

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF IRAN  
IN SEVEN VOLUMES

*Volume 2*

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-20091-2 — The Cambridge History of Iran  
Edited by I. Gershevitch  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

THE CAMBRIDGE  
HISTORY OF  
IRAN

*Volume 2*

THE MEDIAN AND  
ACHAEMENIAN PERIODS

*edited by*

ILYA GERSHEVITCH



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-20091-2 — The Cambridge History of Iran  
Edited by I. Gershevitch  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo  
Delhi, Dubai, Tokyo

Cambridge University Press  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK  
Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York  
[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)  
Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521200912](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521200912)

© Cambridge University Press 1985

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without  
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1985  
Sixth printing 2010

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

ISBN 978-0-521-20091-2 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy  
of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication,  
and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain,  
accurate or appropriate.

BOARD OF EDITORS

SIR HAROLD BAILEY (*Chairman*)  
Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit  
University of Cambridge

BASIL GRAY (*Vice-Chairman*)  
Formerly Keeper of the Oriental Antiquities  
British Museum

P. W. AVERY  
Lecturer in Persian  
University of Cambridge

C. E. BOSWORTH  
Professor of Arabic Studies  
University of Manchester

ILYA GERSHEVITCH  
Emeritus Reader in Iranian Studies  
University of Cambridge

MAHMOUD SANA'I  
Emeritus Professor of Psychology  
University of Tehran

H. S. G. DARKE (*Editorial Secretary*)  
Formerly Lecturer in Persian  
University of Cambridge

## CONTENTS

<i>List of plates</i>	<i>page</i> <i>x</i>
<i>List of text figures</i>	<i>xiv</i>
<i>List of maps</i>	<i>xvi</i>
1 ELAM	1
<i>by I. M. DIAKONOFF, Senior Research Worker, Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad</i>	
2 ANSHAN IN THE MEDIAN AND ACHAEMENIAN PERIODS	25
<i>by J. HANSMAN</i>	
3 MEDIA	36
<i>by I. M. DIAKONOFF</i>	
4 THE SCYTHS	149
<i>by the late T. SULIMIRSKI</i>	
5 THE RISE OF THE ACHAEMENIDS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THEIR EMPIRE	200
<i>by J. M. COOK, Emeritus Professor of Ancient History and Classical Archaeology, University of Bristol</i>	
6 PERSIA AND THE GREEKS	292
<i>by A. R. BURN</i>	
7 CYRUS THE GREAT (558–529 B.C.)	392
<i>by the late MAX MALLOWAN</i>	
8 ALEXANDER IN IRAN	420
<i>by E. BADIAN, John Moors Cabot Professor of History, Harvard University</i>	
9 THE PERSIAN OCCUPATION OF EGYPT	502
<i>by E. BRESCIANI, Professor of Egyptology, University of Pisa</i>	

## CONTENTS

10	THE BABYLONIAN EVIDENCE OF ACHAEMENIAN RULE IN MESOPOTAMIA	529
	<i>by the late A. L. OPPENHEIM</i>	
11	THE EVIDENCE OF THE PERSEPOLIS TABLETS	588
	<i>by the late R. T. HALLOCK</i>	
12	ACHAEMENID COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES	610
	<i>by A. D. H. BIVAR, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London</i>	
13	THE OLD EASTERN IRANIAN WORLD VIEW ACCORDING TO THE AVESTA	640
	<i>by M. SCHWARTZ, Professor of Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley</i>	
14	THE RELIGION OF ACHAEMENIAN IRAN	664
	<i>by M. SCHWARTZ</i>	
15	ARAMAIC IN THE ACHAEMENIAN EMPIRE	698
	<i>by J. C. GREENFIELD, Professor of Ancient Semitic Languages, Hebrew University, Jerusalem</i>	
16	OLD IRANIAN CALENDARS	714
	<i>by the late WILLY HARTNER</i>	
17	CLASSIC ACHAEMENIAN ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE	793
	<i>by EDITH PORADA, Arthur Lehman Professor Emeritus of Art History and Archaeology, Columbia University, New York</i>	
18	THE BEHISTUN RELIEF	828
	<i>by ANN FARKAS, Professor of Anthropology and Archaeology, Brooklyn College of the City University of New York</i>	
19	TEPE NŪSH-I JĀN: THE MEDIAN SETTLEMENT	832
	<i>by DAVID STRONACH, Professor of Near Eastern Archaeology, University of California, Berkeley</i>	
20	PASARGADAE	838
	<i>by DAVID STRONACH</i>	
21	METALWORK AND GLYPTIC	856
	<i>by P. R. S. MOOREY, Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford</i>	

## CONTENTS

<i>Appendix I</i> PLANT NAMES	870
<i>by H. W. BAILEY, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit, University of Cambridge</i>	
<i>Appendix II</i> THE ACHAEMENID DYNASTY	874
<i>Bibliography</i>	875
<i>Index</i>	931

## PLATES

*Between pages 814 and 815*

- 1 (a) The ascent (“Klimax”) from the plain of Elam to Persis.  
 (b) The road into Persis. The “Valley of the Oaks” west of Shiṛāz.  
 (c) The Caspian Gates, looking east.
- 2 (a) The Kūh-Dāman, looking east to Kapisa (Paropamisadai).  
 (b) The citadel-mound of Bampūr (Pura in Gedrosia).  
 (c) Hyrcania under the Alburz, east of modern Behshahr.
- 3 (a) The mound of Agbatana (Hamadān) and Mt Alvand.  
 (b) One of the high valleys of the Zagros in Media, near Burūjird.  
 (c) The Euphrates entering the plain of Carchemish.  
 (1–3 Photographs, J. M. Cook).
- 4 Darius III, as portrayed in the Alexander mosaic of Pompeii (Photograph courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Naples).
- 5 Pasargadae, the tomb of Cyrus (Photograph, Olive Kitson, Pasargadae expedition).
- 6 (a) Pasargadae, the Winged Figure (Photograph, Olive Kitson, Pasargadae expedition).  
 (b) Winged genius from the palace of Sargon II of Assyria, Khorsabad (From E. Strommenger and M. Hirmer, *The Art of Mesopotamia* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1964).
- 7 Pasargadae, the great stone platform of the Tell-i Takht (Photograph, Olive Kitson, Pasargadae expedition).
- 8 Painted wooden naos, showing the scroll of Darius I, from Hermopoli.
- 9 An Aramaic letter from Hermopoli, addressed to Nnyḥm at Aswan (From E. Bresciani and M. Kamil, *Le lettere aramaiche da Hermopoli* IV, pl. IV, recto and verso).
- 10 Label from a mummy written on both sides, from south Saqqara (Photograph, Cairo Museum. From Aimé-Giron, *Textes araméens*, no. 105, pl. XIV).
- 11 Statue of Psamteksaneit, from Memphis (Photograph, Cairo Museum).
- 12 Coins and ingots (1–2, 4–8 Photographs, A. D. H. Bivar 3, 9 Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).



## LIST OF PLATES

- 13 Persepolis, the terrace and its structures. Model by Friedrich Krefter (Photographs F. Krefter).
- 14 Persepolis, the southern part of the west face of the terrace (Photograph by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pl. 2C).
- 15 Persepolis, (a) the eastern stairway of the Apadana.  
 (b) The Gate of All Lands (Photographs by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pls 17A, 12B).
- 16 Persepolis, the Parapet reconstructed along the Terrace edge (Photograph, A. B. Tilia).
- 17 (a) Surkh Kotal, merlon (From D. Schlumberger, “Descendants non-méditerranéens de l’art grec”, *Syria* xxxvii (1960), pl. VI.1).  
 (b) Pasargadae, lower part of the figure of the king (Photograph, H. Lushey).
- 18 Susa, glazed brick relief of guardsman (Le Musée du Louvre, Paris. From Porada, *Ancient Iran*, p. 153, pl. 42).
- 19 Naqsh-i Rostam, general view (Photograph, J. M. Cook).
- 20 Naqsh-i Rostam, façade of tomb of Darius I.
- 21 Naqsh-i Rostam, head of Gobryas from façade of tomb of Darius I (20–21 Photographs by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Schmidt, *Persepolis III*, pls 19, 20, 23).
- 22 Persepolis, Palace of Darius.  
 (a) Royal hero fighting with a lion.  
 (b) King walking into his chambers with two attendants.
- 23 Persepolis, southern Audience Relief, found in the Treasury (Archaeological Museum, Tehran).  
 (22–23 Photographs by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Schmidt *Persepolis I*, pls 146A, 141B, 121).
- 24 Persepolis, eastern Audience Relief.  
 (a) Figure of the king.  
 (b) Detail of (a).  
 (c) Heads of two attendants.  
 Photographs, (a) as pls 22–3, pl. 123, (b) (c) H. Lushey).
- 25 Susa. Statue of Darius (Archaeological Museum, Tehran).
- 26 Susa. Statue of Darius.  
 (a) Detail.  
 (b) socle.

## LIST OF PLATES

- (25–6 Photographs courtesy of J. Perrot, reproduced with the permission of DAFI, the National Organization for the Restoration of Historic Monuments of Iran and the Fondation Patek Philippe of Geneva.)
- 27 Persepolis. Lion and bull motif.
- 28 Persepolis. The delegations on the Eastern Stairway façade.
- 29 Persepolis. Archers and “Susian” guards.
- 30 Persepolis.  
 (a) Delegation of the Lydians and Babylonians.  
 (b) Nobles on the Eastern Stairway of the Apadana.
- 31 Persepolis. Audience scene of Artaxerxes I.
- 32 Persepolis. Throne relief of Artaxerxes I (Photograph by courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Schmidt, *Persepolis I*, pl. 99).
- 33 Persepolis. “Persian” and “Median” dignitaries.
- 34 Behistun, general view of relief.
- 35 Behistun, detail of Darius.  
 (27–31, 33–5 Photographs, H. Lushey)
- 36 (a) A pair of ibex-headed gold bracelets from the Pasargadae treasure (Photograph, Pasargadae expedition).  
 (b) A silver spoon with a swan’s-head handle (Photograph, Les publications d’art et d’archéologie, 27, Rue St-André-des-arts, Paris, 6).
- 37 The entrance façade of the Zindān-i Sulaimān (Photograph, Pasargadae expedition).
- 38 (a) The partly excavated mound of Tepe Nūsh-i Jān.  
 (b) A scale model showing the four main Median buildings at Tepe Nūsh-i Jān.
- 39 (a) The stepped walls of the sanctuary of the Central Temple.  
 (b) The excavated fire altar.
- 40 (a) The west end of Room 23.  
 (b) A Neo-Assyrian stone stamp-seal.
- 41 (a) The unfinished rock-cut tunnel.  
 (b) The narrow walls of the squatter occupation.  
 (38–41 Photographs, Helga Schippmann and Ruth Stronach.)
- 42 Decorated sheet gold cover for the sheath of an iron short-sword; from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton, no. 22).
- 43 (a) Gold collar or spiral bracelet from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton, no. 118).  
 (b) Gold bracelet from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton, no. 116).

## LIST OF PLATES

- 44 (a) Gold chariot model from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton, no. 7).  
 (b) Sheet gold jug from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton, no. 17).
- 45 (a) Silver handle from a vessel cast in the shape of a leaping wild goat; from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton, no. 10).  
 (b) Cast silver bowl.  
 (42–5 Photographs courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).
- 46 Silver bowls said to be from Tell el-Maskhuta in Egypt (Photographs courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum, New York).
- 47 (a) Inlaid and gilded wooden shrine door showing Darius I with the Egyptian deities Anubis and Isis.  
 (b) Cylinder seal of a high official, showing Darius I engaged in a lion hunt.
- 48 Modern impressions from cylinder seals.  
 (47–8 Photographs courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

## TEXT FIGURES

<i>Chapter 4</i>	<i>page</i>
Fig. 1 Scythian stone stelae of the 6th century B.C. (From Illinska, "Skilfski sokiri", p. 41, fig. 8).	160
Figs 2-4 Decorated gold articles from Vetersfelde (Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Berlin. Drawings after Furtwängler. For colour illustrations see Jettmar, <i>Art of the Steppes</i> , pls 6, 7, 8).	162-3
Figs 5-7 Bronze parts of horse harness from Maly Kurgan (From Yessen, "La steppe de Mil et Karabagh", pp. 27-9, figs 10-12).	164-5
Fig. 8 Bone cheek-pieces and bronze buckles from Scythian bridles found at Karmir Blur (After Piotrovskii, <i>Karmir Blur</i> 1).	166
Fig. 9 An undecorated Scythian bone cheek-piece from Młyniec in northern Poland (From Sulimirski, "La culture Lusacienne et les Scythes", p. 80, fig. 2).	166
Fig. 10 Carved bone cheek-pieces from early Scythian burials at Aksyutintsy (From Minns, <i>Scythians and Greeks</i> , p. 189, fig. 81, after Bobrinskii, <i>Smiela</i> III, pl. VII).	167
<i>Chapter 16</i>	<i>page</i>
Figs 1-22 "Calendrical" animals and symbols (Details of sources are given in the footnotes).	726-36
Diagram 1 The celestial sphere at 4000 B.C.	721
Diagram 2 The horizon of Persepolis, shewing the culmination of Leo.	723
Diagram 3 The Persepolis horizon at the spring equinox.	724
Diagram 4 The Persepolis horizon one week after the spring equinox, at the time of Darius.	739
<i>Chapter 17</i>	<i>page</i>
Fig. 1 Plan of Persepolis terrace by Richard C. Haines (From Schmidt, <i>Persepolis I</i> , pocket at end).	794-5
Fig. 2 The West Front of the Apadana, reconstructed by	

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Friedrich Krefter (From Krefter, <i>Persepolis Rekonstruktionen</i> , Beilage 20).	796
Fig. 3	The West Porch of the Apadana, reconstructed by Friedrich Krefter (From Krefter, <i>Persepolis Rekonstruktionen</i> , Beilage 28).	797
Fig. 4	The columns of the Apadana, reconstructed by Friedrich Krefter (From Herzfeld, <i>Iran in the Ancient East</i> , pl. LVIII).	799
Fig. 5	The Temple of Haldi at Ardini-Musasir (From P. E. Botta <i>et al.</i> , <i>Monument de Ninève</i> II (Paris, 1849), pl. 141).	805
Fig. 6	Plan of the buildings on the Tell of the Apadana at Susa by J. Perrot and D. Ladiray.	807
Fig. 7	The Gate of Darius at Susa, reconstructed by J. Perrot and D. Ladiray (From Perrot and Ladiray <i>et al.</i> , “ <i>Recherches dans le secteur est du tépé de l’Apadana</i> ”, <i>CDAFI</i> IV (1974), p. 201, fig. 17).	810
	<i>Chapter 19</i>	<i>page</i>
Fig. 1	Tepe Nūsh-i Jān. Plan of the site.	833

## MAPS

	<i>page</i>
1 Ancient sites in Fars.	35
2 Approximate distribution of settlements of ethnic groups at the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C.	39
3 Media in the 9th–7th centuries B.C.	98–9
4 The Near East at the end of the 6th century B.C.	111
5 The Median Empire in the 6th century B.C.	120
6 Map of ancient Scythia as conceived by Herodotus, reconstructed by E. H. Minns (From Minns, <i>Scythians and Greeks</i> , map V).	151
7 Map showing the diffusion of Scythian burials and those of Scythian type of the 6th century B.C., found within the confines of ancient Scythia and neighbouring countries.	176–7
<i>Key to map 7</i>	178
8 Map showing the diffusion of Scythian finds of the period c. 500–400 B.C. in Europe.	192
9 The Persian presence in western Asia Minor.	275
10 Trouble spots of the western empire.	277
11 The Achaemenian empire.	282–3
12 The western provinces of the Achaemenian empire.	297
13 The Aegean basin, to illustrate the Greek wars of Darius and Xerxes.	304–5
14 Western Asia Minor in the late Achaemenian period.	363
15 The Nile Delta.	373
16 Map showing the extent of the Achaemenian empire under Cyrus the Great and Darius (After the Nonesuch Herodotus, by courtesy of the Nonesuch Press and T. L. Poulton).	400–1
17 Alexander's route.	474–5

## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The Publishers wish to acknowledge the major contribution to the completion of this volume made by Mr Hubert Darke, who willingly undertook a wide range of editorial responsibilities to assist in its publication.

Thanks are also due to Mr Peter Khoroché for assistance with proofs; and to Mr Colin Ronan for help in the preparation of the astronomical diagrams in chapter 16. The index is by Mrs Hilda Pearson.

The Publishers and the Editorial Board of the *Cambridge History of Iran* are grateful for a generous subvention towards editorial and production costs of this volume provided by the Foundation for Iranian Studies, Washington, D.C.

Acknowledgements are due to all who have provided and given permission to reproduce photographs and line drawings.