THE PERSIAN ARMY
560–330 BC

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Editor's Note
This volume should be read in conjunction with MAA148, The Army of Alexander the Great, Elite 7, The Ancient Greeks and Campaign 7, Alexander 334-323 BC, Conquest of the Persian Empire.
THE PERSIAN ARMY 560–330 BC

‘If we knew as much about the culture of ancient Iran as about ancient Egypt or Babylonia, or even as much as about India or China, our notions of cultural developments in Asia would probably be widely different from what they are at present. The few literary remains left to us in the Old-Persian inscriptions and in the Avesta are insufficient to retrace an adequate picture of Iranian life and civilization; and, although the records of classical authors add a few touches here and there to this fragment, any attempts at reconstruction, even combined with these sources, will remain unsatisfactory’ (Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (1919) p.185).

It should be stressed that work on the history and archaeology of the Persian army during the Achaemenid period is still in its infancy, and only a handful of articles have been produced on the subject (e.g. Paul Rahe, ‘The Military Situation in Western Asia on the eve of Cunaxa’, *American Journal of Philology* 101 (1980) pp.79–96). Consequently what follows must be regarded as a personal, and provisional, interpretation of the evidence. As with all other aspects of the Achaemenid Empire, the dress of the court and of the army was subject to competing influences from Elamite, Mesopotamian and Median sources. State dress, which was subject to evolution and change over the two centuries of the Empire, represented a conscious selection from those sources. The study of regal and military dress is as yet in its infancy, though see Stefan Bittner, *Tracht und Bewaffnung des persischen Heeres zur Zeit der Achaemeniden* (Munich 1985). In this book I have concentrated on an attempt to give a detailed account of how military and state dress developed, within the framework of a brief account of the military history of the Empire.

Because the material which follows is closely integrated with the subjects of the colour plates, I have departed from the normal series style of isolating plate commentaries in a final chapter. Readers will find commentaries on the plates placed successively throughout the text, marked by bold reference numbers (e.g. *Plate AI*).

The Elamite Royal Robe

One of our first pieces of evidence as to the appearance of the King comes from Pasargadæ, the site of the earliest imperial palace. The winged figure from Gate R has been interpreted as either a winged genii, or as some form of idealized portrait of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Empire, possibly representing the King’s ‘Fortune’. Some interpretation such as this seems inevitable, given that the figure wears a

Towards the end of his reign Cyrus seems to have ruled his vast Empire as a triarchy. Cambyses ruled in Babylon as viceroy in the West after 538 BC, while his younger brother Tammuzaarkes seems to have ruled as viceroy in the East, possibly based in Bactria. Ctesias (René Henry, *Phytouia, Bibliothèque* 1 (1959) p.109) dates the division of the Empire to Cyrus’ deathbed, but this Achaemenid gem in ‘Court Style’, (John Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (1970), p.877) showing three kings wearing crenellated crowns, indicates that the triarchy was established earlier, and also that the ‘Achaemenid robe’ had been adopted as royal dress before Cyrus’ death in 530 BC. (Paris, Bibliothèque National N 3621)
crown and the Elamite royal robe. ‘Resting on the long twisted horns of the Abyssinian ram (Ovis longipes palaeo-egyptiacus), between two opposed uraci each of which supports a small sun disc, the main part of the headdress consists of three bunches of reeds, each surmounted by a solar disc and each set against a background of ostrich feathers. Three solar discs with concentric circles mark the bottom of the reed bundles ... The body of the figure is clad in a full-length, fringed robe that passes over the right arm. On both the vertical and horizontal hems the fringe is backed by a narrow border of rosettes, each rosette having eight petals and eight minute sepals’ (David Stronach, *Pasargadae* (1978) p.50). The crown, though ultimately of Egyptian origin, seems to be borrowed from the repertoire of Syro-Phoenician art.

The Elamite royal robe continued to be used at least until the later stages of the reign of Cyrus the Great. The so-called ‘Nabonidus Chronicle’, a cuneiform document dealing with the history of Babylonia during this period, records an incident which seems to have taken place during the coronation ceremony attended by Cambyses on 15th March 538 BC, inaugurating the period of co-regency of Cyrus and Cambyses in Babylon (cf. Jerome Peat, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 41 (1989) pp.199–216). The god Nabû was the vizier of the Babylonian divine pantheon, and it seems that the king of Babylon would be given the sceptre of Nabû as part of the coronation ceremony. The tablet is, unfortunately, damaged at this point, but according to an interpretation of A. I. Oppenheim (see *The Cambridge History of Iran* 2 (1985) p.554), Cambyses went to the temple of Nabû, where the priest of Nabû refused to hand over the sceptre of the god to Cambyses on account of the Elamite dress he wore. The chronicle then makes mention of spears and quivers. The Elamites were hated at Babylon, where memories of their cruelty during an earlier period of occupation persisted.

At some point subsequent to this incident, indeed possibly as a consequence of it, the Elamite royal robe was abandoned and replaced by a new royal garment, the so-called ‘Achaemenid robe’. Arrian (*Anab. 6.29.6*) tells us that Cyrus’ body lay in a golden sarcophagus. Placed on it were a kantis (Median cloak), and besides tunics of Babylonian workmanship, Median anaxyrides (trousers) and ‘hyacinth-dyed’ garments (a shade of dark blue), some others of purple and of other colours, and necktorques, akinaka (daggers), and earrings of gold set with jewels. It is possible that either the ‘tunics of Babylonian workmanship’, or the ‘hyacinth-dyed’ garments, could be examples of the ‘Achaemenid robe’ and could be taken to indicate that it was adopted as royal dress before the death of Cyrus the Great. The ‘Achaemenid robe’ was used by the King and his army alike, but its origin is unknown. Some regard it as of Elamite origin, while others think it was native Persian (Calmeyer *AMI* 21 (1988) pp.27–51).

**THE PERSIAN NATIONAL ARMY**

Persian society may be described as 'feudal', comprising the nobility (azata), the bondmen (bandaka) under them, and, at the bottom, slaves (mariaka). All Persians were bondsmen of the King. Military service was compulsory, presumably for nobles and bondsmen alike. Exemption from attendance at court or from service in the field were favours which could only be granted by the King (Xen., *Cyr. 8.3.47*). Before his fifth year a Persian boy was not admitted into the presence of his father, but lived entirely with
the women; then from his fifth to his twentieth year he would be taught ‘to ride, to use the bow, and to speak the truth’ (Hdt. 1.136). Strabo (15.3.18) tells us that military service and training lasted until the twenty-fourth year, and so for a period of four years. The young men were divided into companies of 50, each under the command of a son of the nobility. In confirmation Herodotus (1.209; 3.139) informs us that Darius was barely 20 when Cyrus went on his last expedition in 530 BC, and so not of an age to perform military service, while he served as one of Cambyses’ ‘Spearbearers’ in Egypt during the winter of 528/7 BC. After service in what we may call the ‘Persian National Army’, Strabo (15.3.19) tells us the young men were demobilized, but remained liable for military service until their fiftieth year.

Xenophon seems to be somewhat confused over these arrangements, for he (Cyr. 1.2.8–9) tells us that the young men entered their military service in their seventeenth year, and that it lasted for ten years. Later, however, he (1.2.13) tells us that on leaving the army they still remained subject to mobilization for 25 years, joining the elders at an age of ‘somewhat over 50 years of age’, and so, seemingly, supporting the information given by Strabo. In the context of this discussion Xenophon (1.2.15) mentions that ‘they say there are about 120,000 Persians’. It may be that he gives this figure as the total number of the nobility, or perhaps as the total strength of the National Army.

Organization
The Persian army was organized into regiments of a thousand men. The Old Persian term for one of these regiments, or ‘Thousands’, was hazarabam: a word formed from hazara-, meaning ‘thousand’, with a suffix of -bam to turn it into a numeral-noun. Each regiment was commanded by a hazarapatiš, or ‘commander of a thousand’, and was divided into ten sataba of a hundred. Each satabam was commanded by a satapatiš and was, in turn, divided into ten dathaba of ten men.

Xenophon mentions all these ranks in his Cyropaedia, though he gives them in their Greek equivalents. He also mentions (2.1.22–26) Persian commanders of five and of 50. Of these only one has an equivalent in the Persepolis ration documents, which mention a pasçadathapatiš, literally an ‘after’ or ‘rear’ dathapatiš. These men seem to have operated as deputees to the dathapatiš, and in battle would have been stationed in the rear rank of the dathabam. The satabam was perhaps physically divided in two, but the pasçasatapatiš may have simply functioned as second-in-command of the satabam. Further above the regiment the decimal system was maintained, and ten regiments were formed into a division of 10,000 men, called a baivarabam, or ‘myriad’ in Greek, commanded by a baivarapatiš.

Needless to say, the perfect symmetry of the system described above was not always maintained, and the ‘parade-state’ of units frequently fell below establishment. A number of Aramaic documents left by Jewish and Aramaean mercenaries serving in a garrison installed at Aswan, where the first cataract of the Nile forms the border with Nubia, allow us to reconstruct the organization of the garrison. A number of regiments appear, here not termed hazarabam but rather the Aramaic equivalent degel, or ‘standard’, each commanded by a Persian or a Babylonian. Although lists of dathaba of ten or even eleven names have survived, ration documents indicate that the strength of the satabam had fallen to 50–60 men. Similarly documents from Arad in Judaea mention a group of ten horsemen of Eliahush, though ration documents show that the strength of the satabam had

*The Old Persian names for military sub-units mainly come from ration tablets excavated at Persepolis. This example, R. T. Hallock, Persepolis Fortification Tablets (1969) no.139, records the issue of rations to the dathabam of Ustana in the satabam of Mannanda. (Photo: University of Chicago, Oriental Institute)*
fallen to 30–40 men. So it seems that when regiments fell below strength, the strength of the *dathabam* was maintained at ten men, but the number of *dathaba* in the *satahab* was adjusted according to the actual strength of the regiment (A.N. Temerevin *Vestnik Drevnej Istori1* 151 (1980, 1) p.131).

**The Immortals**

The most important *baizarahm* of the army was, of course, the King’s famous personal division of 10,000 ‘Immortals’. The Old Persian for ‘Immortals’ seems to have been *Amsraka*. It is probable that the *Amsraka* comprised the pick of the conscripts of the National Army. Herodotus (7.83.1) tells us that these troops were called Immortals because the division was unfailingly kept up to strength.

Herodotus (7.40–41) gives us a description of Xerxes’ army as it marched out of Sardis to begin the invasion of Greece. The King marched in the middle of the army. Ahead of the King came a thousand horsemen, chosen from the Persians. After these came a thousand ‘Spearbearers’, likewise chosen from all, carrying their spears pointing downwards. Then came the King in a chariot. The account now seems to become a little confused. Behind the King, Herodotus tells us, came another thousand ‘Spearbearers’, the best and noblest of the Persians, carrying their spears upright. Then came another thousand horse, also chosen from the best of the Persians. Then came ten thousand infantry chosen from the rest of the Persians (even though he does not specifically state it, it seems obvious that Herodotus is talking of the Immortals here). One thousand of them had golden pomegranates on their spears, and they encircled the other nine thousand, who had silver pomegranates.

Herodotus seems to be describing a ‘shielded archer’ combination here, with nine thousand archers being defended by a thousand shielded spearmen. Herodotus concludes his description by adding that those who turned their spears to the ground also had golden pomegranates, and those who followed Xerxes had golden apples. After the Immortals followed ten thousand horsemen, and then the rest of the army.

As Herodotus does not quote his source, we cannot judge whether he is fabricating the scene of the army leaving Sardis from a generalized description of the army on the march, or whether he is using a source which purported to give an eye-witness account of the scene that day at Sardis. Either way, the account given by Herodotus seems most confused. It is possible that he has been unable to make sense of a detailed description of the army on the march given by his source, perhaps Hecataeus, or, alternatively, it may be his source which is confused.

My interpretation would be that the chariot of the King was guarded by a single unit of a thousand ‘Spearbearers’, *araštibara* in Old Persian, distinguished from the others by the golden spearbutts on their spears, from which they received the nickname ‘Applebearers’. Heracleides of Kyme (Athen.
12.514b) tells us that the ‘Applebearers’ were ‘Spearbearers’ of the King, all Persians by race, a thousand in number, with golden spearbutts, selected because of their rank from the ten thousand Persians called the Immortals. It may be inferred that the Spearbearers were recruited from the Persian nobility, whereas the other regiments of the Immortals were not. We do know that Darius the Great had served as a Spearbearer of Cambyses (Hdt. 3.139), as, probably, did Datames in the reign of Artaxerxes II (Nepos. 14.1.1). Presumably the regiment marched half in front of and half behind the King’s chariot, and this has led Herodotus to make two regiments of Spearbearers out of one. The institution of the Spearbearers seems to have been borrowed from the Medians, for Herodotus (1.98.2; 1.114) mentions Median Spearbearers (cf. Athen. 12.514d).

It would seem that the regiment of Spearbearers was actually separate from the other ten thousand Immortals; in other words that there were ten other regiments of Immortals. Of these, it seems, there was a further picked regiment: those whom Herodotus describes as having golden pomegranates on their spears and surrounding the other nine thousand, and so, presumably, like the Spearbearers, shielded.

Herodotus may also have made two élite cavalry units of a thousand men out of one, though this is less certain. He mentions (8.113) only one regiment of a thousand élite Persian cavalry participating in the Plataea Campaign. The division of ten thousand Persian cavalry also mentioned by Herodotus is presumably another élite unit. In a second passage Herodotus (7.55) describes the army crossing the Hellespont: the ten thousand Persians, all wearing garlands round their heads, ‘those that carried their spears reversed’, the Spearbearers, and the ten thousand cavalry are all mentioned.

Both horses and the wealth necessary to maintain them, which had been raised in the recent campaigns of conquest, were distributed among the Persian nobility, and Cyrus ordained that henceforth they should ride everywhere, and that it should be considered a disgrace for a Persian nobleman to be seen on foot (Xen., Cyr. 4.3.22). Following the conquest of Bactria, in 530 BC, Cyrus was wounded in an insignificant cavalry skirmish fought against the Derbies, a rebel Bactrian tribe. The wound festered and Cyrus, conqueror of half the known world, died.

The first Persian fleet

Most of Cambyses’ reign was taken up with the conquest of Egypt. The Egyptian pharaoh Amasis relied on his mastery of the sea to keep Cambyses out: an

Detail of winged disc from the relief of Darius at Behistun. The figure inside may represent Darius, or perhaps Achaemenes, the founder of the dynasty, as has been suggested by Shahbazi (AMI 13 (1980) p.145). On his hat he wears an eight-rayed solar disc. Curtius (3.3.8) tells us that above the King’s tent there gleamed an image of the sun enclosed in crystal, which would have resembled this solar disc. (Photo: Claus Breede, West Asian Department, Royal Ontario Museum)
Darius embossed on a further period of Imperial expansion. Under Darius the Persian Empire reached its largest extent.

Darius' first campaign, following his suppression of dissent within the Empire, was against the Saka tribes of Central Asia, some of whom were now (519 BC) incorporated within the Empire. The main military significance of this campaign was that it made resources of Saka manpower available for mercenary service. Even under Cyrus the levied army was being replaced with a mercenary army. Henceforward increasing use was made of mercenaries. The Eastern Iranian tribes and the Saka of Central Asia seem to have played a very important role in supplying contingents of mercenary troops to the army, and thereby introducing new tactics and equipment. In 515 BC Darius completed the eastward expansion of the Empire with a campaign in India. The border was fixed on the River Indus, and a new satrapy was established with its capital at Taxila. India too supplied mercenaries and new military ideas to the army. In turn the Persian conquest of the north-western corner of India had a tremendous impact on the rest of the subcontinent.

**Plate A: Two regiments of Immortals, 6th century BC**

By the end of 521 BC Darius had taken up residence in Susa, the old Elamite capital, and before long he started constructing a new palace there. The figures comprising Plate A are based on friezes of polychrome glazed bricks from his palace at Susa, now in the Louvre, which have been widely published (e.g. Roman Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran, from its Origins to the Time of Alexander the Great* (1964) p.141.

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**DARIUS THE GREAT**

Upon the premature death of Cambyses in 522 BC the Empire was temporarily thrown into confusion, but the historical sources. It was said that Cambyses had murdered his brother during his reign, but now he was 'brother', probably an impostor, came forward to seize the throne. This impostor, one Smerdis, was revealed by a conspiracy of seven noblemen, one of whom, Darius, took the throne. After a year in which he fought 19 battles and seized nine rebel kings,

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In reverse of a coin of Agadatas, a post-Achaemenid ruler of Persis. He is perhaps worshiping at a zoroastrian temple. Note the standard shown beside the temple.

(M. Diculafy, L'Art antique de la Perse I (1884) p.19 fig.22)
reconstruction by F. Krefter, *Persepolis Rekonstruktion* (1971) fig.32, with colours restored according to Erich F. Schmidt, *Persepolis I* (Chicago 1953) p.141 fig.68b and p.145 fig.72j.

**Persian regimental uniforms**

It could be argued that the repetition of figures in identical dress on early Achaemenid reliefs does not represent uniformity in military dress, but rather simply an artistic convention, repeating identical figures for artistic effect. However, a number of literary passages do point to the fact that the Greek authors recognized that the Achaemenid army was clothed and equipped in identical style. Whilst ‘uniform’ only became a general feature of Greek warfare at the end of the 4th century BC, the more centralized nature of the Achaemenid state dictated an earlier development of the phenomenon in the Persian army.

Xenophon (*Cyr. 8.3.1–3*) tells us that Cyrus the Great distributed Median cloaks to the Persians, who had not previously worn Median dress. He distributed the finest cloaks to the most noble Persians, and to the rest cloaks of purple, ‘nightshade’, crimson and blood-red. The colour ‘nightshade’ was a rich brown colour, a mixture of black with red and white (*Plut., Tim. 68c*). To each army officer he gave a measure of cloaks to distribute in turn to their friends. This passage seems to tell us that Xenophon recognized that a system of ‘uniform’, or at least of ‘liveries’, in dress and equipment operated among the Persian forces. The concept of uniformity seems to have extended to at least the officers of the Royal administration and to units of the central army; for example, Plutarch (*Vit. Alex. 18.7*) tells us that ‘The Royal Couriers’ (*astandes*) had their own distinctive cloak. One presumes that Persians performing their military service were not supposed to turn up with their own weapons and equipment, but would be supplied with them by their officers. Thus Xerxes, when preparing for the expedition against Greece, promised gifts to those Persian nobles who turned up with the finest equipped forces (*Hdt. 7.8.4*). Likewise various satraps may have maintained units of troops dressed and equipped in a uniform manner. Polyaeus (*7.28.2*) tells us that Arsabes, satrap of Greater Phrygia in the middle of the 5th century BC, during a revolt against the King, found out that his master-of-horse (*asapatis*) planned to pass over to the King’s
side in the oncoming battle. Arsabes took the weapons and dress from the cavalry of his master-of-horse and gave them to men loyal to his cause. They then fell upon the King’s men when they were expecting them to desert. This passage implies that Arsabes had distributed uniform weapons and dress to his cavalry.

One must clearly distinguish between ‘uniform’, in which all items of dress and equipment would have been distributed from a central magazine, and ‘livery’. In the latter system the King or his officers would perhaps only distribute limited items of dress or equipment to their men, who would supply the balance from their own resources. For example, following the destruction of the allied Peloponnesian fleet at Cyzicus in 410 BC, Pharnabazus gave a cloak and two months’ rations to each Peloponnesian (the hoplite marines), and armed the sailors and set them up at guards in the coastal regions of his satrapy (Xen., *Hell.* 1.1.24).

In times of civil war, when Persian was fighting Persian, a system of ‘field signs’ might have to be adopted to augment existing systems of uniforms and liveries. Thus Plutarch (*Vit. Artax.* 11.6) tells us that during the revolt of Cyrus the Younger in 401 the phaleres of Cyrus wore crimson surcoats over their breastplates, while those of King Artaxerxes wore white. Xenophon (*An.* 1.2.16) also tells us that the Ten Thousand’ Greek mercenaries who served Cyrus during the Revolt all had helmets, greaves and shields of bronze, together with crimson tunics. Presumably the mercenaries had all supplied their own weapons, but their tunics may have been distributed. As far as the white dress of Artaxerxes’ army is concerned, white was a sacred colour among the ancient Persians: for example, white horses were selected for sacrifice (Hdt. 7.113), and Artaxerxes was a very religious person, being especially attached to the Iranian goddess Anahita, ‘The Spotless One’. A passage preserved in Athenaeus (4.145 b) tells us that the palace servants of Artaxerxes II would bathe and put on white garments before preparing the daily royal dinner. In 397 BC the forces of Artaxerxes’ loyal satrap Tissaphernes are reported to have included a unit of Carian hoplites with white shields (Xen., *Hell.* 3.3.15).
Plate B. Court Scene, early 5th century BC

Plate B1. The details of decoration of the King’s robe are based on the monochrome reconstruction of the robe of Xerxes I by Ann Britt Tilia, Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fars II (1978) p.54. The colours of the robe have been established from the reconstruction Tilia offers (pl.B) of the figure within the ‘winged disc’ symbol on the western jamb of the northern doorway in the Council Hall at Persepolis. The ‘winged disc’ symbol appears in two forms, one with the figure of the King within the disc, and one without any human figure. It used to be thought that the symbol represented the Iranian supreme deity Ahuramazda; however, Shapur Shadbazi (AMI 7 (1974) pp.135–144; 13 (1980) pp.119–147) and Calmeyer (Jahrhuck des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 94 (1979) pp.347–365) have recently suggested that the winged disc without any human figure represents the ‘Fortune’ of the Iranians, while the disc with the human figure represents the ‘Fortune’ of the monarch. It follows that the human figure shown in the winged disc wears the robe of the King. In fact the decoration does coincide exactly, but it is only possible to establish the colours of the figure in the winged disc. The colours of the lower legs and feet of the figure have been restored according to Herzfeld’s watercolour (AMI 22 (1989) pl.1) showing these details on a carved and painted relief on the eastern jamb of the northern doorway in the Council Hall. Some difficulty exists, for Herzfeld shows the King’s shoes as blue, but Tilia (p.56) disputes this, as she found clear traces of red during her examination of the sculpture. However, I have decided to restore blue as blue shoes are worn by the ‘Spearbearers’ shown on the Sarcophagus of Abdalonymus (see Plates E2–3). It could be that the blue, now disappeared, had been painted on top of the red. Though this figure is based on a representation of Xerxes, the same regalia was probably used by Darius. The sceptre of gold is confirmed by Xenophon (Cyr. 8.7.13).

Plate B2. Behind the King stands a eunuch holding a fly-whisk and napkin. He perhaps occupied the office of King’s Chamberlain (vastrabara) and was responsible for continually waiting on the King, supervising his royal chamber, and regulating all his private arrangements. As such he occupied a position of great power and influence. Eunuchs were valued for this position above entire men, not only because they had access to the Royal Harem, but also because they lacked heirs, and consequently the ambition to amass power on behalf of family factions. Occasionally, however, mistakes in selection were made. In 465 BC Xerxes I was murdered by Artabanus, the commander of the Spearbearers, after Mithridates the eunuch, the Royal Chamberlain, led him into the King’s bedchamber (Diod. 11.69.1).

As the Regiment of Spearbearers formed the Persian King’s personal guard at court, the security of the King’s person, and admittance into the Royal presence, were regulated by the hazarapatis of the Regiment. Consequently ‘The Hazarapatis’, as he was known, was the most important person in the Empire after the King. The same title passed on into the usages of the later Armenian and Sassanian courts.

Plate B3. It is known that during the 4th century the Regiment of Spearbearers was accorded the singular honour of wearing the dress of the King: then a purple tunic with a white band running down the centre (see Plate E3). The same practice may have existed in earlier periods. One of the Spearbearers shown on the Tomb of Artaxerxes III, depicted anachronistically in 6th-century dress, according to the practices of Achaemenid ‘Court Style’, has traces of blue on his cap, and a stripe of blue on the shoulder of his tunic (Tilia p.43 fig.2c). Plate B3, therefore, represents a ‘Spearbearer’. Given that the Spearbearers seem to have been recruited from the Persian nobility, whereas the other regiments of Immortals seem to

Two sets of roundels decorate the King’s tunic. Those on the upper sleeve (right) represent a circle filled with a cross consisting of four lotus-flowers, alternating with four lotus-buds, all around a central boss. Those on the rest of the tunic (left) show a tree of life sitting upon a crescent (moon?) within a border of lotus-blossoms. (Tilia p.54).
This bronze boss was recovered from excavations at the Heraion of Samos. It may have arrived there either as booty or as a dedication, and it may have come from the shield of a Spearbearer belonging to a regiment maintained by a local satrap or dynasty. The decoration clearly copies that shown on shields from the Persepolis reliefs. Diameter 0.154 m. (Ulf Jantzen, Samos VII (1972) p.56 no. B 1681)

Faience tile from Persepolis, probably representing the Royal Standard. (Professor H. Luschey AMI 5 (1972) pl.69)

have been recruited from commoners, one might expect to see differences in dress representing differences in social status between Spearbearers and other Immortals in the Persepolis reliefs. It may be that only the Spearbearers were allowed to wear the fluted cap, but all regiments may have worn ceremonial headdress on specific occasions.

At Persepolis only guardsmen who wear the fluted cap are shown carrying the distinctive oval shield with circular segment cut out of the sides. Classical archaeologists call this type of shield a ‘Dipylon’ shield, from the Dipylon Gate site in Athens where representations of this type of shield were found painted on early Greek pottery. The ultimate origin of this shape of shield seems, however, to lie in primitive shields constructed from dried gazelle skins, which are attested in representations from the Near East stretching back into the third millennium BC. The pattern incised in the circular shield boss seems to reproduce the decorative roundel on the upper sleeve of the King’s tunic, therefore it may have been plated in silver, perhaps on a blue back-

ground. The colours of the shield are speculative.

The Persepolis ‘Audience Scenes’ show a square standard displayed behind the King. Xenophon (An. 1.10.12) tells us that at the Battle of Cunaxa in 401 BC the Royal Standard consisted of ‘some kind of golden eagle’ upon a shield, raised on a pole. What Xenophon seems to be describing, in fact, is the falcon with wings unfolded. In the sacred Iranian book, the Avesta, the King’s ‘Fortune’ assumes several forms, one of which is the falcon (Varegna) with wings unfolded, a bird which was especially associated with the old Iranian warrior-god Verethragna (Shahbazi, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischer Gesellschaft 134 (1984) pp.314–7.

The change to Median dress

The type of dress and equipment shown in the Persepolis reliefs, and in the brick reliefs from the Achaemenid palaces at Susa and Babylon, are only valid for the last decades of the 6th century. During this period a canon of representational art was developed, which may be called Achaemenid ‘Court Style’, which then survived unchanged until the last days of the Empire. Thus the royal tomb built by the last monarch Darius III shows Spearbearers dressed and armed in a manner identical to that of the Spearbearers of Darius I.
Bronze bow-fibulae, such as this one from Deve Hüyük (no.340), have been recovered from sites of the Achaemenid period throughout Western Asia. Many would have been used by mercenaries in local Achaemenid garrisons. This relatively fine example has a clasp in the shape of a human hand. They may have been used to hold the kantiš in place on the shoulder. Length 0.100 m. (Photo: By Courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1913.685)

This Attic vase (CVA Germany 54, pl.2645) depicts a scene from Aeschylus’ play The Persians, in which the ghost of King Darius is summoned back from the underworld. It was painted about 440 BC and demonstrates that by this date the Median robe had displaced the ‘Achaemenid robe’ in royal dress. Perhaps the most significant feature of the new royal costume, mentioned by numerous Greek literary sources, was the purple tunic with a broad white stripe running vertically down the front. (University of Tübingen, Inst. of Archaeology E.67)

This does not represent reality. At some point, probably during the reign of Darius I, the ‘Achaemenid robe’ was discarded by the King and army in favour of the Median tunic, trousers and cloak. Apart from any aesthetic consideration, riding must have been extremely difficult when wearing the traditional ‘Achaemenid’ robe, which the Median tunic and trousers made easier.

Herodotus (1.135; 7.62.1), writing about 420 BC, tells us that the Persians had adopted Median dress instead of their own. He also tells us (1.71.2) that the trousers (anaxyridias) worn by the Persians, as well as their other garments, were made of leather. Textiles may have gradually replaced leather. Xenophon (Cyr. 8.1.40) confirms the change to Median dress, though he anachronistically attributes the change to the reign of his semi-fictional hero Cyrus the Great. He adds (1.3.2) that the Persians’ purple tunics, their sleeved cloaks, the torques around their necks and the bracelets around their wrists, are all Median in origin, but the Persian commoners living in Persis still used a much plainer style of clothing, and enjoyed a much more frugal way of life. The Median sleeved cloak, worn draped across the shoulders in a manner reminiscent of the hussar’s pelisse, was termed kantiš in Old Persian (‘Tullia Linders, ‘The Kandys in Greece and Persia’, Opuscula Atheniensia 15 (1984) pp.107–114), a word connected with the Renaissance Polish kontusz, or ‘coat’. Henceforward, therefore, the Persepolitan reliefs, and other examples of Achaemenid art in ‘Court Style’, cannot be seen as reliable sources of information. However, representational art executed in Achaemenid ‘Vernacular Style’—generally, but somewhat misleadingly, termed ‘Graeco-Persian’ art—seems to reflect contemporary reality, and can be used as a source.

It is possible, nevertheless, that the ‘Achaemenid robe’ continued to be used by the King for certain traditional ceremonies. On the death of a monarch the new king would travel back to the ancient capital of Pasargadâd to receive his initiation from the royal priests. There he would enter the sanctuary of the ‘goddess of war’, take off his clothing, and put on those Cyrus the Great wore before becoming king. He would eat fig-cake and pistachios and drink a cup of sour milk. Then further secret mysteries would be performed before his investiture was complete (Plut., Vit. Artax. 3.2).

WAR IN THE WEST

Now that firm borders had been secured in the East Darius turned to the West. The campaign waged against the European Scythians in 513 BC was an absolute disaster. The strength of the Scythian army lay
in its horse-archers, who withdrew before the Persians pursuing a ‘scorched earth’ policy. The Persians advanced deep into Europe, but could not bring the Scyths to close quarters and so the King was forced to beat a painful retreat, losing most of the army in the process. Fortunately the bridge of boats which Darius had thrown over the Danube was still intact, as Histiaeus the tyrant of Miletus had managed to persuade his fellow Ionian Greeks not to desert the King. Little had been lost during the campaign, for a mercenary army could soon be reconstituted, and the Persians had never had a reputation for invincibility anyway; but the King was grateful to Histiaeus for his loyalty, and took him to live at court.

Histiaeus, tired of life at court, despaired of ever returning to his native land again, and so concocted the hare-brained scheme of inciting the Ionians to revolt so that he could be sent down to deal with them. The Ionians managed to take over the Persian fleet by treachery, following which a widespread revolt broke out. Instead of exploiting the initial advantage which command of the sea gave them, however, the Ionians lost the initiative by their dilatoriness, and the revolt was put down. During the revolt the Athenians, together with the Eretrians, had sent forces to help the Ionians, which had participated in the burning of the satrapal capital of Sardis. Furthermore, in 507 BC the Athenian democrats had rendered Darius the symbolic tribute of earth and water, but now they were fighting the Empire. Such activities could not go without punishment.

The Battle of Marathon

In 490 BC an expeditionary force was sent through the islands to Euboea, and the city of Eretria was razed. A detachment, which seems to have consisted of a Median bivarabam commanded by one Datis, stiffened by some Persian and Saka infantry regiments plus attached cavalry, was shipped over to Athenian territory on the mainland opposite, and camped in the Plain of Marathon. There it was opposed by the Athenian army numbering 9,000, assisted by 1,000 Plataeans. Thus the two sides were roughly evenly matched. The Athenians were afraid to attack, as they had no cavalry of their own, and the Persians decided to wait for the rest of their forces.

The stalemate lasted for several days before the Persian detachment was ordered to re-embark and join the rest of the fleet as it sailed to Athens where, it was hoped, the city would be betrayed to them. On the first day the cavalry re-embarked, and Miltiades persuaded the other Athenian generals to attack now that they held the advantage. This took some persuasion, as few of the Athenians had ever faced a Persian army before, and no Greeks had ever defeated one. In order that the Athenians should not leave any flank of the opposing line uncovered during their advance (and thus risk encirclement, for the Athenian line might edge to one side or other during the advance), the tribal regiments in the Athenian centre were only drawn up in shallow files, but the regiments on the two flanks were drawn up in deeper files. This made the Athenian line somewhat longer than the Persian.

The Athenians charged and drove back their opponents on both flanks, where they were evenly matched in number. In the centre, however, the Athenian advance was slowed down and disrupted by scrub between the two lines. When the Athenians reached the enemy centre, which was deeper anyway, and made up of the elite Persian and Saka regiments (Hdt. 6.113), they were driven back. Meanwhile some of the Athenian regiments which had been successful on the flanks managed to halt their advance, re-form, and attack the Persian troops who remained in the centre. From the Persian point of view the Battle of Marathon was an uncomfortable setback suffered in a minor divisional action; but for the Greeks it was of tremendous psychological importance to discover, for the first time, that they could confront a Persian army and win.

The Greek Expedition

Darius died in 486 BC at the age of 64, and was succeeded by his son Xerxes. The new King returned in 480 with a massive fleet and army. The precise number is not known. Herodotus (7.61–80), in a passage known as the ‘Catalogue of Forces’, purports to give us a complete list of all the nations that marched on the continent and were counted in a military review at Doriskos in Thrace (cf. O. Kimball Armator Trans- actions of the American Philological Association 108 (1978) pp.1–9). It seems that Herodotus was unable to find out any precise details of the strength of the Persian force, and based this passage on information about the Persian Empire given by the earlier historian and geographer Hecataeus. Herodotus (5.36) tells
This sealing, from a cylinder seal in the British Museum, showing a Persian shooting backwards at a lion, demonstrates that the Persians used already the ‘Parthian shot’ during the Achaemenid period. (John Boardman, Greek Gems and Finger-Rings (1970) pl.904)

Herodotus (9.49) mentions horse-archers in the Persian army at Plataea. Many of these may have been Saka. A Saka horse-archer is shown on this fragmentary Greek vase. (Orvieto, Faïna 48. Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome neg.1935.887–9)

us that Hecataeus, in order to persuade the Ionians not to revolt, delivered a speech enumerating all the nations in the Empire they would have to face. Hecataeus presumably based his speech on an official Persian list of the peoples of the Empire. Herodotus, it seems, impressed with the catalogue as a literary device, has copied the passage, expanded it with other information including details of the Persian governors and commanders of the ‘nations’ (cf. Lewis in Achaemenid History II p.79), and transposed it chronologically to the later invasion of 480. The story of the Persian expedition against Greece, ending in defeat at Salamis and Plataea, is well known and will not be dealt with here.

Plate C1. This figure is based on a group of over 30 Athenian vases known as ‘The Group of the Negro Alabastra’, which mainly show black soldiers dressed and equipped as Persians. The colours have been restored. Herodotus (9.32) tells us that the Aethiopian and Egyptian marines in the fleet were disembarked after the naval defeat at Salamis, and fought as infantry at the Battle of Plataea. Blacks are shown in Athenian art earlier, but it would seem that the Aethiopian presence at Plataea inspired this group of vases.

A rather desperate Persian archer is shown on this Attic vase dating to about 460, now in Basel (BS 480). (CVA Switzerland 7, pls.320–1)
Each ship in the Persian fleet had been manned by 30 marines, mainly Persians, Medes and Saka (Hdt. 7.96 & 184). The Persians themselves could not swim, and so were not obvious candidates for service as marines, so recruiting from among those who could swim was a priority. The Saka whom Herodotus mentions were probably recruited from among the Apa-Saka, or ‘Water-Saka’: a group of Saka who lived on the middle reaches of the Oxus River in antiquity, and who, like the Cossacks in later times, occasionally turned their hand to piracy. A Mesopotamian text from Uruk mentions rations being issued to two Saka captains commanding ships on the Euphrates in 524 BC (Dandamayer Iranica Antiqua 17 (1982) pp.101–3). Presumably the Aethiopian marines were recruited from among Nubians working on, and perhaps also preying on, the ships trading up and down the Nile.

The Sparabara

The traditional infantry fighting formation of the Near East in the first millennium BC was the ‘archer-pair’, consisting of an archer shooting from behind the cover of a large shield, the equivalent of the medi-

This vase shape, known as an alabastron, is based on alabaster vases of the same shape used to contain precious perfumes, unguents etc. Note the cloak wrapped round the left arm. It may have been impossible to arm the marines with shields of a suitable type, so they may have been forced to use their cloaks as makeshift shields. The high nape-protector, typical of Achaemenid cuirasses, is not shown in this cursory representation, and has been restored in Plate C.2. (British Museum B 674)

In mediaeval times the ‘pavise’ was usually made of heavy wooden planking, but the Persians defended their archers with shields formed from a large rectangle of thick leather, into which osiers were woven vertically and parallel to one another. The osiers would be inserted into the leather when it was still supple and uncured, but when the leather hardened the combined virtues of the two materials resulted in a shield of great lightness, yet of great resilience and rigidity. This later example, dating from the Sassanian period and now in Damascus, was recovered during American excavations at Dura Europos. Originally the leather and osiers would have been dyed or painted in different colours, giving a highly decorative contrast between the osiers and the reserved V- or W-shaped areas of leather. (Photos: Yale University Art Gallery, Dura Europos Collection 1933.470)
aeval ‘pavise’, held by a partner. The majority of Achaemenid infantry during the earlier stages of the Empire were called sparabara or ‘pavise-bearers’, after the large rectangular shields, or spara (in Greek gerrha), which they carried. The dathabam of ten formed the basic tactical sub-unit in the infantry, and was drawn up on the battlefield in file. The dathapatiś was stationed in the front rank, carrying the spara. Behind him the rest of the dathabam would be drawn up in nine ranks, each man armed with a bow and falchion. Normally the dathapatiś carried a short fighting-spear six feet long, and was expected to protect the rest of the dathabam should the enemy reach the line. Sometimes, however, the whole of the dathabam were armed with bows, and the spara were propped up as a ‘wall’ at the front, allowing the whole of the dathabam to discharge arrows.

Plate C.2 is based on an alabastron from the Attic ‘Group of the Negro Alabastra’ which untypically shows two white mercenaries in oriental dress. The fact that they are both shaved may perhaps be taken as an indication that they are not ethnic Persians, for Persians continued to wear beards into the early decades of the 4th century. The ‘jump-suit’ garment they wear is usually associated with the Scythians and their Saka cousins, so we may be dealing with a unit of Saka mercenaries: presumably a regiment of sparabara, given that one carries a falchion, while the other is equipped as an archer. Consequently a spara has been restored for this figure, making him a front rank shieldbearer, as well as a standard of Achaemenid type. It seems that each regimental commander had his own standard, behind which the regiment would form up. This enabled the commander to be located quickly by messengers passing on orders, either on the battlefield or in camp, where the standard would be erected above his tent (Xen., Cyrr. 8.5.13). He would signal that the regiment was to move by raising the standard (Hdt. 9.59). The colours of this ‘uniform’ must be treated with some caution, as the vase-painter would have had an extremely limited palette.

Alabastron from the Louvre (CA 1682) showing two orientals from the same regiment on each side. This vase is published in colour in P. Devambez, Greek Painting (1962) pl.115. (Photo: Louvre)
at his disposal. Nevertheless they may represent something approaching actuality: perhaps the uniform of a unit the artist had fought against at Plataea. If so we are perhaps witnessing something approaching a system of regimental colours in operation. It may be that other regiments in the same baivarabam of 10,000 men also wore the same black and white dress, but that each regiment of a thousand was differentiated from the others by a different regimental colour—in this case 'nightshade'.

Shielded archers

Plataea was not the last battle of the war, and the same dismal picture of Persian forces defending themselves valiantly, though woefully ill-equipped for the job, repeated itself at the later battle at Mykale. The Persians made an attempt to entrench the spara, so as to provide a more secure barrier from behind which to fight. Even so we are told (Hdt. 9.102) that 'so long as the spara of the Persians remained standing they defended themselves strenuously, and had not the worst of the battle'; but the Greeks 'having broken through the spara fell in a body on the Persians; and they, having sustained their attack and defended themselves for a considerable time, at last fled . . . all except the Persians took to flight; they, in small detachments, fought with the Greeks who were continually rushing within'.

What the sparabara were in need of, even more than adequate offensive weapons, was some means of protecting themselves once the spara-wall had been breached and it came to hand-to-hand fighting. Some of the troops wore cuirasses, but by no means all, and what was desperately needed was some kind of shield which could be used to ward off the Greek spear-thrusts. From about 460 BC onwards Greek vases begin to show archers equipped with different shields. These shields, as shown used by Plate C3, were made of wood or leather, reinforced with a metal rim. A segment was cut out of the top of the shield to give the archer good vision, and so they are crescentic in shape: similar to the crescentic peltē familiar to the Greeks, but considerably larger. The Old Persian for such shields seems to have been taka, a word connected with the English 'targe'.
**Plate C3** is based on a fragment of an Attic vase in the Louvre, published in colour in *Revue archéologique* 1972 fig.6 opp. p.272. It was recovered during French excavations at Susa, and was therefore made for export to the Persian Empire. The fragment shows either an Amazon or an oriental in Persian costume. The purple tunic, decorated with clusters of three gold beads, indicates a person of some importance: therefore possibly an ethnic Persian. The particular shield decoration has been restored from a Pompeian wall painting, but represents a style general to many representations of oriental shields in ancient art.

**The Peace of Kallias**

The war in the West between Athens and Persia continued for several more years. The Athenians and their allies were able to take the strategic advantage thanks to their large, efficient fleet. Athenian support brought succour to rebel groups in the Nile Delta, Cyprus, and elsewhere. The Persians successfully contained these threats, and eventually, around 449 BC, peace was made with Athens. The peace was known as The Peace of Kallias. According to its terms, in return for Athenian agreement that they would no longer send expeditions into Persian territory, the King agreed not to send his army west of the River Halys, nor his fleet west of Lycia. Henceforward the western satraps would be responsible for their own defence, and a Royal Army would only be brought west if the terms of the treaty were broken.

**Satrapal defences**

Xenophon (*Cyr. 8.6.10*) tells us that when Cyrus the Great first established the satrapies he told those who had been appointed satrap to do exactly as he had done. Thus we find that each satrap seems to have a regiment of *aršībara* at his personal disposal (see Plate L2). The *aršībara* would be commanded by a *hazarapatiš*, who would perform the same military functions as his counterpart at court, and who was responsible for the military security of the satrapy. The satrap would supplement the defences of the satrapy, by raising a regiment of heavy cavalry from the Persian nobility settled on estates within his satrapy. These forces would be supported by regiments of...
mercenary forces raised locally. Following the Peace of Kallias the responsibilities of the satrap to provide local defence had greatly increased, and so certain categories of tribute, previously paid direct to the King, were allocated to the satrap to provide him with sufficient resources to maintain these forces. The satrap would also be assisted in his administrative functions by a Royal Secretary.

Citadels and forts of strategic importance were placed under commanders (didapatis) directly responsible to the King, and were garrisoned by regiments of fortress guards paid directly by the King. This division of powers within the satrapy made rebellion more difficult. Regiments of ‘King’s mercenaries’ tended to be raised from among the warlike tribes of eastern Iran, such as the Bactrians or Hycanians. Sometimes they can be regarded simply as oddities, but in some cases these Eastern troops brought new techniques of fighting or equipment which would eventually be adopted by the rest of the army.

**Plate D: Satrapal forces, c.470 BC**

**Plate D1: Mercenary cavalryman**

This figure depicts a mercenary cavalryman. Herodotus (7.85) tells us that the Sagartians, one of the Persian tribes still living as nomads, fought with the lasso and dagger: but other Iranian tribes from Central Asia and Eastern Iran also used the lasso, and this cavalryman also carries a battle-axe. The dress, and especially the low-cut jacket, was typical of the Parthians and others, and the peculiar hair-style without moustache or beard is also found among some Central Asian tribes. Shaving spread to Greece in the late 5th century, when barber’s shops start to be mentioned in the texts, while the first barbers came to Rome from Sicily in 299. The Persians seem to have adopted shaving at about the same time as the Greeks.

Units of mercenary cavalry were maintained by King and satrap alike. The ‘King’s mercenaries’ would be stationed as permanent garrisons (cf. Tuplin, *AMI* 20 (1987) pp.167–245) in strategic locations, and would be maintained by direct payments.
Saka for the best part of a century already, but it seems that the shield was introduced only in the middle of the 5th century, by regiments of Saka cavalry employed to serve as mercenaries throughout the Empire.

Before long the shield had been adopted by the rest of the cavalry. An interesting document dated January 421 BC tells us that one Gadal-lama was obliged to furnish the following items to equip a cavalryman: a horse with groom, harness, and an iron caparison, and a helmet, leather cuirass, shield, 120 arrows, an iron attachment for the shield, two spears and ration money. A number of Achaemenid documents from Mesopotamia include lists of the individual items of panoply, perhaps patsād in Old Persian, to be supplied to various types of warriors (Danda-mayev in Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis. Miscellanea in Honorem Louis Vanden Berghe I (1989) pp.563–6). One of these lists mentions pointed caps, presumably in bronze, to be issued to a unit of cavalrymen.

**Shielded cavalry**

A new troop-type encountered from the middle of the 5th century onwards is the shielded cavalryman. Previously cavalry did not generally use shields. The new practice seems to have been brought in by Saka cavalrymen, who carried a smaller elongated version of the spara for cavalry use (Arrian, *Anab.* 4.4.4). The wicker and leather shield was presumably favoured on account of its lightness, which would interfere less with riding. The Persians had been clashing with the...
From about 450 BC onwards Greek vase paintings start to show shielded cavalrymen. Though the figures are usually of mythological Amazons, in many cases their dress is very heavily influenced by Persian clothing. It is safe to presume that the shield suddenly appears in paintings of mounted Amazons at about this time because it suddenly appeared in Persian cavalry regiments which the Athenians began to encounter around the middle of the 5th century BC. (Martin-von-Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg Inv. K 1814)

This famous helmet was captured from the Persian forces during the invasion of Greece and dedicated at Olympia. It may have been used by a unit of mercenary Mesopotamian cavalry. (Emil Kunze, VII Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia (1961) pl.56)

The armoured saddle

In the latter half of the 5th century the wars fought by the Persians were mainly internal. The wars of expansion had long since finished, but for nearly half a century the external borders were reasonably safe and unthreatened. The nobility of the Empire, accustomed to war and possessed of a formidable code of self-esteem, fell to fighting among themselves. Rebellion and attempts to seize the throne abounded. These rebellions would culminate in a pitched battle. The forces of the rebel could be defeated, but unless the rebel himself was captured and either killed or brought to terms, the rebellion would not end.

It was warfare in these conditions which encouraged the growth of Persian heavy cavalry, and the development of shock tactics. In effect the heavily armoured regiments of Persian Cuirassiers (as they are termed by Xenophon) were used as a kind of armoured ‘battering-ram’ which smashed into the centre of the enemy line. The cuirassiers were not formed up in a line, but in a column to add momentum to the charge. These rebellions often ended in personal duels between the rebel and the King or his commander, fought out with stout palta made from cornel-wood, which could be used equally well as javelins or fighting spears. Descriptions of these duels have survived in the Persika of Ctesias of Cnidian, a doctor working at the Persian court. Time after time the protagonists are wounded in some unprotected part of the body such as the thigh. Achaemenid sculptures demonstrate just how heavy Persian cavalry armour had become. As well as the helmets and cuirasses worn by these cavalrymen, we can also see a peculiar piece of armour attached to the saddle and curving round the leg, covering it from waist to toe.

The Vendidad, or ‘Anti-Demonic Law’, is a religious document compiled during the Parthian period but incorporating much earlier material. One section
(14.9) prescribes the penalty for the killing of a ‘water-dog’: a complete panoply for a warrior. The language of the original is sometimes difficult to interpret, but the panoply seems to be for a cuirassier, for it includes, as well as spear, dagger, mace, bow, saddle with attached quiver and 30 arrows, and various items of armour for rider and possibly for horse as well, including a ‘thigh-protector’ (B. T. Anklesaria, Pahlavi Vendidad (1949) pp.302–3). If this is indeed a reference to the armoured saddle, the original ordinance on which this passage is based must date to the 5th or 4th century, after which the armoured saddle was discarded.

Plate D2: Anatolian nobleman
This figure is based on a wall-painting from Karaburun Tumulus II, near Elmali, north of ancient Lycia (Mélanges Mansel (1974) pl.170). The tomb, dated to about 470 BC by its excavator Professor Machtedt J. Mellink, belonged to a native nobleman, presumably the ruler of one of the local communities. The background to this plate represents a local landscape. He wears Persian dress, mostly purple it should be noted, which he had presumably received as a present from the King or the local satrap. The black horse is possibly a Nisaean and may also be a present from the King. Note the mane decoratively tied with a ribbon to make a long forelock. Sometimes the forelock was held in place with a metal ring or spiral, and sometimes human hair was added to the forelock to make the horse appear even more splendid. One governor of Lycia raised money from his subjects by falsifying an order from Artaxerxes III ordering him to shave their heads and send their long hair to the King. In return for payment of a fixed sum per head he promised to arrange for the hair to be imported from Greece (Aristotle, Economics 2.2.14). The fresco is one of the earliest representations of the Persian armoured saddle: here rather small and only protecting the upper thigh (cf. Ghirshman, Iranica Antiqua 10 (1973) pp.94–107).

Mercenaries
Most regiments of mercenaries stationed in the western satrapies were not exotic regiments of Iranian cavalry in the King’s service. More frequently they tended to be regiments of mercenary infantry raised locally, often by the satrap rather than the King. The pool of manpower from which these mercenaries could be raised was not great. Most of the nations of the Empire had long since ceased to administer any form of military training to their young men—indeed, this was Persian policy. Upon the conquest of Lydia, for example, military training was discounted, and within a very short time the Lydians lost any thought of revolt. Even if the Lydians had wanted to resist the Empire, they would no longer have known how to. Thus most mercenaries tended to be recruited from nations which were still ‘free’. In the ancient world this word can be used almost as a synonym for any society which administered some form of organized military training to their youth.

In the West the greatest source of mercenaries was, of course, Greece. In a similar fashion to Switzerland or Andalucia or Catalonia in later times, mountain areas which had a pastoral economy based on sheep or goat herding could supply most mercenaries. Such economies could release large numbers of male manpower for lengthy periods of time, as animal husbandry could carry on without them. Half the ‘Ten Thousand’ Greek mercenaries who served in the army of Cyrus the Younger came from Arcadia and Achaia (Xen., An. 6.2.10). The first Arcadian mercenaries are found in Persian service in 480, when they had deserted from the Arcadian contingent in the Greek army ‘in want of sustenance’ (Hdt. 8.26).

In time Persian armies in the West came to rely very heavily on Arcadian or Achaean mercenaries, but the importance of Greeks should not be over-emphasized. Our sources are practically confined to Greek historical accounts of events in the west of the Empire, and we know practically nothing of what was happening elsewhere. There is little doubt that Greek mercenaries were of crucial importance to Persian policy in the West, but elsewhere different sources of mercenaries were to hand. In the satrapies of the Caucasus mercenaries tended to be recruited from the Chalybian and Taochian tribes which lay outside the Empire (Xen., An. 4.4.18). The pools of mercenary manpower available in the Saka tribes lying to the north of the Empire have already been mentioned. To the east high quality manpower could be raised from among the free warrior-republics of northern India. The Kshoudrakas (Oxydrakai or Hydrakai in Greek) are one people known to have been a principal source of mercenaries for the Persians in India (Strab. 15.1.6).
The Takabara

Not all mercenaries came from tribes lying outside the Empire. Regiments of Hrycanians and Bactrians are mentioned in the literary sources. A surprising feature of Persian history is that we learn of a number of minor hill peoples, such as the Kurds, the Mysians, or the Pisidians, who seem to have been continually in revolt against the authority of the King. The Persians were annoyed and harried when the brigandage of these tribesmen erupted from time to time, but rarely were massive punitive expeditions mounted against them. It seems, in fact, that the Persians were reluctant to destroy the freedom of these peoples entirely, lest they destroy a principal source of mercenaries employed to keep the rest of the Empire down.

These troops tended not to be equipped as spara-bara. Firstly, they tended to fight with their native weapons. Secondly, because they were employed for a wide variety of garrison and patrolling tasks, it would have been undesirable to have them equipped in the same manner as troops who fought in the main battle line. Most of these troops fought with spears and the taka, and so came to be called takabara, or 'taka-bearers'. In Greek sources they are either called peltasts, or more correctly pelephoroi or pelē-bearers. The takabara differed from the Greek peltasts, however, for whereas peltasts are used exclusively as missile troops (i.e. javelinmen), the takabara, whose shields and spears were much larger, were frequently used as troops of the line in hand-to-hand fighting.

Plate D3: Lycian sickle-man

Lycian sickle-bearers are mentioned by Herodotus (7.92). The war-sickle was in use among several of the peoples of the Taurus Mountains in southern Anatolia, sometimes as an anti-cavalry weapon. During the Persian invasion of Cyprus, Onesilos the prince of Cyprian Salamis fought the Persian commander Artybios. Artybios had trained his horse to strike out with its front hooves at any enemy. Onesilos, together with his Carian shield-bearer, devised the following plan to deal with his mounted opponent. ‘Artybios rode at Onesilos; Onesilos, as he had agreed with his shield-bearer, dealt Artybios a blow as he bore down on him; and when the horse smote his hooves on Onesilos’ shield, the Carian shore away the horse’s legs with a stroke of his sickle’ (Hdt. 5.112).

4TH CENTURY SETBACKS AND REFORMS

Two events occurred in the last decade of the 5th century which shattered the tranquillity of the Empire. Firstly the Egyptians staged a successful revolt in 405 BC; and henceforward, until just before the Macedonian conquest, a main aim of the Empire was to
reconquer Egypt. The second event was the rebellion of Cyrus the Younger against his elder brother Artaxerxes II in 401. Cyrus had hired an army of 10,000 Greek mercenaries. Our sources give us a detailed description of the dress and equipment of Cyrus' personal regiment of 600 cuirassiers. All wore Greek breastplates and swords (Diod. 14.22.6), with crimson surcoats over their armour (Plut., Vit. Artax. 11.6), and carried palta (Xen., An. 1.8.3; 1.5.15), while their horses were equipped with armoured saddles and breastplates (Xen., An. 1.8.5). The palton was a combined javelin and fighting-spear. This equipment had presumably been produced en masse in an Achaemenid armoury at Sardis. It is possible that Xenophon, when describing the cuirassiers of his semi-mythical Cyrus the Great, has given them the same uniform as the cuirassiers of his hero Cyrus the Younger, which he had actually seen at close quarters. He (Cyr. 6.4.1; 7.1.2) gives them crimson tunics, bronze cuirasses, bronze helmets with white helmet crests, sabres, and a cornel-wood palton each. Their horses were armoured with frontlets, breastplates and armoured saddles all of bronze. Cyrus' arms differed only in that they alone were overlaid with gold. The revolt was unsuccessful, but it had received Spartan support, and Artaxerxes was now drawn into a war with Sparta. Once again the Persian Royal Army marched west across the Halys to fight the Greeks.

The Cuirassiers

Against armies of Greek hoplites, however, the Persian infantry proved deficient in equipment, and the Persians had to rely on their excellent regiments of cuirassiers to keep the enemy at bay. In one encounter in 396 BC Pharnabazus’ Persian cavalry regiment managed to surprise the Spartan King Agesilaus on the march near Daskyleion. Xenophon, who was serving in the Greek cavalry, witnessed the charge of the Persian cuirassier column, which was executed with devastating effect against the hastily formed Greek cavalry line (Xen., Hell. 3.4.13–14). When Xenophon released his two books On Horsemanship and The Cavalry Commander between 367 and 365 BC, in the hope of encouraging reform in the Athenian cavalry, he recommended the adoption of heavy armour (including Persian armoured saddles), a pair of palta, and column formations.

Pharnabazus also experimented with combinations of cuirassiers and scythed chariots. On one occasion a Greek force was caught in the open while foraging. The chariots, an excellent ‘weapon of terror’—not least to the driver—tore into these troops, supported by the cuirassiers, and wrought horrible damage: about a hundred of the enemy were killed (Xen., Hell. 4.1.17–19). Scythed chariots are also known in the 5th century, but we are not sure how far back their use stretched. Xenophon (Cyr. 6.1.29–30)
The Persians managed to bring the League of Corinth into existence by the skilful bribery of selected Greek politicians. Persian gold staters (which were traditionally stamped with the device of the King carrying a bow) flooded into Greece, and Agesilaus was heard to declare that he had been driven out of Asia by the King’s 10,000 Persian archers. This example was struck at Lampsacus.

Representations of oriental archers are rare. This cornelian gem from the Sanctuary of Zeus Messapeus near Sparta is interesting as it shows the asymmetrical bow and a Persian tunic. For some reason this individual is shown without a hood. He may not be an ethnic Persian. (Annual of the British School of Athens 85 (1990) pl.5g).

The reforms of Iphicrates

The Peace of 387 BC once again made available large numbers of Greek mercenaries for service with the King. First Cyprus, which had revolted, was reconquered; and then, in 379 BC, Pharnabazus started to collect an expeditionary force to send against Egypt. It was envisaged that Greek mercenaries, who were expendable, would be used as the spearhead in this risky undertaking. Pharnabazus asked the Athenians to send him their general Iphicrates, who had first distinguished himself at the age of 18 while serving in the Persian fleet at Cnidus under the command of Pharnabazus himself. He now served as commander of the King’s mercenaries. Unfortunately there were just not enough mercenaries to be had in Greece at that time, for war had broken out there once again. King Artaxerxes tried vainly to make peace among

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2the Greeks in 375 BC. Some 20,000 Greek mercenaries had already been assembled, but it seems that few of these were hoplites, perhaps only 8,000. The increasing pauperization of Greece during the 4th century had reduced the number of citizens who could afford to supply themselves with hoplite equipment.

In order to remedy these deficiencies Iphicrates conceived the idea of creating an ‘Iphicratean peltast’ who could fight in the front line and stand up to hoplites. Essentially he was converting the 12,000 non-hoplite Greek mercenaries into takabara, but further strengthening their equipment. His troops were given a taka, or pelē as our Greek sources describe it, which Diodorus (15.44) mentions as being equal in size to the hoplite shield. The fighting spear was lengthened by half, from the normal 8-foot spear used by hoplites and takabara alike, to a 12-foot pike. These 12,000 troops were known as ‘Iphicrateans’ after their general and creator.

The invasion fleet finally set sail for Egypt in 373 BC, but the invasion was a disaster. Pharnabazus, now an old man, refused to take decisions without referring them to the King for approval, and the initiative was lost. Iphicrates’ enemies in the army started plotting against him again; eventually the wily Athenian slipped back to Athens in the hold of a ship, and his army of mercenaries disintegrated. The ‘Iphicrateans’, however, had proved themselves on the field of battle, and the Persian-inspired ‘Iphicratean peltast’ now became a feature of warfare on the Greek mainland from the 360s BC onwards, most spectacularly when Philip of Macedon used the concept to reform the Macedonian army in 359 BC. The Macedonian word used for the 12-foot ‘Iphicratean’ pike was sarisa.

**The reforms of Datames**

In 372 BC Datames replaced Pharnabazus as commander-in-chief of the Egyptian expeditionary force, and Timotheus, a general with something of a reputation as a ‘military intellectual’, replaced Iphicrates as commander of the Greek mercenaries. The supply of mercenaries from Greece now became even more constrained. Following her decisive defeat at Leuktra in 371 BC the power of Sparta in the Peloponnesse was broken. Arcadian and Achaean Leagues sprang up, and the supply of mercenaries from Greece’s two principal recruiting grounds started to dry up almost entirely. Some solution had to be found to the chronic shortage of Greek mercenary hoplites. The answer was to equip and train the corps of 120,000 Asiatic ‘Kardaka’ mercenaries in the King’s employ as hoplites (see Plate 12).

Reforms in cavalry equipment were also introduced. The Persian cuirassier was rapidly developing into the fully armoured ‘cataphract’ we find in later armies. While the army was preparing for the Egyptian expedition in its quarters at Acre, the process advanced one step further with the introduction of arm-guards. Xenophon in his pamphlet On Horsemanship (12.5), composed 367–5 BC, whilst recommending the armoured saddle, also recommends the adoption of ‘that weapon which has just been invented’ called ‘the arm’. Datames never marched against Egypt. His enemies at court, jealous of his success, poisoned the mind of the King against him. Datames, informed of this by a friend at court, deserted Acre for his own satrapy of Cappadocia in 368 BC.

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*Another Achaemenid takabara is shown on this Attic wine-jug. This figure has been interpreted as an Amazon, but it appears to be an Asiatic male, shown clean-shaven. (Bologna, Museo Civico 872)*

*↑ Coin of Datames, struck circa 370–368 BC, to pay the army at Acre. The general is shown seated, testing an arrow for straightness, and wearing the new arm-guards (Revue des études anciennes 5 (1903)*

*pp.247–8) and trousers covered in iron scales. Note also the diadem worn round the tiara, and the kantus edged in leopard fur and decorated with braid at the seams. (Coll. Michel Durr)*
The satrapal revolts

The next ten years were a sorry time for the Empire, torn by palace intrigue and rebellion. Even the quality of the famous Persian cavalry began to cause considerable alarm. The ranks of the Persian landholders in the western satrapies, from whom the satrapal regiments were recruited, had been thinned out by constant war and devastation. Xenophon (Cyr. 8.8.20) tells us that whereas in times past the Persian landholders had supplied men for service in the cuirassier regiments from their own households, and had served themselves in times of necessity, and only garrison troops had had to be paid for their service, now the rulers made cavalymen out of ‘their doorkeepers, and their cake-bakers, and their cooks, and wine-waiters, and bath-pourers, and serving-men, and waiters, and chamberlains, and valets, and even their beauticians, who eye-pencil and rouge them and in other ways order their looks’—and even these had to be paid to serve. Artaxerxes had died in 358 BC. The new King Artaxerxes III ‘Ochus’, an extremely capable monarch, perceived that the satrapal armies could no longer guarantee the peace of the western borders, and merely provided the western satraps with the means to carry out their treachery. Consequently he ordered that they be disbanded. A further satrapal revolt, that of Artabazus, ensued.

Greek Epilektoi

Over the last twenty years or so a new military and political system had arisen in Greece. The old type of city state was gradually giving way to larger federal units. These new federal states maintained forces of permanently embodied ‘picked troops’ (epilektoi) raised from their own citizens. These troops, frequently peltasts of the ‘Iphicratean’ type rather than hoplites, had to be paid on a regular basis; but fiscal reform had not kept pace with military reform. Thus the states of Greece found themselves in command of fairly large bodies of efficient citizen troops which they could not afford to pay, while on the other side of the Aegean the rebel satrap Artabazus, who had plenty of money, was desperately in need of efficient soldiery. A mutually beneficial solution to this double problem was rapidly achieved. Henceforward contingents of Greek mercenaries in Persian service tended not to be paid on an individual basis: rather the Greek state itself was paid a specific sum for loaning out its army in times of peace.

Artabazus was first supported by an Athenian army under Chares, which penetrated deep into Phrygia and around 354 BC won a significant victory, which the Athenian general somewhat immodestly referred to as a ‘Second Marathon’. The Athenian corps of epilektoi, attested at the Battle of Tamynae in 347 BC, but not at Mantinea in 362 BC, may have been created for this campaign. Chares was replaced by the Theban Pammenes, who was also victorious. Artaxerxes eventually came to terms with Artabazus, however, and after Pammenes had been kidnapped and disposed of, the Theban army was signed over to the King.

The fall of the Empire

Following the settlement of the revolt in the West, Artaxerxes Ochus spent the next few years settling revolts in other provinces of the Empire, and then finally turned his full attention to the reconquest of Egypt. Contingents were hired from Thebes, Argos, and from the Greek cities of Asia. These troops were
Chorasmian cavalryman shown in a moulded terracotta flask recovered from a tomb at Koi-Krylgan-Kala on the banks of the Oxus. The tomb dates to the end of the 4th or to the 3rd century BC. Thus we seem to have the earliest representation of the long two-handed cataphract lance, known as a kontos. This cavalryman seems to be lightly equipped, with just a dagger thrust through his belt in addition to the kontos. Following the defeat at Issus, cavalry spears much longer than those in use before were also produced and issued (Diod. 17.53.1). The development of the ‘cataphract’, the forerunner of the mediaeval knight, was now complete, for the Persian cuirassiers had finally discarded their fighting javelins (palta) in favour of the two-handed lance. (Iranica Antiqua 10 (1973) p.102 fig.4; cf. Historia 4 (1955) pp.264–283.

backed up with some Kardaka, but it was intended that the brunt of the fighting should be borne by the expendable Greek contingents. By 343 BC the reconquest of Egypt was complete. During the invasion the eunuch Bagas had commanded one of the armies, and in 338 BC he took on the role of ‘kingmaker’, procuring the poisoning of Ochus at the hand of his personal physician, and then appointing Ochus’ son Arses to the throne for a brief reign of less than two years. It was rumoured that Bagas ate Ochus’ flesh and made dagger-handles from his bones. Arses was poisoned in turn, and Darius III appointed king. Bagas now attempted to poison the new king in turn, but was forced to drink the fatal draught himself.

Darius III Codomannus was very brave, but lacked the ability necessary to save the Empire. In fairness it must be said that against Alexander only a general of superb ability could prevail. The successes of Alexander have, however, tended to obscure the vitality of Persian military operations during the war (1). Following the defeat at Issus major attempts were made both to seize the strategic initiative, and to prepare forces to replace those lost in the battle. An army was sent into Anatolia to try and make contact with the Persian fleet operating in the Aegean while Alexander was marching south to Egypt. It made considerable headway, but failed to reach the coast. Meanwhile in Babylonia new forces of infantry were raised and issued with shields and new swords longer than those in use before (Diod. 17.53.1).

The main hope was still placed in the cavalry, and a large force of scythed chariots was created to operate with them. It seems that the Persians hoped that the chariots, either through fear or through contact, would open up gaps in the Macedonian line which the cavalry could then exploit. At the decisive battle fought on Gaugamela the Macedonian battle line was constructed so compactly that the chariots caused no dislocation, and outflanking cavalry could find no target for attack. The Empire fell. Paradoxically, we have most information about Persian military dress during the period of the Macedonian invasion, principally from two sources. A number of texts yield evidence which can be used to interpret an archaeological monument of prime importance:

The Abdalonymus Sarcophagus

Following the battle of Issus in 333 BC Alexander appointed one Abdalonymus as king of Sidon. It seems probable that King Abdalonymus commissioned the so-called ‘Alexander Sarcophagus’ soon after his accession. On its various faces it shows Macedonians and Persians in combat at the Battle of Issus, and then hunting, both together and separately. Originally the sarcophagus was completely painted, but it was already much faded upon excavation in 1887. The principal publication is F. Winter, Der Alexandersarkophag aus Sidon (Strassburg 1912). Winter personally tipped in bromide photographic prints with watercolour in Istanbul, which were then reproduced in a series of colour plates printed by the artist’s printers Albert Frisch in Berlin. However, by this time the colours of the sarcophagus had deteriorated further. Consequently the first publication, O. Hamdy Bey & Theodore Reinach, Une nécropole royale à Sidon (Paris 1892) which included a few heliochrome plates of very poor quality, can be used to supplement Winter in places. Karl Schebold & Max Seidel, Der Alexander-Sarkophag (Berlin 1968)
contains a number of colour photographs which can occasionally add some details. Finally Volkmar Von Graeve, *Der Alexandersarkophag und seine Werkstatt* (Berlin 1970) includes a number of photographs taken under ultra-violet light which can be utilized. He has also published some reconstruction sketches based on his photographs in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 37 (1987) pp.131–144. As well as the faded colours, further problems are caused by the fact that the belt-ends, bracelets, torques and most of the weapons of the Persians, and the reins and bridles of their horses, were originally attached in gold, silver and bronze to the marble sarcophagus. These have been removed by tomb-robbers.

The Alexander Mosaic

The Abdalonymus Sarcophagus can be used in conjunction with a second monument, the ‘Alexander Mosaic’ from Pompeii. This mosaic is a very accurate Roman copy of a Hellenistic painting. Many ancient paintings of Alexander in battle are mentioned in ancient literature: the mosaic could copy any one of these, or some other painting not mentioned in surviving ancient literature. It seems that the original painting was commissioned by one of the Successor kings who had served in the army of Alexander—in fact probably by the most centrally placed Macedonian figure in the painting apart from Alexander himself. This must be the infantry officer running alongside Alexander (see MAA 148 *The Army of Alexander the Great*, p.30), who must be an officer of Hypaspists, perhaps the future King Lysimachus. Appian (Syr. 64) mentions that Lysimachus, one of the Hypaspists, was once running alongside Alexander and, as he was tired, held onto the tail of the King’s horse. He was struck in the forehead by the end of Alexander’s spear and started to bleed heavily, upon which Alexander, having nothing else to hand, bound up his wound with the royal diadem. Therefore the painting on which the mosaic is based may have been executed 30 years or more after the events depicted, and so may be a less faithful source than the Abdalonymus Sarcophagus.

When the mosaic was laid the original colours of the painting, particularly purple and green, and any other colours applied on top of these two pigments, had already faded. Nevertheless traces of the original colours can be found in the extremely faithful mosaic copy. Furthermore, sometimes the detail is lost because the minimum size of the individual pieces of mosaic do not permit accurate reproduction. A further problem is that tree-roots removed areas of the mosaic prior to excavation, and further areas have subsequently been detached by earthquake damage. Displaced areas have not always been correctly incorporated into the mosaic as it now stands. All these problems need to be addressed when interpreting the mosaic; to date most completely published in Bernard Andreae, *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeij* (1977).

**Plate E: Darius III and Spearbearers, c.333 BC**

*Plate E1* is based on the representation of Darius III in the Alexander Mosaic. He wears the royal robe coloured purple with a broad white median stripe. The triangular braiding on the cuff had faded before the mosaic was laid, but vestigial diagonal lines representing the braiding can be observed in some photographs of this detail. There is a problem in attempting to establish the Old Persian name for this tunic. The Greek lexicographers Hesychius and Pho-tius (s.v. *sarapis*) tell us that the King’s tunic with its white centre was called the *sarapis*, while Pollux (7.58) informs us that the name for the common Persian sleeved tunic was *kapuris*. However, a fragment of Democritus of Ephesus preserved in Athenaeus (12.525d), describing the luxurious oriental dress of the Ephesians, mentions their *sarapes* of quince-yellow, purple, white, and even sea-purple; so it is possible that *sarapis* was also used as a name for the Persian tunic in general.

Curtius contains a detailed account of a military review held outside Babylon by Darius III before the Issus campaign; his source may be an eye-witness account written by one of the Greek mercenary officers in Persian service, perhaps Patron the Phocian. He mentions (3.3.17–19) that the King wore a purple tunic decorated with a white centre, girt ‘woman-fashion’. By this the source of Curtius may mean that the King, riding in his chariot, wore his tunic falling straight to the knees under the belt, rather than wearing it girt up, with the belt tied over an ‘overfold’, bringing the tunic hem well above the knees to facilitate riding. As the Alexander Mosaic shows the King riding in his chariot, his body is cut off just below the waist, so this interpretation cannot be confirmed or denied. The tunic ‘with belted overfold’ is first
The way the Persian hood was wrapped round the chin is shown on this displaced head of a Persian from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (British Museum 1057). The name for the Persian hood is not known for certain. The word tiara, which appears commonly, may be a Greek word, whereas kyrbasia, another term which appears frequently, may reflect the Old Persian original. (British Museum 1057; Ernst Buschor, Maussollus und Alexander (1950) p.49)

Attested in Greek art towards the end of the 5th century, but it only becomes truly fashionable around the third quarter of the 4th century. There is no reason to believe that this fashion was not current throughout the Achaemenid world at this period, in other words that Greek artists are accurately depicting contemporary Persian dress, rather than showing Persians ‘through Greek eyes’. The mosaic shows the belt as red. The Latin of Curtius mentions a golden belt with an akinaka hanging from it with a sheath made from a gem, but this description may be a confusion of the original Greek which may have described a belt with a golden akinaka hanging from it with a sheath set with gems. Curtius adds that the King’s cloak was decorated with two golden falcons ‘who seemed to attack each other with their beaks’. This was presumably embroidered on the back of the cloak.

Darius III wears his hood upright: this was a distinction of dress only permitted for the King—all other Persians wore the hood turned down at the side or front. Curtius, as well as numerous other Greek sources such as Arrian (Anab. 6.29.3), tell us that the Persians called the King’s headdress kītāris. This word appears to mean ‘crown’, and may reflect an Old Persian word such as xšaqtam. Curtius adds that the kītāris was bound with a blue diadem with white decoration. This is not shown in the mosaic, though it may have been the deliberate intention of the artist to show the King in flight with the diadem having slipped from his head. A blue diadem has, therefore, been restored in the plate.

The trousers and boots are obviously not shown on the mosaic. Xenophon (Cyr. 8.3.13) describes the Persian king as wearing an upright hood, a purple tunic with a white centre, scarlet anaxyrides and an all-purple kantuš. He adds that the King also wore a diadem around his hood. The all-purple tunic fits in well with the representation on the mosaic, though here the King’s cloak seems to be lined in ‘night-shade’ cloth. The King’s trousers have been restored as a lozenge-pattern of scarlet and yellow, by comparison with the combined evidence of Plates E2 and E3. This may be incorrect, and may give the plate as a whole too much of a feeling of uniformity. However, the Greeks seem to particularly associate the word anaxyrides with the lozenge-patterned, particoloured tight trousers especially associated with the Scythians, Saka and Amazons. It may be that Xenophon is simply describing the principal colour of the trousers, rather than implying that the trousers were plain scarlet. The boots have been restored as blue, in accordance with the evidence for earlier royal dress (Plate B1) as well as the other evidence for this plate.

Plate E2 is based on two figures, one from the Abdalonymus Sarcophagus, the other from the Alexander Mosaic, who seem to be wearing the same uniform. This coincidence seemingly demonstrates the reliability of both sources. Curtius (3.3.15), in a rather garbled passage, tells us that at the review at Babylon the ‘Kinsmen’ were followed by the Spearbearers, ‘who alone were allowed to wear the royal dress’ (soliti vestem excipere regalem). The principal component of ‘royal dress’ was, of course, the purple tunic with central white stripe. The Book of Esther (8.15) mentions the Jew Mordechai leaving the presence of King Artaxerxes II, having found royal favour, in ‘royal dress’ of violet and white, wearing a great golden crown and a cloak of fine linen and purple. This passage seems to confirm that ‘royal dress’ could be awarded as a gift by the King; to the Spearbearers, it seems, en masse. There is no trace of any tunic-hem in Winter (pl.8). The Immortals were re-established by Alexander, and a description of the court by Phylarchus (in Athenaeus 12.539c) supplies some more details of the dress of the Spearbearers, who were dressed in purple and quince-yellow. The yellow belt is shown in Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.37. The colours of the trousers, yellow with a single line of scarlet diamonds, are preserved only in Winter in a thin band of
colour still preserved below the tunic-hem. It is possible that other lines of diamonds lower down the leg might have been in different colours, such as purple, but the trousers have been restored in yellow with only scarlet diamonds to conform best to Phylarchus’ yellow and Xenophon’s scarlet. Note also the blue shoes, which may also have been a component of the ‘royal dress’. The pose of this figure has been altered to the ‘attention’ pose shown on the Persepolis and Susa reliefs.

The royal standard is based on that shown in the Alexander Mosaic, and is based on the description of Carl Nylander in *Opuscula Romana* 14 (1983) pp.19–37. Only the top left-hand corner of the field of the standard had survived at the time of the mosaic’s exhumation. A few yellow tesserae (cubes of mosaic) had survived, which early drawings of the mosaic interpreted as the crest of some animal, such as a griffon. However, in view of the evidence for the Persian standard showing a golden falcon with wings displayed, which has been discussed in relation to Plate B, it seems wisest to interpret the surviving fragment of the device as the tip of the falcon’s wing.

Plate E3 is based on two figures from the Abdalonymus Sarcophagus wearing identical dress. One figure (Winter pls.7–8) is mounted and cloaked, and appears in one of the short sides of the Sarcophagus showing Persians and Macedonians in battle. The second (Winter pls.15–16) is on foot with hoplite shield taking part with other Persians in a lion-hunt. The individual depicted is evidently someone of importance, as he takes a central position in both scenes. Plate E3, shielded and cloaked, is a composite based on these two figures. Although the cut of the tunic, with its hem, is different from the other two figures, and the central stripe is blue, bordered in white and yellow, the blue boots, and the purple and white triangular braid round the cuffs and on the inside of the shield seem to connect this figure with Plate E2. The braiding round the tunic cuff is shown most clearly by Winter (pl.7). It seems, therefore, that we may be dealing with the Hazarapatiś, the commanding officer of the Spearbearers Regiment. It may be that he wore a blue stripe on his tunic to differentiate him from the King himself. The colours of the trousers are uncertain, but Winter (pl.15) seems to show a red diamond, perhaps with some traces of purple, while Hamdy Bey & Reinaud (pl.36) shows yellow. For the second figure Winter (pls.7–8) also shows yellow, though very faintly. Therefore yellow trousers with red diamonds have been restored by analogy with Plate E2. Presumably this important officer would have had decoration at the collar similar to that shown for Plate F1, but this has now faded completely, and so defies restoration. A neck-torque has been restored, but its precise design is completely speculative.

It is not known who held the post of Hazarapatiś during the reign of Darius III, and it is sometimes assumed that Darius III deliberately kept the post vacant to hold onto his power more securely. However, Plutarch (Vit. Ale. 39.9) describes Mazaios as ‘the greatest Persian after Darius’, and it seems probable that Mazaios held the post of Hazarapatiś. Mazaios also held the post of satrap of Gilecia, but it was not unusual for a single individual to hold rank at court while retaining his satrapy. The horse of the Hazarapatiś is being held by Plate F2. The combined evidence of E2 and E3 suggests that all members of the Spearbearers Regiment carried the hoplite shield.

**Purple and saffron**

The reader may doubt whether the profusion of purple worn by the Persian army as depicted in these plates can possibly reflect reality. True ‘sea-purple’ extracted from the murex shell, was the most expensive dye known in antiquity, and even the less expensive substitute purples were still costly. Its value led the Persian King to hoard purple cloth and to distribute it munificently as a mark of his power. Plutarch (Vit. Ale. 36.2) tells us that Alexander captured 5,000 talents’ weight of purple from Hermione in the Royal Treasury at Susa, which had still kept its colour despite being stored there for 190 years. A talent weighed something over 50 pounds. Alexander, however, proved to be even more prodigal in his distribution of purple cloth than the Persian kings, and some time later he was forced to write to the cities of Ionia, and first of all to the Chians, directing them to send purple dye to him, for he wanted to dress all his ‘Companions’ in sea-purple clothes (Athen. 12.539f–540a). The Athenian comic writer Menander, in a fragment preserved in Athenaeus (11.484 d), has a mercenary boast of his loot, including gold seized from the treasury at Kyinda in Cilicia.
Two Regiments of Immortals, 6th century BC
(See text commentary for detailed caption)
Court scene, early 5th century BC
1: Xerxes I
2: Eunuch
3: Spearbearer
Persian Army in Greece, 479 BC
1: Aethiopian marine
2: Sparabara
3: Persian infantryman
Satrapal forces, c.470 BC
1: Mercenary cavalryman
2: Anatolian nobleman
3: Lycian sickle-man
Darius III and Spearbearers, c.333 BC
1: Darius III
2: Spearbearer and royal standard
3: Hazarapatis
The Elite Regiment of Immortals, c.333 BC
(See text commentary for detailed caption)
Blue Regiment of Immortals, c. 333 BC
1: Elite Immortal
2-5: Immortals of the Blue Regiment

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Other Immortal Regiments, c.333 BC
(See text commentary for detailed caption)
Oxathres at Issus
1: Oxathres
2: Cavalryman
1 & 2: Line infantry, c.333 BC
3: Satrapal infantryman, c.333 BC.
Persian National Cavalry at Issus
(See text commentary for detailed caption)
The Sidonian Army, c.333 BC
1: King Abdalonymus
2: Sidonian Royal Spearbearer
3: Sidonian Treasury Archer
4: Persian commander
in 318 BC, and Persian purple cloaks laid up in store.

After purple, the most valuable luxury dye in antiquity was saffron. Saffron is harvested by hand from the three rusty-red pistils inside the petals of the crocus blossom. These then have to be carefully toasted dry, the saffron reducing to a fifth of its original weight in the process. Properly dried saffron will keep for a century. Although estimates vary from area to area, at least 20,000 blossoms have to be stripped to yield a single kilogram of dry saffron. In an hour a skilled female worker could separate 60 grammes of stigmata from their blossoms. Hence, after purple, the most commonly found colour used to dress the élite units of the Achaemenid army was yellow. The crocus occurs spontaneously in Iran, and its cultivation is recorded in past times in a number of Iranian provinces, including Media (L. Robert, Noms indigènes etc. (1963) pp.181–4 with refs.).

Plates F & GI: The Élite Regiment of Immortals, c.333 BC

Phylarchus continues his description of Alexander’s court by telling us that after the Spearbearers there stood a thousand archers, some dressed in flame-colour, others dressed in scarlet, many with blue cloaks (Athen. 12.539c). I presume that the thousand archers were composed of ten centuries (sataba) of archers, one drawn from each of the ten regiments of Immortals, brigaded together around the throne. It follows that each of the ten regiments would be dressed differently, and that some of them would be dressed in flame-colour and some in scarlet. Given that scarlet is mentioned, ‘flame-colour’ can hardly be anything other than a periphrasis for yellow. Four figures on the Sarcophagus seem to be dressed in identical uniform, the main feature of which is their yellow tunic. I presume that this regiment is the élite regiment of the division of the Immortals, and so would be the élite infantry regiment of the army after the Spearbearers.

Plate FI is based on Winterpls.7 & 18. The trousers have faded, though Winter shows them as a light brownish colour, and Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.36; the detail has been restored by analogy with Plate F2. The inside of the cloak seems to be made up of patches of fur of some small animal. A religious text, which seems to describe a statue of the goddess Ana-hita, describes one of her garments ‘made with the skins of thirty beavers of those that bear four young ones, that are the finest kind of beavers, for the skin of the beaver that lives in water is the finest-coloured of all skins, and when worked at the right time it shines to the eye with full sheen of silver and gold’ (J. Darmsteter, The Zend-Avesta, Part II, The Sêrôzahs, Yasts, and Nyâyis (1883) p.129). So it may have been an Iranian practice to line garments with a patchwork of small pelts. The belt colour is restored by analogy with Plate F3. The silver head of the battle-axe originally held by this figure was recovered by Hamdy Bey & Reinach (p.72 fig.31). It is uncertain whether it constituted some badge of office for this individual officer, or whether the whole regiment used battle-axes of this shape. A neck-torque has been restored, but again the precise design is entirely speculative. It is highly probable that all the Persian figures on the Sarcophagus were once fitted with miniature neck-torques and bracelets in gold, but these have been stripped by tomb-robbers. Given the dangers of speculation, I have decided to leave the balance of figures from the Sarcophagus without these details.
Plate F2. The inside of the cloak is not shown by Winter pl.15, but Schefold pl.6 shows the same rectangular patterning as for Plate F1. The blue and red stripe is clear, though without surviving traces of the braid, which has again been restored as for Plate F1. Winter clearly shows the boots as yellow; however, Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.36 shows them to be a pinkish shade, so they should perhaps be red, as they clearly are with Plates F1, F3 and G1. Winter clearly shows the trousers to be grey, though Schefold shows they have subsequently faded to a pinkish colour, as Plates F1 and F3 seem to have done. The belt colour has not been recorded, but has been restored by analogy with F3. Plate F2 is shown holding the horse of the Hazarapatē (E3), whose shabraque has been restored by Von Graeven in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 37 (1987) p.142 fig.12; cf. p.140 fig.11. There is no trace of colour left behind the bridle on either representation of the horse, and so it would be reasonable to assume that it was originally added in metal. Consequently a golden bridle has been restored, but the colour of the reins is speculative.

Plate F3. The blue and red boxes on the front stripe are clear, but again the braid has been restored by analogy with F1. The trousers are shown in Winter pl.2 as patches of grey and pink on both legs, together with patches of yellow on the right leg. The left leg shows slight traces of patterning as for Plate F2. Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.35 shows the right leg as yellow and the left leg grey. The colour of the inside of the shield is uncertain, ranging from deep red to almost purple according to Winter. None of the sources records a purple side-stripe to the tunic, but this omission could be a mistake of the artist. The head of the battle-axe has been restored by analogy with other figures on the Sarcophagus.

*Note: The shoes shown in Plate F should be red, rather than red-brown. The ‘turn-ups’ on the trousers shown in this and in other plates should be disregarded. The background for the plate represents a landscape in North Syria.*

Plate G1. For reasons of composition this figure, a mounted member of the Élite Yellow Regiment of Immortals, has been taken over into Plate G. The colours of this figure have faded considerably in the upper half of the tunic, so no trace of the purple tunic collar has been preserved. However, patches of red are clearly shown at the front of the tunic, so the blue and red boxes of the central tunic stripe, edged in braid, of the figures of Plate F have been restored. Winter pl.3 shows the trousers as a dark purplish-brown, while Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.35 shows them as brown. In Schefold pl.67 they appear as a faded reddish colour. Consequently I have assumed that the original colour was ‘nightshade’, and I have restored them by comparison with F2.

Even allowing for the amount of restoration by cross-referencing which has taken place, and which has been fully described here, it is difficult to believe that these four figures can represent anything other than a single élite regiment of the Immortals. A fifth figure, much faded, could be added to the list. He is shown under the horse of Alexander at the extreme left-hand edge of the long battle-scene of the Sarcophagus. Winter pl.1 seems to show a yellow tunic, red boots and possibly brown trousers, but all in such faded colours as to make any reconstruction tendentious. The braiding, admittedly only shown for certain on F1, seems to be a distinction indicating that this regiment might be an élite one within the ten regiments of the Immortals. The differences in the details of the silver distinctions on the collar may possibly represent distinctions of rank.

Heracleides of Cyme, writing around 350 BC, tells us (Athen. 4.145f) that during the daily ‘Royal Dinner’, for which a thousand animals were slaughtered, after the King had dined together with the ‘Kinsmen’, the surplus food was taken outside and was given to the ‘Spearbearers’ and to the ‘peltasts’ maintained by the court. (It should be noted that in the Persian National Army, one of national service, the soldiers received pay in the form of rations.) So it seems that at this period the regiments of Immortals were equipped, at least in part, as takabara. From the evidence of the figures of the Abdalonymus Sarcophagus, however, it seems that the ten regiments of Immortals were organized as ‘composite regiments’, for some individuals carry hoplite shields, others carry the taka, while still others are archers.

The Composite Regiment

Xenophon, writing in the *Cyropaedia* (6.3.21–26), which was published about 360 BC, mentions an imaginative Persian order of battle, which he attributes to
Cyrus the Great. His account is somewhat confusing, but it seems that infantry regiments are to be drawn up as follows in ‘Composite Regiments’. In front stood two ranks of cuirassed infantry, then two lines of ‘javelinnmen’, perhaps takabara, then behind these two ranks of archers, and finally, at the rear, two ranks of ‘file-closers’ of unspecified armament. Such a formation was designed to combine the traditional virtues of heavy missile power with the new supremacy of heavy infantry on the battlefield. We do not know whether this ‘Composite’ formation is a pure invention of Xenophon’s, or whether it reflects contemporary Persian practice. However, Alexander the Great, in 324 BC at the end of his reign attempted to combine his Macedonian and Persian forces into just such a ‘Composite phalanx’ (Arrian, Anab. 7.23.3–4).

Plate G2–5: A Blue Regiment of Immortals, c.333 BC

A second group of figures seems to show a second regiment of Immortals, all dressed in blue tunics. They all have purple tunic-collars and cuffs, with a thin line of silver piping at the top of the cuff and a white cuff-roll at the bottom, and a purple tunic-hem, with two thick lines of silver piping at the bottom edge and two thin lines at the top edge. These details are repeated from regiment to regiment on the Sarcophagus, and seem to be a distinction carried only by the regiments of Immortals. The saffron hoods do not seem to be confined to the Immortals.

Plate G2. The head is missing from the Sarcophagus, and has been restored. Winter pl.3 shows the inside of the shield as purple. A purple taka-shield with a yellow metal rim is shown lying on the ground in front of Plate E1 on the Sarcophagus, so the rim of this figure’s shield has been restored as yellow. Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.35 shows both shields as red. Traces of blue on the tunic are shown by both Winter and Schefold pl.67; Schefold also showing traces of a purple side-stripe to the tunic. All the other tunic details are lost, but have been restored by comparison with G3. Winter, Hamdy Bey & Reinach and Schefold all show purple trousers. The colours of the boots have gone, except that Winter seems to show a faint trace of blue; ‘nightshade’ has been restored, however, by comparison with G3. Winter shows the belt as a somewhat brownish yellow.

Gold disc from the Oxus Treasure showing the Achaemenid royal falcon. Less than an inch in diameter, and weighing only 20 grains, the disc has two loops at the back for attachment, and was undoubtedly a golden ‘spangle’ sewn onto a garment. In later representations of the royal falcon, such as this one, the two globes held in the claws are no longer shown, but the large claws extend as far as the edge of the circle. The shield blazon of Plate G5 has been restored with this in mind. (British Museum 123935)

Plate G3 is restored from a figure participating in a lion-hunt in Winter pl.16. The yellow of the hood is only shown faintly in Winter, but Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.36 and Schefold pl.6 both show a yellowish shade. The colour of the belt is uncertain, and so yellow has been restored by analogy with G2. The left hand is broken off, and the cuff and cuff-roll on the right hand both appear grey in Winter. Otherwise the details of the tunic, cloak etc. are excellently preserved: the silver piping on the tunic-hem is shown particularly clearly by Winter. There is no trace of any colour on the trousers in either source, and so purple has been restored by analogy with G2 and G4. The boots, obscured in this plate, are ‘nightshade’.

Plate G4. The colours are based on Winter pl.2, supplemented by Schefold pl.49. Both show the blue tunic with purple distinctions, though in places Winter shows the colour to be almost brown. The details of the cuff are practically lost in both sources. Both Schefold and Winter show the colour of the trousers
as purple in their upper parts, but Winter then has the colour turn to blue lower down. They have been restored as purple by analogy with G2.

**Plate G5.** The colours have faded almost completely in Winter pl.3, but it is clear from Schefeld pl.67 that the figure is clothed in a blue tunic. The yellow hood is clear in both sources. Both also show a tunic collar in a dark shade which could be either purple or ‘nightshade’. Consequently the tunic distinctions have been restored as for the other figures in this plate. This could, however, be a mistake, and this figure could belong to a different ‘blue’ regiment. The principal interest of this figure, however, lies in the fact that it is the only infantryman on the whole Sarcophagus to show the outside of the shield with its blazon.

**Plate H: Other Immortal Regiments, c.333 BC**
It seems reasonable to suppose that the remaining five infantrymen shown on the Abdalonymus Sarcophagus, who all wear tunics distinguished by purple collars, and cuffs and hems decorated with silver braiding, belong to further regiments of Immortals. Two figures wear yellow tunics, but with differing details of trouser decoration and boots, and so presumably belonging to two separate regiments.

**Plate H1.** This reconstruction is based on Winter pl.13. The hood appears to be a slightly pinkish shade of yellow, but yellow has been restored in conformity with the other Immortal regiments. It is uncertain whether the tunic has a central stripe or not, and whether this should be purple or red. The colour of the belt is uncertain in Winter, but Hamdi Bey & Reinaech (whose colours are especially unreliable for this figure) shows blue in pl.36. The interior of the shield is based on the reconstruction by Von Graeve in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 37 (1987) p.133 fig.2, together with colours supplied from Winter. The colour of the curling member under the shield-handle is uncertain: it could equally well be white. A spear with a silver butt has been restored.

**Plate H2.** The only points of this figure not clearly shown by Winter pl.16 are the boots, cloak and belt. The boots are shown as white with a red outline. Consequently white boots with a red sole have been restored by comparison with Plate J1, though they could have been solid red originally. Whilst the leopard-skin trim to the edge of the cloak is clear, the details of the lining, apart from a few patches of thick yellow paint, are not. A lining as for Plates F1 & 2 has been restored. Finally the belt colour is uncertain, but purple has been restored.

Three further figures from the Sarcophagus represent soldiers from at least two other regiments of Immortals distinguished by scarlet tunics. Scarlet dye was obtained from the kermes oak, which was especially abundant in ancient Iran.

**Plate H3.** The colours of this figure, a cuirassed footsoldier or officer from the first rank of a ‘composite’ regiment, are mostly clear in Winter pl.14. Both Herodotus (8.113) and Xenophon (Cyr. 5.3.36, 37, 52) refer to ‘the cuirass-bearers’ as being a component of the Persian army, seemingly of the infantry phalanx. The details of the cuirass decoration are based on Von Graeve in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 37 (1987) p.133 fig.1. Though it is not perfectly clear what the original colours should be, it seems probable that all the decorative detail was rendered in yellow: perhaps yellow metal. In the same figure Von Graeve also offers a reconstruction of the motif on the inside of the shield, based on the reconstruction attempted earlier by Winter. This reconstruction is rejected in favour of a standard. *(Linden-Museum Stuttgart A 37019L)*
The combined bow-case and quiver is shown in this impression from an Achaemenid seal. The warrior may be a horseman, and the 'puffed' sleeves and trousers may represent a cuirassier’s armour, though this is uncertain. (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1925 (25.78.100))

Plate H4. The only details of the original colours not shown by Winter pl.2 are as follows. Winter shows traces of blue and red on the hem, but purple with silver braiding has been restored in conformity with the other regiments of Immortals depicted. The colour of the belt is uncertain. Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.35 seems to show it as yellow, but Winter seems to show faint traces of blue. The fact that the trouser details are different from those shown for H3 suggests that this archer belongs to a separate regiment. This was presumably also a 'composite' regiment, this figure coming from a century (sataham) of archers.

Plate H5. The fact that the central stripe to the tunic is solid blue for this figure, while it is blue and yellow for H4, means that these two individuals cannot belong to the same regiment. It is possible, however, that H5 could belong to the same regiment as H3. The colours of the cuffs are completely faded in Winter pl.16. Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.36 shows a white cuff-roll, a blue cuff, and white cuff piping, but the normal colours for a regiment of Immortals have been restored. The colour of the trousers has gone completely, Winter showing white and Hamdy Bey &

Terracotta plaque from Egypt, dating from the Achaemenid Period, in Laon Museum (Coll. La Charlene 37.603). The motif of a lion attacking a negro, common throughout the Near East during the Assyrian and Achaemenid periods, may represent an ancient fable which has not survived in the preserved literature.
Reinach a bluish-white. As the scarlet tunic and yellow boots are the same as those of H3, it is assumed that both figures belong to the same regiment, and white with purple diamond-pattern has been restored. This could, however, be mistaken, and the true colour could perhaps be white, if the two figures belong to different regiments. A spear with a silver butt has been restored.

Thus far, apart from the Spearbearers, we have discussed some 12 individual reconstructed figures which seem to represent at least six regiments of Immortals, perhaps more. All these individual figures seem to wear the purple tunic distinctions, admittedly restored in some cases, which seem to be a feature restricted to regiments of Immortals. All figures also have yellow hoods, though these are worn by regiments other than Immortal ones too. It should be noted that the only belt colour which has been restored for certain for all these figures is yellow, those in Plate H being uncertain. If these restorations are incorrect, it may be that all Immortal regiments wore yellow belts as a distinction.

**Plates II & I2: Line Infantry, c. 333 BC**

Only one infantry figure on the Abdalonymus Sarcophagus does not have these distinctions on his tunic, and so does not belong to an Immortal regiment. Other line infantrymen have to be restored from the Alexander Mosaic and other sources.

**Plate II.** Winter pl.3 shows the hood as white, while Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.35 shows yellow, supported by Schefold pl.67, which shows a certain amount of yellow on the chin. Winter does not show the tunic collar, but this detail, probably coloured ‘nightshade’, but possibly purple, is clearly shown by Schefold, as is, very faintly, the braiding round the bottom of the collar. The rest of the colours are reasonably secure, though it is not absolutely certain whether the braiding is of a ‘triangular’ pattern or a ‘box’ pattern of alternating squares of colour.

The lack of purple tunic distinctions marks this individual out as not belonging to a regiment of Immortals, but the details of braiding etc. perhaps indicate an elite regiment of archers. We may be dealing with the **Regiment of Treasury Archers.** The Old Persian name of this regiment is uncertain, but, given that ‘treasury’ is gazā, and that ‘bow-bearer’ would have been thanwabarā or thanwabara, the Treasury Archers may have been called the gazathan(u)-vabara. Curtius (3.13.7), however, when talking about the King’s Treasury, mentions that the baggage-carriers were called ‘gangabai’, which might correspond to an original ganzarpa, or ‘treasury-guardians’ in Old Persian. Curtius (3.3.24) mentions that in the parade held at Babylon before the Issus Campaign, the King’s money was carried by 600 mules and 300 camels, preceded by a guard of archers. Although Curtius’ words could be interpreted to mean that the archers marched separately from the
Sealing showing Bactrian camel with rider carrying sword. Ctesias records that the legendary Assyrian queen Semiramis (Sammu-ratam, regent at the start of the reign of her son Adad-nirari III, 811-782 BC) launched a campaign against India from Bactria including camel-riders armed with swords four cubits long (Diod. 2.17.2). Livy (37.40.12) tells us that at the battle of Magnesia in 189 BC Antiochus the Great of Syria deployed dromedary camels ridden by Arab archers carrying slender swords four cubits long 'that they might be able to reach the enemy from so great a height'. The Persians employed camel troops (ušabari), for Darius I used them against the Babylonians: there is no reason to think they were equipped any differently. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.255.1982).

baggage animals, I presume that each archer was responsible for guarding an individual animal and its burden. Thus each dathabam of the regiment of Treasure Archers was responsible for looking after nine animals, with the dathapatis supervising. The same system of Treasury escort seems to have been maintained by Alexander after his conquest of the Persian Empire. Plutarch (Vit. Alex. 39.3) tells us that once a Macedonian was driving a mule laden with some of the Royal Treasure when the beast died, upon which the man attempted to carry the load himself on his shoulders. Seeing him struggling Alexander told him not to lay the burden down 'until you have taken it to your own tent'.

For major campaigns of longer duration, requiring the expenditure of much greater sums of money, it was necessary to mobilize much larger treasuries. Demosthenes (14.27) talks of 12,000 camels which carried the King’s treasure in 354. Curtius (3.13.16) tells us that following the Battle of Issus, Parmenio captured the King’s treasure at Damascus. The sum of coined money captured was 2,600 talents, plus 500 pounds of wrought silver. The treasure was carried by 7,000 pack-animals escorted by a guard of 30,000 men detached from the Persian National Army.

The Kardaka

In his account of the review carried out at Babylon

A Persian is shown riding on a Bactrian camel in this Athenian vase (a pelike) painted about 440 BC (CVA Germany 46, pl.2227,1). Beazley named the artist 'The Painter of the Würzburg Camel' after this vase. In general camels were preferred to mules or other beasts of burden because of their superior carrying capacity, and their ability to find fodder from the most improbable sources. Pliny (HN 11.109.261) also informs us that the Eastern peoples made reliable bowstrings from the male genital organs of camels. (Photo: Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg H4803)
Iules were also used for baggage transport, however, as they were able to travel over mountainous terrain which camels were unable to negotiate. Therefore Persian armies, like as the one led by Artaxerxes (Polyaenus 7.21.1) tended to use both animals for their baggage. This small Athenian wine-jug shows two Persians, one riding on a mule fitted with a baggage-saddle similar to that of the Würzburg camel. (British Museum 1912.7–9.1)

Before the Issus Campaign, Curtius (3.2.4) informs us that the mobilization strength of the Persian National Army was 100,000, including 30,000 cavalry. At the battle of Issus Arrian (Anab. 2.8.5) mentions the 3,000 cavalry stationed on the right wing, commanded by Narbarzanes (Curt. 3.9.1), while Curtius (3.9.4) mentions that Darius himself was stationed in the centre, with 3,000 elite cavalry and 40,000 infantry, which would have included the Immortals. The remaining 30,000 Persians are accounted for by the 1,000 troops left in Damascus as a guard over the king’s treasure reserves.

In front of Darius and his four divisions of Persian infantry, Arrian (Anab. 2.8.6) mentions 30,000 Greek hoplite mercenaries, stationed in the centre, and on either side 60,000 of those called ‘Kardakes’, ‘and these were also hoplites’. Curtius (3.9.2–3) also mentions the 30,000 Greek mercenaries commanded by Thymondas, but his preserved text by mistake only mentions 20,000 (not 120,000) ‘barbarian infantry’ commanded by the Thessalian Aristomedes of Pherai. Thus it seems that the ‘Kardakes’, though non-Greeks, were not Persians either, and are a separate body from the Persian National Army.

The Old Persian word lying behind the Greek ‘Kardakes’ would have been Kardaka, preserved in Middle Persian as kārdāg with the meaning ‘mercenary’. Stephen Hirsch has suggested that the ‘gardu-troops’, mentioned in Akkadian texts of the Achaemenid period (e.g. A. Leo Oppenheimer, *Letters from Mesopotamia* (1967) p.192 no.143) should be equated with the Kardaka. In such case gardu seems to be a borrowing of the Old Persian *gard-* meaning ‘house’ or ‘household’ into Akkadian, and Kardaka therefore means ‘those (troops) of the (Royal) Household’. How far back in time the Kardaka had existed as an
institution is uncertain: the first reference to them is in Nepos (14.8.2), who mentions a force of 20,000 cavalry and 100,000 infantry ‘of those called Kardakes’ marching against the rebel satrap Datames in 367 BC under the command of Autophradates. It is possible that those troops which Xenophon calls ‘royal mercenaries’ are Kardaka. He also mentions (An. 3.5.16) 120,000 troops of the ‘Royal Army’ sent on an expedition against the Kurds at some date before 401 BC. These might be Kardaka, but they might also represent the Persian National Army if that also numbered 120,000 at that time.

Plate 12 represents a Kardaka infantryman, and is based on information supplied by the Alexander Mosaic. The left-hand side of the mosaic shows Alexander’s cavalry, and Alexander himself, trampling over fleeing Greek mercenaries and Persian infantry. If the mosaic represents the Battle of Issus, these troops represent the Greek hoplites under Thynon-das and the Persian Kardaka. This area of the mosaic is one of the most heavily damaged, nevertheless two painted hoplite shields can be clearly made out underneath Alexander’s horse. The hoplite shields used by the Greek mercenaries are shown as plain bronze, so these painted ones may belong to a unit of Kardaka. The centre of neither shield has been preserved in its entirety, so it is possible that there was some kind of blazon in the centre. The head, shoulders, upper cuirass and sleeve of the figure are based on a section of the mosaic now placed under the horses pulling Darius’ chariot. This restoration seems to be incorrect, and the figure probably belongs to the left-hand side of the mosaic, underneath the charging Macedonian cavalry. The sword and scabbard are based on discarded Persian equipment shown at the bottom of the mosaic, while the lower cuirass, lower sleeve, trousers and shoes have had to be restored.

If my restoration of a yellow hood to this figure is correct, it follows, as the Kardaka are non-Persian mercenaries, that the yellow hood cannot be a distinction reserved for the Persian National Army. It is possible, however, that although the Kardaka were not ethnically Persians, they were accorded the status of a Persian bondsman (bandaka) in return for their military service. This would have entitled them, for example, to exemption from taxes, a privilege reserved for the Persians, and perhaps to the right to be tried according to Persian law. Therefore the yellow hood may have been the badge of one holding Persian legal status. This is, however, entirely speculative.

Military Settlement

The system of settling retired mercenaries on allotments within the Empire was not new but under Artaxerxes III the system was perhaps revived and transformed. The new allotments were not placed anywhere in the Empire where land might be available; rather, whole communities of retired Kardaka veterans were sited in a number of strategic locations throughout the Empire with the aim of maintaining the peace locally. Thus, while our picture of where these communities were sited is far from complete, we regularly seem to encounter them in areas either recently conquered, or perennially restless. A ‘Village of the Kardaka’ in Lycia is mentioned in later inscriptions, as is a community called the ‘Maibozanoi’ in Lydia Katakakumene, possibly centred around Gölde in ‘The Plain of Castolus’. In Egypt, following
the Macedonian conquest, we come across a group of military settlers called ‘The Persians’, many with Semitic names, who are exempt from certain taxes. They may be the remnants of a community of Kar-
daka, in possession of the fiscal and legal privileges of Persians though not ethnically Persian, who had been settled in Egypt during the Achaemenid period. The conquering Macedonians may have found it convenient to recognize their status as ‘Persians’ in order to avoid possible unrest among the settlers. Another community of Iranian military settlers is attested in Avroman in Iran during the Parthian period. All these settlements could well be remnants of a once extensive system of military settlements of retired Kardaka established in the 350s and 340s BC to impose peace on the Empire.

It seems that the settlers and their descendants incurred a liability for military service upon receipt of the allotment, and the Hellenistic rulers who followed Alexander were eager to make use of any available source of military manpower. Thus Polybius (5.82.11) mentions a regiment of 1,000 Kardaka fighting in the Seleucid army at Raphia in 217 BC. Furthermore the Kardaka provided the inspiration for further developments in the system of military settlement. Now discharged Greek and Macedonian soldiers were settled on allotments in return for a liability for military service which fell upon them and their descendants. In this way the East was Hellenized. In some cases it was not only the idea that was taken from the Kardaka, but even the very allotments. Polyaeus (7.39–40) tells us that some 3,000 Persians who had been attempting a rebellion against Seleucus I were massacred in an ambush by 3,000 hoplites. Henceforward we regularly find that the Seleucids raise a force of 3,000 settlers from Persis. History was to repay this act of treachery. Little more than a century later Obozres, dynast of Persis, massacred the 3,000 Greek military colonists settled in Persis on hearing that they were conspiring against him.

Plate 13: Satrapal Infantryman, c. 333 BC
This figure is based on a fresco from the so-called ‘Kinch Tomb’ in Macedonia, published by K. F. Kinch in 1920, but now collapsed. The fresco shows a Macedonian cavalryman riding down a Persian infantryman. It probably shows the incident at which the Macedonian nobleman buried in the tomb met his death, possibly during the attempted invasion of the Empire by Philip II of Macedon in 336 BC. Therefore this figure probably represents a takabara in the service of one of the western satraps. He is, therefore, not necessarily an Iranian, but may have been recruited in Anatolia. If our assumptions concerning the yellow hood are correct, his non-Iranian origins are confirmed by his white hood. The artist has restored the shield as round, but without a rim, and therefore not a hoplite shield. The shield should possibly have a lunate cut-out at the top, which was normal at this period, but which has perhaps been omitted by error on the artist’s part, though this seems unlikely. The shield-blazon probably represents the star sacred to the goddess Anahita: an eight-rayed star is usual (cf. J. Darmsot, The Zend-Avesta, Part II the Sîrûzâhs, Yasts, and Nyâyis (1883) p.128) though other styles are known. The area of the fresco giving the shoes of this individual is missing, and so tan boots have been restored. In the fresco, the pose of the infantryman probably indicates that he is drawing a sword of Greek type from its scabbard slung underneath his left shoulder, though the fresco is completely lost at this point. Therefore it may be assumed that the infantryman is drawing his secondary weapon, a sword, after losing his primary weapon, a spear.

Persian Cavalry Regiments
The 30,000 cavalry of the Persian National Army are mentioned in a number of sources. They seem to have been under the command of an officer called the ‘Master of Horse’ (asapatis), the most famous being Masistius, who commanded the Persian cavalry during the Plataean campaign (Hdt. 9.20). Their horses seem to have been supplied from central studs. The most famous royal stud was that in the Nisaen plain in Media, which Arrian (Anab. 7.13.1) tells us had once supported 150,000 breeding mares. Strabo (11.13.8) tells us that the Armenians paid the Persians, in addition to silver, 1,500 horses, while the Medians paid almost twice as much as this. Elsewhere Strabo (11.14.9) tells us that the satrap of Armenia used to send 20,000 foals to the King as annual tribute. Xenophon (An. 4.5.24, 34) once passed through an Armenian village responsible for providing 17 of these colts annually. Nisaen horses were exceptionally large by ancient standards, and were most sought
Star-burst shield blazons may have been popular in the Achaemenid army during the 4th century. These mythical Arismanian warriors, here depicted fighting griffins over gold, are shown in the contemporary dress of Achaemenid takabara, though with Greek swords not battle-axes. Star-burst emblems appear on both white and brown shields on these two bell-craters of the 'Falaieff' Type, painted c.370–360 BC.

(Top: Louvre G530; bottom: Nationalmuseum Stockholm D 19310)
Golden akinaka with two lion-heads at the pommel, said to be from Ecbatana: possibly a gift received from the King by a ‘Friend’. The institution of the ‘Friends’ may have been Elamite in origin, for Assyrian texts mention that the best Elamite soldiers were those ‘who wear golden daggers and heavy rings of shining gold on their wrists’ (E. Porada, Ancient Iran (1965) p.164). The blade may have been broken at the time of discovery by a farmer’s mattock. Total length 0.432 m. (New York, Metropolitan Museum, Dick Fund 54.3.4a, b)

Gold akinaka scabbard, possibly dating to the 6th century BC, from the Oxus Treasure. (British Museum 123923). The akinaka was ultimately of Scyth/Saka origin (Waldemar Ginters, Das Schwert der Scythen und Sarmaten in Südrußland. 1928)

after if coloured black or white. Philostratus (Imagines 2.5) describes an ancient painting showing the Parthian queen Rhodogune riding a black Nisaean horse with white legs, breast and forehead, while Mardonius’ horse at the Battle of Plataea was white (Hdt. 9.63). Aeschylus mentions a unit of 30,000 ‘Black Cavalry’, commanded by a Bactrian landholder called Artabares, fighting during the Greek campaign (H. D. Broadhead, The Persae of Aeschylus (1960) p.12 vs.318). Presumably they were the Persian National Cavalry, perhaps all mounted on black Nisaean horses.

The Kinsmen

The Persian cavalry tended to be recruited from the Persian nobility, and their élite cavalry regiments would have been recruited from among the highest social circles. These highest class-groups of the Persian nobility, discussed by J. Wieschöcher in Studia Iranica 9 (1980) pp.7–21, would be marked by distinctive royal gifts, especially of clothing. Thus a number of texts (Hdt. 9.20; Lucian 59.39; Xen., An. 1.2.27; 1.8.28–9) mention the King giving out a purple kantuţ, a golden torque and bracelets, a golden dagger (akinaka) and a Nisaean horse with a golden bridle as a particular mark of honour among the Persians. These all seem to be distinctive badges of status worn only by the King’s ‘Friends’. Obviously these distinctive clothes and accoutrements would effect the uniforms of élite regiments composed of nobles belonging to these high class-groups.

The most important class-group within the Per-
sian nobility was the institution of the King’s ‘Kinsmen’, or Huvaka in Old Persian. These were not real relatives of the King; their status was honorific. They alone were allowed to exchange kisses with the King, a form of greeting which operated only between social equals within Persian society. Numbering 15,000, they also had the right to dine with the King at the ‘King’s Banquet’, at a total cost of 400 talents. On the Royal Banquet see D. M. Lewis in Achaemenid History II (Leiden 1987) pp. 79–87.

During the opening stages of the Gaugamela campaign Darius sent ahead a cavalry screening force of 6,000 under the overall command of Mazaios, including the ‘master of horse’ Satrumpates with 1,000 élite cavalry (4.9.7). Mazaios sent ahead Satrumpates with his 1,000 horse to watch the Euphrates crossings, but Satrumpates was killed trying to oppose the crossings (4.9.25). Immediately before the battle Mazaios is mentioned as commanding 3,000 élite cavalry (4.12.1, 18). At the battle of Gaugamela itself Diodorus (17.59.2) mentions King Darius himself commanding a squadron of 1,000 Kinsmen, chosen for their courage and loyalty. Putting all this evidence together, it seems that there were at least three regiments of élite cavalry, of which at least one was composed of Kinsmen. It may be that all three squadrons were composed of Kinsmen, out of which one was designated the Royal Regiment.

**Plate J:** Oxathres at Issus?

Plate J is based on the Alexander Mosaic. As already mentioned, at the Battle of Issus the 3,000 élite Persian cavalry were drawn up around the King in the centre of the line (Curt. 3.9.4). We are then told (3.11.8–9) that later during the battle Oxathres, the brother of Darius, interposed the cavalry he commanded directly between Alexander and the chariot of King Darius. Oxathres fought valiantly, but eventually his regiment was broken, and Darius was forced to abandon the royal chariot, mount a horse, and flee. It has been suggested that the figure who is shown fighting in front of Darius’ chariot on the Alexander Mosaic represents Oxathres. If this interpretation is correct, as I think it must be, then Oxathres must wear the uniform of the commander of the élite cavalry regiment of the whole Empire.

The Royal Treasuries not only contained precious cloths, but also garments ready-made for distribution. Following the death of Darius and his accession to the Persian throne, Alexander was able to distribute to the Companions cloaks with purple borders and Persian horse-furniture (Diod. 17.77.5). Justin (12.3.9) has a slightly different version of events, for he tells us that Alexander had his ‘Friends’ wear the long ‘garment’ (vestam) of gold and purple, by which he presumably means a long Persian tunic, hanging down to the knees, edged in purple. Olmstead (p. 70) mentions a text from Susa referring to the manufacture of Median tunics in the palace as a royal monopoly. Whether the ‘gold’ is to be taken literally, or should rather be taken to stand for saffron-yellow, is an open question.

**Plate J** is distinguished by his tunic of either saffron or cloth of gold edged in purple, and his cloak with its purple border. He is shown defending Darius’ chariot, fighting valiantly, with his horse mortally wounded. Alexander’s own spear passes only inches in front of his waist. It seems difficult to avoid identifying this figure with Oxathres. Xenophon (Cyr. 8.3.13) tells us that the Kinsmen were distinguished by the diadem worn around the hood. Oxathres does not wear a diadem; perhaps it has slipped from his head, or perhaps the detail has been omitted by a mistake of the artist. The black horse is presumably a Nisene: note also the red horse furniture.

In the mosaic a figure is partially shown behind Oxathres. He has the same colour of tunic as Oxathres, and possibly the same design of trousers, though this detail is obscure, but the colour of horse, the horse-furniture and the boots are different. It is impossible to guess whether these differences are due to differences in rank, or because the second figure belongs to a different regiment. He appears to wear a white diadem, which might make him a member of a regiment of Kinsmen. Another figure shown at the right-hand side of the mosaic wears a diadem, unfortunately of uncertain colour (either purple or green) due to fading before the painting was copied. He seems to be an officer of high rank, for he is distinguished by a golden neck-torque. His purple tunic is decorated with gold beads sewn in groups of three, which might indicate an élite regiment, but it is perhaps more probable that he belongs to a regiment of the Persian National Cavalry. He wears a red cuirass of ‘standard-issue’ type. Arrian (Anab. 2.11.3) men-
tions that most Persian cavalry at the Battle of Issus were heavily armoured.

Plate J2 hold a horse ready for Darius to escape. It is worth noting that the braid on his trousers consists of squares, not triangles, within a border. It is not known whether he comes from an élite cavalry regiment or not.

Plate K: Persian National Cavalry at Issus
This plate is based on figures from the Abdalonymus Sarcophagus, all of whom wear purple tunics. A feature of all cavalrymen is that their tunics have a cuff-roll, but no separate cuff or piping. It seems most probable that, despite the purple tunics, all three horsemen belong to regiments of the Persian National Cavalry. The diadems worn by K2 and K1 (restored), even if they could be taken as evidence that both individuals were Kinsmen, could be personal badges of their status, rather than distinctions worn by the whole regiment.

Plate K1 is based on Winter pls.1 & 17. The tunic, hood, and details of the cloak sleeve are all clear in Winter, who also shows the leopard-skin edge of the cloak. The fur lining is, however, restored. Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.35 confirms the red belt and also supplies the colours of the shabraque, though showing all the edges as straight. I have added the details of the fringes, embroidery etc. by analogy with those of G1 and K2. The belly-band has been restored as red. Hamdy Bey & Reinach also shows the trousers as a brownish colour, while Winter shows them a brownish-purplish colour, different from that of the tunic. Winter also preserves a white line running up the outside of the trouser leg from the ankle, and what could be a gore here and there. The trousers have, therefore, been restored as ‘nightshade’, with silver embroidered details restored by analogy with Plate F2. The colour of the boots has gone completely, but red has been restored. The pommel of the sword is preserved, and the rest has been added by analogy with a sword shown lying on the ground on the Alexander Mosaic. The scabbard of the sword and the bal-
The colours of Plate K3 are much faded in Winter pl.3. The trousers are especially faded, but ‘nightshade’ seems probable. Hamdy Bey & Reinach pl.35 also shows the trousers to be a brownish colour. The boots appear brown in Winter, but are clearly shown as yellow by Hamdy Bey & Reinach. The edge of the shabraque is obscured, but a fringed edge can be restored. The colour of the hood is unclear. No trace of yellow is preserved in either source, and Winter seems to show white; however, Schefold pl.67 shows possible traces of yellow. The belt is obscured by the legs of a horse, but may have originally been blue. As with Plate J2 the braiding is composed of squares, not triangles, within a border.

Plate L. The Sidonian Army, c.333 BC
Curtius (4.1.23) tells us that Alexander, having deposed the pro-Persian King Stratton II of Sidon, entrusted Hephastion to find a successor. He selected one Abdalonymus, a distant relative of the royal family now forced to earn a living as a gardener. Hephastion visited him in his garden carrying purple and golden garments and insignia of office. It seems that the Sidonians and Macedonians celebrated the elevation of Abdalonymus to the throne by hunting together in the royal hunting-park. It was probably during this hunt that Craterus saved Alexander from the attack of a lion. One of the long sides of the sarcophagus of Abdalonymus shows Macedonians and four orientals hunting together: presumably in this very same hunt. It follows that all four orientals shown in this sculpture, upon whom this plate is based, would have belonged to the personal forces of the King of Sidon. One peculiar feature common to all the oriental figures on this frieze is that the belts are shown knotted but without provision in the marble for the attachment of the standard long belt-endings, which would have been applied in bronze. This mistake perhaps indicates that this side of the Sarcophagus was carved by a pupil, rather than by the master sculptor himself.

Plate L.1. The oriental horseman in the centre of the hunt, clothed in purple, must be King Abdalonymus himself. This figure vaguely recalls an ancient painting described by Philostratus (Imagines 1.18–20) showing a huntsman, Indian hounds at his feet, wearing a sea-purple cloak, and a purple sleeved tunic, riding a horse whose harness consisted of a scarlet Median bridle (see J1) and other horse-furniture of gold encrusted with jewels. The decorative details of the shabraque are based on the reconstruction by Von Graeae in Istanbuler Mitteilungen 37 (1987) p.140 fig.10. Over his hood, significantly purple (cf. Von Graeae pp.95–6 n.93) lined in red, rather than the yellow we would expect to see if the figure belonged to the Persian National Army, he wears a purple band; probably a diadem rather than a headband. No traces of the bridle have been preserved. Originally they were presumably applied to the sculpture in metal, and consequently a gilded bridle has been restored.

Not only the Persian King had regiments of Spearbearers to guard him: we have numerous references to regiments of Spearbearers, usually a thousand strong, maintained by the satraps and dynasts of the Empire. Herodotus even (1.113.3) refers to ‘Spearbearers’ maintained by Harpagus, the steward of Astyages, the last King of Media, but this could be an anachronism. Oroites, the Persian governor of Lower Asia before the accession of Darius the Great, was guarded by a thousand Persian ‘Spearbearers’, armed with spears and akins (Hdt. 3.127–8). Megabates, an Achaemenid, appointed admiral in the expedition against Naxos, also had his own Spearbearers (Hdt. 5.33). Mardonius had a guard of a thousand chosen Persians at the Battle of Plataea (Hdt.
9.65). Following his victory at Plataea, the Spartan regent Pausanias went over to the Persian cause, and became tyrant of Byzantium, where he maintained a body of Egyptian and Median Spearbearers (Plut., 1.150). Masistes, the brother of Nicias, had a guard of Spearbearers (Hdt., 9.107.2); as did Mithridas the Dardanian tyrant (Xen., H.I, 3.1.25); and the satrap Datames (Nepos, 11.9.3).

Plate 12 may be a member of a Sidonian regiment of Royal Spearbearers. In general, the colours imitate those of one of the Persian infantry regiments of the National Army, particularly the purple and yellow tunic of Plate 112, but significant differences in detail distinguish the uniform of this figure from the Persian stereotype. The colours of the cloak repeat those of the Sidonian King, though the purple and yellow are reversed on the outside and cuffs. Furthermore the blue cuff-roll is a noticeable feature common to both. There could be some remnant of braiding (perhaps purple and yellow?) preserved at the top of the cuff of the cloak sleeve, for Hamdy Bey & Reinach (p.91) seems to show a band of some kind above the cuff, as does Schefold (p.34). The colour of the hood has largely disappeared in Winter (p.11), though it seems to have faint streaks of purple, similar to those preserved for Plate 13, and Reinach shows a bluish-grey; so yellow seems to be ruled out, and purple has been restored. The absence of a leopard-skin trim to the cloak is another "Persian" feature missing from this figure. No colour has survived on the boots, so these have been restored as white, though perhaps blue would have been more appropriate for a regiment of Royal "Spearbearers." The tunic-hem is...
obscured by the panther being hunted, but it could perhaps be restored as purple with blue braiding, by analogy with the cuffs.

*Plate 1.3* also shows particular similarities in his dress with the élite Persian Immortal Regiment shown in Plates F and G1, although the braiding on the tunic-hem copies that of Plate II, who, it has been suggested, may belong to the Persian Treasury Archers. However, the purple hood lined in red connects this figure with King Abdalonymus. Thus this figure may represent an archer of a Sidonian guard regiment, or of a regiment of Sidonian Treasury Archers. The details of dress of this figure have proved to be one of the most difficult to restore for the whole Sarcophagus.

The braiding on the tunic cuffs can be clearly seen in Schefold (pl.36), though they were not observed by Winter (pl.9). A fragment of possible braiding above the left-hand cloak cuff can be seen in Winter and Von Graeve (pl.37). Therefore, though certainty is impossible, braiding has been restored by analogy with Plate F1. The colour of the cuff-roll of the cloak sleeve is uncertain: Winter seems to show a faint purple, though blue seems more likely by analogy with L1–2. The cuff-roll of the tunic has, likewise, not been preserved. Only the red triangles of the braiding survive in Winter. It is obvious that these corresponded with an opposing row of white triangles, but it is uncertain what the third colour, alternating with the red triangles, might have been. Similarly, though red is shown as one of the two colours of the patches of the centre stripe of the tunic, the second colour is not shown. Blue has been restored for all these details by analogy with Plate F1. The colour of the belt, shown without ends, is uncertain, as is that of the trousers. Schefold (pl.36) shows small double horizontal lines carved into the inside of the cloak, as though indicating its composition from small animal pelts, but Winter shows the colour to be plain blue, and therefore material; Winter also shows patches of yellow at the edges of the cloak. Consequently a leopard-skin trim has been restored for this figure.

*Plate 1.4* is puzzling. The colours of his hood and of the collar and cuffs of his tunic suggest that he belongs to a regiment of Persian Immortals, but his presence on the lion-hunting frieze suggests that this individual had gone over to the Macedonian side by the time the invaders reached Sidon. Two possibilities seem to suggest themselves. Firstly, the figure could be a well-known Persian commander who had transferred his services to Alexander the Great after the Persian defeat at Issus, and who subsequently participated in the lion-hunt. He may, therefore, be shown in the uniform of one of the Persian King’s regiments of Immortals. Alternatively, it may be that King Straton II had been given permission to maintain a regiment of ethnically Persian ‘Immortals’ as a special mark of favour, and that this regiment subsequently came under command of King Abdalonymus. The colours of the inside of the cloak have all but disappeared in Winter (pl.12), but have been restored as if for an Immortal.

**Abbreviations and sources**

Abbreviations given for classical sources are standard, and can be found, for example, in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Further references can be found in the article on the Achaemenid Army in *Encyclo-
Notes sur les planches en couleur

A Soldats de deux régiments différents d’immortels de rège de Darios, à la fin du VIe siècle av. J.C. Ils sont copiés d’après des frises en brocne de couleur à Susa et à Babylone. Le tissu jaune porte enroulé sur la tête au lieu du bonnet cannelé des unités de la très haute noblesse suggère peut-être qu’il s’agit de régiments non formant pas l’élite dans le corps. Les deux groupes sont armés de lances, d’arc et de poignard. Leurs tuniques, dont les symboles sont en broderie appliquée, reflétant peut-être le motif des endiablés de l’unité, pourraient différer d’une unité à l’autre. Il existe des sources littéraires citant les chaussures jaunes safran et les bracelets en or.


C1 Des personnages perses commencent à apparaître sur les vases grecs à la suite des guerres de début du Ve siècle. Ce soldat perse, d’après l’un des quelque 30 vases présentant des hommes de cet aspect, pourrait être un soldat de la marine éthiopienne ou égyptienne, débarqué pour combattre à Platae comme fantasmon. C2 D’après le même groupe de vases, un des deux mercenaires blancs présents en tenue orientale — probablement Sakas; la peinture noire et blanche du vase pourrait ne pas présenter les couleurs réelles du costume. Il s’agit d’une reconstitution d’un porte bouclier de premier rang d’une unité de phaleresse composée d’un mélange d’archers et de porteurs de boucliers. C3 Des archers munitis de boucliers individuels commencerent à apparaître après les peres costumes qui suivirent les combats de corps-à-corps contre les hoplites grecs; cet exemple est une reconstitution d’un vase peint attique qui se trouve maintenant au Louvre.

D1 Un cavalier mercenaire, probablement partant, de la seconde moitié du Ve siècle, lorsque les sargasses des provinces furent chargés de lever leurs propres troupes. D2 Une cavalerie lourdement armée vit aussi le jour à la fin du Ve siècle, les cuisses étant protégées par des selles cuirassées. Il s’agit d’un noble d’après une tombe à Elmuli, en Lyce. D3 Herodote fait mention de combattants armés de faucilles et de la Farbtafel


D1 Berittener Soldat, wahrscheinlich ein Partaker, aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts, als die Provinzstraken immer mehr ihre eigenen Truppen aufstellen
faucille de guerre était courante dans les montagnes d'Anatolie.

E Des personnages reconstitués d'après les céramiques "mosaïque d'Alexandrie" à l'époque de la Sarcophage d'Abdalamoun et d'après les "Sarcophages d'Abdalamoun" de Sidon, qui sont tous deux de notre noble-temple. Le manque de représentation de la surface des portraits des guerres de l'ère de l'Alexandre le Grand. Les couleurs restantes des deux personnages sont en partie basées sur des sources littéraires. E1 Darius III, d'après la mosaïque. E2 Garde d'élite des corps des porteurs de lances, d'après la mosaïque et le sarcophage, un étonnant reconstitue d'après une description et le témoignage fragmentaire de la mosaïque. E3 Deux personnages identifiés sur le sarcophage sont présents l'un à cheval portant un manteau, l'autre à pied avec un bouclier hoplitique; cette composition pourrait représenté un officier de grade supérieur du corps des porteurs de lances, peut-être le même qui commandait on Hexanu.

F Un régiment d'élite du corps des Immortels, se plaçant hiérarchiquement immédiatement après les portes-lance, semble être indiqué sur le sarcophage par plusieurs personnages en tuniques jaunes. F1 Notez le doublure du manteau fait il semblait de plusieurs petites peaux d'animaux; et la hache de bataille, symbole certainement d'un rang d'armée. F2 Deux personnages de la mosaïque et du sarcophage sont représentés dans des combats apparemment avec des autres personnages. (Notez les chaussures de cette mosaïque devraient être en une couleur rouge plus soutenue; et il faut ignorer les revers retroussés au bas des jambes du pantalon.)

G1 Un membre à cheval de l'unité d'élite veste de l'unité de gueule, d'après les mêmes sources que la gravure F. G2 Un groupe de personnages en uniforme bleu semblent représenter une seconde unité d'Immortels avec ces distinctions pourpres et blanches. G3 Un personnage d'après une scène de chasse au lion, les couleurs ayant été généralement bien préservées sur le sarcophage. G4 Une scène, s'appuyant sur des tréteaux, qui sont maintenant passée au monument, fait évoquer des batailles de couleurs pourpres tandis qu'une autre mentionne une couleur bleue. G5 Les seuls personnages sur le sarcophage sur lequel on peut voir le motif extérieur du bouclier.

H1 Gains autant de personnages sur le sarcophage semblent représenter cinq autres régiments d'Immortels, a en juger par les différences de détail de leur costume. H1 Il semble s'agir d'un officier en armure ou d'un soldat de l'infanterie lourde provenant d'un régiment mixte de porteurs de lances et d'archers, conformément à la description donnée par Xenophon. H2 Deux archers provenant d'un régiment de cette nature. H3 Il se peut qu'il appartiennent au même régiment que H3.

H1 Ce pourrait être un membre des Archers de Trésor, une unité de ligne plutôt que faisant partie du corps des Immortels, mais ayant un rôle d'élite. Ces archers gardaient de vastes sommes d'argent qui devaient être emportées (l'idée de meute de mulets et de charbons) lors de la bataille de Tébais dans de grandes campagnes. Il s'agit d'un personnage formant la majorité des mercenaires de l'unité d'Anatolie en service auprès d'une armée de Phénicie. L'étude à hauteur pointée de la coupe Anahita sur le bouclier est un emblème courant.

J D'après les interprétations de l'auteur de la mosaïque d'Alexandrie, qui, d'après lui, présente ce point les corps alliés de cavalerie d'élite commandé par le frère de Darius, Ochonox (J1). La cavalerie étant lourdement armée pour la guerre pour la grande armée. J2 Il semble tenir à la disposition du roi un cheval apprivoisé, au moment ou Darius abandonne son char et galope pour se mettre en sûreté.


1. L'armée sidonienne, conduite par Abdalamoun - qui se fit construire un sarcophage céramique - était à la solde de la famille d'Alexandrie; et plusieurs personnages sur le sarcophage semblent représenter Sidonains et Macédoniens chassant ensemble le lion. 1.1 Certainement le roi Abdalamoun lui-même. 1.2 Il pourrait s'agir d'un porte-lance de la garde royale; d'après les similitudes de costume avec celui des porte-lances perses, il serait peut-être celui qui a été nommé de former un corps de cette nature dans son arme. 1.3 Un archer, certainement de l'unité des gardes sidonien. 1.4 Décortiquant dans ce cadre, un personnage ressemblant de beaucoup à un Immortel perse - veuillez consulter à nouveau le commentaire sur 1.2.


F Ein Elitegremium der 'Unterbüchsen', die nächsten nach den Speerträgern, dürften hier durch mehrere Figuren auf dem Sarcophag dargestellt sein; sie tragen gelbe Tuniken. F1 Siche Umhangfutter, bestehend anschneidend aus kleineren Fäden und die Stricktext, wahrscheinlich ein Symbol des Offizierzugs. F2 Dieser Mann auf dem Sarcophag hält das Pferd von Figure E3, das dessen hohen Rang zu bestätigen scheint. F3 Wie bei vielen Figuren des Sarcophag sind die verbliebenen oder fehlenden Originalfarben Gegenstand informeller Spekulation und können durch Vergleich mit anderen Figuren rekonstruiert werden. (Anmerkung: Die Schuhe in dieser Tafel sollten roter sein; und die aufgestülpten Hosenbeine könnten in Ordnung sein.)


H Eine andere Sarcophag-Figur zeigen das, was nach detaillierten Unterschieden in der kleineren Farbe wahrscheinlich fünf weitere Repräsentanten der 'Unterbüchsen' waren. H3 Durfte ein gepanzertner Offizier oder schwerer Fußsoldat eines gemischten Regimentes vor Speerträgern und Bogenschützen sein, wie von Xenophon beschrieben. H4 Ein Bogenschütze eines solchen Regiments. H5 konnte dieses königliche Regiment angehören wie H3.


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