



ACHAEMENID HISTORY • IV

CENTRE AND PERIPHERY PROCEEDINGS OF THE GRONINGEN 1986 ACHAEMENID HISTORY WORKSHOP

edited by
HELEEN SANCISI-WEERDENBURG and AMÉLIE KUHRT



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

LEIDEN

1990



Louis vanden Berghe in de vlakte van Marv Dasht, juli 1951

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAntHung	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AASOR	Annual of the American School of Oriental Research
AchHist I	Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. (ed.), <i>Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures, Synthesis</i> , Leiden 1987
AchHist II	Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. & Kuhrt, A. (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History II: The Greek Sources</i> , Leiden 1987
AchHist III	Kuhrt, A. & Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History III: Method and Theory</i> , Leiden 1988
ADFU	Ausgrabungen der deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJAH	American Journal of Ancient History
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AMI	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.
AMI Erg. Bd 10	Koch, H. & Mackenzie D.N., <i>Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben</i> (AMI Ergänzungsband 10), Berlin 1983
ANET	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts</i> , Oxford-Princeton 1955 ² (1969 ³)
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOF	Altorientalische Forschungen
AOMIM	<i>Arabie Orientale, Mésopotamie et Iran Méridional de l'Age du Fer à l'époque islamique</i> , sous la direction de Rémy Boucharlat et Jean-François Salles, Paris 1984
AOS	American Oriental Series
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
BASOR	Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the collection of J.B. Nies.
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BM	Tablets in the collections of the British Museum
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History.
CBS	Tablets in the collections of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
CDAFI	Cahiers de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran.
CHI	Cambridge History of Iran
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Paris
CISFP	Atti del I. Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Roma

CRAI	Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CSSH	Comparative Studies in Society and History
DAFI	Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran
Dar.	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Darius</i> (Babylonische Texte, X-XII) Leipzig, 1897
DISO	C. F. Jean & J. Hoftijzer, <i>Dictionnaire des Inscriptions Sémitiques de l'Ouest</i> , Leiden 1960-65
Durand TBER	J.-M. Durand, <i>Textes babyloniens d'époque récente</i> . (Recherche sur les grandes civilisations, Cahier no. 6. Études assyriologiques), Paris, 1981.
EKI	König, F.W., <i>Die elamischen Königsinschriften</i> (AfO Beiheft 8), Graz 1965
EW	East and West
FGrH	<i>Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> , F. Jacoby (ed.), Berlin 1922-
FFF 83	<i>Failaka. Fouilles Françaises 1983</i> sous la dir. de Jean-François Salles, Coll. Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 9, Lyon 1984
FFF 84-85	<i>Failaka. Fouilles françaises 1984-1985</i> , sous la dir. de Yves Calvet et Jean-François Salles, Collection Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 12, Lyon 1986
FuB	Forschungen und Berichte
GKAV	Gesellschaft und Kultur im alten Vorderasien
HdA	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HThR	Harvard Theological Review.
IrAnt	Iranica Antiqua.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
ISMEO	Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JEOL	Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux
JESHO	Journal for the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
KAI	H. Donner & W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , 3 vols, Wiesbaden 1962-64
LSJ	Liddell, H.C. & Scott R., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , rev. ed. by H.S. Jones
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
Moore Michigan Coll.	E. W. Moore, <i>Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection</i> . Ann Arbor, 1939.
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLP	Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica.
Or	Orientalia
OrAnt	Oriens Antiquus

PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section, Univ. of Pennsylvania.
PCPh	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
PF	Persepolis Fortification [tablet]
PFT	R.T. Hallock, <i>Persepolis Fortification Tablets</i> (OIP 92), Chicago 1969
PSAS	Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies, London
PSI	<i>Papiri Greci e Latini</i> , Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto
RA	Revue Archéologique
RdA	Revue d'Assyriologie
RE	Pauly's Realenzyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft: bearbeitet von G. Wissowa (Stuttgart)
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
REG	Revue des Études Grecques.
RES	Revue des Études Sémitiques
RN	Revue Numismatique
ROMCT 2	G. J. P. McEwan, <i>The Late Babylonian Tablets in the Royal Ontario Museum</i> (Royal Ontario Museum Cuneiform Texts 2), Toronto, 1982
RStudFen	Rivista di Studi Fenici
RTP	Briant, P., <i>Rois, Tributs et paysans</i> , Paris, 1982.
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SBÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Stevenson Ass.	J. H. Stevenson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts with Aramaic</i>
-Bab. Contracts	<i>Reference Notes</i> Vanderbilt Oriental Series. New York, 1902.
StIr	Studia Iranica.
TAPhA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TAVO	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients
TBER	F. Joannès, <i>Textes économiques de la Babylonie récente</i> (Etudes Assyriologiques Cahiers 6), Paris, 1982
TCL	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
TSBA	Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology
TuM	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities im Eigentum der Universität Jena
TvG	Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UET	Ur Excavation Texts
UVB	Vorläufige Berichte über die von der Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft in Uruk-Warka unternommenen Ausgrabungen
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin
VDI	Vestnik Drevnej Istorii
WdO	Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft
YBC	Tablets in the Babylonian Collection, Yale University Library
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete
ZKM	Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

INTRODUCTION

This volume, containing the papers of the workshop which focussed more closely on archaeology than any earlier ones, is dedicated to Louis Vanden Berghe on his sixty-fifth birthday, the archeologist who has contributed so much to our knowledge of regions of Iran that were unknown until his explorations. His *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, to mention only one of his many publications, was the result of pioneering activity, the fruits of which we are still reaping today. The idea of dedicating this volume to the Belgian 'Nestor' of Iranian archeology was enthusiastically welcomed by all contributors. We all have various reasons to be grateful to Louis Vanden Berghe. His help in putting at our disposal his large collection of publications, his warm welcome at the 'Seminarie' in Ghent, his kind encouragement of new activities or simply the expertise displayed in his publications, has done so much to further the study of Iranian archeology. It will not be the rule to dedicate the volumes of *Achaemenid History* to scholars: The exception made for Louis Vanden Berghe is a clear expression of our sincere gratitude.

In Achaemenid history there has been a perceptible shift of interest away from a perspective of king and court-life, whose splendour dazzled the Greeks of the fifth and fourth centuries and which continued to fascinate modern historians of the period until very recently. It has become clear gradually that there is another side to the history of the Achaemenid empire which so far has not received the attention it deserves. The empire not only included a splendid court, but also an enormous population whose daily efforts provided the economic means on which the governmental structure was based. All too often it has been assumed that the whims of individual rulers affected the well-being of the entire empire. But even if at its summit the state of affairs was as bad as is frequently suggested by Greek authors of the fourth century, the question remains how the centre interacted with daily life in areas far distant from it. The administrative structure at the local and regional level, and its relations both to the lower echelons of the population and the higher level of the imperial organization is still scarcely known.

In recent years archaeology has contributed much to our understanding of daily life in individual areas and at specific sites. The problem remains, however, how this new knowledge should be combined with the evidence derived from entirely different sources such as historiography. The solution is by no means easy and cannot be answered at once. The present volume is an attempt to collect the material necessary for an overview of the empire and arriving at an *état de question*. How exactly did the Persian empire look when seen from the perspective of the various regions? How did it affect the existing traditions, the social and economic structures? Are there any developments traceable in

local situations which may be the result of interference by the central state? This is the only method by which the hitherto too easily accepted generalizations based on Greek historiography can be checked and, in time, corrected.

The 1986 workshop was organized around the theme 'Local archaeological and written traditions in the Persian empire' and it consciously aimed at obtaining a complete overview of the present state of research. It soon became clear that the unequal distribution of evidence — for some regions much more abundant than for others — made it impossible to include such complicated provinces as Asia Minor and Egypt in the same meeting. A workshop devoted entirely to these two regions has been organized for 1988.

The centre of the empire, Persia, Media and Elam, is covered by the contributions of Lewis, Calmeyer, Herrenschmidt, Brown and Boucharlat. No archaeologists of Fars participated in the meeting, but the lack is borne more easily since Sumner's article in *AJA* 1986 provides the material necessary to begin a discussion on the processes and developments taking place at the heart of the Achaemenid empire. There is still more work to be done, as Lewis argues in his paper, on the Persepolis administration. The archive from there provides the best material for the administrative structure of the royal court, but work on it is still in its initial stages. As for the later phases of construction and sculpture in Persepolis, Calmeyer argues in his assessment of the building-history that there are still important gaps in the study of the central imperial site. The fact that so little is known of habitation around the palace-terrace (cf. Calmeyer p. 9f.) is a serious drawback to our understanding of socio-economic processes and of the effects of conquests on the Persian aristocracy. For the moment, only the terrace itself is available for research, but, as Calmeyer indicates, the possibilities for furthering our understanding of ideological developments as reflected in the iconography and architecture (along the lines indicated by Margaret Root in her *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art* 1979) are by no means exhausted. Herrenschmidt in her contribution reviews the startling phenomenon of the sudden appearance of a 'royal literature'. Both in its physical appearance (the script) and content, it owes much to Mesopotamian precedents but at the same time a major contribution was made by Elamite technical skills. In this instance too, progress can be made by studying the royal inscriptions using a comparative approach, i.e. by carefully comparing the versions in each of the languages in which they were redacted, as Herrenschmidt demonstrates with one example. Contrary to the situation in Fars, the Achaemenid period in Media is still extremely poorly known. The scantiness of material, reviewed by Brown, allows for the application of a variety of models, each of them unverifiable at present, due to the lack of relevant evidence. Here, our only hope is that in the future, new excavations may yield the necessary data to solve this puzzling question.

Another enigma is the site of Susa and its surrounding territory. Known to the Greeks as the main centre of the empire, continuous excavations since the end of the 19th century have resulted in less data than might have been expected, even making allowance for rather careless recording and publication in the earlier period of archaeological activity. How precisely did the establishment of an Iranian court affect the pre-existing socio-economic system? Boucharlat's article, in which the results and conclusions arrived at so far are reviewed, proposes that all future investigation must take into account both the periods preceding Achaemenid occupation of the site and region as well as subsequent ones. This is the only way to get a better grasp of what was going on in one of the main places of imperial administration.

A by now famous discussion concerns the impact of the government structure on the culture of the subjugated populations. This question was bound to surface frequently during the discussions of the 1986 workshop. The Persian empire is so frequently almost invisible in the archeological record, that at the end of one long session, the chairman exclaimed in exasperation: "Was there ever a Persian empire?" While we can be sure of its existence the problem remains of finding an adequate model for analysis. The discussion of the nature of the imperial structure was broached in the paper by Lyonnet, who presented the archaeologist's point of view. She emphasised the fact that while no marked changes are visible around the approximate time of the Persian conquest, with the next change of overlordship (after Alexander's conquest) there is an immediate cultural shift detectable in the archeological record. Moving still further east, we come to almost unexplored territory. Vogelsang stressed in his contribution the onesidedness of our studies of the Persian empire. Its relations with the Indian subcontinent are completely unexplored. Communications with this eastern region must have passed, at least in part, through the Gulf. The archaeological record in the Gulf region was until very recently a complete blank for the Persian period. The sixth and the fifth centuries appeared to have passed by without leaving a trace. More intensive exploration of the area has improved the situation somewhat, as was demonstrated by Salles. Although no traces of an effective political control of the area have been detected, Salles concludes that there was indeed activity in the period under consideration, but that especially on the Arabian side of the Gulf the political system must have been very loose. The whole of the Arabian peninsula is discussed in Graf's paper. Here, too, the political relations with the empire have been a subject of debate, originating from the different fiscal ties between the Persian kings and the Arabs as indicated by the royal inscriptions and Herodotus. Graf proposes a solution that distinguishes between two main groups of Arabs, each having a different kind of link to the empire. There is, as Graf points out, still a very large corpus of epigraphic material that promises to yield further results.

In preceding workshops, notably the one held in 1983 (now published as *Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures, Synthesis*) it had become clear that the Babylonian perspective is a neglected one. The discussion of Babylonia as a centre of the empire has suffered for various reasons, one of the more important being that the Persian empire has commonly been the subject of either ancient historians starting from a Greek perspective, or Iranologists. Assyriologists tended to neglect the period (with some notable exceptions such as Dandamaev). In this volume Kuhrt presents a summary of the available evidence and the possibilities for research starting from this corpus. The archaeological material was already outlined by Haerinck in *AchHist* I (pp. 139-145). Stolper demonstrates, by means of a case study of the Kasr archive, how even economic data may provide indications for transformations in the empire and he argues persuasively that interactions among developing structural conditions should be looked for: both long term imperial policy as well as short term political measures.

Moving to the western half of the empire, Ackroyd presents an *état de question* of the Old Testament traditions, Josephus and the evidence to be gleaned from the Samaria and Elephantine papyri. Despite major difficulties, which makes much of the apparent testimony intangible, because of extensive reworking, literary stylization, chronological imprecision and partial publication some of the ambivalence with which the Jewish community viewed the Achaemenid kings has left traces in the material. A major desideratum that emerges in this, as in other papers, is the need to establish more precisely what the political situation in Judah was, both preceding and succeeding Persian rule. Without such definition what real changes may have been wrought by the conquerors remains largely nebulous. On the basis of new evidence Stern argues, as other participants in this meeting, for a less static situation on the administrative level. It has often been assumed that the previous Assyrian system was taken over without important modifications and remained more or less intact during the Persian period. Newly excavated coins point in the direction of greater autonomy of provincial magnates during the last years of the Persian period. Elayi has carefully collected the available material for Phoenicia. The sources, even if unevenly distributed, are relatively abundant, but still lack appropriate elaboration. Particularly important is the question of the interaction between the Greek world and the Phoenician cities prior to Alexander's conquest. Here as elsewhere, the need for an approach is emphasised in which the continuity of local cultural traditions, stretching beyond the chronological period, is taken into account.

Contrary to what had been the case in previous workshops, the issue of hellenocentrism in our overall understanding of the Persian empire was this time less pervasive. It was, however, not entirely absent. In the last two papers of this volume, both Wiesehöfer and Vickers discuss the phenomenon.

Cypriot history, according to Wiesehöfer, has been studied too often from this perspective. He argues for a new approach in which all relevant data are studied on their own merits, without fitting them *a priori* into 'medophile' or 'hellenophile' perspectives. Vickers pleads for a re-analysis of the well known archaeological material and stresses in his contribution the effects which the Persian empire had on developing Athenian society in particular, providing it with elements of an imperial role-model.

During these two days of intensive discussions, it turned out that the reflection of the political structure in the local evidence was very often virtually invisible. The available archaeological data do not give a clear answer to the question of how the imperial structure looked, nor do they resolve the dilemma of whether the Achaemenid empire was a monolithic state or a loosely connected and fragmented entity. This state of affairs is not entirely satisfactory as the preferences for one or other of these options tend to coincide with the borderlines between disciplines, namely between archaeology and history. In the last chapter of this volume, Sancisi-Weerdenburg makes an attempt to sketch the necessary prerequisites for a model to be used in future research. An essential feature of this model must be the possibility of accounting for development, change and transformation. Even if the workshop has resulted in more questions than answers — but what is research other than finding new worthwhile questions? — one thing emerged clearly: the vision of the Achaemenid empire as a stagnant and static entity, the final stage of the impressive history of the ancient Near Eastern world, is definitely outdated.

The last phrases of this introduction are intended to thank those institutions and persons who helped to make this Sixth Achaemenid Workshop possible: the Groningen Universiteits Fonds and the Arts Faculty for generous financial assistance, Jan Willem Drijvers and Jenny Scholten for the local organisation, M.A. Wes for chairing the long sessions of the meeting, Marianne Gagliardi and Marijke Sarneel for the often difficult and tiresome work of typing out the manuscript.

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THE PERSEPOLIS FORTIFICATION TEXTS*

D.M. Lewis — Oxford

With over 2100 texts published, the Persepolis Fortification Texts in Elamite, transcribed, interpreted and edited by the late Richard Hallock, already form the largest coherent body of material on Persian administration available to us; a comparable, but less legible, body of material remains unpublished, as does the smaller group of Aramaic texts from the same archive. Essentially, they deal with the movement and expenditure of food commodities in the region of Persepolis in the fifteen years down to 493.

There is no up-to-date general account of these texts. Hallock's own contribution to *Cambridge History of Iran* 2 (1985) is unchanged from a preprinted version circulated in 1971, and a good deal has happened since then. Besides substantial linguistic contributions by Gershevitch and Hinz, I single out one article by Hinz (1971) on the details of the administration, one by Dandamaev (1975) on dependent populations, one by Sumner (1986) on the settlement-patterns of the Persepolis plain. There is a book-length treatment of the evidence of the tablets for religion by Koch (1977). The names in the tablets have been fully discussed by Mayrhofer (1973), but we badly need a prosopography; most of my own published work on the tablets (1980; 1984; 1985) concerns prosopographical matters. Some of the material has begun (very slowly) to enter the more general literature¹. It is not only the text of the tablets which is important. The sealings which they bear provide one of our largest coherent bodies of seal material, capable of throwing a flood of light on seal-usage and art-history. Hallock devoted a preliminary article (1977) to this; a full publication is in the hands of Margaret Cool Root.

In this paper, no full treatment is attempted. I propose rather to attempt the general theme of what may loosely be called the state-economy and the pre-occupations of royal officials with the production of food and other materials. Such a theme may give the best introduction to the bulk of what the tablets have to tell us.

Firstly, they make it absolutely clear that everyone in the state sphere of the Persian economy was on a fixed ration-scale, or rather, since some of the rations are on a scale impossible for an individual to consume, a fixed salary expressed in terms of commodities. The most prominent figure in the texts, Parnaka, loosely speaking, the chief economic official of Persis, apparently

* Tablets with the prefix PF are from *PFT*, those with PFa from *CDAFI* 8, 1978

¹ Hinz 1976-9; Cook 1983; Dandamaev 1985. By contrast, *CHI* 2 (1985) and Frye 1984 are almost unaffected by the decipherment of the tablets.

the king's uncle, is entitled to and gets, no matter where he is, a daily ration of 2 sheep, 90 quarts of wine and 180 quarts of flour. Gobryas, Darius' principal helper, father of Mardonius, appears to have been on a still higher scale (Lewis 1977: 4-5). At first, it was thought that these large rations were to enable the high personage to feed his household, but this view seems partly contradicted by the tablet PFa 4: "Daily by Parnaka together with his boys 480 quarts (of flour) are received. By Parnaka himself 180 quarts are received. By his 300 boys 1 quart each is received".

These 'boys' take us to the other end of the social scale. 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ quarts of flour are near the norm, but there is evidence for very marked differentiation by skill, age and sex.² To take a group of what appear to be garment-workers, with unintelligible specialities (PF 999), three males are on 45 quarts a month, 17 women on 40, 2 men and 36 women on 30, 3 women on 25, 15 mixed on 20, 2 boys and 1 girl on 15, 6 boys and 5 girls on 10, 2 boys and 5 girls on 5, but the boys and girls have no trade designation and are probably very young. There are odd commoners who get up to 60 quarts. In this social scale sheep rations are very uncommon and, when they come, they can be of the order of 1/9, 1/15, or even 1/30 of a sheep a month. Wine and beer have not been studied thoroughly, and, when they come, they are to some extent extras. However, travelling is recognised as thirsty work; see the 1500 *lin*-makers going from Persepolis to Susa drawing roughly a third of a litre each per day (PF 1542).³

The payment of rations is very highly organised. Travellers along the road carried sealed documents issued by the king or officials of satrapal level stating the scale on which they were entitled to be fed.⁴ Tablets sealed by supplier and recipient went back to Persepolis as a record of the transaction. But we also have extensive information about work-groups, designated rather mysteriously by the names of the officials who 'assign' or 'apportion' them. Their ration-statements enable us to build up a remarkable picture of the size of operations involved. Dandamaev (1975) has produced tables to show that the tablets have 15,376 people on the pay-roll, attached to 108 villages, over the period 509-494, and has found 8,728 in the 23rd year alone. With some qualifications, the general scale must be right, and so are his general observations about the balance between men and women and the number of children on the pay-roll. These are, broadly speaking, dependent populations,

² The material is unknown to Foxhall and Forbes 1982, now the standard treatment of cereal consumption in classical antiquity, and is perhaps even better adapted than the classical material for scrutiny by their methods.

³ In the later Treasury Texts deficient rations can be made up in silver (Hallock 1960); this is harder to demonstrate for the period of our texts, but see *PFT* pp. 32-3, for partial payments, and PF 1946, 4-12.

⁴ It is these documents which provide us with new evidence for satraps, satrapies and (a topic hardly touched as yet) the king's movements.

not paid workers, whatever terminology of dependence we think appropriate. *Garda/kurtash* need not reflect the same kind of dependency everywhere, and we have no reason to think that these people had been hijacked and branded like those of Arsames in Egypt (Driver 1965: VII). Equally, we have no reason to think that they were not, and some of the very large groups with foreign ethnics are clearly at least transplanted populations (Lewis 1977: 6-7).

Sometimes the information about these work-people is sufficient, with qualifications about our understanding of the vocabulary, to build up quite a detailed picture about the range of activities going on in a particular place or area (Hinz 1971: 266ff.). At Urunduš in 495 (PF 864), there were 77 workers disposed as follows: 2 armour-tailors, 20 treasury-guards, 7 craftsmen, 19 furniture-makers, 14 wood-porters, 1 house-servant, all male, together with 7 boys, 4 women and 3 girls. At Shiraz (PF 865) there were 181 workers: 1 armament-protector, 6 camp-administrators, 1 metal-forger, 2 artists, 10 treasury-guards, 4 craftsmen, 5 furniture-makers and 5 house-servants. But here the women are active as well, with 1 chief, 51 artists and 45 craftsmen, with equal pay to men of the same designation, plus 2 wetnurses, 11 cooks and 8 girls of various ages. Rakema (PF 866) was even larger, with 311 workers. These establishments can almost be described as factories.

In relation to the work of these factories, we have texts about skins, because animals also fall within the scope of the archive, under the general supervision of a 'cattle-chief'. Here again, we get some very high figures. See the account texts, PF 2007ff., mostly only for sheep and goats.⁵ PF 2007 lists 16, 843, by goats and sheep, with 2 male and 3 female categories for each. PF 2014 is a small stockyard for bigger animals, running down gradually from 35 to 12. Bird farms are also visible. All these turn up both with accounts of actual animals, and with the animals as recipients of grain-rations. The meticulous nature of the accounting aimed at is most clearly seen in the bird-texts, above all in PF 1943: 21-30, which lists ten different kinds of birds, drawing rations from 1 quart down to 1/50 quart a day. Hallock thinks the biggest rations go to duck and geese; I am still looking for an ostrich.

These are animals which are important to the ration-administration in terms both of input and output. Others appear only in terms of input, and we have quite frequent references to rations for horses, more infrequent for camels. Royal horse-rearing is known from the Greek literature (Briant 1979: 159-60), and other areas, notably Media, had better grazing and larger establishments than anything possible in Persis. But PF 1793 gives us an establishment where 135 men are looking after the horses and mules of the king and the princes, though we cannot see more than 90 horses in any one place (PF 1769) and most of the detail comes from places where what we are

⁵ On which see Briant 1979.

dealing with is recognisably a detachment of post-horses. One of the more engaging features of our texts is the frequency (PF 1757 ff.) with which some, evidently rather special horses, get wine-rations (cf. Hom. *II*. VIII 189).

Post-horses will be in stations along the royal roads, and the supplying and auditing of such stations is a major preoccupation of the ration-administration. Some of these have very little to do, and there is some reason to suspect that the administration had provided them over-generously. PF 1969, 1970, 2077 form a recognisable group of stations, set up with an original float in Darius' 14th year and given a regular allocation of grain for three years. After three years in which very little call seems to have been made on their services, they are all closed down and their balances transferred elsewhere.

Others are a great deal livelier, particularly those which include industrial establishments as well or which also serve as supply-points for work parties in their area. The journal documents tend to be quite long, and recognisably summarise the sort of transactions which we find on individual tablets. A big station of this type hardly ever gives us a complete or balanced record of corn or flour, because the account will have been on several tablets, arranged to some extent according to the authorisation for the rations; consequently, our texts may show regular payments or travel payments, but not both. The wine tablets (e.g. PFa 30) give us a simpler and clearer picture of the mixture.

It is now clear that all journal-texts (V texts) originally included an account-text (W texts), sometimes on the same rectangular tablet, sometimes separately. It is these account-texts which ought to provide the evidence as to where the commodities are coming from to keep these places going. But essentially they do not. They do go into detail when recording a transfer from another similar place, but these receipts are always relatively small compared to the items which are simply labelled 'provisions' (*haduš*). "The ultimate source of the *haduš* receipts is never indicated. Presumably the source was the same superior agency as that to which the account was sent, and hence there was no need to specify it" (Hallock *PFT*: 59).

This is a maddening situation, but I find it hard to believe that the supplies are coming to any large extent out of the local private sector, whether by purchase or by tax. Persis should in theory not be paying tax in any case (Hdt. III 97,1). This is unlikely to be totally true (Koch 1980) and at least the C4 texts seem to attest that sheep and goats were occasionally received as tax, but there are no corresponding texts about corn and wine that we can see. It is clearly possible that some comes in from elsewhere, above all from Babylonia. But that there are royal estates producing foodstuffs within the system is clear enough, above all from the quite extensive F texts where considerable quantities are set aside for royal officials for seed. Normally, 10% is set aside thus, but for certain grain this sinks to 3.33%.

I can only assume that the mass transactions which transfer commodities

from the place where they are grown or from outside the area formed a different part of the documentation. It is after all clear that clay tablets show only part of what is going on. Ample evidence exists that even at Persepolis there are 'Babylonian scribes writing on parchment', presumably in Aramaic.⁶ Perhaps these recorded the larger amounts.

Very little in these texts concerns the army, but it is hard to believe that it was unbureaucratic. In fact, we know that it was not, since we have Aramaic papyri from Elephantine showing very similar scales and behaviour for the garrison there (Cowley 1923: 24; Porten 1968: 80ff.). It seems entirely probable that the large ration dumps built up in Europe for the expedition of 480 (Hdt. VII 25,2) involved an extremely large amount of paper work, both in their supplying and in their disbursements.

We should not assume that paper work was always immaculate. One not infrequently finds cases where errors in sub-totals have passed unnoticed and been carried over into grand totals and cases where accounts had not been made up for some years. Occasionally, even the administration becomes aware of serious difficulties:

"Tell Mirinzana, Šakšabanuš spoke as follows: To thy *tartammatti*. A sealed document concerning (the fact) that the accountants are not delivering the accounts was sent to Parnaka. The man who carried (?) that tablet, that delivery-man (?) fled away. Now do you seize that man and send him forth (to) Media. (In) Media (there will be) a close questioning of him (lit. his oil [?] it squeezing). Furthermore, when you send forth a tablet from you to Parnaka, then write on the tablet the name of the man who is carrying the tablet, (and) send (it) forth. Thus Parnaka ordered and I made it. Formerly the name (of) that man was not written." (PFa 28).

It should be clear that the contribution of the tablets to historical knowledge is still at a very early stage. I have already indicated some points where work is already in progress or remains to be done. It cannot yet be foretold what contribution may be made by the unpublished tablets, not necessarily individually, but because the addition of new documents to our existing structure must have an enriching effect on our picture of the whole. Apart from a few places in Babylonia for short periods, Persepolis is now the best-documented area in the Achaemenid empire. What generalisations or other insights this provides for other areas is perhaps likely to remain one of the main methodological problems for Achaemenid scholarship.

⁶ Two Akkadian tablets are so far known from Persepolis, one public, one private (Stolper 1984).

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DAS PERSEPOLIS DER SPÄTZEIT

Peter Calmeyer — Berlin

Ohne nennenswerte Grabungen hat sich das Bild der am besten bekannten altpersischen Residenz in den letzten zwanzig Jahren doch erheblich geändert. Das geschah in geringerem Maße durch neue Datierungen; vielmehr kannte man die wesentlichen Bauinschriften, seitdem sie Ernst Herzfeld 1938 vorgelegt und interpretiert hatte. Was jedoch aufgegeben werden mußte, war die Vorstellung von einer einheitlich konzipierten Anlage, und was sich zwangsläufig damit änderte, war die Auffassung vom Zweck der einzelnen Bauwerke und ihrer Reliefs.

Wenn wir von der musterhaften, auch nach dem Tode von Erich F. Schmidt dankenswert fortgeführten Grabungspublikation absehen, so haben uns die wesentlichen Anstöße Ann Britt und Guiseppe Tilia gegeben. Obwohl sie nur recht knappe Vorberichte ihrer jahrelangen Tätigkeit veröffentlicht haben, haben sie uns — offenbar unwiderlegbar — in wenigstens sechs wichtigen Punkten die Augen geöffnet:

- a. Der ursprüngliche Zugang zur Terrasse befand sich im Süden (Tilia 1978: 3ff.);
- b. die Terrasse wurde später nach Westen erweitert und bekam die heutigen monumentalen Treppen im Nordwesten (Tilia 1978: 18ff.);
- c. der Umfang des Apadana wurde während des Baues erweitert (Tilia 1968; 1972: 125ff.);
- d. die im Schatzhaus gefundenen Reliefs befanden sich einst in der Mitte der Apadanafassaden (Tilia 1972: 175ff.);
- e. die umfangreichste, detailreichste Komposition in Persepolis war die Treppe Artaxerxes' I., später im 'Palast H' verbaut (Tilia 1972: 265ff.; Tilia 1974);
- f. fast überall in Persepolis sind die Reliefs in Einzelheiten unvollendet (Tilia 1978: 67ff.).

Dadurch wurde zunächst eine Diskussion über die Datierung der Apadanafriese wiederbelebt¹ und eine Neudatierung des Tripylon möglich gemacht (Calmeyer 1976: 71ff.; Roaf 1983: 65ff., 127ff.); selbst für die Abfolge der Vollendung einzelner Teile eines Baues ergab sich ein Grundmuster (Calmeyer 1977: 302f.) aus den Inschriften an Tačara und Apadana:

¹ v. Gall 1974; Porada 1979; Calmeyer 1976: 78f.; Shahbazi 1976; Calmeyer 1982-3: 154ff.; Roaf 1983: 10ff., 127ff.; demnächst: Koch 1987.

	Tačara:	Apadana:
Gründung:	—	Dareios allein
Mauerwerk:	—	Dareios und Xerxes (Pylon)
Reliefs innen:	Dareios	—
Reliefs am Sockel:	Xerxes (Süd) Artaxerxes III (West)	Xerxes allein

Wie man auch am unvollendeten Grabrelief (No. VII) feststellen kann (Kleiss - Calmeyer 1975), hat man im Großen die Skulpturen von oben nach unten bearbeitet, um das bereits Vollendete nicht zu gefährden.

Durch diese von den Tilias erzwungene dynamische Auffassung ist ein älterer Consensus weitgehend aufgelöst worden: der von den Architekten Dareios' I. entworfenen Terrasse als Ort des Neujahrfestes, dessen Ablauf sich in den Reliefs spiegelt.² Inzwischen sind andere Feste (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 147ff.) oder zeitlose, rein staatliche Repräsentation (Calmeyer 1975b: 107ff.; 1976: 93f.; Root 1979; Calmeyer 1980; 1986: 77ff.) als Deutungen vorgeschlagen worden.

Bei alledem standen immer noch die älteren Phasen im Vordergrund. Das ist leicht verständlich: die 'Hofkammertäfelchen' (Hinz 1971: 301ff.) aus der Regierungszeit des Dareios und Xerxes sind eine bedeutende Quelle und fordern zum Vergleich heraus, ebenfalls die Datierung der Reliefs in Palast P in Pasargadae und das damit verbundene Problem der Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift;³ der oft vermutete Anteil griechischer Künstler an Persepolis führt zu Vergleichen mit griechisch-archaischer Kunst und läßt solche mit der Klassik scheuen;⁴ die Abfolge von Stilen endlich ist besser in der Anfangszeit unter Kyros und Dareios, zu beobachten.⁵ Aufgefordert, die späteren Phasen in Persepolis darzustellen, muß man sich jedoch von diesen Problemen freimachen und sich vor allem davor hüten, nur in Termini des Verfalls zu beschreiben. Deshalb scheint es methodisch angebracht, mit dem Ende zu beginnen.

Alexander

Von der Einnahme von Persepolis durch Alexander d. Gr. haben wir eine recht ausführliche Schilderung bei Diodor XVII 70-71. Sie enthält einige Punkte, die uns über den Zustand von Palast und Königsburg unterrichten:

² Pope 1957; Ghirshman 1957; Erdmann 1958. Von E.F. Schmidt dagegen vorsichtig umgangen.

³ W. Nagel 1979: 75ff. mit Forschungsbericht.

⁴ Richter 1946; Nylander 1966; 1970; Farkas 1974: 83ff.; von Roaf 1980 erstmals auf Texte gegründet.

⁵ Farkas 1974: 7ff., 29ff.; vgl. Calmeyer 1977: 302ff.; demnächst Calmeyer: 1986.

Persepolis was the *metropolis* of the Persian kingdom (τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας). Alexander described it to the Macedonians as the most hateful (πολεμιωτάτην) of the cities of Asia, and gave it over to his soldiers to plunder, all but the palaces. It was the richest city under the sun and the private houses had been furnished with every sort of wealth over the years...(übers. C.B. Welles, Loeb ed.)

Die 'Mutterstadt des Königtums der Perser' kennen wir nicht aus Keilschrifttexten; es klingt ein wenig nach griechischer Erfindung: rhetorischer Gegensatz zur 'feindseligsten der Städte in Asien'.⁶ Immerhin deutet Metropolis auf einen einzigartigen Rang unter den Königsstädten, beruhend auf hohem Alter. Das stimmt zwar nicht⁷ — wurde aber am Ende der Achaimenidenzeit offenbar geglaubt.

Die von der allgemeinen Plünderung ausgenommenen Paläste (*basileia*) werden später (XVII 72,2) bei der Brandstiftung wieder genannt; sie meinen wohl die Gebäude auf der Terrasse; die 'reichste Stadt unter der Sonne' mit ihren 'privaten Häusern' sind wohl die zum Teil neuerdings ausgegrabenen (Abb. 1) am Fuß der Terrasse;⁸ diese wird im späteren Text *akra* genannt:

Alexander ascended to the citadel terrace (εἰς τὴν ἄκρην) and took possession of the treasure[s] there. This had been accumulated from the state revenues, beginning with Cyrus, the first king of the Persians, down to that time, and the vaults were packed full of silver and gold. (übers. C.B. Welles)

Wieder wird das Alter übertrieben: wohl wurde seit Kyros d.Gr. thesauriert, aber nicht an dieser Stelle. Auffällig ist der Plural von *thesauros*: wurden zu dieser Zeit Schätze in mehreren Gebäuden aufbewahrt?

Nochmals ist von den Palästen die Rede, nunmehr explizit innerhalb der *akra*, deren keilschriftliches Äquivalent vielleicht in dem in frühen Inschriften mehrfach erwähnten *viθa*⁹ vermutet werden kann (XVII 71, 3ff.):

I think that it is not inappropriate to speak briefly about the palace area (περὶ πῶν βασιλείων) of the city because of the richness of its buildings.

⁶ Vgl. Curtius Rufus V 6,1.

⁷ Natürlich war Pasargadae älter, und Susa wurde offenbar vor Persepolis ausgebaut: z.B. Farkas 1974: 40ff.; vgl. Calmeyer 1977: 304, 307; Vergleich einiger Inschriften: Calmeyer 1982-3: 124f. Vielleicht hat die Angabe des Plutarch (*Von den Tugenden der Weiber* = *Mor* 246B), der Großkönig Ochus sei niemals nach Pasargadae gekommen, sondern um die Stadt herumgezogen, um das den Frauen traditionell gebührende Goldstück zu sparen, einen historischen Kern: ein hier gefeierter Ritus fand unter Artaxerxes III. nicht mehr statt.

⁸ Nach Augenzeugenberichten sind zahlreiche steinerne Quadern und Platten bei Planierungsarbeiten westlich der Terrasse gefunden und eiligst entfernt worden (Abb. 1: „Festzelte“; außerdem unter dem neuen Hotel). Die Beschreibung ist also nicht übertrieben. Zu den Gebäuden am Fuß der Terrasse: Akbar Tadjvidi, 2535 = 1976.

⁹ DPe; DPh; DPi. Dagegen offenbar in übertragener Bedeutung: DNa 52f. Parallel zu DPe wird in der elamischen Variante DPF fünfmal *hal-mar-raš* erwähnt (Weissbach 1911: 82ff.): Festung?

The citadel (ἄκρα) is a noteworthy one, and is surrounded by a triple wall. The first part of this is built over an elaborate foundation. It is sixteen cubits in height and is topped by battlements. The second wall is in all other respects like the first but of twice the height. The third circuit (περίβολος) is rectangular in plan, and is sixty cubits in height, built of a stone hard and naturally durable. Each of the sides contains a gate with bronze doors, beside each of which stand bronze poles twenty cubits high; these were intended to catch the eye of the beholder, but the gates were for security.

At the eastern side of the terrace at a distance of four plethra is the so-called royal hill in which were the graves of the kings. This was a smooth rock hollowed out into many chambers in which were the sepulchres of the dead kings. These have no other access but receive the sarcophagi of the dead which are lifted by certain mechanical hoists. Scattered about the royal terrace were residences of the kings and members of the royal family as well as quarters for great nobles (στρατηγικαί), all luxuriously furnished, and buildings suitably made for guarding the treasure (χρηματῶν).¹⁰

Da der an die Terrasse anschließende Teil des Kuh-i Rahmat (Abb. 1) deutlich ansteigt, muß dieser mauerumschlossene Bezirk mit zur *akra* gehört haben. Andererseits meint die innerste der drei Mauern, die zuletzt beschriebene, höchste, „vierseitige ... aus hartem Stein und zur ewigen Dauer von Natur aus gerüstete“ ganz offenbar die ungefähr rechteckige Umschließung allein der Terrasse (Abb. 1), die ja von unten her gesehen wahrlich dauerhaft gefügt ist. Die zweite Mauer ist vielleicht die den Abhang des Berges umschließende; die erste, äußerste will Ernst Herzfeld noch im Gelände gesehen haben.¹¹

Es befinden sich keine Torgebäude ‘auf allen Seiten’ des innersten Peribolos, sondern nur eines an der Westseite, doch müßte ein Betrachter zur Zeit Alexanders — besonders wenn er nicht in die *akra* gelassen wurde, sondern in der Stadt plünderte — drei Torgebäude haben aufragen sehen: das ‘Tor der Länder’, das unvollendete nördlich des 100-Säulen-Saales und das im Zentrum auf mittlerer Anhöhe gelegene, seine Umgebung auch heute über-

¹⁰ Goukovsky 1976: 222 (note complémentaire zu XVII 71,7 anlässlich der Beschreibung der Gräber) erwähnt eine gesonderte Quelle, später als Artaxerxes II., vielleicht Dinon. Dem schließt sich an Hammond 1983: 56f., 178 n. 10: „The description must have been composed after the construction of ‘the tombs’ (71.7), i.e. of Artaxerxes II ob. 358 B.C. and Artaxerxes III ob. 338 B.C. and before the destruction wrought by A[lexander] in 330 B.C.”. Gewiß ist 338 als *terminus post* zu akzeptieren; doch nicht unbedingt der *terminus ante*: alle Einzelheiten können ebenso während der Eroberung oder sogar nach der Zerstörung notiert worden sein. Es ist möglich, aber nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, daß Dinon in der Regierungszeit Darcios’ III. Persepolis besucht hat.

¹¹ Herzfeld 1941: 204. Die von ihm (1929) auf dem beigelegten Faltplan unten rechts so bezeichnete ‘Stadtmauer’ ist gewiß keine, sondern Teil der von A. Tadjvidi ausgegrabenen Gebäude. Heute ist alles planiert durch Flugplatz, Dörfer und Felder; auch G. Tilia war, wie er mir mitteilte, bei seiner Ankunft nicht mehr in der Lage, Spuren der von Herzfeld gesehenen 2 Wälle zu finden.

ragende Tripylon (Abb. 2: K, M¹ und E); vielleicht wurde der Südzugang erst in postachaimenidischer Zeit zugesetzt (Tilia 1978: 27).

Bei der Beschreibung der Gräber muß aber der Autor seinen Standpunkt geändert haben: der Rand des Berges mit den Gräbern ist nur dann '4 Plethra östlich', wenn man etwa auf dem Vorplatz vom Apadana oder 100-Säulen-Saal steht (Abb. 1). Daß dieser Berg, die Ostflanke des heutigen Kuh-i-Rahmat, *oros basilikos* genannt wurde und 'die Gräber der Könige' enthalten soll, zeigt, daß man von den älteren Gräbern nicht mehr sprach. Ob mit den zahlreichen beschriebenen Gräbern auch private gemeint sind, ist nicht auszumachen: es gibt keine Gesamtaufnahme des Hügels. Es dürften auch wohl diese Königsgräber sein, die Alexander nach dem Indienfeldzug geplündert vorfand: Arrian (VI 30, 1-2) leitet seinen Bericht von der Bestrafung des Orxines ein mit Alexanders Rückkehr ἐς τὰ βασίλεια τὰ Περσῶν.

Am Ende faßt Diodor zusammen: "über diese *akra* verstreut waren mit viel Luxus ausgestattete königliche Residenzen und solche von Feldherren, und Schatzhäuser, für die Bewachung der königlichen Schätze wohl versehen". Hatten sich Machthaber wie Bagoas¹² in einem der Paläste etabliert, oder hatte er ein Haus auf dem Hügel?

Diese Beschreibung ist nicht so schlecht,¹³ wenn man bedenkt, daß wir ja die Bebauung des Hügels oberhalb der Terrasse nicht kennen. Sie stimmt auch zu dem, was Strabo in seiner *Geographie* (XV 3, 2-3) über die Königsburgen sagt: Persepolis war hochgeehrt und enthielt "Schätze (γάλα) und die *Thesauroi*¹⁴ und die *Mnemata* für die Perser" (Gräber?). Die Quelle — kurz zuvor wird Polykleitos genannt — ist verschieden von der des Diodor, denn hier wird auch Pasargadae erwähnt.

Dreierlei bleibt für die Zustände vor der Eroberung zu merken: 'Feldherren' sind in die *akra* vorgedrungen; es gab mehrere Aufbewahrungsorte für Schätze; und Persepolis war der Begräbnisplatz der Großkönige.

Dareios III. (?)

Das unvollendete Grab VII (Abb. 1: rechts unten) galt, bis vor Kurzem unangefochten, als das Dareios' III., dessen Fertigung wegen Alexanders Ankunft unterbrochen wurde (Schmidt 1970: 107). Doch muß man sich fragen, wie Dareios III., der ja vorher nicht Kronprinz war, während seiner kurzen, turbulenten Regierung auch nur so weit kommen konnte.

Der Felsen an dieser Stelle ist denkbar ungeeignet, wie die zahllosen Flickungen beweisen. Überdies haben technische (Bleiklammern), antiquarische (Kopfbedeckungen) und stilistische Einzelbeobachtungen gezeigt

¹² Seine Karriere wird von Diodor ausführlich beschrieben. Er hatte einen berühmten Garten in Babylon und ein Haus in Susa (Plutarch, *Alex* XXXIX 6: περὶ Σοῦσα, also wohl nicht in der Königsburg): Cauer *RE* II, (1896) 2771f. s.v. Bagoas.

¹³ Nöldeke 1887: 141ff. Vgl. Schachermeyer 1975: 658ff.

¹⁴ Glosse für *gaza*? Jedenfalls wiederum Plural.

(Kleiss - Calmeyer 1975: 95ff.), daß das Grab in der relativen Chronologie zwischen die Gräber von Naqš-i Rostam und die vom Kuh-i Rahmat eingeordnet werden muß: wohl ein erster, mißglückter Versuch des Inhabers von Grab V.

Zu einer anderen Aktivität war jedoch dieser Herrscher sicherlich gezwungen: zum Prägen von Münzen zur Besoldung seiner Heere. Diejenigen Silbermünzen, die wir für die spätesten achaimenidischen Prägungen halten, vielleicht zum Teil schon unter Alexander entstanden, zeigen durch ihr Gewicht eine Art Inflation an; durch das Festhalten an den dargestellten Figuren von Bogenschützen — wohl heroisierte Könige von ehemals (Calmeyer 1979) — deuten sie auf konservative Haltung, durch ihren Stil, die heftig gespreizte Bewegung des hergebrachten 'Knielaufs', auf eine Art Archaismus. In Persepolis wurden keine solchen Münzen gefunden: sie wurden also wohl im Westen und in Babylonien geprägt.

Artaxerxes III. Ochus

Durch die Inschrift A³Pb wird die Westtreppe am Tačara (Abb. 2: I) als Zutat Artaxerxes' III. bezeichnet. Es liegt keine Planänderung vor, wie die Türen oben im Tačara zeigen; vielleicht war die Vorgänger-Treppe, provisorisch, aus leichterem Material (Roaf 1983: 190).

Die Fassade zeigt 12 'Delegationen' mit Geschenken und zwei Löwe-Stier-Kampfszenen, um die Inschrift gruppiert.¹⁵ Die Anordnung dieser Delegationen, hier nur zwölf, ist ein Auszug aus der einstigen Komposition der Fassade Artaxerxes' I., wie A.B. Tilia gezeigt hat (1972: 309ff. Vgl. Roaf 1974: 89; Calmeyer 1982: 153f.). Daß die Zwölfzahl nicht nur eine zufällige oder situationsbedingte Kurzfassung ist, wird durch Curtius Rufus (III 3, 9-12) bewiesen, der im Aufzug Dareios' III: "Reiterei von 12 Völkern mit verschiedener Bewaffnung und Tracht" beschreibt. Wir haben es hier also mit einem Protokoll der Spätzeit zu tun: mit dem wirklichen Umfang der Herrschaft hat das nichts zu tun.

Den Stil dieser Delegationen in seiner harten Linienführung hat nun E.F. Schmidt (1953: 228) mit der der Fassade von Grab VI verglichen, dessen Beischriften (A?P) ja nur die des Dareiosgrabes wiederholen,¹⁶ also den Herrscher nicht nennen. Der Vergleich ist sehr überzeugend: alle Einzelheiten sind sorgfältig ausgeführt, mit harten plastischen Brüchen; die Linien und die Bewegungen der Figuren sind wie gefroren, die Proportionen gedungen

¹⁵ Schmidt 1953: 228, Pl. 152ff. Rekonstruiert: Tilia 1972: 56f. Delegationen: *ibid.* Fig. 48, 70, 75, 94, 127, 129f.

¹⁶ Schmidt 1970: 109 Pl. 25ff., 67ff.; mit einer bezeichnenden Ausnahme: die Beischriften von Maka und Karer sind ausgetauscht. Hier verdient die spätere Beischrift den Vorzug (Calmeyer 1982: 119ff.): es liegt eine Verbesserung vor. Weiteres wichtiges Stilmerkmal sind die Augenbrauen: Roaf 1983: 141.

(Abb. 10 vom Grab). Auch an der Rückseite der Treppenfassade, wo wie üblich Diener¹⁷ mit Speisen die Treppen hinaufeilten (Abb. 13), finden wir diese Merkmale; daß die Figur weniger plastisch ist, liegt an den Vorbildern: den älteren Gräbern bzw. Treppen. Wir dürfen nicht vergessen, daß wir hier Kopien vergleichen, Kopienkritik betreiben.

Noch an einer weiteren Stelle hat Artaxerxes III. arbeiten lassen: im 'Palast H' (Abb. 2: H) ist die gleiche Inschrift (A³Pb) und eine etwas andere (A³Pa: Shahbazi 1985: 19 Fig.2; Pl. XLII - XLV) auf Blöcken mit Gardisten und Dienern (Abb. 14) angebracht, die wohl in postachaimenidischer Zeit von 'Palast G' (Abb. 2: G) an diese Stelle gebracht und wiederverwendet wurden (Tilia 1972: 243ff.; bes. 255f., 314f.). Die Gardisten sind denen des Grabes VI und den Figuren der Treppe vergleichbar, die Diener jedoch (Abb. 14) lehren uns etwas Neues, besonders in Vergleich mit denen der Treppe (Abb. 13): sie haben noch weniger plastische Einzelangaben; fast alle Details werden rein linear wiedergegeben. Das gemeinsame Musterbuch scheint durch, doch die Ausführung zweier Werkgruppen der selben Zeit könnte nicht verschiedener sein. Erst wenn wir vorweg einen Blick auf Parallelen der Zeit Artaxerxes' I. (Abb. 12) und Xerxes' I. (Abb. 11) werfen, rücken die Werke der Spätzeit zusammen.

Um die Bautätigkeit Artaxerxes' III. zu würdigen, muß man bedenken, daß auf der Terrasse offenbar seit dem ersten Herrscher dieses Namens nichts mehr unternommen worden war: Vieles war in Details unvollendet (s. unten), der Torbau M' sogar fast gänzlich in der Bosse; die unmittelbare Umgebung war voller Steinbrüche und unvollendeter Stücke (Abb. 1). Hier nach 66 oder mehr Jahren, also nach zwei Generationen Untätigkeit, wieder mit wenn auch bescheidenen¹⁸ Neubauten begonnen zu haben, zeigt die gleiche Energie, die Artaxerxes Ochos auch in der gewaltsamen Restaurierung des Reiches zeigte. Dabei wirkt es ironisch, daß die Metropolis der Dynastie wieder geschmückt wurde von einem Manne, der zwar die längste aller achaimenidischen Genealogien produzierte (A³Pa), der aber auch seine Familie ausrottete und der als erster Achaimenide mit nur zwei Sarkophagen in seinem Grab auskam.

Grab V (Artaxerxes II. Mnemon?)

Von Artaxerxes sind zahlreiche Bau-Inschriften aus Susa und mehrere aus Hamadan erhalten — jedoch keine einzige aus Persepolis. Das spräche dafür, daß er Susa wieder aufbaute, jedoch (wie sein Vater?) überhaupt keinen

¹⁷ Es waren wohl Eunuchen: Dinon *ap.* Athenaios XIV 652b bringen sie die Speisen für den Großkönig. Auf den Reliefs sind es abwechselnd Perser und Meder, beide mit verhülltem Kinn: wegen des mangelnden Bartes? Ein Perser mit ähnlich verhülltem Kopf steht auf den Schatzhaus-Reliefs mit einem Tuch über dem Arm hinter den Herrschern: A. Sh. Shahbazi (1976b: 153-5) hat ihn, wohl treffend, als ungetreuen Kämmerer des Xerxes gedeutet.

¹⁸ In A³Pa bezeichnet er das von ihm Gebaute als *ustašanām*: Treppe? Haus?

Gebrauch von Persepolis machte; jedoch haben wir einige, allerdings nicht zwingende Gründe, in ihm den Inhaber von Grab V zu vermuten. Die handwerkliche Ausführung dieser Grabfassade ist besser als die von Grab VI, die Proportion ausgewogener (Abb. 8 verglichen mit der entsprechenden Figur von Grab VI: Abb. 10), die Bewegungen (Abb. 9) eleganter. Antiquarisch bestehen jedoch große Ähnlichkeiten (die Kopfbedeckungen Abb. 8 und 10 verglichen mit Abb. 4-7), wie man am besten an den möbelstützenden Völkerrepräsentanten ablesen kann (Schmidt 1970: Fig. 39-58). Beide knüpfen stark an den Prototyp, das Grab Dareios' I. (oder dessen rundplastisches Urbild? Vgl. Calmeyer 1982: 118ff.) an; die Bildhauer von Grab V tun das mit ausgezeichnetem Sinn für plastische Werte (Abb. 9). Man möchte eine wohltrainierte Werkgruppe vermuten, die vielleicht aus Susa oder Hamadan herüber gebracht wurde: auch das würde zu Artaxerxes II. passen.

Grab VII könnte, wie oben angedeutet, der erste Versuch zu Grab V gewesen sein. Auf jeden Fall ist es ein Inhaber dieser Gräber, der als erster die *akra* von Persepolis zum Begräbnisplatz machte: zum 'Alten Palast' im Sinne einer alten mittelbabylonischen, neuassyrischen und spätbabylonischen Tradition.¹⁹

Dareios II. Nothos (Grab III?)

Wohl nur, um für alle Herrscher mit längerer Regierungsdauer jeweils ein Grab zu haben, hat man Dareios II. das Grab IV in Naqš-i Rostam zugeschrieben. Es gibt jedoch mehr Herrscher als Gräber; und ausgerechnet von Dareios II. berichtet Ktesias nicht — wie sonst immer — das er εἰς Περσας gebracht wurde: er hatte eine babylonische Mutter (Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F15), starb in Babylon (F16) und mag auch dort begraben sein (Calmeyer 1975b: 112).

Wenn man ihm eines der Gräber zuschreiben will, so müßte es Grab III in Naqš-i Rostam sein, das wegen seiner ungünstigen Lage, seiner Ausrichtung und seiner absolut schlechtesten Relieftchnik das späteste der dortigen Serie sein muß (Kleiss-Calmeyer 1975: 97f.): grobe Oberfläche, wenig Details, äußerst unsichere Proportionen (Abb. 6).

Jedenfalls ist Dareios, mit Beinamen 'Der Bastard' und auch 'Der Syrer' (Nöldeke 1887: 57), der erste Achaimenide, der in Persepolis keine Bauinschrift hinterlassen hat (wohl dagegen in Susa): der Initiator des Hiatus auf der Palastterrasse.²⁰

¹⁹ Calmeyer 1975b: 107ff. Bemerkt hat diesen Wechsel im Gebrauch von Persepolis auch Frye (1974: 384) und erwogen, ob deshalb Herodot diese Stadt gar nicht und Ktesias sie nur als Begräbnisplatz kannte.

²⁰ Dazu paßt, daß im Schatzhaus keine Funde nach der Mitte des 5. Jhs. nachweisbar sind, Cahill 1985; auch hier hat offenbar jede offizielle Tätigkeit aufgehört.

Artaxerxes I. Makrocheir

Wiederum wegen seiner langen Regierungszeit möchte man Artaxerxes I. gern eines des ausgeführten Gräber zuschreiben; aus Gründen der relativen Chronologie kommt am ehesten Grab IV in Naqš-i Rostam in Frage (vgl. Calmeyer 1975b: 112). Stilistisch passen die Figuren dort (Abb. 7) gut zu dem, was wir den datierten Palästen in Persepolis abgewinnen können: sorgfältige Oberflächenbehandlung, weichere, aber kompaktere Umrisse als bei Xerxes/Dareios I. (Abb. 7 verglichen mit Abb. 5). Antiquarisch steht es Grab III sehr nahe.

Erst recht auf der Palastterrasse steht Artaxerxes I. in der Tradition der beiden vorangegangenen Generation. Er hat, was oft übersehen wird, mehr vollendet als irgendein anderer Achaimenide; da er nicht als Erbe vorgesehen war, sich zum Rächer des Bruders und des Vaters stilisieren mußte — da er als deren Mörder verdächtig war — und sich gegen den Usurpator Artabanos wehren mußte (Calmeyer 1976: 76f.), war Traditionalismus die einzig mögliche Politik.

Seine vermutlich erste Handlung in Persepolis spricht dafür: er entfernte die geometrische und thematische Mitte aus beiden Apadanafassaden, die sogenannten Schatzhausreliefs, und ersetzte sie, auf den ersten Blick recht sinnarm, durch persische und medische Garden;²¹ noch sinnloser ist die leere Fläche in der Mitte der neuen Komposition (Tilia 1972: Pl. CXIIIff., CXXIII). A.Sh. Shahbazi (1976b) hat diesen seltsamen Vorgang brilliant erklärt: die Bilder von Vater und Bruder waren sakrosankt, die der Mörder und Verschwörer waren unerträglich; so schließt man das Relief im Schatzhaus ein und ersetzt es durch die Garden, die den Usurpator abgewehrt haben.²²

Inschriftlich gesichert ist für Artaxerxes I. die räumlich und inhaltlich gewaltige Treppenfassade, deren Reste zumeist sekundär im Bereich des 'Palast H' genannten Geländes verwendet wurden (Shahbazi 1985: 19) und deren Rekonstruktion eine der großen Leistungen von Ann Britt und Giuseppe Tilia ist.²³ Auch stilistisch ist dieser Fries von Gabenbringern ein Höhepunkt: die Figuren sind kleiner als die am Apadana, in vielen antiquarischen und ikonographischen Details, von diesen Vorbildern verschieden, in der Ausführung weicher und im Umriß geschlossener, plastisch sehr fein durchgeführt. Auch für die sonst manchmal handwerklich inferiore Rückseite mit den obligaten Dienern (Abb. 12) gilt dies, besonders im Vergleich zu den späteren (Abb. 13.14), aber auch zu dem früheren Beispiel (Abb. 11): die

²¹ Tilia 1972: 173ff. Vgl. Roaf 1983: 144f., der aber leider Shahbazi 1976b nicht kannte.

²² Dadurch ist wohl Artaxerxes III. kein Kandidat (Roaf 1983: 145) mehr als Auftraggeber für die Änderung.

²³ Tilia 1972: 293ff.; Tilia 1974; vgl. Roaf 1974: 88; Calmeyer 1982: 147ff.; Roaf 1983: 140.

Bewegung ist stärker, Wucht und Monumentalität schwächer betont. Der erste, der diesen Stil beschrieb und wertete, war A.T. Olmstead (1948: 352).

Der gleichen, von Giuseppe Tilia treffend 'stile molle' genannten Handschrift gehören die leider stark beschädigten Völkerrepräsentanten im Tripylon an;²⁴ die Datierung dieses Gebäudes ließ sich durch Krone, Thron und andere Antiquaria an den Toren (Calmeyer 1976: 71ff.) und durch Stilbeobachtungen an den Treppengewänden²⁵ gewinnen.

Auf Grund einer nicht *in situ* beim Hundert-Säulen-Saal gefundenen Inschrift²⁶ darf man annehmen, daß dieses zweite Riesengebäude von Xerxes begonnen, von Artaxerxes I. weitergeführt, aber wie das Tripylon unvollendet gelassen wurde. Die mythischen Reliefs in den Seitenkammern sind denen im Harem sehr verwandt; die interessanteren in den Nord- und Südtüren dagegen sind deutlich 'moderner', auch härter als die vom Tripylon; es ist jedoch schwer zu entscheiden, ob sie früher oder später als diese sind.²⁷ Jedenfalls hat Artaxerxes diesen riesigen Saal und erst recht das Tor (Abb. 2: M') davor unvollendet gelassen; niemand nahm die Arbeit wieder auf.

Xerxes I.

'Tor aller Länder', Harem und die Südtreppen am Tačara (Abb. 2: K, C und I) sind eindeutig durch Inschriften des Xerxes datiert, eigentlich auch der Wohnpalast (Hadiš: Abb. 2: F), doch ist hier neuerdings eine Komplikation aufgetreten: von den vier völlig gleichartigen Herrscherbildern in den zwei Nordportalen tragen drei Inschriften des Xerxes (XPe), eine jedoch: „Dareios der große König, Sohn des Hystaspes, ein Achaimenide“ (Shahbazi 1985: 12, 20 Map 3, Pl. XII). Das erinnert an die Aufschriften im Eingang des Tačara und ist geeignet, noch einige Diskussionen hervorzurufen: bedeutet es, daß Dareios seinem Sohn zu Lebzeiten den Bau eines eigenen Palastes zugestand, größer als sein eigener? Oder trägt er hier die Krone in der Form der des Xerxes, weil er die Regierung an diesen abgetreten hat? Oder, schließlich, bedeutet diese Krone, daß er schon verstorben ist?²⁸

²⁴ Schmidt 1953: Pl. 80-81; Calmeyer 1982: Taf. 20-24. Bei Roaf 1983 unbegreiflicher Weise vernachlässigt. Dem selben Stil gehörten vielleicht die Bogenschützen auf Sigloi von S.P. Noe's "neat style".

²⁵ Roaf 1983: 142ff., der den Mittelteil aber für späten Xerxes hält. Die Qualität der Reliefs im nördlichen Aufgang ist jedenfalls inferior.

²⁶ Zuletzt diskutiert von Roaf 1983: 141f.

²⁷ Calmeyer 1976: 71ff.; Roaf 1983: 142 halten beide das Tripylon für früher. Roafs Skepsis über die Königskronen als Datierungsmittel (nach v. Gall 1974) kann ich nicht teilen: die schmalen, nichtköniglichen Bänder (Mitrai) gehören nicht in diese Diskussion. Für den vorliegenden Zweck genügt es, die Kronenform Artaxerxes' I. festzuhalten: der oben nach außen geschwungene Rand (Roaf 1983: 132 Fig. 132: 2. Reihe v. unten).

²⁸ Die Theorie des altershalber zur Ruhe gesetzten Herrschers vertritt W. Nagel *RLA* IV, 355ff., s.v. 'Herrscher' und 1982-3: 112ff. und *passim*.

Außerdem wirft diese Inschrift eine vorläufig unlösbare Frage auf, die alle achaimenidischen Paläste angeht: die doppelten Abbilder auf Türgewänden können spiegelbildlich gemeint sein (Osttür im Tripylon), aber auch additiv, wie hier (und in den Südtüren vom 100-Säulen-Saal).

Auch die Apadanatreppen, sollte man meinen, seien durch ihre Inschriften eindeutig datiert (XPb: Shahbazi 1985: XIX-XXV). Doch hat sich Widerspruch erhoben (Porada 1979b), die Vorstellung eines Entwurfes der Dareioszeit lebt auch noch weiter.²⁹ Von den Argumenten für Xerxes halte ich das alte Herzfeld'sche für das gewichtigste: die Auswahl der Völker paßt auf die Zeit nach Salamis.³⁰ Die Last der Beweise jedenfalls sollte nicht bei Xerxes liegen, sondern bei seinen Anklägern. Der Reliefstil des Xerxes — mit oder ohne Apadana — ist im Gegensatz zu dem der späteren Phasen einheitlich: feste, schwere Volumina, viele plastische Abstufungen, kaum lineare Mittel, wenig Bewegungen (Abb. 11).

Die Paläste südlich der Terrasse (Abb. 1 unten) enthielten einige Abdrücke von Siegeln, die (vorher?) auf den Schatzhaustäfelchen verwandt wurden (Tadjvidi 1976: 194ff.), ferner 13 Tori mit Teilen eines bisher unbekannten Inschriftentyps Xerxes' I. (XPl) und schließlich eine sekundär zum Torus umgearbeitete Tafel mit dem Text XPf (Steve 1975: 19-25). Das macht einen Baubeginn unter Xerxes, weiteres Bauen und Benutzen unter Artaxerxes I. wahrscheinlich.

Dareios I.

Das gilt auch für das Grab II, nur mit einer Ausnahme: die Figuren sind schlanker (Abb. 5). Das und die Krone des Herrschers, die der des Dareios gleicht, läßt vermuten, daß Xerxes sein Grab bereits als Kronprinz anfertigen ließ, wie dies auch Assurbanipal tat (Calmeyer 1976: 81f.).

Von den jüngeren Türleibungen im Tačara (Abb. 4) ist dieser Stil jedenfalls nicht sehr verschieden. Ebenfalls gehörten in diese späte Zeit des Dareios die Gründung des Apadana, wie sich neuerdings aus der Analyse sowohl der Münzen wie der Inschriften ergibt:³¹ nach dem Beginn des ionischen Aufstandes. Das zweite vergrößerte Schatzhaus entstand vielleicht nach dem 30. Jahr Dareios' I. als Konzentration älterer, lokaler 'kapnuški' (Kawase 1986: 272).

Von den älteren Stilphasen unter Dareios I. ist für Persepolis nur noch

²⁹ Porada 1979b; vgl. Root 1979: 91 (mit dem falschen Argument, einzig Dareios habe einen Kronprinzen bestellt); wiederholt: *ead.* 1985: 108. Entwurf: Roaf 1983: 139. Demnächst Koch 1987.

³⁰ Und auf die Zeit nach der Daiva-Inschrift: Calmeyer 1982: 154ff.

³¹ Münzen: Roaf 1983: 138f.; Stronach 1985: 443f. Beide wußten nichts von den gleichen Folgerungen aus den Inschriften: Calmeyer 1982: 123f. Wiederum nach einer Datierung von W. Hinz.

relevant, daß einige 'königliche Heroen' im Tačara älter als die meisten Reliefs zu sein scheinen (Luschey 1968: 89f.), daß die Inschrift DNa am Grab eine offenbar recht späte Völkerliste enthält,³² und daß eine Reihe von recht einfachen, z.T. unvollendeten medischen Gardisten (Abb. 3) am Südrand des höheren Terrassenteiles, später vom Harem (Abb. 2: C) überdeckt wurden. Sie standen vielleicht im Zusammenhang mit dem ursprünglichen Süd-Zugang zur Terrasse (Tilia 1978: 11ff.) und sicher auch mit der frühen pro-medischen Politik des Dareios (Calmeyer 1982: 124f.).

Das älteste Anzeichen für Dareios' Tätigkeit in Persepolis sind die Inschriften am Südrand der Gesamtterrasse, wohl auch bezogen auf jenen Zugang (vgl. Tilia 1978: 3ff.). Die persische Version enthält eine der ältesten Länderlisten des Dareios.

Zusammenfassung

Eine Liste, zu anderem Zweck angefertigt, mag zeigen, wie sich Persepolis zu den anderen frühen Residenzen verhält. Genauere inschriftliche Datierungen sind kursiv gedruckt; die ersten fünf Phasen sind *Stilphasen*.

Kyros III.	Pasargadai G: «Genius» Pasargadai S: ass.-bab. Mischwesen	
Dareios I., A	<i>Bisotun</i> <i>Persepolis: Terrasse</i> Susa: Baubeginn	<i>DB</i> <i>DPd; DPe-g</i>
Dareios I., B	Pasargadai P: Kyros u. Diener Susa, Ziegelreliefs: Garde Persepolis, obere Terrasse: medische Garde	<i>DSm</i>
Dareios I., C	Tačara: ältere Türleibungen <i>Grab I: Façade</i> Älteste Sigloi	<i>DNa; DNb?</i> <i>PFT 140/5</i>
Dareios I., D	<i>Apadana-Gründung</i> : Croeseidenmünzen <i>Tačara</i> : Jüngere Türleibungen	<i>DPh; DH?</i> <i>DPa-c; XPk</i> (Prinz) <i>Sockelinschr., DSu</i>
	Suez/Susa: Statue, Stelen Grab II (Xerxes als Prinz?)	
Xerxes I., A	Tačara, Südtreppe: Diener Apadana: Pylonen Hadiš: Herrscher, Diener; Dareios	<i>XPc</i> <i>XPg</i> <i>DPb^H XPd-e</i> <i>XPh (Daiva)</i>
Xerxes I., B	Harem: Herrscher; Königl. Held Apadana, Façaden: Delegationen Tor aller Länder	<i>XPf; XPi</i> <i>XPb</i> <i>XPa</i>
Artaxerxes I.	Sigloi mit Bogenschützen? Façade in H verbaut: Delegationen 100-Säulensaal Tripylon Shaur-Palast: Diener; Meder	<i>A¹Pa</i>

³² Und diese korrespondiert wiederum auf das Genaueste mit den Stützfiguren des Reliefs, das dadurch mitdatiert ist: Calmeyer 1982-3: 111ff.

	Grab IV: Façade?	
Xerxes II.?	Grab III: Façade?	
Dareios II.	Grab III: Façade?	
	Wiederaufbau Susa	D ² Sa-b
Artaxerxes II.	Gräber VII (unvoll.) u. V: Façaden?	
	Wiederaufbau Susa	A ² Sa-b
Artaxerxes III.	Tačara-W-Treppe: Delegationen	A ³ Pb
	Palast H: Garde	A ³ Pa; A ³ Pb
	Grab VI: Façade	A [?] P

Ich hoffe, daß sich für Persepolis nicht nur eine mehrfache Änderung der Grundrisse ergeben hat, sondern auch eine der Funktion der Gesamtanlage. Wir werden gewiß immer besser die der Dareios- und Xerxes-Zeit kennenlernen durch die Bearbeitung der Hofkammertäfelchen; zu erwarten ist das Kommen und Gehen, das Zahlen und Einnehmen einer Hauptstadt (einer unter vieren).

Vielleicht sollten wir für Dareios selbst noch eine Funktion in Betracht ziehen: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg verband die Diener im Tačara (Abb. 4) mit der Salbung zum *Tykta* genannten Tanz beim Geburtstag des Herrschers (1980: 147ff.). Das würde nur für den Tačara gelten; anderswo werden diese Figuren nicht wiederholt. Auch die vielfältigen Gärten verschwinden von den Türleibungen. Dafür tauchen unter Xerxes plötzlich allenthalben die Diener mit Speisen und Tieren auf³³ (Abb. 11), ferner die erste große Komposition mit Gabenbringern und Gefolge.³⁴ Man könnte — und wird — argumentieren, dies sei bereits unter Dareios so entworfen worden; doch wir sollten uns vielleicht von dem Vorurteil gegen den 'unselbständigen' Xerxes freimachen und ihm einen eigenen Ausdruck der Königsherrschaft zutrauen (vgl. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 35-6).

Artaxerxes I. arbeitet offenbar weiter an diesem Konzept; seine Bildhauer verfeinern und vervielfältigen es allenfalls. Aber doch wohl bei seinem Tod bleibt alles liegen: das Tripylon ohne Inschrift, der 100-Säulen-Saal ohne Torbau.

Wohl Artaxerxes II. nimmt die mesopotamische Idee vom 'Alten Palast' als Grabstätte der Herrscher auf: nach langem Hiatus eine völlig neue Funktion. Sein Nachfahre Artaxerxes III. reaktiviert dann schließlich, wenigstens an zwei Gebäuden, die Palastterrasse. Wohl schon zu seiner Zeit, spätestens in den Wirren danach, dringen nichtkönigliche 'Feldherren' in die Königsburg ein. Das alte Schatzhaus ist längst zu klein; am Ende sind mehrere Gebäude, sorgfältig von einer Besatzung bewacht, voller Schätze.

³³ Moorey 1979: 218ff.; Calmeyer 1980: 58; 1986: 82f.

³⁴ Zur Deutung Calmeyer 1980: 56f.; 1986: 77ff.

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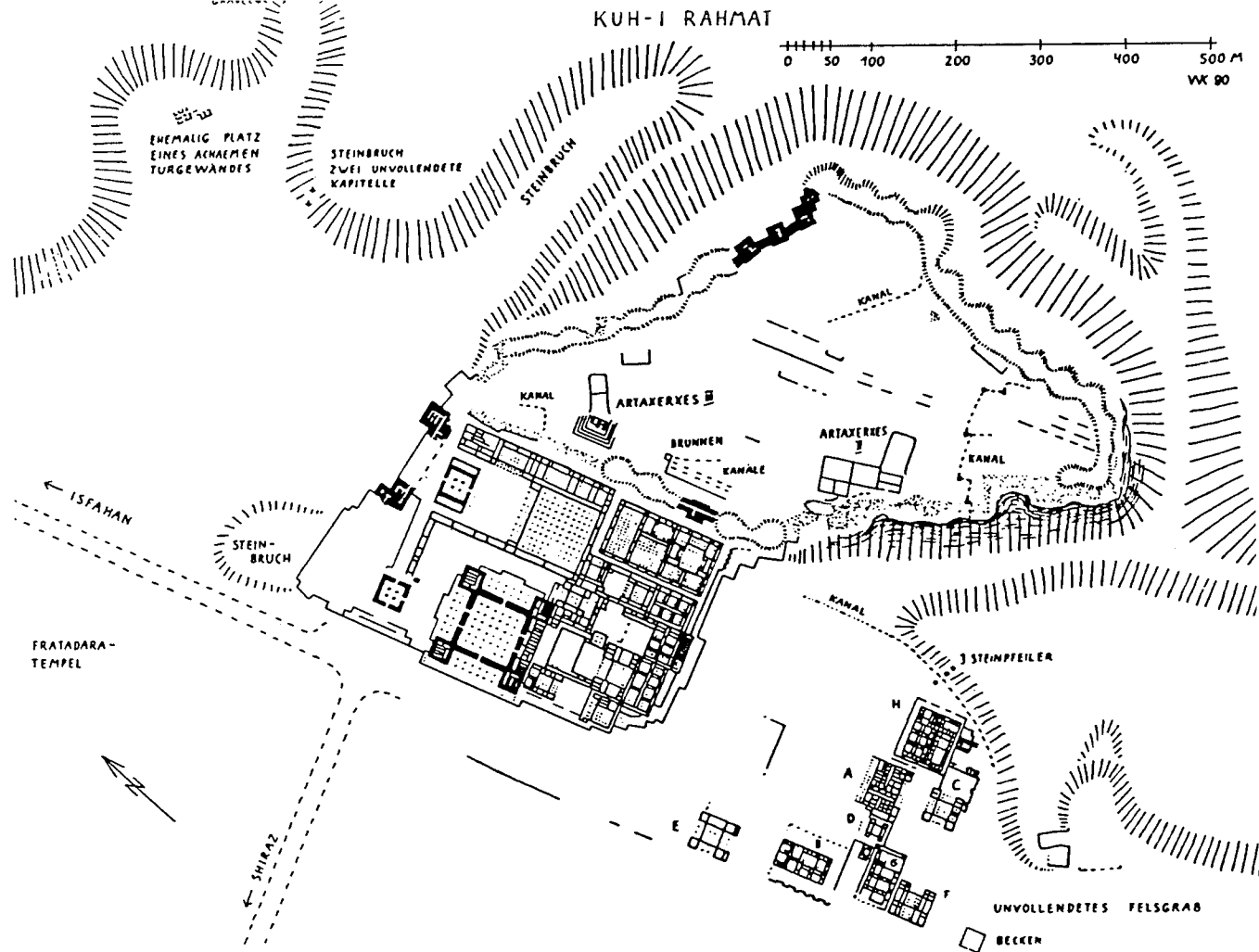


Abb. 1. Skizze der Königsburg Persepolis und ihrer unmittelbaren Umgebung. — Zeichnung W. Kleiss

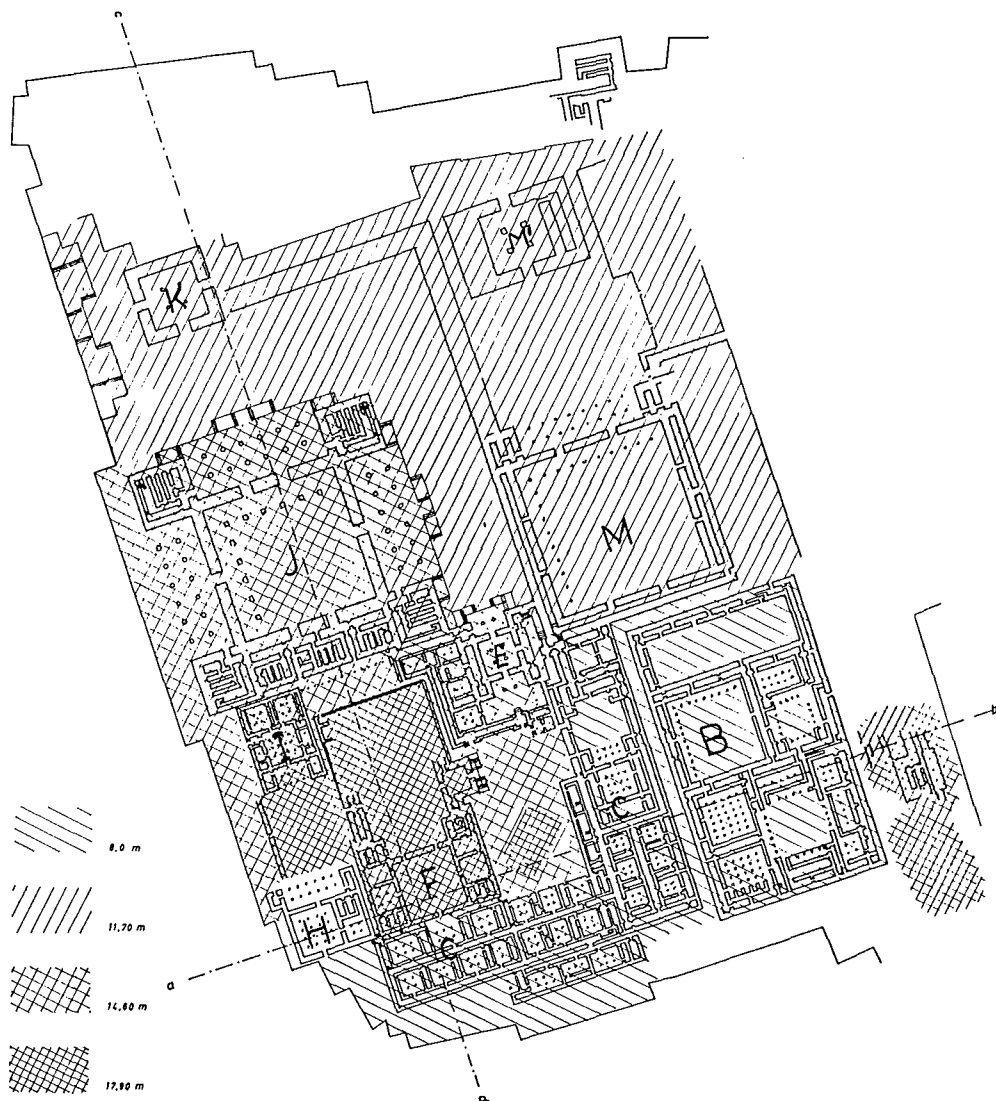


Abb. 2. Palastterrasse von Persepolis mit Höhenunterschieden. — Nach: Erdmann 1958, 24 Abb. a
(mit Buchstaben nach E.F. Schmidt)



Abb. 3. Medische Garde an der Palastterrasse, vom „Harem“ überbaut. — Photogr. B. Grunewald

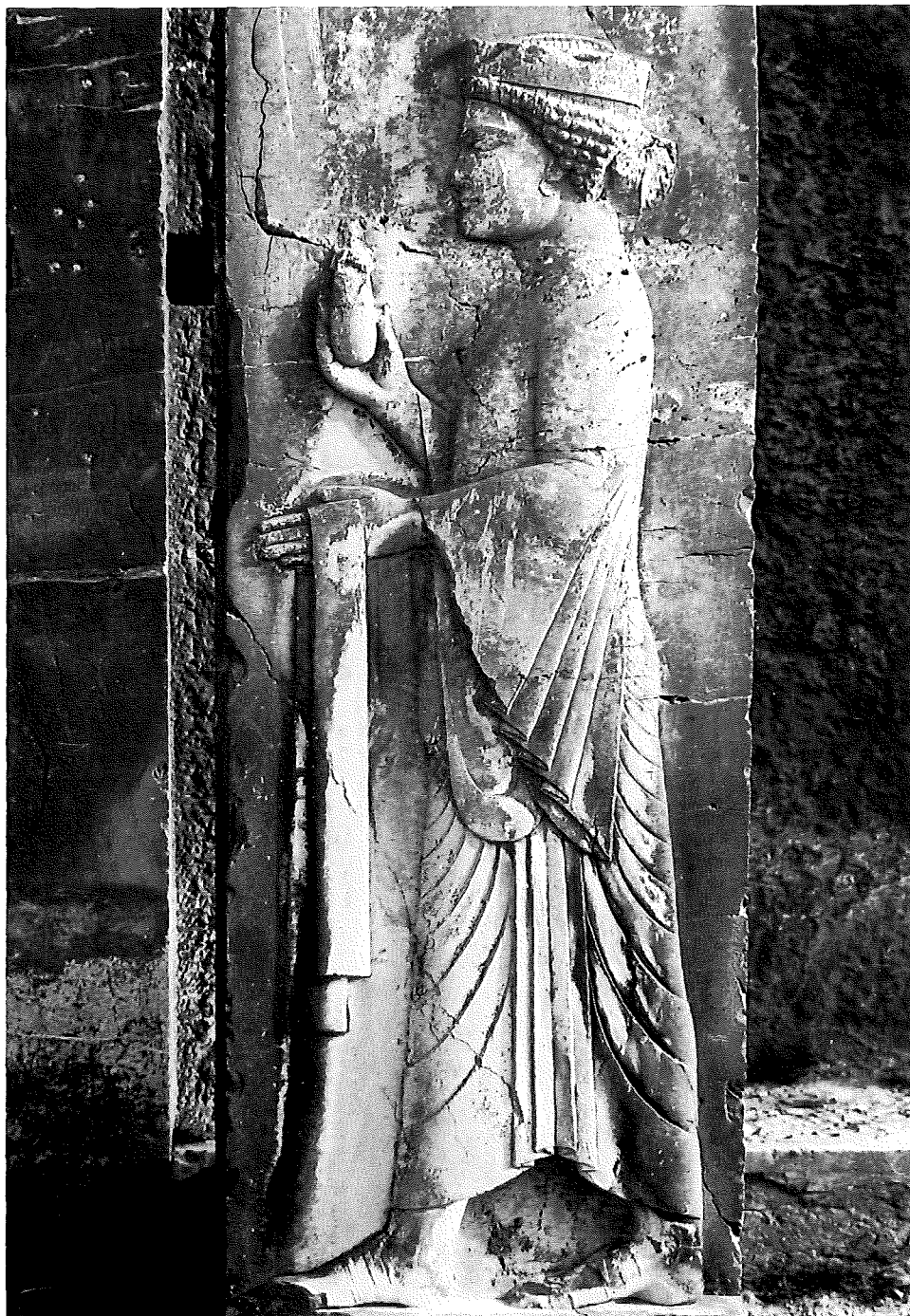


Abb. 4. Diener mit Aryballos und Tuch im Tačara. - Photogr. Rustami

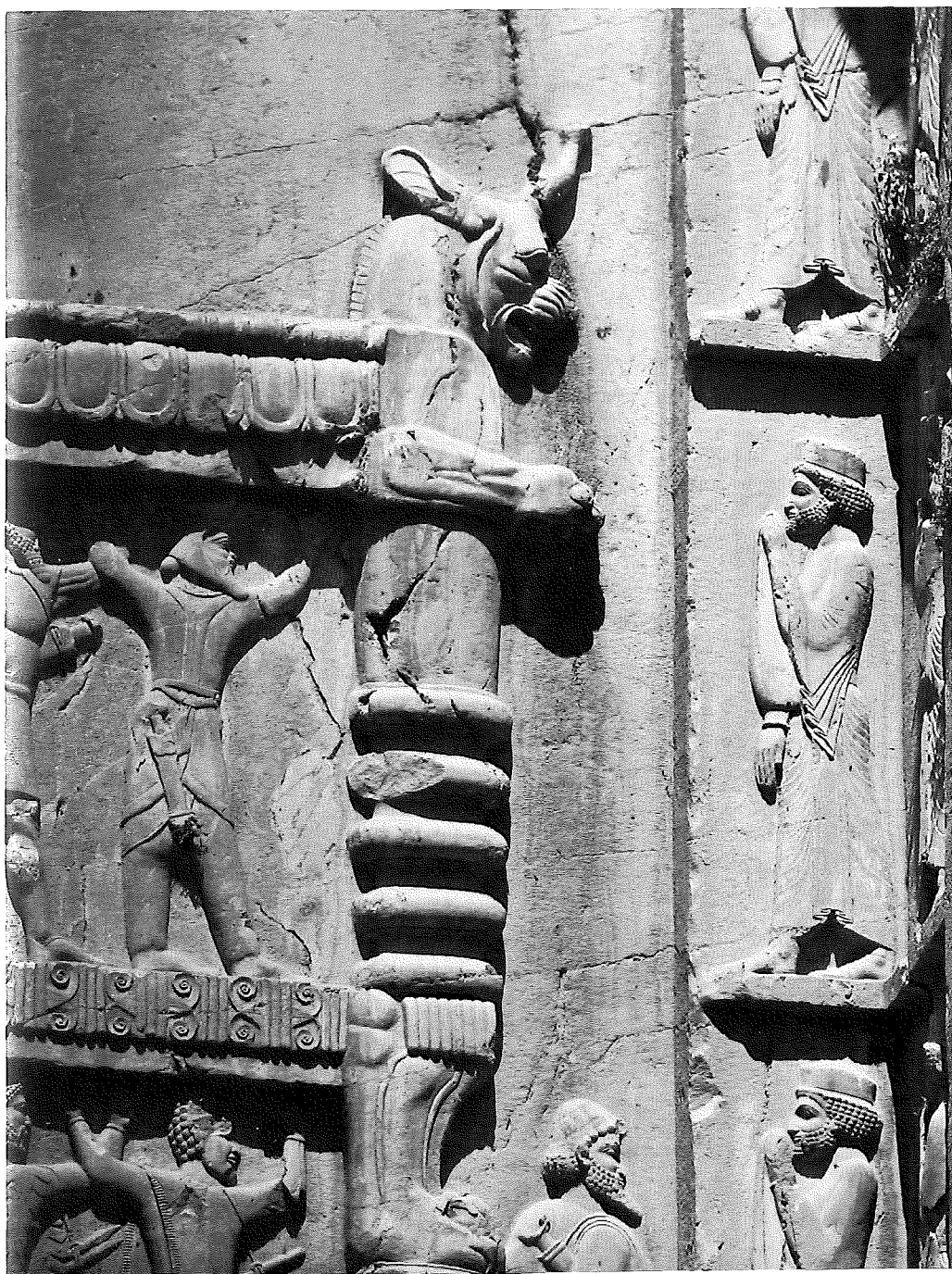


Abb. 5. Detail der Fassade von Grab II „des Xerxes“. — Photogr. B. Grunewald

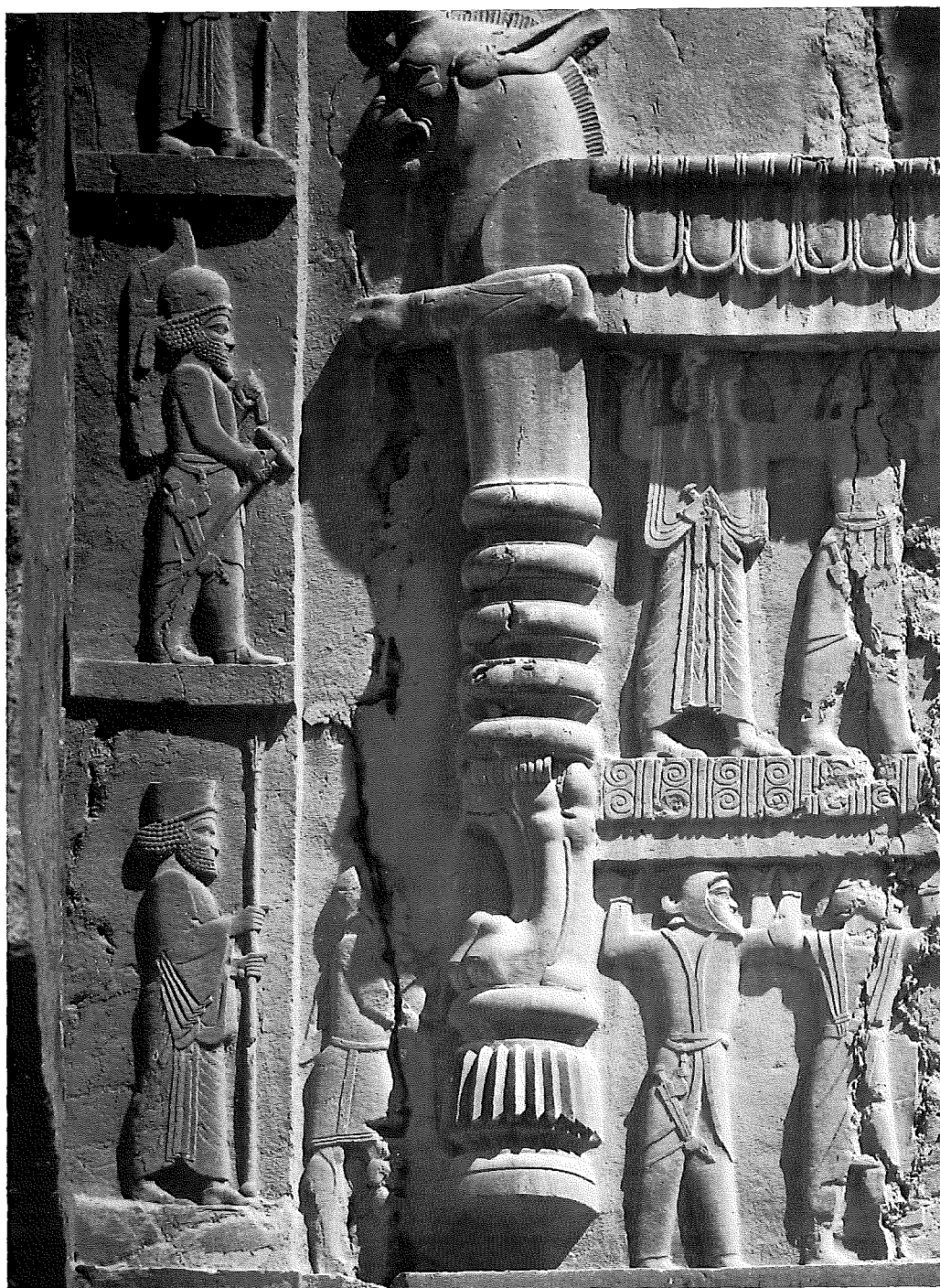


Abb. 6. Detail der Fassade von Grab III. — Photogr. B. Grunewald



Abb. 7. Betender rechts neben Grab IV. — Photogr. B. Grunewald

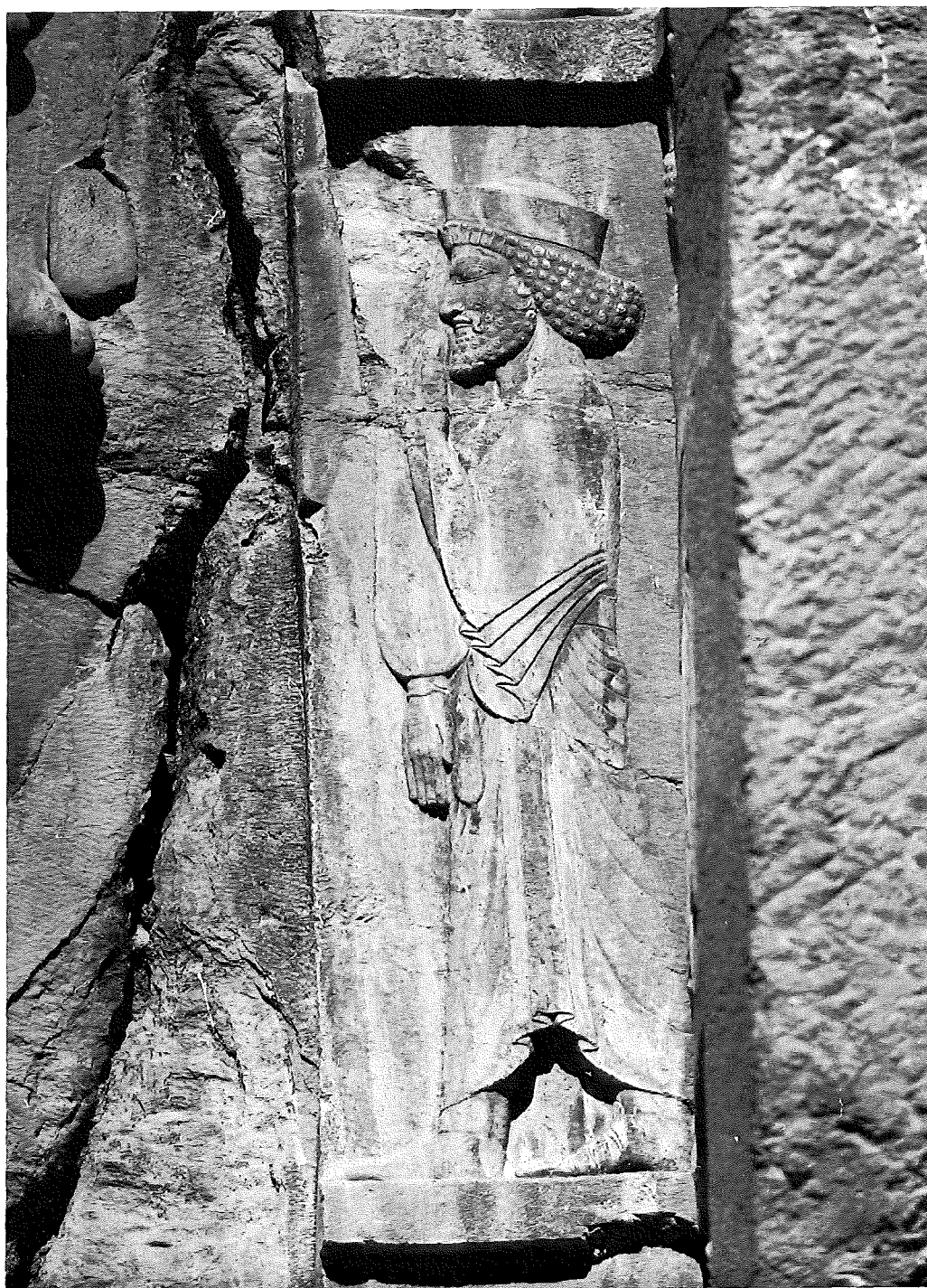


Abb. 8. Betender rechts neben Grab V. — Photogr. B. Grunewald



Abb. 9. Detail der Fassade von Grab V. — Photogr. B. Grunewald

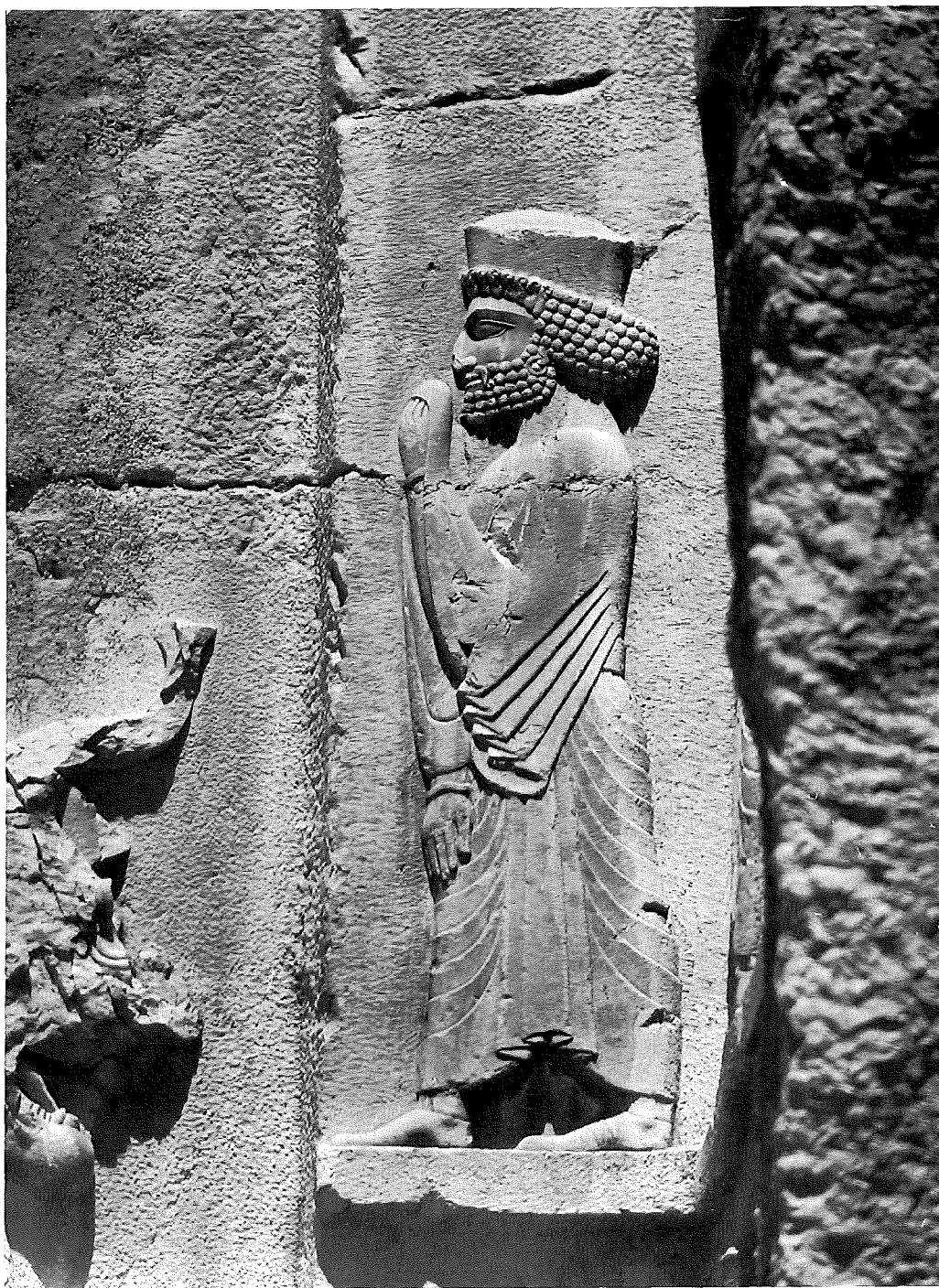


Abb. 10. Betender rechts neben Grab VI. — Photogr. B. Grunewald



Abb. 11. Träger von Nahrungsmitteln am Hadiš des Xerxes, Westtreppe. — Photogr. Verf.



Abb. 12. Träger von Nahrungsmitteln am „Palast H“, zur Fassade Artaxerxes' I. gehörend. —
Photogr. Verf.



Abb. 13. Träger von Nahrungsmitteln am Tačara, Westtreppe des Artaxerxes III. — Photogr. Verf.

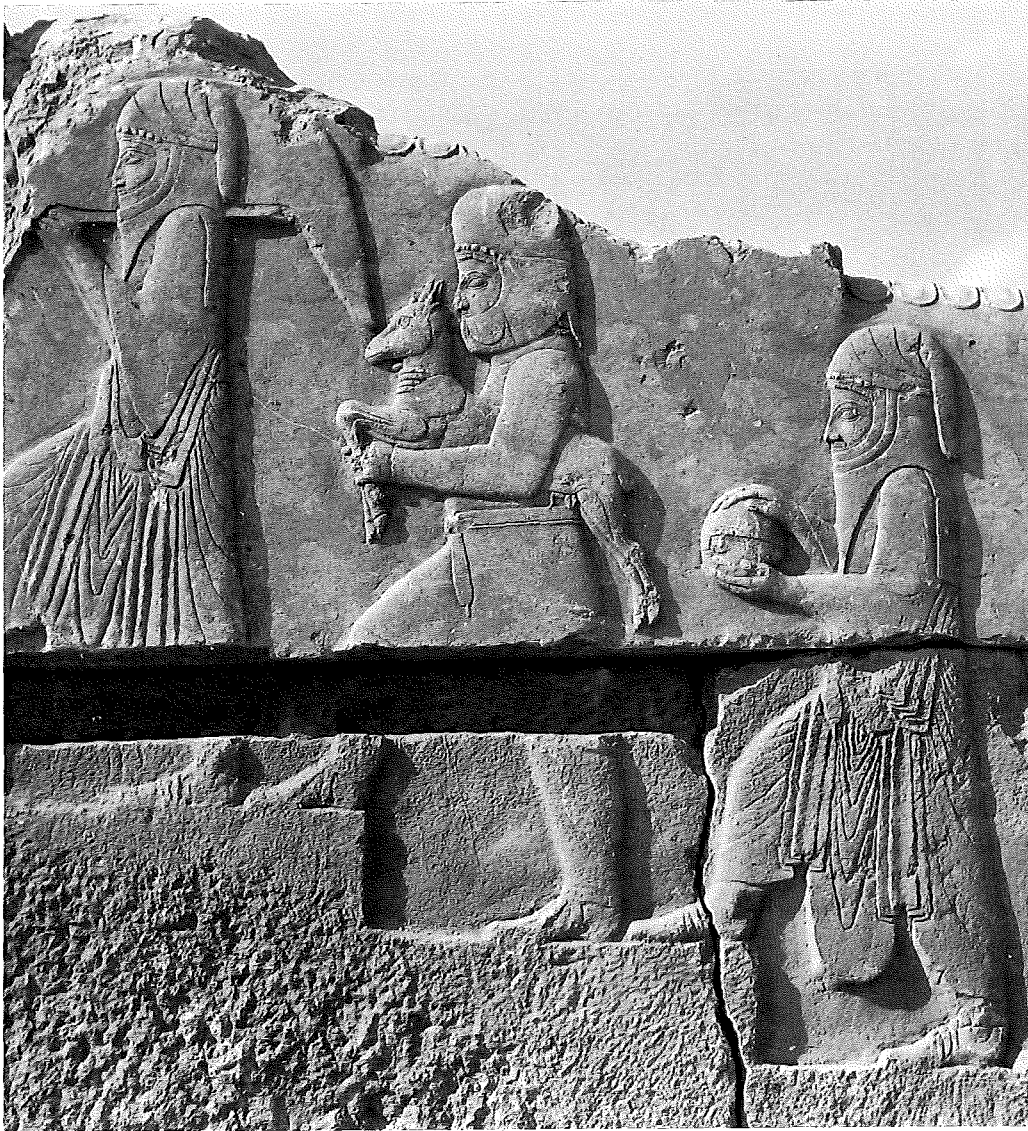


Abb. 14. Träger von Nahrungsmitteln am „Palast H“, zur Ergänzung durch Artaxerxes III. gehörig. — Photogr. Verf.

NUGAE ANTICO-PERSIANAE

Clarisse Herrenschmidt — Paris

Comment parler de la vie quotidienne à partir de documents tels que les inscriptions royales achéménides? Qu'il s'agisse de celle du roi ou de celle des peuples soumis, le moins que je puisse dire d'une telle question, c'est qu'elle me met dans l'embarras. Mais l'embarras est un défi et l'enjeu — la joie d'aller au Workshop de Groningen — n'est pas des moindres. Je prendrai donc les choses à la lettre: comment diable a-t-on produit les textes royaux en vieux-perse, élamite et accadien, en partant de l'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse pour arriver à la composition littéraire de certains textes? Qui a oeuvré, dans l'anonymat, à l'ombre du grand roi, pour produire les inscriptions royales? Si la vie quotidienne des scribes royaux nous est à jamais scellée, j'aimerais leur rendre un lointain et imparfait hommage en tentant d'approcher ce que fut leur travail.

On voit que je rapproche les questions du cunéiforme vieux-perse et de la composition littéraire, en plus clair de la littérature. C'est le pari de ce travail: y aurait-il un lien entre elles? Heureusement que pour dévider pareille pelote Amélie Kuhrt et Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg ont prêté à leurs invités le bâton de leurs intelligences: quand la situation est vraiment désespérée, on peut toujours faire une revue d'articles, choisissant ceux qui nous inspirent et nous font aller de l'avant, ajoutant enfin nos réflexions personnelles. Je procéderai donc de la sorte, par petites touches, sans prétendre à une vision globale et encore moins à une réponse définitive.

I. La question du cunéiforme vieux-perse.

Je ne traiterai nullement la question dans son entier, comme l'a fait P. Lecoq (1974), car je laisserai de côté toute la question du rapport entre l'écriture et la langue. C'est néanmoins en suivant pour une part le travail de Lecoq que je m'orienterai.

I.1. Problèmes d'origine graphique des signes.

Les signes du cunéiforme vieux-perse sont manifestement d'origine mésopotamienne, étant un assemblage de coins et de clous; mais, pour Lecoq, «les tentatives pour faire dériver les signes vieux-perse des signes assyro-babyloniens se sont soldées par un échec. Tout au plus a-t-on pu trouver quelque ressemblance entre le *b* vieux-perse et le *ba* du syllabaire accadien; le signe *l* fait sans doute exception: n'apparaissant que dans des mots étrangers, il

serait un emprunt, simplifié, au syllabaire néo-babylonien ou élamite achéménide» (1974: 38-39).

*I.1.1. G. Cohen: Origin of Persian cuneiform (1983)*¹

Datant de la même année que l'article cité de Lecoq, Cohen prend sans le savoir Lecoq au mot et tente de faire dériver la majeure partie des signes du cunéiforme vieux-perse des alphabets sémitiques, comme on va le voir; mais il fait plus: il applique à la lettre les démonstrations de Diringier (1968) et de Gelb (1974) pour qui le cunéiforme vieux-perse d'une part semble éloigné des autres systèmes cunéiformes, d'autre part est le résultat d'une création individuelle faite sous commandement royal. Il y eut donc un inventeur du cunéiforme vieux-perse et celui-ci dut — implicitement — œuvrer sous le règne de Darius; Cohen cherche donc à élucider les processus mentaux de l'inventeur en train de créer le cunéiforme vieux-perse au-travers de quatre procédés:

— l'inventeur suivit les modèles sémitiques (phénicien et araméen) dans un certain nombre de cas, et ainsi crée les signes vieux-perse pour: *h, x, y, m, š, z, s, k, b, d, n, θ*;

— il transforma trois signes afin de les différencier de signes semblables: *k, θ, r*;

— il inventa alors d'autres signes vieux-perse à partir de ceux qui existaient déjà:

— dans quelques cas il a été influencé par la cooccurrence de certains sons dans des termes de parenté: ainsi sont élucidés les signes *p* et *ç* par leur cooccurrence dans le mot *puça* 'fils'; ainsi *t* dérive-t-il du signe vieux-perse *m*, déjà créé à partir du modèle sémitique, du fait de leur cooccurrence dans *mâtâr* 'mère'; de même *v* devrait dériver de *s* du fait de leur cooccurrence dans *svas*(!) 'sœur', et *u* de *d* du fait du mot *du*(!) 'fille'; enfin *i* dériverait de *t* du fait de leur cooccurrence dans *pitā* 'père'.

— dans d'autres cas, l'inventeur créa un signe notant un son consonnantique à partir d'un signe qui notait déjà cette même consonne (avec une autre voyelle): ainsi *t^u* viendrait de *t/ta*, *d^u* de *t^u*, *dⁱ* de *d^u*, *m^u* de *m*, *mⁱ* de *m^u*, *n^u* de *n*, *jⁱ* de *j*; il dérive aussi *g* de *x*;

— Il dérive aussi *a* de *d* à cause de leur séquence dans vieux-perse *adam* 'je' et indique de vieux-perse *k^u* vient peut-être aussi du sémitique *ku*.

Au total Cohen explique tous les signes sauf *c, f, g^u, j, l, r^u, u, vⁱ*.

De cet intéressant article il faut noter les imperfections:

— en faisant l'impasse sur le syllabaire accadien, Cohen manque la probable origine accadienne de vieux-perse *b* et *l*;



— on ne peut évidemment accepter la filiation du vieux-perse *v* à partir de











¹ M. Mayrhofer m'a fait parvenir, il y a déjà de longues années, un exemplaire de l'article de Cohen; qu'il trouve ici l'expression de ma gratitude.

vieux-perse *s* sous prétexte de leur cooccurrence dans le nom fantaisiste de la soeur **svas*; idem pour les signes *d* et *u* et le nom de la ‘fille’ **du*.

— j’ai du mal à croire que *i* vienne de *p* du fait de leur cooccurrence dans *pitâ* ‘père’ et que *p* et *ç* aient été créés ensemble pour noter *puça* ‘fils’.² Au demeurant, Cohen note au passage que les signes à *u* ‘inhérents’ contiennent presque tous un coin, y compris *u* et à l’exclusion de *t^u*.



I.1.2. M. Mayrhofer: Überlegungen zur Entstehung der altpersischen Keilschrift, (1979).

Dans cet article Mayrhofer ne cherche pas les origines graphiques des signes vieux-perse dans les alphabets sémitiques ou ailleurs; il développe les intuitions de Cohen sur la dérivation des signes vieux-perse à partir de signes ‘premiers’ (*k^u*, *b*) nécessaires à la notation de noms propres royaux, Cyrus, Bardiya, ou de concepts fondamentaux, ‘roi’, ‘royaume’; il ajoute à cela deux principes: ces signes ‘premiers’ sont ‘simples’ (le signe *k^u*  n’a que deux éléments, il est le seul dans tout le cunéiforme vieux-perse de cette sorte, le signe *r^u*  est également ‘simple’), et au départ le cunéiforme vieux-perse n’est pas un alphabet, mais un syllabaire.


Ainsi, on aurait créé deux signes simples et syllabiques *k^u*  et *r^u*  ce dernier ayant engendré le signe *š*, pour noter le nom de Cyrus: *k^u-r^u-š*   ; ainsi pour noter le nom de Cambyse, *ka^mb(a)ujiya* on aurait d’abord disposé du *k* , qui par dérivation aurait entraîné *b* ; pour noter le nom de Bardiya-Smerdis, on aurait eu d’abord *b* , entraînant *r* , entraînant *dⁱ* , selon le principe de dérivation ‘plus ein’ (294).

Dans la suite de l’article, Mayrhofer explique la création de certains signes syllabiques pour empêcher une lecture erronée des noms de lieux: si le signe *mⁱ* n’avait pas existé, la graphie *a-r-m-i-n* eût pu se lire **armaina*, tandis que l’existence du signe *mⁱ* oblige à une lecture *armina*.

















L’article de Mayrhofer est extraordinairement séduisant; mais il pose divers problèmes, qui rendent sa théorie fragile.

— Qu’est ce qui permet de dire que le signe *r^u* est un signe simple? Le fait qu’il comporte trois éléments? ou plutôt le fait qu’il se trouve en contact avec le signe *k^u* – effectivement ‘simple’ – pour écrire le nom de Cyrus? A ce compte là, les signes *n*  et *f*  sont aussi ‘simples’ et l’on ne peut rien construire à partir de leur ‘simplicité’.

² Il me semble en effet que le contexte historique de l’invention du cunéiforme vieux-perse ne nécessite pas l’intervention des termes de parenté comme source de dérivation des signes; sans compter que la reconstitution que nous pouvons faire est bien pauvre: l’oncle paternel jouait comme on sait un grand rôle dans la famille perse; a-t-on créé des signes à partir du nom de l’oncle paternel, dont on ignore tout?



— Si la dérivation des trois premiers signes nécessaires à la notation de *b-r-dⁱ-y* est des plus jolies, elle appelle au moins deux remarques: i) on va voir plus loin que *b* et *r* se rapprochent vraiment de signes accadiens (ce qui n'est pas le cas de *dⁱ*); ii) la règle de dérivation 'plus un' ne permet pas d'expliquer la forme du signe final *y*  qui était bel et bien noté.







— Si l'on écrit une règle de dérivation 'plus un', qui semble fonctionner, encore que très partiellement, pour un mot, peut-être vaut-il la peine de la prolonger; ainsi on a les dérivations possibles:



<i>d</i>		donne <i>i</i>		<i>y</i>		donne <i>m'</i>	
<i>d</i>		" <i>u</i>		<i>b</i>		" <i>r</i>	
<i>d</i>		" <i>ç</i>		<i>b</i>		" <i>l</i>	
<i>k^u</i>		" <i>θ</i>					
<i>m</i>		" <i>t</i>					

Mais ces dérivations ne s'ordonnent pas autour d'un nom royal ou d'un concept de base: elles ne font pas sens.

— Si on admet l'existence d'une règle de dérivation, peut-être faut-il chercher les autres; elles sont trouvables:

- dérivation par déplacement d'un clou ou d'un coin; par exemple: *a*  donnerait *t^u* .³

- dérivation par transformation⁴ d'un clou en coin sans déplacement: ex. *θ*  donnerait *f* ; idem avec déplacement: *j*  donnerait *r^u* , *g*  donnerait *x* .

- dérivation par doublement: *k^u*  donnerait *x* .

Si toutes ces dérivations sont formellement possibles, c'est à dire que l'on peut avec elles décrire la forme de certains signes relativement à celle de certains autres, elles ne font dans l'ensemble pas sens. En effet, comment va-t-on justifier la dérivation de *a* vers *t^u*, par exemple?

— Si la dérivation de la séquence *b-r-dⁱ* (en excluant *y*) a l'air de fonctionner, pour noter le nom du fils puîné de Cyrus, on voit que pareille séquence dérivante ne fonctionne pas pour noter le nom de Cambyse: *ka^mb(a)ujiya*, car il n'y a guère de moyen pour faire dériver *u* de *b*, *jⁱ* de *u*, etc.; ceci pose non seulement un problème formel mais aussi un problème de famille: on se serait donc mieux intéressé sous Cyrus à la graphie du nom du fils puîné au détriment de celle du nom du fils aîné? Il ne faut pas créer aux Achéménides plus de problèmes de famille qu'ils n'en ont eus ...

³ Les dérivations par déplacement sont nombreuses: *u* donne *g*, *r* donne *l*; *i* donne *a*; *n^u* donne *h* etc; mais elles peuvent toutes être inversées.

⁴ Cohen a envisagé la logique de certaines dérivations par transformation, en particulier *g* donne *x*; mais *k^u* peut aussi donner *x*.

Finalement, il y a sans nul doute des procédés de dérivation, mais ceux-ci ne sont pas descriptibles de façon univoque et systématique; ces dérivations supposent des «signes de base» qui doivent avoir leur origine dans un modèle pris dans une autre écriture; enfin l'ensemble formé par les signes de base et les signes dérivés ne permet pas de venir à bout de tout le cunéiforme vieux-perse: l'invention pure et simple est incontournable.

I.1.3. G. D'Erme: Aspetti grafici e fonetici della scrittura antico-persiana (1983).







Après avoir soumis le cunéiforme vieux-perse à une analyse de procédés graphiques et combinatoires, D'Erme cherche l'origine graphique des signes dans le syllabaire néo-accadien et dans l'alphabet araméen, en faisant intervenir une éventuelle rotation du signe (tout comme faisait d'ailleurs Cohen) et une étape implicite de simplification. Il obtient les résultats suivants:

- 5 signes viennent sûrement du néo-accadien: *t*, *ç*, *b*, *r*, *l*;
- 7 signes viennent peut-être du néo-accadien: *u*, *g*, *g*^u, *j*, *d*^u, *m*ⁱ, *m*^u;
- 8 signes viennent sûrement du vieil araméen: *k*^u, *θ*, *n*, *m*, *s*, *š*, *z*, *h*;
- un signe vient peut-être du vieil araméen: *a*;
- 5 signes sont un mélange de néo-accadien et de vieil araméen: *i*, *k*, *d*, *f/v* (il traite ces deux signes-là ensemble);
- 10 signes sont inexplicables: *x*, *c*, *j*ⁱ, *t*^u, *d*ⁱ, *r*^u, *p*, *y*, *r*^u, *v*ⁱ.








On peut d'emblée remarquer les faits suivants: aux deux signes dont l'origine est reconnue comme néo-accadienne, *b* et *l*, D'Erme n'ajoute à mon avis que *ç*, *r* et *t* (en ramenant le modèle accadien à un signe vieux-perse ne comportant pas plus que cinq éléments, règle graphique du cunéiforme vieux-perse), ce qui n'est somme toute assez peu de chose après un tel travail.

Par ailleurs on ne peut manquer de voir que tous les signes vieux-perse à *i* ou *u* 'inhérents'— sauf *k*^u— figurent soit dans la catégorie 'peut-être d'origine accadienne', soit dans la catégorie 'inexpliqué', ce qui est bien curieux.

I.1.4. Pour pouvoir continuer, il faut réunir les recherches de Cohen et de D'Erme dans un tableau:

vp	vp	COHEN	D'ERME
<i>a</i>			v. aram. ʾ  ?
<i>i</i>		dérivé à partir du vp <i>p</i> à cause de leur cooccurrence dans vp <i>pitar</i> 'père'	néo. acc. <i>i</i>  + v. aram. /h/?
<i>u</i>			néo. acc. <i>u</i> ₇  ?

k		phén. et v. aram. k	v. aram. k + néo. acc. ka ₄
k ^u		phén. et aram. k	v. aram. q
x		phén. et aram. h et h	
g		dérivation à partir de vp x	néo. acc. gi ₄
g ^u			néo. acc. qi, gu ₁₄
c			
j			néo. acc. ja, ji, ju
j ⁱ		dérivation à partir de vp j	
t		dérivation à partir de vp m à cause de leur cooccurrence dans vp mâtār «mère».	néo. acc. ta
t ^u		dérivation à partir de vp t	
θ		araméen t	aram. t
ç		créé avec vp p, en ressemblance l'un avec l'autre, à cause de leur cooccurrence dans puça «fils».	néo. acc. şa
d		phénic., aram. d	v. aram. d + néo. acc. dà
d ⁱ		dérivation d'après vp d ^u	
d ^u		dérivation d'après vp t ^u	néo. acc. di
n		phén./aram. n	v. aram. n
n ^u		dérivation d'après vp. n	
p		créé avec ç (voir plus haut)	
f			néo. acc. wa, wi + v. aram. w (même chose pour vp f et v)
v		dérivation à partir de vp s à cause de svas «sœur» (sic)	
b		phén. et aram. b	néo. acc. pa, bá
m		phénic. m	v. aram. m
m ⁱ		dérivation d'après vp m ^u	néo. acc. mi, mé
m ^u		dérivation d'après vp m	néo. acc. mu
y		al, sémit. y	
r		à partir du phén. r aurait dû entraîner la forme , signe déjà pris pour b; d'où 3 clous.	néo. acc. ra
r ^u			
l			néo. acc. la
v ⁱ			

s		phénic. et aram. s 	v. aram. s
š		phénic. š 	v. aram. š
z		phénic. et aram. z 	v. aram. z
h		voir vp x	v. aram. h

Ce tableau montre que:



— Cohen et D’Erme font dériver 7 signe vieux-perse des ‘alphabets sémitiques’: *š, n, m, s, θ, z, h*;


— ils sont presque d’accord pour *k* et *d*, sachant que D’Erme suppose une double origine;


— les signes vieux-perse *b* et *l* sont sans doute d’origine accadien;




— j’admets aussi l’origine ‘sémitique’ avancée par D’Erme pour vieux-perse *k*^u.



I.1.5. La pratique de l’élamite me suggère en plus trois propositions que je voudrais avancer avec précaution.

— vieux-perse *ç*  et *c* .




Pour le vieux-perse *ç*, D’Erme avance une filiation à partir du néo-accadien *ša* , filiation qui nécessite la transformation des clous supérieurs verticaux en clous supérieurs horizontaux; ce signe existe en élamite avec la valeur *ša* (Weissbach 1911 LXXXIII, no 112; Cameron 1948: 78, no 117) ou *za* (PFT: 86).

Or l’élamite *ša, za* note vieux-perse |ca| (Mayrhofer 1973: 60-62, 65): vp *Aspacana*, él. *as-ba-za-na*; vp *hacâ*, él. *ha-iz-za*; de même que l’él. *zi* note le vieux-perse |ci|; je propose donc de penser que l’on a pris modèle sur le signe  accadien et élamite *ša*, i) pour créer vp *ç*, ii) pour créer, en double dérivation, vp *c*. Pour ce faire il suffisait de déplacer un clou horizontal supérieur vers le bas à droite.


— Pour le vieux-perse *n*^u , D’Erme ne propose rien, Cohen une dérivation à partir du vieux-perse *n* ; il me paraît raisonnable de penser qu’ici l’él. *n*^u  a directement servi de modèle: il a suffi de doubler chaque signe, sans changer l’aspect général du graphème. Le signe él. *n*^u est assez différent du *n*^u assyrien et babylonien (c’est le résultat d’une évolution propre à l’élamite à partir du babylonien ancien (Reiner 1969: 68).

— Pour le vieux-perse *p* , Cohen suppose une création commune avec vieux-perse *ç*, D’Erme ne propose rien. Ne se pourrait-il que l’on ait extrait vieux-perse *p* de l’élamite *ib, ip* (PFT: 83):  ? On aurait ramené le signe vieux-perse à cinq éléments, puisqu’aucun signe vieux-perse ne contient plus de cinq éléments, clous ou/et coins, et effectué une rotation. Il faut en plus savoir que l’él. *ib, ip* est presque un signe alphabétique, notant le suffixe *-p* du

pluriel des bases nominales à finale vocalique, ex. *šalu* ‘gentleman’ (PFT: 753), pl. *šalu-ip*; *bèti*, ‘ennemi’, pl. *bèti-ip*.



Pourquoi se serait-on rabattu sur le signe él. *ip*? Peut-être parce que l’acc. *pa*, *bá*  était déjà à l’origine du vp *b*:  et que l’acc. *ba*, *pá*  avait la même forme que le vieux-perse *r*. Ces propositions sont hasardeuses, mais pas invraisemblables; j’y ajouterai la suivante: Cohen a remarqué que les signes à *u* ‘inhérents’ contiennent presque tous un coin, y compris *u* et exclu *t*”; or le coin isolé se lit *u* en élamite, et aussi en accadien; en élamite, il existe encore le signe *ú*; mais c’est avec le signe *u* que les scribes élamites notent le son [u] dans certaines transcriptions de mots perses: *u-ra-mas-da* pour Ahura Mazdâ, (PFT: 770), *da-ri-ya-u-iš* pour Darius (PFT: 680) quoique l’on trouve *u* dans beaucoup d’autres noms propres. Il n’est quand même pas impossible que la présence du coin dans les signes à *u* ‘inhérents’ soit un réflexe dû à l’usage du signe accadien élamite *u*.

Si l’on admet que les scribes élamites aient eu un petit rôle dans la création du cunéiforme vieux-perse, peut-on le définir davantage? En d’autres termes, les signes que D’Erme, et moi-même à sa suite, pensons venir du syllabaire néo-accadien peuvent-ils en fait dériver du syllabaire élamite récent?

— La création du vieux-perse *ç* peut s’être faite à partir de l’accadien comme de l’élamite, car le signe  existe dans les deux écritures avec à peu près les mêmes valeurs (acc *ša*, *ša?za*);

— idem pour vp *l*, issu de acc. et/ou él. *la*.

— idem pour vp *r*, issu de acc. *ra* et/ou él. *ra* (quoiqu’en élamite ce signe soit un peu plus complexe).

— On fait depuis longtemps dériver vp *b* de l’acc. *pa*, *bá* ; or la valeur de ce signe est davantage *pa* (consonne sourde) que *ba* (sonore) (Malbran-Labat 1976: no 295); de fait, ce même signe existe en élamite avec la valeur *pa* et non *ba*; or pour prendre comme modèle du vieux-perse *b* un signe dont la valeur normale implique la consonne sourde correspondante, il faut passer par une langue qui a tendance à ne pas toujours distinguer les sourdes des sonores, ainsi que le fait l’élamite; reste à savoir pourquoi on n’a pas pris le signe él. *ba* : parce qu’il est le même que vieux-perse *r*. Donc à mon avis, le modèle de vp *b* est bien le signe acc. et él. *pa*, *bá*, mais avec un intermédiaire élamite.

— Pour D’Erme, vp *t* vient de l’accadien *ta* et cela me semble juste; on n’a pas pu prendre un signe él. *ta* car il n’en existe pas, le son [ta] étant noté en élamite achéménide soit au moyen du signe *da*, *tá*.

Il me semble que le ‘modèle’ accadien dont le rôle dans la création du cunéiforme vieux-perse est bien moindre que le ‘modèle’ sémitique, ne puisse totalement se passer du truchement des scribes élamites; ces derniers ont fait des adaptations à partir soit des signes élamites, soit des signes accadiens, en

ayant comme règle de produire des signes vieux-perse à cinq éléments maximum et de ne pas produire des signes vieux-perse identiques à des signes élamites avec la même valeur.

I.1.6. Il faut enfin faire quelques remarques:

— Le cunéiforme vieux-perse contient sept signes commençant par un coin: k^u , u , x , g , g^u , d^u , h , sur un total de 36 signes, soit un cinquième; le syllabaire élamite achéménide contient 10 signes commençant par un coin sur 131; le syllabaire néo-babylonien en contient 28 (j'exclus de ce compte les signes qui commencent par deux coins superposés et par une série de coins) sur un total d'environ 390. Donc la proportion de signes commençant par un coin est plus importante dans le cunéiforme vieux-perse.

— Le cunéiforme vieux-perse contient huit signes à coins centraux: θ , f , y , r^u , n^u , m^i , m^u , j^i ; sur ce nombre seuls θ est expliqué par D'Erme et Cohen à partir d'un modèle sémitique et n^u par moi-même à partir d'un modèle élamite; pour les autres la dérivation ou l'invention s'imposent.

— L'ensemble de ces deux groupes: k^u , u , x , g , g^u , d^u , h , θ , f , y , r^u , n^u , m^i , m^u , j^i , contient huit des onze signes 'syllabiques' du cunéiforme vieux-perse. Ces signes sont donc très probablement inventés (sauf k^u et n^u) en mettant en oeuvre un procédé commun à tous les systèmes cunéiformes mais jusque là peu exploité, à savoir *l'usage extensif du coin*.

— Sur les sept signes commençant par un coin vus plus haut, k^u vient du sémitique [q], h du sémitique [h], tandis que l'origine des autres est plus ou moins obscure; dans cette situation, le groupe constitué par h d'un côté, x , g et g^u de l'autre éveille l'attention: ici a pris place un procédé de dérivation intérieur aux signes créés pour le vieux-perse, mais dont les modalités sont à peu près indescriptibles, car aucune logique graphique apparente ne s'y fait jour, tandis qu'une partielle analyse des sons rentre en compte.

— Il n'est pas impossible qu'on ait affaire également à une dérivation, encore une fois nébuleuse, pour les signes d^i et d^u à partir de d , lui-même créé en adaptant un 'modèle' sémitique; idem pour le groupe m^i et m^u à partir de m ; idem pour t^u dérivé à partir de t , mais sans logique (laquelle voudrait que ce signe a u 'inhérent' comporte un coin). Il faut enfin peut-être admettre avec Cohen que vieux-perse j^i dérive de vieux-perse j .

Dans la mesure où les procédés de dérivation ne sont jamais clairs, ni du point de vue graphique, ni du point de vue phonétique d'une part, dans la mesure, d'autre part, où il reste des signes non expliqués (a , i , u , j , f , v , y , r^u , v^i), du moins à mon avis, il est très difficile de distinguer dérivation et création; ces deux procédés de formation des signes sont pratiquement indissociables et se rapprochent d'autant plus qu'ils s'appuient l'un et l'autre sur l'utilisation extensive du coin.

Cette utilisation extensive du coin dans la dérivation et la création des signes me paraît exclure en fait que le cunéiforme vieux-perse soit le résultat d'une évolution historique *ancienne*: on a créé de toutes pièces un système cunéiforme bâtard, manifestant un caractère graphique innovateur et une certaine analyse des sons de la langue, sans doute inspirée par les 'alphabets sémitiques'.

De fait, je pencherais pour la vision suivante de l'invention du cunéiforme vp: elle aurait été faite dans sa totalité et non au petit bonheur⁵ pour graver Bisotun —, avant Darius, assurément à la demande du pouvoir royal: les scribes élamites, sans y avoir eu une part prépondérante mais on va encore reparler de leur rôle n'y auraient pas été étrangers; l'exemple de l'araméen est plus important que le 'modèle' élamite-accadien, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un cunéiforme; les signes 'syllabiques' ont sans doute été inventés pour prévenir des lectures aberrantes, sans que l'on puisse savoir quelles lectures on voulait ainsi éviter, car je ne crois pas, ainsi qu'on va le voir plus loin, que Bisotun tel que nous le connaissons soit le premier texte de quelque longueur écrit en cunéiforme vp.

1.2. Note à propos du système d'écriture.

Sous cette rubrique, Lecoq (1974: 38-46) mettait les conventions graphiques, les graphies défectives et le signe de séparation de mots et il cherchait l'origine du système d'écriture vp; ce n'est pas mon cas; je n'envisage pas de donner une réponse à cette question, et ne désire qu'observer les points de convergence avec l'élamite.

— On sait que le vieux-perse ne note pas *n* et *m* implosifs; il se trouve que cela peut également être le cas en élamite: le nom du dieu Humban peut s'écrire *Hu-ban* et *Hu-um-ban*, la graphie ne notant pas la nasale n'étant nullement exceptionnelle (EKI: p. 190); de même le nom du 'roi' peut s'écrire phonétiquement *su-un-ki* ou *su-ki* (et encore autrement: EKI: p. 215), les graphies qui ne portent pas la nasale se trouvant réparties depuis Humban-nummenna I (XIII^e s. av. n. è.) jusqu'à Atamiti-Insusnak (env. 650 av. n. è.). Pour la graphie défective du *n* devant *d* ou *t*, je n'ai pu trouver dans Hallock que l'exemple suivant: le nom propre Kundakka écrit *ku-un-tuk-ka* ou *ku-tuk-ka* (PFT: 714).

— Pour la graphie particulière du *h* en vieux-perse,⁶ la situation est d'entame complexe: *h* n'est noté ni devant " ni devant consonne, enfin *i* n'est pas noté derrière *h* (sauf dans le nom de l'Indus). Si ce dernier phénomène n'a pas de corrélat en élamite, on sait que *h* tend à n'être plus noté dans cette

⁵ Pour reprendre l'expression de Lecoq (1983, p. 38).

⁶ Lecoq (1974: 40) a éliminé d'emblée l'influence du «modèle» élamite à ce propos; mais il ne se plaçait pas dans une perspective de convergence.

langue, en certaines situations: il n'est plus noté du tout dans la suffixation verbale (Grillot, 1987: 13.2.1)⁷ et tend à s'amuir en début de mot: ainsi on a *i* pour *h'* 'ce' (PFT: p. 696), Umbar et Humbar (PFT: 768) etc. (en médio-élamite je n'ai pu trouver que le couple Hišmitik/Išmitik, *EKI* 7 II b, pour le nom d'une divinité).

Qu'on me comprenne bien: je ne veux nullement démontrer que l'élamite a servi de 'modèle', terme de toute façon impropre pour caractériser les rapports du vieux-perse avec quelque système d'écriture que ce soit; mais il me semble que les inventeurs du cunéiforme vp, qui se sont inspirés de multiples exemples, n'étaient pas ignorants de certains usages des scribes élamites; en quelque sorte, si les 'modèles' sont d'ailleurs, leur choix et leur systématisations entretiennent de curieux rapports avec les possibilités qu'offrait d'elle-même l'écriture élamite.

Il en va de même avec le signe de séparation des mots, qui certes est absent du cunéiforme élamite et qui doit être un emprunt à l'ourartéen (Diakonoff 1970: 102); il recouvre cependant l'usage multiplié des déterminatifs en élamite, qui, précédant les mots, en indiquant la 'nature' (noms propres, titres, noms de lieu, noms de bois, noms d'objet en bois etc.) et agissent de ce fait dans le processus de la lecture comme un séparateur de mots, car si un mot est marqué par un déterminatif et donc limité en son début, le déterminatif limite le mot précédant en sa fin.⁸ Doit-on attribuer la multiplication des déterminatifs en élamite achéménide à l'influence de l'usage du signe vieux-perse séparateur de mots? Il semble que non: parce que dans les textes de Hanne, par ex., certains mots comme *puhu* 'rejeton', *rigibal* 'ministre', *šatin* 'prêtre' (dans ce cas: *šin-šatin* 'prêtre de la Lune'), *tipi* 'scribe' (Hinz 1962) sont marqués du déterminatif *v* des personnes, alors qu'il s'agit de noms de métier, de fonction ou de statut, et que, autant que je sache, ces noms ne sont

⁷ Je remercie très chaleureusement Françoise Grillot de m'avoir donné ses *Éléments de grammaire élamite* sous forme de manuscrit; ils sont cités ici, quoique n'étant pas encore parus, avec la date de 1987 et selon la numérotation des paragraphes.

⁸ La question des déterminatifs en élamite achéménide et pré-achéménide réclamerait réflexion; les déterminatifs sont *m* (devant les NP masculins, noms de peuples, de métiers, devant les termes indiquant un statut social, l'idéogramme pour «roi», les pronoms personnels, parfois les pronoms relatifs des animés, etc), *h* (devant les NG, les termes désignant un endroit, bâti ou non, les pays, etc.), *w* (devant les noms du bois, des bois, des objets en bois, des grains, des fruits, etc), *f* (devant les NP féminins, les noms de métiers féminins, d'animaux femelles), *d* devant les noms divins, les noms de mois, certains termes du lexique religieux, etc), *v* (devant les noms de peuples et de pays, en concurrence avec *m* et *h*); à cela il faut ajouter le logogramme *MEŠ* noté *lg* par Hallock, PFT qui indique que le mot qui précède est écrit sous forme de logogramme. Des comptes faits par sondages dans le corpus des inscriptions de Darius et des tablettes m'a donné une moyenne de *un* déterminatif (y incluant le signe *lg*) pour 2,4 mots, ce qui est une très haute proportion. Enfin l'indifférenciation relative dans l'usage des déterminatifs (voir *babili-ra* 'un Babylonien' précédé de *m*, de *v* ou de *h*: Hallock PFT: 674) renforce l'idée que les déterminatifs servent de séparateur des mots, en même temps qu'elle ancre cet usage dans l'écriture élamite, car si les déterminatifs avaient été influencés par le clou de séparation de mots vp, pourquoi se serait-on encombré de déterminatifs équivalents?

pas marqués du déterminatif des personnes en médio-élamite.⁹ De toutes façons, si l'on admet pareille influence, il faut en tirer les conclusions nécessaires: dans la mesure où la multiplication des déterminatifs est sensible dans les inscriptions royales, et dans Bisotun en particulier, cette influence devrait s'être exercée largement en amont de la gravure du texte élamite sur le rocher. Il est sûr néanmoins que les déterminatifs se multiplient de façon quasi délirante dans les inscriptions d'Artaxerxès II.

Une fois de plus je ne veux noter que la convergence des usages vieux-perse et élamite, l'absence d'étrangeté radicale entre deux systèmes d'écriture que l'on tient d'habitude pour fort éloignés l'un de l'autre.¹⁰ Ces convergences et cette absence d'étrangeté ne peuvent s'expliquer que par l'histoire des plus ou moins anciens contacts entre les Elamites et les Perses; même si l'exemple des alphabets sémitiques est graphiquement et linguistiquement plus important que l'exemple médio- et néo-élamite, même si la représentation idéologique de l'écriture est d'origine mésopotamienne, je pense qu'on ne peut se poser la question de l'origine du cunéiforme vieux-perse sans en passer par l'élamite: on ne peut éliminer les scribes élamites du *staff* des intellectuels travaillant à l'ombre du grand roi.

II. Les modèles littéraires.

Quittant la question du cunéiforme vp, je voudrais examiner celle des modèles littéraires de certaines inscriptions royales, pensant en filigrane que l'invention d'une écriture et la création d'une littérature écrite sont peut-être en relation; comme pour l'écriture, je procèderai en commençant par une revue d'articles et en continuant par des remarques personnelles.

II.1.1. Le cylindre de Cyrus.

Le cylindre de Cyrus est un bon texte babylonien; Harmatta (1971) le rapproche de façon convaincante des textes d'Assurbanipal relatant la reconstruction de Babylone et le rétablissement du culte de Marduk. Pour sa part, A. Kuhrt, qui s'accorde avec Harmatta, pense que: «The Cyrus cylinder is a document composed in accordance with traditional Mesopotamian royal building texts and apart from the inconvertible fact that the main protagonist is a Persian no foreign and/or new literary elements appear in it» (1983: 92).

Le fait paraît acquis et s'explique historiquement, ainsi que le fait A. Kuhrt: «the main significance of the text lies in the insight it provides into the

⁹ En particulier *puhu* «rejeton», qui n'a pas de déterminatif en médio-élamite: *EKI* 46 par 11, 47 par 13.

¹⁰ Depuis, je crois, Weissbach 1911.

mechanism used by Cyrus to legitimate his conquest of Babylonia by manipulating local traditions» (1983: 93).

II.1.2. *Le texte égyptien de la statue de Darius Ier de Suse.*

Ce que dit A. Kuhrt du cylindre de Cyrus pourrait se dire des *egyptiaka* de la statue de Darius trouvée à Suse. On peut d'ailleurs lire dans Yoyotte: «le texte 2 (le principal texte égyptien, de loin plus important que tous les autres) (...) appartient à l'«éloge royal». Un seul passage est rendu dans la langue parlée de l'époque: les titres qui (...) reproduisent la traduction démotique de la littérature perse de Darius. Tout le reste est composé en égyptien classique, selon l'usage prévalent dans la rédaction des inscriptions monumentales» (1972: 254). «Empruntés à un répertoire traditionnel, le décor et les textes gravés (...) servaient avant tout à proclamer et à renforcer, par la vertu magique de l'écrit et de l'image, la permanence de la fonction royale et sa portée cosmique» (id.: 259).

En ce sens, les *egyptiaka* de la statue de Darius sont l'équivalent du cylindre de Cyrus. Mais la présence des titres royaux en démotique et traduits du perse, ainsi que celle d'inscriptions perse, accadienne et élamite, montre à l'évidence une différence idéologique; dans le cas de Cyrus, c'est le roi et sa tradition qui sont phagocytés par Babylone, dans le cas de Darius, le roi assume la tradition égyptienne qu'il englobe dans son univers.

II.1.3. *Bisotun: E.J. Bickerman et H. Tadmor: 'Darius I, Pseudo-Smerdis and the Magi' (1978).*

D'avantage qu'aux modèles littéraires, Bickerman et Tadmor s'intéressèrent aux modèles idéologiques; ainsi la paragraphe 14 de Bisotun exprimant la pacification de l'empire recouvre-t-il un «lieu commun de l'idéologie babylonienne»: après les ravages causés par un usurpateur, «then a just king will arise; he will reestablish the cult. The abandoned cities will be reinhabited, the possessions of law will be safe. This scheme was used to glorify the founders of new dynasties» (1978: 245).

Cet article déjà ancien est connu de tous. Je ne le rappelle ici que dans la mesure où il permet de montrer que 'modèles idéologiques' et 'modèles littéraires' sont quasiment indissociables. En effet, le problème de Bisotun comme texte littéraire est très complexe.

II.1.4. *Bisotun: J. Harmatta: 'Königliche Res Gestae und epische Dichtung', (1982).*

Dans cet article d'une extraordinaire concision, Harmatta reprend le problème des modèles de Bisotun et l'élargit. En voici les idées:

— Le texte perse de Bisotun porte les traces d'une poésie accentuelle et rythmée.

— Les modèles littéraires sont certainement les annales assyriennes mais Harmatta n'exclut pas l'influence des chroniques babyloniennes.

— Puisque Bisotun I-IV relate l'histoire de la première année du règne de Darius et Bisotun V celle des deux années suivantes, on peut penser que la cour achéménide a tenu des livres historiques semblables à la chronique babylonienne.

— Puisque le nombre des morts et des blessés se trouve noté dans la version accadienne, on peut penser que les annales étaient tenues à la cour du Grand Roi en babylonien, d'autant plus que ces comptes mortuaires sont tout à fait étrangers au Livre des Rois de la culture iranienne.

— Si, en cherchant des prédécesseurs accadiens à Bisotun, on se dirige tout naturellement vers les textes d'Assupbanipal, il faut reconnaître que: «während der Text des Rassam-Zylinder eine hochliterarische Komposition darstellt, die Bisotun-Inschrift die charakteristischen Merkmale der oralen Dichtung widerspiegelt» (87). En tout état de cause, il semblerait qu'un cadre littéraire assyro-babylonien a été rempli avec des formes de la poésie épique iraniennes.

— Reste à définir cette forme: elle est partiellement décelable dans l'usage de la phrase césure «Le roi Darius déclare». Les *Res Gestae* de Darius ne sont pas des récits à la première personne, puisque la phrase césure introduit, comme une citation, le discours direct, alors que l'épopée héroïque primitive (comme chez les peuples sibériens par exemple) est un pur récit à la première personne et que la première personne a été conservée par la tradition écrite assyrienne; donc le genre littéraire des *Res Gestae* royales est né en Perse à un moment où la technique épique s'était grandement compliquée. C'est cette technique que l'on a utilisée dans Bisotun.

En bref, les modèles littéraires de Bisotun ne sortent pas définitivement éclaircis: ne s'imposent ni les annales royales assyriennes ni les chroniques babyloniennes; seul le cadre s'impose, rempli avec des formes iraniennes dont la phrase césure est l'indicateur privilégié.

II.2. Encore: Bisotun: nouvelles recherches.

Harmatta a sans nul doute raison, la phrase césure dont il n'y a pas d'équivalent dans la littérature mésopotamienne et qui est omniprésente dans les textes de Darius, hormis les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques est un fait perse. Nous y reviendrons.

Par ailleurs, je crois que s'il est si difficile de trouver des modèles mésopotamiens à Bisotun, c'est parce que l'on ne distingue pas 'modèles idéologiques' et 'modèles littéraires', qui sont de toutes façons imbriqués.

On ne reviendra pas ici sur les modèles idéologiques: il suffit de dire que Bisotun est dans son entier un texte voué à la légitimation¹¹ du pouvoir de Darius, et que, si cette légitimation s'exprime selon des catégories perses, elle recoupe les modes de légitimation des autres peuples, par convergence et par influence. A cela s'ajoute enfin le cadre de cette légitimation: l'écriture cunéiforme, les grandes inscriptions royales, les bilingues (trilingues). Support et matière de l'écrit sont, chez les Achéménides, d'inspiration mésopotamienne et portent la marque, peut-être plus que d'éventuels 'modèles littéraires', de la continuation par les Perses des faits politico-culturels mésopotamiens.

Mais il nous faut revenir sur les sources textuelles qui sont à l'origine des récits de Bisotun et sur la forme stylistique.

II.2.1.

Comme Harmatta, je pense que la base factuelle des récits de Bisotun vient d'annales royales: ce sont assurément les *basilikai diphtherai* attestées par Ctésias, dont on a l'écho par Diodore de Sicile II 32. J'ajoute à cela mon interprétation de la version perse du paragraphe 70¹²: «Le roi Darius déclare: par la volonté d'Ahura Mazdâ, ce texte que j'ai reproduit existait en aryen, et sur tablette et sur parchemin (il manque peut-être un verbe en vieux-perse) ...; j'ai reproduit mon nom (?), j'ai reproduit mon origine et (cela) a été écrit et lu devant moi. Ensuite, ce texte là, je l'ai envoyé partout dans les pays; les gens (élamite: l'ont copié)». Que pouvait bien être ce texte 'en aryen', qui existait (auparavant) et qui a été 'reproduit', sinon des annales royales? Le paragraphe 70 de Bisotun implique l'existence d'annales. En plus de cette relation historique, Darius a reproduit son nom et sa généalogie; le texte fut donc composé, en présence de Darius, avec son accord, à partir de documents divers.

En bref, Bisotun tel que nous le connaissons est le résultat d'une composition multiple: si des annales royales y sont implicites, si les titres royaux furent créés au fur et à mesure des besoins d'autres étapes nous manquent, puisque nous ne pouvons savoir quels documents sont à la base de certains passages de la colonne IV qui sont les prémices du 'Miroir du Prince' développé dans DNb et XPl.

Ce qui m'apparaît comme désormais clair, c'est que l'on ne peut recomposer l'histoire du cunéiforme vieux-perse à partir du texte de Bisotun tel que nous le connaissons: nous ne connaissons pas le texte primitif, l'*Urtext*. Et c'est pour cette même raison que les 'modèles littéraires' de Bisotun sont en grande partie indécélables: non seulement le cadre idéologique et matériel

¹¹ Herrenschmidt 1982.

¹² La démonstration philologique doit paraître dans les *Mélanges offerts à Gilbert Lazard* (000).

vient de la Mésopotamie, mais encore il est rempli de multiples formes, les unes d'origine anciennes, les autres créées *ad hoc*.¹³

II.2.2.

L'hypothèse de Harmatta selon laquelle la phrase césure 'le roi Darius déclare' est l'indicateur de la tradition orale est aussi probable qu'indémontrable; on peut néanmoins regarder si la version accadienne traduit exactement le style perse ou si, au contraire, une adaptation s'y fait jour.

Observons donc la distribution des paragraphes dans ces deux versions:

— La version vieux-perse compte 69 paragraphes (en éliminant le 70ème qui n'a pas d'équivalent accadien.); la version accadienne 55.

— Les paragraphes 1 à 9 sont distribués de la même façon en vieux-perse et en accadien, ces premiers paragraphes ne contiennent aucun récit historique (ou prétendument tel), mais les titres royaux, la généalogie, la 'remise' du royaume par Ahura Mazdâ à Darius, l'état de l'empire, la soumission des pays-peuples au Grand Roi; ce sont, en gros, des phrases qui tendront à devenir des formulaires.

— Le paragraphe 10 vp. (DB I 26-35) commence à raconter les événements qui justifient l'arrivée de Darius au pouvoir: la mort de Cyrus, l'assassinat de Bardiya par son frère, la mort de Cambyse; le paragraphe 11 suivant fait intervenir Gaumâta le Mage (DB vp. I 35-43).

En accadien, le paragraphe 10 est formé de l'ensemble des paragraphes 10 et 11 vp: le texte accadien ne sépare pas par la phrase césure le récit du meurtre qui fonde en raison les malheurs de Cambyse et le succès de Darius de l'apparition de Gaumâta comme protagoniste; le texte accadien est plus économe et plus logique que le vieux-perse.

La même économie peut être relevée dans une bonne part de la suite des deux versions: dans les épisodes de Martiya, de Phraorte, de Vahyazdâta, d'Arxa et même de la colonne IV du texte vieux-perse.

— Episode de Martiya: paragraphes 22 et 23 en vieux-perse, 21 seul en accadien.

— Episode de Phraorte: neuf paragraphes en vieux-perse (24 à 32 inclus), quatre en accadien (22 à 25 inclus). Comment a été faite l'économie de la césure en accadien? D'abord parce que le texte accadien, comme pour Gaumâta, ne sépare pas l'introduction de la révolte de Phraorte (vp. paragraphe 24) de la riposte royale (vp. paragraphe 25) et énonce l'ensemble dans

¹³ Il y a en effet une forte divergence entre les titres royaux de DB (él.) a et ceux de DB (él.) I: dans DB (él.) a il *manque* les titres de «grand roi» et de «roi des pays», en même temps que l'ordre est différent. Or on sait que DB (él.) a est probablement antérieure à la graphie de DB (él.) I-III et DB (vp) I-IV. Les titres royaux ont effectivement changé au cours du règne de Darius: ils comptent une large part de création *ad hoc*, au gré des conquêtes et des transformations sociales et politiques.

le paragraphe 22; ensuite, le texte accadien fait intervenir la phrase césure seulement lorsqu'un nouveau ou différent chef perse rentre en action: ainsi lorsque c'est Dadarši qui mène les armées perses contre Phraorte, le texte vieux-perse atteste trois paragraphes, le texte accadien un seul. De la sorte, le texte accadien distribue le récit des batailles menées par Vaumisa en un paragraphe (24) contre deux en vieux-perse (29 et 30), de même lorsque Darius est le général des armées perses (accadien: paragraphe 25, vieux-perse 31 et 32).

— Episode de Vahyazdâta: neuf paragraphes en vieux-perse (40 à 48), six en accadien (33 à 38). C'est dans le corps du récit qu'intervient la différence de composition entre les textes vieux-perse et accadien, car les parties formulaires du type: «Le roi Darius déclare, ce pays devint mien, voilà ce que j'ai fait en NG» (vp. paragraphes 44 et 48, acc. paragraphes 36 et 38) sont attestées en accadien et vieux-perse avec les mêmes coupures. De fait, les exploits d'Artavardiya sont contés en un seul paragraphe en accadien (34) contre deux en vieux-perse (41-42), ceux de Vivâna contre les partisans de Vahyazdâta, ce dernier étant mort, sont contés en un paragraphe en accadien (37) contre trois en vieux-perse (45-47).

— Episode d'Arxa: vieux-perse paragraphes 49-50, accadien paragraphe 39; ici le texte accadien fait l'économie de la séparation entre l'introduction de la révolte et la riposte royale.

Enfin les parties conceptuelles de la colonne IV du texte perse ne sont pas reproduites avec les mêmes séparations dans la version accadienne; ainsi le texte vieux-perse comporte deux paragraphes (60 et 61) là où l'accadien n'en a qu'un (49) pour appeler le lecteur-auditeur à croire la parole royale et à en faire la publicité, sachant que s'il la fait Ahura Mazdâ lui sera favorable et que s'il ne la fait pas Ahura Mazdâ le punira. De même, le texte accadien n'a qu'un paragraphe (53) là où le vieux-perse en a trois (65-67), lorsque Darius exhorte le visiteur à préserver les bas-reliefs sculptés de Bisotun et les textes gravés, sachant qu'Ahura Mazdâ le favorisera ou le punira selon ses actes.

Si le texte accadien est plus économe de la phrase césure que le perse, cette économie n'a pas été réalisée systématiquement; de fait, la guerre entre Darius et Nidintu-Bêl est racontée en trois paragraphes en vieux-perse et en accadien; de même, lorsque Vištâspa commande les armées de son fils le texte est scindé en deux fractions (paragraphes vp. 35-36, accadien 28-29); ailleurs, la version accadienne sépare l'introduction de la révolte de Vahyazdâta de la riposte royale, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans les épisodes de Martiya et de Phraorte.

Mais dans l'ensemble, et c'est surprenant dans les parties conceptuelles de la fin de Bisotun, les scribes responsables de la version accadienne ont fait un usage raisonné de la phrase césure, en ne l'employant pas toujours là où elle gênait le sentiment de logique, qu'il s'agisse de la logique du récit ou de la

logique du discours. Obligés, à cause du modèle dont ils disposaient, de suivre un usage étranger à la culture assyro-babylonienne, ils l'ont fait avec économie et raison.

Je ne crois pas qu'un pareil travail sur le texte puisse avoir été fait au moment d'une dictée; si, comme le pense E. von Voigtlander (1978: 7) «the frequent use of *arki* as a connective to indicate a sequence of events seems more characteristic of speech than of written language, as are the short simple sentences, the free word order, and the frequent appearance of Aramaisms», cela peut être dû à de multiples phénomènes dont en premier lieu le caractère de 'littérature orale' du document de base, lequel était perse à mon sens, avec la plus ou moins grande technicité linguistique et littéraire des scribes responsables du texte accadien.

De plus, les nombreuses différences relevées par R. Schmitt (1980) entre les versions vieux-perse et élamite d'une part, accadienne de l'autre ne peuvent pas à chaque fois être interprétées comme la conséquence d'une mauvaise audition au moment de la dictée, en particulier le fait que Nidintu-Bêl soit défini par le nom propre de son père en vieux-perse et élamite et par le titre de ce dernier *zazakku* (Voigtlander 1978: 20) en accadien. Sans doute, le ou les documents de base ont été différemment traités par les scribes.

II.3. Le panneau trilingue du mur de soutènement sud de Persépolis: essai d'analyse littéraire.

9 A ma connaissance, on ne s'est jamais intéressé à la composition littéraire de l'ensemble que forment les textes DPd (vp), DPe (vp), DPf (él.) et DPg (acc.). Je vais essayer de le faire, sachant que dans ce domaine les amateurs de démonstration stricte et définitive risquent d'être déçus. Pour plus de commodité dans l'exposé, je reproduis d'abord les quatre textes.¹⁴

DPd (vp), sur vingt-quatre lignes, à la gauche du panneau.

1-5 Ahur Mazdâ est grand, le plus grand des dieux; il a rendu Darius roi, il lui a remis le royaume. Par la volonté d'Ahura Mazdâ Darius est roi.

5-12 Le roi Darius déclare: «ce pays perse, qu'Ahura Mazdâ m'a remis, qui est bon, nanti de bons chevaux, de bons guerriers, par la volonté d'Ahura Mazdâ et la mienne, Darius le roi, ne tremble devant nul autre».

12-24 Le roi Darius déclare: «Qu'Ahura Mazdâ m'apporte son aide avec tous les dieux, et encore qu'Ahura Mazdâ protège ce pays de l'armée ennemie, de la mauvaise récolte, du mensonge. Que sur ce pays ne déferlent ni l'armée ennemie, ni la mauvaise récolte, ni le mensonge. C'est le bienfait que je

¹⁴ Les textes viennent de: vp Kent 1953, él. Grillot 1987, acc. Weissbach 1911.

demande par la prière à Ahura Mazdâ avec tous les dieux. Puisse Ahura Mazdâ m'accorder ce bienfait avec tous les dieux!».

DPe, (vp), deuxième texte depuis la gauche; 24 lignes.

1-5 «Je suis Darius le grand roi, le roi de rois, le roi de pays nombreux, le fils d'Hystaspe, l'Achéménide».

5-18 Le roi Darius déclare: «par la volonté d'Ahura Mazdâ, voici les pays que j'ai conquis avec les Perses, qui m'ont craint, qui m'ont apporté leur tribut: l'Elam, la Médie, la Babylonie, l'Arabie, l'Assyrie, l'Egypte, l'Arménie, la Cappadoce, Sardes, les Ioniens de la plaine et de la mer et les pays d'au-delà de la mer, la Sagartie, la Partie, l'Arie, la Bactriane, la Sogdiane, la Chorasmie, la Sattagydiene, l'Arachosie, l'Inde, le Gandâra, les Scythes, le Makran». 18-24 Le roi Darius déclare: «Si tu penses en toi-même»Puisse-je ne craindre personne«, préserve les Perses; si les Perses sont préservés, un bonheur inaltérable pour très longtemps, (et) ce grâce à Ahura, descendra sur ce domaine».

DPf (él.), troisième texte depuis la gauche; 24 lignes.

1-5 «Moi, Darius le grand roi, roi des rois, roi des peuples, roi sur cette terre, fils d'Hystaspe, l'Achéménide».

5-18 Et Darius le roi dit: «en cet emplacement où cette forteresse-ci a été construite, là, auparavant, aucune forteresse n'avait été construite. Par la grâce (?) d'Ahura Mazdâ, cette forteresse-ci, moi je l'ai construite ainsi qu'en était le dessein d'Ahura Mazdâ, tous les dieux (étant) avec lui, (à savoir) que cette forteresse-ci fut construite. Et je l'ai construite, parachevée et rendue belle et faite résistante, ainsi que cela m'avait été prescrit».

18-24 Et Darius le roi dit: «Moi, qu'Ahura Mazdâ me protège, tous les dieux (étant) avec lui!, et aussi cette forteresse-ci, et encore ce qui a été aménagé pour cet emplacement! Ce que pensera l'homme qui est hostile, que cela ne soit pas reconnu!».

DPg (acc.), dernier texte; 24 lignes.

1-12 Ahura Mazdâ est grand, qui est le plus grand de tous les dieux, qui a créé le ciel, la terre, a créé les hommes, qui a remis aux hommes qui y vivent toute félicité, qui a créé Darius pour être roi et a remis à Darius le roi la royauté sur cette vaste terre, sur laquelle il y a de nombreux pays, la Perse, la Médie et les autres pays aux autres langues, des montagnes et des plaines, de ce côté du fleuve amer et de l'autre côté du fleuve amer, de ce côté de la terre assoiffante et de l'autre côté de la terre assoiffante».

12-24 Le roi Darius déclare: «Par la protection d'Ahura Mazdâ, voici les

pays qui ont construit ceci, qui ici ce sont rassemblés: la Perse, la Mède et les autres pays aux autres langues, des montagnes et des plaines, de ce côté du fleuve amer, de ce côté de la terre assoiffante et de l'autre côté de la terre assoiffante, comme je leur en ai donné l'ordre. Ce que j'ai fait, tout cela je l'ai fait sous la protection d'Ahura Mazdâ. Puisse Ahura Mazdâ me protéger avec tous les dieux, moi et aussi ce que j'ai (?)».

II.3.1.

Il est clair que chaque texte a été conçu comme un tout ayant un sens propre, indépendant de l'ensemble; en effet, la répétition de la titulature en élamite et des créations en accadien ne s'imposait que dans la mesure où l'on voulait produire un texte entier, selon les canons des inscriptions royales.

II.3.2.

Mais il est également clair qu'il y a une composition d'ensemble: si les deux textes perses sont complémentaires, le premier centré sur le caractère sacré de la relation Ahura Mazdâ-Darius-Perse, le second sur le pouvoir royal réel, cette complémentarité s'étend à l'ensemble: Persépolis est annoncé à la fin de DPe, le contexte de sa construction évoqué dans DPf (él.), sa construction même fixée dans DPg (acc.); enfin DPg, qui reprend une bonne part des informations disséminées dans les textes qui précèdent, joue le rôle d'une somme et d'une conclusion pour l'ensemble.

II.3.3.

Mais il y a plus. A regarder de plus près, le texte élamite et le texte accadien ont une coloration littéraire particulière, chacun renvoyant à la littérature du peuple s'exprimant en ces langues. La composition du texte élamite: titulature, historique du bâtiment, prière (et ici malédiction) est des plus courantes dans la littérature royale élamite: la plupart des textes médio-élamites en provenance de Suse sont ainsi composés. Mais voyons les choses d'un peu plus près, autant que faire se peut.

Parmi les textes royaux néo-élamites, celui de Šutur-Nahhunte (EKI 71 A+B), trouvé dans une tombe près de l'acropole de Suse, offre un parallèle intéressant; voici la traduction qu'en donne F. Grillot (1987: texte néo-élamite no 1): «Moi, Šutur-Nahhunte, le fils de Humbanimmena, le roi d'Anzan (et) de Suse, agrandisseur de l'empire, j'ai construit le temple en grès émaillé et j'y ai placé des cornes d'albâtre, puis à Pinigir qui gouverne ce ciel, ma divinité, je l'ai donné. (Celui) qui, ayant enlevé Pinigir en invocation, (la) livrerait, que la terreur de Pinigir soit placée sur lui!».

Mais ce sont certes les textes médio-élamites susiens qui se rapprochent le

plus de ce que nous avons à Persépolis; le rapprochement peut paraître audacieux, dans la mesure où les ces textes ont été écrits au XII^e siècle avant notre ère; mais il faut bien voir que la tradition n'était pas totalement rompue entre l'époque médio-élamite et l'époque néo-élamite, puisque le roi néo-élamite Šutruk-Nahhunte II (716-699)¹⁵ parle dans un de ses textes susiens des rois Hutelutuš-Inšušnak et Silhana-Hamru-Lagamar (circa 1120).

Une brique trouvée à Suse lors de la campagne de 1977 (Vallat, 1978: 97), complétée par un texte connu de König (EKI 61 C), est traduite de la sorte par Grillo (1987: texte méso-élamite no 9): «O Inšušnak! grand parmi les dieux, seigneur de la Ville-Haute. Moi (je suis) Hutelutuš-Inšušnak, agrandisseur de l'empire, souverain d'Elam et de Suse, descendant e Silhaha. Ce que les anciens seigneurs n'ont pas fait, (et) qui n'a (donc) pas été enlevé, pour ma vie, j'ai construit en renouvellement le *kukunnum*¹⁶ d'Inšušnak en briques colorées et en briques brillantes, j'y ai disposé correctement (et) de manière définitive la porte d'argent (et) d'or du *suhter*¹⁷ d'or. (Alors) je te l'ai donné. Pour qu'Inšušnak fasse fouler aux pieds (celui) qui (le) déroberait, (qui) (l') ayant enlevé se (l') approprierait, (qui) ayant martelé la titulature placée là ne la perpétuerait pas, (et) que la terreur de Hutelutuš-Inšušnak et (de) Silhaha soit placée sur lui».

Qu'on observe aussi les textes susiens de Šilhak-Inšušnak, prédécesseur immédiat d'Hutelutuš; ce sont essentiellement des textes courts (sauf EKI 45, 46, 47, 48 et 55), liés à des bâtiments construits ou restaurés par le roi signataire (EKI 32 44, 57-59); leur composition est presque toujours la même: titulature royale, historique du bâtiment (construit ou non par les rois précédants, détruit, refait, etc), don du bâtiment au dieu, souhait. Ainsi EKI: 43, dans la traduction de F. Grillo (1987: texte méso-élamite no 6): «Moi, Šilhak-Inšušnak, le fils de ŠutrukšNahhunte, roi d'Anzan et de Suse. Kutir-Nahhunte a fait des statues en briques cuites et il (y) a déclaré: «là, j'ai construit un temple d'Inšušnak», mais il ne (l')a pas construit. Et (comme) il s'en est allé prématurément, elles ont été placées par moi. J'ai agréé ces statues en briques cuites et j'(en) ai refait. Alors, là j'ai construit le *kumpum kiduia*¹⁸ et je (l') ai offert à Inšušnak, mon dieu. O Inšušnak, mon dieu, que par moi, mon oeuvre te soit dédiée!».

Je ne veux nullement dire que ces textes aient servi de modèle; je crois néanmoins que DPf s'inscrit dans la tradition des textes élamites relatant l'histoire d'un bâtiment construit par un roi. Cela ne me semble pas être le fait du hasard, ou de la nécessité: qu'on compare en effet les textes néo-babyloniens liés à des bâtiments ('building inscriptions', Langdon 1905): leur

¹⁵ Carter & Stolper 1984: 234, 235.

¹⁶ 'Temple haut'.

¹⁷ 'Autel'? voir no 18.

¹⁸ 'Chapelle royale' (...) de culte dynastique? Grillo (1983. p. 11).

style est nettement plus fleuri, plus riche, les textes sont plus longs; textes élamites et vieux-perse rivalisent de sécheresse et de raideur.

En bref, DPf est un bon texte élamite, apparenté à la tradition littéraire élamite, même s'il contient des mots vp. transcrits (*halmarraš* 'forteresse', *harikka* 'hostile'), même s'il atteste pour la première fois le titre impérial ('roi sur cette terre'¹⁹), même s'il ressemble aux inscriptions vieux-perse; à vrai dire les scribes élamites étaient bilingues mais les textes élamites sont à lire dans cette langue et non comme un vieux-perse masqué —, et la littérature royale élamite a directement formé la littérature perse écrite au nom du roi.

Pour DPg (acc.), la question se pose dans d'autres termes; en effet, il ne s'agit pas ici de trouver des textes assyro-babyloniens qui auraient la même composition, comme pour DPf (él.). Il faut voir que le texte accadien d'abord n'atteste qu'une seule phrase césure (contre deux dans DPd, e, f), que les phrases s'y enchaînent avec *ša*, (sorte de 'pronom relatif' invariable), sans rupture, de telle sorte que l'on passe des créations du dieu à la remise de la terre au roi, de celle-ci à la description de la terre; de ce fait, le caractère haché et structuré des textes perses ne se lit pas en filigrane ici, alors que, même après les aménagements qu'on a vus, il apparaît dans la version accadienne de Bisotun. D'autre part, la terre est dans DPg décrite avec des notions et des oppositions qui me sont inconnues en iranien et en élamite:

— l'opposition: montagne (acc. *šadu*) plaine (acc. *mātu*) est des plus courantes; elle sert à décrire métaphoriquement la totalité, l'univers sur lequel règne le roi: ainsi s'exprime Ashur-Nasir-Apli: «Wen Ashur ..., he commanded me to rule, subdue and direct the lands (and) the mighty highlands» (Grayson 1972: 121); Shalmaneser: «king of the extensive mountains and plains» (Grayson 1972: 108).

— l'expression 'terre assoiffante' pour nommer le désert m'est inconnue en iranien; elle se trouve ailleurs en accadien (Streck 1916, 72-3; Wiseman 1958, 79-80). Si je n'ai pu trouver dans les inscriptions royales d'opposition désert-mer, il est clair néanmoins que cette opposition est un procédé supplémentaire pour désigner l'entier de la terre.

Si l'on compare la double description de la terre de DPg par les oppositions montagne-plaine, désert-mer aux descriptions de la terre attestée dans DPe par la liste d'empire et dans DPh par la phrase «ce royaume qui s'étend depuis les Scythes au-delà de la Sogdiane jusqu'au pays de Kush, depuis l'Indus jusqu'à Sardes», (inscription de fondation de Persépolis, de date proche de notre panneau trilingue), on s'aperçoit que la conception qui s'exprime dans DPg (acc.) est très différente, car elle est dépourvue d'orientation; si le centre, ici la Perse et la Médie sont expressément nommés, le reste du monde est relativement indifférencié.²⁰

¹⁹ Herrenschildt 1976.

²⁰ On connaît une carte du II^{ème} millénaire publiée par J. Bottéro 1963: 225 et sqq) où la

DPg ressemble à certains passages des inscriptions royales assyro-babyloniennes, au moins dans le caractère cumulatif des appositions; voyons par exemple Nebuchadnezzar XVII (Langdon 1905, 149), lignes 12-36: «I called unto me the far dwelling peoples over whom Marduk my lord had appointed me, and whose care was given unto me by Šamaš the hero, from all lands and of every inhabited place from the upper sea to the lower sea, from distant lands, the people of far away habitations, kings of distant mountains and remote regions, who dwell at the upper and the nether seas, with whose strength Marduk the lord has filled my hands, that they should bear his yoke, and also the subjects of Šamaš and Marduk I summoned to build E-temin-anki».

Si la version accadienne de Bisotun est l'adaptation en accadien d'un modèle iranien, je ne crois pas qu'on puisse en dire autant de DPg; ce texte a été conçu en accord avec des notions étrangères aux Perses et selon une stylistique proprement assyro-babylonienne.

C'est dire donc que la volonté politique qui se manifeste dans le cylindre de Cyrus et le texte égyptien de la statue de Darius a également inspiré la production des textes du panneau de Persépolis, mais d'une autre façon. En effet, le caractère sacré et cosmique de la royauté de Darius est exprimé dans les textes perses, tandis que la puissance du roi bâtisseur se fait jour dans le texte élamite et que la capacité du roi à rassembler la terre entière pour la construction de son domaine royal est mise en scène en accadien. Littérairement, Darius se présente dans ses textes comme le successeur des rois élamites et (assyro-)babyloniens; plus tard, au moment de la construction des palais de Suse, tout cela sera exprimé en vieux-perse.

Les textes du panneau sont à la fois autonomes et indissociables: on a voulu et produit un ensemble à la fois cohérent et divers, qui assumât et rendît sensible la cohérence dans la diversité. Le panneau de Persépolis se veut une littérature globalisante et universaliste, héritière, en toute conscience, de ce qui formait l'héritage politique et culturel dans lequel se situaient les Perses. Comme l'art royal de Persépolis, si bien décrit par Margaret Cool Root, il faut y voir la volonté royale, un programme défini et conçu d'avance avec des spécialistes particuliers dont la mémoire et les connaissances assureraient le bien-fondé des adaptations. Aucun texte, ou plutôt aucun ensemble de textes, ne montre mieux le travail accompli par les scribes.

Y a-t-il enfin un lieu entre la nature du cunéiforme vieux-perse et celle de la littérature royale en cette langue? Question des plus impressionnistes, peu

Babylonie figure au centre d'un monde formé de plaines et de montagnes. Dans DPg acc., le centre du monde, c'est la Perse et la Médie, ce qui ne se produit jamais dans les inscriptions royales (où l'on trouve soit la Perse seule, soit la Perse, qui n'est pas nommée, avec l'Elam et la Médie, qui sont nommés); l'ensemble Perse + Médie est au fond typiquement mésopotamien pour nommer l'Iran.

scientifique en somme, à laquelle il faut répondre par l'affirmative. Qu'il s'agisse du cunéiforme vieux-perse ou du cadre général du monument de Bisotun, l'inspiration dans les sens esthétique, magique, idéologique, médiatique et j'en passe est mésopotamienne, mais cette inspiration ne peut se passer du filtre technique de la tradition élamite. Qu'il s'agisse de l'origine graphique des signes du cunéiforme vieux-perse et de la composition du panneau trilingue de Persépolis, l'accumulation et le mélange de divers exemples (ou 'modèles') et leur sublimation sont les moyens mis en oeuvre et le but recherché. Qu'il s'agisse encore de certains signes vieux-perse et du caractère sec et raide en un mot quasi structuraliste des textes achéménides, les scribes élamites ont travaillé à chaque étape, comme en symbiose avec les perses, qu'ils ont dû en partie former, en face et à côté de leurs collègues accadiens et araméens. Qu'il s'agisse aussi de la rapide évolution des choses: si dans Bisotun le cunéiforme vieux-perse manifeste davantage son caractère syllabique que dans les textes postérieurs, ainsi qu'on l'a remarqué, si l'ensemble des textes du panneau de Persépolis ne peut s'interpréter que dans les termes d'une *autonomie associative*, très rapidement au cours même du règne de Darius, les Perses se dégagent de leur dette à l'égard de leurs anciens maîtres, se distancient de leurs modèles; ainsi les textes trilingues de Suse (DSf et DSe à chaque fois en vieux-perse, élamite et accadien) et ceux de Naqš-e Rostam (idem) témoignent en faveur d'une traduction en élamite et accadien) et non en faveur d'un travail d'adaptation ou de création.

Qu'il s'agisse enfin de la morale de l'histoire: le cunéiforme vieux-perse comme la littérature royale partagent un caractère de dépense ostentatoire et de luxe de nouveau riche: Cyrus et Darius voulaient ressembler à leurs anciens maîtres, rois de Suse et d'Elam, rois du pays d'entre les deux fleuves, ou encore aux anciens maîtres des pays conquis (Egypte), aussi ont-ils pris pour efficace et surtout esthétique l'accumulation des compétences et le mélange des styles. Cette flambée d'art de parvenu, arrivée trop tard sur le marché, ne pouvait guère se survivre. Et on ne peut que regretter 'l'erreur historique' des premiers Perses s'attachant à la notation de leur langue: ils ont manqué le train de la modernité en prenant le cunéiforme pour modèle; si le soin nécessaire à l'invention d'une écriture royale avait été mis au service de l'invention d'une écriture véritablement alphabétique et cursive, à partir des exemples sémitiques, l'histoire de l'Iran ancien eût été différente et nous aurions échappé à l'épouvantable graphie pehlevie.

Si l'on considère enfin l'ensemble formé par le cunéiforme vieux-perse et son histoire avec la production des textes vieux-perse, élamites, accadiens et araméens sous autorité du grand roi, on ne peut que rester admiratif devant une si diverse et si aigüe activité intellectuelle: côte à côte, ils ont travaillé dur, les scribes du temps de Darius. L'histoire des écritures de l'empire achéménide ajouterait un intéressant chapitre à la question de 'l'écriture et la psychologie des peuples'.

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MEDIA IN THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD: THE LATE IRON AGE IN CENTRAL WEST IRAN

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1. Introduction

Hamadan, the southern Ecbatana, the Achmetha of Ezra vi.2, the capital of the Medes and Persians, renowned for its palace of Darius and Xerxes, and the tomb of Esther and Mordecai — how much history centers in it! ... What antiquities has it? Excavations have not been made. What lies buried of the city captured by Cyrus, Alexander, and Antiochus the Great is unknown. It is even uncertain what descriptions in the classics or in the Book of Judith apply to this city ... the obliteration of the ancient grandeur has been very complete. Jewish peddlers brought us old coins, seals, arrow-heads and teraphim, which had been found in the plain above the city. The ground is overspread with numbers of these small relics. The search for them is a systematic industry, farmed out by the government for revenue. The contractor buys the privilege by taking off the earth to the depth of a yard or more. Trenches are then dug. The soil is dissolved in water and flows into dams, where the heavy matter sinks. The gravel with the jewels, coins, and other relics is picked over and the valuables separated. Many acres have thus been worked over. Sometimes valuable antiques are discovered. (Wilson 1896:156-7).

Many assumptions have been made about the material culture, literacy and life-style of the Medes; in fact, they remain virtually unknown and no artefact or monument may be *confidently* labelled as 'Median'. Even when occupation levels of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. at Hamadan (Ecbatana) have been properly excavated, a 'Median' material culture may still remain difficult to define. (Moorey 1985:2)

In the late 19th century, when the Reverend Wilson recorded his lamentation over ancient Ecbatana, archaeological research in Western Asia was in its infancy and our ignorance of Media's vanished glories was unsurprising. Ninety years later, it can only be regretted that an eminent contemporary scholar can do little more than echo the good divine's observations. The situation, however, is not one of unrelenting gloom. Though Median Hamadan remains unexamined and unexcavated, some small progress in our knowledge and understanding of ancient Media has been achieved.

In the last quarter century, several archaeological projects in central-west Iran, combined with fresh approaches to the history and historical geography of the Neo-Assyrian Zagros in the first half of the first millennium B.C., have laid the foundations for a fuller and more dynamic understanding of the

Median society and culture and have led to radical revision of the earlier paradigms by Young and Dyson of the West Iranian Iron Age (Dyson 1965; Young 1965; Brown 1980; Brown 1981). However, it will become manifestly apparent, as this consideration of the 'état de question' unfolds, that if the foundations have been laid, the blueprint for the superstructure has yet to achieve precise definition. Consequently, the degree to which these recent developments tell us anything of importance about Achaemenid Media is moot.

The reasons for this are both geographical and chronological. While Hamadan lies immediately east of the Alvand alignment, the last major mountain barrier before one reaches the Iranian plateau, virtually all Iron Age excavations and surveys have been conducted in the mountain valleys to the west of the alignment. Moreover, in the current state of our archaeological knowledge, it is impossible to distinguish with confidence Median material culture of the pre-Achaemenid period from that of the Achaemenid period. Consequently, the chronological ascriptions and cultural significance of known late Iron Age occupations remain problematical and our ability to analyse and interpret archaeological survey data is severely impaired.

Equally problematical are the relevant historical data. The primary and secondary historical sources on Media, whether they are Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, Achaemenid, or Greek, are heterogenous in genre, often heavily edited, frequently and frustratingly terse and obscure, unevenly distributed through time, and must always be treated as ideologically biased. Moreover, all are from the perspective of the outsider; we have yet to hear from the Medes themselves.

Given these dissatisfying circumstances, I must tax the patience of those who seek a straightforward inventory of our archaeological knowledge of Achaemenid Media. Perhaps the most productive approach at this stage is to set the problem in its context, that is to present in summary form the archaeological data base for the Iron Age in central-west Iran and to briefly discuss our present understanding of the archaeological sequence, its problems, disjunctions and lacunae. For those unfamiliar with the relevant archaeological sites, I have prefaced the discussion of the sequence with short site descriptions. Finally, I propose to dwell briefly on the conflicting historical paradigms erected on the archaeological data and the themes and trends of development that may be extracted from them.

2.1: Etat de question archéologique

In a recent overview of the Iron Age archaeology of western Iran, Levine (1987) has been able to build on previous paradigms with the help of new data from excavations and survey conducted in the Mahidasht/Kermanshah

area in 1978. Readers are referred to Levine's study for a more comprehensive view of the Iron Age sequence than can be presented here since, in the following discussion, my more restricted temporal and geographical focus will be on the problems of the late Iron Age in central west Iran. However, in order to establish the continuity of the phenomena described, it is best to examine the entire sequence beginning with Iron I.

2.2: Iron Age sites with Achaemenid period levels

Relevant sites for this time range and area include Godin Tepe in the Kangavar Valley, Nush-i Jan Tepe in the Malayer area, Jameh Shuran in the Mahidasht, and Baba Jan Tepe in the Delfan Plain in the eastern Pish-i-Kuh. Though all four sites have two or more phases of Iron Age occupation, only Jameh Shuran and Baba Jan have a stratigraphical sequence *per se*.

2.2.1: Baba Jan Tepe.

Baba Jan Tepe comprises a large central mound with smaller tepes to the east and south-east, the latter being unexcavated (Goff 1969; 1978; 1985). The occupational sequence may be subdivided into three main periods. The earliest Iron Age occupation, Baba Jan III, is represented in the eastern mound, where it is succeeded by later Iron Age material of periods II and I, and in the topmost levels of the central mound. Period III materials include handmade painted pottery of the 'genre Luristan' type in association with a fortified structure and a highly decorated elite complex known as the Painted Chamber in the east mound as well as a fortified manor house atop the central mound. The period III occupation was destroyed by fire. Period II, a squatter occupation, is of markedly different character, consisting of a series of small domestic rooms and workshops built over the burn level, in some cases utilising remnant period III architecture. The 'genre Luristan' pottery of period III continues into period II but with a decrease in overall quality of manufacture and quantity of painted decoration. In addition, a new wheel-made unpainted micaceous buff ware appears alongside the older painted ware and apparently becomes increasingly dominant through the various subphases of period II.

The period I occupation occurs after an hiatus of some length marked by a pronounced erosion stratum and consists of a series of small, stone-built, terraced enclosures linked by retaining walls on top of the East Mound and down the eastern shoulder, and by a number of graves (Goff 1985). At least two, if not three, phases of occupation are represented. The 'genre Luristan' wares of periods III and II disappear completely. Typologically, some of the period I pottery apparently develops out of the period II micaceous buff ware but Goff notes that mica tempering is now very rare (Goff 1985:2).

2.2.2: *Jameh Shuran*.

Jameh Shuran is located a short distance south of the town of Mahidasht (Levine 1987: 235f.). The stratified sequence at the site, known only from two small soundings excavated in 1978, yielded three Iron Age ceramic assemblages. The earliest of these, assemblage III, is represented by only a very small sample of coarse, straw-tempered white ware which occurred in both hand- and wheel-made forms. The most notable diagnostic shape, a goblet, finds its best parallels with the late second millennium B.C. Elamite goblets of Susa and with miniature forms in the Giyan graves. For these and other reasons, Levine tentatively assigns assemblage III to the Iron I period with a late second millennium B.C. date (Levine 1987: 235).

The more plentiful pottery of assemblage II, which falls within the micaceous buff ware tradition, can be stratigraphically divided into early and late phases (Levine 1987: 235). Characteristic shapes of the early phase IIB, such as bowls with horizontal handles and goblets with opposing handles, can be best paralleled at Baba Jan II and Nush-i Jan. In contrast, the later phase IIA is distinguished by a wide range of fine and common ware shallow bowls which find their parallels in Baba Jan I and Godin II. In addition, phase IIA is further characterized by the first appearance of painted pottery in the form of shallow, flat, or slightly convex rimmed bowls; the painted decoration, comprising triangles, parallel lines, bowties and a wide range of other motifs, occurs only on the rim.

While small quantities of the assemblage II painted bowls and unpainted buff ware shapes continue in assemblage I, the overall ceramic character of these upper levels at the site changes markedly. Still basically a buff ware tradition, assemblage I is marked by a wide range of new shapes such as flat bowls, pitchers with trefoil rims, thin-walled cups, tulip bowls, and canteen fragments (Levine 1987: 235). In addition, a new tradition of painted ware occurs in which the paint is applied on both highly burnished and smoother surfaces on the exterior or interior of vessels, depending on whether they are closed or open forms.

The Jameh Shuran sequence is far from being ideal. Both 'genre Luristan' and Parthian period 'clinky ware' occurred on the surface of the site but not in the excavations indicating that the site sequence, let alone the regional sequence, is not fully represented in the soundings. In addition, the soundings were extremely restricted in area, compounding the difficulties of stratigraphic interpretation. However, no matter what surprises the site may hold for future excavators, it is an important addition to the limited Iron Age data base from the central Zagros.

2.2.3: *Godin Tepe.*

Strategically situated in the Kangavar Valley in a position to exercise control over the main line of communication through central-west Iran, Godin Tepe is the largest and most imposing prehistoric site in the region excepting Hamadan itself (Young 1969; Young & Levine 1974). Apart from three early burials and, on the south edge of the citadel mound, some fragmentary walls, the Iron Age occupation of the site was limited to a single monumental architectural complex situated on the Upper Citadel, the highest area of the mound. This period II structure in its mature form filled defensive, domestic and storage purposes and had a complex evolution probably spanning a considerable length of time. Following the abandonment of the main period II occupation, and after an hiatus of unknown duration, parts of the ruined main structure were re-inhabited by a squatters' occupation. All of the period II pottery is wheel-made micaceous buff ware and is thought to represent both the main occupation, at least in its latest phase, and the squatters' occupation. It was not possible to reliably separate the earlier and later material on the basis of stratigraphy or obvious typological differentiation and consequently in the literature the period II pottery has been treated as a whole. The Godin II pottery has recently been re-examined by Ingraham who claims that the pottery of the main occupation can indeed be distinguished from that of the squatter occupation by subtle variations in vessel and rim forms which permit him to date the abandonment of the main complex to the mid-sixth century B.C. (Ingraham 1985:7). To date I have seen Ingraham's conclusions only in summary form and have been unable to obtain a copy of his doctoral dissertation (Ingraham 1986) in which he presents the detailed evidence for these assertions. Unfortunately, therefore, I cannot evaluate his arguments here. In terms of relative stratigraphy, however, it is apparent that while the Godin II pottery is part of the same general ceramic tradition as the micaceous buff wares of Baba Jan II and Nush-i Jan, the closest parallels are to the fine wares of Jameh Shuran IIA (Levine 1987: 235) and the pottery from the II/I erosion level and early building phase IB at Baba Jan (Brown 1980:237).

2.2.4: *Nush-i Jan.*

The Iron Age site of Nush-i Jan is located on top of a natural shale-rock outcrop towards the centre of the Jowkar plain, about 20 kms. west of Malayer and 70 kms. south of Hamadan (Stronach & Roaf 1978; Curtis 1984). The various architectural components of the site, particularly the columned hall, the fort and the attached magazines, show strong similarities to the Godin architectural complex. In addition, as at Godin, the main occupation at Nush-i Jan was followed after an evidently brief hiatus by a

squatters' occupation of the ruined structures, posing the same difficulties for recognising discrete ceramic assemblages for the two phases of occupation.

The period I pottery has yet to be exhaustively published but, in preliminary reports, it is clearly part of the same tradition of unpainted wheel-made micaceous buff ware familiar from Godin and Baba Jan (R. Stronach 1978). Only a few contexts can be reliably associated with the main period of occupation and typologically the strongest parallels to these materials are to Baba Jan II. However, this is also true of pottery from contexts that are assigned to the later squatting phase (Brown 1980:233). Neither phase had any true fine ware. Therefore, although the period I pottery results from two separate phases of occupation, it is a relatively homogenous assemblage that must pre-date the Jameh Shuran IIA, Godin II and Baba Jan I material (Stronach & Roaf 1978:10).

3.1: The C.W. Iranian Iron Age archaeological sequence

In the following consideration of the Iron Age sequence in central-west Iran, the proposed comparative stratigraphy has been augmented by evidence derived from a number of archaeological surveys in central-west Iran. For a more detailed appraisal of these surveys, the reader is again referred to Levine (1987). In the absence of any reliable radiocarbon dates from central-west Iran itself, the dates assigned to each period are based on the Hasanlu sequence and should be understood as very approximate. The degree to which they are applicable to central-west Iran cannot be reliably determined on present evidence.

3.2: Iron I [c.1500? - c.1100? B.C.].

Iron I is represented by 'Elamite' goblets in the Mahidasht/Kermanshah area (Jameh Shuran III) and in Luristan (Tepe Giyan). In those two areas as well as in the Kangavar Valley (the Godin graves) and the Hamadan plain (Swiny 1975:88), it is also marked by the so-called 'Early Western Grey Ware' horizon (cf. Hasanlu V/Dinkha Tepe in Azerbaijan). This distribution suggests the existence of two broad culture areas in western Iran, a northern one encompassing the provinces of Azerbaijan and Kurdistan and a southern Elamite-influenced one with the two overlapping in central-west Iran.

3.3: Iron II [c.1100? - c.800? B.C.].

Iron II is represented in the Mahidasht/Kermanshah area (Jameh Shuran surface material and survey material) and in Luristan (Baba Jan III) by 'genre Luristan' painted ware. At present, it is uncertain what represents Iron II in more easterly areas such as the Kangavar Valley and the Hamadan plain. It is

likely, however, that we should assign the beginnings of the micaceous buff ware tradition to this range, if only to late Iron II.

This suggestion is based on a number of observations. First, micaceous buff ware appears in the earliest phase of Baba Jan II (D/C) as a developed ceramic tradition with its origins in some other area. Second, given the absence of wash and erosion levels between periods III and II in published sections, and the marked continuity between the two periods in 'genre Luristan' ware, the periods III/II hiatus is evidently very brief. It follows, therefore, that the micaceous buff ware in its inception elsewhere should be contemporary with Baba Jan III, i.e. Iron II. This conclusion receives support from the presence of a micaceous buff ware pot which was found in an apparently sealed context on a period III floor in the fort at Baba Jan (Goff 1978: 53, fig.11:10). Third, if micaceous buff ware does not represent the Iron II period in the Kangavar Valley, it is difficult after two archaeological surveys of the area to identify any other ware that does.

The distributional patterns suggest fundamental shifts in cultural alignments in central-west Iran in the Iron II period. South of the High Road, the florescence of genre Luristan wares may indicate the appearance of the small state of Ellipi which, according to Neo-Assyrian texts of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., occupied this general area. Connections to the north are evidently weaker in Iron II given the apparent lack in central-west Iran of a ceramic horizon comparable to that of the Late Western Grey Ware of Azerbaijan. If micaceous buff ware does indeed commence in the Iron II period, it is most likely that we should connect this phenomenon with the arrival of Iranian ethnolinguistic elements in central-west Iran.

3.4: Iron III [c.800? - c.350? B.C.].

Jameh Shuran II permits us to divide the Iron III period into early and late phases even if we cannot ascribe a date to the boundary between the two. Early Iron III is represented by the mixed 'genre Luristan'/micaceous buff ware of Baba Jan II, and the micaceous buff ware of Nush-i Jan I (main occupation and squatter) and Jameh Shuran IIB. Given the apparent longevity of the Godin II architectural complex, it is probable that its earliest phases should also be understood as early Iron III. However, there is nothing in the Godin II ceramic assemblage that can be definitely associated with those early phases in terms of stratigraphically controlled contexts. The dominance of the buff ware tradition in central-west Iran and its spread into Luristan is probably to be interpreted as evidence of Median consolidation in easterly regions (Hamadan, Malayer, Kangavar) accompanied by limited expansion westwards into the Mahidasht/Kermanshah area and southwards into Luristan. There are no firm grounds upon which to date the interface

between early and late Iron III. Curtis (1984: 22) argues that the squatters' levels at Nush-i Jan were probably abandoned ca. 575 B.C. after three generations of occupation spanning perhaps seventy-five years. However, this can only be a subjective judgement and Stronach (1984: vii) allows that the squatter occupation might have continued on down to the late sixth century B.C.

Late Iron III is represented by the continuing buff ware tradition of Godin II (the squatters' occupation), Baba Jan I (the graves and the early (IB) and late (IA) building levels) and Jameh Shuran IIA. Evidently one of the ceramic characteristics of this phase is the appearance within the buff ware tradition of fine thin-walled bowls (Godin II and Jameh Shuran IIA). However, the presence in Jameh Shuran IIA of painted triangle ware which does not occur at either Godin II or Baba Jan I poses a problem.

Two different solutions may account for this discrepancy. First, both Jameh Shuran IIA may be somewhat later than Godin II. Second, the difference could be a regional phenomenon. Levine (1987: 238) prefers the regional as opposed to the temporal explanation and, until evidence to the contrary appears, I am inclined to agree with him. Present evidence suggests that triangle ware of Jameh Shuran IIA type has a restricted distribution from the Mahidasht through Kurdistan (surface material at Ziwiye) into Azerbaijan (upper Hasanlu IIIB). It has not been identified in the Kangavar area either in excavation or survey (Young 1975), nor east of the Alvand in the Hamadan plain (Swiny 1975). Late Iron III is therefore approximately coterminous with the historic Achaemenid period.

3.5: Iron IV [ca. 350? - 150? B.C.].

In the discussion of his survey of the Kangavar Valley, Young (1975) proposed the term Iron IV for all material later than Godin II but earlier than the Parthian 'clinky ware' horizon. For Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, the Iron III/IV interface can now be further characterised by the disappearance of the triangle ware horizon. Levine extends the application of the term, Iron IV, to all of western Iran, suggesting that at the lower end it should incorporate Haerinck's 'early Parthian' (Haerinck 1983; Levine 1987: 239). Thus defined, Iron IV apparently represents a period of marked ceramic uniformity, characterised by a widespread painted ware tradition which unites Jameh Shuran I and Pasargadae and by such ceramic types as fish plates, trefoil mouthed pitchers, canteen jars, and tulip bowls (Jameh Shuran I and Pasargadae) (Levine 1987: 239). Parallels adduced by Levine for the Jameh Shuran I pottery are all to late- or post-Achaemenid contexts (Levine 1987: 239). Such ceramic types as canteens, tulip bowls, and trefoil-mouthed jars, though all standard late Achaemenid forms, have earlier exemplars and

therefore have limited chronological value as index fossils. However, the fish plate is a typical hellenistic shape (Stronach 1978: 184) and its presence in Jameh Shuran I dates that level to the late fourth century B.C. at the earliest.

3.6: Summary.

The archaeological dilemma is apparent. Though much progress has been made over the last three decades of research, the Iron Age sequence for central-west Iran is still a relative stratigraphy lacking any well-dated contexts. Furthermore, the distributional patterns of the various periods and sub-periods are obscured by the unavoidably coarse-grained nature of the survey data. Archaeological explanation, of course, is ultimately based on the relationship between human behaviour and the patterning of material culture within a defined context. However, this relationship is frequently mediated by complex variables. Consequently, even when chronological control is good, the archaeological manifestation of any particular cultural phenomenon or historical event may be obscure and not precisely contemporaneous, making it difficult to establish causal connections. In a situation where tight chronological control and well-defined periodization are absent, any attempt to match archaeological phenomena with historical events and processes is doubly fraught with uncertainty.

4.1: Interpretation

The following frankly speculative remarks should be understood as a preliminary attempt to identify in the archaeological data patterns that may have cultural processual significance. For convenience in this discussion, I propose to employ the following terms to denote the various periods of Median history: the Formative period (from the first appearance of the Medes in the central Zagros sometime prior to the ninth century B.C. down to the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C.); the Imperial period (from 612 B.C. down to the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus II in 550 B.C.); and the Achaemenid period (from 550 B.C. down to the conquest of Persia by Alexander in 330 B.C.).

I employ the term 'imperial' with caution since it has been suggested that the Medes never fully achieved an imperial mode of organization and administration (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988). It is always important to question basic assumptions and there can be no doubt that the political and administrative development of the independent entity of Media was prematurely truncated by Cyrus II. After re-evaluating the relevant archaeological, historical and linguistic evidence, I remain convinced that a Median empire was indeed aborning in the early sixth century B.C. However, the defence of the empire must await another forum.

4.2: The abandonment of the elite Iron III complexes

Of the four excavated sites which underpin the archaeological sequence outlined above, at least three began their life as fortified citadels. During the Iron III period all three underwent a fundamental functional transformation from elite status complexes to much humbler squatting occupations or small villages. These transformations were demonstrably not synchronous and therefore cannot be explained as the results of some single historic event though it remains possible, if unlikely, that they could result primarily from a single ongoing cultural process such as a strong trend towards the centralization of political power. The destruction of the Baba Jan III complex brought about a disjunction not only in site function but, as the consequent marked change in material culture suggests, also in cultural orientation. This disjunction is clearly a middle Formative period event and, although of intrinsic importance, is therefore too removed in time from Achaemenid period phenomena to require further consideration here.

The abandonment of the Nush-i Jan complex apparently precedes that of Godin II and should be ascribed either to the late Formative period or the Imperial period. Unless our understanding of the sequence is considerably in error, it is highly unlikely that it occurred as late as the Achaemenid period. Formative period phenomena that could be invoked in explanation of the abandonment of Nush-i Jan include Assyrian punitive action, conflict and competition between rival Median polities in the period of Median political consolidation, or the increasing centralization of power in Ecbatana following successful state formation. Imperial period phenomena might include further trends to centralization of power in Ecbatana or imperial economic decline.

The Godin II complex is of singular importance in a number of ways. Of the three elite Iron Age complexes discussed above, it was the most strategically situated, the most extensive and elaborately developed, and it also apparently survived to a later date than the Nush-i Jan complex. The abandonment of the Godin complex could conceivably be a late Formative event, but too late in that period to be a result of Assyrian military action. A more likely Formative period explanation would invoke processes of centralization of Median royal power. Alternatively, the abandonment might date to the Imperial period and explanations might include further trends to centralization of Median royal power, imperial economic decline, or the conquest of Cyrus II in 550 B.C. At present, we have no reliable way of determining the objective truth of the matter.

In the seventh century B.C., the existence of fortified elite complexes at Godin and Nush-i Jan demonstrates that the distribution of wealth and political power in the central Zagros was to some degree polycentric. Clearly, at some stage in the late seventh or early sixth centuries B.C. that situation

changed, first at Nush-i Jan and then later at Godin. Two sites are a small sample from which to extrapolate to a whole region; however, the number of such complexes cannot have been large. I would therefore venture to suggest that we will find a similar disjunction in all other late Iron Age fortified elite complexes in central-west Iran.

The difficulty in explanation is not one of finding possible causes but of selection amongst them and adequate testing of how well they might fit. It is arguable that the emergence of a centralized royal power in Ecbatana which could brook no regional rivals might account for the successive abandonment first of Nush-i Jan and then somewhat later of Godin. It is also arguable that the dwindling fortunes and eventual collapse of the Neo-Assyrian empire in the last half of the seventh century B.C. may have brought about such profound economic disturbance in western Asia that the Median state and its embryonic empire never recovered from the long term effects of collapsed markets, disrupted trade routes, and pronounced geopolitical, demographic, and economic realignments. The disjunctions evident at Nush-i Jan and Godin might therefore be understood as part of the socio-economic fallout of those effects. It is further arguable that the Godin complex, which possibly continued to be occupied as late as the mid-sixth century B.C., may have been abandoned in anticipation or as a result of the conquest of Cyrus II in 550 B.C.

4.3: *Media in the Achaemenid Period*

The number of *caveats* and qualifications in the preceding paragraphs is testimony to the lack of chronological precision in the archaeological sequence and the poverty of historical documentation for the late Iron Age in the central Zagros. What therefore can finally be said of Achaemenid Media? Our current understanding of the archaeological situation suggests that, in marked contrast to the preceding Formative and Imperial periods, the Achaemenid period is represented at Godin, Nush-i Jan, and Baba Jan I by simple village or squatter occupations. The nature of the Jameh Shuran occupation in the Achaemenid period cannot be determined because of insufficient archaeological exposure and must therefore be left aside in the following discussion.

These small Achaemenid period settlements have been interpreted by some as evidence that the whole of Media had fallen on hard economic times as a result of the Persian conquest. For example, Ingraham (1986: 804) states that:

It is not until Darius has usurped the throne of the Achaemenid dynasty in times of internal rebellion and wide-scale conquest that peoples of the central-western Zagros ... are living in impoverished conditions.

Certainly the two revolts of Gaumata and Fravartish, one following hard after the other in 522 B.C., must have resulted in unsettled conditions in Media. It is also possible, perhaps even likely, that these events conceal deep and widespread disaffection amongst Medians for their Persian overlords. However, we are unable at this point to establish a causal link and anything more precise than an approximate chronological relationship between the archaeologically known Achaemenid period occupations and the aforementioned historical events. The inference that Medians suddenly became destitute under the new Achaemenid imperial order may ultimately prove to be warranted but, at present, it has no clear support in the evidence. A sample of only three occupations out of what must have amounted to hundreds of Median Achaemenid period villages is exceptionally low and can hardly be considered representative.

Moreover, it should be very clearly noted that our evaluation of these squatter or village occupations as 'impoverished' is a comparative one, contrasting them with the earlier elite complexes and this is a procedure of dubious validity. Our standard of comparison should be that of non-elite occupations of the Formative and Imperial periods. At present, the only unambiguous candidate for such a standard is the Baba Jan II occupation and it is difficult to appreciate why we should consider it any less 'impoverished' than the Achaemenid period levels of Baba Jan I and the squatters' occupation at Godin. Moreover, as noted earlier, both Stronach and Curtis believe that the squatters' occupation at Nush-i Jan continues through the mid-sixth century B.C. when Achaemenid imperial rule was imposed on Media. There is no interruption of the occupation and no apparent decline in the standard of living at the site. In short, these Achaemenid period occupations at all three sites may have been no more impoverished and just as successful as any other village farming settlements in the central Zagros in earlier and later periods. Indeed, the pattern of small undefended farming settlements might equally speak for the relative stability of the region under Achaemenid rule.

What we can infer with more confidence is that the old pattern of the polycentric distribution of wealth and power was evidently not continued or re-established in the central Zagros in the Achaemenid period. This conclusion is not intended to suggest that elite status individuals and groups had disappeared in Achaemenid Media. Historical sources show that individual Medians held high positions in the Achaemenid power structure, that Ecbatana remained an important centre, and that the satrapy of Media generated a considerable amount of tax revenues. Moreover, the continued presence of elite status individuals and groups in central-west Iran is manifested archaeologically by a number of rock-cut tombs which, by their very nature, must be associated with such a class.

Whether the pattern of the polycentric distribution of power was disrupted initially by endogenous change within the power structure of the Median state, by economic decline within the short-lived Median empire, or by the imposition of Persian imperial rule, we cannot at present determine. However, its disappearance suggests a considerably higher degree of centralization of power within Achaemenid Media than in the preceding Formative and Imperial periods. On the other hand, the known distribution of late Iron III triangle ware pottery appears to be sharply demarcated suggesting that local tradition and regional patterns of contact and exchange continued to play a strong role in central west Iran in the Achaemenid period. It is not until the very late Achaemenid or post-Achaemenid period that central west Iranian pottery becomes part of a more uniform ceramic horizon uniting much of southern, western and northwestern Iran. A connection between this phenomenon and the conquest by Alexander seems plausible but cannot in any way be considered as established.

Too often in the past, the arrival of the Achaemenids has been the Great Divide of Iranian scholarship. On one side of the line, Assyrian kings speak cryptically of their exploits in the east; on the other side Greek historians whisper beguilingly in our ears. If there has been any heuristic value to the preceding discussion it is that we cannot hope to understand Median society in the Achaemenid period *de novo* from the conquest of Cyrus II onwards without recognizing that Median society prior to the Achaemenid conquest was already in a state of considerable flux and that we are dealing with a dynamic cultural continuum.

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LES RAPPORTS ENTRE L'ASIE CENTRALE ET L'EMPIRE ACHÉMÉNIDE D'APRÈS LES DONNÉES DE L'ARCHÉOLOGIE.

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L'objet de cette étude est de considérer les manifestations de l'impact perse sur la culture de l'Asie centrale à l'époque achéménide.

C'est un sujet qui a déjà été abordé et qui suscite des opinions très divergentes, essentiellement réparties en deux points de vue selon que l'on se réfère surtout aux sources écrites (par exemple, en dernier lieu, Briant 1984) ou surtout aux faits archéologiques (en général les archéologues soviétiques à la suite de D'jakonov 1954 ou Gardin, par exemple dans Cattenat-Gardin 1977)¹

1 — Les deux points de vue :

Selon les uns, l'Asie centrale faisait incontestablement partie de l'empire achéménide, ne jouissait d'aucun statut particulier lui conférant une quelconque autonomie et les grands travaux hydrauliques qui virent le jour à cette époque étaient voulus et dirigés par l'autorité administrative perse (Briant 1984: 47-103). Leur affirmation repose sur les 'témoignages' perses eux-mêmes (inscriptions royales), sur les sources classiques ou sur la mise en doute de la reconstitution d'un état 'paléo-bactrien' étant donné la faiblesse des textes à ce sujet (essentiellement l'Avesta et un texte de Ctésias de Cnide repris par Diodore de Sicile) et la fragilité des données archéologiques et de leur datation.

Selon les autres, un état bactrien — dont les formes politiques restent, certes, imprécises — a vu le jour avant l'apparition de l'empire achéménide, rendant cette région suffisamment puissante ou autonome pour n'être pas marquée par le pouvoir central perse (Cattenat-Gardin 1977: 243-246). Leur affirmation repose sur un ensemble de découvertes archéologiques qui témoignent de l'existence de certains traits culturels homogènes dans une grande partie de l'Asie centrale, liés au développement de puissantes villes fortifiées et de vastes systèmes d'irrigation. Les dates généralement avancées pour la formation de cet état central-asiatique sont les 8e-7e siècles avant notre ère (période dite de Jaz II, d'après le site éponyme en Margiane) et il aurait poursuivi son évolution sans heurts ni changements fondamentaux au cours

¹ Ce sujet vient également d'être traité par H.-P. Francfort dans un article intitulé «Central Asia and eastern Iran from Cyrus to Xerxes», *CAH* IV.

de la période achéménide (qui devrait correspondre en partie à la phase Jaz III).

On note toutefois une certaine hésitation en ce qui concerne les dates absolues des phases Jaz I-II-III chez les archéologues dans la mesure où les indices habituels permettant de les préciser (monnaies, sceaux, objets importés, etc.) en sont presque totalement absents (Masson 1959: 42-48). L'utilisation du terme 'achéménide' correspond en fait généralement à un assemblage daté 'par défaut', c'est à dire ni hellénistique, ni Jaz I-II.

Les premières publications de notre équipe sur les résultats d'une prospection en Bactriane orientale témoignent des mêmes hésitations et l'on pourra trouver, concernant toute cette période, aussi bien le terme 'achéménide' (Gardin 1981), qu'une appellation moins précise 'milieu du premier millénaire avant notre ère' (Gardin-Gentelle 1979), voire encore plus vague 'pré-hellénistique du premier millénaire avant notre ère' (Gardin-Lyonnet 1979).

Nous nous attacherons ici à démontrer le bien-fondé de ce second point de vue à la lumière de récentes faites en Asie centrale.

2 — *L'existence d'une entité paléo-bactrienne pré-achéménide.*

Toute une série de découvertes et d'études récentes viennent renforcer désormais la thèse de l'existence de cette entité bactrienne à une époque largement pré-achéménide car elles remettent en cause la chronologie adoptée jusqu'à aujourd'hui en U.R.S.S. et tendent à la vieillir encore de quelques siècles.

Les dates proposées par les archéologues soviétiques pour la succession Jaz I-II-III (900-350 av. J.-C.) (Masson 1959: 48) sont en effet ancrées sur trois points principaux:

- a) la fin de la période 'Namazga VI' (considérée comme la fin de l'Age du Bronze) datée autour de 1000 av. J.-C., dans la mesure où les liens génétiques entre le matériel céramique de cette phase et celui de la période Jaz II qui nous concerne sont clairement démontrés (voir par exemple Kuz'mina 1976).
- b) la présence d'objets en fer dans la phase Jaz I (d'où l'appellation 'début de l'Age du Fer' pour cette période et une datation basse adéquate).
- c) la présence de nombreuses pointes de flèches en bronze à deux ailettes et emmanchement à douille ou à soie datées des 8e-7e siècles avant notre ère dans la phase Jaz II.

Or chacun de ces points est désormais contesté:

- a) les recherches menées par H.-P. Francfort sur l'Age du Bronze en Asie centrale à partir des fouilles de Shortughai en Afghanistan du N.E. (Francfort 1984) l'ont conduit à considérer l'assemblage céramique dit 'Namazga VI' de Bactriane et de Margiane comme étant en partie

contemporain de la période harappéenne. Le dernier niveau sur ce site (Shortughai IV), qui a fourni à la fois du matériel considéré comme étant tout à fait similaire à celui de l'étape finale de Namazga VI (Bishkent) et quelques tessons proches de la céramique de Jaz I, ainsi qu'une pointe de flèche en bronze à deux ailettes et à douille, est daté par cet auteur entre 1700 et 1600 av. J.-C. (Francfort 1984: 364).

- b) dans le cadre des recherches que nous faisons afin d'établir la chronologie du matériel céramique ramassé au cours de la prospection en Bactriane orientale, nous avons pu constater qu'en fait il n'y a pas d'objets en fer à l'époque de Jaz I. L'affirmation de nos collègues soviétiques provient de la découverte au début du siècle d'une faucille en fer à Anau, dans une terrasse que les fouilleurs eux-mêmes jugeaient comme faite d'assemblages très hétérogènes (Pumpelly 1908: 110). Les premiers objets en fer apparaissent seulement au cours de la phase Jaz II et en toute petite quantité (voir Sagdullaev 1982). Rappelons que d'après des études récentes le fer apparaîtrait en Iran et en Inde aux environs de 1300 en très petite quantité et que ce serait seulement à partir de 750 av. J.-C. que son développement s'intensifierait (Allchin 1982: 309). Ceci nous conduit à considérer que la période Jaz I correspond plutôt à la fin de l'Age du Bronze et que sa datation se situe sans doute aux environs du troisième quart du 2^e millénaire.
- c) au cours de ces mêmes recherches, nous avons pu constater la fragilité de la datation des pointes de flèches à deux ailettes. Considérées d'abord comme scythiques, on les avait datées en conséquence. Puis, devant leur profusion en Asie centrale et devant leur parenté avec des pointes de l'Age du Bronze, on remonta leur datation vers le 8^e-7^e siècle av. J.-C. (Masson 1959: 45-48) et plus tard vers le 9^e siècle (Cleuziou 1977). D'autre part, les prototypes de ces pointes, auparavant recherchés dans le monde des steppes (voir par exemple David 1977: 125), apparaissent désormais en Asie centrale méridionale au cours de la période Namazga VI mentionnée ci-dessus (Jagodin 1984). Rappelons enfin qu'une pointe de flèche de ce type est datée un peu avant le milieu du 2^e millénaire à Shortughai (Francfort 1984: 256-257). Rien n'interdit donc de placer la période de prolifération de ces pointes de flèches entre ca. 1100 et 700 avant notre ère.

Au vu de ces études récentes il semble donc plus juste de situer au tournant du premier millénaire la phase où se serait formé cette 'entité' bactrienne (période Jaz II).

Une fois admise l'existence d'une phase bactrienne pré-achéménide, reste à en déterminer la nature. S'agit-il d'une entité purement culturelle, sans unité politique, ou au contraire fait-on face, là, à un véritable état (un 'royaume', selon Diodore)?

3 — *La Grande Bactriane pré-achéménide: entité culturelle ou état politique?*

P. Briant (1984) a fort justement montré combien les remaniements tardifs ou le côté trop légendaire du texte de Diodore rendent difficile son interprétation comme un témoignage de la réalité d'un 'royaume' bactrien. Selon lui toujours, les récits d'Hérodote confirmeraient par contre l'existence d'une 'Grande Bactriane' liée à la Médie. En l'absence de découvertes d'*horizons mèdes* en Bactriane, il ne cache cependant pas son scepticisme et est plus enclin à croire à une société de type clanique qu'à une organisation étatique, tout en acceptant une certaine unité culturelle.

Les textes avestiques, mal datés pour les plus anciens et beaucoup trop tardifs pour les autres, ne semblent pas non plus apporter de preuve fiable quant à l'existence d'une structure étatique pré-achéménide.

Les archéologues, quant à eux, admettent parfois qu'il est impossible de définir le type de société et de pouvoir politique qui existait en Asie centrale sur la seule base des vestiges fouillés (Cattenat-Gardin 1977), mais ne peuvent qu'être frappés par l'étonnante unité que manifestent certains traits de la culture matérielle pour la première fois dans cette région.

3.1 — *L'unité culturelle de l'Asie centrale pré-achéménide.*

On sait qu'à l'Age du Bronze, en Asie centrale, deux pôles culturels se manifestent, le pôle 'central-asiatique' (culture de Namazga V et VI) que nous avons déjà évoqué, développé en Turkménie, Margiane et Bactriane, et le pôle 'harappéen' dans la partie orientale de cette Asie, à l'est de la rivière de Kunduz (fig. 1a et b).

Le rôle de la culture de l'Indus au nord de l'Hindukush n'est pas à négliger car, si sa présence est incontestable à Shortughai dans la plaine d'Aï Khanum (voir, en dernier lieu, Francfort 1984), la prospection dont il a déjà été fait mention montre qu'une grande partie des autres plaines de la Bactriane orientale devraient présenter le même impact culturel comme semble l'indiquer l'existence de tessons de type harappéen sur certains de leurs sites. En fait, il apparaît qu'il ne faille pas considérer cette intrusion du monde indien en Asie centrale comme un simple cas de colonisation momentanée mais plutôt comme la suite d'un mouvement amorcé longtemps auparavant, au moins dès le chalcolithique (Lyonnet, à paraître). On ne connaît pas encore la limite nord de ce pôle harappéen.

Vers la fin de l'Age du Bronze il semble que l'on assiste à une forte extension du domaine de l'influence de la culture Namazga VI. Ceci se manifeste par exemple dans la partie orientale de l'Asie centrale par la phase Shortughai IV, considérée comme centrale-asiatique par son inventeur et précédée d'une phase (Shortughai III) où les relations directes avec l'Inde paraissent être rompues (Francfort 1984: 296 et 458). Ceci se voit aussi au

Baluchistan où des vestiges typiquement 'bactriens' sont présents aux côtés de ceux de la période harappéenne finale (voir Santoni 1984 et les fouilles en cours du site de Naushero sous la direction de J.-F. Jarrige).

Les fondements politiques et sociaux de cet ensemble central-asiatique restent toutefois encore très mystérieux. Pour des raisons non élucidées à ce jour on assiste à son effondrement au cours de la fin de la première moitié du 2^e millénaire.

Dans la zone occidentale de l'Asie centrale, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà évoqué, apparaît ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler la 'culture de Jaz I', caractérisée entre autres par un matériel céramique totalement différent de celui qui précédait, désormais façonné et parfois peint de motifs géométriques simples. Contrairement à une idée généralement admise en U.R.S.S., il nous semble que l'on ne doit pas assimiler à la 'culture de Jaz' l'ensemble du matériel céramique recueilli dans cette région dès lors qu'il est façonné et plus ou moins peint, même si l'on ne considère que sa partie méridionale (idée émise récemment encore dans Koshelenko 1985: 178-203). On observe plutôt des différences régionales bien marquées sur toutes ces poteries (par exemple, présence ou non de becs verseurs, de bandes appliquées moulurées au doigt, etc. (tant entre la Turkménie orientale-Margiane-Bactriane méridionale d'une part (où prédomine le matériel de type véritablement Jaz I) et la Bactriane septentrionale-Kashka Darya d'autre part (avec un matériel de type Kuchuk I-II, voir Askarov-Al'baum 1979), qu'avec la région du Chach (matériel de la culture de Burguljuk, voir Duke 1982) ou encore celle du Fergana (matériel de la culture de Chust, voir Zadneprovskij 1962).²

Dans la zone orientale de l'Asie centrale, les traces de la culture de Jaz I (ou des autres ci-dessus énumérées) sont quasi inexistantes: un ou deux tessons à Shortughai IV, à peu près autant dans le matériel de la prospection déjà mentionnée et quelques similitudes de décors peints sur des vases tournés de la fin de l'Age du Bronze au Tadjikistan (Vinogradova 1986). Là encore, selon nous, cette 'absence' n'est pas due à la carence des recherches dans cette région comme le supposent la plupart des archéologues, mais plutôt à une différence régionale.

Quelle que soit l'origine de cette culture 'nouvelle' — arrivée de migrants, bouleversements écologiques, politiques ou sociaux, etc. — on ne peut pourtant toujours pas parler, à cette époque, d'une 'entité bactrienne' puisque, comme nous venons de le voir, on observe plutôt des traits de différenciation culturelle que des manifestations d'unité entre les différentes régions de l'Asie centrale.

² Il n'est d'ailleurs pas certain que toutes ces cultures soient vraiment entièrement contemporaines. Beaucoup de considérations donnent à penser que la culture de Chust, par exemple, est en partie plus ancienne.

C'est à la période suivante, Jaz II, qui, comme nous l'avons dit, doit se situer aux environs de 1100-700 av. J.C., que bon nombre de ces différences s'estompent et qu'on voit surgir au coeur de l'Asie centrale une unité sans précédent, en particulier dans le matériel céramique. Celui-ci devient très uniforme, tant en ce qui concerne la morphologie des récipients — surtout des jarres cylindro-coniques à lèvre en forme de 'becs' et des gobelets à paroi verticale concave parfois décorés d'une moulure à mi-panse (fig. 2) — que leur mode de cuisson, qui donne aux vases un aspect bichrome blanc/rouge-rosé.

Contrairement à l'assemblage précédent, celui-ci renoue tout à fait avec les anciennes traditions locales de céramiques de l'Age du Bronze, centrale-asiatique (Kuz'mina 1976) comme harappéenne (Lyonnet 1985: 46).

On le trouve en Turkménie-Margiane, en Bactriane (nord et sud) et en Sogdiane. La Bactriane orientale partage elle aussi désormais la même poterie, ainsi que le Tadjikistan méridional. Par contre, dans les régions périphériques, les céramiques 'locales' dont certaines ont été évoquées à l'occasion de la période Jaz I continuent à se développer de façon autonome. C'est le cas du Fergana et du Chach, mais aussi de la Chorasmie où quelques vases cylindro-coniques blancs/rouges font clairement figure d'importations (Vajnbarg 1977).

Outre la céramique, les régions centrales partagent aussi, semble-t-il, les mêmes rites religieux, issus de la période Jaz I où ils avaient fait leur première apparition et qui se manifestent en particulier par l'absence de toute inhumation.

Ces données peuvent paraître bien maigres pour prétendre établir une unité culturelle. Reconnaissons que l'on sait finalement peu de choses sur cette époque malgré les fouilles relativement nombreuses. Mais l'image qui s'offre à nous est la même partout, celle d'une culture très 'rurale', monotone, et où l'artisanat ne paraît pas très développé, image peut-être tronquée par le fait que les grands centres urbains où se trouveraient les vestiges de centres politiques ou de quartiers d'artisans sont noyés sous les couches d'occupations postérieures et qu'aucune fouille n'a jamais pu les atteindre au moins à grande échelle (voir *infra*). Quelques bâtiments d'architecture plus monumentale ont été dégagés, comme ceux de Kutlug ou d'Altyn-Tepe au nord de Bactres en Afghanistan du N.O. (Sarianidi 1977), mais leur interprétation reste très vague et leur datation confuse (Sarianidi 1986). Du moins sait-on que cette architecture, tout comme la céramique, n'était pas sans liens avec celle de l'Age du Bronze.

L'évidence de liens génétiques forts avec les cultures locales de l'Age du Bronze, la présence de matériel ou de rites uniformes sur une aire bien délimitée et différente (i.e. élargie) de celle où elle s'était développée précé-

demment nous conduisent malgré tout à considérer qu'il y a bien là émergence d'une entité culturelle.

Mais peut-on dès lors envisager de démasquer un état structuré derrière cette entité culturelle?

3.2 — *Les symptômes d'une structure étatique: irrigation et fortifications en Asie centrale.*

L'étude des sociétés proto-historiques et de leurs structures politiques et sociales se fonde généralement — en l'absence de textes — sur l'existence de grands systèmes d'irrigation et sur celle de villes fortifiées, entre autres. De leur présence on déduit en effet l'existence d'une autorité centrale et d'une société de classe capables, par exemple, d'organiser et de maîtriser une main d'œuvre servile pour construire des canaux, sources de surplus agricoles (voir par exemple la référence à Wittfogel dans Gardin 1981: 492, ainsi que Biscione 1981 et Francfort 1985).

Du côté occidental de l'Asie centrale, bien que dès le chalcolithique, dans l'oasis de Geoksjur, soient attestées fortifications et irrigation (voir un résumé de la question dans Kohl 1984: 85-91 et 102), on ne songe à appliquer ce schéma qu'à partir de l'Age du Fer. Ainsi considère-t-on, en général, qu'il n'y a de véritable création de grands systèmes hydrauliques qu'à partir de cette époque, surtout autour de Madau-Depe dans le Daghistan (culture du Daghistan Archaique, considérée comme contemporaine de Jaz I et II (voir Kohl 1984: 193-208), mais aussi autour de Jaz-Depe (Masson 1959: 67 et 121)). Ainsi insiste-t-on aussi sur la présence de citadelles souvent 'monumentales' car construites sur des massifs de briques crues de plusieurs mètres d'épaisseur (voir, par exemple, Masson 1966: 179-191).

Si l'on accepte cet enchaînement des faits archéologiques et des théories qui les accompagnent, on aurait donc apparition d'une structure étatique à partir de la période Jaz I — donc, de toute façon, avant la conquête achéménide.

Or, il y a là encore contestation et tendance à vouloir attribuer à l'Age du Bronze les faits que l'on croyait devoir à la 'nouvelle' société du début de l'Age du Fer.

En Asie centrale orientale il est désormais prouvé de façon irréfutable que la construction de grands systèmes de canaux remonte au moins à la période harappéenne (Francfort 1984: 84-87). Du côté occidental aucune étude spécifique n'a été entreprise en ce qui concerne les réseaux d'irrigation à l'Age du Bronze, ceux-ci étant admis au mieux en tant que systèmes très limités dans le delta des fleuves, au sein de petites oasis toutes indépendantes les unes des autres, et possédant chacune sa 'capitale' fortifiée (Sarianidi 1986). Les bassins des grands fleuves sont encore considérés comme non peuplés et livrés à la 'jungle', car trop difficiles à irriguer (voir, par exemple, les travaux de

Rtveladze et Sagdullaev dans le Surkhan Darya, 1985). L'absence de recherches précises en ce domaine laisse toutefois ouverte la porte du doute.

D'autre part, il a été démontré très justement que le schéma 'fortifications (+ irrigation) = société de classe = état ou proto-état' n'a aucune raison d'être appliqué uniquement à la période Jaz I puisque tous les termes de l'équation existent déjà à l'Age du Bronze (fortifications, et probablement irrigation, du côté occidental de l'Asie central et irrigation, et probablement fortifications, du côté oriental) (Francfort 1985).

Les faits archéologiques tendraient donc à prouver l'existence, en Asie centrale, bien avant la période achéménide, d'une (ou de) structure(s) capable(s) d'organiser et de coordonner des travaux à grande échelle comme les travaux d'irrigation, et d'édifier des centres fortifiés, sièges de l'autorité centrale.

Cette (ou ces) structure(s) continue(nt) à se manifester avec vigueur au cours des phases Jaz I et II, ce dont témoigne la poursuite, voire l'extension, des réseaux hydrauliques.

Il nous reste à voir désormais où, ou comment, se manifeste la 'griffe' perse après la conquête achéménide.

4 — *La période achéménide en Asie centrale.*

L'un des premiers problèmes qui se posent à l'archéologue de cette région est celui de la définition de cette période. S'il est en effet certain que la dernière phase de Jaz-Depe (Jaz III) précède immédiatement les couches du début de la période parthe en Turkménie et en Margiane (voir Masson 1959: 43) et qu'elle est donc contemporaine au moins en partie de la période achéménide, rien dans le matériel ne permet d'identifier à coup sûr le début de la domination perse au sein de la longue suite Jaz II-III, comme l'avait déjà souligné très justement l'article Cattenat-Gardin déjà cité. De fait, il n'y a aucune distinction fondamentale entre les assemblages céramiques de l'une et de l'autre phase car les formes évoluent insensiblement et si tout le monde s'accorde à dire que les bords en forme de méplats succèdent à ceux en forme de 'becs', il est encore impossible de donner une date précise à cette apparition, vraisemblablement précédée par des formes intermédiaires (Lyonnet 1985, fig. 10). Il en va de même pour les gobelets qui voient peu à peu leur base tronquée s'amenuiser jusqu'à disparaître totalement (fig. 2).

Rien, à ce jour, ne permet donc de distinguer un assemblage qui correspondrait exactement à la période achéménide car, pendant toute la phase de la 'domination' perse, la céramique d'Asie centrale poursuit une ligne d'évolution traditionnelle locale, sans influence ni importations venant d'Iran (voir l'étude précise sur ce sujet de Cattenat-Gardin 1977). Une seule exception mérite d'être signalée car elle ne met que plus en valeur l'absence perse en

Bactriane, Sogdiane ou Chorasmie: elle concerne un site d'Ustrushan, Nur-tepa, où l'on trouve un assemblage céramique en partie de type iranien (bols carénés, cruches à bec ponté; Negmatov-Beljaeva-Mirbabaev 1982). Rappelons que cette région, bordée par le Syr-Darya, était considérée comme la zone frontalière de l'empire, face aux nomades, et que c'est là que Cyrus aurait fondé Cyropolis et une série d'autres forteresses (Negmatov 1985).

Si les traces de l'impact perse sont invisibles dans le matériel quotidien, du moins aurait-on pu croire qu'elles étaient plus manifestes dans le matériel d'apparat. Il n'en est rien: la liste des objets achéménides (ou même d'influence achéménide) trouvés en Asie centrale est très réduite (ce qui explique en partie, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, les problèmes chronologiques évoqués). On y trouve les objets du Trésor de l'Oxus qui en forme l'essentiel, ainsi que d'autres probablement de même origine trouvés à Takhti-Sangin, quelques sceaux, quelques bases de colonnes ...³

Resterait l'impulsion donnée à l'économie par les nouveaux dirigeants qui, tout en restant dans un cadre central-asiatique traditionnel, n'en auraient pas moins favorisé la création de nouveaux systèmes d'irrigation et de nouveaux centres urbains. C'est ce que préconise P. Briant (1984: 49-55) qui s'appuie pour ce faire sur des données archéologiques, dont celles de notre équipe, ce qui nous facilite la tâche pour émettre de sérieuses réserves à leur sujet.

— nous venons de dire que nous n'avons pas d'éléments qui nous permettent de définir un assemblage 'absolument' achéménide.

— si l'on voulait en admettre un à tout prix, ce ne pourrait être qu'un assemblage de type Jaz III (puisque'il l'est au moins en partie).

— nous avons dit aussi (ci-dessus par. 1) que les datations données dans les premières publications de notre équipe sur la prospection de la Bactriane orientale étaient très hésitantes et très floues. Une étude plus approfondie de la céramique tend à montrer que les systèmes d'irrigation qui paraissaient nouveaux par rapport à ceux de l'Âge du Bronze (en particulier dans la région de Taluqan) précèdent largement la phase Jaz III (ils sembleraient contemporains de Jaz I) (Lyonnet 1985: 45-46).

— nous avons remarqué aussi que nos collègues soviétiques n'avaient pas encore entrepris d'étude systématique sur les canaux de l'Âge du Bronze. En l'absence de celle-ci, il nous semble plus prudent d'émettre des réserves quant au 'développement grandiose' des réseaux hydrauliques à l'époque achéménide (Rtveladze-Sagdullaev 1985)

— enfin en ce qui concerne la date de fondation des grands centres urbains tels que Gjaur-Kala, Bactres, Afrasiab ou Kunduz, généralement considérés par les archéologues comme débutant 'à l'époque achéménide', nous appor-

³ On trouvera dans l'article de H.-P. Francfort cité à la note 1 une liste à peu près complète de ces objets, tant au nord qu'au sud de l'Hindukush. Elle est effectivement fort maigre.

terons les mêmes réserves que précédemment. On constatera de plus que ces niveaux 'achéménides' ne sont atteints que dans des sondages très réduits tant la masse des couches postérieures à traverser est impressionnante, qu'ils fournissent par conséquent très peu de matériel et que celui-ci est généralement compatible à une datation plus ancienne, au moins de type Jaz II.

La seule véritable nouveauté que l'on puisse rattacher à la phase Jaz III est l'intégration de la Chorasmie dans l'ensemble central-asiatique. On observe en effet sur les sites de cette région, pour la première fois, l'apparition en grande quantité d'une céramique identique à celle du reste de l'Asie centrale (jarres à bord en forme de méplat et gobelets à base totalement aplatie) qui supprime la céramique locale traditionnelle et qui justifie à nos yeux une datation tardive pour l'incorporation de cette province à l'ensemble Bactriane-Margiane-Sogdiane. Malheureusement, pour les raisons évoquées ci-dessus, il n'est pas possible de préciser la date de cet événement et d'affirmer qu'il soit dû à la conquête achéménide.

5 — *Conclusion: comparaison avec un autre cas de domination étrangère en Asie centrale, la période hellénistique.*

Les manifestations de l'impact perse sur la culture de l'Asie centrale sont donc à peu près inexistantes. Ce fait est d'autant plus frappant qu'à la période suivante, où la domination hellénistique se substitue à l'autorité achéménide, les changements culturels sont visibles même dans le matériel le plus usuel.

La céramique présente en effet à partir de ce moment là un assemblage de formes entièrement nouvelles et typiquement hellénistiques tant dans ses fonctions ('vaisselle de table', 'cratères'), que dans ses couleurs (céramique gris-noir imitant le vernis attique ou les vases métalliques, ou céramique rouge) ou dans ses décors (palmettes, bols mégariens, motifs appliqués sur certains vases en forme de têtes de Méduse, d'Héraklès ...) (voir, par exemple, Schlumberger-Bernard 1965: 604, Gardin-Lyonnet 1976: 50-51 et Gardin 1985). La céramique traditionnelle centrale-asiatique est brusquement totalement évincée. Le maintien de quelques unes des formes auparavant les plus répandues ne se fait qu'accompagné de transformations profondes, comme l'apparition de fonds annulaires pour les gobelets et la suppression de la base conique pour les jarres.

Or cette céramique nouvelle ne semble pas réservée à une élite coloniale grecque. C'est, du moins, ce dont semblerait témoigner le très grand nombre de sites sur lesquels on la trouve. Car si certains étaient sans aucun doute le siège du nouveau pouvoir, comme la ville d'Aï Khanum, il paraît difficile d'imaginer que les quelques trois cents autres sites sur lesquels elle figure dans la seule région de la Bactriane orientale étaient tous des résidences coloniales.

Enfin, nous pourrions ajouter aux transformations du matériel quotidien d'autres innovations qui, elles, par contre, ne concernaient probablement que la nouvelle élite étrangère et une petite partie de la population locale. Il s'agit, par exemple, de la présence de certains traits architecturaux spécifiquement grecs comme les chapiteaux doriques, ioniques ou corinthiens, ou, mieux encore, comme la présence du théâtre à Aï Khanum. Il s'agit aussi de l'existence d'un certain nombre d'inscriptions grecques, ou encore de la réapparition du rite d'inhumation qui, nous l'avons dit, avait disparu depuis le début de la période Jaz I et avait sans doute été remplacé par un rite de décharnement. Les Grecs le réintroduisent au moins pour eux-mêmes, comme en témoignent, toujours à Aï Khanum, les mausolées trouvés dans la ville ou les tombes hors les murs.

Nous pourrions encore compléter ce tableau en rappelant l'importance de l'influence hellénistique sur l'art des Kushans qui succédèrent aux Grecs, etc...

L'image laissée par la conquête hellénistique — image assez caractéristique d'une véritable colonisation, où la culture des nouveaux maîtres se superpose à la culture locale, voire même la remplace — n'a donc rien à voir avec celle laissée par la conquête achéménide.

Faudrait-il alors conclure que la Grande Bactriane, puissante bien avant l'apparition des Perses, avait réussi à conserver une certaine autonomie ou jouissait d'un statut privilégié? Il semble, en fait, d'après des études similaires faites sur les autres provinces de l'empire achéménide, que l'Asie centrale n'ait pas été la seule région si peu transformée par le pouvoir perse (voir, par exemple l'article de R. Boucharlat sur la Susiane, même volume).

La conclusion qui semble en fait s'imposer débouche sur une nouvelle interprétation — un troisième point de vue — qui accepte les données des deux précédents à savoir que la domination achéménide en Asie centrale est un fait réel (les textes sont trop nombreux et trop sûrs pour qu'on puisse les contester), mais que l'impact de cette domination sur la culture matérielle centrale-asiatique est à peu près nul (les données archéologiques le prouvent avec force). Par conséquent il faudrait désormais plutôt s'interroger sur la forme que revêtait cette domination achéménide, sachant qu'elle n'épousait pas le schéma habituel des colonisations. C'est à une conclusion similaire qu'arrive J.-C. Gardin dans une étude récente à propos des 'migrateurs' et des 'porteurs de pots' (1986).

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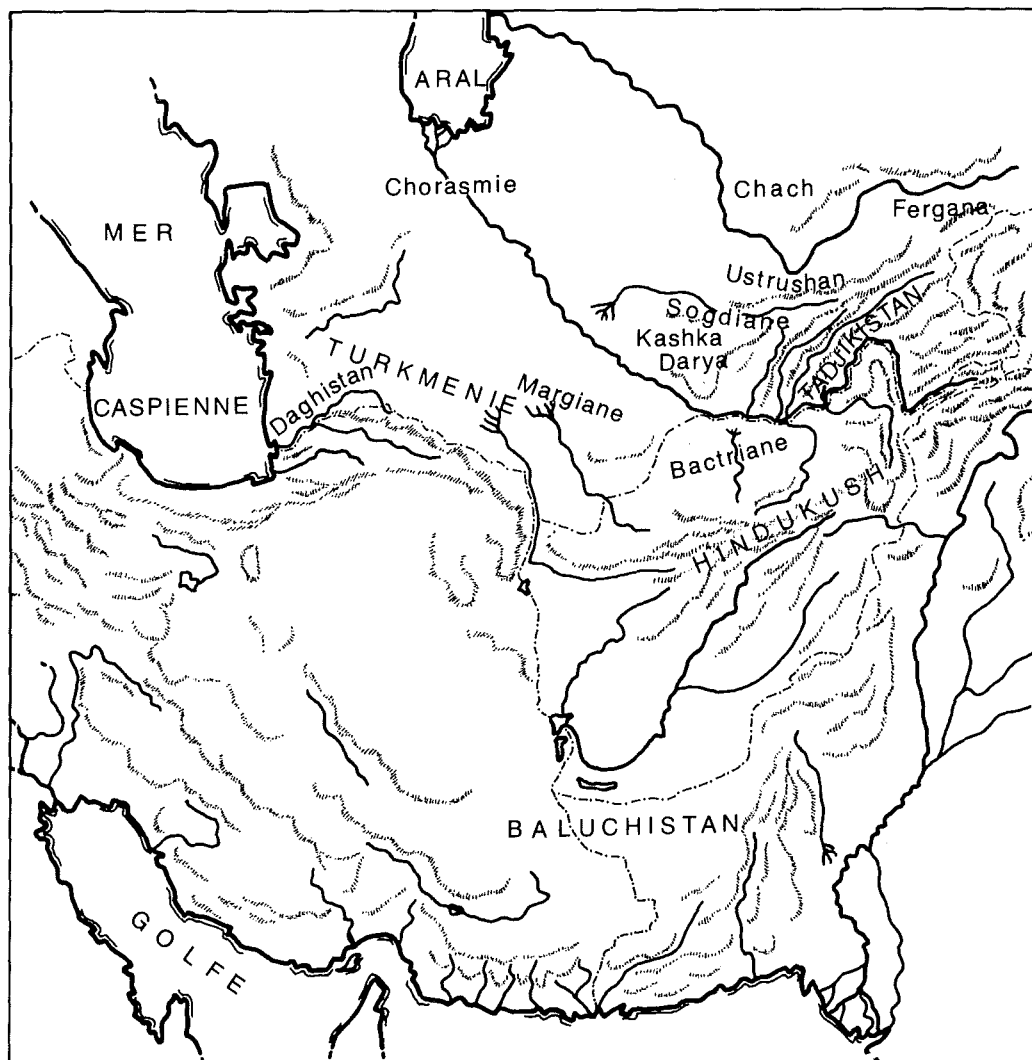


Fig. 1a — L'Asie centrale et ses principales régions

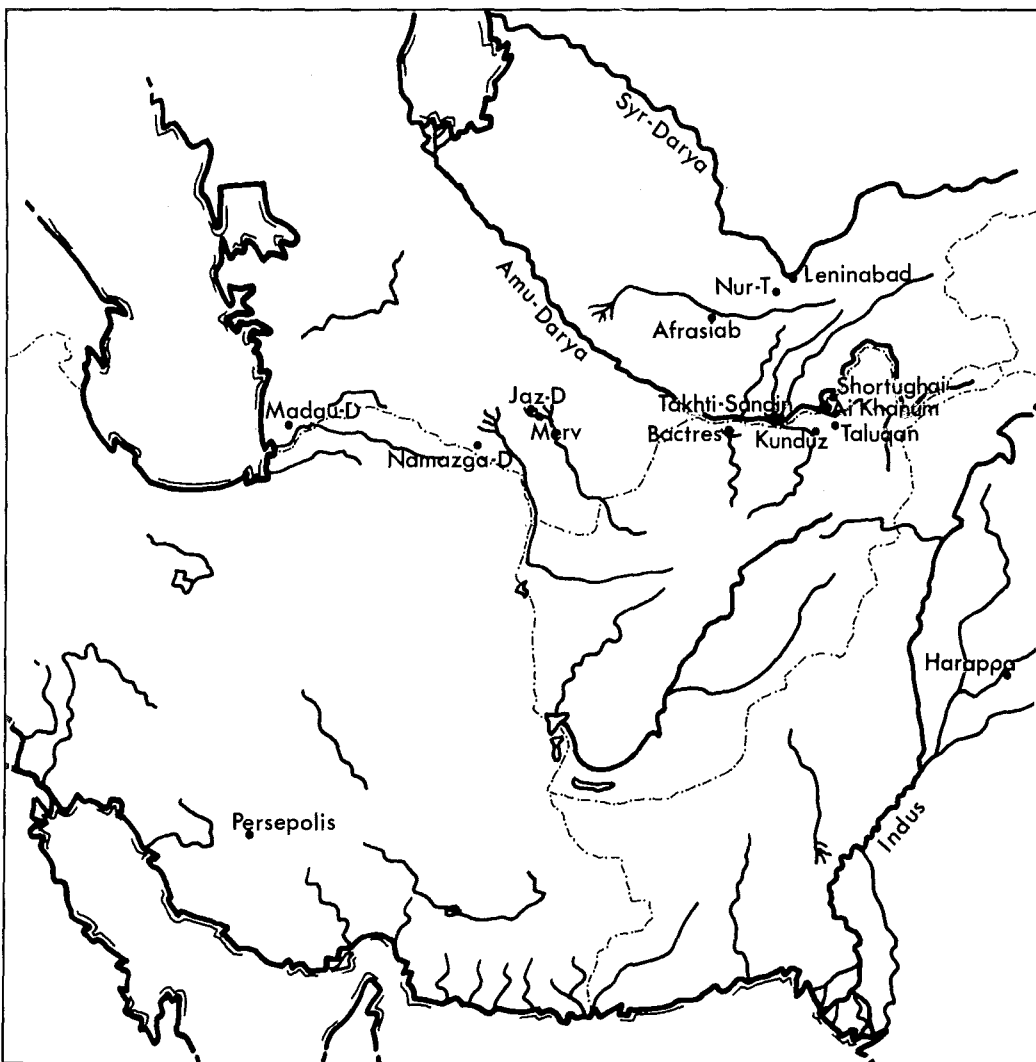


Fig. 1b — L'Asie centrale — Position des principaux sites cités dans l'article

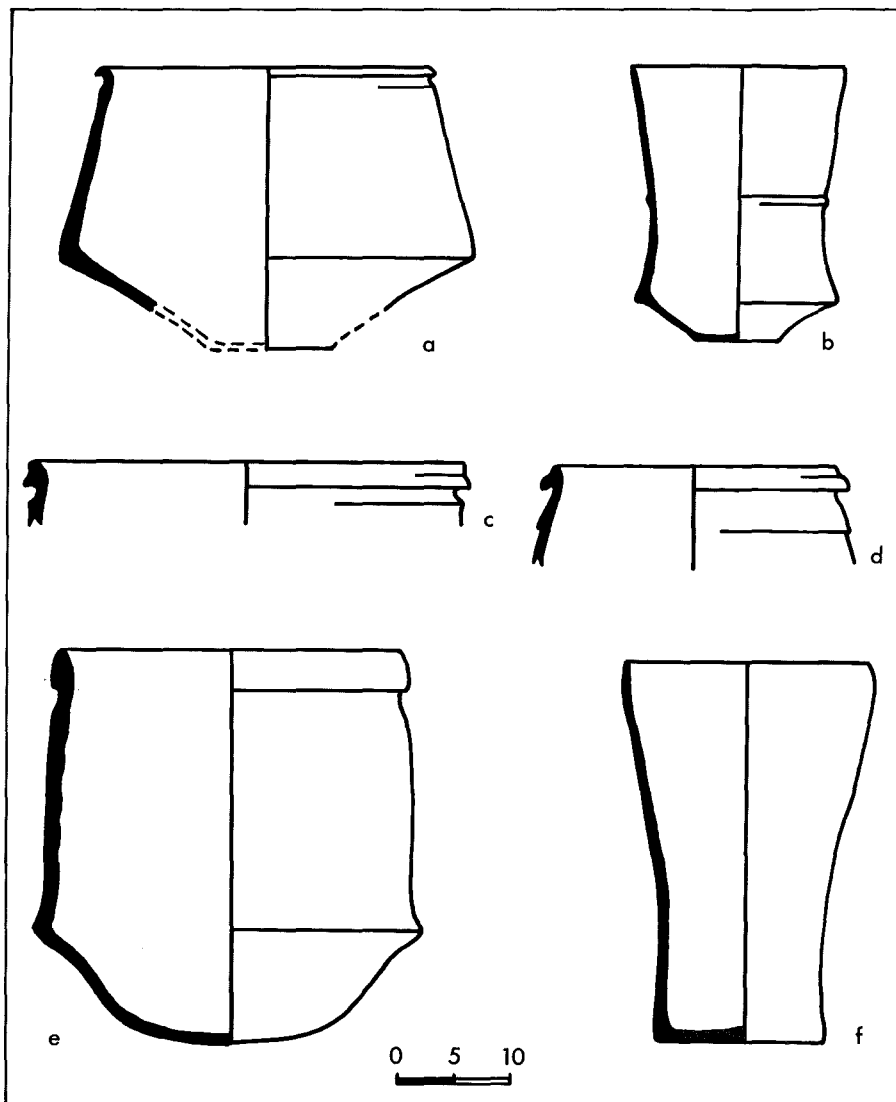


Fig. 2 — Evolution des formes de la céramique d'Asie centrale de la phase Jaz II (a,) à la phase Jaz III (e,f).

a = jarre cylindro-conique à lèvre en forme de «bec» (provenance: prospection Bactriane orientale)

b = gobelet à paroi verticale concave décoré d'une moulure à mi-panse (provenance: Masson 1959, pl. XXXVII, 18)

c,d = bords de jarres cylindro-coniques. La forme de leurs lèvres est intermédiaire entre celles en «bec» et celles en «méplat»

e = jarre cylindro-conique à lèvre en forme de «méplat» (provenance: sondage sur l'un des sites de la prospection en Bactriane orientale)

f = gobelet à paroi verticale concave et base aplatie (provenance: Masson 1959, pl. XLII,7)

THE ACHAEMENIDS AND INDIA

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0. Introduction

A large number of books and articles have been written about the confrontation and interaction between the Achaemenid empire on the one hand, and its northwestern neighbour, the world of the Greeks, on the other. Yet, almost four thousand kilometres to the southeast, on the opposite side of the Achaemenid empire, another confrontation had taken place, namely between the cultural orbit of the Iranians of the Iranian Plateau to the west and the Indo-Aryans, and other peoples, of the Indian subcontinent to the east. The relationship between these two worlds, prior to the advent of Alexander the Great, is still ill explored, not in the least because of a scarcity of direct information. This appears, however, to be only part of the reason. The study of the Achaemenid empire is mostly carried out by scholars who were originally trained as classicists, Egyptologists, Near Eastern archaeologists, etc. Because of this, the study of the Persian empire is generally approached from the west, with a general bias towards western sources and traditions. Such an approach is often inevitable due to the lack of available material. But one of the consequences of this is that the so-called Indo-Achaemenid provinces in the extreme southeast of the empire become truly peripheral, best left to the Indologists. These in their turn, however, are generally more interested in Indian cultures and purely Indian history. The study of the period of Persian domination in the extreme northwest of the subcontinent seems to have become a subject which, in the eyes of the Indologists, should preferably be studied by the historians of ancient Iran.¹ In short, it appears as if the study of the Indo-Achaemenid provinces is hampered by the very conditions which makes it so intriguing, namely the geographical location of these lands in the transition area between two different cultural orbits.²

Within the context of the theme of this volume, it is the main purpose of the present paper to raise certain points which may illustrate the specific relationship between the Achaemenid administration, its Indian subjects and

¹ The few studies by Indian and Pakistani scholars on Iran-Indian relations in the Achaemenid Period tend to be very traditional in nature; compare e.g. Chattopadhyaya 1974.

² I have no wish to indicate the existence of a definite borderline between the Indians and the Iranians. Culturally and linguistically the dividing line was very fluid and stretched over a wide band of land between the Arabian Sea in the south and the Pamir mountain knot in the north. Compare the relevant remarks made by Rossi 1982/1983, and Morgenstierne 1979.

the Indian lands in general. In order to do this, I shall be drawing upon a variety of sources (Achaemenid; classical; Indian; archaeological). It should be noted that time and space are limited, and the subject can unfortunately only be discussed in very general terms. For this reason, the information which can be obtained from the biographies of Alexander and from other writings of post-Alexandrian classical authors will not be discussed in detail; the same reservation applies to the Indian sources. To present the latter in a comprehensive way, it would first be necessary to discuss their basically a-historical character and within the limits of this chapter, this would be an impossible task. The main emphasis of the present paper will therefore be on a short discussion of the relevant Achaemenid sources, and of references to India and the Indians contained in the *Historiae* of Herodotus. The emphasis on Herodotus is not without foundation. His work is, in my opinion, very reliable (his sources are of course another matter); and in addition, Herodotus sheds some light on the early phases of the Achaemenid empire, the period in which the Achaemenid relationship with the Indians first took shape.

1. The Indian Subcontinent. General Remarks

Before embarking on a discussion of certain of the relevant sources, it seems useful to sketch an outline of the conditions in the Indian subcontinent during the relevant period. Geographically, northern and central India may be roughly looked upon as a triangle, stretching around the Great Indian, or Thar desert, in modern Rajasthan. The valley of the river Indus and its tributaries may be regarded as its western side; the Ganges and Jamuna plains as the northeastern, and Gujarat and southern Rajasthan, with their hinterland, as the southeastern side. As discussed by B. and F. R. Allchin (1982: 250ff.; 262ff.), the northwestern and southwestern corners of the triangle, the so-called 'Nuclear Regions', are of paramount importance to the study of contacts between east and west. It should be noted that Iranian/Achaemenid influence in India, and contacts *vice versa*, have generally been assumed to have gone via the northern Nuclear Region; such is the magic of the Grand Trunk Road. However, in the present paper I would like to show that there is some evidence which suggests that contacts may also have led via the southern Nuclear Region, roughly equivalent to modern Gujarat, at the northeastern corner of the Arabian Sea.³ To illustrate this point, some more information will have to be given concerning the major east-west routes.⁴

³ A later example for east-west contacts via the southern Nuclear Region is of course the Saka inroad into west central India around the beginning of our era.

⁴ For an exhaustive study of the major routes between India and Iran, I refer to Fischer 1967. I should also draw attention to the important research carried out by Deloche 1980.

In general, there are four main routes which connect India with the west. Three of these are overland routes: the northern route leads from ancient (Sanskrit) *Gandhâra*; classical Gandara (around modern Peshawar in northern Pakistan), over the Hindu Kush to classical Bactria. The central route leads from the Indus valley across the Soleiman mountains to ancient Arachosia (around modern Kandahar in southeast Afghanistan); and the southern route leads from the Lower Indus valley via southern Baluchistan to classical Carmania and Persis. The sea-route leads from western India (the Indus delta, the Gulf of Cambay or coastal regions further down the Indian littoral) to the Persian Gulf, to the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula or even further west to the Red Sea and Egypt.

It must be realised that contacts via Gandara and the northern Nuclear Region may have been of a different character from those which led overseas, or via the southern land route, and the southern Nuclear Region. To illustrate this point, I should like to draw attention to the two main scripts which were in use in the Indian subcontinent during the reign of Ashoka in the mid-third century B.C.⁵ The first of these is Kharoshthî, which was mainly used in the northwestern corner of the subcontinent, namely the (northern) Indus valley and in the adjacent territories of modern Afghanistan. This script is clearly derived from Aramaic, the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenid empire. The geographical distribution of Kharoshthî in northwestern India indicates the influence of the Achaemenids. The other script, Brâhmî, was used by Ashoka everywhere else in the Indian subcontinent.⁶ The Brâhmî script has often been linked to northern Semitic scripts.⁷ If a western origin of the Brâhmî script is accepted, then its geographical distribution over India may indicate that it was introduced to India, not via the northwestern lands of the subcontinent (where we predominantly find the Kharoshthî script), but probably via a sea-route leading to the west coast of India. When this process took place remains unclear; all we can say is that it must have occurred long before the third century B.C.

Ancient contacts overseas may be attested by other pieces of information, including Indian Jâtaka stories; archaeological and literary data from Mesopotamia, etc.⁸

To many people, Indian history starts with the rise to power of the Mauryan dynasty under Candragupta Maurya, and the exploits of the most famous Mauryan representative, Ashoka, who lived around the middle of the

⁵ For a very recent discussion on the distribution of Ashokan inscriptions, see Allchin & Norman 1985; also Fussman 1982. For an extensive discussion of Indian scripts, see Dani 1963.

⁶ For a recent article on certain relevant aspects of Brâhmî, see Narain 1986.

⁷ See e.g. Dani (1963: 23-30), and Parpola (1986: 407).

⁸ See for example, Caubet 1984; Dayton 1984; Golzio (1981: 61-77); see also Deppert 1983. Earlier works on the subject of pre-Alexandrian contacts between East and West include Kennedy 1898, and Schiwiek 1962.

third century B.C. However, it should be noted that around 500 B.C., and probably even before, much of northern India was already united into a broad cultural horizon.⁹ Archaeologically, this progress is related to the spread of the so-called Painted Grey ware in the northern Nuclear Region and in districts further east, during the first half of the first millennium B.C., and the distribution of the so-called black-and-red wares in central and northeast India, at approximately the same period. The use of iron implements is known from certain western and central Indian sites, which date to the end of the second millennium B.C.

Around 600 B.C., much of northern India witnessed the spread of the famous northern Black Polished ware. Around that time, the king of Maghadda in modern Bihar, named Bimbisâra, is reported to have had contacts with king Pushkarasârin of Gandara, beyond the northern Nuclear Region;¹⁰ the son of Bimbisâra, called Ajâtashatru, is said to have fought against king Pradyota of Avanti, which lay around modern Ujjain, in the centre of the southern Nuclear Region, along the road from Maghadda to the Arabian Sea. In the same context we may point to the world as it was known to the Indian grammarian Pânini, who was born in or near ancient Gandara, probably around 500 B.C.¹¹ On the basis of his work a map can be drawn, which covers almost all of northern India, stretching from the mountains of the Indo-Iranian borderlands in the northwest to the jungles of northeastern India in the northeast, and deep into the Deccan to the south.¹²

It would appear then that both archaeological and historical information can be used to show that by the time of the Achaemenid advent in the Indus Valley, in the second half of the sixth century B.C., the Persians were not coming into contact with some scattered Indian tribes completely cut off from the rest of the subcontinent. Instead, they encountered representatives of a civilisation which was rapidly developing, both politically and culturally, towards the unity which Candragupta Maurya would finally achieve in the aftermath of Alexander's campaigns in northwestern India at the end of the fourth century B.C.

As regards more specific archaeological information, only a few pertinent remarks can be made. Relevant archaeological research in the borderlands has been concentrated on ancient Gandara in the north, and the Kacchi plain in the south. As for ancient Gandara, the many British, Italian and Pakistani excavations have been discussed most recently by R. Dittmann (1984),¹³ and

⁹ For a recent survey of (proto) historical Indian archaeology, see Allchin & Allchin 1982: 227ff..

¹⁰ For these historical references, see a general outline by Thapar 1966: 50ff..

¹¹ See Scharfe 1977: 88-89.

¹² For a discussion on the geographical knowledge of Pânini, see Agrawala 1963: 35-76.

¹³ See also the comprehensive study by Müller-Karpe 1983, reviewed by Stacul 1986.

little needs to be added (although there is more evidence needed to support Dittmann's hypothesis that the earliest levels of the sites of Taxila [Hathial ridge] and Charsada should date back to the late second millennium B.C.¹⁴). The excavations have shown that the whole region of ancient Gandara, including the land east of the river Indus, underwent a fairly similar material (ceramic) development which started long before the mid-first millennium B.C. It would appear that iron was introduced into this area at the end of the second millennium B.C. Further to the south, French excavations have revealed a number of sites which are located along the ancient caravan route between classical Arachosia (Kandahar) and the Indus valley (Jarrige & Santoni 1979). At these sites, located in the Kacchi plain near the eastern entrance to the Bolan pass, the use of iron seems also to have started in the late second millennium B.C. An interesting site in this region, of importance to the period under discussion, is that of Dur Khan. Ceramics were found at that site which date back to the first millennium B.C., prior to the advent of Alexander, and which show close analogies to ceramics from contemporary sites in Arachosia.¹⁵ In addition, the material from Dur Khan and from other sites in the same region (of a somewhat earlier date), show, according to the excavators, many parallels with material objects from the Indian lands much further to the east (Panjab; Ganges/Jamuna doab; Gujarat, etc.).

Finally, attention should be drawn to the excavations which took place near modern Multan, in the southern Panjab (Mughal 1967). The earliest levels of some of the sites in this region appear to date back to the mid-first millennium B.C., and ceramic parallels can be established with sites to the north and west, and also to sites further east. In general, it may be stated that the number of parallels of material culture between sites in northern and central India increases towards the mid-first millennium B.C.

3. *Achaemenid Sources*

For present purposes, the relevant group of Achaemenid sources can be divided into three sub-groups: the Achaemenid royal reliefs; the Achaemenid royal texts, and the Persepolis Fortification Tablets. Certain royal reliefs show groups of representatives from various parts of the empire. Some of the most important in this respect are the reliefs of dais-bearers on the royal tombs of Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis. These reliefs show various delegates who are arranged in a generally geographical order, and whose attire is characteristic for their place of origin. On two of the royal tombs (nos. I and V) the representatives are labelled: 'This is a Persian'; 'This is a Bactrian', etc.

¹⁴ See for example, the recently published C-14 datings from the Hathial ridge, which point to a (calibrated) dating of the first half of the first millennium B.C. (Thomas & Allchin 1986: 41ff.).

¹⁵ For Dur Khan, see Santoni 1980. For a further discussion on this point, see Vogelsang 1987b.

In this way we can distinguish a large group of representatives from eastern Iran (including present-day east Iran; Afghanistan; the southern republics of Soviet Central Asia; and the western parts of Pakistan).¹⁶ Most of the eastern Iranian delegates are dressed in the typically Iranian attire: boots, trousers, tunic, and a turban or bashlyq. The weaponry which they carry consists of a short Iranian sword called the *akinakes*. Four delegates from among this large group are dressed in a completely different manner:¹⁷ they wear a loin cloth; they are bare-chested and they wear sandals. They carry a long sword on a string which hangs down their shoulders. The labels identify these representatives as men from the Achaemenid *dahyâva* (districts) of (Old Persian) *Gaⁿdâra*; *Thatagush*; *Hiⁿdush* and *Maka*. Of these four *dahyâva*, only *Gaⁿdâra* can be located with any certainty: in or near the plain of modern Peshawar, at the eastern entrance to the Khyber Pass. As regards the *dahyu* of *Thatagush*, its precise location is still disputed. Elsewhere (Vogelsang 1985: 80-81), I have tried to show that this district should perhaps be identified with the lands around modern Multan, at the confluence of the Chenab and the Ravi rivers, in the southern Panjab.¹⁸ The district of *Hiⁿdush* constitutes another problem. Its name suggests a close relationship with the Indus river. The area should therefore perhaps either be located along the lower course of the Indus, in modern Sind, or in the lands of the Derajat and the Panjab, north of Multan and south/southeast of ancient Gandara. This location, however, would bring the area in very close proximity to *Thatagush*, at least if we are correct in our identification of the latter. This is not supported by the evidence provided by the Achaemenid 'provincial lists', in which *Thatagush* and *Hiⁿdush* do not form part of the same 'unit'.¹⁹ The last *dahyu* to be discussed in this context, *Maka*, should probably be located in present Makran, along the coast of the Arabian Sea.²⁰ It remains to be discussed whether or not we are dealing with an 'Indian' district in this case.²¹ The 'Indian' dress of the representatives from *Maka* in the royal reliefs may simply indicate a non-Iranian, perhaps even non-Indo-Iranian people.

¹⁶ Photographs, and a discussion of the represented delegates from eastern Iran are published by Schmidt 1970: 148-152; Figs. 41-46. Further discussions are by Roaf 1974.

¹⁷ See Schmidt 1970: Figs. 45-46.

¹⁸ See also a study by Fleming 1982, in which the author proposes locating Achaemenid Sattagydia in the Bannu area to the south of Peshawar. Such a location would put Sattagydia in close proximity to Gandara; the Achaemenid 'provincial lists', however, do not seem to warrant such a hypothesis, as Sattagydia and Gandara do not form part of the same 'unit'.

¹⁹ Some pertinent remarks as to the presence of units within the Achaemenid 'provincial lists' were made by Herrenschildt 1976: 53ff.; see also Vogelsang 1986: 135-138.

²⁰ The most exhaustive discussion to date on ancient Maka is by Eilers 1983. See also Bailey 1982.

²¹ At this point attention should be drawn to the very old Hindu place of pilgrimage at Hinglaj, southwest of Las Bela along the Makran coast. See e.g. Billimoria 1944 and Eggermont 1975: 58ff..

We now turn to the evidence which is provided by the Achaemenid royal texts; especially relevant are the so-called 'provincial lists' which enumerate about twenty to thirty *dahyâva* which in some way formed part of the Achaemenid empire. It should be noted that these lists do not give a complete account of all the *dahyâva* of the empire. It may be assumed that only those *dahyâva* were included which were considered to be of some importance.²² The question remains nevertheless as on what criterion the importance was based: 'importance' may have been related to traditional and/or historical aspects, or to the fact that some of the districts occupied a significant position within the Achaemenid administrative network.

In general the arrangement of the *dahyâva* of the lists is as follows: first the *dahyu* or *dahyâva* of the centre of the empire are enumerated, followed by four 'lines' of *dahyâva*, which radiate from the centre to the four corners of the empire. In the 'provincial lists' we again find the names of the four Indo-Achaemenid *dahyâva*, namely *Ga"dâra*; *Thatagush*; *Hi"dush*, and *Maka*. We would like to draw attention to the following points. In the first place, *Ga"dâra* seems to be linked, in most of the lists, to the lands of the Saka. Elsewhere (Vogelsang 1986: 135-138), I have attempted to show that the combination of the Scythian Saka and the Indian *Ga"dâra* can partly be explained by referring to the geographical location of the relevant areas, and to a western perspective. The names of the two regions reflect districts which were located beyond another 'unit' of *dahyâva*, namely that of Bactria and neighbouring regions. In this way, the *dahyâva* of the Saka and of *Ga"dâra* reflect the northeastern extreme of the Persian Achaemenid empire. This 'unit' of the Scythian *dahyâva* and of *Ga"dâra* illustrates a 'Bactro-centric' Achaemenid outlook on the Indian district of *Ga"dâra*.²³ A related point, which may also have led to the combination of Gandara with the Saka, is the influence of Bactria, or the Achaemenid satrap in Bactria, in both areas. In this respect we may draw attention to the army of the Achaemenid satrap Bessus, who was called upon to help his king, Darius III, against the invasion by Alexander the Great. Apart from 'his own' Bactrians, Bessus also commanded the Indians 'who bordered on the Bactrians', and the Sogdians (Arrian, *Anab. Alex.* III 8,3). Much earlier, when Xerxes advanced upon Greece, the Bactrian contingent under Hystaspes also included the Amyr-gaeen Sacas (the *Sakâ Haumavargâ* of the Achaemenid inscriptions).

²² Compare the relevant remarks by Cameron 1973: 47.

²³ This Bactro-centric outlook on the Indian lands on the southern side of the Hindu Kush mountains is most clearly indicated by the name of the Paropamisadae, among other places used in the Akkadian version of the Bisutun text, at the place where the Old Persian reads *Ga"dâra*. The name of the Paropamisadae (in the Akkadian version: KUR *Pa-ar-û-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na* is an Iranian name, meaning approximately '(the land) beyond (the land) above the eagle', indicating an area which lay on the other (that is, the southern) side of the mountains.

A second point which should be mentioned here relates to the *dahyu* of *Thatagush*. In the extant 'provincial lists', this district is almost invariably linked to that of *Haraumatish*, which was centred on the oasis of modern Kandahar in southeast Afghanistan. A close relationship between *Haraumatish* and *Thatagush* is also indicated by an episode in the Bisutun inscription of Darius the Great. The Achaemenid satrap in *Haraumatish*, remaining loyal to Darius, fought three battles against the invading forces despatched from *Pârsa* by the 'rebel' *Vahyazdâta* (DB III.45-48). The first and last of these battles were fought, according to the text, in *Haraumatish*; the second battle however, took place, either in *Thatagush*, according to the Akkadian version of the Bisutun text, or in *Haraumatish*, according to the Elamite and Old Persian versions. In another paper (Vogelsang 1985: 77ff.), I have tried to show that the question is not which of the versions is correct; they are probably all correct, in the sense that together they reflect the working of the Achaemenid administrative system in that part of the world. *Haraumatish* was probably an important administrative centre, and the jurisdiction of its satrap may at times have covered, not only the *dahyu* of *Haraumatish*, but also neighbouring *dahyâva*, including *Thatagush*. In this way, a reference to *Haraumatish* can have two meanings: it either indicates the *dahyu* itself (and this may be a very limited area), or it denotes a much wider area, to be identified with the jurisdiction of the Achaemenid administration in that *dahyu*, or with the traditional and/or historical sphere of influence of that *dahyu*. In this way we can explain the apparent contradiction in the Bisutun text when both *Haraumatish* and *Thatagush* are mentioned as the place where the second battle was fought between the army of the Arachosian satrap and the 'rebel' forces from the west. We can also use it to explain why in later classical sources (e.g. Strabo, *Geogr.* XV.2.9) Arachosia is listed as extending as far east as the river Indus.

The extension of Arachosian jurisdiction or influence eastwards to the Indus is also reflected in a passage in the *Historiae Alexandri* by Curtius Rufus (XI 7,14), where it is said that the two Indian tribes of the Malloi and Oxydracae,²⁴ who lived in the southern Panjab not far from modern Multan, used to pay tribute to the Arachosians before they were subjugated by Alexander.

This leads us back to classical Bactria (Old Persian *Bâxtrish*), which seems to have had a special relationship with *Ga'dâra*.²⁵ This relationship may have had the same character as that between *Haraumatish* and the Indian lands further to the east, such as *Thatagush*.

²⁴ Compare for example the *Kshaudraka-Mâlavi-senâ* of the Indian tradition; see Agrawala 1963: 471-473.

²⁵ For Indian sources on this subject, see Witzel 1980. See also Briant 1984: 71-74.

Another point, which we already introduced above, concerns the position of the *dahyu* of *Hiⁿdush*. In this connection, we refer to certain Achaemenid inscriptions (DPH and DH), in which the four *dahyâva* are enumerated which were located at the most extreme corners of the empire: in the southeastern corner, it is the *dahyu* of *Hiⁿdush* which is mentioned. In the 'provincial lists', it is mostly the *dahyu* of *Maka* which is listed as the southeastern extreme. In one case however, in the list on the Darius Statue from Susa,²⁶ we find the two *dahyâva* of *Hiⁿdush* and *Maka* mentioned together, obviously indicating the southeastern corner of the empire. It should be noted, finally, that *Hiⁿdush* does not appear at all in the earliest 'provincial list', namely the one contained in the Bisutun text, and that Herodotus (*Hist.* IV 44) states that 'the Indians' were only conquered by Darius after the voyage by Scylax of Carianda. We may therefore suggest that the position of *Maka* as the most southeastern *dahyu* of the empire was a traditional one, and that only after its conquest did *Hiⁿdush* come to occupy that position.

We may now turn to the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, and especially to the so-called Q-texts which deal with rations distributed to travellers.²⁷ The texts normally list the ration; the person supplying the ration; the name of the traveller; the route; the person who authorised the payment; and finally the year and month of issue. The tablets are dated to the period between the thirteenth and the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Darius, namely, between 509 and 496 B.C. It is interesting to note that (Old Persian) *Harauvatish* and *Hiⁿdush* are the two most frequently mentioned eastern Iranian geographical names; *Gaⁿdâra* is listed only twice; *Thatagush* is completely absent; *Maka* (if Elamite *Makkash* indicates this Achaemenid *dahyu*) is mentioned three times. It may be important to note that *Harauvatish*, *Gaⁿdâra*, and a third entity, namely (Elamite) *Barrikana*,²⁸ seem to form a separate group, bound together by references to two authorising functionaries, namely (Elamite) *Zishshawish* and *Bakabadush*. As discussed elsewhere (Vogelsang 1985: 82ff.), this seems to indicate a common route between these three areas and the centre of the empire, where the tablets were found. This route could be identified with the so-called central route between India and the west, via the oasis of modern Kandahar, the 'Arachosian corridor' of Toynbee (1961:53-56). The special interest of this observation is the fact that, as far as our information

²⁶ For an extensive study of this list and relief, see M. Roaf 1974.

²⁷ See PFT; Hallock; 1978; 1985. For a discussion of the Q-texts, see specifically PFT: 40-45.

²⁸ Compare the Classical Paricanians in southeastern Iran (Herodotus, *Hist.* VII 67). Elsewhere (Vogelsang 1985: 82-87) I have tried to demonstrate that the *Barrikana* of the PFT should be located somewhere in modern south Afghanistan. If the *Barrikana* of the PFT is identical with the Paricanians of Herodotus, this would mean that the hypothesis of Bivar 1985, who locates the Paricanians in the rough and mountainous lands to the east of modern Kerman, cannot be accepted.

goes, the *dahyu* of *Hiⁿdush* seems to be linked to the west via another route. Because there is no information on the tablets to suggest that the route with *Hiⁿdush* led via Bactria, we are left with two possibilities: that it was either the overland route via the Baluchistan desert, followed by Alexander during his retreat from the Lower Indus valley; or it was the oversea route via the Arabian Sea. As the tablets concerning *Hiⁿdush* however indicate that the route went overland, we are inclined to accept that the Baluchistan route was not as uncommon as the Alexander biographies have led us to believe.²⁹ The same argument would suggest that the Achaemenid *dahyu* of *Hiⁿdush* was located in modern Sind, and not further north.

4. Classical Sources

When studying the pre-Alexandrian classical sources concerning the Indian subcontinent, we are struck by an apparent confusion as to the precise identity of the Indians and their lands. On the one hand, the name of the Indians is often used, so it seems, as a generic name to denote all inhabitants of the subcontinent. On the other hand, there seems to have been a much more restricted meaning for the word, which can be related to the Achaemenid use of the *dahyu* name, *Hiⁿdush*, side by side with the other Indo-Achaemenid districts. This apparent confusion, especially in the *Historiae* of Herodotus, seems to find its origin in the different sources which were used. It may *a priori* be suggested that Herodotus' limited use of the word 'India' was based, directly or indirectly, on (official) Achaemenid sources, while his wider application of the word may have been based on other types of information.³⁰ To illustrate the wider meaning of the word, we refer to some passages in the *Historiae* of Herodotus. First references can be made to the Indian fighting dogs (I 192 and VII 187), which were kept in Mesopotamian villages, and which were also used in Xerxes' army in Greece. In the biographies of Alexander we find references to the breeding of (probably long-haired) fighting dogs in India (e.g. Strabo, *Geogr.* XV 31); Ctesias also mentions these dogs (Fragm I.5).³¹ We have no reason to doubt, therefore, the genuineness of this piece of information. In the same category of source

²⁹ At this point we may refer to the Arab conquest of Sind in the early years of the eighth century A.D.; the invading army approached Sind via the southern route through Baluchistan. Early Islamic sources indicate that there was a trade route through Baluchistan (Le Strange 1905: 329-333).

³⁰ The wider meaning of the word Indian may also have been used by the Achaemenids; they seem to have been very aware of the common cultural traits of the Gandarians, the Sattagydians, and the people from *Hiⁿdush*. This is shown by the almost identical way in which the representatives from these regions are depicted on Achaemenid reliefs (see Schmidt 1970: Figs. 45-46).

³¹ The numbering of the various fragments of the *Indica* of Ctesias follows that given by McCrindle 1882.

material we can place the three references to the role of the Indians in the army of Xerxes (VII 187; VIII 113; IX 31). From these last references it may be inferred that Indian infantry and cavalry played an important role in the Achaemenid army. However, who were these Indians? It should be noted that, apart from the army list (which is of another origin, see below), there is no other reference to the Gandarians, Dadicae or Asiatic Ethiopians, in Herodotus' account of Xerxes' campaign against Greece. The use of the word 'Indian' may in these cases have been generic. Finally, reference should be made to a number of passages in the *Historiae* (III 98; III 106; IV 40; V 3), in which the land of the Indians is generally described as being the most easterly part of the inhabited worlds, with a huge population, very rich, etc. Again, we may assume that Herodotus is using the word 'India' or 'Indians' in a wider sense.

The more restricted meaning of the word 'India' was used by Herodotus in his roster of Xerxes' army against Greece (*Historiae* VII 61ff.). It has been argued elsewhere that this list has a very Achaemenid character; its composition is very similar to that of the Achaemenid 'provincial lists' described above, namely a division of the list into the contingents from the centre of the Empire, followed by those from the east and from the west, and from the north and the south. In the army roster, we read that the Gandarian and Dadicaean troops³² were united under one command, and were equipped in the Bactrian manner. This point is a further indication of Bactrian influence in the lands south of the Hindu Kush (see above). The Indian contingent in the Achaemenid army appears to have been equipped in a completely different manner. The reliability of the information on the Indians in the army roster seems to be supported by some pieces of additional information: first, that the Indian contingent used chariots, a point which is amply attested by the biographers of Alexander.³³ Secondly, the Indians, according to Herodotus, were dressed in cotton; this of course tallies with countless other references to the use of cotton in India.

Of considerable interest is the reference in the army list to the so-called Asiatic Ethiopians. In the army roster they are grouped together with the Libyans and Ethiopians from Africa, but it is clearly stated that the Asiatic Ethiopians formed part of the same contingent as that of the Indians, and also that they were dressed in a very similar manner as the Indians. The position of the Asiatic Ethiopians in the army roster, which otherwise reflects so much of its Achaemenid character, casts some doubts on the genuineness

³² The Dadicae have often been identified with the Daradas of later classical, and Indian sources. See e.g. Tucci 1977: 11-12.

³³ See especially the army of Porus in the northeastern Panjab (Arrian, *Anab. Alex.* III 14,3ff.), but also that of the Malloi and Oxydracae in the southern Panjab (VI 14,3).

of this particular piece of evidence. The name of the Asiatic Ethiopians is not found in Achaemenid sources, but it does seem to reflect Greek ideas with respect to the identity and location of the Ethiopians.³⁴ In this light, the Asiatic Ethiopians appear to have been a group of Indians of dark appearance which were named Ethiopians by the Greeks in conformity to certain ancient ideas. As to their homeland, their incorporation into the same military contingent as the Indians, seems to indicate that we should locate these 'Asiatic' Ethiopians somewhere in the south of modern Pakistan, or even further (south)east. This leads us to various (later) classical references which compare the Indian subcontinent to Egypt and Ethiopia in Africa; apart from other similarities which the Greeks noticed, they also pointed at the fact that the Indians in the north were much lighter in complexion than those living further south (Arrian, *Indica* 6,8-9).

In this context we may refer to another series of remarks by Herodotus (*Hist.* III 98-101), in which a number of Indian peoples are mentioned; they are all compared to the Ethiopians. Of further interest may be the final remark by Herodotus in this passage, in which he states that these Indians lived far to the south, and were never subjugated by Darius.

The evidence discussed above concerning the more restricted meaning of the word India used by Herodotus seems to suggest that this India should be sought to the south of Gandara, near the land of the so-called Asiatic Ethiopians and the Indians who, according to Herodotus, were very much like the Ethiopians and who were never under Darius' control. This leads us to another passage from the *Historiae* (IV 44), which concerns the voyage down the Indus river by Scylax of Carianda, at the instigation of Darius. Herodotus relates that this voyage started near the town of Caspatyrus, and ended with a voyage back home across the Arabian Sea. The remark by Herodotus at the end of this passage would seem to be of particular importance, namely where he says that the Indians were conquered after this expedition. It seems evident that Herodotus is here again referring to the Achaemenid *dahyu* of *Hiⁿdush*, and not to all of the Indians in general. All of

³⁴ Lesky 1959 has indicated that the Asiatic Ethiopians as mentioned in the *Historiae* are a reflection of an old idea, first encountered in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In these books the Ethiopians are located at the eastern extreme of the world, at the place where the sun commences his journey across the heavens. Of an apparently later date, but already expressed in the *Odyssey* (I 22f.), is the idea that the Ethiopians lived in the extreme western part of the world, where the sun descended back to earth. Increasing Greek geographical knowledge led to the identification of the black-skinned people of the modern Sudan and of Ethiopia with the mythical Ethiopians. But the idea of the eastern Ethiopians persisted, as shown in the work of Herodotus. Goukowsky 1974 has tried, in my opinion unsuccessfully, to relate the idea of eastern and western Ethiopians to the apparent confusion in Mesopotamia of the second and first millennium about the location of the land of Meluhha, which was sought either to the east, along the shores of the Arabian Sea towards India, or to the west, along the coast of the Yemen towards modern Oman.

these references taken together seem to indicate that Achaemenid influence, in whatever form, may have extended as far as modern South Pakistan, and perhaps beyond.

A much more confused idea of India and the Indians is reflected in another long passage from the *Historiae*, namely the taxation list of the Achaemenid army. Scholars still dispute the character of this source of information: does it really yield any reliable information about the Achaemenid taxation system and the taxation units of the empire? Or is the list a compilation of predominantly Greek sources?³⁵ This is not the place to discuss this problem. Let it suffice to point out that the seventh tax-paying *nomos* is that of the Gandarians; Dadicae; Aparytae and Sattagydiens;³⁶ while the last *nomos* in the list, the twentieth, is that of the Indians. At first sight this differentiation between the Gandarians etc. on the one hand, and the Indians on the other seems to conform to the limited use of the word India in other fragments of the *Historiae*. Yet, various arguments, including the position of the Indians on the list, and the fact that the Indians, contrary to all other taxation units, pay in (excessive) amounts of gold dust, would suggest that this twentieth *nomos* is not an Achaemenid entity, but an invention, probably by Greeks, in order to make the Indians conform to their ideas about the extent of Achaemenid administration to the east.

Confirmation of this point is provided by another passage in the *Historiae* (III 102), in which the collecting of gold dust is attributed to the Indians who live near Caspatyrus. To collect the gold, these Indians travelled into the desert and searched for the gold which was excavated by ants.³⁷ This part of the story may reflect a reality; gold dust was, and still is, found in large quantities in the rivers of the mountainous area of northern Pakistan. Classical authors relate the gold collecting ants of Herodotus to people living in these mountains. However, Caspatyrus was located in or near ancient Gandara;³⁸ the people in its neighbourhood were very similar to the Bactrians. It is therefore clear that the gold dust of the twentieth *nomos* is mentioned in the wrong place; it belongs with the seventh *nomos*.

Another pre-Alexandrian and classical author we should mention is the physician Ctesias, who worked and lived at the Persian court for many years,

³⁵ Armayor 1978 doubts the genuineness of much of Herodotus' information concerning the Achaemenid empire, including the taxation list. But not all of Armayor's arguments are convincing; his remark, however, about the special position of the twentieth *nomos* (that of the Indians) is important.

³⁶ For the Dadicae and Sattagydiens, see above. The identity of the Aparytae is still debated. For a discussion, and bibliography, see Gnoli 1980: 85-86, note 147.

³⁷ The story of the gold collecting ants is to be found in the Indian epic of the Mahābhārata, and is perhaps originally an Indian story which spread to the west via Gandara and Bactria; compare it, for example, with the story of the griffins guarding the gold in the land of the Indians, next to the Bactrians (Ctesias, *Indica*, I.12; XIV).

³⁸ As related by Hecataeus, *FGrH* 000 F179.

towards the end of the fifth century B.C. His *Indica* is only transmitted to us in the form of an excerpt by Photius, and by various references and quotations in the works of other classical writers. The stories about India as told by Ctesias are often considered of little value; indeed, his work is full of fabulous tales.³⁹ However, the question remains whether the fabulous stories are the work of Ctesias' imagination, or whether they reflect Iranian or Indian stories. A second important question, and more relevant to the present study, is the problem of whether the Persians had any knowledge of India beyond the Indus river. With respect to the last point, some references by Ctesias may be of interest (paragraphs 5; 8; 11; 16). These concern the mines of precious stones, especially onyxes, which were found, according to Ctesias, near Mount Sardos. It should be noted that the Periplus (paragraphs 48ff.) relates that onyx stones came from the district around modern Ujjain, east of the Thar desert. In this respect it should also be noted that in later classical literature, the Sardonyx mountains are the name for (part of) the modern Satpura range, near modern Ujjain (see e.g. Ptolemy, *Geogr.* VII.65).⁴⁰ The same region of mount Sardos, still following Ctesias, also produced silver. Silver mines are still found east of the Thar. This piece of evidence from the Persica of Ctesias may constitute an addition to the above discussed references in the *Historiae* of Herodotus concerning the location of the district of *Hiⁿdush*, and the Greek identification of the Asiatic Ethiopians. As discussed above, the idea presents itself that the Achaemenids, in some form, had come into contact with regions approaching the Southern Nuclear Region. The evidence remains very slim, but this suggestion may be worth further research. One other minor indication should be mentioned: Ashoka's governor in Surâshtra (along the coast of Gujarat) carried an Iranian name, Tushaspa, and was called a Yavana.⁴¹ The question whether this functionary reflects pre-Mauryan contacts with Iran, or whether he was just a western functionary, posted along the seaboard of the Arabian Sea, remains to be answered.

³⁹ As regards the value of the *Indica* of Ctesias, it is interesting to note that some of the names given by Ctesias as being 'Indian' can in fact be identified as Indo-Aryan. This is the case with the name of a fountain which Ctesias said the Indians called *ballade*, which could be translated into Greek as meaning 'useful'. A comparable word in Indo-Aryan can be translated as 'giving strength' (compare Sanskrit *balada*/*baladâ*). However, there are also a number of words which Ctesias said are 'Indian', but which are more easily compared to Iranian words. A well known example is the *siptakhora*, which according to Ctesias is the Indian word for a particular tree. This word could, following Ctesias, be translated into Greek with the word for 'sweet'. The word *Siptakhora* has been linked to Iranian, compare Steingass' *Shefta(-rang)*, 'of an agreeable colour', 'apricot', 'peach', and modern Iranian *xordân*, 'to eat'.

⁴⁰ Herrmann 1920: 2496) draws attention to the same point.

⁴¹ See the Rudraman inscription, *Ep. Ind.* VIII, 1905-1906, p. 46.

5. Concluding Remarks

In the preceding sections I have tried to discuss some sources concerning the relationship between the Achaemenids/Iranians on the one hand, and the Indians on the other. I have also tried to raise a number of important questions. These concern, first, the location of the Achaemenid *dahyu* of *Hîⁿdush*. I have suggested that this district should be located in the Lower Indus valley, perhaps extending in a southeastern direction. In this way, its inhabitants can be related to those of *Sindhu* of the Indian tradition. Secondly, I have referred to the possibility of far-reaching Arachosian and Bactrian influence in *Thatagush* and *Gaⁿdhâra* respectively. In another paper (Vogelsang 1987a), I stated that this may reflect, at least in this area of the world, the stepped organisation of the Achaemenid empire; a point which may also be suggested by two remarks in the *Historiae* of Herodotus (I 134 and III 89). Bactrian and Arachosian influence over the Indians to the east is also clearly indicated by the biographers of Alexander. Thirdly, I have drawn attention to the character of some of the fabulous stories about India as told by Herodotus and especially by Ctesias. Is it really fair, simply to dismiss these stories? Should we not try to study these tales as stories which were told by Indians and Iranians? The story of the gold-digging ants, as told by Herodotus, seems to be a good example of the spread of certain tales from India to the west. In the fourth place, there is the problem of the overseas contacts. Most of the indications for pre-Alexandrian contacts between western India and the Persian Gulf (and beyond) are rather vague; yet, there are so many indications that we seem to be forced to fit them into a pattern. Perhaps the spread of the (originally North Semitic?) Brâhmî script is a good starting point. Yet merely trying to find more indications for overseas contacts is not enough; we should also try to study the history of the Near East in the light of such (possible) contacts. How important was the Indian maritime trade to the history of the Achaemenid empire? As far as the latter question is concerned, we can point to the voyage of Scylax of Carianda, whose expedition may be seen in the same light as the reopening of the Suez canal.

Finally, some remarks should be made concerning the mechanisms of Achaemenid, or Arachosian/Bactrian influence in the lands of the Indian subcontinent. Many scholars have pointed out that Alexander on his eastward march beyond the Kabul region did not find any traces of Achaemenid administration.⁴² This has been taken to indicate, that Achaemenid administration never reached deep into India, and/or that the fourth century B.C. saw a sharp decline in Achaemenid strength in this part of the world. While

⁴² See e.g. the remarks made by Brunt 1976: 544-547.

this is a possible interpretation, it is not necessarily the only approach to the study of Achaemenid-Indian relations. It may be wrong to study the Achaemenid empire as a realm in which the different areas were all directly or indirectly administered by Achaemenid officials. We have already referred to the possibilities of Bactrian and Arachosian influence in the Indian lands further east. We may go even further than this. In another paper (Vogelsang, in press), I have discussed the administrative and fiscal system in the extreme northwest of the Indian subcontinent during part of the nineteenth century A.D. It showed that under the sovereignty of one ruler (the *rajah* of Kashmir, who himself was tributary to the British crown), a large series of fiscal and political relationships could exist, within a relatively small area. Some areas, mostly near Kashmir itself, were directly administered by Kashmiris; the population of other areas, usually further away, paid individual taxes, but for the rest were very much left on their own, apart from the obligation, of providing troops for the army, when necessary. Other areas were tributary; they paid annually a certain sum, or a certain amount of goods. There were also areas where the people were actually subsidised by the Kashmiris, in return for guarding the borders, or other strategic points. In their turn, certain rulers who were subject to the *Rajah* of Kashmir, could control other areas, in various ways. In conclusion, a whole series of relationships was possible, all under the banner of the ruler of Kashmir. Of course we cannot suggest, on the basis of such a comparison, that a similar system was operative in the Achaemenid empire more than two thousand years ago. Still, such a flexible and varied system may open the way to a more detailed study of Achaemenid-Indian relations.

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LES ACHÉMÉNIDES DANS LE GOLFE ARABO-PERSIQUE

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Les découvertes archéologiques des dernières années dans les pays riverains du Golfe arabo-persique, en particulier dans les pays de la côte arabe, et les premières et timides approches de l'histoire de cette région du Proche Orient au 1^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. permettent de formuler aujourd'hui une question qui aurait pu paraître hasardeuse et hors de propos il ya encore peu de temps : la région du Golfe faisait-elle partie de l'empire achéménide, et quelle était sa situation ?

Les travaux danois des années 1960-1970 ne fournissent pas de réponse : aucune trouvaille provenant des fouilles danoises ne peut être datée avec précision de la période qui s'étend du milieu du 6^e s. jusqu'à la fin du 4^e s. av. J.-C., époque qu'on peut appeler achéménide du strict point de vue de la chronologie, sans anticiper sur les implications historiques du terme. Pour nos collègues danois, il y a un hiatus entre la fin, mal datée d'ailleurs, de ce qui est appelé Age du Fer en Oman et 'Cité IV' à Bahrain (où on constate d'indéniables influences néo-assyriennes et néo-babyloniennes), et l'époque séleucide d'autre part, maintenant bien connue à Failaka (Koweït), à Bahrain, dans les Emirats Arabes Unis ou en Oman (fig. 1). On remarque une incertitude analogue dans les trouvailles archéologiques de la côte iranienne du Golfe. Ce blanc chronologique est réaffirmé en 1980 encore, dans une première synthèse des recherches et problèmes sur le Golfe au 1^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. (Boucharlat et Salles 1981). Une position plus nuancée apparaît dans l'étude de C. Larsen sur l'île de Bahrain : «it is reasonable to assume that Bahrain was influenced by such Achaemenid attempts at control of the sea» (Larsen 1983 : 54-55 ; voir les commentaires de Potts 1985a : 700-702). Le problème est abordé, mais laissé sans réponse claire, lors de la Rencontre de Lyon, en 1982 (*AOMIM*, en particulier les contributions de D. Potts, de R. Boucharlat sur les Emirats Arabes Unis, de J.-F. Salles sur Bahrain), puis plus longuement traité en 1985, à Turin (Boucharlat et Salles 1987). Mais l'état d'esprit issu des travaux danois n'a pas disparu, et il est significatif que la récente thèse de P. Lombard sur *L'Age du Fer en Arabie orientale* (1985) ne fasse que de brèves allusions à la période achéménide et passe sous silence les 5^e et 4^e siècles av. J.-C.

Il est vrai aussi que les sources écrites, achéménides ou extérieures, grecques tout spécialement, sont passablement muettes sur cette région du monde antique. L'étude qui suit ne saurait combler toutes les incertitudes qui demeurent, et il en ressortira plus d'interrogations que de vérités. On essayera

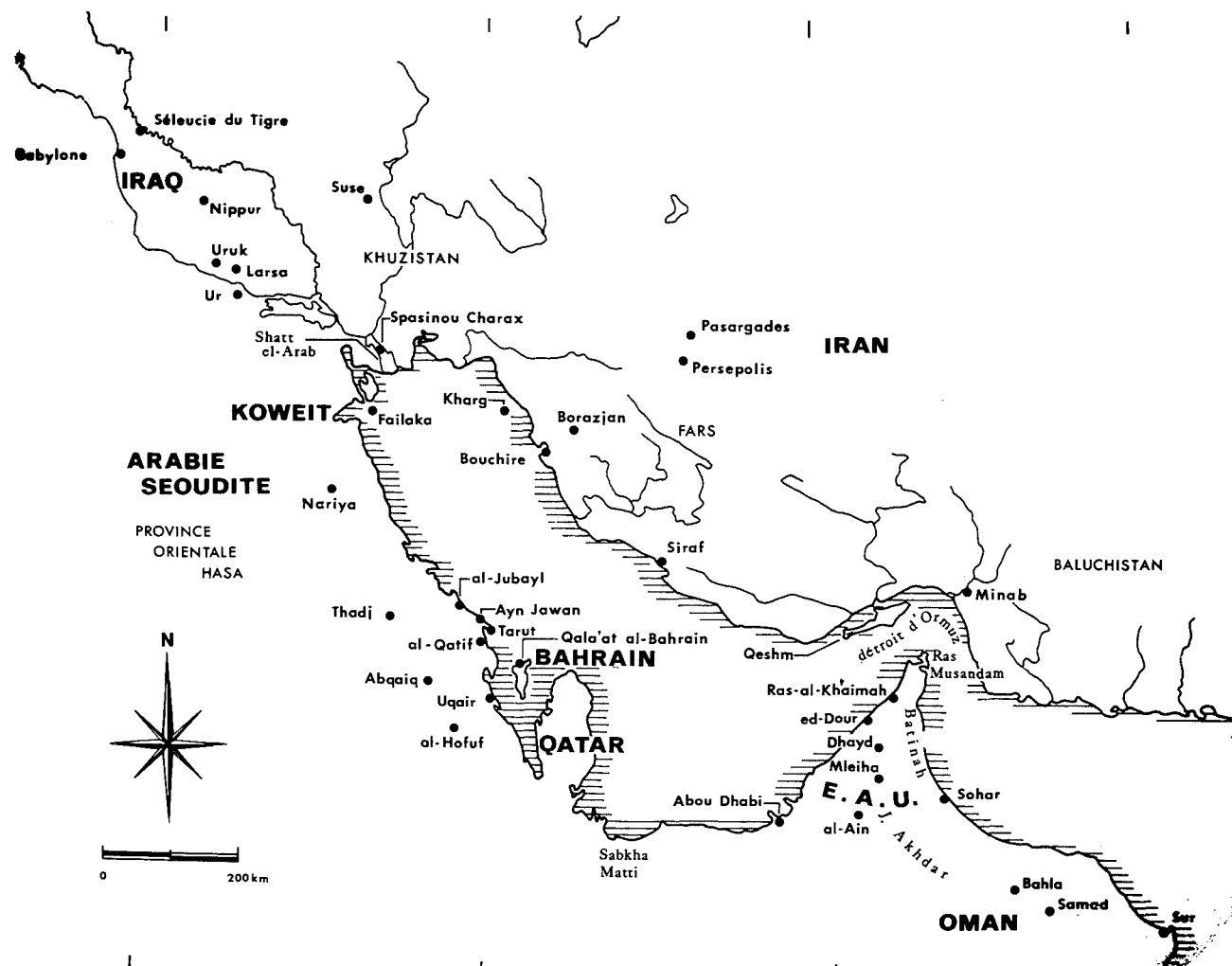


Fig. 1. — Carte du Golfe arabo persique

pourtant de montrer que le Golfe était une région active et peuplée aux 6e-4e siècles av. J.-C., probablement sous influence achéménide — influence plus politique que culturelle. La démarche s'articulera autour d'une interprétation des quelques textes disponibles et d'un inventaire rapide du matériel archéologique aujourd'hui disponible. Bien que menée par un archéologue, cette réflexion se veut avant tout historique, dans la mesure où l'archéologie seule ne peut aider à résoudre les problèmes en suspens.

Une dernière remarque préliminaire s'impose. Notre connaissance est fondée sur les résultats de dix années de recherches intensives sur la côte arabe du Golfe; la côte iranienne, faiblement explorée jusque vers les années 1970, est totalement inabordable dans le contexte politique actuel, et nos informations remontent souvent à l'entre-deux guerres (*survey* de Sir A. Stein, 1931 et 1937). Les conclusions proposées aujourd'hui sont donc éminemment précaires et unilatérales.

1. *Les silences des sources écrites*

Dans les textes qui concernent la période achéménide, il n'est jamais fait mention d'une *conquête* de la région du Golfe: il n'y a pas de récit de campagne militaire sur les rives du Golfe — opérations qui auraient été en partie navales si elles avaient existé — et il n'y a pas de référence à une soumission des peuples du Golfe, alors même qu'on voit tant de peuples soumis d'un bout à l'autre de l'empire. S'il y a donc une présence et une politique des Grands Rois dans le Golfe, elle n'est pas inaugurée par Cyrus, et elle ne peut être qu'un *héritage*. Vainqueur du dernier souverain néo-babylonien, Cyrus se serait retrouvé à la tête de 'possessions' anciennement acquises par ses prédécesseurs, d'alliés ou de tributaires (?) déjà soumis, ce qui expliquerait la transmission pacifique — et silencieuse dans les textes — du Golfe d'un règne à l'autre.

Ce qui pourrait paraître n'être qu'une hypothèse est cependant étayé par quelques informations antérieures aux Perses; sans vouloir dresser un tableau de la région du Golfe vers 560 av. J.-C. et le transposer, sans preuve, à l'époque achéménide, on peut relever quelques faits notables:

— les textes mésopotamiens attestent une suzeraineté, sans doute variable dans le temps, des royaumes néo-assyrien et néo-babylonien sur le pays de Dilmoun (partie septentrionale du Golfe: Bahrain, Arabie orientale et Koweït). Plusieurs des rois néo-assyriens se sont proclamés rois de Dilmoun, et un 'gouverneur de Dilmoun' est mentionné sous le règne de Nabonide (Lombard 1985: Tableau III et p. 31-37). Il faut sans doute faire la part de la 'propagande' des rois néo-assyriens, peut-être moins qu'on ne le pense pourtant, mais, en dépit des faibles indices archéologiques, il est certain que ces souverains ont cherché à 'contrôler' la voie navigable pour des raisons

économiques évidentes (*infra*; voir aussi FFF 1984-85: 125-127). Il faut ajouter à ce domaine de Dilmoun la péninsule d'Oman, d'où un roi Pâdè, roi du pays de Qadê, aurait effectué le trajet jusqu'à Ninive pour payer tribut à Assurbanipal, vers 640 av. J.-C. (Potts 1985b: 82). Royaumes vassaux, provinces, peuples alliés? on ne sait rien de l'organisation réelle de cette région, mais le système organisé par ses prédécesseurs aurait survécu sous Cyrus et ses successeurs.

— de nombreux documents attestent que le courant commercial entre la Mésopotamie et le sous-continent indien est rétabli dès le début du 1er millénaire av. J.-C. (Salles 1989). Dès le 9^e s. (Shalmanazer III) et jusqu'au temps de Nabonide, on voit arriver des produits indiens dans les grands centres mésopotamiens ou iraniens. Dans les sources occidentales, la légendaire richesse de Gerrha, en Arabie orientale (Strabon XVI 3,3), constitue un écho tardif de ce rôle commercial de la voie navigable. On a expliqué ailleurs (Salles 1987) comment Alexandre le Grand et ses successeurs s'étaient intéressés au Golfe pour son rôle économique, qui le faisait comparer par Alexandre à une nouvelle Phénicie (Arrien, *Anab*, VII 19,5); mais les Séleucides n'ont pas créé eux-mêmes cette richesse, qui leur venait en dévolution de l'empire achéménide. Faut-il projeter le même schéma pour la période de transition entre Nabonide et Cyrus? Il est clair que le Golfe arabo-persique a retrouvé au 1^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. le rôle commercial qu'il jouait au temps de Dilmoun (fin du 3^e/début du 2^e millénaires), ce qui ne peut donc avoir laissé indifférents les royaumes ou empires riverains ou ceux qui détenaient les centres d'arrivage des marchandises lointaines.

Le domaine de *Maka* est cité plusieurs fois par les sources achéménides, comme *dahyu* — un pays plus qu'une circonscription administrative ou politique —, et les habitants sont connus comme *Maciya* (Roaf 1974; Eilers 1983; Potts 1985b). Roaf hésite à situer le pays de *Maka* en Oman, dans le Makran iranien, ou sur les deux rives à la fois; Eilers pencherait plutôt pour le Makran iranien, sur des bases essentiellement philologiques et toponymiques. Potts choisit plus nettement la péninsule d'Oman (sans exclure pour autant le Makran); il démontre comment le roi de *Maka*, Pâdè, résiderait, au temps d'Assurbanipal, dans la ville omanaise d'Iski, *Is/s/z-ki/qu-e* dans la stèle d'Ishtar à Ninive (Potts 1985c). Comme on l'a remarqué plusieurs fois, l'habit des représentants du pays de *Maka* dans les bas-reliefs achéménides présente des ressemblances frappantes avec celui des envoyés de l'Inde: pieds nus, long pagne depuis l'épaule jusqu'à mi-cuisses, etc... (Roaf 1974: 144-145, voir aussi Potts 1985b: 84-85). Si *Maka* est bien la péninsule d'Oman, ce fait ne doit pas étonner; depuis la plus haute antiquité, d'après les témoignages archéologiques, et jusqu'à nos jours, la côte orientale de l'Oman a toujours été naturellement tournée vers l'Iran méridional, le Balouchistan et la basse vallée de l'Indus. L'appartenance du pays de *Maka* au domaine achéménide a

été longuement discutée ailleurs, et nous n'y reviendrons pas, en acceptant le principe. J'ajouterai deux remarques: la mention du pays de *Maka* apparaît dans les inscriptions les plus anciennes de l'empire (Bisutun), suggérant ainsi l'antiquité du rattachement de la région à l'empire achéménide, sans doute par 'héritage'. D'autre part, W. Vogelsang rappelle (dans cet ouvrage p. 101), que ce pays de *Maka* fut longtemps considéré par les Achéménides comme la limite sud-est de l'Empire: il était sans doute situé le long de la route maritime qui reliait la Perse au pays de l'*Hindush* par le Golfe arabo-persique, si on en croit les textes de rations des *PFT*.

Le domaine de Dilmoun, la partie septentrionale du Golfe, n'est jamais mentionné dans les textes achéménides; si, comme on peut le supposer, Dilmoun appartenait à la sphère néo-babylonienne, ce silence peut paraître étrange.

Les textes classiques ne fournissent pas d'indications plus claires. Dans la description du quatorzième gouvernement, Hérodote (III 93) énumère «les Sagartiens, Sarangéens, Thamanéens, Outies et Myces...», autant de peuples qu'il est impossible de localiser précisément. Ces Myces sont présents dans l'armée de Xerxès (Hér. VII 68), et «ils étaient équipés et vêtus comme les Pactyes», c'est-à-dire les habitants du Penjab, ou plus au Sud encore (paradoxalement, ces habitants des pays chauds portent des fourrures, mais rappelons que le dénombrement de l'armée se situe dans la froide Thrace, à la fin de l'automne ou en hiver). Ce nom des Myces fait très certainement référence au pays de *Maka* (Eilers 1983), mais il faut sans doute le rapprocher aussi du nom donné par Arrien au ras Musandam, la pointe nord de l'Oman, le cap Maceta (Arrien, *Ind.* 32,7); du peuple des *Macaë* de Strabon (XVI 3,2) qui habitent le cap situé en face d'Ormuz (mais en XVI 3,4, Strabon localise les îles de Bahrain à un jour de navigation de la bouche du golfe des *Macaë*: il ne peut évidemment pas s'agir du ras Musandam, mais quelle était l'extension du pays des *Macaë*?); et des *Macaë* de Pline (VI 32,152). Toutes ces convergences ont été relevées plusieurs fois, et on peut raisonnablement établir l'équation *Maka* = *Myces* = *Macaë* = Oman depuis la période achéménide jusqu'au temps de Pline. On rappellera qu'au I^{er} s. de notre ère, l'auteur anonyme du *Périple de la Mer Erythrée* assure que cette région est réputée perse (*Pér.* 33). Il faut remarquer enfin que le quatorzième gouvernement décrit par Hérodote semble associer les deux rives du Golfe, les Myces en Oman (et sans doute le long des côtes des Emirats Arabes Unis, si on en croit Strabon), les Outiens en Carmanie et les Sagartiens sur la côte et le plateau iraniens.

Dans la même description de l'empire, Hérodote fait état des «habitants de la Mer Erythrée où le Grand Roi envoie demeurer les gens qu'on appelle les Relégués» (*anaspastoi*). Dans d'autres passages, notre source mentionne les prisonniers milésiens envoyés demeurer sur les bords de la Mer Erythrée,

dans la ville d'Ampè qui est à l'embouchure du Tigre (VI 20), ou des 'Insulaires de la Mer Erythrée' qui viennent se joindre à l'armée de Xerxès: ils habitent 'les îles où le Grand Roi envoie demeurer ceux qu'on appelle les Relégués'; ces soldats 'avaient à peu près le même costume et les mêmes armes que les Mèdes' (VII 80). L'un de ces 'relégués' est nommé par Strabon, Mithropastès, fils d'Aristès, banni par Darius III sans doute après la bataille du Granique en 334 av. J.-C. Ce Mithropastès aurait été relégué dans l'île d'Ogyris selon Strabon, où se trouve la tombe du roi Erythras d'après la tradition (sur le roi Erythras, voir Goukowsky 1974, qui différencie, arbitrairement, l'île Oaracta de Néarque et l'île Ogyris de Strabon et de Pline). Tous ces textes, si imprécis soient-ils, permettent pourtant de soulever quelques problèmes.

Les relégations et déportations sont attestées dans plusieurs textes concernant l'histoire achéménide (Briant 1984a: 64 et 97); individuelles ou collectives (pour le Golfe, voir la mention des Milésiens d'Ampè, *supra*), elles sont toujours situées aux 'extrémités de l'empire', *ta eschata tès basileias* dit P. Briant, qui cite les «frontières de l'Inde et de la Scythie», l'Arménie, la Sogdiane-Bactriane. Chronologiquement, de tels exils sont encore pratiqués à la fin de la royauté achéménide, d'après l'épisode de Mithropastès. Si le fait d'envoyer des gens 'en résidence surveillée' sur des îles, dans une région marginale et peu accueillante d'où il est difficile de s'échapper, est bien compréhensible, il deviendrait absurde si ces terres d'exil étaient situées hors de l'empire, hors d'une forme, même minime, de contrôle par les Grands Rois. Certes, Mithropastès espérait profiter du passage de Néarque et de ses compagnons pour retrouver le pouvoir dans son pays, suggérant ainsi quelque complot fomenté à l'instar des Achéménides; mais quand on s'échappe de l'île d'Elbe, on s'échappe quand même d'une zone sous 'contrôle' anglais! On ne saura jamais, sauf textes nouveaux, quelle était réellement l'emprise des Perses sur le Golfe arabo-persique, rapports politiques et administratifs; mais, au-delà des mentions de *Maka* déjà citées et de l'importance économique de la voie maritime sur laquelle nous reviendrons plus loin, il paraît exclu que le pouvoir des Grands Rois ne se soit pas exercé sur les rives du Golfe. Faut-il rappeler que, lorsqu'il aborde dans la région d'Harmozie, Néarque constate que «tout y est désormais amical», et qu'après avoir rencontré Alexandre, il «traverse un pays ami» (Arrien, *Ind.* 33, 2 et 36, 7) — malgré toutes les embûches rencontrées: il ne peut s'agir là que d'une amitié héritée de la conquête par Alexandre d'une région sous gouvernement achéménide, dont quelques fonctionnaires nous sont connus (Goukowsky 1974: 124, note 60)¹

¹ Sur l'existence possible d'un royaume indépendant dans la région d'Ormuz à l'époque hellénistique, voir Tarn 1951: 481-485.

Sans vouloir attacher trop d'importance aux descriptions vestimentaires de l'armée de Xerxès, on constate pourtant que les Myces sont vêtus comme les Indiens, alors que les habitants des îles sont habillés comme les Mèdes: il y aurait deux groupes, qui peuvent correspondre à la distinction traditionnelle entre la partie septentrionale du Golfe (Koweït, Arabie orientale et Bahrein), et la péninsule d'Oman. Paradoxalement, la Mer Erythrée de l'époque perse n'est jamais associée avec les Arabes (voir la contribution de D. Graf, dans ce volume); ils y confinent pourtant, si on accepte l'identification de *hgr* dans la liste des peuples soumis de la nouvelle statue de Darius à Suse avec l'Arabie orientale (Graf, *loc. cit.*, qui rappelle que le term *hgr* apparaît, dans certains contextes, en référence avec les Mèdes). Faut-il alors associer les Hagarites de la statue de Darius avec les habitants des îles d'Hérodote?

On ne peut terminer cette revue des rares sources écrites sans évoquer rapidement les périple, celui de Scylax de Carianda et celui de Néarque. Le récit elliptique d'Hérodote sur Scylax (IV, 44) ne fait aucune allusion au Golfe arabo-persique, et tout semble s'être déroulé en Inde même — descente de l'Indus —, puis au cours d'une longue navigation depuis les bouches de l'Indus jusqu'à Suez. D'autres fragments du périple de Scylax ont été préservés, mentionnant les peuples Opies et Kalates, dans la basse vallée de l'Indus, les Myces (voir *supra*) et les îles de Carmanie, et une île Kuré qu'Hécatée de Milet situe dans le Golfe persique (v. Arnim 1927: 623); l'unique référence à cette île inconnue de tous les autres auteurs ne permet pas d'affirmer que Scylax aurait découvert la route du Golfe («den Persischen Golf entdeckt», *RE* op. cit., ou Raschke 1978, note 1131: 914). Ce périple a suscité bien des controverses, d'abord quant à sa relation avec le conquête de l'Inde: certains considèrent qu'il s'agirait d'une exploration préalable (Martin 1965: 45), comme l'affirme d'ailleurs Hérodote: «ce périple achevé, Darius soumit les Indiens et ouvrit leur mer à ses vaisseaux». Pour d'autres, cette exploration ferait partie intégrante de la campagne militaire de Darius contre l'Inde, ce qui justifierait la durée du périple, 30 mois, beaucoup trop longue pour une simple traversée de Karachi à Suez (Schiwek 1962: 8-19). On a même affirmé que cette exploration était postérieure à la conquête du Sind (Herzfeld 1968: 282).

On s'est aussi interrogé sur le rapport entre ce récit et les inscriptions de Darius trouvées à Suez: le Grand Roi aurait envoyé des bateaux depuis l'Égypte, où il avait ré-ouvert le canal de Nechao, jusqu'en Perse. Scylax lui-même a-t-il fait partie de cette expédition, comme le suggère Schiwek (1962: 15-16)? L'association dans quelques inscriptions en vieux perse des termes *putiya*, *kušiya*, *mačiya* et *krka* indique-t-elle, comme le pense Herzfeld (1968: 283-284) les étapes d'une route maritime qui reliait le golfe de Suez à

l'embouchure de l'Euphrate?² Au-delà de l'interprétation, difficile, des textes, il faut essayer d'apprécier ce qu'aurait pu être telle route. La navigation depuis le Shatt el-Arab jusqu'au fond de la Mer Rouge, ou vice-versa, est difficile, et ne paraît jamais avoir constitué un axe commercial continu, même à l'époque islamique;³ la liaison directe entre la Mer Rouge et la basse vallée de l'Indus ne semble pas avoir été utilisée avant le 2^e ou 1^{er} s. av. J.-C. — même si les marins arabes et indiens se sont servi bien avant de la mousson entre la côte méridionale de l'Arabie et le subcontinent (van Beek 1958; Rougé 1988). Quel pouvait être l'intérêt économique d'une telle route peu praticable, pour un empire dont les principaux centres de consommation étaient la Mésopotamie et l'Iran méridional bien plus que l'Égypte? Et affirmer qu'elle servait à apporter à Suse les tributs d'Éthiopie et d'Égypte paraît bien audacieux (Raschke 1978, note 1132, à la suite de Schiwek), alors que les routes terrestres étaient tellement plus sûres. Enfin, on pourrait s'étonner que ces deux axes maritimes, Mer Rouge/golfe Persique et Mer Rouge/Indus aient été utilisés pendant la période achéménide, puis totalement oubliés au point qu'Alexandre ait été contraint d'envoyer de nouveaux explorateurs dans ces régions (*infra*), et que Séleucides et Lagides, pourtant concurrents dans la recherche des marchés orientaux, ne se soient jamais affrontés sur ces côtes. Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, il vaut mieux ne voir dans le périple de Scylax qu'une aventure, suffisamment audacieuse pour avoir frappé les esprits, mais unique. Rappelons aussi que cette aventure ne se déroule pas dans le Golfe.

Plus riche en enseignements paraît être le récit du retour de Néarque. La longue description des côtes du Balouchistan, du Makran, puis de la rive iranienne du Golfe témoigne que toutes ces régions étaient relativement peuplées, et pacifiques dans la plupart des cas — il y a peu de récits de batailles —, donc soumises à un pouvoir? La voie maritime semble d'autre part partiellement connue: même si le but avoué de l'expédition est l'exploration, comme le rappelle Néarque à Onésicrite (Arrien, VII 20,9-10), il faut admettre, avec Schiwek (1962: 51 et suiv.), que le chef de cette aventure disposait de renseignements avant son départ, et qu'il a bénéficié de l'aide de spécialistes de cette route — les pilotes rencontrés en Gédrosie ou à Ormuz. Ces informations et ce savoir ne pouvaient provenir que de sources ou de

² Pourquoi E. Herzfeld affirme-t-il: «a convoy of 24 or 36 sailed together 'as it has never been before' from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean», alors que les inscriptions de Suez font état d'une navigation dans l'autre sens, d'Ouest en Est (p. 282)? D'autre part, la formule «*krka, putiya, kušiya, mačiya*, dont l'ordre semble varier (p. 283-284) n'est pas la répétition de «*Tilmun, Magan et Meluhha*» des rois néo-assyriens, puisque *Meluhha* désigne apparemment l'Afrique autant que l'Inde à cette époque (cf. Goukowsky 1974: 114-117 sur les deux 'Éthiopies' hellènes).

³ Un Séminaire sur la circumnavigation de l'Arabie s'est tenu à Lyon, en janvier 1986: le problème a été abordé pour l'époque classique par J.-F. Salles et pour l'époque islamique par G. Cornu: v. Rougé 1988; Salles 1988.

rapports d'époque achéménide, en tout cas de traditions bien établies avant Alexandre: la navigation de Karachi au Shatt el-Arab, ou vice-versa, n'est pas une invention de Néarque. On pourrait d'ailleurs faire les mêmes remarques pour les explorations de la rive arabe du Golfe (Archias, Hiéron de Soli): elles ne semblent s'aventurer que le long d'axes déjà connus, et ne franchissent jamais 'la limite de l'inconnu', le ras Musandam et la navigation vers le sud-ouest à partir de ce point (Salles 1988).

Une lecture plus attentive des textes — et de leurs silences — indique donc que la région du Golfe arabo-persique, loin d'être ignorée des Achéménides, était active, peuplée, connue, sans doute partie intégrante de l'empire (*infra*), et peut-être contrôlée. La seule trace d'organisation politique est le pays de *Maka*, sujet du Grand Roi, mais plus tourné vers l'Inde, au moins dans la vision achéménide. Si le schéma proposé est juste, on est en droit d'attendre de l'archéologie qu'elle vienne apporter quelques renseignements complémentaires: ils sont malheureusement très maigres.

2. La documentation archéologique

Il faut rappeler, encore une fois, le caractère inégal de cette documentation, plus pour des raisons circonstancielles ou politiques que pour des raisons archéologiques: la côte iranienne est presque inconnue, alors que la côte arabe du Golfe bénéficie d'efforts considérable depuis une dizaine d'années. Toutes les conclusions présentées restent donc précaires. En tout état de cause, cette documentation archéologique est pauvre, éparse, et suscite maintes controverses. Pour la clarté de l'exposé, on en donnera un résumé région par région.

a) *Koweït/Failaka*. Dès les années 1960, la mission danoise avait trouvé, sur l'un des sites du 2^e millénaire av. J.-C. appelé F6, les restes d'un bâtiment antérieur à l'époque hellénistique, mais postérieur à l'occupation kassite du grand complexe baptisé parfois 'palais': aucun matériel ne permettait toutefois de dater cette installation. En reprenant l'étude de ces vestiges, et sur la base des données architecturales et de mentions isolées du roi Nabuchodonosor (Glassner, dans *FFF* 83: 49-50), P. Kjaerum propose d'attribuer ce niveau supérieur à la période néo-babylonienne (1986: 79). Il est vrai que les fouilles françaises dans ce secteur ont mis au jour, en 1985, une sépulture en jarre dont la date est difficile à préciser, entre le 6^e et le 4^e s. av. J.-C. (Calvet et Pic dans *FFF* 84-85: 16-18 et fig. 11), et, en 1986, plusieurs vestiges de la même époque: ces trouvailles isolées attestent que le site a été utilisé, sinon occupé, vers le milieu du 1^{er} millénaire av. J.-C.

D'autres objets en provenance de la forteresse hellénistique F5 restent de datation incertaine, néo-babylonienne et/ou achéménide, mais certainement pré-hellénistique. Une analyse plus précise de l'architecture du bâtiment laisse

supposer qu'il y aurait eu une installation avant la construction de la forteresse (Callot, Gachet et Salles 1987).

Mais c'est le site de Tell Khazneh, à quelques centaines de mètres de la forteresse, qui a fourni les éléments les plus sûrs d'une présence pré-hellénistique sur l'île — peut-être le sanctuaire local que les Grecs ont trouvé en abordant sur l'île, peu avant 300 av. J.-C. (Salles 1985). On mentionnera, pour mémoire, les trouvailles marquantes, dont on trouvera une analyse détaillée dans le rapport définitif (*FFF* 84-85: 107-296). Il y avait là une importante collection de figurines en terre cuite de tradition orientale, souvent pré-hellénistiques; plusieurs objets qui relèvent des traditions des 6e/4e s. av. J.-C. tels un bracelet en bronze avec protomé d'animal, des pointes de flèches à ailettes, un sceau en chalcédoine...; un fragment d'inscription araméenne, difficile à lire, daté du 4e s. av. J.-C. d'après la paléographie. On relève aussi quelques céramiques dites néo-babyloniennes ou achéménides,⁴ et une céramique locale, dite 'Pseudo-Barbar' à cause de sa parenté de fabrique avec les poteries du 2e millénaire, qui illustre bien, dans l'évolution des formes, la transition entre les traditions anciennes (6e s. av. J.-C.) et les nouvelles céramiques hellénistiques présentes dans la forteresse F5. Il est impossible d'attribuer une date précise à cette installation pré-hellénistique, et il serait sans doute exagéré d'affirmer une présence, ou une domination, achéménide sur Failaka — mais l'usage de l'araméen, le nom iranisant de l'inscription, et quelques autres trouvailles sont des indices. Le point le plus important, et maintenant bien assuré, est que l'île était occupée dès le 6e s. av. J.-C. (peut-être plus tôt, pour ce qui concerne le 1er millénaire), et donc, sans nul doute, en relation avec ses voisins, dont la Babylonie achéménide.

b) *L'Arabie orientale*: Une 'périodisation' de l'histoire de l'Arabie orientale a été proposée en 1982 par D. Potts: Early Hasaeen, 800-300 B.C., Middle Hasaeen, 300-0 B.C., Late Hasaeen, 0-300 A.D. (*AOMIM*: 119). L'auteur souligne que la première phase est la plus mal connue par les documents archéologiques: quelques sarcophages-baignoires dans la région de Dhahran, quelques poteries ou sceaux trouvés lors de ramassages de surface, tous vestiges de date incertaine. Un ré-examen des trouvailles de surface du site appelé 'Salt Mine Site', au nord-ouest de al-Uqair, indique pourtant des dates qui s'échelonnent depuis le 6e jusqu'au 4e s. av. J.-C. (Lombard 1988); les trouvailles récentes en Arabie orientale semblent mettre en évidence l'importance de la céramique 'Pseudo-Barbar', dont on a vu plus haut le caractère

⁴ L'expression «céramique néo-babylonienne» ou «achéménide» est un raccourci sémantique qu'il faut se garder de mal interpréter. Il n'y a pas de production céramique achéménide; il y a des formes, des fabriques, qui sont spécifiques de la période achéménide, mais très variables selon les régions, et résultant le plus souvent d'évolutions locales, même si des influences extérieures sont parfois perceptibles. Tout ceci n'a rien à voir avec les productions standardisées de la période hellénistique.

de transition. Bien que peu nombreux, les témoins archéologiques attestent une continuité du peuplement depuis l'Age du Fer jusqu'à la période séleucide, mieux illustrée à Thaj (Potts 1983). Plusieurs inscriptions ont été trouvées dans cette région de l'Arabie: leurs dates, et les langues ou 'dialectes' qu'elles emploient (inscriptions Proto-Arabes, inscriptions Haséennes — revue complète dans Potts 1983) restent sujettes à discussion; toutes semblent pourtant précéder la période hellénistique, ainsi que les inscriptions araméennes: «no archaeological complement can be assigned to the period of the use of Aramaic, although it would be tempting to link it to the era of Achaemenian supremacy in western Asia...» (Potts, 1983: 94).

c) *Bahrain*. La chronologie de cette période de l'histoire de l'île de Bahrain reste imprécise du fait des circonstances de découverte du matériel archéologique: il provient souvent de tombes, parfois ré-utilisées à plusieurs époques, ou du site urbain de Qal'at al-Bahrain, dans le nord de l'île, où la stratigraphie demeure incertaine. J'avais suggéré, lors de la rencontre de Lyon en 1982, une continuité entre l'Age du Fer, Cité IV de Qal'at al-Bahrain et la période hellénistique du même site, Cité V, créant ainsi une phase IVc, achéménide?, suffisamment mal définie pour n'apparaître que sous forme d'un diagramme (*AOMIM*: 10) et non dans la description des phases archéologiques (*id.*: 156). Cette hypothèse est remise en question par P. Lombard (1985: 245-246, note 2), qui préfère introduire une période d'abandon à partir du milieu ou de la fin du 6^e s. jusque vers 300 av. J.-C., créant ainsi un hiatus pendant l'époque de la domination achéménide. Récemment, D. Potts propose, à la suite de D. Oates, de faire coïncider la fin de la Cité IV de Qal'at al-Bahrain, illustrée par un cimetière de sarcophages-baignoires dans certains secteurs abandonnés du site, avec la période achéménide, supprimant ainsi le hiatus précédent et menant la fin de l'Age du Fer jusque dans le courant du 4^e s. av. J.-C. (Potts, 1985a: 701-702). On a enfin essayé de montrer qu'il y avait une continuité dans la production céramique de l'île, la phase de transition entre les poteries d'époque néo-babylonienne, mal datées d'ailleurs, et les productions hellénistiques étant représentée par la céramique 'Pseudo-Barbar' (Boucharlat et Salles 1987); cette catégorie, présente dans les tombes et sur les sites de Bahrain, est tout à fait comparable aux trouvailles de Tell Khazneh, à Failaka. La discussion ne sera close que lorsque de nouvelles recherches à Qal'at al-Bahrain, permettront de mieux préciser la stratigraphie du site et, donc, l'histoire de l'occupation humaine sur l'île, mais dès à présent, on imagine mal un 'vide', apparemment incompréhensible, entre la fin de l'Age du Fer et le début de la période hellénistique.

d) *La péninsule d'Oman*. Le problème est lié, là aussi, à la date exacte de la disparition de la phase appelée Fer B: courant du 6^e s. av. J.-C. avec un hiatus jusqu'à la période séleuco-parthe (Lombard 1985: 245), ou continuité

du Fer B aux 5e et 4e siècles, sans rupture avec la période hellénistique suivante (Boucharlat, *AOMIM*: 194-195; Boucharlat et Salles 1987). Les sites archéologiques se multiplient dans la péninsule dans la première moitié du 1er millénaire, et on voit se diversifier, au Fer B, des cultures matérielles locales, certaines caractéristiques de l'Age du Fer, d'autres plus ouvertes à des influences extérieures, hellénistiques ou pré-hellénistiques. Mais 'on se gardera cependant d'établir une relation directe entre l'instauration de l'empire achéménide et l'Age du Fer B' affirme R. Boucharlat (Boucharlat et Salles 1987: 289); on pourrait pourtant suggérer que la 'pacification' ou la 'sécurité' issues d'une centralisation imposée par l'empire achéménide aient favorisé l'éclatement ou l'éclosion de cultures matérielles régionales, surtout si l'on rejette toute idée d'une 'culture matérielle achéménide' répandue d'une extrémité à l'autre de l'empire, phénomène purement imaginaire. Si Oman est bien le pays de *Maka* des Grands Rois, les vestiges archéologiques ne doivent rien au pays suzerain: les influences iraniennes sont minimales pendant toute la période de l'Age du Fer (Lombard 1985: 253-254), mais il est bien évident que les études comparatives de matériel archéologique reflètent des échanges culturels (ou économiques), et non des réalités politiques.

Les études déjà publiées sur Rumeilah, Samad ou le Wadi al-Qawr (*AOMIM*), la publication attendue de ces sites, et les travaux récents à Mleiha, sur le piémont occidental de la montagne d'Oman, ou à ed-Dour, sur la côte des émirats, confirment tous l'absence de hiatus entre la fin de l'Age du Fer et la période séleuco-parthe, et la permanence du peuplement de la péninsule depuis le 6e jusqu'au 3e s. av. J.-C., bien établie par les textes si on accepte la continuité Macyia - Myces - Macae.

Il faut brièvement évoquer deux autres problèmes. On a souvent associé avec la période achéménide l'introduction en Oman des *qanats*, nouvelle technique d'acquisition de l'eau par drainage souterrain (mise au point dans Lombard 1985: 23-24 et 261-262). On semble privilégier maintenant une apparition de ces techniques dès le début du 1er millénaire av. J.-C., coïncidant peut-être avec l'émergence des cultures du Fer A; il faut rappeler que des techniques élaborées de maîtrise de l'eau sont connues en Asie Centrale dès l'Age du Bronze (Briant 1984a: 49-53).

Dans un paragraphe fort documenté et très pertinent de sa thèse, P. Lombard évoque le fer comme 'anti-ressource' et signale son absence pendant toute la période du même nom; il n'apparaît dans l'archéologie du Golfe qu'à la période séleuco-parthe (dans la chronologie de l'auteur), et sous l'influence d'un pouvoir fort et centralisé, le royaume séleucide (1985: 265-266). Or, les souverains séleucides n'ont jamais imposé un quelconque pouvoir sur la région du Golfe: tout au plus l'ont-ils sillonnée et surveillée pour des motifs économiques évidents, mais sans soumettre ou coloniser aucune des régions concernées, sauf Failaka (Salles, 1987). Il faut donc exclure une

introduction du fer par le pouvoir séleucide. Faut-il l'attribuer au pouvoir achéménide? rien ne permet de l'affirmer avec certitude, mais il faut admettre que rien ne l'interdit — R. Boucharlat propose, par exemple, de re-dater la culture omanaise de Samad, qui a livré de nombreuses pointes de flèches en fer, des 5e/4e s. av. J.-C. (Boucharlat et Salles 1987). P. Briant (1984b: 93) rappelle, à la suite de F. Vallat (1980: 9) que les 'premiers rois perses, avant Cyrus, ont étendu leur pouvoir sur la Carmanie, [ce qui] leur donnait accès à des sources importantes de métaux (étain en particulier)'. Mais la Carmanie, principal pourvoyeur de métaux de l'empire perse, n'est pas seulement riche en étain et en cuivre, mais aussi en mineral de fer (*CHI*, vol 1: 496-500, fig. 113; noter l'importance de l'île d'Ormuz); encore au temps de Pline, la Carmanie orientale, à l'Est d'Ormuz, est réputée pour ses mines de cuivre, d'arsenic, d'antimoine et de fer (Pline, IV 36,98), et l'auteur latin ajoute *Achaemenidas usque illo tenuisse* en décrivant les côtes méridionales de la Carmanie, sur la mer d'Oman.

e) *La côte iranienne du Golfe*. Le dépouillement des travaux récents, par exemple dans *Iran* ou dans *AMI*, n'apporte pas d'éléments nouveaux par rapport à la brève synthèse présentée en 1980 (Boucharlat et Salles 1981: 65-71), où la période achéménide n'est que faiblement représentée: caïrns dans la région de Jiwanri et Dambah Koh, le long des côtes du Makra et du Kerman, reconnaissances diverses le long de la côte du Fars ou dans les îles (Kishm: vestiges achéménides). C'est la région de Bouchire et son *hinterland* qui est la mieux connue, grâce aux ruines d'une résidence royale achéménide près de Borazjan, l'antique Taokê. Il semblerait qu'un cours d'eau, le canal Angali, ait été en usage pendant la période achéménide le long de la rivière Hilleh, reliant ainsi la péninsule à l'intérieur des terres (Whitcomb 1987). Une étude récente sur les caïrns du Fars, du Kerman, du Makran et du Balouchistan, souligne les difficultés de datation de ces monuments, dont les plus anciens remontent certainement au milieu du 1er millénaire av. J.-C., et l'impossibilité de reconnaître une quelconque unité culturelle entre les différentes régions iraniennes à caïrns, encore moins entre les caïrns iraniens et ceux de la péninsule d'Oman (Boucharlat 1989). On mesure l'étendue du travail qu'il reste à accomplir. Il faut rappeler pourtant, lorsqu'on se penche sur les rares vestiges archéologiques de cette époque, que la limite entre la phase terminale de l'Age du Fer, le Fer III, et la période achéménide suivante est une frontière chronologique extrêmement floue: par exemple, la plupart des spécialistes s'accordent à reconnaître que la céramique du Fer III perdure aux 6e et 5e s. av. J.-C., peut-être même plus tard (Cattenat et Gardin 1977: 235-240; récemment Goff 1985, sur le niveau I de Baba Jan).

Sans être complètement négative, l'enquête archéologique apporte peu d'éléments sûrs: mais on relève partout, de Koweït au ras Musandam et sur

les deux rives du Golfe, bien qu'avec des 'densités' très variables, du matériel archéologique datable des 6e, 5e et 4e s. av. J.-C., contemporain de la domination achéménide. On est ainsi assuré d'un peuplement de la région, même s'il reste encore très mystérieux. D'autre part, tous les vestiges recueillis démontrent des cultures matérielles locales, sans unité réelle d'une région à l'autre, et sans influence iranienne prédominante. S'il y a eu domination achéménide dans la région du Golfe arabo-persique, elle n'a pas laissé de traces durables dans la civilisation matérielle.

3. *Essai d'interprétation*

Dans la mesure où la région du Golfe arabo-persique n'est pas *terra deserta* au temps de Darius, pourquoi nous semble-t-elle être *terra incognita*? Elle n'apparaît pas dans les listes de conquêtes et d'expéditions militaires, elle ne constitue pas une satrapie particulière, elle ne figure pas dans les listes de peuples soumis (*dahyu*) — mais on y trouve les *Maciya* et les Arabes/*Hgr*⁵ —, et elle n'est pas mentionnée parmi les quelques peuples qui ne paient pas le tribut — à moins d'en faire un territoire arabe, voir plus loin. D'un point de vue occidental et contemporain, on comprendrait mal comment la vision géographique achéménide, si imprécise soit-elle, crée ainsi un 'vide' entre la Perse et la Babylonie méridionale au Nord, région du Shatt el-Arab, et le pays de *Maka* au Sud.

Il faut donc essayer de se référer à la vision du monde que pouvaient avoir les Grands Rois, un problème souvent évoqué. V. Martin écrivait: 'Un Darius ou un Xerxès devait se représenter le monde comme une surface plane où son imagination pouvait distinguer trois cercles concentriques. Au centre, la Perse métropolitaine et dépendances immédiates déjà incorporées. Deuxième cercle, les nations connues par contact direct ou par ouï-dire, non encore incorporées; au-delà, une frange d'étendue indéterminée sur laquelle les rapports, s'il y en avait, devaient être des plus fantastiques. Dans les deux premiers, il pouvait s'avancer avec une relative assurance. Pour aborder le troisième, il convenait de prendre certaines précautions, et tout d'abord de se renseigner.' (Martin 1965: 39). Si tel est bien le cas, on remarquera qu'aucun roi ne s'est renseigné sur le Golfe (le périple de Scylax n'inclut pas le Golfe, nous l'avons vu plus haut), qu'aucun roi ne s'est avancé dans le Golfe,

⁵ Si on accepte l'assimilation *hgr* = Hagar = Arabie orientale, proposée dans ce volume par D. Graf, ce que je serais enclin à faire. P. Briant (1982: 169) rappelle que le terme vieux-perse Arabayâ désigne «l'ensemble du monde arabe éparpillé depuis l'Euphrate jusqu'à la frontière de l'Egypte», donc la steppe nord de la péninsule arabique, Teima et Dumat représentant la limite sud de cette appellation. Le cœur du pays, peuplé de nomades comme nous l'apprend l'archéologie récente, et les marges occidentales (royaumes d'édanite ou lyhanite) et orientales (Hagar) ne semblent pas être incluses dans cette dénomination.

comme s'il était déjà incorporé, et que le Golfe est, plus encore qu'une dépendance immédiate, la façade maritime de la Perse. On hésite à rappeler que la côte du Fars ne pouvait faire partie que de la Perse, tant c'est une évidence géographique; il faudrait sans doute y ajouter la Carmanie, qui fut rattachée très tôt au cœur de l'Empire (Vallat 1980: 8-9; Briant 1984b: 93 et 105-107): à la mort de Cyrus, Tanyoxarkès, frère de Cambyse, est élu gouverneur des Carmaniens, d'après Ctésias (*FGrH* 688 F72,37a). Plusieurs historiens ont relevé le rôle des vallées qui relient la côte du Golfe aux grandes régions peuplées du plateau, de Bouchire à Borazjan et Persépolis, de Siraf à Shiraz, d'Ormuz au Kerman..., affirmant ainsi l'étroite complémentarité entre le plateau iranien et la rive iranienne du Golfe. Cette côte ne peut pas apparaître comme une entité à part dans les textes, elle fait partie, par prétérition, de la Perse et du cœur de l'empire.

On pourrait être alors tenté de projeter la situation actuelle, et de rattacher la côte arabe du Golfe à l'Arabie. On a vu pourtant que le terme Arabie semble désigner surtout une steppe continentale, sans référence à une frange côtière. On rappellera aussi qu'avant même la mort d'Alexandre, des Grecs sont partis 'en exploration' sur cette côte, qui, au moins pour sa partie septentrionale (Koweït, Arabie, Emirats?) n'est pas désignée comme arabe et ne peut en aucun cas correspondre à la description que ses informateurs en avaient faite à Alexandre: 'il avait appris que [sur] le littoral de l'Arabie, il y avait partout des ports susceptibles de fournir des mouillages pour sa flotte et permettant d'implanter des villes où il ferait bon vivre' (Arrien, VII, 20, 2). De telles conditions ne peuvent exister que dans l'île de Bahraïn, qui, pour Arrien, est située au large de l'embouchure de l'Euphrate (*id.*, VII, 3), dans quelques rares régions des Emirats arabes unis (côte nord des Emirats) mais surtout le long de la côte omanaise de la Mer d'Oman, ou, plus à l'Ouest encore, en Arabie Heureuse. Tout se passe comme si l'Arabie connue au temps d'Alexandre ne commençait qu'au sud de l'île de Bahraïn, la partie septentrionale de la côte arabe faisant partie du domaine babylonien (ou perse?). En ce sens, il faut préférer, à mon avis, la carte du monde connu d'Hérodote publiée par A. Barguet (p. 1829, éd. La Pléiade), où l'Arabie est un domaine continental alors que la côte occidentale de la Mer Erythrée paraît inconnue, à la vision du monde d'après Högemann (1985: 18: Ab. 2), qui présente une longue façade côtière à l'Assyrie (pourquoi?) et une Arabie mitoyenne dont la côte commencerait à l'embouchure de l'Euphrate — vision plus contemporaine que réelle. Dans la carte qu'il propose de l'empire de Darius, A. Šahbazi (1983: 244) place la Perse au centre, avec au Sud 'the sea which goes from Persia (Dzf. 10)': à l'est, la 'frontière' de la Perse est l'Arachosie — sur la côte —, rendant bien compte de l'intégration de la Carmanie au cœur de l'empire (*supra*). A l'Ouest, la Perse confine, par sa

côte, au pays de *Maka* que nous avons identifié comme Oman.⁶ Au vu de toutes ces données, mon hypothèse est que la partie septentrionale de la Mer Erythrée, depuis le Shatt el-Arab jusque vers la péninsule de Qatar, appartient *in extenso* à la Perse, entité politique et culturelle; la partie méridionale du Golfe est partagée entre la Perse elle-même, qui, de la côte iranienne, peut 'surveiller' les îles dans lesquelles le Grand Roi envoie les Relégués (Kishm, par exemple), et le pays de *Maka* sur l'autre rive, 'sujet' du Grand Roi — mais on ne peut préciser l'étendue exacte de ce pays en rappelant qu'il est tourné vers l'Inde.

Une dernière remarque s'impose, qui pourrait appuyer cette hypothèse. On a souvent souligné l'étroite parenté culturelle, et même ethnique, qui unit les deux rives du Golfe arabo-persique: de nos jours encore, au-delà des crispations politiques parfois violentes, les hommes, les idées et les coutumes circulent sans cesse d'une rive à l'autre, d'une extrémité à l'autre du Golfe. Ces échanges sont attestés dès le début du 2^e millénaire av. J.-C., dans la péninsule de Liyan, près de Boushire, et ils ont été récemment décrits pour la période sassanide (communication de D. Potts à la Conférence de Turin, en 1985; Boucharlat et Salles 1987): traversées de populations, fondations de villes, unité religieuse. Sans vouloir projeter ce schéma sur la période achéménide pour fournir une explication 'miracle' aux problèmes soulevés, il faut pourtant prendre en considération cette donnée, dont la valeur 'unificatrice' n'est ni une volonté politique ni un concept historique, mais la simple réalité géographique régionale.⁷

A la fin du 3^e/début du 2^e millénaire av. J.-C., le Golfe constitue la voie principale des échanges entre le monde assyrien et l'Inde; par ses eaux transitaient les bois précieux, les pierres, le cuivre de Makkan, et bien d'autres produits. Ce rôle est à nouveau évident à partir du 3^e s. av. J.-C., quand les rois séleucides essayent de contrôler le commerce avec le monde indien, et il se maintient, après leur chute, sous l'égide des rois de Characène. Nous avons noté plus haut qu'un renouveau de l'activité commerciale semble se manifester dès le début du 1^{er} millénaire av. J.-C.: est-elle toujours aussi importante au temps de Cyrus et de ses successeurs? Ceci aurait alors justifié l'intérêt des Grands Rois pour le Golfe, eux qui étaient soucieux de préserver

⁶ L'auteur propose de localiser une colonie d'exilés Cariens au nord-ouest du Golfe, en Babylonie méridionale, près du Shatt el-Arab (p. 245, note 28); pour Herzfeld, cette 'station navale' des Cariens (*Krka*) existerait depuis le 7^e s. av. J.-C., et après avoir été re-fondée comme Alexandrie par Alexandre puis comme Antioche par Antiochos IV, elle deviendrait Spasinou Charax sous le règne d'Hyspaosinès (Herzfeld 1968: 9).

⁷ P. Briant (1984b: 100-102) rappelle combien les échanges économiques, mais surtout culturels, étaient nombreux dans le Moyen Orient du 1^{er} millénaire, de l'Egée à l'Iran; les contacts étroits qu'il démontre entre les Perses et les Assyro-Babyloniens avant Cyrus avaient sans doute mieux fait connaître aux premiers le Golfe, où s'approvisionnaient en produits lointains les marchands de Babylone.

les grands axes d'échanges à travers l'empire, qu'ils soient terrestres, fluviaux ou maritimes.

Il faudrait pouvoir étudier précisément les produits consommés en Perse, en Elam, en Babylonie, ou même plus loin dans l'empire, et distinguer ce qui provient explicitement, dans les textes, ou plus implicitement, d'après leur pays d'origine, des régions du Golfe ou du monde indien. Les rives du Golfe sont pauvres en ressources naturelles, sauf les perles et les dattes, qui ne semblent pas apparaître dans les textes d'époque achéménide (Her. I 193 ne parle que des dattes de Babylonie); mais nous avons signalé déjà l'importance des métaux de Carmanie, d'où provient aussi du bois, d'après une charte de fondation du palais de Darius à Suse (Vallat 1971: 57). Il est probable aussi que la diorite d'Oman, matériau couramment utilisé pour la fabrication des vases, et le cuivre de Makkan (= Oman) aient continué à approvisionner les marchés mésopotamiens, comme au 2^e millénaire (Lombard 1985: 262-263).

D'autres produits viennent de plus loin. L'ivoire du palais de Darius (Vallat 1971: 58), le tec et le 'bois de Magan' qu'il faudrait interpréter comme un 'bois du Sind' (Herzfeld 1968: 70) ont été acheminés depuis l'Inde, et tous deux sont encore cités comme importations indiennes au 1^{er} s. ap. J.-C. par le *Périple*. Le récit fabuleux de la récolte de la cannelle (Hér. III 110) se réfère à un produit qui ne pousse pas en Arabie, mais peut avoir été importé de l'Afrique orientale ou de l'Inde; toujours selon Hérodote, III, 111, le cinname croît dans le pays de Dionysos, c'est-à-dire en Inde (Goukowsky 1981: 11-14). J'ai suggéré ailleurs que tout ou partie de l'encens consommé dans les pays mésopotamiens au 1^{er} millénaire av. J.-C. était d'origine indienne.⁸ Il serait souhaitable qu'une étude systématique soit entreprise, qui montrerait sans doute l'importance des produits 'exotiques' dans le monde achéménide.

Un signe de ces activités économiques peut être trouvé à Suse, qui 'paraît tenir un segment d'une route commerciale... qui relie le Golfe persique, la Mésopotamie et le Levant' (Boucharlat 1985: 76). R. Boucharlat s'interroge «sur le rôle économique de Suse achéménide, car... quelles données avons-nous sur la ville en tant que centre économique majeur?» — et il est vrai que la documentation archéologique est pauvre —, mais il fournit lui-même la réponse en décrivant Suse à l'époque séleucide: «N'est-ce pas l'existence à Suse, depuis l'époque achéménide, d'un centre administratif et d'une organisation commerciale... qui [a] incité les marchands à utiliser cette route plutôt qu'une autre?» (*op. cit.*: 79). Les études économiques sur les grands centres de l'empire perse sont encore rares, et il faudrait y introduire, à la suite R. Boucharlat, une vision qui ne soit pas seulement 'européanocentriste', dans les pas d'Hérodote, mais fasse place au point de vue 'économiste' des orientaux.

⁸ Communication sur l'encens, Séminaire *L'Arabie et ses mers bordières*, Maison de l'Orient, Lyon, à paraître.

Si on accepte les deux thèmes précédemment développés, l'intégration de la Mer Erythrée/Golfe arabo-persique à la Perse elle-même, et le rôle économique de la voie d'eau au sein de l'empire, il devient inutile de chercher à savoir comment les Achéménides ont pu dominer, ou contrôler, le Golfe, et pourquoi leur 'présence' n'a pas laissé de traces. Malgré l'absence de vestiges archéologiques qui restent à découvrir, il est clair que la rive iranienne du Golfe était plus active que la rive arabe; c'est de là que partaient les routes terrestres vers les grands centres de l'empire. La seule présence des Perses sur cette rive leur permettait de surveiller la voie maritime, et d'y intervenir le cas échéant; mais ces simples opérations de police n'étaient pas assez importantes pour laisser des traces dans les annales. Cette surveillance s'étendait-elle jusqu'à la rive arabe? Nous n'en avons pas de preuve, mais si c'est le cas, elle ne nécessitait que des interventions ponctuelles et non une infrastructure politique et militaire; la situation est différente de l'époque sassanide, où Ardashir doit construire une citadelle en Arabie orientale pour réprimer l'insoumission des tribus arabes (Boucharlat et Salles 1987). Les peuples riverains de la côte d'Oman sont 'soumis': ce sont les *Maciya*. Les peuples riverains de l'Arabie orientale ne comptent guère, dans la mesure où la région n'est pas encore le départ du commerce caravanier vers la Méditerranée orientale. Quelques militaires achéménides ont peut-être résidé à Failaka (FFF 84-85: 246). Le cas de Bahrain reste inconnu, mais il serait étonnant que le 'gouverneur' de Nabonide n'ait pas été remplacé par une autorité achéménide. Il s'agirait donc d'un système très souple, presque 'inexistant' comme le suggèrent les sources écrites, qui n'empêche donc pas les cultures matérielles locales de développer leurs traditions propres, sans réelle ingérence extérieure.

Ainsi, cette frange méridionale de la Perse qu'on pourrait presque assimiler à une 'mer intérieure', ignorée des textes officiels et des annalistes, mais certainement pas désertée des marchands et hommes d'affaires, Perses ou autres, paraît donc avoir traversé l'époque achéménide sans histoire, telle qu'Hérodote nous la conte, mais non sans existence, telle qu'elle émerge peu à peu des trouvailles archéologiques.

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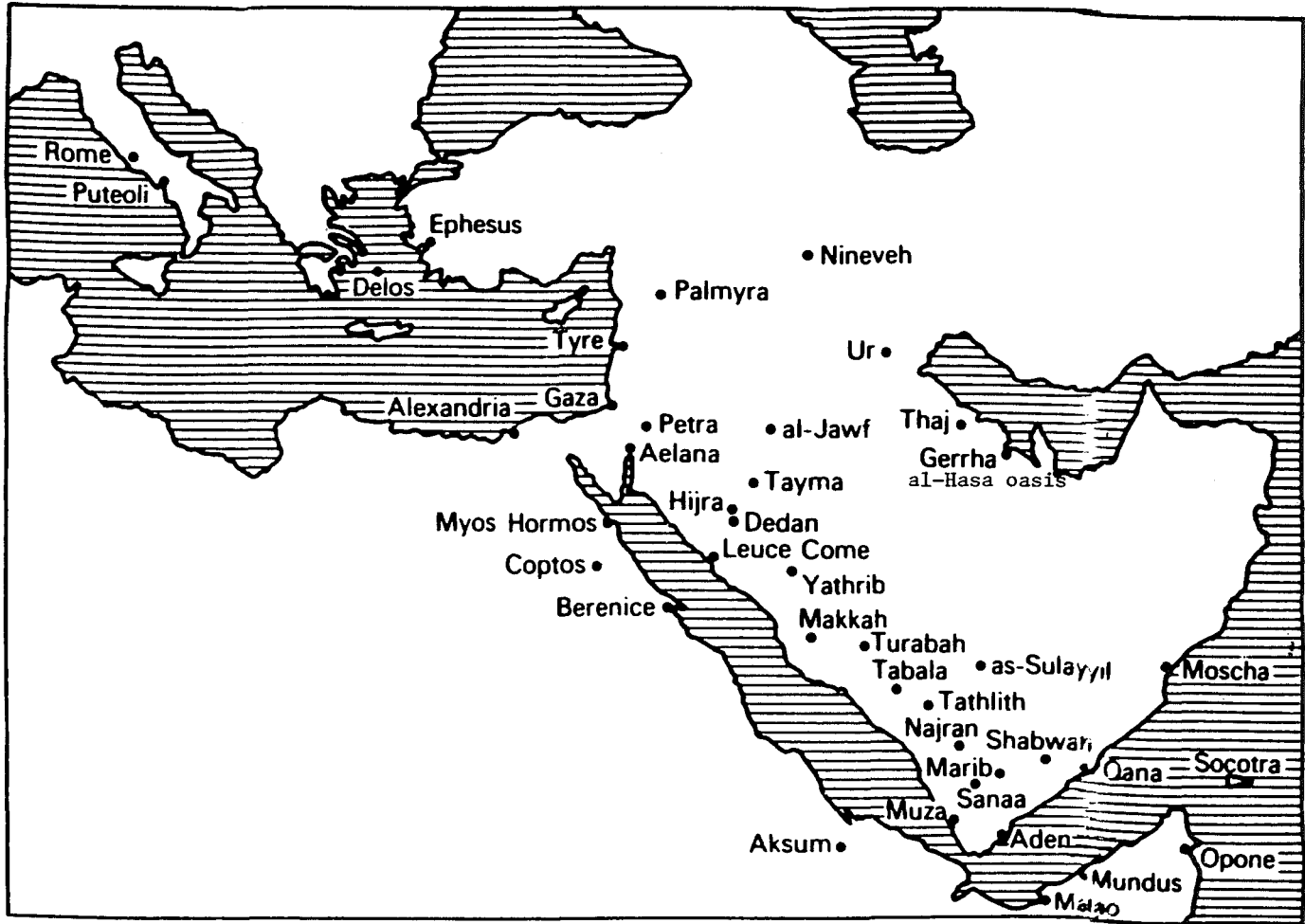
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ARABIA DURING ACHAEMENID TIMES

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Recent archaeological research in Arabia has immensely improved our understanding of the history of this vast peninsula. In particular, these efforts have helped undermine the traditional image of this region as the exclusive domain of illiterate nomadic tribesmen, who presumably were a constant disruptive force on the sedentary culture of the Fertile Crescent during the pre-Islamic period. At least for Transjordan, the assumption of an Arab intrusion into the region, bringing about the collapse of Moab and Edom during the Persian period, must now be regarded as questionable (Bartlett 1979). Although previously neglected by Near Eastern historians, Arabia in Achaemenid times has also been the focal point of several important recent studies (Briant 1982: 161-176; Eph'al 1982; Knauf 1985). As a result of these efforts, the traditional etymology of 'Arab' as 'nomad' based on Hebrew '*arabah*' ('desert') no longer appears as a satisfactory explanation (Eph'al 1982: 7), especially with the 'rediscovery' of extensive settlements already well-known from ancient sources and the subject of attention for major imperialistic powers from the Neo-Assyrian era to the Byzantine period, including Achaemenid Persia. In northwest Arabia, oases like Dumat al-Jandal (modern Jawf), Tayma' and Dedan (al-'Ula) served as important centers for a flourishing commerce between South Arabia and the Mediterranean world. These oases were also connected by a major route with the important settlements at Hofuf and Qatif in the east Arabia gulf region (Potts 1984: 100). As important nexus settlements, this network of commercial centers developed a highly urbanized and cosmopolitan civilization by the middle of the first millennium B.C. In fact, by the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-730 B.C.), the connections of north Arabia with the thriving incense trade were already well established. Assyrian military campaigns into the Syrian desert and control of Dumah in the eighth century also indicate the importance of these north Arabian oases. During the Neo-Babylonian period, the penetration extended deep into the Hijaz, with Tayma' even becoming the residence of King Nabonidus (556-539 B.C.) shortly before his defeat at the hands of Cyrus (Lambert 1972). The subsequent fate and fortune of north Arabia during the Achaemenid period remains mysterious, but the steady accumulation of both epigraphic and archaeological evidence has provided at least some clarification of the existing situation during the 6th-4th centuries B.C. The following summary and discussion of these sources is consequently essaying and fragile, vulnerable to the important new finds emerging from the on-going and increasing inquiry of this relatively unexplored peninsula.



Map of Arabia

1. *Epigraphic Sources*

Inscriptions in Aramaic, the *lingua franca* of the Achaemenid realm, are few. In east Arabia, several paltry scraps at Qatif and Thaj are all that exist at present, with the exception of a funerary Aramaic-Hasaeen bilingual from Thaj that shows affinity with Nabataean religious and social nomenclature (Potts 1984: 116-117). For the Hijaz, the remains are more numerous. To the catalogue of 19 inscriptions provided by Degen (1974: 98) can now be added at least 8 new items from the recent survey at Tayma' (Livingstone 1983), the most important of which is a decorated stele with 10 inscribed lines in a script of ca. 400-375 B.C. (according to Cross 1986) to be discussed further below. The rest are brief funerary texts and graffiti, which are not enlightening for our purposes, and some of them obviously emanate from the Hellenistic period. Further north, in the Arab sector of the Levant, there are Aramaic texts from Lower Egypt (Tell el-Maskhuta), southern Palestine (Arad, Beer-sheba, Lachish), and Transjordan (Tell el-Kheleifeh on the Gulf of 'Aqaba and Kerak in Moab), all placed within the Achaemenid period (Eph'al 1982: 193-201; Stern 1982: 250-251).

Far more substantial are the inscriptions in the indigenous scripts of the peninsula, but the assignment of any of these graffiti to the 6th-4th centuries B.C. must be treated with some caution, as the internal chronology and relationship of the whole corpus remains a matter of dispute. Nevertheless, some refinements have been made in our understanding of the development of the so-called 'Thamudic' script of the pre-Islamic period. F. V. Winnett has revised his old pioneering classification of five types (A-E), although the number of classes and their respective chronology he originally proposed in 1937 is still maintained. However, now the emphasis is on regionalism as the explanation for the paleographical differences. The old classes are assigned geographical terms and only 'Taymanite' (formerly 'A') is considered to be from the Neo-Babylonian/Persian era, although it should be stressed that both an earlier (Winnett 1980: 138) and later (Knauf 1985: 77) date remain possible for the truncated and ambiguous texts. The other varieties of the script ('B-E') are dated from the Seleucid to the Byzantine period. Since they are concentrated in the areas of Nadj, the Hijaz and Tabuk, they have also been designated according to their respective geographical areas (Winnett and Reed 1970: 69-70). This change in terminology is appropriate and should eliminate confusion about the nature of the graffiti. The old assumption that they were the product of the famous Thamud tribe is defied both by their content and their distribution (the basic collection is in van den Branden 1950). Of the approximately fifteen thousand texts now known, scattered throughout the Arabian peninsula, only six contain references to the tribe and all are in the Najdi (formerly 'B') script found isolated between Tayma' and Ha'il.

The so-called 'Dedanite' inscriptions from al-'Ula also have been assigned to the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid period (Winnett and Reed 1970: 114-117), although a date in the early hellenistic period has also been proposed (Caskel 1953: 37-39). Since the script shows an affinity with the Taymanite (formerly 'Thamudic A') corpus (van den Branden 1950: 18; cf. Caskel 1953: 22), a similar date seems more likely. More important is the disagreement about the nature of the corpus. Caskel assigned 35 texts to this category and van den Branden (1962) classified almost 60 texts with this designation, but Jamme (1968) has argued the complete collection is composed of north Minaean (South Arabian) and Lihyanite texts. Although his arguments are not entirely convincing, the criteria for establishing 'Dedanite' obviously need re-examination and clarification. Similar problems exist with the other important Hijazi texts for the Achaemenid era, the Lihyanite inscriptions concentrated in the vicinity of al-'Ula. Two major chronologies have been proposed for these texts, that of Winnett and that of Caskel (1953: 39-44). The former is advocate of a 'high' chronology, placing the early form of the script in the 5th-3rd centuries B.C. and the later form in the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. (cf. al-Ansary 1970). On the other hand, Caskel argued for a 'low' chronology, assigning the early Lihyanite texts to the period between 115 and 9 B.C. and the later texts to 80-150 A.D., separated by a Nabataean interregnum (from 9 B.C. to 35 A.D.) based on several Nabataean texts 15 km. south of Tayma' that refer to 'Mas'udu king of Lihyan' (*JS Nab.* 334, 335, 337) in a form of the Aramaic script of the first century B.C. There are several indications in favor of the 'high' chronology. The north Minaean texts from Dedan (Garbini 1974: 147) were originally considered contemporaneous with the late Lihyanite corpus (Albright 1953: 5), but the inclination is now to date the establishment of Minaean presence at the oasis earlier, either in the late 5th century (Winnett and Reed 1970: 119) or the 4th century (Graf 1983: 563), as I will further argue below. Minaean influence has also been found in early Lihyanite (van den Branden 1957: 16) and suggests the classification of the texts must be made on a different basis.

In recent years, important new additions have also been made to the Lihyanite corpus. These include 10 texts from al-'Ula (Altheim and Stiehl 1968), 40 texts (about 60 more remain unpublished) from Al-'Udaib just north of al-'Ula (Altheim and Stiehl 1971), 10 from al-'Ula and Mada'in Salih (Harding in Parr *e.a.* 1972: 36-39, and 50), and 4 from Jabal Thadra, about 85 km northwest of al-'Ula (Jamme 1981: 99-105 = nos. *JaL* 171-174). As a result, there are now at least 200 known 'Lihyanite' texts in an array of publications; they both deserve and need a more synthetic and systematic analysis. A comprehensive investigation of the region is also needed, as most of the texts are from the settlement area and major caravan route; a thorough survey of the adjacent mountains and wadis of the area should yield numerous new texts to the corpus.

For the northeastern sector of Arabia, the relevant regional pre-Islamic inscriptions are designated Proto-Arabic and Hasaeen (most recently discussed by Potts 1984: 113-117). The approximately 18 Proto-Arabic texts have been ascribed dates ranging from the 9th to the 5th centuries B.C., but the corpus and the chronology are ill-defined and imprecise. They emanate mainly from the Middle Euphrates (Ur, Nippur, Uruk, Abu Salabikh, and Anah), but several are also known from east Arabia (Hofuf, Thaj, and Ain Jawan). Since the location of the Mesopotamian texts is also at sites associated with Arab settlers, they have been classified as 'Old Arabic' inscriptions (Eph'al 1982: 116). As for the 'Hasaeen' texts, they are generally dated to the Seleucid era, ca. 300-130 B.C. (Robin 1974: 117), but the date is only of relative value. They consist of about 27 texts, mostly from Qatif and Thaj (Potts 1984: 118-119). Although the language is a north Arabian dialect, the script is in a peculiar monumental South Arabian style (Ryckmans 1984: 75).

2. *Archaeological Sources*

Only in the past decade has there been any concerted archaeological investigation of the Arabian peninsula, but it has been primarily restricted to surface exploration. On the mainland in the northeast, limited sondages at Thaj and Ayn Jawan provide the only stratified material, although important excavations have been conducted also in the Gulf region at the islands of Bahrain and Faliaka, as well as Abu Dhabi, Kuwait and Oman. The general conclusion emerging from these investigations is that the region underwent a Seleucid 'renaissance' after a long hiatus and the flourishing settlements of the third millennium B.C. As a consequence, it has been concluded that east Arabia remained outside the control of the previous imperial powers, including that of Iran (Potts 1984: 102). Some neglected evidence to be discussed later suggests that this conclusion may be premature.

In contrast, northwest Arabia experienced great growth and development at the end of the second millennium B.C., and by the Achaemenid period was at a cultural zenith. Unfortunately, no systematic excavations in the Hijaz have been undertaken and it is only with the recent intensive survey and selected sondages at Tayma¹ that the first stratified evidence is being produced. But as a result, a bichrome painted ware common at the Qasr al-Hamra complex can now be securely dated to the Neo-Babylonian period (Bawden 1981 and 1983). The same area of the site seems to have been the religious center for the settlement and the iconography of the reliefs suggests heavy Mesopotamian influence. The discovery of an Aramaic stele of the 5th century in these same ruins indicates an occupation during the Persian period (Bawden *e.a.* 1980: 82-86), and suggests more information about the Achaemenid period is forthcoming. What is also noteworthy and impressive is the size of the settlement. The massive walls enclose an area of 8 km², sheltering

an extensive complex of walled compounds, connected to a vast hydrological system that supported the community. Of course, cuneiform texts from the reign of Nabonidus had already established the presence of the king at the oasis (Lambert 1972), but this recent evidence confirms the extent and nature of the brief Babylonian occupation and that of the subsequent Persian period.

The other important major settlement in the Hijaz for the Persian period is al-'Ula (ancient Dedan). At present, the ruins (now called Khuraybah) are unexcavated, but extensive exploration has taken place in the vicinity of the settlement, which is nestled in the 'valley of villages' (Wadi al-Qura). To the north, the well organized agricultural complex at Khief el-Zahrah reveals how extensive the rural settlement pattern was in the valley (Bawden 1979). To the south, al-Mibyāt has been pointed out as the location of another important settlement during the pre-Islamic period that also needs to be investigated (Nasif 1979). The prevalence of monumental and dedicatory inscriptions in the region certainly demonstrates the development of an important cosmopolitan culture in the region. This is also indicated by allusions to diverse religious cults and the theophoric elements in the personal names found in the texts from the oasis: besides the local Lihyanite deity Dhu-Ghabat (Caskel 1953: no. 9), there is also the Minaean (South Arabian) Wadd (no. 9; cf. Garbini 1974: nos. 315, 323, and 356), the Syrian god Ba'alsamin (no. 12), north Arabian Lat (no. 104), and the Edomite Qos (no. 30). Such an atmosphere must have been present also at al-Jauf (ancient Dumah) in the Wadi al-Sirhan further north, but the ruins lie concealed and beckon investigation. Ancient references to the site and the discovery of a single Minaean text in the region (Winnett and Reed 1970: 74) offer some promise for such an enterprise.

Finally, as illustrations of the reciprocal influences and interaction between the cultural spheres of Persia and north Arabia, several items can be selected for analysis.

During the 7th to the 4th centuries B.C., small cuboid four-legged incense altars appear throughout the Near East, and indicate the flourishing of the aromatic trade, evident also from the Greek sources of the classical period (Graf 1983: 563). Although these objects first appear in the second millennium B.C., they were particularly popular in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian period, when they are found throughout southern Mesopotamia, the Levant, and the Arabian peninsula primarily in domestic contexts. Most of these finds, if not all, probably represent secular spice burners for fumigation, not cultic altars (Albright 1974: 28; cf. Fowler 1984). The style and form of the incense altars appears to have been stimulated by Babylonian influence (Shea 1983: 88), rather than South Arabian or Phoenician (Stern 1982: 194), perhaps an expression of where the greatest demands for aromatics existed. This widespread usage of incense also helps explain the prospering oases of

Tayma' and al-'Ula during the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods. Although only a single incense altar is known from northwest Arabia (from Tayma'; Shea 1983: 103), excavations at the major sites should reveal more.

There is also evidence the South Arabian incense trade operated by sea. At Tell el-Kheleifeh on the northern shores of the Gulf of 'Aqaba, a large settlement was involved in such international commerce. Although a recent reappraisal of the excavations at the site indicates that the main occupational phase was during the 8th-6th centuries B.C., prior to Persian rule, the settlement appears to have remained active until at least early in the 4th century B.C. (Pratico 1985). This is indicated by pottery and Aramaic/Phoenician inscriptions from the 5th-4th centuries B.C. (Glueck 1971: 231-236). In addition, a 'South Arabian' inscription etched on a storage jar from the 7/6 centuries B.C. (Level IV) and several incense altars of the 5th century B.C. (Level V) discovered at the site imply that aromatics reached the Levant via the Red Sea, not just by the overland routes. As for the 'South Arabian' text, Albright (1953: 3) and van den Branden (1962: 35) argued the script was Dedanite and the recent discovery of several Dedanite inscriptions 50 km. northeast of 'Aqaba (Graf 1983: 555-562) offers some support for their interpretation. These finds suggest the port was vitally connected with the extensive trade network that had developed by the Persian period.

As for an expression of Achaemenid influence in north Arabia, the existence of *qanats* in the region are often cited. Both at Qatif on the Gulf and at al-'Ula in the Hijaz the remains of such conduit systems have been discovered, perhaps utilized both for land irrigation and domestic use at the oases. It is generally accepted that this hydraulic technology spread through the Near East during the Achaemenid period (English 1968: 170 and Lambton 1978: 529), but the results from recent exploration of these systems is mixed. At Qatif, the inspection of the eroded *qanat* system that runs adjacent to the coast for about 12 km suggests it originated in the post-Shapur II or late Sassanid period (Potts 1984a: 109). On the other hand, in the Hijaz, the investigation of the large *qanat* system at al-'Ula indicates that it was constructed during the Achaemenid period: one of the shaft covers bears a Hijazi Thamudic inscription and several letters of a deteriorated Lihyanite inscription are also traceable on another shaft (Nasif 1980: 76). Other subterranean conduit systems have been discovered in Jordan, between Udhruh and Ma'an, adjacent to a string of Byzantine agricultural settlements. Additional exploration of these systems is obviously needed before we can determine the precise date this technology spread throughout Arabia.

3. North Arabia and the Achaemenid Empire

The precise relationship of north Arabia to the Achaemenid regime is difficult to define as a result of ambiguity and contradictions in the available

sources. The Achaemenid royal inscriptions clearly include 'Arabians' (OP *Arbaya*; Babylonian *Arabi*) among the subject peoples listed by Darius I (DB, DPe, DNa, DSe, Dsm) and Xerxes (XPh 25). Arabs also appear as workmen at Persepolis in the 22nd year of the reign of Darius (PF 1477, 1507, 1534) and seem to have composed a *haṭru* organization at Nippur in the 5th century (PBS 2/1 48; see also Lipiński 1977: 110-111). Arabian dromedary units were also present in Xerxes' army during the Greek expedition of 480 B.C. (Hdt. VII, 86-87, 184). But the precise location of the homeland of this subject 'Arab' population is a problem to identify, as the term was widely used throughout the Near East, from Iran to Egypt (Briant 1982: 119-125). The only known evidence for a military campaign against any Arabs is Cyrus the Great's reputed conquest of the Arabian king Aragdus (Xen. *Cyrop.* I 1,4; II 1,5; IV 2,31; VII 4,16 and 5,13), whose territory was allegedly placed under the administration of the satrap Megabyzus (VIII 6,7). Although it is clear from Xenophon's account that the 'Arabia' at issue is the region of the Middle Euphrates (Briant 1982: 163), the nature of his treatise does not inspire confidence about the historicity of the event (Eph'al 1982: 202). The old hypothesis of a campaign of Cyrus against Nabonidus at Tayma' is confuted by the silence of the sources. The view that the submission of the 'tent-dwelling' kings of the west to Cyrus (*ANET* 316) is a reference to 'Arab nomads' and such a military enterprise is not convincing, as the language can be interpreted as archaic, a Mesopotamian stereotype for Syrians in general (Graf 1985: 90). The exact identity of the 'subject' Arabs remains elusive.

On the other hand, Herodotus emphasizes repeatedly that the Arabs enjoyed an independent and amicable relationship with the Achaemenid regime. According to the Greek historian, their special status was the result of the aid they furnished to Cambyses' army during the Egyptian campaign in 525 B.C. This act won for them the gratitude of the Great King, culminating in a treaty of 'friendship' (III 4-9, ξεῖναι). These Arabs are specifically identified as those who were ruled by a 'king' who controlled the region between Gaza and Ienysus (el-'Arish). A limestone vessel in archaic Greek style bearing a Thamudic inscription found near al-'Arish (perhaps Ienysus) and dated to the 6th-5th century (Naveh and Stern 1974) is perhaps a vestige of their presence. Later Herodotus reiterates the Arabians were among the select few who paid no tribute to Persia (III 91), although they did present an annual 'gift' of 1000 talents of frankincense to the Great King each year (III 97).

On the surface, these descriptions appear contradictory and demand some explanation. Eph'al attempts to harmonize the Persian sources with Herodotus by suggesting that the Arab kingdom on the Mediterranean coast had been appointed as custom officials for the Achaemenid realm. In this capacity, they were exempt from regular tribute, but were responsible for an

annually fixed 'gift,' derived from the profits they received from taxing the lucrative incense trade (1982: 206-210). This interpretation neglects Herodotus' clear statement that the Arabs have a privileged position that few others enjoy; the other exceptions he cites (III 97) fail to support an administrative arrangement as the basis for their peculiar status. In my opinion, the conflict in the sources is better reconciled by assuming two distinct Arab populations are under consideration, each with a different political status. Who then are the subject Arabs of tributary status and who are the client Arabs of independent status?

a) *The Qedarites*

The autonomous Arabs may be identified with the Qedarite confederation on the basis of the Tell el-Maskhuta inscriptions from Lower Egypt. These brief Aramaic texts are on silver dedicatory vessels from an Arab shrine of han-'Ilat and one of the offerings is from 'Qaynu bar Geshem, king of Qedar.' It has been postulated that the tribe was settled at the site by Darius I to police the Suez canal zone for the Persians. The Egyptian name of the father of one of the other dedicants suggests the tribe had been in the region for at least a generation. Since the palaeography and finds at the site imply a date of about 400 B.C. (Rabinowitz 1956: 6), Qaynu is assumed to be the son of 'Geshem the Arab' mentioned in the time of Nehemiah (2.19 and 6.1), who is also identified with the Gashm ben Shahr (Caskel 1953: no. 55) known from Dedan (Albright 1953: 4; Winnett and Reed 1970: 115-116; Cross 1984). The relationship proposed for this evidence from eastern Egypt, southern Palestine and northwest Arabia suggests an extensive territory under Qedarite rule.

In spite of the attractive character of this hypothetical argument, doubt has been expressed about the presumed connections of the figures because of the lack of reference to royalty in the Lihyanite text (Eph'al 1982: 213) and the location of the Qedarites at al-Jauf in the Assyrian records, not the remote areas of the al-'Ula or the Nile Delta (Bartlett 1979: 61). Such reservations overlook important aspects of the evidence. After the reference to 'Geshem ben Shahur and 'Abd the governor of Dedan,' the inscription from al-'Ula ends with the word *br'[y]*, 'in the reign of' (Winnett and Reed 1970: 116), which implies the anticipated part of the broken phrase would have supplied a dynastic title and figure. Furthermore, Geshem must at least be a person of some prominence if not a member of the royal house, since the author of the text inscribed his name and dates his graffito 'in the time of (*b'ym*) Geshem.' As for Bartlett's contention that Qedarite territory should be restricted to the Syrian desert, corroboration of the control of the desert region east of Egypt is provided by Hellenistic tradition. In the Septuagint translation of the

Hebrew text of Genesis 45:10 and 46:34, the phrase 'the land of Goshen' is rendered by 'the land of Geshem of Arabia.' Important new information also exists that suggests the Hijaz and other areas of north Arabia were satellites of Qedarite rule.

(i) The new Aramaic stele discovered at Tayma' in 1979 provides an additional basis for established Qedarite connections with the Lihyanites. This memorial was erected by Pšgw Shahru, the 'governor of Tayma' ([*pḥ*]t *tym*') and son of the 'king of Lihyan' ([*m*]lk |z|l *lhyn*), according to the reading provided by Cross (1986). Administrative officials bearing the titles of 'king' and 'governor' are already known from the Early Lihyanite inscription mentioning Gashm ben Shahr (Caskel 1953: no. 55) and give credence to Cross' minor restorations. Since the name Shahru appears to be a recurring dynastic name among the Qedarite (Zadok 1977: 42) and Lihyanite (Albright 1953: 6) kings, the double name Pšgw Shahru must be an attempt to avoid any confusion in the papponymous sequence and suggests that this individual is a descendant of the royal family. It is even possible that Gashm ben Shahr is a much earlier member of the family, and the forefather if not grandfather of 'Geshem the Arab' of the time of Nehemiah (Graf 1985: 114 n. 49). The name Shahr itself seems to be derived from a designation for the moon god Sin, on the postulate that *Il* + *tehri* = '*il* + **Sahr* (Zadok 1977: 42). Nevertheless, the relationship between Lihyan and Qedar is still in need of clarity, but the new Aramaic text at the very least furnishes a similar milieu for the constituents. In fact, Altheim and Stiehl (1973: 251) had already surmised Tayma' was under Lihyanite control on the basis of the artistic similarities in the royal sculpture of the two areas. The view that the Hijaz was under Persian administration is based on the term for 'governor' (Aramaic *pḥh*/Lihyanite *fḥt*) in these texts, as it is assumed that such designations were not used in the Levant until Achaemenid rule had been established (Winnett and Reed 1970: 116; Knauf 1985: 105). However, the term is also associated with Neo-Babylonian rule in Palestine, appearing in at least one text for officials installed after the removal of rebellious kings (*KAI* 266/9; cf. 215/12 for an even earlier use of the term in western Asia). Since during Nabonidus' campaign into the Hijaz, the kings of Tayma' and Dedan were killed (Lambert 1972: 56), it is entirely possible that the Qedarite confederation was appointed to govern the oasis at Dedan and later took control of Tayma' after the collapse of Babylonian rule. This may explain why the Qedarites and their center at Dumah (al-Jauf) are conspicuously absent from any of the texts associated with Nabonidus' campaign—the Arab tribal league was in alliance with the Babylonian invaders. The use of *pḥh*/*fḥt* in the fifth century Aramaic text from Tayma' and the Lihyanite text from Dedan can then be interpreted as only reflecting the sustained use and resilience of Neo-Babylonian administrative terminology. Of course, it is possible the

Persians retained the administrative arrangements established prior to their rule, but the only explicit evidence for the subjection and reorganization of the Hijaz is under Nabonidus.

The Aramaic stele found at Tayma' in 1880 (*CIS* II, 213) has also been placed in the time of Nabonidus on the basis of archaic forms in the script and stylistic comparison of the artistic motifs with Nabonidus' Harran stelae. Since the text describes the integration of the god Šalm of Hagam into the Taymanite pantheon by Šalm-Shezab the son of Petosiris, it was even proposed that the new deity was none other than the Babylonian king himself and represented a cult centered around Nabonidus (Winnett and Reed 1970: 93). Since *šalm* 'image, statue' occurs as a divine name in Assyria, Šalm of Hagam was taken as a sun-god, in contrast to the moon-god Šalm of Mahram, who is also mentioned in the text. Since the Taymanite inscriptions attribute 'victory to Šalm' in wars against Dedan (WTay 20-23), the Nabayat (11, 13, 15) and Massa' (16), they have been interpreted as support by the inhabitants of the oasis for Nabonidus during his Arabian campaigns. However, the Aramaic text precludes such a construction, as it is dated to the '22nd year' of some dynast, several years beyond the 17 year reign of Nabonidus. The worship of Šalm as a moon-god also appears indigenous to the region, and perhaps is even found among the Midianites centuries earlier (Jud. 8:5-21; cf. Winnett 1980: 137-138), as is also implied by personal names in Early Lihyanite (Caskel 1953: 47). On the other hand, a persuasive case has recently been made by Dalley for identifying Šalm with an aspect of Shamash and a symbol of royal power, represented by the winged disk. The origin of this fusion of Egyptian and Asiatic elements is associated with Midian and appears earlier than the Neo-Babylonian or Achaemenid Tayma stelae (Dalley 1984: 31).

Consequently, it is possible that Mahram and Hagam were not designations of the sanctuaries of the oasis, but rather villages and settlements in the region from which the ancestral cults were transported to Tayma' (Teixidor 1977: 71-76). At any rate the new stele from Tayma' suggests that any conflict between Dedan and the oasis must have preceded Lihyanite control of Tayma'.

(ii) The Qedarite cult of Atarsamain in the Assyrian period (*ANET* 291) seems to be connected with the shrine to han-'Ilāt ('the goddess') at Tell el-Maskhuta (Rabinowitz 1956: 8; but cf. Teixidor 1977: 68-69). During Assurbanipal's campaign against the Arabs, Qedar is intimately associated with 'the confederation of the god Attarsamain' (*ANET* 301). The Assyrian sources also list the pantheon of the tribal league with Atarsamain at the head, followed by Dai, Nuhai, Ruldaiu, Abirillu and Atarquruma. Three of these — Attarsam (13 times), Nuhay (62 times) and Ruday (79 times)—

appear predominantly in the Najdi Thamudic texts, which are concentrated in the region between Tayma' and Ha'il, south of al-Jauf (Dumah). The Hebrew prophets also associate Qedar with the Hijaz oases of Dedan and Tayma' (Isa. 21: 13-17; Ezek. 27:20-21). The prominence of han-'Ilat in north Arabia among later Arabs is indicated by the appearance of Allat in Nabataean and Palmyrene, Lat in Lihyanite and Thamudic, and 'Ilat (ha-Lat/Lat) in Safaitic. These cultic references are spread over an extensive region, stretching from southern Syria into the Hijaz, precisely the territory where it is presumed the Qedarite confederation was active.

(iii) The pre-posed article *han-* in the Tell el-Maskhuta inscriptions appears also in proper names in Early Lihyanite from al-'Ula (Caskel 1953: 141, 146) and in Hasaeen texts of the hellenistic era (Ja 1043). The prefixed article *ha-* also occurs in Thamudic and Safaitic inscriptions in contrast to the post-posed article in standard Aramaic (*-a*) and South Arabic (*-an*). The pre-posed article is then common to a geographical area extending from the eastern Mediterranean to the Arabian Gulf and from southern Syria into the Hijaz, precisely the region the Qedarite confederation is assumed to have controlled. Although this area was inhabited by numerous tribes, they appear to have existed under the same cultural influence. This ambience is best explained from a political perspective.

These political, religious and linguistic factors provide sufficient reason to accept the fact that the Qedarite confederation controlled a substantial and far-flung territory in north Arabia, including southern Palestine and the Hijaz. The reluctance to accept the correlation of the various references to Geshem with the Qedarites reveals a common tendency to fragment north Arabia into small political units. As the later Nabataeans illustrate, Arab kingdoms could control sizeable territories for lengthy periods, and maintain their independence from major imperialistic powers in the process. Unfortunately, the history of the Qedarite league during the Achaemenid period is not as easy to trace, especially after the fifth century.

As a result of the successful Egyptian revolt against Persia in 404 B.C., the relations between Qedar and the Achaemenid empire appear to have disintegrated. An Egyptian-Arab coalition supported Evagoras the king of Cyprus during his rebellion against Achaemenid authority in 386 B.C. (Diodorus 15.2.3-4). The thriving trade at Tell el-Kheleifeh also appears to have ceased approximately at this time (Pratico 1985: 14). On the other hand, both Arabs and Edomites appear to have composed the garrisons at Arad and Beersheba in southern Palestine as part of the Persian defensive system against potential Egyptian invasion during the fourth century (Stern 1982: 79-82). The creation of Idumaea as a provincial district has been assigned to this period as well (De Geus 1979-80: 62; Eph'al 1982: 199). Arab mercenaries also defended

Gaza later against the army of Alexander the Great (Arrian, *Anab.* II 25,4; Quintus Curtius Rufus IV 6,7) and perhaps assisted in maintaining the Mediterranean port city as the principal terminus for the overland trade route from South Arabia. The so-called 'Philisto-Arabian' imitations of Athenian tetradrachms minted at Gaza in the 5th-4th centuries bear adequate testimony to the vitality of the commerce at Gaza (Briant 1982: 164-165).

In 343 B.C., Artaxerxes III Ochus, reconquered Egypt. The event appears to be reflected in a Minaean text from Baraqish, in which reference is made to 'a struggle between Media and Egypt' (Garbini 1974: no. 247; see Winnett and Reed 1970: 119 and Graf 1983: 563). The 'Hierodulen' texts from Ma'in in South Arabia indicate the Mineans had at this time established commercial colonies throughout North Arabia, Egypt and the Levant. The locations and peoples associated with their activities include Sidon (*sydn*), 'Amman (*'mn*), Moab (*m'b*), Qedar (*qdr*), Thamud (*tmd*), Hagar (*hgr*), Dedan (*ddn*), Lihyan (*lhyn*), Wadi al-Qura (*qryn*), Gaza (*gzt*), Egypt (*msr*), and perhaps even Greece (*ywnm*) (Mlaker 1943 = Garbini 1974: nos. 392-98). Since the most numerous places mentioned in the texts are Gaza (27 times), Dedan (9), and Qedar (3), they attest to not only the distribution of the merchants, but also to the places where they were concentrated. Another Ma'in inscription refers to Minaean commerce in Assur, Egypt and Gaza (RES 2771/3). These geographical references indicate that the major oases of the Hijaz and North Arabia were still actively engaged in trade with the eastern Mediterranean and Mesopotamia at the time of Alexander's great expedition. The survival of Minaean trade in the Hellenistic period is indicated by the Ptolemaic administrative archives of Zeno that record the purchase of Minaean and Gerrhaean frankincense and myrrh in Syria-Palestine in 261 B.C. (*P. Cairo Zeno* 59536/11-12; cf. 59011, II/15 and *PSI* VI 628/5), including a transaction for such items from a Moabite named Malichos (*P. Cairo Zeno* 59009, fr. f in IV, p. 285). These documents also signal the involvement of east Arabia in the aromatic trade.

b) *The Hagarites*

The identification of the subject Arabs mentioned in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions is now highly possible. A striking new clue has been provided by the appearance of the term *hgr* in the hieroglyphic list of the subject peoples contained on the statue of Darius from the temple of Atum in Heliopolis recently discovered at Susa. The hieroglyphic cartouche label for Arabians is *hgr*, which is normally identified with northwest Arabia in the Ptolemaic period (P. Berlin 15697 verso l. 13; P. Lille 59.i.4). The figure above the name is also dressed and depicted in a different manner than the Persepolis reliefs (Roaf 1974: 136). The tendency has been to associate the term with Greek

ἄγγαρος, presumably an Iranian word for a 'mounted courier' in the Persian postal system (*LSJ* 7). But the new Darius statue suggests the focus should be a distinct people or tribe, not just a profession. Furthermore, in the Demotic texts of the King Petubastis cycle, the references to *hgr* appear in an Iranian context with references to Median soldiers and Ahuramazda (Volten 1962: A, 1/X 16; 8/14; 9/7). The Egyptian tendency to conflate peoples and periods may account for this phenomenon (cf. Givon 1971: no. 52), but a Mesopotamian origin and east Arabian context for the term seems more likely. Such people could have functioned as messengers between Babylon and Egypt, as a result of their abilities to traverse the desert routes by camel. The fact that Hofuf in the al-Hasa oasis was called Hagar in ancient times provides support for this interpretation. From the middle of the second millennium B.C. until the 10th century A.D., this name was used for the settlement and its inhabitants. In the Assyrian annals, the *Hagaranu* appear among the Aramaean peoples in southern Mesopotamia and the Greek geographers locate a people of similar name in the Gulf region. The *Agraioi* (Ἀγραῖοι) of Strabo (*Geog.* XVI 4,24), the *Agraei* of Pliny (*N.H.* VI 32,154-161), are probably the subjects of the kings of *hgr*, whose coins have been found on Failaka and Bahrain (Robin 1974: 85-102). It has also been proposed that Thaj is ancient Hagar, known better as the famous emporium of Gerrha, a Greek corruption of the Semitic name (Potts 1984b: 89). The importance of these people in north Arabia during the Achaemenid period possibly accounts for the appearance of the Hagrites in the post-exilic biblical sources (Eph'al 1982: 100 n. 337). In Baruch 3.23 of the Hellenistic era, the 'sons of Hagar' are also mentioned with Medan and Tema, perhaps corruptions of Midian and Tayma' and allusions to the inhabitants of the Hijaz. These sources suggest the inhabitants of the oasis may have been involved in trade between the Arabian Gulf and the eastern Mediterranean, explaining why the term was utilized as a general term for north Arabians.

Persian control of the the Gulf region is not as easy to establish, but there are at least some indications the inhabitants of the area were subjected to Achaemenid rule. In an administrative cuneiform text dated to the 11th year of Nabonidus, reference is made to the 'governor of Dilmun' (*VAS* 6/81, *ša LU.EN.NAM ša TIL-MUN.KI*). This official may only be a deputy appointed to regulate the trade at Bahrain (Kessler 1983: 152), but it is also possible that there was a governor stationed on the island to administer a province that included, aside from Bahrain, the island of Failaka and the settlements on the east Arabian coast, including the al-Hasa oasis. A Mesopotamian style palace excavated on the island of Bahrain indicates that it was occupied during the Neo-Babylonian period, before it suffered destruction in the late 6th century, probably at the hands of the Achaemenid rulers (Potts 1985a: 701-702). Resistance to Persian rule may account for the subjection of

the area and the appearance of the Arabs as subjects in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions.

The appearance of the Nabataeans in Edom by the beginning of the hellenistic period has been connected with this same migration along the trade routes leading westward from the Gulf to the Mediterranean ports. In the Assyrian annals, the *Hagaranu* are frequently bracketed with the *Nabayatu*, perhaps the ancestors of the people called Hagar in east Arabia. On the basis of a dedicatory phrase in Nabataean incipations, Milik (1982) locates the original homeland of the Nabataeans near Mutayr, southeast of Kuwait. This is the approximate region where Ptolemy the Geographer later places the *Arataioi* (*Geog.* VI.6.20-21), which Milik interprets as a corruption of *'nbt*. Jamme earlier observed that the Hasaeen words for priest (*'fkl*; Nab. *'pkl'*) and family or clan (*'l*) make such connections with the Nabataeans possible (1966: 67), and Qedar should perhaps also be included (Eph'al 1982: 118 n. 400). Ceramic evidence from eastern Arabia also provides support for contacts with the Nabataean realm (Potts 1984a: 104). But this evidence is still insufficient to establish direct connections and it is probably safer to conclude for the present that the Nabataeans and Haseans arose from the same cultural matrix. Of course, the major obstacles for establishing any direct connections are the linguistic difficulties inherent in equating the Nebaioth/Nabayatu of the Assyrian annals and Biblical texts with the later Nabatu of the Greco-Roman period. As Winnett observed, the appearance of the *Nabayat* in a sixth century Arabic dialect at Jabal Ghunaym indicates a root of *nby*, rather than *nbt*, precluding any identification with the inhabitants of the later kingdom centered at Petra (Winnett and Reed 1970: 99). The attempt to minimize these seemingly insurmountable problems (Broome 1973) has not been found persuasive (Winnett 1980: 137; Eph'al 1982: 223 n. 33; Abu Taleb 1984; Knauf 1985: 96). Nevertheless, the north Arabian onomasticon from the Neo-Assyrian to the Persian period reveals some striking phonological and morphological affinities between the Nabayatu of Mesopotamia and the later Nabataeans. Within this corpus, there is an irregular shift from *w*- to *y*- in personal names, the attachment of the suffix *-a* to exclusively SW Semitic elements, and the dominance of the suffix *-u/w* (Zadok 1981: 82). These similarities suggest the dialects were closely related and that Nabataean Aramaic represents a descendant of this family of dialects spoken along the borders of the Fertile Crescent. Further support for connections between the Nabataeans and the earlier Hagarenes of the Assyrian-Persian period may be reflected in the popular personal name of *hagiru*, which appears in the Sinai (17 times), Hegra (Mada'in Salih; *CIS* II, 203 and 226 at tomb B11) and Petra (as the name of one of the queens of Rabbel II, *hgrw*). These matters may account for the disappearance of Hagar and Qedar by the Roman era, a result of the integration and coalescence of various

elements of the north Arabian population into a new political structure, the Nabataean kingdom.

Like so many matters concerning pre-Islamic Arabia, these questions can only be resolved by further exploration and systematic excavations at the prominent sites known to be occupied in the Persian period. Current archaeological activities with this focus render any of the present conclusions tentative, subject to revision and reevaluation by new discoveries. A comprehensive and systematic epigraphic survey of north Arabia is also sorely needed, although an awesome task given the geographic scope and inherent difficulties involved. Finally, it should also be observed that although much of the epigraphic evidence is lapidarian and in monumental script, there is also a clear tendency to cursive in both the Thamudic and the Hijazi scripts (Ryckmans 1984: 78). This at least creates the possibility of documents written on parchment. Precisely such sources are needed to help remove the ambiguities and mysteries that have clouded and concealed the history of north Arabia from our vision.

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SUSE ET LA SUSIANE A L'ÉPOQUE ACHÉMÉNIDE DONNÉES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES

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Il est banal de dire que la Susiane occupe une place à part parmi les pays de l'empire achéménide, car chaque région possède sa singularité, comme devrait le montrer ce livre. Parmi les facteurs de cette singularité, quatre peuvent être mentionnés; trois sont très évidents pour tous, mais ils sont au coeur du problème, à la fois source de renseignements importants et de difficultés, au moins pour les archéologues.

- a) la Susiane contient Suse, une des capitales de l'empire, choisie par Darius Ier vers 521 avant J.C.
- b) cette région occupe une position géographique relativement centrale dans l'empire; de plus, elle est située à la limite des plaines mésopotamiennes et du plateau iranien. Cette donnée géographique est utilisée depuis longtemps par les archéologues et les historiens, quelle que soit la période traitée. Ajoutons enfin que la Susiane est située à proximité du Golfe Persique, dont l'importance dans l'histoire commence à être mieux perçue.
- c) la Susiane a une longue histoire avant celle de l'empire achéménide; très tôt, elle a connu des états organisés, dont l'étendue et le degré d'indépendance par rapport à ses voisins ont varié. A cet égard, la Susiane a souvent pu être comparée à sa voisine, la Babylonie.
- d) c'est une région agricole depuis plusieurs millénaires avant les Achéménides. Par les études archéologiques, on connaît mieux l'organisation des communautés agricoles et leurs productions aux 5e-3e millénaires qu'au 1er mill. avant J.C.; ce qui importe ici, c'est que les Grands Rois n'ont pas trouvé une plaine vierge d'occupation au moment de leur propre installation.

Suse à l'époque achéménide ainsi que la Susiane sont connues par plusieurs textes contemporains et plus tardifs. La ville a fait l'objet de fouilles étendues depuis plus de cent ans et la Susiane a été prospectée à plusieurs reprises. D'autres provinces de l'empire n'ont pas été aussi favorisées par les recherches; pourtant toutes ces données ne sont pas d'un maniement facile.

Après avoir résumé nos connaissances sur l'organisation de la ville impériale, je voudrais montrer que les données archéologiques sur le reste de la ville et sur la région environnante sont très fragmentaires et souvent incertaines. Sans doute ce qui ne concernait pas la royauté et ses manifestations à Suse n'a guère intéressé les archéologues et les historiens jusqu'à une date

récente. Ces pages proposent un bilan provisoire et offrent quelques suggestions qui pourront servir à définir de nouvelles méthodes d'investigation.

1. *Les données archéologiques*

1.1. Sur les *installations royales*, nous disposons des résultats de recherches anciennes et surtout de travaux récents, plus méthodiques, qui sont en cours de publication. Des rapports sont déjà parus (Perrot et Ladiray 1972; 1974), ainsi que deux essais de synthèse (Perrot 1981 et 1985).

Conçu par Darius, la capitale est implantée sur une vaste superficie, 100 ha environ, délimitée par un mur (fig.1). C'est un puissant massif de soutènement mis en place en entamant les bords des tells appelés Apadana, Acropole et Ville Royale par les premiers fouilleurs de Suse. Ce n'est pas une enceinte fortifiée, contrairement à la suggestion de M. Dieulafoy (1893: 226 *sq.*), mais un mur, dépourvu de tours, comme l'a reconnu dès le début du siècle J. de Morgan (1905: 36) et récemment J. Perrot (1981: 80-81; 1985: 69) qui a également montré qu'il devait s'élever d'une douzaine de mètres au-dessus de la plaine environnante. Toutefois, à l'intérieur, ce mur ne dépassait peut-être guère le niveau d'occupation. Ces observations archéologiques s'accordent avec le témoignage de Polyclète, que rapporte Strabon (XV 3,2), qui décrit la Suse achéménide comme une ville de plan oblong sans fortification.

Les constructions royales connues à ce jour (fig. 1) occupent tout le tell de l'Apadana au nord. Si une citadelle se dressait sur le tell de l'Acropole, il n'en reste aucune trace (Morgan 1900: 81-99). A l'est, sur le tell de la Ville Royale, deux monuments seulement sont connus, une porte de ville et des Propylées. A l'est de ce dernier bâtiment, les fouilles de R. Ghirshman en 1953-1955 ont dégagées quelques 10 000 m², sans faire apparaître d'autres constructions qui puissent être interprétées. De plus, une prospection de résistivité électrique conduite par A. Hesse sur plus de 80% de la superficie de la Ville Royale n'a rien révélé d'important (Perrot 1981: 82). A l'extrémité méridionale de ce tell, il faut mentionner les vestiges fouillés par R. de Mecquenem, appelés Palais du Donjon. En effet, le fouilleur l'avait attribué à l'époque sasanide, mais après lui, d'autres archéologues ont proposé d'y reconnaître un palais achéménide. R. de Mecquenem justifiait une date tardive par la découverte d'objets achéménides, séleucides et parthes sous les sols et même dans les fondations du bâtiment, sans toutefois préciser si la construction avait subi des remaniements ou même des reconstructions (Mecquenem 1934: 222-226; 1938: 228-229; 1943: 70-76). Plus tard, R. Ghirshman (1963: 142-144) a montré que les techniques de construction rappelaient celles de l'époque achéménide; il a proposé d'y reconnaître un palais provisoire, destiné à remplacer le palais de Darius détruit par un incendie. Cette hypothèse a été acceptée par P. Amiet (1972: 167, n.5; id. 1973a: 28); elle est

jugée séduisante mais incertaine par D. Stronach (1985b: 434-435) qui rappelle que R. Ghirshman, lorsqu'il avait proposé sa suggestion, ne connaissait pas le palais de la rive droite du Chaour. La construction du Donjon contenait, en remploi ou dispersés, des fragments d'architecture de l'époque achéménide, mais leur présence ne peut à elle seule prouver l'appartenance du bâtiment à cette époque; en effet, des fragments sculptés et des bases de colonnes ont été trouvés dans d'autres secteurs de Suse, à l'Acropole (Morgan 1900: 90), à la Ville Royale dans le niveau IV, d'époque sasanide (Ghirshman 1976: 200) et hors de la ville dans le bâtiment appelé Ayadana (cf. *infra*). Ces incertitudes et d'autres arguments m'ont conduit à proposer de voir dans le palais du Donjon une construction d'époque séleucide (Boucharlat 1985: 74).

La répartition des constructions royales montrent que seules les parties nord et nord-est de la ville sont bâties. L'accès à la ville, ou l'un d'entre eux, a été reconnu à l'est, par une porte monumentale, mais non fortifiée; on traverse ensuite le tell de la Ville Royale d'est en ouest (fig. 1), puis en obliquant vers le nord, on passe dans les Propylées entreprises par Darius. En tournant de nouveau vers l'ouest, le visiteur traverse une chaussée-pont qui franchit un fossé aménagé par les architectes de Darius, profond de plus de quinze mètres. L'arrivée devant le Palais de Darius est marquée par la Porte monumentale, découverte en 1972-1973. Après l'avoir traversée, le visiteur se tourne vers le nord pour atteindre la salle de réception, l'Apadana. Il n'a pas accès à la résidence du roi ni au reste du complexe palatial qui occupe toute la partie sud du tell. La présence de deux portes successives n'est pas fortuite et c'est à juste titre que J. Perrot (1981: 91-92) a rappelé les constructions aussi monumentales de Pasargades et de Persépolis.

Cette entreprise représente un travail colossal, mais il était à la portée de la puissance de Darius qui n'a pas manqué de s'en glorifier (Vallat 1970): aménagement d'une plateforme de 13 ha, mise en place de fondations sur plus de 10m de profondeur, construction de bâtiments en briques crues, en briques cuites, supports et décoration en pierre du Zagros, etc. C'est ainsi que la salle d'audience, qui occupe 12 000m², a nécessité le transport de 10 000 tonnes de calcaire du Zagros; la partie centrale s'élevait à plus de 20m de hauteur. Quant à la partie résidentielle, sa superficie a été sous-estimée par les premiers fouilleurs et son plan mal interprété. Les 40 000m² qu'elle occupe forment un ensemble cohérent, que J. Perrot a décrit (Perrot 1981: en particulier Pl. 34, à comparer avec Mecquenem 1943: fig. 1 et Plan I). L'ensemble est conçu à partir de l'appartement du Roi, de vastes dimensions; les autres appartements et les nombreuses salles disposées autour des trois cours n'ont aucun caractère d'apparat.

L'importance de ces témoins de l'architecture achéménide contraste avec la pauvreté du mobilier retrouvé. Pourtant, le palais n'a pas été détruit ni par Alexandre ni par ses successeurs. L'abandon et la ruine progressive des

édifices ont dû favoriser le pillage des éléments de la décoration et des objets. À cet égard, les fouilles de Suse sont décevantes; quant aux documents écrits, ils sont limités aux très importantes tables de fondation et aux bases de colonne inscrites, à l'exclusion des archives sur tablettes qui restent peut-être à découvrir (Vallat 1970, 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1979 pour les découvertes récentes).

La ville achéménide était peut-être protégée par une citadelle que l'on place habituellement sur l'Acropole, le tell le plus élevé. En dépit de vestiges architecturaux notables, comme des bases de colonnes en pierre, ce secteur de la ville ne montre pas de traces d'une telle fortification. Les premiers fouilleurs, qui ont complètement enlevé les couches correspondant à la période achéménide, doutent fortement de l'existence d'une citadelle et parlent plus volontiers de camp fortifié (Lampre 1900: 109; Jéquier 1900: 117). La question ne peut être tranchée, mais rappelons qu'une citadelle — de quel type? — est attestée à l'époque séleucide, puisque Molon, le satrape révolté contre Antiochos III, prit la ville, mais échoua contre la citadelle (*akra*).

Hors de la ville, l'occupation royale est représentée en un seul point actuellement, sur la rive droite du Chaour. Là, s'élevait un palais érigé par Artaxerxès II au début du 4^e siècle (Labrousse et Boucharlat 1972; Boucharlat et Labrousse 1979). On a supposé que cet ensemble, de 4ha environ, était le palais provisoire rapidement aménagé, en attendant la reconstruction de celui de l'Apadana. C'est aussi un lieu de résidence plus agréable que le Palais de Darius, situé dans la plaine, dans laquelle les différentes parties peuvent être distribuées au milieu de jardins; l'eau y est très accessible.

Un autre bâtiment, réputé d'époque achéménide, est probablement à exclure des réalisations royales: l'Ayadana a été pendant une centaine d'années le prototype du temple du feu perse-achéménide, à la suite des fouilles et de la reconstitution de M. Dieulafoy (1893: 411-416 et fig. 264). À l'encontre de cette hypothèse, R. Ghirshman (1976: 197-200) a rappelé que le plan en était largement restitué et que les bases de colonnes de la 'cella' étaient hétérogènes. Ce sont probablement des remplois. De plus, aucune installation cultuelle certaine ne peut être reconnue. Enfin, aucun objet d'époque achéménide n'a été retrouvé. Date et fonction de l'Ayadana sont alors incertaines et il est possible d'y reconnaître aussi bien une résidence qu'un lieu de culte, qui peut dater de l'époque séleucide (Stronach 1985b: 620-622; Boucharlat 1984: 126-130). Le seul argument sérieux en faveur d'une construction achéménide était le mode de construction, en particulier celui des fondations; il marque peut-être le maintien d'une tradition qui avait fait ses preuves, comme le palais du Donjon en fournirait un autre exemple.

Les monuments royaux retrouvés à Suse sont à la fois impressionnants et moins nombreux que ne le laisse entendre Polycrite (ou Polyclète) selon lequel

(Strabon XV 3,21) chaque roi achéménide érigeait une résidence, une trésorerie et des entrepôts pour abriter les tributs sur l'*akra* de Suse. Faut-il y voir une forte exagération ou une confusion entre l'Acropole et l'Apadana, oeuvre de Darius, reconstruite par Artaxerxès II? Aucune des deux explications n'est satisfaisante.

1.2. *La ville* elle-même est très mal connue. A la Ville Royale, le grand chantier de R. Ghirshman a livré si peu de vestiges d'époque achéménide (niveau VIII sans doute) que le fouilleur ne les mentionne pas dans ses rapports, à la différence des niveaux qui précèdent et de ceux qui suivent. Nature et date des documents sont incertaines, ce que confirment les collaborateurs de Ghirshman (Stève, Gasche et de Meyer 1980: 60, et comm. pers.). On relève toutefois (*ibid.* fig. 6, 8, 10 et 12) un grand mur est-ouest dont les fondations en pisé descendent profondément dans les couches élamites.

Dans la partie sud-ouest du même tell (fig. 1, VR II), P. de Miroschedji (1978 et 1987) a reconnu deux niveaux d'époque achéménide, sans doute postérieurs à 450, qui ne recouvrent pas directement ceux de l'époque néo-élamite finale. En d'autres secteurs de la ville, les niveaux d'occupation peuvent se succéder, comme sur le flanc ouest de la Ville Royale (Miroschedji 1981b: 149). Dans le chantier VR II, l'architecture est absente; en revanche le matériel recueilli permet d'avoir pour la première fois à Suse un corpus de la céramique ordinaire de l'époque achéménide. Par son étude, le fouilleur observe qu'elle marque une rupture avec celle de l'époque néo-élamite; sans doute la période cruciale, très mal connue, est-elle le premier siècle de l'empire. Celle-ci se laisse toutefois observer sur quelques sites de la région de Suse (Miroschedji 1985: 266-267, 300-301).

Nous sommes très mal renseignés sur les résultats des énormes travaux conduits sur le reste de la Ville Royale et sur le tell de l'Acropole, par J. de Morgan et ses collaborateurs, puis par R. de Mecquenem. L'époque achéménide et celles qui la suivent ont été très négligées. Toutefois des témoins subsistent, les objets conservés dans les collections de Suse, du Musée de Suse, de Téhéran et au Louvre. Le mobilier qui daterait de l'époque achéménide est peu abondant par rapport à celui des époques suivantes. L'absence de constructions non royales et la pauvreté du mobilier ne conduisent pas à restituer une importante occupation permanente dans la ville de Suse. C'est la conclusion que propose également J. Perrot (1985: 67-68).

Pour compliquer encore l'enquête, signalons que la plupart des objets d'époque achéménide, qu'ils soient fabriqués localement ou importés, ont été trouvés dans des 'puits achéménides', c'est-à-dire hors de leur contexte d'utilisation. Ces puits sont probablement postérieurs à l'époque achéménide, car d'une part ils peuvent contenir des objets du milieu du 4^e siècle, d'autre part ils traversent des constructions achéménides. Le premier cas est illustré

par un puits situé dans le secteur du Donjon; il a livré de nombreux ivoires de provenances variées, et quelques tessons grecs des 5^e et 4^e siècles (Amiet 1972). Un autre puits contenant des tessons grecs a été fouillé sur l'Acropole (Jéquier 1900: 116-117). Le second cas a été rencontré sur l'Apadana, où un puits était creusé au milieu de la cour centrale du Palais de Darius (Mecquenem 1980: 34).

S'il y avait des *faubourgs et des quartiers d'artisans permanents*, aucune trace n'en a été trouvée, même sur le tell dénommé Ville des Artisans, à l'est de la ville (fig. 1). Il est probable que les centaines d'hectares n'étaient que très peu bâties. En effet, que représente le 'Village perse-achéménide' (Ghirshman 1954) dont la construction originelle est pré-achéménide (Miroschedji 1981a: 38-39) et l'occupation suivante de la fin de la période achéménide? Tout au plus est-ce un hameau. Partout ailleurs, les très nombreux sondages effectués par R. De Mecquenem, puis R. Ghirshman et les fouilles de M. Kervran n'ont jamais révélé de constructions ou de groupes d'objets qui puissent être rapportés à l'époque achéménide. On connaît sur le tell des Artisans des tombes monumentales dont les plus anciennes ne semblent pas antérieures au 3^e siècle (Ghirshman 1949: 196-197), même si le fouilleur pense avoir identifié des faubourgs qui pourraient remonter à l'époque achéménide (Ghirshman 1953: 233). Il ne s'agit pas d'omission dans les rapports de fouilles, mais bien d'une absence de vestiges achéménides dans des sondages nombreux et bien répartis (cf. carte dans Stève, Gasche et de Meyer 1980: fig. 14 et les rapports de fouille de R. Ghirshman 1948 à 1953). On peut tout au plus relever un cas, où des tombes parthes «étaient logées dans des installations hellénistiques» (Stève, Gasche et de Meyer 1980: 108, chantier 3); c'est un des exemples très rares, avec le Village perse et une 'villa hellénistique', de construction pré-islamique autre que des tombes (Ghirshman 1952: 287). Les visites sur le site ne m'ont jamais permis de recueillir de matériel antérieur au 3^e siècle; les tessons les plus anciens visibles sur le tell des Artisans, en particulier près de la villa hellénistique (D. Stronach et R. Boucharlat, observations 1973) sont comparables à ceux qui sont datés dans le secteur nord de Suse de l'extrême fin du 4^e siècle au plus tôt, mais plus fréquents au 3^e siècle (Boucharlat 1987).

Cette conclusion rejoint la conviction de R. Ghirshman, malgré ses hésitations, puisqu'il voulait voir dans la partie nord-ouest du tell (chantier 12) les traces du camp d'Alexandre, sous forme d'une poignée de tessons grecs datés du milieu du 4^e siècle (Ghirshman 1948: 332-334; Clairmont 1957: Appendix A).

Sur les *cimetières* d'époque achéménide dans la ville ou à l'extérieur, l'information fait défaut, puisque'elle se réduit à une unique 'tombe princière' découverte *intra muros* dans la partie sud de l'Acropole (Morgan 1905). Elle est datée entre 350 et 330. Des tombes dans des jarres ou en pleine terre, situées dans la partie sud de la Ville Royale sont attribuées par le fouilleur à

l'époque achéménide (Mecquenem 1930: 86 et 1938: 326); elles ne sont pas plus précisément décrites.

Pour terminer cet inventaire, évoquons deux séries de documents de première importance, les sceaux et cachets et les textes. La glyptique achéménide de Suse est étonnamment pauvre (Amiet 1973a: 26-29); de plus, certains sceaux sont difficiles à distinguer de ceux de la fin de la période néo-élamite. C'est un des éléments qui montrent la continuité qui prévaut au moins au début de la période achéménide. Quant aux textes, une poignée de tablettes d'époque achéménide est parvenue jusqu'à nous. Les tablettes élamites découvertes au début du siècle à l'Acropole et celles de l'Apadana sont du 6^e siècle, peut-être même pour certaines d'entre elles du milieu de ce siècle; elles mentionnent des noms perses mais, à une exception près, elles sont antérieures à Darius (en dernier lieu, Stève 1986; voir aussi Amiet 1973b: 3-6). Ces tablettes sont également évoquées par Miroshedji (1981b: 149-150; 1985: 305-306) avec celles que découvrit R. Ghirshman dans le Village perse; sur les quatre documents, l'un est pré-achéménide, contemporain des tablettes de l'Acropole ou de l'Apadana. Les autres, dont l'une mentionne un Artaxerxès, sont d'époque achéménide (Paper et Rutten, in Ghirshman 1954: 79-85). A ces rares documents, s'en ajoutent quelques autres, en général sans provenance connue, comme celle qu'a publiée récemment F. Vallat (1983); c'est une copie partielle du texte accadien de la charte de fondation du palais de Darius (Dsf). Sans être en mesure de préciser le nombre de tablettes d'époque achéménide trouvées à Suse, on peut assurer qu'il est très faible. En aucun cas, cette série de documents ne peut rivaliser avec les découvertes d'archives royales de Persépolis, ni avec les archives privées connues à Nippur et à Babylone.

1.3. Ce tableau est loin d'être optimiste, et il faut certainement faire la part des choses avant de se représenter Suse comme une ville réduite à une enceinte enfermant un vaste palais et quelques constructions royales:

— a) la rareté ou même l'absence de vestiges qui est notée dans presque tous les secteurs de la ville et hors les murs peut être due — mais dans quelle mesure? — aux occupations postérieures. On observe, en effet, que les constructions d'époque séleucide ou parthe ont souvent des fondations très larges et très profondes, atteignant plusieurs mètres (Ville Royale A, inédit; Apadana Est et Ville Royale, Boucharlat 1987). La même explication pourrait être avancée pour la Ville des Artisans, sur laquelle les innombrables caveaux souterrains des époques séleucide et parthe ont été installés à plusieurs mètres de profondeur, endommageant, si elles existaient, des installations antérieures. Les rapports de fouilles toutefois ne favorisent pas cette hypothèse.

Dans la plaine qui s'étend à l'ouest de la ville, les changements de cours de

la rivière Chaour, l'alluvionnement, la mise en culture depuis l'époque pré-islamique de façon intensive ont certainement bouleversé le terrain; pourtant ces différentes transformations ont laissé subsisté immédiatement sous la surface moderne d'appréciables vestiges du palais du Chaour.

— b) la datation de beaucoup de documents, surtout les plus modestes, reste imprécise, ce qui n'est pas le cas des monuments royaux. Il est possible que soient d'époque achéménide des objets attribués à d'autres périodes; on a dit que l'intérêt des chercheurs pour ces siècles était récent. A cet égard, il faut souhaiter la multiplication des études comme celle de P. de Miroschedji pour Suse ou par exemple celle de E. Haerinck (1980) à Sippar, qui contribuent à jeter les bases d'une chronologie. Il est significatif que la bibliographie donnée ici réunisse la quasi totalité des publications archéologiques sur Suse et la Susiane achéménides, à l'exclusion des monuments royaux et des textes.

Dans ce problème de chronologie, invoquons, à la suite de P. de Miroschedji (1985: 300-301) la continuité qui semble prévaloir au 6^e siècle et au début du 5^e entre l'époque néo-élamite finale et le premier siècle de la domination achéménide. Miroschedji signale que les premiers changements importants apparaissent non pas sous Cyrus (qui ne semble pas marquer Suse), mais sous Darius. Cette observation vaut pour les documents royaux, mais non pas pour le mobilier et l'architecture ordinaire; le même auteur place les transformations profondes au milieu du 5^e siècle. C'est une évolution en deux temps au moins (pour la glyptique voir Amiet 1973a: 5-6, 12 *sq.*, 24-26) qui occupe l'époque achéménide. Ainsi, les documents les plus anciens sont difficiles à identifier et peuvent échapper à l'inventaire.

Malgré ces restrictions, les vestiges archéologiques de l'époque achéménide sont relativement peu abondants par rapport à ceux des périodes suivantes. Cette observation permet de rejoindre la conclusion prudente de J. Perrot (1985) selon laquelle l'enceinte de Suse enfermait de très grands espaces non bâtis, contrairement aux époques suivantes; par conséquent, il faut en conclure que le peuplement sédentaire de la ville était faible. De plus, les indices que nous possédons ne permettent pas de dire que l'installation de la cour a conduit à rejeter la population locale à l'extérieur dans les faubourgs, à la Ville des Artisans. L'habitat permanent y est extrêmement réduit, les installations artisanales absentes, malgré les suggestions parfois avancées par R. Ghirshman et comme semble l'accepter J. Perrot (1985: 67).

Cette vision de la ville achéménide peut surprendre, en considérant l'enceinte impressionnante et la superficie du complexe palatial, et en rappelant que Suse n'est pas une résidence royale temporaire, mais une capitale administrative (voir l'idée qu'en avaient les auteurs grecs). Par ailleurs, on a pu pendant longtemps penser que les Achéménides avaient trouvé en arrivant une ville et une région désertées et appauvries depuis le passage catastrophique d'Assurbanipal au milieu du 7^e siècle. On sait aujourd'hui qu'il n'en

n'est rien (Miroschedji 1981a, b, c, 1982; 1985: 266-267, 300-301). Aux 7^e et 6^e siècles, ville et région sont occupées et organisées politiquement, sans doute moins que dans les siècles précédents, mais sans marquer la rupture que l'on a voulu y mettre. Cette observation est importante pour l'occupation de Suse et tout autant pour interpréter les données dont nous disposons pour la Susiane.

1.4. *La Susiane*. Le cadre géographique est limité ici aux environs de la ville de Suse, en fonction des travaux conduits par les archéologues. Les régions de piémont sont exclues, ainsi que la partie sud-est de la plaine du Khuzistan, pourtant prospectée par McCown en 1948. Les résultats intéressants les périodes récentes ont été brièvement étudiées (Alizadeh 1985) et ils ne montrent pas de matériel d'époque achéménide. La Susiane a été prospectée à plusieurs reprises. L'époque achéménide est abordée ou étudiée dans les travaux de R. McC. Adams (1962), R.J. Wenke (1976) et P. de Miroschedji (1981c). Ces trois publications doivent être considérées ensembles car les zones couvertes ne coïncident pas; de plus l'état des recherches n'était pas le même en 1960 et en 1977, ce qui conduit à des datations parfois différentes. Enfin les hypothèses des trois auteurs peuvent diverger en fonction des postulats adoptés par chacun d'eux.

Adams et Wenke considèrent une zone de 70 x 50km environ, depuis Iwan-e Kerkha au nord-ouest, jusqu'à Shushtar au sud-ouest, soit 80% environ de la plaine de Susiane (fig. 2). Quant à Miroschedji, il a choisi deux secteurs plus limités, d'une part la région comprise entre Dizful au nord, Suse à l'ouest et Choga Mish au sud, d'autre part, hors de la carte de Wenke, la région de Patak, au nord-ouest de Suse, au sud de Deh Luran; cette seconde région était probablement traversée par une section de la route royale. Ajoutons que la zone de Deh Luran a elle aussi été prospectée en 1968-1970 (pour les périodes historiques, voir Neely 1970 et 1974).

Dans ces différentes prospections, le secteur le plus étudié est la rive droite de la Dez, au nord de Choga Mish. C'est apparemment le plus riche en sites archéologiques.

Sans chercher à opposer les auteurs entre eux, je voudrais mettre en évidence les différences d'appréciation sur le peuplement achéménide et les raisons des divergences. Selon R. McC. Adams et R.J. Wenke:

— a) l'occupation de la Susiane à l'époque achéménide est caractérisée par une série d'établissements fortifiés; aucun n'est situé près de Suse, mais ils sont tous à l'est de la rivière Dez, distants de 15 à 35km de Suse (fig. 2).

— b) la superficie totale occupée à l'époque achéménide est, selon Wenke, inférieure à celle de l'époque pré-achéménide (108,2 et 225,2 ha respectivement). Elle est légèrement supérieure à la superficie peuplée à l'époque séleuco-parthe (325-25 av. JC, dans la chronologie de Wenke), et surtout très inférieure à celle des époques parthe et sasanide (Wenke 1976; Table 8; ici

comparer les figures 3 et 4-5). La même table 8 de R.J. Wenke montre combien les environs immédiats de Suse (Area 2) sont faiblement occupés par rapport aux autres zones (fig. 3). Cette observation me paraît d'autant plus assurée que Wenke utilise pour dater les sites achéménides non seulement la céramique de cette période, mais aussi des types de poterie antérieurs, néo-élamites.

— c) la superficie moyenne des établissements est très variable d'une zone à l'autre; ici encore, elle est très faible autour de Suse (fig. 3), ce qui fait dire à Wenke qu'il n'y a pas de centres autour de la capitale.

— d) en considérant l'ensemble des périodes pré-islamiques, R.J. Wenke conclut que le peuplement (mesuré par le nombre de sites et leur dimension) est faible à l'époque achéménide par rapport à celui des époques parthe et sasanide. Précisons que la durée des tranches chronologiques n'est pas en cause ici, puisque les deux siècles de la domination achéménide sont supérieurs aux 150 ans de la période parthe moyenne par exemple (25 av. JC - 125 ap. JC).

P. de Miroschedji, à partir de ses prospections, propose une image un peu différente (Miroschedji 1981c). Il compte en effet un nombre d'établissements achéménides un peu plus important que R.J. Wenke dans la région située à l'est de Suse (fig. 7); il a pu en repérer d'autres au nord-ouest de la capitale dans la région de Patak (Miroschedji 1981c: Tableau 2 et fig. 60). Dans les deux zones la céramique ne paraît ni très abondante, ni directement comparable à celle de Suse; elle est plus proche de la poterie de Choga Mish, sans être toutefois identique. Ces observations préliminaires sur le matériel autorisent quelques remarques (voir déjà Miroschedji 1981c):

— la céramique dite achéménide de Suse est datée à partir de 450 (Miroschedji 1978 et 1987). Elle montre des différences notables avec celle de l'époque néo-élamite, sans toutefois marquer une rupture complète avec celle-ci.

— les poteries achéménides de la plaine de Susiane, à Choga Mish surtout, sont en grande partie différentes de celles de Suse. Elles présentent en revanche, des éléments de comparaison avec celles de l'Iran occidental à l'Age du Fer III et IV, ce qui inclut les périodes mède et achéménide de cette région.

— la céramique n'est pas homogène dans toute la plaine de Susiane.

A partir de ces remarques deux hypothèses peuvent être formulées:

— a) les différences entre Suse et Choga Mish surtout correspondraient à deux phases chronologiques; ainsi, la poterie de Choga Mish commencerait dès la fin du 6^e siècle, celle de Suse au milieu du 5^e siècle. Un recouvrement des deux assemblages est toutefois probable.

— b) les différences illustreraient deux traditions distinctes, relevant de populations différentes.

Les deux hypothèses ne sont pas incompatibles. Elles peuvent séduire à la fois les archéologues soucieux d'affiner une séquence, et les historiens qui les utiliseraient pour illustrer une pénétration de populations iraniennes/perses en Susiane, plus rapide et plus importante qu'à Suse la vieille cité élamite encore active à leur arrivée.

Wenke et Miroschedji se rejoignent sur deux points importants, intéressant le peuplement: il est inférieur à l'époque achéménide à ce qu'il était au début du 1^{er} millénaire (fig. 7); l'extraordinaire expansion de la Susiane est postérieure aux Achéménides; elle commence dès l'époque séleucide selon Miroschedji, mais pas avant l'époque parthe selon Wenke, qui pourtant définit une période séleuco-parthe longue de trois siècles. Ailleurs, autour de Deh Luran, c'est également après les Achéménides que les changements sont sensibles, selon J.A. Neely (1974: 26-27, fig. 3.5 et 3.6), bien que l'auteur suppose que la technique d'approvisionnement en eau par qanat commence à l'époque achéménide (Neely 1970: 203).

2. *Les interprétations*

A partir des données archéologiques, la Susiane ancienne, plus que la ville de Suse (bien que les deux entités ne puissent être complètement séparées), ont fait l'objet d'hypothèses et de constructions. Les divergences qui peuvent être relevées entre les différents auteurs proviennent en grande partie de l'interprétation de quelques données historiques.

R.McC. Adams a proposé d'expliquer la mise en place d'établissements fortifiés par l'insécurité qui régnait dans la région, soumise à la pression de montagnards Cissiens. Cette hypothèse suppose qu'à l'arrivée des Achéménides la Susiane est encore complètement désorganisée et partiellement dépeuplée, à la suite des campagnes assyriennes d'Assurbanipal en 646.

La théorie de Adams est reprise par Wenke, qui confirme la présence des forts (fig. 2) et qui relève le pourcentage élevé de gros établissements achéménides (fig. 3), plus faciles à défendre que les petites installations qui formeront la base du peuplement à l'époque parthe surtout. Toutefois, Wenke s'étonne à juste titre que les rois achéménides aient supporté une telle insécurité à proximité de leur capitale, sans chercher à y porter remède. L'impossibilité de dater le matériel archéologique à l'intérieur de la période achéménide l'empêche de décider si les sites fortifiés sont établis au début de la période et s'ils ont continué à être occupés jusqu'à la fin.

La campagne d'Assurbanipal est déterminante dans la vision de Adams et Wenke. Ce sont ses conséquences sur l'organisation économique qui conduisent les deux auteurs à supposer que la production agricole reposait sur la culture sèche: la dévastation de la région aurait laissé le pays exsangue, une population peu nombreuse, politiquement peu organisée et incapable de

remettre en oeuvre une agriculture irriguée. Apparemment, Adams et Wenke pensent que la situation économique n'a guère changé au cours de la période achéménide, même s'ils admettent que les Grands Rois ont lancé — peu à peu? rapidement? — des programmes de construction de canaux.

Le faible peuplement autour de la ville de Suse est expliqué ainsi par R.J. Wenke (1976: 101): la présence de marchés d'une part, les fonctions défensives de la ville d'autre part, ont interdit l'implantation d'agglomérations et de gros villages aux alentours immédiats de la ville, dans un rayon qui devrait même être plus grand selon la théorie de la place centrale. Wenke tente toutefois d'affaiblir son premier argument en faisant valoir que Suse est encore à l'époque parthe 'une capitale majeure', alors que les environs de la ville sont densément occupés (fig. 5). Ce contre-argument ne me paraît pas pertinent: politiquement la ville perd de l'importance dès l'époque séleucide: elle devient capitale de la province, puis seulement une des villes de la région. Sans doute l'activité économique est-elle forte, peut-être même plus importante aux époques post-achéménides, mais la perte de pouvoir politique ne peut pas être sans conséquences sur la ville elle-même et son habitat. Les modalités de ces changements sont complexes; rappelons en effet que l'intérieur de la ville nous apparaît de plus en plus densément occupé depuis l'époque séleucide jusqu'à la fin de la période parthe et que la production d'objets suit la même croissance. Le second argument de Wenke, les fonctions défensives de Suse, n'est pas très séduisant, puisque son enceinte n'est pas fortifiée; il est possible toutefois que les campements de l'armée aient occupés de vastes superficies.

Sur l'occupation de Suse et de la région, le point de vue de Miroschedji est sensiblement différent de celui de Adams et de Wenke. Le premier, par ses travaux à Suse et en Susiane a d'abord précisé et rectifié la chronologie des assemblages céramiques des périodes néo-élamites et achéménide (Miroschedji 1978, 1981a, b, c, 1987). Mieux, l'étude renouvelée des données archéologiques disponibles lui permet de conclure que Suse et la Susiane ont survécu au choc du passage d'Assurbanipal. Ainsi, le milieu du 7^e siècle n'est plus une rupture historique, un changement radical dans la culture matérielle, encore moins le début d'un vide archéologique. Sur le plan politique, il est maintenant démontré que des royaumes se reconstituent et durent jusqu'à l'arrivée des Perses au pouvoir; ceux-ci perpétuent ensuite les structures existantes, jusqu'à Cyrus le Grand (Miroschedji 1985). Le déclin du peuplement ne date pas de 646 mais il est antérieur à cette date (Miroschedji 1981c: 172). Le postulat de Miroschedji est la continuité de l'occupation de la Susiane vers le milieu du 1^{er} millénaire et l'absence de rupture dans la culture matérielle. La pénétration des Perses est un autre problème (Miroschedji 1982), qui a été plus précisément étudié ces dernières années dans le Fars (*infra*).

L'interprétation de R.J. Wenke paraît biaisée par deux facteurs: d'une part

l'importance accordée aux conséquences des campagnes d'Assurbanipal, d'autre part les imprécisions que contiennent les assemblages céramiques utilisés comme marqueurs des différentes périodes. A la décharge de Wenke, il faut reconnaître qu'à l'époque de sa prospection, en 1973, les fouilles de Suse ne lui offraient pas de bonnes collections de référence. L'hypothèse de travail était donc le tableau d'un pays vidé de sa population et sans organisation politique et économique, parcouru par des nomades pillards. Telle aurait été la situation à l'avènement de Darius.

Il reste une observation commune aux trois auteurs, le vide important qui a été observé autour de Suse. On peut en atténuer l'ampleur en observant que la situation est presque la même à l'époque néo-élamite qu'à celle des Achéménides (fig. 6 et 7), et encore à l'époque séleucide (fig. 3 et 4). Il faut prendre acte de cette observation et supposer avec Wenke (cf. aussi Boucharlat 1985: 72-75) que les activités de la ville, qu'elles soient administratives, militaires ou économiques, ont empêché le développement des activités agricoles dans cette zone. Sans doute a-t-on supposé plus haut que la ville n'était pas densément *construite* à l'époque achéménide; cela n'exclut pas la *présence* temporaire ou permanente d'une population nombreuse, dont une partie vivait des activités liées à la cour, hors du complexe palatial, l'autre indépendamment de celles-ci peut-être dans la ville, plus sûrement à l'extérieur de Suse. Nous n'avons pas d'indices précis d'une organisation à deux niveaux, mais c'est une hypothèse que propose J. Perrot (1985) et qu'il faudra mettre à l'épreuve.

3. *Questions et suggestions*

Pour l'époque achéménide en Susiane, R.J. Wenke (1976: 99-100) avait formulé quatre questions pertinentes à la date où il écrivait, mais qui doivent être reformulées aujourd'hui à cause des données nouvelles et des recherches récentes:

— a) Quel fut l'impact du choix de Suse comme capitale sur le peuplement des plaines environnantes?

— b) Quelles preuves avons-nous que l'occupation achéménide fut avant tout le repeuplement des zones abandonnées après les raids assyriens?

— c) Quels sont les tracés des réseaux de canaux d'irrigation et leur importance et quels furent leurs effets sur le peuplement?

— d) Quelles preuves avons-nous que l'occupation fut limitée par la pression des Cissiens ou d'autres groupes hostiles?

— En comparant la répartition et la densité du peuplement aux époques néo-élamite et achéménide, on observe une régression selon Wenke (1976: Table 8) et une relative continuité selon Miroschedji (fig. 6 et 7). De

nouveaux sites sont occupés, mais la densité change d'une zone à l'autre; de tels phénomènes se reproduisent par la suite, indépendamment de l'implantation d'une capitale (Wenke 1976: Maps 16-22), et ces phénomènes devraient recevoir une autre explication. L'impact du choix de Suse comme capitale n'est pas sensible dans les environs de la ville; en effet, le peuplement néo-élamite n'est pas plus important que celui de l'époque achéménide.

A Suse même, les données nous manquent pour apprécier l'impact de l'arrivée des Achéménides, en dehors bien entendu de l'établissement de l'enceinte et de l'édification des palais. Rien n'indique en effet que l'évènement ait obligé les Susiens à émigrer vers l'est (Perrot 1985: 67), puisqu'il n'y a aucune installation nouvelle connue sur le tell des Artisans. Tout au plus sait-on maintenant que la ville n'était pas désertée aux 7^e et 6^e siècles; elle n'apparaît pas plus peuplée après Darius qu'avant son installation.

— la question sur les modifications du peuplement est biaisée par les conséquences des campagnes assyriennes qui ont été supposées mais non prouvées. La réalité semble bien être différente; les conclusions de P. de Miroschedji plaident en faveur d'une continuité de l'occupation au moins jusqu'au 5^e siècle, et peut-être même au-delà.

— sur l'irrigation, aucune réponse précise ne peut être apportée, malgré un élément comme le 'canal de Darius' (Wenke 1976: Map 10). Rappelons toutefois que Wenke, à la suite de Adams, suppose une économie basée sur la culture sèche (Wenke 1976: 102); il reconnaît alors implicitement que l'agriculture a subi une évolution au cours de la période achéménide. L'hypothèse non exprimée est satisfaisante car elle admet que la nouvelle organisation politique, qui reste en place près de deux siècles, a effectivement transformé les techniques de production agricole. Que l'introduction du qanat dans la région soit à mettre au compte des Achéménides (Neely 1970: 203) importe peu ici; il est plus important de souligner l'impulsion que les Rois ont très probablement donné à l'agriculture irriguée. Par les données historiques, leur rôle a été mis en valeur par P. Briant (RTP: 405-430); l'étude des textes de la Babylonie achéménides conduit M. Stolper (1985a: 36 *sq.*) aux mêmes conclusions solides. Ensembles ces travaux confirment les hypothèses émises par R. McC. Adams pour la Mésopotamie (Adams 1981).

Une des conséquences secondaires de cette attribution aux Achéménides de la relance de l'agriculture est d'enlever une part du crédit habituellement porté au compte des Séleucides, en Susiane même (Boucharlat 1985: 74-76). Ce réajustement n'est pas sans rappeler celui que l'on doit aux travaux de J.-C. Gardin et de son équipe en Bactriane, qui ont rendu aux Bactriens de l'époque achéménide et des deux millénaires antérieurs l'entreprise de grands travaux d'irrigation traditionnellement donnée aux Grecs.

— la dernière question de Wenke sur la pression des Cissiens ne devrait pas se poser si on veut bien regarder une carte. Elle a encore perdue de son

intérêt depuis des travaux récents comme ceux de P. Briant (1982: chapitre 2 surtout pour notre région). Est-il possible de concevoir des hordes de nomades pillards circulant librement et menaçant continuellement les agglomérations fortifiées à quelques dizaines de kilomètres de Suse la capitale? Ces établissements devront être réétudiés soigneusement, pour confirmer leur caractère défensif et surtout s'assurer de leur date qui pourrait être antérieure à l'établissement du pouvoir achéménide.

La révision du tableau brossé par R.J. Wenke est due aux nouvelles données archéologiques et aux études récentes sur le Khuzistan et le Fars. Toutefois les résultats restent fragiles et les insuffisances nombreuses. Il faut reconnaître que nous sommes incapables par exemple d'estimer la population de la ville de Suse et de décrire ses activités. Nous ne pouvons pas non plus rendre compte des installations agricoles (proportions de la culture sèche et de la culture irriguée), du régime de la propriété en Susiane, mieux connue en Babylonie (Stolper 1985a), du rôle du pastoralisme dans l'économie. Nous ne mesurons pas l'évolution du peuplement et de l'économie à l'intérieur de l'époque achéménide.

Une des directions de recherches possibles me paraît être l'étude des périodes précédant celle des Achéménides, en Susiane et dans d'autres régions et la comparaison entre la Susiane et les régions possédant une grande ville à l'époque achéménide (Babylonie, Fars).

La période néo-élamite a été maintes fois évoquée. Les progrès réalisés dans sa connaissance sont en partie à l'origine de ceux qui ont été observés pour l'époque achéménide. En effet, l'image de cette dernière était conditionnée par le tableau catastrophique que l'on dressait de la fin de l'Elam. Cette vision était probablement une des origines de l'hypothèse émise par J. Perrot (1985) sur une organisation sociale à deux niveaux à Suse et dans sa région: à côté du groupe constitué par la cour, l'armée, l'administration ainsi que les nombreux artisans et serviteurs, aurait vécu une population susienne dont le mode de vie serait un agro-pastoralisme hérité des siècles antérieurs. Actuellement, il est difficile de savoir si agriculture et élevage étaient le fait d'un même groupe ou de deux (pour d'autres régions voir Briant 1982: 75). L'importance du rayon d'action des pasteurs n'est pas connue, mais on ne voit pas les preuves de déplacements réguliers jusqu'au Fars central, bien au contraire. Les besoins de la cour et de l'administration étaient très importants et l'économie agro-pastorale ne pouvait échapper totalement au Grand Roi. La séparation en deux groupes distincts ne correspond pas à la situation qui prévaut à la même époque en Babylonie, comme l'a montré M. Stolper (1985a et b) par l'étude soignée et renouvelée des archives de Nippur et de Babylone. Dans cette région toutefois, on ne peut pas encore confronter ces

importants résultats aux données archéologiques assez maigres à l'heure actuelle.

Sur l'occupation des terres à l'époque achéménide, rappelons l'hypothèse émise par R. Ghirshman; elle avait le mérite d'expliquer l'absence d'agglomérations en Susiane. Ghirshman supposait une organisation en grandes propriétés sur lesquelles une population de travailleurs susiens aurait été trop pauvre pour bâtir. Quant aux propriétaires, des nobles perses, ils auraient résidé non pas sur place mais à Suse même. Toutefois d'après l'exemple de la Babylonie, les propriétaires pouvaient être aussi de riches Susiens; de plus le Roi devait faire administrer des terres appartenant à la couronne. Les données archéologiques ne permettant pas de reconnaître à Suse les résidences de ces riches propriétaires, quelle que soit leur identité, il faudrait les faire résider auprès du Grand Roi, ce que le plan du palais de Darius ne permet pas de supposer.

Une autre source de comparaisons possibles est donnée par le Fars que des recherches récentes nous permettent de mieux appréhender, qu'elles soient archéologiques (Stronach 1978, Sumner 1972 et 1986, Tilia 1978) ou historiques (Briant 1984, Miroschedji 1985). Dans cette région, les Perses sont encore mal identifiés avant le 6^e siècle, comme le soulignent Briant (1984: 79) et Miroschedji (1985). L'état de la question donné par Sumner (1986) confronte données textuelles et données archéologiques. La situation présente des ressemblances frappantes avec celle qui prévaut en Susiane, même si les deux capitales elles-mêmes sont difficilement comparables. On peut donner la liste de quelques éléments de comparaison:

— dépeuplement antérieur aux Achéménides, dès la fin du 2^e millénaire dans le Fars central (Sumner 1972: 229, Table XVIII, fig. 5, 15-19), au début du 1^{er} millénaire en Susiane (Miroschedji 1981c: Tableau 2 pour la région de Patak). Dans les deux régions, ce déclin est marqué par la diminution du nombre des sites et par la réduction de leurs dimensions.

— domination de royaumes néo-élamites plus organisés qu'on ne le supposait.

— survivance des traditions néo-élamites jusqu'à Darius (la glyptique en est une des meilleures illustrations).

— en conséquence, difficulté de distinguer un matériel perse avant Darius. En Susiane et dans le Fars, les céramiques datées de l'époque achéménide sont placées en général dans la seconde partie de la période; pour combler une lacune la tentation est grande de supposer qu'elle était la même, au moins dans le Fars, depuis la fin du 6^e siècle. Rien n'est connu dans cette région pour les siècles antérieurs (Sumner 1986: 3-4; Miroschedji 1985: 293-296).

— présence de plus en plus évidente d'Iraniens puis Perses dans l'onomatopée.

— hypothèse d'un peuplement de nomades pasteurs avant l'époque achéménide, ce qui resterait, dans une forte proportion, le mode de vie à partir de Darius (Sumner 1972: 265-269; 1986: 3-7; Perrot 1985). Dans les deux régions, cette supposition est fondée sur le petit nombre d'établissements qui ne correspond pas à l'idée traditionnellement admise de l'empire achéménide dans ses provinces centrales. Il est vrai que les établissements sont rares; en Susiane, le nombre donné par R.J. Wenke devrait être diminué des sites où la poterie recueillie est en réalité pré-achéménide; dans le Fars, plusieurs des vestiges relevés par W. Sumner sont des fragments de grande architecture, correspondant sans doute dans tous les cas à une construction princière.

— l'irrigation est supposée avoir connu un grand développement à l'époque achéménide. Des témoins en sont maintenant connus dans le Fars (Sumner 1986: 13-17), plus que dans le Khuzistan.

Ces points de comparaison ne doivent être ni systématisés ni surévalués. Ils montrent avant tout que des hypothèses assez comparables ont pu être formulées à partir de données géographiques, archéologiques et textuelles qui présentent des différences notables. Toutefois, l'étude de W. Sumner (1986) permet de dresser une carte du Fars sur laquelle les villes occupées à l'époque achéménide sont plus nombreuses qu'en Susiane.

Une seconde direction de recherche serait l'étude de la Susiane et de Suse à l'époque qui suit la conquête d'Alexandre. Elle n'est pas nouvelle, tant s'en faut. Un exemple en a été donné ci-dessus: lorsque Ghirshman suppose une répartition des terres en grandes propriétés, il fait aussi référence à l'époque séleucide, lorsque des terres ont été distribuées aux vétérans de l'armée d'Alexandre, puis aux colons. Malgré les dangers de l'extrapolation, la démarche peut être utile, ne serait-ce que pour connaître la situation à la fin de l'époque achéménide. Plusieurs types de documents (cf. Boucharlat 1985: 74-77) d'époque séleucide pourraient être ainsi mis à contribution.

Un autre exemple peut être pris en dehors du domaine de l'agriculture, dans celui des échanges à grandes distances: comment expliquer le rôle apparemment important que joue Suse à l'époque séleucide dans le grand commerce international à partir de sa position géographique seulement? Entre le Golfe Persique et la Mésopotamie, il existe d'autres voies fluviales et terrestres, d'autres villes importantes. La réponse est plus facile en rappelant que Suse était une capitale au cours des deux siècles précédents. C'était un centre de décision, de réception des tributs, de grande consommation de produits agricoles et d'objets manufacturés. Ce mouvement ne s'est pas arrêté en 330; tout au contraire, les Séleucides avaient intérêt à maintenir, à leur profit peut-être, ce réseau d'échanges et cette place commerciale organisée, ce qui n'exclut pas des transformations.

Ces quelques remarques n'ont pour seul but que de montrer que beaucoup reste à faire, et que les données exploitables doivent être recherchées non

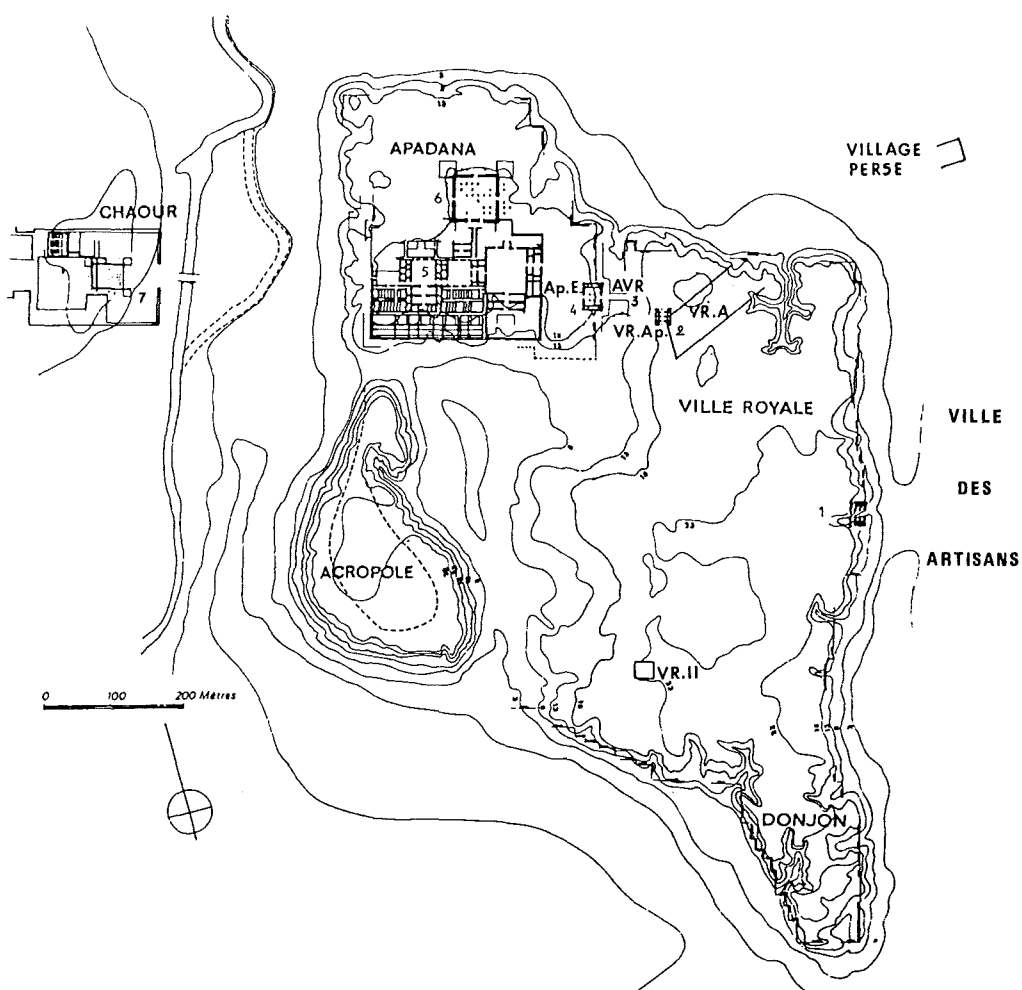
seulement dans la période achéménide, mais aussi dans celles qui la précèdent ou lui succèdent. Utilisée avec prudence, la méthode est prometteuse. Elle aurait, me semble-t-il, un avantage considérable, celui de discerner une évolution interne au cours des deux siècles de la vie de l'empire. Ce serait un nouveau coup porté à la vision traditionnelle d'un empire achéménide sans imagination et statique.

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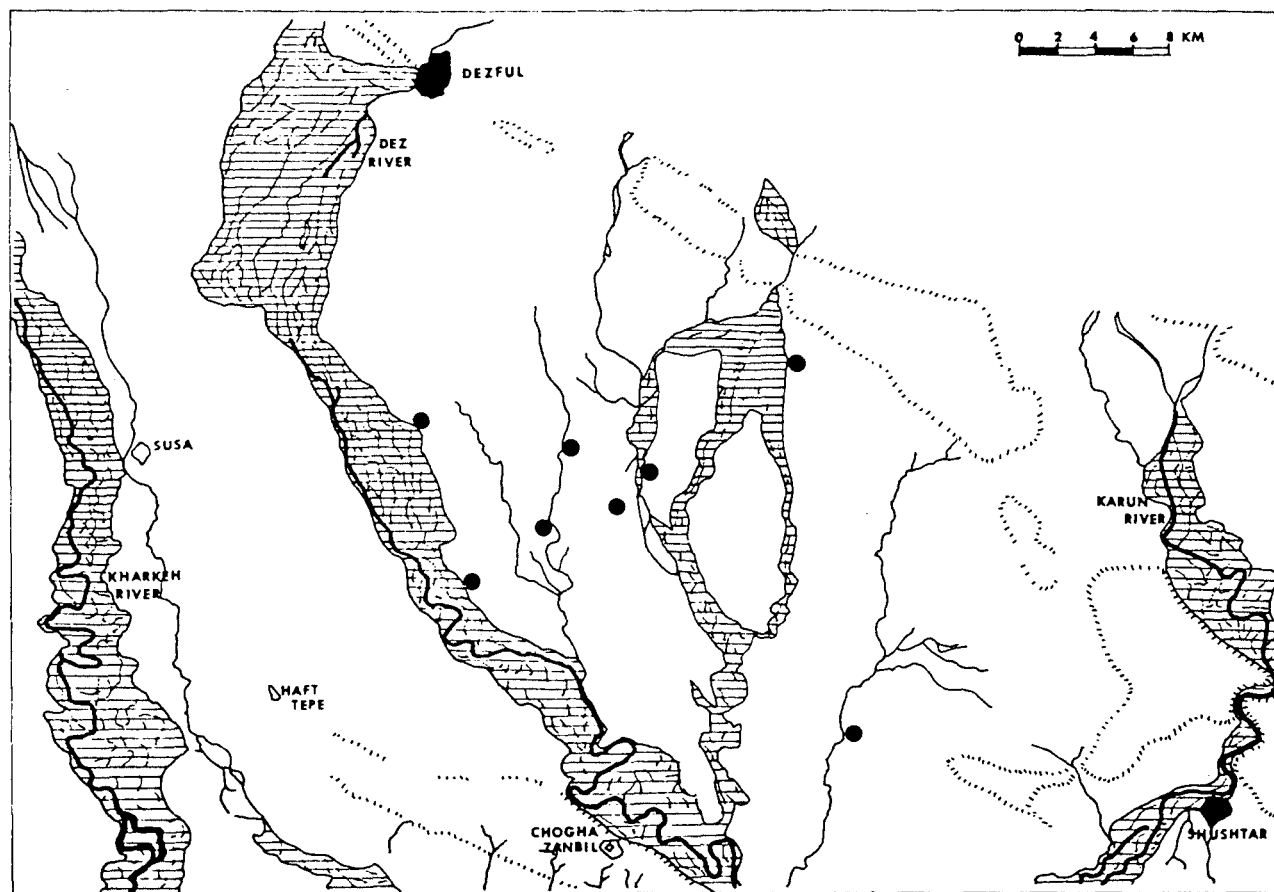
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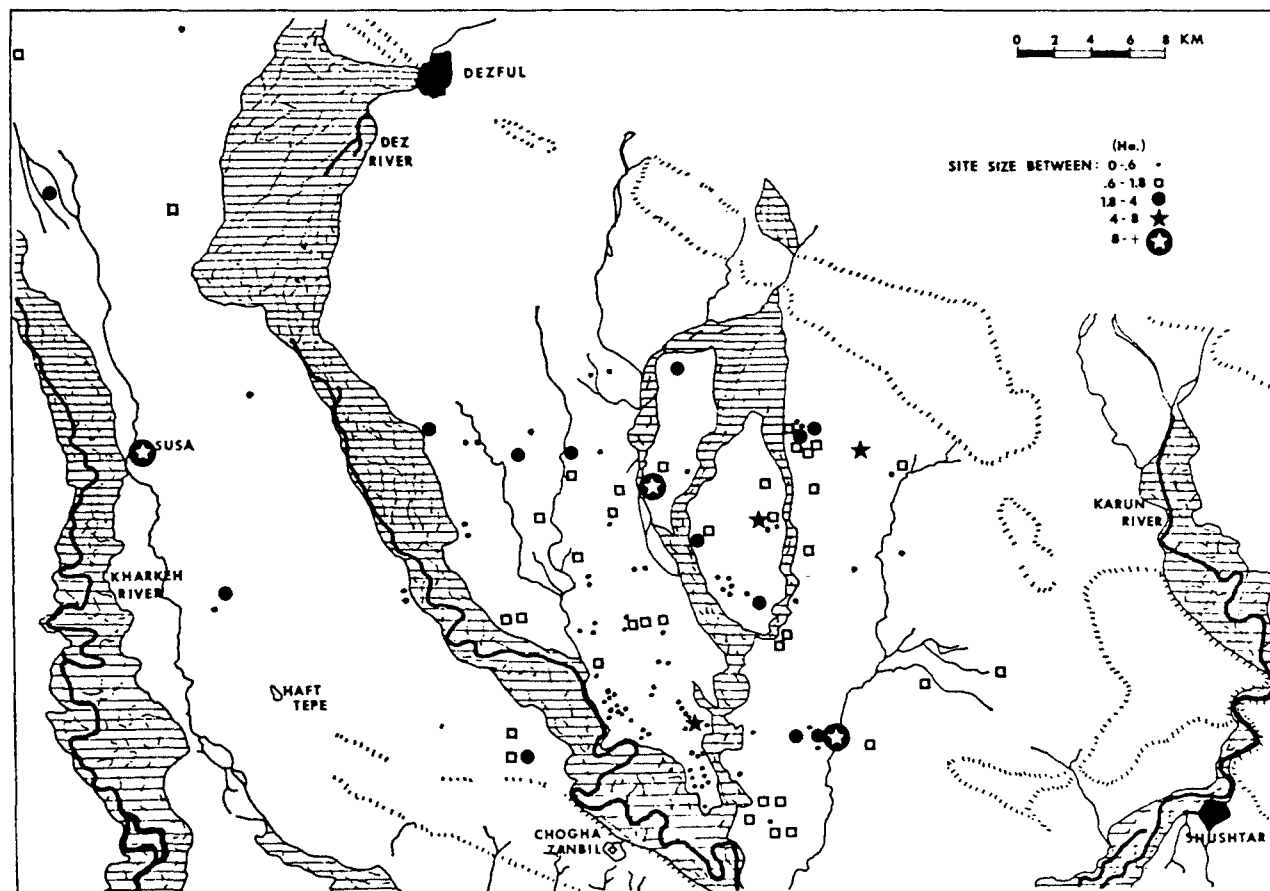
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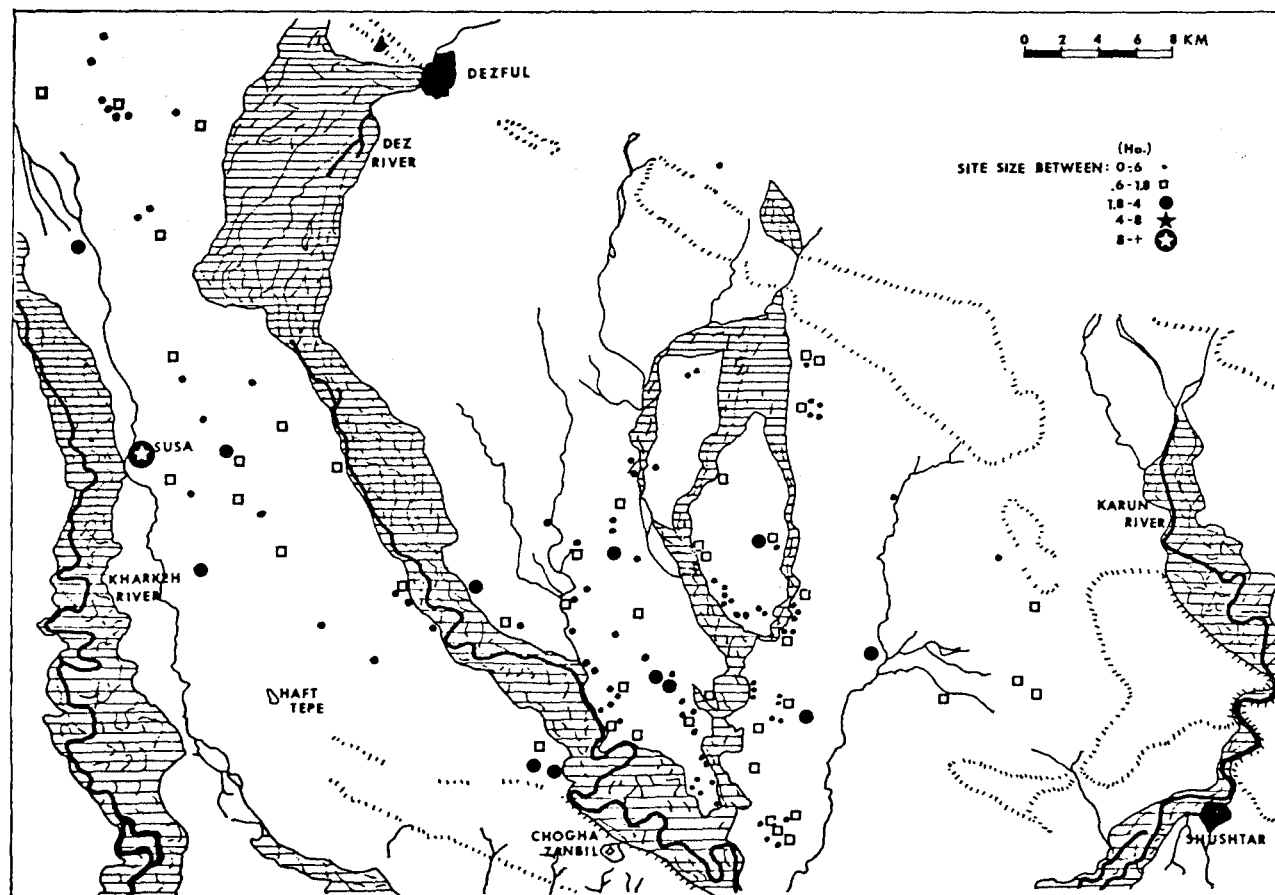
1. Susa à l'époque achéménide. Noter l'enceinte qui enferme trois des tells. 1- Porte est. 2- Propylées de Darius. 3- Chaussée - pont. 4- Porte de Darius. 5- Résidence royale. 6- Salle d'audience (Apadana). 7- Palais d'Artaxerxès II. (d'après Perrot 1985: fig. 1).



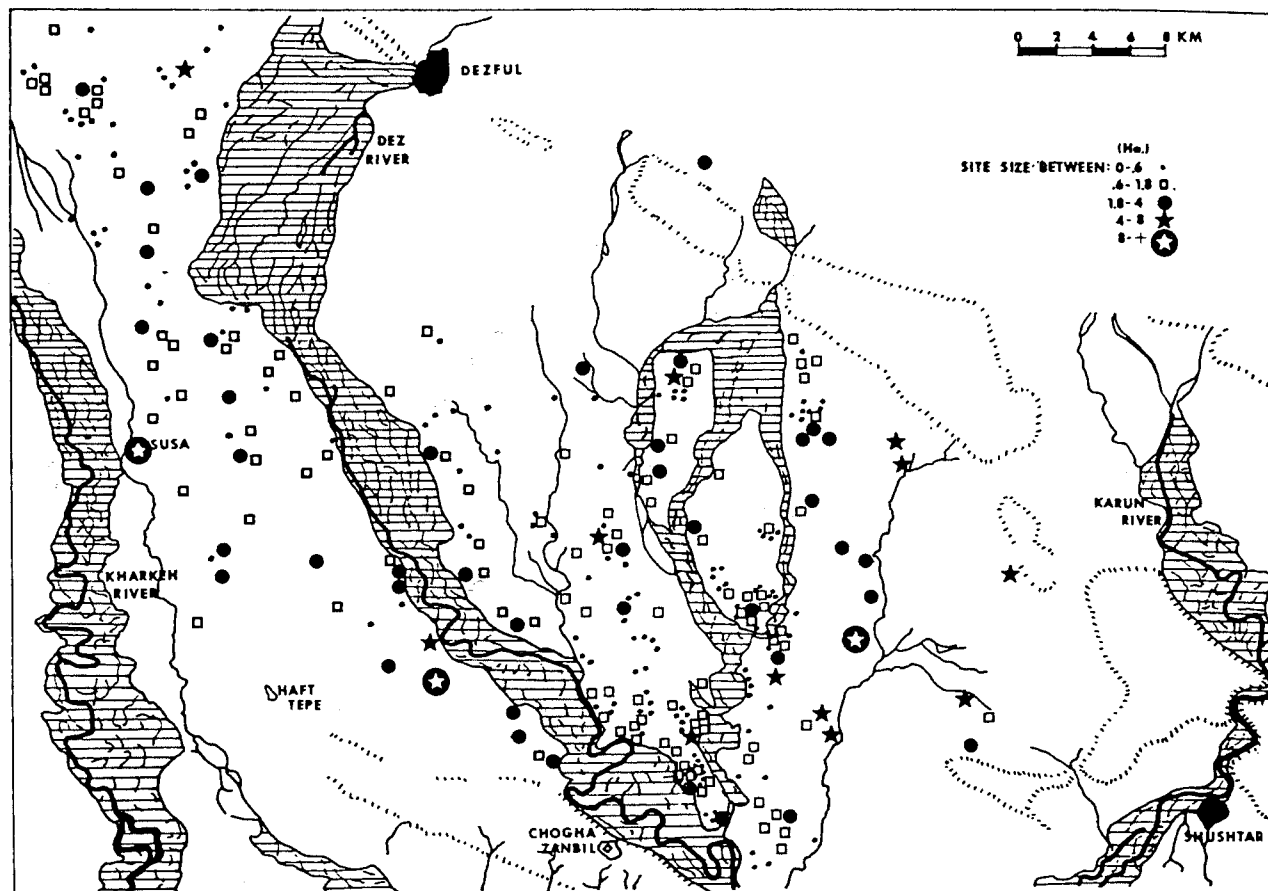
2. Localisation des sites fortifiés achéménides (Wenke 1976: Map 14).



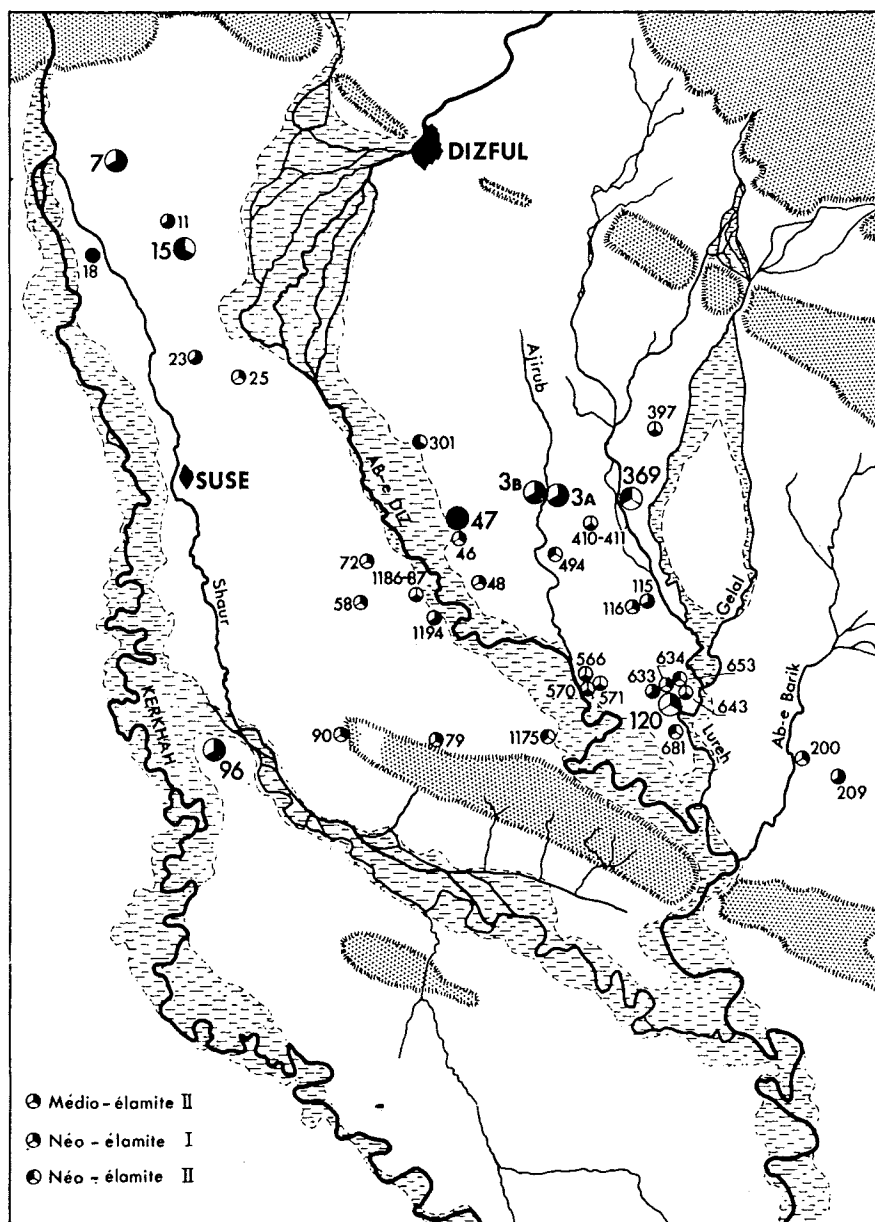
3. Sites achéménides de Susiane (Wenke 1976: Map 16).



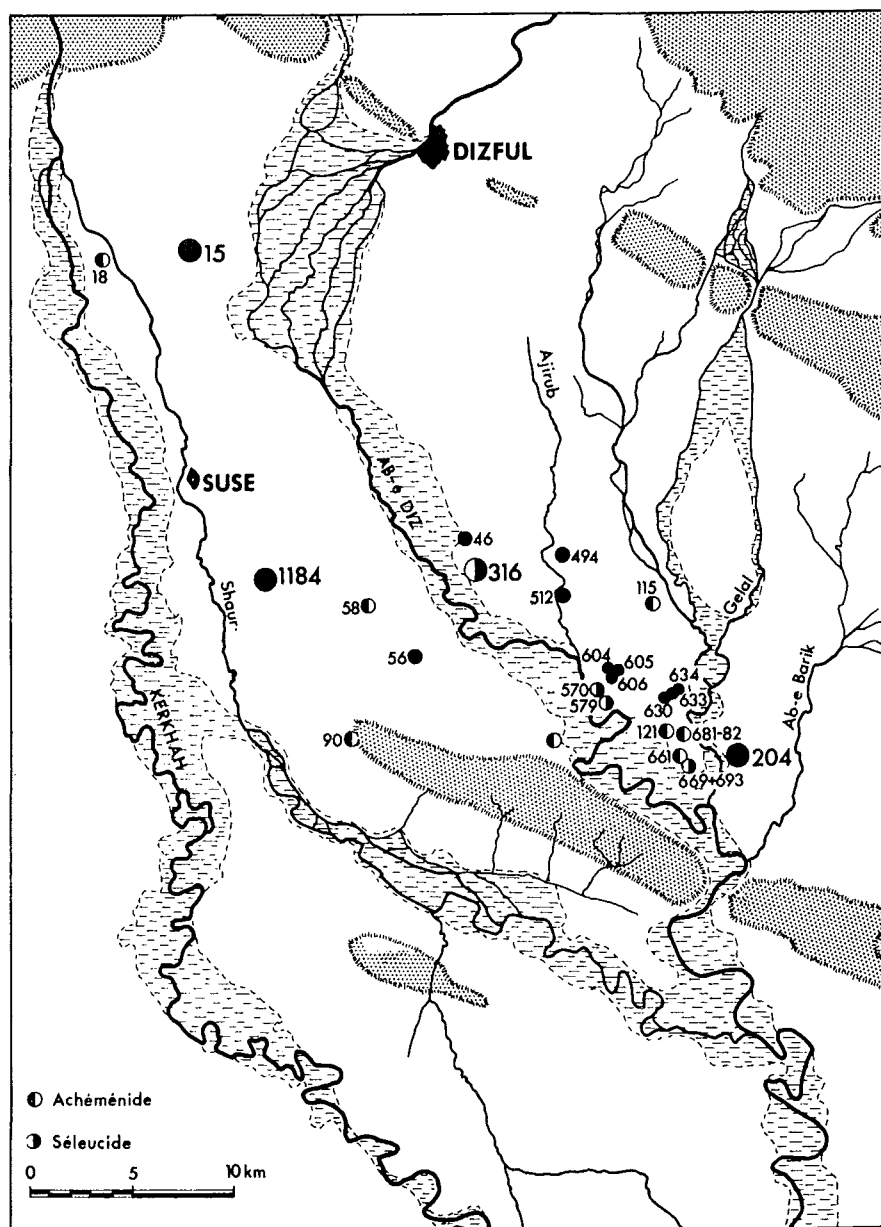
4. Sites séleuco-parthes de Susiane 325-25 av.J.C. (Wenke 1976: Map 17).



5. Sites d'époque parthe moyenne de Susiane, 25 av.-125 ap. J.C. (Wenke 1976: Map 18)



6. Sites médio- et néo-élamites de la haute plaine du Khuzistan (Miroschedji 1981c: fig. 56).



7. Sites des époques achéménide et séleucide de la haute plaine du Khuzistan (Miroschedji 1981c: fig. 56).

ACHAEMENID BABYLONIA: SOURCES AND PROBLEMS

Amélie Kuhrt — London

A. Introduction

First, some terminological matters should be mentioned: it is usual to speak of Babylonia in the Persian period but what precisely this term embraces is not always clear. Essentially, Babylonia refers to the region of modern Iraq between approximately Baghdad and the Gulf and is the area whence texts written in cuneiform on clay are available more or less consistently from c. 626 B.C. well into the Parthian period; at the same time, a fairly continuous pattern of urban settlement focussed on traditional sanctuaries can be traced here in the archaeological record. Yet the region of Assyria immediately to the north (centered around the modern Iraqi cities of Mosul and Erbil) and the northwest lying on and within the Euphrates (now part of the modern state of Syria) was in earlier periods closely intertwined, culturally and politically, with Babylonia. Further it formed part of the Persian administrative region of Babylonia (cf. Leuze 1935) certainly from the reign of Xerxes on (Böhl 1962; Graf 1985) if not slightly earlier (Leuze 1935; Kuhrt 1988a: 131), yet artefacts, texts and excavated sites that can be dated to the Achaemenid period (or, indeed the Neo-Babylonian one — for exceptions cf. Gadd 1958 (Harran); Curtis 1989 (north Assyria)) are extremely sparse, making it difficult to present even a sketchy picture of this enormous and crucially important area. Yet a third factor that should be borne in mind is that during the seventh century the whole region of the Levant extending to the Egyptian frontier in the south and to the Lydian frontier in the north was incorporated, either as directly governed provinces or dependent states ruled by client kings, into the Assyrian empire. Despite a temporary disruption in this pattern of imperial rule as a result of the collapse of the Assyrian empire, its victorious opponents, centered on the city of Babylon, Nabopolassar (626-605) and Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562) as well as their successors Neriglissar (559-556) and Nabonidus (556-539), rapidly reasserted their grip on all the former Assyrian possessions (cf. Wiseman 1956; Grayson 1975a: nos. 2-7; for the false notion that Harran was held by the Medes, cf. Baltzer 1973/4). It is thus important to realise that when Cyrus defeated Nabonidus in 539 and took over the kingship of Babylonia, it was not simply the southern part of Iraq that fell into his hands but an enormous region extending from Lydia and Armenia in the north to Egypt in the south and including control of major oases and routes through the north Arabian peninsula (cf. further

Eph'al 1982: 201-206; Graf (this volume); Parr 1989; Kuhrt (in press)). This territory was administered initially as one entity ('Babylon and Beyond the River') well into the reign of Darius I or even longer (see refs. above). It should thus be clear that when presenting a survey of evidence for Babylonia, the bulk of the material emanates from a very restricted area and generally leaves us in the dark about extensive stretches to the north and west.

B. *History and Chronology*

Ba. Babylonian historical-chronological material available for reconstructing the history of the area in this period is rather limited, although the discovery of additional texts is always a strong possibility (relatively recent texts: Sachs 1977: 144-147; Wiseman 1985: 116-121 = Sachs-Hunger 1988: no. -330). The material consists of fragmentary chronicles that must originally have covered the period from 747 onwards; at present, the latest preserved piece dates to 224 B.C. (Grayson 1975a: nos. 1-13b). This sounds more promising than it actually is because of the lamentable state of preservation of much of this material. For the period of the Persian empire the relevant fragments cover the reign of Nabonidus, his defeat by Cyrus and the initial arrangements for governing the newly conquered territory (Grayson 1975a: no. 7): it is of major importance for tracing the process of the Persian take-over of the empire as well as understanding something of the preceding political situation (Kuhrt 1988a: 120-126; 1988b; (in press); (forthcoming)). It should be noted, in passing, that the date for the conquest of Lydia which is generally assumed to be given by this chronicle is a chimaera (Grayson 1975a: 282, note to ii.16; Cargill 1977; Kuhrt 1988a: 120). Although the text clearly continued well beyond Cyrus' first year of reign (Grayson 1975a: no. 7, col. iv) it is too broken to yield any sense. The remaining fragments are either very brief or very poorly preserved: one (Grayson 1975a: no. 8) may be attributable to Xerxes although this is extremely doubtful, while another (Grayson 1975a: no. 9) is a brief extract from a chronicle relating to Artaxerxes III's sack of Sidon. Two fragmentary texts reflect Alexander's conquest of Babylonia although in one case it is uncertain whether it should be regarded as part of the chronicle series (Sachs 1977: 144-147 cf. Kuhrt 1987b: 148), while the other one (Wiseman 1985: 116-121 = Sachs-Hunger 1988: no. -330) is part of an astronomical diary (cf. Kuhrt 1987c: 49 n. 76; Kuhrt (forthcoming)). The continuity of the chronicle texts is clearly established by Grayson 1975a: no. 10, the preserved part of which covers the period 320-308, but must originally have included at least the year of Alexander's death (Sherwin-White 1987: 14-15 and n. 10). Further evidence for the existence of continuous historical records in the Persian period is implied by Berossus' *Babyloniaka*, which was based on Babylonian records

and took Babylonian history right down to Alexander (*FGrH* 680: F10 and Schnabel 1923: 275 no. 57; cf. Kuhrt 1987a; 1987b: 148).

Bb. As mentioned, one of the texts referring to Alexander's conquest of Babylonia is an astronomical diary: these six-monthly records of climate, prices, diseases and above all astronomical phenomena (cf. Sachs 1948; Sachs-Hunger 1988: Introduction; cf. Kuhrt 1987b: 149-150), which sometimes include quite substantial references to contemporary political events in Babylonia, were very possibly a basic source for the compilers of chronicles (Grayson 1975a: 12-14). The ones covering the Persian period have now been fully published (Sachs-Hunger 1988) so that the material is accessible to all. It should be noted, however, that the amount of historical information contained in the various diaries can vary enormously and some contain none at all. What is clear now, for example, is that one diary that was thought to refer to a revolt in 419/8 (VAT 4924 = Unger 1931: 318 n. 3 cf. Kuhrt 1987b: 149) was based on an incorrect reading — the text contains no reference to a political event (Stolper 1988: 197-198; Sachs-Hunger 1988: no. -418, rev. 15'). A further factor is that their number is relatively sparse until the late fifth century (although the earliest one dates to 652 BC) when they become much denser. Other Babylonian astronomical observations can also occasionally yield historical evidence — the most striking being the date of Xerxes' murder by his son during a lunar eclipse (5.-6. June, 365 = BM 32234 cf. Parker and Dubberstein 1956: 17; Stolper 1988: 196 and n. 1).

Bc. Chronological precision concerning the lengths of reign of the Persian kings is well established not only from dated Babylonian business documents, but also from the Ptolemaic Canon based ultimately on Babylonian records (for refs. cf. Kuhrt 1988a: 113 n. 9), the so-called 'Saros Tablet', probably a handy table for astronomers (refs. Kuhrt 1988a: 113 and n. 11), as well as, in the case of the earlier kings, Berossus (*FGrH* 680: F10) and Herodotus (I 214, III 67, VII 4). A later fragmentary list of kings from Uruk (van Dijk 1962: 53-60 cf. *ANET*: 566) preserves only the last syllables of the names of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius on the obverse and, on the reverse, the fact that Darius III reigned five years. Problematical is the line preceding Darius III's name which mentions '[x whose] other name (is) Nidin-^dB[el]' (rev. 1'). This looks suspiciously like a reference to the first Babylonian rebel against Darius I (DB §§18-20 = late 522) which had become misplaced in later hellenistic tradition (cf. Kuhrt 1987b: 148-149). One fact, usually glossed over by the king-lists as it is irrelevant to their primarily calendrical function, is that only full years of reign of any particular king are counted so that various rebel leaders against Persian rule (Nebuchadnezzar III/Nidintu-Bel: 3 months in 522 cf. Parker and Dubberstein 1956: 18; Nebuchadnezzar IV/Araka: 3 months

in 521 cf. Parker and Dubberstein 1956: 19; Bel-šimanni: end 484 (?) cf. Böhl 1962; Šamaš-eriba: at least 3 months 482/1 cf. Böhl 1962), and the struggle for the throne following Artaxerxes I's death centered on Babylonia, in which two royal sons (Xerxes II and Secundianos) briefly laid claim to the succession (cf. Stolper 1985: ch.5), are completely absent from these records.

C. The royal presence

Royal inscriptions reflecting direct involvement by the Persian rulers in the region and something of the manner in which they manipulated traditional Mesopotamian concepts of kingship are all, perhaps unsurprisingly, related to Cyrus as it was his conquest that resulted in a major local dislocation by transforming Babylonia into a province of the new empire. The most famous is, of course, the Cyrus Cylinder in the British Museum to which has now been joined a fragment formerly in Yale (*BIN* I: 32 cf. Walker 1972; Berger 1975) which reveals clearly how Cyrus modelled his behaviour after the conquest not only on traditional Mesopotamian royal ideology but also specifically honoured Assurbanipal, the Assyrian king (669-c.630), who had been responsible for completing a number of major building projects in Babylonia. The extremely traditional character of the cylinder, first emphasized by Harmatta (1971), has now been well studied and fully vindicated, if that were needed, by the publication of the Yale fragment — it is no longer possible to use it to argue for the Achaemenid kings as ushering in a fundamentally new imperial policy as has been done until quite recently (e.g. Balcer 1984: 119; against this: Berger 1975; van der Spek 1983; Kuhrt 1983; 1987c; 1988b; Wiesehöfer 1987). The acts commemorated by the Cyrus Cylinder are, of course, his pious building work within Babylon, the increased offerings he ordered to be supplied to the cult, and work on sanctuaries in other cities. This last activity is confirmed by a similar (though shorter) cylinder from Ur (*UET* I: 307), which should virtually certainly be attributed to Cyrus, as well as several inscribed bricks (*UET* I: 194) from there; while two inscribed bricks from Uruk (Weissbach 1911: no. 1b; *UVB* I: 63 no. 31) suggest similar behaviour by the Persian conqueror there (cf. further *UVB* 11-12).

A radically different expression of the central imperial régime is represented by two basalt fragments inscribed with the Babylonian version of Darius' Behistun inscription (von Voigtlander 1978: 63-66) found near the 'Haupt-burg' in Babylon. As it has been argued persuasively by Seidl (1976) that the inscription was accompanied by a version of the relief as well, the message of Darius' merciless crushing of the rebellions, which had seriously threatened his hold on the throne and of which two had been centered on Babylonia,

was thus dramatically driven home to the inhabitants of the province. Subsequent Persian rulers are scantily represented by inscriptional material: a fragment of an alabaster vase (comparable to others found in the empire) bearing Xerxes' name in Persian, Elamite and Akkadian was recovered at Uruk (*UVB* 16: 60 and pl. 33 h,i; cf. Strommenger 1967: 41 with pl. 54, 3,4) — perhaps a royal gift presented to a local dignitary. It is further possible that the inscription on a cylinder seal also bears Xerxes' name (Mayrhofer 1978: no. 4. 10). The name 'Darius' inscribed on a black, limestone plinth in the 'Persian building' in Babylon should probably be attributed to Darius II (Wetzel et al. 1957: 49 no. 13 with pl. 26c top). As the 'Persian building' with its small *apadana*, enamelled brick decoration and pillars is almost certainly to be attributed to Artaxerxes II (Wetzel et al. 1957: 25 cf. Kuhrt 1988a: 115 n. 16) together with the inscribed limestone fragments from the processional way (Wetzel et al. 1957: 48a-49b cf. Mayrhofer 1978: 31, 7, 4) a fairly strong royal presence within the city of Babylon, which was certainly one of their important centres (Ezra 6,1), seems well-established despite the sparseness of royally inscribed material.

D. Historical Literature

Quite a different category of texts is constituted by the historical literary material. There are two major documents that can be classified thus: first, the so-called 'Persian Verse Account' (Smith 1924: 27-97 cf. *ANET*: 312-315), an unusual poetic text beginning with a long and detailed vilification of Nabonidus' reign and ending with a virtual hymn of praise to Cyrus (unfortunately fragmentary). Both in his publication (Smith 1924) and his influential Schweich lectures (Smith 1944), Smith argued for seeing this text as reflecting a subtle and powerful propaganda campaign waged by the Persians before Cyrus' conquest. This interpretation has been widely adopted (Smith 1963; Boyce 1982: 43-47; von Soden 1983) although, given the final laudatory section on Cyrus, one would do well to tread carefully before accepting it (Kuhrt 1987c; 1988a: 123-5; 1988b: 63-66; (in press)). The second text has been published much more recently (Grayson 1975b: 24-37 cf. Lambert 1978: 12-13; Momigliano 1980; Mendels 1981; Ringgren 1983; Wiseman 1985: 95-96) under the title 'The Dynastic Prophecy', which presents in the form of pseudo-prophecies a brief history of, and judgement on, the reigns of kings of Babylonia from the Neo-Babylonian period to an uncertain date, very possibly the establishment of Seleucid rule (Sherwin-White 1987: 11). Although it must originally have included all the Persian kings, the third and fourth columns which would have contained them (Lambert 1978) are lost and only Cyrus' conquest and the reigns of Arsaces, Darius III and his war with Alexander are preserved. Two fascinating problems beset the text: first,

Cyrus' reign appears to be presented in a rather negative light while Darius III, after an initial defeat at the hands of the Macedonian army, makes a victorious come-back. Because of the difficulties raised by these passages, considerable ingenuity has been expended by commentators (Wiseman 1977; Mazzetti 1982; Marasco 1985) trying to make the text match the conventional view whereby Cyrus was surely welcomed into Babylonia with open arms and Alexander hailed as a liberator from a, by then, hated Achaemenid régime (although note Marasco 1985 who argues for it as an expression of temporising on the part of Babylonian priests). However, these attempts at 'correction' sit uneasily with the text as it stands — Cyrus is pretty clearly described as 'oppressing' Babylonia (ii, 22) using the same verb employed to characterise Nabonidus' rule (ii, 14) and Darius III seems to be quite unmistakably described as a vigorous and beneficent ruler, which perhaps reflects a wish for a return to the peaceful state of affairs before the major disruptions caused by Alexander's invasion and the long struggles between the successors in the course of which Babylonia suffered severely (Sherwin-White 1987: 10-16; Kuhrt 1987a: 51). It would thus seem better to take it as a text created to support a new ruler (Seleucus?) expected to restore order after a period of major disorder (i.e. the wars of the successors) and thus critical of the initial Macedonian impact. If this is right it provides a rare and precious insight into a perception of Persian rule entirely at odds with the traditional one.

E. Business Documents

Quantitatively enormous are the business documents which provide an at times extremely detailed picture of day-to-day life of the inhabitants of south Iraq (for numbers per ruler, cf. Dandamaev 1984: 12-18; Kuhrt 1988a: 116 n. 23 (Cyrus to Xerxes only); for lists of text publications see *CHI* II: 911-914; *CAH* IV: 818-823), although a number of factors inhibit their exploitation. First, the very quantities in which they have been recovered makes publication and even cataloguing (cf. Leichty 1986; Leichty and Grayson 1987) a slow business and many that have been were published in cuneiform copies only, often without proper indices (e.g. Strassmaier 1890a; 1890b; 1897; Pinches-Finkel 1982), although one should note the sterling work to rectify this now being undertaken by Giovinazzo (1981; 1983; 1987) and Graziani (1983; 1986) as part of a project under the direction of Cagni (1985). Secondly, many documents were acquired on the antiquities market and are hence scattered through private collections (cf. most recently, Christie's 1988: no. 123) and unlikely museums (e.g. Walker 1973: nos. 16, 17; Mauer 1985: nos. 8-10), so that archaeological context and any archival coherence has been lost and needs to be painstakingly reconstituted (e.g. van Driel 1987;

Stolper (this volume)). Thirdly, the chronological distribution of the texts in the period is very uneven: by far the largest numbers are preserved for the period from Cyrus to Darius I (although there can be problems with assigning texts to particular kings cf. Kuhrt 1987b: 152-4; 1988a: 116), while after that cuneiform documents, with the exception of the important Murašû business archive from the second half of the fifth century (Stolper 1985), decline sharply although the continued work of tablet publication is beginning to affect this profile (Kessler 1984; McEwan 1982; 1984). Yet further limitations are presented by the nature of the archives that do survive or can be reconstructed: two, from the earlier period of the Persian empire, represent the administrative records of temples in Uruk and Sippar (San Nicolò 1941) but scarcely reflect other activities of the cities' inhabitants making it hard to understand the society in relation to which the sanctuaries functioned (Oelsner 1976). The Murašû archive represents the business of a family firm engaged in managing agricultural land that was held by Persian nobles as estates and soldiers as fiefs, but a number of important aspects, such as how the firm transformed the agricultural produce it received as rent from lessees into silver for the owners, is entirely unrecorded (Stolper 1985: 28). The transactions of the wealthy Egibi family (sixth century: Ungnad 1941-4), on the other hand, are extremely varied reflecting both family affairs (marriage agreements cf. Roth (in press)), slave-dealing (Dandamaev 1984) and their business activities in Iran (Zadok 1976). What is not represented at all are documents of the government, or texts connected in any way directly with the satrap and his administrative activities; nor is there anything comparable to the correspondence of Arsames from Egypt (Driver 1957) although progress has been and continues to be made by Stolper (1987; this vol.) in teasing out the career of the governor Belšunu.

The caution with which any historical conclusions based on published documents should be treated has become dramatically clear recently with respect to Xerxes' supposed destruction of Babylonian temples in 482. A major element for arguing that he had substantially changed Persian policy towards Babylonian cults was based on a supposed change in his titulary as it appears in the date formulae on documents: it was concluded that he dropped the element 'king of Babylon' from it after his fourth regnal year following his disruption of the Marduk cult in Babylon as a punishment for the province's revolts. However, publication of texts by McEwan (1984) and Kessler (1984), showing that the title 'king of Babylon' continued to be used intermittently well into the reign of Artaxerxes I, confirmed the suspicion that there is, in fact, no evidence whatever to substantiate such a charge (Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1987a; cf. Kuhrt 1988b: 66-68).

From the region beyond south Iraq textual evidence is exceedingly meagre: one text from Yarim Tepe (Assyria) dating to Cyrus but otherwise too damaged and encrusted to read has been reported (Dandamaev: personal communication), and one, dating to a Darius, recorded in Harran the purchase of rams by people living in the region of Petra where the tablet was found (Tell Tawilan, Dalley 1984) — a proof, if one were needed, of the continued importance of this major city. A group of texts (c. 559-521) relating to an Aramaean family was excavated at Neirab near Aleppo (Dhorme 1928; cf. Fales 1973), which shows their business links with the area of Babylon, although doubt has been expressed as to whether the texts were not simply transported to the area (Eph'al 1978) — certainly true of the tablet excavated at Tyre (Wilhelm 1973). Undisputed attestations of the far-ranging interests of Babylonians is the evidence for business activities by members of the Egibi family in Fars (Mattezziš) between 526/5 and 521/0, brilliantly demonstrated by Zadok (1976), and the record of a slave sold by one Babylonian to another at Persepolis (^{uru} *Parsu*), almost certainly in the reign of Darius I, preserved among the Fortification Texts (Stolper 1984).

F. Greek and Roman writers

The classical sources in general provide only incidentally information that is relevant and need to be analysed carefully. Herodotus, as a contemporary who travelled to Babylonia (I 178-200), provides a graphic description of the city of Babylon which coincides in large part with the results of excavations (Ravn 1942). He also bears out what has become evident from dated Babylonian texts and a close study of Alexander's entry into Babylon (Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1987a; Kuhrt 1988b: 66-71; (forthcoming)), namely, that Xerxes neither destroyed temples in Babylon nor removed the cult-statue of Marduk. His description of Babylonian society is rather more problematical and presents a picture of marriage practices and female behaviour hard to reconcile with the Babylonian documentation (Roth 1987; 1989; Kuhrt 1989) and may, in part at least, reflect Greek practices (McNeal 1988). However, his remark on the exceptionally high grain-yields in Babylonia are borne out by earlier Mesopotamian material and there is no reason whatever to assume that the fertility of the region declined (Powell 1985). Interesting is his reference to the settlement of Milesians at Ampe near the Gulf (VI 19) although these were certainly not the first Greeks with whom the Babylonians came into contact — there is good evidence for a Greek presence in the Neo-Babylonian period (Weidner 1939 cf. *ANET*: 308; also Edmonds 1928: Alkaios no. 133). How the Babylonian tribute that Herodotus gives in his list (III 92) was arrived at is debated as is the whole character of the list (Armayer 1978; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983; Cook 1983: 81-82; Lewis 1984: 590-591; Descat 1985).

Xenophon's *Anabasis* throws some valuable light on parts of the satrapy at the end of the fifth century, although the impression he gives that much of eastern Mesopotamia was inhabited by Arabs is an error (Donner 1986). But his mention of Nebuchadnezzar's Median wall as an effective physical obstacle, the elaborate construction and extent of which has now been confirmed by excavation (Killick 1984), of Sittace as a large city near the Tigris surrounded by a beautiful park, the canals leading off the Tigris which fed the irrigation ditches and their bridges (a permanent one and a pontoon bridge), Opis near the Diyala-Tigris confluence, the rich estates of Parysatis further north, another prosperous city west of the Tigris beyond that and the ruin mound of one of the Assyrian cities — all this helps to bring the physical appearance of the more northerly parts of the province to life and stress its agricultural wealth, as one would expect given the fact that Arsames, satrap of Egypt, owned estates throughout northern Mesopotamia as well as in Egypt, the Levant (Driver 1957: no. VI) and south Iraq (Stolper 1985: 64-66). Xenophon's treatise on Cyrus' life cannot be said to be very informative on Babylonia, although he devotes considerable space to presenting the conflict between the last Babylonian ruler and the Persian conqueror. The interest of the work lies more in the way Xenophon visualised the creation of the empire, the acme of which was the conquest of Babylonia (VII 5,37). The statement that Nabonidus was executed by Cyrus must be rejected as both Berossus and the Dynastic Prophecy agree in stating that he was settled elsewhere in the empire (Carmania, according to Berossus (F9); cf. Briant 1985).

The Persian history of Ctesias, who actually worked as a doctor at the Persian court in the late fifth/early fourth century, has unfortunately only survived in fragments from which it seems that, while perhaps not a history of the highest calibre, it would have provided much valuable information especially on Persian traditions of their own early history (Momigliano 1969). Indeed, the derivation of his Cyrus birthstory from one told about the early Mesopotamian king, Sargon of Agade, has been very persuasively presented by Drews (1974). An anecdote concerning Xerxes preserved in the Ctesias fragments (Photius *Bibl.* 72: 39a) suggests, interestingly, that Persian kings may have continued to perform some of the traditional Mesopotamian royal rituals in the city of Babylon and the omission by him of any mention of Xerxes' destruction of temples there must be evaluated positively now.

What emerges strikingly from some of the accounts of Alexander's campaign is the important position occupied by Arbela (modern Erbil) in the former Assyrian area. Although sometimes referred to simply as a village, all agree (Q.C. V 1,10; Diod. Sic. XVII 64,3; Arrian *Anab.* III 15) in making it

the main centre of the region where an enormous quantity of equipment, military supplies and treasure was stored (4000 talents according to Curtius, 3000 according to Diodorus), while Strabo XVI 1,3 describes it as a 'notable settlement'. This must be right, and the importance of the city as, almost certainly, an important regional administrative centre emerges clearly from the fact that in 321 the area was referred to as 'Arebelitis' after the city and listed separately from Mesopotamia in the distribution of provinces (Diod. Sic. XVIII 39,6).

G. The Socio-cultural Context

The fact that Erbil is still an important town has, understandably, inhibited excavation there although the large ancient mound underlying present settlement is clearly visible from the air. Some Achaemenid style column bases have been reported from sites in the Assyrian region although beyond this fact almost nothing is known of them (Haerinck 1987: 143). Much more analysis of the post-Assyrian remains at the old Assyrian royal centres is needed to see how long and extensively they may have been inhabited. Material later than 612 BC has been found (Andrae 1938: 164-171; Loud 1936: 62-64; 118; Mallowan 1966: I, 230, 285-287, 296-9, 353; cf. Farkas 1974: 57; Root 1979 25, nn. 60 and 64) and the Cyrus Cylinder (1.30) mentions, in the list of centres renovated by him, Assur and perhaps Nineveh (although this has to be restored). There is also now evidence for an industrial settlement lasting to the end of the sixth century further north in Iraq (Saddam Dam n.d.: 73-77; Curtis 1989) so that some picture of life here, at least at the very beginning of the Persian period, is beginning to emerge. To this must be added the fine, typically Achaemenid bronze bracelet from Khorsabad (Loud & Altman 1938: pl. 59 no. 127 cf. Moorey 1971: 220), the incense altar from Assur possibly to be attributed to the Persian period (Stern 1982: 183 and nn. 102 and 103) and, most significant, the opaque, red glass workshop from the Burnt Palace at Nimrud to which the British Museum now assigns a radio-carbon date of 425+/-50 years, so that it is probably contemporary with the red, opaque glass objects from Persepolis which it closely resembles (Barag 1985: 59). All this should force a thorough rethinking of the role played by the former area of Assyria in the empire.

In south Iraq the tendency has been to stress the strong evidence for cultural continuity negatively ('stagnation') and it is easy to see how this has arisen: combining the relatively slight archaeological evidence there with the documentary material it emerges that the great urban centres of Babylonia together with their traditional sanctuaries (Babylon, Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1987a; Borsippa, Reade 1986a: 107-108; Uruk, UVB 12/13; more references, Kuhrt 1988a: 119; for topography, Zadok 1985) continued virtually un-

changed although survey evidence (Adams 1981: ch. 5 and appendix: 334-336; but note the serious criticisms of this work by Brinkman 1984) suggests that the southern city of Ur was declining in importance while Nippur was moving into a new period of major development (cf. van Driel 1987). But against this apparent fossilisation in settlement patterns, cult, social practices and scholarly activity (Hunger 1968) should be set evidence reflecting the vitality of cultural life precisely in this period such as the major developments in the astronomical and astrological sciences (Sachs 1952; Rochberg-Halton 1984). The cultural interaction taking place within, and as a result of, the existence of the Persian empire must also not be underestimated: it is at this time that some of the great Babylonian omen series came to be known in India (Pingree 1982); Greek stamp-seals owned by Babylonians were used to stamp typical Babylonian legal documents in the late fifth century (Jakob-Rost & Freydank 1972) and about 200 Greek coin impressions on clay were found in an early fourth century coffin at Ur (Legrain 1951: 701-832) which may have served as models for a Babylonian seal-cutter working there (Porada 1960). By the early third century Berossus was able to compose a highly sophisticated history of his country in Greek that displayed familiarity with Greek traditions of historiography as well as Greek philosophical concepts: while the impetus for writing it was undoubtedly the establishment of the new Macedonian dynasty, such easy intimacy with Greek ideas is suggestive of a considerable period of contact for which the Persian empire seems the only appropriate setting.

Despite the fact that cultural evidence for the Persian presence is slight it does exist and must be given its proper weight. The evidence for a royal presence in Babylon itself has already been considered (see above C) and the Persian column bases from Abu Khulfat (probably in central Mesopotamia: Wetzell et al. 1957: 26a and b) are suggestive although nothing else seems to be known of this site (Haerinck 1987: 143). Significant too are the objects reflecting close contact with the Persian court: the inscribed stone vase (see above C) may well have been a royal gift, but most striking is the colourless, cut-glass bowl from Nippur (Barag 1968; cf. *CAH* IV (plates vol): no. 94) attested as a particularly Persian luxury vessel (Aristophanes *Acharnians*) and directly comparable to finds made in the Persepolis treasury (Barag 1985: 57). Further indicators are the Achaemenid style silver and bronze bowls from Ur, Nippur and Baghathariat, the earrings from Nippur (cf. for full references, Muscarella 1977: Appendix B) and the hoard of silver including earrings, silver bowls, sigloi and a fine silver bull handle found by Rassam in Babylon (Robinson 1950, cf. for additions and corrections Reade 1986b). The appearance of Persian iconographic elements on seals in Babylonia from around the middle of the reign of Darius I has been analysed by Zettler (1979),

while the derivation of a number of Achaemenid motifs from Babylonian prototypes on Persian seals found as far away as southern Russia (*CAH* IV (plates vol.): pl. 46a; 47; 48) must be seen, together with the regular use of Akkadian in the formal tri-lingual royal inscriptions, as further evidence for the adaptation of the Mesopotamian ideological and artistic repertoire in creating a specific Achaemenid symbolic language and imperial identity as already amply demonstrated by Root (1979).

H. Conclusion

None of this is surprising: Babylonia was a key province in geo-political and economic terms: large tracts of land were held by members of the royal family and Persian nobles and smaller plot-holders held fiefs granted by the Persian king in return for military service (Lutz 1928, cf. Ebeling 1952); its tribute was reportedly the richest which must be the result (in part at least) of its extraordinary fertility as well as the great commercial routes it straddled as it lay at the heart of the empire linking the western and eastern halves and commanded the routes east from the Iranian plateau, west along the Euphrates and on through the Syrian desert, south to the Gulf (cf. Salles 1987: 89; and this vol. for the evidence of Persian interests in this area) and north along the Tigris passing through Arbela then turning west across the Jezirah — a route along which commanders were stationed to protect and supply emissaries and travellers on royal and other government business (cf. Driver 1957: no. VI). And it is within this context of Babylonia's undeniable importance to the empire that further questions need to be considered: what precisely were the social effects of Persian rule and how was the earlier administrative system adapted to and changed by it (some aspects of this problem are discussed by Stolper (in press))? Who were the main Babylonian executives of Persian government decisions and how were they selected? What, precisely, were their rewards and how, if at all, were they integrated into the dominant Persian power structure? While continuity of traditional Babylonian temple cults is an indisputable fact, how intensive was active Persian royal patronage of these institutions? What was the real impact of Artaxerxes II's introduction of a statue cult of Anahita (Berossus F11)? Did it only affect Persian settlers in Babylonia (Briant 1984: 102) or did it have more widespread repercussions? Should one connect the shift away from the cult of Ishtar to that of Anu at Uruk in the late fifth century (Oelsner 1978: 103; 1981: 44) with some analogous Persian religious development? As our perspective on Achaemenid Babylonia gradually changes the focus of enquiry will inevitably raise new and different questions.

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THE KASR ARCHIVE

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In a study of Babylonian texts that mention an administrator and businessman named Bēlšunu (Stolper 1987) I concluded that those texts, though scattered now among many collections, had belonged to a single ancient group, deposited in antiquity on the Hauptburg of the Kasr mound at Babylon. I present here a short description of this Kasr archive and some comments on it, as the summary of a case-study but with some reservations. The case is incomplete; I am still engaged in identifying and editing constituent texts. The study is both provisional and speculative; interpretive propositions about the case are not conclusions drawn from a fine analysis, but are working suppositions, roughly formulated to provoke critique. (Abbreviated versions of some of the same propositions are in Stolper 1985b: 64f. and Stolper 1987.)

The Archive

History and Composition

In 1913 the German excavations at Babylon (under Robert Koldewey's overall supervision, but at that time directed by Friedrich Wetzel) recovered a group of several hundred fragmentary, fire-damaged texts on the Kasr (excavation reports cited in Jakob-Rost and Freydank 1972: 7 and n. 3). Proper names tie items from this excavated group to texts that had been collected at the beginning of the nineteenth century by Claudius Rich and his associates, copied by Carl Bellino, and partially published by Georg Grotefend (Grotefend 1837-1842; see Barnett 1974, Schramm 1974, and Borger 1975: 180f.; information on unpublished Bellino copies in the Grotefend *Nachlass* by courtesy of R. Borger and C. B. F. Walker). The prosopographic connections are correlated with formal resemblances (e.g., text types, Aramaic docketts), common physical properties (severe fire damage), and/or glyptic evidence. Furthermore, Rich's memoir of his visit to Babylon in 1811 specifically mentions burned tablets that he found on the Kasr (Rich 1839: 10f. and 187). Other texts that belonged to Rich's collection, not copied by Bellino and now mostly housed in the British Museum, can also be associated with the archive by the same criteria of prosopographic and/or glyptic links and/or combined physical and formal resemblances. The same criteria also

mark various tablets in still other collections, as well as a few texts that are documented by published editions or unpublished copies although the original tablets cannot now be located (e.g., RdA 16 112; copies by Bellino in the Grotefend *Nachlass* in Göttingen), as certain or likely constituents of the archive. These texts were transmitted through the antiquities trade and/or by collectors; their provenience cannot be established independently of their connection with the Kasr archive.

The information on provenience is often inadequate, the prosopographic links are sometimes equivocal or attenuated, and the implications of the tablets' conspicuous physical condition are not strong in themselves, so the combined value of the criteria used to identify constituents of the archive varies from text to text. These remarks are drawn from ninety-six Kasr texts and fragments, provisionally identified as of 1986 with these qualifications in mind. Seventy-one are securely attributable to the archive; most of the rest are probable constituents, a few merely possible. Most have been collated. They are now distributed as follows:

Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin: 37 (22 published).
 British Museum: 24 (12 published).
 Yale Babylonian Collection: 13 (all unpublished).
 Louvre: 6 (all published).
 Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor 4: (all published).
 Ashmolean: 2 (both published).
 Oriental Institute, Leningrad: 1 (published).
 University Museum, Philadelphia: 1 (unpublished).
 Free Library, Philadelphia: 1 (published).
 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden: 1 (published).
 Musée de la Castre, Cannes: 1 (published)
 Documented but not located: 5 (2 published).

The sequence of events that led to this distribution must be something like the following. Some of the tablets were found at the Kasr by Rich and his associates in 1811. Among them, incidentally, were the first Babylonian contracts published in modern times. Most of these tablets were given to the British Museum. Some were incorrectly catalogued (e.g., as parts of the Küyünjik collection). Other pieces of the archive were collected by European visitors to Babylon, both before Rich (e.g., J. F. Usko) and afterward (e.g., T. M. Lycklama à Nijeholt), by villagers quarrying ancient bricks from the site, by antiquities dealers (e.g., the sellers of the Leningrad tablet, see Sayce 1890: 276), and conceivably by other early excavators at Babylon (e.g., Fresnel, Layard, Rassam). These were scattered among private and museum collections, and some were published individually or in small groups. The remaining pieces of the original archive were recovered by the German excavations in 1913, and left under seal at the excavation headquarters after the British advances in Mesopotamia in 1915-17 (Hall 1930: 38; cf. Andreae

1952: 238f. and 1961: 234). After the First World War ended, most were sent on to the Berlin Museum, arriving in 1926, but some had been purloined and were distributed by the antiquities trade to private and museum collections.

Date, Range, Characteristics and Composition

The known Kasr texts come from the reigns of Artaxerxes I, Darius II, and Artaxerxes II. At the moment, the latest secure date (bearing in mind the difficulty of distinguishing the Artaxerxeses) is 3/XII/4 Artaxerxes II = 28 Feb. 400 B.C. (TCL 12 204); the earliest secure date is 25/XI/26 Artaxerxes I = 21 Feb. 438 (TSBA 4 pl. after p. 256,a [photograph only]). Many fragments come from relatively large tablets recording sales of real estate (both urban property and arable land), and some of these mention three generations of a single family (Freydank apud Klengel-Brandt 1969: 330). Judging by the use of scribes' seals on them, they date from the reign of Artaxerxes I or earlier (Oelsner 1978: 170). Falkenstein's information that the excavated group included texts dated as late as the reign of an Antiochus (apud Koldewey 1932: 24) is unverifiable and improbable (J. Oelsner, personal communication).

The texts were drafted at, and deal with interests in, settlements in the region of the Babylonian isthmus — Babylon, Borsippa, Cutha, Dilbat, and small satellites of the major towns.

The available texts include these transaction types:

Sales (urban real estate; arable land; slaves).

Leases and subleases ('feudal' holdings; other fields; house lots; and other leases).

Promissory notes (for assessed rents; for silver secured by pledges of 'feudal' holdings; for grain owed to a temple; and other notes).

Receipts (for payments of crops as rent on leased and subleased fields; for silver as the purchase price of fields; for silver to support offerings; and other receipts).

Miscellany (apprenticeship contract; litigation; renunciation of claims; guarantee of protection).

Fragments from transactions of uncertain original type (mostly witnesses and/or date).

Almost all of the texts show severe fire damage, ranging from mere blackening of the clay to vitrification, melting, and deformation. The damage is normally pronounced on one surface of the tablet, perhaps because the tablets were once stored lying flat on shelves made of flammable material. A few are without evident fire damage. The fire damage affects texts of all types and dates.

Fragments of sale records commonly have impressions of a scribe's seal (Klengel-Brandt 1969). The seal impressions on other texts include common Babylonian and Iranian types, but also a few impressions with distinctive

Hellenic (and/or Irano-Greek?) style and motifs (e.g., Moore Michigan Coll. 43; FuB 14 14f. No. 4, 17f. No. 7; OECT 10 140; CBS 1594; YBC 11562).

Many items have Aramaic dockets, often faintly incised, less often with traces of ink still showing. The script is far less plain than the script of dockets on contemporary Murašû texts, and the dockets themselves have been more resistant to interpretation than the Murašû dockets (Jakob-Rost and Freydank 1972 *passim*; Borger 1975: 181; TCL 13 208; Stevenson Ass.-Bab. Contracts 41; RdA 16 112; YBC 11532; OECT 10 140; Iraq 4 17; and others.)

Most of the personal names are Babylonian, but Iranian names also occur, especially among proprietors of real estate. None of the major political figures known from the Murašû texts and identifiable in classical texts recurs in the available Kasr texts, but the names of an Iranian proprietor and his Babylonian bailiff appear together in a Kasr text and in a Murašû text (Dar. 274:4f. and 8 [Kasr]; BE 10 114:15f. and upper edge [Murašû]), and a man named as the vendor of real estate in a Kasr text recurs as a witness in a Murašû text, impressing the same seal on both tablets (YBC 11552:2 and obverse [Kasr]; BE 9 84:12 and upper edge = TuM 2-3 202 [Murašû]; see Krückmann 1933: pl. 100 No. lxxviii).

The original size of the archive is indeterminate, but it included at least two or three hundred texts. Small numbers of tablets are probably still to be located in other collections. The great bulk of the archive, several hundred excavated pieces in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, is not yet available for close and comprehensive study. Furthermore, the original stratigraphic situation of the excavated texts, hence the archive's physical connection with the Achaemenid 'acropolis' on the Kasr, is not known precisely (Jakob-Rost and Freydank 1972: 7 with n. 3, including references to the excavation reports; cf. Wachsmuth 1913: 23). I cannot exclude the possibility that the texts were redeposited in antiquity on the Kasr after being compiled elsewhere (cf. Wetzel *apud* Eilers 1935: 76 n. 3). The many fragments from texts recording real estate sales, distinguished by characteristic size and format, are apparently earlier than most texts of other types. Although there are prosopographic links among these sales texts (Klengel-Brandt 1969: 330 and details of various unpublished and collated texts), there is as yet no clear prosopographic connection between them and texts of other well-represented types. Hence, I cannot exclude the possibility that two (or more) ancient archives were conflated on the Kasr. If so, however, the conflation took place in antiquity, before the texts were burned.

Even with these impediments to precise characterization, it is clear that the Kasr archive is the second-largest known Babylonian legal archive from the period between Xerxes and Alexander. It is a distant second to the Murašû archive in the absolute number of its known and available texts, but a nearer

second in its formal and economic variety, and in its potential historical implications.

The Kasr archive reflects many of the same economic behaviors displayed in the Murašû texts, notably agricultural contracting involving the lease and sublease of land held by beneficiaries of crown grants and the issuing of credit against pledges of government-assigned real estate. These procedures operated against background conditions of tenure and organization that were similar to those behind the Murašû texts; at least a few individuals appear in both archives, suggesting that the segment of society involved in such dealings was a fairly small, mobile elite. The relative frequencies of the various transaction types, and therefore the overall character of the business operations recorded in the Kasr archive, however, may have been quite different from those in the Murašû texts. Obligations secured by pledged real estate, for example, are uncommon in the available Kasr texts. It is not yet possible to put this comparison on a sound basis, because it is not possible to judge if the available sample is representative of the Kasr archive as a whole. The Kasr texts, however, certainly include some components that are unparalleled in the Murašû archive: references to the purchase of real estate, records of the manipulation of temple income and assets, apprenticeship contracts, and sales of urban and rural real estate.

Provincial Organization and Imperial Policy

The archive documents a concern that is partially comparable to and partially contemporary with the Murašû house, but a concern that operated at the political center of the satrapy. The dominant figure in the business recorded by the archive is Bēlšunu, son of Bēl-ušuršu. He or his servants are the principals in most of the texts dealing with agricultural contracting and in most texts of other types, apart from the early subgroup of sale texts. His status as a member of the Achaemenid political service is a likely reason for the archive's presence in or near the complex of public buildings on the Kasr. His status is also the basis of the archive's pertinence to questions of provincial political organization and imperial policies. The evidence of sixteen Kasr texts and two independent texts mentioning Bēlšunu is surveyed in Stolper (1987). The results include these:

From 421 B.C. at the latest, until at least 414, Bēlšunu, son of Bēl-ušuršu, held the title 'governor of Babylon' (LÚ.NAM (or: *pīhāt*) *Bābili*). He may have held the title 'satrap' (*ahšadrapanu*) as early as 429 (ROMCT 2 48; despite Zadok 1984: 73ff.). He was *not* a provincial governor of Babylonia, but a district subgovernor at Babylon, contemporary with and presumably subordinate to provincial governors of Iranian extraction — Gūbaru

(Gobryas) under Darius II, and perhaps Artarēme (Artarios) under Artaxerxes I.

From 407 at the latest, until at least 401, he held the title 'governor of Across-the-River' (LÚ.NAM *Ebir-Nāri*). He is the man whom Xenophon called Belesys, past governor of Syria, and the Babylonian texts indicate that he occupied that office only a few months before Cyrus the Younger destroyed his palace (Anab. I 4,10 and the editorial addendum VII 8,25).

From 424 at the latest, until at least 400, he and his subordinates conducted a diverse business around Babylon. A major component of the business was agricultural contracting, involving the leasing and/or subleasing of property belonging to Bēlšunu himself, of crown grants to Bēlšunu (*nidintu šarri ša ana Bēlšunu nadin* YBC 11586: 2), of other crown properties (*makkūr šarri* BM 116622:7), and of properties held by Iranian proprietors and managed by Babylonian bailiffs.

His role in the adjudication of a dispute over missing temple property in or after 416 (Durand TBER pl. 6 AO 2569:8ff., apparently not from the Kasr archive) is a rare trace of his statutory activity as governor at Babylon.

Bēlšunu in Babylonia

While the provincial governors of Babylonia, like those of other major provinces, were normally Iranian aristocrats, district subgovernorships could be and often were assigned to indigenous functionaries. Bēlšunu is an exceptionally well documented example of this class of administrators, but others are mentioned in Babylonian texts (Erībâ, called 'governor of Babylon', YBC 11554 [Kasr unpub.]; Šiha', called 'satrap', PBS 2/1 2 [Murašû]; cf. Stolper 1985b: 64 n. 5). Their candidacy for office was presumably determined by their competence in overseeing and adjudicating operations that were carried out in customary Mesopotamian forms, and by their political accommodation to the Achaemenid regime. They were likely to be present at their administrative posts, while provincial governors were often (and perhaps usually) absent to maintain their political positions at court. This two-level administration echoes the organization of Babylonian estates granted to Iranian aristocrats and of 'administrative estates' committed to the support of state offices that were typically occupied by Iranian aristocrats: their routine functions were normally run by indigenous bailiffs and overseers, whose positions were stable at times of political stress. Since such estates were part of the empire's political and administrative fabric, the resemblance is not trivial (Stolper 1985a: 68f., 100ff. and 1985b: 64).

The prehistory of these arrangements may lie in conditions that pertained after the conquest of Babylonia, when little radical change of existing institutions was practical and the new regime had to co-opt veteran admini-

strators from the old. But in later reigns the Achaemenid hold was well entrenched; imperial aristocrats controlled and directed important resources and institutions in the province; the empire could no longer be conceived of as a mere political veneer over a traditional Babylonian society, and administrative and manorial arrangements can only be seen as the results of more or less conscious, sustained imperial policies. Grants of estates, administrative posts, and even the provincial governorship placated members of the aristocracy, and distributed provincial resources and power among them; it also encouraged competition among them, discouraged the consolidation of local power bases, and put some restraints on the satrap's power within his province (cf. Stolper 1985a: 102f.). The political careers of the recipients of such assignments, however, were inevitably volatile. Installing Babylonian functionaries who were socially incapable of higher ambitions not only in petty posts as the overseers of smallholders' associations and the bailiffs of estates but also as the subgovernors of administrative districts offset this volatility, partially insulating the institutions by which the province was ruled from the consequences of political strain among the aristocrats who controlled those institutions. Bēlšunu illustrates the potential durability of such subgovernors. If he was already in office as early as 429, then he weathered the succession struggle that brought Darius II to the throne in 424 without loss of position, as he certainly weathered the accession of Artaxerxes II.

The Kasr texts are not records of political administration, but of ostensibly private business operations. What is not yet clear is whether the creation or extension of the business in which Bēlšunu was engaged was a precondition of his recruitment into the Achaemenid political service or a consequence of his appointment.

It may be that Bēlšunu was a principal in a business that was already well developed before he was appointed to the district governorship. The business' operations already included commercial contracting of crown-assigned properties. Then the Achaemenid government recruited its district official from an already prosperous and influential segment of Babylonian society. It resolved the potential conflict between statutory tenure and commercial manipulation — a tension indicated by the history of the Murašû firm (Stolper 1985a: 155f.; 1985b) — by co-opting some commercial contractors into the lower echelons of the ruling class.

Otherwise, Bēlšunu may have been a member of a business or a family that had been acquiring real estate and other assets for some time (hence the many fragments of real estate sale documents among the Kasr texts). Once appointed to the governorship, he extended the business' scope into agricultural contracting. He operated not only on previously bought property, but also on lands granted to him along with his office (*nidintu šarri* YBC II586:2) and on estate lands and smallholdings leased from other proprietors; he used his

status to manipulate some temple assets as well (BM 47340 = Grotefend 1837 pl. after 254 = Actes du 8e Congrès International 25).

It may be instead that Bēlšunu created the business of agricultural contracting as a result of his appointment to the governorship, using his position to garner favorable leases from other proprietors of crown grants, to control loans of temple properties, and to acquire the assets of an earlier business represented by the sale documents kept among the other Kasr texts.

In either of the last two cases, the Achaemenid government effectively created the firm by putting an entrepreneur in a position of influence. Conversely, opportunities for commercial enrichment supplemented crown grants of real property as a benefit of political favor and administrative office.

Bēlšunu in Syria

Bēlšunu's later status is also subject to a measure of uncertainty. It is conceivable that in Syria, too, he was a district subgovernor under an Iranian provincial governor (so, e.g., Bivar 1961: 123). But since both Xenophon and the two Babylonian texts call him simply governor of Syria (in Babylonian, *Ebir-Nāri*, 'Across-the-River'), not, say, of Aleppo, it is more likely that he himself was the provincial governor. (The author of the ancient editorial addendum to the *Anabasis* certainly understood the text in this way. Contrast Leuze 1935: 153ff.) If so, his transfer to Syria was a promotion in rank. It was also an extraordinary promotion in status, to a post normally taken by members of the uppermost Iranian imperial aristocracy. Being anomalous, it must reflect particulars of imperial politics.

It may be correct, but it is unsatisfying, to characterize the promotion of Bēlšunu as a belated reward given by the half-Babylonian usurper Darius II for services rendered during his succession and its aftermath. The promotion may also have been a response to continuing resistance offered by members of the imperial aristocracy to Darius' usurpation and to particular political conditions in Syria: made anxious by Megabyzus' rising against Artaxerxes I and Artyphius' dangerous opposition to his own rule, Darius II took a troubled province away from the control of a leading aristocratic family and assigned it to a *homo novus*, who was politically safe precisely because he was a Babylonian, not a member of the established ruling elite. (Note, however, Balcer 1984: 6, rejecting the historicity of Ctesias's account of Megabyzus. The possibility that Bēlšunu held some claims on Darius by virtue of ties of blood or marriage to the Babylonian side of the king's family — that he was a kind of accidental aristocrat — cannot, of course, be excluded, but there is no evidence to support it.)

Cyrus the Younger destroyed Belesys/Bēlšunu's residence in Syria — a

puzzling action for which Leuze's suggestion (1935: 155) of an unknown private grudge is an unsatisfactory motive. The action can also be understood as a political gesture meant to sway at least some members of the established Iranian aristocracy by attacking a political development — the displacement of a venerable aristocratic family in favor of a Babylonian career administrator — that had been born of necessity under Darius II and upheld as policy by Artaxerxes II, and that some aristocrats would have considered inimical to their interests.

The Babylonian business documents that refer to Bēšunu as the governor of Syria cannot be seriously considered evidence that the provinces of Syria and Babylonia been rejoined into a single administrative unit (contrast Zadok 1984: 74). They are simply evidence that Bēšunu's agents kept his business interests in Babylonia active during his administrative tenure in Syria. Nevertheless, Bēšunu was presumably the social and political inferior of aristocratic Iranian satraps and his appointment to a post formerly held by the likes of Megabyzus constituted a kind of demotion of the province. His holdings in Babylonia were a hostage to his good behavior in Syria. In this indirect way, Syria was reduced to a kind of political dependence on Babylonia, not by statute or structure, but by short-run policy.

At the risk of overburdening the evidence, one can contemplate Bēšunu's career as an abortive beginning of a process familiar from the histories of other ancient empires and medieval states: the transformation of the polity from a a structure of conquest and constraint in which members of a ruling nation dominated subject nations into a state in which members of the ruling class could actually be recruited from the subject populations — a process that in other historical situations developed from conflicts of interest between the crown and an entrenched aristocracy.

Like all Babylonian archival texts, the Kasr texts supply highly specific information with minimal context. Like royal inscriptions and purposefully historiographic texts, the archival texts contain historical information that is both incomplete and encrypted. Deducing general background conditions from them is not a simple or straightforward interpretive agenda, but neither can it be circumvented.

The fragmentary character of the available sample and its constituent items forces any interpretation of the Kasr archive to rely heavily on textual specifics and socio-economic relationships known from other, approximately contemporary texts (the Murašû texts, texts in UET 4, etc.). There are solid textual grounds for such reliance, but it may nevertheless make it hard to recognize the characteristics that are special to the local or social situation of the Kasr texts.

Despite the specificity of such texts, features that are plainly extraordinary or anomalous — e.g., the remarkable *cursus honorum* of Bēšunu — are not to

be treated as merely anecdotal. They are better seen as the particular results of deep general movements — the interactions among developing structural conditions, more or less long-term imperial policies, and more or less urgent short-term political necessities.

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ADDENDUM

As of 1989, I have identified eighteen more pieces that certainly belong to the Kasr group and one more that may belong to it (fourteen in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, all unpublished; two in the British Museum, both unpublished; one in the Yale Babylonian Collection, unpublished; one in the Louvre, published; and one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, published), for a current total of 115 pieces. The earliest are small fragments in the Berlin collection that appear to come from the reign of Xerxes (no regnal years preserved). I am now somewhat more sceptical about the possibilities of finding large-scale imperial policies behind the extraordinary career of Bēlšunu, and more impressed by the limitations of the evidence.

THE WRITTEN EVIDENCE FOR PALESTINE

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Certain aspects of this topic were handled in my 1985 paper in this Workshop. The introductory section to that paper, supplied as an addition for the published version, deals with the sources: the main part of the paper, as circulated and discussed, considers three main areas: chronology, personalities, functions of the narratives. Inevitably there is some overlap with the present paper (cf. *AchHist* III, 33-54)

1. *The evidence*

(a) The relevant biblical texts. Four types of material may be distinguished:

(I) narrative and related material which actually handles the period: essentially the two books (one in the Hebrew) of Ezra and Nehemiah, with which must be included the parallel and variant text in 1 Esdras which covers 2 Chron.35-Ezra 10, plus Neh.8. The book of Esther also describes what purports to have taken place in the Achaemenid period: its use is clearly problematic.

(II) narrative and related material which was almost certainly produced in the Achaemenid period and may therefore be assumed to reflect the problems of that period, while ostensibly describing earlier times. The clearest example here is the books of Chronicles (one in the Hebrew), often thought to be by the same author as Ezra-Nehemiah, or in some other way connected with it. The books from Genesis to Kings, variously described as Pentateuch and Former Prophets, or as Tetrateuch (Priestly Work) and Deuteronomistic History, are often, and almost certainly rightly, held to have undergone some modification in the Achaemenid period. (Even if virtually finalised by the mid-sixth century — see specifically the reference to Amel-Marduk in 2 Kings 25.27-30, giving a date of 562 B.C. — this does not in itself exclude small later updatings). But while such a supposition is reasonable, the discovery of clear evidence of such alterations and their interpretation inevitably remains a matter of hypothesis (for a recent discussion, in relation to the inner-biblical exegesis of texts, see Fishbane 1985). As a result, firm views can hardly be based on such supposed modifications: the argument can easily become circular in that the modifications may themselves be recognized on the basis of certain assumed changes in the political and social and religious circumstances of the Jewish community in this period, and the texts are therefore not really available for establishing what those changes actually were. A fuller

clarification of the real situation in the Achaemenid period could in itself provide a firmer basis for the discussion of such modifications.

(III) prophetic texts which belong in the Achaemenid period. Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 actually refer to Darius (I) and the two prophets are firmly set in that period: though the present form of the material is likely to be of later date. To these we may with probability add Malachi: the grounds for the normal dating in the first half of the fifth century B.C. are reasonable — the presence of a governor, the existence of a restored temple — but not absolute since we have no knowledge of conditions in Judah during the Babylonian period: were there governors after the death of Gedaliah? Was the temple in part/sufficiently restored for use? Arguments from supposed historical allusions, e.g. to the political situation in Edom, to the possible appearance of the Nabataeans, remain very insecure. Also possible are Joel (? late sixth century B.C., but there is no agreement on date); Obadiah (usually thought to be shortly after 587 B.C., but perhaps in reality rather later); Zechariah 9-14 (the discovery of historical allusions here remains a favourite activity of scholars); Isaiah 56-66 (another problematic section, normally assumed to be later than Isaiah 40-55, itself viewed as essentially from about 555-540 B.C.). None of these can be used without caution.

(IV) prophetic texts associated with figures of an earlier period but which may be assumed to have been updated and re-interpreted in the Achaemenid period. This can apply to all other prophetic texts: the confidence with which some commentators assign particular elements to one or another period within the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. is a matter for some admiration: but it cannot be said that the evidence is really any firmer than for the narrative material already noted (a particular and clearer example is Jer.17.19-27 which deals with the sabbath, otherwise not mentioned in Jeremiah: the passage shows affinities with Neh.13.15-22). There would seem to be little doubt that there are elements from the Achaemenid period, but again the discussion of them depends on the recognition of the processes of re-interpretation (again cf. Fishbane 1985).

Even more difficult to use, though many such attempts have been made, are poetic texts such as Psalms and wisdom texts such as Job and Proverbs. In very general ways, we may probably see in the Psalms evidence for Jewish attitudes to the lost monarchy and to its possible restoration in the post-exilic period: but it is very difficult to decide how far we are here dealing with the reflection of more strictly political attitudes which could relate to aspects of Achaemenid policy and how far with the projection into an indeterminate future of ideas which, if in part political, have come to be understood rather in eschatological terms. The wisdom texts are also very difficult to attach historically.

(b) The relevant non-biblical texts.

(I) Here we may note first the texts from Elephantine (see Cowley 1923; Kraeling 1953; Porten 1968) and the Wadi Daliyeh (Cross 1966, 1969 (1971), 1975), which are at least in part sufficiently continuous to enable some picture to be drawn of the communities to which they belong. The Wadi Daliyeh texts are still of very limited use, since they are not yet properly edited (publication is now promised shortly, by F.M. Cross): they provide some clues to the situation in Samaria. The Elephantine texts provide evidence which may illuminate some aspects of relationships between the Jewish military post there and the authorities in both Jerusalem and Samaria, though how these are to be understood in relation to Achaemenid policy is not fully clear.

We may also note here the epigraphic evidence which is considered elsewhere in this volume (see below Stern 221-225): some allusion will need to be made to the bullae, seals and coins which provide information about Judaeans governors and other officials, to be set alongside that available from the biblical text.

(II) Josephus. This presents its own problems. While essentially in the *Antiquities* he follows the biblical material, there are differences for this period which raise the question whether he was using other sources or was simply arranging the material in what to him appeared to be a more orderly fashion. The fact that he completes the story of Ezra before telling that of Nehemiah could be due to his familiarity with the form found in 1 Esdras, where Nehemiah is entirely absent: is 1 Esdras a fragment and did the Nehemiah narrative follow the broken ending? Alternatively, Josephus may have decided to tell the story of Ezra completely — bringing it to a suitable close with Ezra's death in a proper old age — and then to deal with Nehemiah: in that case he may have had no alternative information, but worked according to an appropriate literary pattern. We must also allow for bias: he includes stories about the Samaritan community which seem to incorporate somewhat garbled versions of traditions about the Achaemenid period (cf. Ackroyd 1984, 160 for some comment).

2. *Problems of interpretation*

The comments already made on the biblical sources indicate some of the problems inherent in their interpretation. More now needs to be said about the primary material — Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai and Zechariah 1-8.

(a) Problems of chronology.

(I) Ezra 1-6 offers various pieces of material relevant to the early years of Achaemenid rule (with one section, 4.7-23, associated with a later king,

Artaxerxes). Since dating within the section is partial and in some degree problematic in interpretation, no entirely satisfactory sequence of events can be given, nor is the relationship between the various personages clear. It is unclear how much really belongs to the reign of Cyrus, or whether what is associated with him may not represent a projection back from the reign of Darius.

(II) The date of Ezra — 7th of Artaxerxes (Ezra 7.7) — is undefined: 458 (Artaxerxes I), 398 (Artaxerxes II), or, with emended text, 428 (improbable). That of Nehemiah — 20th, 32nd of Artaxerxes (Neh.2.1; 13.6) — points to 445 and 433 (most probable) and 385 and 373 (improbable but not entirely ruled out, cf. Saley 1978).

(III) The dates in Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 — 2nd and 4th years of Darius — are clear enough: it is not, however, entirely clear how much of the material, particularly in the Zechariah text, is to be associated with the scattered dates. Nor indeed is it clear what they signify or how they are intended to function.

(IV) The Elephantine texts provide useful dates in the last years of the fifth century. The Wadi Daliyeh texts provide clues to other members of the Sanballat family of Samaria, running down into the fourth century.

(V) The one clear element is the chronology of the Achaemenid kings themselves, though this is entirely absent from the biblical texts which, indeed, at times appear to be somewhat confused over the rulers (and cf. also the greater confusion in Daniel). The extra-biblical information provides a framework, and it eliminates certain possibilities on the basis of the lengths of the reigns (e.g. Nehemiah must belong in a reign which allows for a 32nd year, assuming the correctness of that figure). But the deficiencies in the biblical material leave numerous uncertainties.

(b) Chronological lacunae.

Assuming the correctness of the biblical dates, no information is precisely assigned to any year between the completion of the temple (6th of Darius (Ezra 6.15), i.e. 515) and the appearance of Ezra (458) or, if Ezra is dated later, that of Nehemiah (445): even, if both are dated later, not until 398. Similarly, assuming the early dates for both Ezra and Nehemiah, no information is available between 433 (32nd of Artaxerxes I) and the collapse of the empire at the advent of Alexander. Juggling with the dates will fill some parts of these large gaps: Elephantine provides some infill, and so too, but without precise chronology, Wadi Daliyeh. Even so, much of the Achaemenid period is not covered.

(c) Spatial lacunae.

This discussion is limited to Palestine: it cannot in fact entirely ignore the

existence of the Jewish diaspora, and the evidence for conditions for Jews in other places may be assumed also to contribute to the understanding of Achaemenid policy. The biblical documents themselves are concerned almost entirely with Jerusalem and Judah, the administrative district Yehud. But in three respects some extension of the geographical limit is proper: (I) the Ezra material provides pointers to Achaemenid policy towards Jews within the whole province 'Beyond the River'. Ezra 7.25 applies the legal writ of Ezra to the whole of 'Beyond the River' — the interpretation of this is not entirely clear (cf. below). It is important to examine this evidence since it could contribute to our understanding of how community interests, as distinct from more narrowly local national interests, might be handled.

(II) Nehemiah narratives introduce officials from some neighbouring areas, in particular Samaria, the Ammonite area, the Arabian area (Neh.2.19 and elsewhere).

(III) Ezra 4 and 5-6 introduce officials of 'Beyond the River'.

(d) Officials, Persian and other.

Since the precise titles of officials are often not given, or alternatives are used, or their precise interpretation is unclear, there are numerous problems of description. Similarly, it is often unclear whether the officials are Persian or of local stock.

(e) Named officials.

The biblical and other texts provide numerous names of governors and other officials; but these cover only very limited periods. No evidence is available for the period following the assassination of the Babylonian-appointed Gedaliah: nor is his status precisely indicated (For possible royal status, cf. Miller and Hayes 1986: 421ff.). Partial evidence is provided for the period from 539/8 to 515; for the periods of Ezra and Nehemiah; for the late fifth century (Elephantine) and the fourth (Wadi Daliyeh). The mentions of other names of governors and officials in bullae and seals and on coins give further information; but no fixed chronology is available for these, and opinions differ.

(f) Citation of documents.

Ezra 1,4,5-6 and 7 cite documents attributed to Achaemenid rulers. Of these the first is in Hebrew: it overlaps but differs from the Aramaic form cited in 6. The documents in 4, 5-6 and 7 are all in Aramaic. But it is important to note that, since all the material of 4.5-6.18 is in Aramaic, the documents within that section are all, unsurprisingly, given in Aramaic form, just as the document in 1 fits in with its Hebrew context. The document in

7.12-26, on the other hand, is distinguished from its Hebrew context by being in Aramaic. No documents are cited in the Nehemiah narrative, though allusion to such is implied in the text, and reference is made to royal letters (Neh.2.7, 9). The Elephantine texts provide actual examples of documents, untouched by later editing: these therefore have a different standing from those in the biblical text.

3. *The main results.*

It is, in fact, somewhat ambivalent to speak of results, but certain lines may be indicated in relation to particular problems.

(a) Evidence of Achaemenid policy in matters of government.

(I) The position of the Achaemenid royal house in relation to the government of Judah. While numerous problems of interpretation remain in regard to the two forms of the Cyrus mandate to Judah in Ezra 1 and 6, comparison, particularly with the Cyrus cylinder, strongly suggests that these texts, reflecting an actual Persian form now modified and in part at least re-interpreted, show that Cyrus, and by implication his successors (Darius clearly enough in Ezra 5-6) are not simply authorising the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem but claiming divine authority for doing so, that is, the authority described either as God (*'elohim*) or as God of heaven; on the analogy of Babylon in the Cyrus cylinder and the use of the title by Achaemenid rulers 'king of Babylon', it seems proper to deduce that Cyrus and his successors thought of themselves as kings of Judah, successors to the Davidic line. It is true that there is no point at which the biblical texts state this explicitly: the nearest appears in Neh.9.37 which complains that the produce of the land 'goes to the kings whom you (God) have set over us'. While the date of this psalm/prayer cannot be absolutely determined, the reference back to Assyria in 9.32 ('from then until this day') almost certainly implies the post-exilic period. The somewhat parallel passage in Ezra 9.6-15 actually refers to the kings of Persia (9.9), but does not explicitly regard them as divinely appointed over the Jewish community. We must, both here and in the narratives, see the probability that the texts have been worked over in some measure to avoid unacceptable statements. To this we may add a small pointer in the curious and difficult narrative of Ezra 4.1-5. The reference and nature of this passage are very problematic: but one thing is clear. Participation in the temple restoration is regarded as strictly limited to those to whom the royal commission was given: whatever the Jewish community may have thought about Persian royal control or royal claims, here is a case where the appeal is being made to that royal authority to discount the claims of others to whom it had not been granted.

(II) Royal appointments. The status of the various figures named as leaders is not clear. In the one case of Zerubbabel, there are two points: he is of Davidic descent, though this has been questioned since the genealogical information is sketchy and problematic (Japhet 1982-83; Miller & Hayes 1986: 456) and he is described as *peḥah* (governor). In the case of Sheshbazzar, the evidence is almost certain that he was not of Davidic descent: he is given the title of *nasi'* (leader/prince) of Judah in 1.8, and of *peḥah* in 5.14. Who was he then? 'officer for Judah?' Nehemiah as *peḥah* is clearly not of Davidic descent: his status is the clearest, since he is shown as having a term of office agreed (Neh.2.6), and this appears as 12 years (cf. Neh.13.6) if we assume that his visit to Artaxerxes then marked the end of that term: since he then asked leave to return to Jerusalem, this would appear to mark the beginning of a second term of office, without it being clear how long an interval there was between. Of the other governors whose names we know, there appears to be no indication of Davidic status unless we assume (cf. Talmon 19) that some of them were related to Zerubbabel. For this to be established, we would need a reliable chronology: identifications from identical names are too insecure a base.

So far as we may judge, it seems likely that all these were Jews. The position is less clear with Bagohi (= Bigvai, Bagoas) *pḥt yḥwd* in Elephantine 30.1 (cf. Ackroyd 1984, 157), problematically connected with the Bagoas whom we meet in Josephus (Ackroyd 1984, 160). The name appears in biblical lists (Ezra 2.2/Neh.7.7 and elsewhere), as a leader or family head. Josephus used it also of a Persian general.

Apart from this, there appears to be no direct evidence of the presence in Judah of a Persian official, except for mention of the governor's residence in Neh.2.8; 5.14f.. The royal nominees known to us operated as the king's representatives, with responsibility to him. Contacts with Persian officials — or more strictly with other officials outside the Judaeae araea, and in some instances with those of higher authority — are indicated in limited references in Ezra 4.5-6 and in Nehemiah. Of these, the Ezra 4 material is the least clear: three are named (Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel) in 4.7, but no indication is given of who they were, to what particular localities they belonged, or what status they had. In 4.8 two new names appear: Rehum the commander and Shimshai the scribe; and 4.9 lists a whole series of officials, a catalogue which seems designed to portray total opposition to Jerusalem. These are associated with Samaria, to which they had been deported, and with the rest of Beyond the River. Since the whole account is out of historical context, its real significance is difficult to gauge: since too it is clearly a piece of polemic, obliquely in favour of a restoration of Judah to its ancient status under David and Solomon, it must be doubted how far we can now recover what underlies

it. At no point are we really able to determine the status of the officials, nor just who they were.

Ezra 5-6 is clearer. It refers to the governor of Beyond the River by name (Tattenai), together with another named personage (Shethar-bozenai), who appears to be one of a group of governors of districts within Beyond the River. Yet even here we may perhaps be allowed to express some uncertainty. It is to be expected that the governor of the province should take action in regard to what might prove to be treasonable or rebellious activity. But the skill with which the various elements in Ezra 1-6 have been brought together suggests that we are invited to read this narrative in 5-6 in the light of the negative one in 4: in 4 the prospect of a restoration of the Davidic kingdom, which expresses confidence in the future on the Jewish side, is met with immediate and drastic Persian action, involving force; in 5-6 an inquiry is made into Jewish activity on the temple, and it is not immediately clear whether the inquiry is hostile. However, the fact that the narrator comments on divine protection for the Jews (5.5) allows him also to state that, during the making of the inquiry to Darius, the work was not halted, and this suggests a story designed to underline the reality of the royal (and hence divine) commission, rather than the suspicion that the authorisation was a fiction. So there is a sharp contrast with 4. At the same time, the somewhat improbable indication that all the district governors were involved in the matter with the provincial governor suggests the same kind of generalising which is present in 4. The result is that the attempt of all the officials in 4, which led to stoppage, is here countered by a similar involvement of all the governors in 5-6 which undergirds Jewish action. Whatever underlies these narratives, they have now been stylised into a total opposition followed by a total approval and acceptance.

Thus these two sections, which appear at first sight to give some clue as to how Achaemenid official behaviour, represented by the provincial governor, operated in relation to the Jewish community, really amount to very little that is tangible. Both are so stylised as to raise considerable questions about actuality. This does not, however, mean that they may not give some pointers. The clearest is in 6.9-12, particularly in the injunction to pray for the king and his sons. Presumably both the initiative in restoring the temple attributed to Cyrus and its confirmation by Darius, involve at least the recognition that such conduct will encourage a favourable attitude on the part of the deity in Jerusalem: prayer for the king and his sons as successors may point further to the position claimed by the king as ruler in Jerusalem and therefore under the protection of its deity. On the other hand, the hostile attitude of the king in 4, while we cannot give it a full historical context, may be held to express what is felt in the end to be a futile opposition to the deity who is held by the Jews to be in reality responsible for the success and power

of the Achaemenid kings (cf Isaiah 44.28, 45.1). These two narratives, like the two prayer/psalms of Ezra 9 and Nehemiah 9, can be seen to express the ambivalence of attitude of the Jewish community to the royal authorities (cf. similar attitudes in Daniel, where alien rulers' attempts at repression are shown to be futile. On the main issues raised here, see van der Spek 1983).

The Nehemiah narratives also provide some impressions of relationships with the Persian authorities. In Neh.2.7-8, Nehemiah requests and is granted letters ensuring protection and support: these are addressed to the governors of the province Beyond the River and 'Asaph, the keeper of the king's forest'. The latter would appear to be Jewish, though we cannot be sure. It is significant that he controls royal lands. The term used is the Persian *pardes*, 'royal park' or 'garden', here 'forested land'. It is improbable that this is to be equated with the reference to timber from Lebanon in Ezra 3.7, as some commentators would propose: that is to conflate narratives whose function is different. More probably we are dealing with crown lands in Judah: presumably these are lands which were royal property under the Judaeen monarchy (cf. 1 Sam.8.12,14 and 1 Chron.28.1), now regarded as belonging to the Achaemenid successor. This passage thus provides another clue to the status of the Achaemenid king.

The other element in the Nehemiah narrative which is relevant concerns his opponents. Significantly none of them is given a clear statement of office or status. Sanballat is 'the Horonite'; Tobiah is 'the servant, the Ammonite'; — the term *'ebed*, which suggests a royal officer, is here used to suggest slave status; Geshem (Gashmu) is the Arab (Neh.2.10, 19). Subsequently there is reference to 'the army of Samaria' (3.34, EVV 4.2); and the leaders are joined by 'Arabs, Ammonites and Ashodites' (4.1, EVV 4.7). From the Elephantine papyri, and also from the Wadi Daliyeh evidence, we know more of Sanballat: he is governor of Samaria. Tobiah appears in Neh.6.17-19 as a highly favoured official in the Jewish community: it has been argued that he was officer in charge of the Ammonite area, and a connection has been proposed with a family which, it is argued, can be traced from the late eighth century to the second (Mazar 1957): if that proposal is too good to be true, at least it makes sense to consider Tobiah as a personage of importance. Geshem has been identified with an Arab king (cf. Cross 1975: 7 (190)): though the precise identification is not certain, it also makes good sense for him to be a person of note. The three do not always act together; we may infer that tradition has made three neighbouring officials into a unified opposition to Nehemiah and Jerusalem — a stylisation which can be detected elsewhere (cf for example Psalm 83). Their accusation that Nehemiah was claiming the kingship (Neh.6) raises numerous questions: what is of more general interest is that it fits into a pattern familiar at least from the Tell el-Amarna tablets onwards — local subject rulers or officers use any pretext for currying favour

with their overlord by denigrating their neighbours. The narratives have a certain verisimilitude from this angle. We are less informed in regard to the outcome, except that, if they did carry out their threat of reporting Nehemiah to the king (possibly via the provincial governor), there is a reasonable inference that Nehemiah was able to answer the charge and remained in royal favour for his second period in Jerusalem after his return to Babylon in year 32.

(III) The Achaemenid king and local law. This topic has been examined by Frei (1984), who argues for a procedure by which the laws of the local communities were given the authorisation of the king. He uses first the trilingual inscription from Letoon in Lycia; then the so-called 'Passover papyrus' from Elephantine, problematic because of the gaps in the opening lines; and the Ezra-Nehemiah narratives. Here the text of Ezra 7.26 — 'the law of your God and the law of the king' — provides a possible clue to the acceptance of the Jewish community's law as having royal authority; and that of Neh.11.23 — 'there was a royal command concerning them' (i.e. the singers, cf. also 11.24) — provides a similar possibility, though he discusses how far this small subsection (11.21-24) may be using an independent source which refers back to the authority of David for the organisation of worship, as this is to be found in 1 Chronicles (cf. also Neh.12.24 which specifically refers to David the king — this cross-reference is not made by Frei). He further uses analogies from both Daniel and Esther for such royal backing for particular laws, arguing that the meaning of the claim there (Esther 1.19 and Dan.6.19) that the 'laws of the Medes and Persians do not pass away' suggests a similar concept of royal authorisation in each case for a particular legal decision (i.e. it is not that the laws never change, but that a particular law is given royal authority). This approach by Frei further illuminates the Ezra material, and, if accepted, would stress the relationship between the laws of a particular community and the royal backing given to them.

The other aspect of the Ezra law which is of importance concerns its spatial application. According to Ezra 7.25, the law here given royal support is to be extended to all who live within the province Beyond the River. The actual phrase refers to the 'people' (*'ammah*), which would seem to indicate members of the Jewish community — 'all such as know the law of your God': to this is added a reference to teaching those who do not know the law, possibly the proper instruction of children (cf. Deut.31.13 for a similar statement). Thus, on this basis, Ezra, and hence the Jewish community in Jerusalem, is given authority over all Jews within the province: the passage envisages the treatment of community members, even outside the limited area of Judah itself, as coming under the same jurisdiction. Do we have here an indication of an attempt at resolving the problem of isolated members or groups who otherwise would come under the jurisdiction of the local authori-

ties and whose position could be at risk under unsympathetic officials? If so, we can see some anticipation of later attempts at resolving the difference between religious or community allegiance and a residential position which brought particular individuals or groups under the control of the governor of another district.

There is here again another problem of interpretation, namely that we may see in this passage another hint of a claim that the whole area of Beyond the River comes under Jewish law. That such a claim is without historical support does not alter the fact that such a view of the Davidic kingdom is to be found in both 2 Samuel (8.3 — where the marginal reading supplies the name Euphrates for the river) and 1 Chronicles (18.3 — Euphrates here appears in the text); as also in such a passage as Psalm 89.25, where royal rule extends from Sea to Rivers, i.e. worldwide.

4. *Questions to be raised*

(a) One of the common assumptions in biblical scholarship in dealing with the Achaemenid period is that a contrast can be drawn between that period and what preceded it. In part this is connected with the general question of how far it is proper to see evidence of Persian tolerance — towards which the biblical accounts in Ezra and Nehemiah, as also the references to Cyrus in Isaiah 44-45, make their contribution, and must therefore be handled cautiously to avoid circularity of argument. In part it involves oversimplified judgements on the Assyrian and Babylonian rulers and their policies. There is sufficient evidence of ruthlessness on the part of the Persians for any generalisation to be unsatisfactory. It would also appear proper to consider how far the supposed tolerance is in fact a particular kind of political approach: the allowing of some degree of autonomy, or perhaps rather of the continuation of local practice in law and religion, can look like toleration (cf. Tozzi 1977, 26-32, van der Spek 1983).

The same kind of question arises with regard to the change of rule from Persian to Greek. The discussion of the later Greek period is in some degree influenced by the events of the second century B.C., the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Without here raising questions about the nature of those events, which are not without their own problems of interpretation, we may note that the picture of Greek rule is in some degree influenced by the hostile attitudes associated with that period. Yet we may observe that there is no explicit reference in the biblical text to the Greek conquest: only 1 Maccabees gives an account, and stylised references appear in Daniel (especially in chapter 11). We are in the dark about how the Jewish community reacted: Josephus' account again raises more questions than it resolves, since it is made an occasion for unfavourable contrast with the Samaritans and for clearly legendary claims about the behaviour of Alexander.

The broader question here concerns whether and how far there was felt to be a real change over these centuries. While we may observe the change in political organisation for Judah, with the loss of the monarchy, we must also note that independence, apart from a brief interlude under Josiah between about 625 and 609, was no longer a reality for Judah after the end of the eighth century. The real rulers were the imperial powers: what they claimed in regard to Judah could clearly involve the choice of ruler — so with both Egyptian and Babylonian pressure in the last years of the monarchy, as later with the appointment of governors by the Achaemenids. We have a gap during the Babylonian period, and a somewhat unclear situation under Cyrus. How far can we assume continuity of officers for Judah, as has been supposed for Samaria?

The change over to Greek rule similarly does not appear to point to radical alterations in the situation. This raises the broader question whether we may draw inferences for the Achaemenid period both from what precedes and from what follows.

(b) In a recent examination of royal ideology in Persia (Koch 1984), the attempt is made at explaining how that ideology is related to the degree of contentment under that rule by contrast with other periods. The study was written on the whole with a somewhat uncritical view of the nature of Persian tolerance. But it also seems to beg questions in regard to the extent of rebellion during the two centuries of Persian rule. The measurement of contentment is a delicate matter. We might consider the situation in Judah under the later Judaeans: during the 29 year reign of Hezekiah (c. 715-686 probably), there were frequent involvements in rebellion. Then for half a century under Manasseh, the only evidence of rebellion is found in a highly tendentious account in 2 Chron.33. There are those who are satisfied that this rebellion and Manasseh's summons to Babylon and imprisonment can be linked to the indications in the Assyrian records of troubles in the west, but this is tenuous support for a narrative which appears rather to be constructed as a type of the Babylonian exile (Ackroyd 1974). Even if it is accepted, it would still leave fifty years with only one rebellious event: and since Manasseh continued to rule, it would need to be supposed that he was able to satisfy the Assyrian rulers of his continued loyalty. How many rebellions should we expect under the Persians to make that a period of discontent rather than contentment? Some would construct a rebellion under Zerubbabel leading to his removal: the evidence is too thin. Morgenstern constructed a large-scale rebellion at the accession of Xerxes in 485: but the gradual increase in the listing of texts supposed to reflect this has generally been seen to point to its improbability (see comments in Ackroyd 1984: 153f.). A rebellion in the mid-fourth century still has supporters (for references see Ackroyd 1984: 154): but neither the historical nor the archaeological evidence is really satisfactory. So

far as the Palestinian area was concerned, there is clear evidence of rebellion in the satrapy in the mid-fifth century. And, of course, more broadly the conflicts with Greece and the establishment of Egyptian independence at the end of the fifth century show that Persian rule in the west was by no means without major disruptions.

In assessing the position of Judah, we have to question how far its relatively minor position — only the importance of the lines of communication with Egypt would seem to bring it into the larger areas of conflict — could allow it to continue relatively undisturbed. The story of Nehemiah and of his conflicts with his neighbours suggests a continuing pattern, both as regards the attempts of officials to play off others against themselves and as regards the attempts at persuading loyal governors to join in a general uprising. Is it too far-fetched to suppose that Sanballat and his like saw advantage in providing a cover-up for their own activities by complaining about Nehemiah?

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NEW EVIDENCE ON THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF PALESTINE IN THE PERSIAN PERIOD

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I. It is the general consensus that the Persians did not alter the internal administrative form of Palestine which was created at the time of Babylonian and Assyrian rule (Forrer 1921: 6). From the time of Tiglath-Pileser III (733/32 B.C.) onwards, the Assyrian division in the north of the country was composed of the provinces of Megiddo, Dor and Samaria, and in Transjordan, Hauran, Karnaim (the Bashan) and Gilead. In the Babylonian period, when the southern part of Palestine was also subjugated and the remnants of the independent states were eradicated, new provinces were annexed: Judah, Ashdod and Idumaea (the southern Judaeen Hills) in the west and Ammon and Moab in Transjordan. Farther south the Kedarite Arabs ruled Gaza, the Negev and apparently also Edom. Since conclusive contemporary evidence is lacking, the establishment of these provinces by the Babylonians is a matter of conjecture, though the existence of the northern provinces in Transjordan in the Babylonian period may perhaps also be indicated by the reference to Hauran and Gilead in Ezekiel 47: 8. Some of the above mentioned provinces may have been created only at the beginning of the Persian period. In the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, mention is made of the provinces of Samaria in the north, Ashdod in the west and Ammon in the east; the southern region was occupied by Geshem the Arab. The existence of a province of Moab may possibly be indicated by the biblical reference to the 'children of the Paḥath-Moab' (Ezra 2: 6; 8: 4; 10: 30; Neh.7: 1). No reference to Edom is found and it is possible that in this period it was annexed to the Arabian territory (see below). Further contemporary evidence of the existence of the provinces of Samaria and Judah can be found in the Elephantine papyri (Cowley 1923: nos. 30-32), and in the documents from Wadi Daliyeh (Cross 1974). The name of the province of Judah is also stamped on coins and seal impressions which have been uncovered in various excavations. In addition to the term *phwh* ('province') which was under the rule of a *phh*, the smaller unit of the satrapy is also called *medinthah* (state). Proof that these terms are identical is provided by the name of the province of Judah which also appears in the form *Yehud Medinthah* (Ezra 5: 5). According to A. Schalit, this name is also taken from Persian administrative usage and it is merely the Aramaic equivalent of the Persian-Assyrian name (Schalit 1960: 103-106). (cf. also Esth.1: 1, where the whole territory of the Persian empire is divided into 127

medinoth and not, as was customary, into satrapies; and cf. also Esdras the third 3: 2).

Whereas the administrative division into provinces (*medinoth*) apparently existed in Transjordan and was also employed as the political framework in Samaria and Judah, i.e., in each area occupied by distinct national groups, some scholars have expressed doubts that this framework applied to the other parts of Palestine as well. The form of the Phoenician organisation, for example, was essentially urban, while the Arabs dwelt in a tribal framework. Thus, in the view of M. Avi-Yonah, the Persian administrative structure west of the Jordan was adapted wholly to the heterogeneous nature of the population, and in fact included three types of political units: (Avi-Yonah 1966: 11): province (*phwh* or *medinah*); (2) autonomous cities; and (3) tribal areas. In the first category he included Galilee (the province of Megiddo), Samaria, Judah, Idumaea and Ashdod. The second category is represented by the coastal cities which the Persians granted to the jurisdiction of Tyre and Sidon (with the exception of 'Akko and Gaza, which in Avi-Yonah's opinion, were under direct Persian rule). The Negev and southern Transjordan belonged to the Arab tribes.

Up to now, Avi-Yonah's theory was impossible to prove on the basis of known sources, and in our view it was doubtful. It is true that according to Pseudo-Scylax's list of cities it can be assumed that all of the coastal cities were in the possession of one or other of the Phoenician kings, but this document by its very nature does not mention any of the larger units, the provinces. In another contemporary source, on the other hand, the Eshmuner inscription, the area described bears an amazing resemblance to the province of Dor. Another possible hint of the existence of a provincial framework in the coastal plain as well, may be found in Herodotus' account, which distinguishes between the areas held by Phoenicia, Syro-Palestine, Arabia and again Syria. This can be translated in accordance with the provinces known to us as Dor (Phoenician), Ashdod (Syro-Palestinian), the Gaza region (Arabian territory), and another unknown province also belonging to Syro-Palestine, which was situated in this period to the south of el-'Arish. The existence of large administrative units in the coastal plain is also attested by the numerous remnants of forts, royal granaries, etc. along the entire coast. Scylax also mentions a 'king's palace' at Ashkelon, and since in Avi-Yonah's view also Ashkelon belonged to the province of Ashdod, this palace was probably the seat of the governor. Though it is possible that the string of forts in the coastal plain was part of the excellent network of roads and communications constructed by the Persians in all the lands under their rule, such large-scale projects obviously also entailed employing royal officials who could deal with these huge areas and not merely isolated cities. It therefore seems that the 'ownership' and rights granted to the various kings

in the coastal cities by the Persians consisted of such things as tax concessions and other economic advantages and were not necessarily political rights. Thus in our opinion there is no reason to assume that the coastal plain was organised exclusively as a network of 'autonomous' cities.

We agree with the view, on the other hand, that in the areas of the Negev, Sinai, and the former Edomite region, that is, the sparsely populated areas which were not occupied by a settled people, Persian rule was interested in preserving the good will of the Arab tribes who received payment for protecting the remote areas which were inaccessible to the Persian army. This area, however, by its very nature was never organised into clear administrative units. Nevertheless, excavations here too have uncovered evidence of a network of permanent fortresses which contained Persian garrison troops, for example at Beersheba, Arad, Kh. Ritmah, Tell Kheleifah and Kadesh Barnea. According to an ostrakon found at Arad, the fortress at this site was manned by a military unit which was designated as a 'Degel' (standard), a Persian unit also known from the Elephantine documents (Naveh 1981: 158).

To sum up, it appears that in the Persian period in Palestine, the administrative structure continued the basic divisions it had inherited from the Assyrian period, but in a more developed form. This period also witnessed the loss of the modicum of independence retained by the inhabitants in the south, both east and west of the Jordan, at the end of the Assyrian period. This process may have already begun in the Babylonian period.

II. During the past decade or so, important evidence has been gathered regarding the existence of the various provinces in Palestine. Most of it concerns the Judaeian state (Rahmani 1971; Rahmani 1974; Jesselsohn 1974; Avigad 1976; Spaer 1977; Mildenberg 1979; Stern 1981; Meshorer 1982; Meyers 1985) — and some Idumaea (Naveh 1973; Naveh 1979; Naveh 1981); Ashdod (Meshorer 1976: 56), and Dor (Stern 1985).

We shall concentrate here on the new evidence concerning another state: i.e. the state of *Samaria* about which revolutionary new material has recently come to light, a large part of which has as yet not been published.

Until now, information on the province of Samaria as an administrative unit in the Persian period was contained in (1) the Bible, where Sanballat the governor of Samaria appears among the enemies of Nehemiah (Neh.2: 10, 19; 4: 1); (2) a letter from Elephantine from the year 408 B.C. which mentions 'Delaiah and Shelemiah, sons of Sanballat, governor of Samaria' (Cowley 1923: from nos. 30, 1.29; and cf. also No. 31, 1.1); (3) Josephus' account of the continuous strife between Judah and Samaria (*Antiquities* XI 7,2); and (4) the Wadi Daliyeh papyri from 375 B.C. onwards, which contain the names of additional governors of the dynasty of Sanballat (Cross 1966; Cross 1969; Cross 1974; Cross 1983).

Also several ostraca written in Aramaic script were uncovered in two campaigns of excavations at Samaria but they are mostly receipts for shipments of dates, oil and wine with the addition of a date, and their historical importance is therefore insignificant. (Stern 1982: 244, no.36)

This new evidence has turned up both from new excavations as well as from chance finds. Both the character of Samaria's population and its characteristic material culture has been clarified in the new discoveries, in which we are now able to distinguish between the Achaemenian influence (Wright 1965: Fig.93; Tadmor 1974; Cross 1974: 28-29, Pls. 62-63; Stern 1980), and the Phoenician which is based on the ancient tradition of the pre-exilic period (Hestrin & Stern 1973; Stern 1983) and are also able to trace the local contribution (Stern 1983).

But most important of all is the written material. We have already mentioned the papyri and the bullae attached to them which were published by F.M. Cross (Cross 1974; Cross 1983). Recently many coins of the Samarian state have been found, all belonging to the type called 'Philisto-Arabian', which contribute greatly to our understanding of the administration division of the country (see Stern 1982: 221-224).

Until comparatively recently, only the coins of Judaea and Gaza were known. Since then however, a coin of Ashdod has turned up (Meshorer 1976: 56). Quite recently, a group of coins struck in Samaria (Shomron) in the fourth century B.C.E. was discovered, and some have already been published. Two of the recently discovered coin types are especially important: one depicts the inscription שֹׁמְרוֹן 'SHOMRON' in paleo-Hebrew (Samaritan) script, and the other is inscribed with the name of one יִרְבֵּעַם (YRB'M) 'Jeroboam.' The first coin records the name of the principal city of the Samaritans; the second contains (most probably) the name of a Samaritan leader (prince or *peha*). (Spaer 1979; Meshorer 1982: 31-32). Y. Meshorer has recently suggested that 'the events occurred prior to the conquest of Samaria by Alexander the Great which justified the minting of apparently local issues according to Josephus (*Ant.* XI 301-309). After the death of Yehoḥanan, the high priest of Jerusalem, his son Yadua succeeded to the office. At that time, Sanballat, a Samaritan, was appointed satrap of Samaria by Darius III, the last Persian king. In order to consolidate good relations with the Jewish population of Judaea, Sanballat arranged the marriage of his daughter Nikaso to one Menasheh (Manasses), the brother of Yehoḥanan and uncle of Yadua the high priest. The marriage was condemned by the inhabitants of Jerusalem: they advised Menasheh to either divorce Nikaso or to cease 'approaching the altar' in the Temple. Menasheh, wishing to retain both his wife and his high position in the priesthood, appealed to his father-in-law in Samaria. Sanballat promised him not only a position of authority in Samaria, but also a temple, similar to the one in Jerusalem, which was to be built on

Mount Gerizim. Darius gave his approval to the construction of the new temple. Menasheh moved to Samaria (or Shechem) together with a group of priests from Jerusalem who were given money and land by Sanballat. Shortly thereafter, Alexander the Great conquered the Middle East.

Several historians have argued that Josephus confused the details of this incident with those recorded in Neh. 13: 28ff. However, because the Samaritan papyri of Wadi Daliyeh mention the name of Sanballat, we can no longer reject his account. According to the evidence interpreted by Cross, not one but three Sanballats governed Samaria. (Cross 1966; Cross 1969; Cross 1974).

The hoard from the cave included coins minted apparently between 375-335 B.C.E. We may state with confidence that the coins inscribed 'ŠMRYN' and 'YRB^cM' were struck while the events concerning the construction of the Samaritan temple were taking place. These coins were not worn, and so were not circulated for an extended period' (Meshorer 1982: 31-32).

Meshorer has also pointed out that these two types, which are related, call for a comparison with the Yeheziah coins of Jerusalem (Rahmani 1971; Meshorer 1982: 33-34). A similar find has been made among the coins of Judaea where a coin depicting the name of Yohanan with his title: 'The high priest' had been discovered recently (Barag 1984 and cf. his historical reconstruction).

These finds turned up at the same time as the new excavation which took place on Mt. Gerizim, directed by I. Magen on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities, where the Samaritan settlement is being uncovered (Magen 1985).

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THE PHOENICIAN CITIES IN THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD: REMARKS ON THE PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF RESEARCH

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Before presenting the documents related to the Phoenician cities, it is necessary to know what we are speaking about: this is far from evident, as specialists in Phoenician studies have not yet agreed on the identity of the Phoenicians. We suggest beginning with the provisional geographical definition of Phoenicia in the Persian period put forward in Elayi 1982. What the Greeks called Phoenicia was, in the Persian period, a mere juxtaposition of coastal city-states, situated approximately between the Kishon in the south and the Nahr al-Sinn in the north (central Phoenicia). There were three main cities: Sidon, Tyre and Arados, and less important cities such as Byblos, Tripolis and Berytos. In the areas north and south of central Phoenicia, the main cities controlled at least five sites in northern Phoenicia: Sukas, Gabala, Sigon, Al Mina, and Myriandos, and in southern Phoenicia: Qartā (Tel Megadim), Dor, Straton's Tower, Joppè (Jaffa) and Ashkelon, and possibly other sites such as Tell Abu Hawam, Sycaminon (Tell Shiqmona), Tell Mevorach and Tel Michal (Makmish).

a) *The evidence*

The Phoenician inscriptions form the main source of information, in particular the royal inscriptions found at Sidon and Byblos (*RÉS* 287-288, 1202, 1506; *KAI* 9-11, 13-16; Gibson 1982: 25-30; Dunand 1965; Starcky 1969). The other inscriptions, all of them short, are varied (dedicatory inscriptions, lists of personal names, graffiti, etc.), and mainly come from Amrit, Sidon, Sarafand, Kharayeb, Akko and Achzib (Magnanini 1973: 40; Bordreuil 1985; Vanel 1967; Pritchard 1975: 97-101, and 1978: 96-110; Chéhab 1955; Dothan 1985a; Delavault-Lemaire 1979: 5; Avigad-Greenfield 1982). We must not forget either the very short inscriptions which can sometimes be found on Phoenician coins (Babelon 1893: 123-132, 192-196, 228-236, 290-294; Hill 1910: 1-12, 94-96, 139-154, 227-233; Elayi 1983a: 5-10; Elayi-Elayi 1986a), seals (Bordreuil 1983: 754-755; Greenfield 1985), amulets (Bordreuil 1986: 82-86) and weights (Lemaire 1980: 20-32). Other Phoenician inscriptions found outside Phoenicia provide useful information on the contemporaneous Phoenician-Punic world: for example the inscriptions found in Palestine (Delavault-Lemaire 1979; Naveh 1966: 28; Glueck 1971),

in Syria (Bron-Lemaire 1983), in Turkey (*KAI* 28), in Egypt (*KAI* 49-50; Lidzbarski 1912: 4-20; Kornfeld 1978: 193-204; Segal 1983: 139-145), in Cyprus (Masson-Szzymer 1972; Guzzo Amadasi-Karageorghis 1977), in Greek cities (*CIS* I 114-121; *KAI* 53-60), and in Phoenician colonies of the western Mediterranean (Guzzo Amadasi 1967).

As far as non-Phoenician sources are concerned, Phoenicians are rarely mentioned in Aramaic (*Esdra*s III, 7; *ANET*: 430; Teixidor 1964; Naveh 1968), and Achaemenid (*DSf*, *DSz*) sources of this period. Akkadian texts from the Persian period provide several personal names (Zadok 1978). But Greek and Latin sources are those which mention the Phoenicians most frequently (Tod 1948: 139; Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Lycurgus, Isocrates, Diodorus, Arrian, Aelian, Lycophron, Athenaeus, Quintus Curtius, Polybius, Cornelius Nepos, Jerome, etc.).

The archaeological data are fairly numerous for the Persian period. In central Phoenicia, in the territory of Arados, the site of Marathos (now Amrit) was excavated by M. Dunand; he found important architectural remains, particularly a sanctuary and a favissa filled with many fragments of sculptures (Dunand 1944-45 and 1946-48; Dunand-Saliby 1961-62). There were two excavation campaigns at Tell Kazel, which has been identified with Simyra (Dunand *et al.* 1964). Soundings were made at Tell Daruk, identified with Ushnatu (Riis 1960: 114-115), and at Tabbat el-Hammam (Braidwood 1940: 190). In the territory of Tripolis, only the sites of Shaykh Zanad and 'Arqa have been excavated (Pottier 1926; Thalmann 1978). At the site of Byblos, important architectural remains have been found, such as the temple of Ba'alat Gubal ('Patron-lady of Byblos'), and sarcophagi (Dunand 1939 and 1969). The Persian level has been excavated at Beirut during reconstruction works (Mouterde 1966: 32; Saïdah 1969: 139; Forest-Forest 1982), and at Khalde (Saïdah 1966). Sidon is the site where the most numerous finds dating from the Persian period were made (architectural remains and sarcophagi); several excavations were undertaken in the modern town and in the suburbs, especially at Bostan esh-Shaykh (Dunand 1970 and 1973). The site of Sarafand (ancient Sarepta) was also excavated (Pritchard 1975 and 1978; Saïdah 1969: 134-137). The Persian level of Tyre is so far almost unknown (Chéhab 1983: 170) and there are only traces of occupation of the Persian period at Hamon (now Umm al-Awamid; Dunand-Duru 1962). Other sites in the territory of Tyre have been excavated: Kharayeb (Kaoukabani 1973), Achzib (Prausnitz 1965), Akko (Dothan 1976 and 1985b) and Tell Keisan (Briend-Humbert 1980). In southern Phoenicia, the Persian levels of Tell Abu Hawam, Shiqmona, Tell Megadim, Dor, Tell Mevorach, Tel Michal, Jaffa and Ashkelon have been excavated (Hamilton 1934; Cross 1968; Broshi 1969; Stern 1977, 1983 and 1986; Herzog *et al.* 1978; Kaplan 1972; Albright 1922). In northern Phoenicia, excavations were undertaken at Sukas and Al

Mina (Riis 1973; Woolley 1938). We must note the discoveries of monetary treasures too (Thompson *et al.* 1973: 1482-1504).

b) *Problems in the interpretation of these sources and material*

The Semitic epigraphy of the north-west is still in its early stages, compared with Greek or Latin epigraphy, for a number of reasons: texts in consonantal alphabet without vocalization, the ambiguity of some terms, the existence of homographs, vocabulary still poorly known, etc. For example, the Phoenician-Punic vocabulary attested so far amounts to some 668 words only; among these are 321 *hapax legomena* and about 15 foreign or loan words (Röllig 1983: 376; Sznycer 1983: 394). Moreover, some inscriptions have been published without copies, or with inadequate copies. Studies in syntax, stylistics and dialect need to be developed. For instance, if we compare the Phoenician inscriptions with contemporary ones, they are very few, which rarely allows one to place them in a series — a drawback for understanding. They are not very varied and do not present much of interest from the historical point of view, except for the royal inscriptions on the assumption that political propaganda can be discerned. Most of the inscriptions give only personal names, often already attested elsewhere. The limited knowledge of the language, together with the frequent absence of parallel inscriptions make the restoration of lacunae very difficult. The principle enunciated by L. Robert is particularly indispensable in Phoenician: “Il ne faut pas restituer n’importe quoi. L’épigraphiste doit être insensible à l’horreur du vide. Les restitutions sans fondement ne sont pas seulement inutiles mais nuisibles” (Robert 1961: 487).

The first drawback of non-Phoenician sources is related to their scarcity, except for the Greek and Latin sources. The second drawback is that they are sources coming from external cultures: such sources should be used with caution, mainly those which do not come from other north-west Semitic cultures.

Although plentiful enough, the archaeological material is very uneven, depending on the areas excavated and the interest of archaeologists. Most of the time, the Persian level has been neglected on behalf of more recent levels (Hellenistic or Roman) by the classical archaeologists, or more ancient by many archaeologists of the Middle-East who consider antiquity the best criterion. An additional inconvenience is that the Persian level is often damaged by the buildings of Hellenistic or Roman levels. The Lebanese seacoast where the main Phoenician sites are located has remained the least explored: because in fact, the coastal plain is very narrow, urban agglomerations are concentrated in the same space, i.e. on ancient Phoenician sites. Moreover, since the beginning of the Lebanese war in 1975, all excavations

have been interrupted. The Syrian seacoast is rarely excavated with the Phoenician perspective in mind: thus, at Ugarit (Ras Shamra), the Persian level is neglected in favour of levels of the second millennium where new cuneiform tablets are expected. The Israeli seacoast is the best explored comparatively speaking. The publications of ancient excavations are full of drawbacks due to the methods formerly used by archaeologists, and the results need to be reassessed: thus, the publication of the excavations of Tell Abu Hawam by R.W. Hamilton (Hamilton 1934) has been revised by J. Balensi (Balensi 1985). The Phoenician pre-Alexandrine coinages, although rich and original, are not well known even now: these coins are still classified with Greek coins and have generally been studied by numismatists not specialists in Semitic languages, and with an inadequate knowledge of the historical Phoenician context in the Persian period.

The main difficulty of Phoenician studies comes from the diversity of sources, which requires a pluridisciplinary approach, as their scarcity means they must all be used: the historian of Phoenicia ought to be at the same time a specialist of Semitic languages, a hellenist, a scholar of Elamite and Iranian languages. Each specialist tends to use only the sources that he can master, which may bias his view of the facts when he wants to study a historical problem. Thus, Biblical scholars, exegetes or theologians, sometimes study a problem in Phoenician history, not for its own interest, but in order to elucidate a problem posed by a text in the Old Testament, which rarely solves the Phoenician problem (however, without the Hebrew vocabulary and comparison with Hebrew, the most closely related language, the interpretation of the Phoenician inscriptions would be completely impossible). Other orientalist study such Phoenician problems without using the classical sources with which they are not familiar. By contrast, the hellenists who study such Phoenician problems (even the siege of Tyre by Alexander!) cannot entirely understand the problems.

On the whole, the available documentation for the Persian period is rather disappointing because it throws light mainly on material culture and leaves several fields unknown: literature, philosophy or religious beliefs for instance. However, there are numerous studies on Phoenician religion founded upon the interpretation of iconography and Ugaritic religion of the second millennium: the scarcity of contemporary documents indispensable to the knowledge of religion should inspire much more caution in this field (Sznycer 1983: 393-394). The only cities for which we have documentation dated to the Persian period are Sidon and Byblos; Arados, Tyre and Tripolis are little known and it is uncertain whether Berytos was then an independent city. As for northern and southern Phoenicia, many Phoenician sites remain unidentified and the political status of the few identified sites is virtually unknown. The circumstances of the incorporation of the Phoenician cities into the

Persian Empire are quite unknown. The first Phoenician inscription dated from the Achaemenid period (about 500) is the very fragmentary inscription of king Šipitba'al of Byblos (*KAI* 9), but it is only from the beginning of the 5th century that there are more numerous sources, mainly Greek, concerned with the Persian wars, dealing with the participation of Phoenician cities in these wars. From the end of the Persian wars to the beginning of the 4th century, the classical sources rarely mention Phoenician cities, but there are several royal inscriptions from Sidon and Byblos. The revolts of the western satrapies during the first half of the 4th century and the conquest of Phoenician cities by Alexander are mentioned several times in classical sources; moreover we have some Phoenician inscriptions dating from this period.

c) *The main results*

Let us first point out that Phoenician studies are not generally limited to the Persian period and take into account the whole Phoenician-Punic world, so that it is often difficult to isolate the results only concerned with Phoenician cities in the Achaemenid Empire. The uneven value of the works must also be taken into consideration but cannot be discussed here.

Epigraphical works in the Phoenician-Punic field have increased over the last few decades (Röllig 1983; Szyner 1983: 387-393). The discoveries of new inscriptions have become more and more frequent, mainly outside Phoenicia. In parallel with these discoveries, many epigraphical studies on new inscriptions, or proposals for new readings of ancient inscriptions have been published in the last few years. The study of very short inscriptions such as those on seals has been particularly developed (Herr 1978: 171-181; Greenfield 1985). This development of epigraphy has contributed to a better knowledge of the language and made new instruments of research possible: dictionaries or lexicons (*DISO*; Tomback 1978; Fuentes Estañol 1980), grammars (Friedrich 1970; Segert 1976) and corpora of inscriptions (*KAI*; Gibson 1982; Delavault-Lemaire 1979); it also made new paleographic (Peckham 1968), onomastic (Benz 1972), dialectical (Garbini 1977) and stylistic (Greenfield 1971; Stephan 1985) studies possible.

Studies in historical geography for this period are rare (Elayi 1982 and 1985a); new identifications have been proposed in excavation-reports, some of them persuasive, but many Phoenician sites remain unidentified. Some studies have begun to cast some light on the socio-political structures of Phoenician cities, mainly the Sidonian (Slouszcz 1913-14; Bondi 1974; Rey-Coquais 1974; Teixidor 1979 and 1980; Elayi 1980a), the political ideology of Sidon (Catastini 1984), the historical events (Katzenstein 1979, Elayi 1981a), the relations with colonies (Elayi 1981b) and with the Persians (Clermont-

Ganneau 1921). From inscriptions and coins, it is possible to begin to establish dynastic lists for the cities of Sidon and Byblos (Naster 1965; Dunand 1975-76; Garbini 1984; Coacci Polselli 1984). As far as commercial exchanges are concerned, some studies are related to the problem of Greek imports in Phoenician cities and to the evolution of Cyprian imports (Elayi 1983b and 1985b; Riis 1982). It is in the field of religion that works are the most numerous, but the great majority of them are general (Sznycer 1981; Colloque de Namur 1986). Only a few of them are specifically concerned with the Persian period (Bordreuil 1985 and 1986; Elayi 1986a; Gubel 1986).

Phoenician architecture, of which there are few remains in the cities because of the permanent occupation of the sites, is not yet very well known, but some aspects have been studied such as the temple of 'Ešmun at Byblos, the temple of Marathos, and the ribbed wall type (Dunand 1969 and 1973; Elayi 1980b; Stern 1977 and 1982). As for sculpture, the main works concern anthropoid sarcophagi (Kukahn 1955; Buhl 1959). Several catalogues of Phoenician coins have been established (Babelon 1893; Hill 1910; Chéhab 1977; Betlyon 1982), but these catalogues are obsolete or insufficiently documented with respect to the Phoenician historical context. A few works are beginning to cast some light on some particular points such as the presence of Phoenician coins in hoards, the so-called Akko type of coinage, and different problems related to the Byblos and Arados coinages (Naster 1965; Lemaire 1976; Elayi 1983a, 1984, 1985c, 1986b-c, and Elayi-Elayi 1986a-b).

Conclusion

This review shows that Phoenician studies related to the Persian period have advanced recently, but they still have a long way to go. The problem of the functioning of the central Persian state and its interaction with the Phoenician cities cannot be studied before some preliminary problems are solved. The first problem concerns the cultural identity of the Phoenicians in this period. A socio-political and economic study of the Phoenician cities is a second necessary step. The relations between Phoenician cities and the relations with other states need to be defined: in particular the relations with colonies, with Cyprian cities, with Egypt and with Greek cities; by the way, an important problem is the penetration of hellenism in Phoenicia before Alexander's conquest. Several important fields, such as religious beliefs, remain still unexplored.

None of these problems can be solved in any other way than through an interdisciplinary approach. For example, the original socio-political structures of Phoenician cities which constitute the western border of the Persian empire are related at the same time to those of some eastern Semitic states and as

well as those of some Greek cities. The sources of documentation are too scarce for any of them to be neglected, even if they need multiple specialities. On the other hand, the progress of Phoenician studies related to the Persian period cannot be separated from that of the whole of Phoenician-Punic studies. With regard to the penetration of hellenism in Phoenicia, it would be useful to determine, from all the available data, the importance and modalities of commercial exchange, the extension and limits of cultural changes which prepared the Greek acculturation of Phoenician society (or at least of some of its layers) in the hellenistic period. The study of this problem, specific to Phoenician cities, would help to understand how and why the western coastal part of the Persian empire was progressively transformed and a ground favourable to Greek domination prepared. The study of religious beliefs can hardly progress without the discovery of new inscriptions. However, the advancement of the knowledge of the Phoenician language will probably be useful as several terms, still unclear, refer to sacrificial practices. Numismatics, not yet well known, can provide precious information on history, provided the numismatic problems are placed into a historical perspective. It would be particularly interesting to determine the date of and the reasons for the beginning of Phoenician coinages, to assess their functions in the minting city, and to know if Phoenician cities had access to a monetary economy before Alexander (who is supposed to have introduced it in the area). A corpus of Phoenician pre-Alexandrine coins is needed too (in preparation). The study of Phoenician coin hoards, none of which has yet been analysed, would certainly provide valuable information: in particular, the hoard of coins from Byblos published by M. Dunand (1939: esp. 407-408). Other disciplines, such as anthropology or geo-archaeology, can sometimes provide interesting complements to other sources of documentation: for example anthropology can be useful for the research of Phoenician cultural elements; the first Phoenician cultural element found in Lebanon (to be published) is the so-called 'ribbed wall' (Elayi 1980b). Geo-archaeology helped by toponymy can provide useful information on the evolution of spatial occupation: a study of the 'trouée de Homs' is being prepared by J. Sapin. Finally the problem of the situation of Phoenician cities in the Persian empire will be best understood if compared with their situation in the hellenistic kingdoms as well as in the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian empires. For example, our scarce information on the exploitation of cedar wood by the Persians would be illuminated by a study of this problem during the Assyro-Babylonian period. Of course, these problems are only some examples of the problems related to Phoenician cities in the Achaemenid period, because it is impossible, in the framework of a review-paper, to cover in detail the present state and perspectives of research in this area.

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ZYPERN UNTER PERSISCHER HERRSCHAFT

Josef Wiesehöfer — Hagen

I. *Problemstellung*

Wie für Ionien, die Inseln und das festländische Griechenland, so wurde auch für Zypern für die Zeit ab dem Ende des 6. Jhds. v.Chr. in der Forschung lange Zeit ein unversöhnlicher, z.T. nationalstaatlicher, Gegensatz zwischen dem griechischen Bevölkerungsteil auf der einen und den persischen Oberherrn (sowie ihren phönikischen „Helfershelfern“) auf der anderen Seite postuliert, ein Gegensatz, der vor allem mit dem kulturellen und politischen Antagonismus zwischen den betroffenen Völkern (griechische Kyprioten als Vorkämpfer des Hellenentums - Perser und phönikische Kyprioten als ihre „barbarischen“ Widersacher) begründet wurde (Literatur bei Seibert 1976: 3ff. sowie Maier 1985: 32). Kennzeichnend ist die Formulierung von E. Gjerstad (1948: 484-5): „We know very little of the history of Cyprus during that period (5.-4. Jhd., J.W.), but the Cypro-Greek cities were reduced to a state of political nullity, and Persia was determined to eradicate the last survival of philhellene mentality ... The alliance of Persians and Phoenicians against the Cypro-Greek cities ... was intensified and developed into a systematic action intended to turn Cyprus into a Persian country administered by Phoenicians.“ Im Gegensatz zu Ionien und Griechenland allerdings wurde die These eines solchen Antagonismus erst relativ spät einer kritischen Überprüfung unterzogen (vor allem Seibert 1976; s. nun auch Maier 1985), was u.a. seine Ursache darin hat, daß die Quellenlage für diese Insel, vor allem in den von Historikern gern bevorzugten Bereichen der Historiographie, Literatur und Epigraphik, nur als dürftig zu bezeichnen ist. Eindeutig im Vordergrund stehen nämlich die numismatischen (Gesche 1970) und vor allem die archäologischen Zeugnisse, die für einen ereignisgeschichtlich-chronologisch orientierten Historiker oder Archäologen einen erheblich größeren Interpretationsspielraum bieten und häufig genug allein zur Illustration des bereits als bekannt vorausgesetzten Zeithintergrundes dienen.

II. *Allgemeine Vorbemerkungen*

1. *Bevölkerungsstruktur*

Es sind vor allem drei Bevölkerungsgruppen, die auf Zypern in klassischer Zeit von Bedeutung waren: die sog. 'Eteokyprioten', also die ursprüngliche,



Cypern (nach: F.G. Maier, *Cypern*, München, 1982²)

einheimische Bevölkerung (mit dem Zentrum Amathus in klassischer Zeit), die Griechen und die Phöniker. Über die Datierung der griechischen 'Kolonisation' Zyperns bestehen unterschiedliche Ansichten (Hill 1940: 82: zwischen 1400 und 1200; Gjerstad 1948: 428 und Maier 1982: 40: um 1200; Seibert 1976: 2: zwischen dem 14. und 12. Jhd.; Karageorghis 1982a: 516: zwischen 1200 und 1050), einig ist man sich jedoch, daß die Neusiedler vornehmlich von der Peloponnes (und Rhodos (Benson 1973: 23-4)) her kommend sich auf der Insel festsetzten. Ihre wichtigsten Siedlungen waren Marion, Soloi und Lapethos an der Nordküste, Salamis an der Ostküste, Kurion und Paphos an der Südküste und Golgoi, Idalion, Tamassos, Ledra und Chytroi im Innern des Landes. Die Kolonisierung Zyperns durch die Phöniker wird allgemein in die Zeit des 10.-9. Jhds. v.Chr. datiert, worauf der archäologische wie der epigraphische Befund gleichermaßen verweisen (Maier 1982: 43; Karageorghis 1982a: 526; Masson-Szzyner 1972: 13-20; Gjerstad 1979: 233). Die wichtigste phönikische Siedlung war ohne Zweifel Kition, daneben ist phönikische Besiedlung noch in Idalion, Tamassos, Marion und Lapethos nachzuweisen (Masson-Szzyner 1972: fig.1).

2. Sprachen und Schrift

Die kyprische Silbenschrift war *das* gebräuchliche Schreibsystem auf der Insel. Sie wurde sowohl für die schriftliche Abfassung von Texten im kyprischen Dialekt (dem östlichen Zweig der Arkado-kyprischen Sprachfamilie) benutzt wie auch für Texte in der (uns noch unverständlichen) eteokyprischen Sprache. Neben dieser Silbenschrift sind uns noch das phönikische und das griechische Alphabet bekannt, doch sind Texte in diesen Schriftarten in weit geringerer Zahl bekannt als jene in der kyprischen Silbenschrift (zusammenfassend Mitford-Masson 1982: 71-82; zum phönikischen Alphabet: Guzzo Amadasi-Karageorghis 1977 sowie Masson-Szzyner 1972).

3. Archäologische Zeugnisse

Es ist hier natürlich nicht möglich, einen Überblick über die Archäologie Zyperns in spätkyproarchaischer und klassischer Zeit zu bieten (Überblick u.a. bei Tatton-Brown 1982: 92-105; Vermeule 1976; Yon 1981). Vielmehr soll der archäologische Befund im folgenden immer dann Berücksichtigung finden, wenn er zur Aufhellung historischer Sachverhalte von Bedeutung ist.

III.

Worauf stützte sich nun aber die lange Zeit allgemein anerkannte These von einem Grundkonflikt zwischen griechischen Kyprern auf der einen und

Phönikern (und Persern) auf der anderen Seite? Hier ist zum einen an die negative Beurteilung der Phöniker durch Griechen bereits in der Antike zu erinnern (*Od.* XIV 288ff. XV 415ff. e.a.; vgl. aber *Od.* XIII 271 ff!), wo sie als Betrüger, Diebe und Schurken geschildert werden (vgl. auch Hdt. I 1, dagegen aber I 5). Das negative Bild der Phöniker wurde z.T. in der Moderne übernommen und verfestigte sich vorübergehend durch die Aufwertung alles Indogermanisch-Griechischen und die Abwertung alles Semitischen. Daneben hat sich jedoch die Mehrzahl der Forscher sehr sachlich mit diesem griechischen 'Feindbild' auseinandergesetzt (Jüthner 1923: 6.11-2; Dörrie 1972: 146-75; Seibert 1976: 5 e.a.). Was nun den griechisch-phönikischen Gegensatz auf Zypern angeht, haben dessen Verfechter immer auf drei Zeugnisse verwiesen, die ihre These untermauern sollten: Isokr. 9, 19ff. 47 sowie Hermesianax bei Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphon Synagoge*. Seibert (1976: 5-8) wie Maier (1985: 33) haben nun zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, daß diese Quellen in keiner Weise einem solchen Anspruch gerecht werden: So ist zur 'Barbarisierung' von Salamis (πόλις ἐκβαρβαρωμένη) durch einen phönikischen Flüchtling festzustellen, daß dies a) durch den archäologischen Befund in keiner Weise gedeckt wird, daß b) die angeblich von ihm dem Großkönig unterworfenen Insel damals bereits zum achaimenidischen Herrschaftsbereich gehörte, daß c) Isokrates' Bild natürlich vor dem Hintergrund seiner außenpolitischen Anschauungen im allgemeinen einerseits und seiner Bewunderung für Euagoras andererseits gesehen werden muß, daß d) die Bevölkerung der Stadt beim Kampf des Euagoras augenscheinlich eher eine Zuschauer- denn eine aktive Rolle einnahm (Isokr. 9, 31) (vgl. Costa 1974: 40-1; Pouilloux 1975: 113, 117).

Das dritte Zeugnis schließlich besagt nichts anderes, als daß der salaminische König einer Heirat seiner Tochter mit einem Phöniker nicht zustimmte, einem Phöniker, der immerhin in dieser 'griechischen' Stadt zu Wohlstand und Ansehen hatte gelangen können.

Um nun zu einer unvoreingenommenen Einschätzung des politischen Lebens auf Zypern unter persischer Herrschaft zu gelangen, sind zwei Untersuchungsverfahren möglich: a) der Weg über die Auswertung aller verfügbaren Zeugnisse zu bestimmten Städten und Siedlungen auf Zypern (so Seibert 1976) und b) der chronologisch-ereignisgeschichtliche Weg (so Maier 1985), der das archäologische, epigraphische und numismatische Material, das sich aus den Einzelforschungen zu bestimmten Plätzen ergab, auswertet. Dies scheint mir für die hier geforderte Übersicht ('review') der erfolgversprechendere und deutlichere Weg zu sein.

IV. Historischer Überblick (5. Jhd.)

1. Zypern unter Kyros II. und Kambyzes II.

Zypern, das kurze Zeit unter ägyptischer Oberhoheit gestanden hatte (Karageorghis 1982b: 64-8), schlug sich vor 525 auf die persische Seite und beteiligte sich auch unter Kambyzes am Feldzug gegen Ägypten (Hdt. III 19). Wann Zypern sich den Persern unterwarf, ist nicht genau auszumachen; nach Xen.Kyr. VII 4, 2.8; VIII, 6, 8.21 sollen kyprische Truppen für Kyros bereits vor dem Untergang des Lyderreiches und beim babylonischen Feldzug gedient haben, doch wünschte man sich, wie Meiggs (1972/1979: 480 n.1) zu Recht, sagt, eine verlässlichere Quelle für diese Feststellung.

Für die Kyros- und Kambyseszeit geht man allgemein davon aus, daß die persische Einflußnahme auf Zypern eher gering gewesen sein muß, daß demgegenüber griechischer Einfluß vor allem in Kunst und Kultur immer stärker wurde (Meiggs 1972/1979: 480; Karageorghis 1982b: 69-70). Führende Stadt unter den kyprischen Königreichen war augenscheinlich Salamis, dessen König Euelthon uns sowohl von seinen Münzen (Gesche 1970: *passim*; Kraay 1976: 301) als auch durch Herodot bekannt ist (IV 162). Allerdings kann man sich in manchen Darstellungen des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, als ob die frühen Jahre persischer Herrschaft deutlich gegenüber der Periode ab dem Beginn des Ionischen Aufstandes abgehoben werden sollten (die Griechen werden sich allmählich ihrer Kultur und politischen Überzeugung bewußt, die persische Politik wird 'intoleranter'; vgl. z.B. Yon 1981, 52; Karageorghis 1982b: 70).

2. Zypern unter Dareios I. und Xerxes I.

a) Der Ionische Aufstand

Liest man die zusammenfassenden Darstellungen über die Rolle der Kyprer während des Ionischen Aufstandes, die sich natürlich an Herodot als der alleinigen Quelle orientieren müssen (V 104. 108-115), so hat es den Anschein, als habe es sich (ähnlich den Vorgängen in Ionien) um einen antipersisch-griechischen Versuch gehandelt, die verlorene Freiheit wiederzuerlangen (Hill 1940: 115ff; Meiggs 1972/1979: 480-1; Gjerstad 1979: 250). Manches deutet jedoch darauf hin, daß in viel entscheidenderem Maße persönlicher Ehrgeiz sowie Spannungen zwischen einzelnen Städten eine Rolle spielten. Darauf verweisen die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Gorgos und Onesilos ebenso wie die Kämpfe des Onesilos mit Amathus (vgl. Gjerstad 1979: 250-1) sowie das Verhalten des Stasanor von Kurion. Auch die Tatsache, daß die Bewohner von Salamis ohne Widerstand den alten König Gorgos wieder als ihr Oberhaupt akzeptierten, weist nicht unbedingt darauf, daß man sich vor einer

drohenden 'Versklavung' (Hdt. V 116) durch Persien (Hill 1940: 119) fürchtete. Intensiven Widerstand gegen die Perser leisteten dagegen Soloi und Paphos; ersteres konnte von den Persern erst nach fünfmonatiger Belagerung bezwungen werden (Hdt. V 115), ebenso wie Paphos, wo die Anstrengungen der Verteidiger und die persische Belagerungsrampe archäologisch nachgewiesen werden konnten (Erdmann 1977; Maier 1984: 22; Maier-Karageorghis 1984: 193ff.). Aber selbst in Paphos erhielten sich die Könige ein gewisses Maß an Autonomie, wie die Münzprägung beweist (Maier-Karageorghis 1984: 204-5 figs. 191-2). Wichtig für das Folgende ist auch, daß das 'phönikische' Kition sich augenscheinlich ebenfalls am Aufstand beteiligt hatte.

Nach der Niederschlagung des Aufstandes sollen die Perser, so wird allgemein angenommen, perserfreundliche Dynasten eingesetzt haben (Hill 1940: 119; Gjerstad 1979: 251). Seibert hat zu Recht darauf verwiesen, daß dieser Schluß ebenso unzulässig ist wie die generelle Annahme, daß Herrscher mit phönikischen Namen auch tatsächlich immer Phöniker gewesen seien (1976: 25-6; s.a. Maier 1985: 34-5). So kann man über die — von Münzen (Schwabacher 1947: 79-84; Robinson 1948: 45-7, 60-5; Masson-Szyncer 1972: 97-100) bekannten — Herrscher von Lapethos nicht mehr sagen, als daß hier griechische und phönikische Namen vorkommen; bestimmte Leistungen oder politische Überzeugungen dieser Könige kann man daraus ebensowenig ableiten wie Beweise für persische 'Einmischung' in innerstädtische Verhältnisse oder 'Griechenfeindschaft' (Maier 1985: 35).

Ähnliches ist für Marion zu konstatieren: Auch dort ist die (vermutlich unvollständige) 'Königsliste' (nach Münzen erstellt: vgl. Gjerstad 1946: 21-3; Masson 1983: 181-2; Masson-Szyncer 1972: 79-81) in 'medophile' und 'hellenophile' Herrscher unterteilt worden (Gjerstad 1946: 22-3), was, wie Maier gezeigt hat (1985: 36), nicht viel mehr als Spekulation und Hypothese sein kann.

Von Bedeutung für diese Zeit unmittelbar nach dem Ionischen Aufstand ist noch die Interpretation der Geschichte des Palastes von Vouni (nach Gjerstad 1948): Danach soll der von Persien in Marion eingesetzte König Doxandros gleich nach 498 den ersten Palast — in orientalischem Stil — gebaut haben, um die mit dem Verlust der Unabhängigkeit bestrafte griechische Stadt Soloi kontrollieren zu können. Dazu ist folgendes anzumerken: a) Es gibt, wie oben bereits angedeutet, keinen Beweis für Doxandros' 'Medophilie'; b) der Grabungsbefund in Vouni besagt nicht mehr, als daß der erste Palast zwischen 500 und 450/40 v.Chr. errichtet wurde (Gjerstad 1937: 286-7); für einen persischen Vasallen ist die Übernahme achaimenidischer architektonischer Vorbilder (Metzler 1979) nichts Außergewöhnliches und keinesfalls zwangsläufig Ausdruck von 'Medophilie'; c) es gibt keinen zwingenden Beweis dafür, daß Soloi nach 498 v.Chr. seine Unabhängigkeit verlor. Das Fehlen

von Münzen dieser Stadt im 5. Jh. (Gesche 1970: 167, 176-7, 204) bzw. der zum größten Teil aus Münzen aus Marion bestehende Münzhort aus Vouni (Schwabacher 1947: 43) sind auch anders erklärbar (Maier 1985: 36-7).

Ein letztes: Der 'Perserbau' in Paphos, oft als 'Persian Commander's Residence' (Tatton-Brown 1982: 96) oder 'Headquarter of a Persian Garrison' (Meiggs 1972/1979: 481) bezeichnet, kann nicht genauer als zwischen 600 und 475 v.Chr. datiert werden (Schäfer 1960: 155-75) und ebensogut die Residenz eines die persischen Vorbilder nachahmenden paphischen Königs sein (Maier 1985: 33 n. 7).

b) *Die Perserkriege*

Die kyprischen Könige leisteten beim Feldzug des Xerxes gegen Griechenland Heeres- (d.h. Flotten-)Folge, fielen dort aber eher durch ihre Mißerfolge als durch besondere Verdienste auf (Hdt. VII 98. 195; VIII 11. 68. 100; Aischyl. *Pers.* 891-2; Diod. XI 19). Im Frühjahr 478 v.Chr. fuhr eine alliierte griechische Flotte unter Pausanias nach Zypern und unterwarf es zum größten Teil (Thuk. I 94). Dies blieb jedoch nur Episode, die persische Herrschaft über die Insel dauerte fort. So kämpften kyprische Schiffe auf persischer Seite bei der Schlacht am Eurymedon (Hill 1940: 121). Trotz der persischen Niederlage blieb auch jetzt die Insel persischer Besitz.

Zwei Ereignisse auf Zypern sind hier noch von Bedeutung, obgleich ihre Datierung nicht gesichert ist: Es handelt sich a) um eine — nicht erfolgreiche — Belagerung von Idalion durch Perser ('Meder') und Kitier (Masson 1983: 235 ff.), die im allgemeinen in die Zeit zwischen 478 und 470 v.Chr. datiert wird (Gjerstad 1948: 479-80; Masson 1983: 238), von anderen jedoch (Hill 1940: 153-5; Spyridakis 1935: 42; Meiggs 1972/1979: 485) in die Zeit um 450-445 v.Chr.; b) um die Eroberung von Idalion durch Kition, deren Datierung ebenfalls unsicher ist (*Ib.*). Allerdings wird der in der berühmten Inschrift von Idalion genannte Ozbaal/Azbaal ('König von Kition und Idalion') von den meisten Forschern in die Zeit nach 450 v.Chr. gesetzt (Maier 1985: 34). Am gemeinsamen Angriff von Persern und Kitiern gegen Idalion kann zwar kein Zweifel bestehen, doch sollte man dies nicht als persischen Versuch werten, den phönikischen Bevölkerungsteil zu bevorzugen und den griechischen zu unterdrücken oder gar Ansätze von Demokratie in einer sich auf 'griechische Ideale' besinnenden Stadt zunichte zu machen (Nicolaou 1976: 321), sondern als persisches Vorgehen gegen eine abgefallene Stadt mit Hilfe treu gebliebener Vasallen (ohne 'nationale' Konnotation) (Seibert 1976: 17), ein Vorgehen, das zweifelsohne sich mit den politischen Ambitionen von Kition traf, seinen Machtbereich auf Kosten seiner Nachbarn zu erweitern. Dies hat aber nichts mit phönikisch-griechischem Gegensatz zu tun, sondern ist Ausdruck der Spannungen zwischen den einzelnen Städten auf der Insel.

3. Zypern bis zum Kalliasfrieden

Daß Athen (und seine Bündner) unabhängig von Kimons Ostrakismos dessen gegen Persien gerichtete Politik fortzuführen gedachten, zeigt der Umstand, daß sie zu der Zeit (ca. 460 v.Chr.), als der ägyptische Rebell Inaros an sie um Hilfe appellierte, gerade einen großangelegten Angriff gegen Zypern mit 200 Schiffen unter Führung von Charitimides führten (Thuk. I 104, 2; vgl. Meiggs-Lewis 1969: no. 33 = Fornara 1977: no. 78). Nach dem athenischen Desaster in Ägypten, zu dessen Unterstützung man Zypern verlassen hatte, blieb die Insel einige weitere Jahre unangefochten persischer Besitz (u.a. von Zypern aus waren die persischen Schiffe nach Ägypten ausgelaufen (Hill 1940: 122)). Schon 453/2 scheint man in Athen neue Pläne zur Eroberung Zyperns geschmiedet zu haben, Pläne, die der aus der Verbannung zurückgekehrte Kimon 451/50 in die Tat umzusetzen gedachte.

Man ist allgemein der Ansicht, Kimon habe auf der Insel die Stadt Marion erobert, während Salamis und Kition seinen Angriffen widerstanden hätten. Bei der Belagerung von Kition ist Kimon ja dann auch gestorben (Quellen und Darstellung bei Hill 1940: 123ff.). Sehen wir uns die Ereignisse ein wenig näher an: Kimon eröffnete seinen Feldzug mit einer Attacke auf Marion. Nachdem er, so ist die gängige Meinung, die Stadt erobert hatte (als einen der wichtigsten 'persophilen' Stützpunkte), stürzte er den König Sasmias und ersetzte ihn durch einen 'Philhellenen' (Stasioikos I.) (Hill 1940: 123; Gjerstad 1979: 252). Was ist von dieser Interpretation zu halten? - a) Zunächst ist die Datierung der Münzen des Sasmias in die Zeit zwischen 470 und 460 (Gjerstad 1946: 21-3) aufgrund stilistischer Kriterien nicht zwingend (Maier 1985: 35).

b) Kimons Angriff auf Marion beweist nicht, daß dessen Herrscher Phöniker und Perserfreund war (Seibert 1976: 24-5). Man unterschlägt dabei sowohl Kimons strategische Pläne im Ostmittelmeerraum, für die Marion als Hafen von besonderer Bedeutung war (Parker 1976), als auch die Tatsache, daß ein kyprischer König sehr wohl über den Charakter athenischer ἀρχή unterrichtet gewesen sein wird (Maier 1985: 36; vgl. auch Gjerstad 1979: 252: „The Cypriote kings had no interest in exchanging a Persian domination for an Athenian which probably would not respect their privileges as much as Persia did.”)

c) Die postulierte Eroberung von Marion, die sich auf Diod. XII 3,3 stützt, geht aus diesem Text nicht *einwandfrei* hervor (Κίτιον μὲν καὶ Μάριον ἐξεπολιόρκησε ist ja für Kition durch Thuk. I 112, 4 und Plut. *Kim.* 19 eindeutig widerlegt).

d) Es ist kaum verständlich, warum der angeblich von Kimon eingesetzte 'hellenophile' Stasioikos I. (und sein Nachfolger Timocharis) auch nach dem Scheitern der athenischen Expedition so mächtig geblieben sein soll(en) — trotz phönikischer Vormachtstellung auf der Insel (Maier 1985: 36).

e) Die Annahme, Stasioikos habe dann den Palast von Vouni in griechischem Stile umgebaut (Gjerstad 1933: 598; der. 1937: 288), ist aus Datierungs- (Palast I wird von den Ausgräbern in die Zeit zwischen 500-440 v.Chr. gesetzt (s.o.)), könnte demnach also auch von Stasioikos erbaut worden sein) als auch aus architektonischen Gründen in keiner Weise zwingend (Müller 1933: 599; Seibert 1976: 10 n.30; Maier 1985: 37).

Der Widerstand von Marion, Salamis und Kition (Diod. XII 3, 2.4, 2) ist, ungeachtet der Vermutungen über die damals dort regierenden Herrscher (so postuliert Gjerstad 1979: 252-3 für Salamis in dieser Zeit einen griechischen, aber persischen Herrscher) in erster Linie ein Hinweis darauf, daß das persische Regiment auf Zypern nicht als 'Sklavendasein' empfunden wurde; so bezeichnet Diodor die Bewohner von Salamis (nicht die persische Garnison) als σύμμαχοι der Perser (XII 4, 2) (an die mangelnde Unterstützung Kimons durch die griechischen Kyprer glaubt auch Parker 1976: 37). Der bald darauf abgeschlossene sog. „Kalliasfriede“ (449 v.Chr.) sprach Zypern eindeutig dem achaimenidischen Herrschaftsbereich zu (Diod. XII 4, 6).

4. *Kyprische Kultur im 5. Jhd. v.Chr.*

Spyridakis (1935: 112-3), Gjerstad (bes. 1948: 476-7, 485-9) und andere haben behauptet, in der Zeit vor der Machtergreifung Euagoras' I. sei die Insel von Griechenland kulturell nahezu isoliert gewesen. Diese These ist in keiner Weise haltbar, auch wenn die militärische und politische Situation im Ostmittelmeerraum zeitweilig (zwischen 490-450 v.Chr.) die Handelsbeziehungen ohne Zweifel erschwerte und zu einem Rückgang griechischer Importe auf der Insel führte. In der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jhds. ist dagegen wieder ein deutlicher Anstieg der Einfuhren (und griechischen 'Vorbilder') festzustellen (Maier 1985: 37-8 mit Lit.).

5. *Historische Zusammenfassung (5. Jhd.)*

Festzuhalten gilt: Für Aussagen wie: „the Cypro-Greek cities were reduced to a state of political nullity and Persia was determined to eradicate the last survival of philhellene mentality“ (nach 449 v.Chr.) oder „the alliance of the Persians and Phoenicians against the Cypro-Greek cities ... was intensified into a systematic action intended to turn Cyprus into a Persian country administered by the Phoenicians“ (Gjerstad 1979: 253) gibt es keinerlei Beweise. Erschlossen werden kann dagegen aus den nicht gerade zahlreichen Quellen und Funden die Existenz von „nicht durch die Verschiedenheit der Rassen und Sprachen vorprogrammiert(en), sondern von der Machtpolitik der einzelnen Herrscher bestimmt(en)“ (Seibert 1976: 28) Interessengegensätzen und Konflikten der kyprischen Stadtstaaten. Diese Situation machten sich die Achaimeniden zunutze, wobei für sie nicht die Unterschiede zwischen

griechischen und phönikischen Dynastien entscheidend waren, sondern die Loyalität ihrer Untertanen; sie mag wegen der besonderen Beziehungen der Griechen zu ihrem — unabhängigen — Mutterland in mancher 'griechischen' Stadt bzw. bei manchem 'griechischen' Dynasten und zu mancher Zeit geringer gewesen sein als bei den phönikischen Kypren. Ein Prinzip läßt sich daraus jedoch ebensowenig ableiten wie aus den Unterschieden zwischen Griechen und Phönikern in Sprache, Kultur und Religion ein unüberbrückbarer Gegensatz zwischen beiden Bevölkerungsgruppen. Dafür bestand allein schon unter den 'griechischen' Städten und Dynasten zu wenig Übereinstimmung in Zielen und Vorstellungen. Mit Maier (1985: 39) ist darum festzuhalten: „What we can reconstruct with a reasonable degree of certainty ... principally reveals elements of traditional dynastic conflicts. The policies of the individual kingdoms primarily aim at the expansion of their own political or economic power irrespective of the ethnic group.”

V. Historischer Überblick (4. Jhd.)

1. Das Zeitalter des Euagoras I.

Wie aber steht es mit Zypern im 4. Jhd.? War die Machtübernahme durch Euagoras in Salamis (Hill 1940: 125ff. mit Quellen) tatsächlich die notwendige griechische Reaktion auf das persisch-phönikische Zusammengehen, wie viele Historiker annehmen? Erstrebte Euagoras wirklich „to make the island a united state, a Greek state, a cultural bulwark against Asia“ (Gjerstad 1948: 502; ähnlich noch Yon 1981: 55)? Auch hier sind starke Zweifel angebracht: Wie bereits oben angedeutet, steht und fällt der Eindruck vom 'barbarisierten' und von Euagoras 'hellenisierten' Salamis mit der Bewertung des isokratischen Euagorasbildes. Festzuhalten gilt, daß die ersten zwei Jahrzehnte seiner Herrschaft (411-391 v.Chr.) den Persern kaum Kopfzerbrechen bereiteten: Pläne zur Befreiung der Insel lassen sich, wie Costa gezeigt hat (1974: 40-56), nicht ausmachen (vgl. auch Starr 1975: 66). Daß sich damals noch alles in den von Persien zwar überwachten, aber dennoch tolerierten Bahnen von Dynastiekämpfen bewegte, zeigt auch der Umstand, daß die Perser keinen Grund zum Eingreifen sahen, als Euagoras den Phöniker Abdemon (der aufgrund von Diod. XIV 87 für eindeutig persisch gehalten wird) vom Thron in Salamis vertrieb (411 v.Chr.: Beloch 1923: 98-9). Man hat Euagoras unterstellt, von Anfang an völlige Unabhängigkeit vom Großkönig erstrebt zu haben (Gjerstad 1948: 488-502), doch ist dies zu Recht bestritten worden (Costa 1974). Es gibt (auch bei Isokrates) keinen Hinweis z.B. auf die Einstellung von Tributzahlungen schon in dieser frühen Zeit (vor 394) o.ä. Auch Euagoras' Vermittlerfunktion zwischen Tissaphernes und Athen (*IG* I 64; Spyridakis 1935: 46-50) deutet auf ein gutes Verhältnis

zwischen Euagoras (der vermutlich als βασιλεύς anerkannt war (Costa 1974: 43)) und dem persischen Oberherrn. Ebenso wenig kann Euagoras' frühes Bau- und Rüstungsprogramm im Sinne einer antipersischen Politik (Gjerstad 1948: 490-1) gedeutet werden (Costa 1974: 44). Im Gegensatz zur Ansicht, Euagoras sei als Kämpfer 'for the cause of Hellenism' zu bezeichnen (Meiggs 1972/1979: 486), was mit seinem Eintreten für die Sache Athens (man beachte die Gleichsetzung 'Hellenentum'-Athen!; von Athen honoriert mit Bürgerrechtsverleihung (IG I² 113), Statuenaufstellung (Isokr. 9, 57; Paus. I 3, 2) sowie Ehrendekret (IG II² 20 = Tod 109 mit Neufunden: Lewis-Stroud 1979)) sowie mit seiner 'Kultur'- und Fremdenpolitik (Isokr. 9, 51) erklärt wird (Spyridakis 1935: *passim*; Hill 1940: 127ff.; Meiggs 1972/1979: 485-6), werden inzwischen immer stärker die machtpolitischen Erwägungen des Euagoras betont (vgl. schon Beloch 1922: 37ff.; nun vor allem Costa 1974; Starr 1975: 66-7), die ihn im Anfang für die persische (und athenische) Seite eintreten ließen. Ohne Zweifel waren diese Ambitionen auf eine salaminische Hegemonie über Zypern ausgerichtet, wobei die vorübergehende Einstellung der Zahlungen an den Großkönig (Ktes. *FGrH* 688 F 30) nicht mit einem Abfall von Persien gleichgesetzt werden dürfen. Gegen ein solches Vorhaben spricht deutlich Euagoras' Politik zu diesem Zeitpunkt (er war u.a. maßgeblich an der Ausschaltung der spart. Flotte beteiligt); es hat den Anschein, als ob Euagoras von den Persern tolerierter Herrscher ganz Zyperns werden wollte und als ob erst das Eintreten des Großkönigs für die von Euagoras bedrängten Könige von Kition, Amathus und Soloi (Diod. XIV 98, 4-6) den König von Salamis zum Abfall von Persien trieb (vgl. Costa 1974: 54 mit n. 87 zu Isokr. 9, 58-60). Euagoras wandte sich um Hilfe an Athen (zur athen. Politik Funke 1980: 149ff.) und nach Ägypten (zur ägyptischen Politik Kienitz 1953: 82ff.), deren Unterstützung ihm die Unterwerfung fast ganz Zyperns, von Teilen Kilikiens und Phönikiens (Tyros) erlaubte (Spyridakis 1935: 55ff.; Meloni 1950: 318ff.). Nach dem Antalkidasfrieden und den dadurch möglich gewordenen intensiven persischen Gegenrüstungen erschienen persische Truppen auf Zypern und konnten Euagoras in Salamis einschließen (zur achaimenidischen Zypernpolitik und zu ihren Gegenmaßnahmen Weiskopf 1982: 171ff.). Dennoch erreichte er schließlich, gegen Anerkennung persischer Oberhoheit, Zahlung von Tribut sowie Beschränkung auf sein ehemaliges Staatsgebiet (als βασιλεύς) im Amt belassen zu werden (Judeich 1892: 117ff.; Spyridakis 1935: 54ff.; Hill 1940: 135ff.; Weiskopf 1982: 178ff.).

Auch die Geschichte des Euagoras macht deutlich, daß Politik auf Zypern „was dictated by the material interests of the kingdoms rather than by ideological motives“ (Maier 1985: 39). Sein 'Philhellenismus' hatte wohl kaum etwas damit zu tun, daß er sich als 'nationalgesinnter' Grieche verstand, wie Isokrates nahelegen möchte, sondern vielmehr damit, daß er sich von griechischer Kultur angezogen fühlte (wie manch anderer persischer

Vasall und auch der Großkönig selbst) und auf Hilfe aus Griechenland (Athen) angewiesen war.

Persien griff erst zu dem Zeitpunkt in Zypern ein, als es von den inner-kyprischen Widersachern des Euagoras um Unterstützung gebeten wurde. „This policy was dictated not by any overtly hostile behavior on the part of Euagoras, but by the consideration that a united Cyprus, even if ostensibly friendly, was too great a threat to the western seaboard of the Empire to be tolerated. The autonomy of the individual Cypriot cities was the method by which Persia assured the loyalty of Cyprus” (Costa 1974: 55). Dieses Verhalten deckt sich mit der persischen Politik des 5. Jhd. und läßt keine repressivere Haltung Persiens gegenüber seinen kyprischen Untertanen erkennen.

2. Die Zeit nach Euagoras I.

Für diese Zeit sei auf die Zusammenstellung von Hill (1940: 143ff.) verwiesen. Nenneswerte, das allgemeine Erscheinungsbild Zyperns und der persischen Politik im 5. und 4. Jhd. verändernde Entwicklungen und Phänomene sind bis zum Alexanderzug nicht auszumachen.

VI. Perspektiven für die Forschung

1. Neue Sichtung und Auswertung des numismatischen Materials unter Einbeziehung der Neufunde
2. Neue, intensivere Auseinandersetzung mit dem archäologischen, numismatischen und epigraphischen Material auf Grund der nun vorliegenden Neubewertungen persischer Politik
3. Auswertung des religionswissenschaftlich wichtigen Materials
4. Auswertung des archäologischen Materials zur Beantwortung der Frage nach kulturellen und handelspolitischen Beziehungen Zyperns nach Westen und Osten
5. Namenkundliche Untersuchungen
6. Einzelstudien (Materialsammlung) zum archäologischen, numismatischen und epigraphischen sowie literarischen Material einzelner Städte auf Zypern
7. Biographie des Euagoras nach dem Vorbild ähnlicher neuerer Arbeiten über Satrapen Kleinasiens (Mausollos)
8. Gesamtdarstellung Zyperns unter persischer Herrschaft vor dem Hintergrund der Gesamtlage im Ostmittelmeerraum und neuerer Erkenntnisse zur persischen Vertrags-, Außen-, Innen- und Religionspolitik

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NACHTRAG

a) Zur phönikischen Anwesenheit auf Zypern s. nun zusammenfassend I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou („Repercussions of the Phoenician Presence in Cyprus”, *Studia Phoenicia* V, ed. E. Lipiński (OLA 22), Leuven, 1987, 331-338). Zu den Auseinandersetzungen auf der Insel im 5. Jh. bietet der Aufsatz allerdings nichts Neues; von Nutzen sind dagegen die zusammenfassenden Bemerkungen zu den religiösen Aktivitäten der Phöniker dort.

b) Die Unbrauchbarkeit des Xen. Kyr.-Zeugnisses für den Übertritt Zyperns auf die persische Seite betont nun — mit neuen Argumenten — zu Recht H.J. Watkin („The Cypriote Surrender to Persia”, *JHS*, 107 (1987), 154-163); wie zuletzt auch H.T. Wallinga („The Ancient Persian Navy and Its Predecessors”, *Achaemenid History* I, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Leiden, 1987, 67) hält er an einem Datum (kurz) vor 525 v.Chr. fest (Wallinga (p. 60) datiert die ägyptische Unterwerfung Zyperns übrigens erst in die Zeit nach 539 v.Chr.). Watkin erweist zugleich auch die Unhaltbarkeit des Gjerstad-schen Konzeptes eines engen Zusammenhangs von Kunst und Politik für das 6. Jh. v.Chr.

INTERACTIONS BETWEEN GREEKS AND PERSIANS

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This paper should be entitled ‘*Some* interactions between Greeks and Persians’, for I have tended to dwell on the material and literary culture of Athens. It is also the case that I subscribe to the view that the way in which the relevant material remains are frequently related to historical events is unsatisfactory. In principle it is not a new phenomenon to question existing chronological orthodoxy. In the eighteenth century J.J. Winckelmann was dissatisfied with A.F. Gori’s readiness to date archaic Greek artefacts with Trojan War scenes to the time of the Trojan War itself (Gori 1737: 437). Instead, Winckelmann chose to regard the foundation dates of some of the earliest western Greek colonies as contemporary with their earliest issues of coinage (Winckelmann 1767: 86; cf. Saint-Non 1781-86: 4/2, 364-5; d’Hancarville 1785: 2, 143). In his own day, Winckelmann believed that the overthrow of absolutism would lead to a flourishing of the arts as never before. He equated this hoped-for event with the overthrow of the Athenian tyrants at the end of the sixth century (cf. Metzler 1983-4), and then persuaded himself and others that fully developed classical Greek art (*die Blüte der Kunst*) had been achieved by 480 (Winckelmann 1767: 86; Potts 1982: 397, 406, n. 49). These two planks in Winckelmann’s chronology have long since dropped from the scholarly literature, although a third — the significance he attached to the destruction of Sybaris in 510 — is still widely accepted. Absolutism was successfully challenged in many parts of Europe by the early nineteenth century. A new challenge presented itself to the sons of the Enlightenment, in the person of the Turk. A ready equation was also made by philhellenes between modern Turks and ancient Persians (e.g. a character in B. Disraeli’s philhellenic novel *The Rise of Iskander* (1834) is made to say “... we must do something more than read the Persae, we must act it.”). The artistic fruits which Winckelmann had associated with the overthrow of tyranny came to be associated with the defeat of another set of tyrants, *viz.* the Persians. The argument is an irrational one, but it lies at the heart of much modern scholarship. It accounts for the ready acceptance, for example, of the view that a Persian necessarily lit the flame which was responsible for the scorch marks on a potsherd found on the Acropolis in the 1830s (Ross 1855: 140) a position implicitly held by all who adhere to the chronology established by F. Studniczka (1887) and E. Langlotz (1920). It accounts too, for the readiness to believe that the Persians were responsible for the destruction of the *korai* found on the Athenian Acropolis in the 1880s. To suggest that things may

have been different is seen by some as tantamount to absolving the Turks of moral blame (of which they are in any case totally innocent). Herodotus' narrative is our fullest and best source with regard to relations between Greeks and Persians, but unfortunately students of Herodotus, at least since Sayce (1883: xxiv-xxix), have tended to dwell on the question as to whether what he has to say is literally true. This *Wahrheits*-debate is, however, largely irrelevant, for even if some details of Herodotus' account are fictional; indeed, *especially* if they are fictional, they are no less helpful in reconstructing contemporary attitudes and values. Thus, two anecdotes throw considerable, if neglected, light on the status of Athens in c. 500 B.C. In 507, we are told, the satrap Artaphernes asked 'Who are the Athenians and in what part of the world do they live?' (Hdt. V 73). Darius is made to ask a similar question when Athenian terrorists put Sardis to the flame in 499 (Hdt. V 105). The point Herodotus was clearly trying to make was the immense contrast between Athens' comparatively insignificant position within living memory and the city's present power and affluence. J.W. Blakesley was surely correct when he said of the passage concerning Artaphernes "This question indicates that the power of Athens at that time must have been very small" (1854, 2, 48). Much of what follows will be discussed from a somewhat Athenocentric point of view; not so much from choice as from the fact that most of the relevant literary and archaeological material comes from there. The view shared by Herodotus and his fifth-century audience is absent from most twentieth century accounts. The reason is not far to seek: the Studniczka/Langlotz chronology, within which the material culture of archaic and early classical Greece is usually studied, will have Athens a flourishing artistic centre in the closing decades of the sixth century. By implication, the city flourished economically at this time, and was thus a centre of which any Persian ought to have heard. The usual view today is that Athens was a wealthy state before the Persian Wars, but relatively impoverished during the succeeding decades until Pericles restored the city's fortunes. This, however, appears to contradict the testimony of those ancient writers who had occasion to discuss the economic condition of Greece at this period. Themistocles, so Aristophanes reminded a fifth-century Athenian audience, "filled the city to the brim, though he had found her empty" (*Knights* 814), and Ion of Chios reports the view that although Themistocles may have been *amousikos*, "he knew how to make a city great and rich" (ap. Plut. *Cimon* 9, 1 ({*FGrH* 392 F13)). Diodorus says much the same, though he speaks of the whole of Greece: "[after the Persian Wars] every Greek city was filled with such abundance that everyone was amazed at the change for the better. For the next fifty years Greece enjoyed great progress towards prosperity. During this time the crafts increased owing to prosperity and the greatest artists are mentioned as having flourished at that time ..." (XII 1,3-4; cf.[Arist.] *Ath.Pol.*

24,1; Aristid. *Panath.* 143-4; Justin II 14, 6 [Greek wealth]; II 15,1 [Athenian wealth]). In Athens' case the source of this 'abundance' will have resulted from her rich native supplies of silver, her olive oil trade, and in particular the great amounts of booty taken from the Persians at Salamis, Plataea, Mycale and the Eurymedon (where we hear of the Athenians taking "pavilions full of rich spoil" [Plut. *Cimon* 13,2]). We do not so much have text-aided archaeology as archaeology-impeded ancient history. Not only do these discrepancies disappear when the chronology of the material culture is radically revised, but the formative role of Achaemenid Persia in the development of Greek, and especially Athenian, economic life (and of both the form and content of Athenian art) emerges to an impressive extent. When the 'fixed points' upon which the Studniczka/Langlotz chronology is based are examined with only the slightest degree of scepticism, they prove either to be illusory or capable of other explanations. When other 'fixed points' emerge, they are consistently later. For example, the ex-Cnidian, so-called 'Siphnian' Treasury at Delphi is probably not the building which Herodotus says the Siphnians built, 530 B.C.; rather the building in question seems to have been constructed in the 470s (Vickers 1985a; cf. Francis-Vickers 1983). The incuse coinage of Magna Graecia, thought to have been issued during the second half of the sixth century, and frequently used as a touchstone for western Greek chronologies, likewise seems to have begun in the 470s (Vickers 1985b), and the date of the Early Owl coinage of Athens ought perhaps to be similarly adjusted (Vickers 1985b; Nash 1987). The 'Tyrannenschutt' on the Athenian Acropolis becomes 'Perserschutt' and the former 'Perserschutt' becomes something else. On the Achaemenid Persian front, it seems likely that the contents of the foundation deposits of the Apadana at Persepolis reflect political realities in c. 490 B.C. (Vickers 1985a, 1985b, Nash 1987), rather than being 'miscellaneous' groups (Robinson 1958:190; Kraay 1976:32) deposited before whenever it was that Darius set off on his Scythian expedition (Herzfeld 1938; Schmidt 1957: 110; 113-14). A radical redating along these lines is preferable to R. Tolle-Kastenbein's (1983) 'half-way house' position. In what follows, (1) some immediate post-Persian War consequences, (2) pre-war and (3) rather later ramifications will be discussed.

(1) The Persian empire was not merely the exemplar of great wealth, but was to a considerable extent the provider of it in the form of booty. The Persian dinner laid on after the battle of Plataea (Hdt. IX 82) probably served as the pattern for the luxurious Greek symposia of which we get an echo on the Athenian red-figure pottery made in imitation of the gold-figure silver-plate commissioned by the city's wealthier classes after 479 (Vickers 1986; cf. 1985c). The distribution amongst the soldiery of "... the gold, the silver, the beasts of burden, and all the other valuables" (Hdt. IX 81) laid the basis of

the widespread prosperity enjoyed in post-war Greece, and probably indicates the kind of vessels that might be employed at symposia held by members even of the hoplite class at Athens. While 'Persian gold' might be tainted when proffered as a bribe (cf. Hdt. IX41) no such reservation applied to gold won on the battle-field. The tent of Xerxes, it seems, was used for many years as the *skènè* for the temporary theatre of Dionysus (Broneer 1944; Thompson 1956; von Gall 1977; Francis 1980a). The Persian camp at Plataea, moreover, was found to contain "many tents richly adorned with furniture of gold and silver, many couches covered with plates of the same, and many golden bowls, goblets, and other drinking vessels. On the carriages were bags containing silver and golden water-holders; and the bodies of the slain furnished bracelets and torcs, and scimitars with golden ornaments — not to mention embroidered apparel, of which no one made any account" (Hdt. IX 80). The acquisition of all this wealth will have made Greece a target for displaced craftsmen in need of employment and the impact of oriental material captured as booty will have been considerable, not simply in Greece, but further west as well:

(a) It used to be held that the way archaic Greek sculptors rendered the folds in drapery informed *inter alia* the sculptured reliefs at Persepolis (e.g. Richter 1946), but this dependence has been shown not to exist (Root 1979). It may, though, be worth considering the possibility that there was an influence in the other direction: from the Achaemenid empire to Greece. The colossal statue of Darius found at Susa, made from Egyptian stone, and apparently made by Egyptian sculptors in much the same style as the reliefs on the Apadana at Persepolis (*Journal Asiatique* 1972) suggests one possible source of inspiration, and even of craftsmen and motifs. We might compare the likely disruption of crafts in Egypt consequent on Xerxes' brutal suppression of the revolt of 486 (Hdt. VII 7). The artists and craftsmen who made temple furniture, sacred vessels, or votive statuettes will have been put out of work, and one immigrant to Athens at this time may have been the silversmith Amasis, who probably owed his name to the philhellene Pharaoh Amasis, and whose lost works made for Athenian patrons were copied by contemporary pot-painters (cf. Vickers 1985c). The destruction of Miletus in 494, of Eretria in 490, will have assisted the flow of craftsmen to supply the need on the part of newly enriched Athenians to commemorate their victories over the Persians in war, or their victories over each other at the games (cf. Themistocles' tax reforms intended to attract skilled craftsmen [Diodorus XI 43,3]).

(b) The imagery employed by artists at Athens can be read as celebrating the city's wholly unforeseen victories over the Persians: Amazonomachies, Gigan-tomachies, Centauromachies, Trojan War scenes, recall victories over an

effeminate, impious, violent, oriental foe. Heracles was the hero of Marathon, and is celebrated as such; Dionysus played an important role in 480/479; and the Theseus cycle, which first appears in both art and literature in the 470s, reflects further aspects of anti-Persian propaganda (Vickers 1985a, Francis-Vickers 1984, Francis [forthcoming]).

(c) Many characteristics of the La Tène phase of Celtic civilisation appear to have Iranian analogues: pointed helmets, scabbards with chapes, gold torcs, distinctive horse bits. The Iranian features which have been isolated in the artefacts of the La Tène period (Sandars 1976) have been associated in the past with Darius' Scythian campaign, but since they can be first observed in the Champagne and Marne areas of Gaul, a long way from Scythia, it is possible that these influences arrived via the Rhone valley. They were perhaps introduced by traders disposing of Persian booty won on the battlefield to customers far enough away even from the Greek cities on the southern coast of Gaul to present much of a threat when they were sold rather more up-to-date armaments than those they were used to.

The years between 479 and 462/461 B.C. were a period of unparalleled prosperity for Athens' wealthier classes. The Laurium silver mines first come to our notice in 483; they were doubtless worked all the more easily after 479 thanks to the availability of slaves in the persons of prisoners of war. Athens' richest inhabitants began to enjoy, albeit on a reduced scale, the kind of luxury hitherto usually confined to the most favoured circles in the Persian empire. Boom-town conditions prevailed, and great fortunes were made by aristocrats, merchants and manufacturers. The extant remains include the dedications of archaic korai set up on the Athenian Acropolis and Early Owl coinage (Vickers 1985a, Nash 1987, cf. *mutatis mutandis* Schneider 1975). Wealth was, however, unevenly distributed and a revolution occurred at the end of the 460s. The crisis probably began in the mid-460s. Although the victory at the Eurymedon led to even greater riches, one immediate consequence was the first Peace of Callias (Badian 1987) which was probably agreed on the accession of Artaxerxes I in c. 464. This indicated that, so far as the Cimonian circle was concerned, attempts to win yet more Persian booty were at an end. Colonising ventures, including the loss of 10,000 men at Drabescus in Thrace (Thuc. IV 102,2; cf. Francis-Vickers 1981, 101-8), probably contributed to Cimon's ostracism after Ithome. These factors, as well as envy (cf. Arist. *Pol.*, 1302a-b: the causes of revolution include "dissension because men see other persons getting a larger share") led to the replacement of aristocratic by democratic rule. The Ephialtic 'cultural revolution' provides the background for the destruction of such symbols of the *ancien regime* as the Acropolis korai and aristocratic funerary monuments around Attica (Vickers 1985b, 27-28). If Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* of 457 B.C.

can be regarded as a criticism of Cimonian excess, it is no accident that its eponymous hero is characterised as a Persian despot and is killed in a silver-sided bathtub (1539-40) after having been made to walk on purple textiles "worth their weight in silver" (959). More about Athens below.

(2) With the 'hole' in the fifth century effectively filled with artefacts, there are obvious ramifications for the pre-war period. The Persian conquest of Ionia seems to have led to the foundation of numerous Milesian colonies in the Black Sea area, and was probably the occasion on which the Phocaeans developed a pre-existing trading post at the mouth of the Rhone, and founded Massilia (Nash 1985, 61-3). A reassessment of the relevant numismatic and other evidence suggests that the construction of the Artemisium at Ephesus began in the early years of Darius' reign. The coins hitherto attributed to Croesus, with protomes of lions and bulls, appear to have been first issued under the Achaemenids, and the first bimetallic coinage is probably to be associated with Darius' economic reforms (Vickers 1985a, 1985b; on the connection between coinage and tribute in the Achaemenid empire, see Metzler 1977, 12-13). Empire-wide temple construction was probably part of the tribute-raising process: temples provided secure gathering points for bullion.

Daphne Nash has recently analysed the contents of coin hoards from Egypt and the Levant. Her important conclusions are worth quoting fairly fully: the hoards in question "seem to fall into three chronologically successive groups. The first, uniquely composed of coins early in their respective series, without reverse types, seems to belong broadly to the horizon of the Persepolis deposits. These may therefore tentatively be ascribed to *c.* 494-489. This earliest group also belongs to the period of maximum Persian control of Ionia, northern Greece and some of the islands Aeginetan coins are frequently present; coins of Athens are conspicuously absent.

The second group of early hoards is only slightly later in date but ... reverse types [appear] ... and [there is] a greater range of authorship Coins of Athens appear for the first time. The loss of this group of hoards may tentatively be ascribed to the 470s, a legacy of the protracted struggles between the Greeks and Persia after Salamis and Plataea.

The third group of these archaic issues includes the great Asyut hoard, and is patently later than the previous two. Coins of Athens, primarily owls, now form an especially prominent component from metropolitan Greece, rivalling that from Aegina. This composition may now be seen to reflect conditions in the Aegean after the departure of Persia from the Greek world, but before the transfer of the Delian treasury to Athens and all that that entailed.

On the basis of this provisional chronology, the circumstances surrounding the non-recovery of these groups of hoards may prove to be of unexpected

historical interest.... Egypt and the Levant were important Persian naval and military recruiting grounds It is tempting to link the rather large number of archaic hoards that were not subsequently recovered in this area with the high military losses the Persians suffered in the wars with the Greeks from the 490s onwards, and also with the ruthless Persian suppression of the Egyptian revolt which followed the Marathon campaign.” (Nash 1987; thanks are due to the author for permission to make these quotations).

(3) Back to Athens, Athens under the populist leaders Ephialtes and Pericles. In 460, the terms of the first Peace of Callias were broken when the Athenians supported an Egyptian revolt against Persia. Egypt remained under Athenian control until 454, when the Persians succeeded in throwing them out. The decade saw a good deal of Athenian military activity in the eastern Mediterranean; the new regime wanted to have its share of Persian wealth. The Persians, however, proved to be too strong this time. Such was the Athenians’ fright at the resurgence of Persian military power that they persuaded their allies to move the treasury of the Delian League from Delos to Athens. A second Peace of Callias was signed in c. 449 B.C. (cf. Badian 1987).

The removal of the treasury to Athens was an act of unbridled imperialism, as was the subsequent building programme on the Acropolis paid for out of the League’s funds. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the Athenians’ action, one consequence was the reconstruction of the Parthenon. The first building on the site (to which the ‘Bluebeard pediment’ belonged) had been dedicated in 487 B.C. to commemorate the battle of Marathon and was destroyed by the Persians in 480/79. Its successor was begun by Cimon in the 460s after the first Peace of Callias, but it was discontinued after the cultural revolution of 462/1 B.C. Its pedimental sculpture, which included Athena fighting the Giants, had probably not been put into position. The imagery of the sculpture of the Parthenon proper, from its chryselephantine statue of Athena, to the tribute bearers on its frieze, well evokes both Athenian military success and the city’s new-found imperial role. The centralisation, whether economic or artistic, that can be observed in Periclean Athens probably owed much to Achaemenid models (Root 1985; Nash 1987). The sculptural imagery of the Erechtheum, erected later in the fifth century, may also have a specific Achaemenid content (Vickers 1985a).

A further topic which deserves rather more attention than it has received in the past is the acute awareness of the Achaemenid empire manifested in Athenian drama. Explicit examples of such awareness include Aeschylus’ *Persians* and the ambassador scene in Aristophanes’ *Acharnians*, but there is far more than this. Sophocles’ *Trojans*, for example (*pace* Professor Radt) “speak a Persian language, refer to Persian objects, and observe Persian

customs, or what passed for Persian among fifth century Greeks instructed by Aeschylus, Hecataeus, and Herodotus" (Bacon 1961, 102-3). A strong case can be made for Oedipus acting like a Persian *tyrannos* in Sophocles' play (Francis 1980b), and there are clear references to Alcibiades' visits to Sardis in e.g. Sophocles *Philoctetes* of 409, and Euripides *Cyclops* of 408 B.C. (Vickers 1987). If Timotheus' *Persians* really was first performed in 410 (cf. Francis 1980a), we have a further explicit fifth century literary interest in the Greeks' most important eastern neighbour.

A tail-piece; thoughts arising from the fact that cocks on columns disappear from Panathenaic amphoras made after the King's Peace (Frel 1973, 18-19): the motif is an Achaemenid one (cf. Buchanan 1966, No. 682 and in any case the barnyard fowl was introduced into Greece from Persia (cf. Menodotus of Samos *ap. Athen.* XIV 655a) and the cock was known as 'the Persian bird' (Cratinus [*floruit c. 450*] *ap. Athen.* IX 374: *ho Persikos ... alektor*; Ar. *Birds* 485, 707: *Persikos ornis*; Thompson, 1936, 34). Moreover, cockfighting is not attested historically before the Persian Wars; Themistocles instituted an annual cockfight in the theatre at Athens in memory of an incident in 480 (Ael. *Var. Hist.* II 28; Pegge 1775), but nothing is known earlier. On the chronology which is adopted here, cocks on columns first appear on Panathenaic amphoras soon after the Persian Wars. Some of the electrum coins found in the foundation deposits at the Artemisium at Ephesus bear types of cocks (e.g. Robinson 1951, 167, pl. 38); an appropriate image for coins now apparently made during the first quarter century of Achaemenid domination of western Asia Minor. Comparable in spirit, if not perhaps in date, are the Persian silver vessels in the Metropolitan Museum engraved with cocks (Bothmer 1984: 35, No. 45) or surmounted by a cock (Bothmer 1984: 44, No. 68).

Note This paper was completed before publication of the article by Margaret Root (*Numismatic Chronicle* 1988), which throws a different light on some of the issues raised here, and the full implications of which will need to be considered more fully in the future.

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THE QUEST FOR AN ELUSIVE EMPIRE

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In the Introductory Note to this workshop participants were asked to look at the Persian empire not from the top, but from below, at the level of everyday life among the subject-populations; and, after two days of intensive discussion, one thing has become clear: when one decides to look from the bottom, it is often hard to see the empire. In other words, it is very difficult to perceive the impact, let alone the administrative structure of, the Achaemenid empire. This is probably not so surprising in the case of distant regions which were frequently culturally and economically less developed, but it is harder to understand for central areas such as Susiana or Babylonia. The presence of imperial activities in these regions cannot be doubted, but the data still leaves much to speculation with respect to the nature of these activities. The extant evidence seems to allow one to argue both for a monolithic empire as well as an amalgam of culturally distinct and politically semi-independent areas. The former position is founded on generalisations based on material from regions for which documentation is available. The second conclusion is generally derived from archaeological evidence. This situation is clearly unsatisfactory. Unless we are prepared to settle for two divergent views of the empire, an 'archaeological' one and a 'historical' one, an attempt must be made to integrate the divergent evidence into a synthesis. These concluding remarks, rather than reviewing each of the many papers collected in this volume (see Introduction), will raise some further questions which may be helpful to further research.

First of all, we should ask what exactly we are looking for and if we are formulating the appropriate questions. What kind of an empire are we trying to find in its various articulations? The following is an attempt to sketch some outlines for a model of the Persian empire. It has become clear during this workshop that a very important prerequisite for such a model must be the capacity to explain change, transformation and/or growth rather than concentrating on questions of 'decline' and 'decay'. These last have always been important in syntheses of the Persian empire: phenomena such as stagnation and immobility are generally detected as present everywhere from approximately the reign of Xerxes on or shortly after (e.g. Cook 1983: 76; Frye 1984: 126, ch. 'Xerxes and stagnation'). Growth and development are usually reckoned to have been visible only in the early period which lasted at the most to the end of the reign of Darius I. Various contributions in this volume have emphasised processes of change, most of them taking place well after 486 and therefore operative in the period of presumed decline.

Legitimation and ideology

In looking for traces of the Persian empire, the search has so far been mostly confined to phenomena that betray an Iranian influence, to artefacts of a typical or a hybrid Iranian provenience, to changes in the titulary and in the onomastica derived from the Iranian vocabulary. Frankly, the results of such a search have been disappointing. This kind of imperial presence is quite limited. It is, of course, hoped, indeed likely, that future excavations will produce new material and the intensification of research in Asia Minor seems particularly likely to furnish new data. But it is probable that this kind of clear testimony to an Iranian presence will in all cases form a fairly small proportion of the evidence only. Iranian 'traces' are, however, not the only kind of evidence which can lead us to detect the impact of the Persian empire.

I have argued elsewhere that after the initial conquests in the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses the newly formed empire had to cope with enormous problems, one of the major tasks being that of providing an identity for the empire (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 35). As Margaret Root (1979: 309ff.) has put it, an ideological programme had to be created. This new programme could of course in part be composed of elements from the various venerable traditions that preceded the rise of Persia, but a factor that should not be underestimated was the relative lack of iconographic and written tradition in the Iranian cultural tradition (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1979) albeit not in Iran itself where Elam provided both a model and important incentives. In this respect it is not really relevant whether one regards the Median confederacy as an empire or rather, as I tend to do, as a loose federation of tribes (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988b: 197ff.). It is obvious that, even if the Medes had started formulating an artistic legitimisation of their political structure, they had, to judge from the very few or — as I am tempted to say — almost non-existent relevant finds, not yet made great advances (Genito 1986; Muscarella 1987). The main impetus clearly took place half a century later, when, for the first time, Cyrus chose elements from the pictographic repertoire of the Mesopotamian tradition and used both the languages and the cultural codes of the preceding tradition in quite a direct way (Kuhrt, this volume). Some decades later under Darius and Xerxes a complete ideological programme was constructed. This programme, most elaborately formulated in Achaemenid art, did not outlast the empire. The burning of Persepolis by Alexander signals its end.

The fact that Medes and Persians did not have a pictographic or a written tradition does not of course mean that they had no cultural identity or no tradition at all. This autochthonous element, however, is much harder to isolate since there is very little with which to compare the Achaemenid documentation. Iranian elements can only be disentangled by careful analysis

of the various versions of the documents or of variations in the iconographic repertoire. Here much remains still to be done. E.g. the Behistun-inscription has not yet been studied from the perspective of the three languages and their cultural background in order to see how the different redactions of the texts which we now have developed and how they are interrelated (v. Voigtländer 1978; Schmitt 1980; Greenfield & Porten 1982). It seems, for instance, that the fifth column, which is markedly dissimilar from the first four columns, might well be compared in style and idiom with later inscriptions such as XPh and XPf (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 16f.). Such comparisons might lead us to an understanding of the processes underlying the formulation of imperial legitimacy and the way this process was interrelated with the surrounding Mesopotamian traditions.

If we accept Margaret Root's conclusion that the Persepolis reliefs essentially formulate the legitimization of the Achaemenid dynasty to rule over the vast empire (Root 1979: 309ff.) — and there seems to be a consensus that we should do so — we must ask how this functioned in practice. A legitimizing ideology is a very powerful factor in uniting the subjects of a state-structure (Claessen 1978: 628). It functions to tell people why it is necessary to perform tasks for the sake of the country or empire to which they belong (Kurtz 1981: 182). It tells them why, if obedience or taxes are required, they should be obedient or pay the taxes. These needs, however, cannot be fulfilled by a remote ideological programme, like the one fixed in immobility at Persepolis and, perhaps, in the other capitals of the Persian empire. The programme has to be divided into more or less 'digestible' parts, to be translated into different forms of art, to be adapted to the specific needs of certain situations, and, in the case of a multi-cultural entity such as the Persian empire, translated into the 'discourses' or 'cultural codes' of the populations that were required to participate in the system ("various artistic languages for dissemination among the peoples of the empire" as Margaret Root puts it, 1979: 309). Even if apparently constant and unchanging, an impression which any kind of legitimization is by nature bound to suggest, in reality changes do take place and development guarantees the desired effects of the functioning of the ideology. There are, in fact, some data which can provide the information needed to trace at least an outline of the development of an imperial ideology, and an attempt can be made to see how the Persepolis repertoire was translated into other media. Coins and seals are the most obvious artefacts to which such an analysis can be applied. To give but one example: the 'Royal Hero' image as it figures in the Persepolis-reliefs (Root 1979: 303ff.) is taken over in a direct way on a large number of coins (e.g. Betlyon 1982: pl. 2, 3), which surprisingly often date to a later period of Achaemenid history, when, it appears to us that the central model had undergone no further changes. On seals the processes seem to be more

complicated and the various 'translations' of this emblem reflect a large variety with many more, and therefore very interesting 'deviations' or 'transformations' from the Persepolis model (see Collon 1987: 91 for a sample; cf. Root 1979: 305). What political realities are hidden behind a phenomenon such as that presented by Sidon where we find a complete restating of the whole Persepolis programme on the reverse of a series of coins (Babelon 1893; Betlyon 1986: pl. 1-4), while on the obverse triremes, presumably symbolizing the identity of the city, are portrayed? Coins throughout the empire have been studied relatively little, especially within the whole of the economic and political constellation in which they functioned. Within the perspective of a developing ideology, interesting results may be obtained from a fresh study of both the coins and the seals, as they are the most widespread artefacts carrying 'messages'. Other objects with some kind of 'translations' of the central imperial programme could be approached in a similar way. Such an analysis might be carried out in the way that the comparisons between royal inscriptions and texts from more peripheral regions or from other traditions (as e.g. the Gadatas-edict or certain passages in Herodotus) are being made. Besides some idea with respect to the spread of the imperial ideology, some notions may also be gained concerning the administrative ramifications of the empire. In the iconographic 'subsystems' there clearly was room for the preservation of indigenous traditions as well as for the initiatives of satraps and local rulers. Therefore each analysis must also take the surrounding local culture into account.

It might be useful to emphasise that while the Persepolis programme should be regarded as the most elaborate formulation of the legitimising process, it was by no means the only one. There are other images which, although obviously of Achaemenid inspiration, are not to be found on the palace walls, such as the coin from Tarsos (Franke & Hirmer 1964: 141 and pl. 194) with a ploughing king, featuring the same image as a seal now in the Louvre (cf. Collon 1987: 146, no. 619), both of them reflecting Achaemenid interest in agriculture, so well known from the Greek sources (Briant 1982: 447). On the other hand, the process of propagation of the ideology may not always have been a smooth one, functioning effectively. The way in which, for example, choices of coin-images were made is on the whole still rather poorly known. It is possible that not every choice was based on rational motivations: in some cases combinations may have been made in a rather haphazard way, either because the symbols handed down from the upper echelons of government were poorly understood or as a result of insufficient insight into the usefulness of the communicative aspects of the coinage medium. It is quite possible that in some cases, where the combinations of reverse and obverse types to us seem very baffling, they are not so much the result of deliberate policy-making but rather the consequence of a process

which communication specialists would call 'arrested communication' (Mueller 1973: 19). Whatever the case it is necessary to approach the parcelling of the ideology through small-scale media and its extension (or non-extension) over the various regions of the empire as a *process* and not as a series of isolated events.

Development and process

The best area for applying a 'processual' approach seems to be Asia Minor, where not only the material is relatively abundant, but development can be studied on the basis of the interaction of two distinct traditions. If we want to trace a development, however, *a priori* evaluations like 'growth' or 'decline' are unsatisfactory. Development should be regarded as a neutral term. Whether or not the situation was improving or deteriorating is a question that brings us straight back to an Hellenocentric vision from which we have, for some time, been trying to steer away. Success should be measured not with a moral yardstick, but rather by judging its effectiveness: did it work, was it helpful in keeping the empire together? Of what elements was it composed and why were these elements used, applied or modified at the particular place where we find them?

An ideology has to be carried by 'intermediaries', be they things or persons. It cannot be effective if it just stays at the imperial level, it has to be brought down to the layers of society which need to be reached and persuaded to comply with the exigencies of the government. Here it is where most of our problems arise since *a*) we do not see very many of the elements of royal ideology at the levels generally explored by archaeologists and *b*) we do not have a clear idea of the structure of the administrative system that connected the lower echelons with the government itself. To overcome this problem, Pierre Briant (1988a) has suggested the attractive concept of an 'ethno-classe dominante': the Iranian aristocracy spread out through the empire formed the structure that kept the empire together. This concept, besides obvious advantages has a disadvantage as well. It suggests a static situation: the group is well defined by birth and apparently unchanging, both in its composition and behaviour. Although probably not intended by its author, the use of the concept 'ethno-classe dominante' suggests an immobile homogeneous entity affecting the society in which it operated, but not itself being affected by the process. This, at first sight, cannot have been the case. Although we can dismiss the deliberate creation of a Persian aristocracy as described by Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia* (IV iii 8-23) as a phantasy of the author, the sudden rise and expansion of the empire cannot have left the pre-existing aristocracy unchanged. At the very least the group must have grown in number, a fact which must have had effects on social stratification in the

area of the nuclear state and the neighbouring central areas like Babylonia (cf. Kuhrt this volume; Stolper this volume). More land to control meant more people needed to control it. Some of the effects of the initial phases of this process are probably noticeable in the Fars area (Sumner 1985) which, interpreted in this light, might yield some new insights. But a growth of the 'ethno-classe dominante' applies mostly to the first phase of conquests. There are indications, in later stages, that the 'ethno-classe' was not an impenetrable entity (Briant 1985: 69; 1988a: 166f.) and that at least some elements from the indigenous population made their way into this select group (cf. Stolper, this volume; Stern, this volume). This raises two further questions: what kept the 'ethno-classe dominante' together as a group and what kept them functioning effectively, i.e. what kept them in their place? It is not sufficient to answer the first question by referring to the fact that they were Iranians. If we compare the situation with the one prevailing in colonies of the more recent past, it is easy to see that only groups in continuous contact with their homeland, succeed in maintaining, and often at great cost, their own, albeit modified, cultural identity. Individuals immersed in the indigenous population cannot but adapt to the surrounding culture: they have to eat the food, talk the language and live with the daughters of the natives in order to survive. Within a generation they may lose the features of a representative of a true 'ethno-classe dominante'. This means, I would suggest, that we have to look for groups of Iranians resident throughout the empire. And this, at the same time seems to imply that the coverage of the entire territory cannot have been very dense (cf. Briant 1988a: 172).

Although military settlements of various types are detectable (Briant 1988b: 169ff.) there simply cannot have been so many Iranians that effective control of the whole territory of the empire by coherent groups was possible. To give another modern example, German occupation of Holland in the Second World War cannot be described in any other way than as rather effective. There were, however, entire villages where no German was ever seen during the entire period of the occupation. Needless to say these were the villages where the hiding of refugees was most successful. If the territorial coverage of a small country like Holland was apparently impossible for a modern occupation-force such as that of National-Socialist Germany, it really should make us wonder if we are not assuming too much when we take it for granted that the whole of the Persian empire was indeed under effective control. If parts of it were effectively controlled this must have been due more to the merits of the pre-existing socio-economic structure than to the efforts of the 'ethno-classe dominante'. In view of the above, it is probably superfluous to say that in this respect the situation in various parts of the empire may have differed considerably and that therefore the results of the analysis of one region or province are not automatically applicable to another part of the territory.

Fission and loyalties

There are indeed regions in the empire where a concentration of Iranian groups is clearly visible, as Sekunda (1988 and in press) has demonstrated. Often one of the reasons why we can discern these groups at all is that they had tendencies *not* to keep the empire together, i.e. they were rather prone to various forms of rebellious activity. The inclination to 'fission', to build up a separate power-base is very large in any newly founded empire (Claessen & Skalnik 1979: 632). Still, as we know, the Persian empire, although hampered by a number of rebellions, as a whole generally held together even in the period in which the Greek sources lead us to believe that it was at its weakest. This must mean that for people in control at various levels of the political structure it was more advantageous to stay within the empire than to attempt to secede or that means of pressure were operative to prevent them from steering their own course. One wonders whether being members of a privileged group or class (such as the 'ethno-classe dominante') was in itself sufficient reward. In that case we would have to assume that some sort of national pride would counterbalance the alluring prospects of appropriating provincial or regional levies for the purpose of constructing a private power-base and becoming independent. An ideology alone does not seem sufficient to counteract such tendencies. One of the measures taken by later states to prevent their officials from behaving too independently is to change people in important positions frequently. What we can see in the Achaemenid empire in most cases is the contrary: not only did satraps for example stay in place for very extensive periods, but quite often these offices were occupied by descendants from the same family. There must have been other means to keep these potentially dangerous potentates firmly tied to the imperial government. It would be reasonable to assume that the system at least tried to sustain the loyalties to itself by substantial material rewards which were only obtainable from the centre, i.e. from the king himself. This seems a valuable subject for further investigation, especially since the expense-side of the Persian state-budget has received less attention than the spectacular and fabulous amounts of income collected in the royal treasuries. There were, of course, officers who in one way or another kept checks on local representatives of the king, such as the famous 'Eyes' (although the existence of a regular office known by this name has been seriously questioned by Hirsch 1985: 119ff.). But effective control of the huge territory would require a bureaucratic structure of considerable size for which we do not have much real evidence. It would be worthwhile in this respect to make a controlled comparison between better known empires of similar territorial extent, such as the early Roman empire in its Republican phase; the later Roman empire after Diocletian and the Inca empire at its highest point of development, to obtain a better understanding of the situation in the Persian empire.

Costs and rewards

It has been said that all early empires are in some sense parasitic (cf. Briant). Although this is undeniably true at the lowest level of the social structure, in order to retain control such parasitic behavior cannot be extended through all levels of the administrative structure. The distances involved in the Persian empire made effective military control, or even the threat of its potential use on a *wide scale* an unrealistic venture. An ideology aimed at the whole population and the attractions of a potential upward mobility within the political hierarchy for local elites usually form efficient and cheap alternatives to the deployment of force. "The state must be at once both feared and loved" says a theorist of state-formation (Kurtz 1981: 183). Our present understanding of the imperial machinery is largely based on the idea that it was the sheer use of power which held local economic systems in their place. Of course the use of force must always have remained a possibility and a continuous potential threat, but it would be helpful to think of it more in the nature of a last resort and to concentrate investigation on the economic and the ideological processes which contributed to obviate the use of force. An attempt should be made to draw up some approximate budgets for the various levels involved in the bureaucratic organisation (it must be emphasised that these intermediate levels may have varied in character, size, tasks and territory), what profits were to be reaped by whom and at what costs and also how such profits and expenses compare to earlier systems of government (i.e. before the Persians). Any such calculation is bound to be subject to a large number of imprecisions and doubts but the process itself may give a better impression of the kind of empire we are trying to understand than the more usual way of approach in which lacunae in the information are glossed over (cf. Dalton 1981: 29, fig. 1.2 for a model of the elements which should be comprised in such a budget and of the relationships which should be taken into consideration).

Such a balance would present an entirely different picture for agriculturally exploited territory from that of a region inhabited mainly by pastoralists, mostly living in tribally organised societies. It is of course unrealistic to strive for numerical precision, except for a number of rare instances where we do indeed have exact figures (for a good instance cf. Descat 1985; in press). But the exercise itself might result in a better understanding of the mechanisms of the empire. Anthropological models can be helpful in this respect. They may help to direct attention to phenomena the significance of which might otherwise easily escape us. For example, the practice of gifts given by the king, has not yet received enough attention from either an economic or ideological perspective. Yet, here are some possibilities for restoring at least fragments of the *debet*-side of the state-finances (cf. Briant 1985; in press; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980; in press).

As we all know, the net gains of the empire were fabulously large. The fact is sufficiently proved by Alexander's looting of the Persian treasuries. If we have to allow for considerable expenses by king and central government, income from taxes, tribute and levies cannot have been sufficient. Traditionally kings who are building up their power-base are confronted with the need to give more than everybody else (or at least to maintain such a fiction of their superior status, cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980: 48ff.) on the one hand, and the need to remain solvent on the other. The Persian monarchs were far from bankrupt at the end of their period of domination. While it is dangerous to exhaust the resources of one's own subjects too much, there is no such inhibition in thoroughly tapping the wealth of groups beyond the frontiers, by what Marshall Sahlins has called 'negative reciprocity' (1974: 195; Dalton 1981: 29). This can be done by military campaigns and raids which serve the triple purpose of *a*) obtaining funds through looting, *b*) terrorizing the neighbouring areas into a state of quietude and *c*) consolidating the bonds between the leader of the expedition, the king and the nobles who accompany him, serve as generals and provide at least part of the troops. In the first period, imperialism may well have served this triple purpose and it seems that this may well have been the main reason why each of the four first kings shortly after the start of his reign engaged on an extensive campaign. After Xerxes, however, large-scale targets for such ventures were apparently lacking (if the extant evidence does not deceive us here) and the danger involved in the king leaving the centre of the empire must have become more serious. Elsewhere I have suggested that the donation of armies, mentioned by Herodotus, served as a way of controlling newly won territory (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988c). It may well have replaced an earlier-system of large-scale conquest. It would imply a certain delegation of the demands of imperialism which constituted an important factor in the earlier state-formation.

Territorial control

Territorial coverage is another important phenomenon which might be studied afresh. Hitherto studies of the *territory* dominated have mostly been limited to discussions of the definition and connotations of *dahyu* in the royal inscriptions and to comparisons between the lists of nations in these inscriptions and the surveys of the Persian empire and armies given by Herodotus. Here too comparison with other systems is certainly useful. It seems to me that it is all too easily assumed that the borders were clearly delineated and that the people who were inside always behaved according to the duties presumably imposed by their geographical location. In an instructive paper on behaviour towards higher authorities in 19th century Dardistan,

Willem Vogelsang has pointed out that frequently local groups were paying dues in more than one direction (Vogelsang in press). This means that both the higher ranking authorities could claim these groups as their legitimate subjects. The groups themselves may well have preferred to pay two times, in cases where not paying at all was unavoidable, in order to counteract the danger of being damaged by attempts from two sides at control by force. It seems more prudent not to assume too rapidly that the system as it actually was coincided entirely with claims of how it was supposed to be. The Persian empire may well have included many villages or niches inhabited by Asterixes and Obelixes, besides those whose existence is known (cf. Briant 1982; 1988: 172).

Although our Greek sources give the impression that the Persian government weakened with the passing of time, there are at the same time some signs that the bureaucratic apparatus was strengthened (as e.g., in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* VIII viii 20; cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988a: 186). Most attempts at tracing the existence of such a structure archaeologically have failed since what has usually been looked for were phenomena which could be identified as either Persian or Achaemenid or even Iranian. Since, however, much of the effective means of control must have passed through native individuals and offices, we should clearly be looking for something else. It has been argued specifically in this context by Stuart Brown (1986: 113 and literature quoted in n. 19) on the basis of anthropological comparisons that increased control leaves its traces in the intensification of the social stratification and thus in the archaeological record, even when clear signs of external domination are absent. This external domination serves mainly as a catalyst which triggers an internal development within the society concerned. I would suggest that in this respect our possibilities for gaining further insight into the working of the Persian empire are far from exhausted.

Archaeologists have for quite some time discussed the possibilities of identifying the social, economic and political structure of the society or community being studied on the basis of the excavated material remains. It has become clear that material remnants can reveal aspects of or changes in the socio-economic structure. Although it remains debatable, not to say doubtful, whether archaeological records can be directly linked to political processes, some indirect relations may be constructed by way of hypotheses. In our case the situation is not entirely desperate, although obviously there is no way of eliminating all the question-marks. One of the questions raised in the Introductory Note to this workshop was whether and, if so, how life was affected in the subjugated areas. If changes in the extension of a given site, signs of increasing social stratification or symptoms of changes in commercial relations can be found, even if they do not bear direct testimony of Iranian influence, they must still have taken place within the larger framework of the

Persian empire and should therefore be regarded as part of the functioning of this empire and thus in some way as related to its practices. Even a situation of no change such as that reported by Van der Kooij (1987) is interesting. And again, it should be emphasised that processes of change and transformation may have taken place in different ways and with varying speed in the different parts of the empire.

A more sophisticated model of the complexities of an empire would clearly be helpful to a better understanding of the way in which life in the whole of the empire was interrelated with the government and its administration. Next to this desideratum, it seems essential in further research to map carefully all signs of changes and/or continuities. Let us hope that this workshop can be regarded as having made a start with such a collection of data as well as with some theoretical reflections on the problem.

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