

The Ancient History Bulletin

VOLUME THIRTY-TWO: 2018

NUMBERS 1-2

Edited by:

Edward Anson ✦ Michael Fronda ✦ David Hollander
Timothy Howe ✦ Joseph Roisman ✦ John Vanderspoel
Pat Wheatley ✦ Sabine Müller ✦ Alex McAuley
Catalina Balmaceda ✦ Charlotte Dunn



ISSN 0835-3638

ANCIENT HISTORY BULLETIN

Volume 32 (2018) Numbers 1-2

Edited by:

Edward Anson, Catalina Balmaceda, Michael Fronda, David Hollander, Alex McAuley, Sabine Müller, Joseph Roisman, John Vanderspoel, Pat Wheatley

Senior Editor: Timothy Howe
Assistant Editor: Charlotte Dunn

Editorial correspondents

Elizabeth Baynham, Hugh Bowden, Franca Landucci Gattinoni, Alexander Meeus, Kurt Raaflaub, P.J. Rhodes, Robert Rollinger, Victor Alonso Troncoso



Contents of volume thirty-two

Numbers 1-2

- 1 Sean Manning, *A Prosopography of the Followers of Cyrus the Younger*
- 25 Eyal Meyer, *Cimon's Eurymedon Campaign Reconsidered?*
- 44 Joshua P. Nudell, *Alexander the Great and Didyma: A Reconsideration*
- 61 Jens Jakobssen and Simon Glenn, *New research on the Bactrian Tax-Receipt*

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS AND SUBSCRIBERS

The Ancient History Bulletin was founded in 1987 by Waldemar Heckel, Brian Lavelle, and John Vanderspoel. The board of editorial correspondents consists of Elizabeth Baynham (University of Newcastle), Hugh Bowden (Kings College, London), Franca Landucci Gattinoni (Università Cattolica, Milan), Alexander Meeus (University of Leuven), Kurt Raaflaub (Brown University), P.J. Rhodes (Durham University), Robert Rollinger (Universität Innsbruck), Victor Alonso Troncoso (Universidade da Coruña)

AHB is currently edited by: Timothy Howe (Senior Editor: howe@stolaf.edu), Edward Anson, Catalina Balmaceda, Michael Fronza, David Hollander, Alex McAuley, Sabine Müller, Joseph Roisman, John Vanderspoel and Pat Wheatley.

AHB promotes scholarly discussion in Ancient History and ancillary fields (such as epigraphy, papyrology, and numismatics) by publishing articles and notes on any aspect of the ancient world from the Near East to Late Antiquity. Submitted articles should normally be in English, but the journal will consider contributions in French, German, Italian or Spanish.

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES

AHB adheres to the usual North American editorial policies in the submission and acceptance of articles but imposes no House Style. Authors are, however, asked to use the abbreviations of *L'Année philologique* (APh) for journals, and of the *Thesaurus linguae latinae* (TLL) for Latin authors. Please send submissions to the editor most closely identified with your field of enquiry or, in case of doubt, to Timothy Howe (howe@stolaf.edu). Articles must be submitted in electronic format, preferably generated by MS Word. Greek font or other special characters must convert such to Unicode and should be accompanied by a PDF version. Authors will receive PDF offprints of their contributions. Copyright is retained by the author. Books for reviews and enquiries concerning book reviews should be directed to Joseph Roisman (jsroisma@colby.edu).

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

The subscription rate for individual and institutional subscribers is USD 25.00. Detailed instructions about subscriptions and access to digital content can be found on the AHB website: <http://ancienthistorybulletin.org>

PAYMENT

Payment may be made via the subscription portal on the AHB website: <http://www.ancienthistorybulletin.org/subscribed-users-area/membership-levels/>

Cover image courtesy of The Nickle Arts Museum, University of Calgary

A Prosopography of the Followers of Cyrus the Younger¹

Sean Manning

Abstract

The group of men who gathered around Cyrus the Younger (c. 424-401 BCE) and followed him in his unlucky attempt to become King are very well documented, but until now they have not been studied as a group. This is unfortunate, since prosopography is a powerful tool for learning about individuals and communities. This paper fills this gap, suggesting that in its reliance on personal relationships, favour-exchange, and closeness to the leader, Cyrus' court resembled many others. Despite these similarities, however, the apparent absence of Lydian or Phrygian courtiers, and the continued careers of many of Cyrus' followers after their revolt failed, may be specific to Cyrus' court alone.

Introduction

Darius and Parysatis had many sons, and four of them grew to manhood (Ctesias *apud* Photius, *FGrH* 688 F. 15.51).² When Darius decided that his war against the Athenians and their allies was not being waged as he wished, he appointed his second son *karanos*, or supreme commander, and sent him to Ionia.³ Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, the satraps of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia, had been trying to recover the King's cities along the coast with little success, and Cyrus brought the authority to make them work together and the money to revive the war at sea. While Cyrus did this, he also built a political network. This network stretched from the Peloponnese to the King's court. In 401 he used this network to revolt against his elder brother, who had become King and adopted the throne-name Artaxerxes. This study focuses on the part of his network which answered his call and followed him up-country, making them followers in the most literal sense whether or not they conceived their relationship in that way.

No prosopography of Cyrus' followers appears to have been published. Many receive brief

¹ Versions of the material in this article have been presented at the Classical Association of the Canadian West at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, in March 2013, as a poster at the Melammu Symposium in Obergurgl, Austria in November 2013, and in my MA thesis, *Service and Supply in the Achaemenid Army* (University of Calgary, April 2013). I thank my colleagues in Calgary, my audiences in Edmonton and Obergurgl, and the anonymous reviewers of earlier versions of this article for their suggestions. The research for this article was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Canada.

² Plut. *Art.* 1.1 agrees with Ctesias; Xen. *An.* 1.1.1 characteristically only mentions the two sons who featured in his story, although he must have known about the others through Ctesias or simply common knowledge (a νόθος ἀδελφός of Cyrus and Artaxerxes appears at Xen. *An.* 2.4.25).

³ The term *karanos* (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.3) was previously a *hapax legomenon* for the Achaemenid period, although it appeared in Aramaic on Parthian coins where its Greek equivalent is *autokrator*. It has now been found on one of the Aramaic documents from Achaemenid and Argead Bactria, spelled *krny*, which implies that the Old Persian form was *+kāranaya-*, "leader of the people-in-arms (*kāra-*)." See Hyland 2013 which confirms the etymology proposed in Sekunda 1988 §6 p. 74.

notes in commentaries on the Greek sources, or in encyclopedias such as the *Real-Encyclopaedia* or *Brill's New Pauly*, but few have been the subject of an article or been included in larger prosopographic works. Studies of Achaemenid courts often cite Cyrus and his followers, but tend to use them as supporting evidence to understand the court of the King.⁴ While dissecting words like *pistos* and *doulos* and *philos* is certainly valuable,⁵ and lesser courts seem to have imitated that of the king, the people who followed Cyrus to Cunaxa are worth studying in their own right. Studying Cyrus' court also gives valuable information about how armies were raised and organized in western Anatolia. From a human perspective, the lives of Cyrus' followers contain some memorable stories which might be more widely known.

Previous Studies

Achaemenid prosopography is a small field. Jack Martin Balcer published a study of the Persian nobility in the period covered by Herodotus.⁶ This ends in 450 BC, so does not cover Cyrus and his court. General references such as Cook, Briant, Pauly-Wissowa, and *Brill's New Pauly* often contain brief references to, or articles on, individuals, but these are often cursory and do not consider Cyrus' followers as a group.⁷ It appears that many of Cyrus' followers have never been the subject of an article. Simon Hornblower's *Mausolus* is very thorough but focused on Caria after 392 BC. A number of studies focus on individuals in Akkadian texts.⁸ Rüdiger Schmitt's *Iranisches Personennamenbuch* provides very detailed information about etymology and parallels in other languages, but is a work of onomastics not prosopography. The same could be said of Jan Tavernier's monograph on *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period*.⁹ Part of the explanation being this small body of work is that Achaemenid prosopography poses significant technical challenges: the sources are in many languages, and few give patronymics or spouses' names. Without this information, it can be difficult to confirm that two individuals are really the same, and to identify family connections. But before the rise of Achaemenid Studies as an independent discipline in the 1990s, Achaemenid Anatolia was usually studied from the perspectives of archaeology or Greek history, and neither required a prosopography of barbarians.

⁴ Brosius 2007, Jacobs/Rollinger 2010, and Llewellyn-Jones 2013.

⁵ Eg. Briant 2002: 302-354, Missiou 1993, Tuplin 2010a.

⁶ Balcer 1993.

⁷ Cook 1983, Briant 2002, Cancik / Schneider / Landfester eds. 2013, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, and the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Commentaries on the literary sources often contain short notes on individuals. Specific citations to the works mentioned in this note will only be given where they contain more than a bare summary of the sources.

⁸ E.g. Zadok 1979, Stolper 1985, Dandamayev 1992.

⁹ Tavernier 2007.

Sources and Scope

This study is based on the evidence of Greek and Latin literature. Little evidence in other languages survives from Achaemenid Anatolia, and surviving tablets from Mesopotamia and Persepolis rarely mention people from the far west. Inscriptions such as the pair at Xanthus in Lycia mention Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, but not Cyrus and his known followers.¹⁰ Relying on Greek literary sources is not ideal, but Cyrus' revolt was of interest to several famous Greek writers, so the Greco-Latin sources are extensive. Most references come from Xenophon, but Ctesias, Diodorus, and the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* also provide information on individuals. Texts in other languages can also help in understanding the foreign names in Greek texts.

This is a study of men associated with the barbarian army (*to barbarikon*) in Xenophon. Roy's classic study and the subsequent literature on the Ten Thousand have covered men associated with the Greek army (*to hellenikon*) very thoroughly.¹¹ Only two female followers of Cyrus are known, and as Ionian Greeks they belong in a study of Cyrus' relations with the Greeks of Asia.¹² Cyrus came to an understanding with many other powerful figures, such as Epyaxa and Syennesis of Cilicia, but they are not included unless they marched with him towards Babylon. These exclusions leave a group of about twenty followers, thirteen of whom are known by name, and six who can be given at least a sketchy biography. Appendix 1 summarizes this list, whose members are given detailed entries in the following paragraphs.

Ariaeus

Ariaeus was one of Cyrus' most important followers.¹³ Although no source states his ethnicity, his name and his response to Clearchus' offer to make him king suggest that he was Persian.¹⁴ He seems to have come west with Cyrus in 407, where he became involved with Menon the Thessalian, a teenager of wealthy birth and an officer of Aristippus of Thessaly.¹⁵ It seems that

¹⁰ For the bilingual inscription at Xanthus, see Rhodes and Osborne 2003: 58-63 and Keen 1998: 9-10, 129-147.

¹¹ Roy 1967.

¹² Aspasia the Phocaeon (Xen. *An.* 1.10.2, Plut. *Per.* 24.7, Art. 26.3-27.3, Just. *Epit.* 10.2, Ael. *VH* 12.1) and "the Milesian woman" (Xen. *An.* 1.10.3), both concubines of Cyrus. They, and the Milesian exiles who joined Cyrus, might be the subject of another study.

¹³ Sources on Ariaeus: Xen. *An. passim*, Plut. *Art.* 11, Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.27, Diod. 14.80.8, Polyaeus 7.16.1, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* Chambers pp. 25-27, 40 (London Fragment). Scholarship: Shahbazi 1986, Schmitt 2011: 84 (no. 36).

¹⁴ On the etymology of Ariaeos, see Shahbazi 1986 who repeats Theodor Nöldeke's suggestion from 1888 that it is the diminutive of a name like Ariobarzanes or Ariomardos. Schmitt 2011: 84 says that it is obviously a diminutive of a name beginning with Old Iranian *+ariya-* "noble, Iranian" with the diminutive suffix *+aya-* replacing one or more morphemes. When Clearchus offered to make Ariaeus King (Xen. *An.* 2.1.5 and 2.2.1), he demurred on the grounds that there were many Persian better than him, not that he was no Persian.

¹⁵ Xen. *An.* 2.6.28. Menon was apparently still beardless when he entered the house of Ariaeus, yet old enough to command mercenaries in 401 BC. He appears to be the same as the Menon who was the namesake of

at this time, one faction of Thessalians was trying to revive old connections with the Persians as a bulwark against another faction, centred on Pherae, which was trying to dominate the region as Athenian power weakened.¹⁶ Ariaeus had a wide network of connections: aside from Menon the Thessalian, he had brothers at the court of Artaxerxes in 401 (Xen. *An.* 2.4.1). At Cunaxa he commanded Cyrus' left wing and was wounded (Xen. *An.* 1.8.5, 2.2.15). He and his army fled when they heard that Cyrus had been killed.

After the battle, he risked waiting a day for the Greeks to join him before he set off for Ionia (Xen. *An.* 2.1.3, 2.1.5, 2.2.1). The combined army was trapped by the King's soldiers, and he must have been relieved to receive assurances that he would be pardoned. Tensions began to grow between the Greeks and Ariaeus' men, and when the Greek generals were arrested, Ariaeus went over to the King. His army helped drive the Greeks into the lands of the Carduchi, but it is not clear that he still commanded it (Xen. *An.* 3.4.13, 3.5.1). Xenophon seems to have been deeply offended by Ariaeus' decision to abandon the Greeks. He only mentions Ariaeus once in the *Hellenica*, when some Paphlagonians deserted Agesilaus and went to Sardis to ask Ariaeus for help around the year 395 (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.27). Xenophon implies that they thought that Ariaeus could give them good advice because he too had rebelled and been pardoned.¹⁷ Diodorus (14.80.8) also mentions that he helped arrest and execute Tissaphernes after Tissaphernes had been defeated by Agesilaus. It appears that Tissaphernes and Ariaeus had reconciled, but that Ariaeus remembered that Tissaphernes had been his and Cyrus' enemy. When Parysatis and the anti-Tissaphernid faction regained power at court, they and Ariaeus were able to take revenge. The *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* (22.3 = Chambers p. 40) reports that Ariaeus and a colleague were appointed "generals in charge of affairs" (στρατηγούς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων) a year later when Tissaphernes' replacement departed for court.

Ariaeus was one of the most important magnates in Anatolia in the years around 400 BCE, and he is mentioned by every major source on the period. It is tempting to speculate that he was satrap of Greater Phrygia or Celaenae: Diodorus calls him *satrapes* when he helped arrest Tissaphernes at Colossae (14.80.8), and no other individual is assigned this important position in the sources.¹⁸ That would imply that he had power and dignity similar to Tissaphernes or Pharnabazus. But the longest study of his life in English or German appears to be a two-page article by Shahpur Shahbazi.¹⁹

one of Plato's dialogues; see Brown 1986.

¹⁶ Hyland 2015 citing, among others, the trip of Poulydamas of Scotoussa to Susa at the request of Darius II (Pausanis 6.5.7) and a story that Scopas of Crannon gave Cyrus a fine necklace (Aelian *VH* 12.1).

¹⁷ Shahbazi 1986, Cook 1983: 214, and RE s.v. "Ariaios" postulate a second revolt which was ongoing at this date. While this is grammatically defensible, a second revolt and reconciliation is superfluous, and this occurred just after Ariaeus helped seize Tissaphernes for the king. Strassler 2009: 122 *ad* 4.1.27 doubts that this is the same man as the figure in the *Anabasis*, but the name is not common and Xenophon clearly expects readers to recognize Ariaeus the rebel. It is commonly believed that Xenophon tended not to mention people and actions which he disapproved of.

¹⁸ Klinkott 2005: 476 postulates that Ariaios became satrap of Greater Phrygia after the death of Cyrus; Jacobs 1994: 127 also suggests that he was satrap of Greater Phrygia in 395. Unfortunately, Diodorus simply says τις Ἀριαίος σατράπης. Ruzicak 1985: 209 does not name "the official in charge of Great Phrygia" between 404 and 401 BCE.

¹⁹ Shahbazi 1986.

Tamos the Egyptian

Tamos, an Egyptian from Memphis, was an administrator and admiral.²⁰ Because his name is Egyptian but his son's is not, it is tempting to imagine him as descended from the Carian immigrants to Egypt. While the Greek immigrant community in Egypt is famous, Herodotus noted that Carians too started to arrive in the middle of the 7th century BCE (Hdt. 2.152, 154). Tamos is first attested as Tissaphernes' lieutenant-governor of Ionia and paymaster to the Peloponnesian fleet in 411 BC (Thuc. 8.31.2, 8.87). He continued his services under Cyrus, commanding Cyrus' navy and governing Ionia and Aeolis while Cyrus was away. He blockaded Tissaphernes' supporters in Miletus by sea, led a combined Cyrean and Peloponnesian fleet to Issos with reinforcements, and apparently returned west while Cyrus marched inland (Xen. An. 1.4.2). It is striking that Tamos was willing to shift his allegiance from Tissaphernes to Tissaphernes' enemy, and that Cyrus allowed him to retain his old function: is this another example of Cyrus' ability to inspire loyalty which so impressed Xenophon (Xen. An. 1.9.8-10, 1.9.29)? Of the other three officials of Tissaphernes attested before Cyrus came to the coast, two vanish and a third seems to appear in *to hellenikon*.²¹

When Cyrus was killed and Tissaphernes returned, Tamos fled to Egypt with his sons and his property rather than face the Persians (Diod. 14.35.3). He had fought for Cyrus against Tissaphernes, and perhaps he did not believe that Tissaphernes would spare him. He hoped that the rebel pharaoh would protect him, but instead he was murdered for his property and triremes. Tamos' story raises questions about Cyrus' relationship with Egypt and the place of Carians in Egypt during the Persian period. Stephen Ruzicka even suggests that he might have been an intermediary between Cyrus and Psammetichus, the rebel pharaoh, since Diodorus says that Tamos had done benefactions for Psammetichus before.²²

Glous the son of Tamos

Glous, the son of Tamos, was more fortunate.²³ His name is neither Egyptian nor Iranian, but could be in an Anatolian language: Athenaeus (6.256c Causabon) seems to call him a Carian.²⁴

²⁰ Tamos' ethnos: Xen. An. 1.4.2, Diod. 14.19.6 (and etymology of his name below). Etymology of the name: Schmitt 2011: 356 (no. 326) *Der name ist offenbar Ägyptisch; er läßt sich problemlos einerseits an ägyptische Namen mit dem Stamm Ταμ- bzw. Θαμ- sowie andererseits an jene auf -ως anschließen, zwei namengruppen, die sich vornehmlich in ägyptisch-griechischem Belegmaterial finden*, and especially Vittmann 2001: 55-57. Sources on Tamos: Thuc. 8.31.2, 8.78, Xen. An. 1.2.21, 1.4.2, 2.1.3, Diod. 14.19.5, Diod. 14.19.6, Diod. 14.35.3 Scholarship on Tamos: Ruzicka 1999: 23-25, Ruzicka 2012: 38, 39.

²¹ The other three are Stages the Persian (Thuc. 8.16, Xenophon, *Hell* 1.2.5, Schmitt 2011: 349 no. 318), Gaulites the bilingual Carian (Thuc. 8.85.2), and Arsaces the Persian (Thuc. 8.105, Schmitt 2011: 94 no. 50). Gaulites may be the same as the Samian exile, *pistos* to Cyrus, of Xen. An. 1.7.5 but the question does not appear to have been discussed in writing since a brief mention in Lewis 1977: 14.

²² Ruzicka 1999: 24, 2012: 38-39.

²³ Filiation: Xen. An. 2.1.3. Sources on Glous: Xen. An. 1.4.16, Xen. An. 1.5.7, Xen. An. 2.1.3, Xen. An. 2.4.24, Diod. 14.35.3, Diod. 15.4.3-4, Aeneas Tacticus 31.35, Polyaeus 7.20. Scholarship: Ruzicka 1999, Ruzicka 2012: 87-98.

²⁴ Ruzicka 1999: 23 n. 1 accepts Beloch's argument from 1922 that Glous is a Carian name. Schmitt 2011:

He was one of Cyrus' attendants in the march to Cunaxa, and he and Pigres were ordered to take some troops and get some wagons out of the mud (Xen. *An.* 1.5.7). He may have come to make a name for himself or to assure Cyrus of his father's loyalty. After Cunaxa, he was sent with Procles by Ariaeus as a messenger to the Greeks (Xen. *An.* 2.1.3), was spared by Artaxerxes (Xen. *An.* 2.4.24), and did not flee to Egypt with Tamos and his brothers (Diod. 14.35.3). This saved his life when his family was murdered in Egypt.

Glous prospered under Artaxerxes; the Greek sources mention that he once had an audience with the king (Aeneas Tacticus 31.35), married a daughter of the famous noble Tiribazus, and was commander of the Persian navy in the Cypriot War (Diod. 15.4.3-4). When Athenaeus wished to tell a story about excessive flattery (6.256c Causabon), he simply said that it was in the time of Glous the Carian. Perhaps his father had taught him how to command a fleet. Stephen Ruzicka conjectures that when Tiribazus raised a fleet in Ionia to fight the Athenians in 388 BC, he chose Glous for admiral due to his experience dealing with Greeks and his father's experience as an admiral, and perhaps even made him governor of Ionia like his father before him.²⁵ In 380 BC he rebelled with his fleet on Cyprus and sent messages to Sparta and Egypt for help but was murdered by "some men" (Diod. 15.18.1). A certain Tachos took over his affairs and occupied a coastal site near Clazomenae but died shortly thereafter: scholars often propose that Tachos was Glous' son by an early wife.²⁶ Glous was probably relatively young and low status in 401 BC. Glous' eventful private and public life has been the subject of an article by Stephen Ruzicka.²⁷

Pigres

Pigres the interpreter is a memorable minor character in the *Anabasis*.²⁸ Although Xenophon does not give his ethnicity, four other attested men named Pigres are all Carians: Pigres the follower of Psammetichus helped to found the 26th Dynasty of Egypt, Pigres son of Hysseldomus was in Xerxes' fleet, Pigres the brother of Artemisia wrote Greek poems, and Pigres of Syangela ruled a town near Halicarnassus in 431 BC.²⁹ It is therefore reasonable to infer that he was also a Carian. The name is also found in inscriptions in other languages from Caria, Lycia, and Cyprus such as the *Pigrēi* in the Lycian text of the Xanthus trilingual. As

169, 170 (no. 132) is cautious about the etymology, beyond that the name is neither Greek nor Iranian. Athenaeus' Glous lived shortly before an Artabazus and a Mentor, presumably the satrap of Phrygia and the brother of Memnon of Rhodes.

²⁵ Ruzicka 1999: 26.

²⁶ Ruzicka 1999: 39-41.

²⁷ Ruzicka 1999.

²⁸ Sources on Pigres: Xen. *An.* 1.2.17, 1.5.7, 1.8.12 Scholarship on Pigres: Bowie 2000, Hornblower 1982: 26, 355, *RE* s.v. "Pigres." Schmidt 2011: 302, 303 (no. 272) discusses the etymology.

²⁹ Other men named Pigres: Polyaeus 7.3 for the first, Hdt. 7.98 for the second, *Suda* s.v. "Pigres" and Plutarch, *De Malignitate Herodoti* 43 = *Moralia* 873f for the third, and Camp II, J. 1974 for the fourth. Against these Carians one can set Pigres the Paeonian who petitioned Darius I (Hdt. 5.12), Pigres the landowner at Xanthus in Lycia (Rhodes 2003: 385), and Pigres the cavalry officer who served with Neoptolemus in the wars after the death of Alexander (Plut. *Eum.* 6.4).

interpreter, he carried orders from Cyrus to the Greeks (Xen. *An.* 1.2.17), and with Glous was told to take some men and help get the wagons out of the Euphrates mud (Xen. *An.* 1.5.7). He was with Cyrus at Cunaxa (Xen. *An.* 1.8.12), and probably died with him. The wagon incident suggests that while he was physically close to Cyrus, he did not have a large number of men under his personal authority. Perhaps he was also young.

Pigres was not the only Carian who translated between Greeks and Persians. Gaulites the bilingual Carian served the same function for Tissaphernes (Thucydides 8.85.2, see note 21 above) and Pigres the brother of Artemisia would hardly have written a long poem without experience working between Greek and Carian. One might expect that such translators were familiar with Aramaic as well as Old Persian, Greek, and their native tongue. Greeks and Carians often joined in the same military adventures, but more could be done to explore how they interacted with each other and with the rulers and bureaucrats of imperial powers.

Orontas the Persian

Orontas was a Persian of royal blood.³⁰ A number of his male relatives were also close to Cyrus (Xen. *An.* 1.6.10).³¹ Schmitt suggests that his Iranian name was *+Ar(u)vanta-* and contains the meaning “swift.” Darius II gave him to Cyrus as a subject (*hupēkoos*), either individually or by appointing Cyrus *karanos*. When Artaxerxes became king, however, Orontas sided with him against Cyrus, holding the acropolis of Sardis and then raising a rebellion in Mysia (Xen. *An.* 1.6.6-7). Cyrus defeated him and accepted his submission, but when it became clear that Cyrus meant to seize the throne, Orontas decided that his true loyalty was to Artaxerxes. He tried to desert to the King with some cavalry after Cyrus crossed the Euphrates, but was betrayed and executed (Xen. *An.* 1.6.1-11). Xenophon uses the occasion of his trial for a sort of Socratic dialogue between Cyrus and Orontas.

The trial scene has caught the attention of modern commentators who use it to discuss questions such as the nature of Cyrus’ authority in 401 and whether “feudal” jargon should be used for the Achaemenid empire. Stephen Ruzicka argued that it suggests that Cyrus had lost his authority when he returned to the coast, and only regained control of Lydia by force.³² Anne Missiou used it to compare the concept “slave of the king” in Greek literature and Old Persian inscriptions.³³ Thierry Petit argued that the story of Orontas gives us a glimpse of a ritual of homage and investiture, where small men submitted to big ones, shook hands and made an oath, and were granted a belt and other honours to mark their new status as *bandaka*, but Tuplin warned that not all of the surrounding sources support the idea that status as *pistos* or *bandaka* was formalized in this way, and that many medievalists doubt that “feudal” customs were rooted in the Indo-European past.³⁴ Arthur Keaveney took the opposite approach

³⁰ Sources for Orontas: Xen. *An.* 1.6.1-11, 1.9.29 Scholarship on Orontas: Schmitt 2002, Petit 2004, Tuplin 2010a, Schmidt 2011: 282, 283 (no. 246), Keaveney 2012, Wiesehöfer 2013.

³¹ Were the kinsmen included amongst the seven judges, “the noblest of those about him [ie. Cyrus],” of Xen. *An.* 1.6.4?

³² Ruzicka 1985: 206-208.

³³ Missiou 1993.

³⁴ Petit 2004, Tuplin 2010a.

to Ruzicka, accepting the picture of Orontas the “traitor” on the surface of Xenophon’s narrative and trying to understand how specifically Iranian traditions shaped Cyrus’ response.³⁵ The story of the trial certainly gives us a glimpse at aspects of life in the Achaemenid empire which are difficult to grasp in other sources. Ruzicka lets us write an obituary for Orontas which he or his friends might have accepted: a man caught between faith to his distant king and the immanent power of the king’s brother, who used Persian ideals of honour to put Orontas in an impossible situation. Three centuries later, Julius Caesar would use *clementia* in a similar way, and it might be helpful to look at Petit’s medieval sources for case studies rather than universal principles.

Procles the Laconian

Procles was the descendent of Demaratus, the Spartan king who fled to Darius I.³⁶ His ancestor had been given several cities, and he still held Teuthrania and Halisarna on the mainland opposite Lesbos (Xen. *An.* 2.1.3, 7.8.17). He marched with Cyrus in what Xenophon calls the barbarian army, survived the battle, and acted as an ambassador between Ariaeus and the Greek leaders after the battle (Xen. *An.* 2.1.3, 2.2.1). Artaxerxes spared him, and allowed him to keep his cities, but this was a mistake: as soon as he returned to the coast, he rebelled and supported Xenophon and the remainder of the Ten Thousand in fighting against Tissaphernes, allying with the Spartan commander Thibron (Xen. *An.* 7.8.17, *Hell.* 3.1.6). He is not mentioned when Xenophon and Agesilaus returned to the area a few years later, perhaps because Agesilaus’ ancestors had exiled Demaratus.³⁷ However, his descendants still held Teuthrania in the age of the Successors, when Pythais the daughter of Aristotle married a Procles of Teuthrania and had a son named Demaratus.³⁸

Procles had enough followers to help Xenophon’s 300 men, but it is unclear how many retainers he brought with him to Cunaxa. Procles might be seen as another example of Cyrus’ friendship with Spartans, but he also belonged to a dynasty which kept its position through 200 years of wars, revolts, and intrigues.

Satiphernes, Pariscas, and the Eight Noble Men

Another group of followers are connected with a crux in the tradition. Plutarch tells us that different writers told contradictory stories about Cyrus’ death (Plut. *Art.* 9.4-11). Xenophon was eager to show that Cyrus had died a hero, while Ctesias told an anti-heroic story and tried to

³⁵ Keaveney 2012 (because Keaveney does not cite Ruzicka 1985, readers cannot see why he interprets the situation differently).

³⁶ Sources on Procles: Xen. *An.* 2.3.1, Xen. *An.* 2.2.1, Xen. *An.* 7.8.17, Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6 Scholarship on Procles: RE s.v. “Prokles (7).”

³⁷ Lewis 1977: 54 n. 30.

³⁸ Bosworth 1994: 58.

reject both sides' propaganda.³⁹ They also told different stories about the followers who were with Cyrus when he died. According to Xenophon no less than eight of the noblest men about Cyrus were killed with him at Cunaxa (Xen. An. 1.8.27). This number may include Pigres, last seen at Cyrus' side at the start of the battle, and Artapates the rod-bearer (see below). While Xenophon was in no position to learn the details, he imagined Cyrus accompanied by a group of nobles as he rode into battle. In Ctesias' less heroic version of Cyrus' death, Artaxerxes threw a spear at Cyrus which missed and killed one Satiphernes (Plut. Vit. Artax. 11.1 = Ctesias, FGrH 688 F. 20). Satiphernes was "a man well-born and trusted by Cyrus." Ctesias also said that a certain Pariscas, "most trusted of the eunuchs" protected Cyrus' body when he was killed (Plut. Art. 12.1 = Ctesias, FGrH 688 F. 20).⁴⁰ It is striking that even the brief summary of Ctesias' *Persica* mentions different attendants than Xenophon's *Anabasis*. But how did Ctesias know the names of men close to Cyrus? Ctesias' histories of the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, the Magus, Darius, and Xerxes can be read as twistings of Herodotus' accounts with some names changed and details added.⁴¹ It might be tempting to accuse him of inventing Satiphernes. But where Ctesias wrote in response to Herodotus, in the case of Cunaxa it is he who published first and Xenophon who reacted to him. Xenophon was familiar with Ctesias' work (Xen. An. 1.8.26-27) but silently rejected its version of the death of Cyrus and picture of Artaxerxes as an active warrior. His account of the battle literally pushes Artaxerxes into the background, and has no room for a story about Artaxerxes killing Satiphernes. Thus, there is no basis for treating Ctesias' account as a fiction but Xenophon's as factual.

Pariscas is one of the many eunuchs with a prominent role in the *Persica*, and it is often suggested that Ctesias befriended them during his time at the courts of Darius II and Artaxerxes II. However, he is a eunuch in Cyrus' household, not Artaxerxes'. Could Ctesias, or his informants, have known Pariscas and Satiphernes at the court of Darius II, and did individuals at the brothers' courts remain in contact after Cyrus was sent west, perhaps through letters or during the visits which Xenophon describes (Xen. An. 1.1.5)? The King's subjects often exchanged letters over short or long distances, as Aramaic texts from Elephantine and cuneiform texts from Babylonia show.

Artapates

Xenophon names only one of the men who died with Cyrus: Artapates, "the most faithful rod-bearer (*skēptouchos*) of Cyrus" (Xen. An. 1.6.11, 1.8.27-29, Aelian, NA 6.25).⁴² Earlier he had described how Orontas had been sent to the tent of Artapates for execution. Xenophon insists that Artapates chose to die with his master, either stabbing himself with his own *akinakes* or refusing to let go of Cyrus' body until he was killed. Xenophon noticed that Cyrus had given him a golden dagger, torc, bracelets, and other material honours "like (*hōsper*) the noblest of

³⁹ Bassett 1999.

⁴⁰ For the etymology of Pariscas see Schmitt 2011: 291, 292 (no. 258). It might be Iranian or pseudo-Iranian.

⁴¹ Bichler 2004, 2011.

⁴² For the etymology of the common name Artapates, see Schmitt 2011: 110 (no. 68) which gives the Old Iranian form as **ṛta-pāta-* "protected by Arta."

the Persians.” This might imply that despite his proud Arta-bearing name he was in some way not noble or not Persian. His exact responsibilities are discussed under Offices below.

Giving such things was a kingly act, and Xenophon was keenly aware of its importance. As he wrote in the *Cyropaedia*, “Whose gifts are so readily recognized as some of those which the king gives, such as bracelets, torcs, and gold-bitted horses? For, as everybody knows, no one over there is allowed to have such things except those to whom the king has given them” (Xen. Cyr. 8.2.8).⁴³ Whether or not that was strictly true, Cyrus expected his gifts to be valued as far more than gold. Possessing such things was important to Artapates’ status, but giving them must have provoked gossip.

Modern scholars have focused on Artapates’ role in the trial of Orontas. However, it might be worthwhile to explore the stories about his death. The royal inscriptions of Aššurbanipal include a story about Nabû-damiq, an ambassador from King Teumman of Elam, who was shown the severed head of his king and immediately stabbed himself with an iron dagger (GIR₂ AN.BAR).⁴⁴ The same kind of story could be retold to honour the follower who refused to outlive his master. Similarly, where do the stories about Pariscas or Artapates protecting Cyrus’ body come from? Xenophon and Ctesias disagree about many things, but they agree that someone did this and it was worthy of note. The Greeks had many stories about acts of self-sacrifice to protect a fallen friend or relative (from the *Iliad* to Sophocles’ *Antigone*) but the details of these stories are different.

Miscellaneous Nobles and Courtiers

Less is known about Cyrus’ remaining followers. Mithridates and Artaozos, two important trustees of Cyrus, sent messages to the Greek army after Cunaxa (Xen. An. 2.4.16, 2.5.35-42, 3.3.1, 3.3.6, 3.4.2-4).⁴⁵ They accepted the King’s pardon and were spared. Pateguas, a Persian man, rode to warn Cyrus that Artaxerxes was coming on the morning of Cunaxa (Xen. An. 1.8.1).⁴⁶ Aside from Orontas, two other followers enter the tradition because Cyrus executed them on charges of planning to go over to the King. Megaphernes, who was “a Persian man,” and “a certain potentate among the lieutenants” fall into this category (Xen. An. 1.2.20).⁴⁷

⁴³ Translation lightly adapted from the Loeb. For discussion, see Dusinberre 2013: 79-81.

⁴⁴ Historical Prism Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, Edition B, lines vi: 57-65 (ORACC Q003702, Piepkorn 1933).

⁴⁵ For the name Mithridates see Schmitt 2011: 263, 264 (no. 224), for Artaozos see Schmitt 2011: 108 (no. 65).

⁴⁶ The etymology of Pateguas is not known, nor have any other examples of this name been identified. For the details see Schmitt 2011: 297 (no. 265).

⁴⁷ For the etymology of Megaphernes, which is attested in many scripts (Old Iranian +*Baga-farnah*- “with the *farnah* of the gods”) see Schmitt 2011: 257 (no. 214).

Offices

The objects of this study have been loosely described as followers, since they are defined by their decision to follow Cyrus when he marched towards Cilicia “to fight the Pisidians” (Xen. *An.* 1.2.1). However, a number of them are said to hold particular offices under Cyrus. Ariaeus commanded Cyrus’ non-Greek troops (and, as we have seen, it is possible that he was governor of Greater Phrygia or Celaenae). Tamos was governor of Ionia and Aeolis and commander of Cyrus’ navy. Pigres was an interpreter to Cyrus. Artapates was the most faithful of Cyrus’ rod-bearers. In the *Cyropaedia*, Gadatas the leader of the rod-bearers manages the King’s household, oversees banquets, and passes requests between the King and petitioners.⁴⁸ In the *Anabasis* the only task explicitly given to Artapates is the punishment of Orontas, and Briant suggests that the title was an honour with no specific duties, but it seems more reasonable to assume that the rod-bearers in the *Cyropaedia* are inspired by those whom Xenophon and his friends saw at the courts of Cyrus and other satraps.⁴⁹ Christopher Tuplin wondered whether the *Cyropaedia* implied that the rod-bearers were in some way socially inferior to the Friends.⁵⁰ So far, no equivalent of the term *skēptouchos* in Elamite, Old Persian, or a Semitic language has been suggested, but the sculptures at Persepolis show many figures holding walking-sticks, from the courtiers who lead each delegation on the staircase of the Apadana, to the enthroned King on the relief found in the Treasury and now in Tehran.

Pariscas was a domestic official (*eunouchos*). While in texts from the end of the 5th century onwards this term can indicate castrated men (e.g. the story of Hermotimus, Herodotus 8.105), its full sense may have been broader, since the etymology is “having (ἔχων) the bed (τὴν εὐνήν)” like English *chamberlain*.⁵¹ The courtiers and officials called *eunouchos* in Greek roughly correspond to those called *ša rēši* “of the head, chief” in Akkadian.⁵² Scholars debate whether all or some *ša rēši* were castrated (and whether the meaning varied between Assyria and Babylonia), but a commentary to *šumma izbu* omens copied around 200 BCE appears to say that someone is a *ša rēši* “because as a child [he was summo]ned to the palace and did not return to (his) father.”⁵³ In other words, the *ša rēši* were distinguished not by castration (although some of them may well have been) but by the fact that they had been removed from their families and raised at the palace, presumably in hope that they would become dependent on the king. This is an interesting counterpart to Xenophon’s explanation that eunuchs were castrated so they would not be distracted by loyalty to wives and children (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.59-65). The *ša rēši* often held important military offices, and most of the other officials probably brought armed followers, although only Mithridates is directly attested as

⁴⁸ Xen., *Cyr.* 8.4.2 Glosses: Briant 2002: 191, 259, 271, see also Tuplin 2010b: 214, 215.

⁴⁹ Briant 2002: 259.

⁵⁰ Tuplin 2010b: 214, 215.

⁵¹ Chantraine 1968: 385 s.v. εὐνή.

⁵² Jursa 2014: 129 summarizes the position of the *ša rēši* and why Assyriologists debate whether they were castrati; for a study of individual *ša rēši*, see Jursa 2011 which concludes “Was uns also Ktesias über *eunouchoi* nahe am Zentrum der Macht (und daher notwendigerweise mit bedeutenden Ressourcen) schildert, kann durchaus sein *fundamentum in re* in diesen *ša rēšis* und *ustarbarus* haben.”

⁵³ De Zorzi/Jursa 2011. The authors link this tablet to Anu-bēlšunu who was active at Uruk in Seleucid times; its museum number is ROM 910x209.458 http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P417216.

leading his own troops (Xen. An. 3.3.1).

The man executed with Megaphernes was one of the *huparchoi*. This term is common in Greek writings about the Persians from Herodotus onwards. In some cases, *huparchos* refers to the kind of governor of a large district who could also be called a satrap. Herodotus uses this term for Oroites of Sardis (Hdt. 3.120), Aryandes of Egypt (4.166.1), and Alexander of Macedon (5.20.4), and Diodorus calls Onnes the husband of Semiramis *huparchos* of Syria (2.5.1) in a passage which is usually included among the fragments of Ctesias. Most investigations of this term focus on these great *huparchoi* rather than the term in general.⁵⁴ In other cases, *huparchos* is a humbler title. Thucydides calls Tamos *huparchos* of Ionia (8.31.2) and Stages Tissaphernes' *huparchos* (8.17.1), and Ariaeus is described as Cyrus' *huparchos* before the battle of Cunaxa (Xen. An. 1.8.5). Since the Greek sources focus on the satraps and royal family, it is possible that most *huparchoi* were lower in rank than the ones whom they mention by name. The association of *huparchos* with the Persians suggests that it might be a translation of a technical term in another language, and Hilmar Klinkott suggested that its Neo-Babylonian equivalent was *bēl piḫāti*, another vague expression for “governor” or “lieutenant.”⁵⁵

It is probable that this list of offices is incomplete, since the sources only briefly mention many of these individuals (and clearly leave many others un-named). However, it is also likely that not all followers had an office. Many other preindustrial courts included a cloud of well-born young men who hoped to impress someone more important than they were. Castiglione gives an interesting description of the way this worked in 16th century Italy.⁵⁶ Many of these young courtiers had no formal office, but were available to do whatever their lord asked of them and hoped to be given an office in the future. The wagon scene in the first book of the *Anabasis* (1.5.7-8) is a good example. Cyrus observed that some wagons were stuck in the mud, and told Glous and Pigres to take some men and rescue the wagons. When they were slow to move the wagons, he told the Persian magnates about him to do it themselves, and they rushed to do so. Cyrus seems to have watched from a hilltop and paid close attention to how well his followers fulfilled his command.

Networks

Xenophon describes how powerful Greeks came to follow Cyrus. He emphasizes the reciprocal exchange of favours, where military service for Cyrus repaid Cyrus' earlier benefactions or earned benefactions in the future. Similar relationships, such as Roman patronage or Greek *xenia*, were common in many ancient societies. Although the sources are less explicit, similar client-patron relationships are visible elsewhere in his court. Cyrus' Paphlagonian cavalry are one good example. Paphlagonia, a hilly country in northern Anatolia, was far from Cyrus' base in Sardis. No ancient source says that he controlled it in 401, and in his story about the death of

⁵⁴ Briant 2002: 46, 47, Jacobs 1994: 131, Klinkott 2005: 39, 63 n. 82, 125, 404-405 (both suggest that a *huparchos* was properly a representative of a satrap). Briant 2002: 625 calls Xenophon's description of the anonymous *huparchos* “a less than clear phrase.”

⁵⁵ Klinkott 2005: 63 n. 82.

⁵⁶ Castiglione 1967.

Alcibiades, Diodorus implies that neither Cyrus nor his friends controlled that country a few years before.⁵⁷ Diodorus cites Ephorus, who as an Aeolian born about the time of the revolt should have been familiar with the political organization of Anatolia in 401. Nevertheless, Cyrus had a thousand Paphlagonian cavalry, and possibly other troops, in his army at Cunaxa (Xen. *An.* 1.8.5). The most likely interpretation seems to be that Cyrus, or one of his followers, persuaded one or more Paphlagonian leaders to join the revolt in exchange for past or future favours.⁵⁸ Agesilaus did the same thing a few years later. Cyrus' authority in his domain was probably doubtful after the death of his father, so the same personal methods were probably important in raising troops from Lydia and Phrygia.⁵⁹

Cyrus' great followers also brought their own followers. Household troops, slaves, and hangers-on joined the revolt because of their relationships to individuals. While the sources focus on powerful or Greek aristocrats, it is important to remember that many other types of people were in Cyrus' army. Some of these relationships can be tracked in detail. Cyrus was Ariaeus' lord. Ariaeus had a close relationship with Menon the Thessalian (Xen. *An.* 2.6.28), and could have invoked that to call Menon to join the army. Alternatively, Cyrus could invoke his favour-exchange with Aristippus the Thessalian, and Aristippus could have asked his friend Menon to fulfill the debt for him. Menon, in turn, brought nameless followers, and they brought anonymous servants. Only a few steps of this chain can be seen as relationships between paymaster and employee or bureaucrat and subordinate. Not only that, but Xenophon presents Menon's relationships with Aristippus and Ariaeus as sexual: allegedly, Menon used his beauty to manipulate older men (Plat. *Meno* 70b calls Aristippus Menon's *erastēs*). While Xenophon is hostile to Menon, Greek sources from the fifth and fourth century BCE present sexual ties, rivalries, and offences as frequent and important factors in relations between wealthy men in the Aegean. Xenophon's attack on Menon reminds us of this, whether or not the details are true.⁶⁰ Cyrus also asked various local governors for soldiers on the basis of his hegemony in western Asia Minor (Xen. *An.* 1.1.5, 1.2.1), and they sent orders to various officials who commanded their soldiers. This chain might be seen in more straightforward bureaucratic terms, but it is likely that the people involved also saw it in personal terms, and that there was a certain amount of ambiguity and manoeuvring room.

Xenophon was more interested in reciprocal relationships amongst gentlemen than

⁵⁷ Diod. 14.11.3 The story that Alcibiades was travelling to ask the "satrap of Paphlagonia" to send him to the king with news about Cyrus' treachery implies that Cyrus did not control Paphlagonia.

⁵⁸ Hyland 2008: 8-11 considers this incident as evidence that Pharnabazus tacitly cooperated with the revolt, on the grounds that these soldiers were able to pass through his territory and along the roads without hindrance. Laying aside the question of whether Paphlagonia was subordinate to the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, soldiers in Babylonia had to bring a sum of money as provisions (*šiditu*) and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics* (2.3) mentions that the keepers of store-houses can convert bulky, short-lived goods into silver by selling them to passers-by. Travellers who did not have right to claim provisions from the storehouse could still travel at their own expense.

⁵⁹ Ruzicka 1985.

⁶⁰ Brown 1986 suggests that after he was taken captive, Clearchus slandered his former rival Menon, and that Ctesias spread these slanders in his *Persica*. That might explain the stories that Menon betrayed the Greeks, but Menon was a wealthy and well-connected aristocrat: are we to believe that when they told stories about Menon, Xenophon and Plato ignored their own experience and the words of their friends and followed the writings of the doctor from Cnidus?

impersonal systems of conscription. Sources such as the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, the Murašû archive from Nippur, and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics* suggest that the centre of the empire was tightly organized and bureaucratic. But those parts of the empire had been civilized for a long time, and it is not as clear that western Anatolia was so organized. Thus far, Dascylium is the only Anatolian site with traces of an archive, and seals and stamped objects become much more prominent in Achaemenid-period sites than those of the preceding centuries, suggesting that the bureaucracy of Achaemenid Anatolia was more a new creation than a continuation of earlier practices.⁶¹ Matthew Stolper suggests that even in Babylonia, magnates did not pay close attention to the difference between their own property and the estates which they held as a perk of office or managed for another.⁶² The famous letter from Gūzānu to Širku (CT 22, 74) shows that a *šakin tēmi* (governor) could accuse the *rab dūri* (fortress commander) of stealing the governor's troops.⁶³ In addition, Cyrus had needed to fight his way back into Sardis. His authority in western Anatolia after the death of Darius was probably based on birth and personal ties more than office. Reciprocal relationships do not explain how all troops came to follow Cyrus, but they were important.

Closeness to Cyrus

The sources often remark that an individual was especially close to Cyrus. The terms *pistos*, *philos*, and *syntrapezos* or *homotrapezos* are all used. This language is not unique to Xenophon: Herodotus calls Democedes the physician a *homotrapezos basilei* (3.132.1), and Diodorus describes how after the battle, Artaxerxes treated Tissaphernes as his *pistotatos philos* (14.26.4). It is worth asking which of these terms had a technical sense, and which would have been understood by Cyrus and the dignitaries close to him. Greek writers present the status of friend as widely recognized and connoting intimacy and the ability to provide effective support, and there are parallels from Egypt and the biblical books of I Kings and II Samuel.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, Persian, Elamite, or Babylonian parallels have not yet been identified. *Pistos* “faithful” is sometimes equated with the Old Persian term *bandaka-*, although Christopher Tuplin has noted that this term could refer to all “subjects” and not specifically to ones with a personal relationship to the King.⁶⁵ Regardless, in Greek literature high-ranking Persians are described as *pistos* or *pistotatos* (“most faithful”) again and again from Aeschylus onwards (*Persae* 2, 171, 681). Achaemenid ideology glorified the loyalty of small men to big ones.⁶⁶ Public feasting was very important, both within the Achaemenid empire and in ancient Southwest Asia in general, and has left material traces in the form of beautiful golden plates and silver

⁶¹ Dusinberre 2013: 65-72 In contrast, Aramaic records from Idumaea and Bactria continue from the last Achaemenids to Alexander and Arrhidæus with no visible change.

⁶² Stolper 1985: 99-103.

⁶³ The most recent edition and translation is Jursa / Hackl / Schmidt 2014: 175-177 no. 61.

⁶⁴ Van Selms 1957. See also Briant 2002: 307-309 and Llewellyn-Jones 2013: 32.

⁶⁵ Tuplin 2010a: 5, 6. For examples of the scholarship he is responding to, see Missiou 1993 and Briant 2002: 324ff.

⁶⁶ Briant 2002: 307-309, 424-426.

goblets.⁶⁷ Feasts allowed the host to demonstrate largesse, and to express a finely graded status hierarchy, from the commoners who ate outside, to the lucky few *syntrapezoi* or *homotrapezoi* who shared his table or were even invited to drink with him after the meal was complete. All of these titles were public honours which tried to resolve people's desperate curiosity about different people's relationships with the figure at the centre of the court. While no system of titles could fully represent complex personal relationships, knowing that Cyrus had proclaimed someone his Friend at least gave some idea of that person's position.

In the story about the wagons which got stuck in the mud (Xen. *An.* 1.5.7), Xenophon mentions Cyrus and "the nobles (*aristoi*) and very fortunate men (*eudaimonestatoi*) about him." Both terms occur in a variety of contexts in classical Greek, such as Herodotus' description of how the Persians celebrate their birthdays (Hdt. 1.133.1). This story is one of the few passages which hints that many of those closest to Cyrus were astonishingly rich. However, elsewhere Xenophon links this with gift-giving: Cyrus the Younger preferred to be surrounded by friends wearing his gifts than to have more than he could use (Xen. *An.* 1.9.23), and the rich friends (*plousioi philoi*) of the King are proof that he is a generous giver (Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.8). Richly-adorned supporters also increased the aura of lushness and wealth with which the kings and magnates surrounded themselves.

The sources also remark on individuals' noble or royal ancestry. Orontas was a relative of the king by birth (Xen. *An.* 1.6.1 γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ) and Megaphernes was *phoinikistēs* (Xen. *An.* 1.2.20), while Satiphernes was well-born (Plut. *Art.* 11.1 *gennaios*). The first expression seems to show awareness that one could be appointed a royal Kinsman:⁶⁸ Orontas was a blood relative of the King, not adopted. The second term is difficult to interpret, so much so that Hesychius simply quoted the passage in his lexicon.⁶⁹ Pierre Briant wavered between "royal scribe" and "wearer of the royal purple"⁷⁰ (like Medieval Greek πορφυρογέννητος "born to the purple") but "dyer in purple" or "bearer of a purple standard" have also been suggested.⁷¹ In his study of purple in the Greek world, Hartmut Blum refrained from translating this passage.⁷² The prologues to Pompeius Trogus do describe some satraps who rebelled against Artaxerxes II as *purpurati sui* (Prologus 10) and this might reflect Greek sources which described them as *phoinikistai*.⁷³

The last description, well born, is a commonplace in any ancient Indo-European society. It is possible that another of Xenophon's favourite phrases, *anēr Persēs* (eg. Xen. *An.* 1.2.20, 1.6.1, 1.8.1, cp. *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 12.3 = Chambers p. 18), also has a technical meaning, something like "Persian nobleman." While the noun at the beginning makes it clear that *Persēs* is a masculine adjective (and not feminine or a proper name), the Greek echoes the tomb

⁶⁷ Briant 2002: 308, Llewellyn-Jones 2013: 127-129, Wright 2010a, 2010b, Kistler 2010.

⁶⁸ Sekunda 1992: 56-57 and Sekunda 1988: 76, Briant 2002: 309-311, 780-782.

⁶⁹ Hesychius s.v. φοινικιστής. I cite the edition of Maurich Schmidt from 1863 as the appropriate volume of the new edition founded by Peter Allan Hanson and Kurt Latte after WW II and the version of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* which includes Hesychius Lexicographer are not available to me.

⁷⁰ Briant 2002: 447 "royal scribe," 625 "wearer of the royal purple."

⁷¹ Already in Stephanus 1954 s.v. φοινικιστής (a reprint of an 1829 edition of Henri Estienne's dictionary from the 16th century).

⁷² Blum 1998: 25.

⁷³ Briant 2002: 656, 657 mentions this passage but does not connect it to the one in Xenophon.

inscription of Darius I (DNa §4, OP text lines 43, 44): “the spear of the Persian man (*Pārsa martiya*) has gone forth far.”⁷⁴

Cyrus probably had hundreds or thousands of personal followers at Cunaxa, with an inner group of a few dozen men, mostly Iranians but some Greeks, Carians, and Egyptians. Members of this inner circle were allowed to be physically close to him and were marked with honours such as fine clothing, golden weapons and jewelry, and good horses with rich harness. Most were probably members of rich landholding families and had substantial households of their own. Xenophon seems to have found this situation familiar, even if a bodyguard of 600 (*Xen. An.* 1.8.6) or a thousand (*Diodorus* 14.22.6) horsemen was beyond the resources of anyone in southern Greece.

Conclusion

Even a small prosopography, such as this one, is a thicket of names, dates, and relationships. Gathering these details increase our knowledge of individuals, or at least suggests some plausible guesses. But studying a collection of individuals also allows some general conclusions to be made.

First, while Cyrus’ drew on soldiers from Lydia, Phrygia, and the Greek world, that does not mean that Lydians and Phrygians are prominent in stories about his court. This list includes a Carian (Pigres) and two Egyptians with Anatolian connections (Glous and Tamos), one Laconian (Procles), and about ten Medes and Persians, or at least men with West Iranian names. It does not include any man known to be a Lydian, Phrygian, or Cappadocian, and does include men from the nations which Tissaphernes ruled. Plutarch remarks that Cyrus relied on support from radicals and restless men from the interior just as much as on men from his own domain (*Plut. Art.* 6.1-2). He certainly relied on men of that sort from across the sea. Thus it is possible that this pattern reflects reality, and not just the way that Xenophon concentrated his gaze on the Persian elite and overlooked ordinary members of the cavalry class of the western satrapies. Artistic evidence and inscriptions testify that western Anatolia was a very diverse place in 401 BC. But it appears that Medes and Persians still held the most important offices and the most influence. This supports other evidence that rising families in the Achaemenid empire found it useful to marry into Persian families and imitate Persian customs, forming what Pierre Briant called an *ethno-classe dominante*. Elspeth Dusinberre recently stressed that although rich tombs in Achaemenid Anatolia have a variety of forms, the goods deposited in them usually belong to an international “court style” which cannot be linked to a specific region or ethnicity.⁷⁵

Second, it is striking that so many rebels were pardoned and went on to hold high offices under Artaxerxes II. Pardoning Ariaeus and Glous was successful, but pardoning Cyrus and Procles proved costly. This is not without parallel: Darius I commissioned the Behistun Inscription with its detailed descriptions of the punishment of rebels, but also his funeral

⁷⁴ Kuhrt 2007: 503.

⁷⁵ Dusinberre 2013: 141-206.

inscription with its promise that he is not hot-tempered, and Herodotus considered that rebels who submitted had a good chance of pardon (Hdt. 3.15, 6.30). But kings were not merciful in every case, so why Artaxerxes chose a policy of *clementia* is worth asking. Plutarch's Artaxerxes was "gentle" and "soft" (Plut. Art. 1.1, 2.1, 4.3, 25.3, 30.5) but writers had considerable freedom to present a given king as bad or good by repeating different anecdotes and accepting different traditions.⁷⁶ Perhaps this mercy, in contrast to the harsh punishments described in the royal inscriptions and carried out by Cyrus himself, influenced Artaxerxes' reputation. Perhaps it seemed enough to punish Cyrus and defeat his army, reaffirming that Artaxerxes had the power to smite rebels and kill their leaders.⁷⁷ Or perhaps it was a response to a unique situation, where a rebel army was mostly intact but without a ringleader, and where the rebels' homeland was next to a greedy enemy. Harshly punishing the rebels would have weakened the armies of the lands upon the Sea and encouraged their relatives to defect to the Spartans. The Greek mercenary army, on the other hand, had less to offer in exchange for submission, since they and their families did not have large estates or marriage connections within the empire. The best that Clearchus could offer to Tissaphernes before the fatal conference was that he and his men could fight for Tissaphernes as they had for Cyrus, and that if he helped them they would owe him a debt (Xen. An. 2.5.13).

Why some rebels could make peace and others had to fight their way home is a good question, and Xenophon has an answer: the King was angry with and frightened by the Greeks, so Tissaphernes separated them from "the barbarians" then betrayed them (Xen. An. 2.3-2.5, cf. Diodorus 14.26.5). The first two books of the *Anabasis* carefully construct a dichotomy between *to hellenikon* and *to barbarikon* with anecdotes like the desertion of the Thracians (Xen. An. 2.2.7). But dividing the world in this way was a Greek habit of thinking, and it is unlikely that Tissaphernes, Ariaeus, or Artaxerxes shared it. Procles submitted and was pardoned despite his Greek name, and a whole group of Cyrus' Greek supporters, the Milesian exiles (Xen. An. 1.2.2, 1.9.9), vanish after joining the army. If the army which they joined was *to barbarikon*, then presumably they were pardoned with Ariaeus and the others.⁷⁸ Thinking in terms of soldiers from the King's lands and soldiers from beyond the Sea, rather than Greeks and barbarians, might help us understand why the rebel army broke up after the battle and how people like Artaxerxes or Ariaeus understood the situation.

Third, modern writers should consider the possibility that a complicated and negotiated process lay behind "raising an army" or "calling up the feudal levy." By themselves, these phrases can suggest a simple and straightforward event, where a leader could give orders and let his subordinates worry about the details. However, bureaucracies rarely operate without friction, conflicts, and gaps between ideal procedure and practice. Matthew Stolper has drawn attention to a series of letters between officials in Babylonia citing writing boards (*lē'ē*, equivalent to Latin *tabulae*) listing how many troops (*šābū*) and temple dependants (*širkū*) they

⁷⁶ Sancisci-Weerdenberg 1989 attacked the credibility of Herodotus' portrait of Xerxes. Bichler 2004 argued that Ctesias' portraits of the early kings are parodies of Herodotus'; Rollinger 2012: 202 observed that the kings after Xerxes are given less "personality" in the literary tradition just as they chose not to leave long inscriptions commemorating their deeds. For an overview of the portrayal of different kings in the classical tradition, see Bichler in press.

⁷⁷ For the use of spectacular violence by Achaemenid kings to make something true, see Lincoln 2009.

⁷⁸ Roy 1967: 301 notices their absence but does not explore why they might be missing.

were supposed to command, and complaining that they had not received their full allotment, that men had died or deserted and not been replaced, or that they had loaned troops to other officials who had not given them back.⁷⁹ We can hardly expect that the cities, governors, and chiefs of Cyrus' satrapy ceased to struggle with each other for authority and influence when ordered to provide troops, or that every one of them was totally committed to Cyrus and obeyed without thinking about their own needs and the possibility that Cyrus might lose. On the contrary, the classical sources present Cyrus as surrounded by individuals who resisted by force, tried to desert, or plotted against him. Until every contingent had arrived, exactly how many soldiers would be available was probably uncertain. This was one reason why counting soldiers was so important, both in Cyrus' Lydia and in other times and places.

Specialists in Achaemenid history have learned to be wary of research which relies too heavily upon the classical literary sources. Yet there is still a great deal to be learned from those classical sources and about the tumult on the western fringes of the empire which caught their attention. While studying the monarchy and the royal court allows a wider range of sources to be brought to bear, studying Cyrus the Younger and the court which gathered around him brings us closer to the experience of most of the King's subjects. The various families and officials who dominated the many lands of the empire, with their rivalries and alliances expressed in marriages and gift exchange and letters to the satrap or the king, were one of the structures which made the Achaemenid empire what it was. It is hoped that this prosopography casts some light on this world.

SEAN MANNING
UNIVERSITY OF INNSBRUCK

⁷⁹ Stolper 2003.

APPENDIX 1: CYRUS' FOLLOWERS

Name	Ethnos	Name's Language	Attested	Fate	Faithfulness	Office
Anonymous <i>dynastēs</i>	Unknown	n/a	Before Cunaxa	Killed by C		<i>Hyparchos</i> . Executed with Megaphernes.
Anonymi "eight noblest of those about him"	Unknown	n/a	Before and at Cunaxa	Died at Cunaxa		May include Pigres and Artaozus
Ariaeus	Persian?	Iranian	407-395	Spared by A	<i>Philos</i> and <i>syntrapezos</i> , <i>pistotatos</i>	<i>Hyparchos</i> , commanded the barbarian army at Cunaxa, later satrap and <i>strategos</i> to A
Artaozus	Unknown	Iranian	After Cunaxa	Spared by A	<i>Pistotatos</i>	
Artapates	Unknown	Iranian	Before and at Cunaxa	Died at Cunaxa	<i>Pistotatos</i>	<i>Skēptouchos</i>
Glous	Egyptian? Carian?	Carian?	401-380	Spared by A		Son of Tamos, later admiral to A
Megaphernes	Persian	Iranian	Before Cunaxa	Killed by C		<i>Hyparchos</i>
Mithridates	Unknown	Iranian	After Cunaxa	Spared by A	<i>Pistotatos</i>	
Orontas	Persian	Iranian	407-401	Killed by C		
Pariscas	Unknown	Unknown	At Cunaxa	?	<i>Pistotatos</i>	Court eunuch
Pateguas	Persian	Unknown	At Cunaxa	?		
Pigres	Unknown	Carian	Before and at Cunaxa	Died at Cunaxa?		Interpreter
Procles	Laconian	Greek	401-399	Spared by A		Ruler of Teuthrania
Satiphernes	Unknown	Iranian	At Cunaxa	Died at Cunaxa	<i>Pistos</i> , noble	
Tamos	Egyptian	Egyptian	411-400	Fled to Egypt	<i>Philos</i> and <i>pistos</i>	Commander of C's fleet, Ionia, Aeolis

In the table Cyrus is abbreviated "C" and Artaxerxes "A"

A Prosopography of the Followers of Cyrus the Younger

Name	Connections	Sources	Scholarship
Anonymous <i>dynastēs</i>	Killed with Megaphernes.	Xen. An. 1.2.20	Xen. An. 1.8.27
Anonymi “noblest of those about him”	May include Pigres and Artaozus	Xen. An. 1.8.27	
Ariaius	Many	Xen. An. <i>passim</i> , Plut. Art. 11, Xen. Hell 4.1.27, Diod. 14.80.8, Polyaeus 7.16.1, <i>Hellenica Oxyrhynchia passim</i>	Shahbazi 1986, Schmitt 2011: 84 (no. 36)
Artaozus	Sent with Mithridates	Xen. An. 2.4.16, 2.5.35-42, 3.3.1, 3.3.6, 3.4.2-4.	
Artapates		Xen. An. 1.6.11, 1.8.27-29, Aelian, <i>De Natura Animalium</i> 6.25	
Glous son of Tamos	Seen with Pigres and Procles	Xen. An. 1.4.16, Xen. An. 1.5.7, Xen. An. 2.1.3, Xen. An. 2.4.24, Diod. 14.35.3, Diod. 15.4.3-4, Aen. Tact. 31.35, Polyaeus 7.20	Ruzicka 1999, Ruzicka 2012: 87-98
Megaphernes	Killed with anon. <i>dynastēs</i>	Xen. An. 1.2.20	
Mithridates	Sent with Artaozus	Xen. An. 2.4.16, 2.5.35-42, 3.3.1, 3.3.6, 3.4.2-4	
Orontas		Xen. An. 1.6.1-11	Ruzicka 1985, Missiou 1993, Petit 2004, Tuplin 2010a, Keaveney 2012
Pariscas		Plut. Art. 12.1 = Ctesias, <i>FGrH</i> 688 F. 20	
Pateguas		Xen. An. 1.8.1	
Pigres	Seen with Glous	Xen. An. 1.2.17, 1.5.7, 1.8.12	Ewen Bowie, “Pigres,” <i>DNP</i> , Hornblower 1982: 26, 355, <i>RE</i> s.v. “Pigres.”
Procles of Teuthrania	Seen with Glous	Xen. An. 2.3.1, Xen. An. 2.2.1, Xen. An. 7.8.17, Xen. Hell 3.1.6	<i>RE</i> s.v. “Prokles (7)”
Satiphernes	Killed with Pariscas	Plut. Art. 11.1 = Ctesias, <i>FGrH</i> 688 F. 20	
Tamos of Memphis	Many	Thuc. 8.31.2, 8.78, Xen. An. 1.2.21, 1.4.2, 2.1.3, Diod. 14.19.5, Diod. 14.19.6, Diod. 14.35.3	Ruzicka 1999: 23-25, Ruzicka 2012: 38, 39

References

- Anonymous (1988) *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. P.R. McKechnie and S.J. Kern ed. and trans. Warminster, UK: Aris and Philips.
- Balcer, J. (1993) *A Prosopographical Study of the Ancient Persians Royal and Noble, c. 550-450 B.C.*, Lewiston NY: Edwin Mellen.
- Bassett, S. (1999) "The Death of Cyrus the Younger." *Classical Quarterly* 19: 473-483.
- Behrwald, Ralf (2005) *Hellenika von Oxyrhynchos*. Texte zur Forschung 86. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft
- Bichler, R. (2004) "Ktesias 'korrigiert' Herodot. Zur literarischen Einschätzung der *Persika*." In Herbert Heftner und Kurt Tomaschitz (eds.), *Ad Fontes! Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch*. (Wien: Wiener Humanistischen Gesellschaft): 105-116. Reprinted in Bichler, R. (2007), *Historiographie - Ethnographie - Utopie*. Gesammelte Schriften, Teil 1, Studien zu Herodots Kunst der Historie, (Wiesbaden): 229-24.
- Bichler, R. (2011). "Ktesias Spielt mit Herodot." In J. Wiesehöfer and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Ktesias' Welt/Ctesias' World* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag): 21-52.
- Bichler, R. (in press). "Reception and Heritage in Classical Antiquity." In B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *A Companion to the Achaemenid Persian Empire* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell).
- Blum, H. (1998) *Purpur als Statussymbol in der griechischen Welt*. Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH.
- Bosworth, A.B. (1994) "A New Macedonian Prince." *The Classical Quarterly* 44.1: 57-65.
- Bowie, Ewen (2000) "Pigres." In H. Cancik and H. Schneider (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly*. Stuttgart and Weimar: J.B. Metzler.
- Briant, P. (2002) *From Cyrus to Alexander*. Peter T. Daniels trans. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Brosius, M. (2007) "New out of old? Court and Court Ceremonies in Achaemenid Persia." In A.J. S. Spawforth (ed.), *The Court and Court Societies in Ancient Monarchies* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press): 17-57.
- Brown, T. (1986) "Menon of Thessaly." *Historia* 35.4: 387-404.
- Bruce, I.A.F. (1967) *A Historical Commentary on the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia'*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Castiglione, B. (1976) *The Courtier*. George Bull trans. London: Penguin.
- Cancik, H., H. Schneider, and M. Landfester ed. 2013. *Der Neue Pauly* (also published in English translation as *Brill's New Pauly*). Leiden: Brill.
- Camp II, J. (1974) "Greek Inscriptions." *Hesperia* 43.3: 316, 317.
- Chambers, M. (1993) *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner.
- Chantraine, P. (1968) *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque: Histoire des Mots*. Paris: Éditions Klincksieck.

- Cook, J.M. (1983) *The Persian Empire*. London: J.M. Dent.
- Dandamayev, M.A. (1992) *Iranians in Achaemenid Babylonia*. Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers.
- Dusinberre, E. (2013) *Empire, Autonomy, and Authority in Achaemenid Anatolia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornblower, S. (1982) *Mausolus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hyland, J. (2008) "Pharnabazos, Cyrus' Rebellion, and the Spartan War of 399." *Arta* 2008.003: 1-27 <http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/arta/2008.003-Hyland.pdf>.
- Hyland, J. (2013) "Vishtashpa krny: An Achaemenid Military Official in 4th-century Bactria." *Arta* 2013.002 <http://www.achemenet.com/document/2013.002-Hyland.pdf>.
- Hyland, J. (2015) "The Prince and the Pancratiast: Persian-Thessalian Relations in the Late Fifth Century B.C.," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 55: 315–328.
- Jacobs, B. (1994) *Die Satrapienverwaltung im Perserreich zur Zeit Darius' III*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Jacobs, B. and Rollinger, R. eds. (2010). *Der Achämenidenhof/The Achaemenid Court*. *Classica et Orientalia*, Band 2. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.
- Jursa, M. (2011) "'Höflinge' (ša rēši, ša rēš šarri, ustarbaru) in babylonischen Quellen des ersten Jahrtausends." In J. Wiesehöfer, R. Rollinger, G. B. Lanfranchi (eds.), *Ktesias' Welt/Ctesias' World* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag): 159-223.
- Jursa, M. (2014) "The Neo-Babylonian Empire." In M. Gehler and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Imperien und Reiche in der Weltgeschichte: Epochenübergreifende und globalhistorische Vergleiche* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag): 121-148.
- Jursa, M., Hackl, J., Schmidt, M. (2014) *Spätbabylonische Privatbriefe*. AOAT 414/1. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Keaveney, A. (2012) "The Trial of Orontas: Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.6," *L'Antiquité Classique* 81: 31-41
- Keen, A. (1998) *Dynastic Lydia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Kistler, E. (2010) "Achämanidische Becher und die Logik kommensaler Politik im Reich der Achämeniden." In Jacobs/Rollinger (eds.), 2010: 411-457.
- Klinkott, H. (2005) *Der Satrap: Ein Achaimenidscher Amtsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume*. Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Antike.
- Kuhrt, A. (2007) *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources from the Achaemenid Period*. Two volumes. London: Routledge.
- Lewis, D.M. (1977) *Sparta and Persia*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Lendle, O. (1995) *Kommentar zu Xenophons Anabasis Bücher 1-7*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlich Buchgesellschaft.
- Lincoln, B. (2009) "An Ancient Case of Interrogation and Torture." *Social Analysis* 53.1: 157-172.

- Llewellyn-Jones, L. (2010) *Ctesias' History of Persia: Tales of the Orient*. James Robson trans. London: Routledge.
- Llewellyn-Jones, L. (2013) *King and Court in Achaemenid Persia 559 to 331 BCE*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Missiou, A. (1993) "ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ: The Politics of Translation." *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 43.2: 377-391.
- Petit, T. (2004) "Xénophon et la Vassalité Achéménide." In Christopher Tuplin ed., *Xenophon and His World: Paper from a Conference Held in Liverpool in July 1999*. Historia Einzelschriften, Band 172. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Piepkorn, A. (1933) *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Assurbanipal I: Editions E, B₁₋₅, D, and K*. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago Assyriological Studies 5. The University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1933.
- Rollinger, R. (1998) "Der Stammbaum des achaimenidischen Königshaus oder die Frage der Legitimität der Herrschaft des Dareios." *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 30: 155-209.
- Rollinger, R. (1999) "Zur Lokalisierung von Parsu(m)a(š) in der Fārs und zu einigen Fragen der frühen Persischen Geschichte." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 89: 115-139.
- Rollinger, R. (2012) "Thinking and Writing about History in Teispid and Achaemenid Persia." In Kurt A. Raaf lauf (ed.), *Thinking, Recording, and Writing History in the Ancient World*. (Wiley Blackwell: Malden, MA): 187-212.
- Rhodes, P.J. and R. Osborne (2003) *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roy, J. (1967) "The Mercenaries of Cyrus." *Historia* 16.3: 287-323.
- Ruzicka, S. (1985) "Cyrus and Tissaphernes, 407-401 BC." *The Classical Journal* 80.3: 204-211.
- Ruzicka, S. (1999) "Glos, son of Tamos, and the end of the Cypriot War." *Historia* 48.1: 23-43.
- Ruzicka, S. (2012) *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire, 525-332 BCE*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sancisci-Weerdenburg, H. (1989) "The Personality of Xerxes, King of Kings." In L. De Meyer and E. Haerinck (eds.), *Archaeologica Iranica et Orientalis: Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe* (Ghent: Peeters): 549-561.
- Sekunda, N. (1988) "Achaemenid Military Terminology." *Archaeologisches Mitteilungen aus Iran* 21: 413-422.
- Sekunda, N. (1992) *The Persian Army, 560-330 BC*. Botley, Oxford: Osprey.
- van Selms, A. (1957) "The Origin of the Title 'The King's Friend.'" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16.2: 118-123.
- Shahbazi, A.S. (1986) "Ariaeus." *Encyclopaedia Iranica* online edition.
- Schmitt, R. (2002) "Orontes." *Encyclopaedia Iranica* online edition.
- Schmitt, R. (2011) *Iranisches Personennamenbuch, Band V Faszikel 5A: Iranische Personennamen in der*

- Griechischen Literatur vor Alexander dem Großen*. Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft.
- Stephanus, H. (1954) *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*. Graz: Akademischen Druck- und Verlagsanstalt.
- Strassler, R.B. (ed.) (2009) *The Landmark Xenophon's Hellenica*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Stolper, M. W. (1985) *Entrepreneurs and Empire: The Murašû Archive, the Murašû Firm, and Persian Rule in Babylonia*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul.
- Stolper, M. W. (2003) "Communication Between Babylon and Uruk." In Wouter Henkelman and Amélie Kuhrt eds., *A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisci-Weerdenburg*, Achaemenid History XIII, Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 265-287.
- Tavernier, J. (2007) *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550-330 BCE): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords, Attested in Non-Iranian Texts*. Orientalia Louvaniensia Analecta 158. Peeters: Leuven.
- Tuplin, C. (2010a) "All the King's Men," in John Curtis and St John Simpson (eds.), *The World of Achaemenid Persia*, London: I.B. Taurus.
- Tuplin, C. (2010b) "Xenophon and Achaemenid Courts." In Jacobs/Rollinger 2010: 189-230.
- Vittmann, G. (2001) "Ägyptisches-Karisches." *Kadmos: Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik* 40: 39-59.
- Wiesehöfer, J. (2013) "Orontes [1]." In Cancik, Schneider, and Landfester eds. 2013.
- Wright, J. L. (2010a) "Commensal Politics in Ancient Western Asia: The Background to Nehemiah's Feasting (Part I)." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 122/2: 212-233 DOI 10.1515/ZAW.2010.016.
- Wright, J. L. (2010b) "Commensal Politics in Ancient Western Asia: The Background to Nehemiah's Feasting (continued, Part II)." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 122/1: 333-352 DOI 10.1515/ZAW.2010.024ZAW.
- Zadok, R. (1979) *The Jews in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenian Periods According to the Babylonian Sources*. Haifa: University of Haifa.
- De Zorzi, N. and Jursa, M. (2011) "The Courtier in the Commentary." NABU 2011-33 http://sepoa.fr/?page_id=14.