

Cambyes II: Roots of the Past and Echoes of the Present in Colonialism and Dictatorship

Hala Abdul Amir Mohsen

University of Baghdad/College of Arts/History Department

Ahmed Majed Ahmed

University of Baghdad/College of Arts/History Department

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Abstract: The Achaemenid Empire is one of the most controversial empires in ancient history, as it embodies contradictions by combining strength and weakness simultaneously, from its very foundation. Despite the numerous studies conducted on it, the Achaemenid Empire remains an integral part of the history of the ancient Near East. Its history is intertwined with that of Mesopotamian civilization, which significantly influenced the Achaemenid Persian civilization through its laws, governance systems, religion, and cultural structures. Additionally, it played a crucial role in Egyptian civilization for approximately 155 years. In this study, we will shed light on one of the kings of this empire, Cambyes II, who was given the title "King of Babylon."

Keywords: Cambyes II, Achaemenid Empire.

His Name

The name of this king was recorded in various forms. It appeared in the **Behistun Inscription**—a set of inscriptions written in **cuneiform script** in three languages: **Old Persian, Elamite, and Akkadian (also known as Old Babylonian)**. The inscription narrates the ascension of **Darius I** to power, the events of his reign, and his efforts to save the empire from disintegration following several revolts. It also recounts his suppression of nine local kings, including **Gaumata the Magus**, who falsely claimed to be **Bardiya**, the brother of **Cambyes II**; **Cithra(n)takhma**, who claimed to be the grandson of **Cyaxares**, the Median king, and **Nidintu-Bel**, the son of **Nabonidus**, among others. The inscription depicts them standing before **Darius**, with **cuneiform writings beneath them**, while **Darius I** is shown standing under the image of **Ahura Mazda**. These inscriptions were carved into **Behistun Mountain**, located near the modern city of **Kermanshah**, at an elevation of approximately **130 to 140 meters** (*Al-Ahmad & Ahmed, n.d., p. 373; Baqir et al., n.d., p. 55; Waters, Matt, 2014, p. 58*).

As for **Darius I (Darius the Great) (522–486 B.C.)**, he was the son of **Hystaspes** and belonged to the **Achaemenid royal branch of Arsames**. He was the only grandson of **Ariaramnes**, the king of **Parsa**, who had been defeated by **Cyaxares**. Darius is famous for the **Behistun Inscription** and the major reforms that strengthened the **Achaemenid Empire** (*Al-Ahmad & Ahmed, n.d., p. 373*).

The name of **Cambyes II** appears in different forms in historical sources:

- In **Old Persian inscriptions**, it was written as **Kambujiya**.
- In **Babylonian sources**, it appeared as **Kambuziya**.
- In **Greek sources**, it was recorded as **Cambyes (Καμβύσης)**.

All **Iranian names** in **Greek sources** were transcribed following **Greek linguistic conventions**. It is generally believed that his actual name was **Kambujiya (Cambyes)** and that all sources—except for the **Behistun Inscription**—are **non-Iranian**, derived from **Syriac and Greek traditions** (*Pirnia, Tarikh-e Iran-e Bastan, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 478*).

His Ascension to the Throne

Cambyes II ascended the throne after his father and demonstrated great capability and wisdom in managing the affairs of the empire, thanks to his prior experience in governance. His father had involved him in ruling by appointing him as the governor of **Babylon** for **eight years** (*Abbas Parviz, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 61; Al-Jaf, 2008, Vol. 1, p. 42*). This earned him the title "**King of Babylon**."

At the beginning of his reign, some **revolts and disturbances** arose, but he quickly suppressed them. He then proceeded to implement his father's **plan to invade Egypt** and annex it to the empire, considering it a region rich in resources (*Ghirshman, 2014, p. 137*).

He had a **brother named Bardiya (522 B.C.)**, also known in Greek sources as **Smerdis**. **Bardiya** was the **second son of Cyrus II** from his wife **Cassandane** and the **full brother of Cambyses II**. During their father's reign, Bardiya was appointed as the **governor of the eastern provinces of the Achaemenid Empire** (*Parviz, n.d., p. 25; Herodotus, n.d., p. 133; Olmstead, n.d., p. 178*).

Before his death, **Cyrus II** entrusted Bardiya with ruling **the eastern regions**, including **Khorasan, Gorgan, Bactria (Balkh), and Khwarazm** (*Pirnia, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 480*), and even exempted these regions from taxation (*Briant, Pierre, 2002, p. 50*). However, following **Cyrus II's death and Cambyses II's ascension**, **rebellions broke out in these territories**, prompting Bardiya to **lead a military campaign** to suppress the unrest in his capacity as the **governor of these regions** (*Zayed, n.d., p. 613; Al-Ahmad & Ahmed, n.d., p. 372*).

There are conflicting accounts regarding **Bardiya**, particularly in the **Behistun Inscription** written by **Darius I**. These accounts revolve around his alleged **assassination by his brother, Cambyses II**, before Cambyses embarked on his **Egyptian campaign**.

According to Darius, a **lookalike** of Bardiya, known as **Gaumata the Magus**, **seized the throne**, falsely claiming to be **Bardiya**. **Gaumata** is believed to be a **fictional character** created by **Darius I** as part of his plan to **eliminate Bardiya**, the legitimate **Achaemenid heir** and brother of Cambyses II (*Baqir et al., n.d., p. 52*). **Gaumata ruled for six months** before being overthrown (*Baqir, n.d., Vol. 2, p. 452*).

The case of **Bardiya** requires further clarification and analysis. When **Cyrus II** died, **Cambyses II** was in **Babylon**, one of the key **Achaemenid capitals**, ruling there under the title "**King of Babylon**." This suggests that **Cyrus II** had left Cambyses in charge of the empire's affairs while he led a military campaign, one from which he never returned.

Upon **Cambyes II's** ascension to the throne, **Bardiya** became the **crown prince**, being the **king's full brother**. When Cambyes II set out to **conquer Egypt**, **Bardiya accompanied him** and remained there for some time. Historical sources recount an incident known as "**The Bow Incident**", where the **Ethiopian king** sent a **bow as a gift** to the **Achaemenid king** with its **string intentionally left untied**. Neither **Cambyes II** nor anyone else could **string the bow**, but **Bardiya succeeded**.

This act was actually meant as an **insult** to the Achaemenids, implying that they lacked the **physical strength** of the Ethiopians, who were able to handle such a powerful bow. However, **Bardiya's success in stringing it** highlighted his **extraordinary physical strength**. After this event, **Cambyes II sent Bardiya back to Susa**, the **Achaemenid capital**, to **manage imperial affairs** in his absence while he continued his **Egyptian campaign**.

(*M. A. Dandamayev, 1988, Vol. III, pp. 785–786; Brosius, Maria, 2006, p. 16*).

The Achaemenid Invasion of Egypt

In **525 BCE**, **Cambyes II** led the military campaign against Egypt, a plan originally conceived by his father, **Cyrus II**. To ensure his success, Cambyes secured the **assistance of Greek mercenary commanders**, including **Phanes of Halicarnassus** (*Phunes*).

Phanes was a **Greek general** who had previously served under the Egyptian **Pharaoh Psamtik III** (**525 BCE**). However, he **defected to Cambyes II**, revealing **Egypt's military defense strategies** (*Al-Jaf, 2008, Vol. 1, p. 42*). Before serving Psamtik III, **Phanes had been a general in the army of Pharaoh Amasis** (**Ahmose II**) (**570–525 BCE**).

Amasis II, a ruler of Egypt's **26th Dynasty**, had witnessed the rise of **Cyrus II** and the expansion of the **Achaemenid Empire**. He had been **one of three major rulers who allied against Persia**, alongside:

- **Croesus**, King of Lydia (560–546 BCE), and
- **Nabonidus**, King of Babylon (555–539 BCE). (*Draz, Ahmed, 2000, p. 115; Baqir, Taha, n.d., Vol. 2, p. 95*).

Phanes' betrayal provided Cambyses II with **critical intelligence on Egypt's military defenses**.

In addition to the Greeks, Cambyses II also sought the support of **Arab tribal leaders**. The **King of the Nabataeans** assisted the **Achaemenid army** by supplying **camels loaded with water skins**, which were placed at strategic stations. This logistical support **enabled the Persian army to cross the Sinai Desert** safely from **Palestine into Egypt**, overcoming one of the greatest natural barriers to invasion (*Younis, Sobhi, 2007, p. 452; Pirnia, n.d., p. 168; Waters, Matt, 2014, p. 58*).

Soon after, a battle broke out between **Cambyses II** and the Egyptian Pharaoh **Psamtik III** in 525 BCE.

Pharaoh Psamtik III (525 BCE)

Psamtik III was the **last ruler of Egypt's 26th Dynasty**. He ruled for only **a few months** after his father, **Amasis II**, before **Cambyses II conquered Egypt, ended the dynasty, and sent him as a prisoner to Susa**, the Achaemenid capital (*Othman, Abdul Aziz, 1967, Vol. 1, p. 183*).

The Battle of Pelusium

The battle took place in **Pelusium** (*modern-day El Farma, near the Egyptian-Palestinian border, close to Rafah*). This site was **strategically significant**, as it served as **Egypt's easternmost defensive stronghold**. During the battle, **Psamtik III suffered a crushing defeat**, and **Cambyes II successfully entered Egypt** (*Salim, n.d., p. 439*).

The Egyptian army **collapsed** after **Greek and Libyan mercenaries abandoned their posts**, leaving Psamtik III vulnerable (*Diakonoff, M. M., 1346 SH, p. 117; Al-Jaf, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 62*). Unlike his father, Psamtik III lacked **the wisdom and military prowess** needed to defend Egypt. This **worked in Cambyes II's favor**, as he was able to **enter Egypt with minimal resistance and few losses** (*Younis, Sobhi, 2007, p. 453; Pirnia, n.d., p. 169*).

Cambyes II's Rule in Egypt

Following his victory, Cambyes II sought to **imitate his father's policies** by showing **religious and political tolerance**. He **spared Psamtik III and treated him well**. However, Psamtik III later **plotted a rebellion against Persian rule**, which angered Cambyes II. In response, the Achaemenid king **sent him as a prisoner to Persepolis**, where he was **eventually executed** (*Waters, Matt, 2014, p. 55*).

Cambyes II then **declared himself Pharaoh of Egypt**, adopting **Egyptian customs and rituals** to legitimize his rule. He even **dressed in traditional Egyptian attire** to persuade the Egyptian people that he was not an invader but rather a **continuation of native rule**. With this, he formally established **Egypt's 27th Dynasty (525–404 BCE)** under Achaemenid control (*Othman, n.d., p. 184; Ali, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 84; Bresciani, E., 2008, p. 507*).

It seems that **Cambyes II** wanted to solidify his rule over Egypt through a policy of **leniency and conciliation**. He **integrated the Egyptian army** into his military

campaigns against **the Greeks**, allowing them to **fight alongside the Persian forces** in battle.

Additionally, **Cambyses II improved infrastructure by repairing, expanding, and constructing roads**. He also **enacted laws** to regulate **daily life among Egyptian citizens**.

Recognizing the importance of **religion in Egyptian society**, Cambyses II **adopted traditional Egyptian titles**, proclaiming himself "**Son of Ra**", "**King of Egypt**," and "**King of Lands**", reinforcing his **legitimacy as the rightful ruler of Egypt**. He ensured the **continuation of the Egyptian calendar** and took great care in **offering regular sacrifices to the Egyptian gods**, demonstrating his **respect for local religious traditions** (*Al-Masri, Hussein, 1972, pp. 9-10; Baqir et al., n.d., p. 51; Pirnia, n.d., p. 169*).

The Egyptians **embraced the idea** that **Cambyses II** was a legitimate **Pharaoh of Egypt** and even created **legends** to support this belief. One such story claimed that **Cambyses** was the result of a **marriage** between the Persian king **Cyrus II** and an **Egyptian princess named Nitetis**, making him a **descendant of Egyptian royalty** (*Herodotus, n.d., pp. 217-218; Baqir et al., n.d., p. 51*).

However, **Herodotus later refutes this claim**, stating that **the Egyptians viewed Cambyses II as mad and irrational**, especially after his **failed military campaigns** against **Carthage and Ethiopia (Land of Kush)**.

Carthage, a coastal city in **North Africa** (modern-day **Tunisia**), was a **thriving trade center founded by Phoenician sailors in 814 BCE**. Its **strategic location** on a rocky promontory with access to the **Mediterranean Sea** from both the **north and south** made it a **dominant power in maritime trade**. All ships passing between **Sicily and Tunisia** had to **dock there**, granting Carthage **great commercial strength** (*Meyadin, Madeleine, 1981, p. 16*).

Cambyes **failed to invade Carthage** because **the Phoenicians refused to provide him with naval support**, unwilling to wage war against their fellow **Phoenician settlers** (*Pirnia, n.d., p. 169*).

His campaign against **Ethiopia (Land of Kush, south of Egypt)** was equally disastrous. **Herodotus recounts a remarkable tale**: Cambyes **sent spies** disguised as an **official delegation** to **Ethiopia** to gather intelligence before launching an invasion. The Persian delegation **brought gifts**, including **gold, crimson-dyed robes, and wine**, hoping to impress the Ethiopian king.

However, the **Ethiopian king** saw **through their deception** and **mocked Cambyes** by sending him **a bow** with a message: *"The Persians are too weak to even string this bow—how can they dream of conquering my land?"*

Cambyes took this as a **provocation**, hastily **marching his army southward without proper supplies**. As a result, his forces **ran out of provisions**, leading to **cannibalism among the soldiers**. Upon hearing of his army's suffering, **Cambyes abandoned the campaign and retreated** (*Herodotus, n.d., pp. 226-229; Al-Saadi, n.d., Vol. 2, p. 259*).

Cambyes II also faced a **disastrous campaign against the Oracle of Amun at the Siwa Oasis**.

Siwa Oasis (Amun's Oasis) housed the **Temple of the Oracle**, where **seer priests** delivered divine revelations. Amun was one of the **most sacred deities** in Egyptian religion. Cambyes launched an **expedition into the Western Desert** to punish these priests, as they had **foretold his downfall**, claiming that the god **Amun was angry with him**.

However, as Cambyes' army of **50,000 men** marched across the desert, they were **buried alive under massive sand dunes** due to a **violent sandstorm**. To this day,

no trace of the army has been found (Olmstead, *n.d.*, Vol. 1, p. 151; Younis, Sobhi, 2007, p. 454; Parviz, Abbas, *n.d.*, p. 65).

Following these **military failures**, Cambyses **became increasingly cruel**—not just towards the **Egyptians**, but even towards his **own Persian officials**. His **epileptic condition** resurfaced, triggering fits of **rage and brutality**. Among his **acts of cruelty**:

- **He slaughtered Egyptian priests in Memphis.**
- **He buried twelve Persian noblemen alive.**
- **He murdered his own sister and wife, Roxana (Rukhsana).**

Although sibling marriage was **strictly forbidden** under Persian customs and laws, Cambyses **insisted on marrying his beloved sister**. To avoid **his wrath**, the royal judges issued a **convenient ruling**, stating that while **no law explicitly permitted such a union**, the **king was above all laws** and could do as he pleased. This justification allowed Cambyses to **marry his first sister**. Later, he also **wed his second sister, Roxana**, whom he **took with him to Egypt—only to kill her later** (Herodotus, *n.d.*, Book 3, p. 231; Abu Maghli, *n.d.*, p. 94).

Herodotus attributes these **follies and reckless actions** to the **curse of Bardiya's murder**, who was allegedly **killed in secret** before Cambyses II's campaign against Egypt (Herodotus, *n.d.*, Book 3, p. 231; Ghirshman, *Iran from the Earliest Times*, p. 136).

However, the **Ethiopian bow incident** suggests that **Bardiya was alive and present with his brother in Egypt** shortly before the **failed Ethiopian campaign**, which is dated around **524 BCE** (Pirnia, *n.d.*, p. 169). If this is true, then how could Cambyses II have killed him before this?

Furthermore, after this period, **Bardiya supposedly returned to Susa**, remained in the **royal palace**, and continued to oversee imperial affairs as **heir to the**

throne. Reports of a **rebellion in Persia**, where Bardiya **seized power**, might have some **truth**, especially considering his **policy of tax exemption** for provinces for three years—**similar to when his father, Cyrus II, exempted him from taxation while governing the eastern provinces.**

As for Cambyses II's **alleged confession before his death** that he had **murdered his brother**, the story appears **weak and lacks concrete evidence.** Cambyses was known for his **impulsive and erratic nature**—he may have **ordered Bardiya's death in a fit of rage**, much like he did with **Croesus**, only to later rejoice upon learning that Croesus **was still alive.**

Alternatively, his **trusted confidant, Prexaspes**, who was supposedly assigned **to assassinate Bardiya**, may **not have carried out the order at all** (*Herodotus, n.d., Book 3, p. 231*).

- Some accounts claim Bardiya was **killed during a hunting trip.**
- Others state that he was **drowned in the waters of the Persian Gulf** (*Herodotus, n.d., Book 3, p. 231*).

Those close to Cambyses **were aware of his violent temper** and that he often **reversed his decisions** once he calmed down. Following the **disastrous military campaigns**, his **erratic behavior worsened**, possibly leading **Prexaspes to spare Bardiya**, believing that Cambyses' **mental instability posed a greater threat to the empire.**

Cambyses' **madness** was evident when he **killed his own son** merely to **prove his archery skills**—demonstrating that he could **shoot an arrow directly into his son's heart** while claiming he was **always right in everything he said and did** (*Herodotus, n.d., Book 3, p. 231*).

This is one side of the story.

On the other hand, **Darius I (Dara)** was among **Cambyes II's** forces in Egypt, serving as the **king's royal spear-bearer** (*Olmstead, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 178*). He accompanied Cambyes on his **return journey to Persia**, during which **news of the coup**—led by Bardiya—reached them.

Cambyes **died under mysterious circumstances**:

- Some accounts claim he **committed suicide** upon hearing of **his brother's seizure of the throne**.
- Another version states he **accidentally stabbed himself in the leg with his poisoned sword while dismounting his horse** (*Hassan, Selim, n.d., Vol. 13, p. 588; Keiler Yank & others, 1389 SH, p. 26*).
- A third version describes him **falling from his horse, breaking his leg, and dying a few days later**.

All of this raises **suspicious** that **Darius may have secretly assassinated Cambyes II on his way back to Persia** (*Khanji, n.d., p. 186*).

As for the case of the **Magian (Gaumata)**, which **Darius I** claimed—that he was an **imposter** and not the legitimate **heir to the throne, Bardiya**, and that Gaumata had **killed Bardiya and usurped the throne**—it appears to be yet **another fabricated story by Darius**. This narrative may have been a **cover-up for the assassination** of both the **rightful crown prince and the legitimate king**, allowing Darius to **seize power for himself** as a member of the **Achaemenid royal lineage**. Darius, along with the **Seven Persian Nobles**, **orchestrated the plot** to eliminate **Bardiya**, whom they labeled as an **imposter (Gaumata the Magian)**, and to **install Darius I as king** (*Mortkat, Antoine, n.d., p. 371*). The conspirators further **ensured the assassination of anyone who had personally known Bardiya**, likely to **erase any evidence contradicting their claim** (*Khanji, n.d., p. 186*).

The **paradox** lies in the **discrepancy of names** found in different accounts. **Darius I** referred to the supposed usurper as **Bardiya** in the **Behistun Inscription**, whereas **Greek classical sources** recorded his name as **Smerdis**. Additionally, there is mention of the **two Magian brothers** who resided in the **royal palace** (*Herodotus, n.d., Book III, p. 247*), further fueling doubt about the true nature of events. The variations in names across different sources suggest a **lack of clarity** and must be understood within the **context of chaos and rebellion** that gripped the empire at the time. If **Bardiya had truly ascended the throne**, he could have **relieved the burden of heavy taxation** and **granted greater freedoms to conscripted peoples**—policies that would have undoubtedly **gained him favor among the oppressed populations** (*Hassan, n.d., Vol. 13, p. 588; Olmstead, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 157*). Such a shift in governance could be seen as a **coup against the central authority**, particularly at a time when **Cambyes II** had **descended into madness**. This created an opportunity for **Darius I to conspire against him** and **eliminate both Cambyes and Bardiya** in one calculated move (*Diakonov & Kovalev, 2000, Vol. 1, pp. 200-201*). Even if **Darius himself had not originally conceived the idea**, it is possible that **Cyrus II** had foreseen such an outcome. **Cyrus recognized Darius's superior political and military capabilities**, realizing that neither **Cambyes II nor Bardiya** possessed the **shrewdness needed to rule effectively**. Regardless of how events unfolded, **Darius ultimately seized power**, overthrowing the ruling faction within the **royal palace at Susa**, and became the new **king of the empire** with the backing of the **Seven Noble Conspirators** (*Olmstead, n.d., Vol. 1, pp. 157, 178; Khanji, n.d., pp. 188-189*).

From all that has been mentioned about **Cambyes II**, it can be inferred that the **flaws of his rule** stemmed primarily from the **autocratic nature of his governance**, which **clashed with the interests of the noble tribes**. To suppress their dissent, he resorted to **burying their most distinguished men alive**.

Furthermore, his **prolonged stay in Egypt** and his **failed military campaigns** weakened the perception of his **divine authority** among the empire's subjects. The **heavy taxation imposed on the provinces** further alienated his rule. In contrast, when **Crown Prince Bardiya** abolished taxation for three years, it offered **economic relief** to the provinces, making his rule appear as a **breath of fresh air**. This **policy shift** triggered a **wave of resistance** against Cambyses II's **oppressive rule**, ultimately setting the stage for a **rebellion against his autocracy**.

We must not overlook the **Persian commander Darius**, who took advantage of the situation, successfully **eliminating both the king and the crown prince**. He then **fabricated the story** of the **Magian Gomata**, falsely claiming that he had **killed the rightful heir and usurped the Achaemenid throne** (Behram Roshan Zamir et al., 96/13, p. 22). This marked the **beginning of political conspiracies** that later became a **custom among Achaemenid rulers**—not only **assassinating crown princes** but, in some cases, **killing all siblings** to secure absolute power. This practice **created fractures within the royal family** and **fostered long-lasting grudges**, which ultimately **weakened the Achaemenid Empire from within**.

Conclusion:

From our research, we can deduce that the reign of **King Cambyses II** was characterized by an **authoritarian rule** that negatively impacted the **Achaemenid tribes**. In an attempt to silence opposition, he **executed their noble leaders** by **burying them alive**.

Additionally, his **extended stay in Egypt**, along with his **failed military campaigns**, **tarnished his image** among the subjects of the empire and **diminished his perceived divine legitimacy**.

Furthermore, the **heavy taxation imposed on the provinces** led to growing resentment. The reign of **Crown Prince Bardiya**, who **relieved the provinces from tax burdens for three years**, was seen as a **moment of relief** for the people and a **symbolic revolt** against Cambyses II's oppressive rule.

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