

## APPENDIX 3A, III

### NARRATIVE *Herodotus and Xenophon*

#### Notes:

Citations at regular intervals are *Herodotus*, italicized *book.paragraph*, and *Xenophon*, underscored *book, chapter.paragraph*. The citations when they occur refer to preceding paragraphs. Supplementations from *Cambridge Ancient History* are cited volume and page(s).

The narration presents primary historical highlights and relationships. Battle strategies and national cultures, as well as secondary events described by *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*, are not summarized.

Bracketed numbers or letters following proper names correspond with Appendix 3A, I (Charted Exploration of Familial Relationships, Media/Persia). Refer to Appendix 2D, "Calendar Year Comparison Timeline," for chronological orientation.

Herodotus states that the "Assyrians"<sup>1</sup> dominated upper-Asia 520 years before the Medes consolidated and revolted. Circa 700 b.c. Mede leaders, determined to corral anarchy in their regions, appointed a king--Deioces, "a man of much wisdom [and] ambition, [an] arbiter." Deioces collected a nation of Median tribes, including the Busae, Paretaceni, Struchates, Arizanti, Budii and the Magi, and caused construction of "Agbatana" as a central Mede city. Deioces reigned 53 years. He was succeeded by his son, Phraortes II, under whom Media came to dominate some neighboring Persian provinces as well.<sup>2</sup>

When Phraortes II succeeded Deioces, the Ninevehite Assyrians, "former...lords of Asia," internally were "as flourishing as ever," but had lost allies and stood alone. Phraortes II battled the Ninevehite Assyrians once, at the end of his 22-year reign; but he and the greater part of his army perished in the attempt. Phraortes II was succeeded by his son, Cyaxares I.  
1.96-102, 140

Cyaxares I reigned for 40 years. Initially, after one successful battle against the Ninevehite Assyrians and while laying siege at Nineveh, itself, the Medes were overrun by Scythians from the north. The Scythians were pursuing their Cimmerian foes but conquered the Medes, also, in the process. Scythian leaders kept the Medes under tribute some 28 years, until at a banquet Cyaxares I and his party massacred "the greater part of them." "The Medes then recovered their empire to the same extent of dominion as before. They took Nineveh...and conquered all Assyria except the district of Babylonia."  
1.103-106

Subsequently, hostilities broke out between Cyaxares I and King Alyattes of Lydia.<sup>3</sup> Their warring came to an end in its sixth year, when an eclipse which occurred at the height of their last battle induced them to negotiate a peace. As part of their pact Alyattes gave his daughter, Aryenis (sister of Alyattes' successor, Croesus) in marriage to Astyages, Cyaxares I's son. The Media/Lydia treaty was mediated by "Syennis of Cilicia and Labynetus of Babylon,"<sup>4</sup> who...brought about the exchange of espousals...that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis in marriage to Astyages....  
1.16; 1.74-75

Astyages, who succeeded his father, reigned as Media's king for 35 years. Astyages

<sup>1</sup> Particular use(s) of the term *Assyrian* by the ancient historians will be noted as the narrative progresses. "By Assyria, Xenophon means the land [later] governed by the kings of Babylon, i.e. Assyria and Babylonia." *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, v. II, p. 465; see also Appendix 2A, *Assyria*.

<sup>2</sup> (a) According to *Herodotus*, the Magi were "a very peculiar race/[breed?]"--different entirely from the Egyptian priests. ["Astrologers (Greek, *magoi*; "Magi," AS margin, *Confraternity*, Weymouth; "magicians," *Diaglott*). (b) According to *The Imperial Bible Dictionary* (Vol. II, p. 139, as *Aid*, p. 155, supplies): "...the magi...professed to interpret dreams, and had the official charge of sacred rites;...in short, the learned and priestly class having, as was supposed, the skill of deriving from books and the observation of the stars a supernatural insight into coming events." (c) *Agbatana*: biblical "Ecbatana;" *Old Persian* "Hagmatana," *Syrian* "Achmetha" (*Ezra* 6:2); present-day Hamadan, Iran--see Appendix 2A, *Ecbatana, etc*

<sup>3</sup> 1.73; refer to Appendix 3A, I, "Exploration of Familial Relationships, Media/Persia."

<sup>4</sup> "Labynetus" long has been taken as Herodotus' manner of writing "Nabonidus"--refer to fn. 7.

gave his daughter, Mandane, in marriage to the “Persian,” Cambyses I of ‘Anshan.’<sup>5</sup> Astyages, when he learned Mandane was pregnant, fetched her back to Media. Mandane’s child was a son, Cyrus II. Cyrus II was, via his father, a prince of the “noblest tribe, the Pasargadae, from which sprang all the Persian kings,” in the line of the *Achaemenidae*.

1.125

It appears from ensuing text that at some point after Cyrus II’s birth Mandane returned to her husband. Meanwhile, grandfather Astyages (influenced by a “dream” which he interpreted as prophesying the loss of his kingdom) arranged for baby Cyrus to be killed by one Harpagus. Harpagus, however, fearing Mandane’s revenge if/when her father should die, sloughed off the job onto a herdsman. The herdsman’s wife convinced her husband to preserve the baby’s life, and they secretly raised Cyrus II in place of their own recently-<sup>6</sup> stillborn son.

1.107-113; 1.130; 1.46; 1.75; I.ii.1; III.i.10

Astyages discovered that Cyrus II still was alive when the boy was 10 years old. Reassured by favorable Magian counsel, Astyages at that point sent Cyrus II to Persia to his parents. (He nonetheless inflicted dreadful punishment on Harpagus for not following orders).

1.114ff.; 1.123

Cyrus II’s earning of the appellation, “the Great,” began early in his life. An [unnamed] son of the “king of the Assyrians”<sup>7</sup> made an armed hunting foray into Median territory, when Cyrus was about 16 and Astyages still was Media’s king. Cyrus with a Mede contingent attacked and defeated the Assyrian party.

I. iv.16 ff.

According to Herodotus, one Harpagus, apparently associated with Astyages’ court, hatched a plot to dethrone Astyages in favor of the prince, Cyrus II. Said Harpagus paved the way with Media’s nobility, who opposed Astyages’ “harsh rule.” The roads between Media and Persia were guarded, but Harpagus managed to get a confirming message to Cyrus: he had it sewn inside a dead, unskinned hare and delivered by a slave disguised as a hunter, who whispered a quick message to Cyrus that he, himself should paunch the hare and only when he was alone. Cyrus assembled the principals of the Median tribes/clans disposed to revolt.

Astyages got word of the plot, armed his forces and appointed Harpagus as general, not knowing that he was set to throw the battle. “[W]hen the two armies met and engaged, only a few of the Medes, who were not in the secret, fought; others deserted openly to the Persians [Anshanites]; while the greater number counterfeited fear and fled.” Astyages impaled his Magian interpreters, armed the Medes who remained loyal to him and fought; but he was “utterly defeated” and captured. “Thus, after a reign of 35 years, Astyages lost his crown, and the Medes...were brought under the rule of the Persians.” Cyrus “took Astyages prisoner 559 b.c.,” although, “Xenophon...relates a different story...that Cyrus and Astyages lived in the most undisturbed friendship together” afterwards, and Astyages was done no injury.

1.123-30; *Lempriere*, p. 88.

“In the course of time Astyages died in Media, and Cyaxares [II], the son of Astyages and brother of Cyrus’ mother [Mandane], succeeded to the Median throne.”

I.v.2

“At that time the [unspecified]<sup>8</sup> king of Assyria had subjugated all Syria, a very large nation...had made the king of Arabia his vassal...already had Hyrcania under his dominion, and was closely besetting Bactria.” He now sought to conquer the Medes, and “sent around

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix 2A, *Elam*.

<sup>6</sup> *Xenophon* does not relate the Harpagus matter.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 3A, II, “Descendancy Chart, Neo-Babylonians,” concerning what *Xenophon*’s editor terms the “inextricable snarl” posed by the ancient historians’ insufficient references, involving identification (among others) of Labynetus/Nabonidus and Belshazzar. (One timeframe allows this “Assyrian king” to have been Neriglissar.)

<sup>8</sup> Possible Neriglissar; see preceding footnote.

to all under his sway”<sup>9</sup> for an alliance against the Medes and Persians, who “had intermarried with each other and were united in common interests.”

Cyaxares II, advised of war preparations against him and Media, sent a request for aid to the Persian “state”--“both to the general assembly and to his brother-in-law, Cambyses, who was king [of Anshan] ...and to Cyrus, too, asking him to try to come as commander of the men.” Persia’s elders did choose Cyrus II to lead an expedition and authorized him to organize an army. Cambyses I accompanied son Cyrus and his men as far as the frontier.

On arrival in Media, Cyrus II became the prime strategist for his uncle Cyaxares II (his mother’s brother), and proceeded to administer and train their joint armies. I.v.2-5ff.

One important preparatory task was to deal with Armenia, previously a vassal of Media under Astyages. Armenia had ceased paying tribute to Cyaxares II, and, banking on a gathering “Assyrian” invasion of Media, was building itself a fort at the northern frontier. Cyrus II took a force there, cornered the Armenian king and put him on trial for non-compliance. Tigranes, Armenia’s crown prince<sup>10</sup> and a past hunting friend of Cyrus’, argued his father’s case. Cyrus was lenient and forgave the offense in exchange for a new, firmer alliance. Cyrus returned the Armenian king’s wife and children, as well as Tigranes’ wife (Tigranes was “newly married”) and bade them all live in peace and prosperity.

Cyrus II then immediately set about to settle the differences between the Armenians and their northern neighbors, referred to as “Chaldeans.”<sup>11</sup> He and his force backed an Armenian march into the mountains, where the Chaldean force was overtaken and disbursed. After taking possession of the heights, Cyrus forged agreements between the parties to share tillage and pasturage of land, under Median protection; and a joint protective garrison under a Mede commander was established on the heights.

Cyrus II returned to Media, reinforced by funds obtained from Armenia and with certainty of that quarter as a source for more aid if/when needed. He proposed to Cyaxares II that they not wait for an attack but instead immediately take the offensive and themselves invade ‘Assyria.’ Cyaxares approved. He and Cyrus advanced together to meet the foe, crossing the boundary into Assyrian land.<sup>12</sup> III.iii.24ff., 57-70

King Croesus of Lydia had “made himself master of all the Greek cities in Asia [Minor], and forced them to become his tributaries;” and, “in the course of many years, brought under his sway almost all the nations west of the Halys.” Croesus took his army across the river Halys, “entered the district of Cappadocia...began to ravage the field of...and brought ruin on the Syrians, who were guilty of no offence towards him.” Cyrus II then marched against Croesus, “increasing his numbers at every step by the forces of the nations that lay in his way.” “The combat was hot and bloody, and upon both sides the number of the slain was great; nor had victory declared in favour of either.” 1.27-28; 1.76

The exact locations of two major engagements are not given, and only “the [unspecified] Assyrian king” and Croesus are mentioned as being with the ‘Assyrian’ army. By the end of the encounter at the first Assyrian “camp,” where the Assyrians had built a rampart and breastworks, they had sustained a heavy slaughter and were beaten back to their defenses. Cyrus, cautious in the face of his weary and still outnumbered men, called a

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<sup>9</sup> Including Lydia (Croesus), Cappadocia, Phrygia, Paphlagonia, India, Caria, and Celicia.

<sup>10</sup> “Tigranes” reappears as a name in Armenia’s monarchy in *New Testament* times; see Appendix 4B, Attachment 2, C(1).

<sup>11</sup> *Chaldean* here is distinguished from Nabopolassar and his descendants, who are found referred to as “Chaldean” biblically and “Assyrian” by *Xenophon*, who makes reference to “...Assyrians, both those from Babylon and those from the rest of Assyria.” II.i.5. Refer to Appendix 1F, Chaldaea/Chaldaeans.

<sup>12</sup> The status of two albeit allied but still-distinct entities, Median and Persian, was caught in Cyaxares statement, “Do not let yourselves imagine, Cyrus and the rest of you Persians, that I am embarrassed at having to support you. As for invading the enemy’s country at once, however, I too consider that the better plan from every point of view.” III.iii.20.

temporary retreat.

III.iii.24ff., 57-70

The Assyrians had lost their general;<sup>13</sup> many of their men deserted in the night. “[C]roesus and the rest of their allies...too lost heart...quitted their camp, and departed under cover of the night.” Cyrus proposed pursuit. Cyaxares II preferred savoring the current victory but on Cyrus’ supplication gave leave for Cyrus to pursue the enemy with what troops he could get to volunteer. Cyaxares expected the Mede troops also would rather make merry than continue warring at that time and did not realize the full extent of loyalty Cyrus had come to command. IV.i.8ff.

Cyrus engaged himself with preparations for pursuit. Meanwhile, seeing panic in the Assyrian ranks and desertion of their discouraged allies, and since “*the Assyrian monarch was now slain,*”<sup>14</sup> the Hyrcanians (“neighbors of the Assyrians”) decided to revolt against the ‘Assyrian’ overlord and join Cyrus. The Hyrcanians assured Cyrus that, if a march began immediately, the enemy (marching slowly due to a large entourage) could be overtaken before reaching its “strongholds.” “The result was that all came out—even the Medes, [only] excepting those...feasting with Cyaxares.” Cyrus entrusted the Hyrcanians to lead the way; and the second Assyrian camp, caught by surprise, fell into great disassembly. Lydian king Croesus and the Phrygian king retreated early; but the kings of Cappadocia and Arabia stood ground and were cut down, while “the majority of the slain were Assyrians and Arabians.” IV.ii.1-31

While part of the Medes dealt with seized supply wagons, “others were bringing in the carriages that conveyed the most high-born women, not only wedded wives but also concubines, who on account of their beauty had been brought along; these also they captured and brought in.” Hystaspas, “one of the Persian peers” at Cyrus’ camp, agreed with Cyrus as to how soldiers should comport themselves.<sup>15</sup> Cyrus counseled his Persians that it was prudent to entrust division of the spoils of battle to the Medes, Hyrcanians and Tigranes, emphasizing that the Persians, through continence and by taking only what voluntarily was shared, would ensure the loyalty of their new allies. (However, when Cyrus witnessed the abundant collection and transport of spoil by Mede and Hyrcanian horsemen, he determined it was time for the Persians to establish their own cavalry and develop themselves as horsemen.) IV.ii.46; IV.III.4ff.

Cyrus spared and put at liberty all captives who voluntarily surrendered their arms and pledged allegiance to him. IV.iv.9-13

Back at his camp a vexed Cyaxares II, who had found himself nearly depleted of men after Cyrus’ departure, was doubly angry when he learned of the Hyrcanian involvement. He sent a 100-man cavalry to Cyrus’ camp with a message that the Mede soldiers return with or without Cyrus, in which latter case Cyrus would be left with only infantry. Cyrus, prior to his audience with Cyaxares’ attache, dispatched a message to Persia [presumably to his father, Cambyses I], to send reinforcements if they/he desired “to have control of Asia and the revenues accruing therefrom.” IV.v.10-25

Next, Cyrus set the Hyrcanian king to convincing Cyaxares’ cavalry officer of the logic that the officer and all the Medes should remain with Cyrus. Then Cyrus sent a conciliatory but fully disclosing message back to his uncle, pointing out that the Medes undoubtedly would turn against Cyaxares if he insisted that they return, while on the other hand if they remained Cyrus would guarantee that his Persians also would be at Cyaxares’ service, and that all efforts would be jointly toward their common benefit. IV.v.27-33

Meanwhile, for the Persians’ share of the spoils, Cyrus only asked for and received

<sup>13</sup> This may be a reference to the [unspecified] Assyrian monarch who Xenophon reports in the next paragraph.

<sup>14</sup> Italics supplied. (Was this monarch Neriglissar?; see fn. 8.)

<sup>15</sup> Hystaspas/Hystaspes also is the name of the father of later Darius I (at *Herodotus*, 1.204-215, below.).

captured horses for his men. Among other interim acts, Cyrus “ordered proclamation to be made that if there were any one from Media or Persia or Bactria or Caria or Greece or anywhere else forced into service as a slave in the army of the Assyrians or Syrians or Arabians, he should show himself. And many came forward gladly.” These Cyrus made part of a supporting infantry for his developing cavalry. [IV.v.55-58](#)

Finally, Cyrus put the matter straight to the Mede soldiers, whether the campaign against the ‘Assyrians’ ought to be abandoned or continued. Artabazus (a commander), Tigranes, and the Hyrcanian king were leading enthusiasts, as “all the Medes” pledged to follow Cyrus until he deemed it time to lead them home. [V.i.23-29](#)

Cyrus sent to Cyaxares II to come for a war council, to inspect the army and decide disposition of captured forts--although, if Cyaxares so preferred and commanded, Cyrus instead willingly would go to him. Cyaxares both felt it best to keep the army at the frontier and to transfer out of Media 40,000 Persian bowmen and peltast reinforcements (assembled earlier at Cyrus’ request), who were a drain on Median land. Cyaxares released their commander to take them to Cyrus, and he personally set out with the Median cavalry that originally had remained with him.

On arrival, Cyaxares turned away from Cyrus’ kiss, at first, upon seeing the great and valiant company Cyrus had assembled compared to his own small escort. After a long discourse--in which Cyaxares complained and Cyrus explained and assuaged--Cyaxares to the relief of both Mede and Persian soldiers allowed himself to be reconciled. [V.i.1-37](#)

The next day, while Cyaxares II was preparing to hold court at the camp, Cyrus’ allies gathered around him, at once jokingly and dead serious about wanting him not to disband as he had intimated he might. At the assembly before Cyaxares, Cyrus explained that he had suggested disbanding the army because he expected his plan would be seen as too bold. The only way he saw to victory, Cyrus said, was for them to get possession of as many enemy forts as quickly as possible while at the same time build their own. At the end of the speeches, Cyaxares II stood up and declared the Medes would be glad to cooperate. The decision to continue the war was unanimous.

Babylonian deserters reported that the “Assyrian king”<sup>16</sup> had gone off in the direction of Lydia with many talents of gold and silver. Cyrus deduced correctly that the “Assyrian king” had gone to form a coalition and immediately set himself to issues of strategy and equipment, including construction of chariots modified for greater battle efficiency. [VI.i.25-7](#)

Cyrus needed someone to infiltrate the enemy. He privately nailed one Araspas, a longtime friend, for the job.<sup>17</sup> With Araspas off on his mission, Cyrus prepared for battle; among his counselors were Hystaspas and King Abradatas of Susa.<sup>18</sup> Spies that Cyrus sent to the enemy camp reported back that “[M]any Thracian swordsmen had already been hired and that Egyptians were under sail to join.... [T]he Cyprian army [and] the Cilicians were all present already...as were also the contingents from Phrygias, Lycaonia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Arabia, and Phoenicia; the Assyrians were there *under the king of Babylon*; the Ionians also, and the Aeolians and almost all the Greek colonists in Asia had been compelled to join Croesus, and Croesus had even sent to Lacedaemon to negotiate an alliance. This army, they said, was being mustered at the River Pactolus, but it was their intent to advance to Thymbrara, where even to-day [remarked Xenophon] is the rendezvous of the king’s

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<sup>16</sup> Nabonidus?--refer to fn. 7 and cross-references.

<sup>17</sup> Cyrus previously had assigned Araspas to guard Panthea, beautiful wife of King Abradatas, King of Susa, while Abradatas went on an emissarial mission. Araspas was unable to refrain from making advances to Panthea; eventually he became so intimidating that Panthea reported his behavior to Cyrus. Cyrus now pointed out to Araspas that his transgression would be a convincing cause for the enemy to accept him as a “defector,” by which mission Araspas would restore himself in Cyrus’ good graces. [VI.iii.35](#); [V.i.3ff.](#)

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix 2A, [Elam](#).

barbarians from the interior.”<sup>19</sup>

VI.ii.9

Croesus “meant to call on the Egyptians to send him aid, according to the terms of the alliance which he had concluded with Amasis,” and “also to summon to his assistance the Babylonians, under their King Labynetus,<sup>20</sup> for they too were bound to him by treaty.” 1.77-84

Cyrus began his march and arrived within “two parasangs” (7-1/2 miles) of the enemy, where an informant told him that “Croesus, himself” was marshal,<sup>21</sup> and that with him was “a Greek and someone else--a Mede; the latter, however, was said to be a deserter from your side [Araspas].” It was not until Araspas’ return that Cyrus revealed to his coalition that Araspas in fact had not defected. Araspas reported fully on the foe’s battle array, and Egyptian participation also was confirmed. VI.iii.11ff.

The battle engaged, and Cyrus’ forces prevailed.<sup>22</sup> Croesus fled to Sardis/Sardes, the Lydian capital. Cyrus conquered Sardis after a 14-day siege and captured Croesus. (He chastized his “Chaldean” contingent for running haphazardly for spoil.) In an audience with Cyrus, Croesus offered Cyrus all of Lydia’s treasures. Cyrus distributed bounty among his men and restored Croesus<sup>23</sup> to his household. Cyrus now had the substantial vassalage of Croesus and the Lydians.

Among ensuing events, Cyrus’ emissary Adusius quelled a civil war in Caria and established peace between factions there. The Greeks “who dwelt by the sea [in Asia Minor] gave many gifts and secured an agreement to...pay tribute and serve under Cyrus in the field wherever he should direct.” Cyrus started from Sardis in the company of Croesus, with “many wagons loaded with valuables of every sort.”

Cyrus’ ultimate goal was Babylon.<sup>24</sup> On the way he subdued greater Phrygia and Cappadocia, reduced the Arabians to submission, and secured armor from the Arabians for 40,000 Persian horsemen. The many horses that fell to his lot he distributed among his army’s divisions. He also armed and included in his march such Lydians as he felt he could trust. Those he did not trust were branded as slaves, given slingshots, and marched as infantry. To VII.iv.12-16; 1.86

From among the surrendered enemy there had arrived one Gobryas,<sup>25</sup> “an ‘Assyrian,’ a man well advanced in years, [who] came up on horseback with a calvary escort” and asked an audience with Cyrus. Gobryas, “governor of Gutium<sup>26</sup>” told Cyrus his reasons for wanting to join, and why he hated the ‘new’ Assyrian king: Gobryas had been vassal to the “old” ‘Assyrian’ king, who had offered to give a daughter in marriage to Gobryas’ only son, and

<sup>19</sup> (a) The river Pactolus, that “[F]amous river with its golden sands (now only a small brook), rising in Mt. Tmolus and flowing through Lydia past Sardis” (*Xenophon Cyropaedia*, p. 474, Index); (b) Thymbrara, a city of Lydia on the Pactolus not far from Sardis (*Ibid.*, p. 477); (c) Ety. [barbarian:] *barbaroi* = “people speaking an incomprehensible language;” a word used by the Greeks” (*Atlas of the Classical World*, VanDerHeyden, A.A.M. and Scullard, H.H., Eds.; London, etc.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1959, p. 31).

<sup>20</sup> Refer again to fn. 7. It is believed that the Babylonian king failed to respond.

<sup>21</sup> It was Cyrus’ deposal of Astyages, Croesus’ brother-in-law, which “formed the ground of quarrel between Cyrus and Croesus.”

<sup>22</sup> Early in the battle Cyrus spared Egyptians willing to join him; they asked, however, not to be put to fight where they could be seen by Croesus, with whom they were “acquainted.” (The defectors “have continued loyal subjects even to this day [of writing],” and also received cities called “even to this day Egyptian cities.”)

<sup>23</sup> Cyrus learned Abradatas of Susa had been killed in battle; he found Panthea at her husband’s dead body. After Cyrus left she killed herself. Her three eunuchs also killed themselves; Cyrus had a monument reared over all of them.

<sup>24</sup> The alliance of Lydia, Egypt and Babylonia “sharpened the intention of Cyrus to deal with the remaining members of it. ... Yet the attack on Babylon was not made for a few years after the fall of Lydia.” *Cambridge*, v. IV, pp. 10-11.

<sup>25</sup> Possibly *Gubaru* or *Ugbaru* of the “*Nabonidus Chronicle*.” The name, Gobryas, would be among the seven men who, according to *Herodotus*, later raised Darius I to the throne.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix 2A, *Gutium*.

who had invited the young man to his court. While together on a hunt, Gobryas' son was murdered by the "old" Assyrian king's prince-son: that "young fellow," Gobryas said, "who has just come to the throne."<sup>27</sup>

Gobryas further had told Cyrus II, "I am by birth an Assyrian; I have also a castle, and wide are the domains which I govern. I have also about a thousand horse which I used to put at the disposal of the [old] Assyrian king, and I used to be his most devoted friend. But since he has been slain by you, excellent man that he was, and since his son, who is my worst enemy, has succeeded to his crown, I have come to you...and offer myself to be your vassal and ally and ask that you will be my avenger." Cyrus subsequently went with a Persian contingent to visit Gobryas at his fortress. Gobryas offered Cyrus his daughter in marriage and his palace whenever Cyrus chose to use it, vowing he would fight for Cyrus and pay tribute regularly to him. Cyrus confirmed the pact; but he left both the daughter and a proffered dowry with Gobryas, to keep until the day of an actual marriage (which Cyrus later arranged but not to himself--to a different man acceptable to Gobryas). IV.vi.1-2

Cyrus asked Gobryas for a tour through his country, "so that we may know what we have to consider as belonging to our friends and what...our enemies," and consulted with both Gobryas and the Hyrcanian king as to what to do about the "Assyrian king." Cyrus asked, "[D]oes the Assyrian king believe that you are the only ones who are hostile to him, or do you know of any one else who is his enemy?" Hyrcania's king assured Cyrus that many clans (including the Cadacians and Sacians) would be eager to join Cyrus "in an attack upon the Assyrian." Gobryas mentioned another leader certain to join--a man named Gadatas. Gobryas related that Gadatas, now king in his province, had been castrated when a prince by order of "the Assyrian."

To reach Gadatas' territory, however, meant marching "along the very walls of Babylon." Gobryas felt Cyrus' army wasn't big enough to go by Babylon, given the potential size of the force that might come out to meet it; but Cyrus was confident that the winning attitude of his now-enlarged allied army would stand the test, and that they should approach openly. In four days they left "the boundaries of Gobrya's domains...and...[entered] the enemy's country." V.ii.21-30-iii

The sequencing cannot be fixed exactly of (a) Gobryas' appearance, (b) Cyrus' reconnaissance of Gutium, and (c) the enlistment of Gadatas *vis-a-vis* two battles that preceded the conquest of Babylon. However, "Cyrus set his army in motion...and about the beginning of Tishri (September-October) in 539 b.c. he fought a battle at Opis [near the SW border of Gutium], and this action was the signal for a general revolt in Akkad. By the 14th of the month Tishri he had appeared before the walls of Sippar [SE of Opis] which threw open its gates to the invader. The wretched king, Nabonidus, now at the eleventh hour back in his land, fled to Babylon...." *Cambridge*, v. III, p. 224.

Cyrus II approached Babylon and, "as the Assyrians did not march out to meet them, Cyrus ordered Gobryas to ride up and say, 'If the king wishes to come out and fight for his country, I myself would join him and fight for him too; but if the king will not protect his country, then I must needs submit to the victors.'" The Assyrian king<sup>28</sup> sent back, "This is your sovereign's response to you, Gobryas: I do not regret that I killed your son, but only that I did not kill you, too. And if you and your men wish to fight, come back a month from now. Just at present we have no time to fight, for we are still busy with our preparations." When Gobryas returned the message to Cyrus,<sup>29</sup> Cyrus drew back and proposed to Gobryas that they proceed to enlist Gadatas. V.iii.5-8

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<sup>27</sup> Refer to fn. 7, etc. regarding the "inextricable snarl" involving which *Babylonian* ("Assyrian") kings were meant. Appendix 3A, II(C)(2) offers an exploratory timeline and reasonings based on available data.

<sup>28</sup> Here, again, is involved the "snarl" of 'Assyrian' kings referenced at fn. 7, etc.

<sup>29</sup> As Gadatas would note, things presently were quite different from the time when "we were friends to the Assyrian king. [M]y father's estate seemed to me the finest in the world; for it was so near to the mighty city of Babylon that we enjoyed all the advantages of a great city but could come back home and be rid of all its rush and worry. But now that we are his enemies, it is obvious that with your departure we ourselves and our whole house shall be the victims of plots, etc." V.iv.33-39

Cyrus drew a scheme whereby Gobryas secretly would obtain Gadatas' alliance. Then, Gadatas would 'happen to appear' at "the Assyrian's" frontier fort, just as Cyrus commenced a mild attack. Gadatas, who would be taken by the fort commanders to be still an Assyrian vassal, would feign to assist their defense and gain position at the fortress to help Cyrus win it. The plan succeeded; and "a base of operations [was] established in the north-east."  
V.iii.13ff.; (the last quote is an editor's note).

Word arrived that the angered Assyrian king, having heard events, was on his way to invade Gadatas' territory. Gadatas took leave of Cyrus to return home. The Assyrian king gained possession of Gadatas' fortress and laid an ambush, into which Gadatas fell and was wounded; but just when it looked like all was lost Cyrus appeared with his men and saved the day. The Assyrians were routed and many were slain; others "had time to reach a large city of Assyria, in which the king himself with his horsemen and chariots also took refuge."  
V.iv.4-9

Gadatas worried he would not be able to hold ground against possible further attacks once Cyrus and his men departed. Cyrus proposed they leave a garrison and that Gadatas go into the field with him. Gadatas agreed.  
V.iv.33-39

This time when Cyrus marched his army by Babylon city he "constantly kept the part [of it] just passing the city the strongest," continuing his march until in the "usual number of days" he came to "the place on the boundaries between Media and Syria" from which he had originally started.<sup>31</sup> There, he and Gadatas took over three Syrian forts. "Cyrus in person" assaulted one and took it by storm and by intimidation he obtained surrender of a second; Gadatas persuaded capitulation of the third.  
V.iv.50-51

*Herodotus* relates how, of all of Babylon's sovereigns who contributed to its building, two were women, Semiramis and Nitocris.<sup>32</sup> "The expedition of Cyrus was undertaken against the son of [the latter] princess, who bore the same name as his father, Labynetus/[Nabonidus], and was the king of the Assyrians." 1.188

Cyrus planned to lay a long siege at Babylon. The river ("two stadia across") posed problems. He "spent an entire summer having his army dig 180 trenches to drain the Gyndes stream after one of his sacred white horses was drowned in trying to cross it."  
1.189

One battle, a short distance from city, the Persians won; the Babylonians retreated inside their well-fortified and provisioned walls.  
1.190

"[With] the first approach of the ensuing spring, he [Cyrus II] marched forward against Babylon [the city]." He "arrived before Babylon with a great host of calvary, and a great host of bowmen and spearmen, and a multitude of slingers beyond number." Cyrus dug trenches either side of the city and built towers. Babylonians laughed at him from the walls, "in the belief that they had provisions enough for more than 20 years." But when Cyrus opened the heads of the trenches the bed of the river where it traversed the city became passable for men.  
VII.iv.16; VII.v.7-16

The Babylonians remained seemingly unconcerned within their well-provisioned city. "Had the Babylonians...noticed," they would not have been caught in his trap. "But...the Persians came upon them by surprise and so took the city." According to *Herodotus*, later the "Babylonians declare[d]" that the city was so big its "inhabitants of the central parts...long after the outer portions of the town were taken, knew nothing..., but as they were engaged in

<sup>30</sup> Gadatas said "I should like to take my mother with me," and did, along with "many of his own loved and trusted friends and many also of those whom he distrusted, compelling some to bring along their wives, others their brothers and sisters, in order that he might keep them under control..." V.iv.33-39

<sup>31</sup> "Used erroneously for Assyria;" *Xenophon Cyropaedia*, p. 477. (From 312/311 b.c., the beginning of the era of Seleucus, "as it truly is observed by Dr. Hudson..., the Syrians and Assyrians are sometimes confounded in ancient authors, according to the words of Justin,...that the Assyrians were afterward called Syrians." Whiston *AJ*, note to XIII.VI.7.)

<sup>32</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A, II, "Descendancy Chart, Neo-Babylonians," for detail of these queens.

a festival, they continued dancing and revelling until they learnt the capture but too certainly. Such, then, were the circumstances of the first taking of Babylon.” (Darius I would be required later to resubdue Babylon when he took the Persian throne.) 1.189-91

“All the city is feasting this night” was the word, when Cyrus’s force advanced to the Babylonian palace. “Gobryas and Gadatas and their troops” attacked the palace guard; and the uproar being heard within, “at the king’s command, to see what the matter was, some opened the gates and ran out.” Gobryas and Gadatas fought their way “into the presence of the king; and they found him already risen with his dagger in his hand...overpowered him; and those about the king perished also.”<sup>33</sup> VII.v.25ff.

“Gadatas and Gobryas...did homage to the gods, seeing that they had avenged themselves upon the wicked king....” VII.v.32

Cyrus graciously negotiated with Gobryas that, instead of to Cyrus, Gobryas give his daughter in marriage to Hystaspas. VIII.iv.16, 24-26

In Cyrus’s subsequent march homeward, when he “came near Media, he turned aside to visit Cyaxares II, who gave his [unnamed] daughter to Cyrus to marry, saying, “[M]y own daughter, I offer you as well, Cyrus, to be your wife. Your father married my father’s daughter, whose son you are. This [maid] is she whom you used to pet when you came to visit us when you were a boy. ... And with her I offer you all Media as a dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue.” VIII.v.17

Cyrus continued to the Persian capital of Persepolis where his father, Cambyses I, still was alive. Cambyses I said, “As long as I live, the Persian throne continues to be mine own. But when I am dead, it will, of course, pass to Cyrus if he survives me.” VIII.v.21-26

*Herodotus* (1) and *Xenophon* (2) differ as to the description of Cyrus II’s death, respectively:

(1) “Of the many different accounts...this...appears...most worthy of credit:” that he died battling the Massagetae, who inhabited the greater portion of the vast plain stretching east of the Caspian Sea. Cyrus made an expedition against them, failed to entice its queen, Tomyris, and caused capture of her son, who killed himself out of shame. Tomyris gave Cyrus a fierce battle, in which he fell, after a reign of 29 years.

Cyrus purportedly had had a dream or premonition that “Darius, the eldest son of Hystaspes, the son of Arsames...of the race of Achaemenidae”--then scarcely 20 years old, was plotting against him and his crown. Hystaspes, who was with Cyrus at the time, heartily demurred that Darius had any such notion, but he “hastened back to Persia to keep a watch on his son, Darius.” Nonetheless, before the Massagetae engagement, Cyrus sent his own son and appointed successor, Cambyses II, back to Persia. 1.204-215

(2) Cyrus, “now a very old man, he came back for the seventh time in his reign to Persia. His father and mother were in the course of nature long since dead....” While there, Cyrus entered the final days of his own life and is described in discourse with his two sons, Cambyses II and Tanaoxares. The kingdom he committed to Cambyses II, “the first born. To Tanaoxares he gave the satrapies of Media, Armenia and Cadusia.” “[A]s soon as Cyrus was dead, his children at once fell into dissension, states and nations began to revolt, and everything began to deteriorate.” VIII.vii.1-2, 8-12

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<sup>33</sup> (Yet again, the “Assyrian king” snarl, referenced in fn. 7, etc.) See description translations of Babylon’s taking in Appendix 3A, II(C)(4), “Cyrus-Nabonidus Chronicle”/“The Annalistic Tablet of Cyrus.”

Regardless the manner of Cyrus II's death or final words, it is clear that matters between his sons were not yet in agreement prior to Cambyses II embarking on an expedition to conquer Egypt. (Per rumor, Cambyses II suffered from epilepsy; some of his acts outraged both allies and Persians alike.) Reportedly, prior to his departure, he made arrangements for the murder of a brother or half-brother, around whose name revolves some confusion. According to Darius I, on his later *Behistan/Behistun* inscription:

“When Cambyses slew *Bardiya* [/Bardes] it was not known to the people that Bardiya was slain: afterwards Cambyses went to Egypt: when Cambyses had departed into Egypt [he is reported to have been away from Persia three years] the people became hostile...afterwards there was a certain man, a Magian, Gaumata by name...he lied to the people ‘I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses’: afterwards all the peoples rose in revolt, and from Cambyses they went over to him, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces: he seized on the kingdom...afterwards Cambyses died.” (*Cambridge* VI, vii.)

According to Herodotus, the leading magi of Persia kept ‘Bardiya’ ostensibly alive by substituting for him the brother of the comptroller of the royal household, said to have borne a striking resemblance to the dead man (both the imposter and Tanaoxares are found referred to as ‘Smerdis’). The imposter was kept from public view; and with the commonweal ignorant as to the true circumstances, the magi declared ‘Bardiya’ (some sources say ‘Tanaoxares’) indeed was on the throne, and issued proclamations--everywhere, Egypt included--that Persia's troops thenceforth were to be loyal to him as king, not Cambyses II.

Cambyses II had taken with him on his expedition his [unnamed] full sister. She died there, reportedly at his hands, assaulted by him in fury over her laments of her murdered, full or half brother's fate. She happened also to be pregnant, “miscarried and died.” 3.32.

Cambyses II “conquered Egypt and...plundered their temples. ...He afterwards sent an army of 50,000 men to destroy Jupiter Ammon's temple, and resolved to attack the Carthaginians and Aethiopians.” (*Lempriere* 121.) Cambyses “advanced even as far as *Meroe* [Ethiopia]; [the] name was given by him to both the island and the city, it is said, because his sister, Meroe--some say, his wife--[fn. 1, “Diodorus Seculus (1.33) says his mother”]--died there.” (*Strabo*, vol. VIII, page 19.)

Cambyses II got the news of the fake ‘Bardiya’ [/Smerdis] accession on an arrival with his army at “Agbatana in Syria,” and thought that his assassin had failed him. Cambyses--jumping hastily to his steed--accidentally wounded himself on his sword and the wound gangrened. He died there, ending his reign of approximately seven and one-half years. Before dying he exhorted his men, especially “those of you as are Achaemenids,” not to let the kingdom “go back to the Medes.”

Cambyses II's “death happened 521 years before the birth of Christ. He left no issue to succeed him, and his throne was usurped by the magi.”

*Lempriere* 122, citing *Herod.* 2, 3, etc., *Justin*, 1, c.9, and *Val. Max.* 6,c.3.

After Cambyses II's death, the imposter took possession of the royal wives but kept them apart from each other. Otanes--a nobleman and father of Phaedima, one of the royal wives, Phaedima--grew suspicious when several months had passed yet the new king continued avoiding public appearance. The ears of the imposter-Smerdis previously had been cut off on command of Cambyses II.<sup>34</sup> Otanes asked Phaedima to contrive to confirm a deception. Eventually the fake Smerdis did bed Phaedima, who was able to verify that the man was earless, and she informed her father. 3.34ff.;3:61ff.

<sup>34</sup> The identical deed would be performed on Hyrcanus II by Antigonus II of Judaea, to prevent him from meeting the unmaimed qualification for a high priest, c. 40 b.c.--refer to Appendix 4B, I, at fn. 50.

Otanes collected a group of seven collaborators, which included Darius I, son of Hystaspes/Hystaspas, governor of Susa. Darius I “arrived at Susa from Persia” and told his collaborators, “I can say that I just have come from Persia [with] a message to deliver to the king from my father.” Darius then led a surprise palace attack, killing all the magi encountered.<sup>35</sup> The seven collaborators drew a plan for sharing the new government, and how a king from among them would be chosen (Darius won the competition by contriving for “his horse to neigh first”). “Thus was Darius, son of Hystaspes, appointed king [and] all of Asia was subject to him...except the Arabians.” 3.70-72; 84-88

Darius I “contracted marriages” with Cyrus II’s two daughters, Atossa and Artystone, and with (Smerdis-) Parmys and (Otanes-) Phaedima. He organized the Persian empire into 20 “satrapies [regions and districts]” and set their tributes and/or taxation. The satrapies included territory “reaching from the city of Posideum (...on the confines of Syria and Cilicia) to the borders of Egypt...,[and] all Phoenicia, Palestine Syria [*sic.*] and Cyprus were herein contained. This as the fifth satrapy.” A district that belonged to Arabia was free from tax. (The Arabians were “never subject as slaves to the Persians,” having aided Cambyses on his expedition to invade Egypt.<sup>36</sup>)

Darius also unified coinage, established a ‘pony express’ postal system between Susa and Sardis, and added Persepolis in Persia-proper to his capitals of Susa in Elam, Ecbatana in Media, and Babylon. 3.88-91

“The fifth satrapy known as Abar-Nahara, *i.e.* Beyond-the-River,” consisted of Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine and Cyprus. At times the same governor was placed in charge of two or more complete satrapies. A Babylonian contract-tablet attests, for example, that in the third year of Darius one “Ushtanni was ‘satrap’ of Beyond-the-River and Babylon, *i.e.* satrapies V and IX....” A satrap, as regional or district governor, “had to maintain good relations within his own province and...questions often arose which required reference to the king, such as was made by Tattenai (?Ushtanni), the satrap of Beyond-the-River, in the matter of rebuilding of the Jewish Temple which had been associated with disputes between the Jews and Samaritans.” “With certain satrapies, older or local forms of government were in a measure and with modifications perpetuated, such as...the Jews under high-priestly government and the law-book of Ezra (to which was given the force of state-law for the Jews by Artaxerxes, in the satrapy of Beyond-the-River).” Cambridge, vol. IV, p. 195-6 (*cf.* Ezra 5:3), and p. 197.

During the distracting circumstances of the fake-Smerdis period, the Babylonians had undertaken major defensive preparations for revolt from the Persians.<sup>37</sup> They went so far as to kill many women so as to have fewer mouths to feed if under siege: each man was allowed to keep only one woman in addition to his mother; the rest were strangled.

In the interim, Darius I had made moves on Greece and netted Samos. 134-49

Darius I marched on Babylon. Gaining no headway after 19 months of siege, Darius I endorsed the plan of one Zapyrus. Zapyrus, according to his plan, mutilated his own face, feigned desertion to the Babylonians, eventually gained their total trust and a generalship to boot. As part of the strategy, Darius allowed the Babylonians under Zapyrus to win first three victories, in order that Zapyrus could set the stage to admit the main Persian force to conquer the city. Darius tore down Babylon’s walls, crucified 3000 leading citizens, and put an historical end to the city’s regional significance. 3.150-59

*Herodotus* recounts (a) many Persian expeditions (*Book 4*); (b) dealings with Ionia, Sythia and others (*Books 5-6*), and (c) Darius I’s attempts to absorb Greece into the Persian

<sup>35</sup> “The Persians observe this day...keep it strictly...great festival, Magophonia. No magus may show himself abroad during the whole time....”

<sup>36</sup> *New Cent. Cyclopaedia*, p. 1190.

<sup>37</sup> Babylon’s uprising has been purported as led by descendants of Nabonidus; *loc. cit.*

empire. When news reached Darius of the Persian force's defeat by Greece at Marathon, it fueled his anger against the Athenians, "roused by their [prior] attack on Sardis." He determined he would lead an army into mainland Greece, and he began imposing fresh levies upon, and raising provisions and equipment from his satrapies. "[A]ll Asia was in commotion by the space of three years." In year four, "Egypt, which Cambyses [II] had enslaved, revolted."

To 7.1

Contention broke out among the sons of Darius I, as to which of his sons would rule in his absence and possible death, just as he was ready to lead forces against both Athens and Egypt. Darius appointed son Xerxes [I]. Darius died before he could proceed on his planned campaign, within a year of Egypt's revolt. His reign had lasted 36 years.

7.2-4

Xerxes I, who succeeded his father, first subdued Egypt, placed it under a hard yoke and its government under his brother, Achaemenes. Then he informed his nobles of a plan to march on Greece and eventually to gain all Europe. (Hystaspes-) Artabanus [A], Xerxes' uncle, exhorted reconsideration; (Gobryas-) Mardonius favored the expedition. Xerxes, who at first had been adamant about going, found himself of two minds. Then, after Xerxes and Artabanus had experienced similar dreams, Artabanus had a change of heart. With the magi endorsing Xerxes' ambition, he redetermined to proceed.

7.5-19

Xerxes I spent four years assembling his host. "Was there a nation in all Asia which Xerxes did not bring with him against Greece?" Enormous projects involved in the undertaking included twice building a bridge across the Hellespont (the first failed). A solar eclipse that marked the spring in which Xerxes began his march toward Abydos caused him prophetic alarm. The magians reassured him, claiming that it foreshadowed the fall of Greece, not Persia. The crossing of the foot army, horses, and chariots took seven days and seven nights, while Xerxes' ships filled the coastline. (Artabanus expressed major concern over the potential for storms, and dangers to the Persian fleet in the face of Grecian resolve.)

7.21-37ff.

*Herodotus* names and describes the form of dress, armor, etc. of the nations that joined the Persians in the massive expedition against Greece, among them: Medes, Cassians, Hyrcanians, Assyrians ("called by the Greeks, 'Syrians'"); the "Chaldeans who served in the [Assyrian] ranks;" Bactrians, Indians, Arians, Parthians, Casians, Arabians, Ethiopians, Libyans, Paphlagonians, Syrians ("Cappadocians as they are called by the Persians"); Phrygians, Armenians ("who are Phrygian colonists"); Lydians, Mysians, Thracians...etc. Also listed are the Persian fleet commanders and the supplies and equipment provided by the various allies. "The triremes amounted in all to 1207, and were furnished by the following nations:.... The Phoenicians, with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished 300 vessels.... This [Phoenicia] part of Syria, and all the region extending from hence to Egypt, is known by the name of Palestine."

7.61; 89

Xerxes' land army marched upon Greece through Thrace and eventually did reach Athens, but in the ensuing sea battle his outmaneuvered fleet was trapped and defeated.

Herodotus provides much detail about the various Greek tribes and confrontations and unions effected along the way. He tells also of Artemisia, who gave Xerxes the soundest counsel of all of his allies. Artemisia (daughter of a Halicarnassian father and Cretan mother) retained sovereign power after she was widowed, and she held sway over the Dorian cities of Halicarnassia, Cos, Nisyros and Calydna ("was queen of a few Carian cities"). The five triremes that she furnished Xerxes were, "next to the Sidonian, the most famous in the fleet." Artemisia's participation in the attack on Greece moved Herodotus to "special wonder" in that, although she had a grown son, "yet her brave spirit and manly daring sent her forth to the war."

7.99; (*Greek Dict.* p. 811).

After the Salamis defeat, Xerxes I initiated preparations to give the appearance he

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<sup>38</sup> Xerxes I's lineage here is given by *Herodotus* as (Achaemenes-Teispes-Ariaramnes- Arsames-Hystaspes- Darius-) Xerxes.

intended to stay and fight, but afforded himself an avenue of escape as well. He raised a mound at the channel and strung boats together--a wall of defense that also would serve as a bridge of retreat. Mardonius offered to take full command, if Xerxes was wont to return to Persia. Xerxes sought the counsel of Artemisia,<sup>39</sup> as to whether Persia ought do as Mardonius counseled--remain and "attack the Peloponnese." Artemisia responded, "if Mardonius fall, it matters nothing--they [the Greeks] will have gained but a poor triumph--a victory over one of thy slaves! Remember, also, thou goest home having gained the purpose of thy expedition; for thou hast burnt Athens!" Her words pleased Xerxes "well; for she had exactly uttered his own thoughts." Xerxes "gave praise to Artemisia, and entrusted certain of his children to her care, ordering her to convey them to Ephesus; for he had been accompanied on the expedition by some of his natural sons."<sup>40</sup> 7.105; 8.101-3

Xerxes I retreated to Asia Minor. Lingered at Sardis, he hatched a plot to gain his brother's, Masistes' wife, who had been spurning Xerxes' advances. Xerxes proposed that Masistes' wife's daughter, Artaynta, marry one of Xerxes' sons, another-named Darius. Once Artaynta was received as the intended wife of son Darius, however, Xerxes developed a passion for her instead. Xerxes' wife, Amestris, wreaked savage vengeance, but not on Artaynta. Amestris saw Masistes' wife as "cause of all the mischief," and had her horribly mutilated. Masistes fled. Xerxes had him pursued, and Masistes, his sons and his soldiers all were killed."<sup>41</sup> 9.108ff.

"Xerxes built himself a new palace at Persepolis, which was never completed; otherwise he seemingly spent the rest of his reign in idleness and sensuality at Susa...until, some time before April 464, in the 21st year of his reign, he was murdered by a courtier, Artabanus."<sup>42</sup> Artabanus also murdered Xerxes' eldest son, a Darius, ostensibly with the aid of a third son, Artaxerxes. Artabanus reigned for seven months, being recognized even in Egypt; and he defeated Xerxes' second son, another-named Hystaspes. "But Artaxerxes [I] outwitted him; he bided his time, allowed Artabanus to remove those who stood between him and the throne, and then turned on the usurper and defeated and killed him." Cambridge, vol. VI, p. 2.

Artaxerxes I ("Longimanus") first was faced with a revolt, which he suppressed although not without concessions. "In the West, however, he [/Persia] suffered a definite [/temporary] setback. "[A]t the so-called Peace of Callias in 449-8 Persia [/Artaxerxes I] definitely abandoned the Aegean and the cities on its seaboard." Artaxerxes I's death after a 40-year reign was followed by "the usual struggle" between contending sons.

Son Xerxes II succeeded his father but was promptly murdered by half-brother, Sogdianus, who reigned some months and was then defeated by another half-brother, Darius II/Ochus, who secured the crown (and who "Greeks nicknamed *Nothos*, 'the bastard'"). Afterward, another brother, Arsites, rose in revolt, was overthrown, and put to death. (The Darius II and Arsites confrontation was the first time in Persian warring that both sides employed Greek mercenaries.)

A subsequent revolt in Lydia was defeated by one (Hydarnes-) Tissaphernes, whose sister, Statira [A], was married to Darius II's son, Arsaces, and whose brother, Terituchmes, was married to Darius II's daughter, Amestris [B]. Evidently, Darius II's government was influenced strongly by his half-sister and wife, Parysatis, and especially plagued by intrigues stemming from familial relationship competitions.

In reward for his services, Tissaphernes had been made satrap of Lydia. Terituchmes

<sup>39</sup> See preceding paragraph.

<sup>40</sup> Xerxes' descendency is in Appendix 3A, I.

<sup>41</sup> Cambridge succinctly states, "Xerxes' brother Masistes, satrap of Bactria...failed in an attempt to revolt." Vol. VI, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup> One and the same with (Darius I + [Darius I sister and Gobryas -] Daughter -) *Artabanus*?-- refer to Appendix 3A, I, "Exploration of Familial Relationships, Media/Persia."

plotted to overthrow Darius II, was betrayed and killed.<sup>43</sup> Darius II then made son Cyrus III (Parysatis' favorite) satrap of Phrygia, Cappadocia and Lydia--of the latter, in place of Tissaphernes who was restricted to Caria and the Greek Ionian cities. Tissaphernes was to show himself thenceforth as an "irreconcilable enemy" of the king, as well as of Cyrus III who then held supreme Persian command of all of Asia Minor. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

After Darius II died and Arsaces, who reigned as Artaxerxes II, was on the throne, Cyrus III was imprisoned briefly, in that Tissaphernes accused him of plotting Arsaces' murder. Intervention by Parysatis returned Cyrus III to his satrapy, where he commenced secretly to collect a Greek force to conquer Persia's empire for himself. In time, all of the Ionian cities save Miletus revolted from Tissaphernes to Cyrus III. In the spring of 401 he and his army, largely composed of Greek mercenaries, marched from Sardes ostensibly to confront a regional problem.<sup>44</sup> Tissaphernes, however, rightly guessed Cyrus III's true intent and went to warn Artaxerxes II at Susa.

The battle between Cyrus III and king Artaxerxes II was met near the village of Cunaxa, some 45 miles north of Babylon city. At battle's end, Cyrus, deficient in cavalry and inept in strategy, brazened through to the king and managed to inflict a wound before he himself was killed. Cyrus III's death precipitated desertions and retreat of his forces. In the ensuing post-battle negotiations at the Persian court (where most of Cyrus III's Asiatic allies were pardoned), Tissaphernes received Cyrus' satrapies and command of Asia Minor, with full power to deal with the captured Greek soldiers who, unequipped to recross the Mesopotamian desert, accepted a truce. Tissaphernes pledged to return them safely; at the greater Zab river, however--perhaps under order from Artaxerxes II --he seized the leading Greek general, Clearchus, and 20 other Greek company commanders, all of whom were sent back to Artaxerxes and executed.<sup>45</sup>

Thus began the legendary "Return of the 10,000," as the Greek force (with Xenophon as one of its two new generals) made its way past friendly and unfriendly satraps and tyrant principalities, and through treacherous mountain passes, alternately securing its advance in major battles and minor skirmishes, sacking villages and/or extracting assistance through intimidation, until it reached Byzantium.<sup>46</sup> Camping nearby, many men deserted; perhaps 6000 remained. By the end of a winter spent sacking villages for a Thracian prince, 'international' politics had taken a new turn. Sparta had declared war on Tissaphernes, in that after Cunaxa he had begun attacking Greek cities. Sparta sent its general Thibron to Asia Minor; there, in the spring of 399, he and Xenophon joined forces.

"[T]he one lesson taught by Cyrus [III]'s expedition was that no one need hope to conquer Persia without a cavalry force very different from any which Greece had yet envisaged. That was the lesson which Alexander [the Great] was to apply."

Foregoing four paragraphs, *Cambridge*, vol. VI, pp. 4-19, *en passim*; also Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vol. 1.

"The internal history of Persia from 401 to 335 b.c. is [one of] struggle between the central government and its outlying provinces. ... Meanwhile, a great change was proceeding in Greece--perpetual wars, the large number of exiles, and the absence of any outlet by colonization for the surplus population--had enormously increased the class of Greeks ready to serve as mercenaries; these tended to form a world by themselves, and Persia came to depend too much upon them." *Ibid.*, p. 19.

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<sup>43</sup> In consequence of which Queen Parsyatis did not rest; eventually she precipitated the extermination of all of Hydarnes' house (Appendix 3A, I, shows relationships.)

<sup>44</sup> The account of Cyrus' expedition was written first by the Grecian, Sophænetus. It is believed that Xenophon, who accompanied the venture, kept a diary but that, in writing his account, *Anabasis*, he drew in large amounts from Sophænetus.

<sup>45</sup> Or possibly simply due to growing tension between the Greek mercenary army and the accompanying Persian one--the actual cause never stated.

<sup>46</sup> Later, Constantinople; now, Istanbul, Turkey--which city Xenophon reportedly persuaded the mercenaries to spare.

Within a short time after Sparta's declaration of war against Tissaphernes, the Spartans overran Lydia and defeated him.<sup>47</sup> "After much intriguing" Sparta secured Persian support, "and in 386 Athens was compelled to abandon the Asiatic Greek cities and Cyprus to Persia." Between 385 and 383 b.c. an expedition commissioned by Artaxerxes II to attack Egypt (then ruled by Nectanebo I) failed. By 367, Persia had foregone its Spartan alliance in favor of one with Thebes. The following year, revolts (secretly supported by Caria) began in certain Asia Minor satrapies--initially Phrygia and Armenia, followed by revolts in most of the Greek coastal Asiatic cities from Syria to Lydia. As Persia became more and more cut off from the sea, Egypt (now under Nectanebo I's successor, Tachos) supported the rebel provinces, which also were aided by Athens and Sparta. Disunity among the revolting satraps, however, worked for Artaxerxes II's advantage: by 359 b.c. the Greek revolt was lost, while a revolt in Egypt saw Tachos replaced by Nectanebo II. Artaxerxes II died within the same year.<sup>48</sup>

*Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.

Artaxerxes II initially had proclaimed his son, another Darius, to be his successor. This Darius requested one Aspasia as his heir-apparent boon. Ionian-born Aspasia had belonged to Cyrus III and been "taken among the spoils of his camp" when he was defeated. Besides Aspasia, Artaxerxes II had "360 concubines selected for their beauty." At first Artaxerxes II had given Aspasia to son Darius, but then he had repossessed her and "consecrated her a priestess to Diana/Anaitis of Ecbatana," to "spend the remainder of her days in chastity." Said Darius, giving in to persuasion of other plotters, had joined a scheme to kill his father, but the latter, warned, trapped him. Darius was brought to trial and beheaded.<sup>49</sup>

*Plutarch* 856-858.

Artaxerxes II was followed on the Persian throne by his son, another-named Ochus, who succeeded after putting two remaining half-brothers death.<sup>49</sup> Ochus reigned as Artaxerxes III. Artaxerxes III gained some control over earlier empire weaknesses by ordering disbanding of private satrap-armies. Two satraps refused: Orontes of Mysia and Artabazus of Hellespontine Phrygia--the latter being related to Egypt as brother-in-law of Mentor, the commander of Nectanebo II's mercenaries. At first Athens supported Orontes but withdrew on an ultimatum from Artaxerxes III. Artabazus, helped by Thebes, initially realized some success but, eventually beaten, he and Mentor's brother, Memnon, took refuge with king Philip II of Macedonia.

Artaxerxes III invaded Egypt c. 351 and failed, only to face new uprisings in Asia Minor--primarily Salamis, Cyprus and part of Phoenicia. Once more he secured an alliance with Thebes "and possibly [one with] Philip of Macedonia...and somehow isolated Orontes, who apparently lost Mysia but managed to retire to Armenia." In 345, Artaxerxes III himself took Sidon; however, all of Phoenicia (excepting Tyre) and much of Cyprus were disaffected of Persia and continued to hamper it by sea. In 343 Artaxerxes III prepared to again attack Egypt; in return for subsidies. Thebes gave 1000 men, Argos 3000 and the Asiatic Greeks 6000; Athens insisted on remaining neutral and not help either side. Artaxerxes III "mastered the country, but outraged Egyptian sentiment by violating temples.... Nectanebo II vanished into Ethiopia.... The conquest of Egypt made Mentor and his fellow-general Bagoas the Chiliarch,<sup>50</sup> who worked together, the most important forces in Persia; the Chiliarch, commander of the Guard, had now really become Grand Vizier."

<sup>47</sup> Parsyatis was able to carve another notch in her revenge for Cyrus III by achieving Tissaphernes' execution.

<sup>48</sup> *Plutarch* ascribes Artaxerxes II with the age of 94 years at the end of his 62-year reign. (Page 858.)

<sup>49</sup> According to *Plutarch*, Artaxerxes II first proclaimed as successor his first son, another Darius, who, as heir-apparent, requested as his own from the royal harem the Ionian-born Aspasia, who had belonged to Cyrus III and been taken from the spoils of his camp. Besides Aspasia, Artaxerxes II had "360 concubines selected for their beauty." He gave Aspasia to said son Darius but then repossessed her and instead "consecrated her a priestess to Diana/Anaitis of Ecbatana...to spend the remainder of her days in chastity." This Darius, giving in to persuasion of other plotters, joined a scheme to kill his father but the latter, warned, set a trap. This Darius was brought to trial and beheaded. (Pages 856-858.)

<sup>50</sup> "Bagoas and Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch in the court of Artaxerxes Ochus, so powerful that nothing could be done without his consent. He led some troops against the Jews, and profaned their temple." *Lempriere*, p. 101. See *others* at Appendix 3B, II, Attachment 4, Bagoas/Bagoases/ Bagohi/Bigvai.

It appears that Artaxerxes III blundered politically versus the long-range plans of Philip II of Macedonia. Artaxerxes refused a request from Athens for a subsidy for its war against Philip and let both Athens and Thebes fall unsupported. "Whatever his grievance against Athens for her [neutrality in Artaxerxes' Egyptian campaign] in 343, Thebes was his friend, and...he had had the power to intervene, had he desired." Meanwhile, "Mentor had procured the recall of Artabazus and Memnon;" and, when Mentor died c. 338, brother Memnon took over Mentor's mercenaries.... In the summer of that year Bagoas poisoned Artaxerxes III and made king Artaxerxes' son Arses ["the youngest of the slaughtered prince's children"]. ... In 336 Bagoas poisoned Arses, and set up as king a collateral, Darius III Codomannus, who promptly poisoned Bagoas ["in 335"], the best thing he did."

*Ibid.*, pp. 21-24; [Lempriere, p. 101.]

In 336 b.c. Alexander III, the son of king Philip II of Macedonia, was 20 years old when his father was assassinated.<sup>51</sup> Despite the "usual confusion consequent on a change of ruler," Philip's generals (Antipater and Parmenion) declared for Alexander, and he acted quickly to secure the army and dispose of any potential conspirators who did not escape. Establishing himself outside Macedonia, however, loomed a heavy task. Alexander's father had not had time to consolidate the League of Corinth that he had achieved, and its members considered their treaties with Philip nullified by his death. "Athens was rejoicing over [Philip's] murder, Ambracia expelled [Macedonia's] garrison, Aetolia recalled her exiles, there was excitement in Thebes and the Peloponnese.... [I]n Thessaly the anti-Macedonian party...seized power, [and] northward the Balkan people were flaming up...."

Alexander concentrated first on Greece. In his accession year he regained control of Thessaly with its enviable cavalry and was elected in Philip's place as head for life of her league. He "overawed Thebes, forgave Ambracia and Athens, and at a congress at Corinth of League states he was elected general of the League in Philip's place, for the invasion of Asia." He proceeded to subdue Ilyria; but was forced to return to Thebes when false reports that he was dead circulated in Greece, where Theban democrats previously exiled by king Philip had returned and were commencing to seize power and fuel defections. Alexander hastened to Thebe's wall, collecting contingents from Phocis and Boeotia along the way. It soon became obvious that "the Thebes meant to fight;" however, the Thebans that did "sally forth" incurred double defeat-- the city, itself, subsequently was razed.<sup>52</sup> "[T]he blow produced its effect; every Greek state [excepting Sparta] hastened to submit...."

*Cambridge*, vol. VI, pp. 352-356.

In 335 Alexander, as commander-in-chief of the army of Macedonia and the League of Corinth, began to prepare to invade Persia;<sup>53</sup> in the spring of 334 his army crossed the Dardanelles, "with something over 30,000 foot and over 5000 horse"--12,000 Macedonian infantry and 12,000 infantry of combined Greek allies and mercenaries (the majority of horsemen being some 2000 of the Macedonian upper-class and 1800 Thessalians). Alexander's equipment and personnel included a siege-train, engineers for constructing pontoons and siege-machines, surveyors and well-sinkers; a baggage train, commissariat, secretaries to keep expedition journals, and a watch corps for Alexander's sleeping quarters. Geographers, botanists, several philosophers and literary men also accompanied the expedition.<sup>54</sup>

While general Parmenion brought the army across, Alexander went to Ilium, declared

<sup>51</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4 charts, for familial relationships of Macedonian monarchs and relatives.

<sup>52</sup> "Alexander nominally left Thebes' fate to the League, but the only delegates with him were Thebes' enemies; Phocis and Boeotia indeed voted the city's destruction, but the responsibility lies with Alexander."

<sup>53</sup> "The primary reason...was, no doubt, that he never thought of *not* doing it.... Doubtless, too, adventure attracted him; [but] weight must also be given to the official reason...shown by the political manifesto which he afterwards sent to Darius [III].... [T]he invasion to-be [constituted] that Panhellenic war of revenge which Isocrates had preached...."

<sup>54</sup> The scientific men collected information and specimens for the philosopher Aristotle, retired at Athens, who sent in his stead his nephew--philosopher and historian, Callisthenes.

it free and restored to democracy, and abolished Persian tribute. Back with the army, he confronted the opposition of coastal satraps, including those of Phrygia, Lydia and Cappadocia. "The Persian leaders...meant if possible to strangle the war at birth by killing Alexander;" such explanation often is given for the illogical manner in which they massed their cavalry--on a steep bank of the lower Granicus river--and waited with their Greek mercenaries behind them. "In the ensuing battle... the Persian leaders concentrated on Alexander and threw away their lives freely in a desperate attempt to kill him.... Finally the Persians broke; their men, armed only with javelins, were unequally matched with Alexander's heavy cavalry of lances and short spears.... Alexander surrounded the [Persian army's mercenary] Greeks and killed all but 2000, who he sent in chains to forced labour in Macedonia as traitors to the League; among them were some Athenians." *Ibid.*, pp. 357-362

The Persian mode of ruling its Greek vassals had been by means of tyrants or friendly oligarchies interspersed with garrisons. "Alexander in Asia adopted the opposite method, the support of free democratic government. Partly this was due to circumstances: Persia's foes were his friends. But it must also have been due to conviction, for he never altered his policy when he could have done so." In Greece, however, Alexander's general Antipater [B] used the former method. "[T]he opposition between the two ways of treating Greek cities, the way of Antipater and the way of Alexander...was to divide the Macedonian world till 301."

"[I]n city after city the democrats overthrew the pro-Persian government. Alexander himself occupied Ephesus; Priene admitted [general] Antigonos; troops were detached to secure the Aeolian towns; Sardes was surrendered by the governor.... Alexander... garrisoned Sardes; but he restored to the Lydians the right to be judged by their own native laws. ... Miletus he took by assault." However, the Persian fleet, of which half belonged to coastal Grecian vassal cities, still had command of the Aegean Sea.

Alexander focused on a strategy relative to Greece proper. He decided that, should Memnon (Persia's commander-in-chief of the Asiatic coast and its fleet) try to raise Sparta to Persia's aid, general Antipater would deal with him;<sup>55</sup> and Alexander was confident that Memnon never could raise Greece itself. "To raise Greece meant first winning Athens, the only city which might form a large combination;" and Alexander correctly judged the situation, both the politics at Athens and the logic of conquering the Persian fleet "on land." True, Alexander held as hostage 20 Athenian ships, along with the Athenian prisoners he had taken, and at the same time he had in his collected troops virtual hostages for every state in the League. "But there was more...: [H]is proclamation of democracy had shaken the Greek half of the fleet to its foundations [in that] each city's squadron was manned from the poorer democrats, and would slip away home when its city was freed." Further, thanks to Darius III's predecessor, the Cyprians and all the Phoenicians except Tyre were disaffected. "Memnon's hands were tied--possibly Tyre's was the only really loyal contingent he had. Alexander judged that if he secured the coast cities the fleet would die of dry rot; and it did." *Ibid.*, pp. 362.

Caria's princess more than welcomed Alexander; she adopted him as her son and put her fortress into his hands. Caria's satrap accompanied Alexander to Halicarnassus (where Memnon himself commanded Persia's garrison), which they took by force. At battle's end, Memnon, who had been present, escaped to the fleet.<sup>56</sup> Alexander spent the winter campaigning in the mountains of Lydia and Pisidia and then proceeded south again. He received surrender of Lycia's towns and was welcomed in Pamphylia, where he established a garrison in the seaport of Phaselis to protect it from Persia's fleet. Northward of Phaselis he split his forces between himself and Parmenion. When they rejoined in the spring, farther north at Gordium, Alexander had "received the adhesion of Perge, Aspendus, Side, Sargalassus and Celaenae."

Newly-married soldiers who had been released on furlough for the winter now returned with reinforcements (3000 Macedonians and 650 horse). Ambassadors from Athens

<sup>55</sup> Alexander had left with Antipater, his general in "Europe," 12,000 foot and 1,500 horse.

<sup>56</sup> Several places held by Persia in Caria were not reduced fully, however, until 332.

requested return of Alexander's Athenian prisoners, but "Alexander would not part with his hostages while the Persian fleet was in being; he told the Athenians to ask again when things were more settled." Meanwhile, Memnon and the fleet still had partisans in every city and, up along the north coast, "the oligarchs had put Chios into his hands, and he was besieging Mitylene." It is believed that Memnon's plan was to capture the far northern bridgehead at Abydos; whatever his plan, Memnon then died. Memnon's successor, his nephew Pharnabazus, initially saw some success: Mitylene surrendered to Pharnabazus, which with other Persian recoveries in the region necessitated counter-measures; Alexander commissioned collection of ships from allied cities in the Dardanelles. Circumstances were changed, however, by Darius III, himself. Darius, who finally was assembling an army, sent for the fleet's mercenaries, leaving Pharnabazus crippled. *Ibid.*, pp. 363-365.

Alexander moved north from Gordium to Ancyra/Angora, where ambassadors of Paphlagonia submitted formally to him. There he turned south, leaving Cappadocia on the east largely undisturbed; Alexander's main goal was to confront Darius III. He pushed on to the Cilician Gates, an impregnable pass if properly held, but in a surprise approach he captured the Gates without losing a man. Descending into Cilicia, he hurried on to Tarsus, which he reached in time to save from a reported Persian intent to destroy it.

Alexander was temporarily waylaid at Tarsus by a bout with fever. After he recovered he overtook the Cilician cities and secured the Taurus foothills, while Parmenion went to occupy the passes--"Kara-kapu," which led from Cilicia onto a little plain at Issus and the "pillar of Jonah" which led out of the plain toward Syria. At that point Alexander believed, per earlier intelligence reports, that Darius III and his army still was at Sochi,<sup>57</sup> Syria. Although Darius had waited there some time, he had decided to go looking for Alexander. Darius had sent his war chest and other encumbrances to Damascus and himself moved on to Issus. That report hastened Alexander in securing the Jonah pass; the next morning he advanced toward Darius.<sup>58</sup>

In the afternoon battle, Alexander was able to make his decisive charge when one of his flanks succeeded in driving the Persian light-armed division out of action up a hill. The Persian archers before him "crumpled.... Darius III turned his chariot at the sight and fled. But his guard stood," and the battle "of the two peoples" persisted until, as Darius' flight became known, the Persian forces retreated. Part of Darius' army escaped into Cappadocia; the main segment (Greek mercenaries) marched to Tripoli from where they would sail away. Alexander occupied the Persian camp, at which Darius had abandoned his mother, wife and two daughters.

Darius' "splendidly appointed tent gave the Macedonians their first glimpse of oriental luxury. 'This, I believe, is being a king,' said Alexander...." He had Darius' weeping women reassured that Darius was not dead and that they, themselves, would be safe and enjoy "the same rank and treatment as heretofore. He himself never set eyes on Darius' wife, or allowed her beauty to be alluded to before him; but he showed kindness to Darius' mother, and ultimately married one of the daughters."<sup>59</sup>

Alexander now controlled "the central plateau west of Cappadocia and the south and west coastlands, with the through route into Cilicia," but his conquest of Asia Minor was only half-finished. "[T]he north was open for an Iranian reaction, which duly came." *Ibid.*, pp. 366-369.

"It probably was after Issus that Alexander III first thought definitely of conquering the Persian empire"--the alternative being a defensive war to hold Asia Minor, which Persia was bound to try to recover for its sea provinces. In response to a Darius III letter asking

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<sup>57</sup> Exact location unknown; believed to have been in northeast Syria.

<sup>58</sup> The number of men in their respective armies was not recorded, but it is believed that "Darius' army at Issus was somewhat larger than Alexander's."

<sup>59</sup> Refer to Appendix 3A, I.

friendship, alliance and release of his family, Alexander returned a “political manifesto” which cited, among reasons additional to Philip’s assassination, the wrongs of Xerxes I against Macedonia and Hellas.

Alexander did not go then in pursuit of Darius; Alexander’s immediate objective was Phoenicia, and ruin of the Persian fleet. Subsequently, “he received the surrender of Byblos and a hearty welcome from Sidon.” Tyre envoys offered Alexander “a general form of submission” but refused him entry to their city, satisfied that its position on an island half-a-mile from shore made it impregnable. Alexander devoted considerable time and men in an effort to build a mole out from the mainland, before finally he “went personally to Sidon to collect ships. His success at Sidon surpassed his hopes. The news from Phoenicia had finally disintegrated the Persian fleet, and Pharnabazus was stranded in the islands. Alexander was joined at Sidon by all the Phoenician squadrons except the Tyrian, and some ships from Rhodes, Lycia and Cilicia; soon after came the Cyprians...in all he collected 220 warships, from quinqueremes to small vessels.”

Tyre’s capture (July 332) “was possibly Alexander’s greatest feat of arms.”<sup>60</sup> Before its fall, Darius III replied to Alexander’s manifesto with an offer of 10,000 talents ransom for his family, and peace in exchange for his daughter’s hand and everything west of the Euphrates. Alexander returned a refusal to negotiate. Although this latest Darius offer included Egypt, Alexander knew Persia could not save it in any case. He left Parmenion at Damascus to supervise Syria (which altogether was not settled yet) and advanced toward Egypt “by the immemorial route through Palestine.”<sup>61</sup>

The Persian satrap submitted to Alexander on his arrival in Egypt in November 332. Alexander proceeded to Memphis, where he was accepted as Pharaoh. On the coast near a village named “Rhacotis,” he traced out his plans for a new city, Alexandria, and received his Aegean commanders carrying news that the last Persian resistance in the Grecian islands had been settled. Returning to Memphis, “he arranged the government of Egypt on enlightened lines,” together with a reasonable structure of military occupation. He returned to Tyre in the spring of 331, settled Syria under a Macedonian satrap, withdrew his garrisons from Chios and Rhodes, and granted Athens the return of her prisoners (“it was politic to conciliate her, with Sparta threatening war”). Meanwhile, Parmenion and his army had been ordered to bridge the Euphrates at Thrapsacus (approximately 100 miles SE of Issus), where the farther bank was being held by a Darius advance-guard under the command of the ex-satrap of Cilicia, one Mazaeus. *Ibid.*, pp. 376-379

Darius III had done his best to form an army that might stand against Alexander’s, but certain obstacles simply could not be overcome. A battle could not be won with cavalry alone, and there was insufficient time to train drivers of scythed chariots, Persia’s only weapon against the phalanx. “In July 331 Alexander joined Parmenion and crossed the Euphrates at Thrapsacus, Mazaeus falling back.... Alexander crossed the Tigris unopposed, turned southward, and moved towards the village of Gaugamela, 18 miles N.E. of Mosul, where, as he had learnt from prisoners, Darius had taken position” on a perfectly flat plain to best serve the chariots. The night of November 30 the Persians remained at arms all night, while Alexander and his army had a good dinner and slept; and on October 1 Alexander led his army out.<sup>62</sup>

Once again, Darius III fled mid-battle, when Alexander III charged through a gap in the Persian line. The fighting continued, but as Darius’ flight became known among them the Persian forces gradually broke up. Alexander “kept up pursuit till dark, rested till midnight, started again, and never drew rein till he reached Arbela, 56 miles from the battlefield. He

<sup>60</sup> *Cambridge’s* summary of the details of strategical manoeuvres of both sides takes up two full pages.

<sup>61</sup> Refer to note at the end of this appendix.

<sup>62</sup> *Cambridge*, vol. VI, pp. 380-382 describe (a) the Persian companies, including allies and their weaponry (“a larger army than that at Issus,” with Darius and 1000 Persian cavalry at center); (b) Alexander’s companies and estimates of their numbers; (c) battle formations; and (d) progress of the battle.

was determined that the enemy should never re-form as an army.”

*Ibid.*, p. 379-82.

Alexander advanced to Babylon. “The Babylonians welcomed Alexander; he reversed Xerxes’ acts [and] restored all native customs.” Mazaeus, who had taken refuge at Babylon, was made a satrap (Alexander’s first appointment of a Persian) but did not receive military command—a rule Alexander would hold in every satrapy, along with a policy of dividing civil, financial and military powers. Alexander moved on to secure Persis, the main battle taking place against satrap Ariobarzanes at the Persian Gates pass. After Ariobarzanes gave way, “Alexander pushed on with all speed for Persepolis, and reached the great palaces on their rock terrace before Ariobarzanes had time to carry off the treasure. Between Susa [where Alexander deposited Darius’ family and appointed another Persian satrap], Persepolis and Pasargadae, he secured probably 180,000 talents in coin and bullion...beside vast booty in kind, such as gold and silver plate and purple dye; such wealth seemed fabulous to the Greek world. At Persepolis, against Parmenion’s advice, he deliberately fired Xerxes’ palace, as a sign to Asia that E-sagila<sup>63</sup> was avenged and Achaemenid rule ended.” Alexander stayed at Persepolis until the spring of 330, when he received news of Sparta’s defeat. He then entered Media and occupied Ecbatana.

Darius III, who initially had escaped to Ecbatana and been joined there by various of his allies (2000 Greeks still were with him) retired toward Bactria upon Alexander’s approach. “Eastern Iran had always been somewhat distinct in feeling from western. It did not recognize Gaugamela as decisive,” and Darius was receiving reinforcement. Midsummer of 330 b.c. Alexander began a tenacious pursuit, covering long distances in legendary time. Four hundred miles NE of Ecbatana, at the Caspian Gates, he learned that certain of Darius’ companions led by one Bessus had deposed Darius, and were holding him prisoner. Alexander pushed on, found an empty camp and heard that Bessus had been deserted by some companies, including the 2000 Greeks. After another night, during which Alexander covered 50 miles, he caught up with the fugitives, who were in no condition to fight. Two of them stabbed Darius III before they fled, and Darius “died before Alexander came up. It was Alexander’s one piece of mere good fortune; he was saved the embarrassment of dealing with his rival. He covered the body with his purple cloak, and sent it to Persepolis for burial.”

*Ibid.*, pp. 382-386.

**Note:** For local high priesthood events during this time, some of which involved Alexander, *resume at* Appendix 3B, II, Detail B (High Priests Eliashib to Jaddua). For personal details of Alexander III, and events following his death, see Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 4 (Descendancies, Macedonia Monarchs/Relations), and its sub-part E (Narration).

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. reference to “Esagila” in the “Cyrus-Nabonidus Chronicle,” Appendix 3A, II, C(2)(4).