BLACKWELL COMPANIONS TO THE ANCIENT WORLD

A COMPANION TO THE ACHAEMENID PERSIAN EMPIRE

VOLUME I

EDITED BY

BRUNO JACOBS AND ROBERT ROLLINGER

WILEY Blackwell

A COMPANION TO THE ACHAEMENID PERSIAN EMPIRE
EDITED BY JACOBS AND ROLLINGER
VOLUME I
WILEY Blackwell

A COMPANION TO THE ACHAEMENID PERSIAN EMPIRE
EDITED BY JACOBS AND ROLLINGER
VOLUME II
WILEY Blackwell

A COMPANION TO THE ACHAEMENID PERSIAN EMPIRE

BLACKWELL COMPANIONS TO THE ANCIENT WORLD

This series provides sophisticated and authoritative overviews of periods of ancient history, genres of classical literature, and the most important themes in ancient culture. Each volume comprises approximately twenty-five and forty concise essays written by individual scholars within their area of specialization. The essays are written in a clear, provocative, and lively manner, designed for an international audience of scholars, students, and general readers.

Ancient History

A Companion to the Roman Army
Edited by Paul Erdkamp
A Companion to the Roman Republic
Edited by Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx
A Companion to the Classical Greek World
Edited by Konrad H. Kinzl
A Companion to the Ancient Near East
Edited by Daniel C. Snell
A Companion to the Hellenistic World
Edited by Andrew Erskine
A Companion to Late Antiquity
Edited by Philip Rousseau
A Companion to Ancient History
Edited by Andrew Erskine
A Companion to Archaic Greece
Edited by Kurt A. Raaflaub and Hans van Wees
A Companion to Julius Caesar
Edited by Miriam Griffin
A Companion to Byzantium
Edited by Liz James
A Companion to Ancient Egypt
Edited by Alan B. Lloyd
A Companion to Ancient Macedonia
Edited by Joseph Roisman and Ian Worthington
A Companion to the Punic Wars
Edited by Dexter Hoyos
A Companion to Augustine
Edited by Mark Vessey
A Companion to Marcus Aurelius
Edited by Marcel van Ackeren
A Companion to Ancient Greek Government
Edited by Hans Beck
A Companion to the Neronian Age
Edited by Emma Buckley and Martin T. Dinter
A Companion to Greek Democracy and the Roman Republic
Edited by Dean Hammer
A Companion to Livy
Edited by Bernard Mineo
A Companion to Ancient Thrace
Edited by Julia Valeva, Emil Nankov, and Denver Graninger
A Companion to Roman Italy
Edited by Alison E. Cooley
A Companion to the Etruscans
Edited by Sinclair Bell and Alexandra A. Carpino
A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome
Edited by Andrew Zissos
A Companion to Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Greece and Rome
Edited by Georgia L. Irby
A Companion to the City of Rome
Edited by Amanda Claridge and Claire Holleran
A Companion to Greeks Across the Ancient World
Edited by Franco De Angelis
A Companion to Late Ancient Jews and Judaism -Third Century BCE - Seventh Century CE
Edited by Naomi Koltun-Fromm and Gwynn Kessler
A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean
Edited by Irene S. Lemos and Antonios Kotsonas
A Companion to Assyria
Edited by Eckart Frahm
A Companion to Sparta
Edited by Anton Powell
A Companion to Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt
Edited by Katelijn Vandorpe
A Companion to Ancient Agriculture
Edited by David Hollander and Timothy Howe
A Companion to North Africa in Antiquity
Edited by Bruce Hitchner
A Companion to the Hellenistic and Roman Near East
Edited by Ted Kaizer
A Companion to Greek Warfare
Edited by Waldemar Heckel, E. Edward Garvin, John Vanderspoel, and Fred Naiden

Literature and Culture

A Companion to Greek and Roman Music
Edited by Tosca Lynch and Eleonora Rocconi
A Companion to Classical Receptions
Edited by Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray
A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography
Edited by John Marincola
A Companion to Catullus
Edited by Marilyn B. Skinner
A Companion to Roman Religion
Edited by Jörg Rüpke
A Companion to Greek Religion
Edited by Daniel Ogden
A Companion to the Classical Tradition
Edited by Craig W. Kallendorf
A Companion to Roman Rhetoric
Edited by William Dominik and Jon Hall
A Companion to Greek Rhetoric
Edited by Ian Worthington
A Companion to Ancient Epic
Edited by John Miles Foley
A Companion to Greek Tragedy
Edited by Justina Gregory
A Companion to Latin Literature
Edited by Stephen Harrison
A Companion to Greek and Roman Political Thought
Edited by Ryan K. Balot
A Companion to Ovid
Edited by Peter E. Knox
A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language
Edited by Egbert Bakker
A Companion to Hellenistic Literature
Edited by Martine Cuypers and James J. Clauss
A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and its Tradition
Edited by Joseph Farrell and Michael C. J. Putnam
A Companion to Horace
Edited by Gregson Davis
A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds
Edited by Beryl Rawson
A Companion to Greek Mythology
Edited by Ken Dowden and Niall Livingstone
A Companion to the Latin Language
Edited by James Clackson
A Companion to Tacitus
Edited by Victoria Emma Pagán
A Companion to Women in the Ancient World
Edited by Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon
A Companion to Sophocles
Edited by Kirk Ormand
A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East
Edited by Daniel Potts
A Companion to Roman Love Elegy
Edited by Barbara K. Gold
A Companion to Greek Art
Edited by Tyler Jo Smith and Dimitris Plantzos
A Companion to Persius and Juvenal
Edited by Susanna Braund and Josiah Osgood
A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic
Edited by Jane DeRose Evans
A Companion to Terence
Edited by Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill
A Companion to Roman Architecture
Edited by Roger B. Ulrich and Caroline K. Quenemoen
A Companion to Sport and Spectacle in Greek and Roman Antiquity
Edited by Paul Christesen and Donald G. Kyle
A Companion to Plutarch
Edited by Mark Beck
A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities
Edited by Thomas K. Hubbard
A Companion to the Ancient Novel
Edited by Edmund P. Cueva and Shannon N. Byrne
A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean
Edited by Jeremy McInerney
A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art
Edited by Melinda Hartwig
A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World
Edited by Rubina Raja and Jörg Rüpke
A Companion to Food in the Ancient World
Edited by John Wilkins and Robin Nadeau
A Companion to Ancient Education
Edited by W. Martin Bloomer
A Companion to Ancient Aesthetics
Edited by Pierre Destrée & Penelope Murray
A Companion to Roman Art
Edited by Barbara Borg
A Companion to Greek Literature
Edited by Martin Hose and David Schenker
A Companion to Josephus in his World
Edited by Honora Howell Chapman and Zuleika Rodgers
A Companion to Greek Architecture
Edited by Margaret M. Miles
A Companion to Plautus
Edited by Dorota Dutsch and George Fredric Franko
A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Languages
Edited by Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee
A Companion to Ancient Greece and Rome on Screen
Edited by Arthur J. Pomeroy
A Companion to Euripedes
Edited by Laura K. McClure
A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Art
Edited by Ann C. Gunter
A Companion to Ancient Epigram
Edited by Christer Henriksén
A Companion to Late Antique Literature
Edited by Scott McGill and Edward Watts
A Companion to Religion in Late Antiquity
Edited by Josef Lössl and Nicholas Baker-Brian
A Companion to Aeschylus
Edited by Peter Burian

A COMPANION TO THE ACHAEMENID PERSIAN EMPIRE

Volume I

Edited by

Bruno Jacobs
University of Basel

Robert Rollinger
University of Innsbruck

WILEY Blackwell

This edition first published 2021

Registered Office
John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

Editorial Office
111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

For details of our global editorial offices, customer services, and more information about Wiley products visit us at www.wiley.com.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats and by print-on-demand. Some content that appears in standard print versions of this book may not be available in other formats.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data applied for

Hardback: 9781119174288

Cover design: Wiley
Cover image: An ancient sculpture of Achaemenid Empire, Bisotun (Province of Kermānshāh, Iran), Relief of Darius I: Auramazdā (Photo B. Jacobs)

Set in 11/13.5pt Galliard by Straive, Pondicherry, India

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

These volumes are dedicated to the Memory of Mohammad A. Dandamayev (1928–2017) and David B. Stronach (1931–2020).

Detailed Table of Contents

SECTION IV History

Notes on Contributors

Javier Álvarez-Mon is Professor in Near Eastern Art and Archaeology at Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia. His primary research interests are the art, archeology, and culture of the ancient Iranian civilizations of Elam and early Persia, and the study and preservation of the cultural heritage of ancient Iran.

Reinhold Bichler is Professor Emeritus of Ancient History at the University of Innsbruck, Austria. His main research subjects are the history of political ideas, especially ancient utopias, Greek historiography and ethnography, especially Herodotus and Ctesias, and the reception of ancient history, in particular Alexander and the concept of Hellenism.

Carsten Binder teaches Ancient History at the University of Duisburg-Essen. Besides the history of the Achaemenid Empire his scholarly work focuses on ancient historiography, biography, and ethnography.

Dilyana Boteva-Boyanova is Professor at the St Climent Ohridski University of Sofia. The focus of her research is the history and culture of ancient Thrace both during the 1st millennium BCE and within the Roman Empire (1st -4th century CE). She has authored three books and edited seven miscellanea.

Rémy Boucharlat is a Senior Researcher Emeritus at the CNRS, at the University of Lyon, France. He took part in excavations at Susa and Tureng Tepe (Iran). Later he directed excavations in the UAE. Between 1999 and 2009 he conducted archeological reconnaissances at Pasargadae and Persepolis, and took part in excavations in southern Central Asia. Most of his books and articles concern the archeology of the first millennium BCE, the Achaemenid and Sasanian empires in Iran, and the Persian Gulf.

Anna Cannavò is researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Maison de l'Orient, Lyon (France). She is director of the French archeological mission at Amathus. She specializes in the history and epigraphy of the Cypriot kingdoms.

Touraj Daryaee is the Maseeh Chair in Persian Studies and the Director of the Dr. Samuel M. Jordan Center for Persian Studies & Culture at the University of California, Irvine. He works on the history and culture of the ancient Iranian world.

Julian Degen holds a post-Doc position at the University of Trier. He received his PhD from Innsbruck in 2020. His main research interests are Greek historiography, Alexander the Great, intercultural contacts between East and West, and Ancient Near Eastern history of the first millennium BCE.

Elspeth R.M. Dusinberre is Professor in Classics at the University of Colorado and author of *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (2003), *Gordion Seals and Sealings* (2005), and *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia* (2013). She studies the seal impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Archive Aramaic tablets and Gordion's cremation burials.

Josette Elayi is Honorary Researcher at the French National Council of Scientific Research. She is the author of 25 books specializing in Phoenician studies, three books specializing in Assyrian studies, two essays related to the future of ancient history, and six novels. She created and edits the journal *Transeuphratène* and the collection of *Supplements to Transeuphratène*.

Mark B. Garrison holds the Alice Pratt Brown Distinguished Professorship in Art History in the Department of Art and Art History at Trinity University in San Antonio, Texas. His primary research interests are the glyptic arts of ancient Iran and Iraq in the first half of the first millennium BCE.

Jean-Jacques Glassner is Director of Research Emeritus, a former member of CNRS, and taught at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. His publications include *The Invention of Cuneiform* (2003) and *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (WAW 19, Society of Biblical Literature, 2004).

David F. Graf has taught at the University of Miami since 1986 as a specialist in the history and archeology of the Greco-Roman Near East, with a specialty in Arabia. He has participated in the Achaemenid History Workshops, and published essays on Greek–Persian relations and Persian administration.

Birgit Gufler is a PhD Student at the University of Innsbruck. Her main research interests are Greek historiography and ethnography as well as the contacts between Greece and the Ancient Near East.

Holger Gzella, born in 1974 in Germany, is Full Professor of Old Testament at Munich University. His main interests are the historical-comparative grammar of the Semitic languages and the cultural history of Syria–Palestine in Antiquity. He is a member of, among others, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Ivo Hajnal is Professor for Linguistics at the University of Innsbruck. His research focuses on comparative and historical linguistics, Mycenaean Greek, and the languages of Asia Minor in the second to first millennium BCE.

Arnulf Hausleiter is a Researcher in the Orient Department of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI, Germany) and has been teaching at Freie Universität Berlin since 1997. He has been excavating at the oasis of Taymā' since 2004 and published on the archeology of northwest Arabia and northern Mesopotamia in the Bronze and Iron Ages

Sandra Heinsch is Associate Professor of Near Eastern Archaeology at the University of Innsbruck. She specializes in the archeology of the first millennium BCE in Mesopotamia and South Caucasus. She is currently conducting excavations in South Caucasus and Iran. Among her recent works is the presentation of the Austrian excavations in Borsippa, Iraq.

André Heller is Lecturer in Ancient History at the Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg. His main research interests are the Ancient Near East in the first millennium BCE, the Hellenistic states, Roman policy in the East, and the northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire.

Wouter F.M. Henkelman is Associate Professor of Elamite and Achaemenid Studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris). Among other interests, he specializes in Achaemenid Elamite sources from the Persian Empire and is involved in editing the Elamite Fortification texts from Persepolis as well as the Elamite version of the Bisotun inscriptions of Darius I.

Matthias Hoernes is postdoc assistant in Greek archaeology at the University of Vienna, Austria. He is interested in the history of Iran, the funerary archeology of pre-Roman Italy, and transcultural encounters and dynamics in the Iron Age -Archaic Mediterranean, especially in Sicily and southern Italy.

Bruno Jacobs is Professor for Ancient Near Eastern Studies at the University of Basel. His main interests are the archeology and history of the first millennium BCE, especially the Achaemenid Empire, interrelations of the Ancient Near East with the Mediterranean, the Parthian Empire, and Commagene.

Michael Jursa is Professor of Assyriology at the University of Vienna. Recent publications include *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millennium BC* (2010) and, with Eckart Frahm, *Neo-Babylonian Letters and Contracts from the Eanna Archive* (2011).

Oskar Kaelin is Near Eastern Archaeologist at the University of Basel, Switzerland. He is a researcher in a project editing historical sources on the Phoenicians, associate editor in the project "Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East" (Zurich/Fribourg), and co-director of the excavation in Tall al-Hamidiya, Syria.

Deniz Kaptan, Adjunct Professor at the Department of Anthropology, University of Nevada Reno, is the author of *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire* (2002). She is preparing a publication about seals and seal use in Anatolia during the Achaemenid Empire period.

Florian S. Knauss received his PhD in Classical Archaeology at the *Universität des Saarlandes* in 1993. In 1994–2001 he was Assistant Professor in Münster, and from 2001 to 2011 Curator at the Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München. Since 2011 he has been Director of these museums. He has been concerned with Achaemenid remains in the Caucasus region since 1994, for example excavations in Georgia (1994–2000) and Azerbaijan (2006–2019).

Reinhard G. Kratz, born in 1957, has been Professor for Hebrew Bible at Georg-August-University since 1995 and a member of the Academy of Sciences and Humanities Göttingen since 1999. His main fields of research are the history of the biblical literature, Ancient Near Eastern and biblical prophecy, and Judaism in Persian and Hellenistic-Roman times (including the Dead Sea Scrolls).

Amélie Kuhrt is Professor Emeritus of Ancient Near Eastern History at University College London and a Fellow of the British Academy. She is author of *The Ancient Near East* (2 vols., 1995) and *The Persian Empire – A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Empire* (2 vols., 2007). Her research areas are Mesopotamia in the first millennium BCE and the Achaemenid and Seleucid empires. She co-organized and co-edited with Heleen Sancisci-Weerdenburg five of the Achaemenid History Workshops.

Walter Kuntner is Senior Researcher at the University of Innsbruck. He has conducted numerous excavations in the Near East and specializes in the archeology of the first millennium BCE. He is currently conducting excavations in Aramus, Armenia, Khovle Gora, Georgia, and Chors, Iran.

Angelika Lohwasser is Full Professor for Egyptology at the University of Münster, Germany. She is an expert in the archeology and history of Nubia. Other research interests are material culture, iconography in ancient Nubia and Egypt, funerary archeology, and conceptions of the body.

Andreas Mehl, born in 1945, was between 1985 and 2011 a Professor for Ancient History at the universities of Koblenz-Landau, Darmstadt, Erlangen-Nürnberg, and Halle-Wittenberg. His fields of research are Cyprus in antiquity, Hellenism (Seleucid Empire), ancient (Roman) historiography, and history of culture.

Mischa Meier is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Tübingen. His main focus is Greek history in the archaic and classical eras, as well as Roman history in the early and late Imperial period and in late antiquity.

Wolfgang Messerschmidt is Free Scholar at Cologne University, Germany. His special research areas are the archeology and history of the Ancient Middle East in

Hellenistic times, Babylon from the Neo-Babylonian to the Hellenistic period, and Achaemenid Iran.

Ali Mousavi studied in Lyon, France, and obtained his PhD in Near Eastern Archeology from the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author of *Persepolis. Discovery and Afterlife of a World Wonder* (2012). He teaches Iranian archeology at the University of California, Los Angeles.

Krzysztof Nawotka, educated at Wroclaw, Oxford, and Columbus, OH (PhD in Classics 1991), is Ancient History Professor at the University of Wroclaw, Poland. His principal books are *The Western Pontic Cities: History and Political Organization* (1997), *Boule and Demos in Miletus and its Pontic Colonies* (1999), *Alexander the Great* (2010), *The Alexander Romance by Ps.-Callisthenes: A Historical Commentry* (2017), and *Epigraphic Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity* (2020).

Astrid Nunn is a Near Eastern Archaeologist, former adjunct Professor at the University of Würzburg (Germany). Her main fields of interest are the Achaemenids in the Levant, polychromy, and iconography.

Daniel T. Potts is Professor of Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology and History at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. He received his PhD from Harvard and has worked extensively in Iran, both at Tepe Yahya and in the Mamasani region.

Joachim Friedrich Quack studied Egyptology, Semitic Languages, Biblical Archaeology, Assyriology, and Prehistory at the universities of Tübingen and Paris. He is Director of the Institute of Egyptology at Heidelberg University. He is a full member of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and a foreign member of the Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters. He was awarded the Leibniz Prize in 2011.

Claude Rapin is an Archeologist and Researcher at the CNRS (UMR-8546), École normale supérieure, Paris, "Archéologies d'Orient et d'Occident et textes anciens (AOROC)" and Privatdozent at the University of Lausanne. He has undertaken excavations in Afghanistan (Ai Khanum) and Uzbekistan (Samarkand-Afrasiab, Koktepe, Iron Gates near Derbent, Kindikli-tepe, Yangi-rabat, Sangir-tepe). He has published on the archeology, history, and historical geography of Central Asia.

Robert Rollinger is Full Professor at the Department of Ancient History and Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Leopold-Franzens Universität Innsbruck since 2005. From 2011 to 2015 he was Finland Distinguished Professor at the Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki, from 2021–2025 he holds a NAWA chair as Visiting Professor at the University of Wrocław, Poland (Programme "From the Achaemenids to the Romans: Contextualizing empire and its longue-durée developments"). His

main research interests are Greek historiography, history of the first millennium BCE, and comparative empire studies.

Adriano V. Rossi is Professor Emeritus of Iranian philology at L'Orientale University, Naples, where he was Rector from 1992 to 1998. He is a member of many academies and scientific societies, including Accademia dei Lincei, Rome. His main subjects (with more than 200 publications) are Iranian linguistics/philology and dialectology. Since 2002 he has been Director of the international project DARIOSH (Digital edition of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions) and since 2016 President of ISMEO-Rome.

Kai Ruffing is Professor for Ancient History at the University of Kassel, Germany. His main interests in research include the social and economic history of the ancient world, classical historiography, and transcultural contacts between Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cultures in antiquity.

Mirjo Salvini has been Director of the Institute for Aegean and Near Eastern Studies, Rome. His special research focus is on philology and history of the Ancient Near East in very broad terms. He has done extensive field work in Armenia, Turkey, Syria, and Iran. He has edited and published cuneiform texts from Boghazköy (Hittite), Syria (Akkadian and Hurrian), Iran (Linear Elamite), and Armenia, Turkey (Urartian). His *opus magnum* is the publication of the "Corpus dei testi urartei" (five volumes, 2008–2018).

Rüdiger Schmitt, Emeritus Professor of Comparative Philology and Indo-Iranian Studies at Saarland University in Saarbrücken, is a specialist in ancient Iranian languages and onomastics, but has worked also on the Greek and Armenian languages. He is co-editor of the *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Gundula Schwinghammer holds a PhD in Ancient History at the University of Innsbruck. Her research deals chiefly with the Achaemenid Persian empire and regime changes in the Ancient Near East.

Sören Stark is Assistant Professor for Central Asian Archaeology at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University. His research focuses on Central Asian archeology and history from the Early Iron Age to the Islamic Middle Ages, in combination with archeological fieldwork in Bukhara/Uzbekistan.

Matthew W. Stolper is the John A. Wilson Professor Emeritus of Oriental Studies and Director of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

David Stronach was Professor Emeritus of Near Eastern Archaeology at the University of California, Berkeley. He has directed excavations at Pasargadae, Tepe Nush-i Jan,

Nineveh, and Erebuni. He had a particular interest in the archeology and history of the early Achaemenids, the Medes, the Neo-Assyrians, and the Urartians.

Jan Tavernier (PhD 2002, KU Leuven) is professor in Ancient Near Eastern Studies at the Université Catholique de Louvain (Belgium). His research axes are Elamite history and linguistics, Achaemenid history, Ancient Near Eastern onomastics, and Ancient Near Eastern linguistic history of the first millennium BCE.

Gocha R. Tsetskhladze taught at London and Melbourne, specializing in ancient Greek colonization and the archeology of the Mediterranean, Black Sea, Caucasus, and Anatolia in the first millennium BCE. For 30 years he has excavated Greek colonial sites around the Black Sea and at Pessinus in central Anatolia. He has published extensively. He is affiliated to Linacre College, Oxford.

Günter Vittmann studied Egyptology and ancient Semitic languages. He earned his PhD 1977 in Vienna (*Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*, published 1978) and his Habilitation in 1994 at Würzburg (*Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, published 1998). He was appointed Associate Professor at Würzburg in 2001. His special fields of research are Egyptian philology, Demotic and Hieratic, and relations between Egypt and her neighbors.

Melanie Wasmuth is a Docent in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies at the University of Helsinki and affiliated to the Egyptology Section of the University of Basel. She specializes in the impact of cross-regional migration, cultural encounters and political expansion on material culture and identity constructions in the first millennium BCE.

Josef Wiesehöfer received his PhD in 1977 (Münster) and Habilitation in 1988 (Heidelberg). From 1989 to 2016 he was Full Professor of Ancient History at the Department of Classics at the Christian-Albrechts Universität Kiel. His main research interests are the history of pre-Islamic Persia and intercultural exchange between East and West in antiquity. He has published extensively on ancient Persia, with a special interest in Parthian and Sasanian history.

Michael Zahrnt was Professor of Ancient History at the University of Cologne. His research has focused on Greek History from the Archaic Age to the expansion of Rome, with special emphasis on Macedonia and Alexander the Great; and on the emperor Hadrian.

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger

In 262 CE an army of Roman and Greek forces, led by the Roman Marianus (then probably governor of the Roman province of Achaea/Greece), gathered at Thermopylae to ward off an expected attack by Gothic invaders from the north.[1] In the wake of the military preparations to defend the pass, Marianus addressed the assembled Greek soldiers and fired up their emotions by referring to the achievements of their ancestors. This splendid episode was discovered only recently on a palimpsest in the Austrian National Library and convincingly identified as a fragment of the lost *Scythica* of the Greek author Herennius Dexippus (third century CE). The episode runs as follows:

> (7) 'O Greeks, the occasion of our preservation for which you are assembled and the land in which you have been deployed are both truly fitting to evoke the memory of virtuous deeds. For your ancestors, fighting in this place in former times, did not let Greece down and deprive it of its free state, for they fought bravely in the Persian wars and in the conflict called the Lamian war, and when they put to flight Antiochus, the despot from Asia, at which time they were already working in partnership with the Romans who were then in command. (8) So perhaps it may be good fortune, in accordance with the *daimonion*, that it has been allotted to the Greeks to do battle against the barbarians in this region (indeed your own principles of fighting the wars have turned out to be valid in the past). But you may take confidence in both your preparation for these events and the strength of the region – as a result of which, in previous attacks you seemed terrifying to the enemies'. (Codex *Vindobonensis Hist. gr.* 73, ff. 192^{v}–193^{r} after Mallan and Davenport 2015: p. 206)

A Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire, Volume I, First Edition.
Edited by Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger.

The passage is remarkable for many reasons. On the one hand, it reveals a specific *lieu de mémoire* where the Persian Wars (actually the "Median [Wars]": *tois Mēdikois*) still had some relevance during the Roman Empire. On the other hand, at least in our text, this relevance is of somewhat reduced significance. Whereas from a modern perspective a battle at the famous site of Thermopylae would above all call to mind the celebrated event of 480 BCE, the Roman perspective of the third century CE is a rather different one.[2] To be sure, Thermopylae is still a battlefield that recalls the invasion by the Achaemenid Persian Empire, but this is just one event among others, and, as it appears, not the most important one. Thermopylae seems to be about equally significant as the location of a comparable event during the Lamian War (323–322 BCE), and both occurrences are far outstripped by the Syrian War (192–188 BCE): this was the war that Rome fought against the Seleucid king Antiochus III (223–187 BCE), and it is Antiochus – and not primarily the Persians – who is introduced as the ultimate representative of Asian hubris, threat, and outreach. What can we learn from this episode and what is its relevance in the introduction to a new Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire?

Historians are nowadays well aware of the fact that their understanding and reconstruction of history are shaped both by tradition and by the view of past and present current in their own time. But it is not always easy for them to escape from this situation and find their own perspective.

From the very beginning, reconstruction of the history of the Achaemenid Persian Empire was affected by a point of view that focused primarily on two events: the first was the Persian Wars at the beginning of the fifth century BCE and the second the downfall of the empire at the end of the fourth century BCE. Both events became part of well-designed master narratives that presented the empire as a colossus with feet of clay, and the empire's defeats were celebrated as the heroic deeds of opponents fighting for freedom against an Asian craze for the huge and spectacular. Thus, the Persian Wars became a climax in the conflict between Greek (and European) liberty and Asian despotism, and Alexander III was staged as "Alexander the Great," a heroic conqueror king, while other relevant aspects of his "career" such as aggression, violence, and destruction moved entirely into the background. The sources that established these master narratives originated without exception from the western fringes of the empire, but this did not impair their success. On the contrary, such narratives became an integral part of classical and later European history, one that shaped perception not only of the "oriental" Other and of Asia but also of their purported European antithesis. Although, as we have seen, the importance of the Persian Wars within the general course of history was somewhat

relativized during the Roman Empire (cf. Spawforth 1994; Rollinger 2019), our view of the Achaemenid Persian Empire remained primarily determined by other sources and their presentation of the impressive defeats suffered by the Persians in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE (cf. Wiesehöfer 1992, 2002, 2003, 2013).

The resulting lopsided and distorted view is still frequently encountered, but among specialists a considerable change of perspective has taken place in the last 35 years. During the 1980s the Achaemenid History Workshops paved the way for a new understanding of the Achaemenid Persian Empire.[3] This was, on the one hand, due to the development of a post-colonial approach in Ancient Studies in which Graeco- and Eurocentrism were strongly challenged. On the other hand, more and more sources in different languages and writing systems emerged from the various regions of the empire and were subjected to proper historical analysis. The result was in effect a new discipline, Achaemenid History Studies, and a complete transformation of the Achaemenid Persian Empire as an object of historical investigation: no longer conceptualized as a side-show of the Classical World, it became an entity in its own right deserving of study from a variety of angles and in a thoroughly interdisciplinary fashion. It is to this approach that the present publication is indebted.

In contrast to earlier research, which mainly looked in one direction (the West *or* the East), we conceptualize the Achaemenid Persian Empire as the center of an interrelated network that connected the Eurasian and African continents for the first time and in an entirely new way. With its outreach into the Mediterranean on the one side and toward the Central Asian and Indian worlds on the other, the Achaemenid Persian Empire established and energized a new dimension of connectivity, in which an imperial structure with its dynamic fringes was a key factor in creating and disseminating the new ideas that increasingly shaped an interconnected, proto-globalized world. This applies to numerous aspects of culture, thought, and belief, and it gives rise to new research objectives that can be achieved only within the sort of genuinely inter- and transdisciplinary framework that reflects the still very recent global turn.

The present *Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire* aims to approach the empire from a multi-angled and transdisciplinary perspective that takes into account all of the currently available sources, written, artistic, and archeological. Political history (traditionally a primary focus) is now just one of many topics that illustrate the fascination and the multifaceted nature of what was truly the first empire in world history. The study of *Nachleben* and of the history of perception up to the present day is taken to be as important as the history of the empire itself, a history which is presented in its multiregional

dimensions. Apart from the introduction, the *Companion* is divided into 12 sections with a total of 110 chapters. Specialists from all over the world and from various scientific disciplines have contributed their expertise and knowledge.

During its existence there was no other political formation that could match the Achaemenid Empire in dimensions and outreach. The already huge territories of several preceding empires (those of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Egyptians, and Lydians) were united in a single state that then expanded further toward Africa, Europe, Central Asia, and India. These dimensions, as well as the empire's highly diversified natural geography, are dealt with in Sections II (Geography and Demography: chapters 1–5) and V (Structures and Communication: Chapters 53–58) of the present volume.

As already indicated, the study of the Achaemenid Persian Empire has to confront and satisfactorily address certain specific challenges. Among these is the need for a critical and balanced review of all available sources, taking into consideration each source's *Sitz im Leben*, perspective, intention, and contemporary setting. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is no longer adequate to come to the history of the Achaemenid Empire solely through the lens of Greek authors such as Herodotus, Ctesias, or Xenophon. The labeling of such authors, or at least some of them, as historiographers by modern scholarship obscures the fact that what they present is by no means history in the modern sense of the word. They are better seen as offering a literary representation of the Greeks' powerful, daunting, and fascinating eastern neighbor. Their perspective unites research and knowledge with literary creativity, fiction, and imagination, and in writing as they did, they both respected the expectations of their Greek audience, including its desire for sensational stories, and exercised their power to create and shape identities. All of this requires critical reading and investigation by the modern historian who is interested in not only a specific "view of history," literary tradition, and pattern of thought but a multifaceted approach to the historic past.

An enormous amount of indigenous written material originating inside the Achaemenid Persian Empire survives, and the stock of what is available for study is increasing all the time. The texts in question encompass royal inscriptions and archival documents in a number of languages and writing systems, originating from various contexts in the different regions of the empire. These sources must also, of course, be approached by the modern historian in a critical frame of mind. What they reveal is often an entirely different perspective from that of the western sources. They document administrative actions and decisions, processes in the royal, provincial, or regional bureaucracy, correspondence between court and officials, temple administration, trade, and entrepreneurship, crime and punishment, and even, if only in glimpses, daily

life, but also royal self-presentation, ideology, and the self-perception of Great Kings who were convinced that they ruled the world by divine favor.

Obviously, there are major obstacles and difficulties in dealing adequately with this vast amount of material. The texts are written in a variety of languages and writing systems and they belong to different local contexts and traditions. The Achaemenid Persian state was a true empire in terms of its multilingualism and its ability to bring together distinct age-old traditions of writing and thought under a single roof. There is nobody who could deal with the totality of this heterogeneous and diversified material alone. The task has to be shared and the issues discussed in a transdisciplinary approach that is interested not only in a single archive and region but in the empire as a whole. Only in this manner is it possible to evaluate the importance and quality of each individual source for the reconstruction of the political, cultural, social, economic, and religious history of the empire. It will be no surprise that there is still considerable dissent among scholars about how this can be achieved successfully and what these reconstructions might look like. These written sources in their entirety, structured according to the individual languages involved, are presented in this *Companion* in Section III-A (Written Sources: Chapters 6–14).

In recent decades, extensive archeological fieldwork has been undertaken in a wide range of the modern states and regions that are situated on the territory of the former Achaemenid Empire. It is important to stress that archeological sources of any kind are as essential as written ones for reconstructing the past and they must be taken into account appropriately by the modern historian. One aim of the *Companion* is therefore to offer an up-to-date survey of the archeological state of the art from Kazakhstan to the Sudan and from India to the Aegean. Section III-B (Archeological Sources: Chapters 15–24) presents an overview of sites, excavations, and finds, structured by major geographical regions.

Section IV (History: Chapters 25–52) is divided into three subsections: A Predecessors of the Persian Empire and Its Rise, B From Gaumāta to Alexander, and C Under Persian Rule. As is immediately obvious, it has a much wider focus than the history of the empire itself. This reflects our intention to situate and understand the empire within the broader historical developments of the first millennium BCE and their specific contexts. The empire, on the one hand, transcended the boundaries of its ancient Near Eastern predecessor states, but on the other hand it followed their general trajectories. Some of its core areas were indeed "Iranian"; nevertheless the Achaemenid Persian Empire was not an Iranian state but a multiethnic and multiregional giant that drew from age-old Near Eastern traditions while at the same time introducing novel agendas and traits. This also, incidentally, applies *mutatis mutandis* to what followed with and after the conquest of the empire by Alexander III.

Chapters 25–28 are, therefore, devoted to Media, Urartu, Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam. The great conquests of Cyrus and Cambyses are also part of subsection A, since the usurpation of the Persian throne by Darius I marks a major change in the history of the empire. Chapters 30–33 deal with the history of the Achaemenid Empire in its narrower sense, from the crisis after the death of Cambyses and Darius I's seizure of power through the fifth and fourth centuries BCE to Darius III and the conquest by Alexander.

Subsection C (Under Persian Rule: Chapters 34–52) already mediates between Sections IV and V, since it illustrates the empire's astonishing capacity to create unity from diversity. This subsection offers a survey of all the major regions of the empire and the local dimensions of its history through the 200 years of its existence. The success of the empire was due to the fact that its developed structures and bureaucracies had local as well as transregional trajectories. It is this overarching and general layout that is the main focus of Section V (Structures and Communication: Chapters 53–58). As has only become properly evident in recent years, the empire maintained already established local structures, at least to a certain extent, and developed an imperial and transregional superstructure that guaranteed its efficiency in collecting taxes and manpower and in maintaining communications between Central Asia, India, Iran, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, and Anatolia.

The administrative and economic dimension of the empire's structure is the general focus of Section VI (Administration and Economy: Chapters 59–69), which is organized into three subsections: A Imperial Administration, B Local Administration, and C Economy. It has already been stressed that a major characteristic of the empire's highly developed bureaucratic apparatus was the interplay between local and transregional structures. This interplay is highlighted by a variety of sources and archives that run from Egypt across Syria, Asia Minor, and Babylonia to Fars and Central Asia. The focus is not only on structures but also on persons, and on rulers as well as the ruled, i.e. on the development of imperial elites with estates all over the empire and their transregional radius of engagement as well as on locals who kept the empire's structures going by paying taxes and delivering soldiers and manpower. The chapter also deals with transregional migration and deportations. The background to the latter is often difficult to grasp in detail; an element of punishment may sometimes be combined with a plan to develop underpopulated and economically weak regions of the empire. The economic aspect of imperial administration is more comprehensively dealt with in the last subsection, which discusses taxes and tribute, temple economy, and entrepreneurship and "banks."

Section VII (Society and Politics: Chapters 70–78) is concerned with another structural aspect, namely the sociohistorical dimension. It unfolds the social makeup of the empire, with its wide reach from slave to Great King.

Because of the source situation, the imperial centers with their residences, courts, and court life feature heavily in this context. Since the satraps in the empire's provinces tended to mirror and imitate the Great Kings' attitudes and actions, this chapter reveals an imperial dimension as well. It describes places and techniques of imperial politics, such as banqueting and gift exchange, and highlights how the king and his court dealt with diplomacy and jurisdiction. Royal enactments were staged and performed in a ceremonial setting in which clothes and insignia played an important role. But it is not only the official aspects of monarchic rule that are taken into account; attention is also paid to the Great Kings' leisure activities, among which hunting wild game loomed especially large. Finally, as in all societies throughout world history, sex and gender are an integral part of social life that have to be given appropriate consideration.

Section VIII (The Persian Empire at War: Chapters 79–82) investigates the military dimension. It goes without saying that the empire was the major military superpower of its time. Its ability to mobilize armies with manpower from all over its territory was more than impressive. Moreover, it was the first Near Eastern empire to build up a navy as an independent force that matched the quality and strength of its vast ground forces. All of this comes through in Greek reports of the so-called Persian Wars, although, ironically, these accounts do not explicitly highlight the empire's organizational and infrastructural strength in mounting a campaign by a combined land and naval force at its outmost western fringes, but instead accentuate the Great Kings' hubris and arrogance. However, Chapters 79–82 do not focus only on the organizational skills of the empire in raising and recruiting vast armies; they also investigate ideology and the specific ways in which the empire and its kings legitimated the imperial war machine.

Section IX (Religion and Worship: Chapters 83–88) deals with cult and belief in the empire. This is a subject with many facets and the six contributions cover a wide range of topics. The section is one in which dissent within modern scholarship looms particularly large. We have made a conscious choice not to harmonize these different voices and opinions but to make plain the diversity of conceptions and reconstructions found in modern research. In this way the reader can get a proper flavor of the controversies surrounding the religion of Achaemenid rulers and their elites, and of the question as to whether their belief system may be described as Zoroastrianism, Mazdaism, or neither. The section also develops a broader perspective, however, by focusing on funerary customs as well as on the diverse practices of worship encountered both within the empire's heartland and across its various regions.

Section X ("*Geistesgeschichte*," Science, and Technology: Chapters 89–93) pinpoints intellectual movements, education, and learning, as well as science and techniques. In doing so it touches on a variety of topics. Contributions on

Astronomy and Astrology, Physicians and Medicine, and Techniques of Art and Architecture (Chapters 90, 92 and 93) deal with the empire's hard sciences. School, Erudition, and Wisdom (Chapter 89) focuses on the empire's educational system, while the provocatively titled contribution on Persian "Enlightenment" (Chapter 91) draws attention to intellectual accomplishments within the empire that are commonly ascribed only to its western neighbors.

Section XI (The Perspective of Art: Chapters 94–96) introduces the major categories of artistic production in the empire. Alongside statuary, relief sculpture, and minor arts, this includes poetry, music, and dance.

The last two extensive sections of the *Companion* focus in an innovative way on the empire's *Nachleben*. This is not just an appendix but a substantive part of the book in its own right, and it demonstrates clearly that the empire survived its downfall. Section XII (Reception and Heritage: Chapters 97–105) is divided into the three subsections: A Modes of Perception, B The Local Heritage, and C Contemporary Perception. Its nine contributions guide the reader through the empire's reception history, starting with Classical Antiquity and ending with the Popular Culture of our own times. Section XIII (History of Research: Chapters 106–110) concludes the *Companion* with a balanced overview of the ways in which the empire has been investigated by researchers from the major regions of the scientific world and highlights the principal trajectories and *Leitfragen* of this research through the past 100 years and more.

It will be no surprise that this *Companion* has quite a long history of its own. From its very beginning, with the initial conceptualization of the project and the first contacts with the publishing house in Berlin in August 2009, through the invitations to contributors and the gathering and editing of the papers, and then on to the eventual publication of the volume, many years have gone by. As always, the editors planned to finish their work much earlier than actually turned out to be possible. There were many reasons for this. On the one hand, the *Companion* set itself ambitious goals. It was our aim not just to publish a further volume on the Achaemenid Persian Empire but to present an up-to-date overview of recent research that included a broad set of topics that had not previously been dealt with in such a comprehensive manner. This is especially true for the chapters on archeological research as well as for those on reception history and history of research. Many contributions to the *Companion* are therefore not just summaries but the results of very recent research agendas in their own right. On the other hand, the sheer number of contributions (110 in total) created problems of its own that had to be tackled and solved by the editors. But in the end we have made it, and we very much hope that we have been successful in presenting an overview of a kind that has never been available before.

Finally, it is our pleasure to express our gratitude to those people and colleagues without whose help the *Companion* would not have been possible.

This, of course, applies first and foremost to the 83 authors who contributed to the volume. Their competence and forbearance were essential for the result. There are also the various colleagues from the publishing house, whose friendly guidance and assistance we always enjoyed and appreciated. The editors' special thanks go to the editorial assistants at the Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altorientalistik, Universität Innsbruck, whose skill and patience made a huge contribution to the success of the editorial work: Manuel Pohl, Matthias Hoernes, Katharina Reinstadler, Sabrina Buchebner, Dolores Dollnig, Julian Degen, Florian Posselt and Clemens Steinwender. They would not have been available, of course, without generous financial assistance from the University of Innsbruck, and especially the Dean of the Historisch-Philologische Fakultät, Prof. Dr. Klaus Eisterer. Dankeschön! Very special thanks also go to Carmen Marcks-Jacobs, who adapted several plans and maps for publication in the present work. There is a German proverb that may accurately describe the long and often strenuous editorial process of this *Companion*: "Gut Ding will Weile haben." We hope that this also applies to the present publication.

NOTES

1 For historical context and protagonists see Mallan and Davenport 2015.
2 Cf. in detail Rollinger 2019.
3 The Achaemenid History Workshops took place between 1981 and 1990. The proceedings were published in the series *Achaemenid History* as volumes 1–8 (Leiden 1987–1994). In some respects, publications in the series *Classica et Orientalia* (Wiesbaden), especially volumes 1–3, 5–6, 13, and 15–17, 19–24 may be regarded as follow-ups to the Achaemenid History Workshops. This is certainly true so far as their scope, approach, and intention are concerned.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The authors are grateful to Christopher Tuplin for his assistance with the English version of this text.

REFERENCES

Mallan, C., Davenport, C. (2015). Dexippus and the gothic invasions: interpreting the new Vienna fragment (Codex *Vindobonensis Hist. gr.* 73, ff. 192^{v}-193^{r}). *Journal of Roman Studies*, 105, pp. 203–226.

Rollinger, R. (2019). Herennius Dexippos und die Tradition der Perserkriege im Imperium Romanum. *Historische Zeitschrift*, 308, pp. 297–331.

Spawforth, A. (1994). Symbol of unity? The Persian-wars tradition in the Roman empire. In S. Hornblower (ed.), *Greek Historiography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 233–247.

Wiesehöfer, J. (1992). "Denn es sind welthistorische Siege…" nineteenth- and twentieth-century German view on the Persian wars. *History and Culture*, 11, pp. 61–83.

Wiesehöfer, J. (2002). "Griechenland wäre unter persische Herrschaft geraten…" Die Perserkriege als Zeitenwende? In S. Sellmer, H. Brinkhaus (eds.), *Zeitenwenden: Historische Brüche in asiatischen und afrikanischen Gesellschaften*, Asien und Afrika 4. Hamburg: EB-Verlag, pp. 211–232.

Wiesehöfer, J. (2003). "Sie haben sich durch ihre Schlechtigkeit selbst überlebt", Barthold Georg Niebuhr und die Perser der Antike. In T. Stamm-Kuhlmann, J. Elvert, B. Aschmann, and J. Hohensee (eds.), *Geschichtsbilder. Festschrift für Michael Salewski zum 65. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 201–211.

Wiesehöfer, J. (2013). Herodot und ein persisches Hellas. Auch ein Beitrag zu populärer und 'offiziöser' Geschichtskultur. In B. Dunsch, K. Ruffing (eds.), *Herodots Quellen – Die Quellen Herodots*, Classica et Orientalia 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 273–283.