

THE ISLANDS OF THE XIVTH SATRAPY
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Introduction

Although none of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions listing the satrapies (Junge 1942; Lecoq 1997) under Darius (DB §6; DNa §3; DNe, DPe §2; Dse §3; DSm §2; DSaa §4; the incomplete DSV §2), Xerxes (XPh §3) or Artaxerxes II (A²Pa) refer to them, the islands of the Erythraean Sea appear in two important Greek sources.

1. In Book 3, where the famous ‘Steuerliste’, believed by many to reflect Darius I’s satrapal reforms (*Hist.* 3.89), appears, Herodotus says: ‘The fourteenth province consisted of the Sagartians, Sarangians, Thamanaeans, Utians, Mycians and the inhabitants of the islands in the Erythraean Sea where the Persian king settles the people known as the dispossessed, who together contributed 600 talents’ (*Hist.* 3.93).
2. In Book 4 Herodotus writes, ‘Persians live all the way south as far as the sea which is called the Erythraean Sea’ (*Hist.* 4.37).
3. In Book 7 Herodotus describes the infantry contingents which fought for Xerxes at Doriscus. He says: ‘The tribes who had come from the islands in the Erythraean Sea to take part in the expedition - the islands where the Persian king settles the peoples known as the ‘dispossessed’ - closely resembled the Medes in respect of both clothing and weaponry. These islanders were commanded by Mardontes the son of Bagaesus¹, who was one of the Persian commanders a year later at the battle of Mycale, where he died’ (*Hist.* 7.80).
4. Finally, in Arrian’s (*Anab. Alex.* 3.8.5) description of the forces of Darius III at Issus, we read, ‘The tribes bordering on the Erythraean Sea were directed by Orontobates, Ariobarzanes and Orxines’.

The purpose of this paper is to consider just what we know about those islands of the Erythraean Sea which may have formed part of the XIVth satrapy.

The Erythraean Sea

The term ‘Erythraean Sea’ is first encountered in a fragment of Aeschylus’ (?525/4-456/5 B.C.) *Prometheus Unbound*, quoted by Strabo, where we read, ‘Aeschylus, in his *Prometheus Unbound*, speaks thus: “The sacred flood of the Erythraean Sea with its bed of scarlet sands”’ (*Geog.* 1.2.27). At roughly the same time Pindar (?518-?445 B.C.) used the term in *Pythian Odes* 4.251: ‘They came to the expanse of Okeanos, to the Erythraean Sea’. Even in antiquity the origin of the hydronym Erythraean Sea was a subject of debate. As Strabo wrote, ‘For

¹ W. Henkelman has pointed out to me that this is probably the same man known as ‘Bagiya’ in the Persepolis fortification texts (e.g. PF 823; PF 1377, and a number of unpublished texts [NN 0809, 1662, 2139, 2206 and 2259]). Some of these (PF 1377, NN 1662 and 2206) document his travels from

example, he [Artemidorus] says that some writers call the sea “Erythra” from the colour it presents as the result of reflection, whether from the rays of the sun when it is in the zenith, or from the mountains, which have been reddened by the scorching heat; for, he continues, conjecture runs both ways about the cause; but Ctesias the Cnidian reports a spring, consisting of red and ochre-coloured water, as emptying into the sea; and Agatharchides, a fellow-citizen of Ctesias, reports from a certain Boxus, of Persian descent, that when a herd of horses had been driven out of the country by a passion-frenzied lioness as far as the sea and from there the herd had crossed over to a certain island, a certain Persian, Erythras by name, built a raft and was the first man to cross to the island; and that when he saw that it was beautifully adapted to habitation, he drove the herd back to Persis, sent forth colonists to that island and to the others and to the coast, and caused the sea to be named after himself; but other writers, he says, declare that Erythras was the son of Perseus, and that he ruled over this region’ (*Geog.* 16.4.20).

Photius’ epitome of Agatharchides devoted considerable space to the controversy (Burstein 1989: 42-45) which appears in the works of other ancient writers as well (e.g. Pomponius Mela [3.8], Pliny [*Nat. Hist.* 6.107], and Quintus Curtius [8.9, 10.1]) but here we are not so much concerned with the origin of the name as with the fact that it was well-known in antiquity, that it formed the southern boundary of the Achaemenid heartland and that it contained islands which were reckoned to be part of the XIVth satrapy. Although the Erythraean Sea denoted, at a maximum, the Red Sea, Persian Gulf and western Indian Ocean (viz. as used in the anonymous *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*; see generally Berger 1909, Herrmann 1929: 124-127), nothing suggests that Herodotus meant us to understand this maximal meaning when describing the XIVth satrapy. Indeed, with the exception of Scylax’s expedition from India to Egypt (*Hist.* 4.44) around 518 B.C. (Schiwek 1962: 8), we have no reason to believe that Achaemenid maritime influence in the east exceeded the confines of the Persian Gulf or Gulf of Oman, notwithstanding the fact that Maka (Oman), the home of the Mycians of Herodotus (*Hist.* 3.93) was similarly part of the XIVth satrapy (see below; cf. Potts 1985, de Blois 1989).

Which islands?

What, then, were the islands of the XIVth satrapy alluded to by Herodotus? In an influential article on Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid activities in the Erythraean Sea, H. Schiwek suggested that the association of the islands of the XIVth satrapy with the Sagartians, Sarangians, Thamanians, Utians, and Mycians implied that they lay mainly off the coast of Karmania (Schiwek 1962: 17, ‘daß es sich bei ihnen um eine größere Anzahl gehandelt hat, hauptsächlich wohl vor der karmanischen Küste gelegen’). Considering the fact that we have virtually no intelligence on the islands closer to the Arabian peninsula in Herodotus, indeed none until Alexander’s admirals (Archias, Androsthene and Hieron) made a series of voyages in the last third of the 3rd century B.C., this is a somewhat flawed argument. Nevertheless, let us see whether the associations invoked by Schiwek are geographically meaningful, i.e. whether they imply a location for the islands of the XIVth satrapy in proximity to the Karmanian coast.

The Sagartians were identified as a nomadic Persian tribe by Herodotus (*Hist.* 1.125), who noted further that they ‘are ethnically Persian and...speak Persian, but dress in a combination

of styles from Persia and Pactyice' (*Hist.* 7.85). These references tell us nothing about their location, although their association in DB §33 with Medes has been taken by Lecoq as an indication that Sagartia was close to Media (Briant 1996: 129). Vallat, however, believes that while the Sagartians included some 'semi-nomadic Medes' in the region of Iraqi Kurdistan, their assignment to the XIVth satrapy suggests that some members of the group lived in southeastern Iran (Vallat 1993: 20, s.v. Assakarta).

The Sarangians, according to most commentators, were the inhabitants of a region better known by the Old Persian form Drangiane (Elamite *Ziranka*), which was largely synonymous with modern Seistan (Herzfeld 1968: 331; Vallat 1993: 313). According to Lecoq, Sarangian was simply the Median form of Drangian (Lecoq 1997: 142). Arrian's account of Nearchus' voyage also refers to a place called Saranga (*Ind.* 22.3) to the east of Morontobara, a place often identified with modern Karachi (Brunt 1983: 371, n. 1).

Thamanaean was, according to Herzfeld, a tribal name for the inhabitants of Arachosia/*Harahvatish* (Herzfeld 1968: 333), situated around the area of modern Kandahar in Afghanistan (Lecoq 1997: 138).

The Utians (Elamite *Iautiyash*, Vallat 1993: 110) were identified with the Jut or Zutt of al-Mas'udi (Schwarz 1912: 266), a nomadic tribe in Kerman (de Goeje 1903: 9; Markwart 1931: 77; Marquart 1901: 30).

Finally, the Mycians are the inhabitants of Maka (Old Persian; Elamite *Makkash*, see Vallat 1993: 163-164). Contrary to the *opinio communis* which has long situated Maka in Makran (Eilers 1983), there are compelling reasons for identifying it with Oman. In the first place, the Babylonian equivalent given in the trilingual Achaemenid royal inscriptions is Qadê/Qadû, and this appears in an inscription from the time of Assurbanipal, who received tribute from Pade, king of Qadê, whose capital was at Iskie. This is certainly to be identified with Izki, considered by Omani oral tradition to be the oldest town in Oman (Potts 1985 with refs.). Secondly, in the Persepolis fortification texts we find mention of 'Arabs' (Elamite *har-ba-a-be*) from Makkash receiving travel rations for journeys between Susa and Maka (de Blois 1989). Although Arabians (whether or not Arabic speakers) may have inhabited the coastal areas on the Iranian side of the Persian Gulf, it seems unlikely that the ethnic designation 'Arabs' would have been used for the inhabitants of a region which was part of the continental Persian empire.

To conclude, there is no compelling reason to agree with Schiwiek that the islands of the XIVth satrapy included only those situated along the coast of Karmania (Kerman). The inclusion of islands in the Persian Gulf within a fiscal unit comprising some (but not necessarily all) of the inhabitants of Oman (Mycians) and Kerman (Utians) might lead one to such a supposition. However, the further addition of the Thamanaeans, Sarangians and Sagartians so spreads the possible boundaries of the region – from Kandahar in the east to, potentially, somewhere in Media to the west – that there seem to be no good grounds for limiting the islands of the XIVth satrapy to those situated off the coast of Kerman.

Returning then to the Erythraean Sea, the later Greek sources (Aristobulus, Eratosthenes) reporting on the voyage of Alexander's admiral Nearchus from the mouth of the Indus to Susa in 325/4 B.C. provide us with a classification of the coast between India and the head of the Persian Gulf as follows. Beginning in the east (Arrian, *Ind.* 25.3ff), we have the following segments: coast of the Arabies (1000 stadia); coast of the Oreitae (1600 [Aristobulus] or 1800 [Eratosthenes] stadia); coast of the Ichthyophagi (10,000 [Aristobulus] or 7400 [Eratosthenes] stadia); coast of Karmania (3700 stadia); coast of Persis (4400 stadia); and the coast of

Susiana (2000 stadia). Along those coasts, the ancient sources mention a number of islands which would be candidates for inclusion in the XIVth satrapy (Fig. 1). We begin with those mentioned in Arrian's *Indika*.

Islands in the *Indika*

Karnine (Arrian, *Ind.* 26.7, cf. Karmina [Cl. Ptolemy, Stephen of Byzantium]/Karbine [emendation suggested by C. Müller, acc. Tomaschek 1890: 25]) – ‘About 100 stadia from the beach [at Kalima] is an island called Karnine’.

References: Vincent 1807: 240 = Ashtola; Mockler 1879: 134 = Kaheerband, ‘immediately south of Daran, there is, some distance out at sea, a large rock or island, covered by water, the presence of which, however, is marked by breakers’; Tomaschek 1890: 24 = Nosala/Astolah; Berthelot 1935: 14 = Astaloh [Ashtolah, cf. below]; Schiwiek 1962: 56-58 = Nosala/Astolah

Comments: Tomaschek credited C.F.W. Müller with the suggestion that Karnine/Karbine was identical with Nosala (see below) and with the island called variously Asthala (Cl. Ptolemy) or Selera (Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 3.56). Jacoby argued against this (Jacoby 1927: 456-457) and Schiwiek reviewed the arguments once again, concluding that Jacoby's reasoning was sufficient but not necessary (Schiwiek 1962: 56-58). Whatever the case may be, the dispute cannot be resolved and we can simply say that there may have been an island called Karnine, but that Nearchus' account may have committed an error in distinguishing two islands by the names of Karnine and Nosala.

Nosala - (Arrian, *Ind.* 31.1; cf. Nosora [Uranius, *Arabica*, acc. Tomaschek 1890: 25], Asthala [Cl. Ptolemy]) – ‘While they were coasting along the territory of the Ichthyophagi, they heard a story of an uninhabited island which lies some 100 stades from the mainland here. The local people said that it was sacred to Helios...and that no human being put in there of his own will, but that anyone who touched there in ignorance disappeared....He himself [Nearchus] went ashore and exploded this island fairy-tale. They heard another story current about this island, that one of the Nereids dwelt there, whose name was not told’.

References: Vincent 1807: 299 = Astola (Ashtola), Vincent recounted a story recorded by and attributed to ‘Capt. Blair, who was one of the first to explore these coasts (in 1774) having been warned by the natives at Passanee [Pasni], that it would be dangerous to approach the island of Ashtola, *as it was enchanted*, and that a ship had been turned into rock’; Bunbury 1879: 532, 547 = Astola (Ashtola), ‘the only island of any size along this coast’; also re-told by Bunbury; Tomaschek 1890: 25 = Astola, Astôlah, Astâlû, Satâlûh, Sattalaù; Holdich 1897: 419 = Astola; Hughes-Buller 1906: 277 = Astalo (Arabic)/ Astalu (Med) / Haptalar (Baluchi)/ Satadip (Hindi).

Comments: Located 26 nautical miles from Pasni and 19 nautical miles from Ras Jaddi (Anonymous 1976: 121). Prior to the suppression of the Qawasim in 1820, Astola was used by them as a hiding place (Tomaschek 1890: 25). Also known as Sungadeep (Horsburgh 1817: 249). Sattâ-dib/Satadip. ‘Seven-Island’ to Hindu pilgrims. Habt-talâ/Haptalar in

Baluchi, perhaps from Sanskrit *a-sthalâ*, ‘fixed place’ (feste Stelle), cf. English ‘atoll’ (Tomaschek 1890: 25; Dales and Lipo 1992: 104); visited during the northeast monsoon by fishermen (Anonymous 1976: 121); a Hindu place of pilgrimage, the home of Kali Devi (Hughes-Buller 1906: 276-280; cf. Dales and Lipo 1992: 264, n. 23), still regarded with ‘superstitious dread’ by Med fishermen from Makran in the late 19th century (Holdich 1901: 206). For a long account of Astola and the Hindu mythology associated with it, see Hughes-Buller (1906: 276-280).

While admitting that the modern tale of Ashtola closely echoed the ancient story of Nosala, Vincent seems to have considered it apocryphal, dismissing the story of Nosala as a fable (Vincent 1807: 299).

Organa - (Arrian, *Ind.* 37.2; Cl. Ptolemy; cf. Orgina, Anon. Geographer of Ravenna; Ogyris, Strabo, *Geog.* 16.3.5 and 7) – ‘a rugged and deserted island’

References: d’Anville 1764: 146 = Hormuz; Vincent 1807: 348 = Jazireh-ye Larak; Berghaus 1832: 47 = Hormuz; Forbiger 1844: 554 = Hormuz; Bunbury 1879: 550 = Hormuz (= Ogyris of Strabo and Pliny); Mockler 1879: 141 = Hormuz; Tomaschek 1890: 38 = Hormuz; Schiwiek 1962: 75, n. 561 = Hormuz.

Comments: Jazireh-ye Hormuz is located c. 2.5 nautical miles south of the mainland (Anonymous 1976: 151). Until Baha’-al-Din Ayaz moved the population of Old Hormuz, on the mainland, to the island after 1296, it was known as Jarun/ Jarrun/ Jirun/ Zarun (Le Strange 1905: 319; Floor 2004: 472).

Oaracta - (Arrian, *Ind.* 37.2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* Oracla) – ‘large, inhabited island....Vines and date-palms grew there, and it produced corn; its length was 800 stades. The hyparch of the island, Mazenes, sailed with them as far as Susa as a volunteer pilot. They said that in this island the tomb of the first ruler of this territory was shown; his name was Erythras, and hence came the name of the sea’.

References: d’Anville 1764: 150 = Qeshm; Vincent 1807: 348, n. 96 = Qeshm; Berghaus 1832: 45 = Qeshm; Forbiger 1844: 554 = Qeshm; Bunbury 1879: 537 = Qeshm; Mockler 1879: 141 = Qeshm; Tomaschek 1890: 47 = Qeshm; Hüsing 1927: 103 = Qeshm; Schiwiek 1962: 75 = Qeshm; Potts n.d.a = Qeshm.

Comments: The largest island in the Persian Gulf (c. 122 km. long, 18 km. wide on average; Potts n.d.a), Jazireh-ye Qeshm is separated from the mainland by the Straits of Khuran (Clarence Strait) and is about 12 nautical miles south of Bandar Abbas (Anonymous 1944: 123). The identification of Qeshm with Oaracta (var. *Oracta*, *Ooaracta*, *Doracta*; cf. Strabo, *Geog.* 16.3.7; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.98) rests on the testimony of several mediaeval writers (Nimdihi, Samarqandi, Ja’fari; Aubin 1973: 102), one of whom, the great Arab navigator Ibn Majid (b. c. 1432-7), identified ‘the island of Ibn Jawan also known as the island of Burkhut or al-Qism’, and wrote of a town called Burkhut in the centre of the island in the tenth *fa’ida* (‘On islands’) of his *Kitab al-Fawa’id fi usul ‘ilm al-bahr wa’l-qawa’id* or ‘the book of profitable things concerning the first principles and rules of navigation’ (Tibbetts 1971: 222). Slightly later, the Portuguese traveller Pedro Teixeira (1586-1605) called Oeshm ‘The Isle of

Queixome, or Broct' (Sinclair 1902: 161; Schwarz 1914: 534) and since Bourguignon d'Anville in the mid-18th century scholars have equated Broct and Oaracta (d'Anville 1764: 149; Vincent 1807: 351; Horsburgh 1817: 256-257; Tomaschek 1890: 48; Curzon 1892: 410; Hüsing 1929: 103; Stein 1937b); Badger 1871: 419 is wrong when he says that Dean William Vincent, in *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean* [1807/i: 351-352] was the first to identify Qeshm/Broct with Oaracta; that distinction belongs to the great French cartographer Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville, whom Vincent cited frequently in his work (though not, interestingly, with respect to Oaracta). Broct has been identified with the village of Kusheh in the centre of Qeshm (Aubin 1973: 102, n. 148) where a shrine to Shaikh al-Barkeh or Barkh exists (Lorimer 1915: 1553). In the anonymous, 10th century *Livre des merveilles de l'Inde* a Zoroastrian mariner from Siraf named *al-Brukhti* is attested (Aubin 1973: 102, n. 148). His *nisbeh* suggests that his family came originally from Broct/Brukht.

Tomaschek suggests Oaracta = Ogyris (Strabo, *Geog.* 16.3.5) but at 16.3.7 Strabo refers to Mithropastes *leaving* Ogyris for Oaracta. Ogyris is therefore much more likely to be a different island (see below).

'another island' – (Arrian, *Ind.* 37.4) – 'about 40 stades from this larger one [i.e. Oaracta]. It was said to be sacred to Poseidon, and not to be trod by foot of man'.

References: d'Anville 1764: 150 = Hangam (Angan); Vincent 1807: 354 = Hangam (Angar/Angan); Tomaschek 1890: 50 = Hangam

Comments: Jazireh-ye Hangam, a small island located about 1-2 nautical miles off the south-central coast of Jazireh-ye Qeshm, opposite Ras-e Khargu and separated from it by the Hangam sound (Anonymous 1944: 124; Anonymous 1976: 156). Citing Lt. M'Cluer's description of an *imamzadeh* on Hangan, Vincent wrote, 'as there is a conspicuous tomb on this spot at present, it is by no means impossible that the representations on its walls, if antique, might still unravel the superstition alluded to in the Greek Neptune' (viz. Poseidon; Vincent 1807: 355).

'another island' – (Arrian, *Ind.* 37.7) – 'about 300 stades from the mainland'

References: d'Anville 1764: 152 = Tombo (Jazireh-ye Tanb-e Bozorg/ Arabic Jazirat Tunb, Greater Tunb); Vincent 1807: 356; Tomaschek 1890: 50 = Tanb (Greater Tunb).

Comments: Jazireh-ye Tanb-e Bozorg, commonly known in English as Greater Tunb, lies about 15.5 nautical miles south of Ras Dastakan, the southwesternmost point on Qeshm (Anonymous 1944: 129).

Pylora – (Arrian, *Ind.* 37.8) – 'a desert island'

References: d'Anville 1764: 152 = Pelur/Peloro (Jazireh-ye Farur); Vincent 1807: 359 = Peloro/Polior/Belior; Berghaus 1832: 43 – Belior, Polior, Pollior, Pelur, Peloro; Tomaschek 1890: 51 = Farûr = Furur, Firror, Firol, Felur, Pilor, ylha de Pilor, Polior, Paliora, Paluro, Palouro = Jazireh-ye Farur

Comments: Jazireh-ye Farur is located about 12.5 nautical miles south-southwest of Ras-e Bostaneh, a few kilometres west of Bandar-e Lengeh (Anonymous 1976: 173). Horsburgh described the island in detail (Horsburgh 1817: 260-261) since, though uninhabited, it offered shelter from northwesterly winds. Lorimer confirms that the ‘Polior’ of the East India Company records is identical with modern Farur (Lorimer 1915: 553).

Cataea – (Arrian, *Ind.* 37.10; Cataga, Anon. Geog. of Ravenna [Tomaschek 1890: 52]) – ‘a desert, low-lying island, said to be sacred to Hermes and Aphrodite....Every year the people round about send sheep and goats consecrated to Hermes and Aphrodite, which could be seen, quite wild from lapse of time and want of handling’.

References: d’Anville 1764: 152 = Keisch (Jazireh-ye Qeys); Vincent 1807: 363 = Kaish, Keish, Guess, Queche, Qais, Ken, Zeits (Jazireh-ye Qeys); Berghaus 1832: 43 = Jazireh-ye Qeys (Käs, Kaise, Kaez, Kenn, Kyen, Keisch, Guefs, Queche, Zeits); Forbiger 1844: 579* = Keisch or Kenn (Jazireh-ye Qeys); Tomaschek 1890: 52 = Jazireh-ye Qeys (Kis, Qais, Queis, Quais, Cãez, Cais, Keis); Berthelot 1935: 16 = Qais/Kish (Jazireh-ye Qeys);

Comment: Jazireh-ye Qeys, often referred to nowadays as Kish, is located about 9.5 km. from Gurzeh, a village just west of Bandar Charak on the Shibkuh coast (Anonymous 1944: 152; Anonymous 1976: 177-78). Allusions to extensive palm gardens on the island in the mediaeval geographical literature suggest it was reasonably well-watered (Potts n.d.b.). Vincent wrote, ‘Keish retains still some superiority in the account of our English navigators who have visited it, by whom it is described as flourishing, well planted, and capable of supplying refreshments to the vessels which frequent this sea’ (Vincent 1807: 364).

Kaikandrus – (Arrian, *Ind.* 38.2) – ‘a small desert island’

References: d’Anville 1764: 155 = Andarvia (Jazireh-ye Hendorabi); Vincent 1807: 375 = Andarvia, Inderabi, Angarvia, Indernea, Indernore; Berghaus 1832: 43 = Jazireh-ye Hendorabi (Hinderabi, Indarawi, Hinderabia, Inderabia, Inderuca, Andarvia); Forbiger 1844: 579* - Shitwar (Jazireh-ye Shitvar) or Busheab (Jazireh-ye Lavan); Tomaschek 1890: 54 - Jazireh-ye Hendorabi (Hindarábà, Abrûn [Ibn Khurdabih], Andarûn, Andarábà [Abu’lfeda], Andarabym, Andarvia, Andravy, Andrabè)

Comments: With the exception of Forbiger, all authorities who have studied Nearchus’ voyage concur that Kaikandrus = Jazireh-ye Hendorabi, a small island about 4 nautical miles west-southwest of Sar-e Chiru, between Bandar Charak and Bandar Moqam (Anonymous 1944: 152; Anonymous 1976: 180).

‘**another island**’ – (Arrian, *Ind.* 38.3-4) – ‘inhabited...according to Nearchus there is pearl fishing here’.

References: d’Anville 1764: 155-156 = Lara or Aracia of Cl. Ptolemy, cf. Ilha del Ara of Portuguese sources; Vincent 1807: 377 = Shitwar; Berghaus 1832: 42-43 = Buscheab/ Shech-Shaib and following d’Anville = Lara/ Aracia; Tomaschek 1890: 55 = Shaikh Abu-Shu’aib.

Comments: Formerly Busheab, Shaikh Shaib, Shaikh Suaib (Slot 1993: 21), now called Jazireh-ye Lavan, an island about 6 nautical miles west-southwest of Ras-e Nakhilu (Anonymous 1944: 154; Anonymous 1976: 179). On the identity of Lar/Lara (Aubin 1973: 101) with Shaikh Shuaib, see Schwarz (1910: 87). On the identity of Busheab/Shaiikh Shaib with Jazireh-ye Lavan, see Tomaschek (1890: 55) who mentions the village of Gôrât on the south side of Shaikh Abu Shu'aib = Qort of Jazirat-ye Lavan (Anonymous 1976: 180; cf. Lorimer 1915: 1813; Le Strange 1905: 261). Yaqut refers to the island of al-Lar between Siraf and Qays, with pearl fishery on its coasts; Ibn Khurdadbih put the island 80 *farsakhs* from Kharg and 7 from Andarun/Hendorabi (Tomaschek 1890: 55). In the late 19th century pearl-diving and fishing formed the principal occupations of the inhabitants (Lorimer 1915: 1814).

Margastana – (Arrian, *Ind.* 41.2) – ‘a small island’

References: d’Anville 1764: 169, cf. Bandar Madjour, two days journey from Daurak in Khuzestan (= Bandar Ma’shur; see Perry 1971: 132; Vincent 1807: 426 = Dorghestan; Chesney 1850: 355 = Derah island in Khor Musa; Tomaschek 1890: 73, cf. sandbank Margân at the mouth of the Khor Bahmashîr

Comments: Since neither Bandar Ma’shur nor Margân is an island, these identifications seem unlikely. Derah is at least possible, though without a closer study of Nearchus’ movements after reaching the Arosis river (*Ind.* 39.9), possibly the Jarrahi, it must remain conjectural. Lorimer describes Derah, which he calls Dairah, as ‘a low swampy island’ (Lorimer 1915: 1277). Could Margastana be related to Yaqut’s *Mokharzi*, the forerunner of Muhammarah/Khorramshah at the end of the island bounded on the west by the Shatt al-Arab and on the east by the Bahmanshir or Abu-l-Asad canal, which was ‘the anchoring-place...for sea-going ships’ in Yaqut’s day (Rawlinson 1857: 189)? With respect to Vincent’s identification of Margastana with Dorghestan, Lorimer identified ‘the tract upon the sea between Khor Doraq on the east and the Bahmanshir upon the west’ as Doraqistan, noting, ‘The name is not in common use’ (Lorimer 1915: 492). Daurakistan (thus Schwarz) was, according to Yaqut, a place where ships coming from India anchored, while Qazwini described it as an island in the Persian Gulf between the Persian Gulf and the rivers of ‘Askara Mukram (Schwarz 1921: 376-377). This is the island meant by Vincent. Margastana should certainly not be compared with mediaeval *Mugistan*, a region which was much further east and included Jask (Aubin 1973: 107 and n. 173).

Summary

To summarize the results of this review of the islands mentioned in Arrian’s *Indika*, we have, moving from east to west, the following:

- Karnine (*Ind.* 26.7): ?
- Nosala (*Ind.* 31.1): Astola
- Organa (*Ind.* 37.2): Hormuz
- Oaracta (*Ind.* 37.2): Qeshm
- another island (*Ind.* 37.4): Hangam

- another island (*Ind.* 37.7): Greater Tunb
- Pylora (*Ind.* 37.8): Farur
- Cataea (*Ind.* 37.10): Kish
- Kaikandrus (*Ind.* 38.2): Hendorabi
- another island (*Ind.* 38.3-4): Lavan
- Margastana (*Ind.* 41.2): ?

Indigenous islanders and the *topos* of *anaspastoi*

Although little is known about the inhabitants of the islands of the XIVth satrapy, a few interesting points emerge from the sources. Considering the very noticeable differences in dress and armament shown by the delegates from the satrapies of the empire on the reliefs at Persepolis, it is somewhat surprising to find Herodotus stating that the inhabitants of the islands in the Erythraean Sea who fought with Xerxes at Doriscus ‘closely resembled the Medes in respect of both clothing and weaponry’ (*Hist.* 7.80). *A priori* it seems unlikely that the islanders of the Persian Gulf wore the same sort of clothing as the Medes of the Iranian Plateau. As fishermen, sailors and pearl divers who may have practised a bit of horticulture (as on Oaracta) on the side, the chances of their dress and weaponry closely resembling that of the Medes seem remote. On this point, one might suggest, Herodotus was conveying information not on what the islanders wore in general, but rather on what they wore at Doriscus. In other words, the Erythraean Sea islanders may well have been outfitted for battle with Median gear which they would otherwise not have worn in their own environment². As for their appearance and equipment at Issus we can say nothing. Arrian refers to the presence of a contingent drawn from ‘the tribes bordering on the Erythraean Sea’ (*Anab. Alex.* 3.8.5). He never actually says that they came from the islands, and the statement makes it sound more likely that the tribes in question came from the mainland bordering the Persian Gulf.

But as Herodotus twice indicates (*Hist.* 3.93, 7.80) there were other inhabitants whom we would not class as indigenous. These are the *anaspastoi*, those ‘dispossessed’ whom the king banished to the islands. Schiwiek disputed the possibility that the islands could have been regularly used to inter prisoners, arguing, ‘Die Tatsache aber, daß diese Inseln Abgaben entrichten, die nicht unbedeutend waren, und nennenswerte Truppenkontingente stellen, berechtigt zu dem Schluß, daß sie eine beträchtliche Bevölkerung aufwiesen, verwaltungstechnisch erschlossen waren und in enger Schiffsverbindung mit dem persischen Festland standen’ (Schiwiek 1962: 17). In fact, there would seem to be no contradiction between Schiwiek’s view of the islands as a populous region, in close contact with the Iranian mainland, which was fiscally integrated into the Achaemenid empire, and the episodic use of the islands as loci of internal exile.

The practice of banishment to the Erythraean Sea should not be confused with the deportation of foreign prisoners-of-war *en masse* (Shahbazi 1996). Of the latter practice we have a number of instances, viz. Cambyses’ deportation of 6000 Egyptians, including craftsmen, to Susa (Ctesias, *Persica* 13.30; Diodorus, 1.46.4); Darius I’s deportation of Barcaean prisoners from northwest Africa to Bactria (Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.204), Paeonians

² W. Henkelman (pers. comm.) questions whether ‘Median’ here might not be a reference to the

from Thrace to Asia Minor (Herodotus, *Hist.* 5.14-15, 17), Milesians to Ampe in southern Babylonia (Herodotus, *Hist.* 6.20), Eretrians to Arderikka in Kissia (Herodotus, *Hist.* 6.119) and Boeotians to the Tigris area (Diodorus 17.110); and Artaxerxes III's deportation of Sidonians to Susa and Babylon (Grayson 1975: 114). These are all instances of the deportation of foreign captives, whereas the *anaspastoi* seem to be enemies of the state from within the Achaemenid empire.

The juridical status of the 'dispossessed' is far from clear. Were these in fact individuals whose land was seized, for whatever reasons, by the crown, and whose 'compensation' was banishment to arguably one of the hottest and most humid regions of the empire? We have only one anecdote which throws light on exactly who was banished and this is likely to be atypical. The story appears in Strabo's *Geography*, where we read yet another variant of the story of Erythras, this time set on an island called Ogyris:

'Both Nearchus and Orthagoras state that the island Ogyris lies in the high sea at a distance of 2000 stadia from Karmania, and that on it is to be seen the grave of Erythras, a large mound planted with wild palm trees; and that Erythras reigned as king over that region and left the sea named after himself. Nearchus says that these things were pointed out to them by Mithropastes, the son of Aristes, which latter was satrap of Phrygia; and that the former was banished by Darius, took up his residence in the island, joined them when they landed in the Persian Gulf, and sought through them to be restored to his homeland' (Strabo, *Geog.* 16.3.5).

This passage presents us with several geographical problems which, however, may be briefly dealt with. First of all, it has long been recognised that the distances given in the accounts of Nearchus' voyage are unreliable and inconsistent (Bunbury 1879: 544-546; Goukowsky 1974: 122) but there is no simple calculation which will correct them. Therefore, the position of Ogyris at 2000 stadia from Karmania is virtually meaningless. Moreover, in Arrian's account of Nearchus' voyage, as we have seen above, Ogyris is never mentioned. Some scholars have compared Ogyris with Organa, the old name of Hormuz (cf. Jarun) and suggested therefore that Ogyris is a variant of Organa (e.g. Bunbury 1879: 550). Sprenger, however, in part following the testimony of Pliny (Natural History 6.153), who situated the island somewhere between Maketa (Ras Musandam) and Soqotra (Dioscourides), identified Ogyris with Masira Island off the southeast coast of Oman (Sprenger 1875: 100; Stein 1937a; Schiwiek 1962: 75). Goukowsky, suggesting that Strabo confused the island to which Mithropastes was banished with the island in which Erythras was buried (Oaracta = Qeshm), has proposed that the small island of Larak, off the east coast of Qeshm and south of Hormuz, may have been ancient Ogyris (Goukowsky 1974: 122, n. 54), while admitting, 'il est vain de prétendre localiser Ogyris, puisque les données contradictoires de la tradition ne le permettent pas' (Goukowsky 1974: 123). Jacoby, on the other hand, suggested that Arrian had shortened Nearchus' report, omitting the notice on Ogyris, and at the same time incorrectly associating the Erythras story with Oaracta (Jacoby 1927: 460; endorsed by Schiwiek 1962: 75, n. 567; Bosworth 1996: 68, n. 7).

If we set aside the confusion over where Erythras was buried, the passage still contains very valuable information in that it gives us the name of one of those 'banished' by Darius, namely Mithropastes, son of Aristes, the satrap of Phrygia. Following Alexander's victory at Granicus in 334 B.C., Aristes committed suicide (Arrian, *Anab.* 1.16.3) and it is widely

assumed that ‘the father’s failure blighted the prospects of the son’ (Bosworth 1996: 66; cf. Goukowsky 1974: 122; Salles 1990: 116), resulting in his banishment by Darius III. Following this act, as Strabo tells us, Mithropastes ‘took up his residence in the island’ where he languished for about a decade. Once Nearchus’ fleet had reached the Persian Gulf, we are told, Mithropastes came forward in the hope that ‘through them’ he might be ‘restored to his homeland’ (Strabo, *Geog.* 16.3.5). Strabo continues:

‘Nearchus says that they were met by Mithropastes, in company with Mazenes; that Mazenes was ruler of an island in the Persian Gulf; that the island was called Oaracta; that Mithropastes took refuge, and obtained hospitality, in this island upon his departure from Ogyris’ (Strabo, *Geog.* 16.3.7).

All of this suggests that Mithropastes was not under a severe form of detention, perhaps not even strong enough to warrant the term ‘house arrest’. In any case, he escaped or fled Ogyris, how we are not told, and reached Oaracta (Qeshm), where Nearchus, according to Strabo, met him ‘in company’ with Mazenes, the ruler of the island.

In referring to Mazenes, both Arrian (*Ind.* 37.2) and Strabo used the title *hyparch*. The interpretation of this term is far from straightforward and it must be remembered that we are reading the account of a Greek geographer who, while drawing on older testimony, was undoubtedly influenced to some extent by the usage current in his lifetime. Mazenes’ title is commonly translated ‘governor’ (e.g. Petit 1990: 214; Briant 1996: 779; Bosworth 1996: 66). The geographical extent of Mazene’s jurisdiction is unclear but it is likely that, as in other satrapies, sub-regions were governed by hyparchs (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 46). In the case of Mazenes, however, there is a complicating factor since, upon landing at Harmozia (Potts 2004) shortly before reaching Oaracta, Nearchus encountered another (unnamed) hyparch, entitled alternately ‘hyparch of the country’ (Arrian, *Ind.* 34.1) and ‘hyparch of the province’ (Arrian, *Ind.* 36.1). While some scholars have suggested that Mazenes probably reported to the satrap of Persis (Petit 1990: 214), others believe that he was subordinate to Astaspes, the satrap of Karmania, who was in turn subordinate to the satrap of Persis (Jacobs 1994: 206).

In fact, Mazenes may simply have been a local headman or respected village elder on Oaracta who reported to the unnamed hyparch ‘of the country/province’ at Harmozia on the mainland. After all, according to Arrian, Mazenes sailed with Nearchus ‘as far as Susa as a volunteer pilot’ (Arrian, *Ind.* 37.2). This hardly sounds like the behaviour of a high-ranking Achaemenid official, but makes perfect sense if Mazenes was himself a native of Oaracta, perhaps a fisherman and pilot, who for whatever reason(s) had been charged by the hyparch of Harmozia with looking after the island.

Conclusion

The sources on Nearchus’ voyage up the Persian Gulf give us a snapshot of the islands of the Erythraean Sea at the end of the reign of Darius III, some or all of which may have been among those which formed part of the XIVth satrapy in the reign of Darius I. In general, the impression is one of an underpopulated series of small islands. Whether or not Mazenes’ jurisdiction extended to all of the islands visited by Nearchus’ fleet we do not know.

Compared with Organa (Hormuz), which was ‘rugged and deserted’, Oaracta, was ‘large’, ‘inhabited’, a place where ‘vines and date-palms grew’ and corn (wheat/barley) was produced (Arrian, *Ind.* 37.2). It was almost certainly the most populous of the Iranian islands belonging to the XIVth satrapy and presumably the only one that actually warranted the appointment of a hyparch. The only other inhabited island of any apparent interest was Jazireh-ye Lavan off the coast of Persis, of which Arrian says ‘there is pearl fishing here’ (Arrian, *Ind.* 38.3-4). Although Nearchus was unaware of its ancient name, Jazireh-ye Lavan may in fact have been more important than its anonymity would suggest. After all, the grapes, dates and cereal grown on Oaracta were probably destined for local consumption, but the pearls gathered around Lavan may well have made an important contribution to the tax paid by the XIVth satrapy to the great king.

Excursus 1. Islands mentioned in Marcian's *Periplus of the Outer Sea*

Drawing mainly on Cl. Ptolemy (Schoff 1927: 6), Marcian of Heraclaea (fl. c. 400) preserves the names of several other islands in the Persian Gulf and Gulf of Oman. As this testimony is substantially later than the Achaemenid period, it is not treated here in detail. However, there is almost certainly some intelligence derived from the immediately post-Achaemenid period in the information preserved for us by Ptolemy and Marcian. Nevertheless, the differences in names, when compared with the earlier sources, is striking. The islands are as follows:

Coast of Susiana

Taxiana: 'From Charax Spasini to the mouths of the river Mogaeus 700 stadia. From the river Mogaeus to the bay of Pelode [Coenosus] 400 stadia. On this bay and the neighboring district dwell the Elymaei, who are of the region of Susiana. Off the coast of this bay lies the island of Taxiana. From this bay to the mouths of the river Eulaeus 690 stadia' (Schoff 1927: 20).

Tomaschek identified this with Bannah, noting the variant Tabiana in Cl. Ptolemy, which recalled the name of the river Tab, now known as the Jarrahi (Tomaschek 1890: 72-73).

Coast of Persis

Sophtha: 'From Cape Taoce to the mouths of the river Rhogomanis 700 stadia. In this course lies an island called Sophtha' (Schoff 1927: 21). = Kharg according to Berghaus (1832: 37), Khargu according to Steve (2003: 8),

Alexandri: 'From the river Rhogomanis to a peninsula 500 stadia. Opposite this is an island called Alexandri' (Schoff 1927: 21). Bushehr (W. Henkelman, pers. comm.).

Coast of Karmania

Agedana: '[From the river Cathraxis] to the mouths of the river Corius 700 stadia. Off this coast lies an island called Agedana [Sagdana?] in which much red-lead is produced' (Schoff 1927: 22). Larak (Tomaschek 1890: 47)?

Oorachtha: 'From the river Achidana to the mouths of the river Andanis 500 stadia. Near this coast is the island of Oorachtha' (Schoff 1927: 22). Qeshm.

Ziba: 'Beyond Cape Carpella follows a very great bay, called Paragon, which extends as far as the Cape called Alambater and the island called Ziba [Liba?]' (Schoff 1927: 22).

Pola: 'From the port of Cyiza to Cape Alambater 400 stadia. Off shores from these places lies an island called Pola [Polla?]' (Schoff 1927: 23).

Carmina: 'From Cape Alambater to Derenobilla 250 stadia. Off shore lies an island called Carmina' (Schoff 1927: 23). Cf. Karnine (Arrian, *Ind.* 26.7)(Tomaschek 1890: 24)

In summarising the 'sailing-course along Persis', Marcian includes 'two notable islands', and in his summary of the 'sailing-course of Karmania', he mentions 'five notable islands'. In his summary of the coast of Susiana he includes none. One may therefore conclude that Sophtha

and Alexandri (Persis), and Agedana, Oorachtha, Ziba, Pola and Carmina (Karmania) were considered more significant than Taxiana.

Excursus 2. Arabian islands

The question may be asked whether any of the major islands along the east coast of Arabia fell under the XIVth satrapy? In considering this possibility we can probably eliminate the many islands off the coast of Abu Dhabi, where no occupation dating to the Achaemenid period has been found in spite of quite intensive survey by the Abu Dhabi Islands Archaeological Survey (ADIAS) project (e.g. King 1998, King and Tonghini 1998). Without reviewing all of the arguments surrounding the degree to which the Achaemenids did or did not exert influence in the Persian Gulf beyond the confines of the XIVth satrapy, two published statements deserve comment. In 1998 J.-F. Salles maintained, 'The Achaemenids, we know, were present in eastern Arabia; they had a governor in Bahrain and were active also in the Gerrha kingdom' (Salles 1998: 53). This radical suggestion was prompted almost entirely by the interpretation of a cartouche accompanying one of the stylised depictions of subject peoples on the base of the statue of Darius from Susa which reads *hgr* (Yoyotte 1972: 258). Whereas the original editor of the hieroglyphic inscriptions had interpreted *hgr* as a reference to the Arabs of north(west)ern Arabia, D. Graf suggested in 1990 that the reference to *hgr* implied a location in northeastern Arabia, specifically in the area of al-Hasa (Graf 1990: 144). This interpretation is possible but far from certain and there is no archaeological evidence in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia which suggests an Achaemenid presence, nor is there evidence in the very rich archaeological data available from Failaka, off the coast of Kuwait.

The suggestion that an Achaemenid governor was present on Bahrain is, however, worth pursuing. It is well known that a Babylonian official (^{li}*pihatu*), possibly a governor, is attested in Dilmun (Bahrain) in the 11th year of the reign of Nabonidus (Kessler 1983: 152). It is possible, therefore, that with the fall of the Neo-Babylonian state, control of Dilmun reverted automatically to Cyrus. Given the impressive, palatial-style architecture on Qalat al-Bahrain (Højlund and Andersen 1997: 87ff), where a glass seal (Fig. 2) with an Achaemenid 'court style' contest scene showing a royal hero battling a lion (Kjærøum 1997: 163-164, Fig. 734) was found, one is tempted to agree with Højlund and Andersen when they write, 'On the whole, the Achaemenian period increasingly appears to be one of the major stages in Bahrain's history' (Højlund and Andersen 1994: 478). They go on to suggest, 'it seems unlikely that Bahrain would have been tolerated as an independent and thriving centre so close to the Achaemenian empire; it is more likely that the island played an important role in an Achaemenian scheme for organizing the trade towards the east' (Højlund and Andersen 1994: 479). Much remains to be done, however, before we can safely assume that Bahrain constituted one of those islands in the Erythraean Sea which Herodotus spoke of in describing the XIVth satrapy. However, given its fame as a centre of pearl-diving, Bahrain would have made a very handy addition, fiscally speaking, to the XIVth satrapy.

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