The Herodotean "Harem" and Statecraft

in Achaemenid Persia

A Thesis

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by

Frederick A Schultz, B.A.
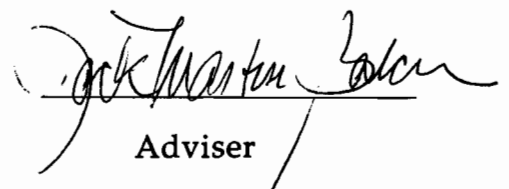

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Master's Examination Committee:

Dr. Jack Martin Balcer

Dr. Timothy E. Gregory

Dr. Robert Davis

Approved By

_____
Adviser

Department of History

To my Mother

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VITA

June 8, 1968...Born - Lincoln Park, Michigan

1990 ....B.A., The Ohio State University,
Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: History

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Introduction

Any historian that seeks to use Herodotus as his primary source must beware of several possible pitfalls. In addition to the usual sorts of historiographical questions one must consider concerning the ancient author's historical context, possible motivations, and to what degree he relied on sources, one must bear in mind Herodotus' particular style. Although frequently referred to as the Father of History, Herodotus is described best, perhaps as a proto-historian, more advanced than the simple ethnographer but not nearly so advanced as his more scientific and precise contemporary, Thucydides.

The root of this unique style of Herodotus' lies in his understanding of historical causation as well as his desire to write history to teach morals. In the first place, therefore, he sees history and historical events as the playing out of vast dramas in which his characters are the leading performers. Thus a king's decision to follow a particular course of action is described as resulting from a personal vendetta or a personal hubris rather than as the desire to increase the territorial extent of the realm for political or economic purposes. His actions succeed or fail, furthermore, not because of the historical forces a modern historian might point to but because of the character of the king and because of the actions of other players in the story. Herodotus was, of course, writing history with a very obvious precedent in mind, that of Homer and epic narration. This brings us to our second observation about Herodotus' writing of history, his desire to teach moral lessons in a literary fashion. In

keeping with literary forms, Herodotus wrote his history by tying together various λόγοι into a ring-cycle. The whole concept of λόγος and λόγοι is far too vast for adequate treatment here. For my purposes, I define a Herodotean λόγος as a discrete story or account woven into Herodotus' narrative for any one of a variety of purposes including exposition, entertainment, illustration of a universal theme, or simple digression.[1]

Herodotus' histories were meant, moreover, to be read aloud to an audience. Thus their form and their purpose had to fit this goal. First, they had to be interesting and lively to keep the audience's attention. Hearing interesting and exotic tales about Persian kings and their capricious nature was sure to entertain much more than listening to Thucydidean discourses on the nature of the political confrontation and rivalry between Athens and Sparta. But more important for the audience than entertainment, was the lessons contained in the *Histories*. Herodotus' work is at its very core a tale of contrasting the Persians and their despotism, and the Greeks with their love of freedom. He detailed the clash of these two ideologies in the Persian wars that the Greeks won, not because of any military or economic reasons, but because freedom and the Greek character was superior to the Persian character and governmental system.

With this in mind my task is more difficult still, for I am using Herodotus, a Greek source ultimately Greek in nature despite any respect he

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[1]For more complete treatments of λόγοι in Herodotus as well as other structural/thematic analyses of Herodotus' text, see K.H. Waters, *Herodotos the Historian* (Norman 1985); I. Beck, *Die Ring-Composition bei Herodot und ihre Bedeutung fur die Beweistechnik* (Olms, Hildesheim 1971); H.J. Immerwahr, *Form and Thought in Herodotus* (Cleveland 1966); K.H. Waters, "The Purpose of Dramatization in Herodotos," *Historia* 15 (1966), 157-171.

displays for other regions or peoples, to describe a Persian political and social institution. Herodotus had never been to Persia though he had, most likely, been to Egypt.[2] Therefore, anything he wrote about Persia and its customs, history, or political and social institutions was based on informants. How he understood his informants and conveyed that information to later generations must unfortunately remain a matter of some uncertainty; we neither have access to these sources of his, nor other examples of Herodotean type works with which to compare him. That is not to say, however, that Herodotus is impossible to work with, for I believe a careful reading of the Histories can provide an abundance of useful information, but he must be studied with the above observations in mind.

Another point that must be considered is the use of the term "harem" is misleading, but for simplicity's sake, necessary. While I will show that the Herodotean "harem" was not like the Turkish or Arabic Harem of the Islamic world, the term has been used consistently by scholars to describe the king's wives and families in several ancient Near-Eastern societies including Hebrew, Assyrian and Persian. In most cases the term is probably used simply to avoid such lengthy phraseology as "the whole body of the king's wives, children, eunuchs and other personnel responsible for managing the king's household affairs." Some scholars, however,[3] seem to have described the Persian "harem" in terms more appropriate to the Turkish or Arabic periods. This is one fallacy that must be avoided, despite the use of the term harem.

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[2]Waters, *Herodotos the Historian,*
[3]See below, chapter 1.

Chapter I

In the middle of the sixth century B.C. the vast empire of the Achaemenid Persians arose quickly, a product of the many campaigns of Cyrus II. Originally a vassal of the Median king Astyages, Cyrus, through force of arms, founded an empire unlike any before it in its tremendous breadth of religious, ethnic, political, and linguistic diversity. To overcome the seemingly impossible task of holding this sprawling empire together, Cyrus allowed indigenous traditions, religious systems, languages, and even governments to flourish in his conquered territories as they had before as long as they paid tribute and furnished soldiers for the Great King's imperial army-- a policy that earned him universal acclaim as a good shepherd and benevolent father, though these lenient practices were largely a matter of expediency rather than any real benevolence.[4] The chaos surrounding Darius' usurpation of the throne in 522-519,[5] however, highlighted a shortcoming of this system: by allowing local traditions to prosper, and local rulers too much autonomy, an inadequate loyalty to Persian centralism

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[2]Herodotus (3.88.1-3) states: "The Persians have a saying that Darius was a tradesmen, Cambyses a tyrant, and Cyrus a father-- the first being out for profit wherever he could get it, the second harsh and careless of his subjects' interests, and the third, Cyrus, in the kindness of his heart always occupied with plans for their well being." Cf. Isaiah 45 that calls Cyrus "messiah."

[5]Book three of Herodotus recounts the rise of Darius to power. See also the translations of the Bisitun inscriptions in Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon.* 2nd ed. (New Haven 1953); Jonas C. Greenfield and Bezalel Porten, , *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Aramaic Version* (London 1982); Elizabeth N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version* (London 1978).

existed in the provincial ruling class.[6] Darius' suppression of extensive rebellions within the empire, his formulation of a new and potent iconography that included a marked religious element in early Zarathustrianism, and his cultivation of the noble families by welding them into a dominant ethno-class elite, made the empire a viable entity for nearly two centuries after his accession to power.

The lynch-pin of this entire system was the person of the Great King; but the king needed many wives in order to produce sons for appointment to satrapies and military commands, and daughters to give in marriage to leading Persian nobles. The royal harem, therefore, was a crucial institution in that it allowed the Great King to extend his influence and control over the leadership of the army and provincial governments, as well as to cultivate closer relations to the Persian aristocracy. Furthermore, we shall see that the harem itself possessed a certain aura of royal power capable of imbuing would be successors of a deceased or deposed monarch with the previous king's authority and legitimacy.

In light of the importance of the harem, not only in Achaemenid Persia, but in the entire Near-Eastern world of antiquity, the lack of scholarship exploring this institution is perplexing.[7] The problem with

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[6]Muhammad A. Dandanaev and Vladimir G. Lukonin, *The Culture and Social Institutions of Ancient Iran.* (Cambridge 1989), 97. It is also true that Cambyses could have overtaxed the subjected peoples too much, but that alone does not sufficiently explain the manifestation of rebellions with royalist pretensions in the wake of Cambyses' and Bardiya's deaths and Darius' usurpation of the throne.

[7]See Wolfgang Rollig, "Politische Hieraten im Alten Orient," *Saeculum* 25 (1974), 11-23 for a discussion of the harem in the Sumerian and Akkadian periods. For analysis of the harem in its Israelite context, see E. Weidner, "Hof- und Harem Erlasse assyrischen Konige," *AfO* 27 (1956), 257-93; M. Tsevat, "Marriage and Monarchical Legitimacy in Ugarit and Israel," *JSS* 3

modern scholarship that discusses the Achaemenid harem at all, is either a refusal to take the topic seriously, given the scandalous, mythic, or simply fantastic nature of the harem stories in Herodotus, Xenophon, and especially Ktesias,[8] or a willingness to take these stories at face value. I believe that both fallacies can be avoided and that the harem can and must be studied; for through a careful analysis of this very important institution, we might better be able to understand the Persian political system and the nature of Persian imperialism. The harem was important, however, in several capacities within Achaemenid society beyond simply producing heirs for the Great King. The most useful organization for this study, therefore, is to consider the harem in three chapters, each examining a different aspect of the institution. In this first chapter I will explore the harem in its social context and its importance independent of military and administrative purposes. The second chapter will delineate the complicated familial connections that tied together the Great King with the noble families and demonstrate the harem's fundamental function in the governmental and military sphere. In the third chapter, I will consider the harem *novellae* in Herodotus to demonstrate his literary purposes in including them, and the modern historian's methodology in extracting useful historical information from them.

My primary source for this undertaking is the *History* of Herodotus. Although his central purpose in writing his history was to describe and

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(1958), 237-43; Philip D. Stern, *The Biblical Herem: A Window on Israel's Religious Experience* (Atlanta 1991)
    [8]Ktesias, *FGrH* 688.

explain the Greek victories over the Persians, his interest in foreign peoples was vast. He described the history, customs, and beliefs of countless ethnic groups with varying degrees of reliability, and was particularly interested in such things as marriage customs and sexual mores. Thus, most of what we know about Persian women, marriage, and the Persian Harem are a result of Herodotus' explanations, descriptions, and stories. There are other Greek sources that discuss the harem such as Ktesias, but they are extremely problematic and of limited use for historical analysis.[9] Furthermore, the Persian sources available to us are similarly problematic for understanding the harem. The Fortification Tablets of Persepolis, for example, list many names of individuals, but as they do not include patronymics and that makes it impossible to draw from it any conclusions about familial interconnections.[10] The Bisitun inscriptions also provide no information directly about the harem, although they do shed some light on the nature of Darius' relationship to the other six conspirators who helped him to power. The inscriptions, therefore, allow us to make certain observations about the importance of marriage alliances in Darius' system, and thus help us obliquely to understand the evolution of the harem as an institution. The bulk of our information, however, is in Herodotus and this study will focus on Herodotus as the major reliable source in Greek.

This approach, of course, does beg some obvious questions: With nothing to compare with him, how sure can we be of Herodotus himself?

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[9]See Joan Bigwood, "Ctesias of Cnidos," *HSCP* 70 (1965), 263-5; "Ctesias as Historian of the Persian Wars," *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 19-41; "Ctesias' Account of the Revolt of Inarus," *Phoenix* 30 (1970), 1-25; "Ctesias' Description of Babylon," *JjAH* 3 (1978), 32-51.

[10]See Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago 1969).

What can we say about subjects Herodotus did not discuss? Are there any other methods we can utilize to augment Herodotus' treatment of the harem and improve our understanding of it? These questions are pertinent and difficult. As to the problems with Herodotus as a source, I will examine this question in the context of analyzing the harem *novellae* in chapter three. At this point, it is sufficient to point out that while Herodotus can be incomplete and problematic, especially if one wishes to understand the harem as a social institution, he is very useful for discovering the harem's use for military and administrative ends. This leads us to the next two questions: Since Herodotus is only partially useful for establishing the importance of the harem as a social institution, we must seek models for comparison. Finding valid models, however, requires careful thought.

The term harem is, perhaps, an unfortunate and misleading one for the purpose of choosing a valid model for comparison. The word "harem" evokes in modern readers very definite and powerful images of Arabic or Turkish palaces with turbaned caliphs or sultans attended by their wives and concubines. This is an understandable association of image with word since its etymology is from the Semitic *Harim*, although the English speaking world was exposed to the word in its Turkish form, *harem*. Originally, the term referred simply to the parts of a house or palace to which access was forbidden. Such a stricture of access was particularly true of the women's quarters due to the social customs of Arabic society and the provisions in the Quran for the seclusion of women.[11] In time, the term came to refer only to

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[11]Quran 33.53-9.

the women's quarters, and ultimately to the whole body of wives, concubines, and eunuchs.[12]

The Arabic and Turkish examples are not good models for understanding the reasons the harem existed as an institution, or for its uses within Achaemenid society. In the first place, the fundamental definition of harem-- a strictly segregated portion of a house for women--may not accurately describe the Achaemenid practice. Erich Schmidt surmised that an extensive palace structure at Persepolis was a great harem based on the fact that the building was composed of a large number of interconnected apartments, each consisting of a main room connected with one or more subsidiary chambers.[13] Beyond the layout of the building, however, suggesting to Schmidt a harem complex similar to the Topkapi palace in Istanbul, there is nothing that indicates this area was used by the women of the harem and the eunuchs. Many other uses can be postulated for such a design in a building-- each with an equal possibility of being correct given the lack of corroborating evidence. To assume *a priori* that the structure was a harem simply because the Topkapi palace for the sultan's harem was similarly built is faulty historical reasoning that evokes misleading images of the Achaemenid harem.[14]

In Herodotus, there is nothing to indicate that the women were completely segregated in a separate part of the palace, off limits to outsiders.

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[12]See B. Lewis, et. al. (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden and London 1971), 209, for a brief discussion of the etymology of *Harim* and its definition in the Arabic context.

[13]Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I Structures. Reliefs. Inscriptions* (Chicago 1953), 245-264.

[14]For a detailed study of the Topkapi palace, see J.M. Rogers, *The Topkapi Saray Museum* (Boston 1988).

The Intaphernes episode[15] might seem to suggest such a situation since the seven conspirators had free entry to the palace unless the King was with a woman, but that does not necessarily mean that a whole section of the palace existed into which no outsider was allowed to go. The passage in fact, only states that "the law stood thusly, that for those who rose in rebellion against the *magos*, there would be access to the King without announcement, unless the King was having intercourse with a woman."[16] Such a statement could simply mean precisely what it says: that those conspirators who helped Darius to power were to be accorded the special privilege of immediate audience with the King. The stipulation that this privilege was limited so the conspirators could not interrupt the King when he was with one of his wives or concubines could simply be a measure to protect the Great King's privacy, and should not be construed as proof for the existence of an Islamic style harem.

This structural and architectural point of difference between the Achaemenid and Arabic/Turkish harem systems reveals conceptual dissimilarities that are far more important. The entire Islamic harem system was founded essentially on the societal need for the Arab man to maintain his masculine honor-- an honor expressed primarily in two manners: formalized vengeance, and exceptionally intense sexual jealousy.[17] Therefore, a man needed to have absolute control over the access to his wives

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[15]Hdt. 3.118-119

[16]Hdt. 3.118.1: ο νόμος οὕτω εἶχε, τοῖσι ἐπαναστᾶσαι τῷ μάγῳ ἔσοδον ενῖαι παρὰ Βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου, ἢν μὴ γυναικὶ τυγκάνῃ μισγόμενος Βασιλεύς.

[17]Marshal G. Hodgeson, *The Venture of Islam. vol 2. The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* (Chicago 1974), 140.

and unmarried daughters since any "shame" they might indulge in or be forced into impugned his honor.[18] Thus, elaborate women's quarters were developed in wealthier Arab homes with an entire inner society of women and the eunuchs that waited upon them. The only male visitors allowed were close relatives (i.e., fathers, brothers) of the women involved.[19] By the height of the Ottoman period under Suleiman the Magnificent, the sultan himself had moved permanently into the harem. Hence, the eunuchs, slaves, and women of the harem acquired greater political power not only through their ability to control access to the sultan and to influence his decisions, but also in their capacities as administrators, manipulating the ever growing machinery of the Ottoman bureaucracy.[20] This societal need to exercise firm control over access to women with its governmental and bureaucratic results simply does not reveal itself in our sources for the Achaemenids. The social, legal, and especially religious ethos of the two civilizations were vastly different.

An interesting episode during Xerxes' invasion of Greece illuminates nicely the differences between the harem-system of the Persians and that of the later Islamic societies. In wake of the disaster at Salamis, Xerxes sought council from Artemisia how to proceed, noting that her advice against the sea battle had, it turned out, been sound. She advised the Great King to return to Asia since any victory won by Mardonios would still win him honor as Mardonios' lord; but should he stay, he would risk all.   Xerxes was pleased

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[18]Ibid., 141-142.
[19]Ibid., 143.
[20]J. Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey vol. 1 Empire of the Gazis* (Cambridge 1976), 115.

with her advice, and "having praised this Artemisia, he sent her to convey his children to Ephesus, for there were bastard children who followed along."[21] These bastard children are very curious. Why were they bastards? And more important, why were they with the army? There is no easy answer to these questions, but it is possible that at least part of the "harem," meaning simply the Great King's wives and concubines, were with the King in Europe. The presence of these bastard children with Xerxes does not prove this to have been the case, but the additional presence of Hermotimos, the eunuch whom Xerxes sent to guard the children makes this possibility more plausible. Hermotimos was second to none of the other eunuchs, according to Herodotus.[22] Thus he was chief eunuch, presumably with many responsibilities. If one of those responsibilities included looking after and tending the affairs of the King's wives and concubines, it is reasonable to surmise their presence with Xerxes.[23] Of Course, another possible answer might be that Hermotimos was with Xerxes as a councilor or administrator, but nothing specifically points to those conclusions, and if they were true, why did Xerxes send Hermotimos along with Artemesia to guard the children?

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[21]Hdt. 8.103: ἐπαινέσας δὲ τὴν ᾿Αρτεμισίην ταύτην μὲν ἀποστέλλει ἄγουσαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς παῖδας ἐς ῎Εφεσον. νόθοι γάρ τινες παῖδές οἱ συνείποντο.

[22]Hdt. 8.104: συνέπεμπε δὲ τοῖσι παισὶ φύλακον ῾Ερμότιμον, γένος μὲν ἐόντα Πηδασέα, φερόμενον δὲ οὐ τὰ δεύτερα τῶν εὐνούχων παρὰ Βασιλέϊ.

[23]This question becomes even more problematic when one considers that Xerxes apparently had no other official wives than Amestris. It is possible, however, that he had other wives, but that Amestris' character was so strong, that their importance was completely subordinated to hers, and all trace of them disappear from the record. For more on the aspects of harem intrigue and composition, see below, chapter three.

After the battle of Plataia, a woman described as a concubine of Pharandates, son of Teaspis, fled to the Greek side and sought aid from Pausanias.[24] While this shows a corroborating example of a Persian with a concubine on the campaign, unfortunately it does not answer our questions concerning the presence of Xerxes' harem since the woman who approached Pausanias was captured from Cos by Pharandates as a spoil of war.[25] The only example in Herodotus, therefore, where wives are listed explicitly as having been with the Great King on campaign is in Egypt with Cambyses. This, however, is part of an unreliable λογος.[26]

Fortunately, however, we are not absolutely limited to Herodotus in our search to discover the extent to which Persian wives were able to interact with society outside the palace. While the Persepolis Fortification tablets do not include patronymics and are thus almost useless for prosopographical purposes, they do list proper names. Several tablets show women in Darius' harem very actively involved in affairs most likely outside the palace, probably dealing with contractors and builders and the like. The J texts of the

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[24]Hdt. 9.76.1: ἢ ἐπειδή ἔμαθε ἀπολωλότας τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ νικῶντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἐοῦσα παλλακὴ φαρανδάτεος τοῦ Τεάσπιος ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω

[25]Hdt. 9.76.2: Ὦ Βασιλεῦ Σπάρτης, ῥῦσαί με τὴν ἱκέτιν αἰχμαλώτου δουλοσύνης. σὺ γάρ καὶ ἐς τόδε ὤνησας τούσδε ἀπολέσας τοὺς οὔτε δαιμόνων οὔτε θεῶν ὄπιν ἔχοντας. εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῴη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω. Βίῃ δέ με λαβὼν ἐκ Κῶ εἶχε ὁ Πέρσης. Although this woman from Cos was a spoil of war, Herodotus does tell ust that all Persian men married many legal wives and also had concubines. Presumably, Pharandates intended to take the woman from Cos back to Persia as a part of his harem. See Hdt. 1.135.

[26]The story of the sister-wife murder occurs in Hdt. 3.31-32. The whole concept of λόγος and λόγοι is far too vast for adequate treatment here. For my purposes, I define a Herodotean λογος as a discrete story or account woven into Herodotus' narrative for any one of a variety of purposes including exposition, entertainment, illustration of a universal theme, or simpple digression.

Persepolis tablets (PF 691-740, 2033-2035) deal with commodities that Hallock termed royal provisions.[27] Forty-three tablets list goods "dispensed before the King," and twelve tablets list goods dispensed before members of the royal family. Two women, Irtasduna, who can only be Darius' wife Artystone, and Irdabama, whose relationship to Darius is uncertain, are listed specifically. Hallock asserts that "the language suggests the actual presence of the King, or his son or wife at the place named."[28] Thus it seems that the Great King's wives and probably concubines enjoyed a fairly considerable freedom of movement. In addition to being able to leave the palace (perhaps under eunuch guard), they may also have accompanied the Great King on some campaigns. These observations coupled with the lack of cogent evidence to confirm Schmidt's thoughts on the so-called "Great Harem" of Persepolis can only lead us to skepticism when confronted with parallels drawn too closely between the Achaemenid Harem and the later Arabic and Turkish examples.

The key difficulty in relating the Achaemenid harem to Islamic models is, indeed, the enormous gulf in time, culture, and religion between the two peoples. A more rational approach of seeking a valid model for comparison, lies in examining the ancient Near-Eastern world of which the Achaemenid Persians were very much a part. By doing so we avoid the many traps and pitfalls involved in drawing comparisons across millennia. Of course, caution must still be exercised: the Persians were not the Assyrians, Israelites, Hittites, or Egyptians. And yet, many commonalties existed among these

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[27]Hallock, *PFT* 24.
[28]Ibid. Irtasduna appears in PFT 164, 166-168, 730-734, 1236, 1795, 1835-39, 1857, 2035, 2049; Irdabama appears in PF 735, 738-40, 849, 1002, 1028, 1041-43, 1098, 1109, 1198, 1221, 1232, 2019.

peoples: they interacted with one another through trade, diplomacy and warfare; they copied each other's iconography; and in some cases, they emulated each other's customs. Thus, while direct testimony is lacking for the social significance of the harem in Persian society, through careful comparison of the Persian harem to others in the ancient Near-Eastern world, we can understand its social and symbolic purposes separate from the practical purpose of begetting heirs.

Our first glimpse of harem politics in Persia involves, appropriately enough, Cyrus II (the Great). Cyrus' father, Cambyses I was a noble subordinate to the Median King Astyages. Cambyses married the King's daughter Mandane,[29] thus making Cyrus a "mule."[30] In the ancient Near-East, kings often married their daughters to various vassals to tie those vassals to the crown. The Hittites, for example followed this custom extensively.[31] Thus the Persian adoption of this practice was not unusual. Persian harems did differ, however, from most other types in that while the royal daughters of the Great King were married to vassals within the empire, they were not married to foreign kings; the Great King himself, moreover, did not usually take foreign wives as was usual for Near-Eastern kings, but married rather the daughters of important nobles within the empire.[32]

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[29]Hdt. 1.108.1

[30]See Hdt. 1.91-92 for the importance of Cyrus being identified as a mule (half-Persian and half-Mede). Curiously, the theme of a mule giving birth appears again at the revolt of Babylon (3.151-160).

[31]Roland De Vaux, *Ancient Israel. Its Life and Institutions* vol.1 (New York 1961), 115.

[32]The Old Testament, of course, provides us many examples of international marriages in the Israelite harem. Thus David married Maakah, the daughter of an Aramaean king (2 Saul 3:3), and Solomon married a princess of Egypt (1 Kings 3:1) in addition to royal daughters of the Ammonites, the Edomites, the Sidonians, and the Hittites (1 Kings 25:1; 14:21). Similarly, AmenhotepIII married a princess of Mitanni and a sister of the King of Babylon, Rameses II

We can be relatively sure, however, that the Persian King took a foreign wife into his harem at least once, for Herodotus tells us that Cambyses II's invasion of Egypt was tied to harem politics. Actually he gives us three separate accounts of Cambyses' reasons for attacking Egypt.[33] The one he accepts as most reliable he received from a Persian source that claimed that Cambyses, acting on the advice of a disgruntled Egyptian doctor serving him, sent to Egypt for a princess to include in his harem. The pharaoh Amasis (570-526) feared Persian power and sent instead Nitetis, the daughter of the previous pharaoh, Apries (589-570), whom Amasis had overthrown. When Nitetis revealed her true identity to Cambyses, he attacked Egypt in anger. Herodotus further relates that the Egyptians believed that Nitetis was given to Cyrus as a wife and that Cambyses was her son and thus the legitimate pharaoh. He rejects this, however, since Cambyses' mother was without doubt Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes. The last version Herodotus gives was another Persian account in which Nitetis was the favorite wife of Cyrus, and that Cassandane despised her for this ultimately leading Cambyses to attack Egypt in order to fulfill his promise to his mother to "turn Egypt upside down."[34]

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married a Hittite princess, and Esarhaddon of Assyria gave his daughter to a Scythian King. See DeVaux, *Ancient Israel* 115-117.

[33]Hdt. 3.1-3.

[34]As to Cambyses' actual reasons for invading Egypt, we are not absolutely certain. Perhaps there was a dynamic at work in which each successive Persian King had to surpass the accomplishments of his father or predecessor in order to prove his worth as a hero/king. Hence, Cambyses' attack on Egypt, Darius' campaigns against the Eastern Massagetai and the Greeks, and Xerxes' continued obsession with conquering the mainland Greeks.

There are significant elements of folk-lore in all three versions.[35] Within these tales, however, might lie some historical truth. International harem marriages did occur for purposes of diplomacy, and the Persian kings did rule Egypt as legitimate pharaohs of the XXVII dynasty; perhaps they claimed that legitimacy through the marriage of Nitetis. This is not necessary, however, since Cyrus ruled subordinate nations as King of those countries rather than as a foreign despot, presumably without attempting to demonstrate dynastic legitimacy. Thus, in this case we can extract very little undeniably historical facts, save that at least the concept of Persian kings bringing foreign princesses into the harem was a reasonable one at the time of Herodotus collected his λόγοι.

Intricately woven into the Cambyses-in-Egypt λόγος,[36] is an account of Cambyses' incestuous marriage to two sisters, and the murder of one of them. The sisters are unnamed and hence cannot serve as true prosopographic evidence. It is true that Cambyses had at least two sisters named Atossa and Artystone I, and that he married Atossa; but he probably did not marry Artystone,[37] and he did not kill Atossa.[38] Furthermore, as the tale of Cambyses' incest and murder takes place within the larger structure of Herodotus' story of Cambyses progressively going mad in Egypt--a tale we can discount--we must view the account of Cambyses' murder of his "sister-wife"

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[35]See J.M. Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisistun* (Weisbaden 1987), 72-74 for a discussion of the folk-lore themes of double anger, misdirection, wisdom, and extraordinary campaigns.

[36]Hdt. 3.1-38, 61-7.

[37]Hdt. 3.88.2.

[38]Atossa is specifically mentioned as having been Cambyses' wife, and Artystone is mentioned in contrast as having been a παρθενος when Darius married her. The term can mean that she was a virgin, but usually it implies simply a young woman or maid. Theoretically, therefore, she could have been in Cambyses' harem, but it is unlikely.

as part and parcel of Herodotus' supra-historical composition-- a composition in which mythic tales were grafted freely onto historical events to illustrate universal truths.[39]

This sister-wife motif calls to mind the biblical account of Abraham and Sarah in Egypt.[40] In this story, Abraham fears that he will be killed by the Egyptians since they would covet his beautiful wife. He therefore orders her to claim to be his sister. The institution of wife-sister was a custom of Hurrian society, to which the western Semitic Patriarchs were related culturally. In Hurrian society, marriage bonds could be strengthened when the wife also had the legal status of sister. Therefore, a man would sometimes marry a girl and then adopt her as a sister in two distinct legal steps. In Persian society, however, the marriages of brothers and sisters within the royal family does not seem to have been indicative of a fratriarchal legal system similar to the Hurrian; they seem, rather, to have been for the purpose of maximizing royal authority, legitimacy and power. Cambyses and Bardiya both married their sisters, not to increase their legal power over them, or to increase the status of the women involved, but to marry daughters of their royal father, Cyrus. In doing so, they increased their legitimacy by adding their own relationship to their father with that of their sisters in a union more imbued with Cyrus' power.[41]

Fortunately, when next we come across the harem in Herodotus, we can extract far more historically relevant material. Cambyses' brother Bardiya

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[39]See J.M. Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun*, especially chapter three.

[40]Genesis 12:10-20.

[41]For a full discussion of the biblical story of Abraham and Sarah, see E.A. Speiser, *Genesis* (New York 1964), 189-94.

had incited a revolt against Cambyses and promised the core of the aristocracy--the nobles of Parsa, Elam, Babylon, and Media--better treatment than Cambyses had given them when he overtaxed them to finance his disastrous Nubian expedition.[42] In Herodotus, this series of events becomes muddled in the account of the false Bardiya (Smerdis).[43] Within this account Herodotus relates the harem Novella of Phaidyme, the daughter of Otanes I, who had been in the harem of Cambyses, and was now in the harem of the false Bardiya.[44] In the tale, Otanes directed his daughter to first ask Atossa (who had also been transferred into Bardiya's harem after Cambyses' death) if the man she and Phaidyme were both married to had ears, since the Magos, also named Bardiya and who possessed an uncanny resemblance to Cyrus' son, had his ears removed earlier by Cyrus for some transgression. Phaidyme replied that all the women of the harem were separated and not permitted to interact, so Otanes, his suspicion mounting, ordered his daughter to check under the King's hair the next time she shared his bed. Phaidyme dutifully carried out her father's wishes and reported that the man to whom she was married had no ears and was thus the evil Magos-- the false Bardiya.[45] Otanes, therefore, gathered the other six conspirators together to overthrow the false king.

This novella also abounds in folk-myths; and yet, the prospographic data contained in it, tempered with historical analysis, reveals several

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[42]Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun*, 110.

[43]Ibid, especially chapter four.

[44]Hdt. 3.68-69.

[45]The Bisitun relief, however, did show ears on the figure of the beseeching Gaumata/Bardiya in 1900 before the ravages of time obscured this fact.

interesting features of the Persian harem. There is a sense, strongly Near-Eastern in origin, that royal authority--the right to rule--was in some fashion linked to a King's harem. Herodotus tells us that upon Cambyses' death, Bardiya took his brother's wives into his own harem. This included Atossa, daughter of Cyrus and sister to both Cambyses and Bardiya, and Phaidyme, the daughter of Otanes I. This pattern continued with Darius who, after becoming King, took as his first wives Atossa, Artystone I (another daughter of Cyrus), Parmys (the daughter of Bardiya), and Phaidyme.[46] Once again, there are parallels to this in Israelite and earlier Mesopotamian traditions. Nathan, for example, exhorts David after his theft of Bathsheba and murder of Uriah: "This is the word of the Lord the God of Israel to you: I anointed you king over Israel, I rescued you from the power of Saul, I gave your master's [Saul's] daughter and his wives to be your own...."[47] Also, as a way of asserting that he was king, Absalom, in revolt against his father David, slept with his father's concubines.[48] Adonijah, moreover, Solomon's older brother and unsuccessful claimant to the throne, asked Bathsheba to convince Solomon to give Adonijah David's concubine Abishag (now in Solomon' harem) as wife. In response Solomon exclaimed: "Why do you ask that

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[46]This is not to suggest that taking the previous ruler's harem was the only, or even the major means of proving worthiness to rule. In literary forms at least, such things as heroism, truth, strength, bravery, and divine sanction were more stressed, but the harem does seem to have been a key method of enhancing one's legitimacy as King. For the Persian account of Darius'accession and his worthiness to rule, see the translation of the Old Persian inscriptions at Bisitun in Kent; and for an analysis of the literary form of epic contained in the account, see Balcer.

[47]2 Samuel 12:8

[48]2 Samuel 16:21

Abishag the Shunammite be given to Adonijah? You might as well ask the Kingdom for him."[49]

Thus it is clear that while our sources are limited, we are capable of making positive statements concerning the function of the harem in Achaemenid Persia. Beyond the obvious advantage of many sons to serve the king in military, satrapal and other government commands, and daughters to forge political alliances to each, the harem itself provided the king an important claim to legitimacy. The institution was imbued with the royal power of the king. Future kings naturally sought to tap into that important symbolic power. In all this, the Persian harem fits very nicely into the Near-Eastern norm. It is now my task to explicate more completely the more practical benefits the harem provided the Persian state.

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[49]1 Kings 2:22

Chapter II

An examination of the military operations of the first five Achaemenid kings of Persia (Cyrus II, Cambyses II, Bardiya, Darius I, and Xerxes I) reveals a distinct evolutionary pattern in the the use of the harem as an instrument of state-craft. Cyrus and Cambyses both seem to have relied less heavily on powerful Persian nobles in their military operations than did Darius or Xerxes.[50] Both Cyrus and his son Cambyses led most of their military operations personally, and when Cyrus did turn to other generals to assist him in furthering the limits of the growing Persian Empire, he used Medes. Cambyses, in addition to leading the Egyptian campaign himself, apparently overtaxed, antagonized, and even neglected key nobles in Persia. While Bardiya was able to use the disgruntlement of a wide range of nobles from differing ethnic components of the Persian state (Parsa, Media, Babylon, Armenia, and Elam) to obtain a following and foment rebellion, Darius chose shrewdly to appeal specifically to the Persian nobility, and to accentuate the Persian/Median dichotomy. In doing so, he was acclaimed king as an Achaemenian, and he was able to rule a tightly knit faction of greater Persian nobles. Thus, when Darius did not personally command his forces, he almost

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[50] Bardiya's reign was exceedingly short and thus it is uncertain as to his own use or intent to use powerful Persian nobles for military operations. He did, however, apparently revolt from Cambyses with a certain support from nobles in the central regions of the Persian empire. How important to Bardiya Persian nobles were specifically, however, is doubtful due to the fact that Darius was able to lead a coalition of the highest Persians--including Bardiya's own uncle, Otanes--against the unfortunate second son of Cyrus.

exclusively appointed Persians, most of whom were related to him by marriage. This policy was further developed under Xerxes, reaching a definitive culmination in the invading force of 480 B.C. In that massive mobilization of the Great King's army, the various ethnic components were each led by a Persian, many of whom, again, were related to the Great King. Thus it behooves us to explore in detail the military operations of each of these first Achaemenid kings to trace the evolution of Persian supremacy within the multi-ethnic empire; to define the harem's role in this development; and to explicate, perhaps, how the dynamics of empire building , expansion, revolution, and consolidation shaped that role.

Herodotus' account of Cyrus' early career is encrusted in folk-tale, myth, and anecdote. Starting in 1.107, Herodotus tells the tale of Cyrus' birth to Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, and the Persian noble Cambyses I, who was chief of Anshan.[51] Then a dream led Astyages to dispose of the infant, for he feared that the child would eventually usurp his position. He entrusted the task to Harpagus, who in turn gave the baby to a herdsman, so that his own hands did not shed royal blood. The herdsman and his wife, recently bereaved of a son, disobeyed Harpagus' order to expose Cyrus and raised him as their own. Ultimately Cyrus was restored to his real parents because Astyages became convinced that his original premonitions concerning Cyrus were false. Harpagus, however, who had suffered terrible punishment at

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[51] Astyages' choice of a Persian noble as a husband for his daughter was, according to Herodotus, the result of a dream in which Astyages saw his daughter "making enough water to fill his city and overflow all of Asia besides" Hdt. 1.107.8: τὴν ἐδόκεε ᾿Αστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ᾿Ασίην πᾶσαν. Most probably, however, Mandane was married to Cyrus in a normal suzerain-vassal arrangement, or possibly in a marriage alliance of equals.

Astyages' hands for his failure to murder Cyrus in the first place, fomented rebellion in Media and engineered Cyrus' usurpation of his grandfather's throne.[52]

From this fantastic account of Cyrus' early years we can surmise that Cambyses I, was a vassal to the Median king, or possibly even a semi-equivalent ally connected to Astyages in a marriage alliance. Cyrus II, the product of this union, led Parsa in revolt relying also on lesser Median nobles who were, perhaps, under the loose suzerainty of the Median "King."

Cyrus was faced then with the task of creating a state to rule. The chief obstacle to this goal was Babylon's domination of the lowlands west of the Iranian plateau. Indeed, Assyrian and then Babylonian domination of Mesopotamia may have kept the loose collection of Median khanates from ever expanding and becoming an empire, since control of the lowlands was crucial to insure trade and to capitalize on the urban wealth the river valleys supported. Thus when Cyrus had the plateau under control, he moved west into Armenia, Cappadocia and Lydia, flanking Babylon before subjugating it in 539 B.C. He led his army personally in Parsa and Media, and in taking Lydia, but after he conquered Croesus' Kingdom (547 B.C.), he decided to place Tabalos, a Persian, in charge of Sardis and send another general against the Ionians while he marched east against Babylon, Bactria, Skythia, and Egypt.[53] Soon after Cyrus' departure, however, the Lydians rose up in revolt and Cyrus sent Mazares the Mede to put down the revolt,[54] and when that general

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[52] Hdt. 1.107-130
[53] Hdt. 1.153
[54] Hdt. 1.151.1

died of a sickness in Magnesia, Cyrus sent Harpagus--the Mede who helped him to power--to replace the fallen Mazares.[55] Harpagus, after putting down the rebellious Ionians, marched against the Carians and Lycians, and then captured Kaunos and Xanthos.[56]

Cyrus, meanwhile, had subdued Babylon.[57] Herodotus tells us that "when Cyrus had conquered this nation too, he set his heart on subduing the Massagetai."[58] If, however, Babylon fell in 539, and Cyrus died in August of 530 fighting the Massagetai, he must have spent some of the intervening years occupied in other pursuits since it is difficult to believe he would have spent all eight or nine years fighting the elusive eastern Skythian nomads on the northern Iranian steppe. Probably, much of this time was spent consolidating his hold over the lowlands now that Babylon had fallen to him. It is conceivable that Cyrus would have campaigned against the Massagetai in the summers between 539 and 530 and then wintered in Babylon or Susa to take care of administrative, financial, and other governmental concerns; but it would seem that at least some of the campaign seasons in the years after Babylon's fall were spent in demonstrating Persian authority in the land between the rivers. Herodotus is silent on the subject, and leaves us to speculate about the intervening actions of the Persian king since he leaps from discussing Cyrus' conquest of Babylon, to Babylonian customs and then

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[55] Hdt. 1.162.1

[56] Hdt. 1.171-176

[57] Hdt. 1.190-192. In the course of this battle and in nearly all the others of Cyrus, we see almost nothing of the army's organization; nor do we see the activities or opinions of the army's lesser officers. Cyrus dominates the tale as the only significant figure for Herodotus.

[58] Hdt. 1.201: Ὡ δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι.

to Cyrus' activities against the Massagetai.[59]   As to his reasons for campaigning

against the nomadic Massagetai when they did not have the wealth or

strategic position of areas dominated by cities like Babylon or Susa, it is

important to realize the threat the nomads represented. Driven by the

requirements of their herds and the harsh nature of the weather on the great

Eurasian steppe, the nomads posed a constant threat of invasion to the more

civilized areas of Persia and Mesopotamia-- sometimes merely for booty, and

at other times for settlement. Indeed, the ancestors of both the Persians and

the Medes had come from the steppe generations before. To prevent from

falling in turn to fresh hordes of steppe conquerors, Cyrus, like Darius against

the western Skythians later, felt the need to overawe the nomads first.[60]

Herodotus' account of the campaign against the Massagetai gives us a

hint of Cyrus' military organization. In deciding whether to meet the

Massagetai north or south of the Araxes river, Cyrus called together a council

of the "first among the Persians."[61] These nobles recommended that Cyrus

fight them south of the Araxes in Persian controlled territory, but Cyrus,

acting upon the advice of Croesus, decided to cross the Araxes and fight the

Massagetai in their own element-- with the steppe at their back, ready to melt

before the Persians and fire arrows while retreating.[62] The results were

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[59] Hdt. 1.178-216

[60] See Renee Grousset, *Empire of the Steppe* (New Brusnswick 1970) for a complete survey of the steppe peoples and their interaction with civilized societies from ancient times to the Manchurian overthrow of Ming China.

[61] Hdt. 1.206.3: ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους...

[62] This is, of course, the perennial mistake of ambitious conquerors fighting peoples of the steppe or desert. By fighting them in their own element, the nomads could retreat where they either could not be followed as in the case of the desert, or where it was simply useless to follow, as in the endless ocean of grass that composes the steppe. While retreating, the nomad

predictable and the Persian army was crushed, Cyrus himself dying in the battle. Herodotus' account of the council is interesting, regardless of how apocryphal Otanes' speech may have been. What were the "first men" of the Persians duties in the military? We know from Herodotus' tale of Cyrus' prescient dream concerning Darius, that Hystaspes I--an Achaemenian--was present. Were these Persians, like those in the invasion force under Xerxes in 480, commanders of ethnic divisions of Cyrus' army? We see no hint of this type of organizational structure in any of Cyrus' other campaigns; and yet, some organization was necessary for the army. Unfortunately, these questions cannot be answered with any certainty due to the sparse and problematic nature of Herodotus' account of events before the Ionian revolt. It is unlikely, however, that Cyrus' military organization ever achieved the precise nature of Darius' and Xerxes'-- with Persian commanders placed over ethnic divisions. It is reasonable to assume, in fact, that given Cyrus' use of the Medes Mazares and Harpagus, and his general policy of leniency for ethnic groups on a multiplicity of levels--political, linguistic, religious, and legal--that the ethnic divisions of Cyrus' army were led by their own chieftains or commanders. Cyrus' closest advisors may have been Persian,

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continually rained arrows upon their pursuers, luring them ever further into the wasteland. Were it not for Histiaeus' loyalty later, Darius would have been a victim of these same tactics. As to Herodotus' rather dramatic portrayal of events-- with Cyrus ignoring the wise advice of his collected nobles and heeding instead the advice of Croesus, we should be skeptical. Probably, Cyrus simply invaded north of the Araxes trusting the invincibility of his army. It is not inconceivable, however, that one or some of his generals were nervous about pursuing the Massagetai in their own environment. Consider the very similar circumstances a millennia later, when the last Sasanid monarch, Yezdigerd, ordered his commander Rustem, against the later's misgivings, to cross the Euphrates and face the Arabs under Saad ibn abi Waqqas in February of 637 with disastrous results at the battle of Qadisiya.

but there is no evidence of the exceedingly preferential treatment that Persians, particularly relatives of the king, received under Darius and Xerxes.

In this analysis of the harem's place in Persian state-craft, we must inevitably grapple with a question that most historians face when attempting to fathom the course of events and explicate the deeds of kings: how greatly are the actions of individuals--whatever their effects on their environment--molded in turn by larger historical forces? Without digressing into the potentially labyrinthian paths of philosophical speculation concerning this difficult and much debated topic, we must at least address it; for Herodotus views the individual as the prime-mover of historical causation.[63] In this way, he is able to present history as great lessons of morality worked out through the actions of his *dramatis personae*. Modern historians, however, must avoid this approach to historical causation. Cyrus' actions were indeed momentous in their effects on the peoples of the Near-East and beyond; and yet, he was constrained by the historical forces operating to facilitate his own goal-- building an empire.

After consolidating his control of the Iranian plateau, Cyrus needed to subdue the lowlands to prevent Babylonian horse raids into Media; to secure, protect, and control trade routes; to insure peace from the Mediterranean to the Hindush; and to create a large enough army to further these and other objectives. As he expanded, however, several problems had to be overcome. The Persian juggernaut absorbed an ever increasing variety of ethnic groups, religions, legal systems, and political structures into its composition. To

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[63] Waters, *Herodotos*, especially ch. 10

prevent rebellion as he rolled the empire forward, Cyrus needed to appear as a liberator rather than a conqueror. Babylon, following in the footsteps of the Assyrian empire she defeated, had attempted to control her empire through martial force, tactics of fear, and suppression of all separatist tendencies or features in the conquered peoples.[64] Cyrus, in contrast, allowed deported peoples to return, and their religions, languages, legal systems, and political structures to flourish. Being in the Persian empire meant simply paying a reasonable tribute, and contributing troops to the Great King's army. Under these conditions, Cyrus was able to expand quickly. As he did so, however, new fronts and new military obligations continued to appear. Despite his expedient leniency, some peoples were reluctant to join the empire and resisted, but Cyrus himself needed personally to lead the principal campaigns. Thus he chose representatives to act in his stead for the accomplishment of lesser goals. When Cyrus faced a reluctant Ionia and rebellious Lydia, therefore, he decided to lead the army against Babylon while leaving behind lieutenants in Asia Minor. The choice he made for these lieutenants is interesting. While he appointed the Persian Tabalos as governor of Sardis,[65] he chose two Medes to lead military operations there. Hence, he was placing the two most important ethnic groups of the empire in key positions. He did not, however, emphasize the Persian over the Median; but seems, in fact, to have done the reverse. Though the whole tale of Harpagos must be largely fanciful, it is not unreasonable to assume that much of Cyrus' initial military support against Astyages came from Median vassals

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[64] Hence, the deportation of the Hebrews among others.

[65] Hdt. 1.153.3

or equals of the Median "King." Thus we see Cyrus at the head of an expanding empire, handling the problems of empire building as they arose-- dealing with subject peoples, disseminating authority to expand along several fronts, and rewarding his most important supporters.

Curiously, the harem plays a relatively minor role in Cyrus' career. Aside from being the son of Astyages' daughter, Cyrus did not seem to rely on the harem at all. The explanation for this lies in the dynamic of imperial expansion in the mold Cyrus wished to follow. To forge such an empire, Cyrus needed to be as generous as possible in allowing local traditions to flourish; and he needed to be equally generous in favoring the relatively broad make up of his power base, consisting of all the Persian and Median nobles. Hence, he felt no particular need to tie a smaller elite to him through marriage; instead, he felt just the opposite pressure of creating the widest possible ruling class. Thus, the campaigns of Cyrus help us to answer the question concerning the individual and the historical forces acting upon him; for, while Cyrus, through his actions, set into motion the creation of the greatest empire up to his own time, the dynamics of that expanding empire in turn committed him, if he was to be successful, to acting in a certain way. We shall see this pattern repeated through the careers of his successors on the throne of Persia.

The reigns of Cambyses and Bardiya, the two sons of Cyrus,[66] demonstrate the potentially disastrous effects of fighting against the forces their father had set in motion. Cyrus had founded a state and constructed an

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[66] On Bardiya being the full brother of Cambyses, and legitimate king of Persia, see Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun.*

empire, but they were faced with a different task-- holding that empire together despite the onset of jealous factionalism among self interested nobles in the core areas of the empire.

Cyrus had needed to fashion as broad a support base as possible, and after his death Cambyses failed to maintain the delicate balance. During his Egyptian campaign,[67] Cambyses led all the major battles himself, although we know that he split the army into two groups before leading the Nubian campaign, directing the other group to attack the Ammonians. Unfortunately, Herodotus does not tell us Cambyses' choice of a leader for that expedition.[68] We do encounter, however, other individuals in positions of importance in the Cambyses-in-Egypt Logos. The most conspicuous is Prexaspes I, who acts as Cambyses' most trusted advisor. All of his activities in that capacity, however, are part of the insane Cambyses story, and we are left wondering just how important Prexaspes was. Hystaspes I and Aryandes were two governors under Cambyses, and are therefore more solidly placed within the historical record than Prexaspes, who may have been mainly a literary character for Herodotus' story. Hystaspes was the governor of Parsa at the time of Cambyses' death.[69] Aryandes was appointed by Cambyses as

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[67] Unfortunately, we have almost no idea what Cambyses was doing between Cyrus' death in 530, and his invasion of Egypt in 525. On this question and other matters of chronology in Cambyses' reign, see Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun*, ch. 3.

[68] Hdt. 3.25.3: ἐπείτε δὲ στρατευόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβῃσι, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοισι μὲν ἐνετέλλετο ᾿Αμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ᾔε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας. Cambyses' order to burn the temple of Zeus is followed by even more heinous sacrilege leading to his culminating evil act in the slaying of the Apis bull. This picture of Cambyses is entirely fictitious. See Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun*, ch. 3.

governor of Egypt.[69] Furthermore, Bardiya, the king's own brother, may have been officially appointed as regent, or guardian of the palace while Cambyses was away.[71]

It might seem, therefore, that Cambyses was only using highly placed Persians in his command structure. The truth, however, is that his actions were aggravating nobles throughout the empire-- including some of the most powerful in Persia.[72] Playing upon the disgruntlement among the nobles as a result of the military and financial obligations placed upon them to fund Cambyses' disastrous Nubian campaign, Bardiya was able to usurp the throne.[73] Cambyses then died under mysterious circumstances in Syria *en route* to retaking the throne. Darius, theoretically acting on behalf of the dead Cambyses, took up the fight against Bardiya, who was the legitimate King of Kings, however brief his reign.[74]

Once again, the harem does not seem to have been crucial to the sons of Cyrus for military and satrapal purposes. Beyond the symbolic functions of

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[69] Hdt. 3.70.2 It is unclear whether Cambyses appointed him to this post, or if he was appointed earlier by Cyrus.

[70] Hdt. 4.166-167 This governor later lost favor with Darius and was killed.

[71] See Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun*, pg. 103-105 who postulates that while Herodotus' Patizeithes may have been another royal brother in the harem, it makes more sense in the narrative to see Patizeithes as a Greek corruption and misunderstanding of a Persian term meaning "official of the Palace" or "representative of the King."

[72] Ibid., 110.

[73] Herodotus' account preserves, perhaps, a kernel of the nobility's resentment in 3.67.3: ἐν τοῖσι ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ᾿Ασίῃ, πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἦρχε προεῖπε ἀτελείην εἶναι στρατηίης καὶ φόρου ἐπ᾿ ἔτεα τρία.(During this time he [Bardiya] did all his subjects a great kindness, so that, on his death, all those in Asia except the Persian themselves missed him sorely. For this Magian sent to every nation that he ruled and made a proclamation freeing them from military service and taxation for three years)

[74] Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun*, ch. 4.

the harem--Cambyses' marrying his own sisters, and Bardiya's incorporation of his brother's harem into his own--we do not see the harem as fundamental to the power structure of the empire. When Bardiya revolted from Cambyses, he realized, perhaps, that Cyrus' system was simply untenable as a continuing method of controlling and furthering the empire. It is also possible, of course, that Bardiya was not so astute as to realize these broader ramifications, but simply recognized the disgruntlement of nobles in the core regions of the empire and acted upon it to further his own ambitions. Regardless of Bardiya's level of awareness of the problems of consolidating and furthering his father's empire, he miscalculated the solution. Immediately, the Persian nobles supporting him split into factions. Whereas Bardiya seemingly appealed to the nobility in all the key areas of the empire,[75] a faction of powerful Persian nobles felt that they deserved more preferential treatment--Persians, after all, had founded the empire. This group was led by Darius, son of Hystaspes I.[76]

Darius recognized the advantage of closely tying himself to an elite class of Persian nobles. As an Achaemenid--albeit from another branch of the family and hence distant from the throne--he possessed the proper royal blood; and with a close knit corps of noble supporters he would be spared the necessity of attempting to keep a large body of dispersed nobles content. Bardiya's attempt to appeal to many non-Persian nobles engendered

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[75] Hdt. 3.67.3

[76] Darius had been in Egypt with Cambyses (3.139), and may have had a hand in the latter's death. Regardless of his guilt or innocence in Cambyses' death, however, the death proved very convenient, allowing him to take up the cause against Bardiya on behalf of Cambyses. See Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun*, 158.

immediate hostility among the Persian nobility, including his own uncle Otanes I.[77] A conspiracy, therefore, arose with Darius as the champion of these jealous Persian lords. Included also was Gobryas I, to whom Darius immediately linked himself by marrying the his daughter, and Darius giving him a sister to wed in return.[78] The other conspirators were Aspathines, Intaphernes, Hydarnes I, and Megabyzos I.

The rebel army under Darius met and defeated Bardiya's army near the holy mountain of Bisitun and Darius, therefore, chose that site to carve his great inscriptions and relief. From the very beginning, he used his leading nobles far more closely than his predecessors on the throne. Much of the reason for this was the necessity of quelling thirteen critical empire-wide rebellions that demonstrated the limitations of Cyrus' system. While Cyrus' leniency allowed the military machine to advance, it also allowed royalist and separatist factions in each region to thrive-- waiting to resurface at the first opportunity. While Cyrus had appeared as a liberator, memories of Assyrian

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[77] Cassandane, the mother of both Cambyses and Bardiya was Otanes' sister. Cassandane and Otanes were children of Pharnaspes, and Otanes was described by Herodotus (3.68.1) as equaling "the very greatest of the Persians in birth and wealth" (Ὀτάνης ἦν φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γένεϊ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὅμοιος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. Otanes' daughter Phaidyme had been in Cambyses' harem and then in Bardiya's. It is reasonable to postulate that since Otanes was in Persia with Bardiya as Cambyses subdued Egypt, Otanes was dissatisfied with Cambyses' rule and initially supported Bardiya's coup. Otanes permission would have presumably been required for Bardiya to marry Phaidyme, although it is conceivable that Bardiya simply usurped Cambyses' harem without observing any such niceties of contacting the relatives of the women involved. At any rate, whether or not Otanes consented to his daughter's marriage to Bardiya, Otanes became disaffected with is son-in-law's attempts to obtain broader support at the expense of highly placed Persians like himself.

[78] Herodotus does not say exactly when Darius married Gobryas' daughter. He mentions the unnamed woman as his first wife, and mother of three sons (7.2.2), the oldest of whom was Artobazanes (7.2.2), and the only other one mentioned, Ariabignes (7.97.1). It is reasonable, however, to assume that Darius married the woman at the time he and Gobryas joined the other conspirators to usurp the throne of Bardiya.

and Babylonian cruelty were fading, and memories of Cambyses' taxes and military demands were far more acute. When Darius usurped the throne of the legitimate King Bardiya--the son of Cyrus--who had promised a relaxation of taxes and military demands, the royalist factions saw their opportunity to rebel.[79] Darius' new organization was put immediately to the test. Although Darius attempted to lead his forces against all the major rebellions, he was compelled to rely on other nobles to put down some of the royalist pretenders. Thus he sent Hydarnes I against a Median army,[80] Vaumisa against Armenia,[81] and Hystaspes, his father, against Parthia and Hyrkania.[82] The Bisitun relief also shows the greater reliance on the nobility practiced by Darius. Gobryas and Aspathines, the bow and spear bearers of the Great King, are depicted as smaller than Darius himself, but much larger that the rebellious prisoners being led to the Great King. The Inscriptions themselves relate Darius as the worthy hero/king dispatching the forces of falsehood and evil. Gaumata, the Magos, represents the greatest lie, and the many smaller claims of the royalist pretenders are also lies. Darius, however, thrived under the protection of Ahura-Mazda, the Zarathustrian god of light, truth and goodness. Thus in addition to constructing an elite of Persian nobility to rule the empire, Darius utilized a new iconography and religious symbolism to make the empire a viable entity for nearly two centuries after his accession to power.[83]

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[79] Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun*, ch. 5.

[80] DB 2.18-29 in Kent, *Old Persian*, 123.

[81] DB 2.49-57 in Kent, *Old Persian*, 124.

[82] DB 2.78-91 in Kent, *Old Persian*, 124.

[83] For the narrative of events concerning Darius and the rebellions, see Balcer, *Herodotus & Bisitun*.

Thus it is with Darius that the harem was used for purposes more concrete than symbolically embodying a king's authority and power. Otanes I was an enormously wealthy and powerful Persian noble who was the son of Pharnaspes, Cyrus' father-in-law. His daughter Phaidyme was in the harem of Cambyses, Bardiya and Darius. Whereas Cambyses overtaxed and overextended Otanes I and others like him, Darius cooperated with the nobles— especially those six leading nobles (Otanes among them) who helped put him on the throne. Afterwards, Darius placed Otanes in command of the expedition against Samos.[84] This constitutes the first instance of an oft repeated phenomenon in Herodotus. Darius gave many military and satrapal commands both to blood relatives and to relatives by marriage.

Artaphrenes I, the half brother of Darius, was installed as satrap of Sardis.[85] This fact is a clear example of the Great King's desire to use family members for important positions. The theory behind this practice, of course, was to insure the loyalty of the satraps to the Great King, as well as to increase the measure of control the king had over his governors. Artaphrenes, however, seems to have pursued policies to insure his own position as much as to further the glory of his brother. Thus when Aristagoras approached Artaphrenes with his suggestion that the Persians furnish him with one hundred ships to subdue Naxos, Artaphrenes replied: "Your suggestions are good for the king's house. In all of this, what you advise is good-- save for the number of ships. Instead of one hundred ships, you shall have two hundred

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[84] Hdt. 3.144.1
[85] Hdt. 3.25.1

come spring. But the king himself must also give his consent to all of this."[86] But Herodotus also tells us that Artaphrenes, acting with the Persian noble Harpagus (not Harpagos the Mede), killed Histiaeus in order to prevent Histiaeus from rising again in the King's service.[87] Artaphrenes, therefore, dared not undertake any military operations without the approval of Darius, but he had no qualms against killing Histiaeus whom the Great King trusted.[88] The general placed in command of the Naxos campaign was Megabates, identified as an Achaemenian and a cousin to Artaphrenes and Darius.[89]

Following the Ionian sack of Sardis, three generals were dispatched to retaliate by defeating the Ionian army and then plundering the cities in

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[86] Hdt. 5.31.4: Σὺ ἐς οἶκον τὸν βασιλέος ἐσηγητὴς γίνεαι πρηγμάτων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ταῦτα εὖ παραινέεις πάντα, πλὴν τῶν νεῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ. ἀντὶ δὲ ἑκατὸν νεῶν διηκόσιαί τοι ἕτοιμοι ἔσονται ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. δεῖ δὲ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτὸν βασιλέα συνέπαινον γίνεσθαι. Artaphernes approved of Aristagoras' plan not only for the glory of his half brother, but also for the glory of his brother's family. Artaphernes stood to gain as well.

[87] Hdt. 6.30.1

[88] Perhaps Artaphernes' slaying of Histiaeus was in support of his other brother Artabanos, who is depicted as an advisor of the Darius (4.83.1; 4.143.2) and who might have felt that his position was jeopardized by Histiaeus' rise. This is, however, purely conjectural and cannot be proven.

[89] Hdt. 5.32.1. Two things are interesting about the story of Megabates beyond his relationship to the royal family. First, he was appointed by Artaphrenes after the king gave his consent for the operation against Naxos, hence revealing something about the Persian military command structure in which satraps apparently exercised a fairly broad authority. Second, is his behavior as reported by Herodotus (5.33.4) at the campaign of Naxos. Had Megabates really informed the Naxians of the attack, he would have committed treason of the most blatant sort with nothing to gain. We must view this story as an example of Herodotus' treatment of Persians in general. Megabates treated the men under his command with heavy handed contempt, whereas Aristagoras respected their individual freedoms. For Herodotus, therefore, Megabates serves as an example of how Persian ὕβρις led to the downfall of an individual campaign, since Megabates' colossal pride was more important to him than was the wishes of his king. Such a moralistic account must be dismissed; the Naxian campaign was lost for reasons other than Megabates' betrayal.

revolt. Each of these generals were married to an unnamed daughter of Darius. Daurises captured Abydos, Perkote, Lampsakos, and Paisos before turning into Caria, where he was killed.[90] Hymaies first captured Kios in Mysia, and then drove his army to the Hellespont where he caught a sickness and died. The last of the three, Otanes II,[91] combined forces with Artaphrenes to capture Clazomenae and Cyme.[92]

The last important military figure related to the royal family by marriage and utilized by Darius was Mardonios, who was married to Artozostre, another daughter of Darius. Furthermore, Mardonios was the son of Gobryas, one of the seven conspirators,[93] and was placed in command of a large army and fleet to take Eretria and Athens as punishment for their participation in the Ionian revolt.[94] Due to his failures, he was replaced by Datis the Mede and Darius' nephew Artaphrenes II, the son of Darius' half brother.[95]

Artaphrenes II's appointment to this expedition conformed, of course, to the familiar pattern of placing relatives in important positions, and Datis' incongruous appointment was the exception that underscored the rule.

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[90] Hdt. 5.117-121

[91] Distinguishing among the various Otanes in Herodotus is difficult. This is probably not Otanes I, the conspirator, but Otanes II, the son of Sisamnes who had earlier been appointed as general in Anatolia to replace Megabazos (5.25-26).

[92] Hdt. 5.123.1

[93] Mardonios may have been a nephew in addition to a son-in—law of Darius. The Great King had given his sister in marriage to Gobryas probably at the time of Darius' rebellion against Bardiya. Unless Mardonios was Gobryas son from another wife, therefore, Mardonios would be the son of that unnamed sister of Darius as well as Darius' son-in-law.

[94] Hdt. 6.43-44

[95] Hdt. 6.94.2

Indeed, Datis' appointment was unusual not only for his lack of discernible marriage ties to the royal house,[96] but also for his status as a Mede.

Darius' reign, therefore, marks a considerable change from that of Cyrus and his two sons; suddenly the harem became a central institution for Persian state-craft. Children were needed-- sons for military commands, and daughters to give in marriage alliances to key nobles within Persia. The resulting ethno-class elite ruled the empire in close cooperation with the Great King, who was the lynch-pin of the entire system. Gone were the days of Cyrus the great liberator, and Cambyses who stubbornly attempted to control the empire like his father-- as a conqueror leading every war and drawing always on the military and financial support of the nobility without allowing them active participation in warfare or government. Bardiya capitalized on the resulting discontent, but Darius altered the situation. After his successful suppression of numerous rebellions, the empire emerged as a monolith controlled by a tight organization centering on the person of the Great King, and facilitated by the royal harem.

The fullest extent of Darius' system is demonstrated by the reign of his son Xerxes. The military operations of Xerxes are divided into his suppression of the Egyptian revolt, and his invasion of Greece. Herodotus does not reveal many details of the Egyptian campaign, but we are told that the revolt lasted four years (484-481 B.C.),[97] and that Xerxes entrusted the

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[96] Consider the positions of Megabazos and his son Oebares, neither of whom, apparently, were related to the royal house. Megabazos was given the responsibility of subduing Thrace (4.143.1), and Oebares was governor of Dascyleium (6.33.3). They were, however, Persian nobles.

[97] Hdt. 7.20.1

subdued land to his full brother Achaemenes II.[98] Meanwhile, acting on the advise of Mardonios,[99] Xerxes made preparations for the invasion of Greece by digging a canal across the Athos peninsula to prevent a reoccurrence of the catastrophe of 493. The Great King placed Bubares, the son of Megabazos, and Artachaies, the son of Artaios in command of this project,[100] both of whom were Achaemenian.[101] Thus it is clear that Xerxes intended to follow the example of his father and emphasize a select group of nobles within the empire.

This conscious continuation of his father's system is most apparent in analyzing the composition of the great invasion force of 480. Fortunately, Herodotus' catalogue of the forces provides modern historians with a fairly detailed synopsis of the command structure of the army.[102] Essentially, the army was organized by ethnic groups, each unit commanded by a Persian, a policy that in itself emphasized the Persian over all the other ethnic groups-- even the Medes. Of the twenty-nine divisions, moreover, seventeen were commanded by members of the Achaemenid family-system, a policy that showed the importance of harem connections. These commanders "were the

[98] Hdt. 7.7.1

[99] Of course, it is doubtful that the various speeches given by Xerxes, Mardonios, and Artabanos in 7.8-10 represent the authentic words of the Great King and his counselors. All we can be certain of is that Xerxes attacked Greece. It is possible that various advisors of the king held different opinions as to whether or not this was a wise undertaking, and it is likewise possible that Mardonios, an ambitious general, urged war; but we are forced to admit that any attempt to pinpoint the real opinions and words of Herodotus' characters must be purely conjectural.

[100] Hdt. 7.22.1

[101] We know that Bubares was part of the Achaemenid clan because his grandfather Megabates was an Achaemenid, and cousin to Darius (5.32.1). Artachaees' relationship is a little less clear, but Herodotus does say that he was an Achaemenian (7.117.1).

[102] Hdt. 7.61-99

men who established the military formations and did the counting of the numbers and appointed the commanders of thousands and the commanders of ten thousands; the commanders of hundreds and those of tens were appointed by the commanders of ten thousands."[103] Curiously, Herodotus also states that there were native commanders of each unit, but he refuses to name them since "these native leaders of each people are not worthy of mention. There were, for each people, as many leaders as there were cities, and these native officers did not serve as generals but were as much slaves as the soldiers were. But the Persian generals, who had supreme power and commanded each of the nations-- these I have already recorded."[104] The function of these native leaders, therefore, was probably interpreting the commands of their Persian commanders to the troops.[105] Also, four of the six supreme commanders of the army and two of the four naval commanders were Achaemenian.

To illustrate the familial connections of Xerxes' commanders, it is most useful to treat them in descending order from the closeness of their relationship to the king. Thus, it is logical to begin with the sons of Darius. Hystaspes II, Masistes, and Achaemenes II were all sons of Darius and Atossa,

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[103] Hdt. 7.81.1: τούτου ὦν τοῦ στρατοῦ ἦρχον μὲν οὗτοι οἵ περ εἰρέαται καὶ οἱ διατάξαντες καὶ ἐξαριθμήσαντες οὗτοι ἦσαν καὶ χιλιάρξας τε καὶ μυριάρχας ἀποδέξαντες, ἐκατοντάρχας δὲ καὶ δεκάρχας οἱμυριάρχαι.

[104] Hdt. 7.96.2: οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνεος ἑκάστου ἐπάξιοι ἦσαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ἔν τε ἔθνεϊ ἑκάχστῳ ὅσαι περ πόλιες τοσοῦτοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν. εἵποντο δὲ ὡς οὐ στρατηγοὶ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατευόμενοι δοῦλοι, ἐπεὶ στρατηγοί γε οἱ τὸ πᾶν ἔχοντες δράτος καὶ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνέων ἑκάστων, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Πέρσαι, εἰρέαταί μοι.

[105] Herodotus does mention language barriers earlier, when he relates that Cambyses chose men to act as spies on the Ethiopians based upon their ability to speak the Ethiopian language (3.19.1).

and thus were full brothers of Xerxes. Hystaspes II commanded the Bactrians and Skythians;[106] Masistes was one of the supreme commanders;[107] and Achaemenes II, was commander of the Egyptian fleet[108] in addition to being satrap of Egypt on behalf of his brother. Arsames and Gobryas II were sons of Darius and Artystone; Arsames was in command of the Arabians and the Ethiopians above Egypt,[109] and Gobryas II was in command of the Mariandyni, Ligyans, and Syrians.[110] Ariomardos II commanded the Moschi and Tibareni and was the son of Darius and Parmys, the daughter of Bardiya.[111] Ariabignes, the commander of the Ionian and Carian Navies was the son of Darius and Gobryas the conspirator's daughter.[112] Finally, Xerxes placed one last half brother in authority as the commander of the Utian and Mycian contingents; this man was named Arsamanes, but his mother is unknown since Herodotus identifies him only as a son of Darius.[113]

Five sons of Artabanos served as commanders, and Artabanos himself acted as regent while Xerxes was on campaign.[114] Tigranes commanded the Medes, Artyphios the Gandarians and Dadicae, Ariomardos I the Caspians, Bassaces the Thracians, and Tritantaichmes acted as one of the supreme

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[106] Hdt. 7.64.2

[107] Hdt. 7.82.1

[108] Hdt. 7.97.1

[109] Hdt. 7.70.1

[110] Hdt. 7.72.2

[111] Hdt. 7.78.1

[112] Hdt. 7.97.1

[113] Hdt. 7.68.1. While we cannot be sure of who his mother was, we can be certain that he was a half brother of Darius since Atossa is explicitly described as having had only four sons by Darius (7.2.2): Xerxes I, Hystaspes II, Achaemenes II, and Masistes.

[114] Hdt. 7.52.2

generals.[115] In addition, Artaphrenes II, son of Artaphrenes I, was on campaign with Xerxes.[116] Another cousin of Xerxes was Pharandates, who commanded the Mares and the Colchians, and was the son of Teaspis, who was married to a sister of Darius.[117] The last cousin of the Great King in the invasion force was Mardonios, son of Gobryas and a sister of Darius, who was one of the supreme generals over the host.[118]

The family of Megabates was also related to the king though a bit more distantly. Bubares, one of the men ordered to dig the canal across Athos, and his brother Pherendates, the commander of the Sarangae, were both sons of Megabazos, who himself was one of the naval commanders.[119] Megabazos, moreover, was the son of Megabates whom Herodotus identifies as cousin to both Darius and Artabanos.

Artachaies, one of the builders of the canal across Athos,[120] and according to Herodotus, the tallest man of Persia, is called Achemenian without further elaboration.[121] His brother, Azanes, commanded the Sogdian

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[115] Hdt. 7.62.1; 7.67.1; 7.75.2; 7.82.1

[116] Hdt. 7.74.2. His being placed in command of one of the ethnic components and not as one of the supreme generals is interesting. Artaphernes II had been—along with Datis the Mede—one of the losing generals at Marathon. His continued activity as a commander may indicate that the previous military failure did not completely destroy his reputation with the King, but that he was not considered fit any longer for supreme authority. It could also indicate, however, simply that Artaphernes II was not held in as high esteem by Xerxes as he was by Darius, who had appointed him to the command in 490.

[117] Hdt. 7.79.1

[118] Hdt. 7.82.1. Mardonios' relationship to Xerxes is particularly illustrative of harem dynamics. Gobryas, one of Darius' key supporters in his bid for power, was allied Darius through marriage to one of Darius' sisters. The offspring of this union, Mardonios, was further linked to the royal family by marrying Atozostre, the daughter of Darius to him. Thus Mardonios was Xerxes' cousin, and brother-in-law.

[119] Hdt. 7.27; 7.67.1; 7.97.1

[120] Hdt. 7.22.2

[121] Hdt. 7.117.1

contingent;[122] his son, Otaspes, commanded the Assyrians and Chaldians;[123] and his other son, Artayntes II, was a commander of the navy at Samos after the defeat of Salamis.[124]

Related by marriage to Xerxes was Otanes II, his father-in-law, commanding the Persian contingent, and the latter's two sons, Anaphes, commanding the Kissians, and Smerdomones, one of the supreme generals.[125]　Otanes II, like Mardonios, demonstrates particularly well the sometimes convoluted nature of harem politics. Otanes II, the son of Sisamnes, was married to a daughter of Darius to connect that important noble to the royal house. His daughter became the wife of Xerxes, cementing that line even greater in the next generation. Thus, in marrying Amestris, Xerxes was marrying a cousin. The question of Smerdomones as the son of Otanes also demonstrates the need to read Herodotus carefully. Herodotus states that the "supreme generals of the land army were Mardonios, son of Gobryas, and Tritantaichmes, son of Artabanos who gave as his counsel not to invade Greece, and Smerdomones, the son of Otanes (both of these latter were children of ἀδελφοί of Darius)."[126] Grene translates ἀδελφοί as the usual "brothers;" but to do so necessitates that Darius had a brother hitherto

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[122] Hdt. 7.66.2

[123] Hdt. 7.63.1

[124] Hdt. 8.130.2. While at Samos, Artayntes also coopted his nephew Ithatmitres II as a commander. This act of nepotism demonstrates on a smaller scale the nepotism that was simply taken for granted in Persian society

[125] Hdt. 7.61.2; 7.62.2; 7.82.1

[126] Hdt. 7.82.1: ἦσαν μὲν δὴ οὗτοι οἵ περ εἰρέαται ἄρχοντες, ἐστρατήγεον δὲ τούτων τε καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος στρατοῦ τοῦ πεζοῦ Μαρδόνιός τε ὁ Γωβρύεω καὶ Τριτανταίχμης ὁ Ἀρταβάνου τοῦ γνώμην θεμένου μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Σμερδομένης ὁ Ὀτάνεω, Δαρείου ἀμφότεροι οὗ ἀδελφεῶν παῖδες...

unmentioned named Otanes. While this is admittedly possible, it is unlikely given the fact that there are other Otanes who could be the father of Smerdomones. Thus, we must take αδέλφων as meaning the "kin" of Darius. Since Otanes II married Darius' daughter, he would most certainly qualify as kin. The last person in the campaign that can certainly be classified as belonging to the kinship system of the Achaemenians was Artochmes, who commanded the Phyrgians and Armenians, and was married to a daughter of Darius.[127]

The remaining commanders of the host were not directly related to Xerxes, but they were important Persian nobles. Hydarnes the conspirator had two sons with important positions: Sisamnes II, the commander of the Arians, and Hydarnes II, who led the so-called Immortals.[128] Prexaspes II, the son of Aspathines, another conspirator, was one of the naval commanders, while Megabyzos II, grandson of Megabyzos I, yet another member of Darius' "gang of seven," was one of the supreme commanders of the host.[129] The remaining commanders were Megapanos, commanding the Hyrkanians,[130] Pharnazathres, commanding the Indians and Eastern Ethiopians,[131] Artabazos, commanding the Parthians and Charamians,[132] Siromitres commanding the Parikanians,[133] Artayntes I commanding the Paktyes,[134]

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[127] Hdt. 7.73.1
[128] Hdt. 7.66.1; 7.83.1
[129] Hdt. 7.97.1
[130] Hdt. 7.67.2
[131] Hdt. 7.65.1
[132] Hdt. 7.66.2
[133] Hdt. 7.68.1
[134] Hdt. 7.67.2

Massages, commanding the Libyans,[135] Dotos, commanding the Paphlagonians and Matieni,[136] Badres, commanding the Cabalees and Milyae,[137] Artayktes, commanding the Makrones and Mossynoiki,[138] Masistius, commanding the Alarodians and Saspires,[139] Mardontes, commanding the islanders of the Red Sea,[140] and Gergis, acting as one of the supreme generals.[141]

It is clear, therefore, that with Xerxes, Darius' system of welding an elite of Persian nobility to tightly control the empire was complete. Most of the unit commanders were of the Achaemenian kinship system, and some of those who were not, were members of families long loyal to Darius and his line. Futhermore, the definite demarcation between Persians and the other ethnic groups of the empire is exemplified in Xerxes' command structure. Whereas Cyrus used Medes as his most important lieutenants, and Cambyses avoided as much as possible entrusting any nobles with that honor, and even Darius used the Mede Datis as general, Xerxes used only Persians, and where possible Achaemenians. Were it not for Darius' harem such an intricate network of relationships could not have been established.

Thus the role of the harem clearly underwent a transformation. Existing at first only as an aspect of ancient Near-Eastern society taken for granted, the harem became one of the most crucial pillars of the Great King's

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[135] Hdt. 7.71.1
[136] Hdt. 7.72.2
[137] Hdt. 7.77.1
[138] Hdt. 7.78.1
[139] Hdt. 7.79.1
[140] Hdt. 7.80.1
[141] Hdt. 7.82.1

control over his vast empire. With a large supply of brothers, half brothers, and cousins to utilize as lieutenants, the Great King could be sure that as Achaemenians, they would be loyal at least to the system of political organization that emphasized the Achaemenian line. Furthermore, since the harem also supplied a great many daughters, other Persian nobles could be coopted into the Achamenid kinship system, serving the dual function of making that noble a participant in the ruling elite, and therefore neutralizing any independant ambitions that noble might entertain that would weaken and undermine the system.

Chapter III

Thus far in this study, we have examined the harem in terms of its importance as a symbol of the king's power, or as a method of begetting heirs. We have not, however, considered the activities or importance of the women who composed the harem. One must wonder to what extent the women themselves exercised power by virtue of their closeness to and influence over the Great King. We read of powerful women in Arabic and Turkish harems.[142] We are also familiar with Bathsheba's influence over both David and her son Solomon.[143] An uncritical reading of Herodotus might give us the same impression about the Achaemenid harem. After all, Herodotus does say that Artystone was Darius' favorite wife and had an image of her fashioned from gold.[144] Also, Atossa is described as having "all the power."[145] But what precisely do these passages mean? What prerogatives did Artystone enjoy as Darius' favorite? Her sons, Arsames II and Gobryas II were superseded in the succession by Atossa the Great Queen's son. Does this mean, then, that Atossa was really "all powerful?"

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[142]Hubaba was a dancing slave girl in the harem of Yazid, who exercised a considerable influence over the Caliph. Roxelena was similarly influential in the harem of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566). See their articles in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

[143]1 Kings 22:2.

[144]Hdt. 7.69.2: καὶ Αρτυστώνης τῆς Κύρου θυγατρός, τὴν μάλιστα στέρξας τῶν γύαικῶν Δαρεῖος εἰκὼ χρυσέην σφυρήλατον ἐποιήσατο.

[145]Hdt. 7.3.4: ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος.

To answer these questions, it behooves us to continue our analysis of the harem novellae in Herodotus. In chapter one, we considered the Cambyses-in-Egypt logos and the Magos logos, both in book three of Herodotus. Our third encounter with the women of the harem occurs also in book three and it relates the tale of how Darius came to the decision to invade the Greeks.[146] According to Herodotus, the Greek doctor Democodes was one of the best of his day to practice his craft. After being imprisoned by Oroetes, the Satrap of Susa, and being sent the capital of the empire, he was discovered amongst the slaves and taken before Darius when the later languished in agony for eight days after twisting his ankle from a fall from a horse. At first, the hapless doctor tried to deny his skill for fear of being kept in Persia against his will and never allowed to return to Croton, his home. After being forced into admitting his medical skill and curing the King's ailment, his fears were realized and he was sent amongst the women of the harem escorted by eunuchs.[147]

Not long after treating the king's injured foot, Democodes was called upon to exercise his talents in a far more delicate matter. Herodotus' story is that Atossa developed a growth on her breast and finally called on Democodes after trying to conceal it. Democodes promised to treat the Queen,

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[146]The following story is from the Democodes Novella, Hdt. 3.129-137.

[147]Hdt. 3.130.4: ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῷ ἔπεϊ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκος. Παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι ἔλεγον πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς βασιλέϊ οὗτος εἴη ὃς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε. This reference to sending Democodes amongst the women escorted by eunuchs seems to suggest, afterall, that the women were in a separate section of the palace. This may be true but once again, such a section may have been far more informally secluded and loosely structured than something as elaborate as the Topkapi Saray. At any rate, the next chapter of Herodotus shows that Democodes was not kept as a permanent resident in the women's quarters of the palace, but was given his own large house (7.132).

but only if she would promise to grant any reasonable request in return. In due time Atossa was cured and exercised her influence upon Darius as per Democodes' request , to convince the Great King to invade Greece. Her plea to him was to increase the empire while he was still a young man. When he suggested attacking the Scythians, she told him to consider, instead, the Greeks because she wanted Greek serving girls from Laconia, Argos, Attica and Corinthia. Besides, she argued, Darius could make use of Democodes' knowledge of his own people. Darius succumbed to her influence and decided to send Democodes and a group of Persians into the Greek world to spy on the Greeks and report to the Great King on how best to subdue them. Thus Democodes was able to get his way by virtue of his access to Atossa, the Great Queen and her influence over her husband.

The story continues with Democodes' escape, but for our purposes the points of interest relate to Atossa's manipulation of the king. Herodotus, instead of stating military, political, or economic motivations that may have been at work in Darius' decision to invade the Greek world, crafted a story to entertain his audience. A tale of kidnapping and escape, royal caprice and harem intrigue was far more personal and entertaining than a list of possible political or economic explanations. Of course it cannot be proven that these characters did not exist, or that Atossa had no influence over the king, but this story is a literary method of conveying Herodotus' information and cannot, therefore, be taken as proof for Atossa's influence either.

A more telling passage in Herodotus concerning Atossa's influence is at the beginning of the seventh book.[148]   According to the text, a dispute arose amongst Darius' sons about who was to be heir in case Darius should be killed in the upcoming invasion of Greece. Before Darius became king, he had three sons by the daughter of Gobryas, and then had three sons by Atossa after becoming king. The eldest of the earlier group was Artobazanes and of the later group, Xerxes. Artobazanes based his claim on being the oldest of all of Darius' sons, and Xerxes on the fact that he was a son of the daughter of Cyrus. According to the story, Demaratus, the son of Ariston, an exiled basileus of Sparta advised the king that Xerxes' claim was superior since he was the first born son of the king after he became king, whereas Artobazanes and his brothers were born before Darius was king. Herodotus states, however, that without this advice Xerxes would have been chosen because "Atossa had all the power."[149] In this we might be not so quick to dismiss Herodotus' hunch. One thing that ancient near eastern harems had in common with their Islamic counterparts was the fact that each woman advanced the interests of her own son, and attempted to have him named the heir to her husband.

Perhaps the most sensational harem novella in Herodotus is the account of Xerxes and the revolt of Masistes in the ninth book.[150] Once again, Herodotus deals with a political event-- Masistes' revolt and Xerxes suppression of that revolt, by portraying the incident as though it were driven

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[148]Hdt. 7.2-3.
[149]See above, note 4.
[150]Hdt. 9.108-113

by the passions of the King and the wrath of his wife. The story begins in
Sardis following Xerxes' defeat on sea and land against the Athenians. While
in the city the Great King fell in love with the wife of his brother Masistes.
He tried to seduce the woman but she successfully resisted the King's
advances. Xerxes feared the reaction of his brother if he were to use violent
force against the latter's wife, so he resisted the temptation. Instead, he
contrived to betroth his son Darius II to the daughter of Masistes and his wife
that was the object of his affections. In this way, he hoped to win over the
faithful wife.

After making the arrangements for the marriage in Sardis, Xerxes
moved on to Susa, the capital. Once he was established in the palace, he took
into his household the new young wife of his son Darius II. Her name was
Artaynte, and he promptly gave up any desire for her mother and fell in love
with her.[151] Their affair progressed well enough until Amestris, wife of the
Great King, wove for him a beautiful cloak. Xerxes was well pleased with it
and wore it frequently. After some time, Xerxes told Artaynte to ask him for
whatever favor she desired in return for her favors to him. He was
astounded when she asked for the cloak Amestris had woven for him. He
tried to persuade her to ask for any other thing including gold, cities, or
armies but she insisted on the cloak and held the king to his promise.

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[151]Hdt. 9.108.2: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσέ τε ἀπίκετο καὶ ἠγάγετο ἐς ἑωυτοῦ Δαρείῳ τὴν
γυναικὸς ἐπέπαυτο, ὁ δὲ διαμειψάμενος ἦρά τε καὶ ἐτύγχανε τῆς Δαρείου
μὲν γυναικός, Μασίστεω δὲ θυγατρός· οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτῃ ᾗ
Ἀρταΰντη.

Herodotus specifically points out that Xerxes was loathe to give over the cloak not so much for his own sake but for his fear of Amestris.[152]

Amestris, of course, discovered that the girl had the cloak and discerned what must have been going on. Rather than become angry with the girl, however, Amestris held the girl's mother, Masistes' wife, to blame. She decided she would get her revenge and when the king celebrated a Persian ritual on his birthday which called for the king to dispense gifts, Amestris asked to be given Masistes' wife. Once again Xerxes found himself in a position unable to refuse to grant a request he did not want to grant, and gave over the woman to Amestris for whatever purpose she willed. Xerxes tried to salvage the situation by calling Masistes to him and trying to persuade the later to abandon his wife and take one of Xerxes' daughters to wife. Masistes refused the "honor" and Xerxes became enraged, dismissing his brother and telling him that he would not have either his present wife or one of the royal daughters.

Meanwhile, the story goes, Amestris had the king's body guard savagely mutilate Masistes' unfortunate wife. Amestris had the woman's breasts, nose, ears and lips cut off and fed to dogs. She was then sent home mutilated to her husband. When Masistes reached his home and found his horribly savaged wife, he consulted with his children and the whole family set off to Bactria to raise a revolt against Xerxes. Masistes had a power base in Bactria according to Herodotus since he had been a beloved satrap of that

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[152]Hdt. 9.109.3: Ξέρξης δὲ παντοῖος ἐγίνετο οὐ βουλόμενος δοῦαι, κατ᾽ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, φοβεόμενος δὲ Ἄμηστριν, μὴ καὶ πρὶν κατεικαζούσῃ τὰ γινόμενα οὕτω ἐπευρεθῇ πρέσσων·

province. Unfortunately for the would-be usurper, Xerxes heard of his brother's plans and sent an army to intercept him in route to Bactria. Xerxes then had Masistes and his entire family killed.

This novella illustrates many of the problems associated with using Herodotus to attempt to discern historical events and causation. The obviously literary themes and motifs in this story are abundant. First is the classic motif of a king and his affair with a forbidden women in the person of his brother's wife.[153] Also evident is the motif of a king constrained by his own promise or by force of law to dispense gifts he would rather not give. This particular motif, in fact, appears twice-- once with Artaynte and the cloak, and once with his wife Amestris and the gift of Masistes' wife. Finally, the motif of the faithful servant wronged is present in Masistes.

It is possible, of course, in some sense that events like this occasionally ocurred in Xerxes' reign. Herodotus, for instance, might be accurate in that Masistes attempted a revolt against his brother that was put down. Instead of presenting that revolt in terms of simple ambition on the part of Masistes who may have seen an opportunity to lead his satrapy in revolt, Herodotus wove a tale in which the basic fact of the revolt is reported, but it is reported as an almost incidental follow up to a very moralistic and entertaining account of a weak and depraved monarch at the mercy of his own petty whims and passions, and the iron will of his domineering wife. Such things

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[153]Once again, this is reminiscent of the sister/wife motif from the Old Testament. Also, the parallel to David and his desire for Bathsheba, wife of Uriah, is obvious. That is not to say that Herodotus was conciously aware of the stories from the Judaic tradition (though this is, at least, possible), but simply that this motif was a very common one in the Ancient Near Eastern milieu.

may have been true, but we cannot use Herodotus' testimony to this effect as proof enough of this. As with the harem novellae discussed in the first chapter, we are only able to extract certain basic historical facts from this account. First, it is likely that a revolt was planned by Masistes but crushed; second, given the intricate patchwork of familial inter-marriages, it is credible that Masistes joined their children in marriage.

A final harem novella should be considered, even though it does not occur in Herodotus. Indeed, it is not a Greek source at all, but a Hebrew tale. The Old Testament book of Esther tells the familiar tale of the Jewish girl Esther and her heroic service to her own people in Persia. Many of the elements in this tale, however, are reminiscent of the literary style of Herodotus. This is not to suggest, of course, that the writer or writers of Esther relied upon a Greek antecedent. It suggests, rather, that harem novellae were a common motif in the ancient Near-Eastern milieu; that Herodotus himself may have been reporting novellae that he himself heard from his various informers in the east.

In the book of Esther we once again encounter a weak and foolish monarch, Ahasuerus, who can only be Xerxes I or perhaps Artaxerxes I.[154] His wife is called Vashti, a name not at all similar to Amestris, meaning perhaps that she is a concubine, or, more likely, that she did not exist. In a tale of intrigue and royal caprice, the king chooses a new bride in the person of Esther. He also elevates a chief councilor named Haman. The new queen,

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[154]Esther 1.1: "The events here related happened in the days of Ahasuerus, the Ahasuerus who ruled from India to Ethiopia, a hundred and twenty-seven provinces. " (cf. Ezra 4.6; Dan. 9.1)

acting on behalf of her cousin Mordecai, incurs the wrath of Haman, who focuses his revenge on Mordecai. As the insuing plot unfolds, several themes common to Near-Eastern literature abound, including the king's insomnia. Ultimately, of course, Esther and Mordecai are triumphant and Haman is hanged while Mordecai takes his place as the king's chief councilor.

The details of this story are not necessary for our knowledge of how this tale contributes to our understanding of the Achaemenid harem, or, more accurately, how the harem is portrayed in literature. In the final analysis this tale must be seen as little more than a romantic epic of sorts. Its details are thoroughly unsupported by contemporary evidence, and, for the most part, its characters are not even mentioned in the Greek sources closer to the events themselves. It serves thus as a reminder to us that the biblical material about ancient Near-Eastern harems must be viewed carefully as well. Biblical evidence can serve as one indicator of the overall place of the harem in the Near-East of the period, but it too employs formalistic folk-tale motifs and methods to tell specific stories about specific kings and their wives and concubines.

We have, therefore, come full circle in our analysis of the Achaemenid harem. We discovered in the first chapter that the harem was a vitally important institution in the Great King's system of government. While we were unable to take many of the details Herodotus provides in his various harem novellae in the first three chapters at face value, we were able to conclude that the wives and daughters of the king were imbued with part of his royal aura, his power. When one king died, the next felt it necessary to maximize his legitimacy through a variety of means, including military

prowess, demonstration of divine approval, and most significantly, by marrying the previous king's wives and daughters. Such a practice was very common to the Near-Eastern ethos in which the Persians expanded their empire.

In the second chapter, we were able to discern with concrete and practical clarity the degree to which the harem served as the cohesive force that held together the Great King's government. By the time Xerxes I invaded the Greek mainland in 480 B.C., most of the greater nobility that led the various contingents were demonstrably related to him. Most of the satraps who served under him were sons, legitimate or not, or brothers, cousins, uncles, or various in-laws. By welding this ethno-class elite the house of Darius formed a dynasty to which its many members were loyal. Disputes might arise between various brothers or cousins for the throne, but there was no significant threat outside of that extended familial system. All of this was only possible because the harem provided the king with the necessary number of children to appoint to commands or marry to Persian nobles.

It is regrettable, perhaps, that we must come to the conclusion that the women of the harem themselves remain largely a mystery in terms of their real individual actions or power. As an institution, their importance is unquestionable, but beyond shadowy indications or wildly exaggerated and literary representations they are invisible. We can say with relative confidence that they had some measure of influence over the king, especially in the presumably vicious contest to decide which son would succeed the king, but nothing approximating the Turkish period of "the Rule of the Women" can be demonstrated, contrary to Herodotus' fanciful portrayal.

Despite this uncertainty about the real position of these women as individuals, we have indeed been able to demonstrate their corporate importance. Without the body of women that composed the Great King's household providing, heirs, governors, military commanders, bureaucrats, and marriageable young women and men, the empire of Cyrus and Darius would not have lasted as a centralized and powerful entity for two hundred years.

Appendix

1. Abrocomes (Ἀβροκόμης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Darius I
Mother: Phratagune
  Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
    Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
    Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Hyperanthes (full brother)
  Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
    Artochmes, Artozostra
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

2. Achaemenes I (Ἀχαιμένης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
  Brothers: Unknown
  Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Teispes I
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

3. Achaemenes II (Ἀχαιμένης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Darius I
Mother: Atossa
  Brothers: Xerxes I (full), Masistes (full), Hystaspes II (full),
    Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
    Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
  Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
    Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra
Sons: Unknown

Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

4. Amestris ('Αμῆστρις)

Spouse(s): Xerxes I
Father: Otanes II
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sister: Unknown
Sons: Artaxerxes I, Darius II
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

5. Amorges ('Αμόργης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Daughters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

6. Amyntas ('Αμύντης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Bubares
Mother: Gygea
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Alexander
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

7. Anaphes ('Ανάφης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Otanes II
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown

Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

8. Ariabignes ('Αριαβίγνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Darius I
Mother: Daugher of Gobryas I
    Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
        Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes (full),
        Arsamenes (full), Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
    Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
        Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

9. Ariamnes II ('Αριαράμνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

10. Ariaramnes I ('Αριαράμνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Teispes
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Arsames I
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

11. Ariazos ('Αριάζος)

Spouse(s): Unknown

Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Gergis
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

12. Ariomardos I (Ἀριόμαρδος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artabanus
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Artyphius, Bassaces, Tritantaichmes, Tigranes
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

13. Ariomardos II (Ἀριόμαρδος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Darius I
Mother: Parmys
    Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
        Gobryas II, Arsames II, Artobazanes, Ariabignes,
        Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
    Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
        Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

14. Arsamenes (Ἀρσαμένης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Darius I
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
        Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
        Ariabignes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
    Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
        Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra

Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

15. Arsames I (Ἀρσάμεος)

   Spouse(s): Unknown
   Father: Ariaramnes
   Mother: Unknown
           Brothers: Unknown
           Sisters: Unknown
   Sons: Hystaspes I
   Daughters: Unknown
   Others: Unknown

16. Arsames II (Ἀρσάμης)

   Spouse(s): Unknown
   Father: Darius I
   Mother: Artystone I
           Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
                   Gobryas II (full), Ariomardus II, Artobazanes, Ariabignes,
                   Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
           Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
                   Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra
   Sons: Unknown
   Daughters: Unknown
   Others: Unknown

17. Artabanos (Ἀρτάβανος)

   Spouse(s): Unknown
   Father: Hystaspes I
   Mother: Unknown
           Brothers: Darius I, Artaphrenes I, Artanus
           Sisters: Unknown
   Sons: Artyphius, Ariomardus I, Bassaces, Tritantaichmes II, Tigranes
   Daughters: Unknown
   Others: Megabates (cousin)

18. Artabates (Ἀρταβάτης)

   Spouse(s): Unknown

Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Pharnazathres
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

19. Artabazos (᾿Αρταβάζος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Pharnaces
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Tritantaichmes I
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

20. Artachaies (᾿Αρταχαίης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artaeus
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Azanes
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Otaspes, Artayntes II
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

21. Artaeos (᾿Αρταίος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Artachaies, Azanes
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

22. Artanes (᾿Αρτάνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Hystaspes I
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Darius I, Artaphrenes I, Artabanus
      Sisters: Wife of Gobryas
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Phratagune
Others: Unknown

23. Artaphrenes I ('Αρταφρένης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Hystaspes I
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Darius I, Artabanos, Artanes
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Artaphrenes II
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

24. Artaphrenes II ('Αρταφρένης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artaphrenes I
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

25. Artaxerxes I ('Αρτοξέρξης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Xerxes I
Mother: Amestris
      Brothers: Darius II
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

26. Artaytes ('Αρταΰτης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Cherasmis
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

27. Artaynte (ʼΑρταΰντη)

Spouse(s): Darius II
Father: Masistes
Mother: Wife of Masistes
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

28. Artayntes I (ʼΑρταΰντης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Ithamitres I
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

29. Artayntes II (ʼΑρταΰντης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artachaies
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Otaspes
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Ithamitres II (Nephew)

30. Artembares ('Αρτεμβάρης)

> Spouse(s): Unknown
> Father: Unknown
> Mother: Unknown
>> Brothers: Unknown
>> Sisters: Unknown
> Sons: Cherasmis
> Daughters: Unknown
> Others: Unknown

31. Artobazanes ('Αρτοβαζάνης)

> Spouse(s): Unknown
> Father: Darius I
> Mother: Daughter of Gobryas
>> Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
>> Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Ariabignes (full),
>> Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
>> Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
>> Wife of Artochmes II, Artozostra
> Sons: Unknown
> Daughters: Unknown
> Others: Unknown

32. Artochmes ('Αρτόχμης)

> Spouse(s): Daughter of Darius I
> Father: Unknown
> Mother: Unknown
>> Brothers: Unknown
>> Sisters: Unknown
> Sons: Unknown
> Daughters: Unknown
> Others: Unknown

33. Artontes I ('Αρτόντης)

> Spouse(s): Unknown
> Father: Unknown
> Mother: Unknown
>> Brothers: Unknown
>> Sisters: Unknown

Sons: Bagaeus
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

34. Artontes II (᾽Αρτόντης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Mardonius
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

35. Artozostre (᾽Αρτοζώστρη)

Spouse(s): Mardonius
Father: Darius I
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
        Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
        Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
    Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
        Wife of Artochmes
Sons: Unknown
Daughters Unknown
Others: Unknown

36. Artybios (᾽Αρτύβιος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unkown
Sons: Unkown
Daughters: Unkown
Others: Unkown

37. Artyphios (᾽Αρτύφιος)

Spouse(s): Unknown

Father: Artabanus
Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Ariomardus I, Bassaces, Tritantaichmes, Tigranes
        Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

38. Artystone I ('Αρτυστώνη)

Spouse(s): Darius I
Father: Cyrus II
Mother: Cassandane
        Brothers : Cambyses II, Bardiya
        Sisters: Atossa
Sons: Arsames II, Gobryas II
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

39. Aryandes ('Αρυάνδης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Unknown
        Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

40. Aspathines ('Ασπαθίνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unkown
        Brothers: Unknown
        Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Prexaspes II
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

41. Atossa ('Ατόσσης)

Spouse(s): Cambyses II (1), Bardiya (2), Darius (3)
Mother: Cassandane
      Brothers: Cambyses II, Bardiya (Smerdis)
      Sisters: Artystone I
Sons: Xerxes, Achaemenes II, Masistes, Hystaspes II
Daughters: Unknown
Otehrs: Unkown

42. Azanes ('Αζάνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artaeus
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Artachaies
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

43. Badres (Βάδρης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Hystanes
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

44. Bagaios (Βαγαῖος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artontes I
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

45. Bardiya (Σμέρδις)[155]

    Spouse(s): Atossa
    Father: Cyrus II
    Mother: Cassandane
        Brothers: Cambyses II
        Sisters: Atossa, Artystone
    Sons: Unknown
    Daughters: Parmys
    Others: Unknown

46. Bassakes (Βασσάκης)

    Spouse(s): Unknown
    Father: Artabanus
    Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Artyphios, Ariomardus I, Trintantaechmes, Tigranes
        Sisters: Unknown
    Sons: Unknown
    Daughters: Unknown
    Others: Unknown

47. Boges (Βόγης)

    Spouse(s): Unknown
    Father: Unknown
    Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Unknown
        Sisters : Unknown
    Sons: Unknown
    Daughters: Unknown
    Others: Unknown

48. Boubares (Βουβάρης)

    Spouse(s): Gygea
    Father: Megabazus
    Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Oebares, Pherendates

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[155]See above, chapter 2, for an explanation of the discrepancy between the Greek and the English here.

Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Amyntas
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

49. Cambyses I (Καμβύσης)

Spouse(s): Mandane
Father: Cyrus I
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Cyrus II
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

50. Cambyses II (Καμβύσης)

Spouse(s): Atossa
Father: Cyrus II
Mother: Cassandane
      Brothers: Bardiya (Smerdis)
      Sisters: Atossa, Artystone I
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

51. Kassandane (Κασσανδάνης)

Spouse(s): Cyrus II
Father: Pharnaspes
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Otanes I
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Cambyses II, Bardiya (Smerdis)
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

52. Cherasmios (Χεράσμιος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artembares
Mother: Unknown

Brothers: Unknown
Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Artayctes
Daughters: Unknown
Other: Unknown

53. Kranaspes (Κρανάσπης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Oroetes
Mother: Unknown
Brothers: Unknown
Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Sisters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

54. Cyrus I (Κύρος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
Brothers: Unknown
Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Cambyses I
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

55. Cyrus II (Κύρος)

Spouse(s): Cassandane
Father: Cambyses I
Mother: Mandane
Brothers: Unknown
Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Cambyses II, Bardiya (Smerdis)
Daughters: Atossa, Artystone I
Other: Unknown

56. Darius I (Δαρείος)

Spouse(s): Atossa, Artystone, Parmys, Phaidime, Daughter of Gobryas I,
Phratagune

Father: Hystaspes I
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Artabanus, Artaphrenes I, Artanes
      Sisters: Wife of Gobryas I
Sons: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes, Gobryas II,
      Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes, Ariabignes, Arsamenes,
      Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
Daughters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
      Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra
Other: Megabates (Cousin)

57. Darius II (Δαρείος)

Spouse(s): Artaynte
Father: Xerxes I
Mother: Amestris
      Brothers: Artaxerxes I
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

58. Daughter of Gobryas I

Spouse(s): Darius I
Father: Gobry as I
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Mardonius
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Artobazanes, Ariabignes, two others
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

59. Daurises (Δαυρίσης)

Spouse(s): Daughter of Darius I
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

60. Dotus (Δῶτος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Megasidrus
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

61. Gergis (Γέργις)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Ariazus
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

62. Gobryas I (Γωβρύης)

Spouse(s): Sister of Darius I
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Mardonius
Daughters: Unnamed "former" wife of Darius I
Others: Unknown

63. Gobryas II (Γωβρύης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Darius I
Mother: Artystone I
      Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
           Arsames II (full), Ariomardus, Artobazanes, Ariabignes,
           Arsamanes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
      Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,

Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra

 Sons: Unknown
 Daughters: Unknown
 Others: Unknown

64. Harpagos (῎Αρπαγος)

 Spouse(s): Unknown
 Father: Unknown
 Mother: Unknown
  Brothers: Unknown
  Sisters: Unknown
 Sons: Unknown
 Daughters: Unknown
 Others: Unknown

65. Hydarnes I (῾Υδάρνης)

 Spouse(s): Unknown
 Father: Unknown
 Mother: Unknown
  Brothers: Unknown
  Sisters: Unknown
 Sons: Sisamnes II[156], Hydarnes II
 Daughters: Unknown
 Others: Unknown

66. Hydarnes II (῾Υδάρνης)

 Spouse(s): Unknown
 Father: Hydarnes I
 Mother: Unknown
  Brothers: Sisamnes II
  Sisters: Unknown
 Sons: Unknown
 Daughters: Unknown
 Others: Unknown

67. Hymaies (῾Υμαίης)

---

[156]Not related to Sisamnes I

Spouse(s): Daughter of Darius I
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

68. Hyperanthes (Ὑπεράνθης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Darius I
Mother: Phratagune
    Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
        Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
        Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Abrocomes (full)
    Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
        Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

69. Hystanes (ὁ Ὑστάνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

70. Hystaspes I (Ὑστάσπης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Arsames I
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Darius I, Artabanus, Artaphrenes, Artanes
Daughters: Wife of Gobryas I

Others: Unknown

71. Hystaspes II ('Υστάσπης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Darius I
Mother: Atossa
  Brothers: Xerxes I (full), Achaemenes II (full), Masistes (full),
    Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
    Ariabignes, Arsamanes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
  Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
    Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

72. Intaphrenes ('Ινταφρένης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
  Brothers: Unknown
  Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

73. Ithamitres I ('Ιθαμίτρης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
  Brothers: Unknown
  Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Artayntes I
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

74. Ithamitres II ('Ιθαμίτρης)

Spouse(s): Unknown

Father: Unknown[157]
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Artayntes II (Uncle)

75. Mardonios (Μαρδόνιος)

Spouse(s): Artozostra
Father: Gobryas I
Mother: Sister of Darius
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Artontes II
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

76. Mardontes (Μαρδόντης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Bagaeus
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

77. Maskames (Μασκάμης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Megadostes
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

---

[157]His father was a child of Artachaees other than Artayntes II

78. Masistes (ὁ Μασίστης)

    Spouse(s): Wife of Masistes
    Father: Darius I
    Mother: Atossa
        Brothers: Xerxes I (full), Achaemenes II (full), Hystaspes I (full),
            Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
            Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
        Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
            Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra
    Sons: Unknown
    Daughters: Unknown
    Others: Unknown

79. Masistios (Μασίστιος)

    Spouse(s): Unknown
    Father: Siromitres
    Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Unknown
        Sisters: Unknown
    Sons: Unknown
    Daughters: Unknown
    Others: Unknown

80. Massages (Μασσάγης)

    Spouse(s): Unknown
    Father: Oarizus
    Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Unknown
        Sisters: Unknown
    Sons: Unknown
    Daughters: Unknown
    Others: Unknown

81. Megabates (Μεγαβάτης)

    Spouse(s): Unknown
    Father: Unknown
    Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Unknown

Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Megabazus
Daughters: Unknown[158]
Others: Cousin to Darius, Artaphrenes, Artabanus

82. Megabazos (Μεγάβαζος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Megabates
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Oebares, Bubares, Pherendates
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

83. Megabyzos (Μεγάβυξος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Zopyrus I
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

84. Megabyzos II (Μεγάβυξος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Zopyrus I
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Zopyrus II
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

85. Megadostes (Μεγαδόστης)

---

[158]An unnamed daughter of Megabates wa supposedly betrothed to the Spartan Pausanias.

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Mascames
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

86. Megapanos (Μεγάπανος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

87. Megasidros (Μεγασίδρος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Dotus
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

88. Mitrobates (Μιτροβάτες)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Cranaspes
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

89. Oarizos (Ὀαρίζος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

90. Oibares[159] (Ὀιβάρης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Other: Unknown

91. Oibares (Οἰβάρης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Megabazus
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Bubares, Pherendates
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

92. Oibazos (Οἰόβαζος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
     Brother: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Siromitres; Three Unnamed sons killed by Darius I

---

[159]This Oebares is probably different from the son of Megabazus.

Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

93. Oroites (Ὀροίτης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Unknown
        Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

94. Otanes I (Ὀτάνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Pharnaspes
Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Unknown
        Sisters: Cassandane
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Phaidime
Others: Unknown

95. Otanes II (Ὀτάνης)

Spouse(s): Daughter of Darius I
Father: Sisamnes I
Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Unknown
        Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Anaphes
Daughters: Amestris
Others: Unknown

96. Otaspes (Ὀτάσπης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artachaies
Mother: Unknown
        Brothers: Artayntes II
        Sisters: Unknown

Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

97. Parmys (Πάρμυς)

Spouse(s): Darius I
Father: Bardiya
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Ariomardus II
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Cambyses II (Uncle)

98. Patiramphes (Πατιράμφης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Otanes (probably II)
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

99. Phaidyme (Φαιδυμή)

Spouse(s): Cambyses II (1), Bardiya (2), Darius I (3)
Father: Otanes I
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

100. Pharnakes (Φαρνάκης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown

Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Artabazus
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

101. Pharandates (Φαρανδάτης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Teaspis
Mother: Possibly a sister of Darius
       Brothers: Sataspes
       Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

102. Pharnaspes (Φαρνάσπης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
       Brothers: Unknown
       Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Otanes I
Daughters: Cassandane
Others: Unknown

103. Pharnazathres (Φαρναζάθρης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artabates
Mother: Unknown
       Brothers: Unknown
       Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

104. Pherendates (Φερνδάτης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Megabazus
Mother: Unknown

Brothers: Oebares, Bubares
Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

105. Phratagoune (Φραραγούνης)

Spouse(s): Darius I
Father: Artanes
Mother: Unknown
Brothers: Unknown
Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Abrocomes, Hyperanthes
Daughters: Abrocomes, Hyperanthes
Others: Unknown

106. Prexaspes I (ὁ Πρηξάσπης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
Brothers: Unknown
Sisters: Unknown
Sons: One unnamed son killed by Cambyses
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

107. Prexaspes II (Πρηξάσπης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Aspathines
Mother: Unknown
Brothers: Unknown
Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

108. Sandokes (Σανδώκης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Thamasius

Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

109. Sataspes (Σατάσπης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Teaspis
Mother: Sister of Darius
    Brothers: Pharandates
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

110. Siromitres (Σιρομίτρης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Oeobazus
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Masistius
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

111. Sisamnes I (Σισάμνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

112. Sisamnes II (Σισάμνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Hydarnes I

Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Hydarnes II
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

113. Sisimakes (Σισιμάκης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

114. Smerdomenes (Σμερδομένης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Otanes II
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknwon

115. Tabalos (Τάβαλος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

116. Teaspis (Τεάσπις)

Spouse(s): Sister of Darius I

Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
 Brothers: Unknown
 Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Pharandates, Sataspes
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

117. Teispes (Τεΐσπης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Cyrus I in Herodotus; Achaemenes in Bisitun inscription
Mother: Unknown
 Brothers: Unknown
 Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Ariaramnes
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

118. Thamasios (Θαμάσιος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unknown
 Brothers: Unknown
 Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Sandoces
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

119. Tigranes (Τιγράνης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artabanus
Mother: Unknown
 Brothers: Artyphius, Ariomardus I, Bassaces, Trintantaechmes II
 Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

120. Tritantaichmes I (Τριτανταίχμης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artabazus
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Unknown
     Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

121. Tritantaichmes II (Τριτανταίχμης)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Artabanus
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Artyphius, Ariomardus I, Bassaces, Tigranes
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

122. Wife of Daurises

Spouse(s): Daurises
Father: Darius I
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
          Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
          Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
     Sisters: Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II, Wife of Artochmes,
          Artozostra
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

123. Wife of Hymaies

Spouse(s): Hymaies
Father: Darius I
Mother: Unknown
     Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
          Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
          Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
     Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Otanes II, Wife of Artochmes,
          Artozostra

Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

124. Wife of Otanes II

Spouse(s): Otanes II
Father: Darius I
Mother: Unknown
  Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
    Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
    Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
  Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Artochmes,
    Artozostra
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

125. Wife of Artochmes
Spouse(s): Artochmes
Father: Darius I
Mother: Unknown
  Brothers: Xerxes I, Achaemenes II, Hystaspes II, Masistes,
    Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
    Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
  Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
    Artozostra
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

126. Wife of Gobryas I

Spouse(s): Gobryas I
Father: Hystaspes I
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Darius I
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Mardonius
Daughters: Unknown
Others Unknown

127. Wife of Masistes

Spouse(s): Masistes
Father: Unknown
Mother: Unkown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Artaynte
Others: Unknown

128. Wife of Teaspis

Spouse(s): Teaspis
Father: Hystaspes I
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Darius I
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Sataspes, possibly Pharandates
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

129. Xerxes I (Ξέρξης)

Spouse(s): Amestris
Father: Darius I
Mother: Atossa
    Brothers: Achaemenes II (full), Hystaspes II (full), Masistes (full),
        Gobryas II, Arsames II, Ariomardus II, Artobazanes,
        Ariabignes, Arsamenes, Abrocomes, Hyperanthus
    Sisters: Wife of Daurises, Wife of Hymaies, Wife of Otanes II,
        Wife of Artochmes, Artozostra
Sons: Artaxerxes
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

130. Zopyros I (Ζωπύρος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Megabyzus I
Mother: Unknown
    Brothers: Unknown
    Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Megabyzus II

Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

131. Zopyros II (Ζωπύρος)

Spouse(s): Unknown
Father: Megabyzus II
Mother: Unknown
      Brothers: Unknown
      Sisters: Unknown
Sons: Unknown
Daughters: Unknown
Others: Unknown

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