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THE COURT OF CYRUS THE YOUNGER IN ANATOLIA: SOME REMARKS

Abstract: Cyrus the Younger (born in 424/423 BC, died in 401 BC), son of the Great King Darius II (424/423-404 BC) and Queen Parysatis, is well known from his activity in Anatolia. In 408 BC he took power there as a *karanos* (Old Persian **kārana-*, Greek *κάρανος*), a governor of high rank with extensive military and political competence reporting directly to the Great King. Holding his power in Anatolia, Cyrus had his own court there, in many respects modeled after the Great King's court. The aim of this article is to show some aspects of functioning and organization of Cyrus the Younger's court in Anatolia.

Keywords: Cyrus the Younger; court; court's staff and protocol

In 408¹, Cyrus, commonly known as the Younger (424/423-401), son of the Great King Darius II (424/423-404), was appointed by his father to rule over an important part of the Achaemenid Empire, Anatolia. Cyrus wielded his power there as *karanos* (Old Persian **kārana-*, Greek *κάρανος*), a high-ranking governor with extensive military and political competence, reporting directly to the Great King (see Podrazik 2018, 69-83; cf. Barkworth 1993, 150-151; Debord 1999, 122-123; Briant 2002, 19, 321, 340, 600, 625-626, 878, 1002; Hyland 2013, 2-5).

Cyrus held his own court while in Anatolia. The court was organized along the lines of the King's court, but was certainly no match for it

¹ All dates in the article pertain to the events before the birth of Christ except where otherwise stated.

in terms of scale. The main factors of Cyrus' Anatolian rule were focused within his court, with its proper organization in the hands of numerous staff. Cyrus' close and trusted companions were an integral part of the court. The purpose of this article is to examine, as far as possible, some aspects of the functioning and organization of the court of Cyrus the Younger in Anatolia, in the context of what is known about the Achaemenid court in general.

Residences

As we can infer from accounts of Xenophon (ca. 430-353) and Plutarch (ca. 50-120), the main residence of Cyrus the Younger while he ruled in Anatolia was most likely located in Sardis (see Fig. 1), the capital city of the Achaemenid satrapy of Lydia, within the walls of a local palace. Regarding the arrival of Lysander in Ionia (407), Xenophon claims that the Lacedaemonians waited in Ephesus for Cyrus, who was heading west to Sardis. When Cyrus arrived, Lysander and the Lacedaemonian envoys went to Sardis to meet the Persian prince (Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.1). As well, Callicratidas, Lysander's successor as the commander of the Lacedaemonian fleet, went to Sardis (406) to meet Cyrus (Plut. *Mor.* 222C; see also Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 6.1.5). The same city was the place of another meeting between Cyrus and Lysander (most probably in 405) (Xen. *Oec.* 4.20; for dating, see Podrazik 2018, 132-136; cf. Pomeroy 1994b, 251); it took place in a park (Iranian **paridaiza*, Greek *παράδεισος* (Pomeroy 1994a, 9; see also Tuplin 1996, 93; Fakour 2000) in the city. Also Xenophon went to Sardis to meet the Persian prince (401) (Xen. *Anab.* 3.1.8). And finally it was the city whence Cyrus set out on his armed expedition (401) against the Great King, and his older brother, Artaxerxes II (404-359) (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.5).

On becoming part of the Achaemenid Empire (ca. 547), Sardis took its place as one of its most important centers, and also as the residence of Achaemenid governors of satrapy of Lydia. Their actual place of residence was the local palace, perhaps the same where the Lydian King Croesus (ca. 560-547) had previously resided. Neither this palace nor archives of Sardis of the Persian era, surely then existing, have yet been discovered (see Dusinberre 2003, 24, 31, 47-56, 73-76; Dusinberre 2013, 43, 95-97).

Ruling in Anatolia Cyrus the Younger also spent time in Kelainai (see Pl. 1), the capital city of the Achaemenid satrapy of Great Phrygia (see Podrazik 2018, 28, 86-88), where he had his palace and a large park with wild animals which he hunted as a training for him and his horses

(Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.7;² see also Sekunda 1991, 119; Tuplin 2011, 75-77, 84). That palace most likely served as a continuous residence of Achaemenid governors of Great Phrygia (see Sebeok 1991, 119, 121-122; Tuplin 2011, 84). Archaeological research to date has not yet located this palace; it is surmised to be located in the eastern vicinities of the city (see von Kienlin 2011, 217; von Kienlin *et al.* 2013, 251-252).

The palaces of governors of the Achaemenid satrapies were, as it may be supposed, modeled after the palaces of the Great King (see Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.10; Briant 2002, 347; Tuplin 2010, 189 with note 2). The structure of their courts and the lifestyle within their governors' residences also in many respects imitated the King's patterns (see Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.10-16; Dandamayev 1993; Briant 2002, 345-347, 403, also 194-195; Henkelman 2010, 712; Miller 2011, 336; Llewellyn-Jones 2013, 6, 33).

One of the customs of the Achaemenid Great King was seasonal movement between the capitals of the Empire. In the year the King spent his time in four capitals: Babylon, Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana, traveling to those cities in different seasons. During his travels the King was accompanied by his court (see Cook 1985, 237-238; Dandamayev 1993; Miller 1997, 125; Briant 2002, 186-191, *passim*; Olbrycht 2010, 102; Tuplin 2010, 191-193; Llewellyn-Jones 2013, 74, 79-92; also Henkelman 2010, 674-675, 713-731). It is not unlikely that Cyrus the Younger took up this custom within Anatolia, moving between the capital cities of his subordinate Anatolian satrapies. The main residences were Sardis and Kelainai.

Bureaucratic staff

The court of Cyrus the Younger, like that of the Great King, certainly had a large bureaucratic staff to ensure efficient organization and proper functioning of the court. At one of his meetings with Lysander in Sardis (405), Cyrus presented him with the expenses thus far incurred for maintaining the Peloponnesian fleet (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.11³). This suggests the presence of scribes at Cyrus' court, responsible for keeping accounts.

² ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευνεν ἀπὸ ἵππων, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιοτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. Here and further in the article Greek fragments and translation of Xenophon's *Anabasis* according to: Xenophon, *Anabasis*, trans. C. L. Brownson, revised by J. Dillery. Cambridge MA – London 2001.

³ ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κύρῳ χρήματα ἤτει· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἴη, καὶ ἔτι πλείω πολλῶν, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι (...). Here and further in the article Greek fragments and translation of Xenophon's *Hellenika* according to: Xenophon, *Hellenika I-II.3.10*, trans. P. Krentz. Warminster 1993.

Certainly other data, related to various aspects of the court's functioning and organization, were recording as well, and the documentation was probably stored in the palace archives in Sardis. With regard to Cyrus' expedition against Artaxerxes in 401, among Cyrus' entourage Xenophon mentions a Persian named Megaphernes. He is described by the Athenian historian as *φοινικιστῆς βασιλείος* (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.20), which in the Achaemenid context most probably meant a function of scribe or secretary (see Lewis 1977, 25 footnote 143; Tuplin 2004, 158; Lee 2016, 109; Tuplin 2017, 617).⁴

Archaeological research in Sardis provided more than 30 Achaemenid seals, found in local tombs. Their dating is not specified; they differ in shape, the material from which they were made, and the motifs depicted on them (see Dusinberre 2013, 67-71; also Dusinberre 2003, 158-171, 264-283, Figs. 73-103). It is not unlikely that they were used in bureaucratic practices, serving to sign documents. The use of seals in bureaucratic activities is relatively well-recognized in nearby Daskyleion, the capital city of the Achaemenid satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia. They were imprinted on lumps of clay (so-called *bullae*) applied to rolled-up documents for authorization. The documents were most likely made on papyrus or parchment and were apparently stored in a local archive (see Kaptan 2002a, 9-10, 12-27; Kaptan 2007, 279-282; Miller 2011, 320-321; Dusinberre 2013, 65-67). Similar procedures were followed at the court of Cyrus the Younger.

We know of numerous staff involved in the organization of various sections of the court of the Achaemenid Great King (see Cook 1985, 235-236; Dandamayev 1993; Briant 2002, 255-259, *passim*; Henkelman 2010, 671-672; Llewellyn-Jones 2013, 30-32, 34-35, 41). The Persepolis Fortification Tablets (PFT) and Persepolis Treasury Tablets (PTT) indicate high scrupulousness of officials of the King's bureaucratic system (see Hallock 1985, 588-594, 599-609; Henkelman 2010, 667-682, *passim*; also Kaptan 2002a, 17-19; Kaptan 2007, 276-277). We may suppose that it was no different among officials of the court of Cyrus the Younger. In addition to the scribes mentioned above, other bureaucratic workers were most likely employed there, as well as a numerous other staff, ensuring the proper organization and functioning of Cyrus' court.

⁴ Lewis (1977) writes about a scribe; Tuplin (2004) about a 'secretary'; Lee (2016) about the royal secretary; Tuplin (2017) notes that we should not ascribe '(...) special significance to the word «royal»', i.e. *βασιλείος*.

Audiences and court protocol

Audiences regulated by court protocol took place at the court of Cyrus the Younger. This is indicated by Xenophon and Plutarch, who report on a visit to Sardis by the Lacedaemonian commander Callicratidas (406), who intended to meet Cyrus to obtain funds to maintain the ships under his command (see Podrazik 2018, 123-128).

According to Xenophon, after reaching the court of Cyrus Callicratidas was informed that he would have to wait two days to meet the Persian prince (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.6). This meeting did not come to pass, as Cyrus continued to postpone an audience with Callicratidas (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.10). Annoyed and enraged by the situation, the Lacedaemonian commander left Sardis, giving up on his efforts to meet with the Persian prince (Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.7, 1.6.10).

Plutarch provides a similar but more comprehensive account. According to him, after Callicratidas arrived at Cyrus's court in Sardis:

(...) ordered word to be sent in that Callicratidas the admiral was come and wished to confer with him [with Cyrus – M.P.]. And when one of the door-keepers said to him: “But Cyrus is not at leisure now, Stranger, for he is at his wine”; Callicratidas replied with the utmost simplicity: “No matter, I will stand here and wait till he has had his wine.” This time, then, he merely withdrew, after being taken for a rustic fellow and laughed at by the Barbarians [i.e. Asiatics – M.P.]. But when he was come a second time to the door and was refused admittance, he was indignant, and set off for Ephesus (...).⁵

From the above passage, it appears that Callicratidas twice attempted to obtain an audience with Cyrus. Both the first and second attempts were unsuccessful, so he left the capital of Lydia (see also Plut. *Mor.* 222C-D).

Comparing the above information provided by Xenophon and Plutarch, concerning the visit of Callicratidas in Sardis, we may conclude that they complement each other. Callicratidas took being forced to wait for

⁵ Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 6.5-6: (...) φράζειν προσέταξεν ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας ὁ ναύαρχος ἦκει διαλεχθῆναι βουλόμενος αὐτῷ. τῶν δ' ἐπὶ θύραις τινὸς εἰπόντος, “Ἄλλ' οὐ σχολὴ νῦν, ὃ ξένη, Κύρῳ· πίνει γάρ,” ἀφελέστατά πως ὁ Καλλικρατίδας, “Οὐδέν,” ἔφη, “δεινόν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἐστὼς ἀναμενῶ, μέχρι πίῃ.” τότε μὲν οὖν δόξας ἀγροϊκὸς τις εἶναι καὶ καταγελασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπῆλθεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ δευτέρον ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ θύρας οὐ παρείθη, βαρέως ἐνεγκὼν εἰς Ἑφεσον ᾗχετο (...). Here and further in the article Greek fragments and translation of Plutarch's *Lysandros* according to: Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives* in eleven vols., vol. IV, trans. B. Perrin. Cambridge MA – London 1959.

an audience as a personal insult, and thus abandoned his intention of meeting the Persian prince and left Sardis (see Podrazik 2018, 123-124, 126).

According to Plutarch's account, before he left Cyrus' court Callicratidas had a conversation with one of the court's door-keepers. It suggests that the door-keeper had at least some knowledge of Greek, or that an interpreter was present. As Cyrus the Younger had relatively frequent contacts with Greeks (see Podrazik 2018), there were certainly some individuals at his court who knew both Persian and Greek. Their presence facilitated the functioning of court protocol and meetings with the Greeks held at the court. A Greek-speaking interpreter (Greek *ἐρμηνεύς*), named Pigres, was present in Cyrus' entourage in the context of the events of 401 (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.17, 1.8.12). By origin, he was presumably Carian (see Cousin 1905, 123; Braun 2004, 120; Manning 2013, 82). At that time there were also other interpreters in the Persian prince's entourage, of which nothing else is known (see Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.12; Cousin 1905, 122-123; Gehman 1914, 9-11).

In accounts of Xenophon and Plutarch there is a mention of Cyrus the Younger having a throne of gold and silver. We are informed that he was willing to use this throne, or rather its precious metals, to finance military operations in the ongoing Ionian War (Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.3;⁶ Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 9.1;⁷ Podrazik 2018, respectively: 110-112, 132-133 and footnote 29). Despite the rather anecdotal nature of these accounts, it seems most credible that Cyrus owned a throne of this kind, and probably sat on it while receiving audiences at his court.⁸ It could have been a throne similar to that depicted on reliefs presenting an audience with the Great King from the palace complex in Persepolis (see Pl. 2). An audience scene showing the enthroned Great King is also known from Anatolia, from depictions on the stamps of cylindrical seals from Daskyleion (DS 4) (see Kaptan 2002a, 28, 31-40, 113-115; Kaptan 2002b, 50-55, 165-168, Pls. 47-59; Miller 2002, with Pl. I).

In Xenophon's *Hellenika*, there is an information telling that Cyrus the Younger condemned to death his two cousins, Autoboisakes and Mitraios, sons of Darius II's sister (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.8-9). They were executed:

(...) because when they met him [Cyrus – M.P.] they did not push their hands through the long-sleeved garment known as the *kore*,

⁶ (...) καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' οὗ ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν.

⁷ κατακόψειν ἔφη τὸν θρόνον ἐφ' ᾧ καθήμενος ἐχρημάτιζε, χρυσοῦν καὶ ἀργυροῦν ὄντα.

⁸ Briant 2002, 347: '(...) when Cyrus the Younger received people in his palace at Sardis, he was seated on a chair of gold and silver (...)'.

which they do only for the King. (The *kore* is longer than the *cheiris*; whoever has a hand in the *kore* cannot do anything).⁹

The above fragment is seen as a later interpolation in the work of Xenophon, perhaps originating from *Persika* of Ctesias (ca. 440-380) (see Krentz 1993, 108-109, 172; Briant 2002, 262; Braun 2004, 122-123; Kuhrt 2007, 354; Podrazik 2018, 151-152), the court physician of Artaxerxes II. It does not change the fact that the event in question, namely Cyrus condemning Autoboisakes and Mitraios to death, did most likely happen. It took place probably in Anatolia, several months before the death of Darius II (404) (see Podrazik 2018, 149-153).

As the quoted fragment indicates, Cyrus decision for the execution of Autoboisakes and Mitraios was motivated by the fact that when they met him they did not make a gesture of inserting their hands into the long sleeves of their robes. It was probably treated as their failure to comply with the requirements of the court protocol in force in the presence of Cyrus, thus they were condemned to death. It was a gesture made for the Great King mainly because of his safety, for with one's hands tucked into long sleeves it would be difficult to attempt an attack on the monarch. It could also have been a gesture of obedience to the Great King. Undoubtedly, this gesture was a part of the court protocol in force in the presence of the King (see Cousin 1905, 32; Cook 1985, 230; Krentz 1993, 172; Briant 2002, 262; Tuplin 2010, 199 and footnotes 28, 221). As the quoted fragment indicates, it was also valid at the court of Cyrus.

‘Friends’

The entourage of Cyrus the Younger included his ‘Friends’. Greek authors mention them, referring to them with the Greek term *φίλος* (pl. *φίλοι*). In the Achaemenid context, this term should be considered as a highly prestigious title within the court nomenclature (see Wiesehöfer 1980, 11-15, 17-19; Briant 2002, 308-309; Olbrycht 2010, 107; Llewellyn-Jones 2013, 32, 134-135; Podrazik 2018, 114-115). Greek sources many times mention the Great King's *φίλοι*. It is known that it was not a lifelong title, since one could be excluded from the circle of the King's ‘Friends’ (see Diod. 15.11.2; Wiesehöfer 1980, 12, 15; Llewellyn-Jones 2013, 135).

⁹ Xen. Hell. 2.1.8: (...) ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνον· ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρίς, ἐν ᾗ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι.

The title of ‘Friend’ of Cyrus the Younger was certainly held by Ariaeus (Plut. *Vit. Art.* 11.1¹⁰ (= Ctes. *Pers.* F. 20); see also Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.31, 2.5.39; Xen. *Oec.* 4.19). He was Cyrus’ lieutenant (Greek *ὑπαρχος*) and a person whom the Persian prince held in high esteem (Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.5,¹¹ 3.2.5¹²). In the battle of Cunaxa Ariaeus commanded the left flank of Cyrus’ troops (Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.5, 1.9.31; Xen. *Oec.* 4.19; Diod. 14.22.5¹³).

Among Cyrus’ ‘Friends’ undoubtedly belonged also Tissaphernes (Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.2¹⁴). This referred to the period preceding the death of Darius II (404) (see Podrazik 2018, 81, 152, 160). It was noted above that one could be excluded from ‘Friends’ of the Great King, and the same was probably in regards to ‘Friends’ of Cyrus. When relations between him and Tissaphernes became hostile (see Podrazik 2018, 158-161), the latter was most likely excluded from the Persian prince’s ‘Friends’.

The title of ‘Friend’ of Cyrus was also held by an Egyptian Tamos (Diod. 14.19.6¹⁵). It is known that Cyrus appointed him a governor within his Anatolian rule (401) (Diod. 14.19.6, cf. 14.35.3). He also entrusted him with command of the fleet involved in the military campaign against Artaxerxes (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.21, 1.4.2; cf. Diod. 14.19.5).

Also some selected Greeks were probably included among Cyrus’ ‘Friends’. One of them was most likely Lysander (see Podrazik 2018, 114-115, 130-131). Likewise the Lacedaemonian Clearchus, one of the Greek commanders in Cyrus’ army marching against Artaxerxes, probably held the title. He was the only Greek to participate in the trial of Orontas, a high-ranking Persian, sentenced to death on charges of plotting against Cyrus for Artaxerxes (in 401, shortly before the battle of Cunaxa) (Xen. *Anab.* 1.6.1-11, 1.9.29). When the trial was going on, Cyrus, according to Xenophon’s report, referring to the account of Clearchus, addressed the gathered people

¹⁰ (...) *Ἀριαῖος ὁ Κύρου φίλος* (...). Plutarch, *Plutarch’s Lives* in eleven vols., vol. XI, trans. B. Perrin. London – Cambridge MA 1954.

¹¹ (...) *Ἀριαῖός (... ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος* (...).

¹² (...) *Ἀριαῖός (... ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος* (...).

¹³ Appears as Aridaios.

¹⁴ *ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον* (...).

¹⁵ *Κῦρος (...) κατέστησεν (...) Ταμώ, φίλον μὲν ὄντα πιστόν* (...). Diodorus of Sicily in twelve vols., vol. VI (Books XIV-XV.19), trans. C. H. Oldfather. London – Cambridge MA 1954.

as ‘Friends’ (Xen. *Anab.* 1.6.5-6¹⁶). This must have applied as well to Clearchus, who was participating in the event (see also Xen. *Anab.* 1.3.5, 1.6.9-10, 2.5.11).

Seven Persian dignitaries, whose identity was not determined by Xenophon, also participated in the trial of Orontas (Xen. *Anab.* 1.6.4¹⁷). According to Xenophon’s account, the term of ‘Friends’ used by Cyrus when the trial was going on referred to those dignitaries as well (Xen. *Anab.* 1.6.4-10). One of them could be Ariaeus, who, as noted above, belonged among the Persian prince’s ‘Friends’.

Cyrus was concerned about maintaining good relations and proper cooperation with his ‘Friends’ (Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.20-21). It is known that he would talk to them in front of many people to demonstrate in public his respect for them (Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.28¹⁸). We also know of a generous gifts he lavished upon them (Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.22-23¹⁹), among them probably elements of attire, for he maintained that the greatest ornament for a man are his finely clothed ‘Friends’ (Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.23). Certainly, they were prestigious gifts, being for their recipients a sign of their belonging to Cyrus’ closest entourage.

The gifts Cyrus offered to Syennesis, the ruler of Cilicia (401), included: ‘(...) a horse with a gold-mounted bridle, a gold necklace and bracelets, a gold dagger and a Persian robe (...)’ (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.27²⁰). They were gifts ‘(...) regarded at court as tokens of honour (...)’ (Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.27²¹). It is not unlikely that the gifts were intended to include Syennesis among ‘Friends’ of the Persian prince.

Cyrus often sent food items to his ‘Friends’, among them wine, goose meat and bread. They had been partially consumed by him, as we are informed of the half-emptied jar of wine, ‘(...) halves of geese and of loaves (...)’ (Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.25-26²²). This was presumably a kind

¹⁶ (...) *Κῶρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὦδε. Παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι (...).*

¹⁷ (...) *Πέρσας τοὺς ἀρίστους (...) ἐπτά (...).*

¹⁸ *καὶ πλεῖστοι μέλλοιεν ὀψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὥς δηλοίῃ οὖς τιμᾶ.*

¹⁹ (...) *φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι.*

²⁰ (...) *ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτὸν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν (...).*

²¹ (...) *δῶρα ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια (...).*

²² (...) *ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεεῖς πολλάκις (...) πολλάκις δὲ χήνας ἡμιβρότους ἔπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεια (...).*

of gesture of Cyrus towards his ‘Friends’, to symbolize the closeness of their mutual relations (see Braun 2004, 108, 120). Among the other products he gave to his ‘Friends’ was fodder for their horses (Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.27²³).

According to Xenophon, ‘Friends’ of Cyrus fought alongside him at the battle of Cunaxa, and fell there fighting to defend him and his corpse (Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.31; Xen. *Oec.* 4.19). The Athenian historian does not specify their identity, but it is known that neither Ariaeus nor Clearchus was among the fallen, for they survived the battle.

‘Table Companions’

As with the Greek term *φίλος*, the Greek term *ὁμοτράπεζος* (pl. *ὁμοτράπεζοι*) appearing in the descriptions of the Achaemenid Empire, should be identified with a highly prestigious title within the Achaemenid court nomenclature. It can be translated as ‘Table Companion’. The dignitaries holding this title were present in the entourage of the Great King (see Briant 2002, 308; Llewellyn-Jones 2013, 128). The reference to the table suggests that they had the honor of dining with the King.

Xenophon indicates that ‘Table Companions’ were also present in the entourage of Cyrus the Younger. When referring to them, the Athenian historian uses the phrase: *οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι* (Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.25), meaning: ‘so-called table companions.’ This wording reinforces the idea that this is not about their degree of familiarity with Cyrus, but about the title they held.²⁴ They were part of the elite unit of his cavalry, 600 in number, stationed in the center of his army in the battle of Cunaxa. They fell in this battle fighting at Cyrus’ side (Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.6-7, 1.8.21, 1.8.24-27). It is possible that one of them was a Persian named Artapates (see Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.25-29), chief of the dignitaries of Cyrus’ court known as ‘scepter-bearers’ (Greek *σκηπτοῦχοι*) (Podrazik 2017). The term *συντράπεζοι*, also used in the context of the death of Cyrus’ comrades in the battle of Cunaxa, should be perceived most likely as the same as his *ὁμοτράπεζοι* (Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.31, cf. 1.8.25-29).

²³ (...) διαπέμπον ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἐαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλόν, ὥς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ φίλους ἄρωσιν.

²⁴ I owe this remark to Prof. S. Sprawski.

Conclusions

Cyrus the Younger ruling in Anatolia, had there his own court, modeled after the court of the Great King. Cyrus' main residence was Sardis, the capital of satrapy of Lydia. He also resided in Kelainai, the capital of Great Phrygia's satrapy. It is not unlikely that Cyrus and his court moved from time to time within Anatolia, travelling between the capital cities of Anatolian satrapies. Seasonal movement between the capitals of the Empire (Babylon, Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana) is well attested in the case of the Great King's court, and Cyrus the Younger imitated this custom.

In Cyrus' residences in Sardis and Kelaiani, audiences were held, governed by court protocol, as well as feasts with Cyrus. The members of Cyrus's court staff included, among others, scribes, door-keepers, and interpreters. The resulting documentation was most likely stored at the palace archives at Sardis, as well as presumably at Kelainai.

Close and trusted companions were an integral part of Cyrus' court. Among them were his 'Friends' (Greek *φίλοι*) and 'Table Companions' (Greek *όμοτράπεζοι*). We are well informed of Cyrus' practice of bestowing generous gifts, primarily upon his 'Friends'.

As a son of the Great King, brought up and educated at the King's court, Cyrus undoubtedly knew well the organization and functioning of the court. This effected the organization and functioning of his court in Anatolia, in many respects modeled after the royal court. The function of *karanos* he exercised allowed him to rule effectively in Anatolia and make use of the practices taken from the court of the King.

Aside from the court of the Great King, the court of Cyrus the Younger is relatively best illuminated by sources among the governors' courts in Achaemenid provinces. In coming to know Cyrus' court, we can better understand the mechanisms of functioning of Achaemenid authorities, exercising power far from the center of the Empire. Cyrus' activities in 408-401 suggest that his court in Anatolia was a well-functioning center of imperial administration. As we know, after 404 Cyrus' aspirations increased and he was preparing to fight for more power in the Empire. Having prepared efficient administration structures, he used them to gather strength in the region, and then take up the fight against Artaxerxes II, with none less than the Achaemenid throne at stake.

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Pl. 1. Map with locations of Sardis and Kelainai (made using CARTO)



Pl. 2. Relief with an audience scene from Persepolis, presenting the enthroned Great King, most likely Darius I (522-486), Treasury of the palace complex in Persepolis (photo: M. J. Olbrycht)

Pl. 3. Relief with an audience scene from Persepolis, depicting the enthroned Great King, most likely Darius I (522-486), the Teheran Museum (photo: R. S. Wójcikowski)