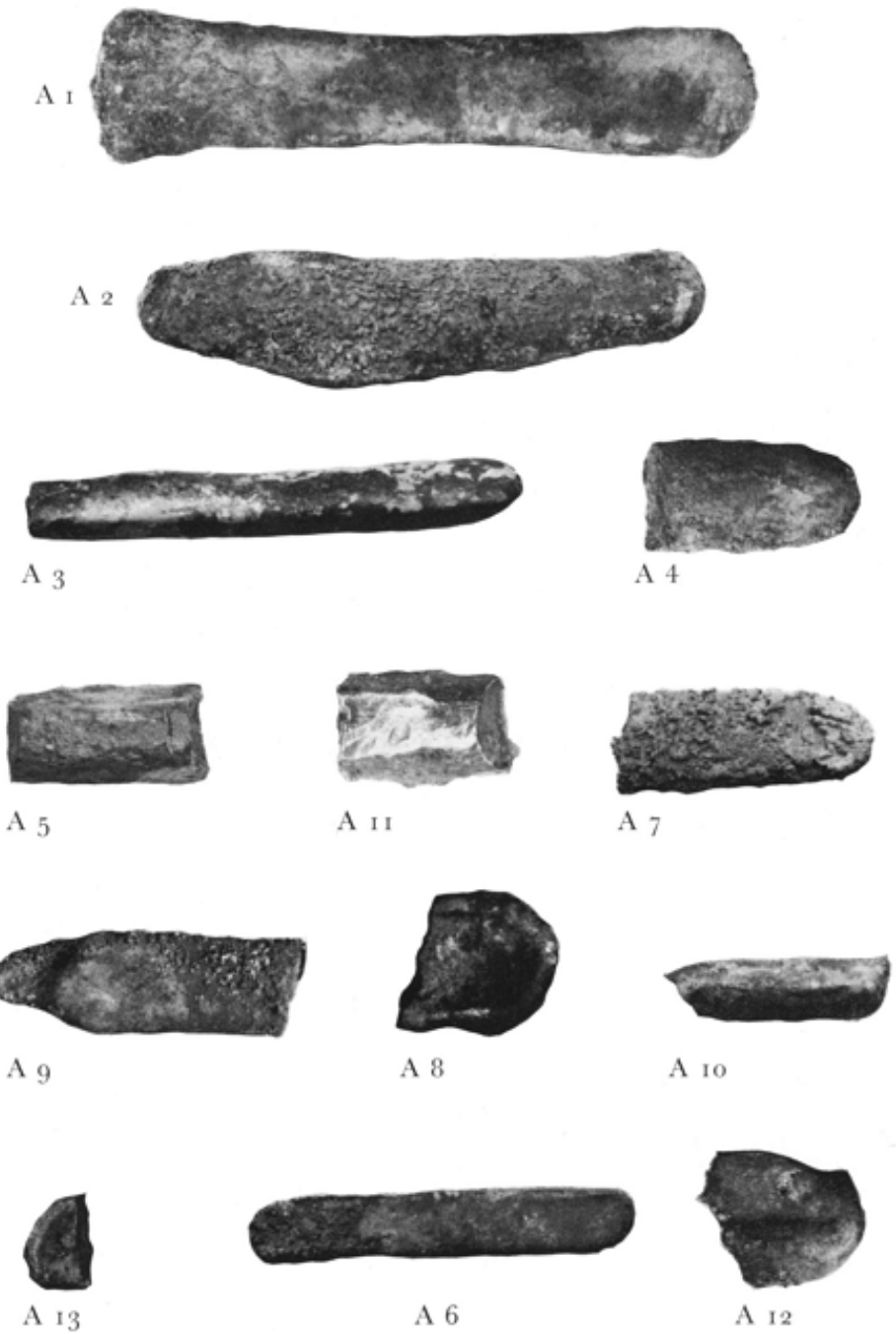


Fig. 2. Nūsh-i Jān hoard: frequency-table of weights between 1·12 gm. and 1·75 gm. The scale of grams in each column is half that of the column preceding.

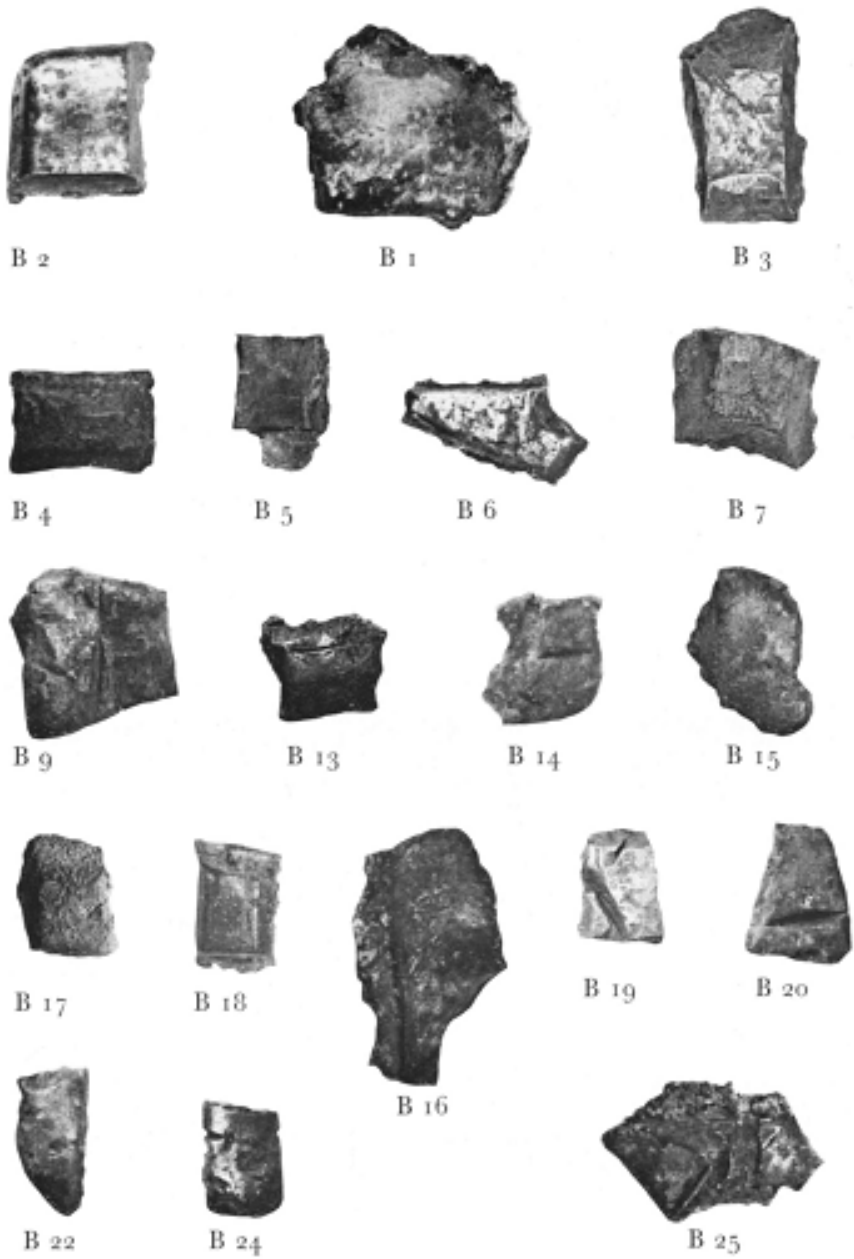
seeming concentration is found at 4·4 gm., very close to the half-shekel of the Achaemenid Babylonian standard. There is another peak at 3·8 gm., then something of a gap, and a further small concentration at 2·1 gm., which presumably represents the quarter-shekel corresponding to the half at 4·4 gm. It may be noticed at the same time that there is no clear separation between the standards exemplified by the " Cut-silver ", and those of the rings.

In conclusion therefore, it may be said that the frequency-table indicates a certain irregularity of weight, as might be expected if the ingots had been cut to size by eye, rather than by some precise measurement. Yet the distribution of weights is by no means random. It may rather be the result of the attestation in the find of a series of varying weight-standards, some perhaps representing local shekels of

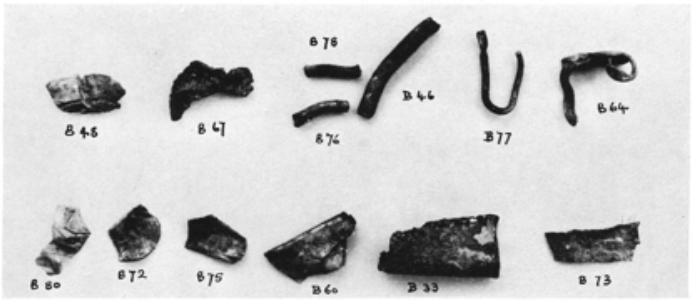
[43] Since 20 siglοi were intended to correspond in value to the gold daric of 8·35 gm., cf. E. S. G. Robinson, " The beginnings of Achaemenid coinage ", *Numismatic Chronicle* 1958, p. 191.



Pl. I. Bar-Ingots and Fragmentary Bars from Nūsh-i Ján. Actual size.

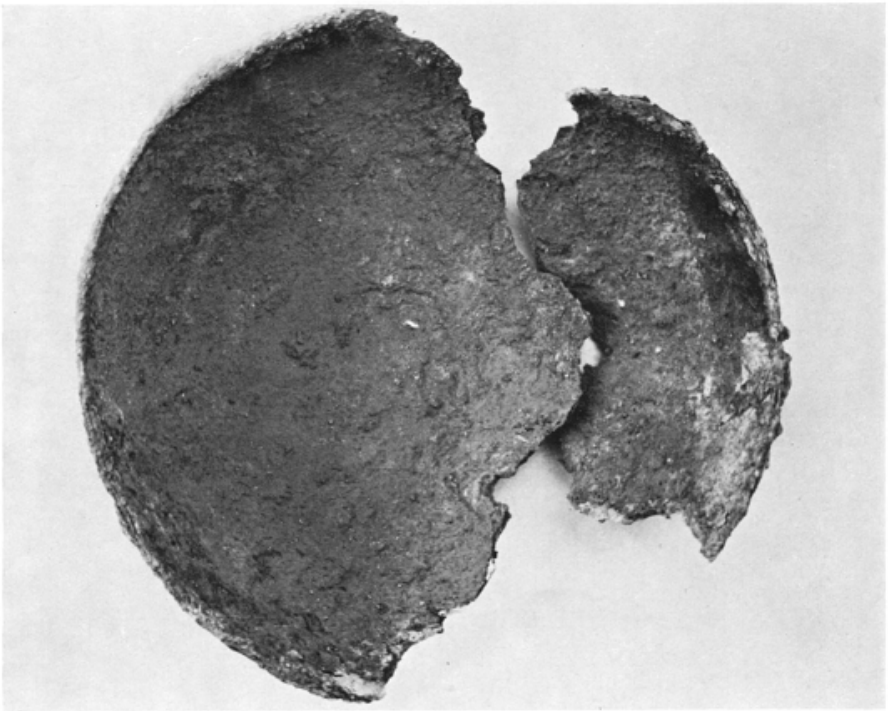


Pl. II. "Cut-Silver" from Nūsh-i Jān. Actual size.



Pl. IIIa. Nūsh-i Jān, 1967. Small "Cut-silver" (wires and foils). Scale 1/1.

Pl. IIIb. Nūsh-i Jān, 1967. Miscellaneous fragments under Excavation No. 167. Scale 1/1.



Pl. IIIc. Nūsh-i Jān, 1967. The bronze bowl containing the treasure.

C 1

C 2

C 3

C 4

C 6

C 12

C 8

C 10

Pl. IV. Nūsh-i Jān, 1967. Ring-currency, large and small denominations. Actual size, except for C8 and C10, which are slightly enlarged.

areas from which the ingots may have been brought, and others progressive changes in the " Royal " standards. Hitherto, for want of evidence either way, there has been a tendency to assume that such " Royal " standards as that of the Assyrian kingdom remained a fixed and unchanging value. What is known of the economic history of other periods in antiquity hardly corroborates this view. The frequency-table of any mixed hoard of 5th century Greek coinage would illustrate a scatter of weight-standards and denominations not dissimilar to that presented here. Between the standards of ancient Mesopotamia, and those (varying widely) established in Classical Greece there are in all probability historical connexions, as such Semitic loan-words as μνᾶ for the *mina* evidently attest. Further such finds will need to be published, and systematically analysed, before any general conclusion would be justified. Yet it may well prove, and the present material suggests, that the metrology of ancient Mesopotamia was but little less complex than that of every other period in human history.

THE INSCRIBED SILVER FRAGMENT FROM NŪSH-I JĀN (Fig. 2), by J. A. Brinkman

The small piece of metal bears traces of markings which are probably to be interpreted as fragments of cuneiform signs. The most definite traces are what appear to be the left sections of two horizontal wedges, consisting in each case of a wedge head and the beginning of a tail, and a horizontal dividing line between them, presumably separating two lines of text. There are additional marks, or possibly scratches, on the metal which could point to slightly more complex signs than the simple horizontal wedge.

From these slight traces it is impossible at present to determine anything about context, type or date of script, or place of origin. One cannot at this time establish whether the "text" was written in Akkadian (Babylonian), Old Persian (or some forerunner), Elamite, or some other similar script.

CATALOGUE

Section A: Bar-ingots

Cat. No.	*Excavation No.*	*Weight in grams*	*Location*	*Plate*
A 1	146	100·70	New York 69.24.11	Pl. I
A 2	155	100·30	Tehran	Pl. I
A 3	117	40·70	Inst.	Pl. I
A 4	161	24·00	Tehran	Pl. I
A 5	157B	23·50	Tehran	Pl. I
A 6	150B	18·31	London BM 135085	Pl. I
A 7	150A	17·58	London BM 135082	Pl. I
A 8	147B	16·42	Inst.	Pl. I
A 9	157A	13·40	Tehran	Pl. I
A 10	125C	12·19	Tehran	Pl. I
A 11	140A	11·51	Inst.	Pl. I
A 12	163B	8·40	Tehran	Pl. I
A 13	135B	3·02	Tehran	Pl. I
Section B: "Cut-silver"				
B 1	109	51·43	Tehran	Pl. II
B 2	143C	24·85	Tehran	Pl. II
B 3	143B	24·16	Tehran	Pl. II
B 4	133A	20·08	London BM 135074	Pl. II
B 5	112A	16·50	Tehran	Pl. II
B 6	143A	13·71	Tehran	Pl. II
B 7	140B	13·05	Inst.	Pl. II
B 7 *bis*	156I	11·56	Inst.	—
B 8	98B	11·14	Inst.	—
B 9	135A	10·87	Tehran	Pl. II
B 10	133B	9·80	London BM 135075	—
B 11	118A	9·55	Tehran	—
B 12	112D	9·54	Tehran	—
B 13	110D	9·02	Inst.	Pl. II
B 14	99	8·51	Tehran	Pl. II
B 15	154C	8·21	Inst.	Pl. II
B 16	106	7·34	Inst.	Pl. II
B 17	154B	7·06	Inst.	Pl. II
B 18	162C 1	6·30	Inst.	Pl. II
B 19	157C	6·25	Tehran	Pl. II
B 20	140C	6·04	Inst.	Pl. II
B 21	156H	5·86	Inst.	—
B 22	112B	5·60	Tehran	Pl. II
B 23	140E	5·56	Inst.	—
B 24	140D	5·53	Inst.	Pl. II
B 25	154A	5·42	Inst.	Pl. II
B 26	127E	5·26	Inst.	—
B 27	127G	5·20	Inst.	—
B 28	147A	5·04	Inst.	—
B 29	111B	4·67	Inst.	—

Cat. No.	*Excavation No.*	*Weight in grams*	*Location*	*Plate*
B 30	97B	4·63	Inst.	—
This piece bears a fragmentary cuneiform inscription (see pp. 102, 107).				
B 31	163A	4·58	Tehran	—
B 32	112C	4·45	Tehran	—
B 33	162D 7	4·42	Inst.	Pl. III
B 34	124B	4·17	Inst.	—
B 35	120B	4·13	Tehran	—
B 36	128D	4·05	Tehran	—
B 37	121B	3·91	Inst.	—
B 38	98A	3·84	Inst.	—
B 39	128C	3·72	Inst.	—
B 40	124A	3·45	Tehran	—
B 41	125D	2·44	Tehran	—
B 42	135D	2·30	Tehran	—
B 43	125F	2·08	Tehran	—
B 44	127D	2·06	Inst.	—
B 45	162A 5	2·00	Inst.	—
B 46 (wire)	162A 3	1·96	Tehran	Pl. III
B 47	156A	1·81	Inst.	—
B 48	162G 2	1·80	Inst.	Pl. III
B 49	127C	1·73	Inst.	—
B 50	127F	1·66	Inst.	—
B 51	156F	1·64	Inst.	—
B 52	97D	1·54	Inst.	—
B 53	97C	1·51	Inst.	—
B 54	162C 2	1·45	Inst.	—
B 55 (foil)	133C	1·42	London BM 135076	—
B 56	127J	1·37	Inst.	—
B 57	127H	1·35	Inst.	—
B 58	135C	1·30	Tehran	—
B 59	156E	1·27	Inst.	—
B 60 (foil)	162D 1	1·26	Inst.	Pl. III
B 61	121C	1·24	Inst.	—
B 62	156K	1·24	Inst.	—
B 63	144B	1·20	Tehran	—
B 64	162E	1·07	Inst.	Pl. III
B 65	162C 3	0·97	Inst.	—
B 66	127I	0·96	Inst.	—
B 67 (foil)	162F	0·92	Inst.	Pl. III
B 68	101C	0·82	Inst.	—
B 69	118B	0·77	Tehran	—
B 70	120D	0·67	Tehran	—
B 71	127A	0·64	Inst.	—
B 72	162D 5	0·63	Inst.	Pl. III
B 73 (foil)	162D 2	0·61	Inst.	Pl. III
B 74	107C	0·60	Inst.	—
B 75	162D 4	0·57	Inst.	Pl. III
B 76 (wire)	162A 2	0·48	Inst.	Pl. III
B 77 (wire hook)	162A 4	0·45	Inst.	Pl. III
B 78 (wire)	162A 1	0·42	Inst.	Pl. III
B 79	120C	0·40	Tehran	—
B 80 (foil)	162D 3	0·27	Inst.	Pl. III

Cat. No.	*Excavation No.*	*Weight in grams*	*Location*	*Plate*
B 81	100C	0·25	Tehran	—
B 82	127B	0·24	Inst.	—
Section C: Ring-money				
C 1	102	220·0	Tehran	Pl. IV
C 2	158	90·50	Tehran	Pl. IV
C 3 (coil)	107A	33·44	Inst.	Pl. IV
C 4	116	21·80	Tehran No. 134	Pl. IV
C 5	145	17·88	London BM 135085	—
C 6	107B	13·92	Inst.	Pl. IV
C 7	134	12·12	Tehran	—
C 8	110A	11·30	New York 69.24.6	Pl. IV
C 9	128A	10·07	Inst.	—
C 10	101A	10·00	New York 69.24.7	Pl. IV
C 11	126	9·88	London BM 135073	—
C 12	141	6·00	Tehran	Pl. IV
C 13	100A	5·25	Inst.	—
C 14	164	5·21	Inst.	—
C 15	121A	5·06	Inst.	—
C 16	97A	4·85	Tehran	—
C 17	137	4·48	Tehran	—
C 18	152	4·38	London BM 135084	—
C 19	128D	4·05	Tehran	—
C 20	125B	3·70	Tehran	—
C 21	111A	3.30	New York 69·24·9	—
C 22	131	3·06	Inst.	—
C 23	105	2·80	Tehran	—
C 24	124C	2·27	Tehran	—
C 25	144A	1·82	Tehran No. 141	—
C 26	148	1·60	New York 69.24.10	—
C 27	120A	1·43	Tehran	—
C 28	130	1·40	Tehran	—
C 29	110B	1·30	New York 69.24.8	—
C 30	144B	1·19	Tehran	—
C 31 (broken)	114B	0·95	Tehran	—
C 32	110C	0·92	Inst.	—
C 33	114A	0·80	Tehran	—
C 34	128B	0·77	Tehran	—
C 35	123	0·75	Tehran	—
C 36	100B	0·75	Inst.	—
C 37	165C	0·70	Tehran	—
C 38 (broken)	114C	0·47	Tehran	—

CONCORDANCE OF EXCAVATION NUMBERS

Note: Items classified as jewellery, to be published elsewhere, and not included in the present catalogue, are indicated by the letter J in this concordance.

96	J	112D	B 12	125D	B 41	133A	B4	150B	A 6	162C 1	B 18				
97A	C 16	112E	B 69	125E	J	133B	B 10	151	J	162C 2	B 54				
97B	B 30	113A	J	125F	B 43	134	C 7	152	C 18	162C 3	B 65				
97C	B 53	113B	J	125G	J	135A	B 9	153	J	162D 1	B 60				
97D	B 52	113C	J	126	C 11	135B	A 13	154A	B 25	162D 2	B 73				
98A	B 38	113D	J	127A	B 71	135C	B 58	154B	B 17	162D 3	B 80				
98B	B 8	113E	J	127B	B 82	135D	B 42	154C	B 15	162D 4	B 75				
99	B 14	114A	C 33	127C	B 49	135E	J	155	A 2	162D 5	B 72				
100A	C 13	114B	C 31	127D	B 44	136	J	156A	B 47	162D 6	*[45]				
100B	C 36	114C	C 38	127E	B 26	137	C 17	156B	J	162D 7	B 33				
100C	B 81	115	J	127F	*[45]	138	J	156C	J	162E	B 64				
101A	C 10	116	C 4	127G	B 27	139	J	156D	J	162F	B 67				
101B	J	117	A 3	127H	B 57	140A	A 11	156E	B 59	162G 1	*				
101C	B 68	118A	B 11	127I	B 66	140B	B 7	156F	B 51	162G 2	B 48				
102	C 1	118B	B 69	127J	B 56	140C	B 20	156G	J[47]	162H	*				
103	J	119	J	128A	C 9	140D	B 24	156H	B 21	162I					
104	J	120A	C 27	128B	J	140E	B 23	156I	B 7 *bis*	1–17	*				
105	C 23	120B	B 35	128C	B 39	141	C 12	156J	J	162J					
106	B 16	120C	B 79	128D	B 36	142A	J[46]	156K	B 62	1–5	*				
107A	C 3	120D	B 70	129A	J	142B	J	156L	J[47]	162K	*				
107B	C 4	120E	J	129B	J	142C	J	156M	J	162H					
107C	B 74	120F	J	130	C 28	143A	B 6	157A	A 9	1–3	*				
108A	J	121A	C 15	131	C 22	143B	B 3	157B	A 5	163A	B 31				
108B	J	121B	B 37	132A	J[45]	143C	B 2	157C	B 19	163B	A 12				
108C	J	121C	B 61	132B	J	144A	C 25	158	C 2	164	C 14				
109	B 1	122A	J	132C 1	*[45]	144B	B 63	159	J	165A	J				
110A	C 8	122B	J	132C 2	J	145	C 5	160	J	165B	J				
110B	C 29	122C	J	132C 3	J	146	A 1	161	A 4	165C	C 38				
110C	C 32	123	C 35	132C 4	J	147A	B 28	162A 1	B 78	165D	J				
110D	B 13	124A	B 40	132C 5	J	147B	A 8	162A 2	B 76	165E	J				
111A	C 21	124B	B 34	132C 6	J	148A	C 26	162A 3	B 46	166	Bronze bowl (Plate IIIc)				
111B	B 29	124C	C 24	132C 7	J	149A	J	162A 4	B 77						
112A	B 5	125A	J	132D	J	149B	J	162A 5	B 45						
112B	B 22	125B	C 20	132E	J	149C	J	162B 1	J						
112C	B 32	125C	A 10	132F	J	150A	A 7	162B 2	J						

[45] This item is a small piece of "Cut-silver", of which the weight is not at present on record. It will be included in the forthcoming catalogue of jewellery, together with the first two items in the note following.

[46] 132A and B are two very small rings which have not been weighed, but which were possibly monetary. No. 132C 1 is a very small piece of "Cut-silver".

[46] 142A is a minute ring of unknown weight.

[47] 156G and J are pieces of "Cut-silver" made from lengths of wire, and are being published with the jewellery as also is 156L, a flat triangular piece, apparently of foil.

[48] Items marked with an asterisk were registered *en bloc* under this serial, and have not been individually carded.

برده و برده داری در دوره هخامنشیان[1]

محمد داندامایف[2]
ترجمه دکتر منصور حمدالله‌زاده[3]

در آغاز دوره هخامنشی، نهاد برده داری هنوز در ایران توسعه چندانی نداشت. در ماد رسم وجود داشت که به موجب آن یک مرد فقیر می‌توانست خود را در اختیار شخص ثروتمندی اگرحاضر به غذا دادن به او شود، قرار دهد. جایگاه چنین مردی شبیه مقام برده بود. با این حال، او در هر زمانی می‌توانست ارباب خود را ترک کند، اگر تغذیه بدی داشت. در نیمه اول قرن ششم قبل از میلاد، ایرانیان فقط از چنین برده داری بدوی اطلاع داشتند و کار برده هنوز از نظر اقتصادی قابل توجه نبود. متداول ترین واژه برای نام بردن برده در ایران باستان کلمه بندکا بود. این کلمه نه تنها برای تعیین بردگان واقعی، بلکه برای بیان وابستگی عمومی نیز به کار می‌رفت. به عنوان مثال، در کتیبه بیستون، داریوش اول ساتراپ‌ها و سرداران خود را باندکاهای خود می‌نامد. به همین ترتیب داریوش اول گاداتس را، فرماندار خود در ایونیا، برده خود می‌نامد همانطور که در بسیاری از کشورهای شرق باستان، همه رعایای شاه، از جمله حتی بالاترین مقام‌ها، برده‌های شاه محسوب می‌شدند. بنابراین نویسندگان یونانی نوشتند که، به استثنای پادشاه، تمام مردم ایران از بردگان بودند. به همین ترتیب، اقتدار سران خانواده های پدرسالار بر اعضای خانواده های خود ظالمانه بود و آنها می توانستند با فرزندان خود مانند برده رفتار کنند.

کلید واژه‌ها: ماد، هخامنشیان، برده‌داری، برده، کتیبه‌بیستون

---

[1] این مقاله باز نشری است از :
BARDA and BARDA-DĀRI i. Achaemenid Period ،Muhammad A. Dandamayev. Encyclopædia Iranica, online edition, New York, ۱۹۹٦.Vol. III, Fasc. ۷, pp. ۷٦۲-۷٦۳ ،

[2] Muhammad A. Dandamayev
[3] پژهشگر تاریخ و مدرس دانشگاه آزاد اسلامی mansour۰۰۱@gmail.com

BARDA and BARDA-DĀRI. Achaemenid Period

Dandamayev

At the beginning of the Achaemenid period, the institution of slavery was still poorly developed in Iran. In Media a custom existed whereby a poor man could place himself at the disposal of a rich person if the latter agreed to feed him. The position of such a man was similar to that of a slave. However, he could at any time leave his master if he was poorly fed (see I. M. D'yakonov [Diakonoff], *Istoriya Midii,* Moscow and Leningrad, ١٩٥٦, pp. ٣٣٤-٣٥). By the time their own state had emerged (the first half of the ٦th cent. b.c.), the Persians knew only of such primitive slavery, and slave labor was not yet economically significant.

The most common term to designate slaves in ancient Iran was the word *bandaka-,* a derivative of *banda-* "bond, fetter" (see banda and Kent, *Old Persian,* p. ١٩٩). This word was utilized not only to designate actual slaves, but also to express general dependence. For instance, in the Behistun [Bīsotūn] inscription, Darius I calls his satraps and generals his *bandaka*s(in the Babylonian version *qallu* "slave"). Likewise Darius I calls Gadates, his governor in Ionia, his slave *(doulos*; see W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* I, Leipzig, ١٩١٥, no. ٢٢), just as in many countries of the ancient East, all the subjects of the king, including even the highest-ranking officials, were considered slaves of the king. Therefore the Greek authors

wrote that, with the exception of the king, the entire Persian people were a crowd of slaves (see, e.g., Herodotus, ۷،۱۳۵; Xenophon, *Anabasis* ۲،۵،۳۸). In the same way, the authority of the heads of patriarchal families over members of their own families was tyrannical and they could treat their children as slaves (see Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* ۹،۱۲).

One of the Old Iranian terms to designate slaves was **gṛda*-the original meaning of which was "household slave(s)." This term is attested in the Aramaic letters of Aršām, the satrap of Egypt in the ۵th century b.c., in Babylonian texts of the Achaemenid period in the form *garda/u,* and in Elamite documents from Persepolis as *kurtaš* (see G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.,* Oxford, ۱۹۵۷, p. ٦۳). These persons were workers of the royal household and of the households of Persian nobility in Iran, as well as in Babylonia and Egypt. The overwhelming majority of *kurtaš* consisted of foreigners. In terms of their composition and legal status, the *kurtaš* were not homogeneous. In all probability, there were among them a significant number of slaves who were prisoners of war, a few free people who worked voluntarily for wages, and some individuals who were temporarily working off their labor service. Thus, with the passage of time the word *kurtaš* acquired the broader meaning "worker."

In the Elamite version of the Behistun inscription *kurtaš* is the equivalent of Old Persian *māniya*-(in the Babylonian version it is rendered with a term meaning "hired laborers"). *Māniya*-

probably meant “household slave(s)” (see Kent, *Old Persian,* p.۲۰۲).

As a result of the far-flung conquests of the Achaemenids there occurred a sharp change in the royal household and in the households of the Persian nobility from primitive patriarchal slavery to intensive utilization of the labor of foreign workers in agriculture and partly in crafts. A portion of these foreigners were exploited as slaves, while the remainder were treated as semi-free people and were settled on royal land. Usually they were prisoners ofwar recruited from those who had rebelled against Persian rule or put up resistance to the Persian army (see M. Dandamayev, “Foreign Slaves on the Estates of the Achaemenid Kings and their Nobles,” in *Trudy dvadtsat’ pyatogo mezhdunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov* II*,* Moscow, ۱۹۶۳*,* pp. ۱۵۱-۵۲*).*

A substantial number of slaves who performed domestic work for the Achaemenids and Persian nobility (bakers, cooks, cupbearers, eunuchs, etc.) were also recruited from among the representatives of vanquished peoples. Babylonia alone was obliged to supply the Persian king for these purposes an annual tribute of ۵۰۰ boys (Herodotus, ۳,۹۲).A certain number of such slaves were purchased by Persians on the slave market as well (Herodotus, ۸,۱۰۵).

Our information on privately owned slaves in Iran is scanty and haphazard. A Babylonian slave sale contract from Persepolis has

been preserved and dated to the reign of Darius I. However, the contracting parties as well as the slave himself were Babylonians (see M. W. Stolper, "The Neo-Babylonian Text from the Persepolis Fortification," *JNES* ٤٣, ١٩٨٤, pp. ٢٩٩-٣٠٣). In ٥٢٣ b.c. a certain Razamarma, son of Razamumarga, and Aspumetana, son of Asputatika, sold their slave women Kardara and Patiza to a Babylonian for ٢ ٢/٣ minas of silver (J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cambyses, König von Babylon,* Leipzig, ١٨٩٠, no. ٣٨٤). The contract was drafted in Babylonian at Humadēšu (Uvādaicaya in the Old Persian version of the Behistun inscription), a city in the Persepolis area (see R. Zadok, "On the Connections between Iran and Babylonia in the Sixth Century B.C.," *Iran* ١٤, ١٩٧٦, p. ٧٤; Stolper, art. cit., p. ٣٠٦).The sellers and the slave women, judging from their names, were of Iranian descent, but the buyer was a Babylonian. In ٥٢٨ b.c. a slave woman who had been purchased in Elam was sold in the Babylonian city Opis (Strassmaier, op. cit., no. ١٤٣).In ٥٠٨b.c. there was among the slaves of the Egibi business house in Babylon a slave woman from Gandara (J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius, König von Babylon,* Leipzig, ١٨٩٧,no. ٣٧٩,line ٤٤). In ٥١١ b.c. one Babylonian sold "his slave woman, a Bactrian" in Sippar (see for references M. A. Dandamaev, *Slavery in Babylonia,* DeKalb, ١٩٨٤, p. ١٠٨; cf. ibid., p. ١١١, on a slave with the Iranian name Patiriddta). These slaves apparently were prisoners of war (the "booty of the bow").

Under the Achaemenids in Babylonia and other conquered countries Persian nobles became large slave owners (see for references Dandamaev, op. cit., p. ١١١). According to some

documents, Iranians sold their slaves in Babylonia (see, e.g., H. G. Stigers, “Neo- and Late Babylonian Business Documents,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* ۲۸, ۱۹۷٦,no, ۲۲).

On the whole, there was only a small number of slaves in relation to the number of free persons even in the most developed countries of the Achaemenid empire, and slave labor was in no position to supplant the labor of free workers. The basis of agriculture was the labor of free farmers and tenants and in handicrafts the labor of free artisans, whose occupation was usually inherited within the family, likewise predominated. In these countries of the empire, slavery had already undergone important changes by the time of the emergence of the Persian state. Debt slavery was no longer common. The practice of pledging one’s person for debt, not to mention self-sale, had totally disappeared by the Persian period. In the case of nonpayment of a debt by the appointed deadline, the creditor could turn the children ofthe debtor into slaves. A creditor could arrest an insolvent debtor and confine him to debtor’s prison. However, the creditor could not sell a debtor into slavery to a third party. Usually the debtor paid off the loan by free work for the creditor, thereby retaining his freedom.

Judging from Babylonian documents and Aramaic papyri of the Achaemenid period, slaves were sometimes set free with the stipulation that they continue to serve the master or provide him with food and clothes as long as the latter was alive (see Dandamaev, op. cit., pp. ٤٣٨-٥٥).

برده و برده داری در دوره هخامنشیان

In Babylonia, the slaves often worked on their own and paid a certain quitrent from the *peculium* they possessed. The size of the quitrent on the average when calculated in monetary terms amounted to ۱۲ shekels of silver a year. Such a sum was also what the average annual payment of a hired adult employee amounted to, regardless of whether he was free or a slave. The slave himself cost around ۶۰-۹۰ shekels of silver, and for ۱ shekel it was possible to purchase ۱۸۰ liters of barley or dates.

Bibliography : Given in the text.

(Muhammad A. Dandamayev)

Originally Published: December ۱۵, ۱۹۸۸

Last Updated: January ۱, ۲۰۰۰

This article is available in print.
Vol. III, Fasc. ۷, pp. ۷۶۲-۷۶۳

https://iranicaonline.org/articles/barda-i