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REDIGIT

J. HARMATTA

HUIC TOMO EDENDO PRAEFUIT

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1977

STUDIES
IN HONOUR OF J. HARMATTA

I

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THE DYNASTY OF THE ACHAEMENIDS IN THE EARLY PERIOD

According to the Cyrus cylinder ancestors of this Persian king, that is Teispes, Cyrus I and Cambyses I were great kings, kings of «the city of Anšan». Cyrus I, the grandfather of Cyrus the Great, is mentioned in the Annals of the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal *circ.* 640 B. C. as «king of the land of Parsumaš». ¹ Therefore it would be quite natural to suppose that Anshan and Parsumash (or Parsuaš, Pārša, that is Persia) were alternative names of one and the same country. But almost all scholars, except Herzfeld, ² were inclined to reject this identification since in the Six-sided cylinder of Sennacherib (V 31) Parsuash and Anshan are named as separate countries among the allies of the Elamite king Umman-menanu.

Until recently the location of Anshan has not been known for certain. Now it is established that Anshan was situated at the modern site Malyan, 46 kilometres north of Shiraz. The identification of Malyan as ancient Anshan is confirmed by the fact that no other place-names except Anshan are mentioned in the Middle Elamite texts from Malyan. ³ Thus it is evident that beginning at least the seventh century B. C. Anshan was only the archaic, traditional and solemn name of Parsumash (Persia) used mainly in the royal titles of the Achaemenids. All Greek authors unanimously say that Persia was the native land of the Achaemenid kings, including also ancestors of Cyrus the Great. These authors do not mention Anshan at all and in all probability even did not know the name.

But many scholars believe that data of the Behistan inscription are against the opinion that Cyrus' the Great ancestors were kings in Persia. In his inscription Darius I says: «My father is Vishtaspa, Vishtaspa's father is Arshama, Arshama's father is Ariaramna, Ariaramna's father is Chishpish, Chishpish's father is Hakhamanish . . . For this reason we are called Achaemenians . . .

¹ See E. F. WEIDNER: Die älteste Nachricht über das persische Königshaus. Archiv für Orientforschung 7 (1931/2) pp. 1 ff.

² See E. HERZFELD: The Persian Empire. Wiesbaden 1968. pp. 170 ff.

³ E. CARTER—M. STOLPER: Middle Elamite Malyan. Expedition 18/2 (1976) p. 38. For the bibliography see *ibid.*, p. 42.

From long ago our family had been kings . . . VIII (men) of my family were kings afore. I am the ninth; IX (men) *duvitāparanam*⁴ we are kings.»⁵

The question arises, what is the meaning of these words of Darius? According to the theory of Weissbach, now almost generally accepted, Teispes (Chishpish) divided his kingdom between his two sons: Cyrus I who became king of Anshan and Ariaramnes who was king in Persia. Cambyses I succeeded to Cyrus I and Arshama succeeded to Ariaramnes. Cyrus the Great who became king of Anshan after the death of Cambyses I forced Arshama to abdicate and became king in Persia.⁶

In 1960 the present author tried to dismiss this theory as unconvincing.⁷ In 1974 Stronach wrote that this theory collapses «with the discovery that Parsumaš and Parsa represent alternative names for the former Elamite province of Anšan from at least the mid-seventh . . .»⁸

In the Babylonian chronicle in the sixth year of Nabonidus, i.e. in 550 B. C. Cyrus the Great is described as king of Anshan. But in the same text in the ninth year of Nabonidus, i.e. 547 B. C. Cyrus appears as «king of Parsu».⁹ Weissbach was of the opinion that in 550 B. C. Cyrus was king of Anshan and by 545 B. C. he acquired Persia. But it is difficult to accept this opinion since we know from the annals of Ashurbanipal, published after Weissbach's paper, that already Cyrus I, the grandfather of Cyrus the Great, was king of Persia. Therefore it is doubtful that both Cyrus I and Ariaramnes could govern Persia simultaneously. In all probability in 550 B. C. the Babylonian chronicle calls Cyrus the Great king of Anshan in accordance with the ancient official tradition and the archaizing tendencies of the Babylonian texts. In 547 B. C. in the chronicle appears the real title of Cyrus as king of Persia. It is important that in Babylonian inscriptions of Cyrus the Great, written after 539 B. C., he calls himself king of Anshan¹⁰ though, of course, by that time he was in any case king of Persia. It is noteworthy also that according to Greek sources military operations between the armies of Astyages, the last king of Media, and Cyrus the Great took place at Pasargadae, that is in Persia. Thus, there is no reason to suppose that Cyrus acquired Persia after his victory over Astyages in 550 B. C. The Babylonian chronicle says that by his conquest of Media Cyrus took silver, gold and other precious objects from Ecbatana to Anshan. According to Ctesias the booty was brought to Pasargadae. Evidently both

⁴ See below.

⁵ Cf. R. G. KENT: *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon*. New Haven 1953. p. 119.

⁶ See F. H. WEISSBACH: *RE Suppl. IV* (1924) «Курос», col. 1140 ff.

⁷ See M. A. Дандамаев: К вопросу о династии Ахеменидов. Палестинский сборник 5 (1960) pp. 3—21.

⁸ See D. STRONACH: *Achaemenid village I at Susa and the Persian migration to Fars*. Iraq 36 (1974) p. 248.

⁹ See S. SMITH: *Babylonian historical texts*. London 1924. pp. 111 f., col. II, lines 1 and 15.

¹⁰ See, for instance, C. J. GADD, L. LEGRAIN, S. SMITH: *Royal inscriptions*. Ur. Excavations. Texts. I. London 1928. N 194.

sources describe the same event, and this confirms the equation of Persia and Anshan.¹¹

In support of his theory that the Achaemenids ruled in two lines from Cyrus I to Cambyses I and from Ariaramnes to Darius I, Weissbach referred to the word *duwītāparanam* in the Behistan inscription. This word was already translated by Oppert «en deux branches», «en deux séries».¹² Bartholomae and Kent interpreted it «seit langem auf einander folgend», «in succession».¹³ Winckler, Foy and some other scholars translated the crucial word «von sehr langer Zeit».¹⁴ Szemerényi has recently come to the following conclusion. The translation «one after the other, in succession» is to be rejected because of grammatical reasons. The translation «long aforesome» would give a tolerable sense. But he believes that «the context clearly demands a different interpretation. If the meaning were «long aforesome», how could Darius use the present: «we, nine of us, are long aforesome kings?» Referring to the Hittite *tapar-* = Luwian *tapar-* «rule, govern» Szemerényi translated *duwi-tāpar(a)nam* «by double rule», i.e. «in two royal lines».¹⁵ But where did these «royal lines» rule?

In 1930 Herzfeld published two inscriptions on gold tablets found in Hamadan. In these inscriptions Ariaramnes and Arsames call themselves «great kings, kings of kings, kings in Persia». But according to Schaefer, Brandenstein and Kent the orthography of the texts shows them to be late Achaemenian compositions.¹⁶

Thus, there are no reliable data in favour of the theory that Ariaramnes and Arsames were kings in Persia. All historical sources say that Cyrus the Great and his ancestors were in fact kings of Persia. Cameron believes that Cyrus I governed Anshan and Parsumash, and Ariaramnes became «king of the land Parsa», that is Persia. After the disappearance of Ariaramnes Cambyses I was placed by the Medes, to whom he was subordinate, over the land Parsa.¹⁷ But we can dismiss this theory since Parsumash and Parsa were actually one and the same country.¹⁸

¹¹ E. HERZFELD: *The Persian Empire*. p. 169.

¹² J. OPPERT: *Le peuple et la langue des Mèdes*. Paris 1879. p. 163.

¹³ CHR. BARTHOLOMAE: *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg 1904. p. 767; KENT: *Old Persian*. p. 192.

¹⁴ H. WINCKLER: *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*. Leipzig 1889. p. 197; W. FOY: *Beiträge zur Erklärung der susischen Achaemenideninschriften*. ZDMG 52 (1898) pp. 564 ff.

¹⁵ See O. SZEMERÉNYI: *Iranica II*. *Die Sprache* 12 (1966) pp. 209—211. — Cf. now E. N. VON VOIGLANDER: *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great*. *Babylonian version* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part I, London 1978) line 4, where *duwītāparanam* is translated NUMUN *da-ru-ū a-ni-ni* «(Nine kings of) an eternal lineage are we» (pp. 12 and 54).

¹⁶ For the bibliography see KENT: *Old Persian*. p. 107.

¹⁷ G. G. CAMERON: *History of early Iran*. New York 1936. pp. 212 and 223; See also W. HINZ: *RE* 1971, p. 1024. «Persis».

¹⁸ Cf. И. В. Пьянков: *Борьба Кира II с Астиагом по данным античных авторов*. ВДИ 1971. 3, p. 32.

According to the Behistan inscription eight men of the Achaemenid dynasty ruled before Darius I. Almost all scholars believe that here Achaemenes, Teispes, Cyrus I, Cambyses I, Cyrus II, Cambyses II, Ariaramnes and Arsames are meant. It is quite probable that Darius I actually meant these persons. But since Ariaramnes and Arsames could not govern Persia they should have been petty rulers in a small kingdom somewhere in Iran. We must have in mind that in the early Achaemenian period there were still many small kingdoms in Iran, which were subordinate to Elamite, Assyrian and Median kings.¹⁹

Leningrad.

¹⁹ For instance, Ҳудимери mentioned in the annals of Ashurbanipal in the second part of the seventh c. B. C. was one of these kingdoms, see И. М. Дьяконов: ВДИ 1964, 3, p. 180, n. 14.

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