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THE HOUSE OF THE SATRAP AND THE MAKING OF THE ACHAEMENID PERSIAN

EMPIRE, 522-330 BCE

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Abstract

At its height, the Achaemenid Persian Empire (550-330 BCE) stretched from Egypt and the Balkans to Central Asia and the Indus. How was this continental empire able to endure at such scale for over two centuries? This dissertation provides an answer to this question through the analysis of a particular institution: the house of the satrap. Satraps were the local representatives of royal power in the Achaemenid Empire who managed the interface between state and subject. Satraps operated not alone but rather through their entire "house," as the primary source languages say. These houses included other humans such as the satrap's family, free subordinates, and dependent laborers, as well as property such as agricultural estates. It is at the level of the satrapal house where the quotidian acts of imperialism took place.

This dissertation is structured around a series of case studies which examine particular satrapal houses. Two chapters consider the careers of three contemporary satraps (Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus the Younger) in western Anatolia, with the first focusing on economic history and the second on social history. The next chapter studies Aršāma, whose activities spanned Egypt and Mesopotamia, and analyzes the structures of labor within his house. The following chapter narrates the career of Bēlšunu, a local official who rose to become satrap in Syria through fastidious dealings with his imperial superiors. Another chapter considers Bakabaduš, satrap in eastern Iran, whose house facilitated the movement of people, goods, and information across the Iranian plateau. The final case study examines the career of Axvamazdā, whose house cannot be disentangled from the complex road system that stretched across Achaemenid Central Asia. A chapter that summarizes broader patterns from these case studies concludes the dissertation.

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A Note on the Transliteration of Names

This dissertation uses the transliteration of names most commonly used in historical scholarship throughout. The goal in doing so is to situate readers in the typical language of the field. For ancient names known first or primarily through the Greco-Roman sources, names are transliterated via their Latin rendering, e.g., "Cyrus" instead of "Kyros." Although Greek history has seen a push to use Greek transliterations of Greek names (e.g., "Thoukydides" instead of "Thucydides") in an effort to more faithfully render the Greek originals, such an effort makes little sense when handling non-Greek names, and the majority of the names discussed herein are linguistically Iranian. For individuals and places known primarily outside the Greco-Roman sources, names are usually transcribed from the given writing system (Akkadian, Aramaic, Elamite, and Old Persian in this dissertation). These writing systems contain a few special characters beyond the English alphabet (e.g., š, which is equivalent to English "sh"). These writing systems also indicate vowel length on occasion, which this dissertation marks where appropriate.

Abbreviations

I have followed the standards of each field in abbreviating the primary sources cited in this dissertation. For the Achaemenid royal inscriptions, I follow the sigla available at https://www.livius.org/sources/content/achaemenid-royal-inscriptions/. When citing multilingual inscriptions, I always note which language the dissertation is referencing. For Greek and Latin sources, I use abbreviations from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, available at https://oxfordre.com/classics/page/ocdabbreviations/abbreviations. For Aramaic texts, the vast majority cited are published in two collections: *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (=TAD, Porten and Yardeni 1986) and *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria* (=ADAB, Naveh and Shaked 2012). For the few other Aramaic texts cited, detailed bibliographic information is provided.

For the Elamite texts from Persepolis, PF denotes texts published in Hallock 1969, PFa denotes texts published in Hallock 1978, NN denotes texts initially studied by Hallock and now being prepared for preparation by Henkelman, and Fort. denotes texts now studied by Stolper. PFS denotes the seals which occur on the tablets from Persepolis. For the Akkadian sources, I follow the abbreviations from the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/doku.php?id=abbreviations_for_assyriology). I also cite a number of Akkadian texts published in Stolper 2004a (in which the Bellino and Usko tablets are also published) and Stolper 2007. Additionally, "Oppert-Ménant" = Oppert and Ménant 1877; "Mich." = Moore 1939; and "ROMCT 2" = McEwan 1982. Unpublished Akkadian texts are cited by museum number, most of which are housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin (=VAT).

Chapter 1. Introduction

Travelers through Kabaš

In the mid- to late-sixth century BCE, the conquests of the Persian kings Cyrus,

Cambyses, and Darius transformed the lives of humans on a continental scale. After the

expansions of Darius, the Achaemenid Persian Empire would stretch from the Balkans to Central

Asia, from Libya to the Indus. The long reach of the Empire moved individuals across the

entirety of this space. The imperial government carefully monitored travelers along the road

system, and records of these travelers and the rations they received survive in abundance from

the palatial center of Persepolis, in what is now southwestern Iran. A settlement near Persepolis

named Kabaš, a place of no particular importance, saw a diverse group of travelers pass through

in the 23rd regnal year of King Darius I (498/7 BCE).[1] A horse-riding messenger rode quickly

from Persepolis to Media to deliver sensitive information to the governmental branch of what is

now northwestern Iran: the speed of this message system would impress contemporary Greek

observers, who themselves had no way to travel overland at such speed.[2] A group of sailors

traveled in the same direction, presumably for an expedition to the Caspian Sea.[3] Several parties

of military men passed through the area, though in these times of peace in southwestern Asia,

they were likely traveling not for war, but to work on the monumental construction projects that

would rise across southwestern Iran in the reign of Darius I. Even the mobile court of the King

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[1] For Kabaš, see Henkelman 2012, 939. The travelers are recorded in the text NN 2261.
[2] See especially Hdt. 8.98.
[3] Or one of the major lakes to the north, such as Urmia or Van.

of Kings himself passed through the area, and they were met with a feast on the scale that

befitted the stature of the contemporary world's most powerful monarch at the time.[4]

Two groups of workers passed through who had traveled farther than all the rest: a party

of Thracian women, from either northwestern Anatolia or southeastern Europe, and a group of

Greek men, from the western coast of Anatolia. The Achaemenid conquest of Anatolia in the

540s, led by the legendary King Cyrus "the Great," displaced populations of the region, and the

campaign launched in 513 by Darius to extend Achaemenid hegemony around all sides of the

Black Sea caused later disruptions in the region, though this expedition ended in failure for the

Achaemenids.[5] When these workers left Anatolia is unknown, but we can be sure of their most

recent travel itinerary: they were traveling to Persepolis from Arachosia, the region around

modern Kandahar, Afghanistan. That is, these men and women had, at a minimum, traveled from

the western edges of Anatolia, through the Armenian highlands, and across almost the entirety of

the Iranian plateau to Arachosia; after their work there, administrators turned them around and

sent them back across the Iranian plateau to Persepolis. The scale of their journey was

comparable to that of the campaigns of Alexander III of Macedon, whose Eurasian-scale

conquests would prove a source of inspiration to centuries of aspiring imperialists, but the texts

recording the travel of these Thracian and Greek workers present their trip as entirely banal.[6]

How exactly did the workers make this trip? Travel at this continental scale requires the

spread of infrastructure: roads free of banditry, bridges or ships to cross rivers, storehouses for

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[4] 797 sheep and 85 lambs were "consumed before the King." See Henkelman 2010 for the phrase in historical context.

[5] The myth-making surrounding Cyrus continues today: Shayegan 2019. Neither of these military campaigns can be certainly linked to the travelers, but they provide logical times when they were deported.

[6] On the reception of Alexander, see Briant 2017a.

provisioning, shelter in diverse environments.[7] In the Achaemenid Empire, the local mechanisms of statecraft, responsible for providing for the logistics behind travel in addition to numerous other jurisdictions, operated through a group of individuals known as *satraps*, the regional representatives of royal power. Satraps and their subordinates, together often called a *house* in the primary sources, managed the practicalities of empire at a regional level. To move these Thracians and Greeks from Anatolia to Arachosia and back to Persepolis, a network of satrapal houses had collectively organized the upkeep of the imperial road system, provisioned the storehouses necessary for the travel rations, and written the paperwork necessary to allow these workers access to the road system. Indeed, we know that these two groups of workers came from Arachosia not because the travel record says so—it does not mention their place of origin—but because the text says that they carried a travel authorization from Bakabaduš, the satrap in Arachosia. This document, with a seal from the satrapal house guaranteeing its authenticity, signaled to every administrative agent on the long road between Arachosia and Persepolis that it was the satrap Bakabaduš who had the power to move subject bodies across imperial space. The name of Bakabaduš was able to appear instead of the region Arachosia in administrative documentation because the imperial government understood that imperialism operated on the ground through the cooperation and participation of its satraps.

Achaemenid Studies: The Past, Present, and Future

The Achaemenid Empire ought to be placed in the midst of discourses on the growth of the state and the development of imperialism in world history. The growth in state power, whether measured by population controlled or tax-revenue extracted, from the previous high watermark of the Neo-Assyrian Empire to the Achaemenid Empire, is nearly unparalleled in the

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[7] Achaemenid infrastructure that Alexander would later use: Briant 2018.

history of the world. Achaemenid rule saw the transformation of what scholars have termed the "Ancient Near East," with Egypt coming under lasting non-African rule and the "cuneiform culture" of Mesopotamia radically transforming over two-plus centuries, just as much of the Hebrew Bible was canonized under the Achaemenids.[8] The intensification and extensification of agriculture, especially in the productive river valleys of Egypt and Mesopotamia, led to marked demographic growth that would continue into late antiquity.[9] The Achaemenid Empire was the first state to link the Mediterranean to Central and South Asia: it would not be until the Umayyad Caliphate that another land-based state would equal the reach of the Achaemenid King of Kings.[10] The Achaemenids, learning from their Assyrian and Babylonian predecessors, created a template for Eurasian imperialism that served as an example for later states of western Eurasia from the Romans to the Sasanians.[11] Imperial Aramaic, the language of governance Empire-wide, became the basis for almost all writing systems between Greece and China. Thanks to the Greeks' fascination with the wealth of the Achaemenid Empire, "Persia" would become synonymous with luxury and splendor for two and a half millennia of subsequent Europeans.[12]

Despite this, the Achaemenid Empire has remained marginal to many discussions of world history. Some scholars do recognize its importance. For example, W. Scheidel writes:

> After the initial appearance of large polities around 3000 BCE…the threshold set by dynastic Egypt and the Akkadian empire was not significantly surpassed until the Neo-Assyrian empire. However, a *massive discontinuity* occurred only in the

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[8] It may not be analytically useful to categorize over two millennia of history under the term "Ancient Near East," but, nonetheless, the term sees continued use in the academy. For "cuneiform culture," see Radner and Robson 2012. Grabbe 2018 reviews the Biblical material.
[9] Adams 1981 remains the classic study on Mesopotamia. On Achaemenid Egypt, see Colburn 2019.
[10] Although the Achaemenid impact on South Asia has not been well studied, this is changing with archaeological work, e.g., Magee et al. 2005.
[11] See now Strootman and Versluys 2017.
[12] Said 1979, indeed, begins his discussion of *Orientalism* chronologically with the Achaemenid Persian Empire.

sixth century BCE with the creation of the much larger Achaemenid empire, which was subsequently matched by the Qin-Han and Roman empires.[13] (Emphasis added)

Nonetheless, in the *Oxford Handbook of the State in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, from which Scheidel's above quotation comes, the Achaemenid Persian Empire is made to share a chapter with the Parthian and Sasanian Empires under the problematic title of "Iranian Empires."[14] In contrast, the states of pre-Roman Greece receive five different chapters.[15] Other discussions omit the Achaemenid Empire entirely. This is particularly true in the course offerings across the country: classes in "ancient history" are commonplace, but this history generally only extends to ancient Greece and Rome. The omission of the Achaemenids extends into research and publications. For example, Burbank and Cooper's admirable synthesis, *Empires in World History*, begins only with the Roman Empire and Han China.[16]

This focus on Rome and China as ancient exempla, or perhaps, *the only* ancient exempla of empires, has become a trend in ancient historical scholarship, wherein comparisons between Rome and China have become quite popular.[17] Such comparative work is not without merits, but it does beg the question: why only Rome and China? Why not include discussions of the vast geographic space between the two, especially the landmass covered by the Achaemenid Empire which saw, more or less, continual traditions of imperial rule throughout antiquity from the Achaemenids to the Seleucids, Parthians, and Sasanians? Why not also include this landmass,

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[13] Scheidel 2013, 29.

[14] The use of the term "Iranian" here is never specified, but the language of the chapter appears to imply a cultural-ethnic identity of the "Iranians" that remains static from the conquests of Cyrus to the rise of Islam (Wiesehöfer 2013). Cf. Gnoli 1989.

[15] The chapters are entitled "Bronze Age Greece," "Greek City-States," "Greek Multicity States," "The Greek *Koinon*," and "Hellenistic Empires" in Bang and Scheidel 2013. The attention paid to the Achaemenid Empire in Bang et al. 2020, however, rectifies this situation. See the concluding chapter for more details.

[16] Burbank and Cooper 2010.

[17] Scheidel 2009a; 2015 are rigorous examples.

roughly what modern observers would term the "Middle East," in addition to Central and South

Asia, i.e. the area of land, peoples, and cultures, through which goods, ideas, and institutions

actually traveled between the Mediterranean and East Asia? As this dissertation will

demonstrate, the Achaemenid Empire has been omitted from such discourses because of

scholarly interests and academic traditions, not because of any lack of primary sources.

Nonetheless, the study of the Achaemenid Empire in broader ancient history has become

considerably more widespread since the 1970s.[18] Prior to this time, research on Achaemenid

history had largely begun with ancient Greek historians as the guide, though the excavations of

monumental centers, especially Persepolis, provided visual backdrops to the wealth which these

ancient authors described.[19] R. Hallock's publication of over two thousand of the Elamite texts

from the Persepolis Fortification archive in 1969 attracted the attention of some scholars,

although it would take many years for the true importance of these texts for Achaemenid history

to be widely recognized.[20] The *Achaemenid History* workshops especially helped to bring the

Achaemenid Empire into the mainstream of ancient history. The scholars participating in the

Achaemenid History workshops in the 1980s and 1990s, very much in the wake of E. Said's

Orientalism, deliberately sought to reexamine the history of the Achaemenid Empire from a

"Persian perspective," which entailed both a privileging of non-Greek sources and a rereading of

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[18] See McCaskie 2012 for a critical history of Achaemenid studies.

[19] Olmstead 1948 was the most widely wide synthesis on Achaemenid history from this period. For the publications of the excavations at Persepolis, see Schmidt 1953; 1957; 1970.

[20] Hallock 1969 (and see also Hallock 1978). Iranists, such as Mayrhofer 1972; 1973 and Hinz 1972, were the first to realize the importance of the tablets, along with the Persepolis Treasury texts published by Cameron and Hallock (Cameron 1948; 1958; Hallock 1960; Cameron 1965). Lewis 1977 was among the first to bring the Elamite texts into rigorous conversation with the Classical sources.

the Greek sources themselves with a more skeptical eye.[21] This school of scholarship culminated

in 1996 with P. Briant's synthesis *Histoire de l'Empire perse: de Cyrus à Alexandre*, published

in English in 2002 as *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire*.

But this "New Achaemenid History" has seen some biting criticisms, particularly from

historians of the Greek world, against whose work, implicitly or explicitly, much of the New

Achaemenid History was positioned. The most direct of these critiques is T. Harrison's *Writing*

Ancient Persia.[22] Some of the arguments that Harrison presents appear more serious than others:

for example, no one would doubt that Henry Rawlinson—the scholar responsible for deciphering

Old Persian!—played a pivotal role leading to the *Achaemenid History* workshops.[23] But

Harrison's most substantive argument, to some extent, rings true: the efforts made to rescue

Achaemenid history from a variety of *-ism*s, most notably Orientalism and Hellenocentrism,

have occasionally given way to a sort of praise for Achaemenid imperialism.[24] This appreciation

of Achaemenid imperialism is not as widespread or as uncritical as Harrison would like his

readers to think, and he himself is guilty of selecting only passages which suit his argument and

ignoring others—precisely what he accuses the New Achaemenid Historians of doing with the

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[21] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987 is the publication of the first workshop. Sancisi-Weerdenburg et al. 1994 is the publication of the last workshop, held in 1990; other books have been published within the *Achaemenid History* series since this time. Some important works of the "New Achaemenid History" appeared before these workshops began, e.g. Root 1979; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980; Briant 1982a; 1982b.

[22] Harrison 2011.

[23] Rawlinson 1848. See Harrison 2011, 91–108 for his discussion of nineteenth century historiography on the Achaemenid Empire, which is supposed to demonstrate that the New Achaemenid History did not emerge *ex nihilo*. But Harrison here knocks down a strawman, as two volumes of the workshop proceedings were devoted to similar topics (which Harrison summarily dismisses in a single sentence, pg. 91). See Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Drijvers 1990; 1991.

[24] Ma 2020 makes a similar argument.

Greek sources.[25] But Harrison is correct in that considerably more attention has been given to the

persuasive projection of Achaemenid power, through the study of institutions like kingship,

ideology, or royal art, than to the mechanisms of subordination, coercion, and extraction that are

at the heart of any imperial project.[26]

Harrison's solution to this problem should not surprise for a scholar of Greek

historiography: scholars should pay more attention to the context of Greek sources, especially to

issues like genre and narratological structure. Although such studies can be valuable, there are

two more fruitful paths forward. The first is the continued expansion of anthropological

archaeology across the Achaemenid Empire: these sorts of studies can provide information that,

frankly, will never appear in the textual record about how non-elites lived and the varieties of

ways in which they did, or did not, experience Achaemenid imperialism.[27] This dissertation will

make use of this rich archaeological work, though it will not be the main focus.[28] The second

way forward is to take advantage of what is unique about the Achaemenid textual record: the

tens of thousands of archival documents. Although Harrison does mention the importance of the

Elamite texts from Persepolis, they figure into his discussion in only a marginal way.[29] Indeed

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[25] The praise for the Achaemenid Empire can, however, be found in more popularizing accounts. For example, Daryaee et al. 2014, vii see imperial administration as "based essentially on tolerance." For criticism of this idea, see Agut-Labordère 2016.

[26] However, these topics did receive rigorous study in the 1980s and 1990s. The lack of Stolper 1985 or any work of Dandamaev (especially Dandamaev 1975; 1984) in Harrison's bibliography demonstrate that this was a blind spot in his essay, whether intentional or accidental. Briant's synthesis, too, devotes considerable attention to these questions: Briant 2002a, esp. 388-471.

[27] For some recent rigorous examples, see Gondet 2011; Knauß et al. 2013; Djamali et al. 2015; Khatchadourian 2016; Wu 2018. Harrison largely ignores archaeology (besides some monuments) in his essay.

[28] I have taken considerable inspiration from Wickham 2005's use of archaeological evidence in writing history, though this dissertation does not come close to his mastery of the archaeological record.

[29] See Harrison 2011, 22. Harrison does recognize the quality of the work of Henkelman 2008.

over the past twenty years, much of Achaemenid studies has shifted its attention to the Persepolis

Fortification archive, which has resulted in novel understanding of the mechanisms of imperial

administration.[30] But no less important (and perhaps even more useful for understanding the

impact of empire) are the considerably more abundant records in Akkadian cuneiform from

Mesopotamia.[31] Although these sources used to be marginal to Achaemenid studies (though with

key exceptions), this situation has changed rapidly in the past decade: these sources—for which

there are absolutely no parallels in the Classical Greek world—provide a remarkably detailed

look at the social and economic lives of local subjects under imperial rule.[32] In addition to these

cuneiform sources, Demotic Egyptian from Egypt and Aramaic from across the Empire add to

the archival sources.[33]

In view of this abundance of primary sources, it should be clear that the best method for

understanding the Achaemenid Empire as an imperial system, one built on the foundations of

extraction and the "cultivation of difference," is to read, compare, and analyze across the

corpora.[34] The Greek authors should not be discounted: Harrison is correct in that "some Greek

writers understood Persia much better than they are sometimes given credit for."[35] Achaemenid

imperialism necessarily differed on the ground across the Empire: there are a variety of reasons

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[30] E.g. Brosius 1996; Briant et al. 2008; Henkelman 2008.
[31] See Jursa 2005 for an overview of the primary sources, though the survey also includes the preceding Neo-Babylonian period.
[32] The texts from the later Achaemenid period have generally seen more attention in broader Achaemenid studies, thanks especially to Cardascia 1951; Stolper 1985; Van Driel 1989. The monumental Jursa 2010 puts Babylonian history in Achaemenid context. See also, inter alia, Kleber 2017; Pirngruber 2017; Waerzeggers and Seire 2018.
[33] For the sorts of information to be gathered from Demotic sources, see Agut-Labordère 2017. For the Aramaic from Egypt, see Porten and Yardeni 1986; for Bactria, see Naveh and Shaked 2012; for Persepolis, see Bowman 1970; Azzoni 2017; for the Levant, see Lemaire 2017.
[34] Quotation: Ando 2012, 226.
[35] Harrison 2011, 20. This is a point I have noted elsewhere regarding Herodotus and Achaemenid taxation: King 2019, 198–99.

(geography, language, cultural mores) that Achaemenid imperialism had a different impact on, say, Persepolis and Egypt, just as Roman imperialism had different effects on the city of Rome versus Britain. Similarly, the mechanisms of Achaemenid imperialism naturally evolved over time, with a particular regularization coming in the reign of Darius I.[36] Nonetheless by reading across the primary sources, including the archaeology, scholars can discern patterns across the geographic and chronological expanse of Achaemenid rule. This dissertation, indeed, applies this methodology to a particular question: how did the Achaemenid Empire endure at such continental scale for over two centuries?

The House of the Satrap

This dissertation addresses the question above through the analysis of one particular institution: the house of the satrap. Two major problems of definition arise immediately: "satrapal" and "house." This dissertation takes "satrapal" as an adjective derived from "satrap" rather than "satrapy," but this only defers the problem of definition to "satrap." Scholars have long debated the definition of "satrap."[37] By etymology, the Old Persian word *xšaçapāvan-*, from which English "satrap" ultimately derives, should mean "one who protects the kingdom/kingship," and this simple translation fits all attestations of the word in ancient sources.[38] Xenophon's idealized description of the administration of Cyrus in the *Cyropaedia* provides a similar explanation of a satrap—a satrap is meant to imitate the King of Kings (8.6.10).[39] As both of these definitions are expansive, some scholars have sought to qualify the

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[36] On this point, see below under "The Scope of the Dissertation."

[37] This problem is the subject of Klinkott 2005, discussed below.

[38] See the glossary of Kent 1953, which remains the standard English-language Old Persian grammar and lexicon. Schmitt's work in German supplements Kent's: Schmitt 1991; 2000; 2009; 2014.

[39] "[Κῦρος] προεῖπε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις σατράπαις, ὅσα αὐτὸν ἑώρων ποιοῦντα, πάντα μιμεῖσθαι."

definition of the word: satraps must be male, they must be "Persian," etc.[40] None of these

qualifications has ever been shown to be universally true. This, in turn, has led to situations in

which some scholars have denied that people called "satrap" in the ancient sources are in fact

satraps, as these individuals do not adhere to the definition of "satrap" which the scholar (rather

than an ancient source) created.[41] For the purposes of this dissertation, anyone whom the ancient

sources call "satrap" is considered a satrap.

In addition, some individuals whose titles are not preserved but whose responsibilities

and jurisdiction resemble those of known satraps will be considered.[42] As an example of a satrap

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[40] See, e.g. the five-pronged qualification of Petit, which Debord accepts, with the proviso that
there was change over time (Petit 1988, 318–19; Debord 1999, 27–29). Benveniste simply
defined *xšaçapāvan* as "qui a la garde du royaume" and then "qui a la garde de
l'empire" (Benveniste 1969, Vol. 2, 19). Herrenschmidt attempts to qualify Benveniste's
definition of *xšaçapāvan* by making it more ethnically specific: "qui a la garde de ce qui est
perse, des intérêts perses, de l'ordre perse" (Herrenschmidt 1976, 45). Herrenschmidt in this
article conceives of ethnicity as equivalent to genetics, which is not accurate (to be polite). In the
context of ancient Iran, see especially Gnoli 1989. The criterion of being "Persian" is especially
problematic in a historiography which now often speaks of "Persianization." See e.g. Brosius
2011; Tuplin 2011. "Persian" cannot be taken as a static category. To depict oneself as "Persian"
in art, for which see Miller 2011, must be different than calling oneself a Persian, as does Darius
I (see, e.g., DNa Old Persian paragraph 2; text edition and translation in Schmitt 2000).
[41] For example, Klinkott says of the female satrap Mania as described by Xenophon, "An dieser
Stelle ist der Titel σατράπης wahrscheinlich für einen untergeordneten Amtsträger falsch
verwendet worden" (Klinkott 2005, 35, no. 22). For criticism, see Tuplin 2006. See also Childs,
who says, "In the case of Maussollus [satrap in Caria, of the Hekatomnid line] the evidence
shows that he had great personal freedom to conduct both internal and foreign affairs…Yet this
does not mean that he held a position comparable to that of his Persian colleagues with the title
satrap. Rather, it is more likely that he served as a sub-satrap in the Persian administration with
certain freedoms as a local ruler apart from the administration of the Empire" (Childs 1981, 75,
no. 122). This quotation comes immediately after Childs saying that the Hekatomnids are called
satraps in several inscriptions of Caria and Lycia. See Debord's criticism: Debord 1999, 137–38.
Similarly Bryce writes that Mausolus "styled himself as a Persian satrap in his inscriptions"
(Bryce 2009, 152). In both cases, Mausolus is denied the status of satrap by scholars who offer
no criteria for their definition.
[42] Of the satraps in this dissertation, Bēlšunu, Bakabaduš, and Axvamazdā are never explicitly
called "satrap." This, however, is largely a result of the sources in which they are recorded. The
title "satrap" appears far more often in Greek than the other primary source languages. Bēlšunu
only appears in two mentions of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (1.4.10, 7.8.25), and the other two do not

whose title "satrap" is unattested, one can compare W. Henkelman's discussion of Parnakka,

known from the Persepolis Fortification archive.[43] Henkelman argues Parnakka to be satrap in

Pārsa because he is the highest attested representative of the King in the region. With this most

important criterion comes other supporting evidence, such as that Parnakka oversaw the

institutional economy of the region and issued travel authorizations. The crucial criteria remain:

satraps are representatives of the King of Kings who imitate the King of Kings in an institutional

and legitimate manner.

This dissertation disregards the term "satrapy," a word which never appears in

Achaemenid texts. Many of the problems defining "satrap" have resulted from the assumption

that a satrap should exclusively govern territorially bounded land known as a "satrapy."

Eliminating this assumption allows us to understand "satrap" on emic grounds.[44] More important,

however, is that the removal of the term "satrapy" eliminates the assumption that the

Achaemenid state sought to govern territories, rather than peoples. The organization and

categorization of imperial rule by populations rather than by territories was a typical feature of

Persian statecraft.[45] The use of the term "satrap" to the exclusion of the term "satrapy" better

allows analysis of the means of imperialism.

As an example of the importance of analyzing Achaemenid imperialism in its on terms,

we can turn to a much-debated Achaemenid source: the list of lands or peoples (Old Persian

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appear in the Greek sources at all. Therefore, that they are not called "satrap" should not
surprise.

[43] Henkelman 2021, 887–88.

[44] For this reason, this dissertation uses the phrase "satrap in [place]" rather than "satrap of
[place]." This phrasing mirrors the Old Persian use of the locative case.

[45] For organization by ethnic populations in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, see Henkelman
and Stolper 2009.

dahyāva; sing. *dahyu*) in the monumental inscriptions, especially Bīsotūn.[46] If one were to read only the Old Persian version of the inscription, one may think that Darius conceived of his rule as comprised of a number of territories: Darius names the *dahyāva* under his control as places.[47] For this reason, B. Jacobs has argued that these *dahyāva* were satrapies.[48] But the inscription at Bīsotūn is trilingual in Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian, and reading the Elamite demonstrates the dangers of a *dahyu*-satrapy equivalency.[49] Although the Elamite also uses the Old Persian word *dahyāva* in Elamite rendering, it names all the *dahyāva* as peoples: a fact demonstrated by the determinative denoting personhood that appears before all of them, as well as the plural ending that appears on most.[50] The Achaemenid court simply did not distinguish between place and people in the most prominent piece of its ideological program, but it is only by reading across the primary source languages that we can ascertain this.

By "house," this dissertation will study anything considered patrimonial property, whether *de jure* or *de facto*.[51] This comprises land, infrastructure, economic resources, dependent personnel, and other family members. It may be contentious to group the last two items under the rubric of patrimonial property, and, with the exception of chattel slaves, these were *de facto*

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[46] For the text, see Schmitt 1991 (Old Persian), Vallat 1977 (Elamite), and Von Voigtlander 1978 (Akkadian). See Bae 2001 for a section-by-section comparison of the three.

[47] The exception is "the people who dwell by the sea." On this phrase, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001.

[48] Jacobs 1994, 112. Vogelsang 1992, 169–73 maintains that *dahyāva* are territorial but not necessarily equivalent to satrapies. Schmitt 1999 likewise insists that *dahyāva* denotes places rather than peoples.

[49] The Bīsotūn inscription was also copied into Aramaic (Greenfield and Porten 1982) but was not carved into the mountain face in this language.

[50] See already Cameron 1973. In contrast, the Akkadian agrees with the Old Persian by listing places, though it does not use the Old Persian *dahyāva* but rather the Sumerogram KUR.KUR.

[51] In grappling with the idea of the "house," I have made use of sociological practice theory, namely Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984. However, the ancient sources remain the primary evidence, and this dissertation does not attempt to fit ancient evidence into a pre-existing theory.

rather than *de jure* property. But subordinates and family members of the satrap were to a large extent bound to the satrap himself; degrees of freedom were relative, and all these personnel functioned to replicate the institution of the satrapal house. As we will see, the degrees of boundedness could vary, and some ambiguous cases are considered in this dissertation as well. The reason for foregrounding the "house" is not to quibble about the word's definition, but rather to emphasize the other constituent parts of the house as social, economic, or political actors. By shifting the object of study from the satrap to the satrapal house, this dissertation seeks to understand the role of human and non-human actors besides the satrap himself. Moreover, a "house" is how the satraps conceived of their property, family, and subordinates in total, as will be seen across the primary source languages. Wherever possible, this dissertation will try to use the emic language of the Achaemenid Empire to reconstruct its practices.

Satraps were not alone in conceiving of their dominion in terms of the "house," but rather this was common to the Achaemenid ruling class. The house of the King constituted an economically discrete set of property in the imperial economy, as texts from the Persepolis Fortification archive record transfer into and out of the house.[52] Like satrapal houses, the house of the King included not just property, but also his family: as we will see, royal princes are referred to as "sons of the house." Royal women too controlled their own institutional houses, with their own economic spheres interacting and overlapping with the larger state economy. Indeed, the Achaemenid government can be characterized as a series of partially overlapping elite houses. What makes the institution of the satrapal house uniquely worthy of study is that these satrapal houses, unlike the house of the King or the houses of royal women, were dispersed

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[52] Briant 2002a, 469–71. The highest ranking royal women too could have houses of their own, for which see Brosius 1996, 123–46; Henkelman 2010.

across the entirety of the Achaemenid Empire.[53] Therefore, it is at the level of the satrapal house that the everyday acts of imperialism took place. If we are to understand the reasons behind the Achaemenid Empire's endurance and the impact of Achaemenid imperialism on subjects, we must interrogate the quotidian practices of empire-building, and it was above all the satrapal houses that made and maintained the Achaemenid Empire.

Previous Scholarship

Studies of individual satraps are numerous, but comparative work among satraps has been rare.[54] H. Klinkott's *Der Satrap: Ein achaimenidischer Amtsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume* is the most detailed comparative study of the satraps of the Achaemenid Empire.[55] Klinkott aims to describe the entire jurisdiction of the satrap, including his role in the law, taxation, and defense of the Persian Empire. Most of Klinkott's proposed roles for the satrap adhere to the ancient evidence.[56] Although Klinkott does not use much of the documentary evidence emanating from the Achaemenid Empire itself, he reads the Greco-Roman historiographical tradition thoroughly and thoughtfully.[57] Klinkott's exhaustive examination of the office of the satrap, as enumerated in the Greco-Roman material, provides a foundation for two further points of analysis: the jurisdiction of the satrap as visible between the Greco-Roman

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[53] As we will see, certain royal women like Parysatis owned property outside Parsa. The known extent of their holdings does not match that of the satraps in total but was also expansive in scope. See especially Brosius 1996 on the royal women.

[54] For scholarship on the individual satraps of this dissertation, see the individual chapters.

[55] Klinkott 2005. Klinkott's work updates and expands Petit 1990. Klinkott, in particular, devotes more study to the jurisdiction of satraps than does Petit.

[56] His discussion of "satrapal coinage," however, should largely be ignored. "Satrapal coinage" is not a term used by any ancient sources. The term was invented by numismatists as a construct against which to argue. See, e.g., Harrison 1982; Mildenberg 2000; Bodzek 2011.

[57] There are some criticisms that can be levied against Klinkott's use of the Greco-Roman material, for which see Tuplin 2006.

sources and the Achaemenid administrative sources, and from this comparison, an examination

of the satrap, and his house, in the maintenance of the imperial system.

B. Jacobs' *Die Satrapienverwaltung im Perserreich zur Zeit Darius' III* enumerates a

highly hierarchical satrapal administration of the Achaemenid Empire, in which a *Großsatrapie*

sits atop several *Hauptsatrapien*, which in turn administer *Kleinsatrapien*.[58] Jacobs argues that

the Achaemenid Empire organized its *Großsatrapien* around the former kingdoms which Cyrus

and Cambyses conquered, such as Babylonia and Lydia. The highly hierarchical structure Jacobs

attributes to Achaemenid administration is increasingly supported by the growing body of

primary evidence.[59] The evidence Jacobs himself uses is almost exclusively the Achaemenid

royal inscriptions and the Greco-Roman Alexander historians (Arrian, Quintus Curtius,

Diodorus, etc.), although he does reference a few texts of the Persepolis Fortification archive.

Since the publication of Jacobs' book, however, there has a been a boom in the studies of

administrative documents of the Persian Empire. Therefore, this dissertation will revisit Jacobs'

thesis through the study of this documentary evidence. Furthermore, this dissertation will shift

Jacobs' hierarchy of *satrapies* to a hierarchy of *satraps*. Is Jacobs' hierarchical administration

supported by the newly read administrative material?[60] If so, to what extent? Is the hierarchy

clarified if we consider the administrative unit the person of the satrap (and his house) instead of

a territorial satrapy?

L. Khatchadourian's *Imperial Matter: Ancient Persia and the Archaeology of Empires*

occupies an important historiographical position for this dissertation because of its second

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[58] Jacobs 1994. See later Jacobs 2003; 2006.
[59] See the discussion of Jacobs by Henkelman: Henkelman 2017, 54, nos. 10; 82, 54.
[60] Tavernier's reading of the hierarchical use of different languages in the administrative framework of the Empire supports at least a three-level hierarchy (Tavernier 2017).

chapter: "The Satrapal Condition."[61] With her archaeological background and interest in new

materialism, Khatchadourian's approach and object of study decidedly differs from that of this

dissertation, the sources of which are chiefly textual. However, similar theoretical interests drive

both projects. Khatchadourian begins her first post-introductory chapter with a philological

discussion of the Old Persian *xšaça*, which she, drawing on the work of earlier scholars,

understands as both king*dom* and king*ship*.[62] *xšaça* is the first lexical root in the Old Persian

xšaçapāvan- from which is derived "satrap;" the second lexical root is *pā-*, meaning "to protect."

Via this etymological dissection, Khatchadourian argues that a "satrap" is one who protects both

the realm and the King's right to rule.[63] Khatchadourian further argues that *xšaça* should be

connected to metalwork via the Zoroastrian Aməša Spənta Good Sovereignty, by comparison

with Avestan and Middle Persian material.[64] With this connection, Khatchadourian therefore

grounds her analysis of the "satrapal condition" in materialism. The "satrapal condition," for

Khatchadourian, is a two-pronged approach of analyzing how imperial objects make subjects and

how subjects escape imperial hegemony—that is, a top-down and a bottom-up analysis in

tandem. This framework provides an inventive means of studying the archaeological material,

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[61] Khatchadourian 2016.

[62] Khatchadourian 2016, 2f. Khatchadourian especially draws upon the scholarship of Bruce Lincoln (2007; 2012). It should be noted that the dual meaning of *xšaça-* has been long recognized. See the definition of the word in Kent's Old Persian grammar: "kingship, kingdom" (Kent 1953, 181). Earlier see Meillet who glosses "royauté" and "royaume" (Meillet 1915, 61, 84), and Rawlinson who translates as "crown, or empire" (Rawlinson 1848, xxviii).

[63] Khatchadourian 2016, 5.

[64] Khatchadourian 2016, 11–21. The use of Avestan and Middle Persian material for the religion of the Achaemenid Persian Empire remains a controversial topic, as there is no evidence that the Achaemenid kings practiced the particular strand of Zoroastrianism that these texts record and direct. Garrison calls the use of the later Zoroastrian material in the study of the Achaemenid period a "an issue of faith, so to say" (2011, 23). Khatchadourian uses the comparative material to connect her archaeological and philological evidence, but the core of evidence is of Achaemenid origin, which is the most careful manner of handling this comparative material.

but her approach does not consider the satraps themselves. Khatchadourian's work invaluably asks how imperial materials effected sovereignty and how non-imperial objects escaped, or complicated, this hegemony, and this dissertation considers her theoretical approach to imperial subjectivity with regard to the houses of satraps.

Finally, the work of W. Henkelman, especially as articulated in the monograph-length "Imperial Signature and Imperial Paradigm: Achaemenid Administrative Structure and System across and beyond the Iranian Plateau," provides conceptual and evidentiary backing to this dissertation project.[65] Unlike the three aforementioned books, the subject of Henkelman's work is not specifically the satrap (or satrapy). Rather Henkelman demonstrates the applicability of the Persepolis Fortification archive to the study of the history of the Achaemenid Empire outside of Pārsa. For this dissertation, the most important argument in Henkelman's work is that the administrative structures seen most clearly in the Persepolis Fortification archive are not unique to the region around Persepolis; instead they are part of a truly imperial system—what Henkelman calls an "imperial paradigm."[66] Henkelman stresses that this imperial system manifested itself in the different regions of the empire in different ways, but also that there is nevertheless an empire-wide logic at work. This argument will be fundamental to this dissertation: the goal is not only to study individual satrapal houses, but also what is common to all satrapal houses. Local manifestations of power in total comprise the imperial whole. Nevertheless, this dissertation still highlights local variations wherever they occur and the reasons for which they vary. Pragmatism has been too heavily emphasized in discussions of

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[65] Henkelman 2017. See also (not exhaustive) Henkelman 2008; Henkelman and Stolper 2009; Rollinger and Henkelman 2009; Henkelman 2010; Henkelman and Folmer 2016.
[66] Henkelman 2017.

Achaemenid imperial statecraft, but the pragmatism was real in certain situations. Which aspects of the imperial project allowed flexibility and which did not?

The Scope of the Dissertation

This dissertation examines the satrapal system from the reign of Darius I (r. 522-486) to the death of King Darius III during the Macedonian conquest (in 330). The reason for this endpoint should be self-evident: the Macedonian invasion marked the end of the Achaemenid Empire. The satrapal system evolved over the course of Alexander's conquest and subsequent reign as King of Kings, with the system ultimately transforming in the Hellenistic period, but this is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The transformation and collapse of the satrapal system in the early Hellenistic period would represent a fruitful research topic that would especially complement recent trends in Hellenistic studies which pay greater attention to the non-Greek sources.[67] Such a study would require a more detailed examination of the operations of the Achaemenid satrapal system, which is what this dissertation intends to provide.

The beginning of the period under examination may appear more arbitrary, but there are good reasons to start with the reign of Darius I. First is the availability of primary sources, which is always an important consideration for historians of the pre-modern world. The Akkadian documentation from Babylonia is abundant in the years prior to the reign of Darius, but these texts comprise the only major corpus that could give some details on satrapal rule. The Egyptian material provides some important insights on the Achaemenid conquest, but there is not enough here for a detailed study of satrapal governance.[68] The Greek authors, Herodotus in particular,

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[67] For examples of this sort of Hellenistic history, see, for example, Manning 2003; Moyer 2011; Fischer-Bovet 2014; Kosmin 2014. See also Briant and Joannés 2006 for the Achaemenid-Hellenistic transition.
[68] See on Cambyses and Egypt, e.g., Agut-Labordère 2005a; Wasmuth 2017.

write about the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, but Herodotus was writing nearly a century after their reigns: the genuine historical information can be difficult to disentangle from the intertwined legends and misunderstandings. The second reason for beginning with the reign of Darius I is that there appears to have been a restructuring or, at least, a regularization of the governmental system during his reign. Darius himself claims as much in his monumental inscription at Bīsotūn, the Greek authors remember Darius as a taskmaster, the Akkadian documentation shows a regularization of the fiscal system, and more and more imperial Aramaic records appear Empire-wide from this point forward.[69] It is clear that some structural changes occurred in the reign of Darius I, but the extent of these changes remains uncertain. At any rate, starting with the reign of Darius I limits the scope to a more stable system of governance, albeit not one devoid of changes over time.

The geographic scope of this dissertation is broad by design. I have deliberately chosen case studies from Anatolia and Egypt to Arachosia and Bactria in order to study as much of the expanse of the Empire as feasible in a dissertation. Of course, the scope of the project necessarily means that there are some holes in the study as presented here; the ideal dissertation, given infinite funding and time, could have added the Caucasus or Elam or the Indus valley.[70] Studying the wide range of cases chosen here will allow us to distinguish regional peculiarities from imperial patterns, and it is finding these imperial patterns that is the object of this dissertation. One perhaps unavoidable consequence of this deliberately broad geographic scope is that the

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[69] Darius' inscription: see Schmitt 1991, with particular attention to section 14 (on the restoration of order) and 70 (on the creation and promulgation of the Iranian script). For the Greek authors, see especially Hdt. 3.89. On the Akkadian material, see Jursa 2011a; Pirngruber 2018, 26–30. Most of the Aramaic material is collected in Porten and Yardeni 1986.

[70] However, I doubt that anyone would want to read the 1,000-page dissertation that would have resulted!

dissertation may flatten some of the changes over time, as the sources studied here come from

different periods of time. In some regions (western Anatolia, Egypt, and Babylonia especially)

the changes that took place over the course of Achaemenid rule are well-understood, and I have

noted such changes throughout the chapters. For other areas, especially the Iranian plateau

beyond Pārsa, this change over time can be more difficult to trace. But this makes this

dissertation's goal of tracing patterns across satrapal houses all the more useful.

Chapter Overview

The chapters of this dissertation are organized geographically, as the dissertation will

move from West to East in the study of satrapal houses. Chapters 2 and 3 both concern the

satrapal houses active in western Anatolia from the period of the Achaemenid Empire's entrance

into the Peloponnesian War in 412 to the signing of the King's Peace in 386. Thanks to the

writings of Xenophon, Thucydides, Diodorus, Plutarch, and the Oxyrhynchus Historian, this is

the period of history of Achaemenid Anatolia that is best documented by ancient written sources.

A growing amount of work on the archaeology of Achaemenid Anatolia and on Greek and

Persian numismatics supplements the written sources. These two chapters revolve around the

houses of three different satraps: Cyrus the Younger, Pharnabazus, and Tissaphernes. Cyrus, the

son of King Darius II and thus royal prince, arrived in Anatolia in the midst of the Peloponnesian

War as the commander of the Achaemenid forces in the region, and his alliance with, and

payments to, the Spartan Lysander ultimately secured a joint Spartan-Achaemenid victory. After

the death of his father, Cyrus' brother, Artaxerxes II, was crowned King, and Cyrus issued a

challenge against the throne, as he led a large army from Anatolia but was killed in battle in

Mesopotamia. Pharnabazus served as satrap in northwestern Anatolia centered at Dascylium. His

assistance in securing a victory in the Peloponnesian War and in successfully curbing Spartan

aggression in the early fourth century eventually secured him a marriage with a daughter of King Artaxerxes II. Tissaphernes had a turbulent career in his time as satrap at Sardis, the former capital of the kingdom of Lydia and now base of Achaemenid power: at first, he took the lead in the dealings with the Greeks but saw his position in the imperial hierarchy diminish after the arrival of Cyrus. After throwing his support behind King Artaxerxes II against Cyrus, Tissaphernes again became the top official in western Anatolia, but, several years later, he struggled to handle Spartan aggression in the region and was killed according to the King's orders.

The first of the two Anatolian chapters, "Satrapal Wealth in Western Anatolia," considers the scale, sources, and expenditures of satrapal wealth in the region to provide a model of the ways the satrapal economy operated. This wealth was considered the personal property of satraps, but satraps were expected to use this wealth to fulfill broader state functions. The wealth of satrapal houses was so large that, when properly mobilized (not always the easiest task in an imperfectly monetized economy), the expenditures of this wealth could alter the political landscape of Anatolia and the Aegean world. This is seen most clearly in the Achaemenid-Spartan alliance that won the Peloponnesian War. From where, then, did the satraps acquire their wealth? Although the sources indicate that the taxation of cities and disbursement from the house of the King of Kings represented substantial contributions to the wealth of these satraps, the majority of satrapal wealth, in Anatolia and elsewhere, came from agricultural estates, whether managed by subordinates within the house of the satrap or by lower ranking nobility in a system of rent-collection. The vast majority of the ruling class in the Achaemenid Empire were agricultural rentiers, and the Anatolian satraps fit this pattern perfectly. The Greek sources limit their discussions of the expenditures of satrapal wealth to three broad fields: war, luxury goods,

and gift-giving. The two most important Greek authors of this period, Thucydides and Xenophon, primarily concern their narratives with war across the Aegean, but, even in times of less violence, the obligation of satraps to maintain garrisons and fortifications required a substantial investment of satrapal resources. Luxury goods confirmed the elite status of the satraps and could also be used as gifts in the economy of exchange. These gifts served the crucial role of establishing social and political links among elites, and it is to these networks of relationships that the following chapter turns.

"Satrapal Networks in Western Anatolia" considers the personal relationships, often couched in terms of friendship, between satraps and other elites that structured the social, political, and economic networks of the Eastern Mediterranean. The chapter begins by analyzing the relationships between the satraps and two of the most famous Greeks of the day: Alcibiades of Athens and Lysander of Sparta. Alcibiades' relationship with Tissaphernes was initially meant to secure a Spartan-Achaemenid alliance in the Peloponnesian War, but the soured friendship between the two caused the alliance to falter. In contrast, the friendship between Lysander and Cyrus the Younger, and the economic alliance that this friendship entailed, overwhelmingly contributed to the Achaemenid-Spartan victory in the Peloponnesian War. The chapter next turns to the relations between Pharnabazus and the elites of the Greek city-states of the Propontis. Personal relationships between Pharnabazus and these elites served to control the flow of goods that traveled between Achaemenid Anatolia, Thrace, and the Black Sea rim. Next the chapter revisits the oft-discussed problem of satrapal competition: what were the structural reasons that motivated the King of Kings to foster competitive relationships among his satraps (especially Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus)? This chapter proposes two answers: from the imperial perspective, this competition encouraged the maximal investment of personal satrapal resources,

while from the perspective of the individual satraps, this competition allowed them an avenue to renegotiate their standing in the eyes of the King of Kings. Finally, this chapter analyzes a particular episode among Pharnabazus, King Agesilaus of Sparta, and a Persian noble named Spithridates that demonstrates the role family members of satraps played in structuring social and political networks. Women of elite houses could be exchanged to secure alliances, just as establishing relations across the male line would secure the smooth transition of these networks across generations. In total, this chapter demonstrates, through several case studies, that personal relationships among satraps and other elites, structured social, political, and economic networks at the scale of the Eastern Mediterranean and beyond.

"Aršāma: Controlling and Cultivating Labor" turns to the free and bound subordinates within the house of the satrap. Aršāma, satrap in Egypt and domineering landlord in Babylonia in the second half of the fifth century, challenges static assumptions about satrapal governance in the Achaemenid Empire, as his political and economic influence transcended the bounds of the Herodotean satrapy. Aršāma, moreover, was not simply a satrap but also a member of the royal Achaemenid house, and he displayed his status as such on his personal seal. His agricultural holdings are recorded by two main sets of documentation: Aramaic letters from Egypt and Akkadian legal texts, mostly leases, from Babylonia. Although the vast majority of previous scholarship has only considered the Egyptian material, both corpora are essential to understanding the life-story of the satrap. Across both corpora, we can find patterns in Aršāma's handling of labor. In both Egypt and Babylonia, Aršāma utilized a series of estate-managers (*pqyd* in Aramaic, *paqdu* in Akkadian) to monitor his agricultural property, and Aršāma used a variety of means to cultivate their loyalty, from rewarding these estate-managers with their own personal farms to manumitting former slaves who had previously served under property-owning

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rivals. But Aršāma also employed coercive means to secure more labor for himself: he shipped slaves across the Empire to fulfill specialized roles on his estates, and he took advantage of economic uncertainty in Egypt to force unpropertied cultivators into bound tenancy. Aršāma's control of the labor of other humans, and the ability to manipulate labor structures to his will, confirmed his elite status, and the patterns in his handling of labor can be seen across other satrapal houses, although perhaps never as vividly as in the case of Aršāma.

"Bēlšunu: Becoming an Achaemenid Satrap" examines an unusual case in Achaemenid history: a person, outside the close-knit circle of the Persian elites, who rose to the rank of satrap. Bēlšunu, therefore, represents a nearly unparalleled example of upward social mobility, and the circumstances of his rise must be scrutinized to understand the features of satrapal houses which the Achaemenid court sought to cultivate. Bēlšunu is documented in the Akkadian-language Kasr archive from the city of Babylon, and the texts of this archive record the inner business operations of his house in the reigns of Artaxerxes I, Darius II, and Artaxerxes II. The texts demonstrate that Bēlšunu earlier occupied a lower ranking role in the imperial government, as the governor of the city of Babylon, but was promoted to become satrap in Syria in the reign of Darius II. After placing Bēlšunu in the context of Babylonian history and examining his familial background, this chapter focuses on two economic aspects of Bēlšunu's house: his use of dependents and his involvement with crown grants of agricultural land. This chapter demonstrates that Bēlšunu managed to run his house in a way that maximized his own gains without upsetting established imperial hierarchies. Bēlšunu, as is shown, became a satrap because he had already been managing his house as a model satrap. Bēlšunu transmitted his position via a Babylonian-Syrian dynasty, and this chapter pieces together disparate evidence to

demonstrate this. Finally, this chapter compares Bēlšunu to the other known satraps of non-Persian origins: the Hecatomnid dynasty from fourth-century Caria.

"Movement across the Iranian Plateau: Bakabaduš in Arachosia" turns to the Achaemenid control over the infrastructure of movement: the continental scale system of roads and storehouses that allowed travel and communication across the whole of the Empire. In Achaemenid Arachosia, the region around modern Kandahar, Afghanistan, this infrastructure lay under the purview of the satrap Bakabaduš, the least studied satrap of any in this dissertation. The sources for Bakabaduš's activities come not from Arachosia but from the Persepolis Fortification archive, where records of travelers in the reign of Darius from across the Empire into the region of Persepolis have been preserved. Satraps had authority over the imperial road system through the issue of travel-authorizations, which allowed the specified travelers to draw from the provisioning infrastructure over the course of their journey. Because these travel authorizations are associated with individual satraps like Bakabaduš, we can use these records to interrogate the ways in which the satrap connected Arachosia with the imperial core. Bakabaduš, more than most contemporary satraps, is particularly well documented in the Persepolis texts because Arachosia sat at a gateway that connected the Achaemenid Empire with its far East, particularly Gandhāra. The texts indicate three broad categories of things which traveled between Arachosia and the imperial core: stored wealth, labor, and information. The transportation of stored wealth represented a form of taxation which served to transform transient agricultural production in Arachosia into stable wealth in the imperial core.[71] Imperial administrators moved laborers from Arachosia to the imperial core because labor, in particular skilled labor, was the

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[71] I have published an article that was originally an appendix for this chapter which demonstrates that a set of stone objects from Persepolis represents taxation from Achaemenid Arachosia, though from later than the period Bakabaduš served as satrap: King 2019.

resource the Empire desired most from subject populations: labor was the limiting factor of production in any imperial endeavor from agriculture to construction to military campaigning. The sharing of information, in particular through the system of express-messengers, allowed the branches of the imperial government to operate as a coherent unit, as the king and satraps could be in constant communication. All these facets of movement across the Iranian plateau operated through Bakabaduš and his numerous subordinates.

"Axvamazdā and the Control over Movement in Bactria" complements the previous chapter by examining the Achaemenid control over movement at a more local level, within the region of Bactria in northern Afghanistan. The evidence comes from three types of Aramaic texts, most of which date to the mid-fourth century: letters from the archive of a Bagavanta, the high-ranking subordinate of the satrap Axvamazdā; accounting texts that record information similar to the Persepolis Fortification texts; and a group of split tally sticks that document transactions between state administrators and pastoral groups. Through the first two groups in particular, we have insight into the house of Axvamazdā's control over the agricultural economy of the region and the ways in which his house supplied and maintained the infrastructure of movement as a way to extract taxation over groups traveling through the region. Axvamazdā and his subordinates provisioned the storehouses which lay along the roads, and the satrap's own residences were used to house travelers along these roads. By investing in this infrastructure of movement, the Achaemenid Empire could transport stored wealth, labor, and information over long-distances—as demonstrated in the previous chapter—just as the house of the satrap could tax traders moving their goods through along these roads. The case of Axvamazdā, in particular, demonstrates a key feature of the satrapal system: satraps were encouraged to expend their

personal resources in broader, Empire-wide endeavors because it allowed the satraps themselves to extract wealth for personal gain.

"Conclusions and Contributions" takes stock of the patterns seen across the case studies in this dissertation. First, the chapter summarizes the key features of satrapal houses within the day-to-day operations of the Achaemenid Empire and attempts to nuance our understanding of the quotidian practice of Achaemenid imperialism. Second, this chapter argues that the study of satrapal houses can contribute to broader empire-studies and, in particular, to the way empire itself is conceived. The Achaemenid Empire plays a major role in the world historical development of empire, and the system of satrapal houses which lay at its foundations ought to contribute to how empire is conceptualized. Finally, this chapter proposes that we view the system of overlapping houses scrutinized in this dissertation as itself a form of governance that proved durable over the duration of the Achaemenid Empire.

Chapter 2. Satrapal Wealth in Western Anatolia, 412-386

Introduction

The study of Achaemenid Anatolia from 412 to 386 provides an opportunity to examine

the scale, sources, and expenditures of satrapal wealth through historiographical sources.[1] The

satrapal houses of Anatolia strove to acquire resources however they could but were expected, by

the King of Kings and fellow satraps, to expend these same resources to fulfill functions that

benefitted the Empire writ large. The late fifth and early fourth centuries together comprise the

best documented period of the history of Achaemenid Anatolia prior to the invasion of

Alexander. It is in this period that the Achaemenid Empire intervened in the Athenian-Spartan

conflict known as the Peloponnesian War, which stretched across the Mediterranean as far west

as Sicily. The Achaemenid entrance into the war, secured by diplomacy with Sparta beginning in

412, contributed to the Spartans' ultimate victory, and, after the end of the Peloponnesian War,

the Spartans attempted to extend their hegemony into western Anatolia, where they came into

direct conflict with their former ally.[2] After years of Spartan-Persian conflict, including a

campaign led in person by the Spartan King Agesilaus II, the treaty known as the "King's Peace"

ended the fighting in 386 and secured unequivocal hegemony for the Achaemenid Empire over

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[1] Throughout this chapter and the next, I use abbreviations for the Classical sources from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. See https://oxfordre.com/classics/page/ocdabbreviations/abbreviations.

[2] See now Hyland 2018a for a narrative history of the Persian interventions in this period. Briant 2002a, 569–690 covers the time period discussed here (and beyond), but studies the whole of the Empire, not just Anatolia. Debord 1999, 203–63 remains an essential political history. Cawkwell 2005, 147–74 provides a straightforward reading of Thucydides and Xenophon in the Greco-Persian Wars between 412 and 386. Hornblower 2011, 155–233 covers the period from a Greek-oriented perspective. Meiggs 1972 (especially 350-71 for the period here) provides a still compelling account of the Athenian perspective, but its early date means that the account of Persia is now outdated. Cartledge 1987 provides a wealth of information on Sparta, with a particular emphasis on king Agesilaus.

all "Asia." Because of the involvement of the satraps in the politics of the Greek world at this time, this period is thoroughly documented in the Greco-Roman historiographical tradition. The major sources include Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*; Xenophon's *Anabasis*, *Hellenica*, and *Agesilaus*; the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*; Diodorus' *Library of History*; and various *Lives* by Plutarch.[3] Together, these comprise the chief ancient sources for this chapter and the next, but to these we can add archaeological, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence from Anatolia and neighboring regions.

For this period from 412 to 386, the next two chapters will analyze the role of the satraps of western Anatolia, and their houses, within the governance of the Achaemenid Empire. The analysis will revolve around three individuals: Pharnabazus, Tissaphernes, and Cyrus the Younger. Across this period, Pharnabazus served as satrap in Hellespontine Phrygia, and his power was most often associated with the city of Dascylium, though, as we will see, satraps were mobile. Pharnabazus was often subordinate in the imperial hierarchy to Tissaphernes and Cyrus, alternately. Unlike the other two, he always remained in the good graces of the Kings of Kings. Pharnabazus married a daughter of Artaxerxes II (Plut. *Art*. 27.4), and his descendants continued to rule as satraps in Hellespontine Phrygia until the end of the Achaemenid Empire.[4] Tissaphernes served as satrap in Lydia and Caria, with the city of Sardis as an especial seat of power. He functioned as a chief intermediary between Greek parties and the Achaemenid Empire and proved his loyalty to the King of Kings in the succession crisis between Artaxerxes II and Cyrus the Younger. Despite this, Tissaphernes met a violent end when, during the conflict with

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[3] I have used McKechnie and Kern 1988's edition and translation of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. For the other sources, I have consulted the editions from the Loeb Classical Library and, for Thucydides and Xenophon's *Hellenica*, the Landmark editions.

[4] See Klinkott 2005, 48 with no. 4 for the dynasty and the familial relationship connection between Pharnabazus and Ariobarzanes. See further Weiskopf 1989, 27–28.

Sparta in 395, he was executed at the King's orders by Tithraustes, who succeeded Tissaphernes as satrap in Sardis. Cyrus the Younger was a son of Darius II, and, in the year 407, he arrived in western Anatolia as satrap and the chief commander of the Achaemenid forces on the western front. After the death of his father, Cyrus contested the kingship of his brother, Artaxerxes II. He eventually led a campaign, which included the Greek mercenary force known as the Ten Thousand, from western Anatolia to Mesopotamia, but he was killed in battle at Cunaxa in 401.[5]

The narrative histories of these three satraps are well understood, and these historiographical sources, especially Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* and Xenophon's *Anabasis*, have seen academic study for hundreds of years.[6] The concern of these next two chapters will not be narrative history, but rather they will consider two broader themes: satrapal wealth and satrapal social networks. These two themes are essential to this dissertation's analysis of the role of the satrapal house in the making of the Achaemenid Empire, and many of the points first emphasized in these two chapters will recur throughout the rest of the dissertation. Concerning satrapal wealth, this chapter will analyze its scale, sources, and expenditures. By examining these structural aspects, we can better contextualize the political economy of Achaemenid Anatolia and the role of the satrapal house therein. The next chapter will examine the social relations—between satraps and subordinates, satraps and external agents, and satraps and other satraps—through which the satrapal house participated within the broader management of the Achaemenid Empire. Before continuing to Pharnabazus, Tissaphernes, and Cyrus, however, we will briefly examine a case study of a smaller elite house: that of Mania in Aeolis.

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[5] Lee 2016a considers this succession crisis the greatest threat to any King of Kings since the accession of Darius I, while Briant 2002a, 627 considers the threat even greater.

[6] No small part of this study is due to Europeans seeing Athens as an imperial exemplum. See, e.g., Liddel 2012 for discussion.

The story of Mania reveals patterns seen across the economic and social history of Achaemenid Anatolia.

Mania, the Satrap?

In 399, the Spartan general Dercylidas, on campaign against the Achaemenid Empire, led his army across northwestern Anatolia in the region of Aeolis.[7] Here Xenophon pauses his narrative of the Spartan-Persian conflict to provide the readers an account of the recent history of Aeolis (*Hell*. 3.1.10f.). As Xenophon tells us, Aeolis fell under the jurisdiction of the satrap Pharnabazus, but it was a man by the name of Zenis of Dardanus who in reality acted as satrap in Aeolis. After Zenis died of an illness, Pharnabazus prepared to give the jurisdiction (Xenophon uses the noun σατραπεία) to another person. But Mania, the wife of the late Zenis, decided to make a bid to serve as her husband's successor. Bringing with her gifts for those in Pharnabazus' inner circle, Mania argued her case on the strength of her husband's service.[8] In Xenophon's narrative she says to the satrap, "Oh Pharnabazus, my husband was not only a friend to you in all ways, but he also handed over taxation (φόρους) to you so that you commended and praised him" (3.1.11, my translation). Finding her argument convincing, Pharnabazus agreed to let Mania rule as satrap (σατραπεύειν). In addition to continuing to provide taxation (φόρους) and gifts to Pharnabazus, Mania maintained the cities she had received and also new cities on the coast that had previously not been subject to her rule (3.1.13).[9] Pleased with his subordinate's

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[7] Debord 1999, 239–42 provides an account of this story with detailed references to the *poleis* mentioned, among other notes.

[8] On the structural significance of the Mania story, see briefly Tuplin 2016, 21. Briant places the story in the context of royal "gifts" in Anatolia when he argues that the estate of Zenis and Mania was probably, but not verifiably, a royal gift from the King of usufruct on this land (Briant 1985, 63). This is entirely possible, but the Achaemenid cooptation of local elites seems equally probable.

[9] The cities captured by Mania were Colonae, Larisa, Hamaxitos, and Dardanos. The latter two appear in the *Athenian Tribute Lists*, and Dardanos minted coins which bear a legend that is

service, Pharnabazus heaped honors upon Mania and sometimes called upon her as an advisor (3.1.13).[10]

However, Mania's son-in-law, Meidias, grew disgruntled by the situation, because others said that it was shameful for a woman to rule, while he had no public position (3.1.14). Because of this, Meidias killed both Mania and her son, and then seized the cities Scepsis and Gergis, which held in them most of Mania's wealth (χρήματα, 3.1.14-15). The other cities, however, would not receive Meidias, and the garrisons within them waited for word from Pharnabazus. Meidias then sent gifts to Pharnabazus and claimed that he should rule, just as Mania did. Pharnabazus rejected Meidias' bid and aimed to avenge the slain Mania, yet it was at this moment that the Spartan army led by Dercylidas arrived in Aeolis (3.1.15). Many of the cities, poorly treated since the death of Mania, voluntarily became allies with the Spartan army, and as a result, Dercylidas marched to Scepsis and Gergis with minimal resistance (3.1.16-19).[11] Meidias, fearing at this point the wrath of both Pharnabazus and his own subjects, agreed to meet with Dercylidas, and, upon realizing that he was unable to resist the Spartans, Meidias allowed Dercylidas to enter both Scepsis and Gergis, where the Spartan commander was welcomed warmly (3.1.20-24). Afterwards Dercylidas sought to inventory the property of Meidias, which the Spartans would then seize, as he asked how many houses (οἰκίαι), estates (χῶροι), and pastures (νομαί) he had (3.1.25). The former property of Mania too came into question. Because

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likely to be attributed to Zenis. See the information collected in Mitchell 2004. The *Athenian Tribute Lists* are published in Meritt et al. 1939. Paarmann 2007 provides an updated edition.
[10] Klinkott takes Pharnabazus' behavior as an imitation of the King (Klinkott 2005, 203). While Pharnabazus' behavior does resemble that of the King, there is no reason to take Pharnabazus' behavior as atypical of a satrap in general. As discussed in chapter 1, satraps, in many ways, behaved as a Great King in miniature. See also Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.10.
[11] Dercylidas did encounter resistance at the city Kebren, but that does not concern the narrative of the house of Mania.

the residents of Scepsis told Dercylidas that Mania belonged to Pharnabazus, and therefore the

possessions of Mania likewise belonged to Pharnabazus, Dercylidas claimed all these for the

Spartans, as the enemy of Pharnabazus (3.1.26). Dercylidas then entered the house (οἴκησιν) of

Mania, coerced all her former servants (ταμίας) to cooperate under the threat of violence, and

took what he found, an amount able to pay the Spartan army of 8,000 men for almost a year

(3.1.26-27). Allowing Meidias to continue to dwell in Scepsis, Dercylidas and the Spartans then

left the region (3.1.27-3.2.1).

This story reveals a wealth of information on the satrapal system in western Anatolia,

and, as this dissertation will argue, the Achaemenid Empire as a whole. But first one question

arises: was Mania, in fact, a satrap? Xenophon hedges his language on this matter, as he uses a

rare verbal form of "satrap" to signify that she "acted as a satrap."[12] Modern observers have, like

Xenophon, often been noncommittal as to Mania's status.[13] But what is unquestionable—and

precisely what Xenophon wished to convey with his word choice—was that Mania acted like a

satrap in Aeolis. Though some satraps like Aršāma in Egypt or Tissaphernes in Lydia had power

over huge populations, Zenis and Mania only had jurisdiction over a few *poleis* in Aeolis. If we

accept Jacobs' hierarchy, which may be rigid but is still revealing, Zenis and Mania would count

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[12] Though Xenophon uses a verbal form of "satrap" (ἐσατράπευε) here, it is difficult to make much of this evidence. A search through the texts collected on http://perseus.uchicago.edu/ yields only fifteen attestations of the lemma. Xenophon, who seems to have written the word first, himself uses the word four times: twice with reference to Mania (Xen. *Hell*. 3.1.10 and 3.1.12) and twice with reference to unspecified satraps (Xen. *Anab*. 1.7.6 and 3.4.31). Diodorus (17.17.6) uses the verb to denote someone (Ariobarzanes in Phrygia) whom no one has ever doubted to be satrap. The evidence here is, therefore, equivocal, and it is unwise to draw too certain a conclusion from the material.

[13] Tuplin uses the phrase "subsatrapal satrap" to describe Mania: Tuplin 2017, 624; see also Hyland 2018a, 128's "district governor." Briant remarks on "satrap" being used as a verb, but does not draw any particular conclusions from it: Briant 1985, 63. However, Briant 2002a, 642, 748 is skeptical of Mania's status as satrap. Other commentators have accepted Mania as satrap, e.g. Hornblower 2011, 75 with no. 12.

as even below the level of *Kleinsatrapen*.[14] Mania behaved as a satrap, but on a smaller scale.

Mania achieved her status because she was married to Zenis, the former ruler, and, as with the

house of Pharnabazus, the position of the ruler could stay in a single family over generations.

She confirmed her position through personal relations with Pharnabazus, particularly through

gift-giving and, above all, the promise that she would continue to remit Pharnabazus' portion of

tax, just as her husband had. The only aspect lacking in Mania's personal social network is a

connection directly with the Great King, and this may be the only qualification keeping her from

unambiguous satrapal status.[15]

A hierarchy of officials, with the King ultimately at its head, structured Mania's fiscal

administration, and what kept this hierarchy in place was portions of taxation flowing upwards.

The structure of deferred tax-collection enabled higher officials, such as Pharnabazus or even the

King of Kings, to collect taxation from local populations with minimal infrastructural

investment.[16] Direct intervention by Pharnabazus into the cities which Mania ruled likely would

have allowed him to collect a greater share of taxes than his agreement with Mania did; however

direct intervention also would have required more intensive infrastructural investment, whether

administrative agents or armed forces.[17] That Xenophon largely describes Mania's jurisdiction in

terms of the cities she ruled marks a crucial point: the higher up an official was in the Persian

administration, the less likely that official was to rule cities directly. As this chapter will argue

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[14] Jacobs 1994, esp. 134-35 where he discusses the *Kleinsatrapie* of Hellespontine Phrygia which covers the jurisdiction of Mania.

[15] What should not disqualify Mania, however, is any distinction made along ethnic or gender lines, as discussed in the introductory chapter.

[16] On infrastructural power, see discussion throughout Mann 1986 (and, in brief, Mann 1984) and the application with regard to ancient history in the volume by Ando and Richardson 2017. Ando 2017, in particular, provides a helpful review of the literature.

[17] One might call this a "low power" model of the state, after Richardson 2017, though he focuses more on the discursive capabilities of the state than this dissertation does.

below, cities were not loci of power in the Persian Empire; they often provided revenue or manpower, but the Empire sought to tax them with as little effort as possible. Even "cities" thought to be a satrapal seat, like Dascylium, do not appear to have been cities in a traditional sense, but instead demonstrate what Gondet and Canepa call "diffuse" urbanism.[18] Pharnabazus deferred the administration of cities to his subordinate Mania, and the pattern of superiors deferring cities to their subordinates is one we will see frequently in western Anatolia.

Finally, the wealth of the house of Mania reflects broader patterns. There is no distinction between public and private wealth, but rather the wealth of the ruling class in total constituted the funds available for the state. When Mania took control of three additional cities, she in turn increased the amount of taxation flowing to Pharnabazus, and she used the revenue she acquired to equip her own mercenary force (3.1.13). The property that Dercylidas took from Meidias— houses, estates, and pastures—constituted extra-urban agricultural production, which comprised the primary source of satrapal wealth.[19] Further, the amount of wealth Dercylidas took from the stores of Mania's house reveals the scale of satrapal wealth. Xenophon does not tell us what form this wealth took, but that it could be used as pay (μισθός) for the soldiers suggests a reserve of precious metal, whether coined or not.[20] That this amount was sufficient to pay 8,000 men for almost a year provides an indication of the scope of satrapal wealth. Mania, let us remember, occupied a position nowhere near the top of the administrative hierarchy, and, if we assume that position within the hierarchy was roughly proportional to wealth, she would therefore have had significantly less at hand than Pharnabazus or Tissaphernes. Moreover, although Xenophon

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[18] Gondet 2014; Canepa 2018, 25–28; Gondet 2018.

[19] This property resembles the sort of property that Darius says Gaumata seized from landowners in DB §14 (Old Persian). Bae 2001 contains all four languages of the inscription.

[20] Mania's husband Zenis may be named on a series of coinage from Dardanus, and Scepsis also minted coins in the fifth and fourth centuries. See Mitchell 2004, 1007, 1015.

writes that most of her wealth was contained within Scepsis and Gergis, we do not know

precisely what portion of her wealth this amount comprised. Despite these caveats, the store of

wealth in Mania's house was able to pay 8,000 soldiers for nearly a year, the equivalent of over

12,500 kilograms of silver.[21]

The Mania story provides a vivid example of the satrapal house in miniature, and this is

precisely why it is so informative. The political economy of the Achaemenid Empire replicated

itself from the King of Kings to his high-ranking satraps, like Tissaphernes, Cyrus, or

Pharnabazus, down to lower-ranking officials like Mania and even further below.[22] This self-

replicating structure was one of the defining features of Achaemenid governance, and outside

observers, like the Greek Xenophon, recognized it as such: he writes in the *Cyropaedia*, his

idealized account of the foundation of the Persian Empire, that the satraps were meant to imitate

the King of Kings in everything that they did (8.6.10). The story of Mania and Pharnabazus

suggests that this mode of imitation can be extended beyond the elites who had direct access to

the King of Kings. Therefore, we will see similar sorts of economic behavior and social networks

among the great satraps of western Anatolia, as we did in Xenophon's account of Mania. It is to

the wealth of these three satraps that this chapter now turns.

The Wealth of the Satraps

The wealth of the satraps drove Greeks to forge alliances with Tissaphernes and

Pharnabazus during the Peloponnesian War. Recognizing the military and fiscal benefits of an

alliance with the Achaemenid Empire, Spartan envoys negotiated with Tissaphernes in 412/1 to

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[21] At a rate of one drachma of silver per day (Trundle 2013, 344), this comes to 2,920,000 drachmas or 486⅔ Attic talents (=12,585.20 kg). Alternatively for payment in gold darics, see Baslez 1989, 240.
[22] Malkin 2011 calls self-replicating economic networks, patterned in a similar way, "fractal."

entice him to join the war on their side, and the two parties eventually came to an agreement: the Achaemenid Empire would help fund the war effort against Athens, and the Greek cities of the Anatolian coast, which had been under Persian control prior to Xerxes' failed invasion of mainland Greece in 480/79, would again be restored to Persian hegemony. Despite the agreement between Sparta and Tissaphernes, the Spartans grew unhappy with the Persian satrap, as they accused him of not paying the rowers the full amount promised. Although Sparta undoubtedly possessed superior ground forces, Athens' abundant triremes continued to prolong the Peloponnesian War, and the Spartans needed to bolster their naval forces if they wished to deal the final blow to the Athenians.

It is in this context that Darius II, the King of Kings, sent his own son, Cyrus (the Younger), to western Anatolia. In the spring of 407, Pharnabazus encountered Spartan envoys returning from a meeting with Darius in the Persian heartland (Xen. *Hell*. 1.4.1-2). One of these envoys brought with him a sealed letter of the King which said, "I am sending down Cyrus as *karanos* (*karanos* means "master") of all those who muster at Castolus" (1.4.3, Loeb translation modified).[23] Cyrus entered western Anatolia as a superior, perhaps only temporarily, to the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. When Cyrus arrived at Sardis in Lydia, he met with the Spartan general Lysander to discuss the war efforts against Athens. Lysander complained that Tissaphernes had not supported the Spartans to the extent he promised, and Cyrus assured him that this would no longer be the case under his command. As Xenophon writes, Cyrus "replied that this was what his father had instructed him to do, and that he had no other intention himself, but would do everything possible; he had brought with him, he said, five hundred talents; if this

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[23] The term *karanos*, rendered as *krny*, also appears in an Aramaic document from Bactria: Hyland 2013.

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amount should prove insufficient, he would use his own money, which his father had given him; and if this too should prove inadequate, he would go so far as to break up the throne whereon he sat, which was of silver and gold" (1.5.2-3, Loeb translation).

Cyrus' response to Lysander reveals a complex web of interactions between the wealth of the state and the wealth of elites in the Achaemenid Empire. To whom did these 500 talents of silver belong? Cyrus says that if the initial 500 talents were insufficient, he would use his own (ἰδίοις) funds. Does this suggest that the 500 talents were not his own? What does "his own" mean in this context, in which "his own" funds were given by his father, who was not simply his relative but also, as King of Kings, the head of the state? Was this gift a formal transfer of state funds? If the details of ownership were not already complex enough, Cyrus further specifies that he would go so far as to "break up the throne on which he sat," which was made of gold and silver.[24] Was this a throne from his own, presumably mobile, court? Was this a treasury of the state at Sardis, where Tissaphernes had often stationed himself prior to Cyrus' arrival?

In the Achaemenid Empire the wealth of the elites comprised the wealth of the state.[25] However not all wealth of the state was accessible to each individual member of the elite. When Artaxerxes gave funds to Cyrus, this represented a transfer from the house of the King to the house of Cyrus; both these sums of money comprised state funds but separate pools of state funds.[26] Satraps, as representatives of the King, were expected to spend their own personal funds for state expenses, such as the provisioning of the military or, in the context of the Peloponnesian

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[24] The verb here could perhaps even mean "to mint coinage;" see Zournatzi 2000, 248 with no. 26.

[25] However, there was a sector of imperial wealth not necessarily beholden to any individual: Briant 2002a, 469–71.

[26] This "house of the King" is recorded in imperial fiscal documents, such as the customs document from Egypt (Porten and Yardeni 1986, C3.7; see discussion in Briant 2017b, 400–01, a translation of Briant and Descat 1998).

War, the payment of rowers. With the permission of the King, the satraps may have used state funds outside of their own house, but this occurred only exceptionally. Because the wealth of the elites constituted the wealth of the state, elite endeavors to augment their own house, such as violent appropriation, increased the ability of the state to arm and feed the military. Competition among the ruling class, such as among Cyrus, Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus, encouraged each house to continue to acquire and use wealth to support the state. If this competition were not enough motivation, then the threat of violence further supported the cycle: Tissaphernes was killed not by a foreign enemy but by another Persian, sent to Anatolia to replace the satrap who apparently did not meet the demands of the King of Kings.

The Scale of Satrapal Wealth

Although we cannot truly quantify the wealth of the satraps of western Anatolia, the Greek sources and modern scholars agree that Persian money given to Sparta was instrumental in swinging the Peloponnesian War towards a Spartan victory.[27] Let us examine the amount of wealth which the Greek sources attribute to the satraps. If we revisit the meeting between Cyrus and Lysander, we can find an order of magnitude estimate for the scale of Cyrus' wealth. Not only did Cyrus bring with him 500 talents of silver from the King to Anatolia, but he also said that he would spend his own funds, an unspecified amount of money, and that he would break up his throne, made of gold and silver (Xen. *Hell*. 1.5.3; cf. Plut. *Lys*. 9.1-2). Cyrus does not quantify the amount of precious metal in his reserves, but we will see other references to the magnitudes of these treasuries. While Cyrus planned his rebellion against his brother Artaxerxes, we hear further of the scale of his wealth. Cyrus gave Clearchus, a Spartan exile, "10,000"

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[27] E.g. Hornblower 2011: "In the end Persian money was what won the war for Sparta; they could not do it alone" (159), or "the Peloponnesian war had been won because of Persian money" (207).

(μυρίους) darics to collect an army. The Greek word μυρίος, however, is used more often to denote any impossibly large quantity, rather than the specific number 10,000. If, again, we cannot quantify with accuracy the number of darics Cyrus provided, we know it was a tremendous number, as Xenophon informs us that Clearchus successfully used the money to muster an army, wage war against the Thracians, and acquire even more funds from the cities of the Hellespont (Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.9). At the same time, Cyrus also gave Aristippus the Thessalian six months' pay for four thousand mercenaries in Thessaly (Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.10).[28] The frequency with which Cyrus dispensed large sums of money, and the sheer capacity of Cyrus personally to levy an army of mercenaries capable of mounting a plausible challenge to the Achaemenid throne, is indicative of the scale of satrapal wealth.[29] That is, if mobilized, the economic resources of the most powerful satrapal houses could alter the political landscape of the Achaemenid Empire and its neighbors.

The scale of wealth of the houses of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus appears similar to that of Cyrus. No single source provides as striking testimony as does the story of Cyrus and Lysander, but the mosaic of surviving descriptions testify to these satraps' economic power. As will be discussed below, productive agricultural estates are associated with the houses of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, and these must have constituted a large portion of their wealth, although they produced in kind rather than in precious metal. Levies from cities which belonged to individual satraps further constituted another store of wealth. The Greek sources additionally suggest that the satraps had stores of precious metal. For example, when Conon, the Athenian

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[28] With Cyrus' tendency to pay in darics at a rate of one per month (Xen. *Anab.* 1.3.21), this would come to 24,000 darics. See Hyland 2015 for Persian-Thessalian relations at this time.
[29] Hornblower 2011, 201, in fact, points to the role the satraps of western Anatolia played in popularizing and normalizing Greek mercenaries. Expenditures of satrapal wealth altered military culture.

commander of the Persian fleet, went to Tithraustes, both the murderer and the successor of

Tissaphernes, Tithraustes provided him with 220 talents of silver from the "property" (οὐσίας) of

Tissaphernes (*Hell. Oxy.* 19.3). Some of this wealth moved with the forces of the satrap. In 395,

the Spartan king Agesilaus captured the camp of a Persian army in the vicinity of Sardis, under

the jurisdiction of Tissaphernes, and here the Spartans found "more than 70 talents," presumably

of silver (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.24). Similarly, the Spartan army later captured a camp of Pharnabazus,

noted to be full of the satrap's possessions, and a dispute arising over how to distribute the booty

was so bitter that it caused some of the allies to defect from the army (4.1.20-28). As seen

already with Cyrus, sometimes even the furniture of a satrapal house could store precious metal:

Alcibiades told an Athenian delegation that, if Tissaphernes could trust the Athenians, he "would

turn his own bed into silver if it were necessary" (Thuc. 8.81).

      The tremendous wealth of the most powerful satraps of western Anatolia, Cyrus,

Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus, is largely treated as banal by the ancient Greek sources. What is

more suggestive of the scale of the entire system, however, is the wealth of those lower in the

hierarchy. The house of Zenis and Mania in Aeolis, which Meidias usurped as discussed above,

is instructive. Not only did Meidias inventory an unspecified number of houses, agricultural

fields, and pasturelands (οἰκίαι, χῶροι, νομαί) as constituent of his patrimonial property (Xen.

Hell. 3.1.25), but also the treasury of Mania's house contained enough to pay 8,000 soldiers for

almost a year (3.1.28), some 12,500 kilograms of silver. Perhaps most indicative of the wealth of

the entire imperial elite is the amount of wealth controlled by those never called satraps. Let us

consider, for example, Spithridates, who, in 396, defected from the Persian cause to support the

Spartans because of some unspecified slight by Pharnabazus (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.10f., *Age*. 3.3f.;

Plut. *Age*. 10, *Lys*. 24.1; Hell. Oxy. 21.4). Spithridates, to whom Xenophon gives no other

description than "the Persian" (τὸν Πέρσην), brought with him when he rebelled "his children,

his money at hand, and about two hundred horsemen" (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.10). The size of the forces

he was able to muster demonstrates his wealth: furnishing a horseman represented a costly

process, one in which the Achaemenid state invested its resources and which the invading

Spartan Agesilaus would also invest.[30] That they all defected with him demonstrates the

economic *qua* military power that this ostensibly minor Persian noble was able to muster. At an

even smaller scale was Mithradates, a former friend of Cyrus the Younger, who deceitfully

offered to accompany the 10,000 Greeks out of the Persian Empire, only to attack them later.

When he first approached the Greek army, he came with about 30 horsemen and offered to

defect with all his "attendants" (θεράποντας), presumably the selfsame cavalrymen (Xen. *Anab*.

3.3.1-2). This Mithradates appears to have been a minor noble himself, one capable at least of

mustering 30 horsemen to serve for him.[31]

     The wealth commanded by even the most minor figures reported in the Greek historical

sources illuminates the economic power of satrapal houses in western Anatolia. Greeks often

remarked upon the economic might of the Achaemenid Empire, even while deriding the military

strength of the Persians. As Plutarch reports, the Spartan king Agesilaus quipped that he was

driven out of Anatolia by 30,000 archers—that is coinage bearing the mark of Persian archers

(*Artax*. 20.4, *Ages*. 15.6). The wealth of the Achaemenid Empire appears so frequently in the

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[30] The Achaemenid investment in horses is discussed further in chapter 7. For Agesilaus, see Xen. *Ages*. 1.23-24: Agesilaus recognized the need to levy cavalry to counter that of Pharnabazus, and so he enrolled the richest men of the nearby cities as horse breeders and offered service exemptions to those who could furnish a horse and rider.

[31] A system of lesser nobility bound by military obligations like this is what is proposed by Widengren's study of "feudalism": Widengren 1956; 1969. There are some terminological problems with Widengren's work, and it is necessarily outdated from an evidentiary point of view, but much of the system described therein seems applicable to Achaemenid social structures. Similarly, see Sekunda 1988.

Greek sources on the Peloponnesian War because the participation of the Empire, or even the participation of a single satrap, on either side had the potential to determine the victor. The accumulation and expenditure of satrapal wealth effected geopolitical ramifications in the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia. Therefore, the following sections will consider two questions pertinent to satrapal wealth, as seen in western Anatolia in the late fifth and early fourth century. What were the sources of satrapal wealth? And how did satraps expend their wealth?

Sources of Satrapal Wealth

I.   The King of Kings

As the narrative of Cyrus the Younger's campaign in Anatolia informs us, one source of satrapal wealth was the King of Kings himself. However, Cyrus' relationship with King Darius II, namely that he was his son, complicates this example. Did the Achaemenid King often "give" funds to his satraps, or did his gift to Cyrus owe to their familial connection? The Oxyrhynchus Historian provides an overall assessment of the fiscal relationship between the Great King and his military commanders. Writing that mercenaries employed by the Achaemenid Empire were frequently underpaid, the author seeks to find blame for this situation. He writes:

> The responsibility for this lies with the King who, whenever it is decided to make war, sends a small sum of money at the beginning to those in charge of affairs and takes no account of the future. And those in charge of affairs, not having the means to pay from their private fortunes, sometimes permit the disbandment of their forces. (19.2, McKechnie and Kern translation)

Despite the passage's polemical context, the phenomenon that the historian describes appears true. The King often gave his satraps money to begin a military campaign; however, the satraps were expected to use their own personal funds to continue to pay their troops.[32] This process supports the argument that the house of the King and the house of the satrap represented two

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[32] See Briant's discussion of the passage: Briant 2002a, 595–96.

separate pools of wealth, but both constituted the wealth of the state. Funds could be transferred

between the house of the King and that of his satraps, but these houses were distinct entities.[33]

The wealth of the elite comprised the wealth of the state collectively.

Besides the case of Cyrus' entrance into western Anatolia, the clearest evidence for the

transfer of funds between the King and a satrap for the purpose of funding war comes from

Thucydides' account of Tissaphernes in Book 8 of his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. The

figure of Tissaphernes dominates this final book of Thucydides' narrative. Although Thucydides

does not mention Tissaphernes at all until Book 8, the Persian satrap is the person who is

mentioned the third-most often in all of his *History*, trailing only the infamous Alcibiades and the

Spartan commander Brasidas.[34] The reason for Tissaphernes' prominence in the Thucydidean

tradition is what he represents: Tissaphernes had the ability to pay for mercenaries and ships, and

thus could dramatically tilt the course of the Peloponnesian War in favor of either Sparta or

Athens, if only he could be persuaded to join the war on one side or the other.[35] For this reason,

Thucydides pays careful attention to the funds of the Achaemenid Empire and especially to those

of Tissaphernes, who in particular controlled the most wealth nearby and who could become a

fearsome participant in the war stretching across the Greek world.[36]

In the summer of 412, Tissaphernes led a Persian delegation in an alliance between

Sparta and Persia, wherein the two parties would jointly wage war against Athens (Thuc. 8.18).

That winter, Tissaphernes arrived in Miletus, the current home to the Peloponnesian fleet. In

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[33] Cf. especially the discussion regarding the transfer between the house of Axvamazdā and that
of Bagavanta in Bactria in this dissertation.
[34] Hyland 2004, 73; 2007, 2.
[35] See especially Lewis 1977; 1989; Rung 2008.
[36] See especially Hyland 2007.

keeping with the alliance between Persia and Sparta, Tissaphernes paid the Spartan rowers so that they could wage war against the Athenians. Thucydides writes,

> Tissaphernes came to Miletus, where he distributed to all the ships one month's pay, as he had promised at Sparta to do, to the amount of an Attic drachma a day for each man; for the future, however, he proposed to give only three obols [i.e. half of a drachma] until he should ask the King; if the King should so order, he would give the full drachma. (8.29.1, Loeb translation modified)

In this passage, Thucydides does not tell the readers the source of Tissaphernes' funds. Nevertheless, the passage implies a process similar to what the Oxyrhyncus Historian describes: the King gave Tissaphernes an initial sum of money, likely uncoined bullion, with which to pay soldiers, but after the expenditures of war exhausted this store of wealth, Tissaphernes was expected to use his own funds to continue the effort. Either unwilling or unable to pay the standard rate of one drachma per day to the rowers, Tissaphernes instead attempted to slash the rate of pay in half, though this was unsuccessful due to the soldiers' protests. Nothing in the Greek explicitly states that Tissaphernes requested more funds. Yet the logistical challenges of sending messages between western Anatolia and the imperial core makes it unlikely that Tissaphernes would have merely sought permission to pay the rowers an additional three obols per month.[37] More likely is that Tissaphernes requested additional bullion from the King. A later portion of Thucydides' narrative makes this more explicit.

Shortly afterwards, Tissaphernes received the Athenian-born, but more recently Spartan-aligned, statesman and general Alcibiades. Owing to his soured relationship with King Agis II of

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[37] Messages, of course, were regularly relayed between the King and all parts of the Empire. See, e.g. Briant 2012; Colburn 2013; chapter 6 of this dissertation. But even by Colburn's optimistic account of the speed of these relays, a roundtrip message from Sardis to Susa would have taken 23 days, if the King responded to the message immediately (Colburn 2013, 46). Therefore, permission to expend what, for the King of Kings, would have been a negligible sum appears unlikely. On the wealth of the late Achaemenid kings, see, e.g., de Callataÿ 1989. A request for additional bullion, thus, appears the more logical choice for this message.

Sparta, Alcibiades fled to the court of Tissaphernes and began to act as his advisor (Thuc.

8.45.1).[38] Thucydides writes that Alcibiades advised the satrap to pay the Spartans three obols

per day, down from one drachma (8.45.2). Acting as Tissaphernes' advisor, Alcibiades was now

approached by Greek cities who requested coin from the satrap. Explaining the current limits of

the satrap's funds, Thucydides says,

> And [Alcibiades] further explained that, though Tissaphernes, now that he was
> waging war on his own resources, was quite properly frugal, yet if ever supplies
> should come down from the King he would give the men their full pay and would
> render to the city-states all reasonable aid. (8.45.6, Loeb translation)

Here we see the separation of the house of the King and the house of Tissaphernes, and the

transfer between the two. Rather than seeking permission from the King to pay more to the

rowers, Tissaphernes sought funds from him. Thucydides' language becomes somewhat

metaphorical on the matter. Rather than expected χρήματα (money), it is τροφή—nourishment,

or provisions—that is coming from the King.[39] Since Tissaphernes will use that τροφή for the

pay (μισθόν) of the cities and sailors, there is no doubt that this τροφή must be precious metal.

The later historiographical tradition also clarifies this, as, in the corresponding section of his

Library of History, Diodorus writes that Tissaphernes paid χρήματα to the Spartans (13.36.5).[40]

The use of τροφή by Alcibiades, or rather Thucydides through the mouth of Alcibiades, appears

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[38] Plut. *Alc.* 23.7 says that Alcibiades fathered a child with Agis' wife Timaea while the King
was away from Sparta. Thucydides, however, does not explain Agis' enmity toward Alcibiades.
[39] This in fact reflects Achaemenid administrative language as well. In the Persepolis
Fortification archive, even the presumed satrap Parnakka is said to be provisioned via "rations,"
though these "rations" far exceed what he could consume and are, therefore, better understood as
a salary. See texts PF 654 and following in Hallock 1969, 205f. I thank Wouter Henkelman for
the suggestion to connect this passage of Thucydides with the Persepolis texts.
[40] Diodorus attributes this to Pharnabazus, rather than Tissaphernes, as he frequently confuses
the two. In fact, Tissaphernes is completely absent from Book 13 of Diodorus, so all of
Tissaphernes' actions over the years that the book covers (415-405) are attributed to
Pharnabazus. On Diodorus' confusion of the two satraps, see Stylianou 1998, 138.

an acknowledgement that precious metal was crucial to the war effort.[41] As we have seen, the funds of the satraps of western Anatolia were crucial over the course of the Peloponnesian War. The house of the King represented one source of these satrapal funds, but overall it appears that the King was only an occasional, and relatively minor, source of satrapal wealth.

II.   Cities

Cities, and the taxation of them, constituted a substantial portion of the wealth of the satrapal house in western Anatolia. In contrast to the contemporary Greeks and Phoenicians and the later Roman Empire, the Achaemenids did not found cities to consolidate power. There were cities across the Achaemenid Empire, particularly in western Anatolia and Babylonia, but the Achaemenid government rarely founded new cities; instead, the Empire sought to incorporate these pre-existing cities into its political-economic framework. The Achaemenid Kings, and, as their stand-ins, the satraps, largely sought to locate power in extra-urban spaces. Immense palatial structures like those of Persepolis and Susa may have supported the populations of cities, but cities they were not.[42] The institutional economy of the palace of the King of Kings dominated the entire settlements. We should view these centers of royal rule not as cities, but as imperial estates. The production of these imperial estates operated via a political economy of coercive extraction. The texts recording disbursements of rations to institutionally bound laborers—*kurtaš*—in the Persepolis Fortification archive provide the clearest evidence for this

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[41] However, because Greek mercenaries were paid in coined precious metal, the Greek sources tend to overstate the importance of precious metal to the Achaemenid war economy. Throughout the dissertation, we will see that payments in kind and, especially, in labor, outweighed those in precious metal.
[42] See discussion in Gondet 2011; Boucharlat et al. 2012.

practice of coercion.[43] However, this pattern of intertwined estates and coerced labor was not

restricted to the imperial heartland, but rather can be seen throughout much of the Empire,

including Anatolia.[44]

Across the Greek historiographical tradition, we see a pattern in the handling of western

Anatolian cities: they were "given" by superiors to subordinates.[45] The subordinates then taxed

the cities, via a personal relationship with local officials, and sent a portion of this collected tax

to their superior. This project of what is, more or less, tax farming, allowed the highest strata of

the Achaemenid state structure, including the King of Kings, to acquire revenue from cities with

minimal infrastructural investment, and at the same time it deferred risk from higher-level

positions onto the tax-farmer.[46] If the King or satraps were to intervene in cities themselves,

instead of through cooperation with local officials, they would have been able to procure a higher

proportion of the collected taxes, but this direct intervention would have required more intensive

infrastructural investment in the urban landscape than the Achaemenid state was willing, or able,

to provide. For the imperial administration, this system of giving and taxing the cities of western

Anatolia allowed the state to acquire the largest amount of revenue with the least intensive

investment.[47]

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[43] For the most detailed introduction to the Persepolis Fortification archive, see Henkelman 2008, 65–179. See also Briant's account of the institutional economy viewed through the lens of Persepolis: Briant 2002a, 422–71.

[44] Briant 1978; 1980 remain compelling accounts.

[45] See discussion in Lewis 1977, 119–123; Briant 1985. This pattern bears similarities to the Mesopotamian villages which were given to royal women of the Achaemenid family. See discussion of this below in the Aršāma chapter.

[46] On the deferred risk, see Jursa and Moreno García 2015, 121. Further this, more or less, aligns with Monson and Scheidel's claim that "monopolistic" states preferred simply to meet their own fiscal demands rather to maximize revenue absolutely (Monson and Scheidel 2015a, 20).

[47] A similar logic appears to be at work in the system of land tenure in Babylonia in the post-484 period (which is detailed best in Stolper 1985; Pirngruber 2017). The existential problem for the Achaemenid government was always how to extract resources with what appears to have been a

Several ancient authors detail this system in action when Cyrus the Younger began to campaign against his brother. According to the account of the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, when the King of Kings Darius II lay on his death bed in 405/4, he summoned Cyrus and the soon-to-be Artaxerxes II, the two sons of his wife Parysatis (1.1.1). Cyrus brought with him Tissaphernes on his voyage to the royal court (1.1.2). After Darius died and Artaxerxes II became established as King of Kings, Tissaphernes told Artaxerxes that his brother was conspiring against him to take the throne (1.1.3). After the intervention of Parysatis, Cyrus was allowed to return to western Anatolia, and he began to levy troops for a campaign against his brother, which is the subject of the first book of the *Anabasis*. To raise an army, Cyrus required funds. In a passage deserving of full quotation, Xenophon writes,

> It was in the following way, then, that he gathered this force: in the first place, he sent orders to the commanders of all the garrisons he had in the cities to enlist as many Peloponnesian soldiers of the best sort as they severally could, on the plea that Tissaphernes had designs upon their cities. *For, in fact, the Ionian cities had originally belonged to Tissaphernes, by gift of the King, but at that time all of them except Miletus had revolted and gone over to Cyrus*. [7] The people of Miletus also were planning to do the very same thing, namely, to go over to Cyrus, but Tissaphernes, finding out about it in time, put some of them to death and banished others. Cyrus thereupon took the exiles under his protection, collected an army, and laid siege to Miletus both by land and by sea, and endeavored to restore the exiles to their city; and this, again, made him another pretext for gathering an army. [8] *Meanwhile he sent to the King and urged, on the ground that he was his brother, that these Ionian cities should be given to him instead of remaining under the rule of Tissaphernes*, and his mother co-operated with him in this. The result was that the King failed to perceive the plot against himself, but believed that Cyrus was spending money on his troops because he was at war with Tissaphernes. *Consequently he was not at all displeased at their being at war, the less so because Cyrus regularly remitted to the King the tribute*

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quite small number of administrative agents. One of the common solutions was to defer actual responsibilities of extraction to a large number of individuals or institutions on low levels and have them remit a portion of the extracted surplus to Achaemenid agents. This is, admittedly, neither a problem nor solution unique to the Achaemenids, but, when one considers the size and duration of the Achaemenid Empire, it appears that the Achaemenids operated this system particularly effectively.

which came in from the cities he chanced to have that belonged to Tissaphernes.
(1.1.6-8, Loeb translation, emphasis added)

This passage of Xenophon is the clearest explanation of the relationship between the

cities of western Anatolia and the Achaemenid state. The jurisdiction of the cities—called *poleis*

throughout this passage—was bestowed by the King of Kings on his satrap, at first Tissaphernes,

but Cyrus took them from Tissaphernes by force.[48] Artaxerxes did not care about the fighting

between Tissaphernes and Cyrus over these cities, because Cyrus continued to send to the King

the taxation (δασμούς) that Tissaphernes had been sending him. Because Xenophon uses forms

of the verb δίδωμι to describe the transfer of these cities (δεδομέναι in 1.1.6 and δοθῆναι in

1.1.8), it is tempting to interpret the passage within the context of gift-exchange.[49] Xenophon

does employ the language of gift-exchange, and the Persian diplomatics that underlie the Greek

of this passage may well have used similar terms. As the end of this passage demonstrates,

however, the gift of cities to a satrap came with an understanding that the satrap would remit a

portion of the taxes acquired from these cities to the King. Although Xenophon does not say

what portion of the taxes the satrap was allowed to keep for himself, if it were standardized at all,

it is likely to have been substantial. An important question, however, remains: why would the

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[48] Lewis argues that these cities (or perhaps only their tax revenue) belonged to Tissaphernes or Cyrus as *persons* rather than as *satraps* (Lewis 1977, 119–122). The distinction here between official and private capacities of persons seems anachronistic (although widespread in the historiography), but Lewis' further point—that this situation allowed these cities to claim "autonomy" while the King was still able to receive a portion of the revenue—is astute. The rhetoric of cities being "autonomous" appears often in the Greek sources, but these cities often still paid taxes to the Achaemenid Empire. Cartledge suggests that being autonomous but still paying taxes to the Achaemenid Empire was preferable to having a Spartan military commander for many of these cities (Cartledge 1987, 194). Corsaro 1989 demonstrates that this autonomy meant self-governance (i.e. the etymology of the Greek word), but did not imply freedom from imperial oversight or a remission of tribute (see also Balcer 1984, 346). This idea was not unique to the Greek *poleis*: one can compare, for example, the position of the Arabs who were, to some extent, autonomous but still beholden with fiscal obligations to the King of Kings (Wiesehöfer 1989, 184–6).

[49] Broadly on gift-exchange in the Achaemenid Empire, see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989.

king defer a portion of the revenue of taxation from the cities of western Anatolia to the satraps? A desire to inculcate loyalty and bonds of reciprocity among his satraps, as we should expect from a system of gift-giving, must provide part of the answer. However, it seems unlikely, to say the least, that Tissaphernes would have been compelled to answer the gift of cities by the King with reciprocity when the King did not protect the gift from the aggression of Cyrus the Younger.

The King, in fact, lacked the coercive or infrastructural power to tax the cities of western Anatolia with efficacy. The "gift" of the cities allowed the King to receive some taxation from the cities with no investment of his own resources. If the King was unable or unwilling to tax the cities of western Anatolia, were the satraps of the region, whether Cyrus or Tissaphernes, better able? As the narratives produced by Greek authors tell us, the satraps were able to muster and arm troops locally; after all, the campaign of Cyrus against his brother would not have been possible without this. The archaeological record of western Anatolia, moreover, demonstrates an increase in the number of citadels in the region in this period of time.[50] As we read in the passage above, Cyrus exercised coercive force in an attempt to wrest control of Miletus from Tissaphernes. Miletus, however, was one of the richest Greek cities of Anatolia, and, therefore, the satraps were unlikely to wield coercion in this manner for all the cities of the region.[51] The

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[50] Gezgin 2001; Roosevelt 2009. Debord 1999, 40 notes that these rural garrisons should be administratively distinguished from those within key cities. See Maffre 2007, 236–7 for known garrisons within Hellespontine Phrygia. One of the fortresses in Lydia is explicitly linked to Tissaphernes because of a sling bullet that bears an inscription of his name: Foss 1975. See Balcer 1984; 1985 for the development of the Persian frontier in Anatolia. The narrative of the Persian defense is taken up by Lee 2016b.

[51] The tribute levied on Miletus by Athens vacillated between 30,000 and 60,000 drachmas per year. Paarman suggests that half of the 60,000 may have been paid by Leros and Teichioussa (Paarmann 2007, Vol. 1 75, no. 311), so it is difficult to determine how much exactly was extracted from Miletus.

patterns in the Greek historiographical accounts suggest, instead, another level in the deferment

of taxation of individual cities, to another governor of a region or a particular city.[52]

Let us revisit the story of Mania, the satrap, with this in mind. When Mania went to the

court of Pharnabazus to ask that she be confirmed as her deceased husband's successor, she first

noted that her husband had been a friend to Pharnabazus, and then said that her husband had

brought to him the tax (φόρους) that was owed (3.1.11). Mania's assertion that she would

continue to perform as her husband did is the entirety of the argument which convinced

Pharnabazus to confirm her as satrap, and Xenophon again emphasizes that she gave no less tax

(φόρους) than her husband did. Xenophon says that Mania's late husband, Zenis, had acted as a

satrap over Aeolis (3.1.10), but the historian clarifies her jurisdiction when he writes: "She

carefully guarded the cities which she received, and she seized the coastal cities Larisa,

Hamaxitus, and Colonae, which had not been subject to her" (3.1.13, my translation). The pattern

we saw with Artaxerxes and Tissaphernes/Cyrus is repeated here at a lower level in the

administrative hierarchy.[53] Pharnabazus, as satrap in Hellespontine Phrygia, deferred the taxation

of cities to Zenis, and then to Mania, as ruler in Aeolis; that the taxation flows from Mania to

Pharnabazus is a reflection of the administrative hierarchy.[54]

A similar situation can be seen in the relationship between Cyrus the Younger and the

Spartan general Lysander near the end of the Peloponnesian War in 405, shortly before the death

of Darius II. In the alliance that sought to defeat Athens, Cyrus had given Lysander money to

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[52] This can provide one reason for the Achaemenid preference to install tyrants in Greek *poleis* rather than other forms of governance like oligarchies or democracies. Having only one necessary point of contact in any given city simplified fiscal (and political) pathways.

[53] Tuplin 2007, 11 notes that the relationship between Mania and Pharnabazus to some extent mirrors the relationship between Pharnabazus and the King of Kings.

[54] See Debord 1999, 41–44 for his discussion of φόρος-collection, which is similar to the model proposed here and also mentions both Mania and the relationship between Cyrus and Lysander.

fund the war effort (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.10-11). When Cyrus received word that his father had fallen

ill, he summoned Lysander to his court before departing. In order that Lysander would continue

to have sufficient funds to fight Athens in the prince's absence, Cyrus "assigned to him the taxes

(φόρους), which were his own, from the cities, and gave him an extraordinary sum of money

(χρήματα)" (2.1.14, my translation). The separation of taxes and money in the passage suggests

different sources, with the latter being stored wealth (likely in a treasury) and the former being

the continuing tax revenues from the cities under the jurisdiction of Cyrus.[55] Diodorus, with

Ephorus as his source, confirms this, as he writes: "Cyrus, because his father sent for him to go

to Persia, gave to Lysander the authority of the cities under him, and prescribed that they pay

taxes to him" (13.104.4, my translation). The difference between the deferral of the taxation of

cities from the King to Cyrus and the deferral from Cyrus to Lysander is that neither Xenophon

nor Diodorus reports that Lysander was expected to remit a share of these taxes to Cyrus.

Lysander, however, was using this taxation for a war effort sponsored by Cyrus, and if Darius

had not summoned Cyrus to leave Anatolia, then Cyrus would have presumably spent these

funds himself.

    The passage of Xenophon's *Anabasis* quoted above (1.1.6-8) suggests an additional

hierarchical level of taxation at the individual city. The key phrase here is that "all (the cities)

except Miletus went over to Cyrus" from Tissaphernes (1.1.6). Xenophon does not say that

Cyrus took the cities from Tissaphernes, but rather the agency is given to the cities themselves.

How should we imagine this process of a city transferring its allegiance from one satrap to

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[55] The spread of the Old Persian title for "treasurer" throughout the Achaemenid Empire (Stolper 2000) is significant here: it suggests that the institution of the treasurer (and treasury) was an imperial one, and therefore we should expect similar stores of wealth throughout much of the Empire.

another? The point of communication between the cities and Cyrus was the garrison

commanders of each individual city. Xenophon writes that Cyrus "had garrisons in the cities,"

and these probably refer both to Persians installed there and local Greeks cooperating with

Cyrus.[56] We should imagine, then, that the garrisons and their commanders were the ones who

collected taxes for the satraps in the individual cities, and that they, in turn, kept a portion for

themselves. In this way, we can imagine a scenario that would have motivated the cities to leave

Tissaphernes for Cyrus—that Cyrus allowed these garrisons to keep a larger portion of the

collected income than did Tissaphernes. Although the scenario presented here must remain

conjectural, the regularity of personal contacts between satraps and city officials, as will be

discussed in the following chapter, supports this suggestion.

III.   Agricultural Estates

While funds acquired from the King and from cities represented substantial, but

inconsistent, sources of wealth for the house of the satrap, agricultural production was the

foundation of the satrap's wealth, a phenomenon that both the Greek historiographical sources

and the administrative texts abundantly document. Satraps were primarily rentiers who derived

their wealth from rents on their own agricultural land. The chief administrative aims of satrapal

houses, as will be seen especially clearly in chapters 4 and 5, concerned the maintenance and

increase of agrarian rents. In Anatolia, the Greek authors do not provide the same level of detail

on the upkeep of the agrarian economy that the administrative documents give, but they

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[56] The evidence for Persian presence in the Greek *poleis* at this time is limited to satrapal
communication with these garrisons (see next chapter), but there is no reason necessarily to
exclude the possibility that some of the commanders were Persian. However, it is likely that
most of the commanders of the garrisons stationed in Greek *poleis* were Greeks (see a list in
Tuplin 1987, 220), and Xen. *Cyr*. 7.4.9 also appears to support this (222).

nonetheless demonstrate Cyrus, Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus largely lived in extra-urban

estates and derived much of their wealth from these estates.

Although Tissaphernes and Cyrus are often called the satrap "in" or "of" Sardis, and

Pharnabazus the satrap "in" or "of" Dascylium, neither Sardis nor Dascylium was the exclusive

(or perhaps even primary) residence of any of these satraps. Let us begin with Cyrus the

Younger. When Cyrus started his eastwards march, he launched his expedition from Sardis,

marched through Lydia to Phrygia, and eventually came to the city of Celaenae (Xen. *Anab*.

1.2.5-7). Xenophon provides the following description:

> In that place Cyrus had a palace and a large paradise full of wild animals, which
> he used to hunt whenever he wanted himself and his horses to exercise. Through
> the middle of the paradise flows the Maeander river. Its sources come from below
> the palace, and it also flows through the city Celaenae. (1.2.7, my translation)

The brief passage illustrates a pattern of satrapal (and, more broadly, elite) habitation in the

Achaemenid Empire: satraps preferred to live in extra-urban estates. The operative word that

usually appears in the Greek sources is "paradise" (παράδεισος), an enclosed agricultural park.

The literature on Achaemenid paradises is vast, but, to summarize briefly, these agricultural

parks bore both ideological importance, as representations of the cosmos in miniature, and

economic importance, as centers of agricultural production.[57] Diodorus summarizes the

importance of paradises well, when he describes one belonging to Tissaphernes, "which had

been artistically laid out at great expense with plants and all other things that contribute to luxury

and the enjoyment in peace of the good things of life" (Diodorus 14.80.2, Loeb translation).

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[57] For ideological importance, see Briant 2002a, 232–40; Lincoln 2012, 1–19; Dusinberre 2013, 54–6. For paradises as economic centers, see Tuplin 1996, 80–131; Uchitel 1997; Briant 2002a, 442–4. See also Tuplin's updated thoughts: Tuplin 2018. For the archaeology of paradises, the topic has been most thoroughly studied at the site of Pasargadae; see, e.g., Boucharlat 2011; Grob 2017. For satrapal estates and their fortifications in Anatolia, see Lewis 1977, 53–55. See now Canepa 2017; 2018, 345–74 on the development of the institution during and after Achaemenid times.

Paradises were both centers of production and places of beauty for the satrap to engage in a defining act of the Persian aristocratic habitus: hunting. Riding horses, often in combination with hunting, was similarly valued as a measure of aristocratic manhood, both by the King of Kings and local elites in imitation of him.[58] That the venue for this aristocratic activity lay outside of the city of Celaenae proper is indicated by the last sentence: the Maeander river begins within the paradise of Cyrus, but it *also* flows through the city Celaenae.[59] Although the palatial and paradise complex lay near the city—perhaps so that the agricultural products of the paradise could be sold at a market—the complex was outside the city proper.[60]

Like Cyrus, Tissaphernes often resided outside of the supposed satrapal center of Sardis. Xenophon, on two occasions, notes that the house (οἶκος) of Tissaphernes was in Caria. In both instances Xenophon presents Tissaphernes as concerned that Spartan aggression will damage his house in Caria. In 397, Ionian cities sent embassies to the Spartans and asserted that

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[58] Herrenschmidt 1985. The importance of horse-riding to the aristocratic habitus which began in the Achaemenid period (or perhaps even earlier) continued far into late antiquity; on Sasanian aristocrats, see Payne 2016, 519–22. Shayegan 2012 considers the oral traditions that allowed the transfer of such ideals between the Achaemenids and Sasanians, though one must also keep in mind that the military and economic importance of the horse was largely a constant between the Achaemenids and Sasanians.

[59] Elites may have preferred to build their estates at the sources of rivers: Xenophon says that Belesys (=Bēlšunu), the satrap in Syria, built his palace and paradise at the center of the Dardas River (*Anab*. 1.4.10). Similarly, see the position of Persian palaces next to rivers with the *Perserbau* in Babylon and the Shaur Palace in Susa (discussed in Tolini 2011, 545). In antiquity, the Shaur river would have run closer to Darius' Palace than the Shaur palace; see the information on the palace presented in Boucharlat 2013, 371–86 (see Boucharlat 2010 for the French original).

[60] See Briant 2017b, 415–25 for the conversion of agricultural products of large estates to precious metal via the market in Anatolia. Descat 1989's argument that φόρος had to be paid in precious metal (including coinage) necessitates the conversion of agricultural products to metal via a market. Descat is probably too deterministic when interpreting Greek vocabulary to denote precise Achaemenid administrative terms, but the broader point—that some obligations had to be paid in metal—appears to be true.

Tissaphernes had the power to allow these cities to be self-governing (αὐτονόμους).[61] Because of this, they advised the Spartans, led by general Dercylidas, to press Tissaphernes by attacking Caria, where his house (οἶκος) was located (*Hell.* 3.2.12). Similarly, when Agesilaus was campaigning against Tissaphernes in 396, Tissaphernes thought that the Spartan planned to assault his *oikos* in Caria. Xenophon writes,

> Now Tissaphernes reflected that Agesilaus was without cavalry, while Caria was a difficult country for mounted men, and he thought that Agesilaus was wroth with him on account of his deceit. Concluding, therefore, that his house (οἶκον) in Caria was the real object of the coming attack, he sent the whole of his infantry across to that district and took his cavalry round into the plain of the Maeander (τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον), confident that he could ride down the Greeks before they reached the country where cavalry could not operate. (*Agesilaus* 1.15, Loeb translation, modified)

The plain of the Maeander is elsewhere associated with the seat of Tissaphernes' power: the third, and final, treaty between Sparta and the Achaemenid Empire (led by Tissaphernes in the delegation) in which they agree to fight the Athenians together in 412/1 was ratified "in the plain of the Maeander" (Thucydides 8.58.1). Again, the lack of a city as referent suggests an extra-urban residence. Perhaps it was an estate with an associated paradise. Plutarch reports the bizarre anecdote that Tissaphernes named "the finest of his paradises, on account of its waters and wholesome meadows" *Alcibiades*, after the Athenian exile whom he had befriended (Plut. *Alc.* 24.5). The multiplicity of the paradises implied here, and the other paradises associated with Tissaphernes in other passages, allows us to suggest these as frequent places of residence for the satrap.

Pharnabazus, too, resided alongside paradises. When the Greeks campaigned against him, the ancient authors usually report that the given general ravaged his "land" (χώρα) (e.g. *Hell.*

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[61] This strictly means self-governing and not a remission of obligations of taxation. See note 49 above. The standard Loeb edition incorrectly translates the word αὐτονόμους as "independent."

Oxy. 21.1; Plut. *Ages*. 11.3; Plut. *Alc*. 29.3, 31.1; Plut. *Lys*. 19.4). The term is vague, but, in the case of military conquests, the ancient authors appear to use it to denote the region over which a satrap has jurisdiction.[62] Xenophon, moreover, reports that paradises comprised part of his house, and indeed part of his patrimonial property. At a conference between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus, in which the two parties attempted to find an agreement to reach peace, the satrap aired his grievances against Agesilaus and his army:

> The things which my father left me, both beautiful homes (οἰκήματα) and paradises, full of trees and animals, in which I enjoyed myself—I see all the homes cut down, the paradises burned down. (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.33, my translation)[63]

As with Cyrus and Tissaphernes, the paradises are associated with places of residence, contain plants and animals, and are noted to be places of pleasure. An additional detail present in the case of Pharnabazus, however, is that this agricultural property was patrimonial property.

So far, this discussion has shown that agricultural estates, in the forms of paradises, were linked with Cyrus, Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus. However, what remains to be demonstrated is how these estates generated wealth for the satraps. Most of the wealth of agricultural estates remained in the form of agricultural products. Although the Achaemenid Empire saw the continuation of the silverization that began in the eighth and seventh centuries, the economy still largely operated in kind.[64] As this dissertation will detail in later chapters, the agricultural

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[62] Balcer, in fact, argues for a political bifurcation among many of the *poleis* of Achaemenid Anatolia in the fifth century, wherein the urban center (ἄστυ) was aligned with Athens but the surrounding land (χώρα) was under the control of the Achaemenid Empire, especially the satraps (Balcer 1984, 411–32; 1985; 1989).

[63] See also the description of Pharnabazus' palace and paradises in Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.15-16. Bakır 2001 contains some information on the archaeological site of the paradise(s) at Dascylium. The study of floral archaeology in this region (Dönmez et al. 2016) has largely yielded results from just the medieval period, but perhaps future studies will provide more information on the Achaemenid site.

[64] For silverization in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, see the useful overview of Jursa 2013a and the more detailed Jursa 2010. The preceding Neo-Assyrian silverization was largely a result of silver plundered from treasuries in conquest; see, e.g., Jursa and Moreno García 2015,

products of these elite estates were used to provide compensation for workers across the free-unfree spectrum, and labor was the most precious and valuable resource for the Achaemenid state.[65] Most of this labor goes unmentioned in the Greek texts, but these narratives do indicate that paradises were used to provision the military (e.g. Xen. *Anab*. 2.4.14).[66]

In the most monetized regions of the Empire, some of the agricultural wealth of satrapal estates could be converted into precious metal via the market.[67] The mechanisms for this process are shown especially in the campaign of the Greek mercenaries detailed in Xenophon's *Anabasis*.[68] Over the course of the campaign, we see a recurring pattern: the Greek mercenaries were paid in precious metals, and then external parties, such as villages or cities, provided a market for the Greek army at which they could purchase provisions.[69] This external party could even be a satrap: after the defeat of Cyrus the Younger and during the negotiations between the Persians and the mercenary army, Tissaphernes provided a market for the Greeks (Xen. *Anab*. 2.3.24). The conversion between precious metal and goods in kind occurred outside the campaign of the Ten Thousand; for example, Agesilaus, during his campaign in Caria, likewise instructed cities to set up markets in advance so that his soldiers could provision themselves

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159. For a discussion of silverization in the Achaemenid Empire within the context of the silverization of the Aegean, see Bresson 2020.

[65] Labor will be a recurring topic for this dissertation. See further literature particularly in chapters 4 and 5.

[66] Provisioning is not explicitly noted here, but this is presumably the reason why the army camped by the paradise.

[67] Although the discussion here and the next chapter focuses on exchange based in coinage, away from the Mediterranean exchange based in weighed silver functioned as well: Tamerus 2016.

[68] See Descat 1995. Lee 2007 contains detailed discussion of most of the logistical operations for the mercenary army.

[69] E.g. Xen. *Anab*. 2.3.24; *Cyr*. 2.4.32. See Lee 2007's chapter on "Eating and Drinking," especially 214-5. de Callataÿ 2009 notes that the Ten Thousand often went unpaid in coinage any given month. This is certainly true, but De Callataÿ may overstate the phenomenon by not accounting for payments not mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

(Xen. *Ages*. 1.14).[70] Beyond these military campaigns, it became regular practice in Anatolia for satraps to sell agricultural surplus to the coastal Greek *poleis* in exchange for precious metal.[71] We cannot quantify the percentage of agricultural wealth which was converted into precious metal, but it was certainly higher in western Anatolia, with its embeddedness in the monetized economy of the Aegean, than elsewhere in the Achaemenid Empire.[72] The market allowed some conversion into precious metal, which allowed the storage of wealth across time more easily than did agricultural products.[73]

Although some of the features outlined above may be common to a number of pre-industrial agrarian regimes, what is distinctive to the Achaemenid case is the extent to which elite interests and activities coalesced around agrarian estates. The Greek sources, written by city-dwelling authors, can obfuscate this, but the administrative documentation shows that the maintenance of agricultural estates was the central focus of satrapal attention. These estates were

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[70] The opposite process—the conversion of goods in kind to precious metal—likewise was at work when Xenophon's army, after returning to Anatolia from Mesopotamia, took sheep and slaves to sell at market (Xen. *Anab*. 6.6.38).

[71] Briant 2017b, chap. 19.

[72] Moreover, the total level of agricultural production in Lydia from the time of the Mermnad kings to the Persian period was considerably greater than before, which would have allowed a greater conversion of the surplus into other forms of wealth (this assumes a low population growth typical of pre-industrial societies). The palynological study of Sullivan in central Lydia provides the best evidence (Sullivan 1989). Unfortunately the data is not precise enough to study agricultural production in just the Achaemenid period, but nonetheless in the period before, during, and after Persian rule (Zone 3b) there is a marked increase in aggregate agricultural production, most notably of olives, the oil of which could be a particularly lucrative product and was easy to store and transport (Sullivan 1989, 149). This accords with the increase in olive cultivation likewise seen in the imperial core under Achaemenid rule: Djamali et al. 2015. Foxhall 2007 provides a lengthy account of olive cultivation in contemporaneous Greece, but a discussion of olive oil trade is notably absent.

[73] Relevant here are Pirngruber's remarks on food storage in Late Achaemenid (i.e. post-484) and Hellenistic Babylonia. Food storage is assumed to be low because organizations preferred to received payment in silver. Interest rates on silver were lower than that on food in order to encourage repayment in silver (Pirngruber 2017, 72–74).

the hubs for travelers, they provisioned the military and laborers, they were centers of artisanal production, and they were the satraps' own places of residence. All the actions which the Greek authors ascribe to Cyrus, Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus need to be understood in the context of them protecting their own estates, in every sense of the word. This theme will be repeated throughout the dissertation.

Expenditures of Satrapal Wealth

I. War

The purview of the Greek sources limits our knowledge of the expenditures of wealth by the satraps in western Anatolia to three broad categories: war, luxury, and diplomacy. The near constant warfare among the Greek *poleis* throughout the Classical period—almost unprecedented in their rate of mass military mobilization in the history of the world—means that the historiographical sources on the late fifth and early fourth century largely recite military campaign after campaign.[74] Therefore these authors recount numerous instances of the satraps in Anatolia spending money to furnish soldiers for war, especially rowers. J. Hyland has studied the economic, and military *qua* economic, interventions by the Persian satraps in Greek affairs from 450 to 386, which entirely covers the period of Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus with which this chapter is concerned, and so the numerous accounts of the satraps providing money to either Athens or Sparta to pay for soldiers need not be belabored.[75] Suffice it to say, during the period between Tissaphernes' entrance into the war and the "King's Peace" which ended Greek campaigns in Anatolia, the satraps provided a tremendous amount of money to both Athens and Sparta, at varying times. Their expenditures are physically recorded in the numismatic record of

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[74] Unprecedented mass military mobilization: Scheidel 2017, 197–98, with further references.
[75] Hyland 2018.

the coins minted under the authority of the satraps.[76] That these coins were minted for the purpose of paying for mercenaries is demonstrated by the mere fact that they are coins: Greek mercenaries were accustomed to coinage, which by now dominated the Aegean economy, but the economy of the interior of the Achaemenid Empire largely operated without coinage.[77]

Quantification of emissions of coinage requires die studies, and no series of coinage associated Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, or Cyrus the Younger within the period of 412 to 386 has been the subject of a die study.[78] However, coinage minted under the authority of Pharnabazus in Cilicia slightly after this period has seen a die study.[79] This coinage is to be dated to the mid- to late 380s and is linked to Achaemenid efforts to reorganize the Mediterranean, especially the campaign against then-independent Egypt.[80] Two series of staters minted by Pharnabazus in Cilicia have enough obverse dies to quantify the total production, with one series using a total of 144.2 +/- 19.5 obverse dies, and the other 136.0 +/- 12.4.[81] With an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 coins per obverse die and at an average weight of 10.7 grams per coin, this comes to a range of

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[76] Harrison 1982; Mildenberg 1998a; 2000; Bodzek 2011; Alram 2012; Van Alfen 2012 all provide overviews. The issue of whether coins minted under the authority of satraps constitute a distinct category of "satrapal coinage," distinguished from civic coinage, is not relevant here (nor would any such category be emic).

[77] Bresson 2016, 260–85 draws contrast between the economies of the Aegean and of the Achaemenid Empire with regard to money. For coinage being minted for soldiers, see de Callataÿ 2000a; 2012. Not all agree with the thesis that coinage was necessarily minted for war (or state expenditures more broadly), e.g. Howgego 1990. The Persian economy was still monetized to some extent (at least in Mesopotamia), if not via coinage: Jursa 2010; 2013a.

[78] de Callataÿ 1995 provides an excellent review of the debates surrounding the quantification of ancient coinage.

[79] Moysey 1986. See the quantitative summary in de Callataÿ 2000b, 96–97; 2003, 229–31.

[80] Casabonne 2000, 35–36. Harrison 1982, 315–21 prefers a date in the 370s. This coinage is probably contemporaneous with coinage also minted under the authority of Pharnabazus from Samaria: Bodzek 2004.

[81] These figures are from de Callataÿ 2003, 229–31.

50,000 to 100,000 kilograms of silver minted by Pharnabazus in Cilicia.[82] By way of comparison,

this figure comes to almost two to four times the annual production of the Laurion mines of

Attica at the height of their production in the years following 450.[83] We cannot and should not

extrapolate these figures to all coin emissions minted under the authority of the satraps of

western Anatolia, but the Cilician example serves to illustrate the quantities of coins that these

satraps were capable of putting into circulation. Like Pharnabazus, Tissaphernes and, perhaps,

Cyrus the Younger too minted coinage under their authority.[84] The sources of the precious metal

used to mint this coinage are unknown, but the discussion above concerning the sources of

satrapal wealth makes it likely that much of it was the personal wealth of these satraps: the

wealth of the house of the satrap was mobilized for the purposes of making war.

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[82] Using the average figures 20,000 coins per obverse die and the lowest number of dies in the range, the low total is 53,136.2 kg, and using the 30,000 coins per obverse die and the highest number of dies in the range, the high total is 100,184.1 kg. I have used 10.7 grams as the weight after de Callataÿ 2000b, 96–7. de Callataÿ 2003, 230–1 gives a range of 10.60-9 as the mode. This calculation is at a rate of 100% silver purity, which is too high, but likely only slightly so: a hoard of sigloi from Achaemenid Babylon showed a range of purity between 96.4 and 98.1% silver (Reade 1986, 86 with the appendix by Cowell). Reade (86) notes some nineteenth century studies that show a lower degree of purity (as low as 88.40%), but he says that the reliability of these studies is questionable. For the figure of 30,000 coins per obverses die, see de Callataÿ 1995, 300, but note his caveats. de Callataÿ 2005, 78 later suggests 20,000 coins per obverse die, but notes that a range of 10,000 to 40,000 is plausible. I have used 20,000 as the low estimate and 30,000 as the high estimate, but if de Callataÿ is correct about the larger range being plausible, even higher or lower numbers are possible.

[83] This uses the figure of a talent at 25.86 kg at 1,000 talents per year in the Laurion mines. Flament 2007, 247 (followed by Bresson 2016, 278 with slight hedging) says that the average annual production exceeded 1,000 talents per year in the second half of the fifth century. 1,000 talents per year is taken here as an estimate.

[84] For Tissaphernes, see Hurter 1979; Cahn 1985; Bodzek 2012, but see the remarks of Harrison 2002 who disputes that issues can be assigned to Tissaphernes without legends. Nevertheless, the issues with his name are indisputable. For Cyrus, Weiser 1989 presents the case, but the lack of a name on this coinage makes this a hazardous guess (Harrison 2002, 303–4; Hyland 2018a, 203, no. 118).

Related to the expenditures for paying soldiers are the satrapal lump sum payments to external agents to intervene in affairs outside direct Achaemenid purview. The most striking example comes at the culmination of Conon and Pharnabazus' naval campaigns across the Aegean, which sought to curtail Spartan power.[85] In 393/2, shortly after Pharnabazus had launched an assault on the *chora* of Pherae in Messenia (Xen. *Hell*. 4.8.7), Pharnabazus established a garrison on the island of Cythera, just to the south of the Peloponnese, before sailing to the Isthmus of Corinth.[86] There the satrap rallied his Greek allies against their common Spartan foe, asked them to demonstrate their faith to the King, "left them however much money he had" (4.8.8), and then sailed home. Pharnabazus here did not pay mercenaries *per se*, but rather simply left a sum of money to external agents to make war against a common enemy. Diodorus provides an example of satrapal wealth spreading even farther afield. According to the historian, a Syracusan by the name of Hermocrates had fought in the Peloponnesian War, first on the side of Athens, and then in support of Sparta. During the course of his service, he kindled a friendship with the satrap Pharnabazus, who gave him "a lot of money."[87] In 409, Hermocrates returned to Sicily and used the money given by Pharnabazus to build five triremes and hire 1,000 soldiers (13.63.2). Diodorus does not comment as to whether or not Pharnabazus' intention was that his gift of money be used for war in Sicily, but either way the expenditure of satrapal wealth had military ramifications across the Mediterranean in affairs outside of what is considered the Achaemenid Empire.

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[85] Conon and Pharnabazus' campaign is recorded in Diod. 14.81.4f., Xen. *Hell*. 4.8.1f., *Hell. Oxy*. 19.1-3.

[86] Civic coinage of some of the cities of western Anatolia and the neighboring islands was used to fund this campaign: Delrieux 2000.

[87] Diodorus, especially in Book 13, sometimes substitutes "Pharnabazus" for "Tissaphernes," so it is possible that we should attribute this gift to Tissaphernes instead. On the confusion of their names, see Stylianou 1998, 138.

As Hyland demonstrates, these two disbursements of satrapal wealth to extra-state actors highlighted here are not alone, but the Greek sources record the satraps doing so on multiple occasions.[88] The question remains, however: why did the satraps spend this money? What purpose did the payment of mercenaries and lump sum distributions to external agents serve? Hyland interprets the interventionism into Greek affairs from the perspective of the Achaemenid court, as he argues that these interventions aimed at restoring Achaemenid hegemony to mainland Greece, if not through direct rule then through an acknowledgement of Achaemenid dominion.[89] Some modicum of control over the European Greeks was necessary to ensure that they would not interfere in more pressing matters in the Mediterranean, namely Cyprus and Egypt.[90] Hyland's argument offers a compelling explanation, and even puts Diodorus' story of Pharnabazus' gift to Hermocrates the Syracusan into context: the wealth helped spread the *idea* of Achaemenid supremacy as far as Sicily.

However, this imperial explanation does not, as a sole answer, explain the behavior of individual satraps. Surely, Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus the Younger had an ideological investment in ensuring that the hegemony of the Achaemenid Empire reached as far as possible. But why did these individual satraps spend what the Greek sources call "their own money?"[91] Sections in Greek accounts, like Thuc. 8.29, in which Tissaphernes asks for additional funds from the King, suggest that the King himself invested economic resources in the wars of the

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[88] Hyland 2018a.

[89] Hyland 2018a, 5 and passim.

[90] As Hyland says, "The achievement of uncontested supremacy over the trans-Aegean Greeks became a precondition for the achievement of greater goals on Persia's Mediterranean frontiers" (2018a, 172). For more on the Achaemenid efforts to reconquer Egypt, see Ruzicka 2012.

[91] The fiscal separation between the houses of Axvamazdā and Bagavanta, discussed in the chapter on Bactria, demonstrates this same conception of property and state expenditures in the administrative documentation. This will be discussed at length in the conclusion to the dissertation.

Aegean. Therefore, the question arises, why did the satraps not simply let the King of Kings finance all the military operations? The answer is perhaps best illustrated by comparing the fates of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. As discussed above, the Greek sources complain that Tissaphernes was a stingy paymaster, and his failures to commit fully his own financial resources seem to have contributed to his death. After the debacle of a defeat at the hands of Agesilaus, King Artaxerxes II sent Tithraustes to kill Tissaphernes and act as his successor.[92] Tithraustes' first acts after his murder of Tissaphernes were economic: he told Agesilaus that the King said the cities of Asia should pay their former tribute (τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμόν), and he paid Agesilaus thirty talents to harass Pharnabazus rather than himself (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.25-26; cf. Plut. *Ages*. 10.4, Diod. 14.80.6-8).[93] In contrast to Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus appears to have been more eager to expend resources for the Empire's benefit, as shown most vividly in his naval campaign with Conon, which culminated in his gift of all his remaining money to his allies at the Isthmus of Corinth (Xen. *Hell*. 4.8.8). The clearest contrast in the spending habits of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus comes from Thucydides. When, in 411, the Spartans worried that Tissaphernes' irregular and incomplete payments were hindering their ability to wage war effectively (8.78), the Spartans instead turned to Pharnabazus as a more reliable paymaster (8.80). The Achaemenid Kings' appreciation of Pharnabazus' actions is clear: Artaxerxes II gave him his daughter Apama in marriage in 387, which thus gave the satrap a direct connection to the royal line (Plut. *Art*. 27.4, Xen. *Hell*. 5.1.28).[94] The dynasty of Pharnabazus, in fact, continued to

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[92] That Tissaphernes went to Caria, where his *oikos* is noted to have been, while Agesilaus in fact attacked Sardis (Plut. *Ages*. 10.1) suggests that Tissaphernes sought to protect his personal interests above the Empire's more strategically important center, Sardis.

[93] This competition between satraps will be discussed in the following chapter.

[94] See also Hyland 2018a, 165.

serve as satraps in Hellespontine Phrygia until the Macedonian invasion.[95] The expenditure of

satrapal wealth in affairs that benefitted the Empire as a whole was an expectation that could lead

to either punishment or reward.

    II.   Luxury Goods

       The expenditure of satrapal wealth on luxury goods, which will simply be defined here as

goods whose value goes beyond mere function, allowed the satraps to establish and maintain

their status as the highest echelon of elites in Anatolia. With the Achaemenid conquest of

Anatolia came the subsequent implantation of the Persian ethno-class into the highest positions

and the concomitant incorporation of local elites into the Achaemenid state structure. Anatolia

was thereby incorporated into an economy which afforded its elites a considerably greater degree

of wealth than before. If the wealth of the Persians provided Greek observers a continual treasure

trove of wonderment and, indeed, envy, then the evidence for this explosion of wealth is even

clearer on the ground in Anatolia.[96] One of the most striking examples of this is Y. Tuna-

Nörling's fastidious study of the importation of Attic painted ceramics into Anatolia.[97] Tuna-

Nörling synthesizes the ceramic data from all excavated sites of western Anatolia, including the

inland sites and the Greek *poleis* of the Aegean littoral, and her synthesis reveals that there was a

marked increase in Attic painted ware after the Persian conquest and, moreover, that the number

of imports continued to increase every quarter century there following until 475-450, when the

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[95] Klinkott 2005, 48 with no. 4; Weiskopf 1989, 27–8.
[96] Miller 1997 remains the seminal study of the Greek, specifically Athenian, reception of
Persian wealth. See also Miller 2006.
[97] The significance of Tuna-Nörling's work appears to have gone largely unrecognized. The
book is, for instance, not cited at all in Dusinberre 2013, to which it is directly relevant. If she
had written in English, the book would likely be recognized as one of the seminal works of
Achaemenid archeology! De Vries 1977 notes that Attic imports were widespread in much of the
Achaemenid Empire but does not add chronological specificity.

combined effects of the Greco-Persian Wars and the expansion of the Delian League appear to have severely disrupted these networks of exchange.[98] The growth in elite wealth drove an increase in the import of luxury items, like Attic painted ceramics.[99]

The wealth of elites in Anatolia also spurred the creation, or importation, of luxury goods with a more classically "Persianizing" character.[100] One of the most common examples is the Achaemenid bowl: a wine-drinking vessel of standardized shape and ornamentation that can be found throughout the Achaemenid Empire but especially in Anatolia.[101] In addition to other widespread objects like the rhyton and the phiale, these silver vessels that have been analyzed show a purity between 97 and 99 percent and, therefore, represented a substantial store of

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[98] See Tuna-Nörling 1995, 119–30 for the synthesis of the data. The continued increase every 25 years assumes that about half of the ceramics that she dates to either side of the end of the sixth century will fall into the 525-500 range and the other half into the 500-475 range. Tuna-Nörling 1995 stops with the year 450. However, a separate article of hers which studies just Dascylium shows that imports of Attic painted wares there recover after the end of the Peloponnesian War (Tuna-Nörling 2001, 111; see also discussion in Bakır 2007). Ramage 1997, 65–68 discusses the Attic pottery imported into Sardis. She is less precise in her discussion than is Tuna-Nörling, but the patterns here mirror the trends throughout western Anatolia: steady imports through around 475, a marked decrease in imports through the end of the fifth century, and then an uptick thereafter. The disruptions caused by the Greco-Persian Wars, the expansion of the Delian League, and the Peloponnesian War had a markedly negative impact on Aegean-Anatolian exchange networks (see also Hyland 2020 for how the disruption in trade resulted in a loss of revenue for the Achaemenid Empire).

[99] That elites drive exchange networks of luxury goods is a reiterated theme of Wickham 2005. In Achaemenid Anatolia, elites engendered by the coming of the Achaemenid Empire did not necessarily wish to consume Persianizing goods (*contra* the approach of Dusinberre 2003; 2013, as already demonstrated by Roosevelt 2009, 198–201). But, of course, many elites did use Persianizing vessels as well, as the following paragraph demonstrates.

[100] Tuplin 2011 provides a commentary on what can be denoted by the term "Persianization." Miller 2011's study of a particular Persianizing gesture in the art of Anatolia provides a useful point of comparison to the discussion here. See also Miller 2010 for the local production of Persianizing forms in Anatolia. What is at stake is not whether the persons depicted were, in fact, ethnically Persian, but rather that they wished to depict themselves as associated with the dominant Persian ethno-class (on which, see Briant 1988; 2017c).

[101] Dusinberre 2013, 128–36.

wealth.[102] As demonstrated by M. Dietler, dining and feasting, as with such vessels of precious

metals, could serve a "diacritical" function of differentiating elite and non-elite populations.[103]

Consuming luxury goods, whether they were silver drinking vessels or imported wine, did not

only confirm that one was elite; it was part and parcel of elite status itself.[104] The association

between Achaemenid metal dining vessels and elite status was so ubiquitous that it inspired

imitation in the form of ceramic Achaemenid bowls, which were the most abundant drinking

vessels in Sardis from the beginning of their production until the second century.[105] Elite wealth,

most typified by the wealth of satraps, drove the production, importation, and consumption of

luxury goods precisely because these goods reinforced and, indeed, created elite status, and

subject populations often sought to imitate this status by whatever means were available to

them.[106]

Goods found in a tumulus ca. 100 kilometers to the west of Sardis in the Hermus river

valley provide perhaps the most stunning example of elite wealth in Achaemenid Anatolia.[107] The

tumulus at İkiztepe, datable to the fifth century thanks to the find of a silver siglos, demonstrates

that Persianizing metalware was buried alongside the elites of the region.[108] Some of the metal

vessels, especially numbers 33 to 35, depict motifs that could be seen adorning the very palatial

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[102] Simpson 2005, 108 with no. 31 for further literature. See also Khatchadourian 2016, 127f. for silver vessels in Achaemenid Armenia.

[103] Dietler 1990. See also Miller 2011; Dusinberre 2013, 114–40 in the Achaemenid context.

[104] The consumption of Persianizing luxury goods served to integrate local elites into the ruling class, if at a lower level than the Persian ethno-class, via what Lavan, Payne, and Weisweiler term "assimilation," although these authors largely do not attribute this strategy to the Achaemenid Empire (Lavan et al. 2016a).

[105] Dusinberre 1999, 93; 2003, 190–1; 2013, 136.

[106] Khatchadourian 2016, 69–73 calls goods which imitate imperial objects "proxies."

[107] See Özgen and Öztürk 1996 for a catalogue. See also discussion in Miller 2010, 856–62.

[108] Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 48–52 give a description of the tumulus. The coin is a siglos type II, to be dated to ca. 500-450 (Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 136; see Carradice 1987; Stronach 1989, 259–61, 270–72, who reach similar conclusions, on the dating of this series).

walls of Persepolis or Susa.[109] Number 33, a silver and gold phiale, depicts a series of either

Persian kings or Persian heroes, heavily armed in the typical manner with both a bow and

spear.[110] Number 34, a silver bowl, shows the repeated imagery of a Persian warrior in combat

with a lion, an image that one could easily find on the glyptic of the imperial core.[111] Number 35,

a silver phiale, repeats the image of a bull protome atop a winged disc; the bull protome comes

directly from the palatial art of the imperial core, while the winged disc too is a ubiquitous piece

of Persian art, via Assyria.[112] The association of poultry, common on the objects from the

tumulus, with metal dining ware appears to have been a Persianizing motif as well, even if it has

not been recognized as such: poultry consumption was restricted to the privileged few in the

imperial core, and it is becoming increasingly clear that this was an Empire-wide phenomenon.[113]

Though we do not know the identity of the individuals buried at İkiztepe, the evidence

undoubtedly points to their wealth and their desire to depict themselves as Persian(izing);

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[109] Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 87–89.
[110] Compare, for example, the strikingly similar archers from the palace of Darius at Susa, who also bear both a bow and spear (Daucé 2013, 312–14).
[111] Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 88. Seal the catalogue of "images of heroic encounter" on the glyptic imagery from Persepolis in Garrison and Root 2001.
[112] Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 89. For the bull protome, see the reconstructed "Harem" of Xerxes at Persepolis: Schmidt 1953, 192, and also the same imagery at Susa (Perrot 2013, passim; see under "bull protomes" in the index). For the winged sun disc, see Root 1979, 214–5.
[113] Özgen and Öztürk 1996, nos. 64, 67, 68, and 74. See Henkelman 2010 for poultry consumption by elites in the imperial core. See Wu et al. 2015, 106 and the chapter on Axvamazdā in this dissertation for poultry consumption in Achaemenid Central Asia. Poultry consumption at Sardis is also shown in the faunal record: Roosevelt 2009, 70 (Doğuer et al. 1964 show numerous "bird" bones but do not distinguish further). There are also bird bones in the record at the presumed site of the ancient paradise at Dascylium: Bakır 2001, 172–3. This association of poultry consumption and elite status could explain the bird imagery that appears in the glyptic repertoire of Dascylium, for which see Kaptan 2002: DS 55; DS 112-9; DS 123-5; perhaps, DS 128-9 (see also discussion of this imagery in Bakır 2003, 4–5). Greek observers, too, associated the chicken with Persians, as they often called it the "Persian bird:" Tuplin 1992.

moreover, the presence of several seal stones within the tumulus suggests that they participated within the administration of the Empire.[114]

Although the preceding discussion has demonstrated the growth of elite wealth in Anatolia under the Achaemenids and, especially, the presence of luxury goods in Achaemenid Anatolia, it has not specifically linked this wealth with the satraps Pharnabazus, Tissaphernes, or Cyrus the Younger. For this, we must return to the Greek historiographical tradition, where satrapal "luxury" is invoked in contrast with Greek austerity. Xenophon, for example, describes the initial meeting between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus as follows:

> And when Agesilaus heard what he had to say, Apollophanes, after obtaining a truce and a pledge, brought Pharnabazus with him to a place which had been agreed upon, where Agesilaus and the thirty Spartiatae with him were lying on the ground in a grassy spot awaiting them; Pharnabazus, however, came in a dress which was worth much gold. But when his attendants were proceeding to spread rugs beneath him, upon which the Persians sit softly, he was ashamed to indulge in luxury, seeing as he did the simplicity of Agesilaus; so he too lay down on the ground without further ado. (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.30, Loeb translation)[115]

Plutarch further specifies that Pharnabazus was "clad in raiment of wonderful delicacy and dyes" (*Ages.* 12.2). In contrast with the Greek authors' Orientalist readings of this luxury as embarrassing, Pharnabazus' exquisite textiles were surely meant to have the opposite effect: to

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[114] Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 95-101 are the seals. Though Özgen and Öztürk do attribute these to this tumulus, they are slightly uncertain about this attribution due to the disturbed archaeological context (48-52). Garrison 2017a provides the best overview on the use of seals in the administration of the Achaemenid Empire. That these elites buried in İkiztepe participated within the administration of the Achaemenid Empire should not surprise, as it is difficult to find any elites who did not, to some extent, participate in the administration of the Empire. Even Babylonian elites with no prior ties to the throne were often coopted by the Empire (see, for example, Abraham 2004; Waerzeggers 2010a; 2014). Perhaps the best example of this phenomenon is the satrap Bēlšunu, the subject of chapter 5.

[115] Cf. Plut. *Ages.* 12.2.

impress Agesilaus.[116] Textile production required substantial investment, and the display of high-quality textiles, as clothes or as rugs, was one way to signal one's wealth.[117]

Cyrus the Younger is associated with precisely the types of luxury goods that survive in the archaeological record. Items constructed out of precious materials—like the throne of silver and gold on which he sat (Xen. *Hell*. 1.5.3, Plut. *Lys*. 9.1-2) or the two cubit long chryselephantine trireme that he sent to Lysander (Plut. *Lys*. 18.1)—were surely meant to awe whoever saw them.[118] Though these items could be used as stores of wealth and liquidated if necessary, as this is indeed the context in which Cyrus' throne is mentioned, these objects also demonstrated Cyrus' elite status. Cyrus too is associated with banqueting that saw the use of the aforementioned vessels, whether imported Attic ceramics or, more likely for the satrap, vessels of gold and silver (Xen. *Anab*. 1.9.24-27, Plut. *Lys*. 6.5). This banqueting served not only to articulate Cyrus' own elite status but also to reinforce his relationships with others in his social networks, which will be the subject of the following chapter.[119] Overall, the expenditure of satrapal wealth, and elite wealth more broadly, on luxury items like imported ceramics, worked precious metal, or textiles, served crucial functions for the satraps especially in articulating and maintaining their social status.

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[116] Note that an inscription from Athens also records Pharnabazus presenting the Athenians with a ceremonial robe: Lewis and Stroud 1979, 191 no. 16.

[117] See Kawase 1984 for the state investment in textile production in the imperial core. The Pazyryk carpet provides the most remarkable example of textile exchange across Classical Eurasia (see below chapter 7). See Canepa 2014 for the role of textiles in affirming elite status in late antique Eurasia. Perhaps the best indication of the importance of the textile trade in the mid-first millennium Middle East is the investment of the Eanna temple in Neo-Babylonian Uruk in wool production (Kleber 2008, Kleber in Jursa 2010, 595–616). Wool was able to function as the "cash crop" (Kleber's language) of the temple because of the extent of the textile trade.

[118] On sculpture in ivory and gold, see Lapatin 2001.

[119] See Henkelman 2010 for feasting in the Achaemenid Empire, with particular attention to the evidence from the Persepolis Fortification archive. See also Kistler 2010 on commensal politics in the Achaemenid Empire.

III.   Gift-Giving and the Economy of Exchange

The third major expenditure of satrapal wealth that is clear in the Greek sources is the practice of gift-giving, which must be understood within the broader economy of exchange. In his eulogy for Cyrus the Younger in the *Anabasis*, Xenophon provides an account of Cyrus' own gift-exchange that appears to be a normative account of how elites within the Achaemenid Empire should behave.[120] After Xenophon details the generosity with which he received the gifts of others, the author describes how Cyrus gave gifts:

> To be sure, the fact that he outdid his friends in the greatness of the benefits he conferred is nothing surprising, for the manifest reason that he had greater means than they; but that he surpassed them in solicitude and in eagerness to do favors, this in my opinion is more admirable. For example, when Cyrus got some particularly good wine, he would often send the half-emptied jar to a friend with the message: "Cyrus says that he has not chanced upon better wine than this for a long time; so he sends it to you, and asks you to drink it up today in company with the friends you love best." So he would often send halves of geese and of loaves and so forth, instructing the bearer to add the message: "Cyrus enjoyed this, and therefore wants you also to take a taste of it." And wherever fodder was exceedingly scarce and he was able to get it for his own use because of the large number of his servants and because of his good planning, he would distribute this fodder among his friends and tell them to give it to the horses that carried their own bodies, that they might not be hungry while carrying his friends. (1.9.24-27, Loeb translation)

Two points in this passage deserve remark. The first is the overall banality of the gifts which Xenophon reports that Cyrus gave. Half-empty jars of wine, half-eaten geese, or loaves of bread—these are not extravagant gifts, though wine and poultry may have had some value as prestige items.[121] This is not to say that extravagant gifts were not likewise extolled. Plutarch, for example, praises Artaxerxes II for his generosity and reciprocity in the economy of gift-exchange. One of Plutarch's anecdotes finds Artaxerxes receiving the gift of a poor man who had

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[120] Briant 2002a, 314 reads the passage in the context of redistribution at the royal table.
[121] The luxury value of wine would explain the imports from Attica found in the archaeological at Dascylium: Bakır 2007, 170. See above under "Luxury Goods" for a discussion of poultry-consumption.

nothing to offer the King of Kings but water, and he reciprocated that man's gift with a "golden phiale and 1,000 darics" (*Art.* 5.1). Both Cyrus' humble gift of bread and Artaxerxes' luxurious gift of gold can be rightfully considered gift-giving in the anthropological sense, and both served the same sense of maintaining the royal or satrapal house. Gifts could also expand the satrapal house, as when Cyrus used the promises of gifts to cultivate loyalty in his bid for the throne against his brother. Plutarch writes that Cyrus "said that he would give to those who came horses, if they were infantrymen; two-horsed chariots, if they were horsemen; villages, if they had farms; and cities, if they had villages" (*Art.* 6.2, Loeb translation, modified).[122]

The quotidian acts of giving and receiving filled vital economic needs, just as they created and maintained social networks. The final gift that Xenophon enumerates, that of the fodder, makes explicit the necessity of this economy of exchange. Xenophon notes no reward for which this fodder was compensation, but rather that this fodder simply helped the horses of his friends "carry their own bodies"—that is, the fodder was necessary to maintain the extended satrapal house. Xenophon mentions the bodies of others within the orbit of Cyrus earlier in his eulogy, when he writes that men had entrusted to the satrap "their money, their cities, and their own bodies" (Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.12).[123] The satrap had dominion over the body of members of his house, and therefore was required to maintain these very bodies.[124] We will see satrapal control

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[122] Cf. Briant 1985, 54.

[123] See the repetition of the same phrase for "their own bodies:" χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα.

[124] In the context of the body, we should note that the sentence that immediately follows Xenophon's eulogy is "then the head and the right hand of Cyrus were cut off" (Xen. *Anab.* 1.10.1, my translation). Artaxerxes punishes the rebellion of his brother not only with his death, but also with a violation of his body. Cf. Canepa's discussion of the King's rewards and punishments on subjects' bodies (Canepa 2018, 24). See also Lincoln 2007 on torture in the Achaemenid Empire. Note, however, the objections of Colburn 2011. Lincoln 2013 is a response to Colburn.

over subjects' bodies most vividly in a letter of Aršāma, satrap in Egypt, but Xenophon's

emphasis on the point here suggests a broader knowledge of this aspect of satrapal politics. The

economy of exchange in which the satrap was a chief participant maintained the very bodies of

those under the satrap's control or jurisdiction.[125]

The second point from the passage of Xenophon above that merits interrogation is the

repetition of the recipients of Cyrus' gifts as his "friends" (φίλους). Waters has argued that by

the fifth century, the Achaemenid Empire had adopted the formal language of friendship for

diplomacy with the Greek world, but, though this may be true, the argument may not be

necessary here: the recipients of Cyrus' gifts, whether a Greek or not, were likely his friends in a

very literal sense of the word.[126] Gifts among these friends were reciprocal and maintained the

broader social network of the individual satrap; in fact, these gifts to friends often effected

broader geopolitical consequences. The Greek sources tend to report only the most extravagant

satrapal gifts that affected the broader world of the Aegean. See, for example, the gift-exchange

between Mania and Pharnabazus, which served to maintain the cities of Aeolis under the

authority of Pharnabazus and thus the Achaemenid state (Xen. *Hell*. 3.1.10-12), or Cyrus' gift to

Lysander of the revenue from the cities of Anatolia, which allowed the Spartans to maintain the

war against Athens in his absence (Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.14, Plut. *Lys*. 4.3-4, Diod. 13.104.3-4).[127] In

addition to these gifts of tremendous expense, the Greek authors provide examples of smaller

exchanges used to maintain relations with the satrap. After a meeting between Agesilaus and

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[125] We will examine this in greater detail in chapters 4 and 5.

[126] Waters 2014. He focuses specifically on "friendship" (φιλία), so he may not intend for the argument to extend to "friends" (φίλοι).

[127] Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.14 does not use a form of δίδωμι to characterize this action, but Plut. *Lys*. 4.3-4 does. Diodorus switches the subject and object so that Lysander "receives" (παραλαμβάνω) from Cyrus (13.104.3-4). Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.14, however, does stress the "friendship" (φιλία) between Cyrus and Lysander.

Pharnabazus, the satrap's son (via his wife Parapita) declared the Spartan king his guest-friend (ξένος) and gave him his spear (παλτόν, Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.39). Although the son was not yet satrap himself, these relationships of exchange across patrilineal generations would have been used to maintain relationships after the death of the satrap into the reign of his successor, as will be discussed next chapter.

These gifts recorded in the Greek sources demonstrate three wider patterns. The first is that these gifts, as seen most vividly in Cyrus' gift of the revenue of the cities of western Anatolia to Lysander, could constitute a tremendous expenditure of wealth. If we assume that the amount of taxable revenue produced by these cities remained roughly consistent over the course of the fifth century, then this gift to Lysander may have represented around one-fifth of the annual "tribute" of the Athenian Empire.[128] That this revenue was given from one individual to another individual, rather than levied from many cities by a metropole as in the heyday of the Athenian Empire, illuminates the scale of the exchange described herein. Secondly, because of the reciprocal nature of these gifts, the practice of gift-exchange should not be disembedded from the broader economy of exchange within the satrapal house and between the satrapal house and other groups. This economy of exchange was vital in maintaining and augmenting the house of the satrap, whether individual acts of exchange were enveloped in the language of the "gift" or

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[128] This assumes that the cities of which the taxation belonged to Cyrus in Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.14 are the same as those Ionian cities that revolted from Tissaphernes to Cyrus in Xen. *Anab*. 1.1.6. Xenophon is vague about what cities exactly these were, but Xenophon's narrative depicts Cyrus' strong authority over most of the cities of western Anatolia (with the notable exception of Miletus). If Cyrus, then, had the right to tax most of the cities of what was Athens' Ionian district and some of the cities of the Carian district, this would come to around one-fifth (perhaps higher). However, this is only an estimate. Morris 2009, 167 follows Xen. *Anab*. 7.1.27 in assuming that 1,000 talents per year as the "normal" tribute level for the Athenian Empire. At 200 talents per year (i.e., one-fifth of the total), Lysander would have had enough silver to pay, at a rate of one drachma per day, for the annual service of 3,288 soldiers and/or rowers—an entirely reasonable number.

not. Finally, these exchanges were fundamental in the creation and maintenance of a broad social network between the satrap and other individuals who could be close to the satrap prior to acts of exchange, such as a family member, or unknown to the satrap earlier, such as a governor of a Greek city or a Spartan general. It is to an analysis of some of the key relationships of the satraps of western Anatolia that the following chapter will turn.

Conclusion

This chapter has endeavored to outline the scale, sources, and expenditures of the wealth of the house of the satrap. Western Anatolia from 412 to 386 provides a unique opportunity to do so because it is the time and place that the activities of the Achaemenid satraps are best documented by historiographical sources—sources which will largely be absent from the chapters of the dissertation that study regions beyond Anatolia. The satrapal houses of Anatolia were discrete economic units, but ones which were embedded within the larger political economy of the Achaemenid Empire. Satraps needed to acquire resources where they could—whether from the King of Kings, cities, or, especially, their own agricultural estates—because they were expected to expend these resources to further the political and military actions of the Empire as a whole. The career of Tissaphernes provides the most telling example. His oft-cited stinginess in funding the wars of the Aegean can only make sense under an economic explanation: it was his personal wealth, acquired from a variety of means, that was used to fund the war efforts. The entire infrastructural apparatus of the Achaemenid Empire allowed him to extract this wealth from subject populations, but, nevertheless, much of the wealth he was expending was his own.[129] The miserliness and tactical failures of Tissaphernes were met with

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[129] The "vampirism" that Ma, perhaps rightly, attributes to the behavior of Aršāma lacks explanatory force because he largely fails to account for the expenditures of Aršāma's wealth (Ma 2020).

fitting recompense when he was killed by Tithraustes. The unequivocal participation of the satrapal house within broader imperial governance was never optional, and the King of Kings ensured the operation of the satrapal order through the threat and use of violence, but also with rewards for good service.

If this model for the economy of the satrapal house has been demonstrated for western Anatolia, then what remains is to consider whether the model holds true of satrapal houses across the Achaemenid Empire in both space and time. This, of course, is part of a broad problem for Achaemenid studies: when are regional trends only regional, and when can they be extended to the entire Empire? What can be understood as a chronological constant, and what can be taken as change over time? This dissertation argues that the patterns seen in western Anatolia from 412 to 386 can apply to the satrapal order visible across the Achaemenid Empire, or at least the Achaemenid Empire that emerged in its more stable, regularized form during the reign of Darius I. Of course, not all details will be the same across space and time—the rate of urbanization in western Anatolia, for instance, was higher than anywhere else in the Achaemenid Empire besides Babylonia, and this effected differences in local political economies, particularly with regard to taxation. The nature of our sources, too, seem to create variations across satrapal houses: the Greek historiographical tradition has much more to say about war, for instance, than archival sources do, but these archival sources, in turn, provide considerably more information about the structures of labor within the house of the satrap. Despite these caveats, we will nonetheless see that patterns of the satrapal economy closely resemble each other across the Achaemenid Empire.

Chapter 3. Satrapal Networks in Western Anatolia

Friendship and Politics: Athens, Sparta, and the Satraps in Anatolia

      This chapter will examine the roles interpersonal relationships, among satraps and others, played in structuring the political, economic, and social networks of the Achaemenid Empire at large. To begin, we must consider the anthropology of friendship in its ancient Eastern Mediterranean and Near Eastern context. Greek sources from Homer onwards highlight the role bonds of friendship played in linking individuals from dispersed communities across the Greek world. Friendship, or *philia* in Greek, could link kinsmen, individuals of the same age and class, or even elites across the Mediterranean.[1] M. Finley, in *The World of Odysseus*, brought attention to the role that the institution of *xenia*, traditionally translated as "guest-friendship," played in linking elites across the Mediterranean in the Homeric epics.[2] As the institution developed from Homeric times, guest-friendship became a way for elites from different political communities, whether different *poleis* or kingdoms, to develop and maintain political and economic alliances over a large distance.[3] *Xenoi*, guest-friends, were meant to care for one another and reciprocate gifts, just as one would do for a family member or close-friend, but this connection was maintained over a long distance and across disparate political and civic institutions. Indeed, Hesychius, a late antique grammarian, simply defines a *xenos* as "a friend (*philos*) from abroad."[4] *Xenia* was, in particular, an elite institution: commoners did not have the economic or political resources to maintain networks of communication and exchange across the eastern

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[1] Mitchell 1997, 9–14.
[2] Finley 1979, 96–107. Finley was influenced by some now classic works of anthropology such as Mauss 1954 (by Finley's admission, page 145).
[3] Herman 1987; Mitchell 1997.
[4] Cited by Herman 1987, 12.

Mediterranean and beyond.[5] But for those with the resources necessary to maintain bonds of guest-friendship, *xenoi* could prove powerful political and economic allies, and alliances among guest-friends would alter the course of Classical Greek history.

Guest-friendship did not just bind Greeks, but also extended into non-Greek communities, including some in the Achaemenid Empire.[6] In the period of 412 to 386, the Greek sources report a number of instances of elites from Greek *poleis* entering into bonds of friendship (*philia*) or guest-friendship (*xenia*) with members of the Achaemenid ruling class, in particular Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus the Younger.[7] Although the Greek sources, especially Xenophon, naturally use the Greek language of friendship to characterize the relationships between Greek elites and the Achaemenid satraps, it is unlikely that the satraps saw their bonds of guest-friendship with these Greeks as a peculiarly Greek social form.[8] Rather the connections generated by the institution of guest-friendship—edges in a broader social network—resembled the relationships that satrapal houses used to govern the Achaemenid Empire everywhere.

Indeed, Persian political culture had its own rules and mores for handling elite relationships, though they are more obscure by nature of the sources. Scholars have pointed to the system of gift-giving and counter-giving as one such rule of decorum.[9] Such a system was not unique to the Achaemenid Empire, but nevertheless was a crucial component in ensuring

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[5] This is emphasized throughout Herman 1987.
[6] See in particular Mitchell 1997, 111–133.
[7] The sources also report this language regarding relationships between Greeks and the King of Kings (Mitchell 1997, 127–9; Wiesehöfer 1980 considers the friends of the King more broadly). These will not concern us here, but they do demonstrate that the Greeks perceived the institution to be able to include the single most powerful political figure of their world. See also on friendship, Waters 2014.
[8] Klinkott 2005, 356 has a list, though not a comprehensive one, of individuals specified as either friends (*philoi*) or guest-friends (*xenoi*) of the Achaemenid satraps.
[9] Cahill 1985; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989; Briant 2002a, 302–315; Klinkott 2007, 267–69; Root 2007; Briant 2017b, 62–64.

cohesion among imperial elites.[10] Other practices included the bestowal of honorary titles,

discussed more in the following chapter, and the exchange of family members, especially

through marriage. The polygyny practiced by Persian elites can be seen as a strategy which

increased aristocratic cohesion via the exchange of women in marriage.[11] None of these aspects

of Persian political culture were precisely identical with Greek ideas of *philia* and *xenia*, but

neither were they incompatible. In western Anatolia, we see an admixture of Greek and Persian

cultural practices intersecting in the relationships between satraps and Greek elites. Our Greek

sources naturally present them in Greek terms, but this behavior was very much in line with

typical Persian practice. Satrapal governance, and the maintenance of political, social, and

economic networks that this entailed, relied upon personal relationships continuously maintained

and renegotiated by individuals. These relationships could take several forms: between satraps

and the King of Kings, between satraps and their subordinates (which is much of the focus of

later chapters), between satraps and other satraps, and between satraps and elites beyond their

explicit jurisdiction. What the Greek sources refer to as *xenia* between satraps and Greek elites is

the last form of these satrapal relationships.

These personal bonds of friendship between satraps and Greek elites could transform the

political circumstances of the eastern Mediterranean and beyond. As a way to demonstrate this

and as an introduction to the rest of the chapter, the following section will consider the two most

famous of these Greco-Persian relationships: the connection between Alcibiades and, in turn,

Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, and the friendship between Lysander and Cyrus the Younger.

Alcibiades' sordid relationship with the Persian satraps began in the winter of 413-412, when

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[10] Logic of such a system: Mauss 1954.

[11] See Duindam 2019 for polygyny as a political strategy comparatively.

emissaries from both Tissaphernes, supported by the Greeks of Chios, and Pharnabazus arrived at Sparta (Thuc. 8.5-6).[12] Both satraps hoped to forge an alliance with Sparta so that they could reclaim the taxes owed by the Greek cities under their jurisdiction which the Athenians were controlling, but Tissaphernes wanted the Spartan forces to go to Ionia and Chios, while Pharnabazus instead wished them to fight in the Hellespontine region.[13] Alcibiades, for reasons Thucydides does not report, supported the side of Chios and Tissaphernes, and because he happened to be a guest-friend of one of the Spartan ephors, the Spartans agreed to support the effort of the Chians and Tissaphernes (Thuc. 8.6).

After Alcibiades came into conflict with King Agis of Sparta, he fled to the court of Tissaphernes and began to serve as his military advisor (Thuc. 8.45).[14] Although Thucydides writes that Alcibiades advised Tissaphernes to play Athens and Sparta against one another (8.46), the Achaemenids, in fact, wished to end the conflict as quickly as possible by intervening on the Spartan side; the stinginess that Thucydides thought showed Tissaphernes weakening both sides resulted from economic pressures.[15] Alcibiades represented a useful connection for Tissaphernes because he provided access to both Spartan and Athenian political elites, even while in exile.[16] As mentioned in the previous chapter, Tissaphernes developed some fondness

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[12] Mitchell 1997, 116–8 provides a summary of the relationship between Alcibiades and Tissaphernes and Alcibiades and Pharnabazus.

[13] See more below on the competition between satraps.

[14] Thucydides does not explain the reason for the conflict between Alcibiades and Agis, but Plutarch (*Alc.*, 23.7) says that Alcibiades fathered a child with Agis's wife Timaea, while the king was away on campaign. Hyland 2018a, 60 (with Hatzfeld 1951, 225) takes Alcibiades' falling out with Sparta to be a result of frustration over the lack of progress in the war effort. This is plausible as well, but a personal conflict with Agis, whether it concerned an extramarital affair or not, should not be excluded.

[15] Hyland 2018a, 60–61. See also the previous chapter.

[16] As Hyland 2018a, 66 notes, the communication between Alcibiades and the Athenians that Thucydides reports could not plausibly have happened without Tissaphernes' permission (and, likely, instigation) while Alcibiades was in the company of Tissaphernes. The Achaemenid

for the Athenian exile during his stay at the satrap's court, as Plutarch reports that Tissaphernes

in fact named his favorite paradise "Alcibiades" (*Alc*. 24.5). According to Thucydides,

Alcibiades hoped to leverage his relationship with Tissaphernes into a return to Athens, and he

promised a group of Athenians that if the democracy in the city were overthrown and replaced

with an oligarchy, he would return to Athens and make Tissaphernes a friend (*philos*) of the city

(Thuc. 8.47; Plut. *Alc*. 26.1).[17] Political relationships between the two leading Greek powers and

the Achaemenid Empire operated through the face-to-face relationship between an ex-Athenian

aristocrat and a satrap, and relationships at the scale of the Aegean world were couched in terms

of personal friendship.

But the relationship between Alcibiades and Tissaphernes was not to last. In the

intervening months, Alcibiades had managed to restore his standing in Athens via cooperation

with the new regime there, while Tissaphernes entered into an agreement with Sparta to help

fund the war against Athens.[18] Alcibiades, believing that his personal relationship with

Tissaphernes remained firm, brought the satrap "friendly offerings (ξένια) and gifts (δῶρα)" after

an Athenian-Spartan skirmish in the Hellespont; Tissaphernes met these offerings by

imprisoning Alcibiades in Sardis (Xen. *Hell*. 1.1.9; Plut. *Alc*. 27.4-5). Nevertheless, in

circumstances that Xenophon obfuscates, Alcibiades was able to escape from the imprisonment

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control over such systems of communication, at any rate, is abundantly clear from other sources
(see chapter 6 for a bibliography).
[17] Mitchell 1997, 116 makes a point to emphasize that Tissaphernes and Alcibiades never
formalized their *philia* relationship. This fits the evidence from Thucydides, but Diodorus in fact
says that Alcibiades did have *philia* with Tissaphernes (13.37.4), although Diodorus does
confuse Pharnabazus with Tissaphernes here, as he does through all of Book 13 (Stylianou 1998,
138). It is unlikely, however, that the Persians saw the institution of friendship as so formal as
scholars like Mitchell or Herman perceive.
[18] Thucydides presents the final treaty at 8.58.

of Tissaphernes a month later and returned to the Athenian forces (1.1.10).[19] This, however,

would not be the end of Alcibiades' satrapal relationships: by 408, he would come into contact

with Pharnabazus. After a skirmish in the Hellespont, the Athenians and Pharnabazus reached a

temporary agreement: Athens would cease to attack Chalcedon, a key node in Achaemenid and

Greek networks of exchange (see below); Pharnabazus would give the Athenians a modest sum

of money (twenty talents); and Pharnabazus would allow the Athenians to send ambassadors to

the King (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.8-9; Plut. *Alc*. 31.1). Although Alcibiades commanded the Athenians

who reached this agreement with Pharnabazus, he was not present when the terms were decided.

But Pharnabazus, in recognition that personal relationships structured political networks,

required a swearing of oaths before sending the embassy.[20] Alcibiades, therefore, made an oath to

two representatives of Pharnabazus at the city of Chrysopolis in the Hellespont, just as

Pharnabazus made an oath to representatives of Alcibiades at Chalcedon (Xen. *Hell*. 1.3.12).

Among the ambassadors were two of Alcibiades' inner circle: as L. Mitchell writes, Alcibiades

himself engineered the mission.[21] The embassy, however, never made it farther east than

Gordium, where the party met Cyrus the Younger, whose appearance on the Anatolian front

marked the beginning of unequivocal Achaemenid support for the Spartans in the Peloponnesian

War (Xen. *Hell*. 1.4.1-7). After the embassy failed to reach the King, the sources no longer

remark on any relationship between Alcibiades and Pharnabazus, until later sources (though not

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[19] The vagueness of Xenophon's description here, in addition to his obvious personal hatred for Tissaphernes, perhaps suggests that Alcibiades was, in fact, allowed to leave. Plut. *Alc*. 28.1, in fact, says that Alcibiades falsely claimed that Tissaphernes allowed him to go, so that Tissaphernes would be punished for this.

[20] The mechanisms of oath-making and oath-breaking were not identical between Greeks and Persians, as demonstrated by the case of Clearchus and Tissaphernes in Mari 2015. For more on oath-swearing in the Achaemenid context, see also Petit 2004.

[21] Mitchell 1997, 118.

contemporary ones) write that the satrap played a role in Alcibiades' death (Diod. 14.11.1-4, Plut. *Alc*. 38-39).[22]

What can the relationships between Alcibiades and, alternatively, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus tell us about the structure of satrapal networks? Political networks and military alliances operated through the maintenance and renegotiation of personal relations. Satraps, in particular, recognized the opportunities that elites from beyond the fiscal reach of the Achaemenid Empire could offer.[23] Tissaphernes took advantage of Alcibiades' expulsion from Sparta by offering the aristocrat, with unparalleled connections in both Athens and Sparta, the safety of his court and access to the decision-making apparatus of the Achaemenid Empire.[24] But when Alcibiades betrayed the trust of Tissaphernes by leaving for Athens, the satrap severed his personal relationship with him.[25] Pharnabazus, briefly until Cyrus' the Younger's arrival, took the lead on negotiations on the Greek front, and, recognizing Alcibiades as a key player in the political networks of the Aegean, he sought to establish contact with the aristocrat. Yet the utility of this relationship to Pharnabazus was limited by the changing political circumstances Cyrus' arrival foretold. Political connections operated through these elite-to-elite social relationships, and changes in these relationships both reflected and effected broader changes in political circumstance. Even though Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes were engaging in diplomacy with Greeks, the stories speak to a typically Persian political culture mixed with Greek ideas.

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[22] Diodorus attributes his version of Alcibiades' death to the earlier historian Ephorus. Since Plutarch and Diodorus provide conflicting reports on Alcibiades' death, it is unwise to place much stock in either. Both do agree that Pharnabazus played a role in his death, nevertheless.

[23] This supports the non- (or super-) territoriality of satrapal rule. Satraps extended their reach beyond the bounds of the satrapies that Herodotus describes.

[24] One may compare the position of another exiled member of the Greek elite, Themistocles (Weinberg 1999; Briant 2002a, 348–9).

[25] Hyland 2018a, 67 argues that Alcibiades' goal was always to get a pardon from Athens, and Tissaphernes was, thus, too trusting of him.

While the relationship between Alcibiades and, in turn, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus shows the negative effects personal connections may have had on political networks, the friendship between Cyrus the Younger and Lysander of Sparta demonstrates how these relationships could also work to the mutual benefit of both parties. The relationship between the two began shortly after Cyrus arrived in western Anatolia as *karanos* in 407 (Xen. *Hell*. 1.4.3).[26] The Spartans had recently made Lysander nauarch, or chief admiral, and he therefore came to Sardis with Spartan envoys to discuss the terms of the ongoing Spartan-Persian alliance begun by Tissaphernes (1.5.1).[27] After Lysander told Cyrus of Tissaphernes' miserliness in funding the war effort, Cyrus agreed to greater pay for the Spartan rowers, with the money coming both from King Darius II and from the satrap himself (1.5.2-7).[28] The partnership between the two proved mutually beneficial, as the Spartans eventually won the Peloponnesian war with Cyrus' financial support, and the two developed an intimate friendship. In one story of their friendship that Xenophon recounts, Lysander came to Sardis to bring gifts from the allies of Sparta and Persia, and, as part of his reception, Cyrus gave the Spartan nauarch a personal tour of his paradise there (Xen. *Ec*. 4.20). Lysander remarks upon the craftsmanship Cyrus displayed in designing the paradise and notes the beauty of Cyrus' robes, the smell of his perfume, and the splendor of his jewelry (Xen. *Ec*. 4.23).[29] Cyrus' surroundings and dress were performative, certainly designed

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[26] On the office of the *karanos*, see now Hyland 2013. Rung 2015's argument that *karanos* could denote commanders of a variety of ranks does not hold because he assumes that those called *strategos* were also *karanos*.

[27] Hereafter, I will use the Spartan term nauarch.

[28] See the previous chapter for a discussion of the economic logic behind this passage.

[29] Xenophon mentions the clothing of Cyrus as a contrast to the manual labor the satrap performed in building his paradise. Though these may have seemed contradictory to a Greek audience, the horticulture and fine garments together marked a form of elite display for Cyrus. On Persian textiles and their reception among the Greeks, see Miller 1997, 153–87. On Achaemenid horticulture and ideology, see especially Briant 2002a, 201–4; Lincoln 2012, 59–88. Briant 2003 contains references to other literature on horticulture in Achaemenid ideology.

to impress Lysander, but nevertheless they contributed to a lasting friendship between the two men.[30]

An anecdote from Plutarch makes clear that Cyrus' gift of money to Lysander was based on his personal friendship with the man, rather than his abstract position of Spartan nauarch. In 406, Callicratidas replaced Lysander as the nauarch of Sparta. When Callicratidas arrived on the Anatolian front, Lysander returned to Sardis the money which Cyrus had given him to fund the Spartan navy and told Callicratidas to ask the satrap himself for more money (Plut. *Lys*. 6.1). Callicratidas did travel to Sardis to seek an audience with Cyrus, but, as Plutarch reports it, Cyrus refused to admit him (Plut. *Lys*. 6.5-7).[31] The Spartan-Achaemenid alliance was built on a delicate, personal relationship between Cyrus and Lysander, as individuals. After Callicratidas' death at the battle of Arginusae in 406, Lysander was restored to power, partially at the request of Cyrus, and the relationship between the two evolved even to incorporate Lysander into the state structure of the Achaemenid Empire, at least temporarily.[32] When Darius II lay on his deathbed and summoned his son in 405, Cyrus summoned Lysander to meet before he returned to the imperial core (Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.13, Diod. 13.104.4). Because Cyrus had a friendship (*philia*) with both Lysander and the city-state of Sparta, Cyrus gave the Spartan commander the authority to collect the taxes from the *poleis* that were under his jurisdiction (Xen. *Hell*. 2.1.14; Plut. *Lys*. 9.2; Diod. 13.104.4). Cyrus, thus, made Lysander a tax-collector for the Achaemenid state, but instead of remitting taxes to Cyrus, Lysander was authorized to use it for the Persian-supported

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[30] Compare the well-studied entrance hall and paradise of the palace at Karačamirli, Azerbaijan (Knauß 2007; Knauß et al. 2013). One of the chief purposes of complexes such as this and that of Cyrus at Sardis was to impress visitors.

[31] Xen. *Hell*. 1.6.6-7 provides the same story, but with a less vivid description.

[32] As Plut. *Lys*. 7.2 reports, Lysander was not nauarch in title, but was, in reality, in charge of the Spartan forces.

war effort against Athens. The arrangement worked to the success of both parties, as Sparta soon won the war with Persian gold.[33]

The friendship between Cyrus the Younger and Lysander, therefore, counts among the most impactful personal relationships between a Greek and Persian throughout the history of the Achaemenid Empire. Lysander and Cyrus' relationship incorporated aspects of Greek *xenia* into the Achaemenid system of managing the Empire through personal connections. The partnership between the two was largely responsible for ending the naval supremacy of the Athenian Empire. But, besides these eastern Mediterranean-wide political ramifications, the partnership worked to the personal, self-interested benefit of both as individuals. As P. Cartledge notes, Lysander used his nauarchy to operate a "personal empire:" The dekarchies under Spartan control were loyal to him as an individual, not to the city of Sparta.[34] The personal loyalties Lysander cultivated were mimetic of the personal approach to empire typified by the Anatolian satraps like Cyrus, and this was no accident: the Achaemenid Empire provided the most enduring model of empire available to would-be Greek imperialists, like Lysander.[35] Lysander cooperated with Cyrus in this attempted imperial project: under him, the Greek *poleis* of Anatolia were at once Spartan allies and tax-paying Achaemenid subjects.[36] Cyrus equally saw personal rewards for his relationship with Lysander. The prince's connection to one of the most powerful men in the Greek world later gave him access to the networks of Greek mercenaries that would constitute a large portion of his army with which he marched against his brother Artaxerxes II.[37] By all ancient accounts

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[33] See the previous chapter for literature.

[34] Cartledge 1987, 81, for the quotation, and 348, for the loyalty of the dekarchies.

[35] Raaflaub 2009 considers what "instruments of empire" Athens may have learned from Persia, but the discussion is too unacquainted with Achaemenid sources to be of much use. Nonetheless, the question is valuable and should be readdressed.

[36] Cartledge 1987, 90.

[37] Hornblower 2011, 220; Manning 2018, 12–14.

the friendship between Lysander and Cyrus was a genuine one, and it was a relationship that had

tremendous consequences, not just for the personal ambitions of these two men but for the

political circumstances of the eastern Mediterranean writ large.

On the surface, the relationships between Alcibiades and, in turn, Tissaphernes and

Pharnabazus and between Lysander and Cyrus tell two opposite stories: the first ended in

acrimony and disappointment for all parties, while the latter was mutually beneficial. But on a

structural level, these relationships and their effects were similar. All these relationships

triggered broad political consequences in the eastern Mediterranean, but all were structured on

personal relationships, usually with face-to-face communications. The sources present these

relationships in terms of (attempted) friendship, and the most successful of these, between

Lysander and Cyrus, was a deep and genuine friendship. These relationships were meant to work

to the personal benefit of the individuals involved but also to the broader interests of the states

which they represented. As will become clear in the later chapters, the system of managing

imperial politics through personal relationships represented a defining feature of Achaemenid

rule. The remainder of this chapter will consider more of these personal satrapal relationships

and their role in structuring broader satrapal political, social, and economic networks. First, we

will consider the relationships between Pharnabazus and the elites of the Hellespontine *poleis* as

an example of how satrapal relationships affected networks of exchange. Second, we will revisit

the question of competition between satraps, especially Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, and

reconsider the reasons for these seemingly hostile relationships and the structural role they

played in the maintenance of the Achaemenid political order. Finally, we will turn to the sordid

relationships between Pharnabazus, king Agesilaus of Sparta, and a Persian aristocrat named

Spithridates that will demonstrate the role family members of these elites played in maintaining social networks.

Networks of Exchange: Pharnabazus and the Propontis

In 513, Darius launched a campaign to extend Achaemenid hegemony north of the Danube River and encircling the Black Sea.[38] Although the campaign ended in failure, with the Achaemenids abandoning claims over the peoples north of the Danube, the expedition left tangible markers in the landscape: Herodotus (4.124.1) writes that forts from the Persian campaign still stood in his time nearly a century later. Discovered by excavators in 2016, an Old Persian inscription from Phanagoria, in southwestern Russia by the Black Sea, provides written testimony to the Achaemenid campaign.[39] Although the inscription is highly fragmentary, what remains is enough to mark the text as a commemoration of Darius' campaign around the rim of the Black Sea.[40] Originally part of a larger stele, the inscription in its "Assyrian" letters, as Herodotus calls cuneiform (e.g. 4.87), evoked the memory of the Persian campaign.[41] Persian

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[38] Overviews include Stronk 1998; Tuplin 2010; Lerner 2017.

[39] Shavarebi 2019 provides a preliminary text edition, with references to the earlier reports in Russian, which I myself cannot read.

[40] Kuznetsov and Nikitin 2019 and Kuznetsov 2019 attribute the inscription to Xerxes, but, as Shavarebi 2019 notes, the philological reasoning for this is dubious. Kuznetsov 2019 supposes that the inscription dates to Xerxes because there was a destruction of Phanagoria's walls ca. 475 BCE. However, as Kuznetsov notes, the inscription fragment was found in a secondary context and therefore has no contextual relationship to this destruction.

[41] Shavarebi 2019, 13, following an article by Russian scholars, argues the inscription to be a fragment of a stele left by Darius at the Bosporus, which was then carried by a ship (e.g. as ballast) to Phanagoria (Hdt. 4.87). There is no reason to link this fragment found in Phanagoria to the stele mentioned by Herodotus (Kuznetsov 2019, 9–10 also dismisses the farfetched ballast hypothesis). It is more likely that this fragment was from a separate stele erected by Darius at or near Phanagoria. The objection to this—that Herodotus says the Persian army turned back before reaching Phanagoria (Kuznetsov 2019, 14)—can hardly be considered a serious interpretive problem. Herodotus, of course, did not always report the facts.

forts and Persian texts marked the expedition of Darius long after the end of attempted

Achaemenid claims to the Black Sea rim.

Figure 1. Sites around the Black Sea mentioned in the following discussion. Produced via
Google Earth.

In the years following the Achaemenids' failed conquest of southern mainland Greece,

counterattacks launched by an Athenian-led coalition forced the Achaemenid Empire to abandon

its European claims.[42] European *poleis* which had been subject to Achaemenid taxation now

became subsumed into the Thraceward and Hellespontine districts of the fledgling Athenian

Empire.[43] The Achaemenid exit from Europe did not stop the fighting with Athens, as military

clashes extended into Egypt and Cyprus.[44] In exchange for the Athenians' agreement to cease

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[42] However, the Achaemenid Empire did maintain control over parts of Thrace into the 460s
(Balcer 1984, 366–67).

[43] See the map of tribute paying cities in Morris 2009, 100.

[44] On the long Achaemenid struggle to maintain Egypt, see Ruzicka 2012.

intervention into Persian-controlled Egypt and Cyprus, the Achaemenid Empire agreed to the following terms in 449/8 reported by Diodorus:

> All the Greeks cities of Asia are to live under laws of their own making; the satraps of the Persians are not to come nearer to the sea than a three days' journey and no Persian warship (ναῦν μακράν) is to sail inside of Phaselis [in Lycia] or the Cyanean Rocks [at the Bosporus Strait]; and if these terms are observed by the King and his generals, the Athenians are not to send troops into the territory over which the King is ruler. (12.4.5, Loeb translation, with clarification added)[45]

This treaty was meant to establish that there would be no more Persian military intervention in the Aegean or extending into Europe. What the treaty did not prohibit, in addition to Persian claims to tax the Greek cities of Anatolia, was Persian exchange across Europe, particularly into Thrace and the Black Sea region.[46] Although exchange between Europe and the Achaemenid Empire slowed during the height of Athenian power, it, nevertheless, continued.[47] The following section will demonstrate first, through archaeological evidence, the endurance of this Thracian and Black Sea exchange with the Achaemenid Empire and, second, how the satraps, particularly Pharnabazus, sought to regulate this exchange during the collapse of Athenian power at the end of the Peloponnesian War.[48] The exchange, and the regulation thereof, relied upon satrapal

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[45] Briant 2002a, 974–5 reviews literature on the existence (or not) of the Peace of Callias. Because the evidence for its non-existence, more or less, boils down to the fact that Thucydides did not mention it, there is no reason to doubt that it existed. Of course, it was quite an ineffective treaty, as, Pissouthnes, satrap in Lydia, directly violated the terms with a decade. Wiesehöfer 2006, 659 also notes that the treaty did not prohibit the Achaemenids from intervening in Greek politics through payments of gold. The treaty's terms, moreover, were less a victory for the Athenians' than Diodorus' presentation would suggest (Briant 2002a, 579–82).

[46] As Thucydides indicates (8.5.5), Tissaphernes did not conceive of the *poleis* controlled by the Athenians as outside his jurisdiction. Rather he was unable to collect taxes from them, for a time, because of the Athenian presence; he did not relinquish the right to tax them, however (Briant 2002a, 580).

[47] The Athenian-Anatolian ceramic trade may provide a comparison (Tuna-Nörling 1995; 2001 – see discussion last chapter). In some regions, exchange perhaps happened more frequently from the fifth century. For example, Tsetkhladze 1994, 97 dates all the Achaemenid finds in burials in Colchis to the fifth century or later.

[48] I deliberately use the word "exchange" to encompass both what we might call "trade," i.e. exchange of materials for economic reasons, and "gift-giving," i.e. exchange of materials for

networks that crisscrossed the Propontis, particularly relationships between Pharnabazus and elites from Greek *poleis*.

The Persian conquest of Thrace saw the development of more complex political forms in the region, and, with them, a greater accumulation of wealth and demand for means of exchange.[49] The earliest coins minted by Thracian elites derive from the period following the Persian conquest, and this sort of coinage ceased to be minted in 478-460, i.e., the period of the Persian exit from Thrace.[50] As evident from the timing, the demands of Achaemenid taxation led to the minting of coinage as a means of exchange: although taxation may have taken other forms (such as labor), coinage allowed from the transformation of fiscal burdens into other forms.[51] Systems of exchange crossed the Propontis from Anatolia into Thrace and penetrated into Macedon, where late Archaic tombs from the site of Vergina contain goods produced in western Anatolia.[52] The exchange of goods and ideas between Thrace and Achaemenid Anatolia did not stop after the Persians abandoned their European holdings. In fact, the Odrysian kings, who came to rule Thrace in the fifth century, looked to the Achaemenid court as a model of elite display

political reasons. Both trade and gift-giving happened in these networks simultaneously, and it can be essentially impossible to separate the two based on archaeological finds. There are some strands of scholarship on this material (e.g. Tsetkhladze 1992; 1994; Archibald 1998) that have viewed all the Persian material around the Black Sea as a result of "gift-giving," and most or all of the Greek material as a result of "trade." This sort of language is coded Orientalism, which primitivizes the Eastern economy while modernizing the Western economy. In reality, both Greeks and Persians (broadly defined) engaged in both trade and gift-giving, but individual archaeological finds can be rarely assigned to either type of exchange with certainty.

[49] Vassileva 2015 provides the best review of the Persian impact on Thrace.

[50] Picard 2000; Vassileva 2015, 324–5.

[51] Compare the pattern from Mesopotamia, where demands of taxation in the form of labor increased the monetary supply. Literature for this is provided later in the dissertation.

[52] Paspalas 2006, 100.

and consumption.[53] The desires of the Odrysian elites to appear Persian left a record in the

material culture of Thrace.

Particularly striking forms of material exchange come from the "treasures" of Thrace,

that is, burials of large quantities of worked gold and silver.[54] These hoards testify to the

tremendous wealth of the local elites who controlled post-Achaemenid Thrace, and they also

document the complexity of the networks of exchange and the diversity of influences. Within

these assemblages of luxury goods, it can be difficult to separate Thracian from Persian from

Greek—categories that admittedly may have had little relevance to the Odrysian rulers of Thrace

but categories which allow the modern scholar to trace networks of exchange and influence.[55] As

Z. Archibald demonstrates, in the world of the Thracian elites, Greek and Persian styles were

both available as modes of elite representation: the Classical Aegean was an interconnected

region of exchange of ideas and goods, rather than one divided into Greek and Persian spheres.[56]

Nonetheless some of these luxury objects can be more definitively understood as Persian.

Consider, for instance, the rhyton with a horse protome from Borovo, Bulgaria, which strikingly

resembles a rhyton with a horse protome from the Oxus Treasure, in Achaemenid Central Asia.[57]

The motif of alternating almonds and lotus flowers which adorns a number of phialae found in

Thrace reflects Persian style.[58] Other objects may show Persian forms, or Greek forms, or Near

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[53] Vassileva 2015, 327. The Ten Thousand's encounter with the Thracian Seuthes (Xen. *Anab*. 7.3) provides an eyewitness account of Thracian banqueting under influence of Persian models.

[54] Fol 1988 is the best illustrated volume containing these treasures, but only contains material from Rogozen. See also Valeva 2006; 2008. Archibald 1998 contains very well-researched discussion of the archaeology.

[55] See Rehm 2010 for an initial attempt to classify Persian and Persian-influenced objects from the Black Sea region.

[56] Archibald 1998, esp. 177-196. See also Gergova 2010.

[57] Gergova 2010, 78–80, with fig. 12; Gergova also cites similar vessels from the Oxus treasure. See the other similar rhyta in Valeva 2008, 17.

[58] Valeva 2006, 23.

Eastern by way of Greek forms, such as the silver and gold phiale from the Rogozen treasure which is adorned with a series of griffins.[59] With all of the objects, it is, more or less, impossible to determine the location where they were manufactured in the absence of metal-sourcing technologies.[60] Some of these objects likely were produced in Achaemenid Anatolia, some in the Greek city-states, some on the northern and eastern Black Sea coasts, and some in Thrace itself. Exchange of goods crossed all these areas, just as exchange of artistic style made it so that the provenance of an individual object cannot be precisely located. The elites of Odrysian Thrace exchanged, hoarded, and controlled this luxury metalware.[61] Goods and style came from Achaemenid Anatolia as well as the Greek city-states of the Aegean: networks of exchange crossed the northern Aegean and Propontis.

These networks of exchange also extended across the Black Sea into what is now southern Ukraine and Russia. Burials from across this region demonstrate that elites of the

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[59] Fol 1988, 132–3; Valeva 2006, 27–8.

[60] There have been some efforts to link luxury metalware to specific weight standards and therefore to something approximating monetary circulation (Vickers 1989 and endorsed by Archibald 1998). This would perhaps prove to be a way to track general places of origin, but this approach has fundamental methodological flaws (with the exception of vessels with inscriptions marking weights, such as the first example discussed by H. Cahn apud Simon 1960, 26–29). First, the amount of approximation needed to make vessels weigh multiples of any given weight standard is often unreasonable, especially if these weight standards are said to be coins like darics, which can be quite variable in weight (though a thorough metrological study would be appreciated). Even without this issue, it is possible to describe a vessel's weight in terms of different weight standards if one does the math differently. For example, a bowl weighing, say, 100 grams could be said to be 20 multiples of a standard on 5 grams per unit, or 25 multiples of a standard on 4 grams per unit. Lys. 19.25 does mention gold phiale from the Great King being valued by a Greek at 16 minae of silver, but this only shows that these vessels could be valued in monetary units, not that they were equivalent to money. These vessels could occasionally circulate in a manner similar to coinage, but we should not view them as equivalent.

[61] The names of several Thracian kings are inscribed on these vessels (Gergova 2010, 74). This suggests that at some point these kings possessed the vessels, though not necessarily at the time of their burial.

northern Black Sea coast had acquired a taste for Persian and Persianizing goods.[62] As with the

material from Thrace, we encounter a similar problem in that it is difficult to discern regions of

production from particularities of style, and the assemblages of the tombs demonstrate that these

elites had eclectic and varied tastes. Nonetheless, some objects stand out as especially

Achaemenid-looking, such as the silver rhyton with an ibex protome found in a barrow in

Semibratniy, near Phanagoria.[63] Alongside this Achaemenid vessel, however, lay both objects of

Attic manufacture and those of likely local production: again, elite tastes along the Black Sea

coast were not limited to material from particular regions.[64] A sword and scabbard from the

Chertomlyk barrow (southern central Ukraine) is emblematic of this blending of styles and

provenances. The gold overlay of the hilt, with its animal motifs, bears Achaemenid-style

decorations, and its tip, in particular, resembles the bull-headed column capital from the palace

of Darius at Susa.[65] However, the gold overlay of the sword's scabbard is decorated in what is

known as "Greco-Scythian" style: the sword was evidently manufactured within the Achaemenid

Empire and partly reworked in the northern Black Sea region in the fourth century.[66]

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[62] Treister 2010 provides a thorough overview which incorporates a considerable amount of Russian literature. Occasionally the burials themselves postdate the Achaemenid Empire, though the burial goods were manufactured during the time of Achaemenid Empire. Other burials are firmly Achaemenid in date, while others still cannot be firmly dated (though the materials inside the burials can be dated). See Treister 2010, 252–56. This slightly complicates the interpretation of the material because burials dating to the third century BCE but containing Achaemenid-era material may be reflective of Achaemenid or post-Achaemenid trade (or both). However, there are enough securely Achaemenid-era tombs that the broad strokes of trade in the Achaemenid period is clear. A more detailed study could nuance our knowledge of the change over time.
[63] Goroncharovskij 2010; Treister 2010, 227.
[64] Treister 2010, 234.
[65] Treister 2010, 227–9. On the palace of Darius at Susa, see Perrot 2013 (see Perrot 2010 for the French original).
[66] Treister 2010, 227–9. I avoid the term "Scythia" to denote the region to the north of the Black Sea because it is too capacious. As Gates 2002 stresses, the term "Greco-Persian" is problematic for the way it appears to link ethnicity and artistic style. I make no assumption about the

Sealstones are more ubiquitous than metalwork in the burials to the north of the Black

Sea, and these provide further, and occasionally clearer, information about the networks of

exchange between the Achaemenid Empire and this region.[67] An object of certain Achaemenid

manufacture comes from the Crimea, where a seal was found which bears an Old Persian

inscription saying, "I, Artaxerxes, the Great King."[68] The Old Persian inscription indicates

manufacture within the Achaemenid Empire, and the seal resembles a number of those from

Dascylium, where excavators found bullae with Old Persian saying, "I, Xerxes, the King," and

"I, Artaxerxes, the King."[69] Although the production of the seal cannot be definitively linked to

Dascylium, Achaemenid Anatolia is the most likely region of manufacture, and the seal likely

had its origins with the administration of the Empire.[70] A Lydian inscription on a seal from

Panticapaeum provides another example of certain Anatolian manufacture, and the so-called

"Greco-Persian" style of other excavated seals suggests manufacture in Achaemenid Anatolia.[71]

Although most of these seals likely were manufactured for use in the Achaemenid

administration, networks of exchange led them from Anatolia north of the Black Sea. Magnates

in the region coveted a variety of goods, manufactured inside and outside of the Achaemenid

Empire, as forms of elite display. Imagery of the Great King, and the likely inscrutable writing

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ethnicity of the artist in using the term, but only adopt it (as the common term) to clarify
provenance.

[67] The largest collection of high-quality imagery of this material can be found in Boardman 2000,
chap. 5.

[68] Strelkov 1937; see image 5.6 in Boardman 2000.

[69] See Kaptan 2002 for the bullae and R. Schmitt apud Kaptan 2002: 194-7 for the inscriptions.
Based on comparison with the Persepolis Fortification archive, Garrison 2001, 73 suggests that
officials using royal name seals were elites, but not the upper echelon of Achaemenid society
(see also Garrison 2014, 87). Garrison 2014, 87 suggests that such seals were gifts from the
King.

[70] On seal usage in the Achaemenid administration, see Garrison 2017a.

[71] Boardman 2000, 116–7; Treister 2010, 235–6.

that accompanied some of these images, suggested the power and wealth of the empire to the south.

Burial goods from the west and north of the Black Sea thus demonstrate that systems of exchange originating in the Achaemenid Empire penetrated these regions. Because of the difficulty in dating the material found in these burials, we cannot precisely study the chronological patterns of this trade, but, suffice it to say, this exchange continued after the Achaemenid Empire abandoned its European claims. Through which actors did this exchange take place? As we will see, the Achaemenid Empire relied upon Greek *poleis* of the Propontis region as intermediaries in this exchange, and the role of elites in these *poleis* in structuring political, social, and economic networks emerges from the narrative of Xenophon, wherein Pharnabazus sought out relationships with Greeks in these nodal *poleis*. Before turning to Xenophon, however, we can examine some of these networks on the ground in the form of coin hoards.[72] There are, admittedly, some methodological difficulties in using coin hoards to track patterns of circulation: a hoard generally records a deposit in times of insecurity, rather than providing an uncomplicated image of everyday use of coinage. Nevertheless, by examining as

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[72] For the research presented in the following paragraphs, I have made extensive use of the online digitization of the *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (Thompson et al. 1973) presented at http://coinhoards.org/ . I cite the hoards by their number in this inventory, e.g. IGCH 0001. As far as Persian coinage is concerned, I will only discuss the royal coinage minted at Sardis, and not any coinage minted under the authority of individual satraps. This is simply a matter of the sample size of the hoard data, not because of any assumed or real distinction between royal and satrapal coinage. See the previous chapter for a bibliography on satrapal coinage. For the visualizations, I have used the ArcGIS map produced by the *Hoard Analysis Research Project*, under the supervision of Alain Bresson (see https://voices.uchicago.edu/ochre/project/harp/). These visualizations map hoards from the *IGCH*. However, the data on these maps is incomplete, as a number of these hoards are placed in general regions (e.g. Western Anatolia), and such hoards do not appear on the map. Therefore, these maps only show part of the *IGCH* data, which, in itself, is only a portion of the total number of hoards located. Nonetheless, these visualizations can provide an idea of the patterns of coin circulation.

many hoards as possible and considering the proportions, rather than absolute figures, that

emerge from these patterns, we can draw broad conclusions about the circulation of coinage.[73]

Figure 2. Coin hoards in IGCH containing darics and/or sigloi. N.B.: this does not include a hoard from Romania published separately. Image produced via permission of Miller Prosser and Sandra Schloen.

Issued from the royal mint at Sardis, the gold darics counted among the most important

currencies of the Classical eastern Mediterranean economy, as the coins circulated in the Aegean

and southeastern Mediterranean, while the silver sigloi mostly circulated in Anatolia (see figure

2 above).[74] IGCH 0032, a hoard buried in fifth-century Athens and containing several hundred

darics, shows that the gold Persian coinage played a role in the wealthiest economy of the

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[73] On this methodology, see Howgego 1995, 88–90.

[74] Alram 2012, 69–70. As Alram notes, sigloi, when in combination with other silver coins of the Greek world, can be found in hoards as far as Mesopotamia, Bactria, and India. Away from the Mediterranean, however, it is likely that these silver coins were simply being measured by weight. See now Tamerus 2016 on the extent of silver circulation in the Achaemenid core.

Classical Aegean.[75] Two hoards from Sicily, IGCH 2122 and 2124, demonstrate that networks of circulation brought Persian darics as far west as southern Sicily.[76] The daric had become the standard currency in Anatolia to such an extent that when the Spartans wished to hire Xenophon's mercenary army to fight against Tissaphernes, the Spartans offered to pay them in darics, rather than any coinage minted by a Greek city-state (Xen. *Anab.* 7.6.7). Although the circulation of darics did not match that of Athenian silver coinage, the darics were, nonetheless, one of the most important currencies of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean economy in the Classical period and, in fact, traveled into the western Mediterranean on occasion.[77]

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[75] On Athenian wealth, see Ober 2015. The wheat wages collected by Scheidel 2010 lends support to the claim that Classical Athens was indeed wealthier than the median pre-Industrial society. This wealth, however, should not be assumed to be typical of all the Greek city-states, nor should we assume that wealth was evenly distributed throughout Athenian society.
[76] Compare Diod. 13.63.2, wherein Pharnabazus pays money to a man from Syracuse, who returns to Sicily and uses the sum to build five triremes and hire 1,000 soldiers. It is likely, of course, that neither of these hoards represents this particular money, but these hoards, in combination with this passage, suggest that the circulation of Persian coinage as far west as Sicily was not uncommon.
[77] On Athenian coinage, see Kroll 2012; Van Alfen 2012, and, in the context of economic growth, Bresson 2016, 276–8.

Figure 3. Coin hoards in IGCH containing emissions of Cyzicus. Image produced via permission of Miller Prosser and Sandra Schloen.

As discussed above, the northern rim of the Black Sea shows evidence of exchange with

Achaemenid Anatolia. However, the coin hoards show an ostensibly contradictory pattern: only

one known hoard with coins minted under royal authority, which is to say the mint at Sardis,

appears around the Black Sea rim.[78] Trade between the Black Sea and Achaemenid Anatolia,

rather, operated through Greek intermediaries, especially through the city-state of Cyzicus.[79] The

electrum coinage of Cyzicus dominated the trade around the Black Sea, and hoards with

Cyzicene coinage can be found along all sides of the sea (see Figure 3 above).[80] The networks

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[78] See Petac et al. 2011 for this hoard from Jurilovca, Romania on the Black Sea coasts. This hoard dates to ca. 340 BCE.

[79] Bakır 2001, 174 proposes Cyzicus as a major port for the entrance of Greek goods into the Achaemenid Empire.

[80] Relevant hoards from the Achaemenid period include IGCH 0726, IGCH 0734, IGCH 1002, IGCH 1011, IGCH 1012, IGCH 1013, and IGCH 1045. IGCH 0689 lay along the west coast of the Black Sea, but the presence of a Lydian coin suggests a pre- or early Achaemenid deposit. IGCH 0714 was found far inland what is now Bulgaria, with the result that these coins may have entered either through the Black Sea or through the Aegean.

that these coins document overlap with the networks of luxury goods, as, for example, multiple

hoards of Cyzicene coins have been found along the entrance to the Sea of Azov, where a

number of "Greco-Persian" seals in burials have also been located.[81]

IGCH 1239, a hoard found on the island of Büyükada by the Bosporus, documents either

the beginning or end of one such trade loop around the Black Sea rim. With over 200 electrum

coins in the hoard, Cyzicus was the most dominant player in this network, while 16 or more gold

coins of Panticapaeum, at the eastern edge of the Crimea, showed their trading partner along the

northern Black Sea; the 27 or more gold coins of Philip II foreshadowed the coming of

Macedonian power in the years following the hoard's burial.[82] Here again Persian coinage is

notably absent, but when one looks beyond the Black Sea area, there are several examples of

Persian and Cyzicene coinage in the same hoard. Hoards with Persian and Cyzicene coinage are

mostly found in western Anatolia, where they suggest exchange networks among the interior of

Achaemenid Anatolia, the *poleis* of the Anatolian coastlands, and the wider Greek world of the

Aegean.[83] With a mix of Cyzicene electrum coinage and Persian darics, IGCH 0043, a hoard

found in the western Peloponnese buried ca. 400 BCE, demonstrates that Cyzicene and Persian

coinage moved together across the Aegean into mainland Greece.[84] The patterns of Cyzicene and

Persian coinage from the hoards are clear: the two minting authorities appear together in the

networks of the Propontis and the Aegean, and the Black Sea rim contains a number of hoards

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[81] IGCH 1011, 1012, and 1013. See the map of seal locations in Treister 2010, 235.
[82] The hoard also contains at least four gold coins minted by Lampsacus.
[83] See IGCH 1175, 1233, 1194, and 1201. Coins minted by other *poleis* also appear in these hoards.
[84] Also compare the rich trader in Lys. 12.11 who has three types of currency: "three talents of silver [i.e. Athenian silver coinage], four hundred cyzicenes, a hundred darics." These three coins together dominate the economy of exchange in the Aegean. I owe the idea of bringing this passage into conversion with trade patterns to Alain Bresson.

with Cyzicene coins. However very little Persian coinage—and none before the mid-fourth century—can be found in the Black Sea, even though Persian goods *are* found in the Black Sea. What follows from these patterns is an agreement between Cyzicus and the Achaemenid authorities regarding Black Sea exchange.[85] Pharnabazus, in fact, minted coinage at Cyzicus in his own name in the early fourth century.[86] As we will see in the writings of Xenophon, Pharnabazus worked to maintain these Cyzicene connections in the course of his career.

Inland Thrace shows a similar pattern to that seen around the rim of the Black Sea. That is, Persian and Persianizing goods appear in elite burials of the region, but Persian coinage is not often found. Whereas the dominance of Cyzicus in the Black Sea trade is obvious in the hoard-record, the evidence from inland Thrace does not suggest that one minting authority had as commanding a role in the exchange networks of the region. However, one city-state did emerge as a crucial node in the fourth century: Byzantium.[87] Both the Achaemenids and the Greeks had long recognized the city's strategic value sitting at the Bosporus: Darius erected two stelae near the city after his army crossed the Bosporus (Hdt. 4.87), and one of the actions of the Hellenic League was to remove the city from Achaemenid control.[88] Persian court culture had continued cachet in Byzantium after the Hellenic League wrested the city from Achaemenid authority, as it

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[85] Kaptan 2001, 62–3 suggests some artistic similarities between the coinage of Cyzicus and the seals from Dascylium (for which see Kaptan 2002). Erdoğan 2007 also suggests shared architects between Cyzicus and Dascylium. If indeed some of the same artists worked at both Cyzicus and Dascylium, then this would further demonstrate the close connection between Cyzicus and the court at Dascylium. Moreover, as Mildenberg 1993, 4 notes, Cyzicus did not appear to control a source of precious metal itself, and therefore had to trade to acquire the metal. Inland Anatolia, with its metal sources, provides one obvious source for the metal (along with the northern Black Sea); see also Balcer 1984, 403.

[86] Bodzek 2000.

[87] The Thracian Chersonese took on a very important role at the very beginning of the post-Achaemenid period, to judge by the hoard finds.

[88] On this passage of Herodotus, see Vassileva 2015, 321. On the Hellenic League's campaign on Byzantium, see Balcer 1984, 329–30.

was here that Pausanias, the Spartan king, was accused of dressing and behaving like a "Mede" (Thuc. 1.130).[89] The city-state began minting coinage later than other Greek cities like Cyzicus, as it is not until the period of our discussion, ca. 412, that Byzantium began to produce its own coinage. Despite the city's late start, however, Byzantium managed to mint a tremendous amount of coinage in the period of 412 to 386, when the city became one of the strategic nexuses of the conflict among the Achaemenid Empire, Athens, and Sparta. Indeed in this 26-year period Byzantium minted between 184,000 and 366,000 kilograms of silver, for an annual mean of 7,000 to 14,000 kilograms per year.[90] This comes to over a quarter to over a half of the annual production of the Laurion mines at the height of Athenian economic prosperity in the mid-fifth century.[91] The coinage minted to pay soldiers here led to Byzantium becoming a key point in the exchange networks which connected Achaemenid goods from Anatolia to the elites of inland Thrace. Byzantine coinage appears in the coin hoards from fourth century Thrace, as the coins traveled with goods in the networks of circulation.[92]

To sum up the complex archaeological and numismatic evidence, trade of goods and ideas continued between the Achaemenid Empire and the Black Sea rim, plus inland Thrace, after the Achaemenids left Europe. However, Persian coinage, although a common sight in the Aegean and Propontic networks of exchange, rarely penetrated the Black Sea or inland Thrace.

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[89] Briant 2002a, 350.

[90] TAs reported by de Callataÿ 2003, 103–6, the city minted drachms (mode weight 5.30-9 grams), hemidrachms (2.40-9), and trihemiobols (1.10-9) in this period, all of which have been subject to die studies. The total of obverse dies was 1,188 +/- 172.0 for the drachms, 1630.4 +/- 183.9 for the hemidrachms, and 308.2 +/- 104.0 for the trihemiobols. Using the same method described in chapter 2 note 82, this gives a range of 184,287.1 kg to 365,851.95 kg for the total period of production.

[91] See the previous chapter, note 83 for the literature.

[92] See IGCH 0716, 0724, 0725, and 0738. Other city-states whose coinage circulated in these networks include Maroneia, Abdera, Parium, Thasos, and Chalcedon.

Instead exchange in this region mostly operated through Greek *poleis* as intermediaries, including Byzantium and especially Cyzicus. These two city-states, therefore, emerge at the time of 412-386 as nodal points of contact with which Pharnabazus was particularly interested in engaging. Pharnabazus' relationship with Cyzicus began before the Persian intervention into the Peloponnesian War, but we cannot precisely date it. Some of the relations between Cyzicus and Pharnabazus were mediated by one of Pharnabazus' most powerful subordinates, a man by the name of Spithridates, about whom Xenophon tells us a considerable amount. Spithridates first appears in Xenophon's *Hellenica* somewhere in the Hellespontine region, with Cyzicus as the only city mentioned as a referent (3.4.10). The 200 horsemen under his command place Spithridates at the scale of other sub-satrapal Persians that one can find throughout the works of Xenophon, perhaps on the level of Asidates, the Persian noble whose estate the Ten Thousand mercenaries raided at the end of the *Anabasis* (7.8.9f.). Spithridates' power was greater than many other Persian elites attested in Anatolia, such as the Mithradates who harassed the Ten Thousand on their march toward the sea and who had 30 horsemen at his command (Xen. *Anab.* 3.3.1-2). The Achaemenid political and military structure depended on the ability of these elites to be able to muster troops, and the position of Spithridates in the vicinity of Cyzicus is telling: he acted as an intermediary between Pharnabazus and the crucial city-state and would have been able to respond more quickly than the satrap, when necessary.

But certain dealings with the city-state required a personal touch, and Pharnabazus therefore cultivated a network of his own contacts among the citizenry of Cyzicus. Thucydides mentions that a man named Timagoras, an exile from Cyzicus, had been living with Pharnabazus

along with another exile from the city of Megara.[93] Pharnabazus used these two men in an

attempt to gather a fleet for the Hellespont (Thuc. 8.6.1). Offering these exiles a place within the

satrapal house gave Pharnabazus access to the intimate insider knowledge of the former residents

of these city-states, but it also allowed him to participate in their political, social, and economic

networks, which were surely not severed entirely with their exile.[94] Receiving Greek exiles was,

in fact, one of the preferred Achaemenid tools within the realm of Greek diplomacy:

Tissaphernes' reception of Alcibiades, as discussed above, counts as the most famous example of

a satrap taking in a Greek exile. The King of Kings too used a similar strategy, as exemplified by

the case of Themistocles.[95] Through individuals like Timagoras, Pharnabazus was able to

penetrate the political life of the city of Cyzicus during the Peloponnesian War. For example,

after the Athenians' expedition to Sicily ended in a disaster, Cyzicus, plus the islands of Chios

and Lesbos, sent an embassy to Sparta to encourage the revolt against Athens. Plutarch tells us

that Cyzicus' intention to revolt was supported by Pharnabazus, and indeed much of the political

landscape of the next fifteen years resulted from this decision for a number of Ionian cities to

throw off the Athenian yoke (Plut. *Alc*. 24.1).[96]

  The most detail any of the Greek narratives provides of Pharnabazus' relations with

Cyzicus comes after the Peloponnesian War, during the Spartan King Agesilaus' campaign

through Anatolia. By 395, Spartan campaigning in northwestern Anatolia had caused enough

damage for it to be worthwhile for Pharnabazus to try to reach an agreement with Sparta, just as

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[93] Herman 1987, 29 no. 63 cites this as an example of guest-friends living with the kin of an elite. Although this practice is known across the eastern Mediterranean, it was generally restricted to the highly wealthy.
[94] The verb used to indicate their residence within the house is κατοικοῦντες.
[95] See e.g. Briant 1992; Weinberg 1999.
[96] See also Diodorus 13.40.6.

the Spartans knew that they would be unlikely to sustain their campaign for much longer if they had to face the combined attention of both Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes. But such a diplomatic overture did not come from either Agesilaus or Pharnabazus, but rather from a man named Apollophanes from Cyzicus, who Xenophon says had, for a long time, been a guest-friend of Pharnabazus and had more recently become a guest-friend of Agesilaus (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.29, Plut. *Ages*. 12.1). The meeting ended with the result both had hoped, as Agesilaus immediately left the countryside under Pharnabazus's jurisdiction after the conference (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.41). The presence of the guest-friend at the conference both demonstrates Pharnabazus' recognition of this Greek social phenomenon and, moreover, shows the satrap's maintenance of relationships within the city of Cyzicus, in particular.[97] Pharnabazus could co-opt the institution of *xenia* for his own personal goals, which demonstrates the satrap's familiarity with Greek social customs and his willingness to go beyond these norms. Nonetheless, the relationship worked towards Apollophanes' advantage, as well, because, as Debord notes, elites in the region had a vested interest in restoring peace between Sparta and Persia; continued war damaged the economic interests, whether agricultural or commercial, of local elites.[98] The satrap's relationships with the population of Cyzicus were both deep and long-lasting.

The importance of Byzantium to Pharnabazus' enterprise emerges from the last book of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Xenophon's mercenary army had been marauding around northern Anatolia, and Pharnabazus grew concerned that the army would continue to wreak havoc on the countryside under his jurisdiction. To ferry the army out of Anatolia, Xenophon made contact with a man named Anaxibius, the Spartan nauarch who was stationed in Byzantium at the time.

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[97] On guest-friendship, see Herman 1987.
[98] Debord 1999, 250.

In return for Anaxibius' transportation of the Greek soldiers, Pharnabazus promised that he would do "everything for [Anaxibius] that might be needful" (7.1.1-4); as seen from similar cases in the previous chapter, this was not a rhetorical flourish but rather indicated a substantial monetary payment. Although Xenophon writes that Anaxibius "happened to be at Byzantium," this was a not a coincidental place for the nauarch to be: Byzantium dominated the crossroads between the Black Sea and the Propontis.[99] As Polybius recognized in the Hellenistic period (4.44), the current and wind at the Bosporus made it easier for ships to cross between the Propontis and the Black Sea along the European side of the Bosporus, by Byzantium, than along the Asian side, by Chalcedon; it is for this reason that Byzantium features more prominently in political struggles than neighboring Chalcedon.[100] Both Pharnabazus and the Spartan leadership recognized that control over Byzantium meant control over this crucial route of navigation from which Black Sea trade came, with its market for luxury goods and its critical supply of grain. For Pharnabazus, maintaining a relationship with the Greek leadership of the city of Byzantium was a critical matter of satrapal governance, whether the leadership were Spartan, Athenian, or Byzantine.

Anaxibius obeyed Pharnabazus' request and brought the Greek army into Europe, but the situation quickly soured for the nauarch. Conflict between Anaxibius and the Spartan harmost Cleander, and between Anaxibius and Xenophon's army over pay, led to Xenophon's soldiers seizing control of the city of Byzantium and to Anaxibius fleeing across the Bosporus to Chalcedon (7.1.18-20). Although Anaxibius, after he had reestablished a degree of control over Byzantium, declared that any soldier of Xenophon's army caught within the city would be sold

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[99] ὁ δ᾽ ἔτυχεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὤν.
[100] See discussion of this passage of Polybius in Loukopoulou and Łaitar 2004 under "Byzantion."

into slavery (7.1.36), Cleander had previously become a guest-friend of Xenophon (7.1.8) and was not only disobeying Anaxibius' orders but, in fact, had been helping the sick among the soldiers (7.2.6). But neither the Spartans nor Pharnabazus could afford Byzantium to be compromised by the mercenaries. When Anaxibius returned to Sparta at the end of his term of service, he met his successor, Aristarchus, at the other major node of Propontic exchange: Cyzicus (7.2.5). As a way to consolidate power and to prevent conflict such as that seen between Cleander and Anaxibius, Aristarchus was to assume direct control of Byzantium as the harmost; a man named Polus is said to have been the nauarch and present in the Hellespont, but we do not hear of his actions in Byzantium (7.2.5). According to Xenophon, Aristarchus seized control over the situation by selling over four hundred of the Greek soldiers who remained in Byzantium into slavery as soon as he arrived (7.2.6). Pharnabazus' response to the situation reveals the satrapal political networks at work. The former nauarch Anaxibius, in keeping with his agreement with Pharnabazus, sent for the satrap as he traveled back to Sparta. However, when Anaxibius informed Pharnabazus of the new political situation in Byzantium, the satrap immediately broke off his relationship with Anaxibius, set about contacting Aristarchus, and made the same agreement with him to keep the mercenary army out of Anatolia (7.2.7).[101] Such a response defies what is expected from a *xenia* relationship and demonstrates that Pharnabazus' Persian customs overruled Greek concerns here. Aristarchus, surely having received money from Pharnabazus, thereafter threatened to sink any of the mercenaries he saw attempting to cross into Anatolia (7.2.12-13).

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[101] Anaxibius, in fact, now encouraged Xenophon to take his army into Anatolia as soon as Pharnabazus had broken contact with him (Xen. *Anab*. 7.2.8).

Political and economic networks (namely the control over the entrance to the Black Sea) were mediated through personal relationships between individuals, in this case the satrap Pharnabazus and Anaxibius or Aristarchus alternatively. Although the relationship was between two officials with defined jurisdictions—the satrap in Dascylium on one side and alternatively the nauarch and the harmost in control of Byzantium on the other—this relationship was not depersonalized: the political details had to be handled by correspondence between individuals, rather than between offices.[102] Pharnabazus' response to the change in Spartan nauarch reveals that what concerned the satrap in this circumstance was influence over Byzantium, not any personal relationship with the nauarch Anaxibius, but the only avenues he had to influence Byzantine politics were through the interventions of individuals, rather than through offices defined by certain jurisdictions. That is, there was no development of what we might call a "public sphere," or a depersonalization of offices in the Achaemenid Empire.[103] This was not necessarily a problem for the system of governance, which was largely stable until the Macedonian conquest, but it does demonstrate that the system was heavily reliant on the maintenance of personal connections. The control over the Black Sea was maintained through these routine, personalized relationships which necessarily changed with political circumstances.

As shown by the archaeological evidence above, Achaemenid Anatolia traded with the regions north of the Hellespont and around the Black Sea rim throughout the duration of the Empire, including after the Achaemenid exit from Europe. Numismatic evidence demonstrates that Greek city-states, especially Cyzicus but also Byzantium, operated as intermediaries in these

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[102] Generally on official correspondence in the Achaemenid Empire, see Kuhrt 2014.
[103] This argument is also demonstrated in the letters of Aršāma and Akhvamazdā, which are discussed in chapters 4 and 7. "Public sphere:" Ando 2012. Compare the development of depersonalized offices in the Roman Empire: Ando 2000.

processes of exchange. This profitable relationship between the Hellespontine city-states and the

Achaemenid Empire did not emerge from nowhere but was maintained by continuous relations

between civic elites and Achaemenid officials, especially the satrap stationed in Dascylium, i.e.

Pharnabazus in the period under discussion. The few examples of the meetings between

Pharnabazus and the civic elites recorded in the historiographical tradition surely represent a

small portion of a much larger number of actual meetings. The reasons for these interactions are

not always clear, but the evidence suggests that there must have been issues of commerce and

taxation at stake. We can see this from Athens' actions during the Peloponnesian War. During

the Hellespontine campaign of the war, after the Spartans and Pharnabazus had temporarily

abandoned Cyzicus in 410, the Athenians set up a customs house in Chrysopolis, on the Asian

side of the Bosporus, to tax ships coming out of the Black Sea (Xen. *Hell*. 1.1.22, Polybius

4.44).[104] No source records the fate of this customs house, but as the Hellespont fell out of

Athenian control, so too did their ability to levy this tax. Two decades later, with the Athenians

then allied with the Achaemenids against Spartan aggression, the Athenian general Thrasybulus

instituted another tax, this time at Byzantium, for ships sailing out of the Black Sea, with the

knowledge that the Athenians were now secure in their friendship with the Great King (Xen.

Hell. 4.8.27).[105] Xenophon, therefore, notes that the Athenians sought to tax trade from the Black

Sea during and after the Peloponnesian War, and, moreover, this happened only via the

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[104] The word Xenophon uses for a customs house (δεκατευτήριον) appears to be a *hapax* in
literary Greek. The meaning is, nevertheless, clear: a place to collect the δεκάτη tax. However,
the appearance of a hapax here may suggest the novelty of the institution that the Athenians were
trying to establish, and it is possible that δεκατευτήριον is meant to translate a Persian term.
[105] More specifically, the Athenians sold the right to collect this tax (made clear by the language
at Xen. *Hell*. 4.8.31). Of course, to be able to sell this tax, the Athenians had to establish control
over the mechanisms of extraction in the first place. Thrasybulus likely sold this authority to
local elites in Byzantium.

cooperation of the *poleis* of the Propontis and the Achaemenid Empire.[106] This cooperation was

not free but had to be met with other privileges, perhaps a sharing of the tax itself, though the

sources do not specify.

Altogether what emerges from the archaeological evidence in the Black Sea and the

narrative of Pharnabazus' relations with Cyzicus and Byzantium reported by Xenophon is the

importance of relationships between satraps and the elites of Greek *poleis* in structuring the

circulation of goods and peoples.[107] Exchange between Achaemenid Anatolia and the elites

around the Black Sea rim occurred before, during, and after the satrapal rule of Pharnabazus, but

his tenure was a particularly turbulent one, as control over the Hellespontine region was

contested by Athens, Sparta, and Persia. Throughout this troubled time, Pharnabazus sought to

maintain connections with the elites in and around these cities, but these elites took various

forms: a Persian dwelling in the outskirts of Cyzicus (Spithridates), exiles and guest-friends from

the city of Cyzicus itself, or even Spartan commanders temporarily stationed in Byzantium.

Satrapal networks were modular and flexible by design: a variety of individuals could have

proven useful in maintaining Pharnabazus' claims over the Hellespontine *poleis*, and when any

given person ceased to be useful to Pharnabazus, such as Anaxibius, the satrap severed the

relationship. The maintenance of this satrapal network allowed Achaemenid oversight into the

regulation of movement between the Black Sea and the Aegean, through which both goods and

taxes circulated. Other satraps had similar relationships with Greek civic elites over the course of

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[106] Purcell 2005, in fact, argues for a distinct "tax morphology" of the Mediterranean which focuses on taxing the movement of peoples and goods. The Greco-Persian Propontis offers one example of these sorts of exactions.

[107] Although this section has focused on Pharnabazus, he was not the only contemporary satrap with connections to these *poleis*. Cyrus, for example, developed a close relationship with Clearchus of Sparta, who had served as harmost of Byzantium (Diod. 14.12.7-9).

Achaemenid history.[108] Pharnabazus' relationships with Cyzicus and Byzantium stand out for

two reasons: the relationships are particularly well documented, and the cities occupied crucial

strategic nodes.

Competition among Satraps

The next network of relationships this chapter will consider is the one among the

Anatolian satraps themselves. Contrary to the cooperation that we might expect to see among

members of the imperial ruling class, the Greek sources make abundantly clear that relations

among Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus the Younger were often hostile. Scholars have

long sought to explain the antagonisms among the satraps at a structural level, and P. Briant's

explanation provides the academic consensus.[109] As Briant argues, competition among the satraps

benefitted the Great King because it prevented any individual satrap from accumulating too

much power; however, this lack of cooperation did entail some inefficiencies of governance. The

other reason Briant presents as leading to competition among satraps, and between Tissaphernes

and Pharnabazus in particular, is that neither Tissaphernes nor Pharnabazus had sufficient

military forces on their own to accomplish their goals on the western front.

Neither of these explanations entirely holds up to scrutiny. To take the second point first,

the lack of available military manpower, in particular on sea, that Briant rightly stresses is not a

logical impetus for satraps to compete, and, in fact, this should have been a reason for satrapal

cooperation. If Pharnabazus or Tissaphernes were unable to defeat, alternatively, the Athenian or

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[108] See Klinkott 2005, 345–386 for satrapal diplomacy.
[109] Briant 2002a, 593–6. Klinkott 2005, 309–313 argues that satrapal rivalry intensified in the time of the Peloponnesian War because of Greek relations. This argument does not hold: it is no surprise that the phenomenon is best documented at the time when there are the most sources. Moreover, he only considers Classical sources for this discussion. Aršāma's ransacking of neighboring estates, whether they were owned by satraps or not, was a similar sort of elite competition.

Spartan forces alone, then they logically should have joined forces to accomplish their goals together. This is indeed what occurred when they joined forces against the Spartans in 397 (see below). The first point is more logical, and the King's desire to limit the ambitions of any given subordinate could provide part of the explanation. However, there is no evidence throughout the whole of Achaemenid history to suggest that any ordinary satrap ever constituted a threat to the King of Kings.[110] The most famous example of a rebellious Persian noble is, of course, Cyrus the Younger, who was in fact a satrap. Yet Cyrus was not simply a satrap, but he was a brother of the reigning King of Kings who had a previously strained relationship with him.[111] The rebellion of Cyrus, therefore, cannot be taken as typical of satrapal ambition. The other most cited instance of a satrapal threat to the Achaemenid throne comes from the so-called "Great Satraps' Revolt" reported by Diodorus (15.90) to have taken place in 361. Nevertheless, although the sources are scarce, it is clear that Diodorus' report telescopes events. What he presents as a coordinated effort among a number of satraps and the then-independent pharaoh of Egypt was in fact a series of discontinuous, localized revolts that took place over the course of a decade.[112] Indeed, one of the satraps Diodorus names as a leader in this rebellion, Mausolus of Caria, is never otherwise attested rebelling against the King, but is instead attested as fighting a rebel on behalf of the King.[113] The "Great Satraps' Revolt" was not an organized effort, and none of the individual

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[110] It could be argued that this is because the system of limiting satraps' ambitions, as described by Briant, was effective. Nevertheless, this dissertation argues not that this explanation has no explanatory value, but that there are other reasons why the Achaemenids encouraged satrapal competition. All these explanations can operate simultaneously.

[111] On the timing of his rebellion, see now Rop 2019.

[112] Weiskopf 1989; Briant 2002a, 656–75. See Moysey 1991's objections to Weiskopf, but his overall point, that the revolts were not coordinated, still stands, despite some potential faults in the interpretation of Diodorus. As noted by Briant 2002a, 997–8, a number of Moysey's objections are based on that author's reliance on Plutarch's highly problematic *Life of Artaxerxes*.

[113] Briant 2002a, 667–70.

revolts came close to threatening the King of Kings. Rather these revolts fit with a pattern seen elsewhere in the history of Achaemenid Anatolia, wherein a satrap would revolt to gain more power for himself but did not threaten the rule of the empire itself.[114] Cyrus the Younger is the only satrap known to have contested for the rule of the Achaemenid Empire. The satrapal system, for all its flaws, was remarkably stable over the Empire's duration, and it is no coincidence that the conqueror of the Empire came from outside it, rather than within it.

How, then, can we explain the competition among satraps, particularly Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus? In addition to the King's desire to limit local ambition, which may suffice as a partial explanation, we can offer two more reasons. First, from the perspective of the King and his court, fostering competition among satraps encouraged these subordinates to expend more of their own wealth to fulfill broader state functions. The competitive nature of satrapal governance, therefore, minimized the expenditures of the King of Kings while still guaranteeing the commitment of resources. Because satrapal wealth was the focus of the previous chapter, this section will not dwell on this point, but it will highlight how often economic realities are cited as reasons for satrapal competition. The other reason for the competition among the satraps was that they often were working to renegotiate the hierarchical relations among themselves. Jacobs' schema, reinterpreted as a hierarchy of satraps, rather than satrapies, is helpful here.[115] There was indeed a hierarchy among the satraps, and these hierarchical relations would have become especially pronounced, and tense, between

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[114] Briant 2002a, 675 lists other known examples. Perhaps the best known of these rebels are Tissaphernes' predecessor Pissouthnes and his son Amorges, on whom see now Thonemann 2009a; Hyland forthcoming.

[115] Jacobs 1994; 2006.

neighboring satraps, such as the satraps at Dascylium and Sardis.[116] But this hierarchy was fluid, capable of being renegotiated, and the satraps of Anatolia jostled among themselves to establish themselves as at the top of the pecking order. Supervision and intervention by the King of Kings, however, constrained the degree of flexibility in the system, as we will see below.

In what follows, this section will provide a brief historical account of the competition among Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus from the entrance of the Achaemenid Empire into the Peloponnesian War in 412 to the death of Tissaphernes in 395. This narrative will emphasize how the two explanations offered above can explain the satrapal competition seen in Anatolia during this period. The conflict between Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus began as soon as the two satraps appear in the *History* of Thucydides. In 413/2, both satraps sent ambassadors to Sparta to convince the Spartans to ally with them and to remove the Athenians from the Greek city-states of the Anatolian coast (Thuc. 8.5-6). However, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus had conflicting requests for where the Spartan fleet should be sent: the former wanted the ships to go to Ionia and the island of Chios, whereas the latter wished the fleet to go to the Hellespont. Thanks to the influence of Alcibiades (see above), the Spartans decided to send their naval forces to Chios, as Tissaphernes requested (8.6), and the ambassadors sent by Pharnabazus refused to participate in the expedition or to give the money that Pharnabazus had sent with them (8.8). Thucydides provides the economic reason for this early satrapal competition: Tissaphernes needed to collect taxation (φόρους) from the populations under his jurisdiction, but the occupation of the Athenians had been preventing him from collecting tax from the Greek *poleis* (8.5.5).[117]

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[116] Jacobs 1994, 118–39 places both the *Kleinsatrapien* of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia within the *Haupt-* and *Großsatrapien* of Lydia.

[117] Tissaphernes also wanted assistance in suppressing the rebellion of Amorges, on which, with additional epigraphic evidence, see Thonemann 2009a; Hyland forthcoming.

Pharnabazus wanted the Spartan fleet to come to the Hellespont for the same reason—to be able

to collect taxes on the Greek city-states presently controlled by Athens—but it was a separate

group of *poleis* under his remit (8.6.1). Neither satrap possessed naval forces capable of

recapturing the sea-hugging Greek city-states of the Anatolian coast, and the Spartan forces were

not large enough to split between the two fronts. Therefore, the initial competition between

Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus was a matter of economic rationality: tax-collection was the issue

at stake. Whichever satrap were able to woo the Spartans, moreover, would surely see his esteem

grow in the eyes of the King.[118] From the King's perspective, either way the recapture of Greek

cities would lead to an increase in revenue; any possible difference between the taxes collected

from the Ionian cities versus the Hellespontine cities would have been negligible from an

Empire-wide point of view.[119]

As discussed in the previous chapter, the monetary support Tissaphernes offered to the

Peloponnesian fleet quickly became insufficient in the eyes of the Spartans, and this prompted

another bout of competition between Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus (Thuc. 8.78). As a result,

Pharnabazus contacted the Spartan forces and offered to pay for their continued war effort.

Accepting the satrap's offer, a number of the Spartan ships then traveled to the Hellespont and

caused Byzantium to revolt from Athens to Sparta (8.80). Although Thucydides does not

comment on this point, it is likely that Spartan intervention in Byzantium was a condition of the

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[118] See below for how this compares to Xenophon's presentation of satrapal competition in the *Cyropaedia*.

[119] If Finley 1978, 111 (after Thuc. 2.13.3) is correct that the total annual revenue of the Athenian Empire was 600 talents, with the majority coming from the tribute of cities within the Empire, then the Ionian and Hellespontine cities in total would have contributed around 300 talents of silver per year in tax-revenue, with the Ionian cities contributing around 150 and the Hellespontine cities around 150 (on Athenian tribute, see also Meiggs 1972, 234–54). Minor differences between these figures would have made little difference on an imperial scale.

payment from Pharnabazus: Byzantium, as discussed above, was one of the key nodes in the network that linked Achaemenid Anatolia with southeastern Europe and the Black Sea. Although Alcibiades, in an attempt to ingratiate himself with the oligarchic regime in Athens, told the Athenians that Tissaphernes would happily provide financial support to the Athenians if he could trust them (Thuc. 8.91), Tissaphernes' actions indicate otherwise and show that he, in fact, attempted to win back the Spartans from Pharnabazus' side. But the Spartans broke the terms of the treaty with Tissaphernes and attacked garrisons under his control.[120] Had Tissaphernes brought the Phoenician fleet to the Anatolian front, as was his intention before the Peloponnesians began attacking his garrisons, the reestablishment of Tissaphernes as the lead commander in the Greek affairs would have brought him back into the Spartans' good graces.[121] Thucydides and the Spartans misread Tissaphernes' failure to bring the royal fleet as a deliberate act meant to prolong the war, rather than a result of their violation of the treaty, but Tissaphernes nevertheless wished to repair his relationship with the Spartans. Tissaphernes himself traveled to the Hellespont, likely in an attempt to broker meetings, and there he arrested Alcibiades, whose incarceration surely pleased the Spartans (Thuc. 8.109; Xen. *Hell*. 1.1.9).

The Spartans remained firmly in the camp of Pharnabazus, nevertheless. The economic reasons for this are logical, even if Xenophon, now the main source, does not provide them. Success in removing some Greek cities from Athenian control in the Hellespont like Byzantium, though only temporarily until 408, allowed Pharnabazus to collect taxes there.[122] While Tissaphernes' funds had been slowly drained by a lack of success in the war, Pharnabazus was

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[120] Hyland 2018a, 81–86.
[121] On Tissaphernes and the Phoenician fleet, see Lewis 1958; Hyland 2018a, 76–97 (who offers the explanation followed here).
[122] See Avram 2004, 915–7 for a brief political history of Classical Byzantium.

maintaining his reserves, and now they began to grow with success in the Hellespont. As the Spartans suffered temporary setbacks, Pharnabazus offered to provide their pay and gave them access to timber in his lands to construct additional triremes (Xen. *Hell*. 1.1.23-26). There was no reason, therefore, for the Spartans to consider abandoning Pharnabazus to return to the uneven pay and, in their mind, broken promises of Tissaphernes. The competition between the two satraps had worked to the advantage of Pharnabazus, while it saw Tissaphernes lose both money and imperial prestige. Nevertheless, from the King's perspective the competition between the satraps worked to the Empire's advantage: it brought the Spartans into an alliance with the Achaemenids, and it encouraged the satraps to expend a great amount of their own resources in a continual game of competitive diplomacy.

The satrapal hierarchy was rearranged when Cyrus arrived in Anatolia as *karanos* in 407 (Xen. *Hell*. 1.4.1-7). As discussed above, the friendship between Cyrus and the Spartan Lysander led to a joint Spartan-Achaemenid victory in the Peloponnesian War, and the prince's arrival also triggered a change in the satrapal landscape. The relationship between Cyrus and Tissaphernes began amicably, and when Darius II, on his deathbed, summoned Cyrus to return to his court, Tissaphernes accompanied him as a "friend" (*philos*, Xen. *An.* 1.1.2). After Darius' death and the coronation of Artaxerxes II as King of Kings, Tissaphernes, however, reported his suspicions to the new King that Cyrus was preparing to challenge for the throne.[123] The intervention of Cyrus' mother, Parysatis, combined with a lack of firm evidence and a desire to maintain the status quo, led to Artaxerxes permitting Cyrus to return to Anatolia, although no longer as *karanos*, but the

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[123] Xenophon (*An*. 1.1.3) says that this was a false accusation, but, since Cyrus would indeed rebel against his brother shortly afterwards, this was not a false claim.

relationship between Tissaphernes and Cyrus became more hostile.[124] The Ionian cities that had

been under the jurisdiction of Tissaphernes by the order of the King came under the control of

Cyrus, and Xenophon, in a deliberate attempt to aggrandize his hero Cyrus, obfuscates the

violent means by which Cyrus acquired these cities, when he simply writes that they "went over"

from Tissaphernes to Cyrus (Xen. *An.* 1.1.6).[125] But by 402 Cyrus had acquired at least 6,000

mercenaries and could use them to establish personal control, including tax-raising, in the Ionian

cities.[126] Xenophon does not disguise the fact that Cyrus personally led the siege against the city

of Miletus, Tissaphernes' last remaining loyal city-state (*An.* 1.1.7): the competition between

Cyrus and Tissaphernes over control over the Ionian city-states resulted in a fever pitch of

satrapal violence. But even despite this violence, the fiscal system remained intact, as Xenophon

reports that Cyrus continued to remit a portion of the tax that he raised from the Ionian cities (*An.*

1.1.8).[127]

Cyrus' march on the throne further changed the structural reasons behind satrapal

competition. Supporting the winner in the war between the brothers could entail a rise in

hierarchy for any given satrap, while throwing one's weight behind the loser would surely result

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[124] As Hyland 2018a, 124 notes, the sources are unclear about what administrative positions Cyrus and Tissaphernes occupied in between the Peloponnesian War and the civil war of Cyrus, but, at any rate, the military position of *karanos* was no longer needed after the end of the war with Athens.

[125] ἀφειστήκεσαν. Xen. *An.* 1.9.8-10 reiterates this sentiment.

[126] Hyland 2018a, 125.

[127] Hyland 2018a, 125 with no. 19, based on the discussion of Abrocomas in Lee 2016a, 113–14, argues that Artaxerxes II did not condone the actions of Cyrus against Tissaphernes, but rather was preparing forces in Syria, led by Abrocomas, to contain Cyrus' advances. This is possible, though it is perhaps more likely that Cyrus' control over the information-producing apparatus in Western Anatolia allowed him to obfuscate his actions long enough to build his army. On the satrapal control over the flow of information, see the chapter on Arachosia.

in a punishment.[128] Assessing the situation as such, Pharnabazus chose largely to stay out of the contest.[129] The satrap had previously decided not to contribute to the violence between Tissaphernes and Cyrus: while he surely was not upset to see his rival Tissaphernes in increasingly dire straits, offering explicit financial or military support to Cyrus may have been viewed by Artaxerxes as supporting a rival. Pharnabazus continued his noninterventionism into the civil war, when there was significant risk in supporting either claimant, and, from his position at the far northwest of the Achaemenid realm, the satrap was not forced to make a choice. Tissaphernes, on the other hand, had nothing to gain if Cyrus won—the prince had already stripped him of much of his power—but supporting Artaxerxes could offer him an opportunity to reestablish himself as the highest authority in western Anatolia. Tissaphernes, thus, returned to the King's court and served as one of the four commanders of the loyalist forces at the Battle of Cunaxa, where Cyrus was killed (Xen. *An*. 1.7.12). Diodorus reports that Artaxerxes judged Tissaphernes to have been the best of all his supporters at the battle, and, as a result, the King made him his most trusted friend, gave him gifts, and married his own daughter to him (14.26.4).[130] Perhaps most importantly, the King restored Tissaphernes to his former position as the satrap stationed in Sardis. The hierarchy among the satraps was fluid, and smartly competing with one's rivals could lead to advancement in the hierarchy. Tissaphernes took advantage of the

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[128] Plut. *Art*. 14 contains various descriptions of the punishments Artaxerxes II inflicted upon those who supported his brother, but the veracity of these punishments is suspect. That punishments did take place, however, is undeniable. See Rollinger 2010 for a collection of the punishments at the Achaemenid court recorded by Herodotus and Ctesias.

[129] Hyland 2018a, 126. Rop 2019, 73–81 provides a detailed reading of Pharnabazus' actions during the rebellion of Cyrus.

[130] No other sources report that Tissaphernes married a daughter of the King. It is possible that Diodorus is confusing Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus on this point, as he does elsewhere (Stylianou 1998, 138), but it is also possible that Tissaphernes did marry a daughter of Artaxerxes II not mentioned elsewhere.

opportunities offered by the civil war and used them to reestablish himself in Sardis, at the head

of the Greek affairs.

Tissaphernes' return to Anatolia prompted Spartan aggression in the region. When the

satrap attempted to reestablish control over the Ionian *poleis*, the cities sent ambassadors to

Sparta who asked for aid, and Sparta responded by sending an army led by the commander

Thibron into Anatolia to wage war against the satraps of the region (Xen. *Hell*. 3.1.3-4; Diod.

14.35.6-7). After some Spartan success in capturing several cities, the Spartan command shifted

from Thibron to Dercylidas, a man with a shrewd understanding of the social relations among

Achaemenid satraps (Xen. *Hell*. 3.1.8).[131] Dercylidas realized that neither satrap would be likely

to help the other in the case of a military assault, and therefore the Spartan commander contacted

Tissaphernes, told him his intention to attack only the lands under Pharnabazus' jurisdiction, and

was able to encounter only one satrap at a time (3.1.9). Dercylidas' exploitation of satrapal

rivalries allowed the Spartans to claim control of a number of cities in northwestern Anatolia,

including those under Mania's former jurisdiction (3.1.10-3.2.11). The success of Dercylidas'

strategy demonstrates a structural weakness in the satrapal system. Although satrapal

competition generally worked to the Achaemenid Empire's advantage by encouraging the

maximum investment of satrapal resources into imperial expenditures, if an outside party were

able to manipulate the system, satrapal competition could have deleterious effects on imperial

stability. Dercylidas' modest military success in Anatolia provided an example of how to

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[131] Dercylidas' prior interactions with Pharnabazus during the Peloponnesian War (mentioned by
Xen. *Hell*. 3.1.9) must have given him insight into the world of the Achaemenid satraps.

manipulate the satrapal system, but it would not be until the invasion of Alexander that the manipulation of satrapal self-interest had truly disastrous results.[132]

Eventually, however, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus would join forces to halt the Spartan aggression. Xenophon provides a couple of reasons that the satraps created a united front. One is that Pharnabazus resented that he had lost control of the cities of Aeolis, on the western Anatolian coast (3.2.13). In addition to the damage to his prestige that such a defeat entailed, the loss of revenue from the cities meant that future war efforts would become more draining for Pharnabazus. The other reason for the satrapal alliance is that Tissaphernes had been made "commander of all" (3.2.13).[133] Although the precise connotation of this terminology is not clear, the term signals that the administrative-qua-military hierarchy of Anatolia had changed, and Tissaphernes had become firmly entrenched above Pharnabazus in the imperial structure.[134] Xenophon does not provide any reasoning behind this change, but the authorities reporting to the King, including Tissaphernes himself, would not have missed that, while Pharnabazus was suffering losses to the Spartan forces, Tissaphernes' rule remained stable.[135] Pharnabazus realized that he had lost the competition with Tissaphernes that was fought via the proxy of the Spartan army, and joining forces with Tissaphernes allowed him to stabilize his rule, just as it signaled his submission to the satrap in Sardis. At the same time, Pharnabazus' and Tissaphernes' détente demonstrated that outside interests could supersede preexisting satrapal competition. Even in the

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[132] See, in brief on satrapal defections in the age of Alexander, Briant 2002a, 842–52; 2010, 102–07.

[133] στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων.

[134] See Jacobs 1994, 125 for discussion of the administrative relations between Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia at the time of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

[135] According to Xen. *Cyr*. 8.6.1, the King maintained personal control over the garrisons of the Empire (see also Tuplin 1987; Debord 1999, 38–41). These garrisons may have provided another avenue of communication between the King and local informants.

absence of a pitched battle, the combined strength of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus forced

Dercylidas and the Spartans into peace, whereby the Greeks cities of Anatolia would be self-

governing (αὐτονόμους)—but not exempt from demands of taxation—and the Spartans would

leave the lands of Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus (Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.18-20).[136]

Yet the hostilities with Sparta were renewed in the following year when the new king

Agesilaus arrived in Anatolia, and with this Spartan army came what proved to be the final bout

of competition between Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. While Lysander traveled to the

Hellespont to encourage Spithridates to rebel (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.10; see below), Agesilaus led the

bulk of the Spartan army on a campaign ostensibly against Tissaphernes. Agesilaus, like

Dercylidas before him, took advantage of the satraps' well-known self-interests. Because

Tissaphernes' own estate was in Caria in southwestern Anatolia and because Agesilaus knew

that the satrap would protect it, the Spartan king feinted as if he would attack Caria but instead

moved his forces north into Hellespontine Phrygia (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.12; Plut. *Ages.* 9.2). After an

encounter with the forces of Pharnabazus and after realizing that the Spartans would be unable to

succeed without a stronger cavalry, Agesilaus returned south to Ephesus to furnish horsemen for

later campaigning (Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.13-15; Plut. *Ages.* 9.3). In the next season of campaigning,

Agesilaus once again bluffed that the Spartans would attack Caria, and Tissaphernes moved his

troops there, while Agesilaus instead marched on Sardis (3.4.21).[137] The tactic allowed the

Spartan army to besiege the area around Sardis, including Tissaphernes' paradise there, and this

blunder was apparently the last failure the King of Kings would tolerate from the satrap (Xen.

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[136] On αὐτόνομος not meaning tax-exempt, see Balcer 1984, 346f.; Corsaro 1989; Cawkwell 1997, 125.

[137] Xenophon in fact writes that Agesilaus announced his intentions to march against Sardis, but that Tissaphernes thought that he would attack Caria. At any rate, the effect was that Tissaphernes' forces marched to Caria while Agesilaus went to Sardis.

Hell. 3.4.24; Diod. 14.80.2). The King dispatched to Sardis Tithraustes, who killed Tissaphernes and informed Agesilaus of the King's reiterated offer of peace to Sparta: the Spartans should leave Anatolia, and the Greek cities will be self-governing, while paying the tax they previously paid (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.25; Diod. 14.80.6-8). While Agesilaus waited for a response from Sparta, Tithraustes paid the Spartan thirty talents to take his army into the lands of Pharnabazus in the meantime (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.26; Plut. *Ages*. 10.5). The clash between Pharnabazus and Agesilaus resulted in a complicated exchange of family members among elites, which will be discussed in detail in the next section.

What does this period of satrapal competition tell us about the structural reasons for this competition? Encouraging this competition perhaps prevented either Tissaphernes or Pharnabazus from getting so powerful that either might challenge for the Achaemenid throne, although there is no indication that either ever had such an intention, but it certainly did not prevent Cyrus from posing a credible threat to the rule of Artaxerxes II.[138] The satrapal competition did, however, encourage Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus to expend their own resources to win the wars and compete for imperial standing. Whether or not this worked to the advantage of the Achaemenid Empire as a whole is debatable—Tissaphernes' lack of funds was a major impediment to ending the Peloponnesian War swiftly—but fostering this competitive spending did allow the King of Kings to maintain his own estate to a large degree.[139] From the position of the satraps themselves, this competition allowed them to negotiate and renegotiate

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[138] Even in the meeting between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.29-39, discussed below) when the Spartan king tried to encourage the satrap to rebel, he suggests that Pharnabazus should be independent (or join with Agesilaus), not that he should become King of Kings himself. That the satrap could challenge for the Achaemenid throne is an idea that never occurs in the sources.

[139] Notwithstanding the money Darius II had sent with Cyrus initially (Xen. *Hell*. 1.5.3).

their positions within the imperial hierarchy: the turbulent career of Tissaphernes is probably the best example of this throughout Achaemenid history. Satrapal competition, or even inter-satrapal violence, had good reasons to continue from both the perspective of the Great King and of the satraps.

As a conclusion, we can turn to Xenophon's imagination of how the beginning of satrapal competition in the reign of Cyrus the Great might have started. Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, whatever its purpose or genre (both are debated), preserves a number of genuine Persian customs and ideas.[140] Xenophon's Cyrus issues a number of commands to his satraps, including to muster chariots and cavalry for the military (Xen. *Cyrop*. 8.6.10), and Cyrus says:

> "And whoever I find has the largest number of chariots to show and the largest number of the most efficient horsemen in proportion to his power," Cyrus added, "him will I honor as a valuable ally and as a valuable fellow-protector of the sovereignty of the Persians and myself. And with you also, just as with me, let the most deserving be set in the most honorable seats; and let your table, like mine, feed first your own household and then, too, be bountifully arrayed so as to give a share to your friends and to confer some distinction day by day upon anyone who does some noble act." (8.6.11, Loeb translation)

Xenophon, thus, recognized that competition was fundamental to the satrapal system and that the satraps competed for esteem in the eyes of the King, such as seats at the King's table.[141] Moreover, Cyrus commanded the satraps to foster competition among their subordinates, a phenomenon that will become clear in the administrative documentation. Xenophon, let us remember, is the major Greek author who personally saw the most of the Achaemenid Empire and its inner workings.[142] Xenophon recognized the importance of satrapal competition to the

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[140] Tamiolaki 2016 discusses all these issues and provides ample reference to additional bibliography.

[141] On tables of elites and commensal politics in the Achaemenid Empire, see, inter alia, Dusinberre 1999; Henkelman 2010; Kistler 2010; Miller 2011.

[142] The only author who survives in any significant amount who saw more is Ctesias, whose work survives only in summary and fragments.

imperial system and saw its origins to go back to the very foundation of the Empire itself. Competition among satraps was fundamental to the satrapal system.

Agesilaus, Spithridates, and Pharnabazus: The Political Lives of Family Members

The story of Spithridates, a Persian noble in western Anatolia who revolted from Pharnabazus to join forces with the Spartans, illustrates the importance of family members to the maintenance and creation of political-social satrapal networks. In this narrative, we can see beyond the figure of the satrap and into the broader satrapal house, a rare occurrence among the Greek sources, but a topic upon which the documentary sources shed considerably more light. Family members, whether wives, daughters, or sons, occupied crucial positions within satrapal networks and, more broadly, elite networks of the Achaemenid Empire: gifts of daughters in marriage to other aristocrats could ensure alliances between two houses, and establishing early relations with an aristocrat's son could help ease the transition after the death of his father. These phenomena broadly align with the behavior of aristocratic houses in other societies that allowed the transmission of patrilineal power.[143] The circulation of elites within the Achaemenid realm was expected, and the example was set by the King of Kings and the royal family.[144]

Spithridates' story begins in 396, when Agesilaus had sent Lysander to the Hellespont to make war on the Achaemenid Empire there. Lysander learned that Spithridates had suffered some slight from Pharnabazus (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.10; Plut. *Lys*. 24.1). Although Xenophon does not explain the offense in the *Hellenica*, he clarifies it in the *Agesilaus*, as he says that Pharnabazus, who had been negotiating with Spithridates about marrying his daughter, "wanted to take her

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[143] Kautsky 1982 theorizes modes of aristocratic power. However, the "empires" of his title are under-theorized.
[144] Brosius 1996, 35–82; Bahadori 2017; Hyland 2018b.

without marriage" (*Ages*. 3.3).[145] This enraged Spithridates to such an extent that he delivered

"himself and his wife and his children and his forces" to the Spartans, at this point led by

Lysander (quotation from Xen. *Ages*. 3.3; cf. Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.10; Plut. *Lys*. 24.1).[146] Spithridates,

who is never given a title such as "satrap" or "hyparch," must have fallen under the jurisdiction

of Pharnabazus, but Pharnabazus, like any satrap, did not have the coercive or infrastructural

power to maintain control over his subordinates without negotiation between the two parties. The

relationship between Pharnabazus and Spithridates was intended to be mutually beneficial, likely

via a system of tax-farming as seen in the Mania story, but had to be maintained by sharing

between the houses.[147] By wishing to take Spithridates' daughter without marriage, and thus

relegating her to status of concubinage, Pharnabazus made the agreement illegitimate and

violated an implicit understanding between the two.

The defection of Spithridates was a major strategic victory for the Spartan forces. In

addition to the family members whom he brought with him, Spithridates also brought with him

"the money he had available and about 200 horsemen" (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.10).[148] Xenophon does not

specify the amount of money Spithridates contributed, but the 200 horsemen represented a

significant contribution to the Spartan forces. The absence or presence of cavalry in part dictated

the flow of the Spartan campaign, as the Greeks considered some regions more suitable for

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[145] τὴν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἄνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο. In the *Hellenica*, Xenophon says, "Spithridates the Persian had been slighted somehow by Pharnabazus" (Σπιθριδάτην τὸν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, 3.4.10). Plutarch does not mention the slight. Lewis notes that concubines were said to be important in the court of Pharnabazus (Lewis 1977, 21), and so perhaps this was typical behavior for Pharnabazus. See also Briant's discussion of this event: Briant 2002a, 278.

[146] Xen. *Ages*. here mentions only Agesilaus, and not Lysander, presumably for rhetorical effect, as the *Agesilaus* is a biography of the Spartan king.

[147] Spithridates' position near Cyzicus (discussed above) is therefore comparable to the position of Mania and Zenis near the *poleis* of Aeolis.

[148] τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν χρήματα καὶ ἱππέας ὡς διακοσίους. Plut. *Lys*. 24.1 and Xen. *Ages*. 3.3 are vaguer.

fighting with cavalry (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.12). Agesilaus' later actions demonstrate the necessity of increasing the cavalry forces to ensure sustained Spartan success. After a minor clash with horsemen of Pharnabazus, Agesilaus realized that he would need more horsemen to be able to fight effectively in the open plains of Phrygia. Therefore, the Spartan king commanded all the richest men of the region to provide for horses, and as an incentive to generate a greater cavalry force, he proclaimed that every man who provided a horse, weapons, and another able-bodied man would not have to serve in the military himself (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.15, *Ages*. 1.22; Plut. *Ages*. 9.3).[149] The efforts with which Agesilaus strove to augment his cavalry forces, and that he specifically contacted "the richest men" (πλουσιωτάτους, Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.14) for this purpose, indicates the importance of the 200 horsemen of Spithridates to the Spartan forces. Who were these horsemen who came with Spithridates? None of the ancient sources clarify their social status, but we can propose that these were men loyal to Spithridates himself, that is, Spithridates' own personal network included these 200 or so men at least wealthy enough to furnish their own horses.[150] The lower-level networks in the Achaemenid Empire mimetically resembled those higher.[151]

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[149] Cf. the sorts of taxes levied on estates in Achaemenid Babylonia (e.g. Jursa and Waerzeggers 2009, 254–65). Taxes and types of land were named after the sorts of soldiers they were meant to support, most commonly the "bow-estates." However, over time these exactions became more generalized and did not necessarily support soldiers. Agesilaus' levies here perhaps preserve an earlier form of this system wherein land was still tied to the types of soldiers supported.

[150] A possible comparison comes from Xenophon's *Anabasis*, when a certain Mithradates, accompanied by about 30 horsemen, approached the Greek mercenaries and offered to join them, as he had been loyal to the now-killed Cyrus the Younger (Xen. *Anab*. 3.3.1-2). Mithradates offered to bring "all his attendants" (τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας, 3.3.2) with him. It is unclear whether the aforementioned horsemen comprised (part of) his attendants, but this may be the case.

[151] The fractal nature of these networks is reported by Xenophon when he records Cyrus the Great telling his satraps to "imitate him in everything they saw him do" (*Cyr*. 8.6.10). The issue to muster horsemen, moreover, appears among Cyrus the Great's imagined commands to his satraps (*Cyr*. 8.6.11).

Even more important for the Spartan cause than Spithridates' defection was the alliance that Spithridates brokered between Agesilaus and Otys, the king of the Paphlagonians, i.e. a client king subordinate to the Achaemenid King of Kings (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1-15, *Ages*. 3.3-4; Plut. *Ages*. 11.1-4; Oxy. *Hell*. 21.4).[152] At the meeting among Agesilaus, Spithridates, and Otys, the Paphlagonian king gave the Spartans 1,000 horsemen and 2,000 peltasts (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.3, Plut. *Ages*. 11.3). Given the Spartan king's struggle to levy sufficient cavalry to match that of Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes, this gift must have marked a turning point for the campaign of Agesilaus. What gives greater insight into the structure of these elite relationships in the Achaemenid Empire, however, are the conversations that Xenophon reports among Otys, Spithridates, and Agesilaus that sealed the alliance among the three parties. Agesilaus convinced the other two that Spithridates should give his daughter in marriage to Otys (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.4-15). The offense that had originally prompted Spithridates to rebel from Pharnabazus, let us remember, is that Pharnabazus had wished to take Spithridates' daughter from Pharnabazus without the legitimating ceremony of marriage. By securing a marriage between Otys and Spithridates' daughter, Agesilaus was able both to establish an alliance between the two parties rebelling from Achaemenid rule and to install himself, as a powerbroker, within this anti-Achaemenid network.[153]

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[152] Briant calls Otys a "dynast" (Briant 2002a, 334; in French, "dynaste:" Briant 1996, 346). Despite some objections to the term "dynast" in the context of Anatolia (see Draycott 2007), the term in fact suits the nature of some of these leaders. However, Otys is explicitly called "the king of the Paphlagonians," so this dissertation will refer to him as a king (τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα in Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.2; τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Παφλαγόνων in Plut. *Ages*. 11.1). Otys is called "Otys" (Ὄτυς) in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, but appears elsewhere as "Cotys" (Κότυς: Plut. *Ages*. 11.1, Xen. *Ages*. 3.4).

[153] Anti-Achaemenid networks are known from elsewhere in the Empire. See, for example, what Waerzeggers 2018 calls the "network of resistance" in Babylonia in the years leading up to the revolts of 484.

As revelatory as the marriage itself are the arguments which Agesilaus presents as reasons that Otys should marry Spithridates' daughter. Because Spithridates did not think that Otys would marry his daughter, as he was an "exiled man" (φυγάδος ἀνδρός, Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.4), Agesilaus convinced Otys that they should engage in a private conversation without Spithridates. Agesilaus first asked the Paphlagonian king, "Tell me, Otys, to what kind of family does Spithridates belong?"[154] Otys said to Agesilaus that he was inferior to none of the other Persians (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.6). Not only important was the quality of Spithridates, but also that of Spithridates' lineage. In a world in which status and wealth were transmitted from father to son—a fact demonstrated best of all by the house of Pharnabazus—the history of a house bore considerable import for these diplomatic marriages. Securing marriages with prestigious families raised the status of one's own family, and these prestigious marriages could operate as powerful political tools, a fact seen clearly with marriages to the Achaemenid family itself. The second point that Agesilaus emphasizes is the beauty of Spithridates' daughter.[155] Although the beauty of a woman may appear a banal point to stress in arranging a marriage, the comparison that Agesilaus makes reveals the king's thoughts: Agesilaus boasts of the handsomeness of Spithridates' son, Megabates, and then says the daughter is even more attractive than he (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.6; see also Hell. Oxy. 21.4, Plut. *Ages.* 11). The exchange of family members extended beyond legitimizing acts of marriage, as with Otys and the daughter of Spithridates, to include extra-marital sexual encounters, as with Agesilaus and the son of Spithridates.[156] Sex was a commodity that could be exchanged among parties to secure broader social and political goals,

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[154] λέξον μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ὄτυ, ποίου τινὸς γένους ἐστὶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης;
[155] There is no poetic variation, but only repetition of forms of καλός (4.1.6-7).
[156] None of the sources explicitly detail the full nature of the relationship between Agesilaus and Megabates, but the accounts of Plut. *Ages.* 11 and Xen. *Ages.* 5.4-5 about the attraction between the two are vivid enough that a sexual (likely pederastic) relationship is a reasonable assumption.

and it must be distinguished from only marriage. Spithridates rejected the offer of Pharnabazus to take his daughter for sex without marriage, but a (temporary) exchange of his son to Agesilaus for sex without marriage was acceptable because the son would later be expected to formalize a separate relationship through marriage.[157]

Agesilaus further argues for the marriage alliance by stressing that Spithridates "was wronged by Pharnabazus" and that he "would be able to take vengeance" upon him (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.7-8). Relationships with individuals structured the elite social networks of the Achaemenid Empire, and here Agesilaus emphasized the person of Pharnabazus to create an alliance that had broader political implications. These ramifications are made clear by the last point of Agesilaus' argument: Otys' alliance would not simply be with Spithridates, but also with Agesilaus, the rest of the Spartans, and, because Sparta was the hegemon of Greece, the whole of Greece too (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.8). If the political interest for Agesilaus in the marriage between Otys and the daughter of Spithridates were not already clear, then this statement makes it explicit. The marriage, to which Spithridates happily and quickly agreed (Xen. *Hell.* 14-15), would shift the balance of power in the war between the Achaemenid Empire and Sparta that stretched across western Anatolia and the Aegean. To reiterate, the entire affair among Agesilaus, Spithridates, and Otys could have been avoided had Pharnabazus agreed to marry the daughter of Spithridates. The exchange of family members among aristocratic houses was an indispensable component of the social-political system in the Achaemenid Empire and breaks of norms could lead to crises.

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[157] Scheidel 2009b argues that elite males in ancient states had greater reproductive success via access to more females, either through polygamous marriage or through extra-marital encounters, especially with slaves (one should also keep in mind that, outside Europe, polygyny has tended to be the norm among political elites: Duindam 2019, 327). We can extend this argument to propose that elites, like Agesilaus, had greater sexual access in general, whether for reproductive purposes or not.

The end of the alliance between Agesilaus, on the one side, and Otys and Spithridates, on the other, illustrates the fragility of these elite relationships. After the Spartans and their allies captured a mobile camp of Pharnabazus, a dispute arose over how to distribute the spoils which the army captured (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.26). From the camp of Pharnabazus they had taken "many drinking cups and also Pharnabazus' other sorts of possessions, and in addition to these things the baggage and beasts of burden" (4.1.24). Xenophon emphasizes the drinking cups because they had a particular significance as symbols of luxury in the Achaemenid context.[158] Upon their return, the Spartans intercepted Otys and Spithridates, and took from them the spoils so that they could sell them (4.1.26). Because of this offense, Spithridates and the Paphlagonians left the Spartans, and Xenophon reports that nothing distressed Agesilaus more over the course of this campaign than the desertion of Otys, Spithridates, and his son (4.1.28). While the conflict over the rebuffed marriage agreement between Pharnabazus and Spithridates' daughter illustrates the importance of personal, familial relationships in structuring elite social networks, the dispute over the captured spoils from the camp of Pharnabazus demonstrates that economic concerns likewise occupied a key place in these social networks. The alliance between Agesilaus and Spithridates and Otys was predicated on both legitimate connections through marriage and economic via military profit. Although the marriage still held, the collapse of the economic-military arrangement resulted in the deterioration of the entire alliance.

The story of Agesilaus, Spithridates, and Pharnabazus comes to a close with a face-to-face meeting between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus at which we see again the reiteration of the themes of familial connections and personal relations. The meeting between the two was

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[158] On this point, see in general Kistler 2010. See also Khatchadourian's discussion of drinking vessels in the context of Achaemenid Armenia: Khatchadourian 2016, 127f.

arranged by a certain Apollophanes of Cyzicus who, as Xenophon writes, had long been a guest-friend (*xenos*) with Pharnabazus and had become a guest-friend of Agesilaus (*Hell*. 4.1.29).[159] Personal relationships of friendship structured political networks. Similarly, Pharnabazus began the discussion with Agesilaus by invoking terms of friendship, as he said, "I became your friend and ally when you made war against the Athenians" (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.32).[160] *Friend* and *ally* are made to be equal in their importance in determining the future of the political relationship between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.

After Pharnabazus aired his chief grievance to Agesilaus—namely that the Spartans destroyed his agricultural estates (4.1.31, see previous chapter)—Agesilaus attempted to convince Pharnabazus to fight alongside the Spartans by interrogating the relationship between Pharnabazus and the King of Kings (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.34-36). In a common *interpretatio Graeca*, Agesilaus said that Pharnabazus and the other Persians were all "slaves" to the Great King, but Pharnabazus' response reveals more of the structure behind the satrap's relationships.[161] The satrap replied to Agesilaus that if the King were to assign another general and to make Pharnabazus a subordinate of that general, then he would join Agesilaus as a friend and ally, but if King were to assign the command to Pharnabazus, then he would wage war against Agesilaus to the best of his ability (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.37). Even the relationships between the Great King and his satraps—the single political relationship most fundamental to the structure of the Achaemenid Empire—could be constrained and altered by the personal ambitions and desires of

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[159] See above for the importance of Cyzicus.

[160] ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε, φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ἐγενόμην.

[161] Here, Xenophon says that Pharnabazus and the other Persians are "fellow-slaves" (ὁμοδούλους, Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.36). This perhaps transmits the ideology that elites are servants (Old Persian *bandaka*) to the Great King that one can find in the royal inscriptions (see Herrenschmidt 1989a). However, as Briant 2017d, 139–40 notes, no bilingual text confirms the *bandaka* = *doulos* equivalence.

the individuals. Satraps were semi-independent political actors, and the loyalty of a satrap to the King needed to be maintained. The King could take coercive measures if necessary, and the coercion could even result in death, as illustrated with case of Tissaphernes. However, maintaining these relationships through diplomatic means was generally preferable for the King, not least because it was best to avoid killing those who could muster military for him. Several years later, Artaxerxes II, indeed, secured ultimate loyalty from Pharnabazus by marrying one of his daughters, Apama, to the satrap (Plut. *Art*. 27.4).

Just after the end of the meeting between Pharnabazus and Agesilaus, an unnamed son of the satrap by his wife Parapita, approached the Spartan king and said to him, "I make you my guest-friend, oh Agesilaus" (Xen. *Hell*. 4.1.39).[162] Agesilaus accepted the guest-friendship, and the two secured their relationship through gift-exchange: the son of Parapita gave a spear (παλτόν), while Agesilaus gave a horse adornment (φάλαρα).[163] The guest-friendship begun here between Agesilaus and the son of Pharnabazus was intended to maintain the diplomatic link between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus across patrilineal generations. However, when Pharnabazus later married Apama, the order of succession within the house of Pharnabazus changed, as the social position of the wife largely determined this.[164] Now Artabazus, the young son of Apama, was to succeed as satrap, after the reign of the oldest son of Pharnabazus, Ariobarzanes.[165] The

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[162] Ξένον σε, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιοῦμαι.

[163] These gifts carry ideological significance that is clear from the Achaemenid royal inscriptions. For example, the inscription on the tomb of Darius I notes the extent of the King's conquest by saying, "The spear of the Persian man has gone forth far." See also Darius' boasts of his martial prowess on DNb: "I am skilled both in hands and in feet. As a horseman, I am a good horseman. As a bowman, I am a good bowman, both on foot and on horseback. As a spearman, I am a good spearman, both on foot and on horseback" (see Schmitt 2000 for both inscriptions).

[164] On the succession and the social position of wives, see Bresson 2002.

[165] Scholars have debated whether or not Ariobarzanes was operating as satrap-regent until Artabazus came of age (see Beloch 1921 for the original argument; Weiskopf 1989, 27–31 reviews earlier literature; Weiskopf himself argues that Ariobarzanes was a full-fledged satrap).

unnamed son of Parapita was thus removed from the order of succession. Nonetheless, Agesilaus maintained his relationship with the son of Parapita, and this man eventually developed such standing in the Greek world that he was allowed to compete in the Olympic games.[166] Although the son of Parapita ultimately did not succeed his father, we must not mistake the end result for the process: the relationship between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus' son was intended to maintain this relationship between Spartan and Persian elites across generations, and were it not for Pharnabazus' marriage to a daughter of the royal Achaemenid family, this relationship would have continued as intended.

How, then, does the story of the convoluted relationships among Pharnabazus, Agesilaus, Spithridates, and Otys inform us about the structure of the social networks of the satraps? Most significant is the role of the family members of satraps and other elites. The relationship between Spithridates and Pharnabazus deteriorated because of a broken promise of marriage alliance, the alliance between Otys and Spithridates was secured via a marriage, and the relationship between Artaxerxes II and Pharnabazus was reiterated through a marriage. These aristocratic males treated their daughters and sisters as political instruments.[167] Whereas aristocratic men needed sons and brothers to maintain their social position and patrimony across successive generations, women of the house secured alliances with other elite families. This was a strategy employed by

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The sources are, frankly, insufficient on this point, but the fact that Pharnabazus' other son Artabazus, rather than Ariobarzanes' son Mithradates, became satrap after Ariobarzanes' unsuccessful uprising does indicate that Artabazus had greater social esteem than Mithradates. This does not necessarily mean that Ariobarzanes was a satrap-regent, but it does indicate that the succession was always intended to go next to Artabazus, likely because of his half-Achaemenid parentage (as Bresson 2002 stresses).

[166] Roy 2020.

[167] Cf. the remarks of Briant on the daughters of the Great King: Briant 2002a, 309.

the highest elite families of the Empire, including the Achaemenid family itself, satraps, sub-satrapal officers, and client kings.

In the satrapal milieu wherein so much of the political structure was determined and negotiated through personal relationships, the ability to establish and transmit power from father to son crucially helped maintain the same structures across the death of an individual satrap. The line of Pharnabazus, in fact, represents the longest attested line of patrilineal transmission of power in the Empire outside the Achaemenid family itself.[168] The line began with Arsames, who was the brother of Hystaspes, father of Darius I. His son was Pharnaces, likely the same person as Parnakka, in charge of the administration recorded in the Persepolis Fortification archive and, thus, the satrap in Persia.[169] Pharnaces' son was Artabazus, whom King Xerxes appointed as satrap in Hellespontine Phrygia. This satrapal seat became hereditary as it passed from Artabazus to his son Pharnaces and from Pharnaces to his son, Pharnabazus.[170] Descendants and relatives of Pharnabazus continued to serve as satrap at Dascylium until the invasion of Alexander.[171] The memory of Pharnabazus and his family survived the Macedonian conquest in the Greek world. An inscription from Athens from 327/6 give thanks to a great-grandson of Pharnabazus and honors the previous actions of Pharnabazus and his son Artabazus in assisting the city-state.[172]

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[168] For the following, see Briant's summary which includes reference to the primary sources: Briant 2002a, 339.

[169] On Parnakka as satrap, see Henkelman 2021, 887–88.

[170] Jacobs 2003, 255 argues that the satraps of *Großsatrapien* never passed on their positions hereditarily, and instead they were always appointed anew. Pharnabazus' lower rank in the administrative hierarchy can, thus, partially explain why his family was allowed to maintain control over the position of satrap. Presumably the Great King still had the authority to confirm or deny these appointments.

[171] The relation of the last pre-Macedonian satrap in Dascylium, Arsites, to the family of Pharnabazus is unknown, but Briant 2002a, 697 suggests that he was a relative of Artabazus. This follows the pattern of the succession of this satrapal seat known earlier.

[172] For an edition, translation, and commentary, see Osborne and Rhodes 2007, num. 98, 506-9 (=Tod 1948, num. 199, *IG* II^2 no. 356). As Osborne and Rhodes suggest, the Memnon honored

Pharnabazus and his kin's exchange of family members allowed the satrapal house to maintain itself across most of the Achaemenid Empire's existence and even beyond.

Conclusion

Theories of state power and structure tend to focus their discussion on large, depersonalized phenomena like the economy, ideology, or technology.[173] This is, of course, for valid reasons: economic, geographic, political, or ideological structures direct the shape of any given state over the very long run. But when theorizing the state, or any particular state, in terms of its long-term structures, it can be easy to forget that historical individuals—people with their own personalities, friends, and rivals—were responsible for the upkeep of governance over the short-term.[174] Whereas the previous chapter considered the economic structures of the satrapal economy at a generalized level, albeit focusing on the lives of Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus, this chapter has taken particular relationships among these satraps as case studies for understanding the importance to the maintenance of the Achaemenid Empire of routinized, personal connections among individual actors. Personal relationships between satraps and others could secure military alliances, maintain networks of economic exchange, renegotiate political hierarchies of the Empire, or secure the transmission of power (and contingent social relations) from one generation to the next. These relationships were affected by broader political or economic structures, but they were not necessarily determined by these same structures.

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in this inscription is most likely the son of Memnon of Rhodes and Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus and granddaughter of Pharnabazus (and thus great-granddaughter of Artaxerxes II). For discussion, see also Briant 2002a, 645; Kuhrt 2007, no. 6; Hyland 2018a, 156.

[173] See, e.g., the work of Mann 1984; 1986.

[174] Giddens 1984's "structuration" theory is useful in this regard: overarching structures are only made visible through the repeated actions and agencies of individuals. I have taken particular inspiration from the work of P. Brown (especially Brown 2012) in discerning how wide-reaching structures can be understood from the lives of particular individuals.

Comparing the relationship of Tissaphernes and Alcibiades with that of Cyrus and Lysander is helpful in this regard. Both relationships were forged for the same reason: to secure an alliance between the Achaemenid Empire and Sparta in destroying the Athenian Empire. Whereas Tissaphernes and Alcibiades' relationship was strained and ultimately ended with Tissaphernes' arrest of Alcibiades, Cyrus and Lysander, by all accounts, forged a genuine friendship, and their relationship resulted in the joint Achaemenid-Spartan victory. Certainly, economic factors were at play, as Cyrus commanded more wealth than Tissaphernes, but the impact of these economic structures was mediated through routine, personal relations.[175]

Throughout the rest of the dissertation we will see how other satraps sat at the center of their own networks of social relationships: at the same time as they sat at center of a hub of communications from their subordinates, the satraps were in constant communication with one another and with the court of the King of Kings.[176] Whereas, as argued in the previous chapter, the property structures of the Achaemenid Empire can be understood as a series of overlapping elite houses, the social structures of the Achaemenid Empire can be seen as a group of intertwined networks. Elites, especially satraps and the King of Kings, dominated their own networks as centralizing nodes, and subordinates, family members, and lesser elites directed their channels of communication and their participation in empire towards these satraps. But these satrapal networks were in communication with one another, whether through competitive means as we have seen in this chapter, or through means more mundane like the exchange of

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[175] In fact, Weiskopf 1989, 17 suggests that Tissaphernes' unwillingness to work effectively with Pharnabazus was one of the contributing factors that led Artaxerxes II to have him killed.
[176] The satrap at the center of a network of subordinates is exemplified in chapter 4, but also visible in chapter 7. A satrap communicating with other satraps and the King of Kings is clear in the chapter 6.

information.[177] The social structures of the Achaemenid Empire were mediated through a series

of personal relationships within satrapal networks.

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[177] Discussed in chapter 6.

Chapter 4. Aršāma: Controlling and Cultivating Labor

An Exemplary Satrap

As both satrap in Egypt and a wealthy landlord in Babylonia in the late fifth century, the case of Aršāma offers the opportunity to analyze how the satrapal house acquired, developed, and maintained labor, the most valuable resource to the Achaemenid state and its elites. Aršāma is known primarily through two types of sources: Aramaic documents from Egypt, emanating from both within his house and outside it, and Akkadian legal texts from Nippur in Babylonia, mostly from the archive of the Murašû firm.[1] The Aramaic letters from Egypt, the better studied corpus, contain a group of letters to or from Aršāma, now mostly held in the Bodleian Library of Oxford (hence their name, the "Bodleian Letters"), and also a separate group of documents related to the Judean community on Elephantine, which also mention the satrap.[2] Aršāma's jurisdiction in the maintenance of order and his titulature, as the one "who is in Egypt," show him to be satrap in the region, and a fragment of Ctesias (F15(50)) supports this as it places Aršāma, rendered in Greek as Arxanes, as satrap in Egypt at the time of the accession of Darius II.[3] Not only was Aršāma satrap, but he, like Cyrus the Younger in Anatolia, was a prince of the

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[1] Two fragmentary Demotic Egyptian texts and a short (and dubious) Old Persian inscription provides little information on the satrap but do mention him. On the Old Persian text, see Tuplin 2013a, 7–8; for the Demotic texts, see Smith et al. 2020.

[2] Tuplin 2013a, 5–6 lists the Aramaic documents. See now Tuplin and Ma 2020 which contains a commentary, translations of various texts, and papers related to Aršāma. Porten and Yardeni 1986 contains all the pertinent documents from Egypt, in addition to a host of other Aramaic texts from Achaemenid Egypt. See earlier Driver 1957; Grelot 1972; and also the collection of Lindenberger 2003. Per convention, this chapter will cite the documents by their number in Porten and Yardeni's *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (henceforth abbreviated as "TAD").

[3] A separate fragment of Ctesias (F14(38)) mentions a "Sarsamas" as satrap in Egypt at the time of the revolt of Inaros in 454 (though see Kahn 2008 for a proposed date of 458/7). This may render "Aršāma," but one manuscript of Ctesias gives the name as "Sartaman," which would render a different name (see discussion of this in Tuplin 2013a, 8–10). This Sarsamas may also

royal house, and this titulature appears in some of his texts.[4] The dated Aramaic texts span the

period from 435 to 407, and he may well have remained satrap in Egypt until 404, at which point

Egypt successfully rebelled from the Achaemenid Empire.[5] Aršāma's tenure as satrap was

marred by (at least) one period of unrest, to which there are multiple references in the

documents, but local violence was not abnormal for Achaemenid rule in Egypt.[6]

      The Akkadian documents have seen less attention than the Aramaic, but they are no less

important.[7] All but one of the documents belong to the archive of the Murašû firm, a family

involved in agricultural management around the city of Nippur in Babylonia in the second half of

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be our Aršāma, though it would make him satrap in Egypt for at least 47 years (454-407).
Although this is not impossible, such a long tenure as satrap in a single place would be hitherto
unprecedented, and thus this Sarsamas/Sartman should be considered another individual.
Polyaenus 7.28.1, which mentions an Aršāma sieging Barca and then taking a command in
western Anatolia, should refer to a different Aršāma altogether (see discussion in Tuplin 2013a,
10–13).

[4] Discussed at length below. Tuplin 2013a, 10 likewise notes the comparable positions of
Aršāma and Cyrus the Younger.

[5] See Tuplin 2013a, 5–6 for the texts and their dates.

[6] Lewis 1958 links all the references of unrest to Diod. 13.46.6, which mentions an Arabian
"king" and an Egyptian "king" attempting to take control of Phoenicia in 411. Tuplin 2013a, 40–
44 thoroughly discusses the uncertainties around this issue. Until the discovery of further
documents, this issue will not be solved definitively. However, it does seem preferable to link all
the mentions of revolt in the Aramaic letters to a single event: the authors likely would have
specified if there had been multiple serious revolts. Whether or not this event ought to be linked
to fighting over Phoenicia in 411 is less clear, but this provides as compelling an option as any.
Briant 1988 discusses the frequency of revolts in Egypt, and ultimately argues that most were
locally confined. This may or may not be the case here, but regardless, the unrest referenced in
the Aršāma letters appears to have significantly disrupted the operations of the agrarian
economy.

[7] It should be noted that there is no explicit confirmation that the Aršāma from the Egyptian
documents is the same as the Aršāma known from Babylonia, but this is the scholarly consensus.
The chief points connecting the two are the high position of Aršāma evident in both corpora, the
general contemporaneity of the corpora, and the appearance of the title "son of the house" used
to title Aršāma in both corpora (see below on this last point). Tuplin 2013a reviews all the
material related to Aršāma.

the fifth century.[8] The Murašûs operated in an intermediary space within the agrarian economy of Nippur, as they managed the land of elite landowners, often Persians, and sublet much of this land to tenants; in addition, they loaned the tenants seed and agricultural equipment. Aršāma first appears in these texts as an owner of some of the land in these transactions. The Murašûs preferred their debtors to pledge land as security against default, and, when a debt crisis afflicted the region around Nippur, the family came to control great swaths of land.[9] At some point the Murašûs, therefore, became too powerful in the eyes of the Achaemenid elite, and Aršāma appropriated the assets of the Murašû firm. The last Akkadian texts relevant to Aršāma, and the bulk of the Akkadian dossier, postdate Aršāma's ousting of the Murašûs. All these texts record one of Aršāma's estate-managers, himself a former subordinate of the Murašû firm, leasing portions of Aršāma's flock of caprids to shepherds in exchange for rent in animal products.

In a number of ways, Aršāma was an exemplary satrap. Though satrap in Egypt, he was not confined to the area of his jurisdiction, as his years-long absence from the region is documented in the Aramaic sources. Nor was his property confined to Egypt: Aršāma was a domineering landlord in both Egypt and Babylonia. He is, along with Axvamazdā of Bactria, one of the only satraps whose words survive to this day in the form of his letters.[10] For this reason,

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[8] The one non-Murašû text (TCL 13.203) is also from Nippur. On the Murašûs, see especially Cardascia 1951; Stolper 1985; Van Driel 1989; Pirngruber 2017, 47–70 and, in summary, see Jursa 2005, 113–14.

[9] Stolper 1985 links this debt crisis to Darius II mustering forces in the region at the time of his accession. Van Driel 1989's objections to this thesis fail to address the Aršāma texts, which are fundamental to the interpretation of the Murašû archive. Tolini 2011, 561–63 prefers to link the debt crisis to a bad harvest. Pirngruber 2017, 65–66, moreover, notes the deleterious effects of exogenous shocks on the post-484 Babylonian economy and, because of this, suggests that the harvest-failure hypothesis be taken seriously. Although the reasons for the debt crisis do not affect the argument here, Stolper's explanation is preferable because it links the crisis to the land-for-service system and because of the lack of explicit reference to harvest failure.

[10] One could also add the letter orders (Hallock category T; Hallock 1969) uttered by Parnakka in the Persepolis Fortification archive. However, most of the language therein is highly formulaic;

the particulars of his language deserve especial scrutiny, and within his vocabulary emerges

clearly the idea of a satrapal house, one that encompasses both property and personnel (the two

categories not always being separable). Most of all, the Aršāma dossier echoes the patterns of

satrapal economy and society that we have seen throughout this dissertation. Aršāma operated

his house in such a way to maximize his personal revenue, especially through agricultural

production, because this wealth was partly expended to fulfill state functions. Aršāma and his

house maintained social connections, especially among the Persian diaspora, to ensure that the

Empire functioned as a cohesive unit. Finally, Aršāma sought to control labor in a number of

ways. He cultivated loyal subordinates to whom he could entrust most of the matters of his

personal agricultural enterprises, he used his subordinates to extract dependent laborers from

surrounding areas, and he employed a mix of coercion and persuasion to maintain the labor

which he had already acquired.

Trans-Territoriality

Any study of Aršāma must consider the evidence from Egypt in combination with the

material from Babylonia: the satrap's world was, by its very nature, trans-territorial.[11] Aršāma is

likely the Achaemenid satrap not known primarily from Classical sources to whom scholars have

given the most attention, but the Babylonian material has seen considerably less study than the

Egyptian material.[12] There are several reasons for this: the Aramaic language of the Egyptian

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for an exception, see Fort. 6764 (published in Cameron 1942; Arfaee 2008a, 251–3; Henkelman 2010, 668–69).

[11] The bulk of the contributions in Tuplin and Ma 2020 consider only the Egyptian material. This, perhaps, owes to the fact that the project began just by studying the Bodleian collection, i.e. some of the Egyptian material. Nonetheless, this perspective limits what one can say about the world Aršāma inhabited.

[12] Some important exceptions to this trend are Stolper 1985; Van Driel 1989; Tolini 2011; Pirngruber 2017, 47–70.

letters is generally more accessible than the Akkadian of the Babylonian documents, the Aramaic letters have seen multiple publications and translations, the contents of the Aramaic letters are generally more compelling than the leases which largely comprise the Babylonian documentation, and the Babylonian material requires an understanding of the Murašû archive to parse the socio-economic context.[13] Nonetheless, this focus on the Egyptian documentation pertinent to Aršāma has hindered scholars' efforts to study the satrap's historical context. That is, any study of the political or economic enterprise undertaken by Aršāma and his house must begin with the acknowledgement that he owned considerable property in Egypt, the area of his governmental jurisdiction, but also in Babylonia, outside his area of satrapal jurisdiction.

By wide agreement, Aršāma was satrap in Egypt and not in Babylonia, and although he is not explicitly called "satrap," his titulature supports this: A6.1 and A6.2 refer to him as the one "who is in Egypt."[14] This suggests that certain functions of the satrap, like his control over the military or his authority over temples (documented here by the vivid case of the temple of Yahu on Elephantine), were confined to Egypt for Aršāma.[15] However, as we will see below, Aršāma performed some of his most important functions for the upkeep of the Empire, namely the extraction of wealth and the maintenance of social networks, across Egypt and Babylonia. Aršāma may have been satrap "in Egypt," but he remained a satrap—and a prince—while he was in Babylonia or elsewhere in the Empire. The satrapal economy directed by Aršāma was not

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[13] The pertinent Akkadian texts have been re-edited and translated in Pirngruber 2020.

[14] Lines 5 and 27 respectively.

[15] On the duties of the satrap, see Klinkott 2005. On the community at Elephantine, see, *inter alia*, Briant 2017b, 207–20; Tuplin 2020a. Van der Toorn 2019 provides a narrative of the Jewish diaspora at Elephantine. Azzoni 2013 studies the lives of women in Elephantine.

confined to Egypt, and positing too strict a link between satrap and territory misleads on this point.[16]

Because Aršāma appropriated the assets of the Murašû family active around Nippur, the satrap's holdings in Babylonia grew over time, but his possessions in the region were not simply a result of this takeover. Rather, other texts belonging to the Murašû archive incidentally mention the satrap as landowner in the region before this takeover. IMT 9, a lease of arable land dated to year 35 of Artaxerxes I, mentions a subordinate of Aršāma as the holder of a neighboring field.[17] By way of comparison to other satraps and to other texts regarding the estates of Persians in Babylonia, it is likely that this land was not the inalienable possession of his subordinate, but rather that the satrap could repossess the land should he wish and that this land was encumbered with rent.[18] In EE 11, a lease of several plots of land and farming equipment dated to year 40 of Artaxerxes I, a field belonging to Aršāma himself is among the pieces that the Murašû firm sublets to actual cultivators.[19] Aršāma appears here in the common role of the Persian ethno-class in legal texts: an absentee landlord able to extract some of the agricultural surplus while barely being involved in the processes of production. Finally, EE 109 + IMT 105, dated to the accession year of Darius II, documents a clash between a slave of Aršāma and the Murašû firm within the town of Nippur that ended in a legal settlement.[20] Although our perspective is limited here—we can only learn about Aršāma's holdings in Babylonia through his subordinates' and his own interactions with the Murašû family—it is clear that Aršāma's house was well entrenched in

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[16] The Herodotean term "satrapy," then, is to be avoided. However, lower levels of the administrative hierarchy tie together office and place more closely (see below under A6.9). See the concluding chapter for a more synthetic discussion of territoriality.

[17] Text edition: Donbaz and Stolper 1997; Pirngruber 2020.

[18] A grant of land (*dšn'*) from Aršāma to a subordinate is the subject of A6.4.

[19] Text edition: Stolper 1985, 235–36; translation: Pirngruber 2020, 306.

[20] Text edition: Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 152–54; translation: Pirngruber 2020, 310.

Babylonia prior to his appropriation of the assets of the Murašûs. Aršāma's economic behavior in Babylonia compares to that of other elite Achaemenid houses at this time, especially Queen Parysatis: these elites operated through local subordinates in extracting rent from the area, even while they themselves may have been absent.[21]

Although the case of Aršāma may be the most vividly documented instance of the trans-territoriality of the satrap, it is far from the only one. Briant, in his synthesis, recognizes this, as he writes, "The duty of a satrap was not necessarily connected to a territory."[22] The satraps in Anatolia, as discussed earlier, provide illustrative examples. Tissaphernes appears highly mobile across Anatolia, where Sardis is said to be the seat of his power, though the satrap seems to have traveled throughout neighboring Caria just as often.[23] Pharnabazus provides an even more striking example: for most of his tenure as satrap, the Greek historians place him in Dascylium or Hellespontine Phrygia at large, but the numismatic record demonstrates that he minted a trove of coinage in Cilicia, from whence he presumably also launched his naval campaign with Conon.[24] The Persepolis Fortification archive too has begun to illuminate the trans-territoriality of the satraps at the time of Darius I. To date the best studied instance is that of Karkiš, satrap in Kerman.[25] Although it is from Kerman and one of its subdivisions (Puruš) that Karkiš undertook his satrapal duty of issuing travel authorizations (*halmi*), the satrap's presence in the Persepolis Fortification archive is felt beyond Kerman. Karkiš appears in other texts traveling on the road

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[21] On Parysatis in the Murašû texts, see Stolper 1985, 63–64; Brosius 1996; Briant 2002a, 588–90; Jursa and Stolper 2003; Stolper 2006a. One of Aršāma's subordinates worked with a subordinate of Parysatis in legal transactions, as will be discussed below.
[22] Briant 2002a, 65.
[23] Caria and Lydia are in the same "Hauptsatrapie" in the schema of Jacobs 1994.
[24] See the bibliography in chapter 2.
[25] On Karkiš, see Henkelman 2010, 704–13; 2017, 48f. Karkiš is in fact one of only three *halmi*-issuers explicitly called "satrap" (Henkelman 2020, 199).

between Media and Persepolis accompanied by *taššup*, a word often translated as "troops" or "soldiers," but one which more likely denotes those capable of bearing arms but often given other tasks.[26] Karkiš even consumed like a satrap while he traveled, as his traveling party was provisioned with a quasi-royal "table," a practice only otherwise attested with the King and royal family members in the Persepolis Fortification archive.[27] The case of Karkiš nicely supplements the case of Aršāma: just as the Aršāma texts show the satrap producing and extracting across territories, the Karkiš dossier depicts this satrap dining and transporting laborers across the expanse of southern and western Iran. Rather than Aršāma's house being an exception, trans-territoriality was a typical feature of the satrapal house.

Language of the "House"

More than any other satrap under study, Aršāma and his subordinates used the language of the "house" to describe the property of the satrap and the individuals under the satrap's remit. Aršāma was himself not only the head of his own house, but he, too, was part of another one: the royal house. Across both the Aramaic and Akkadian sources, the epithet "son of the house" often accompanies Aršāma; the phrase is a calque on Old Iranian *visa-puθra*, "son of the (royal) house," i.e. "prince."[28] The phrase in its Aramaic rendering likewise appears on Aršāma's personal seal, an heirloom transmitted from another earlier "son of the (royal) house," who was

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[26] As the tabulations of Bae 2001 demonstrate, Elamite *taššup* was the equivalent of Aramaic *ḥyl(ʾ)*. Refer to the discussion in the chapter on Axvamazdā for the reasons *ḥyl(ʾ)* should be understood to encompass able-bodied men beyond soldiers.

[27] Henkelman 2010.

[28] The phrase *br bytʾ* appears in four of the Aramaic Aršāma letters (6.3, 4, 7, and 13; see glossary in Taylor 2013, 32–33) and *mār bīti* in two of the Akkadian documents associated with Aršāma (TCL 13, 203 and BE 9, 1; see Pirngruber 2020). For the Old Iranian, see Gershevitch 1969, 191; Mayrhofer 1973, 205; Hinz 1975a, 265; Stolper 1985, 21; Tavernier 2007, 351–52.

also named Aršāma.[29] Although some scholars have translated the phrase as "prince" and though this translation is not incorrect, the simple rendering of "prince" strips the epithet of some of its meaning.[30] Aršāma, and other Achaemenid princes who similarly bore the title "son of the house," were not merely princes, but they remained a part of the house of the King of Kings.[31] Whether in Egypt or in the vicinity of Persepolis, imperial administrators recognized that the House of the King was an institution to which goods were regularly transferred, but, as the title "son of the house" suggests, it was an institution also comprised of family members and, no less importantly, their property.[32] When in an inscription Xerxes wrote, "May Ahuramazda protect me from harm, and *my house*, and this land," he beseeched the god to safeguard his property, domains, and family members—like Aršāma.[33] The satrap, his subordinates, and his associates always recognized his position as "son of the house," and Aršāma's own house cannot be entirely distinguished from the royal house writ large.[34]

While he comprised a portion of the Achaemenid house of the King, Aršāma himself operated at the head of his own satrapal house, composed of his subordinates who may have in

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[29] On the seal and its historical context, see Garrison 2017a, 558–63; Garrison and Henkelman 2020. Although the seal was originally made for Aršāma's eponymous ancestor, this should affect our interpretation on his use of the title "son of the house." Aršāma could have had a new seal made, but he chose to use an heirloom seal with the title.

[30] For the translation as "prince," see, e.g., Pirngruber 2020.

[31] This understanding of the term explains why the prince Aršāma and majordomos of elites in Babylonia can both bear the title *mār bīti*. Some of these majordomos appear in texts associated with Aršāma (EE 109 + IMT 105 and BE 9, 1). On these two contrasting usages of the phrase *mār bīti*, see Stolper 1985, 21.

[32] Egypt: TAD C3.7 (the customs document); Persepolis, e.g. PF 1987. Compare also the "tables" of royal women: Henkelman 2010. It was standard for the members of the royal family, whether male or female, to control their own houses. Queen Parysatis provides another example which will be discussed below.

[33] XPh §5, emphasis added. For a text edition and translation, see Schmitt 2000, 88–85.

[34] In this way, his position is comparable to that of Cyrus the Younger.

turn commanded houses themselves.[35] Among these subordinates were his *pqyd*s or estate-managers who managed the agricultural property—that is to say, the physical houses—of Aršāma.[36] Although these *pqyd*s are never explicitly said to belong to the house of Aršāma, the satrap's requests of them, discussed at length below, speak to their position as indispensable members of the satrapal house, the ones to whom the responsibilities of the agricultural economy were entrusted.[37] Other people, however, are said to belong specifically to the house of Aršāma. In a particularly revealing letter (A6.10), Aršāma instructs his *pqyd* to mark and transfer a class of dependent workers (*grd*) to his house (*byt'*) in Egypt. Any distinction between person and property became murky in this case, as Aršāma's *pqyd* transferred laborers into the satrap's house. Also striking is an Akkadian language sub-lease of land from the Murašû firm that describes the land's position by its neighbors, one of whom is a "Šamaš-ibni from the house (É = *bītu*) of Aršāma."[38] Neither Aršāma nor his Babylonian subordinate Šamaš-ibni is a party in this transaction, nor do they appear in the text in any other way, such as by witnessing it. Rather the parties involved in the sub-lease, or officials from a cadastral office also involved in the transaction, had to know that the field was under the control of Šamaš-ibni, who was in turn a part of the house of Aršāma. Šamaš-ibni, moreover, bears no filiation which would typically be used to identify Babylonians in this period.[39] Rather the phrase "of the house of Aršāma" stands

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[35] Aršāma's family members are likely to have headed houses themselves, but they are unknown.
[36] An Iranian loanword *bg* ("estate, domain;" see Tavernier 2007, 4.4.12.3) is the word typically used to describe agricultural domains in the Aršāma correspondence.
[37] Hence the Semitic root underlying *pqyd* and its Akkadian equivalent *paqdu*, PQD, means "to entrust." See CAD P s.v. *paqādu* 1.
[38] IMT 9: Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 85–86; Pirngruber 2020, 307-08.
[39] The parties of the transaction, the witnesses, and the scribe all have filiations in this text.

in for his patronym and identifies him for legal purposes.[40] Although he served as satrap in Egypt, the house of Aršāma was comprised of people across Egypt and Babylonia (and perhaps beyond), and administrators and entrepreneurs recognized their position within the house of Aršāma.

As with Axvamazdā in Bactria, Aršāma referred to his property in total as his "house." It is the "house" of Aršāma to which the dependent workers are to be transferred in A6.10, and it is also this "house" which the satrap ordered his *pqyd* Nakhtḥor to guard to prevent any loss of property.[41] Likewise, it is the "house" of Aršāma that receives the rent (*hlk'*) from his tenant in A6.11: Aršāma conceives of his house, rather than himself, as the recipient of this rent because his "house" denotes his total property holdings.[42] This "house" of Aršāma transcended Egypt, as when the satrap's subordinates traveled from Mesopotamia to Egypt in A6.9, their provisions are to be taken from his "house" in any given region.[43] Other elites in the orbit of Aršāma also used the language of the "house" to refer to their property and subordinates in total, like Virafša in A6.15 who instructs Aršāma's *pqyd* Nakhtḥor to return property to his "house." It should come

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[40] Slaves often do not bear patronyms either and instead are named as "PN$_1$ slave of PN$_2$." It is, therefore, possible that this Šamaš-ibni was a slave of Aršāma, but there is no way to confirm this outside of further texts.

[41] Lines 7 and 6 respectively.

[42] *Pace* Taylor 2013, 20, *hlk'* should be translated as "rent" rather than "tax" because Aršāma is clearly the owner of the land in question. Whether or not Achaemenid Aramaic in Egypt would have distinguished these two in vocabulary is not known due to lack of examples, but, nevertheless, translating as "rent" here is preferable to clarify the tenurial relationship between Aršāma and Peṭosiri, the tenant.

[43] The precise interpretation of this letter has become controversial and will be discussed below. However, regarding the "house" specifically, that Aršāma used *byt'* (house) rather than *bg'* (agricultural domain) suggests he is referring to his property as a general category rather any specific agricultural estates. The Aršāma dossier maintains this distinction between *byt'*, as property in total, and *bg'*, as specifically agricultural land: the only time in the Bodleian letters that *byt'* clearly describes agricultural land is in 6.11 (lines 2, 4) in the compound phrase *byt zr'*, "seed capacity." On the geography of the itinerary, see Dalley 2014.

as no surprise, therefore, that *byt*, "house," is in fact the third most common noun in the Bodleian letters, where it trails only *pqyd*, those who managed his "house," and *t'm*, "order," which he issued to his *pqyd*s concerning his house. In the view of the satrapal order that the Aršāma dossier provides us, we find ourselves immersed in a world of intertwined, overlapping houses, ones comprised of the property and subordinates of their masters. Satrapal houses, not merely the satraps, represented the building blocks out of which the Achaemenid Empire was made, and the satraps and their administrators reflected this in their own vocabulary.

Control over and Acquisition of Labor

Above all else what emerges from the Aršāma dossier is the importance of labor to satrapal economy and society. Aršāma himself worked to cultivate trusted subordinates and transform them into *pqyd*s, the managers to whom he "entrusted" (*PQD* in Semitic languages) his most valuable possessions: his lands and their attached dependents. His *pqyd*s managed the satrapal economy, not only by caretaking Aršāma's agricultural estates, but also by maintaining and acquiring more dependent laborers, both chattel slaves and non-slaves (*grd*) bound to the house of Aršāma. The figure of the satrap at times had a distorting effect on the structures of labor. For instance, an individual called his slave grew powerful enough to be able to mobilize social networks of the most powerful individuals of Babylonia, one of the richest areas of the Achaemenid Empire.[44] In a contrasting example, a category of dependents with some nominal degree of autonomy (*grd*) were not only compelled to work on the estate of Aršāma, his *pqyd* even had them marked with his sign. The needs of the satrapal house and the figures orbiting the

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[44] Though the average Babylonian worker was less wealthy post-484 than prior to it (Jursa 2014a), this is likely because the imperial elite extracted a greater portion of the surplus. That is, for the elite within Babylonia, the area remained lucrative, even if on the whole it became less wealthy after the full entrenchment of the Achaemenid order.

satrap altered the structures of labor, whereby free and unfree became less meaningful markers

of social status than did their importance to and role in the satrapal house.

The house of Aršāma was not unique in its control and acquisition of labor, but, among

the satrapal dossiers, it perhaps demonstrates this phenomenon most vividly. Assyriologists,

especially M. Jursa, have stressed that labor was the resource that the Achaemenid Empire most

desired to extract from Babylonia, the region of the Empire where policies of taxation are

clearest.[45] The Achaemenid state expanded the preexisting land-for-service system whereby

parcels of land were given in exchange for service incumbent on that land.[46] The situation in

Anatolia, to a large extent, mirrors the Babylonian case, with military colonists given land in

exchange for service when the state required it.[47] At the same time, Achaemenid elites in

Anatolia worked to bind land and dependent laborers to themselves, often around fortified

citadels, in a landscape of agricultural production combined with coercion.[48] As will be discussed

in chapter 6, the Achaemenid state invested in transportation and provisioning infrastructure in

order to facilitate the movement of laborers. The Achaemenid Empire faced a common problem

for pre-industrial states: the ambitions of the government often exceeded the pool of labor

available. At the same time, the rhythm of the agrarian economy dictated labor needs, as labor

requirements at certain times (e.g. reaping or sowing) dwarfed the labor requirements at other

periods of the year.[49] For these reasons, the ways in which the state and its elites sought to

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[45] See Jursa and Waerzeggers 2009; Jursa 2010, esp. 645-57; 2011a; Jursa and Schmidl 2017; Kleber 2017. See also the case studies of Henkelman and Kleber 2007; Tolini 2008.
[46] This is best documented in the Murašû archive. See especially Cardascia 1951; Stolper 1985.
[47] Briant 1978; 1980; Balcer 1984, 195–226. Briant 1985 explicitly compares Anatolia and Babylonia. See also Tuplin 2016.
[48] See generally the papers in Briant 1982b.
[49] Halstead 2014 documents the rhythm of pre-mechanized farming in an anthropological setting. Hruška 1990, 108–09 provides a precise, month-by-month description of the agricultural tasks done in each month of the year in Old Sumerian Mesopotamia. There are some obvious caveats

acquire and control labor merit especial scrutiny. Aršāma provides a compelling case study, and

the remainder of this chapter will analyze the labor and laborers within his house. Because

Aršāma and his house are synedochic of broader trends, this chapter will occasionally compare

the phenomena seen here to those of the rest of the Empire.

*Pqyd*s and *Paqdu*s: Managing the Satrapal House

   The house of Aršāma, in both Egypt and Babylonia, operated through particular agents

called *pqyd*s in Aramaic or *paqdu*s in Akkadian. The Aršāma dossier in both regions provides

more information on these managers than it does on the satrap himself. This is no coincidence:

the majority of the documents concern affairs internal to the satrapal house, and this was

precisely the domain of the *pqyd*.[50] The dossier pertinent to Axvamazdā in Bactria, which is the

corpus most similar to the Aršāma material from Egypt, likewise provides more details on

Axvamazdā's subordinate Bagavanta than it does on the satrap himself.[51] If we were to have the

internal documentation of the houses of Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, or Bakabaduš, we would

likely learn more about their managers than the satraps themselves. It is through these *pqyd*s and

*paqdu*s that the personal satrapal economy intersected with that of the larger Empire and that the

private social networks of the satrapal house effected geopolitical consequences. Before

examining the role of these managers in satrapal economy and society, however, the following

paragraphs will provide a brief biography of them.

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when applying this calendar to the Achaemenid period, in that the technology has changed, but
the general rhythm of the agricultural calendar remained similar.
[50] There are some exceptions among the Aramaic documents, such as the letters concerning the
reconstruction of the Judean temple on Elephantine (TAD A4.5, 7, 8 and 9).
[51] Bagavanta is never called *pqyd*, and, though his tasks are similar to those of Aršāma's *pqyd*s,
his geographical jurisdiction seems to have been wider than theirs.

The Egyptian documents record a series of *pqyd*s for Aršāma's house in (part of) Egypt: first ʿAnkhoḥapi, then Psamšek, and finally Nakhthor.[52] Although the majority of the Egyptian documents are undated, the references in the Bodleian letters to "previous" *pqyd*s make the order here certain. Only one person served as Aršāma's *pqyd* at a time in Egypt, although, as the Babylonian documents show, Aršāma certainly had *pqyd*s elsewhere. The letters contain brief hints about who these men were before they became *pqyd*s. A starting point is their names, which are uniformly Egyptian.[53] Although this dissertation preaches caution when extrapolating social backgrounds from etymologies of names, this caveat is more pertinent to those bearing Persian names, which local elites could adopt in an attempt to establish themselves within the class of imperial elites. With Egyptian names in an Egyptian context, we can be more confident in proposing that these men originated from Egypt before working for the house of Aršāma, rather than having traveled with Aršāma from the imperial core. Second, A6.3 indicates that, not only did Psamšek succeed Ankhoḥapi as Aršāma's *pqyd*, but also that Psamšek was Ankhoḥapi's son.[54] Prior to becoming *pqyd*, Psamšek had already served within the house of Aršāma, as A6.3 calls him Aršāma's "servant" (*ʿlym*), and Psamšek's training under his father prepared him to succeed as the satrap's *pqyd* when the time came.[55]

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[52] Tuplin 2013a, 15, no. 38 notes that, though it is clear Psamšek succeeded ʿAnkhoḥapi, it is possible that there had been intervening *pqyd*s between Psamšek and Nakhthor. It is, nevertheless, most likely that Nakhthor did succeed Psamšek, which is what TAD A6.10 implies.
[53] See, with further references, Tuplin 2013a, 7 on *Ankhoḥapi*, 8 on *Psamšek*, and 66 on *Nakhthor*.
[54] There is no indication about a familial relationship between Psamšek and Nakhthor.
[55] The word order in TAD A6.3 makes it ambiguous whether or not "my servant" refers to Psamšek or Nakhthor. Tuplin 2013a, 15, no. 37 understands Psamšek as the referent, which makes more sense, as Psamšek does not become *pqyd* until the time of TAD A6.4. TAD A6.3, furthermore, makes clear the difference between *ʿlym*, servant, and *ʿbd*, slave, by distinguishing Psamšek and the chattel slaves (*ʿbd*) who fled from him. *ʿlym*, therefore, denotes subordination but not legal bondage, though, at times, the distinction may not have been relevant.

Finally, and most importantly for the purposes of this dissertation, the *pqyd*s of Aršāma in Egypt sat at the head of their own houses, but the boundaries between the house of the *pqyd* and the house of the satrap were often porous. This dynamic is clear already from the earliest of the Bodleian letters, A6.3. The subject of the letter is Ankhoḥapi's runaway slaves, whom Psamšek was transporting to Aršāma.[56] The slaves also took movable property (*nksy*) from Psamšek, and Psamšek then sought Aršāma's assistance, via another subordinate of the satrap, in punishing the slaves. The property relations in the letter are complex: the slaves belonged to Ankhoḥapi but were under the control of his son Psamšek and were being transported to Aršāma. At the same time, the movable property of Psamšek was stolen, and Psamšek required Aršāma's help to punish those who robbed him. Ankhoḥapi and Psamšek controlled their own houses, but these houses were largely subsumed into the house of Aršāma. The satrap could appropriate the property, like slaves, of his subordinates when he so desired, but this property was still acknowledged to belong to the subordinate himself. Another suggestive example of the property-relations between the satrap and his subordinates is contained in A6.4. The letter concerns a grant of land (*dšn'*) that Aršāma had given to Ankhoḥapi, his *pqyd*.[57] The latter's son Psamšek, now *pqyd* himself, requested that Aršāma bestow the same grant of land upon him, and the satrap assented.[58] Usufruct of land under the personal control of the *pqyd*, likely compensation for his service, came via grant of the satrap, and, despite the patrilineal relationship between Ankhoḥapi

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[56] Ankhoḥapi is not explicitly called *pqyd* in this letter, but he is in the following letter (A6.4). This is unlikely to be significant, but, regardless, the patterns of property-relations between satraps and subordinates described here apply to both *pqyd*s and other subordinates.
[57] On the term *dšn'*, see Szubin and Porten 1987. They provide the definition as "a revocable gift ultimately controlled by the donor" (44).
[58] The invocation of the King, along with Aršāma, in granting the land suggests that this land was nominally under royal control, but that the satrap had practical authority in naming the recipient.

and Psamšek, the possession of the land remained with the satrap.[59] Service for the satrap

entailed usufruct, not ownership. The boundaries between the house of the *pqyd* and that of the

satrap, overall, were ambiguous and porous. Nearly every Bodleian letter provides examples of

this, and so the discussion here need not be comprehensive. The following section on the *pqyd*s'

roles in managing the satrapal house will, by necessity, demonstrate this point further.

Enlil-supê-muḫur, Aršāma's *paqdu* around Nippur in Babylonia, lived a life that we can

piece together from the economic documents of the Murašû Archive, especially leases, receipts,

and promissory notes.[60] Enlil-supê-muḫur first appears in the service of the Murašûs, once called

both their *paqdu* and "slave" (*ardu*), but usually just called their "slave."[61] Was Enlil-supê-muḫur

merely a subordinate of the Murašû family or was he a true slave? The vocabulary of bondage in

Akkadian is often ambiguous. The word usually taken to be an unambiguous chattel slave in Late

Babylonian is *qallu*, not *ardu*, which the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* instead considers to

denote either "servant" or "slave."[62] Contemporary slave sales, wherein the chattel status of the

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[59] This, in general, matches the impression of Achaemenid land tenure seen in other sources. Generally, the granting authority maintained ownership of the land, though it was typical for the use of the land to be transmitted across generations. Usage of the land, moreover, was encumbered by obligations owed to the granting authority, both in kind but more importantly in service. A synthesis of Achaemenid land tenure is sorely lacking, but see, inter alia, Stolper 1985; Tolini 2011 on the Babylonian system, for which there is the most evidence; Briant 1985 on the Anatolian evidence; and Aperghis 1998; Henkelman 2018a on the material from the Persepolis Fortification archive.

[60] As Stolper demonstrates (1985, 23), the Murašû archive is, properly speaking, the archive of Enlil-supê-muḫur. It contains the records of the business that he received from his former masters when Aršāma appropriated the assets of the Murašû firm.

[61] He is called both in BE 9, 99. BE 10, 126, TuM 2/3, 189 and TuM 2/3, 203 all call him the *ardu* of Rēmut-Ninurta (I thank Reinhard Pirngruber for assistance with the TuM texts). Anatolica 14, 84 mentions his name, but the text is too fragmentary to determine whether this is the same person or an eponymous individual.

[62] Cf. CAD Q (Reiner and Biggs 1982), s.v. qallu A and CAD A s.v. ardu. It is *qallu*, for example, that denotes the slave sold in the Akkadian text found in the Persepolis Fortification (see Stolper 1984).

slave cannot be in doubt, can help contextualize the vocabulary of bondage. One slave sale from the Murašû archive, PBS 2/1, 113, refers to the same slave being sold as both *ardu* and *qallu*, i.e. both words were used at this time to denote chattel slaves.[63] The semantic range of *ardu* was larger than that of English "chattel slave" but also encompassed this meaning. Enlil-supê-muḫur, before coming into the service of Aršāma, may have been considered the chattel property of the Murašû family, and he undoubtedly was considered their servile subordinate; at the same time, he also served as their *paqdu*.[64]

The majority of the texts in which Enlil-supê-muḫur appears postdate Aršāma's takeover of the Murašû firm. All nine of these texts call Enlil-supê-muḫur the *paqdu* of Aršāma, and none of them refer to him with any vocabulary of bondage. Although the sample size is not large with only thirteen relevant texts, the pattern is consistent: Enlil-supê-muḫur was always referred to as a slave when he served under the Murašû family and was never called a slave under Aršāma.[65] Aršāma perhaps emancipated Enlil-supê-muḫur when (or shortly after) he seized control of the Murašû firm; if not a manumission in a legal sense, this change in nomenclature may reflect a broader increase in social status.[66] The change in terminology demonstrates the value Aršāma

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[63] Other contemporary slave sales do not help solve this problem, but they also do not invalidate this argument. PBS 2/1 65 simply calls the slaves sold "men." JCS 53, 9 and IMT 104 refer to female slaves, for which there is different vocabulary. The texts call these women simply "women" or "female slaves" (GEME$_2$ = *amtu*).

[64] Enlil-supê-muḫur's position as both *paqdu* and slave is comparable to that of Aršāma's slave Šiṭa' in EE 109 + IMT 105, i.e. both occupied relatively high positions within the business-structures of their masters, but both were still slaves.

[65] Again, Anatolica 14, 84 is too fragmentary to be of use here. Also significant is that a slave of Aršāma does appear in another text (EE 109 + IMT 105).

[66] Patterson 1982, 100–01 notes that the possibility of manumission usually helps maintain slavery as a system. Dandamaev 1984, 451–52 says that in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods, manumission was permissible from a legal point of view but is hardly attested. Wunsch and Magdalene 2014 provide some pre-484 examples of legal manumissions which nevertheless required the former slave to continue to serve the master until the master's death. It is possible

placed in Enlil-supê-muḫur and indicates the importance of his subordinate's enterprise to the satrapal house. All of the texts detailing Enlil-supê-muḫur's activities under Aršāma record leases of the satrap's herds of sheep and goats to shepherds in exchange for rent in animal products.[67] The details of this business will be examined below, but, suffice it to say, wool in particular generated revenue on the market for the satrapal house.[68] Enlil-supê-muḫur, free of *ardu*-status, oversaw a large portion of the satrap's income-generation.

Managing the Economy of the Satrapal House

One of the chief responsibilities of Aršāma's *pqyd*s in Egypt was managing the economy of the satrapal house, in particular the agricultural economy of Aršāma's estates. The *pqyd*s of Aršāma supervised the processes of production and extraction on the satrap's estate, but they themselves did not participate in the cultivation of the land. The responsibilities of the estate-managers of satraps will be discussed at greater length in chapter 7, and therefore the responsibilities of Aršāma's *pqyd*s are only summarized here. A6.8, for example, shows the *pqyd* Psamšek responsible for directing the labor of soldier-workers (*ḥyl'*) to the estate of Aršāma.[69] As in Bactria (see chapter 7), these workers are designated by their ability to fulfill military functions, but nothing in this letter suggests that Aršāma intended the soldier-workers in A6.8 to perform military duties: coercion was implied and intertwined with the processes of production. Multiple letters in the Aršāma dossier (A6.3, A6.10, A6.15) show the satrap's *pqyd*s responsible for the transfer of dependent laborers, both *grd'* and slaves, to Aršāma's domains for agricultural

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(though conjectural) that Enlil-supê-muḫur's situation may have been similar, as his *ardu* label disappeared from the record (as far as attested) but he still clearly worked for Aršāma.

[67] This is not to say that Enlil-supê-muḫur's responsibilities may not have also extended to land management, but only that there are no texts recording this activity that survive.

[68] On wool as a revenue generator, see Van Driel 1993, 240; Beaulieu 2005, 65.

[69] Aršāma evidently wrote A6.8 because Psamšek had difficulty doing this task.

labor. In A6.13, one of Aršāma's *pqyd*s and a *pqyd* of another prince are tasked with transporting the revenue (*mndt*) of the domains of their masters. Because Aršāma and Vāravahyā, the other prince, were both in Babylonia at the time of the letter and because their domains were in Egypt, this process of transporting the revenue of their domains entailed the transformation of agricultural products into portable wealth—probably precious metal—at the market in Egypt.[70] Aršāma, for much of his tenure as satrap, operated as an absentee landlord, and it was the duty of his *pqyd*s to manage his agricultural domains in his absence.

One letter pertinent to Aršāma's *pqyd*s has generated some controversy as to its interpretation: A6.9, which Aršāma wrote to a series of persons called "*pqyd* who is in" a given place. Aršāma commands these *pqyd*s to disburse a specified amount of rations from the satrap's "house which is in [their] areas of jurisdiction" (*byt' zyly zy bmdyntkm*) to his *pqyd* Nakhtḥor, Nakhtḥor's ten servants (*'lym*), the traveling party's horses, and three other servants of Aršāma.[71] A number of these places can be identified, and these toponyms demonstrate that the group traveled through the core of the older Neo-Assyrian Empire, in northern Mesopotamia and

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[70] Tuplin argues correctly that this revenue was owed by the *pqyd*s as administrators, rather than as leaseholders (Tuplin 2020b, 233–35; contra Thonemann 2009b, 369). There is no indication of a lease in this letter, *pqyd*s are foremost estate-managers, and *mdnt* is a term indicating revenue of any sort, rather than rent in a narrow sense. Colburn 2014, 359 proposes that demands for Achaemenid "tribute" stimulated the production of coinage in Egypt. Although the lack of coinage outside the Mediterranean basin demonstrates that this alone cannot explain the Egyptian production of coinage, demands of taxation certainly increased the circulation of money. On the link between taxation and money, see, e.g., Banaji 2010, 23f., and see Hopkins 1980; Wickham 2005, chap. 11 also on the relation between taxation and processes of exchange.

[71] The blurring of city and region that Van der Spek 2015 traces in the term *mdynh* would not necessarily have caught the notice of ancient observers. That is, we should not expect Achaemenid conceptions of geographical space to coincide with contemporary ideas. The term *mdynh* may convey "city" or "region" precisely because these two categories did not need to be distinguished in the administrative imaginary. Therefore, I have rendered the term with the neutral "area of jurisdiction" because it most accurately conforms to the meaning of the Aramaic word.

Syria.[72] The debate has centered on whether the letter records a travel authorization (Elamite *halmi*) of the type often mentioned in the Persepolis Fortification archive that allowed the travelers to draw from the state system of provisioning, or whether the letter operated entirely within the private sphere, which would mean that these *pqyd*s were solely managers of Aršāma's personal estates.[73]

Until another similar document is found, any interpretation will necessarily be fraught with difficulties, but nevertheless an explanation between these two extremes is possible. First, the letter directly says that the rations were to be drawn from Aršāma's own "house," but the provisioning infrastructure indicated in the ration-disbursements mirrors the system of the Persepolis Fortification archive (see further chapter 6). Second, though both the *pqyd*s of Assyria and Aršāma's Nakhtḥor bear the same title, there is an expressed difference: the former are *pqyd*s in a place and with a jurisdiction, while Aršāma calls the latter "my *pqyd*." The vocabulary of Achaemenid administration can be vague and overlapping, but the surrounding phrases express a clear distinction here. Altogether, this points to the following scenario: Aršāma, as satrap, authorized Nakhtḥor and the rest of the traveling party to journey from Babylonia to Egypt along the standard Achaemenid road system. The traveling party drew rations from state agricultural officers (*pqyd*s), but the sums were deducted from Arshama's property in a credit system.[74] Although Aršāma likely did have his own *pqyd*s in Assyria and Syria, the *pqyd*s mentioned in this letter operated in their role as officers in the imperial system.

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[72] See Dalley 2014; Tuplin 2020b, 150–54 on the toponyms.

[73] For the travel authorization, see now, with particular attention to the comparison with the Persepolitan material, Henkelman 2020. Tuplin 2013a, 59–64 (reiterated in Tuplin 2020b, 154–163) argues against this interpretation. Dalley 2014 assumes the *pqyd*s are the estate-managers of Aršāma; however, her focus is on the geography, and she does not attempt to engage in the larger questions surrounding Achaemenid administrative practice.

[74] Credit system: Kuhrt 2007, 741.

While the material from Egypt compares well with other sources on the management of

satrapal estates, the Babylonian material provides information on a hitherto undiscussed aspect

of the satrapal economy: livestock management. Herding contracts and livestock management in

their first-millennium Babylonian context have attracted (a surprising amount of) scholarly

attention, and so only a cursory summary of the operations needs to be provided here.[75] What

will be our primary concern is how the livestock generated capital for the satrapal house and how

Aršāma, via his *pqyd* Enlil-supê-muḫur, engaged in the larger market economy through this

livestock management. As discussed in brief above, all of the texts from the Murašû archive

which postdate Aršāma's appropriation of the firm's holdings are livestock contracts, in which

Enlil-supê-muḫur leases out a portion of Aršāma's herd of sheep and goats to a specified

shepherd or shepherds in exchange for rent in animal products. The contracts are standardized

and give rent per annum.[76] The texts stipulate the precise number of animals leased out, and these

animals are, in turn, divided by species (sheep or goat), age, and sex. The rent (*sūtu*) is fixed at

the time of the contract, and the yield is measured by the number of animals: 66 2/3 lambs per

100 fertile ewes, one kid per one mother goat, 1.5 minas of wool per sheep, 5/6 minas of goat-

hair per goat, one "cheese" per mother sheep, and one liter of ghee per 100 mother sheep. The

contracts allow 10 dead per 100 animals, and per dead animal, the shepherds will give to Enlil-

supê-muḫur one hide and 2.5 shekels of tendons.

Animal products, both primary and secondary, constituted a substantial part of Aršāma's

Babylonian enterprise. All of the contracts operate through Enlil-supê-muḫur, and most also

mention a Šabahtani', son of Isināya, who was the "overseer of the herds" (*rab būli*). However,

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[75] Previous studies include Van Driel 1993; Kleber 2008; Kleber apud Jursa 2010, 595–616; Kozuh 2010; 2014.
[76] Text editions: Pirngruber 2020.

none of the shepherds appear in more than one contract: the supervision of the livestock was internal to the satrapal house, but the labor of pasturage was contracted to a number of outside parties. By setting a fixed rent on the shepherds, the subordinates of Aršāma deferred risk onto the outside party. Moreover, Aršāma's house secured particularly favorable contracts for the satrap: compared to similar livestock contracts from the mid-late sixth century, the annual return in goats was higher, and the addition of rent in cheese and ghee was unattested in these earlier contracts.[77] Although some of these animal products surely remained for use within the house of Aršāma, much of the yield would have been sold on the market. Gender ratios among the adult sheep suggest the rate of culling among males and, hence, the degree of specialization in meat-production. These ratios vary from as high as 16:1 females-males (BE 10.131) to as low as 2.69:1 (BE 10.132).[78] Aršāma's livestock managers slaughtered the majority of the male sheep every year, and sixth-century Babylonian texts demonstrate that there was a market for meat in Mesopotamia, one capable of, for instance, distributing 770 kilograms of meat over the course of six weeks.[79] The cheese and ghee also produced by the herds supplemented the income from the meat on the food market.[80]

However, the most lucrative product of Aršāma's herds was undoubtedly wool.[81] The production of this wool began the process of textile production, likely the largest sector of the

[77] See the comparison in Van Driel 1993, 222–23. The earlier contracts required negligibly higher yields of lambs: 66 5/6 per 100 ewes versus 66 2/3 in the Aršāma texts.
[78] However, these herds were not entirely optimized for meat-production, as the female-male ratios in such herds can reach as high as 35:1; see Ryder 1983, 236; Kozuh 2014, 12.
[79] Waerzeggers 2010b, 268–69.
[80] Dairy production in Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Babylonia has not attracted much attention, but see Waerzeggers 2010b, 295–97 for a discussion of milk production from cows in the Ezida temple in Borsippa.
[81] Jursa 2010, 220 notes the particular importance of woolen textiles for the export market in Babylonia.

Achaemenid economy after agriculture.[82] How much silver would these herds have produced for

Aršāma's house? More of the livestock contracts date to year 11 of Darius II than to any other

year. If we combine the total number of sheep (and not goats) in these contracts, we come to a

total of 2,362 sheep leased out to shepherds in exchange for rent in year 11 of Darius II.[83] There

is no reason to think that this was the entirety of the flock under Enlil-supê-muḫur's purview, nor

less the entirety of the livestock in the house of Aršāma; however, we can take this number as an

absolute minimum.[84] If ten percent of these animals died for whatever reason before the end of

the contract year, as this is the rate of loss these contracts consider acceptable, this comes to

2,126 sheep producing 1.5 minas of wool per year, for a total of 3,189 minas of wool in this year.

At the average price in the late Achaemenid period of 1.54 shekels per five minas of wool, this

comes to a little more than 982 shekels of silver, just produced from the wool of these sheep in

Darius II year 11.[85] This amount of silver, for example, would buy over 486 *kurru* of dates at

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[82] See Kawase 1984 on textile workers in the Persepolis Fortification archive. Textile production
has not attracted attention befitting its importance to the first millennium Middle East (textile
trade has seen more attention in the second millennium; see, e.g., Stratford 2014). Textiles, of
course, survive poorly in the material record, which can explain part of this. Compared to other
staple commodities, they are uncommon in the textual record, likely because it is difficult to
store textiles. Nevertheless, some of this lack of attention must stem from the fact that women
(as demonstrated by Kawase in the case of Persepolis) largely produced textiles, and economic
history has tended to focus on the masculine world. On female labor and textile production in the
Mediterranean world, see Wild 2009, with further references.
[83] This calculation assumes that the young males included in these contracts would have been
sheared before being culled (as Van Driel 1993, 235 notes, some of these males appear to have
been culled after their first year but before their second). If this is not the case, the numbers
presented are too high and need to have the young males subtracted.
[84] It is impossible to estimate how many more livestock may have been under the possession of
Aršāma. By way of comparison, the institutional house of the Eanna Temple in the late Neo
Babylonian and early Achaemenid period had 74,000 to 90,000 in its possession per year (Kozuh
2014, 13; contra the earlier figure of 100,000-150,000: San Nicolò 1948, 285 and followed by
Kleber 2008, 237).
[85] For the price data, see Pirngruber 2017, 99, though Pirngruber notes that the price data, which
is from the Babylonian Astronomical Diaries, is more meager than the following Seleucid
period.

market prices, or approximately 87,500 liters of the fruit.[86] Because dates were the standard unit

of account in the Murašû Archive, we can compare this total to the figures known from their

business: 486 *kurru* reaches the order of magnitude of the size of the Murašû family's loans.[87]

Again, we are likely dealing only with a small subset of the wool produced per annum under the

purview of Enlil-supê-muḫur, which in turn constituted only a small subset of the amount

produced under the totality of Aršāma's *pqyd*s and *paqdu*s. But, even with these caveats, the

minimum amount of revenue generated was substantial.

Between Egypt and Mesopotamia, the *pqyd*s of Aršāma controlled both the cultivation of

crops and the management of livestock. Although in each region, there is only explicit evidence

for only one of these activities, surely the *pqyd*s of Aršāma in Egypt and Mesopotamia oversaw

both aspects of the agricultural economy. Indeed, the rearing of sheep complemented the cereal

cultivation. When fields lay fallow, shepherds allowed their flocks to graze on the stubble, which

in turn fertilized the fields and led to a higher yield for future harvests.[88] Even grazing on young

stalks of grain could stimulate a higher yield when the harvesttime came.[89] Growing crops and

raising livestock, therefore, had a symbiotic relationship in the agrarian economy, and the *pqyd*s

of Aršāma managed both aspects. Through these activities, the satrap's *pqyd*s simultaneously

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[86] This calculation again uses the prices from Pirngruber 2017, 99 and uses the standard conversion of 180 liters per *kurru* (Jursa 2010, xviii).

[87] See Pirngruber 2017, 57–58 for a summary of the loans issued by the Murašû family. The amount of dates loaned, admittedly, varies quite widely, but the majority of the loans lie in between the range of 100 to 500 *kurru* of dates.

[88] For discussion of this practice in ancient Mesopotamia, see Postgate 1994, 159 and fig. 9.1, which is cited by Wilkinson 2003, 92. Although there has not been much discussion of the details of this practice in the first millennium, the practice extends at least as far back as the Old Sumerian period: Hruška 1990; LaPlaca and Powell 1990.

[89] Hruška 1990, 59.

cultivated resources to sustain the satrapal house and produced a surplus to exchange in the market economy.

Maintaining Social Networks

The *pqyd*s and *paqdu*s of Aršāma maintained and negotiated the satrap's social networks at both a regional and imperial scale. The Egyptian material has seen more study in this regard, and so two contrasting examples will suffice here to illustrate how the satrap's *pqyd*s navigated their social environments.[90] The first example is documented in A6.13 and A6.14, the former a letter from Aršāma to his *pqyd* Nakhtḥor, the latter from Vāravahyā to the same Nakhtḥor. Both letters refer to the same incident. Aḥatubaste, the *pqyd* of Vāravahyā on his Egyptian estate (*bg*), had not brought the revenue (*mndt*) from his estate to Vāravahyā, who was at the time in Babylonia.[91] In A6.13, Aršāma commands Nakhtḥor to make Aḥatubaste bring the revenue plus accrued interest to Vāravahyā in Babylonia in the form of "treasure" (*gnz'*), which likely indicates precious metal.[92] A6.14 reports an abbreviated version of the same message, but also includes the detail that a son or brother of Vāravahyā may come to Babylonia in his stead.

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[90] See especially Tuplin 2013a; 2020b.

[91] Tuplin 2020b, 233–35 includes discussion on whether this revenue was due from Aḥatubaste as an estate-manager or as a leaseholder. No lease is referenced, and *pqyd*s generally were estate-managers, so this revenue was more likely due from Aḥatubaste as an estate-manager. The accrued interest (*hd'bgw*) is perhaps unexpected in this instance, but this word is a *hapax legomenon* (see Tavernier 2007, 4.4.10.9). If the word does in fact mean something like "accrued interest," then the situation can be explained as follows: the revenue was the portion of the surplus to be transported to Vāravahyā after local revenue was consumed by tenants. The accrued interest was due from Aḥatubaste's personal holdings (of which the revenue was not a part) as a penalty for his failure to deliver in a timely fashion.

[92] Tuplin 2020b, 236–41 is unnecessarily indecisive about what the "treasure" is. Livestock called *baziš*, for example, are irrelevant as *baziš* is not mentioned. "Treasure," wherever it appears, denotes a form of stored wealth, which is most likely to be precious metal, but one could also imagine precious worked stone (see now King 2019). At any rate, one person (or one small retinue) could scarcely transport anything other than precious material all the way from Egypt to Babylonia. Moreover, the exchange of precious metal circulating in the Achaemenid economy has been shown to be greater than previously thought (see Tamerus 2016).

Together, the two letters position Nakhṭhor in the middle of the imperial diaspora that crisscrossed Egypt, Babylonia, and beyond. Vāravahyā, though known from only these two letters, emerges as an imperial economic elite. He was a landowner in Egypt with domains extensive enough to justify having a *pqyd*, yet, at the time of the writing of these letters, Vāravahyā was with Aršāma in Babylonia. Like the satrap, Vāravahyā owned land in the two richest regions of the Achaemenid Empire: this absentee landlordism was a primary revenue-generating occupation for the imperial ruling class.[93] Vāravahyā beseeched his superior Aršāma to aid him in rectifying the mechanisms of extraction in his own house, and it is here where Nakhṭhor's importance becomes clear. Nakhṭhor, as Aršāma's *pqyd*, sat atop the satrap's hierarchy of available manpower on the ground in Egypt. Any distinction between public and private ceased to be relevant: problems of extraction internal to the house of Vāravahyā became a concern for the satrap Aršāma. Aršāma required his own subordinate to intervene in Vāravahyā's house. Maximizing surplus extraction across houses of the imperial elite—or at least ensuring the regular extraction of satisfactory surplus—ensured the smooth operation of the imperial mechanisms as a whole, as a portion of this surplus became an available supply of resources for imperial expenditures.[94] Nakhṭhor, as the satrap's *pqyd*, maintained social and economic networks across the Achaemenid Empire.

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[93] It is impossible to measure the total wealth of individual regions of the Achaemenid Empire, but it is noteworthy that, in Herodotus' tribute list (3.89-97), Egypt and Mesopotamia are the two satrapies that pay the highest sums of silver, 700 and 1,000 talents per annum respectively. Herodotus says that India, which pays in gold, owes the greatest sum, but certainly the fox-sized ants that the historian says guard the gold in India (3.102-105) should make us skeptical of India's gold in Herodotus' account. See, however, Rizvi and Kakpori 1988, 145–46, for the idea that Herodotus was in fact describing marmots, though the behavior of chasing camels still does not describe these rodents.

[94] Or, more definitively, the state can only survive if it maintains the allegiance of the dominant class (Haldon 1993, 37). Maintaining the surplus-extraction of the Achaemenid elite ensured their continued support for the institutions of the imperial state.

A6.15 tells an opposite story of Nakhtḥor's interactions with the imperial elite. The letter

is to Nakhtḥor from a Virafša, a person like Vāravahyā with enough capital to own an

agricultural estate in Egypt managed by a *pqyd*, an estate which was worked by a force of

dependent laborers. Virafša conveys three grievances: Nakhtḥor did not give to Virafša's *pqyd*

five slaves that were promised, Nakhtḥor improperly transferred agricultural products from

Virafša's estate, and finally Nakhtḥor had a quarrel with and took property from the *grd'* of

Virafša's wife.[95] The following section will return to this letter for its information on dependent

labor in the satrapal house, so what concerns us here is how Nakhtḥor acted against the interests

of a member of the imperial elite in Virafša. Whereas A6.13 and A6.14 speak to the *pqyd*'s role

in maintaining elite social and economic networks, this letter demonstrates the *pqyd*'s role in

(re)negotiating them. If Nakhtḥor's actions worked to the detriment of Virafša, they surely

worked to the benefit of Aršāma, whose house gained resources as a result of his *pqyd*'s

actions.[96] Although Virafša and Aršāma together worked to maintain the Empire, there was still

personal wealth and prestige to be gained or lost in competition between their houses.[97] Nakhtḥor

could act with little regard for punishment because Aršāma, as one of the most important

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[95] The phrase for transfer of property (alternatively *'bd 'l or 'bd l-* or *'bd 'l*) is the same one which occurs in, for example, the customs document from Egypt (text edition and translation: Porten and Yardeni 1986, Vol. 3, 82-193). That is, this is a formal phrase of accountancy, which the literal but awkward translation of "made over to" fails to convey (e.g. at Taylor 2013, 29 or Ma 2020, 196). "To transfer ownership" is, in fact, a definition of *'bd* (often with *'l* or *l-*) recognized by the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon (http://cal.huc.edu/), though this has apparently escaped the notice of some commentators; this definition seems to stem from the astute treatment of Wesselius 1984, 706. Nakhtḥor's "assault," following Taylor's translation, of the woman's *grd'* is obscure on semantic grounds, but because the result is that Nakhtḥor must restore to *grd'* their movable goods (*nksn*), one must assume that this incident chiefly involved Nakhtḥor appropriating their goods.

[96] It should be said that not giving the slaves was, at least according to Virafša, contrary to the satrap's wishes. However, the other two grievances raised by Virafša surely worked to the benefit of Aršāma and echo the orders that the satrap gave Nakhtḥor in A6.10.

[97] Cf. the discussion of Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus the Younger.

individuals in the Achaemenid Empire, filled a higher position in the hierarchy than Virafša. The only punishment Virafša could credibly threaten is that Nakhtḥor should return what he took or else Virafša's *pqyd* will issue a "complaint" (*qbylh*) against Nakhtḥor—a meager punishment indeed.[98] A6.15 shows the *pqyd*'s role in manipulating social and economic networks to the satrap's advantage.

Though less studied than the Egyptian material, the Babylonian texts in fact provide better evidence for the social networks in which Aršāma's agents operated. In Babylonia, the social networks of Aršāma and his *pqyd* Enlil-supê-muḥur are illuminated by a little-studied feature of the texts: the witness clauses. Lists of witnesses party to any given transaction, e.g. leases or receipts, end the legal documents of the Murašû archive. As these clauses typically contain only the word "witnesses" followed by lists of names, and occasionally titles, the witness clauses of these texts have attracted little scholarly interest. A notable is exception is the dissertation of L. Bregstein, whose primary interest lies in the study of the seals used on the tablets of the Murašû archive.[99] Witnesses often impressed their seals on a tablet, and individual witnesses can be matched to individual seals. Bregstein uses this information to compile a list of seals, their owners, and the texts on which their seals appear, and it is possible to expand upon this information by parsing the dynamics of how these witnesses and other actors interacted with one another.

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[98] Considering the weakness of this punishment, Tuplin 2013a, 48 considers the possibility that the "complaint" indicates a technical procedure, but he offers no suggestion as to what that might entail. Porten et al. 2011, 161, no. 14 enumerates the numerous situations in which the verb *qbl* is attested. One possibility is that such a "complaint" might entail a legal procedure such as the one described in EE 109 + IMT 105, discussed below under "An Elite Slave?" If this is the case, the punishment here may be more severe than it appears.
[99] Bregstein 1993.

The study of witness clauses can provide information on the social networks of fifth-century Nippur in a way that no other available evidence can, but to do so, one must take a bird's eye view, studying the witnesses attested in the texts as a whole. To this end the prosopography of the Murašû archive has been systematically recorded in a database so that any number of questions regarding the social networks of the Murašûs and their world can be studied with qualitative analysis and quantitative tools.[100] What concerns this dissertation in particular is how the social networks of the Murašû family compare to those of Enlil-supê-muḫur after Aršāma appropriated the firm's assets. To study this, we can use social network analysis tools to examine which individuals structure the network represented by the persons occurring within the texts of the Murašû archive.[101] After building a prosopography of the Murašû texts, we can compare the most important persons to the structure of the social network of the Murašû family, as measured by betweenness centrality, to the persons who appear in the texts after Aršāma's takeover.[102] Some of the results are banal: of course, the Murašû sons themselves will be the most important actors to the network represented by their own archive. However, other results are more meaningful and speak to the ways in which Enlil-supê-muḫur operated under his new master.

One individual in particular emerges as crucial to the transition from the Murašûs to Aršāma: Aqara son of Iddina. He is a man known only from witness lists and seal impressions,

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[100] This project is a collaboration between Reinhard Pirngruber and myself.
[101] The method for this analysis is that every named individual (name and patronym) is a node in the network. Individuals with missing patronyms, due to breaks in the tablets, and in the absence of identifiable titles, are excluded. An edge in this network is the attestation of two persons in the same text. The edges are undirected. The edges are weighted by the number of individual texts with the two given persons both attested. For example, the node Enlil-šum-iddin/Murašû : Aqara/Iddina has a weight of 109 in this sample because the two appear in 109 texts together. Calculations of network diameter were performed in Gephi.
[102] This analysis includes every text in the five major text collections (BE 9, BE 10, PBS 2/1, EE, and IMT), a total of 710 texts. On betweenness centrality, see Freeman 1978, 221–24; Hanneman and Riddle 2011, 366–67; Prell 2012, 103–07; Golbeck 2013, 30; Alstola et al. 2019, 166.

and, therefore, traditional philological methods have never paid him any attention. But the following analysis demonstrates that he was a prominent Nippurean through whom both the Murašûs and Enlil-supê-muḫur conducted business. Aqara son of Iddina counts among the most frequent witnesses in the Murašû archive and, in fact, emerges as the fourth-most important person of all in structuring the social network represented by the persons attested in the archive.[103] Many individuals who often witnessed the transactions of the Murašû family no longer appear in the texts after the coming of Aršāma, though some may be absent purely as a result of the sample size; nevertheless, Aqara is an exception, as he also witnessed the leases of livestock by Enlil-supê-muḫur.[104] Aqara was, therefore, a local elite, at least a legal elite, who cooperated with the Murašûs in their business endeavors and continued to work with Enlil-supê-muḫur under his new satrapal master. Aršāma's seizure of the Murašû firm inevitably led to a displacement of certain notables in the Nippur region—the Murašûs themselves being the most obvious victims. But the case of Aqara son of Iddina demonstrates that, at the same time, Aršāma, via his *paqdu* Enlil-supê-muḫur, maintained some of the relationships that the Murašûs used to have. Aršāma, thus, inserted himself into a preexisting network which his *paqdu* maintained through business transactions. Though the satrapal project disempowered certain

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[103] The four above him in this sample are Enlil-šum-iddin and Rīmūt-Ninurta of the Murašû family, and Ninurta-ab-uṣur, son of Enlil-šum-iddin, who is the most frequent scribe in the archive.

[104] The Enlil-supê-muḫur texts in which Aqara son of Iddina appears are BE 10.131, BE 10.132, PBS 2/1 144, PBS 2/1 145, and PBS 2/1 146, i.e. over half of the total. Bregstein 1993, 197–205 discusses the prolific witnesses of the Murašû Archive, and she proposes that a number of them were "attached" to the Murašû firm. This is probably true for some of these men, but others like Aqara seem to have been local elites with no particular attachment to the firm.

local elites, it worked to the benefit of others, and some of these elites, like Aqara, took advantage of their position.[105]

Other witnesses attested in Enlil-supê-muḫur's leases of Aršāma's livestock tell a similar story of the satrap's integration into preexisting social circles around Nippur. For example, consider Erīb-Enlil son of Enlil-bānâ, who was the sixth most important node in the social network of the Murašûs and continued to serve as a witness after Aršāma's takeover; or see Bēl-dānu son of Bēl-bullissu, who was in the top ten percent of Murašû nodes and who continued to work with Enlil-supê-muḫur.[106] A witness whose social standing could not be understood divorced from the rest of the Murašû archive is Ninurta-ana-bītišu son of Lū-idija, who witnessed five texts for Enlil-supê-muḫur.[107] He appears frequently as a witness in the pre-Aršāma texts of the Murašû archive, and, although he usually does not bear a title, he is twice referred to as the *paqūdu* of the Gula Gate.[108] While the exact responsibilities of this officer are unclear, R. Pirngruber has shown that the four *paqūdu*s of differently named gates sat on a civic council together.[109] Although Ninurta-ana-bītišu usually does not bear the title in the texts, there

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[105] This accords with the conclusions of Stolper 1985, esp. 152-56. Aršāma succeeded the Murašûs in a system which, as demonstrated by Stolper, required agents like the Murašûs to function. This succession operated through the same basic social and economic systems and constraints before and after Aršāma's takeover.

[106] Erīb-Enlil son of Enlil-bānâ appears in PBS 2/1 147. Bēl-dānu son of Bēl-bullissu appears in BE 9.1 and BE 10.132.

[107] BE 10.130, BE 10.131, PBS 2/1 145, PBS 2/1 146, and PBS 2/1 148.

[108] He appears in BE 9.48, where his title is spelled out in syllables, and in PBS 2/1, 15, where his title is logographically written ᴸᵁ́PA or alternatively to be read as ᴸᵁ́UGULA. UGULA is an alternative reading of PA, and Borger 2004, 332 takes the word as rendering *šāpiru* (administrator) or (*w*)*aklu* (overseer). The semantic overlap between these words and *paqūdu* is great enough that one could easily extend the meaning of UGULA to *paqūdu*. Pirngruber and Tost 2013, 81 understands PA as a "pseudo-logogram." Stolper (1988, 136) understands ᴸᵁ́PA as an abbreviation of *paq(ū)du* and says (pers. comm.) *šāpiru* and *aklu* are absent from the administrative vocabulary of these late Achaemenid texts.

[109] Pirngruber and Tost 2013, 79–83.

is no reason to think that he ceased to function as the *paqūdu* of the Gula Gate when he was not

so named, and, indeed, titles of certain officials are written only rarely. Thus with Ninurta-ana-

bītišu, we see a civic official, seemingly one of the highest in all Nippur, who frequently oversaw

the business transactions of the Murašû firm and continued to do so, perhaps at an even higher

rate, after Aršāma took control. Enlil-supê-muḫur maintained key relationships in his transition

(and accompanying manumission) from serving under the Murašûs to working under the satrap.

Nippurean notables, like Aqara son of Iddina, and civic officials, like Ninurta-ana-bītišu son of

Lū-idija, maintained their connections after the coming of Aršāma. The appearance of these

individuals in the witness lists of Enlil-supê-muḫur's leases illustrates a crucial point: though the

transition from the Murašûs to Aršāma did lead to a displacement of certain individuals, it did

not result in a wholesale replacement of Nippur's social environment. Locals cooperated with the

satrap as he came into more power in Nippur. Collaboration with the satrap could yield any

number of benefits: Aršāma was no mere vampire.

Although Aršāma, via Enlil-supê-muḫur, operated largely through preexisting social

circles in Nippur, certain people became more prominent after the satrap took over the Murašû

business. The most striking of these is Parysatis, the royal queen made infamous by lascivious

stories reported by Classical authors, most of which seem ultimately to be founded in

misogynistic derisions for women in power.[110] The Akkadian sources provide a different

perspective on the queen: she was one of the richest landowners in Babylonia.[111] Parysatis

appears in the Aršāma texts via her slave Ninurta-uballiṭ son of Bēl-iddin, who witnessed five of

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[110] Briant 2002a, 589 calls Ctesias' portrait of Parysatis the "archetype of the 'cruel princess.'"
See also the careful study of Truschnegg 2011.
[111] On the Akkadian evidence, see especially Stolper 2006a. See also Brosius 1996, 127–8.

Enlil-supê-muḫur's livestock leases.[112] Parysatis, via her slave, and Aršāma, via his *paqdu*, therefore were in regular contact in Babylonia. The appearance of Parysatis mirrors that of the Persian landowners within Aršāma's social networks in contemporary Egypt: the elites of the Achaemenid imperial diaspora engaged in constant communication in matters that should not be classified as either "official" or "unofficial," "public" or "private." This was a ruling class that recognized its need for coherence and cooperation in all matters political, social, and economic. Compare, in the chapter on Bakabaduš in Arachosia, the frequency of messengers sent between Arachosia and the imperial core. The same processes of circulation of information repeat themselves on different levels of the hierarchy: between Great King and satrap, between satrap and queen, between landowner and landowner, or between satrapal *paqdu* and royal slave.

Dependent Labor and the House of Aršāma

Labor was the most valuable resource for the Achaemenid Empire, and the ruling class developed various strategies to maximize the availability of labor.[113] One of the chief ways the Achaemenid Empire approached its labor shortage was by transporting laborers across the Empire as needed.[114] As will be discussed in chapter 6, the state invested in an infrastructural system of roads and storehouses which facilitated the transportation of laborers across the Empire. The development of canal systems, such as between Babylonia and Elam, further eased the movement of large groups of laborers.[115] Darius I, in fact, boasts of the ships moving between

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[112] BE 10.130, PBS 2/1 145 (wherein he is not called the slave of Parysatis); BE 10.131, PBS 2/1 146, PBS 2/1 147 (wherein he is called the slave of Parysatis).
[113] Jursa 2015.
[114] Henkelman and Stolper 2009; Briant 2012.
[115] For canal construction, see Tolini 2011, 335–348; see also the *urāšu* tax often used for canal construction: Jursa and Waerzeggers 2009, 258–62. The Achaemenid Empire developed canals and irrigation systems across the Empire. See, for example, Gardin and Gentelle 1976; Gardin 1980 on Bactria; Boucharlat et al. 2012, 269f. on Pārsa; or Agut-Labordère 2018 on 'Ayn Manawir in Egypt.

Egypt and Pārsa in his inscription marking the canal between the Nile and the Red Sea: these ships could carry goods, but also labor.[116] In an economy primarily rooted in agricultural production, the demand for labor was cyclical, as it followed the rhythms of the agricultural calendar of sowing and reaping. Substantial construction projects, like the building of palaces or canals, likewise required varying amounts of labor at different times. The transportation of labor in accordance with the shifting demand was one way in which the Achaemenid Empire maximized its extraction of labor resources.

Another strategy through which the Achaemenid state sought to maximize its control over labor was via taxation and other kinds of obligations. The best evidence for Achaemenid policies of taxation comes from Babylonia, where we have information over the entirety of Achaemenid rule.[117] Imperial officials imposed various taxes on civic elites which required their labor.[118] Although local elites often paid others to perform the labor in their stead, the state nevertheless acquired the labor which it sought; who actually performed the labor was of no concern to the state. In addition to taxation, the state converted land, an abundant factor of production, into labor, the scarcer factor: the Achaemenid state gave large swaths of land to

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[116] See Posener 1936, 48–87 for the Egyptian text, Kent 1953, 147 for the Old Persian, and Vallat 1977, 190–91 for the Elamite. Redmount 1995 discusses the development of this canal over time. Tuplin 1991 expresses skepticism about how much the canal was actually used. Colburn 2014, 24–25 argues against this, though without much evidence, and Bresciani 1998 assumes that trade indeed occurred. Aubert 2004 provides the most detailed study of the canal and convincingly demonstrates, based on underlying geological conditions, that the canal could not remain navigable for long periods of time without continued human intervention. Darius may not have exaggerated about ships moving between Egypt and Pārsa, but this trade, if it occurred at all, likely did not last long. However, as Aubert notes, the canal also was used to provide fresh water to parts of Egypt, and this function continued even when the canal was not navigable.
[117] See in general Jursa 2015 and discussion scattered throughout Tolini 2011, which approaches the issues chronologically. There were, in fact, few taxes directly levied in cash, but elites often paid for others to serve their labor obligations in their stead (Jursa and Schmidl 2017, 726–27).
[118] Jursa and Waerzeggers 2009, 254–65 contains a useful catalogue of taxes extracted in early Achaemenid Borsippa.

collectives of landholders in exchange for service and fiscal obligations (the *hadru* system).[119]

For the Achaemenid state, this system had the two chief benefits of augmenting the labor

available and increasing the amount of land under cultivation; obligations placed on collectives

of landholders, moreover, minimized the bureaucratic manpower needed by the state.[120] Although

this method of extraction is best known from the Murašû archive, other corpora suggest that this

system was typical of Babylonia post-484 and even had earlier antecedents as well.[121] The

broader land-for-service system, moreover, extended well beyond the confines of Babylonia, as

for example military colonists are well known in Anatolia, and some estate-holders in the

Persepolis Fortification archive were encumbered with service obligations.[122]

Finally, the third major way that the state and the ruling class maximized the amount of

labor available to them was by making more workers bound to them, whether through purchase,

for chattel slaves, or through other forms of coercion. Again, Babylonia provides the best

diachronic evidence, as the ratio of bound to free laborers increased over time. Whereas in the

long sixth century (626-484), a market for free wage laborers supplemented the supply of bound

laborers, the free labor market contracted dramatically after the revolts of 484.[123] These bound

laborers, at least in the agricultural sector, generally took the form of tenants who were attached

to the land they worked but were free of property claims.[124] Chattel slavery was, nevertheless,

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[119] See especially Stolper 1985, 70–103; see earlier Cardascia 1951; 1958.
[120] See discussion of increased land cultivation in Van Driel 2002, 317; Jursa and Moreno García 2015, 132–33.
[121] See, e.g., land tenure practices in the Tattannu Archive (Jursa and Stolper 2007) and the more synthetic discussions of Stolper 1989 and Pirngruber 2017, esp. 47.
[122] Briant 1978, 67–70 on Anatolia; see Henkelman 2018a on the Persepolis material. See Briant 2002a, 417–18 for a comparison of the practice in Anatolia and Egypt.
[123] Jursa 2014a.
[124] Pirngruber 2017, 59–61 on the growth of bound labor; he emphasizes debt bondage as a key factor. Briant 1978, 52 refers to "dépendance généralisée" as a part of Achaemenid system. This

always present and provided a substantial, though not precisely quantifiable, supplement to the labor force. Though the change over time is not as clear elsewhere, sources like the Persepolis Fortification archive also speak to huge amounts of dependent laborers throughout the Achaemenid Empire.[125] As this archive demonstrates, the state uprooted groups from their homeland and transported them throughout the Empire; somewhere in this process of dislocation laborers became dependent on the state, a status denoted by the term *kurtaš* in Elamite.[126]

The terminology regarding dependent labor in the ancient languages can be very difficult to render in English translation. This is because the same words (*ardu* and *qallu* in Akkadian, *'bd* in Aramaic) used in legal terminology to denote persons who are the property of others, i.e., chattel slaves, are also used to denote subordinates who are certainly not chattel. The most obvious example of the latter phenomenon comes from Darius' Bīsotūn inscription wherein he calls his generals, some of the highest-status individuals in the Achaemenid Empire, his *qallū*.[127] More common is that the legal status of an individual denoted as *ardu*, *qallu*, *'bd*, etc. is not known.[128] In light of this problem, some scholars have chosen to translate these terms as "servant" or "subordinate," while others continue to use "slave." In what follows, I will translate *ardu*, *qallu*, and *'bd* all as "slave" not to indicate a narrow definition of chattel but to include broader category of social subordination, of which chattel is a form. I use the translation "slave" because other English words do not indicate the degree of bondage at stake in these relationships,

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is a useful phrase comparatively across the Empire, as the precise coercive means (economically, legally, or politically) for ensuring dependence varied geographically and chronologically.

[125] Although the administrative purview of the Persepolis Fortification archive is restricted to the area around Persepolis, the travel texts (Q texts and certain V texts) demonstrate the movement of these laborers across the Achaemenid Empire.

[126] See especially Henkelman and Stolper 2009 on the ethnic labels of *kurtaš*.

[127] See, e.g., lines 44 and 48 in Von Voigtlander 1978, 23–24.

[128] See Kleber 2018, 442–44 on *ardu* and *qallu*. She notes that differences between the two terms are hard to find in the Akkadian texts.

but this chapter will emphasize the social and economic positions of these dependents, rather than their legal status (which is considerably more obscure).

The satrap Aršāma, himself among the most powerful individuals in the Achaemenid Empire, had a vested interested in maintaining and increasing his supply of dependent laborers. In the Aršāma dossier, we find the satrap and his *pqyd*s attempting to maintain or take control of both slaves and the aforementioned *kurtaš* (*grd'* in Aramaic).[129] Labor, especially agricultural labor, seems to have been the limiting factor of production in Aršāma's economic enterprise, and for this reason, the control over labor is a commonly occurring subject in the dossier. Yet the sources also demonstrate that the power—political, social, and economic—of the satrap had a distorting effect on the status of dependent laborers such that clear classifications of dependency become blurred. The following section will examine the ways in which Aršāma's satrapal house sought to acquire and maintain dependent labor for itself, and also the ways in which the social status of certain dependent laborers was altered by their presence in the house of Aršāma.

Agricultural Slaves

Agricultural slavery, though not uncommon in the Achaemenid Empire, was not the primary mode of labor in most sectors of the Achaemenid economy. Agriculture dominated the Achaemenid economy, as it did in most pre-industrial societies, and the majority of the agricultural laborers in the Empire were either free, small-scale farmers, generally invisible in the sorts of sources that survive, or dependent laborers within the nebulous space between "free" and "slave" for which English lacks sufficient vocabulary.[130] The Aršāma dossier matches the

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[129] The Old Iranian etymology of *kurtaš*/*grd'* will be discussed below under "Neither Enslaved nor Free: *grd'*."

[130] The word "serf" does fit into this space, but because it has such specific association with European medieval feudalism, this dissertation avoids the term. It is not necessarily inappropriate

overall patterns of slave labor in the Achaemenid Empire: Aršāma owned slaves, but seemingly not a particularly large number. In contrast to plantation slave economies, the slaves that he owned appear to have occupied specialized roles rather than being general agricultural workers.[131] Aršāma's house, moreover, kept close administrative and coercive control over the slaves that the satrap possessed.

Aršāma's slaves (*'bdn*) count among the main topics of three letters from the Egyptian dossier and are also mentioned incidentally in one of the Babylonian texts. A6.3, the earliest of these letters from Egypt, is a letter from Aršāma to someone named Artavanta, a person of high status, who appears as an addressee in four of Aršāma's letters.[132] Psamšek, as Aršāma tells Artavanta, had been transporting eight slaves of his father Ankhoḥapi to Aršāma when these slaves took goods from Psamšek and fled.[133] At some point not narrated in the letter, Psamšek recaptured these slaves, and now Aršāma commands Artavanta to punish the slaves when Psamšek brings them to him. A6.7, the next text pertinent to slaves, is also a letter from Aršāma to Artavanta, and it describes a rebellion that affected Aršāma's domains in Egypt.[134] Thirteen Cilician slaves of Aršāma were not able to seek refuge within a fortress during the rebellion, and someone Aršāma describes as "wicked" (*lhy'*), presumably one of the rebels, seized the slaves. In the intervening time, the slaves had come under the control of Artavanta, though Aršāma does

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but using the word in the Achaemenid context would require an explanation of its usage in the field of medieval history.

[131] Historians have demonstrated that true slave systems—that is, economies overwhelmingly reliant on the exploitation of slave labor—have been rare historically (Dal Lago and Katsari 2008 review this literature).

[132] See Jursa 2020 on the rhetorical strategies Aršāma uses when addressing persons of varying status.

[133] That the slaves are said to be of Ankhoḥapi but are brought to Aršāma again illustrates the overlapping nature of the households within the broader satrapal house.

[134] The fragmentary D6.7 evidently deals with the same subject matter, but too little of the text survives to provide additional, meaningful information.

not say how, and Aršāma asks Artavanta to let the slaves be released without harm and to continue doing their former work. A6.15 is the previously discussed dispute between Virafša and Nakhtḥor. The first among Virafša's complaints is that, though Aršāma had already given five Cilician slaves to Virafša's *pqyd* Miçapāta, Nakhtḥor had been ordered to give five additional Cilician slaves to Miçapāta and had not yet done so.[135] Finally, the Babylonian text EE 109 + IMT 105, which describes the legal conflict with the Murašûs, incidentally gives insight on the slaves of Aršāma because the chief litigant within the satrap's house is his slave Šiṭa'.

Among these texts, a few themes emerge regarding slaves in the house of Aršāma: they were highly mobile (though not of their own accord), they occupied specialized labor roles, and they were monitored carefully. All these points, in turn, either demonstrate or derive from the value of slave labor to the satrapal house, despite the relatively small number of slaves overall. A6.7 and A6.15 explicate the geography of the slave trade in the Achaemenid Empire, as both refer to the slaves as "Cilician." Ethnic labeling, as is especially clear from the Persepolis Fortification archive, was a distinctive Achaemenid practice used to mark subject populations as subjects—very rarely was the dominant Persian ethno-class labelled as "Persian."[136] In these letters, the ethnic label "Cilician" is retained, despite seeming to carry no administrative significance, particularly in the case of A6.7 in which every slave is named.[137] The ethnic label demonstrates the distance that the slave trade traversed: from Cilicia to Egypt, in the case of

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[135] The slaves are just called "men" (*gbrn*) in this text, but that they are being transferred as property, in addition to being Cilician like the slaves in A6.7, indicates that they are slaves. A6.3 refers to the slaves as both "slaves" (*'bdn*) and "men" (*gbrn*), so the two terms are in no way contradictory.

[136] Ethnic labelling at Persepolis: Henkelman and Stolper 2009. "Ethno-class:" Briant 1988; 2017c.

[137] Although Tuplin 2020b, 113–115 (with further references) notes that a couple of these slaves have Persian names, this should not lead us to doubt their Cilician origins, as names, especially names of the ruling class, could be adopted or assigned.

A6.7, or from Cilicia to Babylonia to Egypt in A6.15. The case of the Skudrians and Greeks, which will be discussed in the Arachosia chapter, who traveled from western Anatolia to Arachosia and then to the imperial core, serves as a point of comparison: the infrastructure of the Achaemenid Empire, to a large extent, existed to transport labor.

These slaves' occupation as "pressers" provides the reason that Aršāma's house found it worthwhile to transport them from Cilicia to Egypt. C. Tuplin notes that, though this word is not definitively understood, there is no interpretation possible other than that this was the slaves' role on Aršāma's estates, and this points to the slaves' role in oil production.[138] Oil, whatever it was made of, could be a cash crop in Egypt: it was for this reason that the succeeding Ptolemaic kingdom maintained a monopoly on oil production (beside olive oil).[139] As with his wool production in Babylonia, Aršāma was producing oil for a market economy. Aršāma had slaves moved from Cilicia to Egypt because they generated capital for the satrap, capital that he could then use to acquire more estates or laborers; some of these assets would eventually fulfill broader state functions.[140] The satrapal economy cannot be separated from the broader imperial economy, which in turn cannot be disentangled from the Achaemenid mode of governance.

Large sections of both A6.3 and A6.7 simply comprise lists of all the slaves' names. Though scholars have primarily read these lists with a view toward the linguistic origin of the names—Egyptian in the former and chiefly Anatolian in the latter—what is more pertinent to the

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[138] Tuplin 2020b, 117–18.

[139] On the Ptolemaic oil monopoly, see Préaux 1939, 66–93; Muhs 2016. See also the high tax rate, up to 50%, on imported oil in Ptolemaic Egypt: Bresson 2012.

[140] The Cilician "pressers" serve as a useful rebuttal to Sternberg-el Hotabi's argument that the Achaemenids drained Egypt of skilled laborers (2002, 166–67; see also Sternberg-el Hotabi 2000). That is, the Achaemenid Empire circulated skilled labor throughout the Empire, and these slaves illustrate an example of this. The clearest evidence, however, is the material from the Persepolis Fortification archive discussed in chapter 6.

study of slavery is the bureaucratic power behind the production of these very lists.[141] A6.3,

moreover, lists patronymics in addition to the slaves' names, which could suggest that these

slaves are somewhat higher status, that they were born to known slave fathers, or that, more

mundanely, there was a need to distinguish between homonymous slaves.[142] The production of

these lists entailed a registry of slaves, and other similar documentation, in the satrapal house.

Before the trip, described in A6.3, during which the slaves escaped, Aršāma's subordinates

produced precise documentation recording exactly which slaves they were transporting. The

satrapal administrative machinery carefully monitored Aršāma's slaves both because of their

value and because they knew that there was a chance that the slaves would resist and attempt to

escape. The tight bureaucratic control over slaves was one of the main ways that slaves are

distinguished from other classes of dependent laborers. Whereas Aršāma's administration

carefully registered the satrap's slaves, the satrap's *grd'*, discussed below, appear

undifferentiated, and the administration did not even record the number of *grd'* under the

satrap's authority.[143] Because slaves, in the satrapal house, occupied more specialized roles than

general agricultural workers, they were more valuable to the satrap than other dependent

laborers, and, therefore, the satrapal bureaucracy monitored and recorded them with particular

scrutiny.

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[141] Tuplin 2020b, for example, is mostly concerned with ethnicity from the names.
[142] See discussion in Tuplin 2020b, 78–80. Tuplin says that Cruz-Uribe 1982, 66 insists that "that in Demotic contexts slaves do not lose kinship rights." In fact, Cruz-Uribe is referring only to a single document, but he does argue that Egyptian-born slaves are not "deracinated" (contra Patterson 1982). For a higher-status slave that bears a patronym in a contemporary Babylonian context, compare Rībat son of Bēl-erība, slave-agent of the Murašû family.
[143] The named *grd'* in A6.12 is an exception, but even then, the number of people in his household is not specified, nor are these people named.

Although the value of slave labor to the house of Aršāma is clear from the preceding discussion, the perspective of the slaves themselves is harder to recover. That the group of slaves escaped in A6.3, if only temporarily, provides some glimpse into the violence inherent to this slave system from which they wished to flee. Even in A6.7 in which Aršāma's slaves are nominally being protected, they had fallen into the hands of violent rebels because they had failed to enter a fortress during the rebellion. Although the fortress in this letter is mentioned as a place of refuge, the fortress at the same time had the role of embodying coercion, a panopticon over the agricultural landscape.[144] Fear and the threat of violence maintained the satrap's slave labor. Aršāma's slaves, though probably only a small portion of his overall workforce, were highly valued by the satrap. The satrapal house coerced these slaves by means both physical and symbolic, and, though the slaves attempted to escape their status, there is no evidence to suggest that these attempts met with lasting success.

An Elite Slave?

Within the satrapal house, social status was determined not by the legal position of one's subordination (slave, *grd'*, etc.) but rather by one's relationship to the satrap. Although all slaves tended to have similar social ranks and all *grd'* likewise tended to have comparable standings, the position of individual dependents within the satrapal house occasionally worked to distort their status. This distortion worked in both ways: a slave operating in a particularly valuable role for the satrap would have found himself with an elevated social status as compared to the average slave, whereas a nominally free person in a less valued position may have found himself below the typical status of slave. The ability of the satrap to warp the social statuses of subordinates was not unique to the case of Aršāma—we will also see good examples with the

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[144] See similarly Briant 1978; 1982c on Achaemenid Anatolia.

house of Bēlšunu—but the Aršāma dossier provides striking examples of distorted status in both directions.

One of the Murašû documents (EE 109 + IMT 105) written prior to Aršāma's takeover of the firm shows a slave (*ardu*) of Aršāma named Šiṭa' able to mobilize the support of imperial elites, an indication of his elevated status within the satrapal house.[145] The text recounts a lawsuit that Šiṭa' raised against the Murašû family and the resulting settlement to which the two parties agreed.[146] Šiṭa' wrote to Bammuš, perhaps a royal prince like Aršāma, and complained, "Enlil-šumu-iddin, son of Murašû, his slaves, his agents, and the people of Nippur confiscated my property in the town of Nippur!"[147] From Bammuš came a veritable *who's who* of Achaemenid Babylonia: "[Personal Name] the satrap, Ispitama', the *mār bīti* of Patēšu, Hūru [filiation/title], Bagadātu, the slave of Ispitama', and Marduka [filiation/title] and their leather scrolls." The damage on the fragments prohibits perfect understanding of the prosopography, but immediately the appearance of a satrap indicates that Šiṭa' was operating in elite circles.[148] The preponderance of linguistically Iranian names (Ispitama', Patēšu, Bagadātu, and Bammuš) suggests that, if these

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[145] "Slave" is written as ᴸᵁ́ARAD. The determinative is partially broken, but the logogram, what matters for the present discussion, is not. Pirngruber supplies a filiation in the broken space. If correct, this would further support the high status of Šiṭa', as slaves rarely bear patronyms. Compare the position of Rībat son of Bēl-erība, a slave of the Murašû family who likewise bears a patronym.

[146] Texts and translations: Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 152–54; Tolini 2011, Vol. 2, 207-09; Pirngruber 2020, 308–11. The discussion here uses the translation of Pirngruber. The text is similar in content to BE 10, 9 which is a similar complaint against the Murašûs made by an *ustarbaru*; for discussion of both texts, see Tolini 2011, 506–14. However, BE 10, 9 does not name the same sorts of elites (besides the *ustarbaru* himself) that EE 109 + IMT 105 does.

[147] Bammuš's title is largely broken, but may be "son of the house:" Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 152. On Bammuš's Iranian name, see Tavernier 2007, 4.3.320.

[148] The word satrap (*aḫšadrapannu*) is partially broken, but enough survives to restore the rest with confidence. Of course, the referent of the word is broken as well.

were not Persians by birth, then these men at least adopted Persian names as a means of connecting themselves with the dominant ethno-class.[149]

If the aforementioned individuals were not evidence enough, then presence of other elites at the litigation solidifies the social capital Šiṭa' possessed. Most notable among these is "Bēl-ittannu, the *ustarbaru*, son of Bēl-uballiṭ." The term *ustarbaru* (equivalent to Old Persian *vaçabara* and Elamite *lipte kutira*) is an honorific title often translated as "chamberlain," and denotes not a specific office, but rather a social connection to the imperial court.[150] The sources, especially the Murašû archive, demonstrate that those bearing the title, presumably given for loyal service to the Empire, counted among the social and economic elites of the realm. If the names can be taken as suggestive of origin, then the title was open to many beyond the restricted Persian ethno-class, and, in fact, it offered the opportunity for local collaborators to participate within the imperial ruling elite.[151] Bēl-ittannu, one of the best attested of the *ustarbaru*s, therefore represents another member of the imperial elite mobilized by Šiṭa'. Also among the persons present at the litigation was a "Madānu-iddin, the *šaknu* of the *šušānu* of the foremen." This man's title indicates that he was in charge of a fiscal district of land (*hadru*) where a class of

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[149] For the names, see Tavernier 2007, 4.2.246 (Bagadātu), 4.2.1287 (Patēšu), 4.2.1605 (Ispitama'). See Dandamaev 1992a, 23–145 for a prosopography of individuals with Iranian names known in Achaemenid Babylonia. A number of them have parents with Babylonian names, which suggests the adoption of Persian names (there are also some examples of Akkadian-named sons of Iranian-named fathers). As more evidence for Babylonians adopting Persian names, see Stolper 2006b who demonstrates the opposite, that Iranian names disappeared from Babylonia after the Macedonian conquest.

[150] On *ustarbaru*s, see Henkelman 2003, 117–129, 162–65; Jursa 2011b; Tavernier 2014.

[151] See Tavernier 2014, 306 for a discussion of ethnicity and the names of the *ustarbaru*s. In the context of the Achaemenid Empire, it is reasonable to suggest that those bearing non-Persian names (e.g. Babylonian or Egyptian) generally had their (familial) origins in that same non-Persian region. However, Persian (or "Old West Iranian" more broadly, but certainly to be distinguished from East Iranian forms) could suggest a Persian origin or adoption in emulation of the ruling elite.

semi-dependents (*šušānu*) worked land they held as shares of this district.[152] Madānu-iddin was responsible for collecting the taxation and mobilizing the owed labor from those occupying land in this district, and he thus represents a member of the fiscal administration around Nippur, if not an imperial official. This group of men issued a fine to the Murašûs to pay for their crimes. Šiṭa', despite his position as *ardu*, mobilized courtly and regional elites in Babylonia in his legal dispute with the Murašûs.

EE 109 + IMT 105 is very similar in content and form to another record of litigation against the Murašûs: BE 10, 9. The plaintiff in this text is a man named Bagadāta, son of Bēl-nādin, who is called an *ustarbaru*. Like Šiṭa', Bagadāta accuses the Murašûs of taking some of his property, and he names specific villages where the Murašûs confiscated his goods. As his title indicates, Bagadāta had ties to the Achaemenid court, and his Old Iranian name with an Akkadian patronym may suggest that he belongs to a group of Babylonians who had long had ties to the Achaemenid court.[153] In BE 10, 9, the Murašûs are also ordered to pay a fine. What accounts for the circumstances behind these two texts? Tolini has demonstrated that Darius II and his court happened to be in Babylon at the time of this litigation in the year of Darius' accession, and, therefore, the non-Nippureans attested in these texts came from Babylon to Nippur for the purposes of hearing these legal disputes.[154] The individuals involved in these cases were important enough for these courtiers to travel from Babylon to Nippur.[155]

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[152] On the *hadru*, see Stolper 1985, 70–103 which includes a discussion of *šušānu*.

[153] As Tolini 2011, 507–08 indicates, Bagadāta appears to have named his son Bēl-nādin, in accordance with the principle of papponymy.

[154] See Tolini 2011, 506–14 for his discussion, which is only summarized here.

[155] What remains elusive is the precise nature of the Murašûs' crimes and why the juries allowed only to pay fines, though sizable ones. It is possible that members of the court were themselves hesitant to punish the Murašûs too harshly at this time because they were dependent on the family's services. Nevertheless, this circumstance would evidently change by the time Aršāma took the firm's assets.

Šiṭa', the *ardu* of Aršāma, is made the legal equivalent of a courtier between these two texts, and he is able to mobilize members of the Achaemenid court who were in Babylon. There is one obvious question: was Šiṭa' really a slave? Or is this simply a metaphorical use of the term *ardu* that is not uncommon across Akkadian text? Or should *ardu* be understood as a more generic "subordinate?" The answer here will necessarily be speculative because Šiṭa' is known from only this one text. But what is important is that Šiṭa's status as a slave should not be discounted because of his access to high-ranking agents of the government. Elite administrative slaves are not uncommon throughout different historical regimes, especially autocratic ones, and O. Patterson has demonstrated that such slaves still can be characterized as slaves, even though they may have been extremely powerful.[156] Šiṭa's role here is comparable to stories known from Greco-Roman sources of eunuch-slaves in the court of the Achaemenid royal family. Although these stories may reflect Orientalist tropes about luxury and gender roles among the Achaemenid family, they rest upon a shared knowledge about the presence of slaves in the court who operated in elite circles.[157] There is no reason to think Šiṭa was a eunuch, but much of the logic for employing eunuchs in a court applies to any slave: the slave has no attachment other than to his master.[158] Šiṭa's relationship to Aršāma, not his bondage, defined his status, and it was his connection to the satrap Aršāma that mobilized judicial action.

Neither Enslaved nor Free: grd'

The Aršāma dossier brings information on a class of dependent laborers who will also be discussed in the chapter on Bakabaduš: *kurtaš*, as rendered in Elamite, or *grd'*, as rendered in Aramaic. Etymological studies have argued that the root underlying the Old Iranian word, *gṛda-*,

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[156] Patterson 1982, 299–333.
[157] On eunuchs at the Achaemenid court, see Briant 2002a, 268–277.
[158] This logic is echoed by Xen. *Cyr*. 7.5.60 (see Briant 2002a, 270).

relates to the semantic field of "house," and thus J. Tavernier, for example, translates the word as "domestic staff, workman."[159] A fragment of Ctesias provides a description of what might be the origin of the *kurtaš*-system, although Ctesias does not use any technical vocabulary:

> It was a custom among the Medes that any man, lacking in food, may come to a rich man and give himself to him, so long as he is fed and clothed. Because of this, the poor man is considered to be equivalent to a slave. But if the man who takes him in does not provide these things for him, then the poor man can leave for the house of another. (F8d §2, my translation after Lenfant)[160]

Despite this etymological association with the house and the fragment of Ctesias, the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury archives, as we will see, do not place the *kurtaš* under the control of a single house, but rather these *kurtaš* seem to belong to a realm of generalized state dependence across the region around Persepolis.[161] The *grd'* that appear in the Aršāma dossier, in contrast, are associated entirely with individual households of elites, including both Aršāma and other estate-holders in Egypt. Although the Persepolis texts predate the Aršāma dossier, the former conveys a more developed system of *kurtaš* labor than the latter: rather than being bound to the house of an elite, these *kurtaš* were instead bound to the broader Achaemenid state structure. What defined the status of *kurtaš / grd'* evidently was not the person or institution to whom they were bound, but rather their semi-servility and the sustenance that their master provided. The *kurtaš* were allowed some agency that chattel slaves generally did not possess, though, as we see in the Aršāma dossier, their masters could dramatically curtail that agency.

Indeed, through only a few texts, the Aršāma dossier provides a wealth of information on the role of *grd'* within the houses of the Achaemenid elite and the efforts undertaken by some of these elites to acquire more *grd'*. In Egypt of the late fifth century, *grd'* were bound to the estates

[159] See Hinz 1973, 54; Eilers 1985, 30; Tavernier 2007, 423.
[160] Lenfant 2004, 93. I owe the suggestion to link this passage of Ctesias to the *kurtaš*-system to Wouter Henkelman.
[161] See full bibliography in chapter 6.

of individual elites. The key text is A6.10, a letter from Aršāma to his *pqyd* Nakhtḥor. Aršāma opens the letter by reminding Nakhtḥor that the satrap's former *pqyd* Psamšek had diligently guarded Aršāma's *grd'* and movable property in the time of the Egyptians' rebellion, a rebellion which is not further specified. Moreover, Psamšek had sought *grd'*, especially artisans, from other places (purposefully vague), and he transferred them formally (*'bd 'l*) to the satrap's estate. Aršāma then tells Nakhtḥor that other *pqyd*s, presumably the managers of other elite estates, are currently protecting their lords' *grd'* and movable property and are transferring more *grd'* to their lords' estates. Aršāma thus commands Nakhtḥor to protect his estate and to transfer more *grd'*, especially artisans, to his estate and then to mark them with his tattoo, as the satrap's former *pqyd*s had done.[162] The satrap ends the letter by threatening his *pqyd* with an administrative reprimand should he fail to follow through on these commands.

The letter implies both that estates with bound *grd'* were commonplace in Egypt and that this agricultural landscape was not a recent development, but rather spanned the careers of an unspecified number of the satrap's *pqyd*s. Moreover, the letter provides insight, more than any other known text, about the process of one becoming *grd'*, or rather, the process of making someone *grd'*. The *grd'*-transferals, in both the past and now under Nakhtḥor, came in the context of political disturbances. The aforementioned A6.7 illustrates that people were captured in these bouts of violence, which also saw the destruction of crops and other property.[163] Aršāma and the other elites of Achaemenid Egypt manipulated endemic violence to their own gain as they ordered their *pqyd*s to transfer new *grd'* to their estates during these episodes. During bouts

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[162] Tattooing, rather than branding, seems to be the preferable interpretation of *šnyth* (see the comparative evidence in Jones 1987, 146–47). However, if it were branding instead, that would not change the discussion here.

[163] The rebellion mentioned in A6.7 is likely to be the same as the one that happened while Psamšek was *pqyd*, which Aršāma references in A6.10.

of violence, subsistence farmers and others of uncertain economic status may have preferred the security of an elite's estate to their own economic freedom: the verb phrase used to indicate their transfer is one of accountancy, rather than violent coercion.[164] Aršāma's estate offered dependents places of refuge, in the form of the fortress mentioned in A6.7, and guaranteed sustenance in times of hardship. More explicitly coercive methods may have accompanied the economic pressure in ensuring the transfer of *grd'* to Aršāma's estate.[165] Regardless of their method of transferal, once the *grd'* came to Aršāma's estate, they remained there, as they were marked with a tattoo signaling their dependence upon him. The tattoos served to ensure that the *grd'* would not be subject to sales or other types of transferals in the future: these *grd'* were to be in the house of Aršāma permanently.[166] This letter is the only attested instance of persons of *grd'*-status being marked, and thus this may represent an innovation of Aršāma's house.

If the preceding paragraph seems to assign a very slave-like status to Aršāma's *grd'*, that is because the line between *grd'* and slave was a fine one, and Aršāma's treatment of his *grd'* appears harsher than that of any other attested master.[167] But Achaemenid administrators were

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[164] See footnote 94 above.

[165] To use the language of Haldon 1993, the pressure of food security that forced workers into *grd'* status was a form of economic coercion, while the physical violence was a form of non-economic coercion. The distinction, however, is not quite so clear here because endemic violence increased the forces of economic coercion.

[166] Compare the protections against certain classes of dependents being sold in Achaemenid Babylonian slave sales. For example, the relevant portion of the slave sale from the Persepolis Fortification reads, "Bēl-iddin assumes guaranty against suits (brought by) improper or proper claimants (to the slave) (and against suits claiming) the status of king's servant, free citizen, temple oblate, (or) . . . (for the slave)" (translation: Stolper 1984, 302–03). See also Stolper 1998, 133–37 for the classes of dependents noted to be branded or tattooed in Achaemenid Babylonian texts. Of the groups discussed, the most comparable seems to be temple oblates. These *grd'*, like temple oblates, had a distinct juridical status wherein they were bound to an institutional household and were not eligible to be bought or sold.

[167] However, the mere fact that the state moved *kurtaš* from the Mediterranean regions to the imperial core and even farther East (see Henkelman and Stolper 2009) implies intensive coercive machinery.

careful in distinguishing slave and *grd'* in the Aršāma dossier and other sources, and, moreover, the appearance of this Old Iranian word in Akkadian, Aramaic, and Elamite sources suggests a precise category that administrators needed to specify.[168] Other letters from the Aršāma dossier help clarify the status of the *grd'*. A6.15, discussed above, places a group of *grd'* not under the control of Aršāma but rather under an unnamed wife of an elite landowner named Virafša. Besides confirming that other elites used *grd'* as laborers and that these elites could include women, the text notes that the *grd'* had their own movable property.[169] This mirrors the status of *kurtaš* visible in the Persepolis Fortification archive: they were dependent, either on the state writ large or on an individual elite household, but they maintained a degree of autonomy. This autonomy was one factor separating the *grd'* class from slaves.

A final letter on the subject of *grd'*, A6.12, provides a contrasting view on *grd'* from A6.10, but the two letters together illuminate the status of *grd'*. In A6.12, Aršāma writes to Nakhtḥor and other administrators and tells them to provide rations to the satrap's subordinate (*'lym'*) and *grd'* Ḥinzani who was traveling from Susa to Egypt. Ḥinzani was a sculptor whom Aršāma ordered to carve equestrian-themed statues, and he was not traveling alone but was accompanied by "the people of his household," i.e. his family.[170] Ḥinzani possessed such a valuable skill that Aršāma decided to transport him from Susa to Egypt, a journey of thousands of kilometers, and Ḥinzani was not only allowed to travel with his family but was recognized as

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[168] Tuplin's assertion that "one must stress again that *garda- is in principle a generic term" (Tuplin 2020b, 184) does not hold for this reason.

[169] See the plural "to them" in line 10 of the text. This woman of this letter naturally compares to the royal women known in the Persepolis Fortification archive who controlled their own *kurtaš* (see Brosius 1996, 123–44; Henkelman 2000; 2010).

[170] I agree with Rollinger 2018, 595–96 that Ḥinzani travelled to carve a large piece of art, such as a statue, rather than carve a seal, but for a different reason than Rollinger's philological argument: had Ḥinzani carved a seal, there would have been no reason to move him from Susa to Egypt. Carving a large statue, though, would have necessitated the work be done on site.

the legitimate head of his own household.[171] With Ḥinzani the skilled artisan, master of his own household, we are far from the social status of the tattooed *grd'* in A6.10, but the administrative designation of these persons as *grd'* remains the same. What is common to the tattooed laborers, the *grd'* of Virafša's wife, and Ḥinzani the artisan is their juridical status: they are dependent on an elite but still possess some degree of independence.[172] The determinant of their social status, as with slaves, was not their juridical classification but their relationship to Aršāma. Ḥinzani's position was elevated because he offered a rare and valuable skill to the satrap, while the tattooed *grd'* appear so lowly because their labor could be more easily duplicated.[173] The power and authority of the satrap enabled such a wide range of social status within a single juridical category of dependency.

Beyond the Aršāma dossier, *grd'* appear in contemporaneous Babylonia where the Akkadian texts transcribe the word as *gardu*. People called *gardu* appear in Akkadian as early as the reign of Darius and also appear at the time of Aršāma in the Murašû archive.[174] From these texts, some *gardu* in Babylonia appear to have been provisioned via a system of rations that was similar in broad strokes to the one seen in the Persepolis Fortification archive. However, other *gardu* worked land in the *hadru* system and thus presumably fell outside of such a rationing system. *Gardu* in the Murašû archive work land belonging to the house of the crown prince,

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[171] Fleischer 1983, 36 suggests that Ḥinzani was in fact working with his family, and this is logical, though impossible to verify.

[172] A6.12 mentions that someone named "Bagasrava" had brought Ḥinzani to Susa. This Bagasrava appears in other texts (A6.8 and A6.9) as an administrative subordinate of Aršāma. Ḥinzani, thus, had been transported among different holdings and via different subordinates of Aršāma, but had remained within Aršāma's house.

[173] A6.10 implies a regularity of *grd'* acquisition that suggests Aršāma (via his *pqyd*) could simply make for *grd'* when he so desired.

[174] On *gardu*, see Stolper 1985, 56–59; Briant 2002a, 458–59; Kleber 2018, 457–58.

though some of this land was leased out in the land-for-service system.[175] One group of *gardu*

appear under the supervision of a man named Ṣiḫa' who is called a satrap (*aḫšadrapannu*).[176]

Little is known about this man, but his title indicates at the very least that he was an appointee of

the King.[177] Although no *gardu* in Akkadian texts are known to be attached to land of Aršāma in

Babylonia, these other contemporary texts provide context to the Aršāma material. *Gardu* again

appear as workers on agricultural estates and again are attached to land belonging to some of the

highest-ranking individuals in the Achaemenid Empire, Aršāma and the crown prince; other

members of the government (Ṣiḫa' the satrap) were also involved in the management of the

gardu. What exactly made *grd' / gardu* distinct from other types of dependent laborers remains

elusive, but the Akkadian material shows, at the very least, that *grd'* attached to estates of the

Achaemenid elite was not restricted to Egypt. Other *grd'* could likely be found at other estates

across the Empire in the late fifth century, though they are only attested in Egypt and Babylonia

in this period.

     Were most of Aršāma's *grd'* closer to the tattooed workers of A6.10 or the valued

Ḫinzani from A6.12? Although only the three aforementioned letters of the Aršāma dossier

provide any mention of *grd'*, the context of the Egyptian material provides some answers. Given

the relatively small number of slaves mentioned in the Aršāma texts and the specific tasks

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[175] Stolper 1985, 54–55.
[176] Text: PBS 2/1, 2.
[177] It is likely the same Ṣiḫa' who appears (without title) in PBS 2/1, 3. Tolini (2011, 515–519) also argues that Ṣiḫa' is the satrap whose name is broken in EE 109+IMT 105. Stolper 1985, 94 suggests that Ṣiḫa' may have been an "interim governor of Babylonia" before the better-known satrap Gūbaru but also suggests he may have been a lower-ranking official (but still appointed by the King). Tolini connects Ṣiḫa's presence in Nippur to the presence of Darius II in Babylon which is attested at this time (Tolini 2011, 505–06); under this hypothesis Ṣiḫa' would then not be strictly attached to a jurisdiction in Babylonia. Tolini's interpretation is plausible, but the evidence is too meager to draw conclusions with much confidence.

associated with them, it is likely that the bulk of the agricultural laborers on elite estates like

Aršāma's were of *grd'* status, dependent and bound to the house of their lord, but not enslaved.[178]

The tasks entrusted to the *grd'* varied by Aršāma's own directive: Nakhthor, as the *pqyd*,

understood the labor demands of Aršāma's estate and acted accordingly, just as the *pqyd*s of the

other unspecified lords did in the surrounding areas. Moreover, these tasks were vague, and

intentionally so: the rhythms of the agricultural calendar dictated the type of labor needed, and

grd' would have alternated between tasks as so required. Although slaves likewise could have

performed this sort of labor, the maintenance of a slave system requires far more violent coercion

than does using semi-autonomous tenants.[179] The *grd'*-system, therefore, provided the securest

and simplest mode of production available on elite agricultural estates like Aršāma's, and most

of the satrap's *grd'* would have worked primarily, if not exclusively, in agricultural labor.

Conclusion: The Control of Labor and the Making of the Achaemenid Elite

The inscriptions of Darius I, as scholars have amply demonstrated, provided an

ideological program for the Persian imperial project.[180] The artwork that often accompanies these

inscriptions complements their messages.[181] On the tomb of Darius I at Naqsh-e Rustam, text and

image combine to illustrate what it means to be the King of Kings, the height of the Achaemenid

elite. The upper register of the relief depicts the Great King born aloft by thirty men, each of

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[178] The free farmers that must have existed in and around these elite estates are largely invisible in documents like the Aršāma dossier because the elites had no claim over them and, thus, did not produce a paper trail. However, these are the sort of persons whose records appear in the contemporary 'Ayn Manawir ostraca in the Kharga oasis, for which see especially the work of Agut-Labordère, e.g. Agut-Labordère 2014; 2018.

[179] It is for this reason that the slave mode of production was very rarely dominant in antiquity (perhaps only in the late Roman Republic and certain classical Greek city-states; see Haldon 1993, 89).

[180] This, of course, is a phenomenon well studied by scholars, e.g. Herrenschmidt 1976; Briant 2002a, 204–54; Lincoln 2012.

[181] At length, Root 1979.

whom embody a different subject population of the Empire. The text accompanying the image

provides context, as the fourth paragraph of the inscription reads:

> Proclaims Darius, the king: Ahuramazda, when he saw this earth in turmoil, after
> that he bestowed it upon me; me he made king; I am king. By the favor of
> Ahuramazda I put it in its proper place. What I have said to them, that they did, as
> was my desire. *But if you shall think: "How many (are) those countries which
> Darius the king held?", look at the sculptured figures which bear the throne
> platform.* Then you shall perceive, then it shall become known to you: "The spear
> of the Persian man has gone forth far away," then it shall become known to you:
> "The Persian man has repulsed the enemy far away from Persia." (DNa, Old
> Persian §4, translation by Schmitt, emphasis added)[182]

Ahuramazda has remedied the chaos afflicting the world by placing King Darius on the throne.

The evidence that Darius presents for his conquests, or the reach of the Persian man's spear, are

the figures who bear his throne. Not only does he have control over their bodies, but he also has

command over their labor: Darius' ability to command his subjects to carry him is part and

parcel of his kingship.

The men that carry King Darius are a diverse group. In case one was unsure how to

interpret these thirty men, the figures bearing the throne of Darius are all labeled:

> This (is) the Persian.
> This (is) the Mede.
> This (is) the Elamite.
> This (is) the Parthian. Etc. (DNe, Old Persian, translation by Schmitt)[183]

Like other Achaemenid lists of lands and/or peoples, these subject populations stretch across the

entirety of the Achaemenid Empire from Egypt and Eastern Europe to Central Asia and the

Indus. What unifies these figures is not their ethnicity, which is distinct, but rather that they all

lift King Darius. There is no separation between a Persian ethno-class and subject populations:

the Persian man, too, carries the King of Kings. Darius is marked as the ruler because he is able

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[182] Schmitt 2000, 30. I have modified the spelling to match that of the rest of this dissertation.
[183] Schmitt 2000, 49.

to command the labor of his subjects. It was the ability to control, manipulate, and cultivate labor that made one a member of the Achaemenid imperial elite.

Aršāma, as this chapter has demonstrated, exemplifies the Achaemenid elite's control over labor. This control encompassed the amassing of dependent laborers, especially *grd'* who became bound to his house, but also chattel slaves, whom he had transported across the Empire, from Cilicia and Babylonia to Egypt. But the satrap's ability to manipulate labor extended beyond the coercion of dependents. As seen in the discussion of *pqyd*s, Aršāma maintained the labor of his free, high-ranking subordinates over the course of years and allowed them to ascend the ranks of the hierarchy; he even manumitted the slave Enlil-supê-muḫur and entrusted him with a substantial portion of the satrapal economy. Yet, although the satrap facilitated the social mobility of these administrators, their position beneath the satrap was never in doubt. As demonstrated by M. Jursa, the very language with which Aršāma addresses others differs considerably between those he considered subordinates and those he considered peers.[184]

Aršāma maintained and increased his grasp on labor through methods both persuasive and coercive. Cultivating the loyalty of his *pqyd*s and *paqdu*s could entail acts as beneficent as the gift of lands to a *pyqd* in exchange for his service (A6.4).[185] Because *pqyd*s and *paqdu*s generated revenue for Aršāma and maintained the satrap's social connections, Aršāma rewarded them to cultivate their loyalty and ensure their continued support. But Aršāma also compelled the labor of *pqyd*s through coercion: when the satrap commands Nakhtḥor to enhance his estate in A6.10, he backs his request with a threat of an inquiry should he fail to deliver.[186] In contrast to this mix of persuasion and coercion, Aršāma increased his supply of dependent laborers through

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[184] Jursa 2020.
[185] See Szubin and Porten 1987 and discussion above on the grant of land.
[186] See the discussion of the phrase for the inquiry in Tuplin 2013a, 48–49.

manners entirely coercive, though they could be couched in a veneer of persuasion. A fortress (A6.7), for example, offered a place of refuge for dependents in distress, but at the same time symbolized the surveillance which maintained the labor force. Similarly, entering the house of Aršāma could provide a measure of economic security in times of hardship, but the embodiment of servile status in the form of a tattoo (A6.10) ensured that this would become a permanent condition. Aršāma exploited all available avenues to maintain and increase his supply of labor.

Other elites present in both the Akkadian and Aramaic documents illustrate how the control of labor marked elite status in the Achaemenid world. Elites in Egypt were marked as elite by the fact that they, like Aršāma, could command *pqyd*s to supervise their estates. The highest-ranking individual, besides Aršāma himself, in the Egyptian material is Vāravahyā, who also bears the title "prince" or, literally, "son of the house," and this Vāravahyā commands his *pqyd* to cooperate with the *pqyd* of Aršāma in two letters (6.13, 6.14). In A6.15, the elite Virafša also operates through his *pyqd*, and his *pqyd* is in turn responsible for the control of his dependent laborers. When Aršāma commands Nakhtḥor to transfer *grd'* to his estate in A6.10, the surrounding estates marked as exempla are those that have *pqyd*s who have already acquired more *grd'*. In the Babylonian material, elites occasionally appear in the evidence only through their subordinate laborers operating as proxies. For example, Patēšu, evidently a trans-regional legal official, does not himself appear in EE 109 + IMT 105, but rather he is represented by his *mār bīti* Ispitama', who himself brings a slave. The *ustabaru* Bēl-ībukaš does not witness the livestock contract BE 9.1, but instead two of his *mār bīti*s witness the contract. Queen Parysatis enters the orbit of Aršāma, via his *paqdu* Enlil-supê-muḫur, through the dealings of her slave. Being an elite in the Achaemenid Empire entailed the ability to compel others to work on your behalf.

Chapter 5. Bēlšunu: Becoming an Achaemenid Satrap

Introduction: Bēlšunu and the Kasr Archive

In 401 BCE, on his campaign against Artaxerxes II, Cyrus the Younger and his army crossed all of Anatolia and came to the Dardas river, in Syria.[1] At the source of the river, as Xenophon tells us, lay the palace and paradise of a man named Belesys, the ruler of Syria (*Anab.* 1.4.10). Diodorus, working from a different source, does not call Belesys by name, but does refer to him as "a certain satrap of Syria" (14.20.5).[2] Belesys, evidently, had remained loyal to the cause of Artaxerxes II in the war between the brothers, and as a result, Cyrus proceeded to cut down the paradise and burn the palace (*Anab.* 1.4.10).[3] Neither Xenophon nor Diodorus dwells on Cyrus' sack of the satrap's estate, and we hear no more about this Belesys from the Classical authors. But, as M. Stolper has demonstrated, there is another corpus of texts that refer to the activities of the same man: an archive of Akkadian tablets from the city of Babylon.[4] *Belesys* is the Greek transcription of the common Akkadian name *Bēlšunu*.

Bēlšunu, as this chapter will henceforth call him, provides one of the only known examples of a non-Persian becoming a satrap.[5] Although many non-Persians are known in administrative posts throughout the Empire and some certainly counted among the most powerful individuals in their local communities, few are known to have climbed to the most esteemed positions within the imperial hierarchy. This observation underlies P. Briant's

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[1] The precise location of the river is unknown (Sinclair and Gatier 2017).

[2] τινα σατράπην τῆς Συρίας. For Books 11-15, Diodorus mostly worked from Ephorus (Stylianou 1998, 49).

[3] Briant 2002a, 601.

[4] Stolper 1987. See earlier Oelsner 1976: 316-18, who draws attention to Bēlšunu's title but does not link him to the Belesys of Xenophon.

[5] The other prominent example, the Hecatomnids in fourth-century Caria, will be discussed below.

argument that the Persian "dominant ethno-class" monopolized rule in the Achaemenid Empire: the highest echelons of imperial rule, as Briant has argued, were restricted to Persians only.[6] But the case of Bēlšunu demonstrates that the Persian ethno-class did not entirely monopolize power at the satrapal level in the Achaemenid Empire. Was Bēlšunu's situation unique in Achaemenid history? What circumstances allowed Bēlšunu to become satrap in Syria? This chapter will argue that Bēlšunu's career was unusual, but not unique or entirely unexpected. Bēlšunu came from an elite family within Babylonia and rose in imperial standing through careful interactions with the imperial ruling class and the adoption of a typically Achaemenid economic mode. Elite status, which both Bēlšunu and the Achaemenid family possessed, could transcend ethnic distinctions. Bēlšunu proved a willing ally of the Achaemenid ruling class, and Bēlšunu too benefited from this partnership.

The main source of information on Bēlšunu comes from a group of Akkadian tablets, often with Aramaic epigraphs, from the tell of Babylon known as the Kasr (*qaṣr*). German excavators located seven discrete groups of tablets among the temple and palaces that comprise the Kasr.[7] By far the largest of these groups came from a building known as the *Hauptburg*; this group of tablets has become known as the Kasr archive.[8] The find circumstances of the Kasr archive are complex, but O. Pedersén has reviewed the excavation record and provided a convincing reconstruction.[9] The vast majority of the Kasr tablets were recovered scattered across an 80 meter by 100 meter excavation area. All these tablets were marked by characteristic fire damage that burned parts of the tablets; one side of many of these tablets were burned so badly

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[6] Briant 1987; 1988 both in English in Briant 2017b.
[7] Pedersén 2005, 109.
[8] Pedersén 2005, 144.
[9] Pedersén 2005, 144–45.

as to make them completely illegible. According to Pedersén, no other excavated materials demonstrate this particular fire damage besides the Kasr archive. A few tablets were found elsewhere in Babylon and were linked to the Kasr archive because of this characteristic fire damage. Pedersén explains the dispersal of the tablets with the following reconstruction. The cuneiform archive was placed in a room in the southeast portion of the *Hauptburg*, perhaps on the upper floor. A very hot but locally limited fire destroyed the archive; a wooden roof and papyri with Aramaic writing likely contributed to the intensity of the fire. Later inhabitants of the area removed most of the original bricks as building material elsewhere, but most of the burned tablets remained close to the original spot of deposition.

The excavators found 1,022 tablets and fragments in the Kasr archive with seven joins confirmed to reduce the total to 1,015.[10] Only 957 of these were photographed. In the years following the excavations, the tablets were scattered, and only 718 of the tablets have been identified within museum collections. The vast majority (701) of these are housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin. Prior to the German excavations, looting at the site led to a dispersal of additional tablets from the Kasr into private hands and other museum collections.[11] In addition to prosopographic connections, many of the unexcavated tablets are recognizable by the fire damage characteristic of the archive.[12] Only 113 of the tablets, excavated and unexcavated, have been studied to any serious degree, and not all of these have been published.[13] Because of the number of yet unpublished tablets, knowledge of the Kasr archive will continue to evolve. However, the remainder of the unpublished are highly fragmentary, and many pieces,

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[10] For all these figures, see Pedersén 2005, 145.
[11] See especially Stolper 2004a.
[12] Pedersén 2005, 144–5.
[13] Stolper 1995, 218–9.

as discussed above, are illegible on one side due to fire damage. Therefore, these texts will likely provide little new information other than bits of prosopography.

Stolper has studied the Kasr archive in a series of articles.[14] The majority of the texts can be linked to Bēlšunu, son of Bēl-uṣuršu, who is the *Belesys* mentioned by Xenophon. Bēlšunu himself appears in at least 30 texts, with several others possibly naming him, and even more texts can be linked to him via the names of his known subordinates and family members.[15] The texts are largely records of business transactions pertaining to Bēlšunu; the archive records information relevant to Bēlšunu's house, in a broad sense, rather to just Bēlšunu himself, as will be elaborated further below. Bēlšunu's career in the Kasr archive begins late in the reign of Artaxerxes I, continues through the entire reign of Darius II, and ends early in the reign of Artaxerxes II. An earlier phase of the Kasr archive records the business of the Bābaja family. How the Bābaja records fit with the documents of Bēlšunu affects the interpretation of the archive as a whole and will be discussed at length below.

We can narrate Bēlšunu's remarkable career through the Kasr archive.[16] The titles by which Bēlšunu is named in the text trace him from having no official title, to being governor of the city of Babylon, and finally to becoming satrap in Syria. Bēlšunu appears in the Kasr texts already in the reign of Artaxerxes I (Year 39 at the latest), but none of the Kasr texts from Artaxerxes I's reign give a specific title to Bēlšunu.[17] However, a non-Kasr text (ROMCT 2 48) dated to year 35 of an Artaxerxes records the payment of silver to a subordinate of a "Bēlšunu,

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[14] Stolper 1987; 1995; 1999; 2004a; 2007.
[15] Stolper 1995, 219.
[16] See Stolper 1990, 199–200 on the chronology of the Bēlšunu's career. However, note that Stolper published the Usko Tablet (Stolper 2004a) subsequently which pushed back the earliest attestation of Bēlšunu's time as satrap in Syria by several years.
[17] Year 39 of Artaxerxes I in Stolper 2007, 14.

the satrap" (Akkadian, *aḫšadrapannu*).[18] This Bēlšunu carries no patronym, so he cannot be linked definitively to Bēlšunu, son of Bēl-uṣuršu. Is this the same Bēlšunu? "Satrap" is, strictly speaking, an honorary title, so it is possible that Bēlšunu, son of Bēl-uṣuršu, carried the title "satrap" before he held any governmental responsibility.[19] However, it is more likely than not that this is another Bēlšunu: "Bēlšunu" is a common Akkadian name, and this date, if it is Artaxerxes I, probably makes it too early to be Bēlšunu, son of Bēl-uṣuršu.[20] Nevertheless, the other interpretation cannot be excluded. After the reign of Artaxerxes I, Bēlšunu's career trajectory is clear: he is first called the "governor" (*pīḫātu*) of Babylon in year 2 of Darius II.[21] By year 14, he had become the "governor of Across-the-River" (NAM E-bir ÍD = *pīḫāt eber nāri*), which is to say the satrap in Syria mentioned by Xenophon.[22] The terminology, as we have seen, varies across the languages and documentation. Bēlšunu maintained his position into the reign of Artaxerxes II but disappears from the record early in this King's reign, as early as year 3.[23]

How did Bēlšunu manage his career to rise to the position of satrap in Syria? To fully understand the activities of Bēlšunu's house, it is necessary to understand the social and

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[18] ROMCT 2 48. See Dandamaev 1992b for a discussion of this title in Akkadian. Dandamaev notes that the term, though its attestations in Akkadian are few, seems to have denoted individuals of varying administrative ranks. Again, this is because "satrap," in a strict sense, was an honorary title. The important part for understanding political rank is the place or peoples named as jurisdiction.

[19] See the introduction for full discussion. Benveniste's straightforward definition of *xšaçapāvan* as "qui a la garde du royaume" or "qui a la garde de l'empire" (1969, Vol. 2, 19) remains the best definition.

[20] Zadok 1984, 73–74 suggests that the document may in fact be dated to year 35 of Artaxerxes II (the texts do not distinguish between like-named kings), and thus the Bēlšunu in question would not be Bēlšunu, son of Bēl-uṣuršu, but rather Belesys II, who is known to be satrap in Syria in the 340s. Belesys II will be discussed at length below, as will Zadok's idea.

[21] Stolper 2007, 11.

[22] Usko tablet, published in Stolper 2004a.

[23] Text dated to Year 4 of Artaxerxes II = TCL 13 204.

economic landscape of fifth-century Babylonia. Bēlšunu's house was fully enmeshed in a complex economic environment which cannot be understood without historical contextualization and comparison to the best studied contemporary archive, that of the Murašû family. After this historical contextualization, this chapter will turn to Bēlšunu and his political dynasty. First it will argue that Bēlšunu originated from an elite family within the Babylonian city of Borsippa. Then it will consider the mechanisms of Bēlšunu's business with particular attention to those aspects that allowed Bēlšunu's political successes. Then, the chapter will turn to the descendants of Bēlšunu who were able to maintain the political standing of their forefather. Finally, this chapter will consider Bēlšunu's career in the broader context of the Achaemenid elite by comparing him to another non-Persian satrap: Hecatomnus in early fourth-century Caria.

Babylonian Agriculture and Land Tenure after 484

In order to contextualize Bēlšunu's career, one needs to understand the structures of the agricultural economy of fifth-century Babylonia, with a particular focus on land tenure. The Kasr archive largely records Bēlšunu's and his subordinates' activities within this sector, and, as this chapter will argue, Bēlšunu's successful stewardship of the Babylonian agrarian economy enabled his rise within the imperial ranks. The political and economic landscape of Babylonia in the early Achaemenid period (Cyrus through Darius I) saw the continuity of trends established in the preceding Neo-Babylonian period (626-539 BCE).[24] The Euphrates and Tigris allowed relatively cheap transportation and market integration; the influx of silver, due to increased tax revenue, led to increasing monetization; and the agrarian economy became regionally specialized, with a focus on intensive date palm production in northern Babylonia and extensive

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[24] See especially Jursa 2010. In briefer form, see Jursa 2013a; 2014b.

grain production in the south.[25] The demographic growth begun in this period would continue for over a millennium.[26] The average Babylonian worker enjoyed prosperity higher than usual for pre-industrial economies, as wheat wages (daily earnings normalized by expression in purchasing power in liters of wheat) rose to around twice the amount typical for the pre-industrial world.[27]

The chief beneficiaries of this economic efflorescence were the old urban elite tied to temples.[28] Priests were obligated to perform certain cultic rites, such as feeding individual gods, and in return were remunerated with a portion of the temple income; by way of comparison with medieval European history, Assyriologists call this the "prebendary" system.[29] At the same time, Babylonian demographic growth and economic expansion created niches in activities like land management and commodity exchange for entrepreneurs, such as the Egibi family.[30] Whereas the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses had little effect on the structures of the Babylonian economy, the reign of Darius I saw a regularization of tax-collection, an increase in the tax-burden on Babylonia, and an inflationary period triggered in part by the aforementioned taxation.[31]

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[25] Neo-Babylonian expansion in the Levant: Jursa 2010, 796; Levavi 2020. On the regional specialization, see Jursa 2010, 437–443; 2013a, 70–74. There were some local exceptions to these broad trends.

[26] Adams 1981.

[27] Jursa 2010: 811-816, with Scheidel 2010.

[28] In summary, Waerzeggers 2011.

[29] Van Driel 2002, 31–151; Van Driel 2005; Waerzeggers 2010b; 2014. See further discussion below.

[30] On the Egibis, see, e.g., Wunsch 2000; Abraham 2004.

[31] Changes under Darius: Jursa 2011a; Jursa and Schmidl 2017; Pirngruber 2018. But the Persian presence was not entirely unfelt in Babylonian economy under Cyrus and Cambyses (e.g. Henkelman and Kleber 2007).

Revolts against Xerxes in 484 triggered dramatic changes across Babylonian economy and society.[32] Some of the chief instigators were the priestly families of northern Babylonia, who had evidently grown displeased by Babylonia's tributary status and increasing fiscal burdens under Darius.[33] When the Achaemenids suppressed the Babylonian rebellions, they removed these priestly families from their positions of power, and about two-thirds of the archives from the "long sixth century" (626-484) came to an end because of the revolts of 484.[34] Although the textual record is sparser after this time, from what survives it is clear that Babylonian economy and society changed dramatically in the period following the revolts against Xerxes. By far the most important fifth-century archive after 484 is the Murašû archive, discussed in the previous chapter and below, but the material from the Tattannu archive and the Kasr archive demonstrates that patterns seen in the Nippur of the Murašûs' world can be extended, more or less, to the rest of Babylonia.[35]

Three changes in the fifth century are particularly important in contextualizing the career of Bēlšunu. The first is that the Babylonian temples, for centuries (or even millennia) political and economic foci of Babylonian society, became far less central. This decline, of course, must have gone hand-in-hand with the ousting of old priestly families, though this process is not recorded in the sorts of sources that survive.[36] The cult worship of Babylonian deities continued,

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[32] On the revolts, see Waerzeggers 2003; Kessler 2004; Baker 2008; Waerzeggers and Seire 2018.

[33] Waerzeggers 2010b; Hackl 2018; Waerzeggers 2018. But priestly families in Uruk in the south remained committed to the Persians and benefited from this: Kessler 2004.

[34] Waerzeggers 2018, 95.

[35] Pirngruber 2017, 47.

[36] Classical sources, especially Herodotus, do report violence by Xerxes against religious institutions in Babylon, but the validity of these descriptions has rightly been challenged (e.g. Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1987; Henkelman et al. 2011). However, these stories may still be indicative of a hostile attitude of some Babylonian priests toward Xerxes. See Henkelman 2011a for an anti-Xerxes story circulating among the Babylonians in the fifth century. Compare also the

but priestly families became less influential outside temple confines. In the Esangila, the temple of Marduk at Babylon, the prebendary system itself collapsed, as cult-practitioners came to be provisioned via a simple (and far less lucrative) rationing-system; this may have been the case at most temples, although the prebendary system did survive in southern Babylonia, where the priests had unfailingly supported their Achaemenid overlords.[37]

The second change in the fifth century is that the imperial Persian presence became far more pronounced than earlier.[38] This is evident not only in the onomasticon and the appearance of Iranian-language titles, like *dātabara* ("judge"), but also from the stories of Greek authors like Xenophon who write of Persian aristocrats owning land in Mesopotamia.[39] The Achaemenid imperial ruling class primarily depended on agrarian extraction for its revenue, and controlling land in Babylonia, with its sophisticated agricultural technologies, gave the elite access to steady taxes and rents. Asserting imperial control over certain offices, most notably over those supervising the crucial irrigation canals, allowed the imperial elite firmer control over the agrarian economy.[40]

The third fifth-century change was an expansion of the land-for-service sector. Although the broad strokes of this system predate the Achaemenid era, the period after 484 saw the expansion of the practice whereby the King's court would give collectives, often collectives of

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relationship between the Egyptian priests and Cambyses, well studied by Agut-Labordère 2005b; 2016.

[37] Hackl 2018, 181–3.

[38] This may be, to some extent, a result of the availability of the sources. Henkelman 2018a, 32–33 has demonstrated that Queen Irdabama controlled estates in Borsippa already by the middle of Darius I's reign. The development of Achaemenid landholdings in Mesopotamia requires further study of both the Akkadian and Elamite documentation.

[39] Above all, see Stolper 1985. See the previous chapter for more literature.

[40] Stolper 1985, 38–45 on the judges of the canals. On water and the state in the Achaemenid Empire more broadly, see the papers collected in Briant 2001; 2002b.

soldiers, land in exchange for regularized military or corvée service plus payments in kind or silver; these collectives of land were called *hadru*s, and officials called *šaknu*s were responsible for collecting the taxes owed on the land.[41] The landholders on whom this service was incumbent could, and often would, hire substitutes to actually perform the owed labor, but the land, nonetheless, continued to be couched in terms of the labor obligations. Because the land given in these grants was often marginal, unclaimed land, the land-for-service system increased the amount of land under cultivation just as it gave the Achaemenid government access to a steady and predictable amount of labor.[42]

All these changes (the latter two directly, the first because it removed land from temples and temple-connected families) led to a consolidation of landownership in Babylonia. Much of the land came under the control of the Achaemenid state and its ruling class; how much exactly is impossible to say, but the impression one gets from the sources is of a decline in both temple-controlled land and free small-scale landowners.[43] The ultimate ownership of land in the *hadru* system is unclear, but because this land was encumbered with service obligations to the government, it is logical to consider *hadru* land as a type of state-controlled property. The Achaemenid nobility owned large amounts of land in the region, and, although the land might have nominally been owned by individuals such Queen Parysatis, this land cannot be entirely disentangled from the broader pool of state property, as this dissertation has argued throughout.[44]

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[41] On *hadru*s, see especially Stolper 1985, 70–103. Because the land was encumbered with service, scholars have often used terms derived from feudalism to describe the system (e.g. Cardascia 1951; 1958; Stolper 1985), and individual plots of land have often been called "fiefs," though these terms are less common in current scholarship.

[42] Marginal land: Jursa 2010, 413. See earlier Oppenheim who refers to a project of deliberate "colonization" in the "agricultural 'hinterland'" around Nippur (1985, 577–78).

[43] On the changing patterns of landownership over the course of the Persian period, see especially Jursa 2014a.

[44] On Parysatis, see the previous chapter.

Finally, the King of Kings himself owned a considerable amount of land in Babylonia, often designated by the term *uzbara*, "crown land."[45] The King's land could be "given" to others in the form of crown grants, *nidinti šarri* (literally, "gift of the king"), but this land was still encumbered with obligations to the King—a point that we will return to below as regards Bēlšunu. Of course, though Darius II, Parysatis, or Aršāma may have nominally owned land in Babylonia, they did not work the land themselves. These trans-regional elites delegated responsibilities of cultivation to local subordinates like their *paqdu*s, as discussed in the previous chapter, and their *paqdu*s were in turn responsible for finding cultivators for this land, often by leasing portions of their masters' land to tenants. But these *paqdu*s and even their lessees apparently were unable to secure all the necessary cultivators themselves and often looked to outside parties for agricultural management.[46]

The consolidation of landownership and a concomitant lack of direct agents to manage this land created a niche for entrepreneurs like the Murašûs. Managers required tenants (and often, subtenants) to cultivate the land, tenants required money to pay for substitutes to fulfill their labor-obligations, and cultivators required seed and other agricultural equipment to meet their fixed rent quotas. External agents with initial capital, like the Murašûs, could fulfill all these roles. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Murašûs were able to exploit their position between landowners and cultivators perhaps too successfully: Aršāma seized their assets when the Murašûs acquired land after a series of defaults from their debtors. But the ultimately hostile relationship between Aršāma and the Murašûs should not necessarily be taken as typical for these intermediate agricultural businessmen: the agrarian economy of fifth-century Mesopotamia

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[45] Van Driel 2002, 200–2.
[46] Achaemenid prerogative to increase land under cultivation despite lacking the manpower to do so: Van Driel 2002, 218.

needed people like the Murašûs to function, and the Murašûs, after all, did see a long period of successful business prior to Aršāma's takeover. Certainly, there was a niche for Babylonians to thrive between the Achaemenid nobility and the cultivators on the ground.

Bēlšunu, son of Bel-uṣuršu, fit into this niche. His business operations were, on the whole, very similar to that of the Murašûs, but there are three key differences that can explain why Bēlšunu became satrap in Syria, while the Murašûs had their assets stripped. The first is that Bēlšunu, unlike the Murašûs, came from a family of local elites, as will be detailed below. As this chapter will argue, the Achaemenid imperial ruling class preferred to collaborate with already established local magnates, and Bēlšunu's prestigious lineage gave him esteem in the eyes of his imperial superiors. The second reason, partially a result of Bēlšunu's background, is that royal grants appear far more often under the control of Bēlšunu than they do under the control of the Murašûs.[47] Darius II or his court had specifically chosen Bēlšunu as the custodian of large portions of land, which differentiates him from the Murašûs who acquired their assets without the explicit consent of the Achaemenids. Finally, there is only one instance of Bēlšunu (Bellino G) extending credit with land pledged as security against default, while, in contrast, it was the Murašû *modus operandi* to require land as a pledge against default when they extended credit.[48] It is unlikely to be a coincidence that the year of Bēlšunu's one attested loan against pledged land, year 40 of Artaxerxes I, predates his first attestation as "governor of Babylon." Imperial authorities may have forbidden Bēlšunu from doing so after his promotion to this office, or he may have realized on his own initiative that such a practice was likely to cause friction with his superiors. Regardless of the reason, the Murašûs' quasi-capitalist drive to turn their assets

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[47] See the section below on Bēlšunu's business activities.
[48] Stolper 1995, 234.

into more assets does not appear in the Kasr archive after Bēlšunu became the governor of Babylon; instead he was largely content to collect rent.[49]

Bēlšunu's Origins in Borsippa

Parsing the relationship between Bēlšunu and the Bābaja family, the earlier holders of the Kasr archive, is crucial to understanding the course of Bēlšunu's career.[50] There are two reasonable possibilities for interpreting this relationship, as the following section will demonstrate, and both indicate that Bēlšunu came from an ancestral power base in the northern Babylonian city of Borsippa. The first active member of the Bābaja family was a man by the name of Aḫušunu, son of Lābāši. He is called the *šākin ṭēmi*, or governor, of Borsippa.[51] No dates survive for any of the texts naming him. His son was named Bēl-uṣuršu, who was also active in the city of Borsippa. The only surviving date for a text mentioning Bēl-uṣuršu comes from year 32 of Artaxerxes I. Because the next protagonist of the archive, Bēlšunu, is explicitly called the son of a Bēl-uṣuršu and because the first attested year of his activities (year 39 of Artaxerxes I) fits well with the earlier texts, interpreting Bēlšunu as the son of the aforementioned Bēl-uṣuršu and thus the grandson of Aḫušunu of the Bābaja family would give a simple coherence to the overall structure of the Kaṣr archive. Pedersén has argued for this interpretation, and R. Pirngruber has likewise followed this argument.[52]

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[49] Jursa 2014b on capitalism and the Babylonian economy, although he focuses on the long sixth century. See in particular 36-37 on the economic niche between institutional landowners and cultivators.

[50] See Pedersén 2005, 146–7 for the following information.

[51] On the office, see Waerzeggers 2010b, 45.

[52] Pedersén 2005, 146–7; Pirngruber 2017, 35–6.

However, one Kasr text, TCL 13, 223, provides an obstacle to this interpretation, as Stolper has demonstrated.[53] TCL 13, 223 records the division of inheritance between the two sons of Bēl-uṣuršu and his wife Amat-Bēltija; their elder son is named Nabû-zēr-ukīn and their younger son Nabû-kuṣuršu. The text records that Nabû-kuṣuršu received a one-third share of the inheritance which includes various real estate (houses, fields, and orchards) and 118 slaves. Although the size and value of the real estate is impossible to quantify, the number of slaves indicates that the total estate of the Bābaja family was an order of magnitude richer than the wealthy sixth-century Egibis, who divided a little more than 100 slaves among their three sons in the text Dar. 379.[54] The elder son received a two-thirds share of the Bābaja family wealth, including all the remaining real estate and slaves (presumably around 236). TCL 13, 223 therefore would seem to prohibit the interpretation of Bēlšunu being a son of Bēl-uṣuršu, son of Aḫušunu, as the entire Bābaja estate was divided between two sons, neither of whom was named *Bēlšunu*.[55]

Nevertheless, the two chronological divisions of the Kasr Archive come from the same area, have the same characteristic fire damage, and both name a man called Bēl-uṣuršu who lived in the mid to late reign of Artaxerxes I. It is, of course, possible that two Bēl-uṣuršus lived near each other at the same time—it is far from an uncommon name—but the circumstances of the provenance and chronology would seem to indicate that this is the same individual. How, then, do we reconcile Bēlšunu's absence in TCL 13, 223? Pedersén has suggested that Nabû-zēr-ukīn

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[53] The following summarizes Stolper 1995, 235–6 with Stolper 1999, 371; Jursa 2005, 71; Pedersén 2005, 146–7.

[54] Stolper 1995, 235–6. Also indicative of the size of the Egibis' estate are their dowries, on which see Roth 1989. Van Driel 1986, 8 n.11 notes the remarkable size of the inheritance division in TCL 13, 223.

[55] Bēl-uṣuršu's patronym does not survive in TCL 13, 223, but the depositional context makes it highly likely that this is Bēl-uṣuršu, son of Aḫušunu.

may have been the given name for Bēlšunu, who then chose to use the assumed name *Bēlšunu* for his business and political career later in life.[56] The use of an assumed name is not an uncommon practice for Babylonians, and, for example, the Egibi Marduk-nāṣir-apli often used the name *Širku*.[57] This suggestion regarding Nabû-zēr-ukīn and Bēlšunu is, as Pedersén himself notes, conjectural, but it does neatly link the Bābaja material with the Bēlšunu portion of the archive.

The other plausible interpretation of the Bābaja material is that Bēlšunu somehow acquired the assets of the Bābaja family, and therefore pertinent legal records of the Bābaja family were stored alongside records of Bēlšunu's business. Under this scenario, Bēlšunu acquired the Bābaja's family assets around the time of Bēl-uṣuršu, son of Aḫušunu, and it was entirely coincidental that Bēlšunu also had a father named Bēl-uṣuršu. In this case, Bēlšunu would have had sufficient political and/or economic leverage to acquire the assets of a truly wealthy Borsippean family who owned around 350 slaves and perhaps dozens of separate houses, fields, and orchards. Such a large takeover would have had to be permitted, if not outright endorsed, by the Achaemenid authorities, and thus, if this second interpretation is the correct one, it becomes considerably more likely that "Bēlšunu, the satrap" of ROMCT 2 48 was indeed this same Bēlšunu. Under either interpretation, Bēlšunu came from a position of power within Borsippa: either he was a member of the Bābaja family and grandson of the *šākin ṭēmi* of Borsippa, or he possessed enough authority to take the assets of such a family. Which of these

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[56] Pedersén 2005, 147.
[57] Abraham 2004, 13.

interpretations is more likely? The equivalence of Nabû-zēr-ukīn and Bēlšunu fits the archival

evidence more neatly, but the second option cannot be excluded.[58]

There is another indication that Bēlšunu had long-standing connections to the city of

Borsippa: the Kasr text TCL 13, 204, dated to year 4 of Artaxerxes II. This receipt records that

Bēlšunu, via his slave Arad-Nergal, paid a third party a previously owed one mina of silver for

the performance of regular sacrificial rites (*ginû*) for the gods Ninlil and Zababa.[59] This an

example of what Assyriologists call a "prebendary" text.[60] In the Mesopotamian context, owning

a prebend (Akkadian *isqu*) obligated the owner to perform specified cultic rites but also gave

them a right to income associated with their obligations.[61] Owners of prebends were paid not

only in leftovers from the raw material used for their offerings, e.g. grain for those responsible

for baking bread for the gods, but also additional compensation on top of this, as well levies on

lower-ranking personnel within temple institutions.[62] Because Neo-Babylonian kings had

endowed many of these prebends with considerable capital, prebend-owners could become

wealthy rentiers.[63] The performance of prebendary rites was restricted to legitimate males of

prebendary families.[64] Because prebends were alienable and inheritable, they could end up in the

hands of individuals unable to perform the actual rites, such as women. The most common

solution to this problem was for the prebend-owner to hire a qualified person, that is a pure,

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[58] Another theoretical possibility is that Bēlšunu was the son of Bēl-uṣuršu from a different
mother than in TCL 13, 223. However, lines 12f. in this text specify that all the patrimonial
property of Bēl-uṣuršu is divided in this text, which would leave nothing for Bēlšunu to inherit.
This all but eliminates this possibility.
[59] For the meaning of *ginû*, see Waerzeggers 2010b, 113.
[60] See in particular Van Driel 2002, 31–151; 2005.
[61] Van Driel 2002, 34; Waerzeggers 2011, 62–3.
[62] Van Driel 2002, 128.
[63] Jursa 2010, 282–94.
[64] There were additional restrictions on top of this, which are omitted here for sake of clarity. See
Waerzeggers 2011.

priestly male, to perform the prebendary rite. The prebend-owner was still entitled to the income

from the prebend, although they may have paid the substitute a portion of this in exchange for

their service.

TCL 13, 204 was written in Borsippa and records Bēlšunu's payment for the sacrificial

rites of two gods, Ninlil and Zababa, who were housed in the Ezida, the chief temple of

Borsippa.[65] Previously scholars have only discussed TCL 13, 204 in somewhat vague terms, but

the text appears to indicate that Bēlšunu was paying the third party to perform the cultic rites for

Ninlil and Zababa on his behalf, which indicates that Bēlšunu owned a prebend (or prebends) in

Borsippa related to the worship of Ninlil and Zababa.[66] Bēlšunu at this time was satrap in Syria

and would have needed to hire a substitute to perform the rite simply because he was far away

from the Ezida temple.[67] This points to a long-standing connection between Bēlšunu and the city

of Borsippa because, as discussed above, access to the ownership of prebends was highly

restricted: non-prebendary families did not penetrate into these ranks.[68] In all likelihood, Bēlšunu

would have inherited this prebend from his father or other ancestor. In this context it is important

that Bēlšunu's possible grandfather Aḫušunu was the *šākin ṭēmi* of Borsippa. As C. Waerzeggers

has demonstrated, in the long sixth century almost all of the known *šākin ṭēmi*s of Borsippa can

be traced to a local prebendary family.[69] Neither Ninlil nor Zababa, the gods of the prebend, was

the main deity of the Ezida (which was Nabû), but the temple housed a number of other gods, of

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[65] Waerzeggers 2010b, 31 says it is "uncertain" whether the text refers to the cult of Ninlil and Zababa in Borsippa or in Kish. However, since the text was written in Borsippa, it almost certainly refers to their cult in Borsippa.
[66] Waerzeggers 2010b, 31 only calls it a "prebendary text." Briant 2002a, 602 says it indicates Bēlšunu's "integration into Babylonian society."
[67] Van Driel 2002, 136 notes that a prebend-holder moving from one town to another was a reason to hire a substitute.
[68] Jursa 2010, 288; Waerzeggers 2011, 68.
[69] Waerzeggers 2010b, 45.

which Ninlil was one of the more important, as judged by the frequency of rites.[70] Elite families, such as Bēlšunu's, often maintained ownership of minor prebends in their ancestral homelands.[71]

TCL 13, 204 thus demonstrates that Bēlšunu and, likely, his Bābaja family came from the prebendary class in Borsippa.[72] Bēlšunu's origins among the Borsippean priests stands in contrast to most of what is known regarding the antagonistic relationship between Babylonian priests and the Achaemenid imperial elites. As discussed above, a number of priestly families from northern Babylonian temple households were instrumental in organizing the rebellion against Xerxes. The Achaemenids responded to this rebellion by removing these families from their positions of power. But, as K. Kessler has demonstrated, this was not the case for all the priestly families of Babylonia: in Uruk, prebendary families remained loyal to the Persian King and saw their status increase following the unsuccessful Babylonian revolts.[73] It may be the case that Bēlšunu's ancestors were likewise loyalists in the rebellion of 484, and, like the priests of Uruk, saw their positions rise after the Achaemenids suppressed the rebellion. Such a situation would partially explain why Bēlšunu rose through the imperial ranks in his lifetime: his family already had high esteem among imperial elites. An alternative explanation, that Bēlšunu or his ancestors were given a prebend after the previous holders were eliminated by the Achaemenids, is unlikely because the prebendary system was dismantled in other places where the priestly families rebelled.[74]

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[70] Waerzeggers 2010b, 31.

[71] Van Driel 2002, 68.

[72] The alternative explanation would be that, since prebends are alienable, Bēlšunu obtained the right to the prebendary income when he took control of the Bābaja assets.

[73] Kessler 2004.

[74] Jursa 2013b; Hackl 2018. A number of prebendary elites were eliminated after the rebellion of Xerxes, so it may be more accurate to say that some of the prebends were eliminated after the rebellion while others remained intact.

In summary, the Kasr texts point to Bēlšunu coming from a locally powerful family in Borsippa with connections to the Ezida temple; this was most likely the Bābaja family. Bēlšunu's family, in contrast to many other priestly families of northern Babylonia, had remained loyal to Xerxes and the Achaemenid court during the rebellion of 484, and as a result had maintained their status as local elites. By the time of Bēlšunu's father at the latest, Bēlšunu's family had become extremely wealthy, and, in all likelihood, counted among the handful of richest non-Persian families in Babylonia. Bēlšunu maintained assets in the region of Borsippa after moving to Babylon, as the Kasr texts show. Before ever becoming the governor of Babylon, Bēlšunu came from a prominent family who had preexisting ties to the Achaemenid imperial authorities. This fits a pattern established elsewhere in the Achaemenid Empire: the imperial authorities recognized that they needed local collaborators to manage the government on a smaller scale. The Achaemenids consciously sought those already established as locally powerful for this role, rather than promoting those of more modest backgrounds. Elite networks in the Achaemenid Empire could supersede differences of geography, ethnicity, or language, but the Achaemenids always sought to maintain class distinction between elites and non-elites.[75]

Bēlšunu's Business Operations

The following section will cover the general operations of Bēlšunu's business before focusing on two details relevant to the entire dissertation: Bēlšunu's use of dependent laborers and free subordinates, and his involvement with land known as "crown grants." Bēlšunu's personal assets clustered around the city of Babylon but also stretched beyond into the surrounding regions of northern Babylonia. His economic activities, as several articles by Stolper

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[75] See also the chapter on Aršāma which argued that the control of others' labor power defined elite status in the Achaemenid Empire. These speak to the same point.

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have demonstrated, were largely similar to those seen elsewhere in post-484 Babylonia, especially in the Murašû archive.[76] His chief source of revenue was collecting rent on the land he owned, and he and his subordinates could also act as middlemen in the agricultural economy between larger landowners and the cultivators. Land in the land-for-service sector, such as *hadru* land, is considerably less common among the Kasr texts than it is in the Murašû archive, though it is not entirely absent.[77] These land collectives may have been more common in Nippur than in northern Babylonia, or else Bēlšunu may have consciously avoided participating in this sector wherein he could have potentially run afoul of imperial officials.[78] Bēlšunu also came into the control of some temple land.[79] The details of how this occurred are obscure, but the process is in keeping with a broader trend which saw the decline in the fortunes of temple estates in the fifth century and the rise of landholders tied more closely to favor of the royal court.[80] The Kasr texts usually concern smaller pieces of land lower in the lease-hierarchy than the Murašû texts.[81] This is most likely because the texts largely record the activities of Bēlšunu's subordinates, rather than Bēlšunu himself, and he delegated less important business to them.[82]

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[76] Stolper 1987; 1990; 1995; 1999; 2004a; 2007.

[77] Mich. 43 (=Stolper 2007, 16) mentions *hadru* land. Stolper 2007, 7 refers to a collective landholding group, but the word *hadru* does not explicitly appear.

[78] If it is correct that *hadru*s often were located on reclaimed land, they may also have been more common around Nippur than in northern Babylonia because Nippur was less densely populated in the sixth century than the north was. Therefore, there would have been more available marginal land around Nippur. On the contrast between sixth and fifth century Nippur, see Jursa 2010, 417–18.

[79] See Bellino D and ZKM 1, both dated to Year 3 of Artaxerxes II.

[80] Kessler 2004; Hackl 2018; Kessler 2018.

[81] Stolper 1995, 231–2.

[82] However, Bēlšunu himself still dealt with small quantities (e.g. 13 *kurru* of dates as rent in FuB 14 19 no. 8). The vast majority of the texts, though, do not record the activities of Bēlšunu directly but rather record the activities of his subordinates.

Bēlšunu could expand his assets by the extension of loans. The economic landscape in fifth-century Babylonia saw low liquidity for much of the population, especially before the harvest, but also a need for liquid assets to discharge tax obligations; together these factors resulted in high rural indebtedness.[83] The Murašûs, as discussed in the previous chapter, exploited this situation by issuing loans with land pledged as security and acquired swaths of land after a number of their debtors defaulted.[84] There is only one text, in contrast, in which Bēlšunu issued a loan with land pledged as security (Bellino G), and this text, dated to year 40 of Artaxerxes I, precedes Bēlšunu's time as the governor of Babylon.[85] Once he assumed a high governmental role, Bēlšunu perhaps avoided such aggressive acquisition for fear of running afoul of his imperial superiors, a fate that the Murašûs did not avoid. But he still acquired assets via the issue of loans. A pertinent dossier relates to a man named Lābāši, son of Bēl-bullissu. In the earliest text (FuB 14 11 no. 1, year 9 of Darius II), Lābāši took on a large debt of 125 *kurru* of grain from Bēlšunu, operating through his agent Urāš-nāṣir.[86] But Lābāši was evidently unable to pay this debt. Two texts from the next year in which Lābāši appears as lessor of a house (TCL 13 187) and a creditor of commodities (TCL 13 186) survive in the Kasr Archive. Bēlšunu must have acquired these assets and rights to collect the debt after Lābāši was unable to pay in full.

Overall, Bēlšunu's economic enterprise was fairly typical of Babylonian entrepreneurs in the post-484 period, but two aspects of his business deserve greater scrutiny, as they reveal insights into the satrapal house as an institution. The first is Bēlšunu's use of an array of subordinates to conduct business in his absence and to expand his enterprise. All the primary

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[83] Stolper 1985, 154–56; Jursa 2010, 490–91; Pirngruber 2017, 65.
[84] See the chapter 4 for citations.
[85] Published in Stolper 2004a.
[86] 115 *kurru* barley and 10 *kurru* wheat. For more on Urāš-nāṣir, see below.

sources emanating from within satrapal houses examined in this dissertation, namely the material

concerning Aršāma, Bēlšunu, and Axvamazdā, in fact provide more information on these

satraps' subordinates than on the satraps themselves. The reaches of the satrapal house far

exceeded the reaches of the satrap himself: this is a defining feature of the highest imperial elites,

as argued in the chapter on Aršāma, and is the reason the object of study is the satrapal house,

rather than the satrap. The other aspect of Bēlšunu's business which merits greater attention is

his involvement with parcels of land called "crown grants" (*nidinti šarri*). The prominence of

these crown grants in the Kasr texts is one of the main points of difference with the

contemporary and otherwise similar Murašû archive. Bēlšunu's changing relationship to the

crown grants marks the upward trajectory of his career.

Bēlšunu's Subordinates

Bēlšunu, as governor of Babylon and later satrap in Syria, did not need to be directly

involved in the business activities of his house. He had, by and large, become a rentier by the

beginning of the reign of Darius II, and his chief economic activity, at least as preserved in the

available documentation, became rent-collection. But because of the amount of land under his

control, Bēlšunu needed subordinates to manage the everyday operations of his business, which

would especially become important after he became satrap in Syria. The Kasr archive provides

abundant information on Bēlšunu's subordinates, free and unfree, who managed his business

activities. The Kasr archive is not Bēlšunu's archive per se, but rather the archive of the portion

of Bēlšunu's house within Babylonia. Therefore, the texts have a variety of different protagonists

who are united by their connection to Bēlšunu's house. Besides Bēlšunu and his family, the most

numerous of these protagonists are his various subordinates, who, if Pedersén's reconstruction is

largely correct, collectively stored texts relevant to Bēlšunu's interests in a shared location within

the city of Babylon.[87]

Chronological trends reveal that Bēlšunu had a growing demand for dependent

subordinates. During the reign of Artaxerxes I, that is before Bēlšunu is attested as the governor

of Babylon, there is no definite mention of any of his subordinates, even though his integration

within the agricultural economy is clear.[88] After Bēlšunu became governor of Babylon, the large

majority of the texts which concern his house involve one or more of his subordinates; often they

involve only his subordinates, and not Bēlšunu himself. Of course, it is unlikely that prior to

becoming the governor of Babylon, especially in light of the inheritance text (TCL 13, 223)

discussed above, that Bēlšunu, already a prominent local, did not own any slaves or have

subordinates under his control, and the majority of the texts postdate his accession to the

governorship of Babylon. Nevertheless, the shift in his responsibilities surely meant that Bēlšunu

himself could no longer be as directly involved in the management of his own assets, and

Bēlšunu required more subordinates to manage his personal interests while he assumed

governmental responsibilities.[89] In other words, as Bēlšunu rose in the ranks of the imperial

hierarchy, he needed to acquire more labor for his house, and thus he became more and more like

the other members of the imperial elite.

Bēlšunu's subordinates can be divided into two categories, which the following section

will tackle in turn. The first are those called Bēlšunu's "slaves," designated by the Akkadian

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[87] See Pedersén 2005, 144-5 on the location of the Kasr archive.

[88] Stolper 2007, 14 and Bellino G show Bēlšunu participating in the Babylonian agrarian economy. If ROMCT 2 48 is indeed dated to Artaxerxes I and if it is the same Bēlšunu mentioned there, then this text does mention one of his subordinates.

[89] Governmental duties such as the dispute over property heard before Bēlšunu in Durand TBER pl. 6 (see Stolper 1987, 398).

terms *ardu* and *qallu*. These men assumed skilled roles in the upkeep of Bēlšunu's house, though they were considered his slaves. The second group is comprised of Bēlšunu's subordinates who are never named with the vocabulary of servitude. In the case of the Kasr archive, this group is represented by only one man: Urāš-nāṣir, son of Ibnâ. The texts pertaining to the activities of Urāš-nāṣir outnumber the total texts concerning all of Bēlšunu's slaves combined. Many of Urāš-nāṣir's texts bear no mention of Bēlšunu or his house at all, and were it not for the archival context, it would be easy to read the Urāš-nāṣir texts in isolation and picture a successful, independent entrepreneur. The next section will examine the activities of Bēlšunu's slaves and of Urāš-nāṣir in turn to reveal patterns regarding Bēlšunu's use of free and unfree subordinates.

I.   Bēlšunu's Slaves

Bēlšunu used several slaves to manage aspects of his business. Three of these slave-agents are recorded in at least two texts from the Kasr archive, and a fourth slave-agent can likely be added, although the attribution of these latter texts to the Kasr archive is uncertain. A fifth could potentially be added, but this is less clear.[90] All of these men are called the "slave of Bēlšunu," usually using the term *ardu* but occasionally the word *qallu*; one of these terms is included in every text that mentions the men, unless the relevant portion of the tablet is broken. If Akkadian speakers distinguished between the terms *ardu* and *qallu*, it is not apparent from the texts, and, in fact, one of Bēlšunu's subordinates (Bēl-ittannu) is called both *ardu* and *qallu*.[91] As

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[90] That is, Gūzija in TCL 13 208 and Gūzija in Stolper 2007, 19, who may or may not be the same person.

[91] Dar. 476 (in table below) does call one person an *ardu* and another a *qallu* in the same text, which may imply a distinction, though the distinction is unclear. Kleber 2018, 442–4 argues that *ardu* is a more general term than *qallu* but that both can indicate chattel slaves. Dandamaev 1984, 84 says there is no basis for a socio-legal distinction between *ardu* and *qallu*, but says the term *ardu* can be used to denote someone who is not a chattel slave. Oelsner et al. 2003, 98 argue that the two terms are interchangeable.

argued in the previous chapter, it is best to translate both terms as "slave" in a broad sense, without necessarily committing to a strict social or legal definition that may be ill-suited to the texts themselves.[92] Unlike Urāš-nāṣir below and also unlike other agents like Rībat of the Murašû family who often did not carry the designation of "slave," there would have been no doubt as to the affiliation of these agents in the legal record. These slaves were members of the house of the Bēlšunu whose property they managed, and they, likely, would have been considered his property themselves, though this is not a point on which the texts explicitly remark.[93]

The boundaries between the activities and property of Bēlšunu and those of his slave-agents were murky. Both M. Dandamaev and R. Head have written about the existence and nature of peculium in Achaemenid-period Mesopotamia.[94] Because there is no Akkadian term to designate money and property under a slave's control, there may have been no strictly conceived peculium, but there was undoubtedly property that slaves possessed and used in their business activities. Slaves appear in the Kasr texts, for example, as leaseholders of land or collecting rent, without explicit mention of them doing so on behalf of their masters. But there is no indication that the slaves held any of this property free of claims from their masters, and one suspects that, as with Roman peculium, Bēlšunu could have reclaimed any of the property under his slaves' control should he have chosen to do so.[95] The situation for Bēlšunu's slaves, then, was not dissimilar from that of other subordinates and family members within his house: the property

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[92] That is, a historically grounded approach as advocated by Miller 2012.

[93] Head 2010 questions whether the fifth-century *ardū* were chattel, but his examination of the Kasr archive (151-2) is only cursory.

[94] Dandamaev 1984, 320–398; Head 2010. Head sidesteps the existence of peculium post-484, instead choosing to focus on whether or not these *ardū* were chattel but does argue for the existence of peculium in the long-sixth century.

[95] Bradley 1987, 108–111 for Roman peculium.

belonged to him in a strict sense but was often under the control of others.[96] Bēlšunu needed to give his slaves some degree of autonomy or else he would not have been able to operate at such a distance from the processes of production. In order to provide a better understanding of the role of Bēlšunu's slaves within his house, the tables below summarize their activities.

Table 1. Activities of Bēl-ittannu (=B-I); Bēlšunu = B.

Text Name	Year	Designation	Synopsis
Stolper 2007, 11	Darius II Year 2	*ardu*	Promissory note for 1.5 *kurru* cress-seed; B. is creditor; B-I is designated recipient
Iraq 4, 17	Darius II Year 6	*ardu*	Promissory note for 4 *kurru* dates; B-I is creditor
FuB 14 12 no. 2	Darius II Year 7	[broken]	Promissory note for X mina silver with interest; B-I is creditor
VAT 15709	Darius II Year 7	*ardu*	Promissory note for 20 shekels silver with interest; B-I is creditor
K. 8485	Darius II? Year 11	*qallu*	Promissory note for >20 *kurru* dates; B-I is creditor

Table 2. Activities of Arad-Nergal (=A-N); Bēlšunu = B.

Text Name	Year	Designation	Synopsis
Dar. 274	Darius II Year 10	*ardu*	A-N receives 3 *kurru* barley as rent from an *ardu* of Mitrātu

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[96] Just as Roman peculium could be used by slaves and family members besides the paterfamilias (Saller 1994, 119).

Table 2 (continued).

Bellino E	Darius II Year 17	*ardu*	A-N hands over another *ardu* of B. for apprenticeship in carpentry
Dar. 476	Darius II Year 18	*ardu*	A-N pays barley as rent (amount unstated) to a *qallu* of Artašāta; land of Artašāta's female slave[97]

Table 3. Activities of Šalammarê (=Š).

Text Name	Year	Designation	Synopsis
Bellino Q	Darius II Year 14-16	[broken]	Š sublets land of B. to third party for five years for 160 *kurru* barley, 2 *kurru* sesame, 2 bundles (of straw?) per annum
FuB 14 21 no. 11	Darius II Year 18+	[broken]	Highly fragmentary but concerns products of date palms; role of Š unclear
Bellino D	Artaxerxes II Year 3	*ardu*	Š is creditor of 16 *kurru* of barley; barley is property of Bēl but under control of Š

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[97] The land said to belong to a female slave is unusual. Land leased to a male slave is attested (e.g. in the Kasr text TCL 13 208), and evidence from the pre-484 Egibi archive shows that women could control land (see, e.g., land controlled by dowered wives in Roth 1989, 10–12). Therefore, there would be no reason to think that female slaves could not control land, but it must have been relatively rare. Also striking is that the slave seems to have a Persian name; her name is broken but begins with ar-ta (=*ṛta*; see Tavernier 2007, 4.2.1449-1544 for names with this element preserved in non-Iranian texts from the Achaemenid period). Babylonian slaves tend to have Babylonian names, but there is no reason that one could not have a Persian name. It would be stretching the evidence to assume a Persian ethnicity from this, but there is no reason to exclude the possibility entirely here. It is also possible that she is only a "slave" metaphorically, as discussed in chapter 4.

Table 3 (continued).

VAT 15845	Artaxerxes II Year 3	*ardu*	Beginning broken; Š will receive something (presumably a debt)

Table 4. Activities of Ša-Nabû-šū (=Š-N-Š). Neither text can be definitively linked to the Kasr archive.

Text Name	Year	Designation	Synopsis
TBER pl. 11	Darius II Year 8	*ardu*	Promissory note of X silver; Š-N-Š is witness
ZA 5 279	Darius II Year 18	*ardu*	Promissory note of 200 female sheep; Š-N-Š is creditor; *ardu* of Š-N-Š to receive; debtor may repay in sheep or 15 *mina* silver with interest

As comparisons with other Babylonian slave-agents, especially Rībat of the Murašû family, would suggest, Bēlšunu used his slave-agents to manage day-to-day operations that did not require his personal presence.[98] Most of the activities are those common to the Babylonian agrarian economy: receipts of rent, loans to discharge fiscal obligations, and (sub)-leases of land.[99] What is notable in comparison to the Murašû archive is how low most of the quantities involved in these transactions are.[100] As noted above, the Kasr archive generally records business one step lower in the complex lease and sub-lease system of Babylonian land tenure than does

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[98] On Rībat, see Dandamaev 1984, 86–89; Head 2010, 136f.
[99] The apprenticeship contract (Bellino E) is a notable exception discussed below.
[100] ZA 5 279 is an exception discussed below.

the Murašû archive. A result of this is that the plots of land involved in these transactions tend to be smaller, and the debts and rents tend to be lower. Bēlšunu himself, as the section on crown grants below demonstrates, could deal with the highest levels of the land-tenure system, but he delegated the low-level business to his slave-agents. This situation is hardly unexpected, but it does provide a contrast to the situation of Aršāma, whose slave Šiṭa' did have access to high-level political actors. Although both Bēlšunu and Aršāma were satraps at the same time, we should not equate them in imperial rank: Aršāma was a "son of the house," while Bēlšunu rose from a position of only local import. This status difference evidently extended to their slaves.[101]

But, at the same time, these slaves could interact with other elite houses, if not the elites themselves, as the case of Arad-Nergal demonstrates. In two texts, Dar. 274 and Dar. 476, Arad-Nergal engages in deals with the slave (*ardu* and *qallu* respectively) of a Persian-named landholder, Mitrātu in the former and Artašāta in the latter.[102] The Persian names of these men, in addition to their status as slave-owners, suggests that they were high-ranking, though we cannot specify further. The slave in both instances is named Bēl-uṣuršu, but it is unlikely, though not impossible, that this is the same person in both texts since Bēl-uṣuršu is a common name in Babylonia. These texts demonstrate how the house of Bēlšunu interacted with other elite houses through low-level household members, in this instance their slave-agents. If the cases of the satraps in Anatolia and of Aršāma demonstrated how heads of elite houses themselves maintained connections to other elite houses, the case of Arad-Nergal shows that subordinates within these houses too were responsible for upholding these social networks. Yet we are still

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[101] Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that Bēlšunu had slaves of comparable rank to Šiṭa' who do not survive in the record for whatever reason. Bēlšunu did rank lower than Aršāma, but he was still among the few dozen most powerful individuals in the Empire.
[102] Etymologies: Tavernier 2007 4.2.1118 for Mitrātu and 4.2.1507 for Artašāta.

dealing with very low quantities transferred: Dar. 476 does not mention the amount of rent, seemingly of no importance, and Dar. 274 mentions the receipt of the low sum of three *kurru* of barley. This was a negligible sum for the house of Bēlšunu, far less than the annual yield on one hectare of arable land.[103] What mattered in this instance was maintaining the social bond between the house of Bēlšunu and that of Mitrātu.[104] These connections operated through slaves like Arad-Nergal and Bēl-uṣuršu just as they operated through the heads of household.

The extension of credit by Bēlšunu's slaves extended Bēlšunu's control over more individuals. The high interest rates typical of post-484 Babylonia and the low level of liquid capital available to most farmers exacerbated this situation. In FuB 14 12 no. 2, Bēlšunu's slave Bēl-ittannu loans silver at interest to an otherwise unknown person named Bēl-ēṭir, son of Nabû-ittannu. Although the amount of capital loaned is broken, the interest rate survives: 1.5 shekels per mina per month, which equals an annual interest rate of 34.5%.[105] Such a rate is considerably higher than the typical 20% per annum rate of the long sixth century, but evidence suggests that a 30-40% annual interest rate may have been typical of the later fifth century.[106] Bēlšunu did not need to use his position to leverage higher interest rates, but instead inequality was already high enough that he could use his slaves to hand out typical loans and extend his control further. Because some of these debtors could not pay off their debts, the fifth century saw a rise in the amount of debt bondage in Babylonia.[107] Such a situation may underlie the complex text TCL 13, 208 in which two otherwise unattested slaves (*ardū*) of Bēlšunu are owed a debt of 55 *kurru* of

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[103] Stolper 1985, 135–40 on yield.
[104] As with Graeber 2011.
[105] There are 60 shekels in a mina.
[106] Jursa 2010, 491 with the table on 497-499.
[107] Pirngruber 2017, 59–61.

dates as rent on Bēlšunu's land from two other slaves (*ardū*) of Bēlšunu.[108] With slaves of

Bēlšunu giving a loan to slaves of Bēlšunu on Bēlšunu's land, debt bondage, perhaps on part of

both creditors and debtors in this text or just the debtors, provides the simplest explanation for

this situation. Overall, the economic landscape of fifth-century Babylonia, with high levels of

inequality and low availability of cash for non-elites, created a situation in which extending loans

could straightforwardly lead to the acquisition of others' labor. Bēlšunu used his slaves to do so.

Two of the texts in the tables above provide glimpses at otherwise unknown activities

within the house of Bēlšunu. The first is Bellino E, in which Arad-Nergal hands over another

slave of Bēlšunu (Nabû-bulliṭanni) for an apprenticeship in carpentry. Only a handful of

apprenticeship contracts from Babylonia are known.[109] The text shows a complexity to Bēlšunu's

enterprise that is otherwise absent from the texts. Wood was a scarce resource in tree-poor

southern Mesopotamia, and that Bēlšunu had access to enough to make use of a carpenter

suggests that he had access to a significant amount of wood. Therefore, mechanisms of at least

regional exchange lie behind this contract. It may not be a coincidence that the text postdates

Bēlšunu's accession to satrap in Syria, a region with considerably better access to wood,

particularly from the Lebanon region.[110] The other text, ZA 5 279, shows a less surprising aspect

of Bēlšunu's business: herding, as managed through the slave Ša-Nabû-šū. As argued in the

chapter on Aršāma, shepherding provided a natural economic and environmental complement to

the sedentary agricultural most typical of the Achaemenid elite houses, and ZA 5 279

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[108] One of the debtors, Gūzija, may also appear in Stolper 2007, 19. The other three slaves are
otherwise unknown.
[109] For apprenticeship contracts, see Hackl apud Jursa 2010: 700-726.
[110] See DSf, lines 30-34 (Vallat 2013).

demonstrates Bēlšunu's involvement with a sizable, though not huge, herd of 200 sheep.[111]

However, because neither of the Ša-Nabû-šū texts can be definitively linked to the Kasr Archive,

we should not draw too many conclusions from the texts. Nevertheless, Bēlšunu's involvement

in the pastoral economy would be unsurprising, though it cannot be confirmed.

Overall, what can we say about Bēlšunu's use of slaves? Bēlšunu's slaves, by and large,

extended his involvement in the same sorts of economic activities in which he himself partook,

with only a couple of exceptions. They operated at a considerably lower level of the economic

hierarchy than Bēlšunu, to be sure, but Bēlšunu could not manage his entire operations himself.

S. Richardson has demonstrated the role of slaves in cultivating trust and transferring

information between different business parties in the Old Babylonian period.[112] Among the most

important functions of slaves in the Old Babylonian period was that they could transfer

information and act as proxies and agents for their masters; their labor beyond these functions

mattered less. A similar dynamic is likely at play here. In a way, Bēlšunu's slaves, being

dependent on their master and thus easy to hold liable, could be more trustworthy than free

subordinates when third parties were concerned. This is not to say that no slaves worked the

back-breaking jobs typical of New World plantation slavery, but this sort of labor for slaves is

scarcely attested in the Babylonian documentation. Bēlšunu's slaves were crucial for his house in

maintaining connections with other houses. But, as the next section will show, Bēlšunu also used

a free subordinate for this purpose.

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[111] That only female sheep are due to be returned suggests that the shepherds were allowed to keep the meat from the culled males, or, more likely, that this meat was handled in a separate stream of documentation.
[112] Richardson 2019.

II.   Urāš-nāṣir son of Ibnâ

Urāš-nāṣir, as measured by the number of texts, is by far the best attested subordinate of Bēlšunu, but his precise relationship to Bēlšunu is unclear.[113] None of the texts refer to him as an *ardu* or *qallu* of Bēlšunu, nor do any call him a term indicating a function within Bēlšunu's house, such as *paqdu*.[114] Instead, Urāš-nāṣir is only ever called "the son of Ibnâ;" this name plus patronym formula is the typical designation of free individuals in post-484 Babylonia.[115] This designation does not necessarily indicate that Urāš-nāṣir was not a slave of Bēlšunu, as some slaves such as Rībat, son of Bēl-ēriba, of the Murašû family could bear patronyms as well as the designation *ardu*, but the fact that none of the texts ever call him an *ardu* or *qallu* makes it quite unlikely that Urāš-nāṣir was considered Bēlšunu's slave. Whatever his status, Urāš-nāṣir participated as an agent within Bēlšunu's business operations, and, as Table 5 below indicates, carried out tasks similar to those of Bēlšunu's slaves. But the majority of the texts regarding Urāš-nāṣir make no mention of Bēlšunu at all (see Table 6). What is the relationship between these two sets of texts, and what does this tell us about the relationship between Bēlšunu and Urāš-nāṣir? What information does Urāš-nāṣir's position within the house of Bēlšunu provide about the satrapal house's use of labor? In order to begin to answer these questions, Tables 5 and 6 summarize the texts pertinent to Urāš-nāṣir.

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[113] On Urāš-nāṣir, see earlier Stolper 1992a, 120–121; 1995, 224.
[114] See the chapter on Aršāma for literature on *paqdu*.
[115] In the long-sixth century, a tripartite name structure (name/patronym/family name) was typical (Wunsch 2014, 291–2).

Table 5. Texts pertaining to Urāš-nāṣir that explicitly mention Bēlšunu. U-N = Urāš-nāṣir. B. = Bēlšunu.

Text Name	Year	Synopsis	Other Notes
VAT 15755	Darius II Year 6	U-N loans 1 mina of silver with interest to a slave of B.	Another slave of B. is one of the witnesses
FuB 14 11 no. 1	Darius II Year 9	Debt note of 125 *kurru* barley and wheat; U-N is creditor; land belongs to B.	
Usko Tablet	Darius II Year 14	U-N leases land and equipment from crown grant of B.	See more below
Stolper 2004, 4	Darius II Year X	U-N sublets crown grant of B. to third party	See more below

Table 6. Texts pertaining to Urāš-nāṣir that do not mention Bēlšunu. U-N = Urāš-nāṣir.

Text Name	Year	Synopsis	Other Notes
BM 30124	Darius II Year 10	Promissory note for rent; U-N and another are creditors of 70 *kurru* dates and proprietors of land	
Stolper 2007, 19	Darius II Year 13	U-N and Gūzija sublet land, "property of the King," for four years for 150 *kurru* dates per year	Possibly same Gūzija as TCL 13, 208

Table 6 (continued).

Mich. 43	Darius II Year 14	U-N pays 3 minas of silver for *ilku*-tax on *hadru*	Only U-N's patronym survives, but there are prosopographic connections to Kasr[a]
Oppert and Ménant 276f. no. VI[b]	Darius II Year 14	Receipt of 10 *kurru* barley involving two third parties; U-N receives authorization	
RA 16 112	Darius II Year 14?	Two of U-N's slaves receive 300 *kurru* of barley; U-N authorizes their receipt	
ABC 41	Darius II Year 14?	Promissory note; U-N is creditor of >766 *kurru* barley and emmer; debtor is slave of U-N	
Mich. 45	Darius II Year 15	U-N authorizes payment of 8 *kurru* of barley as rent	
Dar. 364	Darius II Year 16	Promissory note; U-N is creditor for 2 *pānu* of barley	Same scribe and place as Stolper 2007, 12 but three days earlier
Stolper 2007, 12	Darius II Year 16	Promissory note; U-N is the creditor for 1 *kurru* 1 *pānu* of barley	Same scribe and place as Dar. 364 but three days later

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Table 6 (continued).

FuB 14 25 no. 16	Darius II Year 16	Promissory note for 0;3,3,3 barley; U-N is creditor[c]	No preserved patronym for U-N, but other prosopographic connections to Kasr Archive[d]
Mich. 49	Darius II Year X	Legal dispute over land; U-N is one of the litigants	
Stolper 2007, 7	Artaxerxes II Year 4?	Promissory note of rent; U-N is creditor of 16.5 *kurru* of dates plus secondary palm products	

Notes. a - The landholder Bēl-ērib son of Bēl-iddin appears as a witness in FuB 14 25 no. 16. The witness Bēl-kāṣir, son of Hašdāja, also witnesses the texts FuB 14 11 no. 1 and Mich. 45.
b - The most accessible publication is Stolper 1992a: 120-21.
c - See Jursa 2010, xviii for the notation used here.
d - Urāš-nāṣir does not have a preserved patronym in this text, as the portion of the text where the patronym would be named is broken. However, the witness Bēl-ibni, son of Balāṭu, appears in two Kasr texts, Mich. 45 (as a witness) and VAT 15927 (as a debtor).

The tables above include only texts which can be definitively assigned to Urāš-nāṣir, son of Ibnâ, and which are preserved well enough to confirm Bēlšunu's presence or absence.[116] These tables demonstrate that Urāš-nāṣir engaged in more or less the same types of business activities, namely agricultural management and the extension of credit, with or without the mention of Bēlšunu. As the dates of the texts show, Urāš-nāṣir's time serving under Bēlšunu overlapped with the period in which he seemingly conducted his own business. The texts without Bēlšunu all

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[116] OECT 10 140 mentions an Urāš-nāṣir without a patronym and has no certain Kasr connection, so I have excluded it. BM 25669, likely a receipt of rent, certainly names Urāš-nāṣir, son of Ibnâ, but the text is too broken to know if Bēlšunu's name would have appeared or not.

come from the second half of Darius II's reign or later, but this is the pattern of the Kasr texts

overall. The texts that mention Bēlšunu greatly outnumber those that do not; if the published

texts represent a random sample of what was originally deposited in the Kasr, then these

proportions likely represent the actual proportions of Urāš-nāṣir's business activities.

As concerns the content of the texts, the notable difference between the two categories is

that two "crown grants" (*nidinti šarri*) appear in the Bēlšunu texts. These represent grants of land

given by the King of Kings to Bēlšunu specifically, and their significance within the house of

Bēlšunu will be discussed in the following section. Urāš-nāṣir did not rank highly enough in

imperial esteem to receive crown grants himself, but Bēlšunu trusted him enough to help manage

these lands and also to sublet one of them. But Urāš-nāṣir does appear associated with land from

the royal sector without mention of Bēlšunu in Stolper 2007, 19, wherein Urāš-nāṣir and a

Gūzija, perhaps Bēlšunu's slave, appear subletting land called "property of the king" (NÍG.GA

LUGAL = *makkūr šarri*).[117] The text records that Urāš-nāṣir and Gūzija held this land on lease (É

GIŠ.BAR = *bīt sūti*), though it does not note an original landholder. It is possible that Bēlšunu

was the original landholder and simply goes unmentioned here, but it is also possible that an elite

Persian held this land and had leased it to Urāš-nāṣir and Guzija to manage, a practice paralleled

in the Murašû archive.[118] Urāš-nāṣir thus appears managing land from the King with and without

the presence of Bēlšunu, and Mich. 43 also shows him intervening in the broader land-for-

service sector by paying for *ilku* on a *hadru*. The largest amount of capital in a transaction

appears in ABC 41, another text without any mention of Bēlšunu. The more than 766 *kurru* of

grain owed to Urāš-nāṣir herein is higher than almost all of the debts owed to the Murašû

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[117] Van Driel 2002, 196-7 discusses the term in brief. He simply notes that the term indicates the King owned the land.
[118] Stolper 1985, 52-69.

family.[119] On his own, Urāš-nāṣir therefore seems to have operated a business comparable in scale to that of the Murašûs.

Urāš-nāṣir conducted similar sorts of business regardless of whether Bēlšunu was or was not mentioned in a text. Urāš-nāṣir managed royal land, he controlled his own land and collected rent on it, he made use of slaves and turned them into tenants. What in the end was the relationship between Urāš-nāṣir and Bēlšunu? The answer to this question lies in the depositional context of the Kasr archive. The majority of the texts in the tables above are confirmed to come from the Kasr in Babylon.[120] If Pedersén is correct, the texts were deposited together in antiquity because they were conceived of as a single unit, and, in the case of the Kasr archive, all the texts were united by a connection to Bēlšunu's business in Babylon.[121] Therefore, this chapter proposes that Urāš-nāṣir and his activities were considered a part of Bēlšunu's house. Bēlšunu had a "bundle of rights," at least in theory, to the land, slaves, and capital that appear under Urāš-nāṣir's control in the Kasr texts.[122] In the day-to-day management of this property, Urāš-nāṣir was the one who functioned as the owner, but Bēlšunu maintained some sorts of claims to this property. The nature of these claims is unclear. They may have been as little as requiring Urāš-

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[119] Because the Murašûs generally reckoned the debts owed to them in quantities of dates and because the exchange rate between dates and grain was not stable, it is difficult to compare precisely (see Pirngruber 2017, 93–106 on the Achaemenid price data; more information on exchange rates is available from the fourth-century). Nonetheless, most of the debts owed to the Murašûs are considerably lower. Pirngruber 2017, 57–58 collects the 69 known debts owed to the Murašû family. Of these, only three are certainly larger than the sum loaned by Urāš-nāṣir in ABC, 41: BE 10, 14 (1,200 *kurru* dates); PBS 2/1, 19 (1,100 *kurru* dates and 60 *kurru* barley); and PBS 2/1, 26 (1,500 *kurru* dates). The vast majority of the remaining 66 debts are clearly a smaller amount, but for a couple, this difference is unclear, owing to the uncertain exchange rate.
[120] See the catalogue in Pedersén 2005, 151-84.
[121] As Brosius 2003, 6 notes, archives differ from mere depositions of texts in that the texts in an archive are specifically selected for safekeeping. The reason for an archive's existence is, therefore, a fundamental question to ask of any archive.
[122] For property as a "bundles of rights," see Baron 2013 and Patterson 2017, 268–70 in critical appraisal.

nāṣir to conduct business on behalf of Bēlšunu on occasion, which Urāš-nāṣir certainly did. They may have been more stringent and possibly allowed Bēlšunu to assert ownership of all this property without competing claims from Urāš-nāṣir if he so desired, although this would have proved difficult while Bēlšunu himself was absent from Babylon.

The above interpretation naturally leads to another question: why would Urāš-nāṣir, seemingly a free man, agree to such an arrangement with Bēlšunu? Although we cannot rule out violent coercion, this appears unlikely as Urāš-nāṣir first came into Bēlšunu's service while the latter occupied a more modest role as governor of Babylon, and, after Bēlšunu's proposition, violently maintained service would have been difficult to sustain while Bēlšunu was in Syria. Urāš-nāṣir, therefore, likely entered into this agreement of his volition. By entering into the house of Bēlšunu, Urāš-nāṣir would have gained a measure of security.[123] As scholars have demonstrated, economic conditions in late fifth-century Babylonia were volatile: a crop failure could quickly force small-scale landowners to seek out predatory loans to pay their taxes, and any subsequent bad harvest could in turn force these farmers into debt bondage.[124] In conditions such as these, it may have been preferable to enter the service of a local elite like Bēlšunu voluntarily. The diversified holdings of elites like Bēlšunu would have been able to weather adverse conditions more comfortably and becoming Bēlšunu's subordinate did not necessarily prevent Urāš-nāṣir from managing his own property. Bēlšunu, in turn, needed workers like Urāš-nāṣir to manage his assets while he fulfilled his governmental duties—a need that only became more pressing after he moved to Syria—and only using servile subordinates may have required

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[123] Cf. the discussion of *grd'* in the chapter on Aršāma.
[124] See note 77 above on indebtedness.

an untenable amount of supervision and coercion. The agreement between Bēlšunu and Urāš-nāṣir would have been mutually beneficial, though by no means equitable.

The relationship between Urāš-nāṣir and Bēlšunu in the end counts among the most vivid examples of a phenomenon seen throughout this dissertation: a house nested within another house. If Bēlšunu's and Urāš-nāṣir's property claims appear unclear to modern observers, they may very well have been unclear in antiquity. As the other chapters of this dissertation likewise demonstrate, the boundaries of houses within the Achaemenid Empire were not particularly well-defined, and property and other claims between different houses were always negotiable. Just as Aršāma was the head of his own satrapal house while at the same time a "son of the (royal) house" and so obligated to the King of Kings, Urāš-nāṣir by any indication appears to have been a legitimate head of household while at the same time a part of the house of Bēlšunu. Nested houses such as these were typical of the Achaemenid Empire and defy the sorts of legal precision that is associated with later property law. The economics of these relationships were subordinate to their social circumstances.

Crown Grants

Land in fifth-century Babylonia could bear a variety of different statuses, one of which was the "crown grant," or, in Akkadian, *nidinti šarri* (literally, "gift of the king").[125] Because no document explains what these statuses entail, we are only left with patterns from texts, such as leases, which may give hints as to the specifications different statuses entailed. The prevalence of crown grants is one of the defining features of the Kasr archive. As mentioned above, this is one of the main differences between Bēlšunu's business and that of the Murašûs: whereas only two

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[125] On crown grants, see Stolper 1995, 224–25; Van Driel 2002, 199; Jursa 2010, 197–8; Pirngruber 2017, 53–4.

documents across the over 700 published Murašû texts mention crown grants, there are at least

five texts, out of 113 available for study, in which Bēlšunu is directly involved in the

management of a crown grant and a sixth text from the Kaṣr that is likely associated with

Bēlšunu as well.[126] Therefore, examining the context behind these crown grants can help explain

the distinctly different relationships Bēlšunu and the Murašûs had with the Achaemenid

government. The following section will consider a number of interrelated questions related to the

crown grants: when was Bēlšunu involved with them? Where were the plots of land located?

What other persons were involved in the management of this land? Finally, this section will

consider the rents on this type of land to suggest what the status "crown grant" meant for land.

Table 7. Tenurial relationships in the Kaṣr crown grants. † indicates probable information.
? indicates possible information. All other information should be regarded as certain or nearly
certain. X indicates information that is missing due to tablet breaks.

Text Name	Year	Location of Land	Proprietor of *nidinti šarri*	Agent of Proprietor	Lessee
VAT 15975	Darius II Year 4	Vicinity of Borsippa†[a]	Arapānu?[b]	X *ardu* of Arapānu?	Bēlšunu†[c]
VAT 13190	Darius II Year 7	X	Papp(u)[d]	Haritabū, *paqdu* of Papp(u)	Bēlšunu
Stolper 2007, 6	Darius II Year 9	Vicinity of Bīt Šākin-šūmi	Issipitamma[e]	Paddija, son of Harrahēbi[?], *ardu* of Issipitamma	Bēlšunu

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[126] The two Murašû texts are BE 9, 99 and BE 9, 102.

Table 7 (continued).

VAT 15620	Darius II Year X (≤14)[f]	Bīt KAR[?].A	Umarzanu	X, *paqdu* of Umarzanu	Bēlšunu (plus sublessee)[g]
Usko Tablet	Darius II Year 14	X	Bēlšunu	Urāš-nāṣir	Bēl-šum-iškunu son of Bulṭaja
Stolper 2007, 4	Darius II Year X	Bīt Aplâ, Vicinity of Babylon†[h]	Bēlšunu	Urāš-nāṣir (Here, as tenant and sublessor)	Bēl-kuṣuršu, son of Nabû-bēl-ṣeḫri

Notes. a - The phrase ⌜li-mi-tum⌝ Bár-si-[pa[KI]], meaning "near Borsippa," appears in the second line, where the plot of land would be described in a typical lease.
b - That Arapānu has an Iranian name and an *ardu* makes him the likeliest of the surviving names to be the proprietor of the crown grant. There is another possibly Iranian name in the text as well, so this restoration is far from certain.
c - This text is heavily broken, but line 7' reads, "rented to Bēlšu-x," with the remainder of the line broken.
d - This may render Old Iranian *Pāpa-*, "father" (Tavernier 2007, 4.2.1212), but this name is previously unattested in Akkadian transliteration. An Egyptian etymology is also possible (see Ranke 1935, 107); I thank Brendan Hainline for assistance with the Egyptian.
e - For the Iranian etymology, see Tavernier 2007, 4.2.1605. The Siridiamuš mentioned in this text has some tenurial claim over the land as well, but the precise relationship is unclear.
f - Bēlšunu here carries the title "governor of Babylon," so this text must proceed his earliest attestation as "satrap in Syria" (year 14).
g - Bēlšunu evidently sublet some of the land to a man named Marduk-šar-x.
h - The reason for this restoration as the vicinity of Babylon is that the sublessee, Bēl-kuṣuršu, will pay the sublessor, Urāš-nāṣir, at the New Canal. The New Canal flows near the Enlil Gate of Babylon (Zadok 1985, 387–8), which is in the northwest portion of the city (George 1992, 141).

The table above provides the basic tenurial information on each crown grant known from the Kasr archive. None of these record the initial "gift" of the land from the King or his court to the proprietor of the land. It is likely that, despite the language of the status, these crown grants came encumbered with obligations to the King, whether service or rents in cash or kind, but none

of the texts refer to this initial bestowal of land.[127] Instead of this top-level grant, the texts detail the tenurial relationship at the next level down in the hierarchy, wherein the proprietor of the crown grant leases part of this land in exchange for rent; occasionally, the texts may also mention this lessee in turn subletting part of their leased land.

As is clear from the table, Bēlšunu appears in the role of both the proprietor and the lessee of crown grants. Although we have only a few texts, there is a correlation between Bēlšunu's political office and his relationship to the crown grants. Prior to becoming the governor of Babylon, Bēlšunu was not associated with any crown grants. After becoming the governor of Babylon, he only appears in the role of lessee of crown land; VAT 15620 fits this pattern, though its date is broken, because Bēlšunu carries the title "governor of Babylon." After his promotion to satrap in Syria, Bēlšunu appears as the proprietor of a crown grant, and, in fact, the Usko Tablet counts as the earliest attestation of Bēlšunu in this role.[128] The reasons behind the correlation between Bēlšunu's political role and his tenurial relationship to the crown grants will be explored further below, but suffice it to say that the entwinement of political office and landholding is a well-established phenomenon in the Achaemenid Empire.[129]

The locations of the *nidinti šarri* fit within the parameters of the rest of Bēlšunu's business. Stolper 2007, 6 and VAT 15620 name two villages as the location of these crown grants, but, because they are otherwise unattested, we cannot place them precisely.[130] It is likely

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[127] See Briant 1985 on royal "gifts," who argues that they always came with obligations. See also Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989; Henkelman 2018a.

[128] One text complicates this pattern: Stolper 2007, 4. The date of this text is broken and, as Bēlšunu has no title in the text, we cannot place it relatively. Urāš-nāṣir appears both before and after Bēlšunu became satrap in Syria, though there are more attestations of him afterwards.

[129] E.g. Briant 1985; Henkelman 2018a.

[130] See Zadok 1985 for a list of toponyms in the Late Babylonian corpus. Because thousands of Late Babylonian texts remain unpublished, it is possible that these villages will eventually be attested elsewhere.

that both villages were in northern Babylonia, the region of Bēlšunu's activities, but this cannot

be confirmed. The crown grant of Stolper 2007, 4 was found in the vicinity of Babylon, where

Bēlšunu controlled a considerable amount of land of various statuses. The crown grant of VAT

15975 lay near the city of Borsippa, itself close to Babylon. As argued above, Borsippa was the

home of Bēlšunu's ancestors, and Bēlšunu maintained economic and social connections with the

city of Borsippa through his ownership of a prebend in the Ezida. As VAT 15975 text postdates

Bēlšunu's earliest attestation as governor of Babylon, the crown grant in Borsippa may have

been concomitant with his installation in this office.

In addition to Bēlšunu who, after his promotion to satrap, would become one of the

highest-ranking officials in the Achaemenid Empire, several signs indicate that the other attested

proprietors of the crown grants ranked high in imperial status. Three of the four crown grants

attested in the Kasr archive of which Bēlšunu himself is not the proprietor were all given to

individuals with Persian names; the fourth proprietor (Pappu) has an ambiguously Persian or

Egyptian name.[131] Whether these names were adopted or given at birth, this suggests that these

men counted among the Persian dominant ethno-class.[132] Moreoever, none of these men bear

patronyms or titles, which, again, indicates their high status: these individuals could be

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[131] This assumes that Arapānu of VAT 15975 was the proprietor of the crown grant. See footnote 128 above. Concerning the Murašû texts that mention crown grants, BE 9, 99 does not name the land's proprietor. The proprietor in BE 9, 102 is a Bēl-bullissu, son of Da'mamiazta the *ustarbaru*, who has a Babylonian name with a probably Persian patronym (Tavernier 2007, 5.4.2.19). His name likely indicates that his family is of Persian descent but had been living in Babylonia for some time. Because he was an *ustarbaru*, he was certainly high in the imperial hierarchy (see the previous chapter for bibliography on the *ustarbaru*). Zadok 2004, 115 (and repeated by Tavernier) says the name may not be Iranian, as he suggests that Bēl-bullissu, as foreman of the *hadru* of [LÚ]ma-na-i-ka-nu, may have been a Mannaean. This seems highly implausible, as Mannaeans are essentially (or entirely?) unknown in the Achaemenid period (not in the index of Briant 2002a). Da'mamiazta should be regarded as an Iranian name even if, as Tavernier points out, the etymology is not universally accepted.
[132] Briant 1987; 1988.

recognized with just one name. In addition, two of the texts (VAT 13190 and Stolper 2007, 6) record that the proprietors of the crown grants had Egyptian-named subordinates (one *paqdu*, one *ardu*) who managed their estates. Because there is little reason for Egyptian names to have been adopted in Achaemenid Babylonia, it is nearly certain that these subordinates indeed came from Egypt or were of Egyptian descent; the Egyptian *ardu* of Stolper 2007, 6 in fact carries an Egyptian patronym as well.[133] An Egyptian community educated in Babylonian cuneiform is known from Akkadian texts from Susa that date to the reign of Artaxerxes I, II, or III.[134] One of these men was held in high enough esteem to carry the title *ustarbaru*.[135] Haritabū, the *paqdu* in VAT 13190, evidently belonged to this acculturated Egyptian-Babylonian community. As argued in the previous chapter, employing or owning subordinates of diverse ethnicities signaled high-status among the imperial ruling class.

The final point that can clarify the nature of these crown grants is the rent extracted from them. Due to the small number of surviving texts that provide useful information on this point, comparison with the Murašû archive is necessary. As Stolper has demonstrated, land around Achaemenid Nippur, the Murašûs' base of operations, was extremely cheap, but what drove up rents considerably was the leasing of equipment, especially draft animals, and access to water.[136] Because rents could be assessed in various ways (barley, dates, silver, etc.) and because the exchange rate among these commodities was not stable, it is difficult to compare rents across commodities, and therefore, we will only compare what is most relevant to the Kasr texts: rent

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[133] On the Egyptian name in Stolper 2007, 6, see Zadok 1977, 65 (a different Akkadian attestation of the same name), Stolper 2007, 251. On that of VAT 13190, see Zadok 1979, 173.
[134] Joannès 1984; 1990; Tolini 2011, 479–88; Henkelman 2017, 118–19.
[135] See the previous chapter for literature on the title.
[136] Stolper 1985, 125–151.

on barley-land assessed in barley.[137] Four texts from the Murašû archive records leases of only land to the Murašûs. All measure rent in terms of *kurru* of barley per *kurru* of land; the same term is used for both volume and area, as one *kurru* of seed was supposed to be enough for one *kurru* of land, though in practice this may not have been the case.[138] The four Murašû texts all record a rent of one *kurru* barley for every *kurru* of land or even lower rates, as little as one-half *kurru* barley for every *kurru* of land.[139] At a 1:1 seed to land ratio, yields on this barley land are estimated to be 13-15 *kurru* barley per *kurru* land, and thus the rent on this land itself is extremely low.[140] The comparable *nidinti šarri* text from the Kasr, Stolper 2007, 4, records a considerably higher rate of rent, at 3 *kurru* of barley for every *kurru* of land; we will return to the reasons for this below.[141]

Agricultural equipment and human labor were the limiting factors of production, rather than land. When the Murašûs leased seed and agricultural equipment (draft animals most importantly) to their leessees, the majority of the texts record a rent ratio between 10-11 *kurru* barley of rent per *kurru* of seed, which should roughly be equivalent to 10-11 *kurru* of rent per *kurru* of land.[142] The high price for the agricultural equipment suggests that human laborers were

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[137] Exchange rate: Pirngruber 2017, 93–5.
[138] It was not the case in the Usko tablet (14 *kurru* seed for 20 *kurru* land) unless there was another source of seed provided outside this text.
[139] Stolper 1985, 126, with citations of the texts; PBS 2/1, 20 includes both barley land and date palm gardens. Cardascia 1951, 135 (and followed by Stolper) restores one *kurru* barley for one *kurru* land in BE 9, 102 based on comparison with PBS 2/1, 182. The numeral before the barley is present but broken before the size of the land; it therefore could be a lower rate (e.g. 1 *kurru* barley per 2 *kurru* land) but not a higher one.
[140] On the yields, see Stolper 1985, 135–40. If, as the Usko tablet suggests, these fields required only .7 *kurru* seed per *kurru* of land, then the yield per seed would be even higher (and, thus, the relative rate of rent lower).
[141] We would expect the rent to be slightly higher than the Murašû texts here because the land leased is at a lower level of tenancy (Bēlšunu → Lessee → Sub-lessee) than the Murašû texts typically are (Stolper 1995, 231–2), and therefore there is an additional landlord to pay.
[142] See the chart in Stolper 1985, 136.

leased alongside the draft animals.[143] When Bēlšunu leased agricultural equipment alongside

land, he received rent in line with the figures from the Murašû archive.[144] The comparable *nidinti*

šarri Kasr text, the Usko tablet, is unusual, as it includes an otherwise unprecedented provision

that the leased draft animals are to be returned after one year, though the lease of land is for six

years.[145] The rent to seed ratio in the Usko tablet comes to a little above 7 *kurru* grain (both

barley and wheat are named) to 1 *kurru* seed: well below typical for leases of land plus

equipment, and well above the amount expected of only land.[146] If we take the average of 10-11

kurru rent per *kurru* seed typical of leases for land and equipment and multiply that by one-sixth

(the proportion of years for which the equipment was leased), we find that the expected rent of

the Usko tablet would be 1.67-1.83 *kurru* rent per 1 *kurru* seed.[147] Even if one may argue that the

initial year of agricultural equipment carries more value than subsequent years, the rent in the

Usko tablet is far higher than expected based on the value of the land.

To summarize the preceding two paragraphs, the rents on the *nidinti šarri* in the Murašû

archive are considerably higher than expected for typical rents on land.[148] This chapter suggests

that the land denoted as *nidinti šarri* was higher quality and, therefore, could be expected to

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[143] Stolper 1985, 141–2.

[144] See the text Bellino Q (Stolper 2004a, 531–533).

[145] See Stolper 2004a, 536 for discussion. This is not the only unusual feature of the text: seven oxen are leased for the plough team, as opposed to the usual four, and a previous debt is mentioned at the end of the text (evidently not factored in the annual rent).

[146] The ratio of rent in *kurru* to land in *kurru* is slightly over 5:1, as the lease named 20 *kurru* land but only 14 *kurru* of seed.

[147] The ratio of grain rent to oxen is 14.37:1, which is far below the typical 31.6:1 ratio of land without canals (Stolper 1985, 141), but the high number of oxen per plough team complicates this comparison.

[148] If the restoration of BE 9, 102 at 1 *kurru* rent per *kurru* land is correct, then the rent on this *nidinti šarri* land is high compared to other Murašû texts, though considerably lower than the Kasr *nidinti šarri*. The higher quality of the land of *nidinti šarri* proposed here, therefore, may not be universal.

result in a higher yield than typical land. Agricultural land, as stated above, was abundant in Mesopotamia, and rents on land were, as a result, very low compared to the other factors of production. A rental market, whatever its precise efficacy, did exist in Achaemenid Babylonia, and there is little reason that tenants and subtenants would have willingly paid far greater rents than the typical rate if not for higher expected yield.[149] The other explanation for higher rents is coercion, but there is no indication of this in these documents.[150] This explanation for these crown grants—that they were higher quality land—can also explain why this land in particular was given via royal prerogative: the King of Kings, of course, would wish to allocate the most fertile land however he pleased. Why this land was higher quality is unclear, but easy access to irrigation channels provides a logical answer.[151]

Finally we can summarize the profile of the crown grants and the relationship between Bēlšunu's political career and this land. The King of Kings gave plots of high-yield land to high-ranking elites in Babylonia; this land was meant to sustain them and came with obligations to the King as well. The proprietors of these crown grants had little to do with their management besides rent-collection; instead they sought skilled managers to oversee these holdings. These managers in turn found tenants for different pieces of this land, and they occasionally may have leased some of this land themselves. Bēlšunu himself was one of these lessees after he became the governor of Babylon. His political office allowed him access to the network of imperial elites, and access to these elites gave him access to the crown grants. Bēlšunu evidently proved a

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[149] Existence of rental market: Van Driel 2002, 316–7.
[150] It cannot be completely excluded of course.
[151] Wouter Henkelman (personal communication) suggests comparison with *appišdamanna* estates known from the Persepolis Fortification archive (on these, see Henkelman 2018a, 50–51). A full comparison would require a study outside the scope of this chapter, but it would not be surprising to find land of the same (or similar) status in Pārsa and Babylonia (and beyond).

reliable governor, and surely the various elites with whom he interacted occasionally told the King's inner circle that he was a trustworthy associate. Eventually, he was given crown grants of his own, and his service as satrap in Syria may have been required of him in return for this land. With this move, Darius II ensured that he had a powerful ally bound personally to him in distant Syria.[152] A good portion of Bēlšunu's personal wealth lay far beyond his present home along the Dardas river, and Bēlšunu's contemporary Aršāma's interactions with the Murašûs demonstrate that business assets were only secure so long as one did not overstep one's boundaries. But the situation worked to Bēlšunu's benefit as well, for he leveraged his imperial standing into a political dynasty, discussed below.

Chronological Summary and a Return to the Murašûs

After the preceding sections, we can now provide a chronological summary of the intertwined political and business career of Bēlšunu and his house. Bēlšunu came from a family of local elites in northern Babylonia; his likely grandfather was the governor of Borsippa. Bēlšunu acquired land and other wealth via inheritance, and so long as he did not run afoul of political authorities, he could grow richer simply by nurturing the assets he already owned.[153] Late in the reign of Artaxerxes I, Bēlšunu first appears in the textual record as a landowner and creditor; he may already have acquired the honorary title of "satrap" by Year 35 of Artaxerxes I.[154] Darius II fought for succession in Babylonia, and Bēlšunu was likely one of his supporters.[155]

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[152] Stolper 1990, 202. Moreover, as Stolper suggests, Bēlšunu presumably had fewer entanglements with others members of the Persian ruling class than did satraps from elite Persian families.

[153] Piketty 2014 amply demonstrates how in economies with higher rates of return on investment than overall per capita economic growth, those with preexisting capital will continue to grow richer simply by maintaining the assets they already control.

[154] Text ROMCT 2 48.

[155] As suggested by Stolper 1990, 202.

Bēlšunu first appears as the governor of Babylon in Year 2 of Darius II and also appears managing crown grants early in the reign of this King. Land and political office were closely entwined in the Achaemenid Empire, and Bēlšunu's management of crown grants was likely both a reward for and responsibility of his governorship in Babylon. But Bēlšunu could not manage his landholdings and his governorship himself, and his subordinates appear increasingly often over the reign of Darius II. Bēlšunu's governorship and management of crown grants gave him access to networks of imperial elites, and he proved himself a trustworthy partner.[156] As a response, Bēlšunu was both made satrap in Syria and given ownership of crown grants. In Syria, Bēlšunu proved himself a staunch ally of Darius II and his heir Artaxerxes II: Bēlšunu owed his office to Darius II personally, and his crown grants, gifts from this King, became an important source of wealth. Bēlšunu's Babylonian subordinates grew ever more important to his enterprise once he assumed his satrapal duties in Syria. Bēlšunu's commitment to Artaxerxes II made him an enemy of Cyrus the Younger, but Bēlšunu and his family picked the winning side of this succession crisis. Bēlšunu, as the next section will show, was rewarded with a dynasty in Babylonia and Syria.

Why, in the end, did Bēlšunu become satrap while the Murašûs had their assets taken by Aršāma? This chapter will propose that there are two fundamental reasons for this divergence. First, Bēlšunu came from a family of local elites, while there is no indication that the Murašûs did. The Achaemenid imperial authorities sought collaborators among the local elites across the empire: these were the individuals who could run the daily operations of empire on the ground. The Achaemenids decidedly did not seek non-elites for this task. Elites could be trusted by the

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[156] Or his access to imperial elites gave him the ability to manage crown grants. These two processes are related, but not have occurred strictly one after the other.

Achaemenid authorities in ways that non-elites could not, and elite networks could transcend distinctions of geography or ethnicity. As a consequence of his status, Bēlšunu acquired the political blessing to expand his holdings into crown grants. Secondly, Bēlšunu managed his assets largely as a rentier, content to slowly grow wealthier, whereas the Murašûs expanded more aggressively. This difference is manifest most dramatically in the abundance of loans secured by pledge of land in the Murašû texts, a practice only attested once by Bēlšunu, but also by the Murašûs' combination of land of different status into large continuous plots, a practice unknown for Bēlšunu.[157] The Murašûs' aggressive commercial expansion threatened the political-economic order of Babylonia, but Bēlšunu's rent-collection did not and, in fact, was endorsed by the Achaemenids.

Bēlšunu's Dynasty

The Achaemenid court held Bēlšunu in such high esteem that the satrap was able to transmit his positions, both as governor of Babylon and satrap in Syria, within his family. Bēlšunu's son Marduk-erība succeeded his father as governor of Babylon within Bēlšunu's lifetime, as we will see below. Another of Bēlšunu's descendants is attested serving as satrap in Syria some decades years later. Bēlšunu's dynastic hold over these positions puts him in company with other known satraps, most notably Pharnabazus. The following section will present the evidence for Bēlšunu's dynasty across Babylonia and Syria. First, it will cover the straightforward evidence from the Kasr archive and from Diodorus. Then it will connect this evidence to less clear material: an Aramaic funerary inscription from Cilicia.

Marduk-erība, Governor of Babylon

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[157] On the latter difference, see Stolper 1995, 233.

Bēlšunu's son, Marduk-erība, succeeded his father as the governor of Babylon.[158] He is known

from a total of four texts, of which only two are presently available for study. The earlier of

these, *Aula Orientalis* 15 185 no. 36, dates to year 4 of Darius II.[159] The text records a promissory

note of five shekels of silver per month as *ilku* which is to be paid to a "Marduk-erība, son of

Bēlšunu, governor of Babylon." The text not only establishes Marduk-erība clearly as Bēlšunu's

son, but also shows that the former was old enough to conduct his own business early in the

reign of Darius II. The second text, Stolper 2007, 10, dates to year 2 of Artaxerxes II and

prohibits a certain Rībat, son of Hariṣānu, from bringing any future lawsuits regarding certain

bow-properties held by "Erība, governor of Babylon." "Erība" here is a shortened form of

Marduk-erība."[160] This text dates to several years after Bēlšunu's first attestation as satrap in

Syria in year 14 of Darius II (Usko tablet), but, as there is no known intervening governor of

Babylon prior to Marduk-erība, it is likely that he was appointed in succession to his father

immediately upon Bēlšunu's promotion to satrap in Syria. The small Marduk-erība dossier thus

demonstrates that Bēlšunu's family maintained its hold over this local position of political power

in Babylon even as he became satrap in Syria.

Belesys, Satrap in Syria in the 340s

In the early 340s, the Phoenician city of Sidon revolted against Achaemenid rule, and

local imperial authorities led a campaign to crush the rebellion.[161] Diodorus writes, "In Babylon

the King, after assembling his infantry and cavalry forces, immediately assumed command of

them and advanced against the Phoenicians. While he was still on the way, Belesys, the satrap of

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[158] Pedersén 2005, 147; Stolper 2007, 255.
[159] See also for text and translation Stolper 2007, 270.
[160] Pedersén 2005, 147; Stolper 2007, 255.
[161] See Briant 2002a, 682–5 for a reconstruction of the revolt.

Syria, and Mazaeus, the governor of Cilicia, having joined forces, opened the war against the Phoenicians" (16.41.1-2).[162] Belesys' and Mazaeus' expedition against Sidon evidently ended in failure, though Diodorus provides no details, but the Achaemenids retook Sidon when its king surrendered the city to Artaxerxes III (16.43-45.6). No Classical source provides any more information on this Belesys, though these sources do show that Mazaeus, as discussed below, had a lengthy career under the Achaemenids and Alexander in the years following.

This Belesys, hereafter Belesys II, was in all likelihood a descendent of Bēlšunu, son of Bēl-uṣuršu, as both have the same Akkadian name and the same position as satrap in Syria.[163] With the latter Belesys attested as satrap approximately sixty years after the first, the relationship between the two would have been grandfather and grandson. There are other sources that may refer to Belesys II. The first is the cuneiform text ROMCT 2 48, mentioned above, which refers to a "Bēlšunu, the satrap" in Babylonia in year 35 of a king Artaxerxes. Because both Artaxerxes I and II ruled for over 35 years, the text could date to either king, and there are no prosopographic connections in the text that can assist in the dating. If ROMCT 2 48 dates to Artaxerxes II, then the Bēlšunu of this text would be Belesys II (or another homonymous family member). Belesys II is not otherwise attested operating in Babylonia, but since he inherited his putative grandfather's position as satrap in Syria, he presumably inherited patrimonial property in Babylonia. Moreover, Marduk-erība, the governor of Babylon in the early fourth century, would have been either Belesys II's father or uncle.

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[162] The interpretation of this line and the respective ranks of Mazaeus and Belesys have seen much attention. See Elayi and Elayi 2009, 370 for bibliography. Diodorus' knowledge of Persian government was limited, and it is best to take the broad strokes from the author.
[163] Bēlšunu, as mentioned above, was a common Akkadian name, but because so few known satraps had non-Iranian names, this points to a relationship between the two men.

Belesys II disappears from the record after the revolt in Sidon, and, as Leuze has suggested, he may have died at this time.[164] There are some hints, however, that the dynasty of Bēlšunu continued, but first we need to return to Belesys II's contemporary Mazaeus. Mazaeus, or *mzdy* as his name appears in Aramaic, had a long career after the revolt in Sidon. Mazaeus retained his position in Cilicia and also assumed Belesys II's former position of satrap in Syria: he minted coinage at the Cilician city Tarsus which bore the legend, "Mazaeus who is over Across-the-River [Syria] and Cilicia."[165] He also minted coinage bearing his name in Sidon and Samaria.[166] Mazaeus maintained his lofty position within the imperial government up to the Macedonian conquest. After Alexander's army defeated the Achaemenids at Gaugamela in 331, Darius III appointed Mazaeus to defend the city of Babylon while the former levied additional forces from the Iranian plateau. However, Mazaeus instead surrendered the city upon the approach of the Macedonian army, and, in return for this, Alexander allowed Mazaeus to continue ruling, now in Alexander's name, in the city of Babylon. Mazaeus minted coinage there in his name until his death.[167]

Because of Mazaeus' active role in the Macedonian conquest of the Achaemenid Empire, we have more information about him and his family than we have about many other earlier satraps, thanks to the ancient historians of Alexander. From these historians, we learn the names of Mazaeus' sons. Curtius (5.13.11) writes that Mazaeus had a son named "Brochubelus" who was the "praetor" of Syria. Praetor, of course, was the Roman interpretation of Brochubelus' position: he helped his father rule Syria, as we would expect of any satrap's son. Arrian writes

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[164] Leuze 1935, 234. This is followed by Briant 2002a, 1013.
[165] Mildenberg 1998b, 46.
[166] Mildenberg 1998b, 48–49. On the coinage of Mazaeus at Sidon, see also Betlyon 1976, 32–35; Elayi and Elayi 2004, 660–664; 2009, 366–71.
[167] Le Rider 1972; Mildenberg 1998b, 49–52.

that Mazaeus had a son named "Antibēlos" (*An*. 3.21.1) and later adds that he had two more sons named "Hydarnēs" and "Artibolēs" (An. 7.6.4); Antibēlos and Artibolēs are presumably corruptions of the same name. "Mazaeus" and "Hydarnēs" are clear Persian names, but "Brochubelus" and "Antibēlos" / "Artibolēs" are both Akkadian names.[168] Both these Akkadian names, moreover, contain the same theophoric element "Bēl," which also appears in the name of Belesys II. Briant has suggested from these Akkadian names that Mazaeus had close ties with Babylonia and maybe had a Babylonian wife.[169] But it is possible that we can specify this even further: perhaps Mazaeus had married into the family of Belesys II, i.e. either his sister or daughter. As discussed in chapter 3, elite families often exchanged women amongst themselves to ensure smooth political and social relationships. Belesys II and Mazaeus would have had good reasons to form an alliance: both ruled in neighboring regions, with Mazaeus likely the subordinate of Belesys for a time, and both had to cooperate in military campaigns. Moreover, Belesys II, as argued below, appears to have been buried in Cilicia. Intermarriage with the family of the Babylonian Belesys II would explain the Akkadian names of Mazaeus' sons and even explain the shared theophoric element. This argument will necessarily remain speculative, but it fits all the available evidence.

A Bēlšunu in Meydancıkkale, Cilicia

Another possible attestation of Belesys II comes from Cilicia, where we hear of a man named Bēlšunu who cannot be linked with certainty to either of these homonymous satraps, but, as this section will argue in contrast to previous scholarship, is very likely to be one of these

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[168] Mazaeus: see Tavernier 2007, 4.2.1080. Hydarnes = Tavernier 2007, 2.2.65. "Arad-Bēl" should underlie both Artibolēs and Antibēlos, though neither may be correctly rendered. "Brochubelus" is presumably "Barīk-Bēl" (or similar).
[169] Briant 2002a, 849.

satraps or their family member. A fragmentary Aramaic funerary inscription from the site of

Meydancıkkale, Cilicia, near the modern small town of Gülnar, honors a man named Bēlšunu

(*blšn* in Aramaic).[170] No previous scholar has linked the inscription to either of the previously

discussed Bēlšunus/Belesys: some have explicitly mentioned the possibility and dismissed it,

while others have ignored the possibility entirely.[171] However, this linkage, in light of the

archaeological and historical context, is more likely than not. But first additional information on

Meydancıkkale is necessary.

Meydancıkkale lies about fifteen kilometers from the Mediterranean, as the bird flies, and

sits 700 meters above sea level.[172] French excavations revealed a fortified site with a monumental

gate, several tombs, and a number of buildings with occupation from the late Iron Age to the

Hellenistic period and a reoccupation in the Byzantine period.[173] Although the site does control

travel from northeast to southwest through the immediate region, Meydancıkkale does not lie on

one of the main axes of communication between the Mediterranean and inland Anatolia, and the

site's location cannot be explained on purely strategic grounds.[174] Another better-preserved

Aramaic inscription found at the site reveals the ancient name of Meydancıkkale to be Kiršu,

known from a mid-sixth-century Babylonian Chronicle to have been home to a Luwian king.[175]

The sixth century saw destruction at the site, which the excavators attribute to the Babylonians

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[170] See Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1998, 315–20 for text, translation, and commentary. The excavations at the site are published in Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker 1998.

[171] Considered but deemed improbable: Davesne 1998a, 64–65; Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1998, 316. Not considered: Casabonne 2004, 151–165; Held and Kaplan 2015.

[172] Casabonne 2004, 151.

[173] Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker 1998.

[174] See Bazin et al. 1998 on the geography of the surrounding area. The main axis of communication nearby is the Göksu river valley (Newhard et al. 2008; see also the settlement density in Rutishauser 2017).

[175] Davesne 1998a, 63.

after the Babylonian Chronicle, and under the Achaemenids the fortifications were rebuilt and expanded.[176] One of the Aramaic inscriptions refers to Kiršu as a *byrt'*, which Lemaire and Lozachmeur translate as "ville-forte."[177] The word specifically denotes that Kiršu served as both a fortress and an Achaemenid administrative center: these two functions were combined into the single institution of the *byrt'*.[178]

Also tantalizing for the Achaemenid historian are the excavated palace called by the excavators "Bâtiment A" (hereafter, Building A) and the stone blocks which carry reliefs of a gift procession. Although the excavators originally dated Building A to the Hellenistic period and noted that it lay atop an Achaemenid layer, W. Held and D. Kaptan argue that both layers should be dated to the Achaemenid period, and, moreover, demonstrate that the layout of Building A imitates that of the palace of Darius I at Persepolis, albeit at a smaller scale and slightly simplified.[179] The authors also argue that the five Persian-type column bases found in secondary context at the monumental gate were originally located in Building A.[180] The reliefs were carved onto large stone blocks found at Meydancıkkale but likely not in their original context.[181] The excavators' analysis of the reliefs demonstrates that all the figures, dressed and styled as Persians, process toward a representative of the Great King. Moreover, the figures are not carved in a local style imitating aspects Persian art, often called "Greco-Persian" style, but rather copy the Persepolitan court style; such a replica of Persepolitan style carved on stone is

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[176] Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 225.
[177] Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1998, 311.
[178] Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1995; Rossi 2010; Tuplin 2013a, 39–40; King 2019, 190–92.
[179] Held and Kaplan 2015, 189–90. The authors compare the palace at Karačamirli, Azerbaijan, which likewise copies the palatial architecture of Persepolis (Knauß 2007; Knauß et al. 2013).
[180] Held and Kaplan 2015, 184.
[181] On the reliefs, see Davesne 1998b.

unattested anywhere else in Anatolia.[182] The reliefs and the architecture of Building A has led A.

Davesne to argue that Meydancıkkale was the residence, at least a seasonal one, of a Persian

governor, and Held and Kaplan have argued that Building A was the palace of a satrap.[183]

Thus at Meydancıkkale, we have an Achaemenid administrative center (*byrt'*),

Persepolitan court-style reliefs, a palace that copies that of Darius I at a smaller scale, and a

funerary inscription dedicated to a man who shares his name with two known Achaemenid

satraps. The style of the figures of the reliefs and the paleography of the two Aramaic

inscriptions both date from the late fifth century to the mid fourth century, i.e. the period of time

that Bēlšunu I and II were satraps.[184] Why, then, have previously scholars not linked the burial at

Meydancıkkale with either Bēlšunu? There are two chief obstacles, which will be considered in

turn. The first is that "Bēlšunu," as Lemaire and Lozachmeur note, is a common Akkadian name,

and there is no patronym or other identifier surviving to specify the person buried.[185] "Bēlšunu"

is indeed a common Akkadian name in Mesopotamia, where the majority of the population had

Akkadian-language names, but Meydancıkkale is in Cilicia, not Mesopotamia. There are far

fewer Akkadian names in this region, and this is not a Persian name that one might expect local

magnates to adopt.

The second objection to this identification, specifically voiced by Lemaire and

Lozachmeur, is that neither of the Bēlšunus is attested as satrap in Cilicia.[186] Of course, satraps

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[182] Briant 1997, 102; Davesne 1998b, 293. On the term "Greco-Persian," see Gates 2002.
[183] Davesne 1998a, 64–65; Held and Kaplan 2015. Casabonne 2004, 165 in contrast argues that it was the residence of a local dynasty, a continuation from the pre-Achaemenid rulers, but, as Briant 1997, 102 notes, he is probably not giving enough attention to the specificity of the Persepolitan style.
[184] Date of the reliefs: Davesne 1998b, 298–9; Casabonne 2004, 158. Inscriptions: Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1998, 324.
[185] Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1998, 315–6.
[186] Lemaire and Lozachmeur 1998, 316.

could and did travel to areas outside their jurisdiction, and all the funerary inscription indicates is that this Bēlšunu was buried at Meydancıkkale, not that this Bēlšunu was a permanent resident of the site. But, more importantly, there is a satrap known to have explicit jurisdiction of both Syria and Cilicia: the aforementioned Mazaeus, who is called the one "who is in Cilicia and Trans-Euphrates" on coinage.[187] Mazaeus succeeded Belesys II as satrap in Syria, and, as Diodorus writes, had been *archon* in Cilicia while Belesys was satrap in Syria (Diod. 16.42.1); if the two were in-laws, as argued above, this would explain the line of succession. Diodorus explicitly uses two different words to describe the offices of Belesys and Mazaeus: Belesys was satrap in Syria at this time, while Mazday was his subordinate in Cilicia. It is possible that Belesys therefore was satrap in Syria and in Cilicia, though his Syrian position held more weight in Diodorus' titulature.[188] Satraps, moreover, traveled frequently, and Meydancıkkale, in fact, fits with a pattern of only seasonal habitation. The area receives considerable snowfall in the winter, and the site would therefore be better suited as a temporary summer residence, one that would offer a cooler climate than lowland Syria.[189] Moreover, the site, as mentioned above, is not necessarily in a strategic location. It is better viewed as a place of pleasure, where satrapal administration could nonetheless continue—a phenomenon similar to that of the Persian paradise described elsewhere.

As the previous paragraphs have demonstrated, the objections to identifying the Bēlšunu of the funerary inscription with one of the satraps, or perhaps a homonymous family member, do not hold. Any alternative explanation would need to explain why an Akkadian-named person ended up in rural Cilicia and was of enough importance to receive an Aramaic funerary

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[187] Mildenberg 1998b.
[188] Jacobs 1994 puts both Syria and Cilicia as *Kleinsatrapien* in the *Hauptsatrapien* of Assyria.
[189] On the snowfall, see Casabonne 2004, 164–5.

inscription at a *byrt'* near Persepolitan reliefs and a Persepolitan palace. A final question

remains: which Bēlšunu was buried here? This is not a question that offers a simple answer: the

chronology of the inscriptions and reliefs could fit either. The close association between the

government of Cilicia and Syria during the time of Mazaeus perhaps suggests that his

predecessor Belesys II is more likely to be buried here. It is also possible that a relative of one of

these Bēlšunus who held the same name and served as a subordinate to the satrap at

Meydancıkkale could be the Bēlšunu named. Either way, the funerary inscription at

Meydancıkkale serves as a testament to the endurance of Bēlšunu I's legacy, regardless of who

specifically is buried there.

Bēlšunu in Comparison: Hecatomnus in Caria

Bēlšunu stands out in this dissertation because he is the only satrap under study to come

from background of only local power. Aršāma and Cyrus the Younger came from the royal

Achaemenid family itself, Pharnabazus came from a family of dynastic satraps, and Tissaphernes

likely descended from one of the Seven Persians who helped Darius I take the throne.[190]

Bakabaduš and Axvamazdā, in all probability, also descended from elite Persian families,

although the sources do not provide this information. Bēlšunu's political standing, moreover,

outlasted him, and he was able to transmit political power over at least two generations. Bēlšunu,

however, is not the only satrap from such a background known in Achaemenid history, nor was

he the only non-Persian satrap known to establish a satrapal dynasty. Hecatomnus, satrap in

Caria in the early fourth century and father of the more famous Mausolus, provides another well-

known instance of a non-Persian becoming a satrap and transmitting power to his descendants.

Therefore, this section will briefly detail what is known about Hecatomnus and his accession to

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[190] On Tissaphernes' origins, see Lewis 1977, 83–4.

satrapal status with the aim of establishing a pattern underlying the non-Persian satraps in the Achaemenid Empire.

Hecatomnus first appears as satrap in Caria in 391, but we can trace his family back to the fifth century. In the early fifth century, Herodotus (5.118.2) writes of a "Pixodarus, son of Mausolus" who evidently ruled the town Cindya and was married to the daughter of the "king of Cilicia."[191] Both *Pixodarus* and *Mausolus* are names of later Hecatomnids who served as satrap in Caria, and the appearance of these names together suggests that this is indeed the early Hecatomnid family. Marriage into the family of the king of Cilicia, moreover, indicates that this family of Cindya wielded supra-local influence already. At some point in the fifth century, the base of Hecatomnid power shifted to the city of Mylasa. Strabo writes that Mylasa was the "fatherland and royal residence of the Carians who descend from Hecatomnus" (14.2.23), and a decree from Mylasa from 367/6 says that the ancestors of Hecatomnus were benefactors of the city.[192] Concomitant with the Hecatomnid takeover of Mylasa, the family received the title "king of the Carians," a title which the head of the Carian League held.[193] Although the precise meaning of this term is unclear, the office involved both political and religious responsibilities, and an inscription suggests that the Hecatomnids kept the title while serving as satrap.[194]

Hecatomnus first appears as satrap in 391 in the context of the Achaemenid war effort against Evagoras of Cyprus. Diodorus (14.98.3), strictly speaking, calls him the "dynast" (*dynastēs*) of Caria, but Diodorus in fact calls all the Hecatomnids only "dynast" and not

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[191] Ruzicka 1992, 15. The "king of Cilicia" was able to maintain a hereditary title of "king" that predated the Achaemenid conquest, but was still integrated, perhaps with some extra privileges, into the Achaemenid governmental system (Briant 2002a, 498).

[192] Strabo: πατρὶς δὲ καὶ βασίλειον τῶν Καρῶν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἑκατόμνω. The decree is *SIG*³ 167 (in Dittenberger 1915). See Ruzicka 1992, 15–16.

[193] Hornblower 1982, 59–61.

[194] Hornblower 1982, 60.

"satrap."[195] This is unlikely to be of any significance, and Hecatomnus and his descendants frequently refer to themselves as satraps in epigraphy from Caria.[196] The events surrounding the satrapal rule of Hecatomnus and his descendants are outside the scope of this chapter and have been thoroughly covered by two monographs.[197] What is important to the case of Bēlšunu is that Hecatomnus likewise remained in the good graces of the Achaemenid Kings and transmitted his position to his son, the renowned Mausolus. The position of satrap in Caria, in fact, remained within the Hecatomnid family through to the Macedonian conquest. Bēlšunu's and Hecatomnus' dynasties were almost contemporaries: Bēlšunu became satrap about a decade earlier, and Belesys II's reign (perhaps) came to an end around a decade earlier than did the Hecatomnids'.

Why did Artaxerxes II install Hecatomnus as satrap? Hornblower and Ruzicka have rightly pointed to the political situation in western Anatolia at the time as requiring a political restructuring. Diodorus, as noted above, first mentions Hecatomnus leading the war effort against Evagoras in Cyprus, and the campaigns of Sparta in western Anatolia in the 390s revealed the relative weakness of the Achaemenid defenses in the far west.[198] This political context indicates why Artaxerxes II appointed a satrap, but not why he appointed Hecatomnus specifically. Ruzicka suggests that Hecatomnus may have previously served as a subordinate of Tissaphernes, and the latter's frequent presence in Caria almost necessitates the two men would have cooperated in political functions.[199] Hornblower proposes that the Hecatomnids' hereditary assumption of the title "king of the Carians" provided a reason why Artaxerxes II chose

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[195] Ruzicka 1992, 16.
[196] For Hecatomnus himself, see inscription M3 in Hornblower 1982, with discussion 36 no. 6. For others, see, e.g., the appendix of collected inscriptions (Hornblower 1982, 364-9).
[197] Hornblower 1982; Ruzicka 1992. See in addition chapters 15 and 16 of Briant 2002a.
[198] Hornblower 1982, 34–38; Ruzicka 1992, 17–18.
[199] Ruzicka 1992, 17–19.

Hecatomnus in particular.[200] Both of these suggestions can be correct and, indeed, complementary. The Hecatomnid family, as discussed above, had been well-established as elites within Caria, for perhaps over a century prior to Hecatomnus becoming satrap, and, moreover, Hecatomnus himself had had dealings with the Achaemenid imperial elites before being made satrap. The Achaemenid court sought these two aspects, elite status and previous dealings with the imperial authorities, when seeking to install new satraps.

With Hecatomnus detailed, we can now offer a comparison with Bēlšunu and attempt a profile of the non-Persian satraps. Both Hecatomnus and Bēlšunu came from elite origins that had been established for several generations prior to their accession to satrapal status. Both had dealt with high Achaemenid authorities prior to their elevation to satrap: Hecatomnus with Tissaphernes (and perhaps others), Bēlšunu with the holders of the crown grants (and likely a myriad of officials as governor of Babylon). Both transmitted their positions to family members. This final point reveals some of the logic internal to the satrapal system and the appointment of new satraps: neither Bēlšunu's nor Hecatomnus' appointment was ad hoc, but rather both were meant to ensure the stability of the system in the future. That is, satraps could, and were encouraged to, transmit their position patrilineally, as discussed previously with the case of Pharnabazus. This transmission of power sought to ease confrontations for the future holders of the satrapal position, but the system could (and sometimes did) lead to a detachment of satrapal power from the Achaemenid family itself, though the royal court did have supervision over the transmission of power.

It is no coincidence that Hecatomnus and Bēlšunu were near-contemporaries, and they need to be understood within the court politics of the late fifth and early fourth centuries. As

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[200] Hornblower 1982, 61.

Hornblower has suggested for Hecatomnus and Stolper for Bēlšunu, both cases demonstrated to other local elites that cooperation with the Achaemenid imperial powers could lead to political rewards.[201] Hecatomnus and Bēlšunu may have additionally felt personal loyalty to the Kings who gave them their positions, although this would have been less relevant to their successors. Hecatomnus, Bēlšunu, and their descendants, moreover, would have had fewer entanglements with the Persian elites of the imperial core than satraps who came from families with long-held ties there. The Achaemenid court had become factional and perhaps became ever more so from the late fifth century onwards. Although aspects of Greek authors' court intrigues, most notably Ctesias', were undoubtedly shaped by Orientalist tropes, it would be foolish to dismiss their courtly politics entirely, and both Darius II, who appointed Bēlšunu satrap, and Artaxerxes II, who appointed Hecatomnus, ascended the throne with challenges to their legitimacy. Hecatomnus and Bēlšunu, by mere virtue of not being Persian, had fewer opposing commitments within Achaemenid court politics than other potential candidates for satrapal office.

Bēlšunu and Hecatomnus may be the best-documented examples of local elites who became satraps in the Achaemenid Empire, but it would be stretching the evidence to imagine that they were the only examples of this. Many of the *hyparchs* of Central Asia likely came from local elite origins and found a way to work within the satrapal system.[202] Mania of Mysia, discussed at length earlier in this dissertation, represents a similar case: she came from an elite background and was allowed to act as a satrap over a number of cities after the death of her husband. Her personal loyalty lay with Pharnabazus, and perhaps not the King, but a similar principle is at work. Another similar case comes with the famed Athenian statesman

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[201] Hornblower 1982, 137–42; Stolper 1990, 203–4.
[202] Briant 1984, 81-88.

Themistocles who came to the court of the Persian King after the Athenians exiled him. King

Artaxerxes I, though the Persians fought against Themistocles' forces at the Battle of Salamis,

gave Themistocles authority over several of cities in Anatolia (Thuc. 1.138; Plut., *Them*. 29.7).[203]

No sources write that Themistocles was given the title *satrap*, but he acted as a satrap at a

smaller scale.[204] What unites all these individuals—Bēlšunu, Hecatomnus, Mania, and

Themistocles—is that they all were elites prior to their incorporation into the Achaemenid

system. The Achaemenid court sought those already of elite status as their collaborators. Others

who may have grown rich and powerful in local contexts—like the Murašûs—may have failed to

work with the imperial overlords because they did not come from such prestigious lineages.[205]

Conclusion

Bēlšunu was an entirely typical satrap in a number of ways. His primary source of wealth

lay in agricultural holdings, and he received some of this land from the King of Kings in

exchange for service (the *nidinti šarri*). Because of the amount of property under his control,

Bēlšunu relied upon a large set of subordinates to manage his assets, including both slaves and

free men such as Urāš-nāṣir. These subordinates managed their own houses which cannot be

entirely disentangled from Bēlšunu's. Bēlšunu and his subordinates maintained their wealth

largely through the collection of rents: Bēlšunu's status afforded him a steady income based on

agricultural production. Bēlšunu followed the general Achaemenid policy of taking from the old

Babylonian temples some of their economic holdings, even though he himself had long-standing

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[203] See Weinberg 1999 for more on Themistocles in the Achaemenid context. Plutarch, *Them*. 27.1 says the ancient authors disagree about whether it was Xerxes or Artaxerxes who received Themistocles.

[204] Such as minting coinage bearing his name: Cahn and Gerin 1988.

[205] Of course, this proposal is merely meant to explain the perspective of the Achaemenid court. There is no evidence to suggest that these individuals of high-ranking backgrounds actually made better administrators.

temple connections. After his promotion to satrap, Bēlšunu maintained property across both Syria and Babylonia, a situation that parallels both Aršāma's holdings in Egypt and Babylonia and Tissaphernes' in Lydia and Caria. Bēlšunu transmitted his position—both as governor of the city Babylon and as satrap in Syria—within his own family.

What distinguishes Bēlšunu from the other satraps of this dissertation, of course, were his origins: he came not from the Achaemenid family, nor even from Persia, but rather from Babylonia, with familial ties to the city of Borsippa. As the comparison with Hecatomnus has demonstrated, Bēlšunu's case was not unique, but it was unusual. Bēlšunu's political successes can, to a large extent, be explained by the banality of his behavior as satrap. Bēlšunu, without familial ties to the ruling class in Pārsa, was in a more precarious position than Persian satraps like Aršāma or Pharnabazus. Bēlšunu, therefore, managed his business in such a way to minimize any conflicts that could arise between himself and Persians with ties to the court. The Murašûs provide an example—to modern observers and, perhaps also, to Bēlšunu—of what could happen to Babylonians when they acquired too much power.[206] In contrast to the Murašûs, Bēlšunu never acquired a sudden landfall of wealth and, throughout his career, worked in cooperation with his imperial superiors. Only after years of proving his loyalty to the imperial powers did Darius II make him satrap, and even then, his positions relied on continued service to the Achaemenid family. Bēlšunu perhaps stands out in comparison to the other satraps of this dissertation because of how little conflict appears in his dossier, and that is for a good reason: his position was less stable than others. But his economic behavior resembles that of the other satraps: he did exactly as was asked of him as a local representative of royal power.

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[206] There is no explicit evidence of Belšunu's knowledge of the Murašûs, of course, but given Bēlšunu's access to Persian networks, it is possible he heard of Aršāma's takeover.

Chapter 6. Movement across the Iranian Plateau: Bakabaduš in Arachosia

Introduction: Bakabaduš and the Sources for Achaemenid Arachosia

The monumental inscription of Darius I at Mt. Bīsotūn, which towers over a roadway that connects Mesopotamia to the Iranian Plateau, triumphantly recounts Darius' campaigns against the Liar Kings that opposed his accession to the throne.[1] The violent unrest instigated by these Liar Kings crisscrossed much of the Achaemenid Empire, and Darius' account of his campaigns against them, therefore, constitutes an Achaemenid source for the political landscape of the Empire at the time of Darius' accession in 522 BCE. One of Darius' most troublesome adversaries was a man by the name of Vahyazdāta who claimed to be Bardiya, the son of Cyrus the Great and thus the heir to the throne; with this dynastic claim, Vahyazdāta was able to gain the support of the people of Pārsa (Old Persian §40).[2] While Darius was engaged fighting Vahyazdāta in southwestern Iran, the rebel sent a separate force to Arachosia, the region around what is now Kandahar in southwestern Afghanistan, to campaign against Vivāna, the satrap there. After three battles at three different fortresses, Vivāna finally captured the troops that Vahyazdāta sent to Arachosia, and so Darius concludes his story of this Liar King (DB, Old Persian §45-48).[3]

These scant four sections represent the longest narrative history of Arachosia known prior to the conquest of Alexander. Nevertheless, these four paragraphs provide a glimpse into the institutional landscape present in Arachosia at the accession of Darius I.[4] At this time a satrap

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[1] First text edition: Rawlinson 1848; see now Schmitt 1991 (Old Persian), Vallat 1977 (Elamite), Von Voigtlander 1978 (Akkadian), and Greenfield and Porten 1982 (Aramaic).
[2] Schmitt 1991, 64.
[3] See Schmitt 1991, 65–66.
[4] For which, see Henkelman 2017.

loyal to, or at least willing to cooperate with, Darius—notable because his reign was hardly secure at this time—was stationed in Arachosia with jurisdiction over multiple fortresses. Aršada, the last of these fortresses mentioned in the text, was at the same time an estate (*irmatam*) of the satrap Vivāna, a detail provided only by the Elamite version of the inscription.[5] Vivāna had the capacity to muster and command troops in Arachosia and, moreover, administered informational infrastructure capable of transmitting precise reports of his progress to Darius, down to the exact day and location of each battle. Finally, this hierarchical structure by which Vivāna was bound as satrap to the almost-King Darius had to be known to the forces of Vahyazdāta, who were sent specifically to attack Vivāna and who assaulted one of the satrap's estates. Though it is a carefully curated one, the picture drawn from the information in the Bīsotūn inscription evokes the political ecology of western Anatolia: fortified estates, controlled by satraps, dot the landscape and serve both economic and defensive roles. The relationship between the satrap and the Great King is a personal one but one that, nevertheless, bears official administrative status.

Arachosia may seem an unlikely region to study the role of satrapal houses in the Achaemenid Empire. Unlike the Mediterranean regions of the Empire, Arachosia is scarcely mentioned by Classical sources, and unlike Egypt, Mesopotamia, Pārsa, or Bactria, the region is not home to any discovered administrative archives.[6] In addition to the brief narrative provided by the inscription at Bīsotūn, most of our information on the institutional landscape in Arachosia comes from Persepolis, rather than from Arachosia itself. The sources are twofold: the Persepolis Fortification archive and a group of green chert objects (mortars, pestles, plates, and trays)

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[5] See Henkelman 2017, 166 with no. 186.
[6] With the exception of two tablet fragments, which are discussed below.

inscribed with Aramaic found in the Persepolis Treasury. Together these two corpora provide a wealth of information on the institutional landscape in Arachosia, and the Persepolis Fortification archive, in particular, enriches our knowledge of the institutions of the satrapal house. The green chert objects were published by Bowman who interpreted them as instruments used in a *haoma*-crushing ceremony.[7] Bowman's thesis, which required a perhaps purposeful misinterpretation of the Aramaic texts, was immediately and summarily rejected by reviewers who reached a consensus that the inscriptions were instead administrative documentation of some sort, but the precise interpretation of the texts continues to be a matter of dispute.[8] The documents are relevant to the history of Achaemenid Arachosia because a number of them mention a "treasurer in Arachosia." I have demonstrated elsewhere how these texts in fact record the taxation of Arachosia which was transported to Persepolis.[9]

The Persepolis Fortification archive, with perhaps 16,000 original documents, records the storage, transfer, and disbursal of foodstuffs in the region around Persepolis.[10] Owing its name to its discovery within the wall system at Persepolis, the archive consists of a majority of Elamite texts, with a large number of uninscribed but sealed tablets, and a much smaller number

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[7] Bowman 1970 .

[8] Major reviews of Bowman include Bernard 1972; Levine 1972; Naveh and Shaked 1973; Delaunay 1974; Hinz 1975b. Bogoljubov 1973's review in Russian is inaccessible to the present author but, according to summaries in other reviews, it also argues against Bowman's ritual interpretation. Later interventions on the objects include Williamson 1991; Henkelman 2017.

[9] King 2019.

[10] For texts, see Hallock 1969; 1978; Arfaee 2008a. See also the seal images published in Garrison and Root 2001; Garrison 2017b. For historical discussions of the archive, see especially Briant 2002a, 422–71; Henkelman 2008, 65–179; Azzoni et al. 2017; Garrison 2017b, 27–70, and the papers collected in Briant et al. 2008. Koch 1990's discussion of the administrative geography in the Persepolis Fortification archive, though largely superseded by Henkelman's, remains valuable for its comprehensive indices; see also on geography Arfaee 2008b. For the size of the Persepolis Fortification archive, see the estimates, based on a large sample, of Jones and Stolper 2008, 44.

of Aramaic texts. Single texts in Old Persian, Akkadian, Greek, Demotic Egyptian, and (probably) Phrygian have also been found.[11] The texts date from year 13 to year 28 of the reign of Darius I (509-493 BCE), and the majority of the texts fall between years 21 and 24.[12] Thus, the institutional administration of foodstuffs in the area around Persepolis is intensively documented in the middle of the reign of Darius I; to what extent these administrative practices were similar across time and space remains a matter of debate—and a matter of critical importance for any discussion of the Achaemenid government. Increasingly, new evidence and analysis have suggested that the Persepolitan system extended to other regions of the Empire and continued after the reign of Darius, and this chapter will attempt to further this argument.[13] The Persepolis Fortification archive must be considered one of the fundamental sources for any study of the Achaemenid Empire, and its contents bear on virtually any subject regarding Achaemenid governance.

Among these texts are numerous references to satraps of the Achaemenid Empire at this time, as they were responsible for issuing the traveling authorizations, henceforth called by the Elamite word *halmi*, that permitted travelers to draw from the provisioning infrastructure across the Empire. Because some of the individuals who issue *halmi*s in the archive are known to be satraps from other sources, like Artaphernes in Lydia, scholars generally agree that individuals in the archive who issue *halmi*s and are consistently associated with a particular region (e.g. Elam,

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[11] Old Persian: Stolper and Tavernier 2007; Akkadian: Stolper 1984; Greek: Canali de Rossi 2004, 133; Demotic Egyptian: Azzoni et al. 2019; Phrygian: Brixhe 2004, 118–26.
[12] Date range: Henkelman 2008, 123–25; distribution of texts per year: Henkelman 2008, 174. For more on the chronological extremes of the Archive, see Stolper Forthcoming.
[13] Some select bibliography relevant here for Achaemenid Arachosia: Fisher and Stolper 2015; Henkelman 2017; Briant 2020.

Carmania) were satraps in that region.[14] These individuals were the highest ranking

representatives of the king in any given place, they operated at the head of the administrative

system, and they received remuneration that befitted their high status. The *halmi*-issuers,

therefore, were satraps of the Achaemenid Empire, or, on occasion, members of the Achaemenid

family, such as the King himself or other members of the royal family. That only three

individuals who issued *halmi*s are ever explicitly called "satrap" in the Persepolis texts (Karkiš in

Carmania, Irdumašda in Makka, and Zamašba also in Makka) serves only to reinforce C.

Tuplin's argument that the more important one was in the Achaemenid Empire, the less one's

title needed to be stated.[15]

The case of Parnakka, the chief administrator of the bureaucracy documented by the

Persepolis Fortification archive, and therefore satrap in Pārsa, provides the clearest evidence for

how the satrapal household manifests itself in this sort of documentation.[16] Parnakka served in

what this chapter will call "the imperial core," that is the developed landscape that stretched

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[14] For satraps in the Persepolis Fortification archive, see Henkelman 2021. However, there is some disagreement about Parnakka, who issues *halmi*s in Pārsa and is the chief administrator of the Persepolis Fortification archive. Briant, for example, argues that he had neither the responsibility nor title of satrap (Briant 2002a, 468), but Henkelman argues that, based on comparison with other known satraps, he must have been satrap in Pārsa himself (Henkelman 2021, 887–88). Further, Parnakka's prerogative was specifically royal, as his role presiding over feasts demonstrates: Henkelman 2011b. The issue at stake is whether Pārsa had a unique position within the administration of the Achaemenid Empire. Although Pārsa certainly had a unique ideological role in the Achaemenid Empire (e.g. Lincoln 2012, 107–26), there is nothing to suggest it had a unique position administratively. Moreover, as this dissertation has emphasized throughout, we must not view satraps as having an exclusive jurisdiction over a precisely bounded territory: satraps were *in* a place, not *of* a place. Therefore, Parnakka was satrap in Pārsa (and specifically Persepolis) not satrap of Pārsa.
[15] Tuplin 2013a, 26; Karkiš: Henkelman 2010, 704–13, 733f. For Irdumašda, see PF 0679 and NN 2135. For Zamašba, see PF 0680.
[16] For Parnakka as satrap, see note 15 above.

across southwestern Iran and centered itself upon Persepolis and Susa.[17] The amount of food and beverages that Parnakka received as remuneration would have allowed him to provide for a group of some 100 individuals.[18] Some of these must have been actual family, others a variety of personal servants, others still guests whom Parnakka hosted as a representative of the King of Kings. In addition, Parnakka had a staff of 300 workers, administered separately, who subsisted on rations and likely included the agents responsible for drafting and producing documents, among other duties.[19] Achaemenid administration was a complex, multilingual affair and, at Persepolis, would have required scribes competent in Aramaic and others proficient in Elamite in order to function.[20]

One of the duties of Parnakka's staff was drafting the *halmi*s that allowed travelers moving through the Persepolis region to start or continue their trip and to draw from the provisioning infrastructure over the duration. We can use the best documented year of the Persepolis Fortification archive, year 23 of Darius, to estimate the number of *halmi*s that

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[17] As documentation from both Babylonia and Persepolis demonstrates, the imperial core saw more visitors and travelers than other regions, and absorbed more taxation in precious metal, kind, and labor than any other region of the Achaemenid Empire. Media may belong in the "imperial core" as well, but the available sources from the Persepolis Fortification archive do not provide enough information to be sure. Although Greek sources call Babylon one of the Achaemenid capitals (see Tuplin 1998), Tolini 2011 has demonstrated that the royal court visited Babylonia only infrequently, and it should not be considered equivalent to the Susa-Persepolis region as far as its importance to the Achaemenid court. For now, see on the relevant Babylonian material in Jursa 2010; 2011a; Tolini 2011; Waerzeggers 2014. For Persepolis, see especially Hinz 1972; Briant 2002a, 422–71. "Treasurization": de Callataÿ 1989; King 2019; Bresson 2020.

[18] See discussion in Henkelman 2021.

[19] The staff are referred to as the *puhu* (boys) of Parnakka, which indicates the hierarchical dependence, as discussed below. See texts NN 0152, NN 0334 (PFa 04), NN 0835, NN 1393, NN 1689, NN 1740, and NN 2038: 01-07. See discussion in Henkelman 2021.

[20] Some scribes would have known Aramaic and Elamite. Multilingualism in the Achaemenid administration: Tavernier 2008; 2017. The few texts in languages other than Aramaic and Elamite complicate this and merit further study.

Parnakka's staff would have drafted per year.[21] This estimate will, therefore, approximate the

number of *halmi*s a satrap stationed at a hub of movement would have had to issue per year.

Among the PF, PFa, and NN texts (4,091 total) that are dated to year 23 of Darius (995 total),

there are 54 texts which mention a *halmi* of Parnakka.[22] To this we need to add texts written in

year 23 but that do not carry a date, and we must factor in a conservative rate of loss for texts

that have not survived at all in the record, which Henkelman suggests to be a rate of 50-60% for

the best documented years of the Archive.[23] Hence we can estimate 144 *halmi*s issued by

Parnakka in year 23 of Darius. When one considers that each of these documents was copied for

administrative purposes, then the amount of manpower required just for the issuance of *halmi*s

begins to multiply for the satrapal household.[24] Furthermore, this is only one facet of the duties of

the satrapal household. Manifold other responsibilities, as enumerated in other chapters of this

dissertation, required staff as well. With these duties in total, the 300 servants of Parnakka

attested in the Persepolis Fortification archive, therefore, can be explained as administrators and

others responsible for the duties of the satrapal house. They were cogs in the machine of the

satrapal house who were remunerated by the very institution which they themselves served to

maintain. The issuance of *halmi*s and the travel documented by them, therefore, provides insights

into satrapal households of the Achaemenid Empire at the time of Darius I.

One of the most richly documented satrapal dossiers of the Persepolis Fortification

archive is that of Bakabaduš, satrap in Arachosia. Vivāna, the satrap in Arachosia early in the

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[21] See the chart of the temporal distribution: Henkelman 2008, 174.

[22] N.B.: all quantitative figures presented in this chapter use the PF, PFa, and NN sample, unless otherwise stated. The Fort. texts will eventually add to these figures, but more work is required to collate these texts.

[23] Henkelman 2008, 177–79.

[24] See the one surviving travel authorization, which was issued by Aršāma in Egypt (TAD A6.9: Porten and Yardeni 1986, 114–15; Taylor 2013, 15–16). This document is discussed in chapter 4.

reign of Darius I and described by the king in his inscription at Bīsotūn, goes unmentioned in the

Persepolis Fortification archive. Bakabaduš was perhaps Vivāna's successor in Arachosia, and is

attested from year 19 to year 28 of Darius.[25] The satrap appears as the issuer of a *halmi* in at least

35 texts, and travel between Arachosia and the imperial core is attested at least another 32

times.[26] With these almost 70 texts concentrated, like the rest of the Persepolis Fortification

archive, in a short period of time, we can meaningfully assess the connections between

Arachosia and the imperial core in the middle of the reign of Darius I and the role that

Bakabaduš played in maintaining these connections. The number of texts that survive in the

Bakabaduš dossier does not compare to that of satraps closer to Persepolis—Bakabana in Susa,

for example, is attested as the *halmi*-issuer in over five times as many texts—but Bakabaduš

appears remarkably often for a satrap stationed at such a distance from Persepolis.[27] The size of

the Bakabaduš dossier, in combination with the distance between the imperial core and

Arachosia, makes the satrap a worthy case study in understanding the role of the satrapal house

in connecting the Achaemenid Empire.

There is a final reason to study Bakabaduš in particular: two fragments of Elamite

administrative documents excavated at Old Kandahar.[28] Although little text survives on the two

fragments, what remains is enough to characterize the two as similar in form and content to the

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[25] Henkelman 2017, 157.

[26] "At least" 35 texts because new analysis of the still unpublished texts may yield further attestations. Following the convention of Henkelman, this number counts separate journal entries in Hallock's V texts as separate texts. This only affects NN 2261, which has two different entries of travelers with a *halmi* of Bakabaduš, discussed at length below.

[27] After the *halmi*-issuers in Pārsa and the satraps in the neighboring regions of Elam, Media, and Carmania, Bakabaduš is the most common issuer of *halmi*s to appear in the Persepolis Fortification texts (Henkelman, personal communication). Satraps in regions neighboring Pārsa would have overridden many of the *halmi*s of satraps farther away, which is why they appear at a higher frequency in the Persepolis Fortification texts.

[28] See, with earlier literature, Fisher and Stolper 2015.

tablets from Persepolis: had the tablets been excavated at Persepolis, rather than Arachosia, they would have simply been accepted as further fragments of the Persepolis Fortification archive. Yet their discovery at Old Kandahar carries important implications. To summarize, one of these fragments, SF 1399, originates from a larger accounting text that would have synthesized information from primary administrative documents, as at Persepolis. This text therefore implies that primary documents (memoranda) were produced nearby and brought to Old Kandahar, which in turn implies that Old Kandahar lay at the center of an administrative network similar to that at Persepolis; hence these two fragments are pieces of something like a "Kandahar Fortification archive."[29] The evidence from Arachosia adds up to a Persepolitan system—what W. Henkelman calls the "imperial signature"—seen in the eastern Iranian plateau.[30] It is for this reason that Bakabaduš, in particular, merits further study.

Because our information on Bakabaduš comes from Persepolis, rather than from Arachosia itself, all of what remains is the documentation of travel between Arachosia and Persepolis, which includes both these places as intermediary stops. The texts from the Persepolis Fortification pertinent to this study are mostly the travel texts, i.e. those that record that an amount of a commodity was given to an individual traveler, or a number of travelers, as rations as they moved across the empire. A typical text of this kind is PF 1351, which reads,

> 11 liters of flour, supplied by Katukka, a man named Kamena received. 4 men each received 1.5 l. 5 low-status men (literally, "boys") each received 1 l. He (Kamena) carried a sealed document (*halmi*) from Bakabaduš. They went from Arachosia to Susa. Fifth month, year 28 (of Darius I). (Translation after Hallock)[31]

It is important to emphasize what information is and is not provided in these texts. The administrative purpose of the documents, as far as over 10,000 texts can be generalized, is to

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[29] This summarizes Fisher and Stolper 2015, 19–20 and Henkelman 2017, 169–74.
[30] Henkelman 2017.
[31] Hallock 1969, 381.

record the transportation, transferal, and disbursement of foodstuffs; hence the type and amount of commodity is usually mentioned.[32] The parties involved in any given transaction likewise usually appear, and in this case that includes Kamena, the recipient of the ration, and Bakabaduš, the satrap in Arachosia who issued the travel authorization (*halmi*) that allowed Kamena to draw from state provisioning structures along the road. The officer who supplied any given travel ration is mentioned here (Katukka) but is not obligatory. The names of the other persons accompanying Kamena are not recorded, and, although accompanying travelers can be named, it is common that only one recipient is. The differing rations that men, including Kamena, and their companions receive inform us about their comparative status: 1.5 l. is typical of a higher-status adult male, and 1 l. of a lower-status.[33] From the amount of flour they receive, we can infer that Kamena and the three other men were travelling with servants. Imperial favor and imperial status impacted the nutritional regimes of its subjects; quotidian administrative acts such as the disbursement of flour rations manifested themselves in the very bodies of imperial subjects.[34]

The date and destination are commonly recorded but are by no means obligatory. Dates may include the month, the king's regnal year and/or, less frequently, a period of days. Though sometimes the origin of the travelers is provided in addition to the *halmi*-issuer, the name of the *halmi*-issuer is, in itself, sufficient to indicate that Kamena and his companions came from Arachosia, where Bakabaduš operated as satrap. Instead of a place, a person may equally be named as a destination, most often the Great King or a satrap. What lies behind the interchangeability of person and place as origin and destination reflects a fundamental aspect of

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[32] The word for "barley" is often omitted but implied because it is the most common commodity.
[33] But the actual rations disbursed could be much more complicated than this simplification: Briant 2002a, 431–32.
[34] These quotidian acts, of course, must be added to the more violent acts such as the tattooing of Aršāma's *kurtaš* (TAD A6.10), which is discussed in chapter 4.

Achaemenid rule: the Empire governed persons, not territories. The Empire's control over a place such as Arachosia was realized through the presence of the satrap and other mechanisms of the administrative apparatus around him. In Achaemenid governance, to go to Arachosia was to go to the satrap Bakabaduš. The fungibility of person and place in the origins and destinations of the Persepolis Fortification archive provides further evidence of Achaemenid governance through individuals.

Why travelers such as Kamena traveled at all is a piece of information only rarely and indirectly recorded. Although this information would be invaluable for understanding the mechanisms of Achaemenid imperialism, the reasons for travel were largely irrelevant for a bureaucracy interested in recording storage and withdrawal of foodstuffs. Occasionally the reasons for travel may be inferred, but often in vague ways: the presence of an occupational title on an individual implies that the individual was traveling to perform said occupation, or a large number of travelers marked as state dependent laborers (*kurtaš*) suggests that they were being transported as a labor force. Even if, as with our Kamena in PF 1351, we cannot infer a reason for travel, there can be no doubt that the state had a reason to fund this travel: a straight line between Kandahar and Persepolis is 1,240 kilometers, and 1,650 kilometers lie between Kandahar and Susa. Actual travel between southwestern Iran and Arachosia would have been considerably longer than these straight lines. Because the state provided rations for its travelers, transporting even nine individuals like Kamena and his traveling party represented a significant investment of agricultural production. At this rate of rations, the entire trip from Arachosia to Susa would have required the state to produce over 1,000 liters of flour for just this traveling

party at regular intervals along the road.[35] Behind this flour lay the processes of grain production, transportation, and grinding—all of which represented further investments of labor in the facilitation of travel.

Travel to and from Arachosia: An Overview

A trip between Arachosia and the imperial core, in sum, represented a substantial investment of resources, on the part of the imperial provisioning administration, and time, on the part of the traveler. Therefore, most travel under the purview of the Arachosian administration headed by Bakabaduš would have been local or regional in scale, e.g. from Arachosia to Gandhāra. Because no one has discovered the presumed "Kandahar Fortification archive" besides the fragments detailed above, this level of travel is missing in our documentation, and all that remains is the rarest form of travel, at the truly imperial scale between southwestern Iran and Arachosia. The available texts even record trips beyond this scale, i.e. from farther east through Arachosia into the imperial core. Arachosia features prominently in the Persepolis Fortification texts because it functioned as a gateway to regions of the Achaemenid Empire farther east, namely Gandhāra.[36] A road, described by Strabo, which linked Arachosia to Bactria and regions

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[35] This figure uses modern highways to estimate the distance. Traveling from Kandahar to Persepolis and then from Persepolis to Susa gives a total of 2,286 km. The rate of travel is estimated at 25km/day, which gives the total length of this trip 91 days. The travel speed is based on Herodotus' discussion of the stations between Sardis and Susa on the Achaemenid road system (5.52-54). Herodotus says this trip takes 90 days, and Kuhrt, based on Herodotus' figures, gives the length of this road as 2,475km (Kuhrt 2007, 739). This comes to a rate of 27.5 km/day, which has been slightly lowered to 25 km/day to reflect a more conservative rate of travel. This estimate matches Tuplin's study of travel in the Persepolis Fortification texts, as he thinks travel in the 20-30 km/day range fits the Elamite evidence (Tuplin 1998, 102–08). The precise calculation following this figure comes to 1,001 liters.

[36] Gandhara, via Arachosia: PF 1358, PF 1359. For Achaemenid Elamite *Kandara(š)* as Gandhāra, not Kandahar, see Henkelman 2017, 150–57, 208–17. There are also travelers from India with a *halmi* of the Indian satrap, Irdubama, which suggests that they did not travel through Arachosia (11 such texts among the PFs and NNs). Therefore, we can suggest that there were two main routes for travelers from the Indus to the imperial core: one southern route alongside

beyond, further connected Arachosia to the northeast of the Achaemenid Empire.[37] Bakabaduš's

position in this respect is comparable to that of Bakabana, satrap in Elam, who issued new *halmi*s

for travelers from farther west coming to Pārsa via Susa.[38] Arachosia's position as a gateway to

lands beyond, though often unmentioned, explains the frequency with which Bakabaduš appears

in the Persepolis Fortification texts. Through the issuing of *halmi*s and their role in the

provisioning system, the satraps functioned as hubs for travelers.

How frequent was this travel? For a variety of reasons (issues of double-counting

travelers, problems with *halmi*s going unmentioned, other satraps issuing *halmi*s for travelers on

the way from Arachosia, etc.), we cannot estimate absolute numbers of travelers who made the

journey from Arachosia to the imperial core.[39] However, we can roughly estimate the frequency

at which travelers beginning in Arachosia (or farther east) traveled at least as far as the imperial

core, by comparing the attestations of the *halmi* of Bakabaduš with those of the *halmi* of

Parnakka. Because Parnakka was stationed at Persepolis, a traveler using the provisioning system

originating from Persepolis would have needed a *halmi* of Parnakka. Because the documentation

comes from Persepolis itself, the *halmi*s of Parnakka should be mentioned at rate equal to the

survival rate of texts from the archive, and, therefore, Parnakka provides a baseline by which to

compare.[40]

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the sea; and a second northerly one from the Indus to Arachosia, then along the Helmand River
to Drangiana, through Carmania and finally to Pārsa. Occasionally, travelers did come to
Persepolis from afar without renewing their travel authorizations, e.g. express messengers from
Egypt. This suggests a different protocol for certain types of travel, but the details of this remain
to be studied.

[37] Strab. 15.2.8.

[38] Henkelman 2017, 155–56.

[39] The other major issue is that not all the Persepolis Fortification texts are yet available to study,
and therefore the available sample may not be representative of the total possible sample.

[40] This analysis assumes that issues of double-counting travelers and of the *halmi* not being
mentioned in any given text are roughly equally between the Bakabaduš and Parnakka dossiers.

Among the PF and NN texts, a *halmi* of Bakabaduš is mentioned 26 times as compared to 200 attestations of the *halmi* of Parnakka. If Bakabaduš's administration operated at the same scale (i.e. the same number of travelers) as Parnakka's, then about 13% of travelers from Arachosia traveled at least as far as the imperial core; if Bakabaduš's administration operated at half the scale as Parnakka's, this number jumps to 26%. The actual number is likely to lie in between the two, and 20% provides a reasonable, neat estimate. What this means is that travel from Arachosia to the imperial core was a fairly common occurrence. Travel from Arachosia to nearer regions, or to farther regions in a different direction, was considerably more common, but nonetheless, the state invested in trips between Arachosia and the imperial core. As will be discussed below, the connection between Arachosia and the imperial core served to transport three major categories of things, as far as the documentation informs us: taxation, labor, and information.

The trips from Arachosia to the imperial core are distributed unequally over the course of the year. Because many of the texts are only dated to the year or are not dated at all, the sample size is limited, but, nonetheless, the number of travelers from Arachosia to the imperial core spiked at the end of the year:

This is a reasonable assumption because both dossiers were produced by the same bureaucratic branches of the administration around Persepolis. However, satraps issuing *halmi*s that overrode previous ones would not have happened to the *halmi* of Parnakka within the Persepolis region, but could have happened to the *halmi*s of Bakabaduš. Therefore, this analysis may slightly deflate the numbers for Bakabaduš.
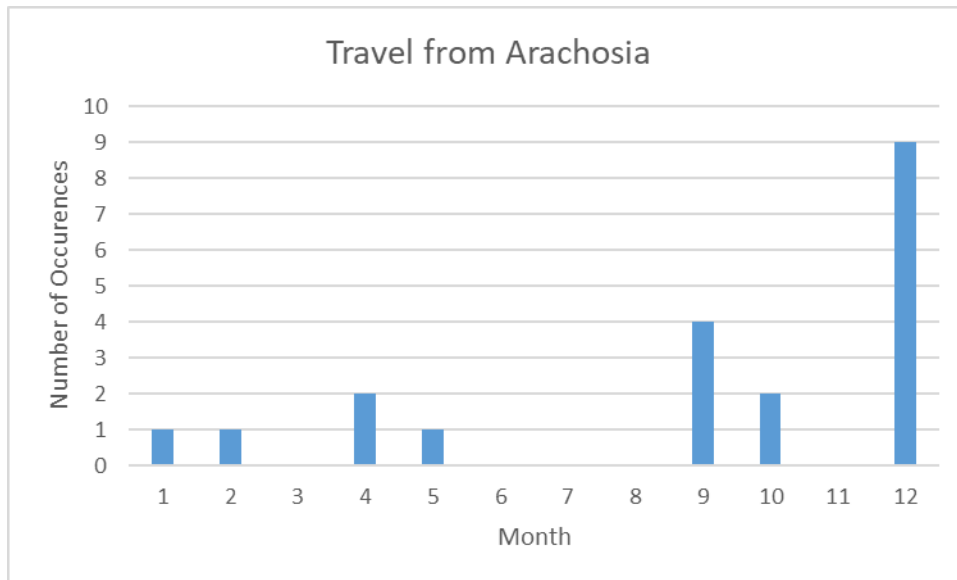
Figure 4. Travel attested from Arachosia in the available Persepolis Fortification texts

Assyriologists have demonstrated that local elites of Babylonia traveled to Susa to meet with the Great King around the New Year, and C. Waerzeggers has convincingly argued that these trips were related to taxation.[41] It is probable that a similar phenomenon is present here. Five texts document the transportation of a type of tax, *baziš*, discussed below, from Arachosia to the imperial core. Four of the five are dated to month 12, which would see the delegations arriving around the New Year; the fifth is undated.[42] The travel of a person called a "treasurer" is also dated to month 12.[43] Other groups that appear around month 12 in the imperial core but whose travel purpose is unspecified may likewise be traveling for the same reason.[44]

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[41] Waerzeggers 2010a; cf. Waerzeggers' later discussion in Waerzeggers 2014; similarly see chapters 1 and 4 in Tolini 2011. A select earlier bibliography on the trips to Susa includes Joannès 1988; Stolper 1992b; Dandamaev 2003; Abraham 2004.

[42] Month 12: PF 1495, NN 2149, NN 2580, Fort. 0419-101; undated: NN 1898.

[43] PF 1359. The same group travels in PF 1358, but the text is undated.

[44] See, e.g., NN 0773, which records a man named Dauša receiving 10 l. of beer and traveling from Arachosia to Susa in month 12 of year 21. At the typical 1 l. of beer per day, this implies a group of ten travelers, including Dauša. This is likely the same as the group of 10 high-status men (*LÚ šalup*) in NN 1733 who are also led by Dauša in year 21 (no month recorded). The

Their ultimate destination within the imperial core was likely wherever the King's court was, and the King himself was a frequent destination for travelers from Arachosia.[45] Babylonian evidence shows a meeting of Babylonian notables at Susa in year 23 of Darius, which accords with the Persepolis evidence showing that the King was at Susa in this time.[46] NN 2149, NN 2580, and Fort. 0419-101 all record the travel of a single group in a tax-related delegation (discussed below). However, they alternate between specifying the destination as the "King" or "Susa" and show that some Arachosians similarly traveled to the court of Darius at Susa around New Year of year 22 of Darius.[47] Therefore this material suggests that the travels of Babylonians to the King which Waerzeggers has analyzed were part of a larger phenomenon that also brought Arachosians to the King. Travelers brought taxation to the King at these meetings, and moreover, the visitors may have discussed additional matters regarding taxation while at the King's court. These meetings tended to occur around the New Year, at least during the reign of Darius I.[48]

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designation of these travelers as *šalup* indicates that they were high-status, which matches the known Babylonian travelers to the king's court. NN 0773 says that Dauša was traveling to Susa, while NN 1733 says the group was traveling to the King, which suggests that they were traveling to the King at Susa.

[45] The strict seasonality to the travels of the Achaemenid kings recorded by some Greek writers (especially Xenophon and Athenaeus) is not supported by documentary evidence, and is even contradicted by some classical sources (even Xenophon and Athenaeus do not agree): Tuplin 1998. The King's court was certainly mobile, but not with the regularity that Classical authors ascribed to it. Even just in the short time span documented by the Persepolis material, Tuplin has shown that Darius resided more often at Susa from 500 to 498 but more frequently at Persepolis from 495-493 (Tuplin 1998, 87).

[46] Discussion of Babylonian material: Waerzeggers 2010a, 803–04; Persepolis evidence: Tuplin 1998, 83.

[47] As the texts are all dated to month 12 of Darius 21. In the other dated *baziš* text (PF 1495), the group travels to Susa in month 12 of Darius 22.

[48] The gathering of elites at the court of the King around the New Year is reminiscent of the idea that the reliefs at Persepolis depict a Nowruz ceremony; see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991 for the history of this idea. It would be foolish to assume an unchanging Nowruz tradition from Achaemenid to later periods, but the gathering of elites at the New Year does suggest some sort of ceremony. However, the Akkadian and Elamite texts both show this meeting taking place at

Presumably, members of the local elite from across the Empire (not just Babylonia and Arachosia) also came to these meetings, but further study is required on this point.

These administrative meetings between Arachosians and the court of the King can explain why there was a spike in trips from Arachosia to the imperial core at the end of the year, but they cannot explain all the trips. In order to illuminate the operations of Bakabaduš in Arachosia and the connections between Arachosia and the imperial core, the following sections will profile some of the travels and travelers moving between Arachosia and Persepolis or Susa.[49] The trips between Arachosia and southwestern Iran recorded in these texts fall into three broad categories: movement of stored wealth, movement of labor, and movement of information. These divisions are heuristic and not mutually exclusive, but by segmenting the discussion into these three parts, we can analyze the functional nature of the relationships between Arachosia and the imperial core. What remains consistent through all of these types of movement is that they operated through the same system of provisioning that was controlled via the *halmi*-issuing of satraps, which in turn depended on the staff attached to the satraps themselves. Although the house of the satrap may be scarcely visible in the sources from Persepolis, its presence is always implied in the logistics of the travel and provisioning administration.

Susa, rather than Persepolis, at least in the middle of Darius I's reign. This topic is worth further study.

[49] This section will not be comprehensive. A number of the travelers cannot be characterized in any meaningful way other than documenting more movement between Arachosia and southwestern Iran and so these texts are treated only in the general remarks above. Koch 1993, 22–31 profiles travelers from Arachosia as well, but her analysis assumes that travelers with the same name in different texts are the same individuals. In the absence of surnames, this is not strong enough evidence. The analysis that follows links travelers across texts only with more compelling evidence.

Movement of Stored Wealth

A number of texts from the Persepolis Fortification, in addition to the green chert objects from the Persepolis Treasury, document the movement of wealth from Arachosia to southwestern Iran. As discussed elsewhere in this dissertation, a problem for the Achaemenid imperial economy was how to turn perishable agricultural products into a form of wealth that was stable over a longer period of time; this stable wealth often took the form of silver or gold, but other nonperishable materials could likewise store value. This, of course, was not a problem unique to the Achaemenid Empire, but what was novel about the imperial Achaemenid economy was the vast geographical expanse controlled by the Empire. Hence the problem took on a more specific form in the Achaemenid Empire: how could the King and his court, in Susa and Persepolis, turn agricultural production in distant regions, such as Arachosia, into stored wealth in the imperial core? Because agricultural products, perhaps with a few exceptions, were not valuable enough by weight to transport overland, this process of extraction would require that agricultural products be turned into more valuable material in Arachosia before being transported to southwestern Iran.

I have demonstrated elsewhere that the green chert objects from Persepolis represent one such form of stored value produced in Arachosia and transported into the imperial core.[50] These green chert objects are unlikely to have been the only form of wealth extracted from Arachosia, but, instead, the other wealth has disappeared since antiquity. In addition to the green chert objects from the Persepolis Treasury, several texts in the Persepolis Fortification archive record the transportation of stored wealth from Arachosia to the imperial core. There are at least two groups of travelers who came from Arachosia into the region administered by the Parnakka's

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[50] King 2019.

bureaucracy at Persepolis who are explicitly stated to be carrying *baziš*, a tax. As demonstrated by H. Sancisi-Werdeenburg, the Old Persian word *bāji-* which underlies the Elamite rendering in the Persepolis texts originally meant something like "share (of the king)," and the term was functionally used to denote a type of taxation paid to the King.[51]

One of these *baziš*-carriers was a man named Bakadadda, who appears in at least three texts.[52] One of these texts, NN 2149, reads,

> 10 l. (of beer or wine), supplied by Kabba, a man named Bakadadda received. He carried a *halmi* from Bakabaduš. He went to the king. He carried *baziš*. 10 men each received 1 l. Month 12, year 21. (My translation)[53]

The other two texts, NN 2580 and Fort. 0419-101, undoubtedly refer to the same individual as the tablets are sealed with the same recipient seal.[54] As both are dated to the same month and year, they refer to the same trip from Bakabaduš to the King who, as Fort. 0419-101 informs us, was currently in Susa.[55] NN 2580 records the delegation of *baziš*-carriers also receiving rations to feed horses and possibly mules: the image of men bearing *baziš* accompanied by animals evokes the reliefs of the processions of tribute-bearers at Persepolis.[56]

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[51] See Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989, 137–38; 1998. See also See Herrenschmidt 1989b. The term *baziš* also appears in the title of an official called the *bazikara* who played a role in livestock management; see the forthcoming dissertation of Mark Tamerus (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam).

[52] PF 1299 names another Bakadadda traveling from Arachosia, but this is unlikely to be the same person as in NN 2149. Koch 1993, 23–24 assumes that the two are the same individual. The seals on the tablets are different, however, and the name is common. The more careful assumption is that they are different individuals unless there is compelling evidence otherwise.

[53] Bakabaduš is spelled "Bakabasu" here, which is simply a variant of the name. See Tuplin 1998, 92, no. 66; Henkelman 2017, 157, no. 167.

[54] On this seal protocol, Henkelman 2008, 130; more broadly on Achaemenid sealing practices, Garrison 2017a.

[55] Fort. 0419-101, linked to the other two texts by names, date, and seal impression, does not actually say that Bakadadda carries *baziš* and serves as a useful reminder that the reasons for travel often go unmentioned in these texts.

[56] The reading for "mules" here is uncertain because of damage on the tablet, but the presence of horses is clear. For the art of the tribute procession, see especially Root 1979, 227–84.

NN 2580 includes a detail that links these texts with the corpus of the green chert objects: the travelers came from a place called "Barikana."[57] As others have recognized, this word transcribes the same toponym as the Aramaic *prkn*, an underlying Old Persian word meaning "wall."[58] As with the "White Fort" in Memphis, a descriptive name for the administrative structure became used as the toponym itself.[59] Through the connection between the two corpora of the Persepolis Fortification archive and the green chert objects from the Persepolis Treasury, we can examine two facets of the machinery of imperial taxation. Taxpayers in Arachosia had green chert vessels produced as an *iškaru*-tax, which was a subset of a broader category of taxation called *baziš*. After these objects, presumably along with other valuable materials, were registered and inventoried at an administrative center in Arachosia such as *prkn*, they were transported from Arachosia to Persepolis and/or Susa.[60] A travel authorization (*halmi*) from Bakabaduš (or his successors), as satrap in Arachosia, allowed these delegations to draw provisions from the storehouses along the state-controlled road system that stretched across the Iranian plateau.

The other *baziš*-carrier is a Mišabadda who appears in two texts transporting *baziš* from Arachosia. One of these, PF 1495, reads

3.2 BAR (1 BAR = approximately 10 liters) of flour Mišabadda received.
Together with 31 men he took the *baziš* (Hallock, "tax") of Udana. They took it

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[57] The word is spelled in this text as ^{HAL}ba-ri-ka₄-ik-ka₄-mar. The word appears elsewhere spelled with an additional *-na* syllable, but spelling is far from standardized in the Persepolis Fortification Archive. The *-ikkamar* (*-ikkimar*) here is a grammatical postposition indicating place from which and is, therefore, not included in the transcription of the toponym.
[58] For the name, see Tavernier 2007, 4.3.151. The connection between the toponym was already suggested by Bernard 1972, 176 and is discussed further in Koch 1993, 26; Henkelman 2017, 106–07. Bowman considered but rejected the possibility (Bowman 1970, 21).
[59] "White Fort" in Memphis: Thuc. 1.104, Diod. 11.74; see also Tuplin 2013b, 40.
[60] King 2019.

from Barrikana (to) Susa. He carried a *halmi* of Bakabaduš. In the twelfth month, 22nd year. They each received 1 l. (Translation by Hallock, slightly modified)[61]

The other text, NN 1898, differs in some of the details:

> 30 l. of flour Mišabadda received. From Arachosia he carried the *baziš* of Humana. (He went to) Susa. He received rations. 20 men each received 1.5 l. of flour. He carried a *halmi* of Bakabaduš. (My translation)

Although the recipients have a common name, simply meaning "protected by Mithra," the two texts must refer to the same individual, as the two tablets share the same seal on the reverse, usually the location where the recipient seals the document in travel rations.[62] With the confirmation that these Mišabadda*s* represent the same individual, a concomitant question arises: was this the same trip, or two different ones? Though NN 1898 is undated, it likely belongs to a different year than PF 1495 because of the different individuals to whom the *baziš* is attributed.[63] The *baziš*-transportation, therefore, was not a one-time occurrence.

What does it mean for *baziš* to be of a named individual? The Elamite, expressing the relationship with the extremely common postposition *-na*, is unhelpful in illuminating the precise meaning.[64] This detail is the structural differentiator between these two texts and the text group of NN 2149, NN 2580, and Fort. 0419-101, but it is unclear if the linguistic difference reflects a difference in practice. The possessive relationship expressed in PF 1495 and NN 1898, however, evokes the individually named "makers" of the green chert vessels from the Persepolis

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[61] Hallock 1969, 419.

[62] On the name: Tavernier 2007, 4.2.1094. On this sealing protocol: Henkelman 2008, 130; on Achaemenid sealing practice in general: Garrison 2017a. The homonymous treasury official in PF 1295 and NN 1564 may be the same official as in these two texts, but there is not enough evidence to link them definitively.

[63] The different number of companions Mišabadda has does not prohibit the texts from belonging to the same year, as the number of individuals traveling in these groups can grow or shrink over the journey.

[64] The Elamite grammar of Stolper 2004b is most pertinent here because of the attention Stolper gives Achaemenid Elamite.

Treasury—both are individuals associated with a tax payment (*baziš*). It is likely, therefore, that those who "made" the *iškaru* in Arachosia were those whose *baziš* was transported into the imperial core: the presence of the green chert vessels in the Persepolis Treasury itself documents their transportation. Do NN 2149, NN 2580, and Fort. 0419-101 then document a separate type of tax? If, as discussed above, *baziš* represents a general word for taxation that ultimately flowed to the King of Kings, then there may have been multiple types of taxes which were all designated as *baziš*, and the Persepolis Fortification texts therefore would record multiple types of taxation moving from Arachosia to the imperial core.[65] Nevertheless, it is also possible that the variation among the texts is a scribal preference.

There is another reason to link PF 1495 and NN 1898 with the green chert objects from the Persepolis Treasury. The Mišabadda named in these two texts may be related to, or in fact the same person as, an official named on the green chert objects.[66] A *segan*-official named *mtrpt* appears on fifteen of the objects. The Elamite and Aramaic spellings represent two renderings of the same name.[67] For these two to be the same individual, our Mišabadda would have had at least a 35-year career in the administration; although this is a long time, it is by no means exceptional.[68] A father-son or grandfather-grandson relationship between the two individuals is likewise a possibility. If *segan*s were imperial auditors who operated outside of strict spatial

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[65] A related question, but one outside the scope of this chapter since none of the relevant texts pertain to Arachosia, is the relationship between the transportation of *baziš* and that of "treasure" (*kapnuški* or *kanza*).

[66] A suggestion proposed earlier by Koch 1993, 27, but, to my knowledge, not mentioned in subsequent scholarship.

[67] Although Tavernier 2007 lists the two names separately, as he considers separate "Median" and "Old Persian" forms, this is probably a simple scribal preference.

[68] PF 1495 is dated to year 22 of Darius I, while the last text of the green chert in which *mtrpt* appears dates to year 19 of Xerxes. Compare the similarly long reigns of some of the Achaemenid kings: Darius I (36 years), Artaxerxes I (40 years), Artaxerxes II (46 years).

boundaries, then the movement of a *segan* between Arachosia and Susa should not surprise.[69]

Though the relationship between Mišabadda and *mtrpt* must remain speculative, it should not be

dismissed: there are only two known individuals who transported *baziš* from Arachosia to

Persepolis in the reign of Darius I and four *segan*s in Arachosia who demonstrably belong to the

reign of Xerxes. The *segan mtrpt* may well have been the officer responsible for transporting the

baziš from Arachosia to Persepolis and/or Susa in the middle of the reign of Darius I.

Besides the carriers of *baziš*, there is another traveler directly relevant to the movement

of stored value from Arachosia to the imperial core: Nariyamana, the treasurer from Gandhāra.

As recognized already by Hallock, he appears in two of the archive's texts, PF 1358 and PF

1359. The former text reads,

> 32 l. of flour, supplied by Katurrubba, Nariyamana the treasurer who was *zamer*
> and his 6 companions received for rations, and their 2 boys received 1 l. He
> carried a sealed document of Bakabaduš, and they were going from Gandhāra to
> Susa. (Translation modified after Hallock)[70]

Unlike the carriers of *baziš*, Nariyamana explicitly bears the title "treasurer." Whether this

amounts to a genuine administrative difference or simply a matter of scribal preference is

unclear, but regardless, all these officials participated in the financial administration of the

Achaemenid Empire. What is unique, however, about the case of Nariyamana is his stated origin:

Gandhāra, rather than Arachosia.[71] As Henkelman has observed, Arachosia functioned as a

gateway for travelers coming from farther east, and so travelers from Gandhāra and beyond

would have their *halmi*s renewed by Bakabaduš as they proceeded westwards.[72] The

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[69] The role of *segans* is discussed in King 2019.

[70] Hallock 1969, 383.

[71] PF 1359 does not state his origin, which reminds us that other travelers may likewise have come from farther east without having their origin explicitly stated.

[72] Henkelman 2017, 155. A southerly route from the Indus along the sea was also a possibility for travelers.

geographical position of Arachosia made it a gateway to the southeast of the Achaemenid Empire. The satrap in Arachosia, therefore, occupied a crucial position in the administration of the Empire, as he ensured the functioning of the system of provisioning and roads that enabled connectivity across the Iranian plateau. Jacobs' intuition in naming Arachosia one of the Empire's *Hauptsatrapien* is supported by the importance Arachosia has in the administrative documentation.[73] The financial administration of the peoples and places east of Arachosia would not have been possible without the participation of the satrap of Arachosia in these processes.

What is common to all the aforementioned transportation of stored wealth is that the travelers carried a *halmi* of Bakabaduš. The authorization of the satrap in Arachosia was necessary for the travelers to draw provisions from the state-controlled waystations along the imperial road network. Without the participation of the satrap in the transportation of this taxation, there would have been no extraction from Arachosia. Moreover, the name, position, and seal of Bakabaduš must have been recognizable to all along these waystations in between Susa and Arachosia. This recognition of the authority of faraway individuals is the essence of the "mental grip on the imperial network" that Henkelman invokes.[74] That the Achaemenid Empire was an empire of overlapping satrapal networks was reiterated every time a *halmi* was drafted, issued, or read.

Movement of Labor

As previously discussed, labor was the most valuable resource in the Achaemenid Empire.[75] The Achaemenid authorities recognized this and sought to increase the labor available

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[73] Jacobs 1994; 2006.
[74] Quotation from Henkelman 2017, 77.
[75] The extreme means undertaken by states to acquire more labor were in no way unique to the Achaemenid Empire. See, for example, the deportations under the Assyrian Empire (e.g. Radner

to them by a variety of means, ranging from paying free workers to transporting unfree laborers.[76] Though the demand for labor is clearest in Achaemenid Babylonia, the effects of the Empire on the labor supply and the relationship between laborers and their masters can be seen throughout the Empire, as this dissertation has argued.[77] The infrastructure of the Achaemenid Empire was, to a large extent, designed to transport groups of dependent laborers to wherever they might be needed.[78] Of course, the infrastructure of Achaemenid imperialism could not have been constructed without the use of dependent laborers. The Achaemenid Empire, in effect, existed both for and because of its labor supply.

In the time of Darius I, monumental construction projects at Susa, Persepolis, and elsewhere in the imperial core required a large number of laborers to be brought into the region from elsewhere; the labor demands of the region outstripped its supply.[79] Branches of the Achaemenid administration sought laborers from the far-flung reaches of the Empire—such as western Anatolia, Egypt, and Central Asia—and brought them into the imperial core.[80] Because of the rations that these laborers received as they moved through the region around Persepolis, their presence is visible in the documentary record. Although the imposing construction projects

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2014) or the violent population transfers between the Sasanian and Roman Empires (e.g. Morony 2004).

[76] Details of labor extraction are discussed throughout the dissertation. The most detailed evidence comes from Achaemenid Mesopotamia, for which see Jursa 2015 and, in the context of the study of fiscal regimes, Jursa and Moreno García 2015. See Briant 2002a, 429–39; 2012 on *kurtaš* in the Persepolis Fortification archive.

[77] See, e.g., labor and imperial estates: Henkelman 2018a. Ma's study of Achaemenid Egypt is rhetorically overstated but nevertheless provocative: Ma 2020.

[78] A point well illustrated by Henkelman's study of the size and network-characteristics of granaries in the Achaemenid Empire: Henkelman 2017, 82–97.

[79] Though the scale of construction appears greater than before under Darius I, the transportation of laborers from elsewhere into southwestern Iran was not new to his reign. See, for example, the Babylonian workers at Matannan in the reign of Cambyses: Henkelman and Kleber 2007.

[80] See the chart of ethnic labels in Henkelman and Stolper 2009, 274–75.

of Darius I at Susa and Persepolis are most visible in the archaeological record, labor was needed at other locations as well, and as a result, we can also trace laborers moving out of southwestern Iran and into other regions. As usual, the texts provide little information about the nature of the work performed, though occasionally occupational titles are provided. Nevertheless, the date, location, and number of workers can provide some hints as to their tasks, while the ethnic labels that often appear inform us of their ultimate point of origin.[81]

The most vexing question regarding laborers in the Persepolis Fortification archive is their socio-legal status. Most important is the meaning of the common word *kurtaš*, which appears in the Aršāma dossier in its Aramaic form *grd*; both words, as discussed in chapter 4, are borrowed the same Old Iranian word *gr̥da*. [82] Although a full characterization of *kurtaš* could fill a dissertation in itself, a few points merit emphasis for the purposes of this chapter. In the Persepolis texts, the word *kurtaš* is used to denote a wide spectrum of laborers, but all *kurtaš* lay in between the extremes of "free" and "slave" and were dependent on the Achaemenid state for (at least some of) their sustenance. Their frequent ethnic designations demonstrate that *kurtaš* were transported across the Achaemenid Empire, and the appearance of the Old Iranian word in different languages of the Empire suggests that this designation of a type of labor resulted from the spread of Achaemenid imperialism.[83] Although the nature of their work is frequently unmentioned, some texts denote certain *kurtaš* as specialized, skilled laborers. In short,

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[81] Ethnic labels: Henkelman and Stolper 2009.

[82] See chapter 4 for bibliography on the Old Iranian word. In addition to the Persepolis Fortification texts, *kurtaš* also appear frequently in the Persepolis Treasury texts (Cameron 1948). Etymology: Tavernier 2007, 4.4.7.54 with earlier bibliography. Brief discussions of *kurtaš* in larger works are numerous. The fullest historical discussion remains Briant 2002a, 429–39. Briant 2002a, 940–42 has references to earlier literature, among which Dandamaev 1975; Kawase 1984; 1986; Uchitel 1989; 1991 are most important. Since Briant 2002a, see Henkelman and Stolper 2009.

[83] For ethnic labeling, see in particular Henkelman and Stolper 2009.

maintaining groups of *kurtaš* class constituted a fundamental part of the Achaemenid imperial project.

Through the issuing of *halmi*s, the satrap Bakabaduš participated in the system which transferred laborers between Arachosia and the imperial core. The largest single group of workers traveling from Arachosia attested in the archive is recorded in NN 0803, which reads,

> 2,340 liters of flour, allocation from Mitmanuš, Matika (and) his companions received (as) rations for *kurtaš*, (as) 2 rations at Kurdušum (and) Dašer. 720 men were receiving 1.5 liters during 1 day, 80 who were each receiving 1 liter during 1 day, 20 who were receiving 1 liter minus ⅓. He (Matika) carried a *halmi* from Bakabaduš. They went to Susa. (Translation by W. Henkelman)[84]

Though the text does not specify the nature of their work, we can assume from the number of workers traveling together and their destination as Susa that they were traveling to work on the monumental construction projects at Susa, either the palace itself or the canal project which eventually linked Mesopotamia to the Susiana plain.[85] The demand for manual labor in Elam in the middle of the reign of Darius I necessitated an Empire-wide acquisition of able-bodied men. Transporting 820 workers from Arachosia to Susa required a substantial state investment. At the rations given in this text, this trip would have required over 100,000 liters of flour.[86] If we prefer to express this in terms of production, this figure represents the yield of over 60 hectares of land in sixth-century Sippar, the only city in the Achaemenid Empire for which grain yield has been

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[84] The total rations do not quite match that of the individual calculations, but the total may have just been rounded. If the 2,340 total represents two days' worth of rations for the entire group, then the total is off by 6⅔ l. The calculation below will use the figure in the total, i.e. 1,170 liters per day.

[85] Canal construction: Tolini 2011, chap. 4; see also the *urāšu* tax on labor levied in Mesopotamia that was often used for canal construction: Jursa and Waerzeggers 2009, 258–62. On the palace of Darius at Susa, see the material collected in Perrot 2013.

[86] More specifically, 106,470 liters at this calculation given in note 36 above.

carefully studied.[87] The transportation of humans at this scale—in terms of number of persons moved at this distance—was unprecedented in history before the Achaemenid Empire and, after the collapse of Alexander's successor state, overland transportation at this scale within a single state would not again be seen until the Umayyad Caliphate. Moving laborers across the Iranian Plateau required the coordination of the officials along the road system, at the storehouses, and in the caravanserais across the Empire, from Bakabaduš to King Darius. NN 0803 provides an example of the Achaemenid state at its strongest.

NN 0802 is a natural companion to the aforementioned text, and together the two documents illustrate how imperial power dynamics reified themselves in the administration. Most of the details between the texts are the same: the supplier and primary recipient are the same, the seal impressions are identical, both groups receive flour at Kurdušum and Dašer, they carry a *halmi* of Bakabaduš, and they travel to Susa. The only difference between the two texts is the secondary recipients of the rations: in NN 0803, Matika disburses the rations to 820 *kurtaš*, while in NN 0802 he hands a much smaller amount of flour to three *šalup* and three *libap*. Hallock notes that the two words are often paired and contrasted.[88] However one chooses to render the words in translation, *šalup* represent higher-status individuals, and *libap* lower-status. Where the two appear together in comparable numbers, perhaps up to two *libap* for every single *šalur*, it is likely that the group represents elites and their personal slaves.[89]

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[87] Jursa 1995, 165; 2010, 49 give an average yield of 1,728 liters per hectare. Jursa's figures represent grain yield, not flour yield, so the number of hectares required should be even higher in actuality.

[88] Hallock 1969, 720.

[89] As suggested already by Hallock 1969, 720. However, in other contexts (with large numbers of *libap* and few or no *šalup*) *libap* may be functionally identical to *kurtaš*, but this is a point that deserves further study.

What all of the above means is that NN 0802 and NN 0803 record a single group of 820 *kurtaš* led by three elites and their three slaves. Despite the fact that this was a single group of travelers, the administration in the Persepolis region bureaucratically divided the groups into *kurtaš* and those leading the *kurtaš*, even though both received flour at the same locations over the same period of time. A structural difference between, or an administrative recognition of, ruler and ruled was built into the quotidian system which provided rations for travelers moving across the Empire. Imperial differentiation became routinized through processes as mundane as receiving grain rations. The reiteration of the difference between ruler and ruled helped maintain the difference itself, and the branches of the imperial administrative from the King to Bakabaduš all played a role in this act of imperial differentiation. This differentiation, however, was one of labelling, not one of rationing: both the high-status men and the majority of the *kurtaš* receive the same daily ration of 1.5 l.

The longest distance traveled by any laborers associated with Arachosia occurs in the journal (Hallock category V) NN 2261, previously mentioned at the very beginning of this dissertation; the text accounts for livestock distributed at a place named *Kabaš* in year 23 of Darius.[90] As a journal, the text records a number of different groups receiving these sheep or goats, in this case 11 separate groups of recipients. Several noteworthy groups appear receiving the caprids: many of the animals are consumed at the table of the Great King; a number are given to *taššup* (able-bodied men who may or may not be soldiers); others still are given to state officials, an express messenger (*pirradaziš*) and a group of registrars (*karamaraš-be*).[91] Besides

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[90] Hallock's description of V texts: Hallock 1969, 55–57.
[91] For food "consumed before the King," see Henkelman 2010. For discussion of the term *taššup*, see Henkelman 2018a, 25–28. For the registrars, with a comparison of the Babylonian and Elamite evidence, see Donbaz and Stolper 1997, 259–66. A longer discussion of *pirradaziš* follows below under "Movement of Information."

these are other travelers including a group of ostensible sailors (^{HAL}LÚ$^{MEŠ\ GIŠ}$˹MÁ^{MEŠ}-*ip*˺, "boat-men") traveling from Persepolis to Media, presumably to the Caspian Sea. The text, in sum, provides an illustration of the sorts of travelers a place like Kabaš might see state officials, soldiers (or at least those capable of bearing arms), representatives from the King's court sent to gather food.[92]

The last two entries in this journal record two groups of travelers from Arachosia, whose travel was authorized by Bakabaduš: a group of Skudrian women and a group of Greek men. Both groups as designated as *ukku*, "heads," with determinatives for females on the Skudrians and males on the Greeks. Although the term *ukku* rarely denotes persons, it does not appear to carry any significant meaning and perhaps should simply be translated as "people/persons" here.[93] That each group bears an ethnic label of a subject population suggests that both groups are dependent labors of the *kurtaš* class.[94] Each group receives a single sheep or goat, but, as with most of the other entries in the text, the number of recipients is not specified. For groups of *kurtaš* that receive meat, which in itself is quite rare, the most common ration is for 30 *kurtaš* to receive one sheep per month.[95] We can suggest, therefore, that each of these groups represents around 30 individuals traveling from Arachosia to Persepolis.

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[92] If the two Kabaš toponyms represent the same place, then PF 0157 (Hallock 1969, 117) shows that Kabaš was home to a *partetaš* (paradise), which would make it a seat of both food production and distribution. On *partetaš* and other estates in the Persepolis Fortification archive, see Tuplin 1996, 92–131; Uchitel 1997; Aperghis 1998; Briant 2002a, 442–46; Henkelman 2018a; Tuplin 2018; scattered discussions on estates and their administrative geography can also be found in Koch 1990.

[93] Among the PF and NN texts, *ukku* is used in this way only in a few V texts (NN 2041, NN 2349, and this text). This suggests that the word was simply a scribal preference.

[94] Ethnic labeling: Henkelman and Stolper 2009; Greeks in Persepolis: Rollinger and Henkelman 2009.

[95] 30 *kurtaš* per sheep per month: PF 1794, NN 0727, NN 1101, NN 1847, and perhaps NN 0161. In NN 0645, they receive slightly less meat per person, and NN 1807 they receive more

How can we explain these 60 travelers moving across the expanse of the Empire? Their ethnic labels provide their origin. The Greeks must have come from the western reaches of Anatolia or, less likely, an island of the Aegean where Persian hegemony had reached.[96] Although there is no consensus on the location of "Skudra," the most likely location of this toponym is northwestern Anatolia or the European side of the Bosporus.[97] The date that these Greeks and Skudrians left—or were made to leave—western Anatolia is not provided by the text, but the activities of Darius in the western reaches of the Achaemenid Empire and beyond, such as his Scythian campaign (Hdt. 4.83-4.144), would have provided ample opportunities to transport unruly Greeks and Skudrians.[98] Before this accounting text was written, therefore, these Greeks and Skudrians had traveled across the expanse of the Achaemenid Empire from western Anatolia to Arachosia, a distance of over 4,000 kilometers, and then moved westwards again into Persepolis, some 1,600 more kilometers.[99] The distance that these Greeks and Skudrians were made to move, therefore, was at a scale entirely unknown in history before the Achaemenid Empire, a scale that far surpassed that of the more commonly cited Neo-Assyrian deportations.[100]

Movement across this expanse required communication among officials, such as Bakabaduš, in Sardis, Kandahar, Persepolis, and everywhere in between. Although groups of 30

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per person. NN 2062 perhaps records much higher rations, but the meaning of the text is too garbled to interpret with confidence.

[96] On Greeks in the Persepolis archives, see Rollinger and Henkelman 2009.

[97] Discussion in Henkelman and Stolper 2009, who stress that "Skudra" represents a Persian perspective of the region. See also the papers in Nieling and Rehm 2010.

[98] It is possible that these Greeks and Skudrians were deported already under Cyrus or Cambyses, but the increased activities of the Achaemenids in western Anatolia under Darius I make his reign the most likely time for these deportations.

[99] A straight line between Sardis and Kandahar comes to 3,488 km, and the actual route taken must have been considerably longer.

[100] Generally on Neo-Assyrian state power, see Radner 2014 which includes discussion of deportation. See also Gallagher 1994 for a discussion of the discursive construction of Assyrian deportations.

individuals were not particularly large by the standards documented in the Persepolis

Fortification archive, each group nevertheless would have required a minimum level of

infrastructure for its travels: a group of 30 adults would have been provided with a minimum of

30 liters of flour per day, plus occasional disbursements of wine or beer and, as NN 2261

demonstrates, meat. Coordination among satraps and their staffs, through their *halmi*

administrations, allowed this transportation of labor. Furthermore, that labor was needed in parts

of the Achaemenid Empire, at least in Arachosia and Persepolis in NN 2261, was communicated

through channels not visible in this text, but was recorded in a separate stream of information

(discussed further below). Because workers rarely receive disbursements of meat, the Greeks and

Skudrians documented in NN 2261 were likely to have been higher status, perhaps possessing an

unusual skill. Whatever their ability, these workers were needed in Arachosia and then

Persepolis, and the gears of the Achaemenid imperial machinery both transmitted the need for

the workers' labor and facilitated their transportation.[101] Though only the *halmi* of Bakabaduš is

recorded in NN 2261, a satrapal network, interlocking webs of imperial mechanisms, lie behind

the movement of laborers in this text.

    As discussed above, NN 0802 and NN 0803 together record the single largest group of

laborers attested who traveled between the imperial core and Arachosia, but smaller groups

likewise made the journey. PF 1393, for example, records a man leading from the king to

Barrikana 21 "boys" (*puhu*)—another vague term used to represent administrative

differentiation, if not a bounded socio-legal category of laborers.[102] These 21 "boys" were

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[101] Though there is not as much evidence as for the imperial core, there also must have been large construction projects in Achaemenid Arachosia, particularly around Old Kandahar. Five of the seven sites that the British team excavated at Old Kandahar were first inhabited in the Achaemenid Period (McNicoll and Ball 1996).
[102] See Hallock's edition and translation: Hallock 1969, 392–3.

accompanied by 13 "men" (LÚ) who appear, again, in a separate text: PF 1573.[103] The same seal

impression of the receiving party, in addition to the shared travel itinerary, marks the two texts as

belonging to the same group.[104] Although the terms denoting the individuals in these groups are

inherently vague, their very rations serve as a differentiator: the 13 "men," unlike the boys,

receive meat. Differences in class were reinforced and reiterated through hierarchized nutritional

regimes.[105] The Persepolis texts that record rations given to postpartum women, in which mothers

of boys usually receive 50% more food than mothers of girls, equally illustrate the Achaemenid

administration's acute awareness of the impact of its control of staple foods among certain

subjects, namely travelers and state dependents.[106] The state used food as a reward for mothers

bearing males, rather than females, just as it used food to mark status, and, presumably, to create

physically embodied status through differential nutrition. The satraps of the Achaemenid Empire,

as the supervisors of this system of provisioning, ultimately directed this imperial differentiation.

So far, Arachosia may appear incidental, or coincidental, to the system seen at Persepolis:

the Achaemenid state required laborers for its ambitious construction projects in the imperial

core, and the state drew upon whatever sources it had at its disposal, whether that be workers in

distant Skudra or Arachosia. While this may be true for a large number of these workers, there

are texts that suggest laborers were sought from Arachosia specifically. The texts that imply this

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[103] Hallock's edition and translation: Hallock 1969, 439.

[104] The named suppliers and recipients, however, differ between the two texts. The different suppliers are easily explained by two separate administrators handling grain and livestock. The different recipients also indicate some bureaucratic differentiation in the traveling party, but the group evidently shared one seal.

[105] Cf. Payne 2016 who discusses physical body size as a marker of an Iranian aristocrat in the Sasanian Empire.

[106] The postpartum rations are Hallock's N category, for which see Hallock 1969, 37–38. For further discussion of these texts, see Brosius 1996; Briant 2002a, 435–37.

phenomenon are those that record round trips, i.e. a traveler began his trip in the imperial core,

went to Arachosia, and returned to the imperial core. One such text, PF 1439, reads,

> 36 l. of flour, supplied by Ambaduš, Kunda received (for) rations. He went from
> Arachosia (to) Susa. He carried a *halmi* of Ziššawiš. 1 high-status man received
> 10 l. His 26 servants (literally, "boys") received each 1 l. 22nd year. (Translation
> after Hallock, modified)[107]

The piece of information that indicates that this is a round trip is the *halmi*-issuer: Ziššawiš was

the second highest administrator, after Parnakka, at Persepolis.[108] Therefore Ziššawiš, at

Persepolis, had ordered this Kunda to travel from the region to Arachosia in order to retrieve

workers—the "boys" here indicate status, but not age—and to transport them to Susa.[109] Kunda's

permission to draw rations for himself and this workforce across this entire journey came from a

single sealed document of Ziššawiš. That Bakabaduš did not need to issue another authorization

for Kunda in Arachosia speaks to the mutual intelligibility of the bureaucracies at Persepolis and

Arachosia—two branches of the same system—and represents a tacit acknowledgment, either on

behalf of Bakabaduš or of lower-level administrators in Arachosia, that Ziššawiš and Bakabaduš

occupied comparable positions within the imperial hierarchy. Though we see the negotiation of

the imperial hierarchy most vividly and violently documented in the Greek sources on Cyrus,

Tissaphernes, and Pharnabazus, administrative documentation provides more quotidian examples

of this process.

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[107] Hallock 1969, 405. The amount of flour received by the high-status man (presumably Kunda)
is extremely high. This suggests that he was perhaps traveling with other people who are
otherwise not mentioned in this text.

[108] Koch 1990, 227–33; Henkelman 2003, 104.

[109] It is possible that the "boys" traveled from Ziššawiš to Arachosia and back to Susa, rather
than having only traveled from Arachosia. Nothing in this text prohibits either interpretation.
Because it was so resource-intensive to move laborers across this distance, the analysis above
proposes that the laborers came from Arachosia. However, neither interpretation alters the
broader interpretations about the transportation of labor.

The round trip from the imperial core to Arachosia and back recorded in PF 1439 is not unique: PF 1474 sees two men go from the king to retrieve 30 "boys" from Arachosia and then return to the king.[110] The question remains: why bring a relatively small number of laborers from Arachosia to southwestern Iran? Though surely any additional workmen would have helped, these 21 or 30 workers could not have contributed to the construction or agricultural projects at any rate close to that of the 820 *kurtaš* from Arachosia in NN 0803. Although neither text itself states this—most of the Persepolis documentation is quite laconic—it is possible that these were specialized workers of some kind. Agricultural and general construction workers could be found in great numbers across the Achaemenid Empire, but laborers with specialized skills, such as artisans, represented a scarcer resource worth finding and moving. The Great King sought specialized craftsmen, in addition to rare materials, from across the Achaemenid Empire. An inscription which records the construction of the palace of Darius I at Susa, commonly called the "Susa Foundation Charter" (DSf), couches this impulse for collection in a rhetoric that stresses the reach of the Empire:

> When the earth had been dug to a depth and the rubble foundations [of this palace] had been made, then the bricks were molded by the Babylonians.
> And the beams of cedar wood were brought from a mountain called Lebanon. The Assyrians transported them as far as Babylon, and from Babylon the Carians and the Ionians transported them to Susa. And the *yaka* timber was brought from Gandhāra and from Carmania.
> And the gold, which was worked here, was brought from Sardis and Bactria. And the precious stones, such as the lapis lazuli and the carnelian, which were worked here were brought from Sogdia. And the turquoise which was worked here was brought from Chorasmia.

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[110] Hallock 1969, 414. Again, it is possible that the laborers also made both halves of the trip, but this possibility seems less likely. PF 1392 (Hallock 1969, 392) also records a round trip from southwestern Iran to Arachosia and back. However, the nearly equal number of "gentlemen" and "boys," 32 and 31 respectively, suggests that this is not a labor force, but perhaps a delegation of some sort. The leader of the group bears the name "Bakadadda," the name of one of the *baziš*-carriers discussed above. Though a connection cannot be proved, it is possible that these are the same person.

And the silver like the ebony were brought from Egypt. The decorative elements with which the terrace was painted were brought from Ionia. And the ivory, which was worked here, was brought from Ethiopia, India, and Arachosia.
And the stone columns which were carved here, were brought from a village called Hapiratuš in Elam; the artisans who worked this stone were Ionians and Sardians. (Translation by F. Vallat; DSf, §8-12)[111]

Specific craft materials, like the ivory from Arachosia, were likely accompanied and worked by specialized artisans—an idea already proposed by Nylander who noticed Ionian features in the architecture of Pārsa.[112] A rhetoric of collection appears across both the royal and satrapal levels. Darius I, the architect of this rhetoric as far as his inscriptions indicate, lists the peoples "of all kinds" that comprised his Empire, and the delegations depicted on the friezes at the palace of Persepolis provide a pictorial representation of this diversity brought under one rule by the Achaemenids.[113] As issuers of *halmi*s and thus the ultimate authorities over the imperial road network, the satraps across the Empire were the ones responsible for ensuring that this royal impulse for collection—of materials and peoples—became a reality. Yet as discussed in chapter 4, the satraps themselves uttered this rhetoric of collection. A letter of Aršāma commands his subordinate to gather *kurtaš* "of all kinds," the same Old Persian word, here in an Aramaic letter, that appears in Darius' inscriptions.[114] Collection of peoples and materials, and the transportation thereof, constituted an imperial goal articulated and performed at both the royal and satrapal levels. The connection between DSf and the specifically gathered workers from Arachosia must remain inherently speculative, but a collection of Arachosian materials and Arachosian artisans,

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[111] Vallat 2013, 283–84. Changes have been to the spelling to match the rest of the dissertation.
[112] Nylander 1970.
[113] Important studies include Root 1979, 227–84; Briant 2002a, 204–54; Lincoln 2012, 107–44.
[114] TAD A6.10:3, 7. See Tuplin 2020b, 186 for discussion and earlier bibliography. Tuplin discusses whether the term means "of all races," and this remains unclear. As Tuplin notes, the word describes craftsmen (*marrip*) in PT 79. For the text, see Cameron 1948, 194–95.

perhaps ivory and ivory-workers, may explain these peculiar round trips from the imperial core

to Arachosia and back.

Although many of the laborers whom we suspect to have specialized skills are not named

as such by the documentation at Persepolis, some texts do assign occupations to these workers.

Often these titles themselves remain vague: *marrir*, for example, simply means "craftsman," an

indication that the worker in question is some sort of skilled laborer, but not a specific

designation.[115] The Achaemenid administration occasionally moved and administered specialized

workmen as a single group. PF 1569 records one such group moving from Arachosia to

Persepolis:

> 50 liters of grain, supplied by Mikrašba, Katukka(?) received in the fourth(?)
> (Elamite month?), (for) woodworkers.[116] They went from Bakabaduš to Parnakka.
> (Translation after Hallock)[117]

Although the names of the designated recipient and the month are unclear due to damage on the

tablet, the core of the information herein remains intact. Once again via the metonymic overlap

of person and place, this text records travel between Arachosia and the imperial core, here

specifically Persepolis where Parnakka operated. The workers bear an occupational

designation—woodworkers.[118] Though the number of workers is not specified in the document,

we can provide a range of possible numbers by using the amount of grain rations typically given

to workers. If all received 1 l. for the day, this group would represent 50 individual workers; if

they all received 1.5 l., this would be 33 workers, with a little grain to spare. The size of the

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[115] *Kurtaš* who are craftsmen: Briant 2002a, 429–31. In addition to the Persepolis texts, *marrip* appear as craftsmen in the inscription DSf (discussed above).
[116] The word Hallock postulates to be an Elamite month is very broken and may denote something else.
[117] Hallock 1969, 438. Other texts with woodworkers: PF 1246, PF 1487, NN 1631, NN 1999. See also Henkelman 2017, 161–62.
[118] The text literally says "cutters."

group, therefore, represents a substantial workforce of artisans, but does not compare to the scale of the 820 *kurtaš*, for example, seen in NN 0803.

Though the term for their occupation does not clarify what these workers did with the wood, their travel from Arachosia to Persepolis, and, therefore, the state's investment in them, suggests that they possessed skills unavailable to the average *kurtaš*—more carpentry than lumberjacking. Carpentry was a rare and valuable skill in the Achaemenid Empire. As we have seen, an apprenticeship contract that survives from the period comes from the archive of another satrap Bēlšunu, and records a contract for his servant to learn the craft of carpentry.[119] Because of the scarcity of wood in parts of the Middle East, notably Babylonia, and pre-Achaemenid kings of the region boasted when they were able to acquire timber.[120] In the Susa Foundation Charter, Darius I too names timber among the list of materials which he acquired from across the Empire. In fact, the cedar from Lebanon is the very first material Darius lists after the molding of the bricks, and he too lists the *yaka* timber brought from Carmania and Gandhāra. Timber represented an ideologically important material for Darius' imperial project, just as it did for kings before him, and therefore the imperial administration sought workers trained in handling timber. The ability to find and transport these woodworkers from Arachosia to Persepolis again demonstrates the infrastructural reach of the state through its satraps and, moreover, the state's desire to acquire labor.

These woodworkers are not the only skilled laborers associated with travel to or from Arachosia. NN 2503 records the travel of a single "stone-cutter" from Elam to Arachosia:

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[119] See the chapter on Bēlšunu. The text is Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 2; see Stolper 1987, 390f.

[120] See, *inter alia*, discussion of timber in Briant 2002a, 45, 379–80. The Assyrian material is better studied regarding timber resources; see Postgate 1992a; Watson-Treumann 2000. See also Wilcox 1992 for the archaeological evidence for the types of trees found across the Middle East.

2.5 liters of MA[?]. Dandumanda(?) by name received 1.5 liters. One *puhu*, a stone-cutter, received 1 liter.[121] He carried a *halmi* of Bakabana [satrap in Elam]. They (went to) Arachosia. Year 22, (Elamite) month 11. (My translation)

The text is difficult to interpret precisely because of the occupational designation present. Without the occupational designation, the text would appear to be a typical travel record of a single elite and his personal servant. Dandumanda, if his name is rendered correctly, receives the 1.5 l. typical of a high-status adult, and the unnamed *puhu* receives the smaller 1 l. ration typical for lower-status adults.[122] The designation of the *puhu* as a stone-cutter precludes this interpretation, but offering an alternative explanation proves difficult. Was the skill of this one stonecutter, whom the administration did not even deign to name in this text, so valuable as to merit his transportation from Susa to Arachosia, some 2,200 kilometers? Was the *puhu* both a personal servant and a stonecutter? Stonecutters do not always appear as skilled laborers, but this text implies a special situation.[123] Though the details may be unclear, the investment of the state in transporting this labor remains transparent.

The regularity and quantity of the movement of laborers to and from Arachosia is abundantly demonstrated by the Persepolis Fortification archive. Bakabaduš, as satrap in Arachosia and therefore the issuer of *halmi*s from the region, was ultimately responsible for all travelers beginning their journey in Arachosia and for travelers coming from farther east through the region. His staff produced the documentation necessary to authorize travel along the state's road system and must have provided rations for travelers while they were in Arachosia, though this aspect of his administration is invisible in the material from Persepolis. The satrapal houses

[121] On the stone-cutters of Persepolis, see Giovinazzo 2012.

[122] This assumes that MA is a type of grain to which the 1.5:1 ratio would apply.

[123] The 690 stonecutters in NN 0480 at Tamukkan, a site that saw the construction of a palace already under Cyrus, demonstrates that stonecutters were not necessarily specialized artisans. Identification of the Elamite toponym with different renderings in Greek and Akkadian: Henkelman 2008, 116–17. Construction under Cyrus: Tolini 2008; 2011, 191f.

between Arachosia and the imperial core were likewise responsible for provisioning and safeguarding travel across the southern Iranian plateau. It was this system of *halmi*-issuing and the providing of provisions that allowed the movement of the most valuable resource in the Achaemenid Empire: labor.

Movement of Information

Herodotus provides the most famous account of the movement of information across the Persian road system. When Xerxes reported the Persian defeat at the battle of Salamis, he sent a messenger to the imperial core. Herodotus describes the messenger system of the Achaemenid Empire as follows,

> While Xerxes did thus, he sent a messenger to Persia with news of his present misfortune. Now there is nothing mortal that accomplishes a course more swiftly than do these messengers, by the Persians' skillful contrivance. It is said that as many days as there are in the whole journey, so many are the men and horses that stand along the road, each horse and man at the interval of a day's journey. These are stopped neither by snow nor rain nor heat nor darkness from accomplishing their appointed course with all speed. The first rider delivers his charge to the second, the second to the third, and thence it passes on from hand to hand, even as in the Greek torch-bearers' race in honor of Hephaestus. This riding-post is called in Persia, *angareion*. (8.98; Loeb translation)

As Herodotus' report demonstrates, the speed and efficiency of the Persian messenger system made it famous in the world of the Aegean, where the preponderance of seaborne travel had borne an entirely dissimilar system of information transfer. To the coastal-living, island-hopping Greeks, the overland system of communication that allowed messages to be relayed between Sardis and Susa in some 12 days represented one of the most awe-inspiring marks of Persian imperialism, a testament to both the size of the Empire and to the ability of the Great King to bring its disparate regions under a single rule.[124]

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[124] 12 days is rounded up from Colburn's estimate of 11.6: Colburn 2013, 46.

The movement of express messengers, called *pirradaziš*, is recorded in the Persepolis Fortification archive. Gesturing toward the studies of the Mediterranean by F. Braudel and P. Horden and N. Purcell, H. Colburn has studied the role of *pirradaziš* in connecting the Achaemenid Empire.[125] By using the American Pony Express as a point of comparison, Colburn estimates the amount of time it would have taken a message to travel across the Achaemenid Empire through the use of the *pirradaziš* system: he proposes 11.6 days for Sardis to Susa, 2.2 from Susa to Persepolis, and 12.0 from Persepolis to Memphis.[126] By Colburn's own admission, these travel times are probably too low—stirrups and horseshoes were not available to the *pirradaziš* but were used in the Pony Express—but they provide an optimistic estimate. If we use Colburn's travel time, a message sent via the *pirradaziš* system from Susa to Arachosia would take around 12 days. The much shorter travel times for *pirradaziš* as compared to laborers are a result of the system described by Herodotus which was designed to facilitate faster movement. Hints of the infrastructure needed to maintain the system of fast messengers, besides the *pirradaziš* themselves, appear in the Persepolis Fortification archive: see, for example, rations given to horses that are explicitly noted to be for the *pirradaziš* system.[127] The state invested in infrastructure along the road system that allowed the transfer of messages to be as fast as possible.

As a result of this *pirradaziš* system, information could be transferred among state officials at a speed comparable to overland communication speeds in the fastest pre-industrial systems. The transfer of information and orders between the King and his satraps maintained the rule of the Great King. Herodotus' report on the Persian messenger system comes after a crisis

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[125] Braudel 1966; Horden and Purcell 2000; Colburn 2013.
[126] Colburn 2013, 46.
[127] E.g. in PF 2061, PF 2062, PF 2065, NN 0642, NN 1232.

that Xerxes needed to report to the imperial core. In the reign of Darius I, military reports were likewise transmitted via the same system of *pirradaziš*. D. Lewis, among the first scholars to recognize the importance of Hallock's publication of the Persepolis Fortification texts, linked a *pirradaziš* trip to the Ionian Revolt.[128] The text NN 1809 reads,

> 70 l. of beer Datiya received as rations. He carried a *halmi* of the king. He went forth from Sardis as a *pirradaziš* and went to the king at Persepolis. 11th month, year 27. At Hidali. (Translation by Hallock, modified)[129]

As Lewis notes, the 11th month of year 27 of Darius corresponds to January 17 to February 15, 494, that is, during the Ionian Revolt that is chiefly known from Herodotus (see books 5 and 6). Because this Datiya carried a *halmi* of the King but came from Sardis, this represents a round trip. Datiya was sent by the King to gather information and likely coordinate military forces in Asia Minor before what would prove to be the final campaign of the Ionian Revolt, and then returning to the imperial core using the same travel authorization of the King, he was to report to Darius his findings and actions in Anatolia.[130]

Besides the temporal and geographic connection to the Ionian Revolt, Lewis additionally proposed that this Datiya may be the same person as one known as Datis in Herodotus' *Histories*.[131] Herodotus writes that Darius, preparing his campaign against mainland Greece, assigned the command to a Datis and also to one of his nephews (6.94.2). The timing of the Battle of Marathon, in 490, and this Elamite text, dated to 494, in addition to the Datis/Datiya's association with western Asia Minor makes the identification of these two as the same individual

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[128] Lewis extensively discusses the importance of the Persepolis Fortification archive in Lewis 1977.

[129] Text published in Lewis 1980, 194 and first referenced in Hallock 1978, 115. The text is called "Q-1809" in both publications, but I have given it its contemporary name here. See also discussion in Briant 2002a, 370.

[130] Lewis 1980; Briant 2002a, 370.

[131] Lewis 1980, 194.

likely. Additionally, Datiya in this text receives a large quantity of rations reserved for high-ranking individuals in the imperial hierarchy—a high status that would suit a commander for the Greek campaign. As Lewis argues in agreement with Hallock, Datiya's high status and known time as a commander suggest that he did not exclusively function as a *pirradaziš*; the term *pirradaziš* did not only denote permanent messengers, but also individuals functioning as express messengers at any given time.[132] The *pirradaziš* system, therefore, was flexible and accommodated individuals who always operated as *pirradaziš*—professional messengers—in addition to individuals like this Datiya who, although they may have usually occupied other positions, needed to deliver information at express speeds. The King could order that information be acquired and brought back to him through the authorization of round trips, or more regular transfers of information could be disseminated throughout the Empire using one-way *halmi*s. The *pirradaziš* system, with messengers exchanging information and flowing through the arterial imperial road system, enabled the Empire to operate as a single entity.

Satraps used the *pirradaziš* system to relay important information to the imperial core, and thus *pirradaziš* originating from satraps across the Empire, including Bakabaduš, appear in the Persepolis Fortification texts. NN 1325 provides one such example:

> 4.5 l. of flour, one Teš (or Halteš) and his two companions received. They are *pirradaziš*. He carried a *halmi* of Bakabaduš. They went to the King. (Elamite) month 9, year 22. (My translation)

The content of the express message is not recorded and is unlikely to have been disclosed to the provisioning administration, yet there are indications that the message was important. The seal of the recipient appears in exactly two other texts, NN 0827 and NN 2511, which also document travel from Arachosia to the imperial core, specified in the other texts as Susa. Although the

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[132] Hallock 1969, 42; Lewis 1980, 194.

designated recipients differ, the times, travel itineraries, and seals of the texts match and, therefore, suggest that these three texts document the same message traveling from Arachosia to the King at Susa.

Happenstance has led to three stops of the same trip of a message being preserved in the archive, which allows us extra insight into the movement of information between Arachosia and the imperial core. NN 0827, for example, clarifies the route that the messengers took from Arachosia, as it says that the travelers came from Drangiana (later Sistan), rather than from Arachosia. Thus, the message traveled the shortest overland route from Arachosia to Drangiana, then to Carmania, and from there to the imperial core. This is the same route that Craterus later followed on Alexander's orders: from the Indus, through Arachosia and Drangiana to Carmania (Arr. *An*. 6.17.3; same route in Strab. 15.2.5).[133] Although part of this journey must have been through desert, this route represents the shortest passage between the imperial core and Arachosia. The route is omitted, however, from the map of Briant, who instead links Arachosia to Carmania via the Indus and the coast of the Gulf of Oman.[134] Travel through the desert must have been difficult, but evidently was undertaken at certain times for cases such as express messages.

Moreover, these three texts contain information about the processes behind sending these messages, namely sealing practices and, hence, the checks upon the various administrators in the system. Herodotus' passage above reports that the actual messengers could change at every waystation. Why, then, is the same seal, PFS 2878, impressed on three separate tablets? The seal must not have belonged to any of the individual *pirradaziš*, but it rather was associated with the

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[133] Schmitt 1995.
[134] Briant 2002a, 366, similarly Kuhrt 2007, 736.

message itself.[135] Perhaps the seal was used for the trips of numerous messages which traveled from Arachosia to the imperial core, or perhaps the seal was specially carved for this specific trip. Either way the provisioning bureaucracy treated the message itself, as transmitted via different *pirradaziš*, as a traveler. The extensive system of travel and provisioning which stretched from Arachosia to Susa served, in this instance, to ensure the continued communication between Bakabaduš and the Great King and hence to transport the message as it would any other traveler along the road system.

The three texts above comprise the fullest narrative of the travel of a message from Arachosia to the imperial core, but other instances survive in the accounting texts of the Persepolis Fortification archive. These accounting texts, which are underrepresented in the currently published sample, summarize and total a number of transactions in a given place over a given period of time; they are secondary records to the primary records of the memoranda.[136] A few unpublished accounting texts enrich our knowledge of the regularity and expanse of the *pirradaziš* system. Fort. 2014-001, for example, records and summarizes a number of rations disbursed for travelers, many of whom are *pirradaziš* from diverse regions: lines 11 and 12 summarize the separate trips of two *pirradaziš* who came from Bakabana, satrap in Elam, while lines 15'-18' show *pirradaziš* who made the longer trip from Irdubama, satrap in India.[137] Among these are also Arachosian messengers: two different *pirradaziš* come from Bakabaduš in lines 9' and 10'. Throughout the text, the travels of *pirradaziš* are summarized alongside the trips of ordinary travelers. Though the *pirradaziš* system was exceptional for its speed, it operated

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[135] Moreover, in two of the texts the traveling party was composed of three people (NN 0827 and NN 1325), whereas in the third (NN 2511) the traveling group had eleven people.

[136] For journals and accounts as underrepresented in the published Persepolis Fortification texts, see Jones and Stolper 2008.

[137] See discussion of Irdubama in Henkelman 2017, 150–57, 208–17.

through the same administrative protocol as the regular systems of travel and provisioning in the Achaemenid Empire. Fort. 1911-001 provides a similar picture of movement across the Empire: a *pirradaziš* from Arachosia (lines 43'-45') is recorded alongside the journey of *kurtaš* from Media (39'-42') and two travelers going from the king at Susa to Kapiša in Gandhāra (28'-29').[138] The *pirradaziš* system represented an extension of the imperial road and provisioning system that allowed the transmission of information among the king and his satraps to be as fast as possible.

Although the *pirradaziš* system constituted the fastest means of moving information across the Achaemenid Empire, it was not the only one. As seen in the discussion above, the staff of Parnakka comprised some 300 persons. Generating documents and copies of documents, in addition to transferring them elsewhere when necessary, required an enormous amount of manpower for the most active members of the administration. Because Parnakka himself was stationed at Persepolis, we have a more complete view of his information-producing staff than for other satraps of the Achaemenid Empire; however, there are hints of staff for others, including Bakabaduš. PF 1530 provides some of this information:

> 10 l. (of) beer, supplied by Mirakama, Harbawukbama a report-maker (*tidda huttira*), sent by Bakabaduš, together with his 4 companions received (as) rations. They received each 2 l., (for) 1 day. He was sent forth to the king. 24th year, ninth month. (Translation by Hallock, modified)[139]

Although only Harbawukbama is specified as a report-maker (*tidda huttira* is a singular form), his four companions are likely to have the same role, as they receive an equal amount of beer. The high rations that these men receive—2 l. each for one day—suggests their high status: whatever reports they were making were important enough to be entrusted to individuals of

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[138] Kapiša: Henkelman 2017, 213–17, with earlier literature discussed.
[139] Hallock 1969, 428.

particular merit. This text is not alone in assigning report-makers a high position: NN 2523 sees Queen Irtašduna ordering that a report-maker be issued 300 l. of wine from her estate (*ulhi*). Although the nature of these reports is unclear, elsewhere report-makers do travel (PF 1552, from India to Susa), but they are more often not recorded as travelers.[140] The report-makers, as their title suggests, must have produced information themselves in some form, and could additionally be transferred among different branches of the imperial administration, e.g. from Arachosia to the King, or from India to Susa.

Together, the *pirradaziš* and the report-makers comprised a system of information production and transmission that allowed the satraps and the king to be in constant communication, despite the obstacles of distance in the Achaemenid Empire. The *pirradaziš* system, in particular, provides an illustration of the means by which information was transferred between the Great King and his satraps in distant reaches of the Empire, like Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus in western Anatolia. Because the satraps themselves were those responsible for the authorization of *halmi*s, all administrators on the imperial road system needed to be aware of the satraps from across the Achaemenid Empire, whether to allow a message to travel from Sardis to Susa, or from Kandahar to Persepolis. Daily reiteration of the imperial hierarchy through the issuing or viewing of *halmi*s, or by drafting or reading the messages carried by *pirradaziš*, created and maintained the mental map of the imperial network for administrators in the Achaemenid Empire. The system of information transmission, in total, allowed the Empire to operate collectively as a singular state, and the very operation of the mechanisms of this system served to maintain the integrity of the imperial hierarchy.

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[140] For PF 1552, see Hallock 1969, 434.

Conclusion: The *halmi*-system in a Satrapal Empire

  Among the Fort. texts are several lengthy journal texts which summarize memoranda of rations disbursed to travelers. Fort. 1912-103 represents one of the most astounding texts in the archive for its expansive geographical scope. Although the tablet is heavily damaged at its edges, the middle of most of the lines remains legible, and from this, we know that the texts summarizes and compiles memoranda of rations disbursed to travelers (Hallock's Q texts). Because all the entries record travel, the text records a number of geographic names and satraps, as issuers of *halmi*s for the travelers, that rarely appear in the archive. Travel of a single man called an "Indian" from the King to India, meaning the Indus valley region (line 25'), is followed immediately by travel from Puruš (=Gedrosia) to Persepolis (line 26'), which is, shortly thereafter, followed by travel of *kurtaš* from Lydia to Parnakka, with a *halmi* issued by Artaphernes, a satrap known from Herodotus (line 28'). Four "companions" travel from Bakabaduš in Arachosia to Persepolis (line 23'). In addition, there is also the transportation of wealth: lines 49' to 53' show travelers moving "treasure" (*kantaš*) from Susa to Persepolis.[141] *Pirradaziš* transfer information across the Empire, as they travel from places unusual, like Parthia (41') or Lydia (44'), or ordinary, like Persepolis (line 17', literally "from Parnakka"). Scribes and accountants likewise travel around the Empire (56'-57').

  The text, in sum, provides a microcosm of the connectivity that the imperial road and provisioning system both allows and facilitates. All of this was made possible through the *halmi*-system which allowed travelers to draw from the provisioning stations along the road system that crisscrossed the Achaemenid Empire. Through the issuance of *halmi*s, the satraps made possible

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[141] If that is what *kantaš* means. Line 20' and 37' also show the transportation of treasure from Media to Persepolis.

connectivity—of stored wealth, labor, and information—across the Achaemenid Empire. Behind

each of these satraps lay a house that was instrumental in this administrative network. Parnakka,

though he probably had one of the larger satrapal houses, provides an example: he receives

enough food to feed 100 people, and his staff of 300 receives rations from the administration at

Persepolis. In Fort. 1912-103, we are enmeshed in a web of satrapal networks. The frequent use

in this text of a satrap's name as the origin or destination of travel reiterates the point: the

Achaemenid Empire maintained itself through its satraps.

Chapter 7. Axvamazdā and the Control over Movement in Achaemenid Bactria

Introduction

The scholars who participated in the Achaemenid History workshops, as discussed in the

first chapter, transformed the field of Achaemenid studies by interrogating the utility of the

Greek sources and shifting attention to sources produced inside of the Achaemenid Empire.[1]

These scholars largely turned their focus to regions of the Achaemenid Empire richly detailed by

non-Greek sources such as Pārsa, Babylonia, and Egypt. The history of Achaemenid Bactria, at

this time, was chiefly recorded by two types of sources, the archaeological record and the

Classical biographies of Alexander III, and, due to the lack of local archival or inscriptional

sources, Bactria and Central Asia at large were to some extent neglected in the early stages of the

New Achaemenid History.[2]

The major exception to this trend was P. Briant's *L'Asie centrale et les royaumes proche-

orientaux*, half of which is devoted to Achaemenid Central Asia, with a particular emphasis on

Bactria.[3] Briant carefully reads both the archaeology and the Alexander historians and comes to a

few important conclusions about Achaemenid Central Asia. First, though he notes that there is no

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[1] See the introductory chapter for this literature.

[2] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980 includes a whole chapter (122-144) on the relationship between Achaemenid princes and the rule of Bactria. Lyonnet 1990 is the only chapter of all the volumes which focuses on Central Asia. Vogelsang 1987 briefly touches on Central Asia as part of his remarks on "eastern Iran." Some contributions that address problems pertinent to the Achaemenid Empire as a whole (e.g. Briant 1987) do mention Central Asia as supporting evidence.

[3] Briant 1984; 2020 provides Briant's latest thoughts on Achaemenid Bactria. In addition to the Classical sources (especially the Alexander historians) and the Achaemenid royal inscriptions, Briant draws heavily upon the work of French archaeologists who worked in Afghanistan. See especially Bernard and Francfort 1978, which itself collects several papers into one volume; Bernard 1976; Gardin and Gentelle 1976; Gardin and Lyonnet 1978; Gardin and Gentelle 1979; Gardin 1980.

strict break in the material culture before and after the coming of the Achaemenids and though there are sophisticated irrigation structures that predate Achaemenid rule, he stresses that this continuity of material culture is paralleled elsewhere in the Achaemenid Empire. Moreover, the expansion of irrigation structures under Achaemenid rule would have benefited the Achaemenid satrap most of all.[4] Further, Briant demonstrates that the domination of Achaemenid Bactria by rulers called *hyparchs* in the Greek sources led to an expansion of imperial land under cultivation, even if the political system of *hyparchs* predated Achaemenid rule.[5] He also suggests that Achaemenid administrators in Bactria likely maintained archives like their counterparts elsewhere, even if these archives do not survive in our record.[6]

Briant's proposition about Bactrian archives was proved correct with the discovery of an Aramaic archive from late Achaemenid Bactria. Our knowledge of Achaemenid Bactria has been considerably enhanced by J. Naveh and S. Shaked's publication of these 48 Aramaic texts, of which 30 are documents written on leather and 18 are wooden sticks.[7] From the dates given in the texts and the paleography of the Aramaic, the editors conclude that 29 of the 30 leather documents and all the wooden sticks date to the mid to late fourth century; the one exception, presumably an intrusion, dates to the first half of the fifth century.[8] Because none of the texts were excavated, they do not have a secure provenience, but the toponyms attested in the texts establish that they came from Bactria. Whether or not they came from a single location, and thus constitute a single archive, is an important question for the interpretation of the documents and will be discussed below.

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[4] See especially Briant 1984, 49–55.
[5] Briant 1984, 81–88.
[6] Briant 1984, 59–61.
[7] Naveh and Shaked 2012.
[8] Naveh and Shaked 2012, 16.

As for their content, the texts can be grouped into three genres: letters, accounts, and split tally sticks.[9] All of the wooden sticks are split tallies, and W. Henkelman and M. Folmer have studied this corpus extensively.[10] They contend that the split tallies represent the leasing of caprids to pastoral groups by the state and that this practice allowed illiterate parties to enter into credit relationships. This interpretation, with its parallels in the later documentation of Central Asia, is compelling, and, moreover, the relationship between sedentary and pastoral populations implied by these split tally sticks fits the political ecology of Bactria over the longue durée.[11] The documents on leather have received comparatively less historical scrutiny outside of the commentary by Naveh and Shaked.[12] As has been recognized even before the publication of the documents, about half of the letters are from a man named Axvamazdā to a subordinate named Bagavanta; Axvamazdā, by general agreement, was satrap in Bactria at the time of the letters.[13] Because these letters document the innerworkings of a satrapal house, they will be our primary focus here. The other letters do not have enough internal coherence to assign to a particular owner or owners, and some are so fragmentary that they may in fact belong to the Axvamazdā dossier. These letters can inform us about the social and economic landscape in late Achaemenid Bactria broadly but cannot provide details on the house of Axvamazdā. The accounts have

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[9] An exception to this tri-partite classification is A10, which appears to be a document regarding legal status of liability. This is not exactly how Naveh and Shaked divide the texts. Instead of "accounts," they prefer "lists of supplies and labels." Among these is one text which may in fact be a letter, although one which contains in it an account (C5), which may be compared in function to many letter-accounts from Persepolis. See Hallock's description of the letters (T texts) in the Persepolis Fortification archive: Hallock 1969, 50–53.

[10] Henkelman and Folmer 2016.

[11] See e.g. Briant 2020.

[12] Henkelman 2017 studies aspects of these documents, but his scope is farther reaching than Bactria alone. Folmer 2017 is nominally about administrative practice in the Aramaic sources of Egypt and Bactria. The comparison here in fact informs us on scribal practice in the Achaemenid Empire but not other Achaemenid institutions in Bactria.

[13] See already Shaked 2004.

received most attention on account of one text (C4) which dates to the reign of Alexander and, thus, records the transition of the administrative apparatus in Bactria from Achaemenid to Macedonian rule.[14] More important for the purposes of this chapter is that the accounts, in total, document a Persepolis-like system of storage and provisioning of foodstuffs in the Bactrian landscape.[15]

A crucial question remains: how many archives do these texts, in total, represent? All of the Axvamazdā and Bagavanta material is sure to come from a single archival context, as the chance that material relevant to both of these individuals would have been discovered in multiple locations is very slim. Because some of these documents betray a supposed sloppiness characteristic of drafts (reuse of older material, corrections, etc.), Naveh and Shaked argue that these texts were drafts produced by the staff of Axvamazdā and thus represent an archive belonging to Axvamazdā.[16] However this argument seems impossible to reconcile with the fact that two of the documents pertain exclusively to Bagavanta and do not mention Axvamazdā at all (A9 and A10). Therefore, this chapter argues that the documents, in fact, represent an archive belonging to Bagavanta. The evidence for drafts that Naveh and Shaked present can be reinterpreted. The price and/or scarcity of leather made necessary the reuse of the material, and the "careless writing" can be explained by the power differential: the scribes of Axvamazdā, as the satrap, need not produce perfectly written letters to be sent to his subordinate.[17]

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[14] See the introduction and commentary of Naveh and Shaked 2012, 21, 198–212.
[15] Naveh and Shaked largely ignore the Persepolis comparison in their commentary, but, thanks to personal communication with Henkelman and Tavernier especially, Shaked added a few remarks to his "Afterword:" Naveh and Shaked 2012, 259–62.
[16] Naveh and Shaked 2012, 16–17. Folmer 2017, 419 also says that they were probably drafts but gives no justification for this proposal.
[17] "Careless writing:" Naveh and Shaked 2012, 16.

As for the remainder of the documents, our conclusions will, by necessity, be less definitive. The other letters are too fragmentary to be assessed in total, but of the more complete ones, the matters discussed therein do not pertain to either Bagavanta or Axvamazdā and are, thus, likely to have originated from a different archival context. The repeated personnel in the tally sticks, in addition to the fact that they are all dated to the same year, strongly suggests that they all came from the same archive; because of the different subject matter, this is likely a separate archive from Bagavanta's.[18] The accounts do not contain prosopographic connections to link them to a single archival context; if they came from multiple locations, they would speak to a continuity of practice across these places. In total, there seem to be at least four archives: Bagavanta's letters, the non-Bagavanta letters, the tally sticks, and the accounts.[19] Some of these may have been stored nearby each other in a large administrative complex, but they still represent separate pools of documents. Because of the documents' homogeneous chronological and geographic context, they can all provide information on the institutions of the late (and post-) Achaemenid state in Bactria, but only the letters from Axvamazdā to Bagavanta can definitively inform us on the behavior of the satrapal house.

What emerges from the documentation is, like the Bakabaduš dossier, the intense involvement of the satrapal house of Axvamazdā in the Achaemenid infrastructure of movement. The dossier of Axvamazdā, then, is a natural complement to that of Bakabaduš because both detail the same infrastructural system. However, the nature of the documentation is different. The Bakabaduš dossier has more individual texts, but they are laconic. This allows the modern

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[18] Henkelman and Folmer 2016, 133–42 contains discussion on the problems surrounding the Bactrian material's archival status.
[19] In a similar vein, Sims-Williams now considers the late antique Bactrian Documents to have come from multiple sources: Sims-Williams 2020.

observer to describe in broad strokes the scale of movement, to analyze what sorts of things were transported, and to track the movements of individual travelers, although details of their journeys must be deduced. In contrast, the documents about Axvamazdā, because they are letters, offer us greater information on individual events, like a dispute over who had the proper jurisdiction to levy a tax (A1), than any text from the Persepolis Fortification.[20] But the much smaller quantity of texts directly related to Axvamazdā prohibits the same inference of patterns that could be drawn from the documentation on Bakabaduš. Together, then, the Bakabaduš and Axvamazdā dossiers provide tremendous insight into the infrastructure of movement in the eastern half of the Empire and the role the satrapal house played in the maintenance of this infrastructure. We must, however, remember the caveat that the two dossiers differ in both time and space, with the Bakabaduš texts documenting the reign of Darius I in Arachosia and those of Axvamazdā recording the mid-fourth century in neighboring Bactria. Yet the shape of the imperial administration, as it solidified under Darius I, appears similar in both times and places, and the two sets of evidence can be used to supplement each other in the study of the satrapal houses, though details may have differed in Bakabaduš's Arachosia versus Axvamazdā's Bactria.

The Axvamazdā texts provide two pieces of information about the Achaemenid road and provisioning system which are absent from the Bakabaduš texts. The first is that the personal property of Axvamazdā, as satrap, was used as nodes within this infrastructure of movement and provisioning, that is, his physical residences were used as waystations on the road system. Although the *halmi*-system at Persepolis implies similar satrapal participation and although there are occasional mentions at Persepolis of travelers being provisioned via the estates of satraps, the letters from Bactria provide direct evidence of travelers staying at the houses of Axvamazdā and

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[20] Plates, text, translation, and commentary for A1 in Naveh and Shaked 2012, 64–75.

the preparations necessary prior to their stay.[21] The second point, one that is entirely missing in

the Persepolis documentation, is that the administration of Axvamazdā taxed movement on the

state road system that he himself maintained. The road and provisioning system did not just

ensure the movement of officials and laborers that the state was interested in transporting, but it

also facilitated the movement of non-officials, so long as they could pay the price. The state, as

instantiated in the house of Axvamazdā, invested in the infrastructure of movement partly

because it needed to transport its own wealth, labor, and information, as discussed in the

previous chapter, but also because this infrastructure provided it a venue to levy taxes. If we are

to understand these processes in detail, however, we must first characterize the house of

Axvamazdā.

The House of Axvamazdā

       To begin our discussion of the house of Axvamazdā, we must establish that he was

indeed a satrap. Although this is the scholarly consensus, Axvamazdā, like some of the other

satraps under study in this dissertation, is never called by the title "satrap," and, indeed, is never

called by any title at all. Yet the jurisdiction and behavior of Axvamazdā matches the profile of

other satraps. As is indicated by his letters to his subordinate Bagavanta, Axvamazdā is the

highest attested authority in Bactria apart from the King, who is scarcely mentioned, and this

jurisdiction spans a number of places named in the documents: Khulmi (A1), the "desert"

Artadatana (A2), the town of Nixšapaya (A4), etc. Based on medieval sources, the last of these

places is likely to be a town across the Oxus, i.e. in Sogdia, and this location supports the

arguments of P. Briant and B. Jacobs, who have argued, prior to the discovery of these

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[21] See the provisioning at the estate of the satrap Karkiš in PF 1953. See Henkelman 2010, 704–
13 on Karkiš and Henkelman 2018a, 46-50 on estate-holders in the Persepolis Fortification
archive.

documents, that the satrap in Bactria also had authority over populations in Sogdia.[22]

Furthermore, Axvamazdā had control over the road and provisioning system that stretched across

Bactria and Sogdia, and, by analogy with the satraps attested in the Persepolis Fortification

archive, we can expect him to have issued *halmi*s for travelers along these roads. Like other

satraps in this dissertation, Axvamazdā owned estates and was concerned with increasing the

agricultural production of his land. These estates were used to supply the provisioning system

that Axvamazdā himself controlled. As with other satraps, Axvamazdā had the authority to levy

taxes, and at least one of these levies, the "revenue of the King" (*mndt mlk'*, A8), was likely to

have been transported from Bactria into the imperial core.[23] We will return to aspects of

Axvamazdā's governance below, but, suffice it to say, he fits the profile of an Achaemenid

satrap.

Personnel

As we have already seen in the chapters on Aršāma and Bēlšunu, the personnel within the

house of the satrap was crucial to maintaining the house of the satrap. As the archive holder,

Bagavanta is the subordinate of Axvamazdā whom we can detail most clearly. By any measure,

Bagavanta was a high-ranking official himself: he is called "the governor (*pḥt'*) who is in

Khulmi" (A2), though he is more often referred to as simply the one "who is in Khulmi" (A1,

A4, A6).[24] From the evidence of the documents, Bagavanta emerges as the head of an

institutional house that was subordinate to the house of Axvamazdā. Nevertheless, A6, a

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[22] Briant 1984, 71–74; Jacobs 1994, 208–227. See Naveh and Shaked 2012, 17 for the location of Nixšapaya.

[23] The tax called the "revenue of the King" likely belonged to the "house of the King," on which see footnote 119 in this chapter. Although Axvamazdā oversaw the collection of this tax, the terminology suggests that the tax revenue belonged to the Great King, strictly speaking.

[24] This serves as a reminder that important officials in the Achaemenid Empire did not need to have their titles stated.

document that is fundamental for our understanding of the satrapal house, indicates that the house of Bagavanta was considered a separate fiscal entity from the house of Axvamazdā. In this text, Axvamazdā orders the delivery of grain as seed to one of his granaries, and should Bagavanta fail to deliver the grain, Axvamazdā says that "you [Bagavanta] shall pay the whole amount from your own house (*bytk*) to my house (*byt' zyly*)."[25] The Achaemenid elite, as is explicit here, conceived of their property in total as a literal house (*byt'*), the same word used by Axvamazdā earlier in the same letter to denote the physical buildings he used as residences.

Although, as fiscal entities, the houses of Bagavanta and Axvamazdā were considered separate, Axvamazdā nevertheless used the labor of Bagavanta, and Bagavanta functioned as one of the key personnel in the operations of Axvamazdā's house. As with the satraps of the Achaemenid Empire, there appears to have been no explicit distinction between the activities of Bagavanta in his capacity as "governor in Khulmi" and those of his ostensibly personal affairs: letters from Axvamazdā appear alongside a debt note with no mention of Axvamazdā (A10), in addition to what appears to be instructions for how Bagavanta ought to take medicine received from his wife (A9).[26] If there were a distinction between the official and non-official capacities of an administrative agent, it was a fine one. The activities performed by Bagavanta are similar to those done by other subordinates of satraps, as, for example, he was charged with maintaining the estates (or residences) of Axvamazdā (A2, A6) and with transporting commodities to said estates (A6). Yet, unlike the *pqyd*s of previous chapters, Bagavanta's duties extended beyond estate-management. Bagavanta was one of the officials responsible for constructing a wall around the town of Kiš (A5), and, moreover, had some limited jurisdiction to levy taxes (A1).

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[25] Translation by Naveh and Shaked. Text and commentary: Naveh and Shaked 2012, 108–116.
[26] The sense of A9 is difficult to interpret, but, at any rate, it has nothing to do with Axvamazdā.

His title, "the governor who is in Khulmi," suggests that he had control over the day-to-day operations of the institutional apparatus in Khulmi.

Bagavanta's subordinates provide further evidence for his high status. Two of the letters mention a "foreman" of Bagavanta, though two different individuals occupy the position in the two letters (A1 and A5). The term translated by Naveh and Shaked as "foreman," *frataraka* (*prtrk*), appears in multiple contexts to denote officers subordinate to others: in late fifth-century Egypt, it denoted the governor of Upper Egypt, who was subordinate to the satrap in Memphis; in the Seleucid period, the term was used to denote a dynasty in Persis that was, at least nominally, subordinate to the Seleucid kings.[27] Across the varied contexts, the meaning of the term is consistent: a *frataraka* is an officer subordinate to another official (as high as the King) who has responsibilities similar to the higher official but at a more limited jurisdiction. In the Bactrian context, Bagavanta had multiple *frataraka*s whose jurisdiction each appears to have been limited to a particular town, and we can imagine that other towns in Bactria also had a *frataraka*.[28] Besides these *frataraka*, two letters also mention "magistrates" (*dyny'*) subordinate to Bagavanta.[29] The term is vague and intentionally so: the authors of these letters use the term to denote the administrative agents around Bagavanta, not to denote any particular duty. With his magistrates and foremen, Bagavanta himself commanded a number of administrative agents and operated atop a hierarchy that spanned multiple towns in Bactria.

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[27] Egypt: Wiesehöfer 1991; Tuplin 2013a, 136; Persis: Wiesehöfer 1994, 101–136; etymology of *frataraka*: Tavernier 2007, 4.4.7.42.

[28] A5 certainly pertains to work in Kish. It is unclear where the action in A1 took place, but, at any rate, Kish is not mentioned.

[29] Though *dyn* is most often translated as "judge," Naveh and Shaked are right to take it as "magistrate," as the plural in other contexts is employed in equally vague ways (Naveh and Shaked 2012, 70). Some of these officials may have had judicial functions, but there is no reason to think that they all did.

Bagavanta is not the only subordinate of Axvamazdā detailed in these letters. Of most

comparative interest is Vahya-ātar, the *pqyd* who is "in (the places) Dastakani and Vahumati"

(A6). Vahya-ātar is thus an administrative equivalent to Aršāma's estate-manager Psamšek in

Egypt, as both managed the estates of their satraps in particular locations.[30] Vahya-ātar managed

the estates of Axvamazdā in the unknown places, Dastakani, Vahumati, and Artuki, and, in this

text, was responsible for ensuring that old houses therein were repaired and seed grain was

delivered.[31] He is denoted as the *'lym*, or "servant" of Axvamazdā, a term that expresses a broad

range of subordination rather than any specific administrative or legal status.[32] In all likelihood,

Axvamazdā had many subordinates of a similar role and position to Vahya-ātar who do not

survive in the record. The abundance of subordinates of a comparable level is clear across the

other chapters.

The final administrative agents attested within the house of Axvamazdā were the officials

charged with producing the written documentation. These officials are named in scribal

subscripts that end the letters of Axvamazdā. These scribal colophons are attested throughout the

Empire, and J. Tavernier has argued that we can reconstruct three levels within the operations of

letter production.[33] According to Tavernier, an official either denoted as the "master of the

command" (*b'l ṭ'm)* or the one "who knows this command" (*yd' ṭ'm' znh*) was charged with

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[30] Naveh and Shaked translate *pqyd* as "officer," which, though not incorrect, is too vague to be
useful (Naveh and Shaked 2012, 113). See chapter 4 for discussion of this term.
[31] As Naveh and Shaked suggest, the place Dastakani may simply be rendering "my estate"
(Naveh and Shaked 2012, 113–14), though this creates an awkward parallelism with the place
Vahumati, if that is, in fact, a toponym.
[32] *'lym* also appears in two of the ration disbursements (C3 and C4). Note that the term *'lym* is in
fact the term used in the Aramaic version of the inscription at Bīsotūn to denote the nobles bound
to Darius (Old Persian *bandaka*; see Greenfield and Porten 1982 for the Aramaic version and
Bae 2001 for a comparative study of the four languages of the inscription).
[33] See now Tavernier 2017; earlier: Tavernier 2008.

transmitting oral Old Iranian orders from the satrap to a scribe who wrote in Aramaic (*spr'*). This scribe then translated the orders into Aramaic and produced a written Aramaic document. If necessary, a second scribe writing in a language of local administration, e.g., Egyptian in Egypt or Elamite at Persepolis, then produced a copy of the Aramaic document in the local language. Tavernier's interpretation may be overly schematic—it is hard to believe that there was an officer responsible solely for transmitting oral Old Iranian commands—but what is important here is that Aramaic acted as an Empire-wide bridge between the spoken Iranian languages and the local languages of administration.[34]

All three levels of Tavernier's system of information-production are attested at Persepolis and in the Aršāma correspondence from Egypt.[35] However, the system is reduced in the Axvamazdā letters. First, there are no mentions of scribes who write in any language besides Aramaic. Writing spread to Bactria with the advent of the Achaemenid Empire, and, therefore, there were no pre-existing languages of administration in Bactria as there were in, for example, Elam, Babylonia, or Egypt. However, the discovery of the Elamite fragments from Old Kandahar in Arachosia, which also had no pre-existing administrative languages, suggests that we should not exclude the possibility that information was also recorded in Elamite in Bactria.[36] The second reduction in the letter-production of the Axvamazdā dossier is that the responsibilities of the "master of the command" and the Aramaic-scribe were, with the exception of one letter (A2),

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[34] That is, the officer "who knows the command," etc. clearly had some responsibility within the system of information-production, or else this responsibility would not have been recorded, but what this responsibility was is unclear. Aramaic could also function as a local language of administration, and not just a bridge between Old Iranian and other languages.

[35] Within the Aršāma correspondence itself, there is only one explicit attestation of the third level (Tavernier 2017, 357–8). However, the administrative documents in Demotic also attest to the presence of this administrative level.

[36] See the previous chapter for Arachosia.

consolidated into the responsibilities of a single official. These duties—the transmission of

orders and the production of an Aramaic letter—were still conceptually distinct, as officials with

these tasks are said to be "the Aramaic scribe in charge of the command." Yet these duties were

generally combined, which suggests an overall simplification of the system of letter-production

seen at Persepolis and in Egypt.

In total, there are only five attested individuals associated with the production of the

letters of Axvamazdā. Among these five, a Daizaka appears three times (A2, A4, A7) and a

Nurafratara twice (A5, A6). The administrative regime of Axvamazdā, then, operated at a

relatively small scale, but this does not necessarily limit the size of the house of Axvamazdā. As

a point of comparison, only eight administrative agents are attested within the letter-production

of Aršāma in Egypt, and these were apparently sufficient, or perceived by Aršāma as sufficient,

for the communication regarding the satrap's holdings in Egypt.[37] The lack of administrators,

however, does suggest the somewhat limited reach of the satrap over his subordinates like

Bagavanta. For Achaemenid satraps, and the Achaemenid government writ large, letters, as

distinguished from other types of documents like accounts, were written when there was a

specific problem that needed to be addressed; the administration usually did not produce letters

to maintain or monitor daily operations.[38] The reasons for this are manifold: lack of manpower,

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[37] See the chart in Tavernier 2017, 387.

[38] The major exception to this trend is what Hallock calls "letter orders" in the Persepolis
Fortification archive (see Hallock 1969, 50–53 for his discussion of these texts). The
comparative work that has been done on letters across the Achaemenid Empire (e.g. Tavernier
2008; Folmer 2017; Tavernier 2017) has tended not to focus on the content of the letters
themselves, so the question of *why* the letters were written at all has largely been unanswered.
The stylistics of (nearly) contemporary Late Babylonian letters, the study of which often
suggests *why* certain letters were written, has recently been subjected to a series of studies (Hackl
et al. 2014; Hackl and Jursa 2015; Levavi 2018; Jursa 2020). Schmidl in Hackl et al. 2014, 4–7,
contextualizes Late Babylonian epistolographic practice within the broader literature about letter-
writing.

cost of material, distances that needed to be traversed, etc. For all these reasons, therefore, the

satrap needed to rely on those administrative agents whom he had at his disposal, and, in turn,

these agents could become powerful individuals in their own right. The infrastructural limitations

of the satrapal house, both in terms of material and personnel, necessarily gave satrapal

subordinates, like Bagavanta in Khulmi, some power vis-à-vis their satrap, just as the

infrastructural limitations of the Achaemenid Empire gave the satraps some power vis-à-vis the

Great King.

The Agricultural Landscape

The foundation of the satrapal economy under the purview of the house of Axvamazdā

was, like that of the rest of the Achaemenid Empire, agro-pastoral. Before analyzing the specific

contributions of Axvamazdā's house to this landscape, we can give a broader characterization of

the Bactrian agro-pastoral economy that emerges from the Aramaic documents beyond the letters

of the Axvamazdā correspondence. Particularly informative are the two provisioning accounts

that survive at length: C1 and C4.[39] These texts record the diversity of food products that were

managed by the Achaemenid administration in Bactria. Though we do not know if the

production of these foodstuffs was managed by the regime, the collection and distribution of (at

least) a portion of these products was controlled by Achaemenid officials, as these documents

demonstrate. Grain production included wheat, barley, and millet, and the flour produced

therefrom was categorized into "fine," "white," and "plain."[40] The cultivation of millet, as a

warm season plant, indicates summer irrigation in arid environments such as Bactria, and,

therefore, implies infrastructural investment, whether by the Achaemenid state or local

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[39] C1: Naveh and Shaked 2012, 174–85; C4: Naveh and Shaked 2012, 198–212.
[40] Types of grain: C4:4, etc.; categories of flour: C1:14-6.

producers, in grain-production.[41] The existence of an official called the "barley-supplier" (*ywbr*) further demonstrates the Achaemenid interest in monitoring grain in Bactria.[42] Grain was likewise one of the chief concerns of the administrators at Persepolis, and the state's interest in monitoring the dietary staple in both regions is clear. Like grain, the distribution of wine resembles the administration of Persepolis, and the mention of wine from Arachosia demonstrates the state's transportation of the product.[43] Smaller amounts of fruits and spices provided necessary nutritional supplements and flavor for those receiving provisions, and oil and vinegar rounded out the plant products.[44]

In addition to the disbursement of plant products, there are rations of animals (bovines, donkeys, sheep, and poultry) and secondary animal products (cheese and sour milk).[45] That animals are designated as either "grazing" or "sheltered" implies multiple modes of livestock production, which aligns with Henkelman's argument that the tally sticks from Bactria record state officials leasing flocks to pastoralists for herding.[46] Livestock-raising, therefore, lay at the interface between the sedentary state administrators and pastoralists. As scholars have argued, the cooperation between sedentary and pastoral populations was fundamental to the Achaemenid

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[41] Who created these irrigation installations in Bactria is a matter of debate because sophisticated irrigation structures predate the Achaemenid conquest (see Briant 2020 for a review of the literature). Regardless of the creator of the irrigation structures, however, the Achaemenid state was able to profit from their existence by collecting a grain surplus. For millet as indicating summer irrigation, see Wu et al. 2015, 98.

[42] C4:2, 20, 35, 59.

[43] Arachosian wine: C1:31.

[44] Fruit: C1:17-18, perhaps C1:19-20; spices: C1:22; oil and vinegar C1:25-27 (though 26 is oil for fuel). C1:17 records the distribution of something called "blue" or "green." Naveh and Shaked 2012, 182 suggest that it may be a designation for flour, but a fruit or vegetable makes more sense, both contextually and logically.

[45] See C1 for all these products. The animals appear to have been disbursed while alive, and the recipients were to slaughter them when needed for meat.

[46] Designations of animals: C1:5-11. Tally sticks: Henkelman and Folmer 2016.

imperial project, and this partnership could be mutually beneficial to both parties.[47] The number

of grazing sheep (100) disbursed in C1 suggests the productivity of the pastoralists in fourth-

century Bactria, and the Axvamazdā correspondence indicates the satrap's awareness of the

position of Bactria as an interstitial space between sedentary agriculturalists and pastoralists.

Comparison with the Persepolitan documentation contextualizes the poultry disbursed in C1. As

discussed in chapter 2, the consumption of poultry was reserved for individuals of high status,

such as the King of Kings himself.[48] The small quantities of poultry relative to sheep in C1—five

geese and 30 chickens compared to 166 total lambs or sheep—imply that poultry consumption

was similarly privileged in late Achaemenid Bactria.

The quantities of the foodstuffs disbursed in C1 imply a scale of operations in Bactria

comparable to that of the Persepolis region in the time of Darius I. The most comparable texts

from the Persepolis Fortification archive to C1 here are the travel rations (Hallock category Q)

which record disbursements of food given to travelers moving on the imperial road network, the

same logistical operation recorded in C1.[49] The quantities of the food disbursed in C1 come close

to matching the largest disbursements recorded in the travel rations from Persepolis. For

example, the total number of sheep and lambs disbursed in C1 (166) is a greater number than all

but one disbursement of caprids in the travel rations from Persepolis.[50] The amount of flour

disbursed in C1 is an order of magnitude larger than any single travel ration recorded in the

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[47] See Kawase 1980; Briant 1982a; Henkelman 2005.
[48] See discussion throughout Henkelman 2010; see also Wu et al. 2015, 106.
[49] Hallock 1969, 40–45 is Hallock's description of this group of texts.
[50] The exception is NN 2261:16-18 which records the disbursement of 291 sheep to *taššup*, a word potentially meaning soldiers (see now Henkelman 2018a, 25–28). The most commonly used word to denote these animals at Persepolis is UDU.NÍTA, which does not distinguish between sheep and goats. The Persepolis texts do provide indications of the much larger flocks from which these disbursements are drawn, as, for example, the accounting text PF 2007 records a total of 16,483 sheep/goats (text edition: Hallock 1969, 607–08).

Persepolis Fortification archive: 166 2/3 *ardab* in C1 versus the equivalent of 90 *ardab* in the

largest travel ration at Persepolis (NN 1375).[51] The amount of wine disbursed in C1 too is higher

than any single travel ration recorded in the Persepolis texts.[52]

The Aramaic disbursement accounts, then, suggest that the institutional agricultural

operations in Bactria operated at a scale comparable to that seen in the Persepolis Fortification

archive. But can these two documents be taken as representative of an entire region? The

quantities in C1 required the production of a substantial amount of land, but by no means do

these texts provide the same breadth of information as the greater quantities of texts from

Persepolis. Archaeology can supplement the textual record, so let us compare the best studied

Achaemenid site in the vicinity of the Oxus: Kyzyltepa, in southern Uzbekistan. Two seasons of

excavations (2010-11) led by Wu Xin have provided a wealth of information on the site, and Wu

herself makes explicit connections to textual sources in comparison to the archaeological

material.[53] Kyzyltepa was founded in the early Achaemenid period and abandoned in the early

Hellenistic period, which makes the site unique for Central Asia, where archaeologists have

generally focused on periods before or after the Achaemenids.[54] Floral finds match the pattern of

cultivation recorded in the Aramaic documents, with production of wheat, barley, and millet in

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[51] NN 1375, like the vast majority of Persepolis texts, records the total in BAR; three BAR equal one *ardab* (Hallock 1969, 72). Bivar 1985 evidently confused BAR and QA in his glossary (pg. 635-6), and so this glossary incorrectly states that one *artabē* is 30 BAR. He does, however, give the correct liter equivalence for one *ardab*: 27.9 liters per *ardab*.

[52] The total amount of wine disbursed in C1 is unclear because two types of wine are recorded with different standards of measurements (*spn* and *mry*). The latter measurement is amply attested at Persepolis in the form *marriš*, and this quantity of wine alone (120 *mry* or, 1,164 liters) is larger than any of the travel rations recorded at Persepolis. See Naveh and Shaked 2012, 37 for these measurements. If PF 0683 is to be considered a travel ration (rather than simply a receipt by an official, or H text), it would be the lone example of a larger disbursement of wine, at 200 *marriš*.

[53] Wu et al. 2015; 2017; Wu 2018.

[54] Wu et al. 2017 contains an extensive discussion of the chronology of the site.

the archaeological record.[55] Caprids dominate the bone record of domesticated animals, but the population at Kyzyltepa also reared large cattle.[56] The age distribution of the caprids suggests that many were slaughtered specifically to be eaten, rather than being raised for the production of secondary animal products.[57] The number of equid bones tantalizes, but not all can be surely assigned to domesticated or wild varieties.[58] A small number of chicken bones even suggest small-scale rearing, as in C1 from Bactria. As Wu concludes, the entire floral and faunal assemblage at Kyzyltepa speaks to a surrounding landscape of mixed sedentary farming and pastoral herding, and indeed the assemblage resembles the textual record in the Aramaic documents.[59] Briant is right to stress caution regarding an imperial agricultural strategy on this basis—we cannot extract from one site and one small archive an entire imperial system—but we can at least see a coherent agro-pastoral strategy in the region around the Oxus.[60]

As satrap in Bactria, Axvamazdā was the ultimate caretaker of the agricultural economy in the region. The high quantities of agricultural produce recorded in C1 and C4 themselves imply a productive regime, monitored by the state if not cultivated directly by state agents; a portion of this agricultural production was then extracted by the state and kept in storehouses until the time of disbursement. A6, a letter from Axvamazdā to Bagavanta, shows the direct intervention of the satrap into this agricultural regime. Besides ordering Bagavanta to repair his houses in two locations—i.e., the maintenance of the satrapal house in its most literal sense— Axvamazdā commands his subordinate to "deliver in full the grain and the sesame, for sowing as

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[55] Wu et al. 2015, 96–102.
[56] Wu et al. 2015, 102–05.
[57] Wu et al. 2015, 109 suggest that this was a market-oriented activity, but a command economy could equally explain this pattern.
[58] See especially the table on Wu et al. 2015, 103.
[59] Wu et al. 2015, 109–110.
[60] Briant 2020.

seed, which you are under duty to bring in to that granary building of mine in accordance with what you are obliged."[61] Though the cultivators themselves are unknown, we are given information on the rest of the processes of agricultural production in this sentence. A portion of the grain and sesame that Bagavanta, or tenants or taxpayers beholden to him, produced was owed to the satrap Axvamazdā.[62] This portion was intended to be used as seed for the next year's harvest and, in the meantime, was stored in a granary belonging to the satrap. As we will see below, the residences of the satrap were used in the system of provisioning, and, therefore, the seed stored in this granary may have been used for agricultural production outside of the estates of the satrap. Axvamazdā further admonishes Bagavanta, "If you do not deliver in full the grain…you shall pay the whole amount from your own house to my house."[63] As discussed above, this sentence suggests that the house of Axvamazdā and that of Bagavanta were conceived of as distinct fiscal entities and both accumulated agricultural wealth. This agricultural wealth—and specifically the stored surplus thereof—was a foundation for the infrastructure of movement maintained by Axvamazdā.

Kyzyltepa once again provides a useful point of comparison for the dispersed infrastructure of production and storage legible in this letter. Kyzyltepa lay at the center of a network of 13 small satellite sites (each around .2 hectares or smaller), all of which were within a

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[61] A6:7-8; translation by Naveh and Shaked, modified. Naveh and Shaked understand the repair of the house as "roofing," which is a perfectly literal translation of the verb (ṯll). The verb can also mean "to protect," by extension. It is hard to interpret precisely in context, and so it is presented as a broad repair here.
[62] Though rent and taxes in land-based economic systems may be a somewhat arbitrary distinction (cf. Wickham 2005, 60), this dissertation tries to distinguish the two on the basis of the landowner. However, here it is simply not possible to speculate, and so both tenants and taxpayers must be considered possible.
[63] A6:10-11.

radius of 1.1 kilometers from Kyzyltepa.[64] Two of these smaller satellite sites have been

excavated, and both were large manor houses which the excavators interpreted as dwellings for

elite residents of the area around Kyzyltepa.[65] Since all 13 of these sites date to the Achaemenid

period and all lay with Kyzyltepa at their center, the pattern suggests that these were estates

owned or managed by the elite of the region, which was administered at Kyzyltepa. Kyzyltepa

itself does not show a density or hierarchy of settlement structures that would point to it being an

urban center, but rather the archaeological remains suggest that it was a center of administration

and processing (agricultural, pastoral, and metallurgical).[66] The manors in the environs

surrounding Kyzyltepa were likely owned by the administrators of the Kyzyltepa Citadel, as Wu

suggests.[67] The landscape around Kyzyltepa provides a structural parallel to the patterns seen in

the documents from Bactria. Agricultural estates were spread across the Bactrian landscape, and

elite administrators like Axvamazdā controlled many of these centers of production even as they

worked from a more centralized node in the administrative network, whether that was Kyzyltepa

or, presumably, Bactra.

      While A6 shows the intervention of the satrap directly into the agricultural production of

his house, A4 demonstrates the role of the satrap in maintaining the agriculture of the region at

large. Prior to this letter, Bagavanta had relayed to Axvamazdā a report of a crisis around the

town of Nixšapaya, a crisis which was described to Bagavanta by the local administrators there.

Axvamazdā had previously commanded Bagavanta to oversee the construction of a system of

fortifications around the town by soldier-workers (ḥyl). However, the appearance of locusts in

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[64] Wu 2018, 207–08.
[65] Wu 2018, 192 cites these excavation reports which were published in Russian, which I cannot read.
[66] Wu 2018.
[67] Wu 2018, 209 compares the Kyzyltepa evidence with the Aramaic documents from Bactria.

the town Nixšapaya necessitated a recalibration of priorities, as the local administrators reported, "There is locust, heavy and numerous, and the crop is ripe (?) for reaping. If we build this wall, the locust, the blight that is in the town, [will increase]…"[68] In turn, Bagavanta sought permission from Axvamazdā to change the task of the soldier-workers from constructing the wall to destroying the locusts and, additionally, harvesting the crops. Axvamazdā assented to Bagavanta's proposal and commanded that the wall be built after the problem of the locusts was handled.

Axvamazdā does not provide the reasoning for his decision, but comparison allows us to propose answers. As a representative of the King of Kings, one of the duties of the satrap Axvamazdā was to ensure the agricultural prosperity of the peoples under his control.[69] The paradises of the satraps of Anatolia perhaps represent the most renowned symbols of agricultural prosperity—recall Tissaphernes' paradise with "its refreshing waters and lawns, with resorts and retreats decked out in regal and extravagant fashion" (Plut. *Alc*. 24.5, Loeb trans. modified)—but this mandate for agricultural productivity extended beyond the enclosed walls of the satrapal paradise into the landscape beyond. The ideology behind the royal and satrapal interest in agricultural production has been well studied and effected tangible change on the agricultural landscape of the Achaemenid Empire.[70] But there were also material reasons for encouraging and protecting agricultural productivity. The surplus from agricultural production was the foundation of the Achaemenid economy. In the case of Nixšapaya, if the locusts were to destroy the crops in

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[68] A4:3-4; translation by Naveh and Shaked.

[69] For the king's role in ensuring agricultural prosperity, see Briant 2002a, 200–03, 232–40; Lincoln 2012, 59–79. Briant 2017b, 271–85 = Briant 2003 questions some of the iconographic evidence that had been used as evidence of the royal ideology of gardening, but does not doubt that concern for agricultural prosperity comprised an important part of Achaemenid royal ideology.

[70] In addition to the works in the previous note, see Canepa 2017 for a review of the scholarship.

the surrounding region, this would have resulted in a loss of revenue for Axvamazdā, for

Bagavanta, and for the local administrators in Nixšapaya. The inhabitants of Nixšapaya needed

these crops to feed themselves, and the Achaemenid administrators, similarly, needed the crops

to maintain their infrastructure, such as the infrastructure of provisioning.

A4 reveals one further element in the landscape controlled by Axvamazdā: the soldier-

workers (*ḥyl*). Naveh and Shaked here gloss the word as "troops," and indeed the word does

appear often in military contexts. Yet, as the letter here shows, these "troops" were by no means

deployed exclusively in military roles. The main inscription of Darius I at Bīsotūn provides a

point of comparison: *ḥyl* is the word used in the Aramaic version to translate Old Persian *kāra*,

Elamite *taššup*, and Babylonian *uqu*.[71] The comparison better explicates the meaning of *ḥyl*: in

the inscription at Bīsotūn, they are able-bodied men, capable of serving as soldiers, but not

necessarily serving as soldiers at any given time.[72] The same meaning explicates the *ḥyl* here and

the other letters in which they appear (A2, A7, B1), that is, they may perform other work but

their designation as *ḥyl* marks them as soldiers should the need arise. If the relative frequency of

ḥyl in these letters reflects their frequency in the landscape of Bactria, then groups of soldier-

workers would have been a common sight. The dual coercive-productive function of *ḥyl* is

reminiscent of Briant's study of fortresses in Anatolia: the fortresses served as a physical

reminder of the state's hegemony over its subject populations but could likewise serve as a place

of refuge in times of crisis.[73] Though the *ḥyl* were ultimately responsible for protecting the

products of the cultivators in Nixšapaya in A6, their capacity to coerce, if necessary, must not

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[71] See Bae 2001, 380 for all attestations of *ḥyl* in the Bīsotūn text and for its correspondence to the other languages.
[72] See now Henkelman 2018a, 25–28.
[73] Briant 1978.

have been forgotten. The right to direct *ḥyl*, moreover, appears to have been a right that was exclusive to the satrap Axvamazdā. Even his high-ranking subordinate Bagavanta could not order the *ḥyl* to stop constructing a wall (the importance of which we will consider below) and instead to stop the blight of locusts. The satrap maintained a monopoly on coercion in Bactria through his control of *ḥyl*. These *ḥyl*, and the labor they performed, constituted a crucial part of the agricultural landscape, just as they comprised a part of the landscape of coercion. It is in this context of a dual agricultural-coercive landscape that we must understand the infrastructure of movement in Bactria.

The Infrastructure of Movement

Though the previous chapter on Bakabaduš and the preceding section on the agricultural landscape have provided details on the Achaemenid infrastructure of movement—particularly roads, *halmi*s, and storehouses—the Aramaic texts from Afghanistan illuminate other important features, namely animals and satrapal residences. Both horses and camels facilitated the transportation of people and goods on the Achaemenid road system. Although the satrap himself need not have been involved in their rearing or breeding, the existence of these animals proved crucial in the ability of the satrap to raise taxes on movement, for without the ability to transport goods in (relative) bulk, there would have been no basis on which to collect these taxes. Therefore, we must consider the role and number of these animals on the road system, before turning to taxation in the next section. In contrast to the absence of the satrap in animal-breeding, Axvamazdā directly controlled some of the waystations on the road system in Bactria, and some of his residences were used as caravanserais for travelers.

Horses and Camels

The Achaemenid infrastructure of movement did not merely comprise roads, storehouses, and waystations for human travelers, but it also included institutional provisioning for, and breeding of, animals to facilitate transportation. The previous chapter briefly discussed the importance of horses for the *pirradaziš* system, and horses emerge again in Bactria as an essential part of the Achaemenid road system. To review the Persepolis material first, horses emerge as a necessary component to the infrastructure of movement documented in the Persepolis Fortification archive. Among the PF and NN texts, there are 361 distinct disbursements of rations to horses, mostly grain but occasionally wine, and horses performing demanding labor, such as travel in the *pirradaziš* system, may have received smaller quantities of high-protein, high-fat grains as a supplement to their regular rations.[74] The information on horses in Bactria is scarcer, but the same association between horses and movement appears in documents A10a and C7.[75] Equid bones, both horses and donkeys, appear at nearby Kyzyltepa in great enough numbers to suggest their importance in the institutional landscape, though their numbers are dwarfed by animals bred for meat and wool consumption.[76] Horses filled two functions in the road system: as fast transportation for the *pirradaziš* system and as pack animals for slower movement.

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[74] The figure of 361 includes the PFa texts and counts individual entries in V texts as separate. The proposition of high-protein, high-fat supplements comes from Azzoni and Dusinberre 2014, 4–5.

[75] A10a: Naveh and Shaked 2012, 130; C7: Naveh and Shaked 2012, 220–23. Although both texts are fragmentary, A10a appears to record a disbursement of travel rations (including fodder for horses), and C7, as discussed below, appears to record a customs tax. C1:4 appears to mention a horse disbursed as food for travelers (text and translation in Naveh and Shaked 2012, 74–85).

[76] See the chart on Wu et al. 2015, 103.

If the horses seen in Bactria match our assumptions of how the Achaemenid system should operate, then the appearance of camels provides new information. Camels, more than any other animal, were uniquely suited to the challenges of movement across the arid Iranian plateau and Central Asia, and, from the times of the Neo-Assyrian Empire onwards, increasingly came to dominate the patterns of long-distance exchange.[77] As will be shown in this section and the next, the Achaemenid state itself invested in the breeding and provisioning of camels, but private entrepreneurs also used camels as beasts of burdens in commercial-oriented trade. The Achaemenid state, as mediated in Bactria through the house of Axvamazdā, provided the infrastructural support for this trade because it offered an opportunity for tax-raising. The taxation of movement visible in the sources from Bactria will be the focus of the next section, but it is highlighted here because it must be understood as an impetus, albeit one of several, for the creation and maintenance of the infrastructure of movement in Bactria.

Discussions on the development of the caravan trade in Central Asia have tended to focus on the period of the Han Empire in China at the earliest, as demand in imperial Chang'an led to a marked increase in demand for faraway goods.[78] However, the evidence from Bactria and, as we will see, from Persepolis suggests that there were already sizeable camel caravans in the Achaemenid period, though the lack of a market comparable to Han China implies that commercial-oriented trade operated at a smaller scale. Camels (*gml*) appear in three of the texts from Bactria: A1, which records a dispute over an attempted levy; B8, a fragmentary letter; and C3, a record of the disbursement of provisions. Though B8 is too fragmentary to interpret, C3 and A1 both provide substantial information on the position of camels in the infrastructure of

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[77] Bulliet 1990 remains a classic study. Henkelman 2017 highlights the importance and ubiquity of camels in the Achaemenid Empire, and the section here attempts to build on this study.
[78] Bulliet 1990, 164f.; de la Vaissière 2005; Hansen 2012.

movement. In C3, camels (*gmln*) themselves, rather than "camel-drivers" as Naveh and Shaked

understand, receive disbursements of both flour and fodder.[79] The document is fragmentary, but,

as comparison with the Persepolis Fortification texts will show (below), there are only two

possible contexts in which these camels could have received this disbursement: as a travel ration,

or in the context of institutional rearing.[80] In the latter case, the camels would still have been used

for travel at a later point, and so the camels herein must be a constituent part of the Achaemenid

infrastructure of movement. In A1, the camels are designated as "camels of the king" (*gmln zy*

mlk'), which indicates that the highest levels of the Achaemenid state possessed, and had

previously reared, these camels.[81] The camels in A1 were employed for the express purpose of

moving a group of travelers between regions.

The best point of comparison for these documents is the Persepolis Fortification archive,

which also records the movement and feeding of camels. Drawing from the Persepolis

Fortification texts and other sources, Henkelman has demonstrated that the Achaemenid state

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[79] See Naveh and Shaked's note: Naveh and Shaked 2012, 195. Shaked adds in the afterword, on a suggestion of Henkelman, that the disbursement may be for the camels themselves, but "[t]his is a point on which one feels that more evidence would be necessary before a firm decision is reached" (Naveh and Shaked 2012, 260). The Persepolis Fortification archive, as Henkelman has shown, provides ample evidence for camels and other animals receiving rations, and the text itself says that the camels receive this food. There is no need for further evidence: this food is for the camels. Further compare the Elamite text PF 1711 wherein both a camel driver (ANŠE.A.AB.BA-*batera*) and camels (ANŠE.A.AB.BA) are designated as recipients (Hallock 1969, 469).

[80] PF 0077 is an exceptional text which records camel hides (text: Hallock 1969, 102). Some camels, therefore, were being slaughtered, so this must not be discounted as a possibility here as well. However, the other options appear more likely, if the quantity of comparable Persepolis Fortification texts may serve as a guide here.

[81] Naveh and Shaked 2012, 25 say that the "king" in this context may be the satrap. However, there is no parallel for this, but there are ample parallels for "of the king" meaning "belonging to the royal (i.e. not satrapal) domain." Moreover, "satrap," as an Old Persian word, was readily available to these scribes. If "satrap" had been meant, the scribe could have written "satrap."

invested in the breeding and rearing of camels.[82] Therefore the discussion need not be belabored here, but a few points must be emphasized. The first is the scale of the operation: a group of 200 grazing camels appears in multiple texts, and the largest attested group is 435 camels.[83] The latter group is particularly revealing of the administrative operations. These 435 camels are divided into five age groups—adults, four-year-olds, three-year-olds, one-year-olds, and newborns (curiously, no two-year-olds appear in any of these texts)—and each of these age groups is also divided by sex.[84] Therefore, the institutional camel-breeding was no trivial operation, in either scale or scribal production. The herds were carefully assessed by number, age, and sex, and they were, as the sex ratios suggest, manipulated according to the needs of the institution.

The state's investment in the camels is further demonstrated by the rations they received: flour, rather than unground grain, at a typical ration of 3 liters per day.[85] That is to say, the camels traveling through the Achaemenid Empire ate as well as the humans did. Some texts record wine rations given to camels, just as wine was occasionally provided to horses, and one text even gives cress, a rarely distributed commodity, as rations for a group of camels.[86] The Achaemenid state, through the *halmi*s of its satraps, committed substantial resources to camels

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[82] Henkelman 2017, 55–63.

[83] 200 camels in NN 1058, NN 1109, NN 3045; 435 camels in NN 0757. NN 3045 has been published by Arfaee 2008a, 242–43 under the name "Fort. 3546."

[84] The sex ratios suggest that some of the population was culled or transferred elsewhere. However, it is unexpectedly the males who are much more populous here (315 males to 120 females). PF 0331 shows the opposite sex ratio, with females outnumbering males 2:1, but the total number is far lower (54). Additionally, camels reach maturity at five years of age, so this explains why the precise count of their age stops after four years.

[85] However, some camels are recorded as "grazing:" NN 1058, NN 1109, and NN 3045 (=Fort. 3546). The camels, therefore, did not exclusively live off rations. The separation between animals who are grazing and those who are not is paralleled in ADAB C1.

[86] Wine for camels: NN 0471, NN 1058, and NN 2265:16. Cress for camels: NN 3045 (=Fort. 3456). There are numerous texts in which horses receive wine. For many, see the S2 texts in Hallock 1969.

because they were a crucial part of the system of transportation, wherein they were used primarily to transport goods. Though the goods moved are not indicated, the composition of traveling parties is informative. In NN 2547, the travel group of two high-status men, three dependents, and 28 camels suggests that the purpose of the traveling party was expressly to transport whatever the camels were carrying: the small number of persons, compared to the camels, were required to direct the pack animals, but nothing more. The composition of the group in NN 0431 tells a different story.[87] This party was comprised of 171 men, 120 dependents, 12 camels, and 31 mules, all of whom went from Gandhāra to Susa. Here, the ratios of humans to pack animals suggest that the animals were providing logistical support for the humans by carrying food, baggage, etc. on the long journey from Gandhāra to Susa. In combination these two texts illustrate the dual function of camels on the Achaemenid road system: they were used to transport goods between locations, and they were used to facilitate the travel of parties by providing logistical support.

Because the Achaemenid state invested so heavily in camel-breeding, the question arises: did Achaemenid administrators crossbreed dromedaries and Bactrian camels? First generation hybrids between dromedaries and Bactrians are hardier than either of their parents, capable of thriving in a wider range of temperatures than either parent—a feature that is especially desirable in traveling long-distances across varied environments, as in the Achaemenid Empire.[88] The earliest firm evidence for hybrid camels comes only from the first century CE, where the remains of hybrid camels have been excavated from an animal cemetery.[89] D. Potts has argued that the practice of camel-hybridization can be extended back into the period of the Neo-Assyrian

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[87] Edition, translation, photographs, and commentary on the text in Henkelman 2017, 187–90.
[88] On the advantages of hybrids, see Bulliet 1990, 164f.; Dioli 2020.
[89] Uerpmann 1999.

Empire, but his evidence—that Bactrian camels were present in Assyrian Mesopotamia thanks to

Assyrian tribute—does not entirely confirm the practice of camel-hybridization.[90] Nonetheless,

the presence of hybrid camels would not be surprising where both Bactrian camels and

dromedaries were present, as was the case in at least parts of the Achaemenid Empire.[91]

Moreover, the coming of the Achaemenid Empire certainly is linked to spread to the spread of

camels in a number of regions.[92] At present, it is certain that the Achaemenid state invested in

and monitored the breeding of camels, but whether or not this breeding included hybridization

cannot be determined.

The Persepolis Fortification archive, then, provides ample information on the use of

camels in the Achaemenid road system, but can these texts inform us about the status of the

"camels of the king?" In PF 1787, 33 camels designated as "camels of the king"

(ANŠE.A.AB.BA[MEŠ HAL]EŠŠANA-‹na›) each receive 3 liters of flour as they traveled from

Persepolis to the King at Susa.[93] One month later, the same 33 camels returned from Susa to

Persepolis, but nowhere in the text does the designation "camels of the king" appear (see PF

1786).[94] These are surely the same group of camels, as both groups are led by a man named

Bawukšamira, and both tablets are sealed by the same recipient seal (PFS 0311). What does this

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[90] Potts 2004. Moreover, some of the Akkadian terminology for camels, crucial for this
argument, has since been reinterpreted: Al-Zaidi 2017.
[91] Çakırlar and Berthon 2014, 239.
[92] See Çakırlar and Berthon 2014, 245–47 on the faunal record from Anatolia; Lipovitch 2009,
168–69 for the southern Levant; and Potts 2004, 151–52 for artistic evidence of Bactrian camels
around the Black Sea and eastern Mediterranean.
[93] For the text editions of PF 1786 and PF 1787, see Hallock 1969, 486. This is perhaps a group
of camels bearing some sort of taxation for the New Year's ceremony. The camels travel
explicitly to the King on the first month of the year and leave from Susa on the second month
(PF 1786). If a heavy load of taxed materials (precious metal, worked goods, etc.) needed to be
transported, this could explain the need for 33 camels.
[94] The same group also appears in PFa 26 = NN 1392 and PFa 29:48' = NN 1038.

mean for the title "camels of the king?" There are two possibilities: either the designation was

temporary (i.e. the camels were "of the king" on the way to Susa but were no longer "of the

king" on the way to Persepolis) or, the more likely option, the scribes of Pārsa did not always

record that camels were "of the king." Regardless, we can conclude that the designation that

camels were "of the king" was an administratively specific piece of information, or else scribes

would not have ever recorded it, that was recognized by the administration in both Pārsa and

Bactria (and presumably elsewhere). The administrative parallels between the regions once again

demonstrate that there was a truly imperial system at work in the infrastructure of movement;

above all else, this was where the Achaemenid Empire articulated its power.

The Satrapal Residences along the Roads

The physical residences belonging to Axvamazdā functioned as waystations for travelers

on the roads through Bactria. The lack of any distinction between public and private in the

satrapal economy appears here again: the personal property of the satrap was used to fulfill state

functions. To maintain the house of the satrap was to maintain the infrastructure of the

Achaemenid state. The most informative letter on this point is A2, in which Axvamazdā orders

Bagavanta to maintain Axvamazdā's "house" (*byt'*) which lay in a "desert" (*dbr*) named

Artadatana.[95] The satrap tells his subordinate to prepare provisions (*dwšḥwr'*) for both the

travelers and the horses along the road and to clear sand from the house—apparently the

structure was in a region susceptible to sandstorms.[96] Axvamazdā further instructs Bagavanta to

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[95] Naveh and Shaked 2012, 76–85.

[96] Naveh and Shaked translate *ḥl'* as "sand/vinegar." Either word is possible, but sand makes more sense in context.

send some of the soldier-workers (*ḥyl'*) under his command to Axvamazdā and to send others to clear out the sand from the house along the road through the desert.[97]

This letter is revealing in a few ways. First, we again see the role of Bagavanta operating as an agent in maintaining Axvamazdā's house, both figuratively and literally in this letter, even though, as seen in other letters, Bagavanta is himself the head of his own patrimonial house. As we have seen, the political structure of the Achaemenid Empire can be understood as a series of overlapping patrimonial houses.[98] Satrapal subordinates like Bagavanta functioned both within the houses of their satraps and as heads of their own houses. The distinctions among all these houses were often blurry, but they were real, nonetheless, as the transfer between the "house" of Axvamazdā and that of Bagavanta in A6 demonstrates. Second, A2 shows that the physical house of Axvamazdā was used as a waystation, or, as Naveh and Shaked put it, a "caravanserai," along the Persian road system.[99] Finally, the text also provides some insight on who actually traveled these roads: "wayfarers" (*'rḥ'*), horses, and "troops" (*ḥyl'*). The wayfarers and horses must be understood as intentionally unspecific: many sorts of people could have traveled these roads, accompanied by horses for speed or for carrying baggage.[100] The presence of the

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[97] The first set of troops are called "those who go to the towns" (*'zly mḥzt'*). This phrase undoubtedly has some administrative significance, but one which is unclear. It is possible they fulfill a broadly coercive or surveilling function in the nucleated settlements of Bactria, but one would hope to find parallels in other administrative documents to explicate the meaning of this phrase.

[98] Though we should still understand there to be a separate royal economy beyond that of the house of the King: Briant 2002a, 469–71. However, there were transfers between this non-house economy and the economy of the King or the satraps.

[99] Naveh and Shaked 2012, 81.

[100] Naveh and Shaked 2012, 81 take the presence of horses to mean that the house of Axvamazdā "probably" was a station along the Persian postal system. Though this is very possible, the presence of horses by no means necessitates this, and horses were used for other reasons than to deliver messages on the postal system, like as pack animals. The letter A2 did either travel quickly or not very far, however. The letter is dated to day three of the month of Marḥešvan, and Axvamazdā wanted the troops from Bagavanta to arrive a week later, on day ten.

(potential) troops demonstrates that the maintenance of this road system was of crucial importance for moving agents of the state across Bactria. By investing in the house of Axvamazdā, Axvamazdā and Bagavanta were also investing in the continued infrastructural strength of the Achaemenid state in Bactria.

The houses of Axvamazdā that travelers used as waystations were not isolated structures but rather component parts of agricultural estates that were located along this road system. Document A6 illustrates this, as Axvamazdā commands that his houses be repaired in the same places that his granary is to be stocked.[101] Axvamazdā's estates, in addition to operating as centers of production across the landscape of Bactria, functioned as hubs in the network of movement across the landscape. Henkelman's study of Achaemenid estates provides a way to contextualize the phenomena at work in the Axvamazdā dossier.[102] As Henkelman demonstrates, estate holders in the imperial heartland, as recorded in the Persepolis Fortification archive, used their estates to feed travelers moving along the Achaemenid roads, whether those travelers were *kurtaš*, craftsmen (*marrip*), or soldier-workers (*taššup*). The estates of Axvamazdā, then, mirror the system of estates in the imperial core, and, moreover, parallel the same modus operandi visible in other regions of the Achaemenid Empire, especially Babylonia, Anatolia, and Egypt.[103] The estates of elites served a variety of imperial functions, with their productive capacities being

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[101] The letter does not make explicit that the granary is in the same location as the houses, but they must be, or else a single letter containing these instructions makes little sense.
[102] Henkelman 2018a, esp. 46-50.
[103] Henkelman 2018a makes these comparisons. The single most illuminating document in this regard must be the letter from Aršāma (*TAD* A6.9) that allows his subordinate Nakhthor and his traveling party to draw provisions from estates on the way to Egypt. For text editions and translations, see Porten and Yardeni 1986, Vol. 1 114-15; Taylor 2013, 15–16. For commentary, see Tuplin 2013a, 54–74.

the most fundamental, but their role as nodes in the network of movement becomes especially

apparent in the letters of Axvamazdā.

Taxing Movement

The Achaemenid road system has been primarily studied from a statist point of view: this

infrastructure allowed state officials, the military, and even the King to travel with ease

throughout the Empire and to draw provisions on their journeys.[104] This point of view is, to some

extent, inevitable due to the nature of the sources: the Persepolis Fortification archive is, by far,

the most important source for the Achaemenid road system, and it is an archive produced by and

for state administrators. Even non-Persepolitan sources speak to the state control over the road,

such as the *Letter of Themistocles* which notes the permission from the satrap in Hellespontine

Phrygia given to Themistocles to travel on the Achaemenid roads (*Letters* 20.27).[105] What has

been studied less is whether or not this same road system was used by individuals not performing

state tasks. Among the most common reasons for non-state personnel to travel long distances in

the pre-modern world was entrepreneurial trade, exemplified most by the so-called "Silk Road"

on land but also commonly occurring via the sea.[106]

The questions regarding this profit-seeking, long-distance exchange in the Achaemenid

Empire are threefold. First, did overland entrepreneurial trade such as this even occur in the

Achaemenid Empire? Second, did this exchange happen via the same infrastructure of movement

that the state itself used and maintained? Third, if the answers to these questions is yes, what did

the state administrators gain from allowing this entrepreneurial exchange? A customs document

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[104] Briant 2012 provides the most detailed synthetic account.

[105] Briant 1992; 2012, 188–89; text and translation in Doenges 1981, 208–229.

[106] See Hansen 2012 for a historical synthesis on the Silk Road; de la Vaissière 2005 is the most detailed study of the Sogdian traders themselves in the late antique and early medieval period.

from fifth-century Egypt, which records the entrance and exit of Greek and Phoenician ships, the goods they carried, and fees levied upon them, demonstrates that profit-seeking traders operated in Persian Mediterranean ports and, furthermore, that the state used this trade as a source of revenue.[107] As this section will argue, the Aramaic documents from Bactria provide evidence that traders sought profit via long-distance exchange overland in Bactria. These traders traveled via the same system as state officials that was operated and maintained by the house of Axvamazdā. Axvamazdā and Bagavanta both used this trade as an opportunity to levy taxes.

A1 – The Key Text

One document is key to the interpretation of this trade and tax-raising: A1.[108] The precise meaning is not clear in the translation by Naveh and Shaked, so a summary and interpretation are necessary. The event that precipitated the chain of complaints described in the letter began when Bagavanta and other magistrates extracted a tax (*hlk'*) from a group of camel-keepers, who were working for a man named Vahu-vaxšu, son of Čiθra-barzana (l. 1-3). Vahu-vaxšu contended that the camel-keepers were not obliged to pay this tax, and, though he does not provide a reason, this is probably due to the camels' status as "camels of the king" (l. 3), a point to which we will return. As a result of this dispute, Bagavanta detained these camel-keepers, while Vahu-vaxšu sent a complaint to Axvamazdā, to whom Bagavanta was beholden. Axvamazdā sent an order to Bagavanta to release the camel-keepers and to return what he had taken, but Bagavanta refused (l.4-6). Accordingly, Vahu-vaxšu again complained to Axvamazdā who, this time, sent men from his "court" (*tr'*) to release the detained camel-keepers (l. 6-7). The camel-keepers were finally set free by these men, but Bagavanta, his "foreman" (*prtrkh*), and other unspecified magistrates still

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[107] See further discussion and bibliography below.
[108] Naveh and Shaked 2012, 64–75.

took from the camel-keepers one bull, two donkeys, and 34 sheep (l.8-9). They also extracted

from them a levy (*nhmrnyt'*) that was higher than what was raised in other towns (*mt'*, l.9).[109]

Because of this, Vahu-vaxšu complained to Axvamazdā one last time, and the commands of

Axvamazdā to Bagavanta close the letter: Bagavanta and the magistrates are to return to the

camel-keepers what they took, to impose a levy in line with other towns and nothing more, and

to allow the camel-keepers to continue what they were doing previously.[110]

In total, the letter records a conflict over who, if anyone, had the jurisdiction to extract a

particular tax. This is clear already from the summary that would have been visible before

opening the letter: "To Bagavanta and the magistrates, who are in Khulmi…of [the month]

Marḥešvan, year 6 of Artaxerxes the king. *Concerning a tax* (*hlk'*). Bring this letter" (l.13-14,

emphasis added). What precisely was the nature of this tax? The word for "tax" here, *hlk'*, is

vague, and "tax," in as broad a sense as possible, is the best translation that can be offered.[111]

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[109] Though *mt* has a vague geographical referent (either town or region), "town" seems to be the best translation here because the matters in this letter pertain to events in specific towns, like Khulmi, rather than broader regions.

[110] There is another broken prohibition in lines 11 to 12, but there is not enough here to propose a solution with confidence. Naveh and Shaked's proposition, "do not impose on them, on (their) land, a tax" (pg. 75) does not make contextual sense, and the word for tax here is entirely broken, except for the final letter, which could represent the determined form of any noun. The word for "land" is present, however, but the interpretation is still elusive.

[111] Whether or not the word is related to Akkadian *ilku* (Tuplin 2013a, 96–97) should not necessarily affect our interpretation here: loanwords can change meaning via borrowing, and cognates can vary in meaning across languages (it is not clear if *hlk'* is a loan, cognate, or neither). More importantly, the administrative contexts in which *ilku* appears in Babylonia (not written by Achaemenid administrators) differ from those in which *hlk'* appears in Imperial Aramaic (written by Achaemenid administrators). The word *hlk'* appears three times in the Book of Ezra (4:13, 4:20, 7:24) in combination with *mndh* and *blw*. Together these terms should be taken to mean "any type of tax," and they should not be used to denote specific taxes in this context. A comparable context in which *hlk'* occurs is TAD A6.11:5 (=Driver 8), one of the letters belonging to the Aršāma dossier (see Driver 1957, 30–31; Porten and Yardeni 1986, Vol. 1 118-19; Taylor 2013). In this text, *hlk'* refers to a levy on landed property, which is clearly not the case in *ADAB* A1. This supports the argument here that *hlk'* should be understood as "tax" in general.

Because the tax was levied on camel-keepers implied to be entering a new town (*mt'*) who are not allowed to leave until they have paid this tax, the tax in *ADAB* A1 should be understood as a tax collected on the entrance into a town, that is, a customs levy.[112] As seen in the summary above, this levy was composed of two parts: animals that were taken from the camel-keepers unjustly and another levy (*nhmrnyt'*) that Bagavanta was allowed by Axvamazdā to impose, so as long as it was in keeping with that of other towns. Although we cannot be sure what is denoted by *nhmrnyt'*, there is reason to think that it may be a tax on a portion of goods carried by the camel-keepers, as will be discussed in the next section.[113]

If the tax at stake was a customs duty levied on the animals and goods transported by the camel-keepers, then we must characterize the camel-keepers to understand the context of the political economy being negotiated in this letter. The camel-keepers were beholden (*hnškrt*) to Vahu-vaxšu, a man of considerable social standing. Vahu-vaxšu had the ear of the satrap in Bactria, a *Hauptsatrapie* in Jacobs' schema.[114] If the social networks of the satraps in Anatolia are representative, as this dissertation has argued, then individuals close to the satraps were largely restricted to high-ranking personnel. To be able to petition the satrap Axvamazdā multiple times to take action required Vahu-vaxšu himself to be of high status, evidently a

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[112] The customs document from Egypt admittedly uses the term *mndh* to denote the levy on ships (text edition in Porten and Yardeni 1986, Vol. 3; Briant and Descat 1998 remains the definitive historical analysis [translated and reprinted in Briant 2017b, 377–414]). However, *mndh*, like *hlk'*, seems not to denote a specific type of levy. The fiscal vocabulary of the Achaemenid Empire, overall, appears to have been quite vague, but that does not, in itself, mean that the system was irregularly planned or enforced. The context in these documents provides enough information about the nature of the taxes so that the words that denote taxes do not need to be overly specific.

[113] See Naveh and Shaked 2012, 74 for their proposed etymology. They say, "This term apparently designates excessive, perhaps unlawful, imposition of tax." However, their very own translation makes clear that the tax itself is not unlawful but rather the amount being levied is.

[114] Jacobs 1994.

member of the Persian ethno-class.[115] The camel-keepers were transporting with them not just

camels, but also other animals in great numbers: if the 34 sheep taken from the camel-keepers by

Bagavanta represented ten percent of the herd, then the total would have been 340 sheep; at five

percent, this jumps to 680.[116] Whether or not the camel-keepers themselves raised these sheep or

were simply transporting them is not clear, but the scale of the operation shows that these were

not subsistence pastoralists, but pastoral specialists. This interpretation matches the faunal record

at nearby Kyzyltepa, where the age distribution of caprid bones demonstrates that meat was

largely provided by specialists, either for a market or in a command economy.[117] The camel-

keepers, then, comprised part of an operation organized by Vahu-vaxšu to transport a large herd,

either for market-driven profit or as part of a command economy, and these camel-keepers, so it

seems, were also transporting other goods.

According to Vahu-vaxšu and, ultimately, Axvamazdā, the camel-keepers were not liable

to pay the tax on their livestock, and the status of their camels as "camels of the king" appears to

be the reason. As discussed above, these camels were owned by the Achaemenid Empire itself

and the King more specifically. There are, therefore, two ways to explain the tax exemption on

the camel-keepers' livestock: either the remainder of the animals were also flocks of the state, or

the camel-keepers had rented the camels from the state for an already paid fee. Either of these

proposals would explain the situation in A1. Yet there is one more crucial piece of information:

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[115] On the Persian ethno-class, see especially Briant 1988=Briant 2017b, 169–206. Note also that Vahu-vaxšu and his father have transparently Persian names, which contrasts to the non-institutional persons whose names are recorded on the tally sticks from Bactria (Henkelman 2018b, 247). Achaemenid Bactria, therefore, did not have a homogenously Persian onomastic environment, but all the high functionaries have Persian names.
[116] This is in addition to a much smaller number of bulls and donkeys.
[117] Wu et al. 2015, 109 suggest a market economy, but a command economy should not be excluded.

despite the special status of the camels, the camel-keepers were still required to pay the *nhmrnyt'*

levy. The next section will argue that, among the Aramaic documents from Bactria, there survive

two fragmentary lists of high-value goods fit for overland transportation. These lists provide the

best explanation for the *nhmrnyt'* levy, that is, this was a tax on goods being transported.

Whether or not the transportation of livestock by Vahu-vaxšu and his team of camel-keepers was

motivated by the market or by a command economy, the *nhmrnyt'* levy suggests that profit-

seeking also lay behind the movement of this camel caravan and, moreover, that the state, as

mediated through Axvamazdā, Bagavanta, and the "magistrates," sought to extract a portion of

this profit.

The jurisdiction over raising this tax incited the conflict recorded in the letter. Although

the size of the levy goes unmentioned in the letter, it was large enough to provoke a conflict

between the satrap Axvamazdā and his subordinate Bagavanta (not to mention between

Bagavanta and the entrepreneur Vahu-vaxšu). Bagavanta, as governor in Khulmi, sought to

extract taxation from traders stopping in a town under his jurisdiction. Though he was allowed to

raise some tax (the *nhmrnyt'* levy), not all of what he extracted was his to take: the animals taken

from the camel-keepers had to be returned. The taxation of movement across the Bactrian

landscape, therefore, represented a lucrative source of revenue for Bagavanta, just as it surely did

for the satrap Axvamazdā.[118] Let us recall that, in the Achaemenid Empire, there was no strict

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[118] Precise rates of taxation on customs duties can be hard to locate in ancient documentation.
For example, though the customs document from Elephantine lists the amount of taxation levied,
it does not say what portion of total goods this taxation represents. Many of the individual levies
in the Elephantine document, at any rate, were flat on every individual boat of a certain type,
regardless of the amount of cargo. See Yardeni 1994, 71 for a table with all the levies
summarized. A Ptolemaic account, however, does record levies as high as 50% (!) of the total
imported on certain types of goods (see Bresson 2012 for a discussion of the taxation rates).
Though we cannot estimate a rate of taxation with any confidence in the Bactrian case, it is

separation of the wealth of state agents (satraps, lower officials, or even the King) and the wealth

of the state. Some pools of wealth were said to belong specifically to members of the

Achaemenid ruling class, such as wealth belonging to "the house of the King" or the house of a

satrap, but some of this wealth was expended to fulfill functions that benefitted the whole

Empire.[119] To raise tax was both to increase the wealth of the state and to increase the wealth of

the elites who participated in the management of the state.[120] The jurisdiction over raising taxes

was one worth contesting.

Walls, Cages, and Customs

The dossier of Bagavanta, as discussed above, is overwhelmingly concerned with the

upkeep of the infrastructure of movement in Bactria, a system which cannot be separated from

the house of the satrap Axvamazdā. Did the camel-keepers in the service of Vahu-vaxšu, then,

travel via this same system? Although A1 is silent on this issue, we can propose an answer: the

house of Axvamazdā allowed profit-seeking trade to use the road system in exchange for tax

revenue. The state, moreover, constructed infrastructure in such a way to increase their revenue

by building walls, which created an interface for taxation, or a physical embodiment of the

barrier between state and subject.[121] Among the letters conveying orders sent from Axvamazdā to

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certain that it must have been substantial enough to be worth contesting, as we see in this
documentation.

[119] See Briant 2002a, 463–71 on the house of the King. As more and more newly discovered
documents attest to the "house of the King," a new synthesis on the concept would be useful, but
this is outside the scope of this dissertation.

[120] This contradicts Monson and Scheidel's claim that in "all state-level societies the state and
elites compete for the surplus" (Monson and Scheidel 2015b, 19). This sort of claim operates
under the presupposition that the state was autonomous of the agents who participated in running
it. Regardless of whether this has ever been true (Mann 1984 is a key article here), this
dissertation argues that this was not true of the Achaemenid Empire.

[121] Wu 2018, 209 connects these walls with disruptions in the region. However, no disruptions
are mentioned in these letters, besides the locusts, and there are reasons to build walls besides
military threats, as argued in this section.

Bagavanta, two letters directly concern the construction of walls: A4, in which troops who had

previously been ordered to construct a wall and a ditch were transferred to the duty of destroying

locusts to protect crops, and A5, which is a short instruction from Axvamazdā to three different

officials to build a wall. Though these are only two examples, there are only three other orders

(in A1, A2, and A6) of Axvamazdā that are preserved, and one of these three, depending on the

interpretation of a particular verb, may also be an order to construct walls.[122] In fact, every

surviving order of Axvamazdā either concerns the infrastructure of movement or the construction

of walls.

Though walls, *prima facie*, have a defensive value—that is, to keep enemies out—

scholars, especially those who study the relations between China and Inner Asia, have

demonstrated the multiplicity of functions that wall-construction can serve.[123] If the northeast of

the Achaemenid Empire needed to keep out enemies, it is not apparent in any of the surviving

sources, and in fact it was the northeast of the Achaemenid Empire that provided the most

vigorous resistance to the Macedonian invasion, a testament to the strength of the state's control

over the region.[124] Instead of viewing the walls that were ordered by Axvamazdā as defensive, we

should instead consider their function in the broader regulation of movement. The regulation of

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[122] The verb in question is *ṭll*, which, in A6, Axvamazdā orders Bagavanta to do to his old houses. Naveh and Shaked translate the verb as "roof," which is a standard definition for the word. However, the word, by extension, can mean to "protect," and one wonders if this could in turn be better understood as to "wall." The argument for this must be logical in addition to philological: is it more likely that these houses had never been roofed or that they had never been fortified? These definitions come from Hebrew Union College's Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon project, available online at http://cal.huc.edu/.

[123] Lattimore 1940, 480–83 is a classic discussion; Di Cosmo 2002, 138–58 is an updated account that especially emphasizes the offensive role of walls. Payne 2017 considers the monumental walls of the Sasanian Empire.

[124] Briant 1984 contains the fullest discussion of the Achaemenid state in Bactria, and Briant 2020 contains the author's updated perspective.

movement was particularly important in the Bactrian milieu with its mixed sedentary-pastoral population. Officials who leased out herds to the pastoralists, as Henkelman and Folmer have interpreted the tally sticks, would have required an infrastructural system whereby they could meet and regulate the pastoralists.[125] Walls through mountain valleys or, as we see in the letters from Axvamazdā, around nucleated settlements, provided venues where state officials could monitor the movement of pastoral groups. Walls had a "caging" effect whereby travelers both to and from would have had to meet state officials who regulated their movement.[126]

In addition to regulating the movement of pastoral populations, walls provided a locus for taxation on trade. As we have seen in the discussion of A1, the taxation of trade is attested in the Bagavanta dossier, and the jurisdiction to levy this taxation created a conflict among the officials in Bactria from Axvamazdā down the hierarchy. But this is not the only evidence for this type of exchange and the taxation thereof. Two fragmentary documents in the Bactrian corpus, C6 and C7, are best understood as customs documents.[127] What survives from both documents is a list of items, which Naveh and Shaked call "supplies," but the words that survive are demonstrably different than, for example, the foodstuffs recorded in C1 and C4. In contrast to these accounts, which certainly belong to the administration responsible for provisioning, C6 and C7 record no food, but only items which cannot be classified within this provisioning administration: multiple references to textiles; several color words; something "decorated by a picture," perhaps harnesses for horses. There is no indication in either text that the administration disbursed what

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[125] Henkelman and Folmer 2016.

[126] Mann 1986, esp. 105-27 discusses the importance of caging effects for the rise of early states. His focus is especially on the caging effect of irrigation structures. The construction of walls has a similar effect: walls engender an interface for the interaction between state and subject that the subject will have difficulty avoiding.

[127] Photographs, text editions, translation, and commentary: Naveh and Shaked 2012, 216–223. Naveh and Shaked call both "lists of supplies."

is listed, and, moreover, there is no parallel for the disbursement of materials such as this from elsewhere in the Achaemenid Empire. If, as they seem, these lists contain mostly textiles and other low-weight artisanal goods like harnesses, marked by value of their colors and other decorations, then there is another possibility for interpreting these lists: as customs accounts that record transported items for the purposes of taxation. Textiles, of course, gave their name to the single most famous land-based trade-route in world history: the Silk Road.[128] With a high value to weight ratio, textiles represent one of the only materials profitable for long-distance, overland trade.[129] An administration seeking to tax this trade would have recorded the material being traded for the purposes of taxing it.

Let us compare the one full customs account that survives from the Achaemenid Empire: *TAD* C3.7 from fifth-century Egypt.[130] The Egyptian document is different in a number of ways, most notably that it is orders of magnitude longer and, rather than record goods from overland trade, it records goods transported over the Mediterranean.[131] Seaborne trade allows the bulk transportation of heavier goods, and, as a result, the document from Egypt records the transportation of materials like wood that would be difficult to move overland. The text from Egypt also records a number of ships coming to and from Egypt, and, although C6 and C7 from

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[128] Of course, the "Silk Road" was neither a singular route nor did only silk travel along it. Chin 2013 traces the intellectual history behind the idea of the Silk Road.

[129] Besides silk, other material commonly traded along the Silk Road that terminated in Tang China includes gold, silver, incense, and ammonium chloride (Skaff 2003, 511). These items are similarly, though to varying degrees, high value per unit of weight.

[130] Porten and Yardeni 1986, Vol. 3, 82-193. The longest discussion is Briant and Descat 1998=Briant 2017b, 377–414.

[131] It is, however, not surprising that the documentation differs, as the customs document from Elephantine is incomparable to any other ancient evidence from the Mediterranean detailing levies on movement. As Purcell notes (Purcell 2005, 210), it is not until the archives of Genoa in the thirteenth-century CE (!) that we have documentation as detailed as this text on customs in the Mediterranean.

Bactria may similarly record multiple trade caravans, this is not clear from the fragments that survive. Despite these caveats, the overriding principles are the same in the document from Egypt and the fragments from Bactria: the administration recorded the type of good transported (present in both Egypt and Bactria), the quantity of any given good (present in both), and the amount of tax taken by the administration (present in Egypt but absent in Bactria).[132] Although the amount of tax levied is missing in C6 and C7, A1 shows that taxation on movement of caravans was levied, and these two texts are very fragmentary. However, the last line of C7 is tantalizing in this regard, as it reads, "The number (of) horses." Just as the Achaemenid administration in Egypt recorded the size of the ships entering and exiting and, in turn, levied different tax rates by size, this line perhaps records the size of the caravan, as measured by the number of horses.[133] In total, the elements that survive in C6 and C7 match well the customs account from Achaemenid Egypt, and the interpretation of these texts as customs records provides the best explanation of their function.

Furthermore, the archaeological record provides evidence of the exchange of luxury goods from the Achaemenid Empire with populations farther north, especially with the nomadic elite of the steppe. The most spectacular of these finds comes from the Pazyryk valley of Russia, near the border with Kazakhstan, China, and Mongolia.[134] Several tombs of these nomadic elites were robbed shortly after their deposition, and the snow that fell into the chambers preserved much of the remaining material.[135] The Achaemenid elements in some of the art from Pazyryk

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[132] The Egyptian document records quantities of goods transported only where relevant for taxation.
[133] See especially Briant 2017b, 389–94. Yardeni 1994, 71 has a chart that compiles all the taxes levied on the boats. Lipinski 1994 provides an overview of the trade documented.
[134] The standard English language work on the material from Pazyryk is Rudenko 1970.
[135] Rudenko 1970, 1–12.

have been recognized since their original publication, with the most famous example being the

pile carpet which contains a procession scene modeled after art from Persepolis and other pieces

of similar Achaemenid court style. At 1.89 by 2 meters, the pile carpet was, by any measure, a

luxury object: if it were the product of a single skilled artisan, the textile would have taken some

18 months to produce.[136] While the original publications of the Pazyryk material dated the carpet

and the associated art to the fifth century based on the Persepolitan comparisons, later analysis of

material found in the tombs, most importantly Chinese objects, indicates that the carpet should

instead be dated to the mid-fourth century, i.e. contemporaneous to the Axvamazdā dossier.[137]

Moreover, analysis of the deviation from Persepolitan models, in addition to study of the dye

used in some of the carpet, has indicated that the object was produced not in the Achaemenid

imperial core but rather in Central Asia, most likely Bactria or neighboring Sogdia.[138] We should

not link the Pazyryk carpet with specific material mentioned in the Aramaic documents, but the

archaeological record from Siberia does indicate that the same materials as mentioned in the

documents traveled across Eurasia.

More material comes from the burials of Filippovka, a rural settlement in Siberia north of

the Caspian Sea, where a number of finds have their origins in the Achaemenid Empire. Perhaps

most striking is a plaque, from Kurgan 15, made of gold and enamel, which depicts a generic

Achaemenid Great King; the excavator, in fact, draws parallels between the object and specific

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[136] Rudenko 1970, 302.

[137] On the Achaemenid-influenced objects, see Lerner 1991. On the Chinese objects, see Bunker 1991. It is possible that Tomb 5, where the pile carpet was found, is post-Achaemenid and as late as the early third century (see discussion in Bunker et al. 1991). Nevertheless, the carpet was certainly still produced by a workshop in the Achaemenid Empire, but it may have circulated among elite hands for some time prior to its burial.

[138] Böhmer and Thompson 1991; Lerner 1991.

sealings from Persepolis.[139] Kurgan 4, which the excavator calls the "royal barrow," with the

richest collection of objects, contained a golden armlet very similar to material from the Oxus

Treasure in addition to a silver amphora, with an animal adorned handle of typical Achaemenid

style.[140] A ceramic flask from Kurgan 16 that originated from Chorasmia, when taken together

with the parallels from the Oxus Treasure, suggests that much of this material, like that of

Pazyryk, originated in workshops from Achaemenid Central Asia.[141] An Achaemenid silver

phiale from Prokhorova, also in the South Ural region of Russia, demonstrates that the flow of

material to this part of Siberia was not limited to the site of Filippovka.[142] Although these objects

cannot be precisely dated as of yet, they appear to span the fifth and fourth century.[143] The

precious metals found in these regions evoke a passage of Ctesias, preserved in Photius'

Epitome, which associates Bactrian merchants with the trade of precious stones.[144]

High-value agricultural products traveled along the same routes. Wine, for example, first

appears in northern Central Asia in the Achaemenid period and specifically in the fourth century

at a number of sites.[145] Wine-drinking increasingly became a symbol of elite status across Eurasia

in the first millennium BCE, and it was the Achaemenid period that saw its spread into northern

Central Asia.[146] Walnuts, the production of which boomed in southwestern Iran during the

Achaemenid period, likewise spread along the Central Asian trade routes during the Achaemenid

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[139] Yablonsky 2010, 133, citing Schmidt 1957, 25 for the material from Persepolis.
[140] Yablonsky 2010, 138–9.
[141] See Yablonsky 2010, 133 for the flask.
[142] Treister 2010, 242.
[143] Yablonsky 2010. Importantly, Yablonsky dates the burials themselves to the second half of the fifth and the fourth centuries as well, i.e., this site shows Achaemenid-era exchange of Achaemenid goods, not post-Achaemenid exchange of Achaemenid goods.
[144] Ctesias literally speaks of one particular Bactrian merchant. See F45 §6 (Lenfant 2004, 171).
[145] Spengler III 2019, 189.
[146] On wine-drinking and elite status, see Miller 2011.

period.[147] Nuts, like wine, are valuable enough to justify overland transportation, and remain a staple at Central Asian bazaars today.[148] Altogether with the material from Siberia, we can conclude the following: luxury goods (metal vessels, jewelry, textiles, wine, nuts) were produced in Achaemenid Central Asia and circulated among nomadic elites of the Siberian steppe. The written material from Bactria indicates that some of this exchange was motivated by profit-seeking trade.[149]

Did the same traders move all of these types of commodities long distances? Although we have only fragmentary pieces of information, the answer to this question is certainly no. To return to A1, the camel-keepers herein could have only traveled a relatively short distance with a flock of sheep; the sheep could not keep pace with the camels over long distances. These camel-keepers may have exchanged luxury goods within a region but would not have taken these with their sheep over extreme distances. But even those specializing in the trade of luxury items likely did not travel hundreds of kilometers themselves. Archaeologists have argued that these trade routes through Central Asia can be viewed as a complex of networks: individual traders may only take their goods a certain distance, but the networks of traders eventually transported goods thousands of kilometers away.[150] At the same time, others providing capital for trading enterprises may have remained sedentary.[151]

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[147] Walnut trade: Pollegioni et al. 2017; Spengler III 2019, 226–28. Walnut production in southwestern Iran: Djamali et al. 2010.

[148] Spengler III 2019, 224–29.

[149] Much scholarship that discusses the elites to the north of Achaemenid Empire (like a number of the contributions in Nieling and Rehm 2010) does not consider trade a reason this material came to be buried in Siberia, and instead prefers to see these as only instances of either gift-exchange or plunder. But there is no reason to exclude trade, even in a unmonetized economy, as classic works of anthropology have demonstrated, such as Sahlins 2017, 259–293.

[150] Brosseder and Miller 2018.

[151] Cf. the position of later Sogdian traders: de la Vaissière 2005, 110; Payne 2018, 229.

Even if the documentary record from Bactria is a fragmentary one, the picture that emerges from these fragments is coherent. Wall-building and tax-raising, as historians have shown, are intertwined processes. The satrapal house of Axvamazdā sought to construct walls and other fortifications in multiple places across Bactria (A4, A5, and perhaps A6), and taxation on movement across Bactria was extracted by different individuals within the house of Axvamazdā (A1). Perhaps within the house of Axvamazdā or perhaps outside of it, administrators recorded the goods moving across Bactria in the form of customs accounts (C6 and C7). The state, as mediated through the house of Axvamazdā, maintained the very road and provisioning system which allowed profit-seeking trade to operate across Bactria (A1, A2, and A6; C1 and C4 outside of Axvamazdā's purview), and because the state controlled this infrastructure of movement and indeed constructed cages within this system, the administration was able to tax the trade across it. But this system did not only benefit the state and its agents through tax-raising, it also benefited profit-seeking traders: the creation of a safe (recall the frequent mention of "troops" along the roads) and well-provisioned road network enabled low-risk long-distance exchange for traders or, in the vocabulary of the New Institutional Economics, lowered transaction costs.[152] Despite the deserved attention that the Achaemenid road system has seen—the road system was perhaps the strongest infrastructural mark of Achaemenid imperialism—the impact of this road system on profit-seeking trade has seen very little attention.[153] The evidence of the Axvamazdā documents and related texts demonstrate that this has been a scholarly blind spot.

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[152] See Jursa 2010; Bresson 2016 for compelling applications of the New Institutional Economics to the ancient world.

[153] That is, profit-seeking trade as compared to exchange in a non-market command economy.

Conclusions

This study of the satrapal house of Axvamazdā points to two broader conclusions, one of which is a major theme of this dissertation and the other of which is unique to this chapter. To take the second first, the Axvamazdā dossier demonstrates the importance of the Achaemenid Empire in the development of long-distance overland trade. Although the Achaemenid road system has been an object of frequent and rigorous study, the question of profit-seeking trade along this road system has been analyzed little. The reasons for this lacuna are clear: neither the Greek historians nor the Persepolis Fortification archive, our two chief sources for the topic, have much to say on the matter. But the creation of this road system from Egypt to Sogdia, from Anatolia to the Indus, in turn led to a safer, easier travel network for profit-seeking long-distance exchange. If the road system created the opportunity, then the rise of new elites at satrapal centers across the Empire and, not least, the imperial court itself at Susa and Persepolis in turn drove the demand for the types of luxury goods worth transporting long distances. In this context, it is little surprise that long-distance trade developed as it did under the Achaemenid Empire, but the Axvamazdā dossier shows why the Empire itself may have encouraged this trade: as an opportunity for taxation.

The second major conclusion emerges from the use of Axvamazdā's houses, farms, and subordinates along the imperial road system.[154] That is, the state and its agents cannot be understood as separate in the Achaemenid Empire, and the agents of the state cannot be understood as autonomous from civil society. It is outside the scope of this dissertation to question whether or not the state has, in any historical manifestation, ever been autonomous of

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[154] Material and personnel should be understood together as comprising infrastructure in the definition of Ando 2017, 9.

its agents or of civil society, but regardless, the state cannot be studied separately from its agents in the Achaemenid Empire. Let us recall that M. Mann, whose explicit object of study is the "autonomous power of the state," readily admits that state elites possess a "not absolute" autonomy from civil society.[155] This understanding of the Achaemenid state and its agents should refute A. Monson and W. Scheidel's claim that in "all state-level societies the state and elites compete for the surplus."[156] In the Achaemenid Empire, the state and elites, especially satraps, cannot be meaningfully separated, and the effort by elites to extract a greater portion of the surplus also led to more of the surplus being directed toward state functions.

The chief political calculus for the Achaemenid King of Kings and his court was the problem of ensuring that satraps continued to raise tax and to send a portion to the imperial core, rather than switching to a quasi-feudal mode of production, wherein the surplus from coercive rent-taking would stay only in the hands of the satrap. In C. Wickham's account of the fall of the Roman Empire, this story of tax-raising versus rent-taking became the key variable in determining the fates of the Western versus Eastern Roman Empire: in the West, when the Roman army proved incapable of mounting successful enough military defenses, state elites stopped raising taxes, and a period of feudalization occurred. In the East, however, the state never lost its capacity to raise taxes.[157] In the Achaemenid Empire, the King of Kings never lost his ability to raise taxes, though there are occasional mentions of satraps struggling for independence. Thus, the Achaemenid state endured up to the Macedonian conquest when the

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[155] Mann 1984, 201.
[156] Monson and Scheidel 2015b, 10.
[157] Wickham 1984 is the original article. See Wickham 1985 on the perseverance of tax-raising in the eastern Mediterranean. Wickham 2005 shows his ideas vastly elaborated. Banaji 2007 provides a useful critique of Wickham 2005 but never argues against taxation being a key variable in the collapse of the Roman Empire.

elites of the state switched their allegiances from the Achaemenid King of Kings to the

Macedonian Alexander, himself viewed by some as the "last Achaemenid."[158] It is only in the

Hellenistic kingdoms that we find satraps no longer willing to raise taxes on behalf of their

kings, and political power in the former Achaemenid lands increasingly fragmented until the

coming of the Romans and the Parthians.[159]

The reasons why the Achaemenid system of satrapal governance endured across the

geographic and temporal expanse of the Empire are varied and multifaceted. The ideological role

of the King of Kings as the symbolic head of state must have played a crucial role, and we

should consider that many satraps were literal "friends" of the King of Kings himself as the

Greek sources report.[160] Violence and the threat of violence likewise were key to the maintenance

of the system of satrapal governance, and the course of the Achaemenid Empire saw the King

and his court replacing unruly local elites with those more loyal to the crown.[161] But the case of

Axvamazdā provides material reasons for the endurance of the satrapal system: in short, it

benefited both the King of Kings and his satraps. Axvamazdā invested his own resources in the

infrastructure of the Achaemenid state—of which his house was part—because it allowed him an

opportunity and a means to raise taxes. Participation of all the satraps in this broader

Achaemenid state structure created a system of sufficient infrastructural strength to facilitate

profit-seeking trade, as with the camels of the King, that both satraps and lower-ranking officials

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[158] Briant 2010 restates his influential argument.

[159] There is no shortage of literature on the Roman conquest of the eastern Mediterranean, but Eckstein 2008 provides a theoretically grounded account of the shift in political power in the early years of Roman imperialism in the eastern Mediterranean. Hauser 2012 makes a case for a stronger Parthian state than has been previously assumed in scholarship. See also Hauser 2016.

[160] Root 1979 on the King of Kings in art; see also Briant 2002a, 204–54. For the language of friendship, see chapter 3.

[161] See especially the revolt in Babylonia in 484 (Waerzeggers 2003; Kessler 2004; Baker 2008; Waerzeggers and Seire 2018) and the fate of the Murašû family (Stolper 1985).

like Bagavanta could tax. As long as the King continued to receive a portion of this revenue, the maintenance of this system made sense from the perspective of the imperial core. Conversely, what reasons would the satraps have had to stop raising taxes? The amount of taxation to be extracted via the imperial infrastructure must have surpassed the possible rent-collection from feudal landlordism. Cooperation among the King of Kings and his satraps compensated for the infrastructural deficiencies of the imperial court just as it allowed the satraps to extract a greater surplus.

Chapter 8. Conclusions and Contributions

As a brief conclusion, this chapter will propose what this dissertation can offer to three

fields. The first, naturally, is Achaemenid studies, to which this dissertation can contribute by

nuancing our understanding of the day-to-day operations of Achaemenid imperialism. Here, this

chapter makes a series of summarizing claims about satrapal houses and explains how these

features of satrapal houses contributed to the maintenance of imperial order. Second, this chapter

proposes a contribution to empire studies and, specifically, to issues of how empire is defined, as

regards centrality and territoriality. The literature on this topic is voluminous, and this chapter

only summarizes some of this discourse in cursory form. Finally, this chapter turns to issues of

governance in pre-modern societies, a topic of concern especially to historical sociology. This

chapter proposes that the overlapping houses of satraps and their subordinates represent a

hitherto unappreciated form of governance which contributed in large part to the maintenance of

the Achaemenid Empire in its 200-plus year duration.

Satrapal Houses and Achaemenid Studies

First, we can revisit the question posed at the outset: why did the Achaemenid Empire

endure at such scale for so long?[1] Whereas the introduction to this dissertation proposed that the

institution of the satrapal house laid the bedrock for imperial durability, this conclusion can

synthesize the preceding chapters into a series of claims about the satrapal house:

1) Satraps controlled their own houses through means both cooperative and coercive.

Although comparative studies have more recently emphasized that the practice of imperialism

often encouraged active participation in the imperial project among subject populations, empire-

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[1] I include little literature here on the Achaemenid material. Please refer to the individual
chapters for literature.

building required, at minimum, the ruling class to have a greater ability to coerce than other factions.[2] The satraps' ability to encourage participation through positive rewards and to extract labor and resources through coercion comes through across all the case studies presented in this dissertation. Offering economic incentives allowed, for example, Cyrus the Younger to entice Lysander to join Achaemenid networks, just as it encouraged Aršāma's estate managers to continue in their master's service. But failure to cooperate with the satrap could motivate him to use violence, just as the severing of alliances in Anatolia led to warfare between the Achaemenid Empire and Sparta following the Peloponnesian War.

2) The satrapal house deployed its assets in such a way as to benefit both the personal interests of the satrap and the broader goals of the Empire at large. Satraps, then, conducted a form of self-interested imperialism throughout the Achaemenid Empire. This marriage of personal and imperial goals encouraged, for example, Axvamazdā to expend the resources of his own house to maintain the imperial road system in Bactria: not only did this facilitate the movement of state officials along the network of roads, but it also allowed Axvamazdā and a select few of his subordinates to levy taxes on the movement of goods along these same roads. Beyond these economic interests, satraps expended their own resources to raise their esteem in the eyes of others, especially the King of Kings, as is evident in Anatolia. Mandating that satrapal houses use their own resources preserved those of the house of the King, just as it limited the amount of resource-sharing necessary to accomplish broader endeavors—this factor should not be underestimated in a land-based empire, where transporting goods in bulk was, at best, a matter of considerable difficulty.

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[2] Participation in empire, e.g. Burbank and Cooper 2010; Lavan et al. 2016b.

3) Satraps neither sought nor claimed to rule entire territories or populations, but selectively asserted their authority where most able to intervene and extract. Achaemenid imperial ideology may have imagined control as expansive over space, but the realities of practice were more modest. The emic languages of Achaemenid imperialism, as this dissertation has repeatedly stressed, name satraps *in* places, rather than *of* places: satraps did not conceive of their rule as having strict geographic boundaries. Such intricacies of administrative language must be unpacked to understand Achaemenid imperial ambitions. The object of satrapal rule, therefore, was not places but peoples; moreover, it was not all peoples but those who satraps thought were least resistant to coercion. It is no coincidence that the same economic interests appear across the sources: agricultural estates, often monitored by fortified complexes. Caging tenants on such land, but not necessarily enslaving them, required less coercive force than alternatives like true slave plantations, and this organization of labor ensured a steady stream of rent to satraps. Satraps also built infrastructure, like the walls in Bactria, to force interactions between their house and their subjects, and they asserted their rule at these interfaces. At the same time, other groups were left to the wayside: satraps rarely asserted direct control over urban populations, and they entered into contractual relations with herders, rather than asserting violent claims over them.

4) Satrapal houses stood in hierarchical relationship to one another, but this hierarchy was fluid and often changing. B. Jacobs' hierarchy of satrapies, when modified to become a hierarchy of satraps, fits this structure in a snapshot-view, but the model is too static when considering imperial dynamics as they changed over time.[3] This satrapal competition remains clearest in the narrative sources, particularly among Tissaphernes, Pharnabazus, and Cyrus, as discussed in this

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[3] Jacobs 1994.

dissertation. But the administrative documentation too provides insights into satrapal competition, especially into its quotidian forms. When Bakabaduš's travel authorization is mentioned in the Persepolis Fortification archive, for example, this demonstrates that administrators between Arachosia and Persepolis deemed his authority high-ranking enough to carry official weight across the expanse of the Iranian plateau, rather than requiring a subsequent authorization from other officers. In contrast, when Bakabaduš overrode the travel authorizations of travelers moving west from Gandhāra or the Indus, he demonstrated that his authority, at least as he perceived it, carried greater weight than that of those satraps farther east.

5) Satraps maintained their connections—with the King, with one another, with other elites—through a network of personal relationships. Again, the details of language are crucial for understanding this point. Communication between satraps and others (subordinates and elites) was rarely couched in terms of depersonalized offices—this is one of the reasons why the title "satrap" rarely appears in administrative documentation—but rather is presented as between individuals.[4] Greetings and levels of obsequiousness give insight into the relative ranks between named individuals, not because these persons occupied offices with specific hierarchical ranks, but because these individuals, separate from their administrative charge, had their own status. Satraps deployed their personal networks to accomplish goals which benefited the Empire at large, such as Pharnabazus exerting control over the Propontis, or for more personal ends, such as Aršāma moving the sculptor (or seal-cutter) Ḥinzani from Susa to Egypt. Although these personal relationships usually suited the Empire's needs, a breakdown in relationships could trigger broader political consequences because of their personalized nature.

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[4] In contrast, however, the King is frequently depersonalized (e.g., in the Persepolis Fortification archive). This contrast is worth further study.

6) Property could be shared between satraps and their subordinates, but some pools of assets could remain discrete. Nevertheless, these distinctions could be flexible and negotiable. The most striking example comes with the case of Bēlšunu and his subordinate, Urāš-nāṣir, who conducted business with and for his master's property, while at the same time retaining a separate pool of assets himself. The example of Bēlšunu and Urāš-nāṣir, however, also demonstrates how tenuous these distinctions could be, as the Kasr archive shows that Urāš-nāṣir's business documents were stored alongside the business Urāš-nāṣir conducted on behalf of Bēlšunu: that is, they were not necessarily considered distinct activities. These boundaries were blurry, and this ambiguity could work to the advantage of the satraps, whose control over the economic lives of their subjects is amply demonstrated in the chapters on Aršāma and Axvamazdā.

All of these claims point to the practice of Achaemenid imperialism being highly personal—dependent to a large extent on the connections of individual satraps, their own preferred methods of extraction, their feelings toward their subordinates and toward one another. This, however, is only true to a certain extent: the system had built-in "checks and balances," to borrow an Americanism. The most important check on the whims of any given satrap were other satraps and, of course, the King of Kings. Satraps who went beyond their bounds, like Cyrus the Younger, would be killed, and satraps who failed to adequately accomplish the goals of the Empire, like Tissaphernes, could likewise be killed. More common, though, was that satrapal ambition would be kept in check by the ambition of other satraps. Satrapal and, more broadly, elite competition over resources and labor served to level the playing field while also encouraging the continuity of imperial extraction. The deployment of *all* the satraps' personal interests and personal whims together kept the system largely stable and maintained the imperial

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status quo. The recognition and reproduction of the imperial status quo from the levels below the satrap—the *pqyd*s, the waystation supervisors, etc.—likewise helped maintain the system.

Satrapal Houses and Global Empire-Studies

The years following the second American invasion of Iraq have seen a boom in empire-studies, and the year 2020 closed with the publication of the two-volume, 1,856-page *Oxford World History of Empire*.[5] The apparent fragility of the post-Cold War, nation-state centered world order has given particular urgency to the field. History, moreover, has seen a turn toward global, often comparative studies.[6] In this context of global empire-studies, the Achaemenid Empire ought to play an important role: the Achaemenid Empire controlled an order of magnitude more population and resources than any of its predecessors (most notably the Assyrian Empire), and it would not be until the thirteenth-century Mongol Empire of Chinggis Khan that any empire would significantly surpass the Achaemenid Empire in absolute scale.[7] The Achaemenid Empire, therefore, should not only contribute to the discourse on how empires rise, fall, and operate, but it should be one of the central components of this very discourse. The past decade, indeed, has seen an increased recognition of the Achaemenid Empire's centrality to the global history of empire, and P. Bang, in his introduction to the *Oxford World History of Empire*, devotes as much or more attention to the Achaemenid Empire than to any other single empire.[8]

What, then, can Achaemenid history tell us about how empires operate generally, and what can this dissertation contribute specifically? To answer this question, we first need a working definition of what an "empire" is according to historians. However, as historians have

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[5] Bang et al. 2020. For the increased attention after the invasion of Iraq, see Hopkins 2016.
[6] Belich et al. 2016 is a rigorous introduction to the field of global history. For "globalization" in the Achaemenid context, see Colburn 2016.
[7] Scheidel 2020, esp. 97.
[8] Bang 2020, 53–55 on the Achaemenid Empire.

paid greater attention to imperial formations beyond Rome and Britain, on which much of this scholarship initially focused, scholars have never reached anything approaching a consensus on how to define "empire."[9] Bang, though offering a deep review of the literature on this topic, does not himself offer a definition on "empire."[10] Because counter-examples can often be raised against stringent definitions of "empire," other scholars have sought deliberately capacious definitions, but these too can prove deceptively complex.[11] Nonetheless, historians engaging with historical sociological literature, influenced above all by M. Weber, have produced a number of definitions in which key elements tend to be repeated.[12] The definition of J. Goldstone and J. Haldon represents a rigorous formulation of these ideas: "In our terms, an 'empire' is a territory (contiguous or not) ruled from a distinct organizational center (which may be mobile) with clear ideological and political sway over varied elites who in turn exercise power over a population in which a majority have neither access to nor influence over positions of imperial power."[13] The following pages will demonstrate how this dissertation complicates, though not necessarily invalidates, two facets of this definition: territoriality and centrality.

The inclusion of territoriality in the definition of empire owes much to Weber's definition of a "state," which he defined as an organization which exercises a monopoly over the legitimate

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[9] Cooper 2004 provides a critical review of several books defining "empire" in different ways.
[10] Bang 2020.
[11] See, for example, the definition of Doyle (Doyle 1986, 45): "Empire, then, is a relationship, formal or informal, in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society. It can be achieved by force, by political collaboration, by economic, social, or cultural dependence. Imperialism is simply the process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire." The elegance of this definition has been endorsed by other historians of empire (e.g. Tymowski 2011, 108; Bang 2020, 19). However, the definition defers much of the explanatory burden to "sovereignty" which goes undefined.
[12] Weber 2019. Note that I cite the most recent English translation. Prior to this, Weber 1978 was the standard English language translation. For the German original, see Weber 1922.
[13] Goldstone and Haldon 2009, 18–19.

use of violence "within a given geographical area."[14] As this dissertation has demonstrated, the Achaemenid satraps and other organs of the government, by and large, sought not to exercise control over territory but rather over populations. As discussed in the introductory chapter, the Achaemenid Kings collapsed population and place in their own proclamations of the extent of their imperial reach, and the court chose to visualize the reach of the King's spear via the representation of subject peoples.[15] Territoriality was, if anything, an accident of the Achaemenid goal of controlling subject populations. This extends to titulature where officials tend to be "in" places, not a claim to territoriality, rather than "of" places, which is a claim to territoriality.[16] Even when satrapal houses intervened in their spatial landscape, such as Axvamazdā's construction of walls, their object was to facilitate their control over subject populations, rather to exert boundaries of or within a territory.

One may object that the distinction between population and territory drawn here is ultimately a semantic difference: populations live in places, and by controlling these populations, the Achaemenid Empire in effect controlled the territory in which these populations lived. Goldstone and Haldon's definition even accounts for the possibility of discontinuous territory, a not uncommon phenomenon in ancient states.[17] But the blanket expression of territory as the

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[14] Weber 2019, 135–36. The German in full reads, "Politischer Verband soll ein Herrschaftsverband dann und insoweit heißen, als sein Bestand und die Geltung seiner Ordnungen innerhalb eines angebbaren geographischen Gebiets kontinuierlich durch Anwendung und Androhung physischen Zwangs seitens des Verwaltungsstabes garantiert warden. Staat soll ein politischer Anstaltsbetrieb heißen, wenn und insoweit sein Verwaltungsstab erfolgreich das Monopol legitimen physischen Zwangs für die Durchführung der Ordnungen in Anspruch nimmt" (Weber 1922, 29). I have removed Weber's emphasis from both the English and the German.

[15] On the collapse of people/place, see now Waters 2020.

[16] Bēlšunu's Akkadian titulature is an exception.

[17] Osborne 2013.

object of rule flattens the differences in rule that occur within and across this territory.[18] This

caveat is especially important in the Achaemenid Empire: the ruling class exerted selective

control over manageable, cage-able spaces like floodplains, river valleys, and oases.[19] No less

important in western Asia, defining the rule of empire via its territory fails to adequately account

for the sizable nomadic and semi-nomadic population that experienced the relationship to

territory differently than sedentary agriculturalists but who, nonetheless, could be subjects of the

Achaemenid Kings and satraps.[20] Territory and subject populations could and did converge

across the Achaemenid Empire, but that does not necessarily make territoriality a defining

feature of Achaemenid imperialism. Satraps, not satrapies, were the components parts of

imperial governance. Territoriality, in effect, was at times a result of Achaemenid imperialism,

but not an intended one: taxable subject populations were always the aim of Achaemenid rule.

The centrality of the Achaemenid Empire, or the lack thereof, similarly complicates

definitions of empire. The emphasis on centrality in definitions such as Goldstone and Haldon's

owes much to the world-systems theory of I. Wallerstein.[21] By accounting for the mobility of the

organizational center, Goldstone and Haldon remedy one potential hurdle for the Achaemenid

case: the court of the Great King was mobile, as previously discussed. The exploitation of

peripheral areas by the center plays a key role in Wallerstein's analysis, but Goldstone and

Haldon smartly exclude this element from their definition of empire: historians have

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[18] Postgate 1992b; Smith 2005.

[19] Cf. what Barfield refers to as a "Swiss cheese" model of governance, where the holes in the reach of the state were by design: Barfield 2010; 2020. See also Liverani's analysis of the expansion of the Assyrian Empire in the Upper Euphrates as a "network of communications:" Liverani 1988.

[20] See chapters 3 and 7 on nomads in the Achaemenid Empire.

[21] Wallerstein 2011. Berquist 1995 is notable for applying world-systems theory directly to the study of the Achaemenid Levant, but the article's potential for novel insights is diminished by its poor grounding in the Achaemenid context.

demonstrated that empires often articulated state power most strongly at its seeming peripheries, where frontiers were fortified, taxes levied, and peasants caged.[22] But the Achaemenid Empire presents a clear case of polycentricity: each satrapal house functioned as a mobile center that replicated royal power across the empire. The house of the King of Kings may have been the most powerful locus of government—that is, able to extract and consume resources—but Achaemenid state power would have been felt more keenly in Tissaphernes' estate near Sardis or Aršāma's house near Memphis than in the upland Zagros, which was much closer in geographic space to the King's house. Again, this does not invalidate the centrality ascribed to empires, but it does complicate it.

Instead of viewing the Achaemenid Empire as centralized or even as decentralized, this dissertation proposes that we should conceptualize Achaemenid power as a network, with elite houses, especially those of the King and the satraps, functioning as nodes within the network. Network models do not imply centrality, but rather seek to account for the varied ways and frequencies in which actors interact with one another.[23] The King functioned as a node to which all the satraps connected, but many of the individuals with whom the satraps interacted did not connect directly to the King; therefore, the satraps were crucial nodes in their own right in maintaining the connectedness of Achaemenid power structures. As a concrete example, we may consider the case of Darius II, Cyrus the Younger, and Lysander of Sparta. The alliance between the Achaemenids and Sparta shifted the balance of power in the Peloponnesian War and ultimately led to the Achaemenid reconquest of subject populations in Anatolia, and this Spartan-Achaemenid alliance operated through the relationship between Cyrus and Lysander. In turn, the

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[22] E.g., Di Cosmo 2002, 138–58; Purcell 2005; Payne 2017.
[23] See, e.g., the idea of the network applied to the Classical Greek city-states: Malkin 2011.

connection between Cyrus and Darius II enabled the deployment of Achaemenid resources in the

war effort. This network model explains more mundane acts of Achaemenid power as well.

Consider the extraction of resources in Egypt at the time of Aršāma. At the highest level, the

governance of Egypt relied upon the connection between Darius II and Aršāma, but Aršāma's

absence from Egypt necessitated his reliance on a series of *pqyd*s. These *pqyd*s in turn interfaced

with landowners in Egypt regarding matters of labor and agriculture on the ground. Matters of

governance did not need to pass through the King, but instead they could and usually were

resolved directly by individuals at lower ranks of the hierarchy. By viewing Achaemenid power

as a network of interconnected nodes, we are able to conceptualize the Achaemenid Empire in a

way that more accurately represents the daily acts of imperialism and governance. The satraps

and their houses were the nodes absolutely essential to maintaining the structure of the Empire as

a whole.[24] This system was maintained via the delegation of power to the satraps—a delegation

implied by the very etymology of the term *satrap* as "the one who protects the

kingdom/kingship."[25]

Overlapping Houses as a System of Governance

This final section will argue that the system of overlapping houses—of the King, of the

satraps, of their family members and subordinates—functioned successfully as a system of

governance not well described by comparative and theoretical models. Again, the most

influential sociological work on the governance of many pre-modern states has been Weber's

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[24] This is not to say that the Achaemenid Empire could have necessarily functioned without a
Great King, and the collapse of the system following the death of Alexander III suggests that it
could not have. The centrality of the King was absolutely integral to the ideology of imperial
rule. But the network model does suggest that the King was considerably less central to the
governance and political economy of the Achaemenid Empire than the King was to Achaemenid
ideology.
[25] See the introductory chapter for bibliography.

Economy and Society, and in particular his discussion of patrimonial bureaucracy has resonated within Near Eastern studies.[26] To summarize, Weber argued that in patrimonial bureaucracies, rulers ran their administration as if it were an oversized household. As with all of Weber's models, this was explicitly an ideal type, and features of patrimonial bureaucracies could be combined with other types of rule. Weber's ideas have been elaborated and nuanced since *Economy and Society*, but the kernel of the patrimonial bureaucracy remains influential today, especially in Near Eastern studies.[27]

Weber's patrimonial bureaucracy describes, to a certain extent, the governance of the Achaemenid Empire at the level of the King of Kings, and this dissertation has demonstrated that the house of the King functioned as a political and economic unit unto itself. But Weber's model, and many of those following in his footsteps, seeks only to account for the highest level of governmental hierarchies.[28] If we want to understand the governance of the Achaemenid Empire, or any given empire, as a whole, we need to parse the entire matrix of power structures. The Achaemenid Empire, as this dissertation has demonstrated, should not be viewed as a single, large royal house, but rather as a series of partially overlapping houses. The house of the Great King included some of the house of, for example, Aršāma; the house of Aršāma included some of the house of Nakhthor; etc. The houses stood in hierarchical relation to one another, but they were also partially overlapping, not entirely discrete. All these houses were organs of the entire Achaemenid government.

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[26] Weber 2019, esp. 360-374.

[27] Important elaborations: Eisenstadt 1969; Kautsky 1982; Mann 1986; Runciman 1989, 123–284. Weber's influence in Near Eastern studies, e.g., Schloen 2001; Garfinkle 2008. Postgate 2013 addresses Weber but does not follow him as closely. In the Achaemenid context specifically, Hackl and Jursa 2015; Jursa 2020.

[28] See, e.g., Blake 2011, which studies the patrimonial bureaucracy of the Mughal, Safavid, and Ottoman Empires but focuses only on the royal households.

To what extent did these houses overlap? It is impossible to answer this question with any sort of precision, e.g., that 50% of Aršāma's house was considered a subsection of the house of the King, while 50% was considered only to be the house of Aršāma. But part of the reason we can offer no precision is that these proportions were negotiable and often in flux. Much of what we read in the letters of individual satraps can be considered negotiations about the boundaries of satrapal houses: was taxing traders under the purview of Axvamazdā's house or did it lie outside his control, solely in the house of the King? Did Nakhtḥor define Aršāma's house too narrowly during the satrap's absence? But we should not mistake the flexibility inherent to many of these texts as meaning that all property and responsibilities lay in a fuzzy area between competing claims. Recall Axvamazdā's threat to Bagavanta that, should Bagavanta fail to deliver an owed amount of grain, Axvamazdā says, "You [Bagavanta] shall pay the whole amount from your own house to my house." Compare Cyrus' funds for the Peloponnesian War, which similarly show a distinction between the satrap's own wealth and the wealth of the King. There could be transfers and exchange between these large houses. The pools of property and responsibilities within these houses were considered distinct, though they could always be negotiated.

The system outlined here defies the sort of neat schematism that one might expect of governmental structures. The Achaemenid court may have conceived of their government in a neater way, and ideological programs, such as the monumental inscriptions and reliefs, demonstrate that the court did imagine their imperial world order in a neat, structured manner.[29] The upper echelons of the imperial administration may have had the same unrealized dream. But this dissertation has striven to describe Achaemenid imperial practice, not ideology, and the

[29] See now especially Canepa 2018, chap. 14.

functioning of Achaemenid imperialism could often be flexible, negotiable, and confusing to its contemporary actors, as well as its modern observers. However, this is not to say that the system of overlapping houses proved an ineffectual form of governance—far from it. After the conquests of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, the only major loss of the empire's tax-base in almost 200 years came with the late fifth-century loss of Egypt, which the Achaemenids eventually recovered in 343. This should not be taken as a moral endorsement of Achaemenid imperialism: the Achaemenid Empire could transform the lives of subjects, and often in brutal ways. But Achaemenid imperialism, with overlapping houses as its defining feature, was remarkably durable and effective.

Why was this messy, flexible system so successful? One answer has been provided by example across the chapters: the system of overlapping houses encouraged individuals to act in a self-interested way that benefitted the empire as a whole. This system relieved, or perhaps even eliminated, what scholars have viewed as a fractious problem in large polities: how to balance the interests of the state and those of the elites.[30] Let us take Bēlšunu as an example: Bēlšunu operated his business in a particular way so that he did not acquire too much land to run afoul of his imperial superiors, but still had ample assets to engender a satrapal dynasty in Syria. Bēlšunu's particular business pursuits worked in his own interests, as he acquired and maintained enough well to remain a rentier elite, while at the same time not gaining too much power to upset the established imperial order. At the same time, the Achaemenid court, and Darius II in particular, gained in Bēlšunu a dependent ally in Syria and a local agent to supervise imperial extraction and increase cultivation. This pattern extends to Bēlšunu's subordinates. Urāš-nāṣir

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[30] E.g. Wickham 1984; Haldon 1993, chap. 4; Blanton and Fargher 2007, 5; Monson and Scheidel 2015b, 19; Haldon 2020, 180.

conducted business within and for the house of Bēlšunu, while at the same time maintaining economic interests outside of it. In this partnership, Urāš-nāṣir gained a measure of security and acquired access to the personal networks of one of the most powerful men in Babylonia. Bēlšunu, in turn, gained control of some of Urāš-nāṣir's labor and was able to more easily maintain his ties to Babylonia while he himself lived in Syria.

The system of overlapping houses was not unique to the satraps, but the satrapal houses were, overall, the key to maintaining the Achaemenid Empire. It was the network of satraps in communication and competition with other satraps that allowed the coordination of the entire empire. Had all lines of communications gone first through the King of Kings, maintenance of power structures across such daunting distances would have simply been impossible. The family members and, especially, the subordinates of the satrapal houses were the ones who regularly interfaced with subject populations. The hierarchical reach of the satrapal houses allowed them access to both the highest echelons of Achaemenid power and the lowest levels of imperial dependents. It was at the level of the satrapal house that transregional, imperial goals intersected with local responses. The satrapal houses were the institutional building blocks of Achaemenid imperialism.

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