



**POLITICAL MEMORY
IN AND AFTER THE
PERSIAN EMPIRE**

Edited by
**Jason M. Silverman and
Caroline Waerzeggers**

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AFTER THE PERSIAN EMPIRE



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THE END OF THE LYDIAN KINGDOM AND THE LYDIANS AFTER CROESUS*

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The collapse of the Mermnad dynasty was final. Over the centuries no other Lydian dynasty appeared that sought to re-establish the Lydian kingdom, and there were no noble Lydians who intended to take control of Lydia again.¹ At first glance, this was due to the process of Persian colonization (and *Iranization*) of Lydia.² The Greek narrative is very scanty about native Lydians who were involved in the government of the Lydian satrapy. As we can judge from classical sources, all key offices were in the hands of the Median-Persian nobility. But why did this happen? The aim of this paper is to consider the transition from the Lydian kingdom to the Lydian satrapy. I will pay attention to two important aspects of this topic: (1) the

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1. The situation was unlike that in Caria, Lycia, Babylonia, Egypt and some other countries where the local elites participated with the Persians in the government of their own region. On Caria see, for example, Simon Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Stephen Ruzicka, *Politics of a Persian Dynasty: The Hecatomnids in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992). On Lycia, see Antony Keen, *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c. 545–362 B.C.* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

2. On the Persian colonization of Lydia, see Nicholas Sekunda, “Achaemenid Colonization of Lydia,” *REA* 87 (1985): 7–30.

administration of Tabalus and Pactyes, and (2) the rebellion of Pactyes and its influence on Lydian history.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF TABALUS AND PACTYES IN LYDIA

Herodotus (1.153) says that after the conquest of the Lydian Kingdom, Cyrus the Great appointed two officials in Lydia: one was a Persian (Tabalus) and the other one a Lydian (Pactyes):

Presently, entrusting Sardis to a Persian called Tabalus, and instructing Pactyes, a Lydian, to take charge of the gold of Croesus and the Lydians, he himself marched away to Ecbatana.³ (*Hist.* 1.153 [Godley, LCL])

Probably Pactyes was subordinate to Tabalus as we can infer from Herodotus's statement (1.154) that later he made the Lydians revolt against Tabalus and Cyrus. However, the Persian ethnicity of Tabalus in Herodotus's account raises some doubts. On the one hand, the name *Τάβαλος* does not occur again in Persian onomastics.⁴ On the other hand, some evi-

3. Meanwhile, these events may be reported by the famous *Nabonidus Chronicle* (ABC 7 ii: 16), which, according to a recent reading by Robartus J. van der Spek ("Cyrus the Great, Exiles, and Foreign Gods: A Comparison of Assyrian and Persian Policies on Subject Nations," in *Extraction and Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper* [SAOC 68; ed. M. Kozuh et al.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014], 256 n. 184) states: "in the month iyyar (Cyrus) [mar]ched to Ly[dia]. He killed its king, he took its valuables (and) a garrison of his own he stationed in it! Afterwards he had his garrison and the royal treasury! (*bit šarri*) in it." It may be very attractive to consider that the Persian garrison, mentioned by the chronicle, was commanded by Tabalus, and that Croesus's valuables and the royal treasury were supervised by Pactyes. But there is disagreement among specialists whether the Nabonidus Chronicle mentions Cyrus's conquest of Lydia at all; it has been suggested that the passage in question refers to the conquest of Urartu (Robert Rollinger, "The Median 'Empire, the End of Urartu and Cyrus the Great's Campaign in 547 B.C. [Nabonidus Chronicle ii.16]," *Ancient East and West* 7 [2008]: 51–65), though the collation by a group of Assyriologists reported by van der Spek, "Cyrus the Great," 256 (n. 184) seems to render Rollinger's proposal untenable. See also Xen., *Cyr.* 7.4.12.

4. Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg: Elwert, 1895), 318 had no comments on the origin of this name. Jack M. Balcer, *A Prosopographical Study of the Ancient Persians Royal and Noble, c. 550–450 B.C.* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1993), 66 completely accepts Herodotus's view of Tabalus as a Persian. Rüdiger Schmitt, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, vol. 5A: *Iranische Personennamen in der griechischen Literatur vor Alexander d. Gr.* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wis-

dence strongly suggests a Lydian origin of Τάβαλος. The country of Tabal was situated on the valley of the Halys river and is known from Assyrian sources of the first millennium B.C.E.⁵ Τάβαλα was a Lydian town near the river Hermus, known from coins dating to the second and third centuries C.E.⁶ There is an inscription from Lydia that refers to a dedication to Θεοῖς Ταβαλῆνοῖς (TAM V 1–2. 9.2). Another inscription reports of ἡ Ταβαλέων γερουσία (140/1 C.E.: TAM V 1–2. 194). Stephanus Byzantinus (s.v. Τάβαι)

senschaften, 2011), 355 notes: “Iranische Herkunft des Namens ist trotz der ausdrücklichen Ethnos-Angabe schon wegen des -λ- recht unwahrscheinlich.” However, he does not conclude clearly that Tabalus was a Lydian. Alvin H. M. Stonecipher, *Graeco-Persian Names* (New York: American Book Company, 1918), 63 deduced the name of Τάβαλος from Ταβούλης, a name that does not occur in Greek sources but that could be composed perhaps of Old Persian *tavah* (“power”) and **ula* (“desire”). Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Text, Lexicon* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1950), 186 translates *tav-* as “be strong” and Rüdiger Schmitt, *Wörterbuch der altpersischen Königsinschriften* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014), 252–53 refers to a verb *tav-* as “be strong/be able” (stark/imstande sein) and to an adjective *taviyah* as “stronger” (stärker). However, no known personal names in Old Persian derive from *tav-* (such names are absent in Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* and Manfred Mayerhofer, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, vol. 1: *Die altiranischen Namen* [Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979]). However, it is proposed that the Elamite personal name *Tu-mamar-re-me-a* (PF 1829: 2–3) is a loanword from **Tavarēvaya-* (a hypocorism of *Tava-raiva*, “who he is strong and rich”), the Babylonian personal names *Tu-ú-tu₄* (PF 85: 3) from **Tavāta-* (*-āta-* extension of *tav-*, “he is strong”) and *Tu-me-e-a* from **Tavaya* (*-ya* extension of *tav-*). An alternative might be to assume that a genuine Persian name **Tapara-* (“axe”, in New Persian *-tabār*, “origin”) was misreported, perhaps because of the influence of Anatolian names (Jan Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period (ca. 550–330 B.C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian Proper Names and Loanwords Attested in Non-Iranian Texts* [OLA 158; Leuven: Peeters, 2007], 322–23).

5. Assyrian Tabal, biblical Tubal, Greek Τιβαρηνοί: Trevor Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of The Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia: The Near East from the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire* (London: Routledge, 2009), 682–85.

6. *SNG Cop.* 563, 565, 566, 567; *SNG von Aulock* 566, 3190, 3192, 3193. William H. Buckler and David M. Robinson, “Greek Inscriptions from Sardes I,” *AJA* 16 (1912): 49–51 refer to the Lydian town of Τοβαλμουρα and consider its name as a compound “from the Semitic Tobal and the ending -moura, Tobal-moura.” The scholars further conclude: “The Tubal or Tobal (cf. Tobal-Cain) or Tabali of Assyrian inscriptions are identified with the Tibareni who lived beyond the Thermodon, on the southern shore of the Black Sea.... With the Tubal or Tobal might be connected not only Tobal-moura but also the Lydian Tabala ..., and the Persian name Tabalus” (these scholars accept that the name of Tabalus was Persian).

mentions also a city named Τάβαι in Lydia (Τάβαι, πόλις Λυδίας).⁷ He gives different versions of the origin of the name of this city: Τάβαι was named after Τάβος, a local hero; the city was founded on the rocks and the Greeks translated τάβα as rock; its name comes from Ταβηγός the Argive (i.e., from the probable founder of the city). Finally, a woman Ταβαλῖς, who lived in Sardis, is also mentioned in one inscription (third–early fourth century c.e.).⁸ It is interesting to note that the Greek suffix –αλ, which we find in the name of Τάβαλος, may be a Lydian genitive suffix –li and thereby may form the personal name *Tabalis* (originated from Τάβος/Tabas, the name of a local hero, or son of Τάβος/Tabas).⁹

As for Pactyes, his Lydian ethnicity is beyond doubt. People with the name Pactyes lived in Sardis, Iasos, Lagina, Mylasa, Idyma, according to the epigraphic record.¹⁰ The inscription from Ephesus dated to ca. 340–320 B.C.E. (SEG 36 1011) records the punishment of citizens of Sardis

7. Stephanus Byzantinus, s.v. Tabai: “Tabai, the town of Lydia. An oracle to the Pisidians says about it that ‘there was the famous free town of Tabai to be colonized.’ Apollonius in the ninth book [wrote] that ‘it was necessary to lead them in Tabai.’ It was named after Tabos. Tabos is a hero. Some people say that two brothers, Kabyras and Marsyas, founded the town of Kabyra and called it Tabā because it was situated on rocks: the Greeks translate taba as rock. Others say that it was named after Tabenos the Argive.” Ladislav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Orstnamen* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1984), 592–95 has listed four neighbouring towns of Lydia which include *Tab-* in their names, Τάβα, Τάβαλα, Ταβαρνῖς, and Ταβειρα.

8. *Sardis*, VII, 1, 165: Ταβαλῖς κατοικοῦσα ἐν Σάρδεσι. LGPN V, 422 gives also a Lydian female name Τάβιλλα which probably also could well fit into this case.

9. Roberto Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1964), 35–36; John M. Kearns, “A Greek Genitive from Lydia,” *Glotta* 72 (1994): 5–14; Mark H. Munn, *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia: A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2006), 123. Ladislav Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prag: Verlag der Tschechoslowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964), 481–82 finds the personal names on *Tab-* in Lycaonia: Τάβεις, Τάβιν, and Τάβης.

10. Ephesus: SEG 36 1011: Πακτύης τοῦ Καρουδος, Πακτύης τ[οῦ] Ἴατι[δ]ος, Πακτύης τοῦ Μάνεω. Iasos: Donald F. McCabe, *Iasos Inscriptions: Texts and List* (Princeton, N.J.: The Institute for Advanced Study, 1991), 195: Πακτύης Δάμω[νος—]. Lagina in Caria: SEG 35 1092, ca. 350 B.C.E.: Πακτύης Μάνεω. Mylasa: Tod II no. 138, ll. 32–50, 355/54 B.C.E.: Μάνιτα τοῦ Πακτώ ἐπιβουλεύσαντος Μουσώλλωι τῷ Ἐκατόμ<ω>. See Wolfgang Blümel, “Einheimische Personennamen in griechischen Inschriften aus Karien,” *Epigraphica Anatolica* 20 (1992): 17; Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, 403–4.

for sacrilege committed against Ephesian sacred envoys. The inscription mentions forty-six Sardians, often along with their profession and their fathers' and grandfathers' name.¹¹ The list includes some persons named Πακτύης. Another Pactyes was a ruler of Idyma and is mentioned in the Athenian Tribute Lists as Πακτύες Ἰδυμ[εύς] (IG³ 1–2 260A. col.1.16; 262A. col. IV.20). Moreover, Manitas, son of Pactyes, plotted against Mausolus in 355 B.C.E. It is evident that the name Pactyes was common in Asia Minor.

Thus, both Tabalus and Pactyes, appointed by Cyrus as his officials at Sardis, were probably Lydians by descent. T. Cuyler Young considers this event as an example of Cyrus developing a policy of trust in conquered people and individuals in order to bring them into partnership in government with the Persians.¹² J. M. Balcer speaks of the administration of Sardis directed by Tabalus in the same way (suggesting that Tabalus was a satrap):¹³

The administration of the satrap Tabalos, consequently, continued the liberal policy of tolerance and conciliation, which Cyrus fostered among the other various ethnic groups within the rapidly emerging empire. Tabalos, therefore, directed a largely Lydian bureaucratic system from his acropolitian palace, in which the Lydian Paktyes directed the financial affairs of Sparda, affairs which Herodotus notes as “in charge of the gold of Croesus and the other Lydians.” (1.153)

Meanwhile, the exact titles of both functionaries in Herodotus's account are not determined at all. There are three alternative propositions in the

11. Olivier Masson, “L’inscription d’Éphèse relative aux condamnés à mort de Sardes,” *REG* 100 (1987): 236; Kostas Vlassopoulos, *Greeks and Barbarians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 252; Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 120–22; Dusinberre, *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 227–29.

12. Theodore Cuyler Young Jr., “The Early History of the Medes and the Persians and the Achaemenid Empire to the Death of Cambyses,” in *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume IV: Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean, c. 525–479 B.C.* (ed. J. Boardman et al.; 2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1–52 (35).

13. Jack M. Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea: Imperial Interaction in Western Anatolia* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984), 101.

literature for the exact position of Tabalus: (1) satrap of Sardis;¹⁴ (2) governor of the city of Sardis;¹⁵ (3) garrison commander in Sardis.¹⁶

However, Herodotus's phrasing here is ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ. This supposes a title ἐπίτροπος for Tabalus. Therefore, in my opinion, there is no need to postulate that this word inevitably meant a satrap. In Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon we find that the verb ἐπιτρέπω is to be translated as "commit, entrust to another as trustee, guardian or viceregent," and the noun ἐπίτροπος means one to whom the charge of anything is entrusted, steward, trustee, administrator.¹⁷ Herodotus uses ἐπίτροπος and its derivative words in several meanings, mostly to describe a trustee as well as a governor in the country or in a city,¹⁸ and only once he speaks of Achaemenes, thereby possibly pointing

14. Balcer, *Sparta by the Bitter Sea*, 101; David Asheri, Alan B. Lloyd and Aldo Corcella, *A Commentary on Herodotus Books I–IV* (ed. O. Murray and A. Moreno; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 181; Christopher J. Tuplin, "The Administration of the Achaemenid Empire," in *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* (ed. I. Carradice; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 114 n. 22; Dusinger, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, 35; Dusinger, *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, 43; Josef Wiesehöfer, "Greeks and Persians," in *A Companion to Archaic Greece* (ed. K. A. Raaflaub and H. van Wees; Oxford: Blackwell, 2009), 170–71.

15. Andrew B. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks: The Defence of the West, c. 546–478 B.C.* (repr.; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), 45; Raphael Sealey, *A History of the Greek City States, ca. 700–338 B.C.* (Berkeley, Calif.: California University Press, 1976), 172; Young, "The Early History of the Medes and the Persians," 35. J. Miller, "Paktyes," *RE* 18.2 (1942): 2440 names Tabalus as the "Statthalter in Sardes".

16. Andrew B. Burn, "Persia and the Greeks," in *The Cambridge History of Iran* (ed. I. Gershevitch; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 2:293; Truesdell S. Brown, "Aristodicus of Cyme and the Branchidae," *AJPh* 99 (1978): 65; Simon Hornblower, *Mausolus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 150; Thierry Petit, *Satrapes et satrapies dans l'empire achéménide de Cyrus le Grand à Xerxès Ier* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 254; Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres", 1990), 35; Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (tr. P. T. Daniels; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 36, 66.

17. *LSJ* s.v. ἐπίτροπος; ἐπιτρέπω.

18. See ἐπιτρέπω (twenty-three occurrences in Herodotus). E.g., (1) 5.126: τὴν μὲν δὴ Μίλητον ἐπιτρέπει Πυθαγόρῃ ("[Aristagoras] accordingly entrusted Miletus to Pythagoras"); (2) 6.26: τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ἔχοντα πρήγματα ἐπιτρέπει Βισάλτῃ Ἀπολλοφάνεος ("[Histiaeus of Miletus] leaving all matters concerning the Hellespont in charge of Bisaltes son of Apollophanus"); (3) 7.7: ἐπιτρέπει Ἀχαιμένει, ἀδελφεῷ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ, Δαρείου δὲ παιδί ("[Xerxes] handed it [Egypt] over to Achaemenes, his

to his function as satrap, as *ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου* (7.7). However, a more usual Herodotean word for satrap was *ὑπαρχος*. The historian described Oroetes as *ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθείς Σαρδίων ὑπαρχος* (3.120) and regularly referred to Artaphernes, Darius's satrap of Sardis, as *ὑπαρχος Σαρδίων* (5.25, 73, 123; 6.1, 30, 42).

One cannot be sure that Tabalus was the first satrap of Sardis. Possibly, Tabalus in 545 B.C.E. governed the city of Sardis only, though it is impossible to be certain whether Tabalus had military functions as a garrison commander or only an administrative one.¹⁹ Herodotus (1.154) says only that Pactyes marching to Sardis, penned Tabalus in the acropolis and besieged him there, but it is difficult to deduce anything about the exact position of Tabalus from this report.²⁰ I can clarify this question by relying on two propositions. On the one hand, the Lydian ethnicity of Tabalus may support the suggestion that he was of a lower rank than a satrap of

own brother and Darius' son"); (4) 7.7: *Ἀχαιμένεα μὲν νυν ἐπιτροπεύοντα Αἰγύπτου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα ἐφόνευσε Ἰνάρωσ ὁ Ψαμμητίχου ἀνὴρ Λίβυς* ("while governing Egypt, this Achaemenes was at a later time slain by a Libyan, Inaros son of Psammetichus"). See *ἐπίτροπος/ἐπιτροπαίη* (twenty-one occurrences in Herodotus). E.g., (1) 3.27: *ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος* ("[Cambyzus] summoned the rulers of Memphis"); (2) 3.142: *τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν* ("now Samos was ruled by Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, who had authority delegated by Polycrates"); (3) 5.30: *τῆς δὲ Μιλήτου ἐτύγχανε ἐπίτροπος ἐὼν Ἀρισταγόρης ὁ Μολπαγόρεω* ("now it chanced that the deputy ruling Miletus was Aristagoras son of Molpagoras"); (4) 5.106: *Ἰστιαίη, ἐπίτροπον ... τῷ σὺ Μίλητον ἐπέτρεψας* ("Hestiaeus ... the viceregent whom you put in charge of Miletus"); (5) 7.62: *Μεγάπανον τὸν Βαβυλωνίως ὕστερον τούτων ἐπιτροπεύσαντα* ("Megapanus who was afterwards the governor of Babylon"); (6) 7.170: *Ὁ δὲ Μίκυθος ... ἐπίτροπος Ῥηγίου κατελέλειπτο* ("Micythus ... had been left in charge of Rhegium"); (7) 8.127: *τὴν δὲ πόλιν παραδίδοι Κριτοβούλῳ Τορωναίῳ ἐπιτροπεύειν* ("[Artabazus] delivered their city [Olynthus] over to the charge of Critobulus of Torone").

19. Dusinberre, *Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, 43 notes that Tabalus "directed an administration that apparently included many Lydians." Petit, *Satrapes et satrapies*, 35 equated the office of Tabalus to *phourachos* since he later defended the acropolis of Sardis against Pactyes. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 36, 66 considered that Tabalus was the garrison commander, responsible directly to the king and not to the satrap.

20. Xenophon (*Cyr.* 7.4.12) says that Cyrus, leaving behind a large garrison of foot soldiers, started from Sardis in company with Croesus; and he took with him many wagons loaded with valuables of every sort. So, the historian confirms that there was a Persian garrison in Sardis. But the name of the garrison commander is missing and nothing suggests that it was Tabalus.

Sardis. On the other hand, one needs to remember that the verb *ἐπιτρέπω*, as well as the noun *ἐπίτροπος*, in most cases cited by Herodotus, referred to the individuals who played administrative roles. Thus, Tabalus was probably the official who headed the administration of Sardis, having Pactyes as his subordinate financial officer.

The position of Pactyes also deserves our attention. Herodotus (1.153) states that Pactyes took charge of the gold of Croesus and the Lydians (τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτύη ἀνδρὶ Λυδῶ κομίζειν). The word *κομίζειν* is treated controversially in the literature. Some scholars postulate that Pactyes had been ordered by Cyrus to transport the riches of Croesus and the Lydians to Babylon or Ecbatana;²¹ but, as Pierre Briant notes, the term *κομίζειν* used by Herodotus may also refer to the action of “looking after” as well as “transporting,” since Pactyes remained in Sardis after Cyrus left.²²

Pierre Briant and some other scholars propose that at Sardis the Lydian Pactyes was entrusted with levying tribute,²³ but Herodotus does not say so clearly. Diodorus (9.33.4) reports that Cyrus took the possessions of the inhabitants of Sardis for the Royal Treasury, and this report may clarify Herodotus’s note (1.153) that Pactyes took charge of the gold of Croesus and the Lydians (but not only Croesus’s treasure). These accounts enable us to conclude that Pactyes was appointed treasurer in Sardis by Cyrus under the governor Tabalus.²⁴ One can propose that Pactyes was a

21. Gerold Walser, *Hellas und Iran: Studien zu den griechisch-persischen Beziehungen vor Alexander* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1984), 13; Pierre Debord, *L’Asie Mineure au IV^e siècle (412–323 a.C.): Pouvoirs et jeux politiques* (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 1999), 168. Xenophon in *Cyropaedia* (7.4.12) reports that Cyrus, after the capture of Sardis, set out many wagons full of every kind of treasure to transport them elsewhere (possibly Babylon). There is a possibility that Pactyes indeed was instructed by Cyrus to collect the treasure and then to transport it to one of the Persian capitals.

22. Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 882.

23. Ibid., 70, 80; Lisbeth S. Fried, *The Priest and the Great King: Temple-Palace Relations in the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 118; Matthew W. Waters, *Ancient Persia: A Concise History of the Achaemenid Empire, 550–330 BCE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 41.

24. Pactyes was appointed by Cyrus a treasurer in Sardis, guardian of the state treasury (Muhammad A. Dandamayev, *A Political History of the Achaemenid Empire* [Leiden: Brill, 1989], 28; Maria Brosius, *The Persians: An Introduction* [New York: Routledge, 2006], 11, 47).

financial official in the Achaemenid Empire, known by the title of *ταμίαις/θησαυροφύλαξ* in Greek and of **ganzabara* in Old Persian.²⁵

The fact that Cyrus appointed some Lydian officials in Sardis after the conquest of Lydia enables us to make some important observations. Firstly, we are not forced to separate an administrative from a financial system in Lydia since one Persian official had another as his subordinate. Secondly, the appointments of Tabalus and Pactyes demonstrate that the Achaemenid policy of cooperation with the local elites was conducted for the first time in the territory of the former Lydian Kingdom immediately after its conquest by Cyrus (as it would later happen in Babylonia, Egypt, and other conquered countries). This last conclusion is supported by Herodotus's own report. The historian (1.155) reflects the Persian political propaganda while telling a story of conversations between Cyrus and Croesus on the possible punishment of the Lydians.

So, according to Cyrus, he handed the city over to the Lydians themselves (*αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα*), and, according to Croesus, Pactyes was a wrongdoer in whose charge the King left Sardis (*Πακτύης γάρ ἐστι ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις*). But this information actually intends to present Pactyes (not Tabalus) as governor of Sardis²⁶ and the Lydians as autonomous under Persian rule. As we can infer from the fact of their promotion to administrative posts, both persons, Tabalus and Pactyes, might have been considered by Cyrus the Great as loyal philo-Persian Lydians. Why was Herodotus misled about Tabalus's descent? We can only speculate on this subject. One may admit that the historian was influenced by a local Lydian tradition presenting the conflict in Lydia in the time of Cyrus as one between the Persians and the Lydians only, not among the Lydians themselves. This tradition may have reflected on an erroneous belief that one of the leaders of the conflicting parties at Sardis was a Persian (Tabalus), the other one a Lydian (Pactyes).

25. The Persian financial administration has been well investigated in the literature. A brief overview of the title of **ganzabara* is provided by Matthew W. Stolper, "Ganzabara," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 10.3 (2000): 286–89. On **ganzabara*- see Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid Period*, 422–23; Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander*, 428–29. Some Latin and Greek translations of treasurer/**ganzabara*- are *arcis et regiae pecuniae custos* (Curt. 5.1.20); *θησαυροφύλαξ* (Diod. Sic. 19.17.3; 18.1); *ταμίαις* (Diod. Sic. 14.81.6); *γαζοφύλαξ* (Joseph, *A.J.* 6.390; 11.11, 13, 14, 92, 119; 13, 429; 20.194; 15.408); see also *γαζοφυλακεῖον* = treasury (Diod. Sic. 9.12.2; Joseph, *A.J.* 11.119, 126).

26. See Brown, "Aristodicus of Cyme," 65, who states that Pactyes was appointed by Cyrus as head of the civic administration.

PACTYES'S REBELLION IN LYDIA AND ITS AFTERMATH

Herodotus's description of Pactyes's rebellion (1.154) is briefer than his detailed explanation of Pactyes's attempts to get a refuge for himself in some Greek cities of Asia Minor (1.157–161). Herodotus (1.154) describes Pactyes's rebellion as follows:

But no sooner had Cyrus marched away from Sardis than Pactyes made the Lydians revolt from Tabalus and Cyrus; and he went down to the sea, where, as he had all the gold of Sardis, he hired soldiers and persuaded the men of the coast to join his undertaking. Then, marching to Sardis, he penned Tabalus in the acropolis and besieged him there. (*Hist.* 1.154 [Godley, LCL])

Thus, Herodotus evidently represents Pactyes as the leader of the revolt of the Lydians: Pactyes made the Lydians revolt against Tabalus and Cyrus (τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου) (1.154). From the historian's report it is also clear that Cyrus blamed the Lydians for the revolt (1.155):

It seems that the Lydians will never stop making trouble for me and for themselves. It occurs to me that it may be best to make slaves of them; for it seems I have acted like one who slays the father and spares the children. (*Hist.* 1.155 [Godley, LCL])

Finally, according to Herodotus (1.157), Mazares the Mede came to Sardis with the section that he had of Cyrus's army and found Pactyes's followers no longer there (οὐκ εὔρε ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι). Certainly, Pactyes's followers from among the Lydians were not very numerous. That is why Pactyes immediately sought to obtain the Greeks' support. Besides, Pactyes and some other noble Lydians could have resisted not only the Persians but also Tabalus's supporters who had remained loyal to the Persians and gathered at Sardis's acropolis.

Herodotus stresses several of Pactyes's actions during the rebellion: (1) he hired soldiers (ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο);²⁷ (2) he persuaded the men of the coast to join his undertaking (τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε

27. The word ἐπίκουροι seems to have been related to the mercenaries. See Her-mipp. F. 63.18 (Kock I. 243): ἀπὸ δ' Ἀρκαδίας ἐπικούρους. Matthew F. Trundle, *Greek Mercenaries: From the Late Archaic Period to Alexander* (London: Routledge, 2004),

σὺν ἑωυτῷ στρατεύεσθαι);²⁸ (3) marching to Sardis, he penned Tabalus in the acropolis and besieged him there (ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις ἐπολιόρκει Τάβαλον ἀπεργγμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει). Generally, the historian describes Pactyes's forces as including two groups of soldiers: mercenaries and troops from coastal cities. Both groups of soldiers may have included the Greeks from those cities that later provided Pactyes with refuge.

Herodotus (1.161) stresses that after Pactyes had been surrendered by the Chians to the Persians, Mazares led his army against those who had helped to besiege Tabalus (ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον), enslaved the people of Priene, and overran the plain of the Maeandrus, giving it, as well as Magnesia, to his army for pillaging. It is not reported what happened to Tabalus in the aftermath of Pactyes's rebellion.

Meanwhile, Pausanias (7.2.10) records an episode in which the people of Priene suffered much at the hands of Tabutus the Persian (Πριηνεῖς μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Ταβούτου τε τοῦ Πέρσου ... κακωθέντες). There is no other Tabutus known from the sources.²⁹ That is why one may need to emendate the name of Τάβουτος into the name of Τάβαλος. This emendation is the most likely for historical reasons. Herodotus (1.161) confirms that the Prienians were attacked by the Persians because of their participation in the besiegement of Tabalus in Sardis; this was a good pretext for Tabalus's punishment of Priene. Anyway, Tabalus probably safely escaped the siege in Sardis, and joined Mazares's campaign against Pactyes.

13, notes: "The earliest of the terms used of mercenary infantry was *epikouros*. *Epikouros*, literally fighter-alongside, might be a helper, a companion or an assistant."

28. The term *ἐπιθαλάσσιοι ἄνθρωποι* might have related not only to the citizens of the Greeks of Asia Minor, but also to the non-Greek population of the Asian coastline. A number of ancient authors speak of prominent Persians as commanders or satraps of the coastal peoples and regions of Asia. Herodotus uses this definition three times: στρατηγὸς τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνδρῶν (Otanus: 5.25); τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων (Artaphernes: 5.30); στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ (Hydarnes: 7.135). The reference here will be to people in Western Asia Minor, and the terms in question can also be linked with an Old Persian phrase occurring in the royal inscriptions (*dahyāva*) *tayai drayahyā*—"the people who are on/ by the sea" (DPe § 2L; DSe § 4I; XPh § 3Q).

29. The name of Τάβουτος does not occur in the Persian prosopography at all; see, for example, Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*; Balcer, *A Prosopographical Study of the Ancient Persians*; Schmitt, *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*. Surely this name might have been corrupted.

The defeat of Pactyes changed the administrative system of Lydia. The Lydians probably were removed from the key posts in the Lydian administration and replaced by Persians.³⁰ At that time, Oroetes was appointed satrap of Lydia by Cyrus and governed it until the reign of Darius I.³¹ There are only a few references in the sources to Lydians after Pactyes's rebellion. Diodorus (10.16.4) probably reports about the flight of Pactyes's followers from Lydia to Samos:

Certain Lydians, who were fleeing from the domineering rule of the satrap Oroetes, took ship to Samos, bringing with them many possessions, and became suppliants of Polycrates. And at first he received them kindly, but after a little time he put them all to the sword and confiscated their possessions. (Diod. Sic. 10.16.4 [Oldfather, LCL])

This episode may suggest that Oroetes became satrap immediately after the defeat of Pactyes. Herodotus (3.122) however leads us to conclude that some noble Lydians still could work in the administration of Oroetes. Myrsus, son of Gyges, a Lydian from the Mermnad line, was sent by Oroetes as envoy to Polycrates of Samos (*Hist.* 3.122) and later was killed in the battle fought against the rebellious Ionians (*Hist.* 5.121). Both the name and the patronymic of Myrsus were prominent in Lydian history. The father of the Lydian king Candaules was a certain Myrsus (*Hist.* 1.7), and the founder of the Mermnad dynasty was named Gyges.

30. See Arrian I.17.5: Σαρδιανούς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λυδοὺς τοῖς νόμοις τε τοῖς πάλαι Λυδῶν χρῆσθαι ἔδωκεν καὶ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι ἀφῆκεν. It is uncertain from this report if Alexander has retained the autonomy of the Lydians under the Persians or re-established autonomy after they had lost it to the Persians. Ernst Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Greeks of Asia," in *Ancient Society and Institutions: Studies Presented to Victor Ehrenberg* (ed. E. Badian: Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 37–69 (44) interpreted this passage as that the Lydians had never lost their ancient laws under Persian administration. Alan B. Bosworth, *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, vol. 1: *Books I–III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 129 more convincingly argued that "Alexander presumably wished to represent himself as the polar opposite of the Persian conquerors and therefore promised to restore the customs abolished by Cyrus." I am most grateful to Professor R. J. van der Spek (VU University Amsterdam) who has attracted my attention to this passage from Arrian.

31. On Oroetes, see especially K. Fiehn, "Oroites," *RE* 18.1 (1939): 1143; Peter Vargyas, "Darius and Oroites," *AHB* 14 (2000): 155–61; Pierre Briant, "Oroites," *Der Neue Pauly* 9 (2000): 48.

Herodotus relates the changes in the lifestyle of the Lydians due to Croesus's advice given to Cyrus in the time of Pactyes's rebellion. Croesus advised Cyrus to prohibit Lydians from possessing weapons of war and instead to wear tunics under their cloaks and knee-boots on their feet. Croesus also recommended teaching the Lydians's sons the lyre, singing, dancing and shop-keeping. Thereby, according to Croesus, they would quickly become women instead of men. Cyrus was pleased by this counsel. He said he would follow Croesus's advice. After having called Mazares, the Mede, he ordered him to give to the Lydians the commands that Croesus had advised.

There are some reasons to consider this Herodotean story unreliable. (1) Croesus's presence at Cyrus's royal court as well as Croesus's role as Cyrus's wise councilor probably reflect a novelistic tradition and might be placed among other similar stories in Herodotus's work (the meeting between Croesus and Solon; the wondrous saving of Croesus on the pyre).³² (2) Lydians were reputed for their luxurious life-style and for their songs and lyre-playing long before the Persian conquest of Lydia;³³ thus, Herodotus's story may reflect the traditional Greek perception of Lydians.³⁴

32. The topic of Croesus at Cyrus's royal court has a historical as well as a literary aspect. From the historical viewpoint, scholars discuss whether Croesus indeed survived after the fall of Sardis in 546 B.C.E. Some historians prefer to credit Herodotus that Croesus has become the prisoner of war of Cyrus, but others refer to Bacchylides's poem (Ode 3) and the Nabonidus Chronicle (*ABC* 7, ii: 16) as indicating Croesus's death (on the evaluation of the evidence see, for example, Jack Cargill, "The Nabonidus Chronicle and the Fall of Lydia," *American Journal of Ancient History* 2 [1977]: 97–116; Stephanie West, "Croesus' Second Reprieve and Other Tales of the Persian Court," *CQ* 53 [2003]: 416–37). Recently, R. J. van der Spek, "Cyrus the Great, Exiles, and Foreign Gods," 256 n. 184 concluded that the *Nabonidus Chronicle* more certainly reports that Cyrus executed Croesus. The literary aspect deals with the treatment of Croesus by Herodotus (see, for example: Christopher Pelling, "Educating Croesus: Talking and Learning in Herodotus' Lydian *Logos*," *CA* 25 [2006]: 141–77).

33. On the Lydian contribution to the music culture of the Near East in the Pre-Persian period, see John C. Franklin, "A Feat of Music: The Greco-Lydian Musical Movement on the Assyrian Periphery," in *Anatolian Interfaces: Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors* (ed. B. J. Collins, M. Bachvarova, and I. Rutherford; Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 193–203.

34. Christoph Michels, "Cyrus' II Campaigns against the Medes and the Lydians," in *Herodot und das Persische Weltreich/Herodotus and the Persian Empire* (ed. R. Rollinger, B. Truschnegg and J. Wiesehöfer; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 699 rightly stresses that Lydians's new style of life is the opposite of the Lydian culture presented

(3) Croesus's advice is hard to be implemented on the whole Lydian population in the manner described by Herodotus (1.157):

Mazares the Mede, when he came to Sardis ... first of all compelled the Lydians to carry out Cyrus's commands; and by his order they changed their whole way of life. (*Hist.* 1.157 [Godley, LCL])

Of course, Herodotus's belief that it was possible for all the people of the country to change their whole way of life by those orders looks very naïve. (4) There is some evidence that the Lydians formed troops under the leadership of Persian commanders, which clearly contradicts Herodotus's statement that all Lydian men had been disarmed by Mazares's orders.

The source hints at the Lydians' involvement in Persian military activity in the fifth and fourth century B.C.E. Herodotus (7.27–30, 38–39) reports that Pythius, son of Atys, the richest of the Lydians (possibly from the Mermnad line also),³⁵ who had sponsored Xerxes's expedition against Greece, requested this Persian King to exempt his five sons from military service in return for his hospitality. Herodotus (7.74) also considers that the Lydians who were included in the invasion force of Xerxes in 480 B.C.E. were armored most similarly to the Greeks and were commanded by Artaphernes the son of Artaphernes (though the archeological evidence supposes that Lydian equipment was unlike Greek and similar to Persian equipment in some details).³⁶

by Herodotus (1.79) who states that no other people of Asia was “more valiant or warlike than the Lydians”; but this stands in contrast to the earliest Greek comments on Lydian culture which show that the military might of the Lydians was closely linked to an image of luxury and decadence. On the perception of the Lydians in Archaic Greece, see Leslie Kurke, “The politics of ἀβροσύνη in Archaic Greece,” *CA* 11 (1992): 91–120; Christoph Michels, “Königliche Geschenke aus Lydien,” in *Tryphe und Kultritual im archaischen Kleinasien—Ex oriente luxuria?* (ed. L.-M. Günther; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 74–76; Elizabeth P. Baughan, *Couched in Death: Klinai and Identity in Anatolia and Beyond* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013), 220–22. The sources on Greek perception of Lydian customs in the pre-Persian period have been collected by John G. Pedley, *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 42–45.

35. Sian Lewis, “Who Is Pythius the Lydian? A Note on Herodotus 7.27–39,” *Histos* 2 (1998): 185–91 argues for Mermnad ancestry of Pythius (he may be seen as the grandson of Croesus).

36. Margaret Miller, “Cloth and Identity: The Case of Greeks of Ionia c. 400 B.C.,” *Antichthon* 47 (2013): 18–38 (22) notes that “a stele from Salihli just east of Sardis

The Lydians were mobilized by the Persians also during the Peloponnesian War. So, according to Xenophon's *Hellenica* (1.2.4), the Athenian *strategus* Thrasyllus invaded Lydia in 409 B.C.E. and burned many villages, and seized money, slaves, and other booty in great quantities. The Persian commander Stagus successfully repelled this Athenian raid into Lydian territory (*Hell.* 1.2.5). It is unclear only whether Stagus's army included Lydians. But, when Thrasyllus was going to attack Ephesus, Tissaphernes raised a large army and sent out horsemen to carry word to everybody to rally at Ephesus for the protection of Artemis (*Hell.* 1. 2.6: εἰς Ἐφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι). This call evidently was addressed to those inhabitants of Lydia who worshiped Ephesian Artemis as the goddess Anaitis. A fragment of the Oxyrhynchus Historian records that the people from the Kilbian plain (ἐ[ν τῷ] Κιλ[βί] [ωι] πεδίω κατοικοῦντων) participated in the defense of Ephesus (*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 1). Strabo (13.4.13) says that the Kilbian plain (Κιλβιανὸν πεδίον) in Lydia lies between the Mesogis and the Tmolus mounts. So, surely, the soldiers from the Kilbian plain included Lydians.³⁷

CONCLUSION

To summarize my observations on the period of transition from the Lydian Kingdom to the Lydian satrapy: On the one hand, the government of Lydia was originally headed by native Lydians, Tabalus, and Pactyes. This was in accordance with the Persian policy of including native aristocrats into the power structures of the recently conquered countries, a policy that had been initiated by Cyrus the Great. This policy was also conducted in other regions of Asia Minor (Caria, Lycia, Cilicia, Paphlagonia) and elsewhere in the Near East (in Judah-Palestine, Egypt, Babylonia). But the Lydian experiment evidently came first and proved unsuccessful for the Persians. As a result, Lydia went under the direct rule of satraps, generals, and their subordinate officials who evidently were Median or Persian by descent.

shows a warrior with Lydian equipment (including a crested helmet) riding a Persian horse (with the characteristic knotted tail, rectilinear riding cloth, mane, Persian headstall)." For this image, see Christopher H. Roosevelt, *The Archeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 162, fig. 6.27.

37. Sekunda, "Achaemenid colonization of Lydia," 14 considered that the soldiers from the Kilbian plain were the Persian colonists.

No Lydian personal names that occur in the narrative sources and inscriptions of the fifth and fourth century B.C.E. have been found identifying the people of the administration of Lydia: they all had Persian names.

However, the revolt of Pactyes shows that at least some noble Lydians refused to collaborate with the Persians and instead decided to struggle for the independence of their country. This may have been a reflection of their political memory as well as nostalgia for the glorious past of Lydia. It is unknown whether the Lydians once again attempted to liberate themselves from Persian rule after the defeat of Pactyes (though the events of the revolt do not clearly prove that the Lydians intended to restore the Lydian kingdom as well). As a result, it could be argued that the memory of Lydia's political independence ceased to be a significant factor in the Lydian consciousness and many people in Greece and Persia remembered the Lydian kingdom only as the realm of Croesus. This was mainly due to the noninvolvement of the Lydians in the governance of the Lydian satrapy.

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