

*Roland Oetjen (Ed.)*

# NEW PERSPECTIVES IN SELEUCID HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

Studies in Honor of Getzel M. Cohen



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Daniel Potts

# The Islands of the XIVth Satrapy

## Introduction

Although none of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions listing the satrapies<sup>1</sup> 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 (A<sup>2</sup>Pa) 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 some scholars 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).

2. 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 Bagaesus,<sup>2</sup> who was one of the Persian commanders a year later at the battle of Mycale, where he died’ (*Hist.* 7.80).

3. Finally, in Arrian’s description of the forces of Darius III at Issus (*Anab. Alex.* 3.8.5), we read, ‘The tribes bordering on the Erythraean Sea were directed by Orontobates, Ariobarzanes and Orxines’.

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1 P. Junge, “Satrapie und natio: Reichsverwaltung und Reichspolitik im Staate Dareios’ I”, *Klio* 34 (1942) 1–55; T. Petit, *Satrapes et satrapies dans l’empire achéménide de Cyrus le Grand à Xerxès I<sup>er</sup>* (Liège 1990); B. Jacobs, *Die Satrapieverwaltung im Perserreich zur Zeit Darius’ III* (Wiesbaden 1994); P. Lecoq, *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide* (Paris 1997); H. Klinkott, *Die Satrapienregister der Alexander- und Diadochenzeit* (Stuttgart 2000); *Der Satrap: Ein achaimenidischer Amtsträger und seine Handlungsspielräume* (Frankfurt 2005) 67 ff.

2 Wouter 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 Karmania to Persepolis, possibly *en route* from the Persian Gulf?

The purpose of this paper, dedicated with great admiration to Getzel Cohen, is to consider just what we know about those islands of the Erythraean Sea which may have formed part of the XIVth satrapy. After discussing their identification, I shall offer a few thoughts on the intriguing *topos* of the *anaspastoi*.

## The Erythraean Sea

The term ‘Erythraean Sea’ is first encountered in a fragment of Aeschylus’ *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 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 this hydronym was a subject of debate<sup>3</sup> 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,<sup>4</sup> nothing suggests that Hero-

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**3** As Strabo wrote, ‘For 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 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]). See S. M. Burstein, *Agatharchides of Cnidus On the Erythraean Sea* (London 1989), 42–45.

**4** As used in the anonymous Periplus of the Erythraean Sea; see generally H. Berger, “Erythraeum mare”, *RE* 6 (1909) 592–601; A. Herrmann, “Irrtümliche Namensversetzungen: Die Herkunft der Namen Rotes Meer, Ägypten und Phönizien aus dem tritonischen Kulturkreis” in H. Mžik (ed.), *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie und Kartographie, vornehmlich des Orients* (Leipzig/Vienna 1929) 124–127.

dotus 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.,<sup>5</sup> 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 part of the XIVth satrapy.<sup>6</sup>

## Which Islands?

Which, 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. Schiwiek suggested that the association of the islands of the XIVth satrapy with the Sagartians, Sarangians, Thamanaeans, Utians and Mycians implied that they lay mainly off the coast of Karmania (mod. Kerman).<sup>7</sup> 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 3<sup>rd</sup> century B. C., this is a somewhat flawed argument. Nevertheless, let us see whether the associations invoked by Schiwiek 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 as an indication that Sagartia was close to Media<sup>8</sup> and that some Sagartians may have lived there.<sup>9</sup> Vallat, however, suggested that, while the Sagartians included some 'semi-nomadic Medes' in the region of Iraqi Kurdistan, their assignment to the XIVth satrapy suggests that

5 H. Schiwiek, "Der Persische Golf als Schifffahrts- und Seehandelsroute in Achämenidischer Zeit und in der Zeit Alexanders des Großen", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 162 (1962) 8.

6 See below; cf. D. T. Potts, "The location of Iz-ki-e", *Revue d'Assyriologie* 79 (1985) 75–76; F. de Blois, "Maka and Mazun", *Studia Iranica* 18 (1989) 157–167.

7 Schiwiek, "Der Persische Golf" (as in n. 5) 17, 'daß es sich bei ihnen um eine größere Anzahl gehandelt hat, hauptsächlich wohl vor der karmanischen Küste gelegen'.

8 P. Briant, *Histoire de l'Empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris 1996) 129.

9 Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* (as in n. 1) 140.

some members of the group lived in southeastern Iran<sup>10</sup> (presumably basing this on their proximity to the Utians and Mycians). In addition to the testimony of DB § 33, this line of argument has historically been buttressed by the dubious connection, first proposed in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century by Edwin Norris, between Zakrute, a Median town conquered by Tiglath-pileser III in 737 B. C., and Sagartia.<sup>11</sup>

The Sarangians (Σαράγγαι), according to most commentators, were the inhabitants of a region better known by the Old Persian (OP) form Drangiane (Elamite *Zranka*;<sup>12</sup> cf. Strabo, Δράγγαι; Arrian, Ζαράγγοι), that was largely synonymous with modern Seistan.<sup>13</sup> According to Schmitt, the Herodotean form Σαράγγαι was as close to the original Median form (even if its etymology is unclear) as was possible in a Greek transcription.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

The Thamanaean (Θαμαναῖοι)<sup>16</sup> were, according to Herzfeld, a tribal group in Arachosia (OP *Harauvatiš*),<sup>17</sup> situated around the area of modern Kandahar in Afghanistan.<sup>18</sup> The Utians (Ούτιοι; OP *Yutiyā*)<sup>19</sup> were identified with the Jut or Zutt of the early Islamic authors,<sup>20</sup> a nomadic, Gypsy group in Kerman.<sup>21</sup> Finally, the Mycians were the inhabitants of OP Makā (Elamite *Makkaš*).<sup>22</sup> Contrary to

10 F. Vallat, *Les noms géographiques des sources suso-élamites* (Wiesbaden 1993) 20, s.v. Assakarta.

11 A. J. Delattre, *Le peuple et l'Empire des Mèdes, jusqu'à la fin du règne de Cyaxare* (Brussels 1883) 93.

12 J. Tavernier, *Iranica in the Achaemenid period (ca. 550–330 B. C.): Lexicon of Old Iranian proper names and loanwords, attested in non-Iranian texts* (Leuven 2007) 32, 78.

13 E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire* (Wiesbaden 1968) 331; Vallat *Les noms géographiques* (as in n. 10) 313. Cf. P. Daffinà, *L'immigrazione dei Sakā nella Drangiana* (Rome 1967), esp. 23–43, 'Areia, Drangiana e Arachōsia dagli Achemenidi ai Parti'.

14 R. Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 117 (1967) 125, n. 53.

15 P. A. Brunt, *Arrian, with an English translation*, i-ii (Cambridge and London, 1976/1983) 371, n. 1.

16 Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire* (as in n. 13) 333; Daffinà, *L'immigrazione* (as in n. 13) 27.

17 Tavernier, *Iranica* (as in n. 12) 69, 70.

18 Lecoq, *Les inscriptions* (as in n. 1) 138.

19 Vallat, *Les noms géographiques* (as in n. 10) 110.

20 P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, iii (Leipzig 1912) 266. For more on the Zutt or gypsies in Iran, see e.g. S. Amanolahi, "The gypsies of Iran (a brief introduction)", *Iran and the Caucasus* 3/4 (1999/2000) 110–111;

21 M. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les migrations des Tsiganes à travers l'Asie* (Leiden 1903) 9; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (Berlin 1901) 30; *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr (Pahlavi text, version and commentary)* (Rome 1931) 77.

22 Vallat, *Les noms géographiques* (as in n. 10) 163–164.

the *opinio communis* which has long situated Maka in Makran,<sup>23</sup> 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.<sup>24</sup> Secondly, in the Persepolis fortification texts we find mention of ‘Arabs’ (Elamite *har-ba-a-be*) from Makkaš receiving travel rations for journeys between Susa and Maka.<sup>25</sup> Although Arabians (whether or not Arabic speakers) may have inhabited 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 Kermania. 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 only those lying 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), the following segments are identified by ethnonyms and toponyms as follows: the coast of the Arabies (1000 stadia); coast of the Oreitae (1600 [Aristobulus] or 1800 [Eratosthenes] stadia); coast of the Icthyophagi (10,000 [Aristobulus] or 7400 [Eratosthenes] stadia); coast of Kermania (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. 31). We begin with those mentioned in Arrian’s *Indika*.

<sup>23</sup> W. Eilers, “Das Volk der Makā vor und nach den Achämeniden” in H. Koch/D. N. MacKenzie (eds.), *Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte der Achämenidenzeit und ihr Fortleben* (Berlin 1983) 101–119.

<sup>24</sup> Potts, “The location of Iz-ki-e” (as in n. 6) with refs.

<sup>25</sup> de Blois, “Maka and Mazun” (as in n. 6).

## Islands in the *Indika*

**Carnine** (Καρνίνη [Arrian, *Ind.* 26.7], cf. Καρμίννα/Karminna [Cl. Ptolemy, 6.8.16], Κάρμιννα [Steph. Byz.<sup>26</sup>]) – ‘About 100 stadia from the beach [at Kalima] is an island called Karnine’.

*Identifications:* As(h)tola/Astalo/u;<sup>27</sup> Kaheerband.<sup>28</sup>

*Comments:* Vincent raised the possibility that Karnine and Nosala (see below) were identical.<sup>29</sup> Müller<sup>30</sup> and Tomaschek concurred and the latter linked it with the Gedrosian island of Asthaia (Ἀσθαία/ Ἀσθέα/ Ἀσθαῖα/ Ἀσθάλα [Cl. Ptolemy, 6.21.6])<sup>31</sup> or Selera (Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* 3.56).<sup>32</sup> Jacoby argued against this<sup>33</sup> and Schiwek reviewed the arguments once again, concluding that Jacoby’s reasoning was sufficient but not necessary.<sup>34</sup> 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 be in error in distinguishing two islands by the names of Karnine and Nosala.

**Nosala** – (Νόσσαλα [Arrian, *Ind.* 31.1]; cf. Nosora/Νόσορα [Uranius, *Arabica*],<sup>35</sup> Asthaia/Ἀσθαία/ Ἀσθέα/ Ἀσθαῖα/ Ἀσθάλα [Cl. Ptolemy, 6.21.6]) – ‘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

26 A. Meineke, *Stephani Byzantii ethnicorum quae supersunt*, i (Berlin 1849) 360.

27 W. Vincent, *The commerce and navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean* (London 1807) 240; W. Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung der Küstenfahrt Nearchs vom Indus bis zum Euphrat* (Vienna 1890) 24, also known as Nosala; A. Berthelot, “La côte méridionale de l’Iran d’après les géographes grecs” in *Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis* (Toulouse 1935) 14; Schiwek 1962: 56–58; P. H. L. Eggermont, *Alexander’s campaigns in Sind and Baluchistan and the siege of the Brahmin town of Harmatelia* (Leuven 1975) 81.

28 E. Mockler, “On the identification of places on the Makran coast mentioned by Arrian, Ptolemy, and Marcian”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 11 (1879) 134, ‘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’.

29 Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 240, n. 257.

30 C. Müller, *Geographi graeci minores*, i (Paris 1855) 345.

31 All citations from Cl. Ptolemy are drawn from H. Humbach/S. Ziegler, *Ptolemy Geography, Book 6: Middle East, Central and North Asia, China* (Wiesbaden 1998).

32 Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 25.

33 F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, ii.D. Kommentar zu Nr. 106–261* (Berlin 1927) 456–457.

34 Schiwek, “Der Persische Golf” (as in n. 5) 56–58.

35 Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 25.

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’.

*Identifications:* Astola (Ashtola, Astalo, Astâlû, Astôlah, Haptalar [Baluchi], Satadip [Hindi], Sattalaû, Satâlûh).<sup>36</sup>

*Comments:* Located 26 nautical miles from Pasni and 19 nautical miles from Ras Jaddi.<sup>37</sup> Prior to the suppression of the Qawasim (accused by the British of piracy) in 1820, Astola was used by them as a hiding place.<sup>38</sup> Also known as Sungadeep,<sup>39</sup> 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’;<sup>40</sup> visited during the northeast monsoon by fishermen;<sup>41</sup> a Hindu place of pilgrimage, the home of Kali Devi,<sup>42</sup> still regarded with ‘superstitious dread’ by Med fishermen from Makran in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>43</sup> 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 Pasanee [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’; ‘the only island of any size along this coast’.<sup>44</sup> For a long account of Astola and the Hindu mythology associated with it, see Hughes-Buller.<sup>45</sup>

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.<sup>46</sup>

**36** Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 299; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 25; Col. T. H. Holdich, “The Perso-Baluch boundary”, *The Geographical Journal* 9 (1897) 419; R. Hughes-Buller, *Makrán* (Bombay 1906) 277.

**37** Anonymous, *Handbuch des Persischen Golfs* (5<sup>th</sup> ed. Hamburg 1976) 121.

**38** Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 25.

**39** J. Horsburgh, *India Directory, or directions for sailing to and from the East Indies, China, New Holland, Cape of Good Hope, Brazil, and the interjacent ports, compiled chiefly from original journals at the East India House, and from observations and remarks made during twenty-one years experience navigating in those seas* (London 1817) 249.

**40** Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 25; G. F. Dales/C. P. Lipo, *Explorations on the Makran Coast, Pakistan* (Berkeley 1992) 104.

**41** Anonymous, *Handbuch* (as in n. 37) 121.

**42** Hughes-Buller, *Makrán* (as in n. 35) 276–280; cf. Dales/Lipo, *Explorations* (as in n. 40) 264, n. 23.

**43** Col. Sir T. Holdich, *The Indian Borderland, 1880–1900* (London 1901) 206.

**44** Cited in E. H. Bunbury, *A history of ancient geography*, i (London 1879) 532, 547.

**45** Hughes-Buller, *Makrán* (as in n. 35) 276–280.

**46** Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 299.



**Organa** – (Ὀργάνα [Arrian, *Ind.* 37.2; Cl. Ptolemy, 6.7.47]; cf. Turgana [Amm. 23.6.47]; Orgina [Rav. Anon., *Cosmog.* 5.17<sup>47</sup>]; Ogyris/Ὠγυρίς [Strabo, *Geog.* 16.3.5 and 7]; Orgina [Rav. Anon., *Cosmog.* 5.17]) – ‘a rugged and deserted island’

*Identifications:* Jazireh-ye Hormuz;<sup>48</sup> Jazireh-ye Larak<sup>49</sup>

*Comments:* Jazireh-ye Hormuz is located c. 2.5 nautical miles south of the mainland in the Straits of Hormuz.<sup>50</sup> 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).<sup>51</sup>

**Oaracta** – (Ὀάρακτα [Arrian, *Ind.* 37.2; var. Δύρακτα, Δώακτα [Strabo, *Geog.* 16.3.7]; Oracla [Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.28], Δῶρα [Steph. Byz.];<sup>52</sup> Oracea [Rav. Anon., *Cosmog.* 5.17]) – ‘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’.

*Identifications:* Jazireh-ye Qeshm (Arabic Jazira al-Tawila)<sup>53</sup>

*Comments:* The largest island in the Persian Gulf (c. 122 km. long, 18 km. wide on average), Jazireh-ye Qeshm is separated from the mainland by the Straits of Kuran (Clarence Strait) and is about 12 nautical miles south of Bandar

47 J. Schnetz, *Ravennas Anonymus Cosmographia: Eine Erdbeschreibung um das Jahr 700* (Uppsala 1951) 94.

48 B. d’Anville, “Recherches géographiques sur le golfe Persique, et sur les bouches de l’Euphrate et du Tigre”, *Mémoires de littérature, tirés des registres de l’Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 30 (1764) 146; H. K. W. Berghaus, *Geo-hydrographisches Memoir zur Erklärung und Erläuterung der reduzirten Karte vom Persischen Golf* (Gotha 1832) 47; A. Forbiger, *Handbuch der alten Geographie aus den Quellen bearbeitet*, ii (Leipzig 1844) 554; Bunbury, *A history* (as in n. 36) 550, also equating it with Ogyris; Mockler, “On the identification” (as in n. 27) 141; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 38; Schiwiek, “Der Persische Golf” (as in n. 5) 75, n. 561.

49 Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 348.

50 Anonymous, *Handbuch* (as in n. 37) 151.

51 G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge 1905) 319; W. Floor, “Hormuz ii. Islamic period”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 12 (2004) 472.

52 Meineke, *Stephani Byzantii* (as in n. 26) 250–251.

53 d’Anville, “Recherches géographiques” (as in n. 47) 150; Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 348, n. 96; Berghaus, *Geo-hydrographisches Memoir* (as in n. 47) 45; Forbiger, *Handbuch* (as in n. 47) 554; Bunbury, *A history* (as in n. 36) 537; Mockler, “On the identification” (as in n. 27) 141; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 47; G. Hüsing, “Panchaia” in H. Mžik (ed.), *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie, Kulturgeographie, Ethnographie und Kartographie, vornehmlich des Orients* (Leipzig/Vienna 1929) 103; Schiwiek, “Der Persische Golf” (as in n. 5) 75; D. T. Potts, “Qeshm island”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online* (2004).

Abbas.<sup>54</sup> The identification of Qeshm with Oaracta (var. Oracta, Ooracta, Doracta; cf. Strabo, *Geog.* 16.3.7; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 6.98) rests on the testimony of several mediaeval writers (Nimdihi, Samarqandi, Ja'fari),<sup>55</sup> 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 *fā'ida* (‘On islands’) of his *Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī uṣūl al-baḥr wa'l-qawā'id* or ‘the book of profitable things concerning the first principles and rules of navigation’.<sup>56</sup> Slightly later, the Portuguese traveller Pedro Teixeira (1586–1605) called Qeshm ‘the Isle of Queixome, or Broct’<sup>57</sup> and since Bourguignon d’Anville in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century scholars have equated Broct and Oaracta.<sup>58</sup> Broct has been identified with the village of Kusheh in the centre of Qeshm<sup>59</sup> where a shrine to Shaikh al-Barkeh or Barkh exists.<sup>60</sup> In the anonymous, 10<sup>th</sup> century *Livre des merveilles de l’Inde* a Zoroastrian mariner from Siraf named *al-Brukhti* is attested.<sup>61</sup> His *nisbeh* suggests that his family came originally from Broct/Brukht.

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54 Anonymous, *Sailing directions for the Persian Gulf* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Washington 1944) 123. For a lengthy discussion of the island’s history see D. T. Potts, “The Portuguese on Qeshm” in R. Matthee/J. Flores (eds.), *Portugal, the Persian Gulf and Safavid Persia* (Leuven 2011) 99–118.

55 J. Aubin, “Le royaume d’Ormuz au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Mare Luso-Indicum* 2 (1973) 102.

56 G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese, being a translation of Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī uṣūl al-baḥr wa'l-qawā'id of Ahmad b. Majid al-Najdi* (London 1971) 222.

57 W. F. Sinclair, *The Travels of Pedro Teixeira; with his ‘Kings of Harmuz’ and extracts from his ‘Kings of Persia’* (London 1902)161; P. Schwarz, “Hurmuz”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 68 (1914) 534.

58 d’Anville, “Recherches géographiques (as in n. 47) 149; Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 351; Horsburgh, *India Directory* (as in n. 39) 256–257; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 48; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, ii (London 1892) 410; Hüsing, “Panchaia” (as in n. 51) 103; O. Stein, “Ogyris”, *RE* 17 (1937) 2080–2081; G. P. Badger, “Postscript: On the Islands of el-Kais and el-Kishm, and the situation of Sirâf, in the Persian Gulf” in *History of the Imāms and Seyyids of ‘Omān, by Salīl-Ibn-Razīk, from A. D. 661–1856* (London 1871) 419, was wrong when he said that Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 351–352, was the first to identify Qeshm/Broct with Oaracta; that distinction belongs to the great French cartographer Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d’Anville, “Recherches géographiques” (as in n. 47) 149, whom Vincent cited frequently in his work (though not, interestingly, with respect to Oaracta).

59 Aubin, “Le royaume d’Ormuz” 102, n. 148.

60 J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ‘Oman and Central Arabia*, ii (Calcutta 1915) 1553.

61 Aubin, “Le royaume d’Ormuz” (as in n. 53) 102, n. 148.

**‘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’.

*Identifications:* Jazireh-ye Hangam (Angan)<sup>62</sup>

*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.<sup>63</sup> Citing Lt. M’Cluer’s description of an *imamzadeh* on Hangam, 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’.<sup>64</sup>

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

*Identifications:* Jazireh-ye Tanb-e Bozorg (Arabic Jazirat Tunb)/Greater Tunb (Tombo).<sup>65</sup>

*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.<sup>66</sup>

**Pylora** – (Pύλωρα [Arrian, *Ind.* 37.8]) – ‘a desert island’

*Identifications:* Jazireh-ye Farur (Belior, Farûr, Firol, Felur, Firror, Furur, Paliora, Palouro, Paluro, Peloro, Pelur, Pilor, Polior, Pollior)<sup>67</sup>

*Comments:* Jazireh-ye Farur is located about 12.5 nautical miles south-south-west of Ras-e Bostaneh, a few kilometres west of Bandar-e Lengeh.<sup>68</sup> Horsburgh described the island in detail<sup>69</sup> since, although uninhabited in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, it offered shelter from northwesterly winds. Lorimer confirms that the ‘Polior’ of the East India Company records is identical with modern Farur.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>62</sup> d’Anville, “Recherches géographiques” (as in n. 47) 150; Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 354; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 50.

<sup>63</sup> Anonymous, *Sailing directions* (as in n. 52) 124; Anonymous, *Handbuch* (as in n. 37) 156.

<sup>64</sup> Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 355.

<sup>65</sup> d’Anville, “Recherches géographiques” (as in n. 47) 152; Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 356; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 50.

<sup>66</sup> Anonymous, *Sailing directions* (as in n. 52) 129.

<sup>67</sup> d’Anville, “Recherches géographiques” (as in n. 47) 152; Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 359; Berghaus, *Geo-hydrographisches Memoir* (as in n. 47) 43; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 51, giving many more variants, e.g. from the Portuguese sources,

<sup>68</sup> Anonymous, *Handbuch* (as in n. 37) 173.

<sup>69</sup> Horsburgh, *India Directory* (as in n. 39) 260–261.

<sup>70</sup> Lorimer, *Gazetteer* (as in n. 58) 553.

**Cataea** – (Καταία [Arrian, *Ind.* 37.10]; Catag(i)a, [Rav. Anon., *Cosmog.* 5.17]<sup>71</sup>) – ‘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’.

*Identifications:* Kish/Jazireh-ye Qeys (Câez, Cais, Guess, Kaish, Keis, Keish, Ken, Kis, Qais, Quais, Queche, Queis, Zeits)<sup>72</sup>

*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.<sup>73</sup> Allusions to extensive palm gardens on the island in the mediaeval geographical literature suggest it was reasonably well-watered.<sup>74</sup> 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’.<sup>75</sup>

**Caicandrus** – (Καΐκάνδρος [Arrian, *Ind.* 38.2]) – ‘a small desert island’

*Identifications:* Andarvia/Jazireh-ye Hendorabi (Abrûn, Andarûn, Andarâbâ, Andarabym, Andarvia, Andrabè, Andravy, Angarvia, Hindarâbâ, Hinderabi, Hinderabia, Indarawi, Inderabi, Inderabia, Indernea, Indernore, Inderuca);<sup>76</sup> Shitvar (Jazireh-ye Shitvar) or Busheab (Jazireh-ye Lavan)<sup>77</sup>

*Comments:* With the exception of Forbiger, all authorities who have studied Nearchus’ voyage concur that Caicandrus = Jazireh-ye Hendorabi, a small island about 4 nautical miles west-southwest of Sar-e Chiru, between Bandar Charak and Bandar Moqam.<sup>78</sup>

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

71 Schnetz, *Ravennas Anonymus* (as in n. 46) 94.

72 d’Anville, “Recherches géographiques” (as in n. 47) 152; Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 363; Berghaus, *Geo-hydrographisches Memoir* (as in n. 47) 43; Forbiger, *Handbuch* (as in n. 47) 579\*; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 52; Berthelot, “La côte méridionale” (as in n. 26) 16.

73 Anonymous, *Sailing directions* (as in n. 52) 152; Anonymous, *Handbuch* (as in n. 37) 177–78.

74 D. T. Potts, “Kish island” *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online* (2004).

75 Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 364.

76 d’Anville, “Recherches géographiques” (as in n. 47) 155; Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 375; Berghaus, *Geo-hydrographisches Memoir* (as in n. 47) 43; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 54.

77 Forbiger, *Handbuch* (as in n. 47) 579\*.

78 Anonymous, *Sailing directions* (as in n. 52) 152; Anonymous, *Handbuch* (as in n. 37) 180.

*Identifications:* Lara (Ilha del Ara of the Portuguese sources)<sup>79</sup> = Buscheab/Shech-Shaaib;<sup>80</sup> Shitwar<sup>81</sup>

*Comments:* 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.<sup>82</sup> The identity of al-Lar/Lara<sup>83</sup> with Shaikh Shuaib (Busheab, Shaikh Shaib, Shaikh Suaib) was established by Schwarz.<sup>84</sup> On the identity of Busheab/Shaiikh Shaib with Jazireh-ye Lavan, see Tomaschek<sup>85</sup> who noted the village of Gôrât on the south side of Shaikh Abu Shu'aib which is the same as modern Qort on Jazirat-ye Lavan.<sup>86</sup> Jazireh-ye Lavan is an island about 6 nautical miles west-southwest of Ras-e Nakhilu.<sup>87</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century pearl-diving and fishing formed the principal occupations of its inhabitants.<sup>88</sup>

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

*Identifications:* cf. Bandar Madjour (Bandar Ma'shur)<sup>89</sup>, two days journey from Daurak in Khuzestan;<sup>90</sup> Dorghestan;<sup>91</sup> Derah island in Khor Musa;<sup>92</sup> cf. sandbank called Margan at the mouth of the Khor Bahmashîr<sup>93</sup>

*Comments:* Since neither Bandar Ma'shur nor Margan 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 (Ἄροις [*Ind.* 39.9]; possibly the Jarrahi), it must remain conjectural. Lorimer described Derah (Dairah) as ‘a low swampy island’.<sup>94</sup> Could Margastana be related to Yaqut's *Mokharzi*, the

79 d'Anville, “Recherches géographiques” (as in n. 47) 155–156.

80 Berghaus, *Geo-hydrographisches Memoir* (as in n. 47) 42–43; Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 55.

81 Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 377.

82 Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 55.

83 Aubin, “Le royaume d'Ormuz” (as in n. 53) 101.

84 Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* (1910, as in n. 19) 87; cf. B. J. Slot, *The Arabs of the Gulf, 1602–1784* (Leidschendam 1993) 21.

85 Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 55.

86 Anonymous, *Handbuch* (as in n. 37) 180; cf. Lorimer, *Gazetteer* (as in n. 58) 1813; Le Strange, *The Lands* (as in n. 50) 261.

87 Anonymous, *Sailing directions* (as in n. 52) 154; Anonymous, *Handbuch* (as in n. 37) 179.

88 Lorimer, *Gazetteer* (as in n. 58) 1814.

89 J. R. Perry, “The Banu Ka'b: An ambitious brigand state in Khuzistan”, *Le monde Iranien et l'Islam* 1 (1971) 132

90 d'Anville, “Recherches géographiques” (as in n. 47) 169.

91 Vincent, *The commerce and navigation* (as in n. 26) 426

92 Lt. Col. Chesney, *The Expedition for the survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, ii (London 1850) 355.

93 Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 73.

94 Lorimer, *Gazetteer* (as in n. 58) 1277.

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?<sup>95</sup> 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 (Daurakistan), noting, ‘The name is not in common use’.<sup>96</sup> According to Yaqut, Daurakistan was a place where ships coming from India anchored, while Qazwini described it as an island between the Persian Gulf and the rivers of ‘Askara Mukram’.<sup>97</sup> This is the island meant by Vincent. Margastana should certainly not be compared with mediaeval *Mugistan*, a region which was much further east that included Jask.<sup>98</sup>

## 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): ?

<sup>95</sup> Col. Sir H. C. Rawlinson, “Notes on the Ancient Geography of Mohamrah and the vicinity”, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 27 (1857) 189.

<sup>96</sup> Lorimer, *Gazetteer* (as in n. 58) 492.

<sup>97</sup> Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* (1921, as in n. 19) 376–377.

<sup>98</sup> Aubin, “Le royaume d’Ormuz” (as in n. 53) 107 and n. 173.

## Indigenous Islanders and the *topos of anaspastoi*

In comparison with the islands on the Arabian side of the Persian Gulf (Failaka/Ikaros; Bahrain/Tylos), little is known about the inhabitants of the islands of the XIVth satrapy. Nevertheless, 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 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 islanders from the hot, humid Persian Gulf wore the same sort of clothing as the Medes of the Iranian Plateau. As fishermen, sailors and pearl divers who may have practiced a bit of horticulture on the side (e.g. on Oaracta), the likelihood that their dress and weaponry closely resembled that of the Medes seems remote. Rather, one might suggest that Herodotus was conveying information not on what the islanders wore in their native habitat, but rather on what they wore in battle at Doriscus. In other words, the Erythraean Sea islanders may well have been outfitted for battle with Median gear which they might otherwise never have seen, let alone worn, in their native environment.<sup>99</sup> 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.* 3.8.5) but he never actually says that they came from the islands, and the tribes in question could just as well have come from the mainland bordering the Persian Gulf.

But as Herodotus twice indicated (*Hist.* 3.93, 7.80) there were others on some of these islands who were not indigenous. These are the *anaspastoi*, those ‘dispossessed’ or ‘deportees’ whom the king had banished to the islands. Schiwiek disputed the possibility that the islands could have been regularly used to intern prisoners.<sup>100</sup> 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 and integrated fiscally into the Achaemenid empire, and the episodic use of the islands as loci of internal exile.

<sup>99</sup> W. Henkelman (pers. comm.) questions whether ‘Median’ here might not be a reference to the generalised Iranian riding costume, as opposed to ‘Persian’ (Elamite?) dress?

<sup>100</sup> Schiwiek, “Der Persische Golf” (as in n. 5) 17, ‘Die Tatsache aber, daß diese Inseln Abgaben entrichten, die nicht unbedeutend waren, und nennenswerte Truppenkontingente stellen, be-rechtigt zu dem Schluß, daß sie eine beträchtliche Bevölkerung aufwiesen, verwaltungstechnisch erschlossen waren und in enger Schiffsverbindung mit dem persischen Festland standen’.

The practice of banishment to the Erythraean Sea should not be confused with the deportation of foreign prisoners-of-war *en masse*.<sup>101</sup> Of the latter practice we have ample evidence, e.g. 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 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), Boeotians to the Tigris area (Diodorus 17.110) and Carians to Babylonia (?) (Arrian, *Anab.* 3.8.5, 3.11.5); and Artaxerxes III's deportation of Sidonians to Susa and Babylon.<sup>102</sup> These are mainly instances of the deportation of foreign captives, whereas the *anaspastoi* in the Persian Gulf seem to have been enemies of the state from within the Achaemenid empire. Xenophon also used the term in describing 'others ... kidnapped on account of their wisdom, and hauled off to the great King's court' to 'live in slavery there' (*Memorabilia* 4.2.33), but these were clearly a different category altogether.

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 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<sup>103</sup> but no simple

**101** A. S. Shahbazi, "Deportations i. In the Achaemenid period", *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 7 (1996) 297.

**102** A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles* (Locust Valley 1975) 114.

**103** Bunbury, *A history* (as in n. 36) 544–546; P. Goukowsky, "Les juments du Roi Érythras", *Revue des Études grecques* 87 (1974) 122.



calculation 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.<sup>104</sup> Sprenger, however, in part following Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 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.<sup>105</sup> Goukowsky, suggesting that Strabo confused the island to which Mithropastes was banished with the island in which Erythras was buried (i.e. Oaracta/Qeshm), proposed that the small island of Larak, off the east coast of Qeshm to the south of Hormuz, may have been ancient Ogyris,<sup>106</sup> while admitting, 'il est vain de prétendre localiser Ogyris, puisque les données contradictoires de la tradition ne le permettent pas'.<sup>107</sup> Jacoby, on the other hand, suggested that Arrian had abbreviated Nearchus' report, omitting the notice on Ogyris, and at the same time incorrectly linking the Erythras story with Oaracta.<sup>108</sup>

If we set aside the confusion over where Erythras was buried, the passage still contains 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',<sup>109</sup> 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' (*Geog.* 16.3.5). Strabo continues:

**104** E.g. Bunbury, *A history* (as in n. 36) 550.

**105** A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens* (Bern 1875) 100; O. Stein, "Oaracta", *RE* 17 (1937a) 1679–1680; Schiwek, "Der Persische Golf" (as in n. 5) 75.

**106** Goukowsky, "Les juments" (as in n. 101) 122, n. 54.

**107** Goukowsky, "Les juments" (as in n. 101) 123.

**108** Jacoby, *Die Fragmente* (as in n. 32) 460; endorsed by Schiwek, "Der Persische Golf" (as in n. 5) 75, n. 567; A. B. Bosworth, *Alexander and the East: The tragedy of triumph* (Oxford 1996) 68, n. 7.

**109** A. B. Bosworth, *Alexander and the East: The tragedy of triumph* (Oxford 1996) 66; cf. Goukowsky, "Les juments" (as in n. 101) 122; J.-F. Salles, "Les Achéménides dans le Golfe arabo-persique", in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg/A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History IV. Centre and periphery* (Leiden 1990) 116.

'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 his place of exile on 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'.<sup>110</sup> The geographical extent of Mazenes' jurisdiction is unclear but it is likely that, as in other satrapies, sub-regions were governed by hyparchs.<sup>111</sup> In the case of Mazenes, however, there is a complicating factor since, upon landing at Harmozia 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,<sup>112</sup> others believe that he was subordinate to Astaspes, the satrap of Karmania, who was in turn subordinate to the satrap of Persis.<sup>113</sup>

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.

**110** Petit, *Satrapes et satrapies* (as in n. 1) 214; Briant, *Histoire* (as in n. 8) 779; Bosworth, *Alexander* (as in n. 107) 66.

**111** S. Sherwin-White/A. Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis: A new approach to the Seleucid empire* (London 1993) 46.

**112** Petit, *Satrapes et satrapies* (as in n. 108) 214.

**113** Jacobs, *Die Satrapieverwaltung* (as in n. 1) 206.

## 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/Qeshm 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,<sup>114</sup> 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:

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114 W. H. Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea, east and west, and of the great islands therein, by Marcian of Heraclea* (Philadelphia 1927) 6.

## 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’.<sup>115</sup> Tomaschek identified this with Bannah, noting the variant Tabiana (Ταβίανα) in Cl. Ptolemy, which recalled the name of the river Tab, now known as the Jarrahi.<sup>116</sup>

## Coast of Persis

**Sophtha:** ‘From Cape Taoce to the mouths of the river Rhogomanis 700 stadia. In this course lies an island called Sophtha’.<sup>117</sup> This was identified with Kharg by Berghaus<sup>118</sup> and Khargu by Steve.<sup>119</sup>

**Alexandri:** ‘From the river Rhogomanis to a peninsula 500 stadia. Opposite this is an island called Alexandri’.<sup>120</sup> Bushehr.<sup>121</sup>

## Coast of Karmania

**Agedana:** ‘[From the river Cathrapis] 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’.<sup>122</sup> Larak?<sup>123</sup>

**Oorachtha:** ‘From the river Achidana to the mouths of the river Andanis 500 stadia. Near this coast is the island of Oorachtha’.<sup>124</sup> Qeshm.

<sup>115</sup> Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea* (as in n. 111) 20.

<sup>116</sup> Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 72–73.

<sup>117</sup> Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea* (as in n. 111) 21.

<sup>118</sup> Berghaus, *Geo-hydrographisches Memoir* (as in n. 47) 37.

<sup>119</sup> M.-J. Steve, *L'île de Kharg: Une page de l'histoire du Golfe persique et du monachisme oriental* (Neuchâtel 2003) 8.

<sup>120</sup> Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea* (as in n. 111) 21.

<sup>121</sup> W. Henkelman, pers. comm.

<sup>122</sup> Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea* (as in n. 111) 22.

<sup>123</sup> Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 47.

<sup>124</sup> Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea* (as in n. 111) 22.

**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?].'<sup>125</sup>

**Pola:** 'From the port of Cyiza to Cape Alambater 400 stadia. Off shores from these places lies an island called Pola [Polla?].'<sup>126</sup>

**Carmina:** 'From Cape Alambater to Derenobilla 250 stadia. Off shore lies an island called Carmina'.<sup>127</sup> Cf. Karnine (Arrian, *Ind.* 26.7).<sup>128</sup>

In summarising the 'sailing-course along Persis', Marcian included 'two notable islands', and in his summary of the 'sailing-course of Karmania', he mentioned 'five notable islands'. In his summary of the coast of Susiana he included 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.<sup>129</sup> 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'.<sup>130</sup> This radical suggestion was prompted almost entirely by the interpretation of a cartou-

125 Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea* (as in n. 111) 22.

126 Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea* (as in n. 111) 23.

127 Schoff, *Periplus of the Outer Sea* (as in n. 111) 23.

128 Tomaschek, *Topographische Erläuterung* (as in n. 26) 24.

129 E.g. G. R. D. King, *Abu Dhabi Islands Archaeological Survey, Season 1: An archaeological survey of Sir Banī Yās, Dalmā and Marawah (21<sup>st</sup> March to 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1992)* (London 1998); G. R. D. King/C. Tonghini, "The western islands of Abu Dhabi Emirate: Notes on Gagha", in C. S. Phillips/D. T. Potts/S. Searight (eds.), *Arabia and its neighbours: Essays on prehistorical and historical developments presented in honour of Beatrice de Cardi*. (Turnhout 1998) 117–142.

130 J.-F. Salles, "Antique maritime channels from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean", in C. Guillot/D. Lombard/R. Ptak (eds.), *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea: Miscellaneous notes* (Wiesbaden 1998) 53.

che accompanying one of the stylised depictions of subject peoples on the base of the statue of Darius from Susa which reads *hgr*.<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> 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, and the only evidence from Failaka (ancient Ikaros), off the coast of Kuwait, consists of numerous horse-and-rider clay figurines of a type which spans the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods found at Tell Khazneh.<sup>133</sup>

The suggestion that an Achaemenid governor was present on Bahrain is, however, worth pursuing. It is well known that a Babylonian official (*“pihatu”*), possibly a governor, is attested in Dilmun (Bahrain) in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Nabonidus.<sup>134</sup> 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,<sup>135</sup> where a glass seal with an Achaemenid ‘court style’ contest scene showing a royal hero battling a lion<sup>136</sup> 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’.<sup>137</sup> 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

131 J. Yoyotte, “Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques: Darius et l’Égypte”, *Journal Asiatique* 260 (1972) 258.

132 D. F. Graf, “Arabia during Achaemenid times” in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg/A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History IV. Centre and periphery*. Leiden 1990) 144.

133 J.-F. Salles, Tell Khazneh: Les figurines en terre cuite”, in Y. Calvet and J.-F. Salles (eds.), *Failaka fouilles françaises 1984–1985* (Lyon 1986) 143–2000. Cf. D. T. Potts, “The archaeology and early history of the Persian Gulf”, in L. G. Potter (ed.), *The Persian Gulf in history* (New York 2009) 38;

134 K. Kessler, “Zu den keilschriftlichen Quellen des 2./1. Jahrtausends v. Chr. über Dilmun” in D. T. Potts (ed.), *Dilmun: New studies in the archaeology and early history of Bahrain*. Berlin 1983) 152.

135 F. Højlund/H. H. Andersen, *Qala’at al-Bahrain vol.2. The central monumental buildings* (Aarhus 1997) 87 ff.

136 P. Kjærsum, “Stamp seals and seal impressions” in F. Højlund/H. H. Andersen, *Qala’at al-Bahrain vol. 2. The central monumental buildings*. Aarhus 1997) 163–164, Fig. 734.

137 F. Højlund/H. H. Andersen, *Qala’at al-Bahrain vol. 1. The northern city wall and the Islamic fortress* (Aarhus 1994) 478.

east'.<sup>138</sup> 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.<sup>139</sup> However, given its fame as a center of pearl-diving, Bahrain would have made a very handy addition, fiscally speaking, to the XIVth satrapy.

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**138** Højlund/Andersen, *Qala'at al-Bahrain* (as in n. 133) 479.

**139** For a discussion of the arguments and counter-arguments in this debate, see D. T. Potts, "Achaemenid interests in the Persian Gulf", in J. Curtis and St. J. Simpson (eds.), *The world of Achaemenid Persia* (London 2010) 523–533.