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Persia's Lycian work force and the satrap of Sardis

Abstract

New journal entries from the Persepolis Fortification Archive present a hitherto unknown subgroup of laborers known as marataš, many of whom appear in contexts of group travel from the Lycian borderlands of southwest Anatolia to Iran. This paper proposes an etymology for the marataš, and discusses the implications for the origins of Lycian workers in Persis, the administrative relationship between Lycia and the Sardis satrapy, and the role of deportation within the larger Achaemenid labor system.

Keywords

Persepolis, labor, deportation, Lycia, Sardis, Artaphernes.

Persépolis, forces de travail, déportation, Lycie, Sardes, Artaphernès.

Introduction

One of the most prominent features of the Achaemenid imperial economy, as documented in the Persepolis Fortification Archive, is the widespread employment of dependent laborers referred to in the Elamite tablets as *kurtaš* (Old Persian **grda-*).²

¹ john.hyland@cnu.edu. I am deeply grateful to Matt Stolper and Wouter Henkelman for their encouragement and provision of textual collations at several stages of my research. Wouter Henkelman's feedback on multiple drafts has been invaluable, and I thank him for permission to publish his collations in the appendix. I have also benefited from comments by Matt Stolper and Pierre Briant, and any remaining errors are mine alone.

² See Briant 2002, p. 429-439; Henkelman and Rollinger 2009, p. 335; Henkelman and Stolper 2009, p. 282. For the heterogeneity of *kurtaš* statuses and occupations see Tavernier 2015, 169; Henkelman 2018, p. 239-243;



Many hundreds of texts record the issue of rations to parties of workers, some in the context of long-term residence at Persian estates and villages, and others on the move between assignments, pausing for supply at storehouses along the royal road. Their frequent designation with ethnic labels served a pragmatic organizational purpose while also reflecting the royal interest in assembling subject manpower from a multitude of origins, thereby demonstrating the extensive power and diversity of an empire that aspired to worldwide authority.³ The archive's terse receipts do not reveal the specific contexts in which the empire's agents gathered *kurtaš* from distant regions, or the terms and duration of their service. Laborers could have entered imperial service in a variety of circumstances, including corvée taxation and targeted recruitment of skilled artisans, but scholars have long suggested that some of the larger groups included deportees, forcibly transplanted in the wake of Persian conquest or revolt.⁴

The Lycians or *Trm̄mili* of southwest Anatolia, rendered as *Turmiriyap* (or similar) in Achaemenid Elamite, offer a case of particular interest. Despite Lycia's great distance from the empire's center, and its absence from the subject lists of the royal inscriptions, the Lycians are one of the most visible ethnic groups among the Persepolis *kurtaš*. The Fortification archive contains almost ninety tablets recording rations to Lycian workers, and only the Skudra of northwest Anatolia and southeastern Europe surpass them in number.⁵ Their presence in late sixth-century Iran has often been interpreted as the outcome of early Persian conquests in western Anatolia. Herodotus describes a bloody invasion of Lycia by Cyrus' general Harpagos, which supposedly culminated in mass suicide by the inhabitants of Xanthos, the region's most prominent center of population (1.176). But the references in the Persepolis Fortification Archive date to four decades later, prompting the question of whether the Lycian workers in the time of Darius I were descended from survivors deported under Cyrus, or represented a later phase of transplantation.⁶

A new group of entries in journals from the Persepolis Fortification Archive now provides an answer, shedding fresh light on the movement of laborers to Achaemenid Iran from the Anatolian frontiers. These brief textual records, from the tablets

Tamerus 2018, p. 474-475, 488-489.

³ For the administrative value of ethnic labeling, see Henkelman 2018, p. 235.

⁴ For association of *kurtaš* labor with post-conquest deportation, see for instance Aperghis 2000, p. 128-129; Izdimirski 2018, p. 53-54. For a broader spectrum of potential origins, see Briant 2002, p. 433-434; Henkelman and Stolper 2009, p. 281-282; Henkelman 2018, p. 225, 241-242; Rollinger 2018, p. 431-433; Degen 2019, p. 203-206.

⁵ See Uchitel 1991, p. 127-129; Henkelman and Stolper 2009, p. 274-275, 304-305; Henkelman 2014, p. 200; Tavernier 2015, p. 150-152; Gander 2016, p. 93.

⁶ See Keen 1998, p. 86; Tuplin 2010, p. 179 n. 101; Henkelman 2018, p. 241; Kolb 2018, p. 118.



Fort. 2030A-101, Fort. 0036-101, Fort. 2045-101, Fort. 1912-103, Fort. 1239-103, and Fort. 1301-101, document the travel of Lycian workers to Persia at specific dates in the reign of Darius. They record the issue of foodstuffs to several parties whose travel was authorized by Darius' brother Artaphernes, the well-known satrap of Sardis. Intriguingly, most of the travelers are not referred to as *kurtaš* but as *marataš*, a more obscure administrative label that also appears in contexts of travel from the empire's eastern provinces in other Persepolis journals. To date, the term has eluded interpretation, but this study proposes an etymology that situates the *marataš* as a subgroup within the larger Achaemenid labor pool, derived from the practice of coercive deportation in the imperial borderlands. The resulting readings present significant implications for the study of Achaemenid frontier dynamics, through chronologically specific evidence of a deportation in process. They further testify to the administrative relationship between early Achaemenid Sardis and Lycia, and the likelihood of military activities during Darius' reign as the principal source of the Lycian workers in the Fortification Archive.

Lycian *marataš* travel in the Persepolis Fortification journals

The Fortification tablets referred to as journals record multiple disbursements from an administrative center or storehouse over a particular year, compiled at a later date from the original memoranda tablets that documented individual transactions.⁷ They provide exceptional evidence for the structures and spaces of Persian administration and the institutional frameworks of interaction between rulers and ruled. Richard Hallock commented on the scarcity of travel rations in the small sample of journal tablets that he published in 1969, but this is no longer true of the corpus of journals subject to more recent study.⁸ The series of tablets labeled PF-NN and Fort., which are currently in the process of publication by the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, include dozens of journals from the reign of Darius (mostly dating between his 17th and 22nd regnal years); and many of these contain records of disbursements to travelers between the centers of empire in Fars and Khuzestan and the provincial periphery.

⁷ See Henkelman 2008b, p. 102-107, 136-137. The documents are not always dated, and those that are make it clear that the recorders did not attempt to structure the entries of individual journals in a chronological sequence.

⁸ Hallock 1969, p. 55.



The PFA team has made many available in preliminary transcription through its public OCHRE database, albeit with remaining errata awaiting final correction. It was in this context that I first encountered the data on the Lycian *marataš* in 2018, while conducting research on a separate dossier of evidence for messenger travel between Sardis and Persepolis.⁹ Upon my inquiry, Matthew Stolper generously shared more recent collations of the relevant entries, and after further correspondence, Wouter Henkelman reexamined the tablets in Chicago in May 2022 and produced the updated transcriptions and translations that appear in the Appendix below. The journals in question contain many other entries that will appear upon their full publication, and the excerpts discussed in this paper are limited to the issue of *marataš* travel between Anatolia and Iran.

Persepolis journals follow a typical formula, with occasional deviations according to the preference of the recording officials. The left side of most tablets contains a column of numerical figures, representing the quantity of the commodity dispensed in each transaction, and separated from each entry in the transcription by a vertical line. There follows a description of the recipients, beginning with the names of individuals who took possession of the food dispensation on behalf of a larger group; although the abbreviated nature of the documents does not guarantee the inclusion of occupational titles, it is often clear that these men belong to the category of functionaries known as *barrīšdamap*, ‘professional guides’ in the service of the satrapal or royal administration who escorted travel parties on the royal roads.¹⁰ There is sometimes also a label describing the travelers with ethnic and occupational adjectives. Although the parties do not have to be quantified, more detailed entries will specify the amount of rations issued to each individual; in cases where the size and duration of the total issue are specified, this sometimes permits the reconstruction of the number of travelers. Finally, the most detailed entries record the source of the party’s *halmi*, a sealed document permitting legal use of the royal road and withdrawals from its storehouse network. Such authorizations could be issued by the king, members of the royal family, provincial satraps, and other senior officials.¹¹

The journal entries with Lycian travel parties date to years 20 and 21 of Darius’ reign (502/1 and 501/0 BCE); most of the sites where they were recorded are unknown, but the key tablet, Fort. 2030A-101, may belong to the town of Hadaran

⁹ See Hyland 2019.

¹⁰ See Henkelman 2017, p. 158 n. 168, p. 214 n. 221; Hyland 2019, p. 156.

¹¹ On *halmi* and the road network see Henkelman 2008b, p. 143, 151; Briant 2012, p. 191-193; Henkelman 2018, p. 226-228; Hyland 2019, p. 156-157; Henkelman 2020, p. 209-211; Henkelman and Jacobs 2021, p. 726-727.



near Persepolis.¹² Its most detailed entry (lines 7-9) reports that two men, bearing the Anatolian names Hizalla and Mida, received an issue of 2,450 liters of flour on behalf of Lycian *marataš* whose travel was authorized by Artaphernes. It further characterizes the group's personnel as *puhu*, literally 'boys' but commonly individuals occupying a servile or inferior social status, and adds the crucial information that each *puhu* received 1.5 liters and that the rations covered only a single day, in month IX of that year (between December 6, 502 and January 5, 501). This suggests that the total group of travelers numbered 1,633, equivalent to a substantial percentage of the total Lycian manpower attested in Persia over the following half-decade.¹³ A separate journal, Fort. 0036-101, contains an entry from the same month of the same year that also names Hizalla and Mida (lines 5-6); further information is lacking, but it is safe to assume that it records another issue to the same group of Lycians.

Two more entries do not mention Lycians explicitly, but also deal with related contexts of travel by large groups of *marataš*, probably numbering in the hundreds. The entry after the record of Hizalla and Mida's party shows another group of *marataš* associated with Artaphernes, led by a certain Hadarašda and his unnamed colleague, receiving 185 liters of flour in the same month (Fort. 2030A-101:10-11). The following entry, dating to the previous month, shows an issue of 904.5 liters to Ka[...]ya and his colleague for a party of *marataš*, unfortunately lacking the name of the *halmi*-authorizer (Fort. 2030A-101:12-13), which may however have been Artaphernes in light of his role in the adjacent entries.

Two more entries show much smaller groups of Lycian *marataš* on the move between Artaphernes and Persia in the same years of Darius' reign. These involve parties of only eight and four persons, respectively, whose leaders or guides received 1.5 liters while several *puhu* received 1 liter (Fort. 0036-101: 16-17, 18-19); the first of these entries notes their possession of a *halmi* from Parnakka, the satrap in Fars, which may indicate a return journey. Another fragmentary entry mentions Lycian *marataš* (Fort. 1239-103: 15-16) but the dispensation figure and personal names do not survive.

¹² Fort. 2030A-101 is sealed on its left edge with PFS 1582, which also appears on PF 1942 (Garrison & Root 2001 no. 232), a journal from Hadaran dating to year 19. For Hadaran's location, possibly between Persepolis and Rakkan, see Arfaee 2008, p. 54-56.

¹³ Henkelman & Stolper 2009, p. 274, tally more than 4,046 Lycians appearing in 65 Persepolis texts, but this number includes some re-counting of groups that appear more than once at certain sites. The total number appearing in a particularly well-documented year, 500/499, comes to between 1,400 and 1,600; see note 41 below.



Finally, a group of uncertain size that traveled from Artaphernes to Persepolis is designated with the label of *kurtaš mar'ataš* (Fort. 1912-103: 28).¹⁴

We should finally make note of two entries that do not mention *marataš* or indicate group size, but provide further evidence for Lycian traffic between Anatolia and Persia in the same time period. A group of Lycians traveled through Persia with a *halmi* of the king in 502 (Fort. 2045-101: 9-10), indicating that interest in this particular traffic extended to the court bureaucracy as well as satrapal officials; and a body of Lycian women with a *halmi* from Artaphernes went up to Persepolis in 501 (Fort. 1301-101: 19).¹⁵

To sum up, the journal evidence shows Artaphernes' facilitation of long-distance travel between the frontier and the imperial center by at least four Lycian contingents and five groups of *marataš* in 502 and 501. Although a few travel in small parties, the 1,633 Lycian *marataš* with Hizalla and Mida, perhaps to be augmented further if Hadarašda's or Ka[...]ya's parties were also Lycians, indicate a mass movement compatible with the demography of Lycian worker settlement in the greater Persepolis region. This brings us to the question of how to interpret *marataš* status.

The reference to *kurtaš mar'ataš* (Fort. 1912-103: 28) suggests an adjectival modification that refers to a special category within the Achaemenid labor system. This finds further support in a journal entry from a non-travel context, in which a group of 169 *kurtaš* workers receiving rations at Rakkan is divided into *marrīp* (craft-workers) of unspecified ethnic origin on the one hand, and Lycian *marataš* on the other (Fort. 2173-102: 11-12).¹⁶

Whatever the *marataš* worker category entailed, it had empire-wide relevance despite its frequent survival in texts involving Lycian workers. Other ethnic labels are not attested for *marataš* contingents, but *marataš* of unspecified ethnicity travel to Persia from a wide range of distant geographical locations, including Karmania (Fort. 1721-101: 16-18), Drangiana (Fort. 1912-103: 43), India (Fort. 1901A-101: 44), and

¹⁴ The initial syllable, which appears as *ra-*, is probably a scribal error; see the relevant note in the textual appendix.

¹⁵ Among other journal entries of possible relevance, but lacking specific reference to either Lycians or *marataš*, one might include Fort. 1912-103: 29, an issue to two companions traveling from Artaphernes to Parnakka, and Fort. 1311-102: rev 30, which records a party of unspecified ethnicity and size with a guide authorized by Artaphernes in month IX of year 20. Fort. 2030A-101: 3 and 5 also record travel rations associated with Artaphernes.

¹⁶ This group might be identical with the 162 Bactrian and Lycian *numakaš* who receive rations at Rakkan in the same year (PF 1947: 59-61); for further discussion of this mixed party see Henkelman 2018, p. 232-233.



Arachosia (Fort. 2173-102: 14-16; Fort. 1721-101: 23), while other parties move between Persepolis and Susa (Fort. 1901A-101: 10, 17, 26; Fort. 1239-103: 5-6).¹⁷

Wouter Henkelman initially suggested the identification of *marataš* as an Iranian loanword, but its specific etymology remained uncertain.¹⁸ A solution may be found in the common Elamite transcription of *ma-* in place of the Iranian initial syllable *va-*, as also seen in the use of Elamite *mardam* to represent Old Persian **varda-* or ‘workman’.¹⁹ This clue points to a cognate relationship between Elamite *marataš*, representing Old Persian **varata-*, and the Avestan term *varata-*, ‘confined, captive’, which can apply to both humans and livestock acquired by force.²⁰ This word reappears in Middle Persian *wardag* and Farsi *bardeh* as a term for ‘slave’ with early connotations of wartime capture.²¹ The etymological associations with unfree captivity, compounding the textual evidence for long-distance movement of labor groups from frontier locations, suggests that the Achaemenid *marataš* may have originated as prisoners forcibly removed from their regions of origin, and integrated into the imperial labor system alongside other categories of *kurtaš*.

This suggests that the journal entries on Lycian *marataš* travel provide the first direct administrative evidence for the Persian practice of deportation described in Classical authors.²² The interpretation of the *marataš* as captives subject to involuntary movement across the empire bears further implications for the role of the Sardis satrap in frontier labor extraction, the imperial presence in the Lycian borderlands, and the dynamics of Lycian worker settlement in Achaemenid Iran. Future research is warranted on the distinction between the *marataš* and other categories of personnel in the Fortification archive, such as the *marrīp* and *rabbap*, whose institutional labels also bear etymological linkages with seizure or coercion.²³

17 Two additional attestations occur without surviving geographical references (Fort. 2019-101: 41-42, 55-56).

18 See Henkelman 2017, p. 212 n. 217: ‘...probably Iranian, but as yet unexplained. It occurs a number of times and in different contexts in the same journal [1901A-101] and elsewhere and is therefore unlikely to be an ethnonym or toponym’.

19 See Henkelman & Stolper 2009, p. 286.

20 See Bartholomae 1904, p. 1368: ‘gefangen, der freien Bewegung, der Freiheit beraubt’, or ‘erbeutet’.

21 See Macuch 1988 for the term in the Sasanian period.

22 Matarese 2021 provides a detailed survey of the literary evidence; see also the brief synthesis in Wiesehöfer 2021.

23 Pers. comm. M.W. Stolper.



The Sardis satrap, Lycia, and the acquisition of *marataš* labor

The occurrence of Darius' *halmi* in Fort. 2045-101: 10 illustrates direct interest by officials of the royal household in the procurement of frontier manpower, in cooperation with Artaphernes' satrapal bureaucracy. This high institutional awareness of the potential of Lycian labor may have originated during Darius' Anatolian travels and Sardis residence after his European campaign, which predated the journal entries presented here by about a decade. Herodotus associates the transplantation of Paionians from Thrace into Anatolia at that time with royal orders, although his story of the deportation's origin in Darius' glimpse of a Paionian woman in Sardis can be taken with a grain of salt (5.12-15). The Susa foundation inscription (DSf) famously illustrates the king's symbolic usage of frontier peoples' labor to display worldwide rule over diverse peoples; a similar dynamic may have generated royal requests to the Sardis satrap for worker recruitment among the Lycians and other peripheral populations.²⁴

It is Artaphernes, though, who emerges as the linchpin in the assembly of imperial labor from the Anatolian frontiers, and the *marataš* travel documents offer the first definitive proof that the Sardis satrap's jurisdiction at this early period extended as far south as Lycia. By the most direct current route, much of which winds across rugged, mountainous terrain, Sardis is 235 miles (379 kilometers) from Xanthos.²⁵ The distance involved and the scarcity of evidence has led some scholars to doubt a close connection between the Sardis administration and Lycia for more than a century after the Teispid conquest.²⁶ A.G. Keen accepted that Artaphernes' personal authority extended beyond Sardis to the coastlands due to his special status as Darius' brother, but pointed to Lycia's official distinction from Lydia and assignment to a separate Ionian coastal province in the Herodotean satrapy list (3.90.1).²⁷ He further noted Lycia's absence from the Herodotean account of the Ionian revolt as an indication that the Persians were minimally involved in 'Lycian internal affairs' at this time.²⁸

²⁴ Cf. Tavernier 2015, p. 149. Possibly relevant is the sentiment attributed to the Persians by Herodotus, in which their respect for neighboring peoples decreased in proportion to their distance from Persia (1.134).

²⁵ I had the opportunity to drive the route on May 8, 2017; the trip took almost five hours, not counting a roadside stop near Çavdir for apple tea and *tandır kabab*.

²⁶ See Childs 1981, p. 55; cf. Kolb 2018, p. 117-118.

²⁷ Keen 1998, p. 83-84.

²⁸ Keen 1998, p. 90-93. But Herodotus does mention the involvement of Kaunos (5.103.2), which traditionally maintained close ties with western Lycian communities, and it would be dangerous to place too much weight on the historian's silence.



Whereas Bruno Jacobs had already pointed out that the Xanthos Stele's references to Tissaphernes indicate the Sardis satrap's responsibility for Lycia in the late 5th century, Keen argued that this situation could not be substantiated a hundred years earlier.²⁹ But Artaphernes' role in the movement of Lycian workers to Iran now provides proof of a strong satrapal authority in the region by the end of the 6th century, and a stronger precedent than previously recognized for Tissaphernes' interest in the region. These interactions with Lycia enhance our ability to envision the administrative radius of the Sardis satrapy, which extended towards the client rulers of the Troad in the northwest and the Cappadocian satrapy to the east; the addition of Lycia rounds out the geographic picture of a provincial territory comparable in size with the Persepolis administrative region, which spanned about 425 miles from Neyriz in the east past Ramhormoz in the west.³⁰

The Lycians, of course, were not the only residents of Artaphernes' borderlands who appear among the *kurtaš* workers of the Fortification archive. Greeks are also highly visible in similar contexts; Carians show up in smaller numbers and may be subsumed in some of the Lycian or Greek parties, although they are more common in records from Achaemenid Babylonia, where they may have traveled from their overseas settlements in Egypt.³¹ On the contrary, there does appear to be a contrast between the frequent appearance of Lycians and Yauna and the limited presence of Lydians from Sardis in Persepolis texts. To date, the Lydian ethnic label is only attested for a team of nine blacksmiths at the town of Kurra (PF 873, possibly the same unlabeled group in PF-NN 1309).³² This disproportion between the textual appearances of Lydians and their Greek and Lycian neighbors might point to a distinction between Artaphernes' core subjects and peripheral populations more likely to be targeted for large-scale recruitment or deportation.

Although it is clear that deportation was far from the only way in which *kurtaš* might enter the Achaemenid labor force, there is some evidence for its practice in western Anatolia and other imperial regions during the final decade of the sixth century. In addition to his explicit account of the removal of Paionians from Thrace around 510 BCE (5.15, 17, 23), just before Artaphernes' appointment as satrap and

29 Jacobs 1993, p. 67; Keen 1998, p. 83. For Tissaphernes' relations with Xanthos, see further Hyland 2021.

30 For the Persepolis province see Henkelman 2008a, p. 312-313; Garrison 2017, p. 36. For the satrap of Kappadokia, the other Anatolian region that features prominently in the Fortification archives, see Henkelman 2020, p. 208-209.

31 For Greeks at Persepolis see Rollinger & Henkelman 2009, p. 332-339. For Carians in the PFA, see Henkelman and Stolper 2009, p. 302; on the Carians in Babylonia, see Waerzeggers 2006; Potts 2018. For the possible blurring of Carian-Lycian distinctions, see Jacobs 1994, p. 136-137; Jacobs 2017, p. 18-19.

32 Henkelman and Stolper 2009, p. 287.



Darius' departure from Sardis, Herodotus also reports subsequent Persian attacks on recalcitrant Greek communities around the Bosphorus and the Troad (5.26-27). He is not explicit on the fate of their populations, but it may not be a coincidence that large groups of Yauna show up in the Persepolis archives soon thereafter. A text from the spring of 506 shows the receipt of rations at the town of Rakkan by more than 1,100 Greeks, of whom 253 were male and female children (PF-NN 2486: 56-59), a statistic indicative of involuntary travel; they must have left western Anatolia by fall 507 at the latest, and Artaphernes would have presumably been responsible for their travel authorization as he was in the Lycian travel texts just a few years after that.³³

This brings us back to the context for the travel of Lycian *marataš* to Iran in 502, more than a generation after the initial conquest of Lycia by Cyrus and Harpagos. If the *marataš* are captives, this implies a second wave of Persian military action in the reign of Darius, following the pattern of localized warfare against Paionians and Greeks in the same period, that reduced some of the Lycian population to that status. Such minor conflicts would be plausible in the context of the period, while it is understandable that Herodotus' selective narrative would have omitted more obscure episodes of frontier turmoil that did not relate to his principal themes of Persian-Greek interaction. The exact details are beyond recovery, but Artaphernes may have sought to extend Persian influence beyond the earlier conquests in the Xanthos valley, through partnerships with epichoric Lycian leaders who sought imperial support against local rivals. This would fit well with the numismatic evidence for late 6th-century Lycian politics, which appear to be characterized by turbulent competition among numerous small dynasts rather than the hegemony of a single overlord.³⁴ Punitive deportations might have targeted the communities or factions that supported losing contenders for local power, just as Herodotus reports that the Paionian deportations coincided with Darius' appointment of two favored Paionians, who had allegedly requested the conquest in the first place, to rule over their remaining countrymen in Thrace (5.12). Satrapal cooperation with local clients would have raised further possibilities for recruitment of specialized labor once the violence of conquest subsided, and perhaps the imposition of tributary obligations such as the

33 For this text see Rollinger & Henkelman 2009, p. 334-336.

34 See Müseler 2016, p. 2-3, identifying at least fourteen separate iconographic types within Lycia's 'pre- and proto-dynastic' coinage, none of which can be associated with a specific location; 'dynastic' issues at identifiable sites begin in the 5th century. Draycott 2007 interprets the late 6th-century pillar tombs at Xanthos and other locations as indicative of local elite competition that may have intensified in response to the Persian conquest. See also Podestà 2019, p. 79-80, for Hekataios of Miletos' equation of Lycia with the Xanthos valley, excluding the polycentric dynamics of central and eastern Lycia.



quota of one hundred boys and girls that Herodotus claims the Persians demanded from the inhabitants of Colchis every fourth year (3.97.4).

The movement of the Lycian *marataš*, and whatever violence lay behind it, would be overshadowed by the escalating instability of Artaphernes' frontier at the end of the 6th century. Hatred of Achaemenid deportation practices seems to have played a role in the early stages of the Ionian Revolt in 498, when Miletos and Chios collaborated in the escape of Paionians who had been resettled in Phrygia by the imperial authorities (Hdt. 5.98). It is tempting to postulate that deportations in Lycia also stoked resentment of empire and factored into the willingness of nearby Kaunos to join the rebellion after the news of the Ionian raid on Sardis.³⁵ But if Persian cooperation with Lycian partners was interrupted by the fighting in Caria and other parts of western Anatolia from 498 to 493, it resumed by the time of Xerxes' 480 expedition, in which the ruler of Xanthos and Lycian rowers played a notable part (Hdt. 7.92, 98).

It is finally worth noting a much later classical attestation of Persian deportations in Lycia. During the assault on the Persian Gates, Alexander employed the local knowledge of a multilingual shepherd, who identified himself as a Lycian taken prisoner by the Persians and brought to Iran (Diod. 17.68.5; Curt. 5.4.10-11; Plut. Al. 37.1-2; Polyae. 4.3.27).³⁶ The anecdote suggests a final phase of deportations in the context of western Anatolia's mid-fourth-century turbulence, and Keen has proposed a connection with the fall of the dynast Perikle of Limyra and the reconquest of Lycia by the Sardis satrap Autophradates.³⁷ The new Persepolis evidence adds a new dimension to the story, by showing that Autophradates was walking in the footsteps of his distant predecessor Artaphernes.

Lycian laborers in the Achaemenid heartland

As for the *marataš* who marched from Lycia to Iran with Hizalla and Mida in 502, the new journal entries provide a clearer sense of the timing of their travel and incorporation into the work forces of the imperial center. If the Lycians set out from the vicinity of Xanthos and joined the royal highway network near Sardis before turn-

³⁵ See Badian 2004 for resentment of imperial deportation practice as a potential factor among the causes of revolt.

³⁶ Diodorus and Curtius refer to his original capture, and Plutarch's version adds the detail of mixed parentage, with a Lycian father and a Persian mother; for further discussion and association with the *kurtaš* system, see Briant 1982, 223 n. 353, 343-44; Briant 2002, 735. Matarese 2021, 125, argues that the mixed marriage may be Plutarch's invention in order to explain the shepherd's freedom of movement in Iran.

³⁷ Keen 1998, 172.



ing east, they would have walked more than 2,200 miles by the time they reached Persepolis, a little more than seven months on the road at an average pace of 10 miles per day, not counting stops. To arrive in month IX or mid-winter, they must have set out by late spring or early summer. Their hot and dusty trek across the empire would have generated records at administrative stations from Lydia through Fars, and our lack of access to the bulk of the relevant travel documentation obscures some of the demographic consequences of *kurtaš* travel. There is no way to verify whether the 1,633 persons in the caravan are representative of the full complement that set out from their Anatolian assembly point, or whether some stopped in Susa or Ecbatana or branched off in the direction of other imperial regions – not to mention the question of mortality rates over the course of their exhausting journeys.³⁸

There is every reason, though, to regard the majority of the Lycian work force that appears in the Persepolis region between 502 and 496 as recent arrivals assembled by Artaphernes over the last decade of the sixth century.³⁹ The multiplicity of travel parties corresponds with the extensive dispersal of Lycian groups across numerous sites in Persis, which has been ably surveyed in Jan Tavernier's recent study.⁴⁰ In the well-documented year 500/499 alone, surviving memoranda mention between 1,400 and 1,600 Lycian workers spread out among at least twenty smaller groups, at five named sites and a larger number of unstated locations across the Persepolis region.⁴¹

It is also noteworthy that the number of new Lycian *marataš* arriving in Persia in 502 appears to be equal to or slightly higher than the total of Lycian workers attested in the region two years later. Upon arrival, such a large group was probably split into more manageable parties of hundreds or dozens and assigned to the oversight

38 Note a late source's story about the Eretrian deportees of 490, which asserts that out of 780 men, women, and children who set out from Ionia, only 400 men and 10 women survived the journey to Susa (Philostratos *Vit. Apoll.* 1.24). For possible derivation from a genuine oral tradition, see Stronk 2016-17, p. 175 n. 70; Nabel, forthcoming, is more skeptical with regard to historicity, but notes the numbers' compatibility with the scale of traveling *kurtaš* parties attested in the Persepolis Fortification texts.

39 A number of Lycians were already at Persepolis in 502, a few months before Artaphernes' large parties arrived; see Fort. 2007-101A, B, and C, recording dispensations by Mazdayašna to groups of several dozen, and Fort. 1967-101, involving eleven men and women.

40 See Tavernier 2015, p. 152-169.

41 The specific locations attested in year 22 are Tirazziš (PF 1003; PF-NN 2548); Kurra (PF 1142); Uranduš (PF 859); Tukraš (PF 1006); Memaš (PF-NN 0486). Memoranda of Lycians at unspecified locations include PF 1000; PF 1001; PF 1004; PF 1005; PF 1047; PF 1048; PF 1049; PF 1050; PF 1100; PF 1172; PF-NN 0201; PF-NN 0293; PF-NN 1173; PF-NN 2250; Fort. 1245-101; PF-NN 1695; Fort. 2156-102; Fort. 2349-101). A final contingent appears on the road from Persia to Elam (PF-NN 0123).



of apportioners (characterized by the term *šaramanna*) working with supply officials (characterized by the term *kurman*) at estates and villages. Those expected to stay at particular locations for the long term were issued seed grain to plant crops that would supplement direct disbursements of flour and other commodities by the Persian administrators.⁴² Some groups lived for multiple years at particular sites where their deaths and births can be traced through series of memoranda that break down numbers of workers according to age and gender.⁴³ But not all the Lycians sent east by Artaphernes will have stayed near Persepolis, and many moved on to other regions with new guides and travel documents, according to the needs of the administration. It is possible that some of the Lycian *marataš* resupplied alongside non-Lycian *marrīp* at Rakkan in month V of 501 (Fort. 2173-102: 11-12) joined the 303 Lycian *kurtaš* who traveled from Rakkan to the royal building site at Tamukkan the very next month (PFa 30: 14-15, VI/21).⁴⁴ A group of 500 Lycians marched from Persia to Elam in an unspecified month in 500/499 (NN 0123), and 369 Lycian women traveled from Media to Persepolis in another journal entry (NN 2349: 10-12).⁴⁵ Similar texts show parties of Skudrians and Greeks returning to Persepolis from distant Arachosia (PF-NN 2261:30-34), and some of the Lycians may have been sent off in turn to fulfill new assignments in the eastern provinces.⁴⁶ Somewhat more mysterious are the miniscule *marataš* groups led by Kaštiya and Zidukka (Fort. 0036-101: 16-17, 18-19). The journals' ambiguous phrasing makes it possible that these named individuals, who travel in the company of servants (*puhu*) on a lower ration scale, are *marataš* themselves, perhaps not so much imperial guides as foremen among captive laborers; or are they guides assigned to tiny numbers of *puhu* who travel (on a lower ration scale) for reasons unknown? The circumstances under which such individual *marataš* might travel across the empire, and possibly even back to the satrapy of Artaphernes, remain obscure.

This also prompts final reflection on a startling onomastic feature of the most substantial Lycian *marataš* travel party. The individuals listed in the entry, Hizalla and Mida, bear personal names that are unmistakably Anatolian, and a strong case can be made for both as specifically Lycian.⁴⁷ Persepolis journal entries typically record the names of the professional guides assigned to travel parties by the administration,

⁴² See Henkelman & Stolper 2009, p. 34; Henkelman 2014, p. 200.

⁴³ See Uchitel 1991, p. 128-129; Aperghis 2000, p. 135-136; Briant 2002, p. 435-437; Tavernier 2015, p. 153-154.

⁴⁴ Note also the 980 Kappadokian *kurtaš* who traveled from Rakkan to Tamukkan in IX/21 (PFa 30: 11-13).

⁴⁵ Henkelman 2017, p. 133-134.

⁴⁶ See Henkelman 2008a, 310; Rollinger & Henkelman 2009, p. 334, 336-337.

⁴⁷ Mida, while evoking immediate association with the famous Phrygian royal name, was a common personal name across Lycia; for a full list of references see Zgusta 1964, p. 314 (entry no. 912). For Hizalla, compare the attested Lycian personal names Zzala (= Greek *Salas*) (TL 32a, 32b, 32r, 32t) and Wazala (TL 16).



who take responsibility for ration issues on behalf of the group that they are escorting. Such royal guides, as well as express messengers and royal spearmen, often bear Iranian names (in Elamite transcription) that reflect their recruitment in the imperial heartland, but there are exceptions that hint at further recruitment among the empire's non-Persian subjects.⁴⁸ This leaves some uncertainty regarding the status of Hizalla and Mida. Are they *marataš* as well, appointed by Persian authorities as leaders within this deportee contingent, and escorted by Persian guides who remain anonymous in these particular journals; or are these men official guides recruited into imperial service in Lycia, perhaps under the auspices of Artaphernes' regional administration?

The greater likelihood of the second option is supported by a comparison with a parallel case from a previously published Fortification tablet, PF 1565. In this memorandum, a man named Šappiš receives rations of wine for 100 Lycian *kurtaš* on the road between Persepolis to Elam in an unspecified year of Darius' reign. Jan Tavernier recognized his name as Anatolian, and Max Gander proposed that it might be the first Lycian personal name attested in the PFA.⁴⁹ Like the *marataš* journal entries, the brief text does not explicitly mention the title of professional guide, but Šappiš's status as imperial official rather than a member of the work party is confirmed by the application of his seal, decorated with the popular Persepolitan motif of a heroic figure restraining rampant lions (PFS 1447).⁵⁰ Šappiš's career trajectory diverged dramatically from his compatriots. Was he assigned to this particular group of travelers because he spoke Lycian, and how did his status sit with the *kurtaš* who followed him? Did his presence provoke feelings of resentment or betrayal, or did they take for granted that one of their own might serve the king in higher capacities than dependent labor? Now Hizalla and Mida provide comparable cases of Lycians in imperial service, helping to orchestrate other Lycians' servitude. Neither they nor Šappiš reappear in other extant documents, but their interaction with traveling Lycian workers and captives offers a tantalizing glimpse of the spectrum of relationships, from cooperative partnership through exploitative domination, that linked the Achaemenid state with the peoples of the Anatolian frontier.

48 For example, Uziliš, the guide for a party of Yauna sent east by Artaphernes in an unknown year (PF-NN 2108; Henkelman & Stolper 2009, p. 334), has a name with possibly Carian onomastic features (compare Mausolus, Ibanollis, or Aridolis). For *pirradaziš* messengers bearing possible Luwian/Cilician personal names, see also Hyland 2019, p. 165-166.

49 Tavernier 2015, p. 163; Gander 2016, p. 95.

50 See Garrison & Root 2001, p. 247.



Appendix: Journal Excerpts (Wouter F.M. Henkelman, EPHE)

Fort. 2030A-101 (year 20 = 502/1 BCE):

(07') 2 ME 45 ^{HAL}hi!-za-ul-la hi-še a-ak ^{HAL}mi¹-da hi-še PAP 2-^Γbe-ud-da
^{HAL}ma¹-ra-taš ^{HAL}tur-mi-ri-ia-ip ^{HAL}ir-tap-pár-^Γna¹ [...]

(08') gal-ma du-iš 1 na-an ^{AN}ITI^{MEŠ} ^{AN}ha-ši-ia-ti-iš be-ul 20-na ap-pi un-ra 1 QA 20-kur du-iš
[...]

(09') ^{HAL}LÚ^{MEŠ} ^{HAL}pu-hu 1 <^{HAL},^ΓLÚ^{MEŠ} ^{HAL}?¹pu-hu un-ra 1 QA 20-kur du-iš ^{AŠ}hal-mi
^{HAL}ir-tap-pár-na-na ku-iz-za

2,450 (l. of flour), (a man) named Hizal(l)a and Mida, in total 2 people, Lycian *marataš*, [who were coming from] Artaphernes, received as rations. 1 day, month IX, year 20. Servant-man by servant-man they each received 1.5 l. They carried an authorization from Artaphernes.

Note: hi¹ looks like UG, but in Fort. 0036-101 ^{HI} is clear. There is a slight variation in orthography (*ul-la* vs. *la*).

(10') 18 ½ ^{HAL}ha-da-ra-áš-^Γda hi-še¹ a-ak 1 ^{HAL}ak-ka₄-ia-še ^{HAL}<ma>-ra-a-taš ^{HAL}ir-tap-
pár-^Γna x x¹ [...]

(11') ^{AN}ITI^{MEŠ} ^{AN}ha-ši-^Γia¹-ti-iš be-ul 20-na ap-pi un-^Γra 1¹ [20-kur du-iš ...]

185 (l. of flour a man) named Hadarašda and his one companion, <ma>*rataš* [coming from / on their way to] Artaphernes [received ...]. Month IX year 20. They each [received 1.5 l.].

(12') 90 4 QA 20-kur ^{HAL}ka₄[-x]-^Γx¹-ia hi-še a-ak 1 ^{HAL}ak-ka₄-ia-še ØØ ^{HAL}ma-ra-
taš [...]

(13') ^{AN}ITI^{MEŠ} ^{AN}mar-ka₄-šá-^Γna-iš¹ be-ul 20-na [(...)]

904.5 (l. of flour a man) named Ka[...]ya and his one companion, *marataš* [... received]. Month VIII year 20.



Fort. 0036-101 (year 20 = 502/1 BCE):

(05') [xx] ᵀ^{HAL}hi-za-la ᵀ^{HAL}hi-še a-ak¹ ᵀ^{HAL}mi¹-da¹ hi-še PAP 2-be[-ud-da ...]

(06') ᵀ¹na-an ᵀ^{AN}ᵀ^{TI}MEŠ^{AN}ha-ši-ia¹-ᵀ¹ti-ᵀ¹iš¹ be-ᵀ¹ul¹ [20-na ...]

[x] (l. of flour a man) named Hizal(l)a and Mida, in total 2 people, [marataš ...], 1 day, month IX, year [20].

(16') ᵀ^xᵀ^{HAL}ka₄-iš-ti-ia hi-še ᵀ^{HAL}ma-ra-ᵀ¹taš ᵀ^{HAL}tur-mi-ri-ia ᵀ^{HAL}ir^{da}-tap-pár-ᵀ¹na¹ [...]

(17') 1 QA 20-kur du-iš-da 8 ᵀ^{HAL}pu-hu un-ra 1 QA du-iš-da ᵀ^{AS}hal-mi ᵀ^{HAL}pár[-na-ak-ka₄-na ...]

[x] (l. of flour a man) named Kaštiya; a Lycian *marataš* [going to?] Artaphernes [... He himself] received 1.5 l., 8 servants each received 1 l. [They carried] an authorization from Par[nakka].

(18') [xx] ᵀ^{HAL}zi¹-du-uk-ka₄ hi-še ᵀ^{HAL}ma-ra-taš ᵀ^{HAL}tur-mi-ri-ia «ip» ᵀ^{HAL}ir^{da}[-tap-pár-na ...]-

(19') ᵀ^{ka}₄ ᵀ^{AS}be-ul 20-na ᵀ^{HAL}hi-ᵀ¹su¹-taš 1 QA 20-kur du-iš-da 3 ᵀ^{HAL}[pu-hu un-ra 1 QA du-iš-da ...]

[x] (l. of flour a man) Zidukka; a Lycian *marataš* [going to / coming from] Artaphernes [...].

Year 20. He himself received 1.5 l., 3 [servants each received 1 ...].

Fort. 2045-101: (year 20 = 502/1 BCE)

(09) [xx x x x x x x x (x)] ᵀ^x x x x x x x ᵀ^{HAL}tur¹-mi-ráš-be ᵀ¹gal-li¹-ma ap ᵀ¹du¹-

(10) [nu-iš x x x x (x)] ᵀ^x x x x x hal-mi¹ ᵀ^{HAL}EŠŠANA¹-na ku-iz-ᵀ¹zi¹

[xx l. flour, PN received] he gave it to Lycians as rations [...]. He/they carried an authorization of the king.

Fort. 1239-103 (year 20 = 502/1 BCE)

(15') [xx x x x x x x x x x ak-ka₄]-ᵀ¹ia¹-še ᵀ^{HAL}ma-ra-taš ᵀ^{HAL}tur-mi-ᵀ¹ra-ip¹ [...]



(16') [x x x x x x x x x x x x] be-^rul¹ 20-na ap-^rpi¹ [un-ra 1] ^rQA¹ 20-kur-na [du-iš (...)]

[xx (l. of flour), (a man) named PN and his x comp]anion(s), Lycian *marataš*, [... received as rations. 1 day, MN], year 20. They each received 1.5 l. [...]

note: (15') ^{HAL}ma-ra-taš: HAL over erasure.

Fort. 1912-103 (probably year 21 = 501/0 BCE):

(28') [xx ^{HAL}(x)]^rx-x¹ hi-še 1 ^{HAL}KI+MIN¹ ^{HAL}kur-taš ra-ra-taš ^{AŠ}iš-par-taš¹ ^{HAL}ir-tap-pár-na-^rik¹-ka₄-mar ^{AŠ}ba-ir-šá-iš <la-ak> gal ^rdu¹-iš ^rx¹ [...]

[x] (l. flour a man named) [PN] (and) his one companion, *kurtaš rarataš* (sent) from Artaphernes in Lydia to Persepolis, received (as) rations [...].

Note: *ra-ra-taš*: if not a variant to ^{HAL}ma-ra-taš, then perhaps read ^{AŠ}mar¹-ra-taš. (pers. comm. M.W. Stolper: 'I doubt if it's a "variant" rather than a scribal error: either dittography or *mar-* over an imperfectly erased sign.')

Fort. 1301-101 (year 21 = 501/0 BCE):

(19) [xx x x x x x (x)] ^rx 3²1 [^{SAL}?]uk-ku ^{AŠ}tar-mi-ri-ia-ip un-ra 1 QA ^r20¹-kur ^rap du²1[-nu-iš-da ...]

(20) [x x x x (x) ^{AŠ}]ba-^rir¹[-šá] pa-ráš-da hal-mi ^{HAL}ir-da-pár-na-na ^rku¹-ti-iš [(...)]

[x] (l. of flour PN received), female (?) Lycian persons, to them he each gave 1.5 l. They went [from GN] to Persepolis; they carried an authorization from Artaphernes.

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