



# THE RITUAL LANDSCAPE AT PERSEPOLIS

GLYPTIC IMAGERY FROM THE PERSEPOLIS  
FORTIFICATION AND TREASURY ARCHIVES

MARK B. GARRISON

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by

MARK B. GARRISON

From lectures delivered at the Collège de France, November 2009, sponsored by Pierre Briant,  
chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre

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Aerial survey of Iran, showing Persepolis (D. 13297)

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Panorama of Naqš-e Rostam Showing Tombs I, III, and IV  
and the Tower Ka'ba-ye Zardošt (Schmidt 1970, pl. 1)

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For Margaret — teacher, mentor, collaborator, and friend



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## Preface

*Mark B. Garrison*

This book has its origin in four lectures that the author presented in November 2009 at the Collège de France in Paris. Those lectures, delivered under the auspices of Pierre Briant, chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre at the Collège de France, addressed seals and archives at Persepolis, the seals of Ziššawiš in the Fortification archive, the so-called fire altars in Achaemenid glyptic art, and glyptic imagery and the emergence of a visual language of empire at Persepolis. Pierre Briant kindly invited me to submit the lectures for publication in the series *Persika*. Owing to a variety of factors, the *Persika* publication was not realized. The Press at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago kindly allowed me to submit the manuscript for consideration in the series *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization*.

The original intention was to publish the lectures at the Collège de France essentially as they were delivered. A major new initiative to study the unedited glyptic material in the Fortification archive was, however, well underway already in 2009. During 2010, a substantial body of new evidence bearing on the question of the so-called fire altars emerged from the glyptic preserved on these documents from the Fortification archive. It became clear that the glyptic evidence for these structures warranted a monographic treatment. The present study thus focuses upon this glyptic evidence and its implications for our understanding of the religious landscape in the region of Persepolis in the reign of Darius I.

This monograph draws upon three of the four lectures delivered at the Collège de France: the so-called fire altars in Achaemenid glyptic art (*Chapters 1 and 4*), seals and archives at Persepolis (*Chapter 2*), and the seals of Ziššawiš in the Fortification archive (*Chapter 5*). In addition, this study includes a catalog of all known images depicting what I have called the stepped and the tower structures from Persepolitan glyptic (*Chapter 3*) as well as a discussion of the significance of this imagery for our reading of the famous tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam (*Chapter 6*). The analysis of the seals of Ziššawiš has been included in this monograph (*Chapter 5*) since one of these seals, PFS 11\* (T1), is a remarkable image documenting the tower structure. The sophistication of that image, as well as the fact that it carries a royal-name inscription, necessitated an extended analysis. That analysis addresses not only the visual dynamics of the scene itself but also the socio-political implications of the seal and its imagery within the context of a group of high-rank administrators at Persepolis. While the various analyses of the stepped and the tower structures in the preceding *Chapters 1-4* are extended explorations of a distinctive set of iconographic elements preserved in Persepolitan glyptic, the discussion of the seals of Ziššawiš in *Chapter 5* seeks to highlight another important aspect of Persepolitan seal studies, the socio-political significance of images in the lives of individuals in the Persepolis region during the reign of Darius I.

The glyptic evidence in this study is preserved as impressions on administrative documents from two archives at Persepolis, the Persepolis Fortification archive, dated to the years 509–493 BC, and the Persepolis Treasury archive, dated to the years 492–457 BC; this study includes additionally five actual seals found in the excavations of the Treasury building at Persepolis. Despite having been published in a lavish folio format (Schmidt 1957) and available now for over half a century, it is a curious fact of scholarship that the glyptic evidence from the Treasury archive has a relatively low profile in studies of visual imagery of the Achaemenid period. The photographs of the seal impressions in Schmidt (1957) are, however, not easy to read, and no collated line drawings of individual seals were produced. Schmidt, moreover, approached the glyptic primarily as archaeological artifacts rather than as primary sources for the study of Achaemenid art and culture.

The great bulk of the evidence in this study is drawn from the seals preserved as impressions in the Persepolis Fortification archive. As the largest corpus of visual imagery from the Achaemenid Persian period, the seals from the Persepolis Fortification archive provide a tremendously rich resource for the study of

visual imagery, carving styles, and glyptic praxis at a particularly critical time in the codification of imperial ideology in texts and images at the heart of the empire. Although excavated in the same decade as the glyptic from the Treasury archive, the 1930s, the first documentary volume concerning the glyptic from the Fortification archive appeared only in 2001. Only slowly is the glyptic imagery from the Fortification archive becoming part of the discourse on Achaemenid visual culture. Indeed, it may seem somewhat surprising that this book is the first monographic treatment of glyptic from the archive.<sup>i</sup>

The primary reasons for the long delay in the initial documentation of the glyptic from the Fortification archive are the sheer mass of evidence that is preserved, at this writing close to 3,400 distinct and legible seals, and the enormous complexity of documenting that evidence. Many of the seals are preserved in multiple impressions, often on multiple tablets. No one impression of any one seal hardly ever preserves the full scene. Many impressions, moreover, are poorly rolled or stamped, distorted, and so on. Thus, the collation and reconstruction on paper of the full extent of any one seal image preserved in the archive are a pain-staking process. These 3,400 seals are, moreover, distributed across an archive consisting of three distinct document types, Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed, numbering currently just over 14,000 clay tablets. These 14,000 documents constitute only the ones that have been studied; there are thousands of fragments of documents that remain unstudied.

Despite the challenges posed by the size and complexity of the archive, we have reached a position where we can perhaps begin to collect the evidence for specific image types across the archive as a whole. This study marks the first attempt to do so.<sup>ii</sup> It is, however, inevitable that as study of the glyptic from the Fortification archive continues, there will emerge new examples of scenes that preserve one or both of the structures here studied. Nevertheless, with a corpus of seventy-four seals that preserve eighty-five examples of the stepped or the tower structures, a corpus, moreover, that comes from both archives and all document types within those archives, we may (optimistically!) assume that whatever new data may emerge in the future are unlikely radically to alter the inferences that we may draw from the corpus as it currently stands. We leave open the possibility, however, that some surprisingly new and different evidence may someday emerge from the Fortification archive; the glyptic from the archive continues to surprise even its most veteran analysts.

As in all previous publications, I designate an image reconstructed from impression(s) of a seal on tablets from the two Persepolitan archives as a “seal.” The photographs and drawings of the seals on the Persepolis Fortification tablets are courtesy of the Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Project and the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project. Collated line drawings of seals from both the Fortification and the Treasury archives used in this article are by the author. All collated line drawings and photographs of seals from the Fortification archive are at a scale of 2:1. Permission to publish the seal impressions from the Persepolis Fortification archive comes from the director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The list of figures acknowledges other individuals and institutions who kindly gave permission to reproduce images used in this study. They include the Trustees of the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum in New York, Achemenet, the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, David Stronach, Ali Mousavi, and Wouter F. M. Henkelman.

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<sup>i</sup> As distinct from the documentary work represented by Garrison and Root 1996/1998 and Garrison and Root 2001. Two more volumes by the same authors are planned in the OIP series for those seals occurring on the Elamite tablets published in Hallock 1969: *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Volume 2: *Images of Human Activity*; *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Volume 3: *Animals, Creatures, Plants, and Geometric Devices*.

<sup>ii</sup> Garrison 1988, the author’s doctoral dissertation, concerned the theme of heroic encounter only from the Elamite tablets published in Hallock 1969 and Cameron 1948. The present study includes all known imagery related to the stepped and the tower structures preserved on the edited Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed documents from the Fortification archive. Garrison 2012 is a very brief introduction to the topic of “fire altars” in Persepolitan glyptic.

## List of Abbreviations

### GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

AD	<i>anno Domini</i> , in the year of our lord
BC	before Christ
ca.	<i>circa</i> , about
Cat.No.	Catalog Number
cf.	<i>confer</i> , compare
cm	centimeter(s)
comp.	complete
cont.	continued
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> , for example
esp.	especially
etc.	<i>et cetera</i> ,
i.e.	<i>id est</i> , that is
n(n).	note(s)
NA	not applicable
ND	not dated
p(p).	page(s)
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl.	plate(s)
PN	personal name
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the word

### TEXT SIGLA

Fort.	Elamite documents edited by G. G. Cameron, collated by R. T. Hallock, C. E. Jones, and M. W. Stolper, collated and published by A. Arfae (2008a), quoted from re-collated edition by Henkelman (2008a); the siglum is also applied to unpublished Elamite documents edited by M. W. Stolper and collated by W. F. M. Henkelman.
NN	Elamite documents from the Fortification archive edited by Hallock (unpublished manuscript) and soon to be published by W. F. M. Henkelman.
PF	Elamite documents from the Fortification archive published by Hallock (1969).
PFa	Elamite documents from the Fortification archive published by Hallock (1978).
PFAT	Aramaic documents from the Fortification archive.
PF-NN	See NN.
PFUT	Documents that are uninscribed but carry seal impression(s) from the Fortification archive.
PT	Elamite documents from the Treasury archive edited by Cameron (1948, 1958, pp. 172–76, 1965, with collations and corrections by Hallock 1960, Arfae 2008c, and Jones and Yie 2011).
PT# #	Field number assigned to artifacts excavated from the Treasury at Persepolis (e.g., PT4 673).

## SEAL SIGLA

PFATS	Seals that occur only on the Aramaic documents from the Fortification archive.
PFATS #*	Idem, and indicating that the seal is inscribed.
PFATS #s	Idem, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal.
PFS	Seals that occur primarily on Elamite documents from the Fortification archive; these seals may also occur on the Aramaic and/or uninscribed documents from the Fortification archive.
PFS #*	Idem, and indicating that the seal is inscribed.
PFS #s	Idem, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal.
PFUTS	Seals that occur on the uninscribed documents from the Fortification archive; these seals may also occur on the Aramaic documents from the Fortification archive.
PFUTS #*	Idem, and indicating that the seal is inscribed.
PFUTS #s	Idem, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal.
PTS	Seals that occur on the Elamite documents and uninscribed labels from the Treasury archive (Schmidt 1957, pp. 4–41, pls. 1–14).
PTS #*	Idem, and indicating that the seal is inscribed.
PTS #s	Idem, and indicating that the seal is a stamp seal.

## Acknowledgments

It is a pleasant task to be able to thank friends and colleagues who have had some hand in the appearance of this book; errors rest, however, solely with the author. I am indebted to Pierre Briant, now emeritus chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'empire d'Alexandre at the Collège de France, for his generous invitation to speak at the Collège de France and his warm hospitality in Paris during November 2009. The month in Paris was a most enjoyable and memorable one for our family. I thank Pierre Briant also for his support in the initial stages of the publication. The lectures in Paris, and this book, would not have been possible without the efforts and patience of Salima Amann, formerly at the Collège de France and now publications coordinator in the Département des antiquités orientales at the Musée de Louvre. Salima turned my woefully poor French into something that the audience could understand and carefully handled a long and difficult manuscript to its penultimate phase. In France, I should also like to thank Rémy Boucharlat and Henri-Paul Francfort for their stimulating discussions concerning the lectures in Paris.

It is no exaggeration to say that Wouter F. M. Henkelman, chaire mondes élamites et achéménides at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (Paris), has done more than anyone to raise my understanding of the archives from Persepolis in specific and ancient Elam in general. His book (Henkelman 2008a) informs almost every page of this study. He also kindly provided feedback on many aspects of the analyses in this book. I doubt very much whether this study, perhaps even my on-going work on Persepolitan glyptic, would have been possible without his published work and the days that we have spent together talking about things Persepolitan. His erudition and friendship are invaluable.

Moving to North America, it is with great pleasure that I offer my thanks to fellow members of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project: Matthew W. Stolper, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, Elspeth Dusinberre, and Annalisa Azzoni. The work and ideas of each of these individuals are deeply interwoven into this book. It is rare indeed that one should have the opportunity to work for years with such excellent scholars and good friends. Matthew W. Stolper, director of the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, has my special thanks. His untiring efforts in forming and supporting the project and his intellectual oversight of it have made possible enormous gains over the last eight years in understanding the archive and bringing it to publication. He generously invited me to participate in the project and has provided all manner of support, including a place to sleep when in Chicago. I am especially grateful for his guidance and assistance as the manuscript moved from Paris to Chicago. Charles E. Jones, when he was the research archivist at the Oriental Institute, for many years facilitated my research on the Fortification archive and provided many hours of critical discussion about it. Several readings of the Elamite inscriptions on the seals included in this study are his work. My thanks also to Gil Stein, director of the Oriental Institute, for his support of our research on the Persepolis Fortification archive in general and the publication of this manuscript in the series *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* at the Oriental Institute. I am especially grateful to Thomas Urban, managing editor of *Publications* at the Oriental Institute, for his guidance in bringing this publication to fruition, and Leslie Schramer, Charissa Johnson, Rebecca Cain, and Emily Smith, for their editorial work on this manuscript. Other individuals at the Oriental Institute whom I wish to thank are Walter Farber and Jonathan Tenney (now at the Department of Near Eastern Studies at Cornell University), who facilitated my viewing of the Treasury tablets housed in Chicago; and Helen McDonald, Registrar at the Oriental Institute Museum, who generously provided me the opportunity to study and draw the seals preserved as impressions on the unscribed labels from the Treasury archive.

All of the photographs of seals from the Persepolis Fortification archive published here were taken by a dedicated team of student and post-doctoral research associates connected with the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project. They are too many to list individually here; I would like, however, to offer special acknowledgement to Miller Prosser, who has for several years overseen the photographic wing of the project and was indispensable in marshaling through photographic production many of the tablets illustrated in this book.

Of the many students who have worked on various aspects of the documentary effort associated with the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, I would like to highlight and offer thanks in particular to Caroline Kerley, Benjamin Brody, Megan Kruse, Kelly Grajeda, and Ellen Dooley, the first two current students, the others graduates of Trinity University; Tytus Mikołajczak, Emily Wilson, and Erin Daly, PhD candidates at the University of Chicago; Jenny Krieger, PhD candidate at the University of Michigan; Jenn Finn, now assistant professor in the Department of History at Marquette University; and Christina Chandler, PhD candidate at Bryn Mawr College.

Trinity University has generously supported my research on Persepolitan glyptic over the years, including in 2011–2012 an academic leave during which much of the text of this book was written. At Trinity, I would like to thank in particular Ann Mueller and Holly Goeckler, the former for helping to keep me sane when I was chair of the department, the latter for her deep reservoir of knowledge concerning digital imaging.

I am very grateful to the Roshan Cultural Heritage Institute, which generously provided a grant that supported the preparation of the manuscript at the Oriental Institute.

In addition to the lectures at the Collège de France, public lectures on the topic of the glyptic evidence for fire worship in Achaemenid Iran were given at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, the University of Minnesota, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. I have benefitted greatly from discussions with those audiences. I thank Gil Stein, Matthew Canepa, and Joan Aruz, respectively, for the invitations to speak in those venues.

For almost twenty years now, Laura Magee has been inking with unerring accuracy and finesse my drawings of Persepolitan seals. I cannot imagine working on this material without her.

It is difficult to express my gratitude and admiration for my mentor, colleague, and friend Margaret Cool Root. She patiently guided and taught me as an extremely raw graduate student. She introduced me to the Fortification archive and then offered me the opportunity to work on the seals under her tutelage, first as a research assistant, later as a doctoral candidate. Her guidance and criticism during the writing of my dissertation, in many ways an unconventional study, were invaluable. Perhaps her most generous act was, however, the offer to collaborate with her on the publication of the seals preserved on the tablets published by Hallock (1969). Our work together as collaborators has informed and influenced my professional life in the most extraordinary ways. I dedicate this book to her, a small token for the years of guidance, inspiration, and friendship.

Lastly, a big shout of thanks to my family, Heather, Fiona, and Shayla, who have had to endure, and continue to endure, seemingly endless trips to Chicago. Their love and support are invaluable.

Mark B. Garrison  
San Antonio, Texas  
April 2017

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# The So-called Fire Altars in Achaemenid Art: Background and Previous Research

“The subject of ancient Iranian fires and fire cults is complex and controversial. The writer has attempted, without success, to gain from the literature dealing with Iranian religion a clear concept of the royal fire and of the caste fires of the Iranians.” (Schmidt 1970, p. 48 n. 110)

## 1.1. Introduction

The focus of this study is a small subset of the glyptic imagery preserved as impressions on two large archives of administrative tablets from Persepolis, the Persepolis Fortification archive (509–493 BC) and the Persepolis Treasury archive (492–457 BC). This subset of imagery from these archives concerns representations of what have been traditionally termed “fire altars.” The bulk of the evidence presented in this study is drawn from the seals preserved on the Fortification archive; a handful of images is from the Treasury archive. Most of the seals from the Fortification archive in this study are here published for the first time. The seals from the Treasury archive have been in print for many years now. The corpus of seals here published numbers seventy-four seals that preserve eighty-five examples of what have been traditionally termed “fire altars.”

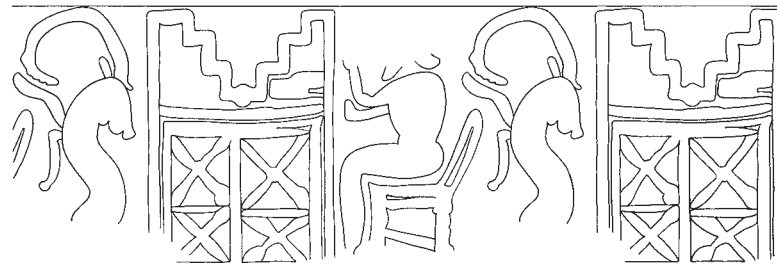
The so-called fire altars of the Achaemenid period take two principal forms in the visual record. The one is a pillar- or conical-shaped base that supports a podium consisting of two or three steps that increase in width from bottom to top, a structure hereafter called the stepped structure (fig. 1.1).<sup>1</sup> The other is a rectangular structure with recessed frames/panels (or a metopal-like decoration) on its body whose upper part is configured as a crenellation or two triangular masses (sometimes consisting of linear elements) so arranged to create a V-shaped profile over the center of the structure, a structure hereafter called the tower structure (fig. 1.2).<sup>2</sup>

The stepped and the tower structures as represented in Achaemenid art have long been identified and discussed in the scholarly literature. To date, the evidence has consisted of the famous relief façades on the Achaemenid royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam and a few seals, most of them unprovenanced and poorly dated.<sup>3</sup> Almost universally, discussions of the identification, function, and significance of the stepped and the tower structures have been framed within the context of Zoroastrianism in Achaemenid Iran. Therefore, it may be helpful to begin with a brief introduction to the “Zoroastrian question.”



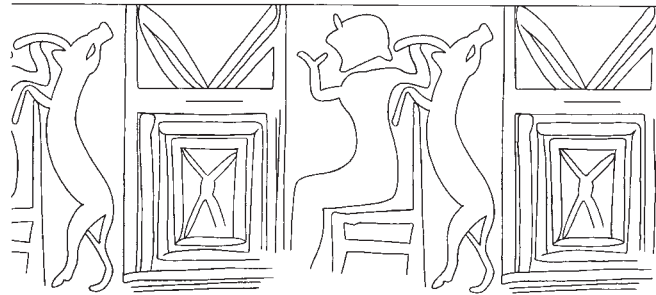
Figure 1.1. An example of the stepped structure on PFS 578s (S1)





1 cm

PFS 2525 (T24)



1 cm

PFUTS 33 (T17)

Figure 1.2. Examples of the tower structure on PFS 2525 (T24) and PFUTS 33 (T17)

## 1.2. The “Zoroastrian Question”

There are, perhaps, no more contentious issues within the study of Achaemenid Persia than those surrounding its religion(s) and religious iconography. To anyone who is accustomed to studying material from traditional Sumero-Akkadian and/or Elamite cultural contexts, such a statement may seem rather surprising. Although there are myriad discussions concerning the nature of specific deities in specific times and places in the areas that encompassed ancient Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam, about the general religious milieu there is a consensus. The peoples of these areas worshipped through time a multitude of deities who were arranged in a loosely structured, but clearly hierarchical, divine pantheon. Deities possessed certain character traits and spheres of influence; individual cities generally claimed one particular deity as its “patron,” and special attention was focused on this deity, its sanctuary, and its cult.<sup>4</sup> In some cases, there is an established iconography by which deities may be recognized through time. Perhaps the most distinctive iconography associated with any one single deity is that of the goddess Ištar, who, in her guise as goddess of warfare, is often depicted, in various periods, armed, wearing elaborate clothing/jewelry, and/or accompanied by lion(s).<sup>5</sup>

The study of the religion(s) and religious iconography of Achaemenid Persia is, however, different and distinct from that of Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam. This difference is due primarily to the repeated invocation of the god Auramazdā in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions at Bīsotūn, Naqš-e Rostam, Persepolis, Susa, and elsewhere. This Achaemenid deity, Auramazdā, has been taken to be the same deity as Ahura Mazdā, (or Mazdāh), the Avestan name of the primary god of Zoroastrianism.<sup>6</sup> In this view, the Auramazdā of the Achaemenid imperial inscriptions is the same god as Avestan Ahura Mazdā, and, thus, the religion underlying the Achaemenid imperial inscriptions is Zoroastrianism. For most commentators, this Achaemenid

Zoroastrianism is a religion in which Ahura Mazdā is the “God and Creator, who had revealed exclusive truths to mankind through his prophet Zoroaster” (Boyce 1985a, p. 427).<sup>7</sup> Once this association has been made, that is, that the Achaemenid Persians were Zoroastrians, then the visual record, and, indeed, the textual and material cultural record as a whole of the Achaemenid Persians, are interpreted through a Zoroastrian filter. Hence, the representation of an individual standing before a structure with a fire on it, such as we see famously on the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam (figs. 6.2–6.4, 6.6–6.12), must represent Zoroastrian sacred fire since Zoroastrians hold fire to be sacred.

The discourse surrounding the religion of the Achaemenid Persians is often today known simply as the “Zoroastrian question.” The “Zoroastrian question” is complicated by several factors. Firstly, there is much disagreement about what exactly is denoted by the term Zoroastrianism. While one may define the concept as a religious system taught by the prophet Zoroaster, the exact configuration of this religious system means different things to different individuals. Even today among the living practitioners of the faith there are divergent opinions concerning a variety of issues.<sup>8</sup> Some contemporary adherents even reject the term Zoroastrian (or its Iranian counterparts *Zarathuštī* or *Zarduštī*), preferring *Mazdayasna*, *dena Mazdayasni*, or *daena vanguhi*.<sup>9</sup> Of the prophet himself, there is no end to debates concerning his homeland, date, the nature of his religious reforms, his authorship of the *Gāthās* (the oldest texts in the *Avesta*), and indeed, even his historicity.<sup>10</sup> Given these complications concerning the term “Zoroastrianism,” some scholars have opted to employ different terminology, for example, “Mazdean (Mazdayasnian) religious tradition” or “Mazdaism”; however, these terms generally imply as monolithic and systematized a religion as a traditional understanding of Achaemenid Zoroastrianism does.<sup>11</sup>

The evidence from the Fortification archive, both texts and images, demands a broader perspective regarding the religious landscape in southwestern Iran in the Achaemenid period. In this study, I am advocating the use of the term “Mazdaism” to denote the worship of the god Auramazdā; the exact doctrinal and liturgical features of this worship are lost to us (and, indeed, may not even have achieved a fixed form in the early Achaemenid period). This Auramazdā is one of multiple Iranian and Elamite divine entities in the religious landscape. The evidence from the Elamite texts in the Fortification archive, as argued so cogently by Henkelman (2008a), indicates that, from the perspective offered by the agency represented by those texts, the worship of Auramazdā held no special or dominant position. This broader perspective does not deny, however, the importance of the emergence of Auramazdā as a state god in the rhetoric of the Achaemenid imperial texts.

Like all religions, Mazdaism, and Zoroastrianism more particularly, were never fixed, monolithic phenomena but varied in time and space.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, the sources for the historical development of Mazdaism at any point in time and space are sparse. This sparseness of evidence for charting the history of the development of the belief system has led to a heavy reliance on the *Avesta*, the Zoroastrian holy book.

The *Avesta* is the traditional name given to the collection of Zoroastrian sacred texts.<sup>13</sup> These texts are written in Avestan, an Old Iranian language that, with Old Persian, constitutes the surviving Iranian subdivision of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European. The *Avesta* is the sole surviving evidence for the Avestan language. The text editions that make up the *Avesta* as we know it today are reconstituted from manuscripts, medieval and later in date, that are copies many iterations removed from the originals, which, according to tradition, were compiled by the Zoroastrian priesthood in the Sasanian period. Tradition also holds that these copies are only a small fragment of what was originally a much larger collection of sacred texts. The initial compilation of texts and their transmission through time are vexing issues. Supplemental to the *Avesta* is a separate group of texts, composed in Middle Iranian, also known as Pahlavi (a western Iranian dialect), in the ninth century AD and later. These texts, which represent several different literary genres, contain a wealth of material on a variety of topics relating to religious matters. They sometimes are known simply as *zand* (commentary) to the *Avesta*. Two of the most-often cited works within this corpus are the *Bundahišn*, a treatise on the origin of the world, and the *Dēnkard*, which includes a summary of lost Avestan texts and legends about the prophet Zoroaster.<sup>14</sup>

It is clear that the surviving texts that form the *Avesta* were composed at different periods. Convention today distinguishes between an earlier textual stratum, the Old Avestan texts, and a later one, the Younger Avestan texts. The former is written in a more ancient dialect than the latter and consists of the *Gāthās*

(Yasna 28–34, 43–51, 53), the Yasna Haptaŋhāiti (Yasna 35–41), and the four prayers of Yasna 27. The *Gāthās*, which are “five *gāθās*, or modes of song (*gā*) that comprise seventeen songs,” are believed by many to have been composed by the prophet himself.<sup>15</sup>

The Avesta and accompanying Pahlavi texts thus represent a complex palimpsest of information concerning Mazdaism. How, exactly, scholars employ this information in trying to study the development of Mazdaism is highly idiosyncratic. For, as Kellens (2011) remarks, “(t)he testimony of the Mazdean religious tradition is often incoherent and can not be taken literally; it must necessarily be confronted with the results of modern scholarship.”

The scholarship concerning the historical development of Mazdaism is severely handicapped by the fact that

the disposition of the scriptural sources is almost entirely non-contemporaneous with times and eras that one wants to understand through them. Furthermore, it is almost impossible to figure out the date with any degree of accuracy, since the constituent pieces of the Avesta deal to a great extent with matters of ritual, myth, and worship without any reliable ties to dateable events. (Malandra 2005)

The obstacles, thus, to engaging with the Avesta and the Middle Iranian supplemental texts in attempting to reconstruct Mazdaism at any particular point in time and space are considerable.<sup>16</sup> Wiesehöfer (2001, p. 98) has summarized the difficulties in a particularly trenchant manner in discussing the conflicting testimonia concerning what we may call the development of the Zoroastrian “pantheon.” The *Gāthās*, the oldest Avestan texts and closely associated with the prophet Zoroāstra, document a religious system with Ahura Mazda at the pinnacle, assisted by an unspecified number of other *Ahuras*, e.g., *Aša*, “Truth,” who are clearly of subordinate position. These “good” entities are in opposition to bad entities, the *daēvas*.

In the Younger Avesta, Zarathustra’s doctrine is changed (a few centuries later?) — not only through the systemization of the divine “apex” — but also by the fact that, although the *daēvas* continued to be cursed, part of the Indo-Iranian pantheon is allowed to return to the circle of divinities marked as positive. Among them, Mithra... Vāyu... Vərəθraγna and Anāhitā... When, how and why this development took place cannot be decided. While the pantheon of the Younger Avesta can now clearly be described as polytheistic, although with a dominant Ahura Mazda, a precise characterization of original Mazdaism is much more difficult. “Ahura Mazda now finds himself in the company of some divinities who are not really gods [Ahuras], and others who are no longer gods [Daēvas], but all of them have their place in the religious sphere” [the citation is from Kellens 1987, p. 257 — M.B.G.]. So are we dealing here with an “unstable polytheism” or an “unstable monotheism”? (Wiesehöfer 2001, p. 98)

### 1.3. Zoroastrian Fire Worship and “Fire Altars”

The “Zoroastrian question” matters to the present study because one of the defining characteristics of Zoroastrianism is fire worship; indeed, in some circles fire worship and Zoroastrianism are synonymous. There is a wealth of terminology surrounding sacred fires, fire temples, fire worship, and fire altars associated with the Zoroastrian textual record.<sup>17</sup>

Fires are featured prominently in scenes involving one of the structure types presented in this study, the stepped structure. Both of the structure types presented in this study, the stepped structure and the tower structure, have on numerous occasions been identified as “fire altars”; by extension, the scenes in which these structures occur have been identified as Zoroastrian worship of sacred fire.<sup>18</sup> The chain of reasoning goes something like this:

- the Auramazdā named in the Achaemenid imperial inscriptions is the same deity as Avestan Ahura Mazda;
- ancient Persians at the time of Darius were thus Zoroastrians;

- structures that carry a burning fire before which an individual stands must, thus, show Zoroastrian worship of sacred fire (since the Achaemenid Persians were Zoroastrians).

Once this line of reasoning has been established, it can then work in the reverse:

- structures that carry a burning fire before which an individual stands show Zoroastrian worship of sacred fire;
- the ancient Persians at the time of Darius were thus Zoroastrians;
- the Auramazdā named in the Achaemenid imperial inscriptions must, thus, be the same deity as Avestan Ahura Mazda.

The stepped and tower structures have thus traditionally been interpreted through the lens of Zoroastrianism and at the same time used as evidence to support the Zoroastrian perspective.

Our task in this study is not to reconstruct the nature of the worship of fire in ancient Iran, Mazda-worship or, indeed, the general religious beliefs of the Persians at the time of Darius I. Regarding the “Zoroastrian question,” perhaps the best that one may achieve, given our remove from the sixth century BC and the disturbingly confused, conflicted, and chronologically dispersed nature of the evidence that has survived, is not an answer to the question of whether the Achaemenid kings were Zoroastrians, but “où les Achéménides se situent-ils dans la dynamique de l’évolution mazdéenne.”<sup>19</sup>

## 1.4. Terminology

As several commentators have noted, the term “fire altar” is an awkward one.<sup>20</sup> Most scholars today use the term to designate the stand upon which a sacred fire was placed. *Sensu stricto*, the use of the term “fire altar” in this context is inaccurate, since the general inference is that the structure holds/displays a sacred fire that is to be worshipped (a pedestal, stand, podium, etc.), rather than that it contains a fire into which a sacrificial victim will be placed for cooking/offering to the deity (an altar).<sup>21</sup> For this reason, Boyce (1982, p. 52) suggested the term “fire-holder” in lieu of fire altar; more recently, Choksy (2006, p. 328) has offered the term “fire-stand” for the holders for Zoroastrian sacred fires. Both terms bring with them presuppositions about the function of the structure, namely that it is a piece of ritual furniture used in fire ritual (in Boyce’s [1982, p. 53] words, to hold a fire that was pure and used solely as an “icon for prayer”). The evidence presented in this study indicates, however, that the stepped structures traditionally called “fire altars,” and by extension the fires that they contain, functioned in the more conventional sense as altars for the reception of sacrifices that were to be immolated (see §4.4), while the tower structures traditionally called “fire altars” were neither fire-bearing structures nor altars.

While the term “fire altar” is deeply embedded in the literature, it is perhaps preferable at this point to employ a descriptive rather than an interpretive vocabulary. It is for this reason that I shall use the terms “stepped structure” and “tower structure,” despite the somewhat awkward nature of these designations.<sup>22</sup>

## 1.5. The Sources for the Visual Representations of the Stepped and the Tower Structures at Persepolis in the Reigns of Darius I and Xerxes

There are four sets of data for the depiction of the stepped and the tower structures during the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes in the region of Persepolis. The first, and most famous, are the reliefs carved on the façades of the rock-cut tombs of Darius I and Xerxes at Naqš-e Rostam. The relief façade on the tomb of Darius is the focus of an extended analysis in *Chapter 6*. The other three data sets are corpora of seals. Two consist of the glyptic preserved as impressions on the tablets from the two administrative archives from Persepolis, the Persepolis Fortification archive and the Persepolis Treasury archive.<sup>23</sup> A third consists of the actual seals that were found in the Treasury building at Persepolis.<sup>24</sup> The number of actual seals discovered in the Treasury building is small: twenty-three cylinder seals, twenty-two stamp seals, and nine signet rings. The corpus as a

whole is eclectic and not at all representative of the range of carving styles documented in the glyptic from the Fortification and Treasury archives. The actual seals also cannot be as precisely dated as those preserved in impressions from the two Persepolitan archives. A catalog of seal images that preserve the stepped and/or the tower structures found in Persepolitan glyptic is found in *Chapter 3*.

While less well known than the monumental reliefs at Naqš-e Rostam, the glyptic evidence, especially that from the Fortification archive, preserves a much greater variety of types of scenes in which the stepped and the tower structures are found and, as we shall see, potentially provides some interpretive avenues for understanding the significance of these structures.

## 1.6. Previous Research on the Depiction of “Fire Altars”

As noted, the visual evidence for the depiction of the stepped and the tower structures has often been cited to support discussions concerning the existence of fire worship and fire temples in the Achaemenid period and the presence of Zoroastrian religious beliefs and institutions; thus, any general survey of the development of Zoroastrianism and/or religion in the Achaemenid period will inevitably include some discussion of the depiction of “fire altars,” most commonly the stepped structures shown on the royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam.<sup>25</sup> Studies directed specifically to the visual evidence for the stepped and the tower structures are rare.

Sustained investigation into the significance and origins of the imagery preserved in Achaemenid art is a relatively recent phenomenon. For most of the first half of the twentieth century, any engagement with the visual arts of Achaemenid Iran was mainly descriptive. Olmstead (1959), perhaps the most often-cited history of Achaemenid Persia prior to Briant (2002), already characterized the stepped structure on the royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam as “the sacred fire on the fire altar” (Olmstead 1959, pp. 228–29).

Peter Calmeyer was one of the first scholars to tackle systematically the iconography of Achaemenid art. In a series of articles, he addressed specific iconographic elements or compositional themes, concentrating mainly on monumental relief. He did not complete a study on “fire altars” per se, but he did address on several occasions the tomb reliefs at Naqš-e Rostam.<sup>26</sup> Of the stepped structure on the tomb reliefs at Naqš-e Rostam, Calmeyer suggested that the fire held by it may be “the king’s own” (Calmeyer 1975a, p. 236), which evidently is a reference to Zoroastrian dynastic fires such as are documented in the Sasanian period. He also drew a parallel to a scene described in the second-century AD writer Polyaeus (Strat. IV.2) wherein, at the death of Alexander, the Macedonian and Greek generals had to step upon a large table on which there was a fire altar and perform rituals of incense burning, worship fire, and do *proskynesis*.<sup>27</sup> Thus, underlying Calmeyer’s discussion of the scene on the tomb reliefs is an unspoken assumption that the Achaemenid Persians were Zoroastrian.

Moorey (1979), despite being a short article and dealing with only a handful of glyptic examples, is an important contribution concerning imagery connected with Achaemenid worship and ritual owing to the evenhandedness of his analysis. He noted that in the depiction of the worship at an altar, “even what might loosely be called a fire or incense altar,” Achaemenid glyptic was “strikingly original” (Moorey 1979, p. 221). He was one of the first individuals to identify specifically the two major types of depictions of “altars”: “a tall one with stepped or battlemented upper corners,” here the tower structure, and “a rectangular pedestal with variously stepped top and base,” here the stepped structure (Moorey 1979, p. 222). The former he linked with Assyrian prototypes, the latter with Iranian. Moorey adopted a very cautious approach to the reading of the “altar” scenes, avoiding altogether any direct discussion of the “Zoroastrian question.” Three of Moorey’s conclusions regarding the depictions of the stepped and tower structures still have resonance today and will deserve further commentary in the analyses in *Chapter 4*:<sup>28</sup> (1) the polytheistic attitude of Achaemenid religious iconography, (2) the persistent strength of the Assyro-Babylonian legacy, and (3) the varied role played by the “fire altar” in worship scenes.

In the same year, Root (1979) published her seminal study of Achaemenid royal imagery. She does not address the glyptic evidence for the stepped or tower structures but does engage with the stepped structure on the royal tombs. She calls the structure a “fire altar” but does not pursue an explicitly Zoroastrian reading,

opting simply to state that the scene was realistic enough to suggest an actual Achaemenid ritual concerning the “reverence of fire” (Root 1979, p. 179).

In 1979, there appeared also an attempt to illustrate many of the Achaemenid glyptic representations of the stepped and the tower structures then known (Yamamoto 1979).<sup>29</sup> This evidence was considered as part of Yamamoto’s wide-ranging study on the Zoroastrian temple cult of fire (Yamamoto 1979 and 1981). Her reading of “Zoroastrian” is a very contemporary one; for example, any scene that shows an animal being immolated cannot be Zoroastrian, since “the defilement of fire with dead bodies was strictly prohibited” (Yamamoto 1979, p. 35).<sup>30</sup>

Yamamoto (1979, p. 31) identified three “groups” of depictions of “altars” in the glyptic evidence: (1) a plinth, rectangular in shape, with panels cut into the sides (what is here the tower structure); (2) a pillar-shaped structure with two or three symmetrical steps at the top and the base (here the stepped structure); (3) a slender shaft.<sup>31</sup> She reconstructed three types of fire cults in the Achaemenid period: house fires, dynastic fires, and temple cults of fire. The tower structure was taken to be a fire altar bearing particular associations with royal *zaōthra* offerings and dynastic fires (Yamamoto 1979, pp. 31–32).<sup>32</sup> The stepped structure she associated with ever-burning fires located in temple cults of fire (Yamamoto 1979, p. 36).<sup>33</sup>

Boyce wrote often about what she perceived as the critical role of fire in ancient Zoroastrianism. Zoroāštra, whom she dated to the period 1550–1200 BC, in her opinion had introduced a “great innovation” in making fire a symbol of righteousness before which every Zoroastrian had to pray five times a day (Boyce 1982, p. 51). She populated Cyrus’ Pasargadae with fire-holders, what are here called stepped structures, the three steps of the podium reflecting a “characteristically Zoroastrian” concern for the number three, “for the sacred number three runs through all the rituals and observances of the faith” (Boyce 1982, p. 52). In Boyce’s (1982, p. 113) opinion, Cyrus introduced at Pasargadae, for the first time, a “personal” fire of the king.

Boyce (1982, pp. 145–48) included a short, but often-cited, discussion of the depiction of structures that held fire in her influential *History of Zoroastrianism*. She, too, recognized the two distinctive types of structures and gave a partial inventory of known examples, reserving her most extended commentary for PTS 20\* (S4).<sup>34</sup> The crenellations seen on the tower structures known to her she interpreted as devices to contain the embers of the fire. Boyce identified what were, from her Zoroastrian perspective, some problems in the iconography of these scenes with the stepped or the tower structures.<sup>35</sup> In the end, she concluded that the importance of these scenes was that “they show that by the time of Darius fire on a raised stand, flanked by attendants or worshippers, had become an established religious symbol” (Boyce 1982, p. 148).

On a more general note, one cannot overestimate the importance of Boyce’s *History of Zoroastrianism*. For many, the work became, and remains, the definitive discussion of Achaemenid religion. Given the breadth of her survey, three volumes when completed in 1991 (volume 3 with Frantz Grenet; volumes 4 and 5 are still in preparation), and the fact that it was in English, researchers in other fields defaulted to it when seeking information on the development of Zoroastrianism through time in particular or the religion of ancient Iran in general. For Boyce, there was no question but that the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians, following the reformed religion of the prophet Zoroāštra. They worshipped sacred fire in “fire-holders” and eventually, in the fourth century BC, when faced with the emergence of a temple cult centered on Anāhitā, developed a temple cult of sacred fire: “as a counter-move by founding other temples in which there was no man-made image, but instead a consecrated sacred fire, the only icon permissible for a true follower of Zoroaster” (Boyce 1982, p. 221).<sup>36</sup>

As noted, Boyce also posited the existence of a hearth fire associated with the king already at the time of Cyrus the Great; this fire, for all intents and purposes, “was regarded as his dynastic fire, burning as long as he himself reigned” (Boyce 1987a, p. 2).

Boyce repeated her ideas about Zoroastrian sacred fire, fire-worship, fire holders, and fire temples in the Achaemenid period in myriad contexts. Most significant among these are her articles in the *Encyclopædia Iranica*, on *Ātaš* (1987a), *Ātašdān* (1987b), and *Ātaškada* (1987c), as well as a lengthy introduction on “Achaemenid religion” (1985a).<sup>37</sup>

Houtkamp (1991) was the first systematically to catalog the known depictions of “fire altars” and the actual structures that have been identified as “fire altars” in the Achaemenid period.<sup>38</sup> Houtkamp listed sixteen seals of Achaemenid date in her catalog of “fire altars.” She identified the two basic types, the “altar

with the stepped top and base,” of Iranian origin, and the “tower altar,” of Assyrian and/or Urartian origin. Of the stepped structure, Houtkamp concluded that it represented an actual fire altar used in religious rituals. The exact nature of those rituals, Zoroastrian or otherwise, Houtkamp studiously avoided. She did state, however, that sacred fire signified three things: royal power and its divine origin, empire, and “the religion protected by the king” (Houtkamp 1991, p. 25). Of the tower structures, after considering the idea that these structures may not be altars at all, Houtkamp eventually decided that they were indeed altars, but that they carried not a fire but a “divine symbol.” The tower structure also was seen to have “a special connection with the royal house and was recognized as a symbol of royal power and its divine origin” (Houtkamp 1991, p. 33).

Merrillees (2005, pp. 119–20) has recently discussed “altar” types. Like previous researchers, she distinguishes the two major types of structures and suggests a possible third type (Merrillees 2005, no. 75).<sup>39</sup> This third type seems simply to be a reduced version of the stepped structure.

As noted, “fire altars” have often been discussed within the context of fire worship and fire temples/towers. Both Potts (2007) and Choksy (2007) have recently addressed the issue of fire temples/towers. Potts is concerned mainly with the structures depicted on the reverses of a remarkable series of coins of the post-Achaemenid *frataraka* rulers of Fārs (fig. 4.45).<sup>40</sup> Owing to the similarity of some of these structures with the tower structures depicted in Achaemenid glyptic, the structures on the *frataraka* coinage have often been evoked in discussions of the “fire altars” of the Achaemenid period.<sup>41</sup> Potts surveys the various opinions that have been put forward regarding the identification of the structures on the *frataraka* coinage and concludes that the structures on the coins must “have been inspired” by the two famous Achaemenid towers, the Zendān-e Solaymān at Pasargadae and Ka‘ba-ye Zardošt at Naqš-e Rostam.<sup>42</sup>

Haerinck and Overlaet (2008) almost immediately offered an alternate interpretation of the structures on *frataraka* coinage. They argue that the structures on the *frataraka* coinage have a close relation with fire cults. On analogy with the depiction of Roman “altar shrines,” they suggest that what we are seeing in the *frataraka* coinage is a “(fire) altar shrine or enclosure”; that is, the structure on the coins is simply an enclosure wall (with door) surrounding a fire altar for a fire cult.

Scholars have often evoked, in an uneven manner, Avestan and later terminology surrounding sacred fires, fire altars, fire temples, and fire cults in seeking to understand the Achaemenid “fire altars” and the actual towers Zendān-e Solaymān and Ka‘ba-ye Zardošt. The issue is a complex one, since the Avestan terms are in and of themselves not unambiguous, and their applicability to the Achaemenid material is, of course, highly questionable. In a wide-ranging study, Choksy (2007) has recently surveyed the Avestan and later terminology associated with fire worship in ancient Iran as well as the archaeological evidence. Choksy’s approach is firmly rooted in the Zoroastrian perspective. Thus the central temple at Nūš-e Ğān, dated to circa 700 BC, is said to have contained fire altars for “Median Zoroastrians”;<sup>43</sup> the platforms at Pasargadae are located in an *\*ātarshgāthu* and are for worshipping fire, “Zoroastrianism’s main icon”;<sup>44</sup> the pillar on the western end of the ridge at Naqš-e Rostam is an Achaemenid *\*ātarshāna*;<sup>45</sup> the twin rock-cut tower structures at the base of the northwestern corner of the cliff at Naqš-e Rostam are also *\*ātarshāna* and date to the Achaemenid period;<sup>46</sup> the five-tier spiritual ranking of holy fires (*Yasna* 17.11) “may have been incorporated into Zoroastrian scripture during the Achaemenian period or the early Parthian or Arsacid period”;<sup>47</sup> the *Vidēvdād*, a Younger Avestan text, was codified under the Achaemenids. Regarding the stepped and the tower structures represented on seals, Choksy interpreted both as *\*ātarshāna*.<sup>48</sup>

With rare exceptions then, the stepped and the tower structures that occur in Achaemenid glyptic have been interpreted through a Zoroastrian perspective. The famous towers Zendān-e Solaymān at Pasargadae and Ka‘ba-ye Zardošt at Naqš-e Rostam, as well as select issues of coinage of the *frataraka* rulers of Fārs, also figure prominently in many discussions of the stepped and the tower structures of the Achaemenid period, and vice versa. In some cases, the glyptic evidence is used to interpret the identification and function of the Zendān-e Solaymān and the Ka‘ba-ye Zardošt and structures depicted on *frataraka* coinage, in other cases the towers and coinage are brought to bear on the interpretation of the Achaemenid glyptic evidence. The stepped and the tower structures presented in this study and their possible linkages with the actual towers Zendān-e Solaymān and Ka‘ba-ye Zardošt and the *frataraka* coins are discussed in more detail in *Chapter 4*.

## 1.7. Images and Contexts

Focused iconographic analyses that have as their aim the identification of *realia*, divine personages, and so on, have a long tradition in the historiography of the discipline. Such studies have been criticized owing to the sometimes narrow ranges of the investigations, their overtly literal inclinations, or the fantastical/ingenious solutions offered. There is also a tendency for these types of analyses to exist as an end unto themselves.

The assigning of names to things and individuals depicted in visual images is, however, a critical first step toward the initiation of the process of situating images within larger visual and, by extension, socio-political contexts. In the analyses that follow, the extended socio-political contexts for the stepped and the tower structures are what we may conceptualize as the religious landscape at Persepolis during a phase of intense imperial consolidation and expansion.

The goals of this study are modest: to introduce a corpus of visual imagery preserved in glyptic that may contribute to the discussion about the nature of Achaemenid religious ritual at the time of Darius I; to attempt to identify some formal patterns in the manners in which these structures are depicted and in the manners in which these structures are deployed in compositional formulae; to consider, via PFS 11\* (T1), some ways in which images at Persepolis may have functioned as devices of social negotiation; and lastly, to use the Persepolitan glyptic evidence as a springboard to revisit the most famous “fire altar” depicted in Achaemenid art, that on the tomb relief of Darius I at Naqš-e Rostam. As difficult as it may be, we shall attempt in this study to develop a method of viewing these images through their structure and syntax, rather than through the Zoroastrian perspective. This is not, however, to deny that some of these scenes showing the stepped and/or the tower structures may reflect aspects of religious ritual connected with Mazdaism.

The exploration of the imagery considered in this study thus aims neither simply to develop a typology of representation nor to offer a grand and definitive reading of the religious inclinations of early Achaemenid elite. Rather, we seek to articulate the vocabulary and syntax of this imagery, to attempt to understand how to “read” these images, and to explore the significance of this visual language for our understanding of ritual traditions emerging within the heart of the empire at its most critical formative period.<sup>49</sup>

This study, to explore the stepped and the tower structures in the heartland of the Achaemenid Persian empire, is an initial step in the development of a religious topography for the zone encompassing Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam, a topography that encompasses both images and the natural and built environments. Future studies and excavations will inevitably not only augment the evidence that we have but also provide fresh perspectives on its interpretation so as to achieve a more comprehensive reconstruction of the religious landscape at Persepolis in the late sixth century BC than currently possible.<sup>50</sup> The analyses that follow are thus a very small aspect of a much larger research question.

The corpus of imagery presented in this study in many ways brings unique perspectives to the study of the so-called fire altars.<sup>51</sup> Many of the structures and the scenes in which they occur in Persepolitan glyptic have no parallels in the published record. We thus potentially have new portals into ancient ways of conceptualizing the numinous and/or ritual behavior in southwestern Iran at the time of Darius I.

Most importantly, the glyptic imagery contained in this study occurs at a specific moment in time, the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes, and place, the area of Persepolis. That particular combination of time and place happens also to have been one of the most critical, formative periods in ancient western Asia. The early years of the reign of Darius I witnessed the creation of the largest imperial phenomenon the world had yet seen, the establishment of an administrative apparatus to govern that imperial phenomenon, and the development and canonization of a sophisticated set of visual and courtly protocols necessary for navigation of that imperial phenomenon at the personal level.

By limiting the inquiry to the glyptic evidence from Persepolis, we shall be concerned with material tightly circumscribed in time and place. Such precise temporal and spatial parameters, in association with the rather spectacular nature of the visual evidence itself, provide a unique and rich conduit into the interface of state and religion in one aspect of visual representation. All previous studies of “fire altars” in fact are characterized by a conspicuous lack of temporal and spatial anchors. The evidence that has been called upon in previous studies is generally unprovenanced, poorly dated, and/or wide ranging in time and space. In effect, such studies have flattened the perspective to a remarkably shallow one that compresses the whole



of the Achaemenid world in time and space to one broad canvas, the evidence freely floating within that canvas. To this flattened canvas is then traditionally brought the Avestan perspective, which itself is radically divorced in time and space from Achaemenid Persia. The glyptic evidence from the Fortification and Treasury archives discussed in this study may thus act as something of a corrective by offering remarkable resolution of particular phenomena at a very particular moment in time and space.

These circumscribed temporal and spatial parameters also provide the researcher the advantage of dealing exclusively with evidence that has a known and excavated provenance. Indeed, were some of the images contained in this study known only through actual seals (unprovenanced) in museum collections, their authenticity would surely be much debated.

A muted subtext of the present study, one that certainly must be developed more fully in future research, is how Persepolitan glyptic may contribute to our understanding of the emergence of a visual language of empire associated with Darius' imperial program.<sup>52</sup> Any endeavor that seeks to understand images within the early Achaemenid cultural milieu in southwestern Iran must situate those images within the context of empire. The dynamics of empire are in contemporary scholarship related to "wider issues of cultural transformation, in which the appearance of particular religious-ideological and intellectual tendencies has been seen to play an important and causal role."<sup>53</sup> Much discussed is the role of religion, including Zoroastrianism, and religious change in the development of political systems in the so-called axial civilizations.<sup>54</sup> Religious-ideological institutions, and the changes that take place in them, have been seen as instrumental in the "formation and developmental trajectory of social and political elites and the psychological-ideological systems that underpin forms of political and social power."<sup>55</sup> Many commentators, following Marx, have stressed the critical importance of "transcendental" religions in various socio-political spheres (access to ideological and material resources, formation of power structures and elite identities, etc.).<sup>56</sup> For Marx, of course, religion was a form of ideological power.

Near Eastern concepts of kingship, to which the Achaemenids were heir, were exceedingly aware of the necessity of religious-political manipulation for the maintenance of power and the legitimation of authority. There are a goodly number of studies on religion and empire in the Achaemenid period, on the manner in which religion/religious representations influence concepts of legitimation of royal power, and so on, but those studies have a distinctive Zoroastrian inclination.<sup>57</sup>

The quote at the beginning of this chapter represents a rarely voiced sentiment that, I imagine, all who have delved into the issues of fire cults, fire altars, and/or fire temples in pre-Sasanian Iran have felt. The evidence is fraught with problems: the Iranian archaeological and visual records for these issues are fragmentary, the Iranian textual record opaque at best, the Avestan textual evidence dislocated in time and space, the Greek and Roman textual evidence dislocated in time, space, language, and, of course, cultural situation. The visual evidence that is the focus of this study will not provide a definitive resolution to the issues surrounding "sacred fire," "fire altars," or fire temples in Achaemenid culture. The visual evidence that is the focus of this study is, however, the most numerous, the most visually complex, and the best dated and contextualized evidence that has been brought to bear to the subject of ritual fire in early Achaemenid Iran.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The number in parentheses following the seal number, e.g., PFS 578s (S1), refers to the catalog number of the seal (*Chapter 3*).

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the terminology used in this study, see §1.4.

<sup>3</sup> See the discussion at §§1.5–6.

<sup>4</sup> The literature on the divine and divine representation in ancient Assyria, Babylonia, and Elam is extensive. Bottéro 2001 offers a thought-provoking introduction to the subject of Mesopotamian religion. Black and Green 1992 remains an excellent and concise overview of the principal characteristics of most Sumer-Akkadian deities and their representation in art. A few recent studies devoted to the representation of the divine include Keel and Uehlinger 1998; Dick 1999; Bahrani 2003; Walls 2005; Herles 2006; Groneberg and Spieckermann 2007; Porter 2009; Bonatz in press; Garrison in press b; Reyes in press. See also the website “Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East” (<http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/index.php>).

<sup>5</sup> On the iconography of the goddess Ištar, see, e.g., Colbow 1991 and Meinhold 2009.

<sup>6</sup> Parthian Aramazd, Pahlavi Ohrmazd/Hormizd, New Persian Ormazd. On the names, see, e.g., Kuiper 2011 and Boyce 1985b. Of Avestan Ahura Mazda, Boyce (1985b, p. 684) states that it is “the Avestan name with title of a great divinity of the Old Iranian religion, who was subsequently proclaimed by Zoroaster as God. His Indian counterpart, it has been argued, was the nameless, exalted Asura of the Rigveda; but this identification is not universally accepted ... some interpret it as a substantive, ‘Wisdom,’ others as an adjective, ‘wise,’ qualifying Ahura ‘lord.’” There are, of course, other aspects to this equation Achaemenid Auramazdā = Avestan Ahura Mazda. For example, the study of theophoric names that occur in various textual sources (from various contexts) also plays a critical part in this line of research. There is also in many cases an underlying assumption that as Indo-Iranian speakers, the early Persians were culturally distinct, and divorced from, their Semitic- and Elamite-speaking contemporaries. The bibliography on Old Iranian religion is extensive. Perhaps the most influential work is still Boyce’s multiple volumes as part of her *History of Zoroastrianism* (esp. 1975 and 1982; more concisely stated in Boyce 1985a, 1985b, and 1992, pp. 125–32). Gnoli, who has written extensively on the topic, provides an update in Gnoli 2000. Select critical studies on various aspects of religion in the Achaemenid period include: Duchesne-Guillemin 1972; Koch 1977; Herrenschildt 1977 and 1980; Schwartz 1985; Herrenschildt 1990; Kellens 1991; Ahn 1992; de Jong 1997; Jacobs 2001; Stausberg 2002, pp. 157–86; Kellens 2002; Soudavar 2003; Kuhrt 2007b; Lincoln 2007 and 2008; Henkelman 2008a, *passim*, esp. pp. 214–17; de Jong 2010b; Garrison 2011c; Knäpper 2011; Lincoln 2012; Kreyenbroek 2008(2012); Edelman, Fitzpatrick-McKinley, and Guillaume 2016; Gaspa 2017; Garrison 2017; Henkelman 2017; Garrison in press b and in press c. That the “Zoroastrian question” is still vibrant, and contentious, may be seen in several contributions to the recent London conference on the Achaemenid Persian world: Basirov 2010; de Jong 2010a; Jacobs 2010; Kreyenbroek 2010; Soudavar 2010. The proceedings of a conference held in Paris in November 2013 (Henkelman and Redard 2017) exhibit the same lack of consensus on the “Zoroastrian question.” Volume 22 of the *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* (2008[2012]), a memorial volume to Mary Boyce, includes several articles of relevance to the Achaemenid period. See Weber and Wiesehöfer (1996, pp. 462–64) for bibliography on Achaemenid religion and religious policy; Briant 2002, pp. 894–95, 915–17; 1997, pp. 71–74; 2001, pp. 112–18, provides valuable bibliogra-

phy. Briant follows closely the summary in Wiesehöfer 2001, pp. 94–101, a discussion that, in my opinion, is one of the most careful and even-handed dispositions of the issues. Knäpper 2011, pp. 10–20, provides a concise “Forschungssituation” for the topic. De Jong 1997 and Henkelman 2017 are also helpful introductions to the historiography.

<sup>7</sup> From the Zoroastrian perspective, another critical feature of the royal inscriptions at Bīstūn and Naqš-e Rostam is the dichotomy that is established between the “truth” and the “lie.” For many commentators, the principal themes in the long Achaemenid imperial inscriptions at Bīstūn and Naqš-e Rostam, such as the *arta-drauga* (*aša-druj*) ethical opposition, have been understood as uniquely Iranian in origin. In a wide-ranging study, Gaspa (2017) documents the precedents for the *arta-drauga* opposition, and other central themes in the Achaemenid imperial inscriptions, in the imperial texts and images of the Neo-Assyrian empire. He suggests that the Assyrian “imperial model” played a crucial role in the development of Achaemenid state religion and royal ideology. For a similar perspective on the *arta-drauga* opposition, see Pongratz-Leisten 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Rose 2011, pp. xvii–xxiv and 18.

<sup>9</sup> Rose 2009 and 2011, p. xix.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., the various entries for Zoroāstra in the *Encyclopædia Iranica*: Schmitt 2002; Malandra 2009; Hutter 2009; Beck 2002; Stausberg 2005; Rose 2009. Soudavar (2012) has recently reviewed some aspects of the evidence for the date of Zoroāstra.

<sup>11</sup> The question of what labels to use is intimately connected with attempts to move the discussion beyond the simple question, “were the Achaemenids Zoroastrians?” See, e.g., Briant 2002, p. 915, on the “religious component of Achaemenid monarchic ideology”; Kellens 2012 on the introduction of the Avestan *liturgie longue*. The issues of what labels to use (Zoroastrianism, Mazdaism, etc.) and what those labels imply are complex. Henkelman (2017) offers an excellent overview of the intellectual underpinning of much of the recent scholarship. As he notes, whatever term scholars have used, Zoroastrian, Mazdaism, Avestan, etc., there are generally two important assumptions: firstly, that this eastern Iranian religion (whatever one wants to call it) is something “fundamentally new and different (more developed, more intricate, more enlightened, etc.)” than what had existed previously in southwestern Iran; and secondly, that this eastern Iranian religion “had a systematic coherence and could as such be imposed on a pre-existing situation.” Henkelman is responding especially to recent scholarship, e.g., Kreyenbroek 2010 and 2008/2012, Kellens 2011, 2012, and 2017, as well as older views (e.g., Hinz 1970; Boyce 1982; Koch 1977, 1987b, 1988, and 1991). I would note the comments of Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1995, p. 1042), who argued for a broader and less rigid perspective. An interesting recent development, again discussed by Henkelman (2017), is the consideration of how the empire changed/modified this eastern Iranian religious tradition rather than how that religious tradition affected the Achaemenid state (note especially de Jong 2010a and 2010b).

<sup>12</sup> Boyce, of course, held just the opposite view, namely that the Zoroastrian religious ritual and doctrine that she saw in Iran were essentially unchanged from those introduced by the prophet thousands of years ago.

<sup>13</sup> Kellens 2011 is an excellent introduction to the Avesta.

<sup>14</sup> See the summary in Cereti 2009.

<sup>15</sup> Kellens 2011; Humbach 2012 for the quote.

<sup>16</sup> Note also the remarks of de Blois (2008[2012], p. 13), “the Gathas are situated in a historical vacuum.”

<sup>17</sup> Boyce 1987a, 1987b, 1987c; Boyce and Kotwal 1987a and 1987b; Choksy 2006 and 2007; Potts 2007.

<sup>18</sup> See the discussion at §§1.5–6.

<sup>19</sup> J. Kellens in an unpublished paper circulated to participants at the conference “La religion de Achéménides: Confrontation de sources,” Paris, 7–8 November 2013 (published in Henkelman and Redard 2017); see also de Jong 2010a and 2010b; Kreyenbroek 2008(2012).

<sup>20</sup> Garrison 1999, p. 613, on the terminology. Choksy (2006 and 2007, pp. 229–32) has recently again reviewed the textual evidence for various relevant terms from various periods (see §1.6).

<sup>21</sup> “A block, table, stand, or other raised structure with a flat top used as the focus for a religious ritual, especially for making sacrifices or offerings to a god or gods” (“altar, n.” *OED Online*. March 2017. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com.lib-proxy.trinity.edu/view/Entry/5752?redirectfrom=altar>. Accessed April 24, 2017). The question is further complicated by Herodotus’ (I.131–132) statement about the lack of temples and altars among the Persians. Myriad explanations have been conceived in attempts to understand this passage (reviewed in de Jong 1997, pp. 76–120).

<sup>22</sup> See the discussion at §3.1.

<sup>23</sup> On the two archives, see the overview in *Chapter 2*.

<sup>24</sup> Schmidt 1957, pls. 15–19.

<sup>25</sup> See above, n. 6, for only a small sample of the considerable literature on Zoroastrianism in the Achaemenid period (in which are embedded many references to the visual evidence for the depiction of fire structures). Choksy (2007), Potts (2007), Haerinck and Overlaet (2008), and Kaim (2012) have most recently surveyed the evidence for the existence of fire temples in ancient Iran.

<sup>26</sup> Especially Calmeyer 1975a and 1975b.

<sup>27</sup> Writing some 500 years after the events, and in a work in which much is fictitious, one is hard-pressed to read much into Polyaeus’ passage. What, exactly, was involved in the act of *proskynesis* is still a subject of some debate; see, e.g., Briant 2002, pp. 222–23 and 913–14, with references to the Classical sources and modern bibliography.

<sup>28</sup> Moorey 1979, p. 225.

<sup>29</sup> She illustrates and discusses some eighteen glyptic images that show either the stepped or the tower structure as well as various types of archaeological evidence.

<sup>30</sup> On animal sacrifice in Zoroastrian ritual, for which there is plentiful evidence, see de Jong 2002.

<sup>31</sup> The six examples of this last type appear to represent a variety of cultic equipment that is distinctively different from the stepped and the tower structures.

<sup>32</sup> Yamamoto 1979, pp. 31–32, inferred from a rather confused understanding of the nature and function of the seals preserved in the Treasury archive. On the Zoroastrian ritual offering of animal fat, the *ātaš-zōhr*, see Boyce and Kotwal 1987a.

<sup>33</sup> The stepped structure was seen as an Assyrian inheritance (cf. Moorey 1979, above).

<sup>34</sup> She makes no reference to earlier studies on the structures.

<sup>35</sup> The explanation for the scene on PTS 20\* (S4) is particularly inventive.

<sup>36</sup> Boyce 1982, pp. 221–31, for the establishment of a Zoroastrian temple cult of fire in the late Achaemenid period.

<sup>37</sup> See also Boyce and Kotwal 1987a and 1987b. De Blois 2008(2012) is a thoughtful essay concerning the development of Boyce’s interest in and ideas concerning Zoroastrianism.

<sup>38</sup> Houtkamp (1991) also included some material from the Seleucid and Parthian periods, principally the coins of the *frataraka* rulers of Fārs; see the discussion at §4.4.2.3.

<sup>39</sup> The inventory that she provides (Merrillees 2005, p. 141 n. 22) is incomplete.

<sup>40</sup> See the discussion at §4.4.2.3.

<sup>41</sup> As discussed at §4.4.2.3, there are various types of structures on the reverses of the *frataraka* coinage. On many coins, there is a figure standing to left, often identified as the king, and a winged symbol floating above the structure.

<sup>42</sup> These towers, and their potential linkages with the tower structures shown on seals, are discussed in detail at §4.4.2. Potts (2007, pp. 296–97) notes that the *frataraka* rulers may not have had any clear knowledge about the original functions of the Achaemenid towers.

<sup>43</sup> Choksy 2007, p. 236. For the temple, see now Stronach and Roaf 2007, pp. 67–92, 197–98, 210–13.

<sup>44</sup> Choksy 2007, p. 238; *\*ātarshgāthu*, a precinct for Zoroastrian sacred fire.

<sup>45</sup> Choksy 2007, pp. 240–41; *\*ātarshāna*, a Zoroastrian fire altar.

<sup>46</sup> The rock-cut structures are more commonly dated to the Sasanian period; Choksy 2007, pp. 241–42.

<sup>47</sup> Choksy 2007, p. 246.

<sup>48</sup> Choksy 2007, p. 243.

<sup>49</sup> A particularly important resource in this regard is Henkelman 2008a, not only for the ideas there presented but also for its focus upon the textual evidence for ritual and religious practices reflected in the texts from the Fortification archive at Persepolis.

<sup>50</sup> Henkelman 2008a is a most critical first step in this process. The role that current and future archaeological research will play in this research agenda is vividly illustrated by a most remarkable recent discovery made by a joint Italian-Iranian team excavating at the site of Tol-e Āğori, some 3 km west of the Takht at Persepolis (Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2014). Their excavations have revealed a large rectangular monumental structure (perhaps a tower or gate) that was made of mudbrick and baked brick and decorated with glazed relief bricks. Preliminary study of the fragments of relief bricks indicate that the iconography is Babylonian; some of the relief brick fragments clearly represent the *mušhuššu* dragon (Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, pp. 26–27, figs. 24–27). On this possible tower, see also the comments at §4.4.2.2.

<sup>51</sup> This study will not address the very important evidence of emblems set up on pedestals, often inaccurately described as altars, preserved in the so-called late Babylonian worship scene, a scene type that occurs very commonly in the early Achaemenid period. For the scene, see the excellent overview in Ehrenberg 1999, pp. 15–25.

<sup>52</sup> The seminal study on images within the Achaemenid imperial milieu is Root 1979.

<sup>53</sup> Goldstone and Haldon 2009, p. 3; this study is an excellent introduction to the dynamics of ancient empires and the importance of religion within empires.

<sup>54</sup> The concept of an “axial age,” the period 600 BC–AD 200/600, during which the world’s major religions and their canonical texts emerged, is owed to Jaspers (1949). The concept has been

much criticized, and Achaemenid Iran in any case does not tidily fit into this model, given the issues surrounding the nature of religious belief in the Achaemenid period (unless, of course, one believes that the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians).

<sup>55</sup> Goldstone and Haldon 2009, p. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Goldstone and Haldon 2009, pp. 3–10.

<sup>57</sup> E.g., Herrenschildt 1977; Root 1979; Ahn 1992; Lincoln 2007, 2008, 2012; Knäpper 2011; Gaspa 2017; Henkelman 2017. Briant (2001, pp. 112–18) has tried to frame the discussion within the “religious component of Achaemenid monarchic ideology.”



## Seals and Archives at Persepolis: An Introduction

“I have been contemplating the seal impressions on Persepolis tablets for about thirty-five years. In that time I have made some discoveries about the ways they were used, but I am still confused about many things. It is one of those cases in which if you are not confused, you do not appreciate the problem.” (Hallock 1977, p. 127)

### 2.1. Introduction

This study is concerned with glyptic imagery within archives. Those archives are richly contextualized in time and space. Before proceeding with the disposition of the evidence for the stepped and the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic and its significance, this chapter will firstly provide some background by way of a brief discussion of glyptic studies in general within the discipline. It then will explore the historical context for the Fortification and Treasury archives via an overview of Persepolis at the time of Darius. Lastly, this chapter will articulate in some detail the administrative apparatuses represented by the two Persepolitan archives and examine briefly the nature of the glyptic preserved in them.<sup>58</sup>

The often-quoted line at the top of this chapter from R. T. Hallock, who pioneered the study of the Elamite documents from the Fortification archive, is no less true today than it was thirty-eight years ago. Hallock was speaking about the sealing protocols, and what those protocols signified administratively, within the administrative apparatus that we today call the Fortification archive. I think that we may be slightly less confused than Hallock about sealing protocols at Persepolis, but there are nevertheless many questions that remain unresolved. His observation is equally applicable to the study of the glyptic imagery per se from the archive, particularly that involving the so-called fire altars.

#### 2.1.1. Background

##### 2.1.1.1. *Seals and Glyptic Studies*

Seals in ancient western Asia occur in two forms, the stamp seal and the cylinder seal.<sup>59</sup> On both types of seal matrices, imagery is carved in the negative so that, when impressed into a malleable medium, the engraved surface produces designs in the positive.<sup>60</sup> Stone is the most common material for surviving seals, but bone, metal, ivory, shell, and so on could also be used. Stamp seals generally have one flat face that was engraved in the negative; the body of the stamp can assume a wide range of forms, discoid, conoid, theriomorph, and so on. On cylinder seals, the barrel of the cylinder is engraved in the negative; the ends of the cylinder may also be engraved, but this is rare.

Stamp seals are attested as early as the seventh millennium BC. In most areas, they became very rare after the invention of the cylinder seal (see below) but then gradually returned to popularity in the first half of the first millennium BC, probably connected with the increased use of Aramaic, the small stamp seals fitting much better the surface afforded by the bullae that were used to secure parchment and papyrus documents. Cylinder seals first appear in the second half of the fourth millennium BC, intimately associated with the advent of complex accounting and writing as part of the “urban revolution.” Once invented, the cylinder became the preferred seal shape in Assyria, Babylonia, and Iran for almost three thousand years. A typological variant of

the stamp seal, the metal finger ring with an engraved stone set in a bezel, occurs in the Neo-Assyrian period. The three seal types, cylinder, stamp, and finger ring, were used contemporaneously in the sixth–fourth centuries BC. Cylinder seals as a functional sealing artifact ended in the fourth century BC with the abandonment of the widespread use of cuneiform on clay tablets. Stamps and finger rings continued to be used as active sealing agents in the medieval and early modern periods; they survive today but mainly as decorative objects. Both ancient stamp seals and cylinder seals could be placed in metal settings; when they survive, these settings can be quite elaborate.

Seals served a variety of functions in ancient western Asia and permeated society unlike any other device carrying figural imagery; deities to slaves owned/used seals. I often invoke Athenian Black- and Red-Figure vases as a potential analogue for imagery occurring on a specific artifact type that appears to have had relatively wide distribution.<sup>61</sup> The most common manner in which seal imagery functioned was as a marker of identity.<sup>62</sup> Seals were often applied to various types of clay documents that carried cuneiform text, for example, political, administrative, economic, and legal documents;<sup>63</sup> the seal impressions indicated administrative oversight by a particular official and/or office, the presence of individuals or offices as witness to transactions, and so on. Seals were also applied to other types of clay documents, generally uninscribed, that were used to secure and/or protect goods in jars, baskets, bags, boxes, rooms, etc., the seal impressions indicating administrative oversight, ownership, and/or authenticity.<sup>64</sup> A special type of clay document, known as a bulla, was wrapped around a knot of string used to secure a rolled/folded parchment or papyrus sheet and then sealed.<sup>65</sup> In some periods, seals were applied to pottery as decoration.<sup>66</sup>

While the materials, possible settings, and functions of ancient seals are issues of interest, in ancient western Asia the seal is important primarily because of the imagery that is carved onto it.<sup>67</sup> This imagery is often today encompassed by the terms “glyptic art” or “glyptic imagery.”

Glyptic imagery may survive in two forms. The first consists of the physical matrix of the *actual ancient seal*. One can examine the actual engraved surface of the seal, but to see the full extent of the composition, iconography, and style of carving, it is necessary to make a *modern* impression of the *ancient* seal. Indeed, when one wants to illustrate the imagery on a surviving ancient seal today, more commonly only a modern impression of the ancient seal is published rather than the ancient seal itself. The second manner in which glyptic imagery may survive is via its *impressed* state on a clay document. Seal impressions are sometimes called *sealings*, although the term is somewhat confusing.<sup>68</sup>

As the primary function of many ancient seals in western Asia was their ability to leave an impressed image as a marker of an individual or a collective administrative office in the plastic medium offered by clay (see below), seals and seal impressions are some of the most commonly occurring artifact types in archaeological contexts from ancient western Asia. Tens of thousands of seals survive. Hundreds of thousands of impressions of seals survive on clay documents. It is a remarkable fact that in only a handful of cases do we have both the *ancient seal* and an *ancient impression* of it.<sup>69</sup> Reasons for this state of affairs are unknown. It may be due to the nature of the archaeological record, fragmentary and haphazard, or perhaps there may be some ancient functional dynamics that dictate such a survival pattern.<sup>70</sup>

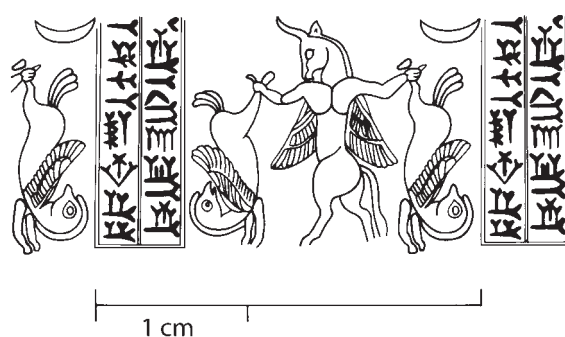
A special type of seal is one that carries an inscription in addition to figural imagery. Inscriptions are first attested on cylinder seals in the first half of the third millennium BC. Inscribed seals occur thereafter in every major culture of ancient western Asia, but in all periods inscribed seals are rare.<sup>71</sup> The inscriptions most commonly contain personal names, occupations, divine names, and/or prayers.<sup>72</sup>

The manner in which seals and their engraved imagery were conceived, dispersed, and used in ancient western Asia is really quite distinct in comparison to ancient Egypt, Greece, Etruria, and Rome. While seals occur in all of those cultures, the evidence to date indicates that seals did not permeate those cultures in the same manner as in ancient western Asia, nor was the visual repertoire as diverse, rich, and long lived.

The study of the glyptic of ancient western Asia began in earnest in the late nineteenth century, marked in particular by the appearance of various publications by Menant.<sup>73</sup> For the next fifty years, researchers focused on the catalog publication of glyptic holdings in large museums (primarily ancient seals rather than impressions on clay documents), the identification of the *realia* (iconography) in glyptic imagery, and the interpretation of the scenes via the surviving ancient literary record.<sup>74</sup> Frankfort (1939) marks a critical moment. His magisterial survey of the imagery on cylinder seals has yet to be replicated. Frankfort attempted in a

systematic manner to read the religious imagery (iconography and compositions) preserved on cylinder seals from all periods via the substantial corpus of mythological texts that survive from the first millennium BC.<sup>75</sup> Frankfort relied almost exclusively on actual seals, even if unprovenanced, rather than impressions of seals.

There has always been a tendency in glyptic studies to favor the actual surviving seals over impressions on clay documents. Reasons for this are not difficult to understand. The actual seals provide modern impressions that are legible. Moreover, one may make multiple impressions of the same seal using different sealing materials and/or different colors of material to produce the optimum seal impression. Such impressions are easy to photograph (and can be photographed under different lighting conditions) so as to produce the optimum illustration for publication. Impressions of seals on ancient clay administrative documents are, on the other hand, often extremely difficult to read. The impressions may be fragmentary and/or poorly preserved, and they are exceptionally difficult to photograph. Whereas one can fairly easily study all aspects of the imagery on an actual cylinder through its modern impression via a photograph, this is almost never the case with an ancient impression of a seal. A single photograph will never capture the full range of details of composition, iconography, and/or style. The researcher must physically examine the actual impression of the seal, turning it under different lighting conditions, in order to achieve a relatively complete reading of the imagery. In most cases, it is necessary to draw the impression in order to convey details of composition and iconography. This adds a particularly challenging layer in the interpretive process. In many ways, the study of glyptic imagery preserved on clay documents is akin to the study of cuneiform texts, where the researcher is often faced with issues of preservation and legibility, and generally must produce a copy of the text that then becomes the document of record that other researchers will consult in lieu of having access to the actual tablet. When a text exists in multiple exemplars, a copy must be made that collates all the exemplars into a master, and reconstructed, version, with a critical apparatus. The glyptic researcher faces similar challenges within the context of large archives wherein seals may be applied to more than one tablet. A painstaking and time-consuming process of checking each impression must be undertaken in order to produce a collated line drawing. As an example, I illustrate the collated line drawing of PFS 1\* (fig. 2.1), the most commonly occurring seal in the Fortification archive, and an example of one impression of it (fig. 2.2). This collated line drawing was produced from over 200 impressions of the seal, no single one of which preserved the full extent of the design.



Figures 2.1–2.2. PFS 1\*, the Persepolis regional office seal:  
(top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 956 (left edge)



Although the study of ancient impressions of seals poses many challenges, the potential rewards are substantial owing to the fact that the clay document on which the seal occurs may add considerably to our understanding of the various contexts in which the seal was used. This is especially likely in those cases where the clay document carries a text. This contextual information is amplified where the sealed document is part of an archive in which there are other sealed documents. When the archive has a known and properly excavated provenance, the research potentials are even more rich. Lastly, archives that contain large numbers of sealed administrative documents are especially fruitful grounds for pursuing various types of analyses; the larger the archive, the richer the data (both textual and visual).

Initial publications of corpora of seal *impressions*, as distinct from publications of actual seals, were driven by museum acquisition. One of the earliest such publications is by Delaporte (1920), who published both the actual seals and seal impressions that had come into the possession of the Louvre Museum as a result of excavations across western Asia and the central and eastern Mediterranean. That publication thus contained seal impressions from a variety of sites (none, however, from what one would qualify as an archive *per se*). Legrain's (1936) publication of the seal impressions from Ur dated to the third millennium BC relied less on modern museum contexts, focusing on one particular site, Ur. That publication is distinguished also by the inclusion of particularly important deposits of seal impressions, those from the layers immediately above and in the famous Royal Cemetery. Legrain (1921 and 1925) also produced catalogs of seals retrieved from various sites by the French Mission in Iran and by the University Museum in Babylonia, respectively. Here, again, the museum holdings provided the driving force behind the publications. Porada's (1947) publication of the seal impressions from Nuzi is one of the first to focus on a particular site unanchored to modern museum context. That publication included some material originating from what one may legitimately call archival contexts. Collon's (1975) publication of the seal impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh, although again concerned with data drawn from across the whole of the excavations of the site, set a new standard in the quality of documentation of seal impressions.<sup>76</sup>

A watershed moment in glyptic studies is marked by Gibson and Biggs (1977), a publication that initiated a wealth of studies focused upon the seal in its impressed state.<sup>77</sup> As the articles in that study showed, when glyptic imagery is preserved as impressions from archival contexts, that imagery may provide particularly detailed insights into a wide range of social aspects of art. The individual(s) or office(s) who used a seal may be known as well as details concerning the administrative ranks and/or social statuses of those individuals and offices. The imagery, moreover, exists within a nexus of imagery associated with other seal users. One may articulate the contextual embedding of the imagery in the following manner:<sup>78</sup>

- seal
- user
- archive with other users and other seals
- a particular time
- a particular place

Within archival contexts, we thus may be able to glimpse something of what we can call the “image-landscape” of a particular place at a particular point in time. We may also have some insights into the social character of this glyptic imagery and how those images constitute part of a socio-political negotiation among members of particular social classes and/or administrative ranks.<sup>79</sup>

#### 2.1.1.2. *The Early Achaemenid Empire*

The images discussed in this book have a particularly important spatial context: the Achaemenid imperial capital Persepolis. Most of these images (i.e., those from the Fortification archive) have a particularly critical temporal context, the years 509–493 BC during the reign of Darius I, the conceptual founder of the Achaemenid empire. A few words by way of introduction to the reign of Darius may be in order.

The Achaemenid Persian empire was an exceptionally broad and ethnically diverse phenomenon: no previous political state had been larger, stretching from the eastern Mediterranean to the Indus



Figure 2.3. Map of the Achaemenid empire (courtesy Musée du Louvre/Achemenet)

Valley (fig. 2.3). By Achaemenid Persia, we designate the rule of a particular Persian clan, the Achaemenids. The Achaemenids were members of a large language group, Indo-Iranian, a branch of the Indo-European language family, who had settled in the region of what is today southwestern Iran, the modern provinces of Fārs and Khūzestān, during the course of the second and early first millennia BC (fig. 2.4).<sup>80</sup> These Indo-Iranians met and intermixed with a long-lived indigenous Elamite culture that extended from the alluvial floodplains of the lowlands, western Khūzestān, Susa being the most prominent site, to the mountainous highlands, eastern Khūzestān and Fārs, the highland Elamite capital being Anšan (modern Tall-e Malyān). By the seventh and sixth centuries BC in the Elamite highlands, we most likely have to do with a population better characterized as Elamo-Iranian, rather than two separate groups, Elamite and Iranian. This process of Elamite and Iranian acculturation has famously been called the “ethnogenèse des Perses.”<sup>81</sup>

The political entity that Darius (ruled 522–486 BC) seized had its roots in an earlier state most prominently associated with Cyrus the Great (ruled c. 559–530 BC).<sup>82</sup> Herodotus (I.95.1) knows of some four stories concerning the birth of Cyrus. The two he recounts in detail are clearly based on folktale. Herodotus highlights Cyrus’ struggle to seize political power from the Medes. The Medes were another group of Indo-Iranian speakers who had settled in the mountains of western Iran.<sup>83</sup>

In Herodotus (I.125), Cyrus is clearly marked as Persian, a member of the *phratry* (“clan”) of the Achaemenidae.<sup>84</sup> Scholarly convention has normally counted Cyrus as an Achaemenid, based upon both Herodotus’ story and Darius’ own account of his rise to power in his inscriptions at Bīsotūn. Recently, the Elamite aspect of Cyrus’ ethno-political identity and the political state that he created have, however, come under some discussion, not least of all owing to the manner in which Cyrus self-identifies in all of his surviving

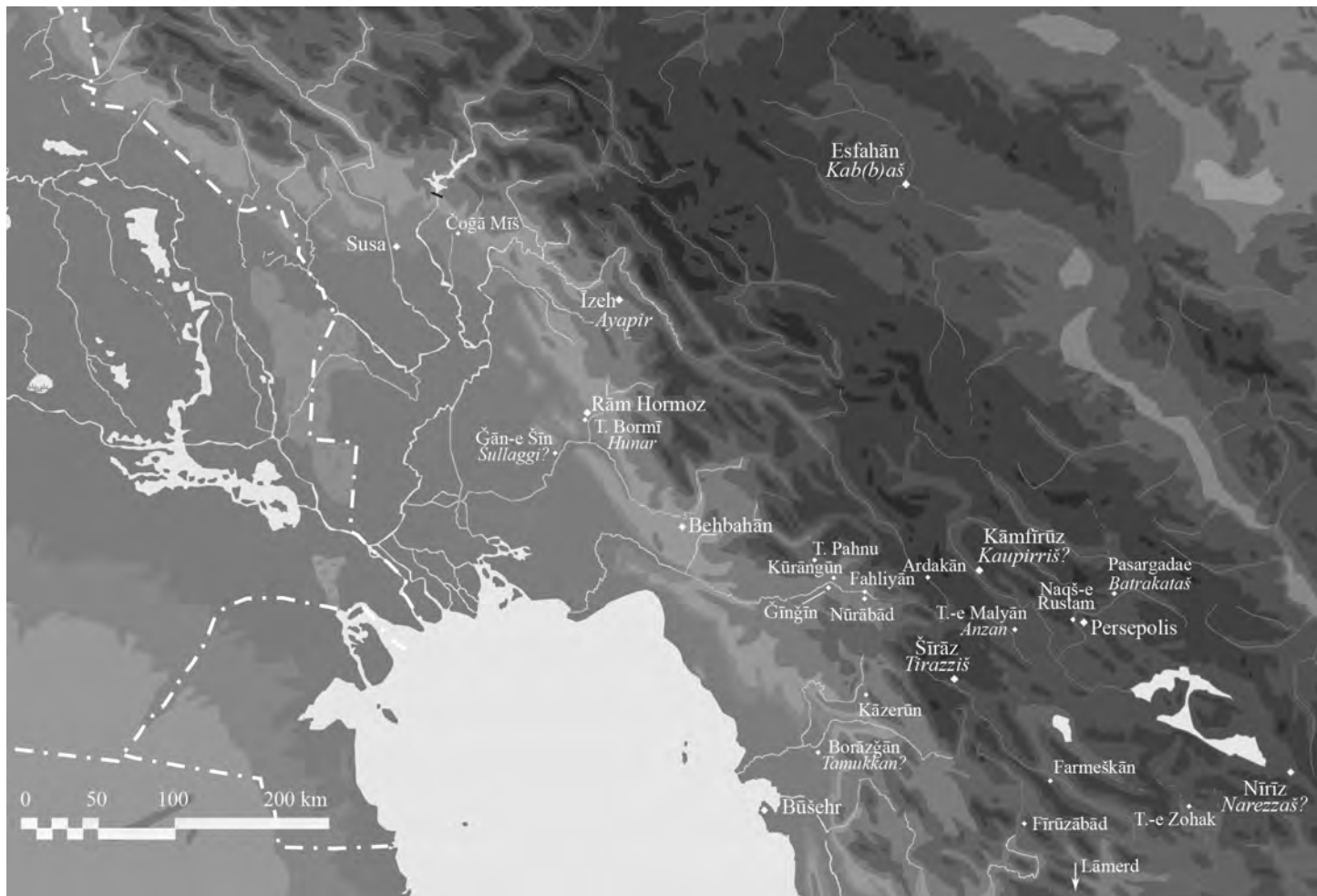


Figure 2.4. Map of southwestern Iran showing Persepolis and Tall-e Malyān (ancient Anšan) (courtesy Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Martin Sauvage)

inscriptions: a king of Anšan.<sup>85</sup> Whether or not Cyrus was an Achaemenid by ties of blood, there can be no doubt that the “political value” of the term Achaemenid commences only with Darius.<sup>86</sup> At the same time, it is clear that Darius and the Persian nobility who surrounded him (as documented in Herodotus and Darius’ inscription at Bīsotūn) were part of an Elamo-Iranian highland culture. Darius’ reign, politically, culturally, and visually, is thus a period of rupture as well as continuity, a period of consolidation as well as expansion, a period of invention as well as rejuvenation.<sup>87</sup>

In short, Darius’ reign is a critical period in the conceptualization and formulation of imperial protocols across a wide spectrum of behaviors. As such, the reign of Darius is one of the great formative periods in ancient western Asia, a time in which there was a burst of creative activities on a wide range of fronts, comparable to other great formative periods such as those initiated by Sargon of Akkad and Aššurnasirpal II of Assyria.

The heartland of Darius’ empire stretched along an axis running between Susa and Persepolis (figs. 2.4–2.5).<sup>88</sup> Within this axis lay the Elamite highlands, the region within which Indo-Iranian peoples lived and acculturated with native Elamite populations, the “ethnogenèse des Perses” (see above), over the course of many centuries. Particularly charged markers in the highland landscape included long-lived open-air sanctuaries and the ancient highland Elamite capital at Anšan (modern Tall-e Malyān). Just to the northeast of the Susa–Persepolis axis lay Cyrus’ newly founded capital city at Pasargadae, a project incomplete at the time of Cyrus’ death.

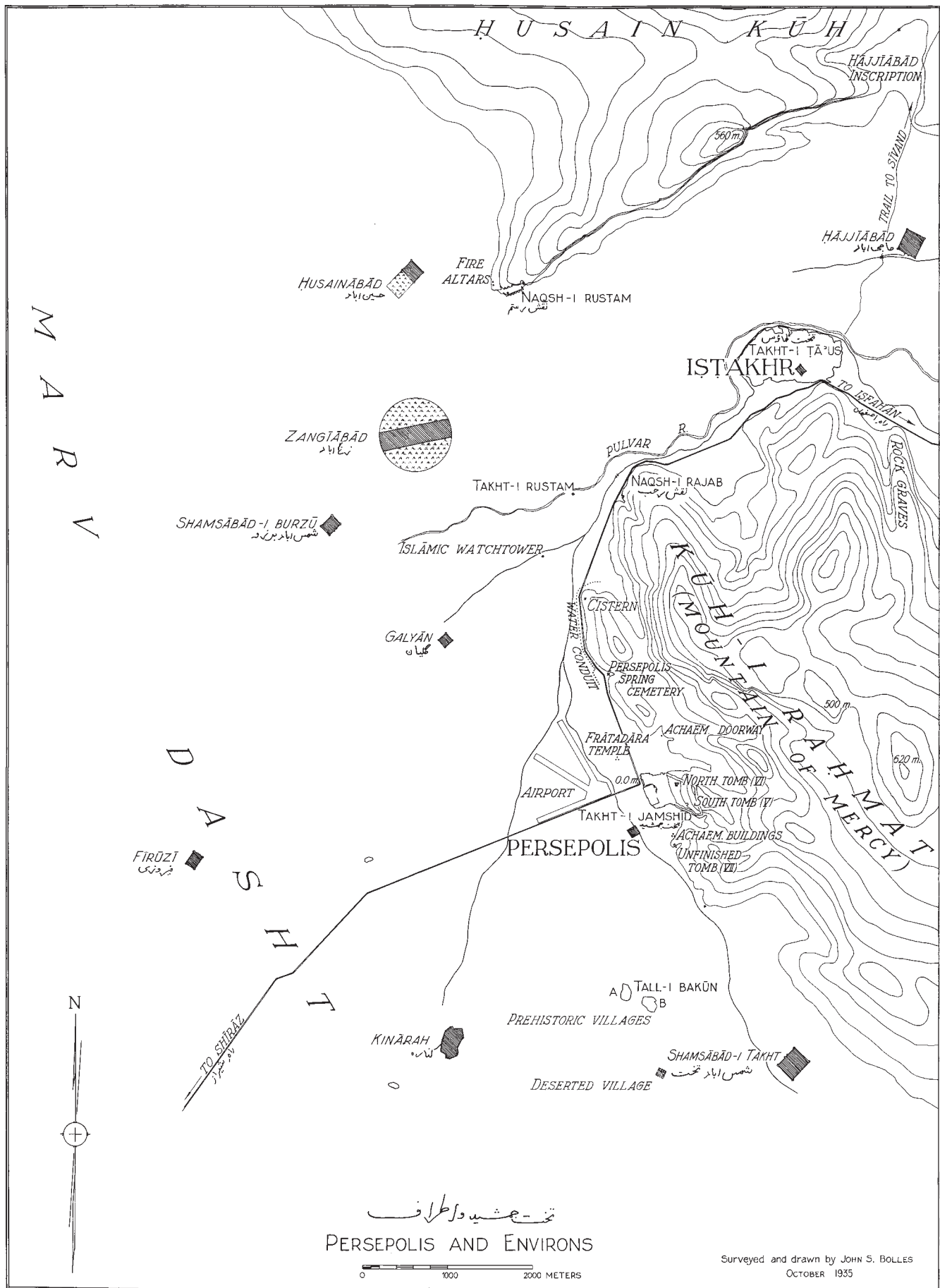


Figure 2.5. Map of the region of Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1953, fig. 13)

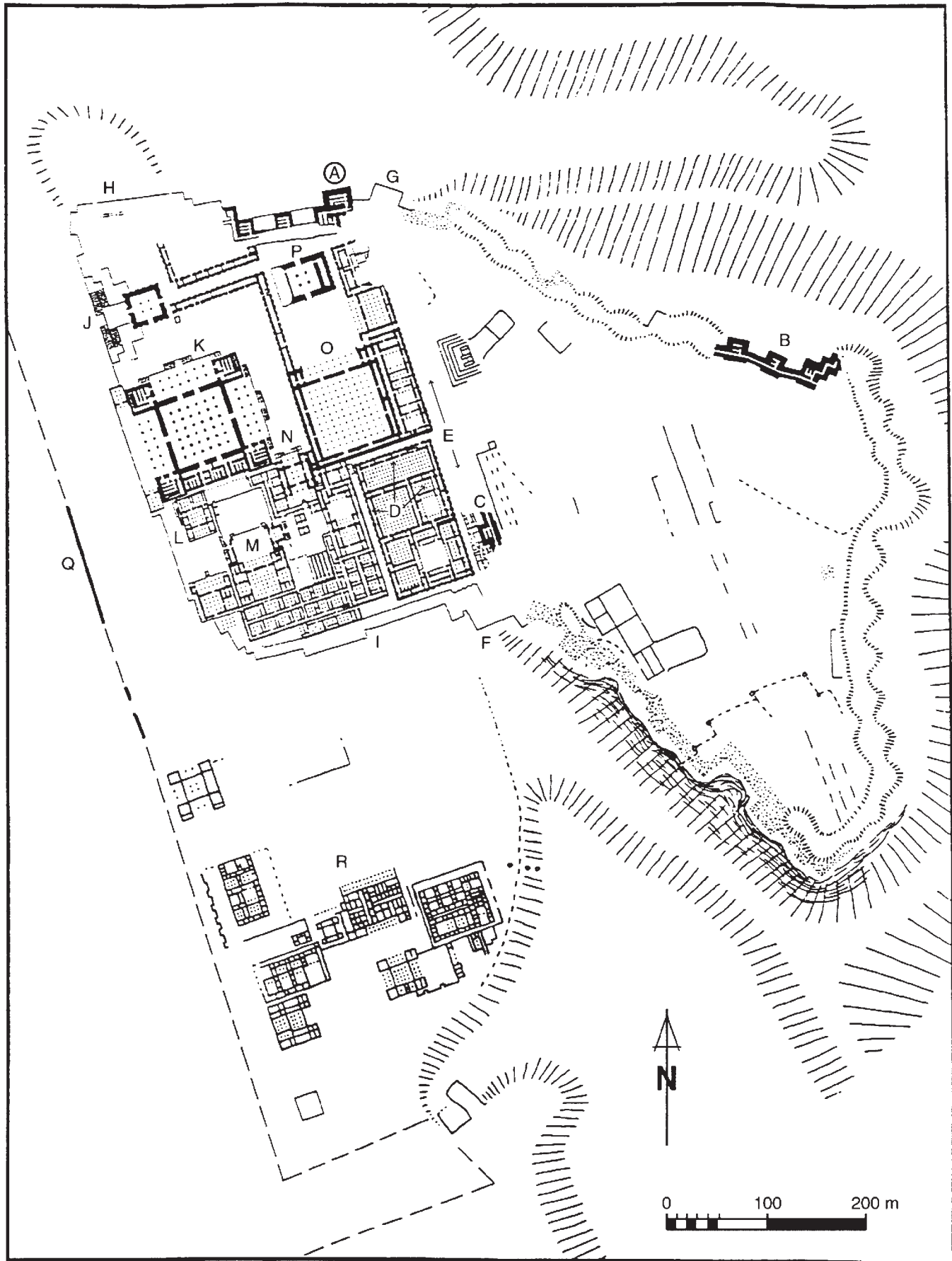


Figure 2.6. Plan of Persepolis (adapted from Kleiss 1992) showing the findspot of Fortification archive (A) and the Treasury archive (D)

The reign of Darius constitutes one of the most prolific expressions of the material manifestations of empire in ancient western Asia. Construction activities in Iran included the great rock-cut reliefs at Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam and massive building projects at Susa, an ancient lowlands Elamite capital city, and Persepolis, Darius' new capital city.<sup>89</sup> All of these projects involved elaborate and extensive visual programmes executed in relief and free-standing sculpture. These visual programs extended also into coinage, the famous archer series, and glyptic, most well known by what we have come to call the “Court Style.”<sup>90</sup>

### 2.1.1.3. Persepolis at the Time of Darius I

The seals that are the focus of this study come from Persepolis. Persepolis is the Greek name for the site; it is called Parša (with variants) in the Achaemenid imperial inscriptions and the texts from the Fortification and Treasury archives (figs. 2.6–2.8).<sup>91</sup> For many centuries now, the place has been known as Takht-e Čamšid (“Throne of Jamšid”); part of that modern name, Takht, is now used to refer to the area of the built platform on which stand the famous audience halls and palatial structures. As far as we can tell, the site that Darius selected for his new capital city was a new one.<sup>92</sup> It is situated on a rocky outcrop of the Šāhi Kūh (“Mountain Royal”) that is part of the Kūh-e Rahmat range (“Mound of Mercy”) at the far eastern edge of the Marv Dašt

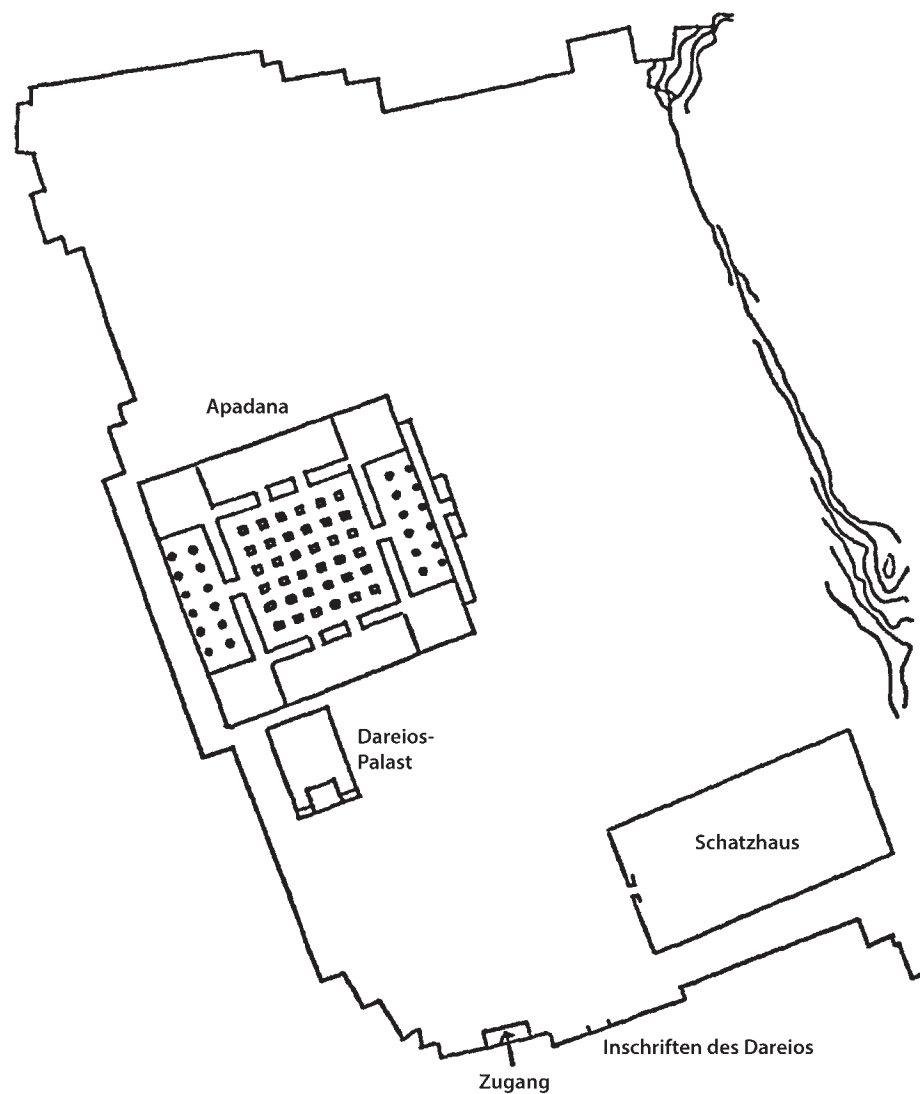


Figure 2.7. Plan of Persepolis at the time of Darius (Koch 1987a, p. 157, fig. 4, after Kleiss)

plain. Shahbazi (1978, p. 490) held that the name of the mountain originally was \**Mithrāhyā-Kaufā*, “Mithra’s Mountain,” which survived into Middle Iranian as *Kūh-e Mehr*. Following this line of argument, many posit that the mountain at the time of Darius was associated already with Mithra and, thus, may have been one of the reasons Darius selected it for his new capital city.<sup>93</sup> The site may be conceptualized as one of four places defining the politico-religious landscape of eastern Fārs, the other three being the ancient Elamite highland capital at Anšan, approximately 45 km to the west of Persepolis, Cyrus’ capital at Pasargadae, approximately 42 km to the northeast of Persepolis as the crow flies, and the Elamite sanctuary at Naqš-e Rostam, some 6 km to the north of Persepolis (fig. 2.5).

The exact date when Darius started construction at Persepolis is unknown and greatly debated, although almost all commentators are agreed that work commenced on the site early in his reign.<sup>94</sup> In any event, the project was, of course, unfinished at his death in 486 BC (fig. 2.7).

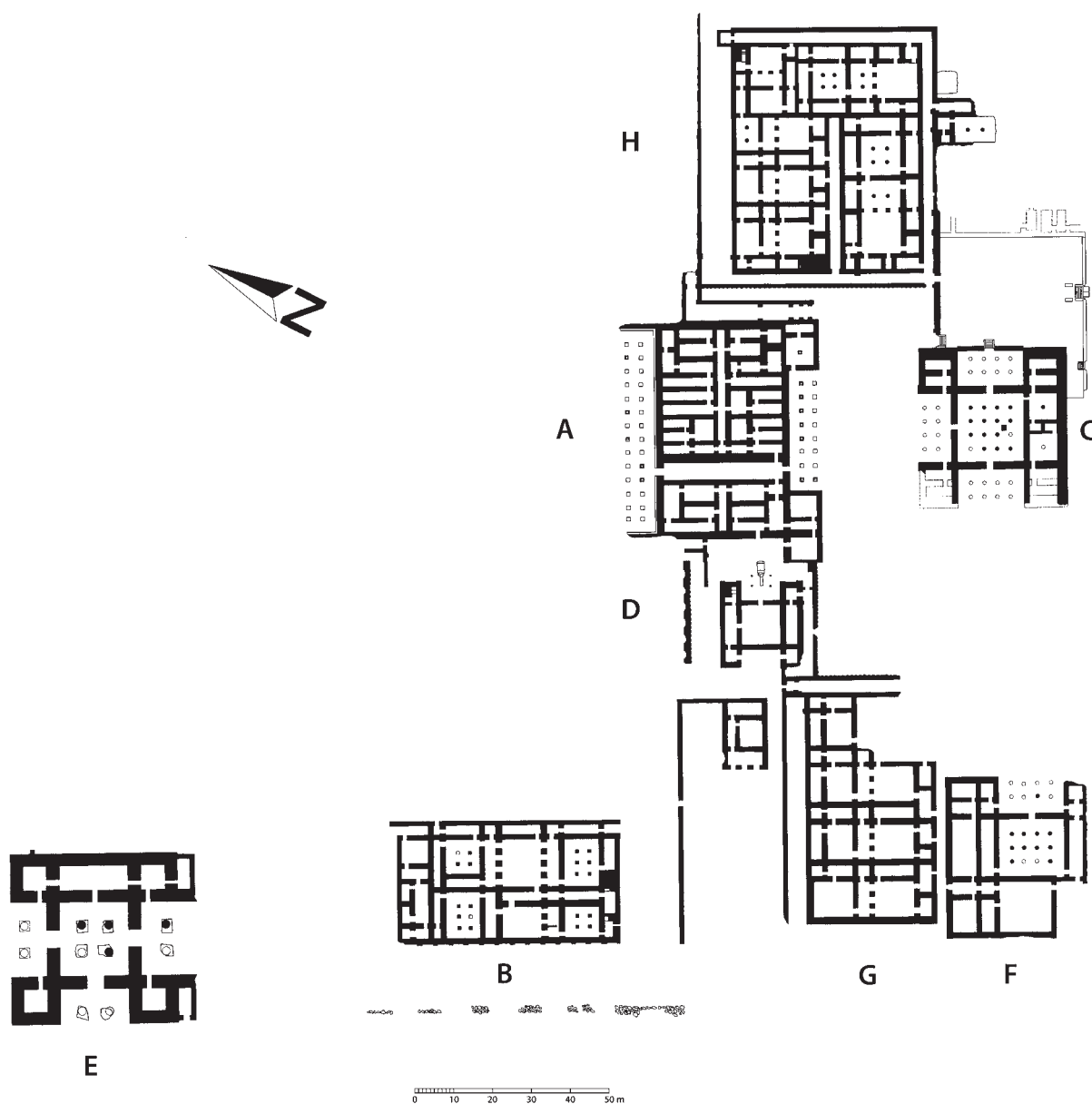


Figure 2.8. Plan of structures in the plain immediately south of the Takht (adapted from Mousavi 2012, p. 28, fig. 1.8)

The site of Persepolis may be conventionally divided into three sectors: the mountain fortifications, the Takht, and the plain surrounding the terrace to the north, west, and south (fig. 2.8).<sup>95</sup> Exactly how much of these three areas was built up in the time of Darius is not known.<sup>96</sup>

The Takht, an enormous platform some 455 × 300 m at its greatest extent, and its subterranean water system would have been the first parts of the site constructed and hence surely completed at the time of Darius' death.<sup>97</sup> One assumes that the fortifications running up and down the Šāhi Kūh, with some twenty-five mudbrick towers and internal corridors, and the eastern fortification wall, with five towers and running parallel to the eastern edge of the terrace, were also completed during Darius' reign, but this has not been confirmed by archaeological investigation.<sup>98</sup> There was a moat running parallel to the fortifications along the eastern terrace that diverted rain water from the slope of the mountain.<sup>99</sup>

On the Takht itself during Darius' reign, two major entrances may have been operative (fig. 2.7).<sup>100</sup> The initial entrance, a staircase that led onto a terrace, was at the southwestern edge of the Takht. Carved onto one enormous block of stone set in the vertical face of the platform next to this entrance was a suite of four texts, two in Old Persian (DPd and DPe), one in Elamite (DPf), and one in Babylonian (DPg).<sup>101</sup> A second entrance, the one known today as the Grand Staircase, is a monumental double staircase with a crenellated parapet. It was constructed at the time of Darius or Xerxes and became, one assumes, the major entrance onto the Takht. At some point in time, perhaps not until relatively late in the Achaemenid period, the initial entrance at the southwest was closed off.<sup>102</sup>

Three buildings on the Takht were certainly started by Darius: the Apadana, the Palace of Darius (*tačara*), and the initial phase of the Treasury (fig. 2.7). The Apadana was the hallmark structure on the Takht and perhaps the flagship building in the whole of the empire. The appellation is a modern one given to the structure by Herzfeld.<sup>103</sup> The Old Persian word *a-p-d-a-n*, to designate a building, is found on short inscriptions on column bases at Susa and Ekbatana (A<sup>2</sup>Ha and A<sup>2</sup>Hb).<sup>104</sup> The applicability of this term to the structure on the Takht at Persepolis is disputed, but it continues today by force of scholarly convention. The building underwent various phases of construction; inscriptions confirm that Darius started the project.<sup>105</sup> The double staircases on the northern and the eastern façades of the building contain the famous sculptural reliefs depicting some type of tribute/gift ceremony.<sup>106</sup> Inscriptions (XPb) from the exterior of the Apadana show that the structure was completed by Xerxes. At some point in time, the original central panels on both stairways were removed and placed in the Treasury and new panels, the ones seen today, inserted.

Inscriptions (DPA) name the structure today known as the Palace of Darius as the *tačara* and state that it was built by Darius.<sup>107</sup> Another inscription (XPc) indicates that Xerxes finished the project. As with the Apadana, there is debate concerning the exact function of the structure.<sup>108</sup> At the time of Darius, there was only one sculpted staircase, that on the south, which looked out over a courtyard and a vista toward the original southern entrance to the Takht.<sup>109</sup> The doorways and windows were executed in stone and carried relief decoration.<sup>110</sup>

The Treasury building on the Takht underwent three major phases of construction. Schmidt reconstructed the original structure, dated to the time of Darius, as a long building having a layout similar to the last phase of the Treasury (i.e., the one seen today), a series of courtyards and small chambers whose longitudinal axis ran east–west (rather than north–south, as in the final phase completed in the reign of Xerxes).<sup>111</sup> Schmidt (1953, pp. 40–41) thought that the Treasury was the first large structure completed on the Takht and that it was the administrative hub of the site, the place where the administrative apparatus associated with the Fortification archive was located. He therefore dated the completion of the first phase of the Treasury to the earliest dated Fortification texts.<sup>112</sup> The second phase of the Treasury was a large addition to the north. Here again, Schmidt (1953, p. 200) sought to fix the dating of this second phase to the Persepolitan archives, suggesting that it dated in the period between the latest texts from the Fortification archive, 493 BC, and the earliest texts from the Treasury archive, 492 BC.<sup>113</sup>

Texts from the Fortification archive mention treasuries at a variety of locations throughout the area covered by its administrative purview (see below, §2.2.3).<sup>114</sup> Curiously, “the Treasury” at Persepolis is never named as such. Many texts document a treasury at an unspecified location; this presumably is “the Treasury” at Persepolis.<sup>115</sup> The Treasury tablets, by comparison, are concerned directly with payments made from the Treasury at Persepolis (see below, §2.3); they at times mention specifically the *kanzabara baršana* (“the



treasurer of Parša”).<sup>116</sup> Thus, at least by the initial date of the Treasury archive, 492 BC, one may assume that there was a “Treasury” building at Persepolis. Although Schmidt assumed that the first-phase Treasury housed the administrative apparatus associated with the Fortification archive, this is highly speculative, and we ought to leave open the possibility that these offices were housed elsewhere, perhaps even in the rooms in the Fortification wall.<sup>117</sup> Whether the Treasury building itself at Persepolis served primarily an administrative function at any time in its history is in fact an open question.<sup>118</sup>

The Treasury building at all phases was primarily constructed in mudbrick without sculptural decoration. Stone was used for the column bases; at some point in time, the central panels of the Apadana were transferred into courtyard 17 of the third-phase Treasury.<sup>119</sup>

One other building on the Takht, the so-called Central Building (also known as the Tripylon or the Council Hall), is often assumed to have been started under the reign of Darius.<sup>120</sup> Since there is no inscriptional evidence associated with the Central Building (unlike the Apadana and the Palace of Darius), a dating in the reign of Darius relies on stylistic analysis of the sculpture, comparison of iconographic details of that sculpture (e.g., the forms of the crowns) to other dated reliefs, the likelihood that the scene of the king and crown prince dates to the reign of Darius, and the perceived topographical relationship of the building to the Apadana.<sup>121</sup> The building was lavishly decorated with relief sculpture on staircase façades and door jambs. In another study (Garrison in press b), I have suggested that several iconographic and stylistic details in the rendering of the winged symbols in the Central Building clearly distinguish them from the ones documented at Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam. It seems noteworthy also that the figure in the winged ring is displayed prominently in the Central Building but, apparently, not at all in the Apadana and the Palace of Darius. For these reasons, Roaf’s (1983, pp. 146, 157) dating of the building to the reign of Xerxes seems preferable to a date in the reign of Darius.<sup>122</sup>

The third sector of Persepolis is the flat plain lying to the north, northwest, west, and south of the Takht. Approximately 200 m north of the Takht, there are remains of several buildings, called today the Frataraka complex.<sup>123</sup> The complex was discovered by Herzfeld’s team, and Herzfeld identified one of the structures as a fire temple of the *frataraka* rulers, a proposal that has been often contested. The complex is generally dated to the early Seleucid period, but an Achaemenid date for the structure in the northwest of the complex has at times been suggested, and one cannot rule out the possibility that earlier structures lay underneath some parts of the complex.<sup>124</sup>

Farther to the northwest, the area appears to have been an industrial zone, probably devoid of any residences.<sup>125</sup> At a point approximately halfway between the Takht and the Achaemenid tombs at Naqš-e Rostam, there are remains of a square structure of cut stone masonry, known today as Takht-e Rostam, and a large columned hall, known today as Dašt-e Gohar. The two monuments may in fact be part of the same architectural complex.<sup>126</sup> The square structure has almost universally been identified as a tomb emulating the style of the famous tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae. The tomb at Takht-e Rostam has recently been reinvestigated.<sup>127</sup> Bessac and Boucharlat, as most previous commentators, date both the tomb and the columned hall to the late sixth century BC.<sup>128</sup>

The plain to the west of the Takht, which for so long has been a lacuna in the archaeological record of the region, has recently come into sharper focus owing to a series of surveys and excavations.<sup>129</sup> For many years, researchers have tried to identify in the area to the west of the Takht the three defensive walls mentioned in Diodorus Siculus (XVII.71, 3–8). While some scraps of long walls have been revealed, there is no secure archaeological evidence to support the existence of such a defensive arrangement.<sup>130</sup> The 100 m immediately to the west of the Takht is much disturbed by modern construction; Boucharlat (in press) suggests that this zone contained no architectural features in the whole of the Achaemenid period. Farther to the west, extending for some 4–5 km, recent surveys have suggested that the area consisted of small clusters of buildings, some employing cut-stone masonry, and open parks/gardens. The most well known of the zones containing high-quality cut-stone masonry is that at Bāgh-e Fīrūzi, which has often been identified as a royal residence.<sup>131</sup> The exact dates of the architectural remains at Bāgh-e Fīrūzi are unknown, but almost all commentators suggest a dating in the reign of Darius, if not earlier.<sup>132</sup> An Iranian-Italian team has recently revealed another high-prestige structure in the area of Bāgh-e Fīrūzi at a site today called Tol-e Āğori (some 3 km to the west of the Takht).<sup>133</sup> At this place, there is a large mud/baked-brick structure, measuring 29.06 × 39.07 m, whose

walls are some 10 m thick. Fragments of glazed-relief bricks, a few fragments of a sculpture of a lion in black limestone, and a partial inscription on a brick that may be the Babylonian sign SAR/ŠAR, *šarru* (“king”) leave no doubt but that this was a significant royal structure.<sup>134</sup> The excavators suggest a date in the reign of Darius or perhaps even earlier.<sup>135</sup> Between Bāgh-e Fīrūzi and the Takht, there is an area of small low mounds that Sumner called “Persepolis West.”<sup>136</sup> What, exactly, was here is unknown, but domestic housing is a possibility. The same may also be true of an area to the southwest of Bāgh-e Fīrūzi, which Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet (2013, p. 6) have called Firuzi South.

To the south, starting approximately 230 m from the southern edge of the Takht, there is a large contiguous area covered by a series of seven or more architectural complexes including columned halls, courtyards, and structures with long porticoes, all oriented along the same axis as the structures on the Takht; an additional complex (E), the so-called little Apadana, lies approximately 140 m from the southwestern corner of the Takht (fig. 2.8).<sup>137</sup>

The architectural complexes appear in part to be elite residences, perhaps even what one may call palaces for the royal family.<sup>138</sup> Some column bases that carry inscriptions naming Xerxes have been found in this complex, but in all likelihood many of these structures were built in the reign of Darius.<sup>139</sup> A garden area with a large pool, as well as a moat, has been postulated for the zone between the foot of the Takht and the architectural complexes.<sup>140</sup>

The picture one gets of Persepolis and its immediate environs during the reign of Darius is a place that was very much in its beginnings, a place that, at certain times of the year, must have been deafening with the noise of chisel on stone. While the Takht was probably completed before the death of Darius, none of the structures on it were. Be that as it may, one assumes that the overall concept of the finished product, including the Central Building, the Gate of Xerxes, the “Unfinished Gate,” and the Throne Hall (also known as the Hall of 100 Columns), had already been determined before the death of Darius.<sup>141</sup>

In addition to the crush of building activity, Persepolis and its environs were alive with administrators, thousands of them, engaged in the business of running an empire (when the king was in residence) and overseeing the local imperial apparatuses. By incredible good luck, parts of two state administrative apparatuses survive, what we call today the Persepolis Fortification archive and the Persepolis Treasury archive.<sup>142</sup> These archives document many aspects of the lived experience of the capital and its surrounding area in remarkable detail. The seals used by those administrators, surviving as impressions on the tablets from the two archives, record aspects of visual imagery in the early Achaemenid period at a level of resolution that is, perhaps, unique for the whole of the ancient world.

## 2.2. The Persepolis Fortification Archive (509–493 BC)

In brief, the Persepolis Fortification archive are documents concerning a state agency that managed in a region centered around Persepolis:

the handling (not the production *per se*) of locally grown and produced foodstuffs, and locally bred and raised livestock (including game fowl fattened in captivity). Its purpose was to arrange, survey, record, and account for the streams of these commodities within what I will call the “Persepolis economy.” The prime tasks involved were the receipt, taxation, storage, and transport of goods and their redistribution to gods, members of the nobility, officials, travellers on the royal roads, workers and livestock. (Henkelman 2008a, p. 65)

The commodities included raw food crops (grain and fruit), livestock (sheep and goats, cattle, equids, and poultry), processed food products (flour, breads and other cereal products, beer, wine, processed fruit, oil, and meat), and by-products of food production (hides and, perhaps, textiles). The archive is dated by date formulae in the Elamite and Aramaic documents to the middle years of the reign of Darius I, 509–493 BC.<sup>143</sup>

The Persepolis Fortification archive is one of the most important sources ever discovered for Achaemenid culture. I deliberately stress the broad notions implied by the word culture, since the Fortification archive offers insights into topics in Fārs in the late sixth century BC as diverse as animal husbandry, demography,

agricultural practices, administrative apparatuses in the empire, religious practices (and the state's involvement in them), the management of the Achaemenid royal road and travel in general, the ancient economy, political and cultural history, languages (Elamite, Aramaic, and Old Persian), the society surrounding the imperial court, the royal family, Achaemenid art, the origin and transmissions of visual imagery and carving styles, and the social context of that visual imagery, to mention only a few.<sup>144</sup> One can do no better than to quote the following from Azzoni et al. (in press):

The Persepolis administrative archives are thus the key to a manifold view of Achaemenid imperial structure and practice, the centerpiece in a discontinuous array of dense documentary sources that reveal commonality and variability, inheritance and innovation, adaptation and continuity in the operations of control, support, and governance within Achaemenid Iran, across the breadth of Achaemenid empire, and throughout the life of the Achaemenid empire.

At first blush, it seems remarkable that a monograph-length introduction and overview of the archive does not exist. Those who have worked on the archive past and present are confronted, however, with an enormous wealth of data, much of it as yet not edited and/or analyzed or, indeed, even inventoried, often fragmentary and/or in a fragile state of preservation. A telling testimony is the recent discovery (published in 2007) of a text from the archive written in Old Persian, the first evidence for the use of Old Persian at Persepolis outside of royal inscriptions, a discovery that comes some seventy years after study of the Elamite texts from the archive was first initiated!<sup>145</sup>

The introduction that follows is brief and very general and certainly will not function in any manner as the detailed introductory study that is so needed. It relies heavily on previously published summaries but does provide some updates on the current status of the projects to catalog and publish much of the unedited data.<sup>146</sup>

### 2.2.1. Discovery and Initial Study

The Persepolis Fortification archive was found by Herzfeld in the spring of 1933. The exact circumstances of its discovery and the archaeological context were never published owing to Herzfeld's dismissal from the Oriental Institute Persepolis Expedition in the following year. Schmidt's monumental three-volume excavation reports say almost nothing about the Fortification archive. In a passing sentence, Schmidt (1953, p. 3) reported that "when leveling debris for the construction of a road, Herzfeld discovered great numbers of cuneiform tablets in the northeastern remnants of the Terrace Fortification."

The conventional story is that Herzfeld needed a route off the Takht to dump his excavation debris; cutting through the fortification wall at the northeast corner of the Takht, he happened upon the tablets in two small rooms within the wall (figs. 2.9–2.10).<sup>147</sup> The discovery of tens of thousands of fragile clay administrative tablets was probably the last thing that Herzfeld needed in his road-clearing operation. An account of the day-to-day excavation of the tablets, that is, an excavation notebook, does not, as far as we know, exist. Henkelman (2008a, p. 71 n. 158) discovered that Herzfeld's architect and right-hand man, F. Krefter, kept a personal diary in which there is some information about the excavation of the Fortification archive. Krefter probably assumed responsibility for the excavation of the tablets when he joined the team in late May 1933.<sup>148</sup> Of several interesting notes in Krefter's diary, one of the most striking is "(v)iele interessante Siegel," indicating that even at the time of their discovery, the remarkable nature of the glyptic preserved on the tablets was clear. Excavation of the tablets evidently continued until July of 1933.

From Krefter's diary, we learn that the tablets were packed and ready for shipment by mid-August 1933.<sup>149</sup> This process involved coating the tablets in paraffin, in all cases un-cleaned and in many cases with multiple tablets and fragments still embedded in clumps of excavation sediment, wrapping them in cotton, and finally placing them in cardboard boxes (2,353 in number), which were then placed inside metal boxes.<sup>150</sup> The metal boxes were shipped to the Oriental Institute in 1935. What, exactly, transpired in the period between their packing in the summer of 1933 and their shipment to Chicago in 1935 is unknown.<sup>151</sup>

In recent years, it has been revealed that Herzfeld spent some time with the tablets after their discovery.<sup>152</sup> Among other things, he singled out impressions of the magnificent heirloom seal PFS 93\*, some Aramaic

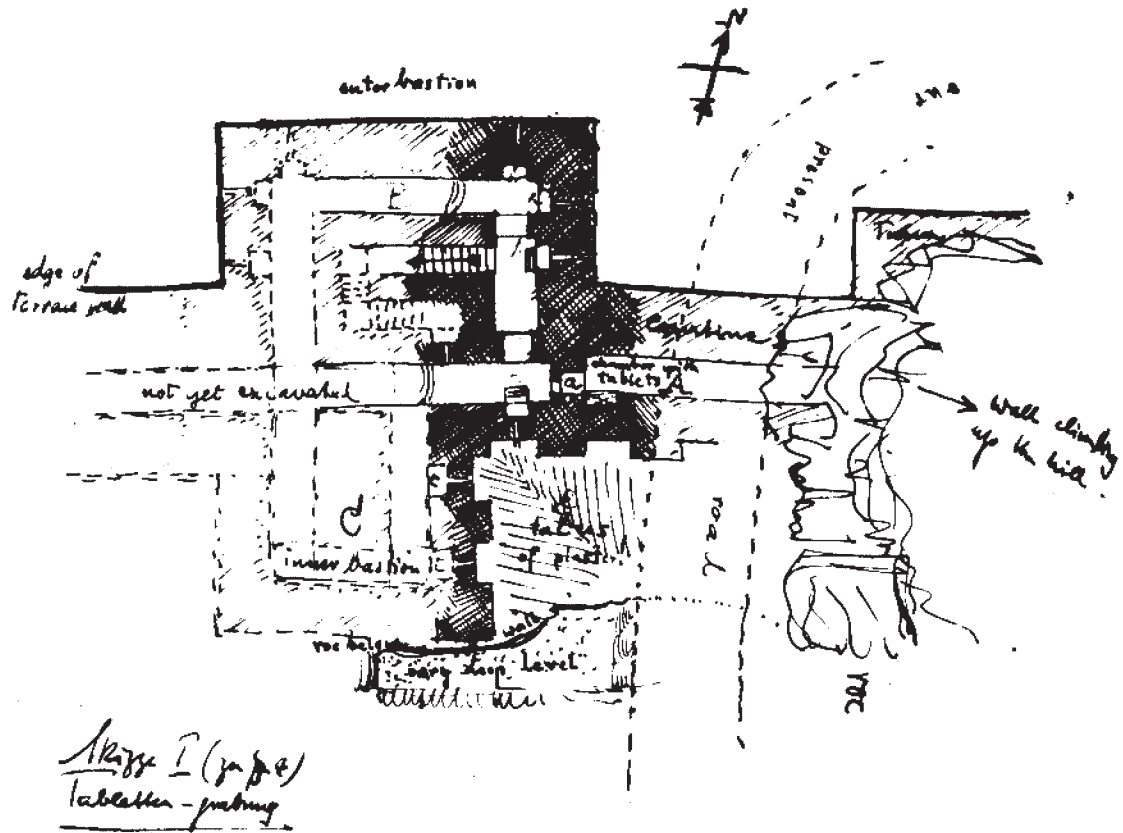


Figure 2.9. Herzfeld's plan of the findspot of the Fortification tablets



Figure 2.10. Tablets from the Fortification archive in the process of excavation

tablets, and the one text written in Phrygian.<sup>153</sup> Herzfeld clearly recognized the potentials of the texts and seals preserved in the archive; his almost complete silence, in print at least, about the archive is thus difficult to understand even in the face of his banishment from Iran after 1934.

Establishing the nature of the archaeological context in which the tablets were found is important for determining the state of the archive at its deposition. Opinions vary.<sup>154</sup> On the one extreme is the view that the two small chambers in which the tablets were found were an active archival room, the tablets thus in situ in their original functional context. On the other extreme is the view that the tablets were dumped into the rooms as garbage or construction fill, the tablets thus in a secondary or tertiary context. An in-between position would have the tablets placed into the rooms of the fortification wall for purposes of storage, yet available for consultation and retrieval, if necessary.<sup>155</sup>

After arrival in Chicago in 1935, most of the tablets were cleaned, some quite well, others less so. This cleaning operation appears to have taken a considerable period of time. Hallock (1969, p. 1) notes that the tablets became available for study in 1937.

Among the handful of individuals who first started work on the tablets, R. T. Hallock eventually assumed responsibility for the Elamite documents, R. A. Bowman for the Aramaic (see below). Hallock's (1969) magisterial publication of 2,087 of the Elamite documents was thus based upon decades of study of the material, study moreover that was conducted in virtual isolation given that no comparable material existed. Hallock 1969 remains to this day the publication of record for the archive. What may surprise many readers, even those relatively familiar with the Fortification archive, is the fact that the texts published in Hallock 1969 represent less than one-eighth of the surviving archive in Chicago.

### 2.2.2. The Surviving Archive

There exists today no full inventory of the clay documents that constitute the Fortification archive. After their discovery, Herzfeld (and Breasted) spoke of some 30,000 documents, including fragments.<sup>156</sup> A recent estimate, based upon a period of intense study of the edited and unedited material in Chicago, puts the surviving archive at "about 20,000–25,000 tablets and fragments representing about 15,000–18,000 original documents."<sup>157</sup> It is important to note, however, that the surviving archive is only a fragment, and probably a very small fragment, of the original archive.<sup>158</sup>

The Fortification archive consists of three categories of clay documents.<sup>159</sup> The most common are clay tablets carrying texts written in cuneiform script in the Elamite language.<sup>160</sup> There are approximately 10,000 or more original documents in Chicago, representing approximately 65–70 percent of the surviving archive. The next most common category of clay document from the archive consists of tablets that carry only impression(s) of seal(s). To date, close to 3,500 of these uninscribed tablets have been removed from the storage boxes for study; I estimate that there may be as many as 5,000 tractable uninscribed documents in addition to many hundreds of fragments in Chicago. The uninscribed tablets represent then approximately 20–25 percent of the surviving archive. The third category of document consists of clay tablets carrying texts written in Aramaic script and language; these texts may be inscribed and/or in ink. There are some 850 Aramaic texts in Chicago, representing approximately 5 percent of the surviving archive.

How these three categories of documentation functioned in relation to one another is still the topic of some debate.<sup>161</sup> A critical factor in this discussion will be the nature of the Aramaic texts, which are currently under study. These documents are terse but clearly have to do with commodity disbursements.<sup>162</sup> There is some overlap in terminology between the Aramaic and the Elamite texts.<sup>163</sup> A few geographic and personal names are shared between the two corpora, including Parša, Bactria, and Babylon, and the king and Parnaka, the head of the agency represented by the Fortification archive.<sup>164</sup> There are many Aramaic texts that are similar to the travel rations in the Elamite texts (Hallock's Q texts).<sup>165</sup> It will be very important to determine the degree of overlap in personnel and seals between the Elamite and Aramaic texts. Nevertheless, owing to (what seems to us) the abbreviated nature of the Aramaic texts and the complete lack of texts on the uninscribed documents, these two categories of documentation are likely to remain somewhat inscrutable.

As noted, seals occur across all three document types. To date, we have identified sixty-three seals that occur on both the Aramaic and the Elamite tablets:<sup>166</sup>

PFS 6	PFS 75 (ST1)	PFS 213	PFS 684	PFS 940	PFS 1386s	PFS 2150
PFS 17	PFS 78	PFS 221	PFS 764	PFS 941	PFS 1480	PFS 2215s
PFS 22	PFS 80	PFS 247	PFS 813*	PFS 971	PFS 1517	PFS 2220 (T21)
PFS 34	PFS 95	PFS 319	PFS 818	PFS 1090	PFS 1561s	PFS 2261
PFS 46	PFS 124*	PFS 518	PFS 849	PFS 1098	PFS 1577	PFS 2343
PFS 48	PFS 130	PFS 535*	PFS 883*	PFS 1174	PFS 1595	PFS 2475
PFS 49	PFS 131	PFS 578s (S1)	PFS 885	PFS 1257s	PFS 1613	PFS 2857
PFS 52	PFS 142	PFS 581s	PFS 919s	PFS 1276	PFS 1644	PFS 2930s
PFS 70s	PFS 192s	PFS 625s	PFS 931*	PFS 1312s	PFS 2138*	PFS 2970

There are forty-three seals that occur on both the Aramaic and the uninscribed tablets:

PFUTS 2s	PFUTS 47s	PFUTS 110s (S2)	PFUTS 182*	PFUTS 361*s	PFUTS 511	PFUTS 679
PFUTS 3	PFUTS 71s	PFUTS 114*	PFUTS 218	PFUTS 396	PFUTS 516	
PFUTS 14s	PFUTS 79	PFUTS 119	PFUTS 219*	PFUTS 423	PFUTS 566s	
PFUTS 17	PFUTS 81	PFUTS 123s	PFUTS 230*	PFUTS 488s	PFUTS 570s	
PFUTS 19* (T2)	PFUTS 101	PFUTS 141s	PFUTS 254s	PFUTS 504s	PFUTS 616 (T25)	
PFUTS 20	PFUTS 108	PFUTS 152 (T14)	PFUTS 287s	PFUTS 505s	PFUTS 635s	
PFUTS 46	PFUTS 109s	PFUTS 156s (S3)	PFUTS 293*	PFUTS 509	PFUTS 638	

There are seventy-one seals that occur on both the Elamite and the uninscribed tablets:

PFS 5	PFS 68	PFS 222	PFS 793s	PFS 1058	PFS 1561s	PFS 3036s
PFS 10	PFS 75 (ST1)	PFS 261*	PFS 818	PFS 1085	PFS 1577	PFS 3070s
PFS 17	PFS 78	PFS 284*	PFS 853	PFS 1099	PFS 1595	PFS 3139
PFS 22	PFS 89	PFS 381	PFS 876s	PFS 1311s	PFS 1616s	PFS 3166
PFS 24	PFS 95	PFS 451s	PFS 883*	PFS 1312s	PFS 2008s	PFS 3190
PFS 26	PFS 105s	PFS 520	PFS 885	PFS 1367s	PFS 2130s	
PFS 39s	PFS 137	PFS 535*	PFS 931*	PFS 1373	PFS 2218	
PFS 42	PFS 142	PFS 578s (S1)	PFS 940	PFS 1386s	PFS 2471s	
PFS 48	PFS 162	PFS 625s	PFS 944	PFS 1429s	PFS 2930s	
PFS 49	PFS 168	PFS 764	PFS 958s	PFS 1459	PFS 3008*	
PFS 50*	PFS 189	PFS 790* (S5)	PFS 1025*	PFS 1480	PFS 3035*	

Lastly, of these seals that cross document categories, twenty-four occur on all three types of documents:

PFS 17	PFS 75 (ST1)	PFS 535*	PFS 818	PFS 940	PFS 1561s
PFS 22	PFS 78	PFS 578s (S1)	PFS 883*	PFS 1312s	PFS 1577
PFS 48	PFS 95	PFS 625s	PFS 885	PFS 1386s	PFS 1595
PFS 49	PFS 142	PFS 764	PFS 931*	PFS 1480	PFS 2930s

While the number of “crossover” seals appears substantial, one has to remember that there are 3,382 distinct and legible seals currently documented in the archive (see below); thus, these crossover seals account for less than one percent of all legible seals in the archive.<sup>167</sup>

Of the approximately 694 legible seals that have to date been identified on the Aramaic tablets, approximately 15 percent occur also on the Elamite and/or uninscribed tablets. Of the approximately 676 legible seals that have to date been identified on the uninscribed tablets, approximately 17 percent occur also on the Elamite and/or Aramaic tablets. From the perspective of the sheer number of seals used in the archive, the picture that emerges is still one, I think, that suggests three separate administrative flows, represented by Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed tablets, with only a small overlap of personnel.<sup>168</sup>

This perspective is reinforced by a preliminary analysis of the seal users, where they may be identified, associated with the seals that cross document categories. This information for the moment comes only from the Elamite texts. While an extended analysis of the seals from the Elamite tablets that cross document categories is not possible in this venue, we can nevertheless make some very broad generalizations.

The most striking observation is the lack of seals from any of the major oversight officials (as known from the Elamite texts) on the Aramaic or uninscribed documents. These oversight officials include: Parnaka (PFS 9\* and PFS 16\*), the director of the agency as represented in the Elamite tablets; Ziššawiš (PFS 83\* and PFS 11\* [T1]), the deputy-director of the agency; the Persepolitan regional office seals (PFS 1\* and PFS 32\*), used by Karkiš (years 15–19) and Šuddayauda (years 20–26); the Kāmfirūz regional office seals (PFS 3 and PFS 30); the Fahliyān regional office seal (PFS 4\*), used by Iršena; and Irtuppiya (PFS 2), a sub-director of the Fahliyān region.<sup>169</sup>

Secondly, to no great surprise, the seals of the principal accountants and/or accounting offices found on the journals (e.g., PFS 27\*, PFS 79, PFS 120, PFS 152, PFS 203, PFS 513) and accounts (e.g., PFS 12a, PFS 12b, PFS 27\*, PFS 57\*, PFS 108\*, PFS 118, PFS 120, PFS 129, PFS 203, PFS 310, PFS 513) on the Elamite documents do not occur on the Aramaic and uninscribed documents.<sup>170</sup>

Thirdly, a very high percentage of seals represent supply offices/officials, including, interestingly, some of the most commonly occurring supply seals used on the Elamite documents: for example, PFS 5, PFS 6, PFS 10, PFS 17, PFS 24, PFS 26, PFS 39s, PFS 42, PFS 48, PFS 70s, PFS 80, PFS 89, PFS 95, PFS 105s, PFS 137, PFS 142, PFS 168, PFS 940.<sup>171</sup>

Fourthly, many of these supply seals occur on travel rations in the Elamite documents. Travel rations also figure prominently for several other seals among the seals that cross document categories; for example, PFS 49 (see fig. 2.24), the seal of Išbaramištima the *barrišdama* (“elite guide”) on the royal road, PFS 192s, the seal of Ammamarda.

Fifthly, a few seals that cross document categories, PFS 22, PFS 34, PFS 50\*, and PFS 131, may be associated with accounting/auditing in the field (versus accounting done in Persepolis).

Lastly, there are only a few seals of high-rank administrators (as known from the Elamite texts) occurring within this group of seals that cross document categories. Two of the most important are the officials connected with the seals PFS 75 (ST1) and PFS 78. PFS 75 (ST1) is associated with the *šaramanna* official Iršena. Iršena is also one of the regional directors and one of only a handful of individuals qualified as *kurdabattiš*; he bears this title, however, only when using the regional office seal PFS 4\*.<sup>172</sup> PFS 78 is associated with Uštana, a high-rank official closely connected to the royal woman Irdabama.<sup>173</sup> One should note also PFS 124\*, which belongs to Hiumizza, a *šaramanna* official who also issues *halmi* authorizations. As an issuer of letter-orders (PF 1833–34), he is one of an elite few.

As the evidence stands currently, I am still inclined to link the bulk of the uninscribed and Aramaic documents with some type of commodity flow associated with travel rationing; thus, an extension of the Elamite documents that we call travel rations (Hallock’s Q texts).<sup>174</sup>

### 2.2.3. The Elamite Documents

The Elamite documents provide the foundation for our understanding of the functioning of the agency represented by the Fortification archive. As noted, Hallock (1969) published 2,087 of the Elamite texts; these carry

the siglum PF. Hallock (1978) published another thirty-three texts; these carry the siglum PFa.<sup>175</sup> Hallock had prepared preliminary readings of another 2,595 Elamite texts; these texts carry the siglum NN (or PF-NN).<sup>176</sup>

The Elamite documents provide no name for the agency represented by the Fortification archive. Its basic purpose was to track the collection of commodities, primarily agricultural, that were then distributed as basic subsistence rations or “salary” to various types of workers, officials, nobility, travelers, and livestock. There are also disbursements made to various deities; these disbursements may have been both for purposes of sacrifice and for consumption by the religious officials.<sup>177</sup> Disbursements to workers (*kurtaš*) are 1 QA or 1½ QA of flour/grain per day (1 QA is approximately 1 quart); some specialized workers (also labeled simply as *kurtaš*) receive higher rations. Disbursements to officials involved in the operating of the system (as opposed to the individuals involved in providing labor for the system), nobility, and travelers often vary according to administrative rank and/or social status. The exact hierarchies of this scaled system are not articulated in the texts other than through amounts of commodities distributed and, in some cases, sealing protocols. There is a relatively wide range of titles that are applied to some officials in the texts, but how those titles related to each other in an administrative hierarchy is unclear.<sup>178</sup>

Hallock (1969) divided the Elamite documents into thirty-two text categories (A–W, with subdivisions). These categories can be compiled into four groups, each of which is distinguished by both its textual content and its tablet shape:<sup>179</sup>

A–S:	memoranda
V and W:	journals and accounts
T:	letter-orders and letters
U:	labels

From an archive-wide perspective, the great bulk of the texts are either memoranda (categories A–S) or journals and accounts (categories V and W). The tablet shapes employed in the two groups are for the most part distinctive and easily recognizable, even in small fragments.

The memoranda (A–S) usually record single transactions. They occur on tablets that are generally tongue shaped with a flattened left edge and a rounded right edge, formed around knotted strings. These tablets are small, generally 3–5 cm in length. Text runs left to right along the long axis of the tablet, flattened edge at the left. Most of the transactions are disbursements of commodities as rations (Hallock’s text categories G–S3), but about 25 percent of them concern “receipt, deposit, exchange and transfer of commodities and by-products” (Azzoni et al. in press; text categories A–F).<sup>180</sup> Stolper (Jones and Stolper 2008, p. 30) characterizes memoranda as primary documents, that is, “documents that are not based on other written sources, but constitute the first written record of a transaction, whether written at the moment of the transaction or at some distance of space or time.”

A typical example of a memorandum is PF 850, an L1 text (“regular monthly rations with *gal makip*”):

1-8 107 (BAR of) grain, allocation from (*kurman*) Turpiš from (the place) Kurištiš, Cappadocian *kurtaš* subsisting on rations received as rations (at) Baktiš, (for) 1 month. 8-10 First (month), 23rd year.  
 11 9 men 3. 12 6 boys 1. 13 19 women 2. 14 6 girls 1. 15 Total 50 workers.

In this transaction, the *kurman* (“supply”) official Turpiš located at the place Kurištiš allocates rations to Cappadocian *kurtaš* (“workers”) at the place Baktiš for one month. The tablet is sealed on the left and right edges and the reverse with PFS 3, an office seal representing the regional director of the Kāmfirūz region.<sup>181</sup> The occurrence of PFS 3 on the tablet indicates that the authorization for this disbursement comes from the regional director’s office.<sup>182</sup>

Category V texts are today called journals, category W, accounts.<sup>183</sup> Journals (V) are written on large rectangular tablets, commonly 9–12 cm in width and 7–10 cm in height; the texts are generally laid out with a wide margin on the left side, separated by a vertical line, for the amounts.<sup>184</sup> Accounts (W) occur on elongated rectangular tablets ranging in size from 5.5 to 12 cm on the long axis. Several formats for the layout of the text have been recognized.<sup>185</sup> Journals are compilations of transactions, recorded initially on memoranda, concerning a particular commodity at a particular place over a period of a year or more. Accounts are records of the balances for particular depots for one to five years; normally they cover two or more years.<sup>186</sup> Both



journals and accounts can be quite lengthy. Stolper (Jones and Stolper 2008, pp. 30–31, 37) describes journals and accounts as secondary records. When an account provides the date of composition as well as the year(s) to which it pertains, a phenomenon which is not common, the time lapse is generally only one year.<sup>187</sup> The accounts and journals at times include titles of officials not noted in the memoranda and thus provide valuable information about the administrative infrastructure.<sup>188</sup>

An example of a short journal is PF 1949:<sup>189</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 30 (BAR of) *piripiri* (fruit) Marazana received. <sup>2-3</sup> 120 *kurtaš* subsisting on rations (at) Kupirkan, under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Mantašturra, received (it) as rations. <sup>4-5</sup> They received the *piripiri* as counterpart of grain. <sup>5-7</sup> (In) the second month Ziššawiš ordered (it), 21st year. <sup>7</sup> Each received 21 QA. [Category M]

<sup>8-9</sup> 2 (BAR of) figs Tamarriš the *hatarmabattiš* received. <sup>9-12</sup> 34 *sitmap kurtaš* subsisting on rations (at) Kupirkan, assigned by (*dama*) Mantašturra, received (it as) *kamakaš*. <sup>12-13</sup> For a period of 12 months, 21st year. [Category M]

<sup>14-18</sup> Total 30 (BAR of) *piripiri*, total 2 (BAR of) figs, grand(?) total 32 (BAR of) fruit dispensed, (in) the 21st year, (at) Kupirkan, allocation from (*kurman*) Kappirruš the “wine carrier” (*kutira*) (and) Mišbara his delivery man (*ullira*), under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Mantašturra.

This journal lists disbursements of fruit that occurred in the course of year 21 at the place Kupirkan. One set of disbursements was to Marazana who then used it to provision a large group of *kurtaš* (“workers”) for whom Mantašturra was the *šaramanna* official at the place Kupirkan, on the orders of Ziššawiš, the deputy-director of the system. The other was a disbursement of fruit to Tamarriš the *hatarmabattiš* (a religious official?) who then used it to provision a group of *kurtaš* for whom Mantašturra was the *damanna* official. The colophon details the total of fruit dispensed, the *kurman* (“supply”) official, Kappirruš, who is also qualified as a wine *kutira* (“carrier”), the *ullira* (“delivery man”) official, Mišbara, and the *šaramanna* official, Mantašturra.<sup>190</sup> The tablet does not carry a seal, a not uncommon phenomenon on the journals and accounts.<sup>191</sup>

An example of a short account is PF 1966:<sup>192</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 89.5 (BAR of grain) on hand (in) the 25th year

<sup>2</sup> 595 (BAR) from Bakanšakka

<sup>3</sup> 113 (BAR) from Irdabanuš (at) Ankarakkan

<sup>4</sup> Total 797.5 (BAR) on hand, (included) in it (being):

<sup>5</sup> 5 (BAR) workers, under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Irdunara, received (as) *kamakaš*. [Category M]

<sup>6</sup> 4 (BAR) Iškarizza received, and utilized (it) (instead of ?) fruit. [Category E]

<sup>7</sup> 291.5 (BAR) was taken (to) Persepolis for the (royal) stores. [Category A]

<sup>8</sup> 63 (BAR) was taken (to the place) Baduziratiš(?) for the (royal) stores; Daduya received (it). [Category A]

<sup>9</sup> Total 363.5 (BAR) dispensed

<sup>10</sup> 12.1 (BAR) was its handling charge(?).

<sup>11</sup> Total 375.6 (BAR) dispensed plus handling charge(?)

<sup>12</sup> 336 (BAR) withdrawn

<sup>13-16</sup> 85.9 (BAR of) grain carried forward (as) balance (at) Hiran, allocation from (*kurman*) Kuminna(?), for the *šaramanna* official Irdunara, (in) the 26th year.

This account concerns grain balances at the place Hiran in year 25. Of the 797.5 BAR on hand, 363.5 was dispensed in various transactions (including 354.5 BAR for the [royal] stores), 12.1 BAR was charged in “handling charges(?)” (Elamite *abbakanaš*), 336 was withdrawn (presumably at the end of the year to off-load surplus), and 85.9 BAR was carried forward into year 26; the *kurman* official was Kuminna(?), the *šaramanna* official Irdunara. The tablet is not sealed.

In addition to these two large groups of texts, the memoranda (A–S) and the journals and accounts (V–W), there are the T and U texts. Category T texts are letters and letter-orders. The letters, which appear to concern administrative problems, occur on smallish rectangular-shaped tablets.<sup>193</sup> The letter-orders, which direct issuances of commodities on the authority of select officials, occur on largish tongue-shaped memoranda-type tablets, generally 4–7 cm in length.<sup>194</sup> Letter-orders appear also to be concerned with alleviating needs that arise within the system rather than establishing ongoing administrative actions. Stolper (Jones and Stolper

2008, p. 32) suggests that letter-orders may be characterized as “pre-primary” documents since they anticipate “acts that generate primary documents.”<sup>195</sup> Letters addressed by Parnaka, Ziššawiš, Irdumartiya, and Ašbazana are distinguished by the inclusion of colophons.<sup>196</sup>

A typical example of a short letter-order is PF 1789:

<sup>1-3</sup> Tell Datapparna, Parnaka spoke as follows:

<sup>4-8</sup> 6 *marriš* (of) wine (is) to be issued as rations to Zitrina the *ullira* in the treasury.

<sup>9-11</sup> In the second month, 18th year.

<sup>11-12</sup> Kamezza wrote (the text). <sup>13-14</sup>He received the *dumme* from Maraza. [Category K2]

This letter-order is issued by Parnaka, the director of the agency, to Datapparna, a well-known *šaramanna* official. A small disbursement of wine is ordered for Zitrina, who is an *ullira* (“delivery man”) in the treasury, presumably the one at Persepolis. The colophon names the scribe, Kamezza, and another official, Maraza, who gave something called the *dumme* (“order”[?]) to Kamezza.<sup>197</sup> The tablet is sealed on the upper and left edges with PFS 9\*, the first seal used by Parnaka.<sup>198</sup>

Category U texts are short, sometimes only a few words; they have been characterized as labels.<sup>199</sup> The texts occur on very small tablets, typically 2–3 cm in width, that are of various shapes but generally conical or ovoid. The exact functions of these documents are unknown, but they clearly concern two different phenomena. There is a group of them that reads as if condensed letter-orders, containing the verb *lišni* “let (PN) deliver”; all of these *lišni* documents are sealed with either PFS 3 or PFS 30, office seals of the director of the Kāmfirūz region.<sup>200</sup> For the other U texts, Henkelman (2008a, p. 108) suggests that they “functioned as file tags” that “were either attached to baskets or jars, placed on shelves used for storing series of tablets, or were, as Jones proposes (1990), attached to leather bags in which the collected memoranda from a particular district or supplier were transported to Persepolis.” The account seal PFS 27\* occurs on one of these “file tags,” NN 799 (see below), indicating that we probably have to do with organization of documents within the accounting offices.

A typical example of a U text containing *lišni* is PF 1875:

<sup>1-7</sup> Let Mazamanna deliver this grain from (the place) Kaupirriš.

The tablet is sealed with PFS 30, one of the office seals of the director of the Kāmfirūz region.

An example of a U text that functions as “file tag” is NN 799:<sup>201</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tablets

<sup>2</sup> of the accounts of [...]

<sup>3</sup> of the *šanšama*

<sup>4</sup> in the 23rd year

The term *šanšama* appears to be a locale. As noted, the tablet, which is a flattened disk with string and textile impressions on the reverse, is sealed with PFS 27\*, an important account seal. The great majority of “file tags” are, however, unsealed.

Hallock (1969, pp. 74–75) recognized that the chronological distribution of the texts over the years 509–493 BC is uneven. Henkelman (2008a, p. 173) states that

as much as 46% percent of the 4,091 year dates in 3,853 dated tablets — some tablets date to two or more years — are Dar. 22 and Dar. 23. More than 64% of the dates below belong to Dar. 21–24. The early years, Dar. 13–20 are underrepresented in the available sample (26%). Less than 10% of the dates are from the last four years of the archive, Dar. 25–28. Similarly, but slightly different, the bulk of dated Aramaic Fortification texts is from Dar. 23–25 ...

These dated texts also show clear chronological patterns according to text category. Memoranda (A–S) are concentrated in years 21–24 (501/500–498/97 BC), journals (V) in years 18–22 (504/503–500/499 BC), and accounts in years 15–20 (507/506–502/501 BC). Henkelman (2008a, pp. 173–77) suggests that these patterns represent the manner in which these documents were processed. The information contained in memoranda were first processed into journals and then accounts; at each step, the tablet carrying the processed data is

discarded/recycled. Thus, one would expect the memoranda to cluster at the very end of the chronological range, the journals and accounts at the middle and beginning of the chronological range.

The exact extent of the territory administered in the Elamite documents is unknown (fig. 2.11). It is clear that it included most of the modern province of Fārs and the valley regions that lie between Fārs and Khūzestān. The easternmost point appears to have been Narezzaš (modern Nīrīz).<sup>202</sup> The northern and southern limits are less well defined. Henkelman (2008a, p. 116) suggests that Kab(b)aš, perhaps the Greek Γάβαι/Gabae or \*Gaba, modern Esfahān, may be the most northerly point, Tamukkan (the coastal Greek Ταόκη, Taḥuka [Taḥmakka, Taḥumakka] in Babylonian sources) the southern limit. Exactly how far west into Khūzestān the system stretched is much debated; consensus is beginning to emerge that Behbahān, lying on the transitional zone between the highlands and the lowlands, may mark the farthest western extent of the agency.<sup>203</sup> A defining framework for the administrative zone represented by the Fortification archive was the road system, especially the so-called royal road that linked Persepolis and Susa and extended west to Sardis and east to India. Indeed, one should imagine the administrative zone covered by the agency represented in the Fortification archive as a network of linearly linked towns, villages, and so on, rather than a contiguous block of land.

Approximately 150 place names occur in the administrative region covered by the archive.<sup>204</sup> These places are disparate and include “villages, estates, ‘paradises,’ way-stations, storehouses, fortresses, treasuries,

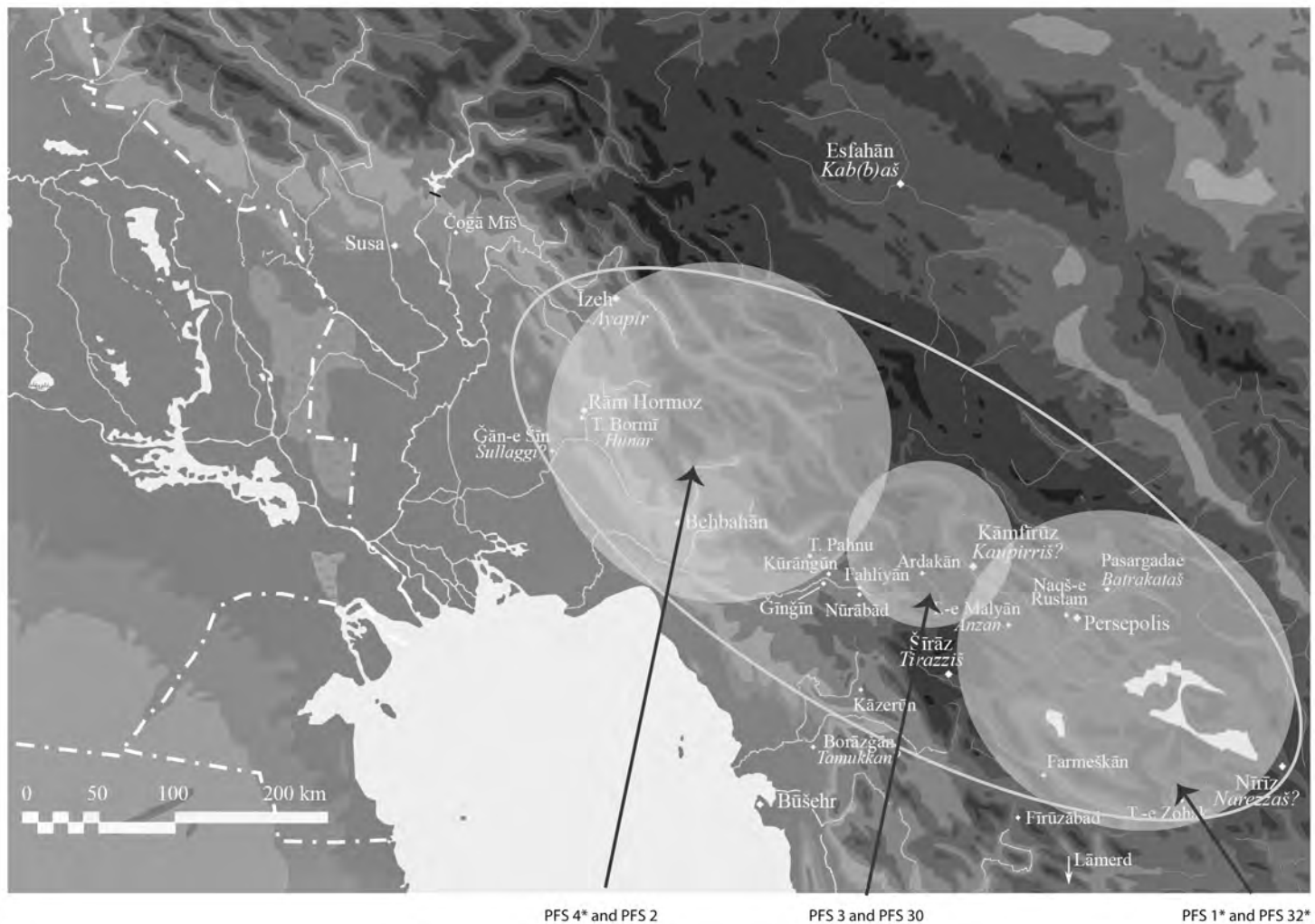


Figure 2.11. The administrative zones in the Persepolis Fortification archive (courtesy Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Martin Sauvage)

towns, rivers and mountains” (Azzoni et al. in press). Only a few of these place names can be equated with known modern or ancient places or with archaeological sites.<sup>205</sup> The most secure identifications are Batrakataš (Pasargadae), Parša (Persepolis), Anzan/Anšan (Tall-e Malyān), Ayapir (Īzeh), Tirazziš (Šīrāz), Hunar (Rām Hormoz), and Kab(b)aš (Esfahān).<sup>206</sup>

Based upon patterns of seal usage, Hallock was able to identify three administrative regions within the geographic area covered by the archive (fig. 2.11): the “Persepolis region,” represented by PFS 1\*, with the officials Karkiš and Šuddayauda, centered on Persepolis; the “Kāmfirūz region,” represented by PFS 3 and PFS 30, to the north and west of Persepolis; and the “Fahliyān region,” represented by PFS 4\* and PFS 2, with the officials Iršena and Irtuppiya, respectively, in western Fārs.<sup>207</sup> Today we consider these seals, and the officials who use them, as marking “regional directors.” There may be other such administrative regions, but they are less clearly defined.<sup>208</sup> As configured, the administrative zone covered by the archive is weighted to the west of Persepolis and appears to straddle the road toward Susa; one assumes that a similar administrative structure based at Susa took over at some point along this axis.<sup>209</sup> The area to the east of Persepolis along the royal road is more of an open question, but it seems logical that the next major administrative center would have been at Kermān, which lies approximately 541 km to the east of Persepolis by modern road.<sup>210</sup>

The administrative agency tracked and categorized commodity collections and disbursements based upon three criteria:<sup>211</sup> year, commodity, and district.

While dates are regularly recorded on memoranda, journals show that “the cycle of recording, auditing and compiling journals was repeated on an annual basis” (Henkelman 2008a, p. 126). The principal commodities were wine, beer, fruit, grain, livestock, and poultry. Throughout the administrative zone there were special departments/depots for each of these commodities where receipt, storage, and distribution were tracked.

Information concerning year and commodity type is straightforward; the districts are, however, somewhat more complex. At the highest level were the three regional districts, discussed above, the “Persepolis region” (PFS 1\*), the “Kāmfirūz region” (PFS 3 and PFS 30), and the Fahliyān region” (PFS 4\* and PFS 2). Within each of these three regions, there were administrative centers located at towns/villages of moderate size.<sup>212</sup> Again, it is the journals that best reflect the situation. Journals consist of a series of entries of one specific commodity culled from memoranda concerned with one specific local district. At the end of the journal, there are a summary and generally a colophon that designates the local district in which the transactions took place and may name individuals who perform specific functions, for example, allocation of commodities (*kurman*) and oversight of workers (*šaramanna*), and specific offices, for example, the *ullira* (“delivery man”) or the *haturmakša* (function unknown), the *tumara* (“grain handler”), and/or the *etira* (involved with handling commodities).<sup>213</sup>

As an example, the colophon for the journal PF 1940 reads,

<sup>22-26</sup> Grand total (of) grain dispensed (according to) this tablet: 1,986 (BAR of) grain dispensed (in) the 14th and 15th years, (at) Matezziš, allocation from (*kurman*) Kuka the grain handler (*tumara*) (and) Manmakka (his) delivery man (*ullira*), for the *šaramanna* official Iršena.

<sup>27-28</sup> This account was made (in) the second month, 21st year, (at) Matezziš.

<sup>29</sup> This tablet (is) the 2nd (for) the 15th year.

The local district is the town Matezziš, a place of considerable importance located very near Persepolis; the *kurman* official is Kuka, who is also named as the *tumara* official; the *ullira* official is Manmakka, and the *šaramanna* official is Iršena.<sup>214</sup>

There were two principal branches to the administrative system. The one was concerned with “storage and supply,” the other with “logistics and rationing.”<sup>215</sup> Both had at their head the director and deputy-director of the agency, Parnaka (the son of Aršām) and Ziššawiš.<sup>216</sup> The director and deputy-director are represented in the archive by both name and seals, PFS 9\* and PFS 16\* for Parnaka (fig. 2.12), PFS 83\* and PFS 11\* (T1) for Ziššawiš (fig. 2.13).<sup>217</sup> Below them were the three regional directors, represented principally by seals: “Persepolis” (PFS 1\*, with the officials Karkiš and Šuddayauda), “Kāmfirūz” (PFS 3 and PFS 30), and “Fahliyān” (PFS 4\* and PFS 2, with the officials Iršena and Irtuppiya, respectively) (fig. 2.14a–b).

The “storage and supply” branch of the administrative agency is most visibly documented by the many supply centers that were located throughout the region. For the principal ration commodities, wine, beer, grain, and flour, each major supply center had separate (and sometimes multiple) depots. There generally were

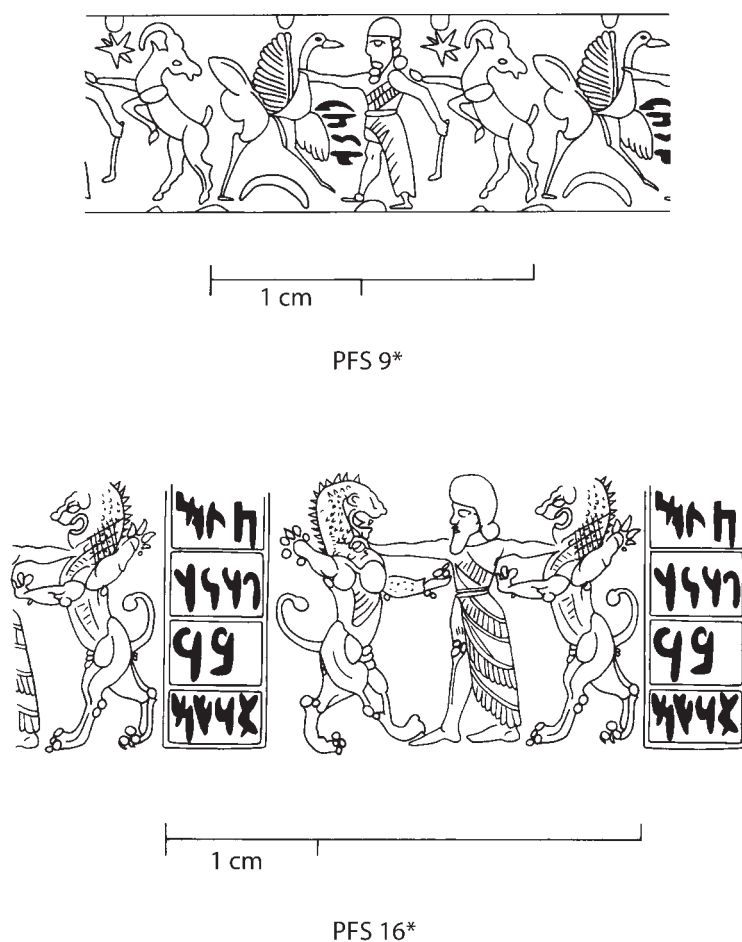


Figure 2.12. The seals of Parnaka, PFS 9\* and PFS 16\*

several supply officials associated with each of these depots. They oversaw both collection and distribution of commodities. The Elamite documents identify them with the phrase *kurman* PN-na, which can mean both “for allocation by PN,” when receiving commodities, and “at the allocation of PN,” when disbursing them.<sup>218</sup> The multiple *kurman* officials concerned with the allocation of commodities located at any one depot may often employ only one seal, a supply office seal. All *kurman* officials generally follow a fairly regular sealing protocol, placing the seal on the flattened left edge of a memorandum. The scale of the supply operation may be best seen in the very large number of individuals designated *kurman*, approximately 720, the single most widely attested function in the archive.<sup>219</sup>

The “logistics and rationing” branch of the administrative system is documented by officials who bear the designations *šarama(nna)* or *dama(nna)*; thus PN *šarama(nna)* or PN *dama(nna)*. The exact meanings of these words are not known.<sup>220</sup> The words are not titles but some type of verbal qualifier. Hallock (1969, pp. 27–29) opted for “PN apportioning” and “PN assigning,” respectively, on the working hypothesis that the words *šaramanna* and *damanna* indicated different functions.<sup>221</sup> Other commentators have tended to elide these distinctions and understand both terms as designating individuals who had the authority to order the setting aside and disbursement of ration commodities for individuals, work forces, and animals under their jurisdiction.<sup>222</sup> In a few cases, an individual is qualified both as *šaramanna* and as *damanna* in the very same text.<sup>223</sup> Perhaps “supervisor” is an appropriate English equivalent, but it implies a specific administrative

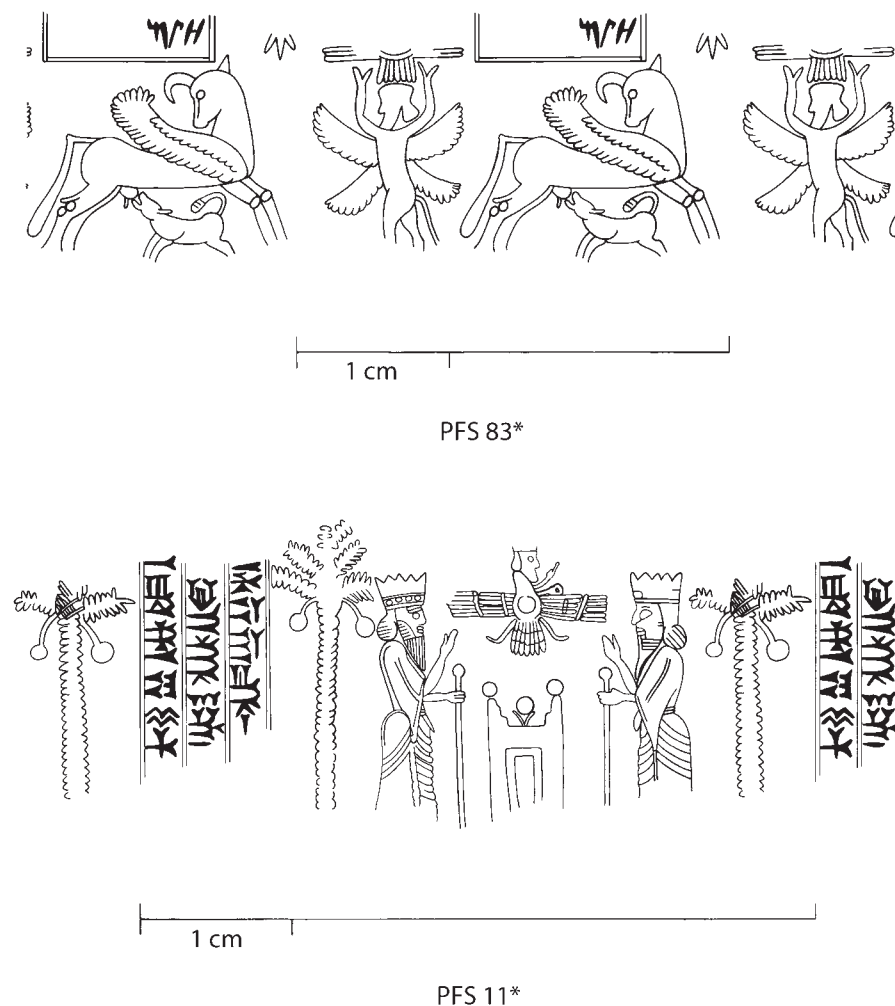


Figure 2.13. The seals of Ziššawiš, PFS 83\* and PFS 11\* (T1)

rank that the words surely do not indicate. For ease of reference, I shall call these individuals *šaramanna*/*damanna* officials, but I do not intend the label to indicate a specific, and titled, administrative office.

As Hallock noted, there do seem to be some contextual differences in the usages of the two terms. In addition, I would note that Parnaka and Ziššawiš, the director and deputy-director of the agency, are only designated *damanna*, never *šaramanna*. For Parnaka, this designation only occurs in letter-orders that he issues.<sup>224</sup> With two exceptions, these letter-orders concern provisions for *tuppip* KUŠ.MEŠ *ukku-na bapilip* (“Babylonian scribes [writing] on parchment”).<sup>225</sup> These scribes probably have to do with his personal secretariat. The dossier for Ziššawiš is equivalent. The attestations of *damanna* are letter-orders issued by Ziššawiš or journal entries. They concern either *hasup akkabe Muzriyap* (“Egyptian workers”) or *tuppip bapilip* (“Babylonian scribes”).<sup>226</sup>

A typical citation of PN *šaramanna* occurs in PF 1025, an L2 text (“regular monthly rations with *galma*”). It reads,

<sup>1-5</sup> 102 (BAR of) grain, allocation of (*kurman*) Yamakka, *kurtaš* (at) Tukraš, under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Iršena, received (as) half (of the) rations. <sup>5-9</sup> (For) 2 months, the seventh and eighth, 23rd year.

<sup>10</sup> 14 men 1 and 1/2. <sup>11-13</sup> 7 boys 1, 2 boys 7 and 1/2 QA, 1 boy 1/2. <sup>14-15</sup> 1 woman 1 and 1/2, 18 women 1.

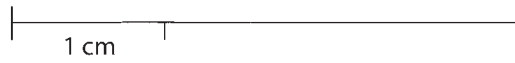
<sup>16</sup> 2 girls 7 and 1/2 QA. Total 45 workers.



PFS 1\*



PFS 32\*



PFS 3



PFS 30

Figure 2.14a. The seals of the regional directors in the Fortification archive: the “Persepolis region,” PFS 1\* and PFS 32\*; the “Kāmfirūz region,” PFS 3 and PFS 30

In this transaction, a work group consisting of 45 *kurtaš* (“workers”), men and women, young and mature, receive partial grain rations for two months. The rations are from the stores for which Yamakka is a supplier (*kurman*). The work group is under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Iršena, the place is Tukraš. The designation *šaramanna* indicates both identity, who the workers are (i.e., work groups associated with Iršena), and under whose authorization (Iršena) the rations have been drawn.

PF 1025 carries an impression of one seal, PFS 75 (ST1), on the left edge. As will be discussed in more detail below (§2.2.7 and §2.3.2.1), assigning seals with specific *šaramanna/damanna* officials is often complex, since work groups are often identified by their *šaramanna/damanna* official in transactions that have nothing directly to do with that *šaramanna/damanna* official; that is, the *šaramanna/damanna* designation is simply one way of identifying work groups and does not indicate the actual presence of the *šaramanna/damanna* official (and/or his seal) at the transaction. Alternatively, the seals of *šaramanna/damanna* officials occur on tablets whose texts do not mention them; the identity of the *šaramanna/damanna* official is then indicated solely by the presence of his seal.

In the case of PF 1025, however, it is clear that the *šaramanna/damanna* official named in the transaction, Iršena, or someone representing his office, has sealed the tablet. Transactions sealed with PFS 75 (ST1) always have to do with supplying workers who are under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Iršena. This

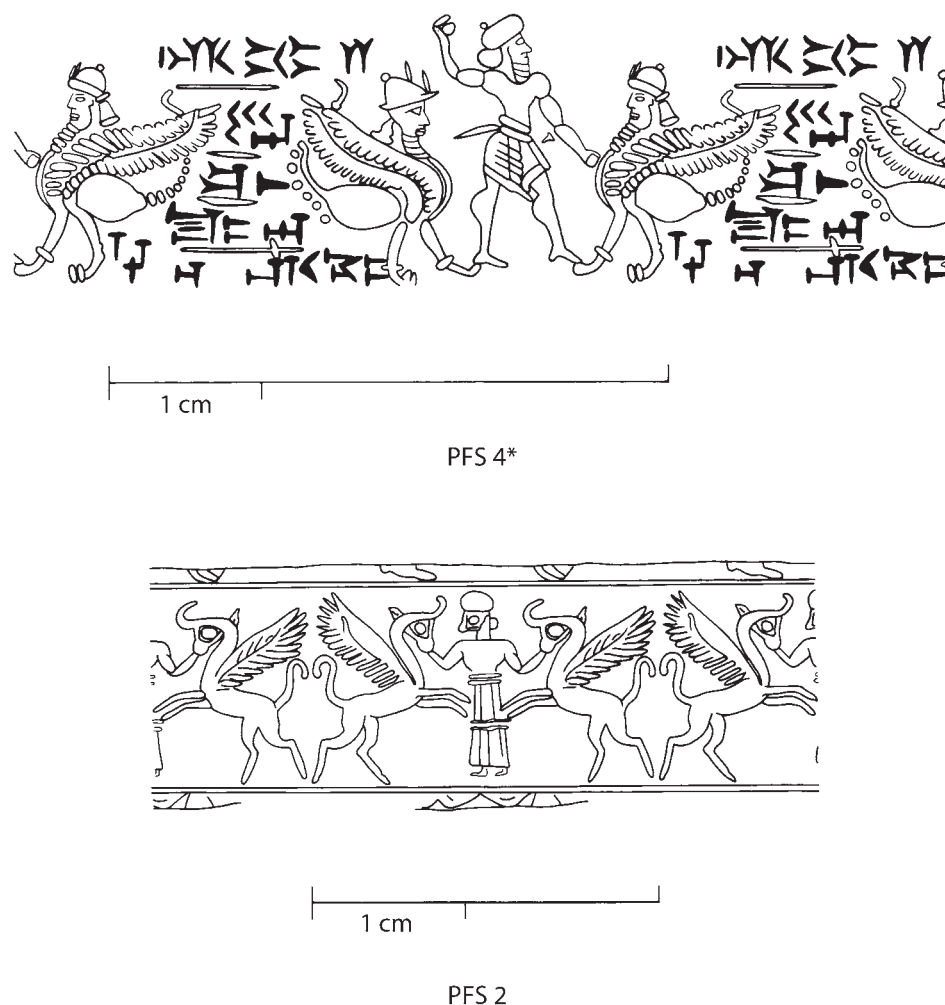


Figure 2.14b. The seals of the regional directors in the Fortification archive: the “Fahliyān region,” PFS 4\* and PFS 2



individual would appear to be the same Iršena whom we know as the *kurdabattiš*, “chief of workers,” using PFS 4\* (fig. 2.14b).<sup>227</sup>

A typical citation of PN *damanna* occurs in PF 871, an L1 text (“regular monthly rations with *gal makip*”). It reads:

<sup>1-9</sup> 111 (BAR of) grain, allocation from (*kurman*) Sarakuzziš, Persian “boys” (who) are copying texts, subsisting on rations (at) Pittannan, assigned by (*damanna*) Šuddayauda, received as rations. <sup>9-12</sup> First month, 23rd year.

<sup>13-14</sup> 16 “boys” 4 and 1/2, 13 “boys” 3. Total 29 workers.

In this transaction, a work group consisting of 29 “boys” (“servants”), apparently scribes, receives grain rations for one month. The rations are drawn from the stores for which Sarakuzziš is a supplier (*kurman*). The assignment for the work group is set by (*damanna*) Šuddayauda. As with the use of *šaramanna* in PF 1025, the use of *damanna* in PF 871 indicates both who the workers are (they are work groups associated with Šuddayauda) and under whose authority Sarakuzziš has issued the rations.

PF 871 is sealed by one seal, PFS 1\*, representing the Persepolis regional office seal, used sequentially by Karkiš and Šuddayauda (fig. 2.14a).<sup>228</sup>

As one can see, the structure of the two texts PF 1025 and PF 871 is almost equivalent, serving as yet another indication that the two terms, *šaramanna* and *damanna*, are closely interlinked.

There are a goodly number of individuals who are qualified as *šaramanna/damanna*: approximately 150 as *šaramanna*, approximately 40 as *damanna*.<sup>229</sup> Several individuals are named as both *šaramanna* and *damanna*. It seems noteworthy that the director and the deputy-director are only attested as *damanna*. Irdumartiya, another individual of exceptional administrative rank and social status, perhaps even Parnaka’s predecessor, is also only qualified as *damanna*.<sup>230</sup> In addition, the king is three times attested EŠŠANA *dama*.<sup>231</sup> One does not know exactly what to make of these distinctions, and they may mean nothing. Kambarma (Gobryas), perhaps the most socially influential person named in the archive outside of the king and the royal family, is *Kambarma šarama* (NN 1581). Many individuals named as *šaramanna* or *damanna* occur only once or twice, and we have little to no idea as to their relative administrative rank. Several officials are, however, mentioned numerous times. The most often-named individual, as both *šaramanna* and *damanna*, is Šuddayauda. He is an official of wide-ranging responsibility, a regional director (Persepolis) and also a *kurdabattiš*.<sup>232</sup> Other officials named often as both *šaramanna* and *damanna* include the regional directors Karkiš (Persepolis) and Iršena (Fahliyan), the ubiquitous Rašda and Uštana, Bakadada the *kurdabattiš*, and Harrena, who also issues letter-orders.

The evidence for the activities and personnel designated *šaramanna/damanna* thus indicates that the terms encompassed a large number of individuals representing a wide range of administrative ranks and/or social statuses.

While there is a good deal of discussion about the details of how the system represented by the Fortification archive functioned, the broad outlines seem clear (fig. 2.15).<sup>233</sup> A *kurman* official would receive orders from a variety of sources to issue commodities. The document type most frequently mentioned in the archive in this regard is a *halmi*, “sealed document.” There were various types of *halmi*, including viatica carried by travelers (see below) and letter-orders from Parnaka, Ziššawiš, or other high-rank officials (see above). The letter-orders appear to address unusual or irregular circumstances within the system. We assume that there also existed standing orders for the day-to-day operations of the system from the regional directors and *šaramanna/damanna* officials, but the archive makes no specific reference to such.<sup>234</sup>

Presumably the memoranda were drafted on the spot of the transaction (or at the depot). Outside of the travel rations (see below), it is often difficult to distinguish exactly who was physically present at the transaction. As noted, the memoranda at times do not include the names of officials whose seals are applied to the tablet, and, vice-versa, officials are sometimes named in the texts whose seals do not appear on the tablets. An interesting aspect of this question is the fact that the memoranda appear to have been sealed before the texts were written. Thus, a busy supplier may have issued bags of pre-sealed tablets to various subordinates who then set about the day’s business.<sup>235</sup> Seals on tablets indicate administrative responsibility, not physical presence at the transaction. The memoranda were then sent to Persepolis, where, after a period of time, accountants transferred the information first to journals (involving a single type of commodity at a single place)

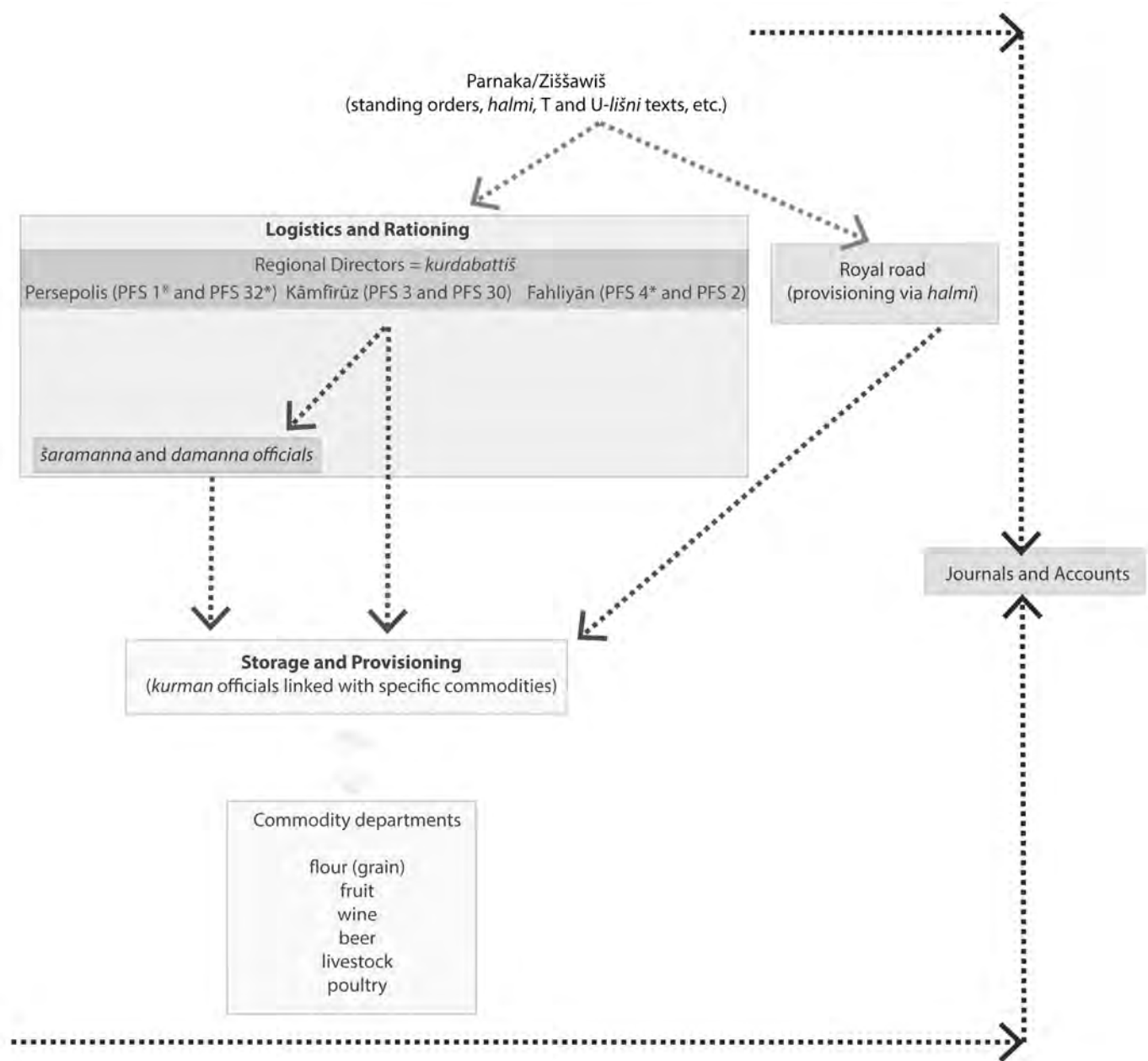


Figure 2.15. Schematic representation of the administrative structure and information flow as represented by the Elamite documents from the Fortification archive

and then into accounts (credit, debit, and balance information compiled from journals and other sources).<sup>236</sup> The accountants at Persepolis probably had information in addition to the memoranda, including summaries from accountants in the field, information from *šaramanna*/*damanna* officials, and so on. There may have been (multiple) copies of memoranda which stayed at the local depots.

The travel rations constitute the most common type of transaction preserved in the memoranda.<sup>237</sup> Interestingly, the administering of the travel rations appears to have lay somewhat outside the normal flow of things.<sup>238</sup> The seals of the regional directors never occur on the travel rations, nor do the seals of Parnaka or Ziššawiš. These travel rations concern the payment of daily subsistence rations to individuals traveling on official business on what we today, following the ancient Greek sources, call the “royal road.” Although Herodotus focuses exclusively on the Sardis–Susa stretch of the road, the road continued to Persepolis and

then on to the farthest eastern extent of the empire in India and Bactria.<sup>239</sup> While there was a main trunk to the “royal road,” in fact there were probably various routes in many stretches. The exact route that the royal road followed between Persepolis and Susa, and the number and placement of way stations along it, are topics of much debate.<sup>240</sup>

An example of a travel ration is PF 1316:

<sup>1-6</sup> 5 QA (of) flour, allocation from (*kurman*) Haturdada, Išbaramištima received, and two gentlemen (are) receiving each 2 QA, 1 boy (is) receiving 1 QA.  
<sup>7-9</sup> He carried a *halmi* of Mišmina. <sup>8-9</sup> They went to the king.  
<sup>9-11</sup> 27th year, tenth (Elamite) month.

In this transaction, a small travel party receives flour rations at the supply (*kurman*) of Haturdada. Haturdada is a well attested *kurman* official supplying grain (flour) rations on the royal road at the place Kurdušum.<sup>241</sup> As is common for many travel parties, there is a leader/guide who is actually named as the recipient of the rations (and then passes them along to members of the travel party); here the guide, although not labeled as such in this text, is Išbaramištima. He appears in a number of other travel rations as a travel guide; PF 1317–18 and 1558 specifically name him as such, *barrišdama* (“elite guide”). This designation presumably identifies him as a specialist, someone who is charged with escorting groups along the royal road.<sup>242</sup> Hallock (1969, p. 42) noted that individuals designated *barrišdama* were “involved particularly with groups of foreigners, for whom special guidance and protection would be required.” Išbaramištima carries a *halmi* (“sealed document”) issued under the name of Mišmina. Mišmina issues *halmi* for travel in three other texts. His identity is unknown, but he must be highly placed as travel authorizations come from high-rank individuals, including the king, Parnaka, and satraps. The group is on their way to the king (his location is not specified in the travel memorandum), who, to no surprise, is a frequent destination for travelers on the royal road.

Following sealing protocols for the travel rations, PF 1316 bears two seals, the seal of the *kurman* official/office on the left edge, PFS 55, and the seal of the recipient on the reverse, PFS 49.<sup>243</sup> PFS 55 is an office seal associated with a large flour (grain) supply at Kurdušum under the supervision of Haturdada.<sup>244</sup> PFS 49 is the personal seal of Išbaramištima, attested on eleven Elamite documents, two uninscribed documents, and one Aramaic document.<sup>245</sup>

The reason for the separateness, from an administrative perspective, of the disbursements on the royal road is the fact that many of the travelers on it were coming from destinations outside of the administrative region covered by the archive. Authority to draw travel rations came from a document held by the leader of the traveling party, who is said to carry a *halmi* (Elamite) or *miyatukkaš* (Old Persian \**viyātika*-, “viaticum”) issued by the king or a named official. Elamite *halmi* may mean a seal or a sealed document. Presumably the travel rations are referring to the latter, possibly something like the famous Aramaic viaticum of the Egyptian Nakhtḥor, manager of the estates of Aršāma, a fifth-century BC Persian satrap of Egypt, preserved among the parchment correspondence of Aršāma (AD 6).<sup>246</sup> In the travel rations, there are approximately thirty-two named individuals who issue *halmi*. Four individuals account for the bulk of the *halmi* issuances: the king (the highest number, almost 200); Parnaka (approximately 140) and Ziššawiš (approximately ninety), the director and deputy-director of the system; and Bakabana (approximately 135), who is probably the satrap of Elam based at Susa.<sup>247</sup> To no surprise, many travel rations concern travel between Persepolis and Susa.

In the Fortification texts, the normal travel ration is 1 QA or 1 1/2 QA of flour per person per day. Most travel rations are only for a single day. We assume that there were “stations” at one-day travel intervals along the royal road. Identifying those stations and the route(s) on which they lay in the texts from the archive has been challenging.<sup>248</sup>

While the travel rations are in some manner a separate phenomenon from the “system” as represented by the Fortification archive, it is clear that the “system” was responsible for provisioning the travel stations within its jurisdiction. As travelers entered that jurisdiction, they drew daily rations at the travel stations based upon the authority of their *halmi*. Memoranda recording these disbursements were drawn up and then made their way in the normal flow of things to Persepolis to be audited into journals and accounts.

### 2.2.4. Aramaic Documents

A few words may be in order concerning the monolingual Aramaic texts, although, as noted, these documents are still under study by A. Azzoni.<sup>249</sup> To date, the project has identified some 850 of these documents. Like the Elamite memoranda and the uninscribed documents, the Aramaic documents were formed around a knotted string that emerges from the corners of a flattened edge. The Aramaic documents most often have a blunt-pointed right edge, giving the obverse and reverse surfaces a triangular shape similar to that seen on many of the uninscribed documents. The texts, generally quite terse, were incised with styluses and/or written in ink with pens or brushes. Some tablets have two texts, one incised, the other inked after the clay had hardened. Most Aramaic texts run along the long axis of the obverse of the tablet, but the flattened edge (what is the left edge in the Elamite tablets) is oriented to the right. There are also a number of Aramaic texts that run along the short axis (the flattened “left” edge at the top).

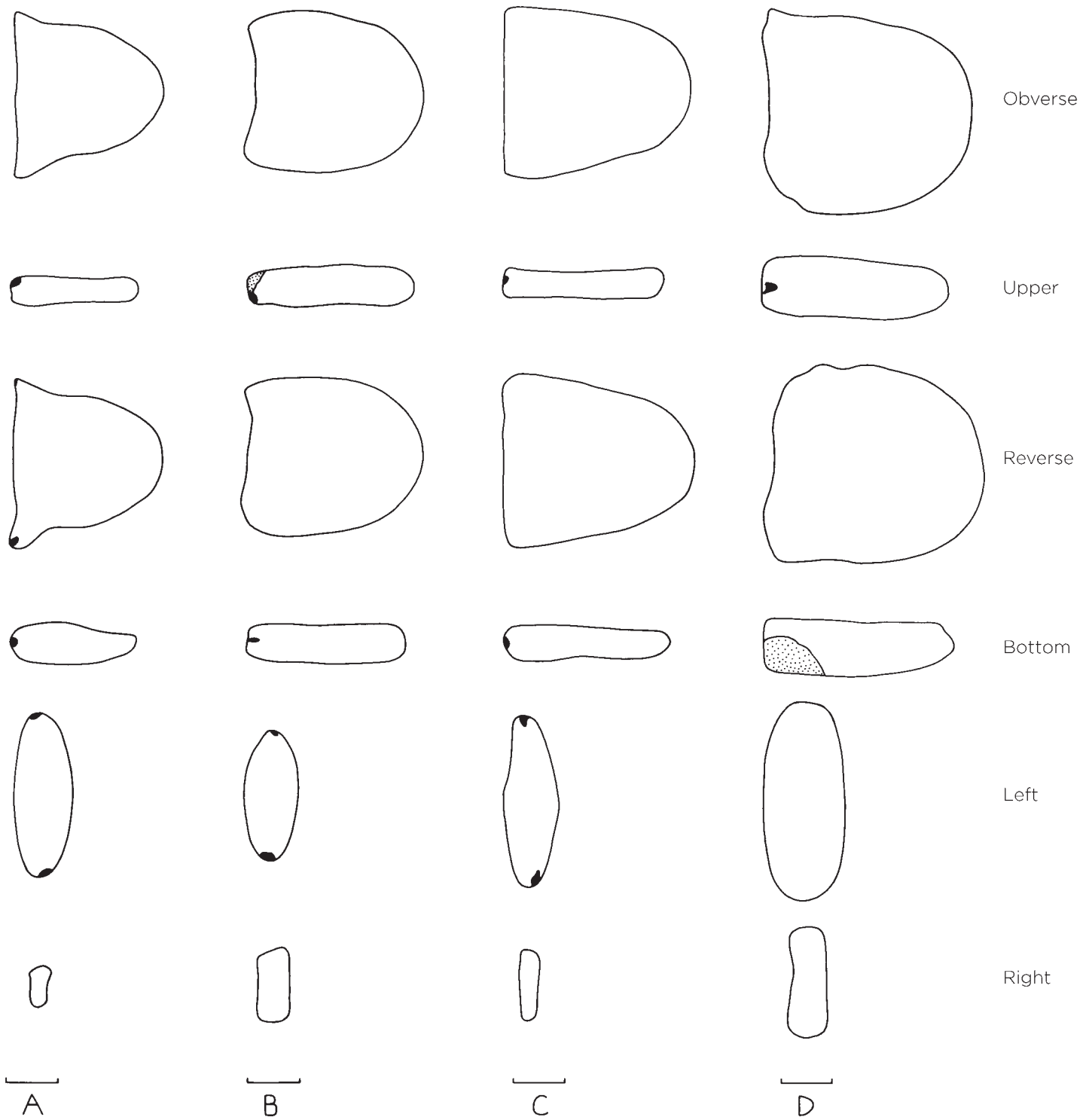
To date, there is nothing in the Aramaic texts to suggest activities radically different from what we have just described in the Elamite documents, although Azzoni states that the “substance of the Aramaic texts does not follow the categories described in the Elamite tablets.”<sup>250</sup> Accordingly, Azzoni suggests that the functions of the Aramaic documents within the administrative system were different from the functions of the Elamite documents. There are, however, numerous areas of overlap between the Aramaic and Elamite documents, including dates, personnel, geographic names, terminology, commodities, types of transactions, seals, and sealing praxis.<sup>251</sup> There do appear to be some Aramaic documents concerned with travel rations. Letter-orders, journals, and accounts are conspicuously absent among the Aramaic documents, as are seals associated with the director, deputy-director, regional directors, and accountants from the Elamite documents.<sup>252</sup>

### 2.2.5. Uninscribed Documents

Perhaps the most enigmatic documents within the archive are the thousands of tablets that carry no text, only seal impressions.<sup>253</sup> We today call these tablets uninscribed documents. A typology of the shapes of uninscribed documents reveals that almost all of them may be characterized as some variation of the tongue-shaped Elamite memoranda (fig. 2.16a–c).<sup>254</sup> Like the Elamite memoranda, the uninscribed tablets were formed around a knotted string that emerges from the corners of a flattened edge. Like the Aramaic documents, the uninscribed documents are generally smaller than the Elamite memoranda. While a number of variations in tablet shape have been identified, over 90 percent of the corpus of uninscribed documents belongs to one of three closely related shapes, what we have called Types A, B, and C (fig. 2.16a). Tablet Type A is distinguished by its pointed right edge, giving the obverse and reverse a distinctive triangular shape (very similar to many of the Aramaic tablets). Type B, in contrast, has a rounded right edge; Type C is an elongated version of Type B. The shapes for all the uninscribed documents are readily distinguishable and clearly distinct from the tablet shapes used for the Elamite documents.<sup>255</sup>

Still to be resolved is the question of the function of the uninscribed documents. The basic manner in which the tablets are made (around a knotted string and in a distinctive tongue shape) and sealing praxis clearly link the uninscribed documents to the Elamite and Aramaic documents (see below, §2.2.6). While there are to date some 114 seals that occur on both uninscribed documents and Aramaic and/or Elamite documents, there are many hundreds that occur only on uninscribed documents.<sup>256</sup> As with the Aramaic documents, conspicuously absent from the uninscribed documents are seals associated with the director, deputy-director, regional directors, and principal Persepolitan accountants as known from the Elamite documents.<sup>257</sup> Of the seals that occur on both the Elamite and the uninscribed documents, a very high percentage are associated with supply officials/offices (*kurman*) that appear very commonly in the Elamite documents (fig. 2.17a).

Several seals that occur on the uninscribed documents, owing to sealing praxis (single-seal protocol and applied to multiple surfaces of a tablet) and frequency of occurrences, appear to represent officials/offices with high administrative authority, what I have called “super-users.”<sup>258</sup> The most commonly occurring seal following the single-seal protocol on the uninscribed tablets is PFS 75 (ST1) (fig. 2.17a). In the Elamite documents, PFS 75 (ST1) is always associated with texts concerning the supply of workers under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Iršena, a well-known *šaramanna* official who is also a regional director and one of only a handful of individuals qualified as *kurdabattiš*.<sup>259</sup> Another high-occurrence seal on the uninscribed tablets is



— = 1 cm

Figure 2.16a. Typology of uninscribed tablets from the Fortification archive (types A-D) (scale 1:1)

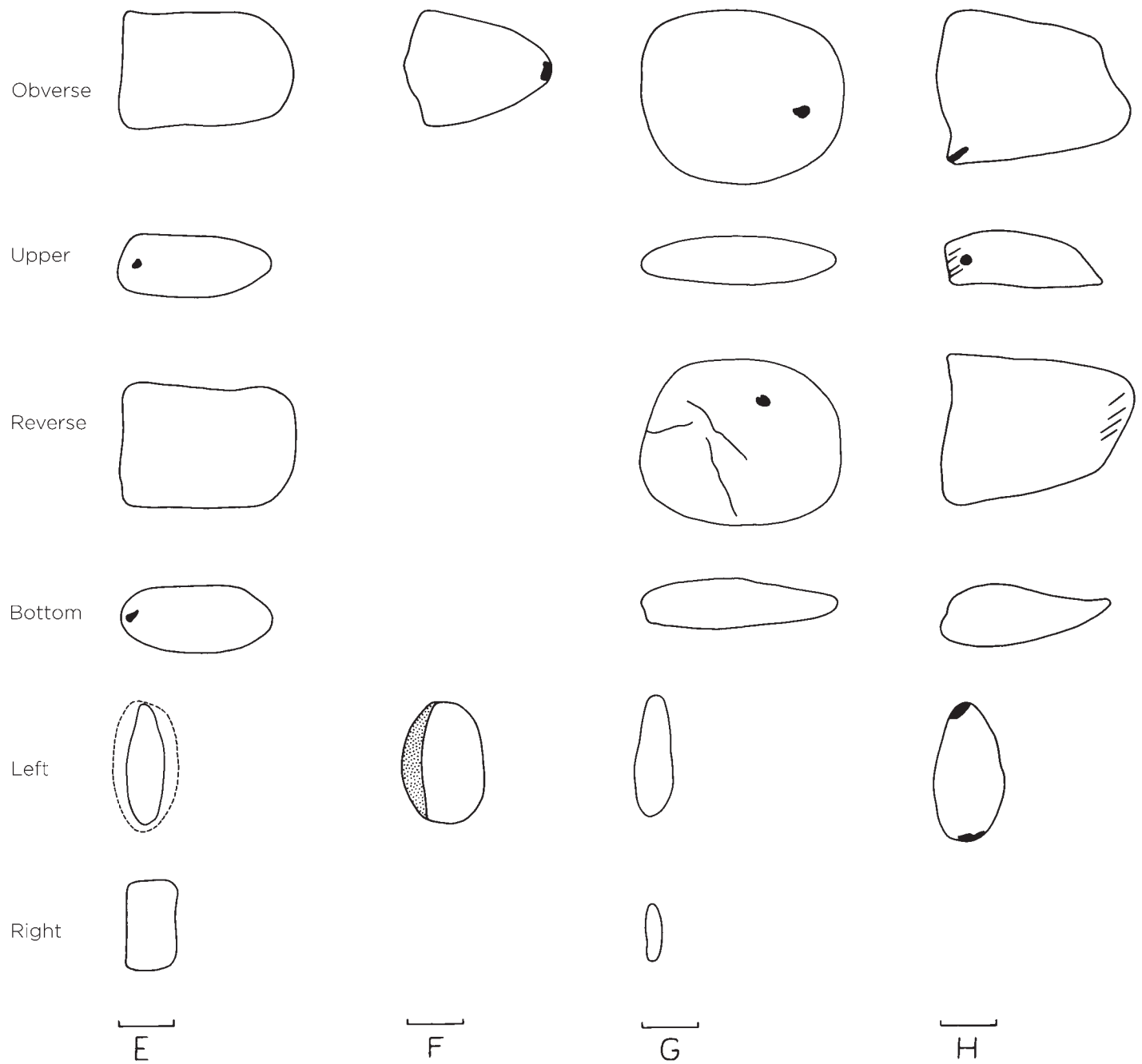


Figure 2.16b. Typology of uninscribed tablets from the Fortification archive (types E-H) (scale 1:1)

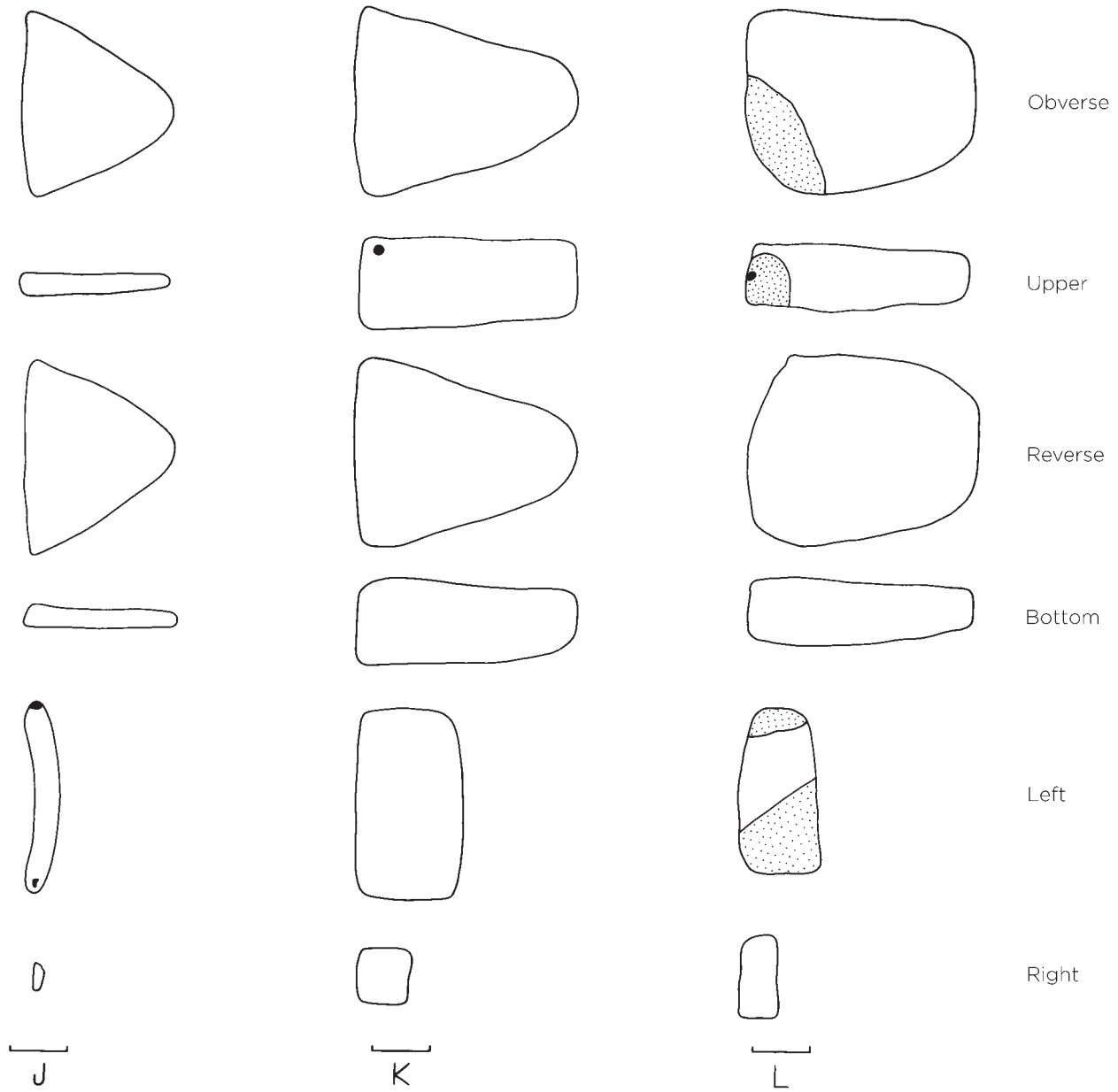


Figure 2.16c. Typology of unscripted tablets from the Fortification archive (types J-L) (scale 1:1)

PFS 535\* (fig. 2.17b). Unfortunately, PFS 535\* occurs on only one Elamite document, the reverse of PF 289, a C6 text (“other deposits”).<sup>260</sup> It is probably not simply fortuitous that both PFS 75 (ST1) and PFS 535\* also occur on the Aramaic documents.<sup>261</sup> Lastly, I would highlight PFUTS 18\* (fig. 2.17b), a seal that occurs commonly but only on the uninscribed documents. Sealing praxis follows the single-seal protocol. The praxis for PFUTS 18\* is further distinguished by insistent multiple application on each tablet, often covering all six surfaces, and by its occurrence almost always on a highly distinctive tablet type, what we have called Type K (fig. 2.16b), which are large, thick versions of the Type A tablet.<sup>262</sup> The seal is, moreover, a royal-name seal.<sup>263</sup> Thus, on many levels PFUTS 18\* is exceptional and most certainly represents a high-rank user.

Two other seals that occur on the uninscribed documents deserve mention, PFS 17 and PFS 48 (fig. 2.17a). Both seals occur frequently on all three document types, Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed, are always applied to the left edges of tablets, and occur commonly in the travel rations in the Elamite documents. The seals represent two of the most common supply offices in the archive. PFS 17 concerns a supply office dealing with wine, dates, and figs. The primary named *kurman* officials associated with PFS 17 are Ušaya and Muška.<sup>264</sup> When used on travel rations, it is always Ušaya who is named as the *kurman* official.<sup>265</sup> PFS 48 is an office seal for flour and grain supply.<sup>266</sup> Four individuals are named as *kurman* officials with the seal in the Elamite documents, Bakamira, Katukka, Miramana, and Šumira-ikmar, the first two most commonly. In dated texts, there is a distinction, Bakamira occurring only in years 19–22, Katukka only after month 10 in year 23. With one exception, NN 445 naming Bakamira, the travel rations sealed by PFS 48 all have Katukka as the *kurman* official.

I remain of the opinion that the uninscribed documents have to do with a distinct branch of the Fortification archive agency. Some basic structural aspects of the working of the archive, things such as tablet shapes, tablet making, and sealing praxis, are shared in common by all three document types. While the branch represented by the uninscribed documents shared some personnel with those engaged in the transactions recorded in the Elamite and Aramaic documents, in particular commodity supply (*kurman*) offices, the great majority of seals that occur on the uninscribed documents are confined to the uninscribed documents. As study progresses on the seals preserved on the Aramaic documents, the commonalities with seals that occur on the uninscribed documents increases. It may be that both document types, Aramaic and uninscribed, are much involved with commodity supply and disbursement associated with travel.

### 2.2.6. Seals in the Fortification Archive

There are thousands of distinct seals preserved in tens of thousands of individual impressions on the tablets from the Fortification archive. The sheer scale of the glyptic phenomenon at Persepolis is staggering. It may represent the single largest and densest collection of glyptic imagery that has survived from ancient western Asia.

Hallock worked for decades on the Elamite texts before the appearance of his book in 1969. In the course of that study, he very soon realized that the seals play an integral role in the functioning of the administrative system; that is, they act not simply as physical tokens of the personnel mentioned in the texts, but they convey information above and beyond the text. This is most clearly illustrated in those transactions bearing a seal belonging to an administrator/office who is not named in the text.<sup>267</sup> Hallock recognized also that reconstructing the manner in which the administrative system functioned required correctly identifying seals and understanding the patterns of relationships between seals and personal names, place names, commodities, and so on, mentioned in the texts.<sup>268</sup>

Hallock did a good deal of work on the seals as part of his research to understand patterns of administrative protocols, personnel, place names, and so on.<sup>269</sup> To that end, he charted occurrences of those seals that he recognized as occurring on two or more tablets. He made sketches of individual impressions of these “multiple occurrence” seals and gave numbers to some 314 of them in his publication of 1969.<sup>270</sup> Seals that he did not recognize as occurring on two or more tablets he left un-numbered. The numbered seals represented only the tip of the iceberg; in his publication of 1969, the numbered seals constitute only approximately one-quarter of all seals applied to those tablets.



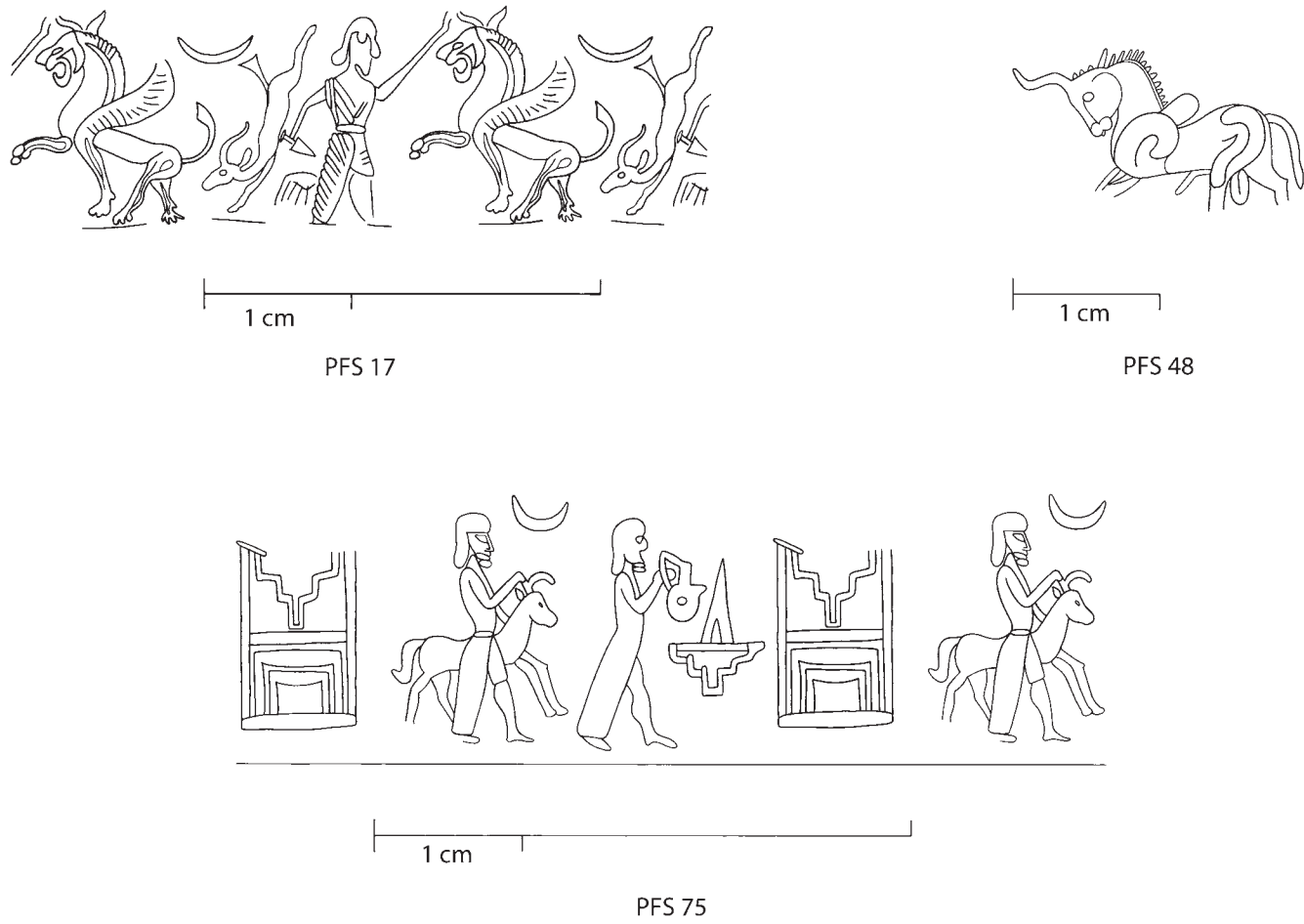


Figure 2.17a. High-occurrence seals on the uninscribed documents: PFS 17, associated with the office of the wine supplier Ušaya in the Elamite documents; PFS 48, associated with the flour (grain) suppliers Katukka and Bakamira in the Elamite documents; PFS 75 (ST1), associated with Iršena, the *kurdabattiš* and regional director

As he began to read more texts (the NN texts), Hallock, of course, identified new instances of those 314 “multiple occurrence” seals and new “multiple occurrence” seals; he also made collations within his original list of 314 seals. Those corrigenda and additions were never published, although they remain among Hallock’s *Nachlaß* and are still a valuable resource.

As his typed and hand-annotated lists reveal, simply tracking the seals that occur in the Elamite texts was a substantial task. Hallock had neither the time nor the inclination to tackle the visual imagery *qua* visual imagery preserved in the glyptic corpus. As always, he succinctly (under)stated the matter with the short sentence: “The seals demand a special study on their own merits” (Hallock 1969, p. 78).

Hallock provided an invaluable foundation for the study of the seals that occur on the archive. Nevertheless, our own work among just the 2,087 texts published in 1969 produced many new collations; in a few cases, impressions that Hallock had assigned to a single seal in fact proved to be from different seals. This was inevitable given the magnitude of the task and limitations on Hallock’s own time.

The documentation of the glyptic in the archive is still very much a work in progress.<sup>271</sup> At the time of this writing, the seals on the NN tablets, that is, those unpublished texts that Hallock had read and for which he had made draft copies, just over 2,600 texts, is complete. We also do not anticipate the identification of many more new seals among the Aramaic documents. There remain, however, almost 3,000 uninscribed documents that still require basic recording of the seals. Thus, the exact statistics that follow will be out of date by the

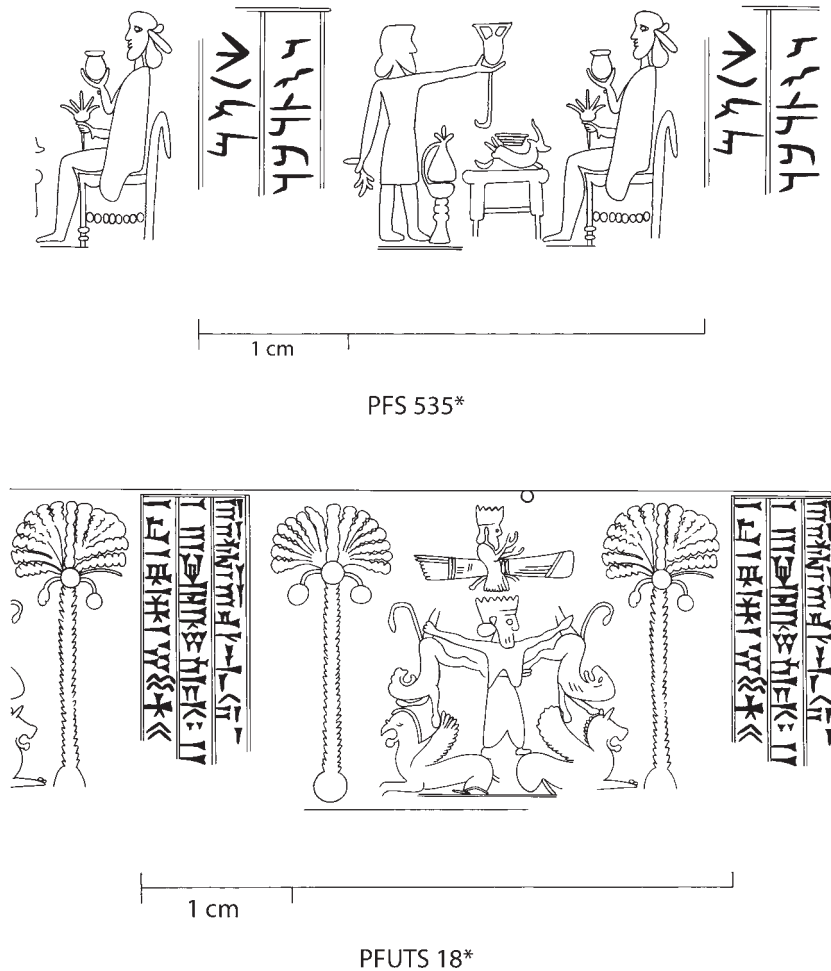


Figure 2.17b. High-occurrence seals on the unscripted documents: PFS 535\* and PFUTS 18\*

time this book is published. Nevertheless, these numbers will be fairly accurate for the seals that occur on the Elamite and Aramaic tablets.

There follows an accounting of the distinct and legible seals that have been identified to date:<sup>272</sup>

- Seals that occur on Elamite documents (siglum = PFS):<sup>273</sup> 2,189
- Seals that occur on the Aramaic documents (siglum = PFATS):<sup>274</sup> 588
- Seals that occur on the unscripted documents (siglum = PFUTS):<sup>275</sup> 605
- Total number of distinct and legible seals identified to date: 3,382

Approximately 86 percent of the Elamite documents carry seals.<sup>276</sup> For all intents and purposes, 100 percent of the Aramaic and unscripted documents are sealed.

### 2.2.6.1. Cylinder and Stamp Seals

Both cylinder and stamp seals occur in the archive. There is a handful of other objects that are used to seal tablets, including two coins, an Athenian tetradrachm and a Persian Type II daric.<sup>277</sup> While all three document types, Elamite, Aramaic, and unscripted, carry both types of seals, cylinder and stamp, there is a much higher percentage of stamp seals on the Aramaic and unscripted documents. This phenomenon may again

indicate a close relationship of the Aramaic and uninscribed documents with the Elamite travel rations, which themselves bear a very high percentage of the stamp seals that occur on the Elamite documents.<sup>278</sup>

Elamite documents:

- Number of legible cylinder seals (PFS): 1,857
- Number of legible stamp seals (PFS): 332
- Total number of legible seals (PFS): 2,189
- Percentage of legible seals that are stamp seals: approximately 15%<sup>279</sup>

Aramaic documents:<sup>280</sup>

- Number of legible cylinder seals (PFATS): 391
- Number of legible stamp seals (PFATS): 197
- Total number of legible seals (PFATS): 588
- Percentage of legible seals (PFATS) that are stamp seals: approximately 34%<sup>281</sup>

Uninscribed documents:<sup>282</sup>

- Number of legible cylinder seals (PFUTS): 424
- Number of legible stamp seals (PFUTS): 181
- Total number of legible seals (PFUTS): 605
- Percentage of legible seals (PFUTS) that are stamp seals: approximately 30%<sup>283</sup>

### 2.2.6.2. Sealing Protocols

Discerning patterns of seal application is a critical tool of analysis in understanding administrative activity in the archive and in determining seal users. For many individual seals in the archive, however, the significance of seal application is frustratingly opaque.<sup>284</sup> Nonetheless, the overall pattern of sealing protocol is clear.

As noted, approximately 86 percent of the Elamite documents bear impressions of seals, whereas virtually 100 percent of the Aramaic and uninscribed documents are sealed.<sup>285</sup> The sealed Elamite documents may carry as few as one and as many as six different seals. The highest number of seals that may be applied to any one Aramaic document is four, to any one uninscribed document, five.<sup>286</sup> Tablets that carry five or six distinct and legible seals are in fact exceptionally rare; to date only three tablets, all Elamite C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”), carry six distinct and legible seals.<sup>287</sup>

Following Hallock, we recognize six distinct tablet surfaces on which a seal may occur:<sup>288</sup>

- obverse
- upper edge
- bottom edge (what Hallock called the lower edge)
- reverse
- left edge
- right edge

There are relatively few tablets whose shapes do not allow such distinctions. The most common are the tablets that carry U texts (labels), which are very small and generally conical or ovoid in shape. It is clear that the individuals involved in sealing tablets recognized that certain surfaces were reserved for the seals of certain parties named in the texts. This is true even of the uninscribed documents; crossover seals that belong to suppliers (*kurman*) in the Elamite documents always are placed on the left edges of uninscribed documents, thereby adhering to sealing protocols for suppliers in the Elamite documents. In what may seem counterintuitive to us, it is clear that seal application preceded the writing of the text in most of the Elamite and the Aramaic documents.

In many instances, we are able to link specific seals with specific individuals and offices owing to repeated coincident of name/office and seal, unambiguous seal application “rules,” and/or, in a few instances, coincident of the name in a seal inscription with the name in a text (see the comments below, §2.2.7). Hallock (1977 and 1985) laid the groundwork for this research; Koch (1990) and Aperghis (1999) have systematically sought

to extend Hallock's initial studies. For this type of endeavor, one may paraphrase Stolper (Jones and Stolper 2008, p. 37, quoting Larsen): seal impressions are good; lots of seal impressions are better.

With the exception of certain text categories, it is generally difficult to assign a seal that occurs only once in the archive to a specific official/office. One needs a dossier of applications of a particular seal in order to see patterns of linkages between the seal and the following:

- placement on the tablet
- text type
- commodity type
- personal names
- geographic names
- year dates

Hallock (1977) recognized that two types of texts, the travel rations (Q texts) and the letters and letter-orders (T texts), exhibit very consistent sealing protocols. For travel rations, the seal of the supply official/office (*kurman*) occurs on the left edge, while the seal of the recipient, that is, the traveler, agent, and/or group travel leader (PN *hiše duš*), occurs generally on the reverse and/or upper edge.<sup>289</sup> For the letters and letter-orders, the seal of the addressor (the individual issuing the orders) is the only seal applied to the tablet, generally on multiple surfaces of the tablet and almost always including the left edge.<sup>290</sup>

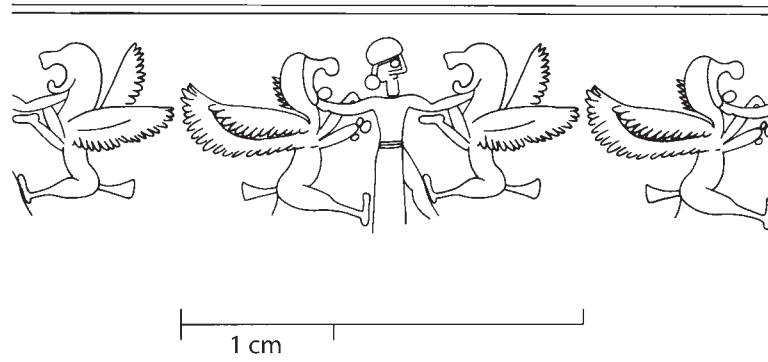
The sealing protocols documented in the letter-orders and the travel rations, what we shall call the single-seal protocol and the counter-seal protocol, respectively, in fact account for the great majority of sealed tablets among all three document types, Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed.<sup>291</sup> Determining the users of the seals in transactions that follow the single-seal protocol or the counter-seal protocol and that are not letter-orders or travel rations is often, however, challenging.

#### 2.2.6.2.1. Single-Seal Protocol

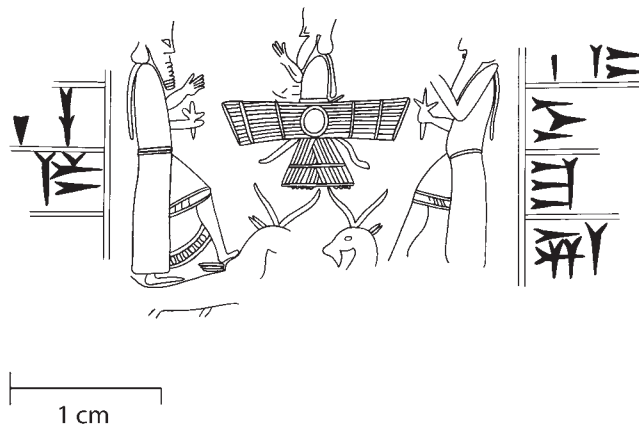
Among the sealed Elamite documents studied by Hallock, approximately 42 percent carry only one seal.<sup>292</sup> Of the Aramaic and uninscribed documents that have been cataloged to date, approximately 42 percent of the Aramaic documents carry only one seal, while approximately 49 percent of the uninscribed documents carry only one seal.<sup>293</sup> In most cases, when a tablet bears only one seal, it is applied to multiple surfaces. Some very important seals, for example, those belonging to the regional directors (PFS 1\*, PFS 4\*, and PFS 3 and PFS 30) (fig. 2.14a–b), PFS 75 (ST1) (as used on the Aramaic and uninscribed documents), PFUTS 18\*, and PFS 535\* (as used on the uninscribed documents) (fig. 2.17a–b), consistently are applied to three or more surfaces of a tablet. PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 18\*, and PFS 535\* often cover all available surfaces when applied to the uninscribed documents.

It has often been stated that the single-seal protocol indicates users/offices of high administrative rank, but this cannot be verified in every instance. A surprisingly large number of seals that follow the single-seal protocol occur only once in the archive. Given the fact that the surviving archive is only a fragment of the original, it is difficult to know what to make of this phenomenon. Be that as it may, it is absolutely clear that individuals/offices whom we know to be of high administrative rank, for example, Parnaka (PFS 9\* and PFS 16\*; fig. 2.12), Ziššawiš (PFS 83\* and PFS 11\* [T1]; fig. 2.13), the regional directors (PFS 1\*, PFS 4\*, PFS 3 and PFS 30; fig. 2.14a–b), the probable satrap Karkiš (PFS 233), and/or high social status, for example, Ašbazana (PFS 1567\*), Irdumartiya (PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*), and the royal women Irdabama (PFS 51) and Irtašduna (PFS 38) (fig. 2.18a–b), invariably follow the single-seal protocol. Addressors of letter-orders and letters, which with rare exceptions adhere to the single-seal protocol, hold considerable administrative authority. Among these particular individuals/offices that employ the single-seal protocol, following Hallock (1977, pp. 127–28), we may infer that the protocol indicates that a counterseal is not required owing to the authority of the user/office.

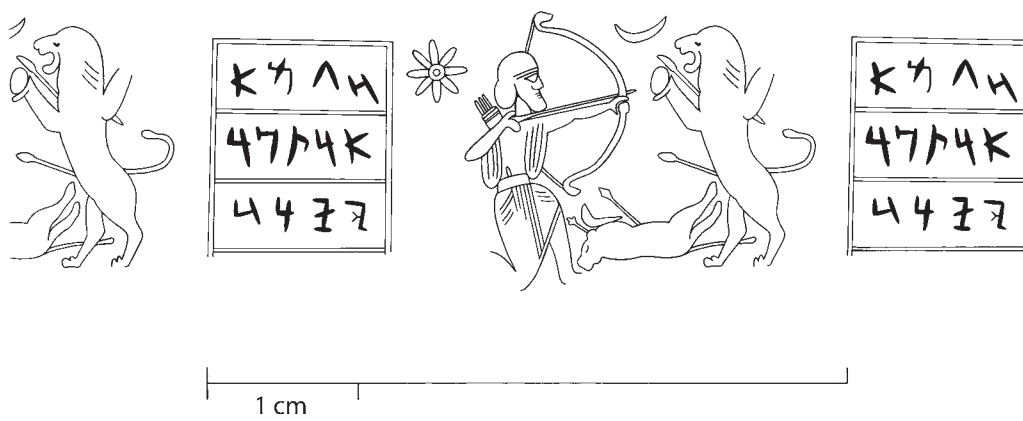
In Elamite memoranda that concern commodity disbursements and ration lists and that follow the single-seal protocol, it is generally the recipient's seal (or a representative of the recipient) or an oversight official's seal that occurs, the supplier's (*kurman*) seal being omitted.



PFS 233

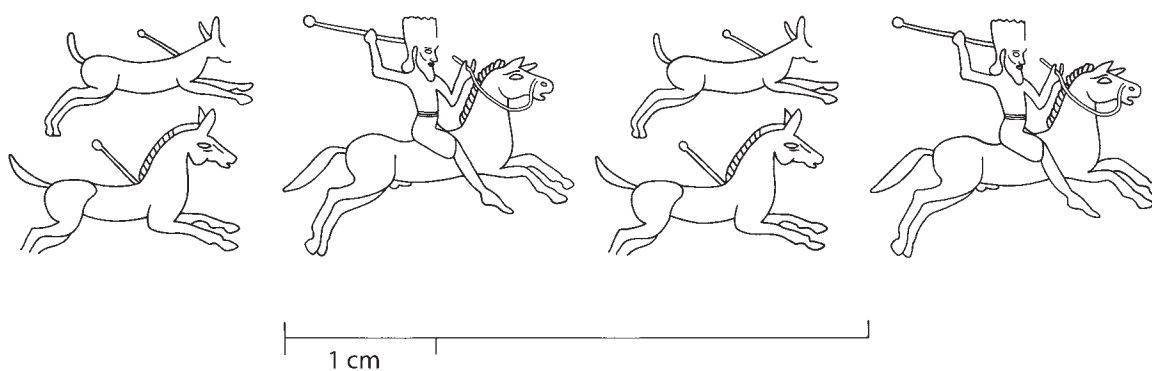


PFS 1567\*

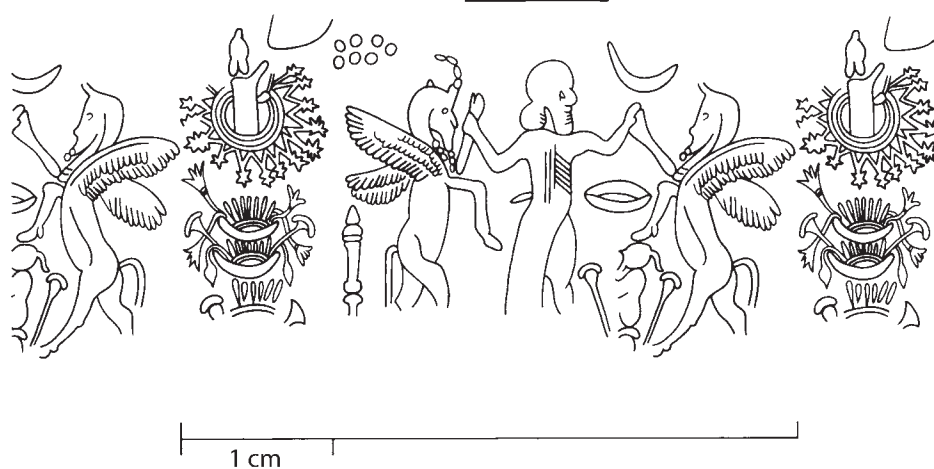


PFS 71\*

Figure 2.18a. Seals following the single-seal protocol and belonging to high-status users: Karkiš (PFS 233), Ašbazana (PFS 1567\*), and Irdumartiya (PFS 71\*)



PFS 51



PFS 38

Figure 2.18b. Seals following the single-seal protocol and belonging to high-status users:  
Irdabama (PFS 51) and Irtašduna (PFS 38)

Approximately 63 percent of the journals and 80 percent of the accounts that are sealed carry only one seal, but it is unclear what the single-seal protocol signifies within these categories of texts.<sup>294</sup>

Among sealed tablets of the so-called labels (U texts), most of them follow the single-seal protocol; as with the journals and accounts, it is unclear what this sealing protocol signifies within this text type. Approximately two-thirds of the U texts are, moreover, unsealed. One should note, however, that all of the U texts that employ *lišni* (“let [PN] deliver”), which, as discussed above (§2.2.3), seems to be a concise order, have one seal, either PFS 3 or PFS 30, the seals associated with the office of the director of the Kāmfirūz region (fig. 2.14a).<sup>295</sup>

While in many cases the single-seal protocol clearly reflects high administrative rank, one cannot assume this is so across the board. As generally within the archive, the more occurrences of a seal, the more that we may infer about its function and the rank/status of its user/office.

### 2.2.6.2.2. Counter-Seal and Parallel-Seal Protocols

Among the sealed Elamite documents studied by Hallock, approximately 49 percent carry two seals.<sup>296</sup> Of the Aramaic documents cataloged to date, approximately 42 percent carry two seals; of the uninscribed documents cataloged to date, approximately 37 percent carry two seals. Thus, the single-seal and the two-seal protocols together account for approximately 91 percent of all sealed Elamite documents, approximately 84 percent of all Aramaic documents, and approximately 86 percent of all uninscribed documents.<sup>297</sup>

On most transactions that carry two seals, one seal occurs only on the left edge of the tablet, the other seal occurs only on one or more of the other surfaces of the tablet (principally the reverse and/or the upper edge). This particular method of sealing we designate the counter-seal protocol. In the counter-seal protocol, as we have discussed with the travel rations, the seal on the left edge represents the supply official/office (*kurman*), and the seal on the other edges represents the actual receiver (and consumer) of the commodities or oversight officials responsible for the individuals who will eventually consume the provisions. This linkage of left edge seals with supply (*kurman*) in transactions that exhibit the counter-seal protocol is quite consistent across the archive. So, for instance, seals associated with supply on the Elamite documents occur regularly and consistently on the left edges of both Aramaic and uninscribed documents, thereby indicating that the counter-seal protocol is deployed regularly and consistently across the archive.<sup>298</sup>

While the counter-seal protocol is straightforward, associating specific officials/offices with these seals is often complicated. In the case of the supply officials, it is clear that many of them use multiple seals; alternatively, several supply officials may seal under one seal. Personnel in the supply offices may also change. Commodity types and supply seals generally track, however, in a fairly regular manner; for example, a supply office seal for fruit will only very rarely be associated with a non-fruit commodity.<sup>299</sup>

Identifying specific receivers with specific seals in the counter-seal protocol is even more difficult than identifying suppliers with supply seals. In some situations, the receivers named in the texts, who often are the individuals who actually consume the rations, are low-status workers (*kurtas*). Administrative officials supervise these workers, and they, not the low-status workers, apply their seals (office or personal) to the transactions. In other situations, the receivers named in the texts are agents or representatives who were “in the field” acting on the behalf of supervisory officials. In this situation, we may have either the seal of the agent or the supervisory official/office applied to the transaction.

This administrative praxis, the recording of the ultimate consumer(s) of a ration disbursement and the sealing of the transaction by an (un-named) oversight official/office, is especially common with *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials, who have the responsibility for the provisioning of work forces (see above, §2.2.2). It is quite common for a text to record the provisioning of an unqualified work group without naming the supervisory official; the tablet is sealed, however, by a seal that we know (from other occurrences) is associated with a particular *šaramanna* or *damanna* official/office. In this manner, the text and the seal work together to document the transaction in a particularly concise manner.<sup>300</sup> When the seal of the supervisory official is a well known one, there is no difficulty in identifying the official/office involved. When the seal of the supervisory official is not well known or occurs only once in the archive, we may have no way of linking that seal to a specific official or office. Again, the more applications of a seal, the more likely we are able to discern patterns.

An example of some of the issues that may be involved in identifying seal usage with a relatively short and straightforward transaction employing the counter-seal protocol is PF 1772 (figs. 2.19–2.20), a text belonging to Hallock’s category S2 (“ration disbursements for animals”):

1-5 1 (*marriš* of) wine, allocation from (*kurman*) Datukka, Bakezza fed(?) to 5 horses. 6-7 7th month, 23rd year.

PFS 25\* is applied to the reverse and upper edge of the tablet, PFS 105s to the left edge.

PFS 105s occurs on nine other tablets: three M texts (“special rations”), five N texts (“mothers’ rations”), and one other S2 text.<sup>301</sup> In every instance, it occurs on the left edge and the commodity is wine, thus virtually ensuring that we are dealing with a seal representing wine supply. In nine instances (the text is broken and illegible on NN 36), the name of the supplier (*kurman*) is given, Datukka; PFS 105s may then be Datukka’s personal seal.<sup>302</sup>

In six texts, the location of the transaction is noted, in every instance Pittannan.<sup>303</sup> So far, so good, and this example is typical of what one can do with regard to identifying suppliers given enough data. We may establish with a great deal of confidence that the supplier Datukka is associated with wine supply at Pittannan using PFS 105s. The texts associated with PFS 105s do not, however, constitute the full dossier on a *kurman* official named Datukka. Nine other texts are involved:

Wine supply:

- NN 10, R (or M) text, at Pittannan, no seal left edge, PFS 114 upper and bottom edges, PFS 130 reverse
- NN 35, M text, at Pittannan, left edge destroyed, PFS 130 bottom edge, PFS 114 reverse

Flour (grain) supply:

- NN 908, H text, PFS 16\* upper, left, and bottom edges
- PF 831, K3 text, PFS 5 left edge, PFS 958s reverse
- PF 1603, R text, at Anturma, PFS 1480 left edge and reverse

Grain supply:

- PF 1585, R text, at Iteṃa (= Hišema), PFS 1466 left edge and reverse
- NN 466, S1 text, PFS 98\* left edge, upper edge, and reverse, PFS 3152 reverse
- NN 911, S1 text, no seal
- NN 1066, S1 text, PFS 98\* left edge, upper edge destroyed

The two wine texts, NN 10 and NN 35, must surely concern the same Datukka as named in the tablets sealed with PFS 105s. Both disbursements are at Pittannan. The left edge of NN 35 is destroyed, thus PFS 105s may indeed have been applied here. There is no seal on the left edge of NN 10, a rare phenomenon in the ration lists. The two tablets carry the same two seals, PFS 114 and PFS 130, on the reverses, upper, and/or right edges. These seals, one or both, occur also in combination with PFS 105s on NN 36, 399 and PF 1260 (N texts), and NN 856 and PF 1161–62 (M texts). The recurring constellation of seals indicates that the Datukka in NN 10 and 35 is most likely the same as the wine supplier associated with PFS 105s. The seven flour (grain) texts are, however, more difficult to relate to Datukka the wine supplier. It may be that we have to do here with another individual with the same name.<sup>304</sup>

PFS 25\*, the seal on the reverse and upper edge of PF 1772, occurs on thirty other tablets: one E text (“utilization”), six F texts (“setting-aside of grains”), three G texts (“providing of provisions”), twelve L1 texts (“regular monthly rations with *gal makip*”), five M texts (“special rations”), two S1 texts (“regular rations for animals”), and one other S2 text.<sup>305</sup> This is an impressive array of transaction types suggesting that we probably have to do here with an official/office of some authority. In nine of these texts, PFS 25\* is the only seal applied to the tablet, another probable signal of high authority.<sup>306</sup> In the other twenty-one transactions, as on PF 1772, PFS 25\* occurs on the reverse and/or upper edge.

There are many different “recipients” named in the texts sealed with PFS 25\*:

- Ušaya (PF 379, NN 2105 [Ušamiya])
- Mimana (NN 303, PF 455)
- Kappirruš (PF 456–57)
- Dakka (NN 874, 1041, PF 570)
- Irtamša (NN 1692, PF 1656)
- Miššabadda (NN 503)
- Bagizza (PF 1772)
- *kurtaš* under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Karkiš (Fort. 6413, NN 164, 2308, PF 911–14)
- unqualified *kurtaš* (Fort. 3127, NN 1211, 1381, 2049, 2065, 2571, PF 909–10, 1141, 1146)





Figure 2.19. Surfaces of PF 1772, a text belonging to Hallock's category S2 ("ration disbursements for animals"), sealed with PFS 105s on the left edge and PFS 25\* on the reverse and upper edge (in both cases inverted) (scale 2:1)



Figure 2.20. Same as figure 2.19, with drawings of the seals PFS 105s and PFS 25\* (scale 2:1)

The wide range of transactions in which PFS 25\* is involved, the relatively large number of tablets on which it occurs, the use of single-seal protocol in a large percentage of those transactions, and the consistent application of the seal on the reverses and/or upper edges of tablets following the counter-seal protocol strongly suggest that we have to do here with a *šaramanna* official of wide-ranging authority. Indeed, seven texts associated with PFS 25\* name a *šaramanna* official; in each text that individual is Karkiš. This Karkiš is probably none other than the regional director and *kurdabattiš* Karkiš, whom we know better in association with PFS 1\* (fig. 2.21). Several commentators have already noted the linkage between Karkiš and PFS 25\*.<sup>307</sup>

It is not clear exactly what the two seals, PFS 1\* and PFS 25\*, signify with regard to the administrative activities of Karkiš, whether one seal may represent one aspect of his administrative functions, the other seal another aspect.<sup>308</sup> PFS 25\* is attested from early year 18 through late in year 28 (504–493 BC). PFS 1\* is attested from early in year 15 through the middle of year 26 (507–496 BC). Thus, the usage dates of the two seals overlap for some nine years. PFS 1\* is certainly used much more often; the seal occurs on some 156 tablets, the most commonly occurring seal in the archive. PFS 25\*, as noted, occurs on only thirty-one tablets. There are some slight distinctions in usage. Only PFS 25\* is found on F texts (“setting-aside of grains”), G texts (“providing of provisions”), and S1 texts (“regular rations for animals”), while only PFS 1\* is found on K3 texts (“regular monthly rations for named persons without qualification”). Both seals occur on L1 texts (“regular monthly rations with *gal makip*”) and M texts (“special rations”). These distinctions may be significant, but exactly how is not immediately apparent. There are, however, two telling differences in the

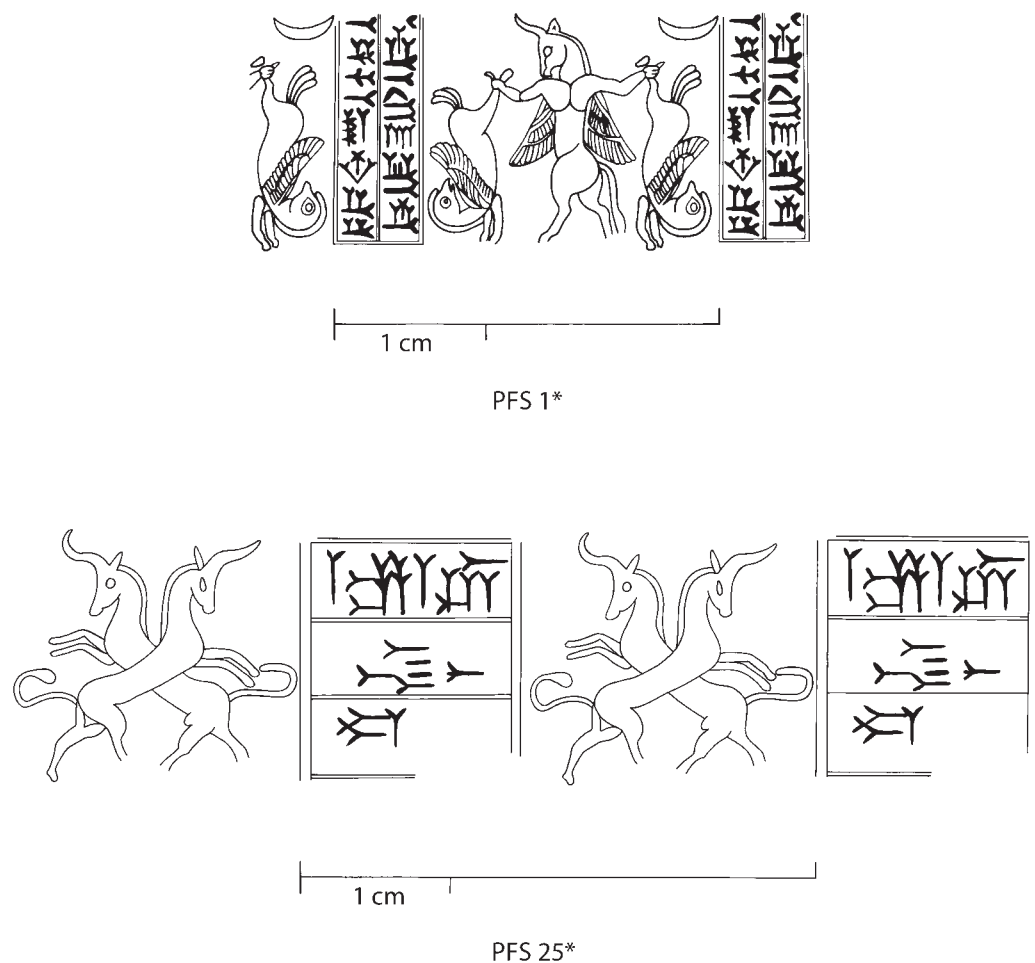


Figure 2.21. PFS 1\* and PFS 25\*, associated with the regional director Karkiš

usages of the two seals. Firstly, the transactions associated with these seals never occur at the same place. Granted, we have only three place names associated with PFS 25\*, Marappiyaš, Miyamatizzan, and Paššataš (= Pirraššetaš), but they do not appear to lie in the Persepolis region (as covered by PFS 1\*).<sup>309</sup> Secondly, and perhaps the most telling, more often than not PFS 25\* occurs in the counter-seal protocol, whereas PFS 1\* always follows the single-seal protocol. PFS 25\* may then represent some type of geographical extension of the authority of Karkiš, but that authority is clearly secondary (or, minimally, requires counter-sealing) in relation to the authority represented by PFS 1\*.

That PFS 1\* and PFS 25\* are closely related is reflected also in their visual imagery (fig. 2.21). Both seals are executed in a distinctive modeled style of carving that I have characterized as a miniaturist modeled style;<sup>310</sup> indeed, one could even make the case the two seals are from the same carving workshop. The carving is very hard, and the outlines of figures are especially sharp.

The seals are also related by the fact that their imagery includes inscriptions. Inscribed seals are rare in the archive.<sup>311</sup> Moreover, both seals are inscribed in Elamite, and both inscriptions are framed in panels with case lines.<sup>312</sup> The inscription on PFS 1\* is oriented along the longitudinal axis of the seal, a rare layout format and one associated primarily with seals of exceptional administrative rank, while the inscription on PFS 25\* is oriented along the latitudinal axis of the seal, as is more common for inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic. Perhaps to no surprise, the content of the inscriptions themselves is closely related.

PFS 1*	PFS 25*
<sup>r</sup> DIŠ(?) <sup>1</sup> URU(?) <i>-ki-su-na</i>	DIŠ <sup>1</sup> <i>un-sa-</i>
DIŠ <sup>1</sup> <i>un-sa-AK(?)</i> -TE(?)	<i>ak-</i>
	<i>na</i>
“PN(?), Unsak”	“Belonging to Unsak”

The inscription on PFS 1\* has been the subject of some debate; that on PFS 25\* is clearly related. The reading of several signs in both lines of the inscription on PFS 1\* is problematic.<sup>313</sup> It is unclear whether the first line is a personal name. The second line is also not without problems, but the reading of *unsak* seems likely. The word has been interpreted as either a personal name or a title.<sup>314</sup> The reading of the inscription on PFS 25\* is straightforward and appears to give a personal name, *Unsak*, followed by the genitive enclitic *-na*, indicating ownership/possession, “belonging to Unsak.” This formula, PN-*na*, is commonly employed in Elamite seal inscriptions but always within the context of a more expanded formula found in Elamite inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic, PN1 DUMU PN2-*na*, “PN1 son of PN2,” or, more rarely, *halmi* PN1 DUMU PN2-*na*, “Seal of PN1 son of PN2.”<sup>315</sup> Lastly, the word *unsak* occurs within the Fortification archive only in these two seals. Thus, the inscriptions on these two seals contain an extremely obscure word employed in exceptional inscriptional formulae.

All in all, the short text on the animal-ration memorandum PF 1772, only some fourteen Elamite words, and the two seals applied to it have provided an interesting portal into the complexity of seal usage in the Fortification archive. The dossiers of PFS 25\* and the closely related PFS 1\* yield interesting insights into administrative activities associated with one of the regional directors and paint a remarkable picture of the multiple levels of interaction between seals and texts, between seals and administrators, and between two different seals as visual artifacts in the glyptic landscape at Persepolis.

A small number of Elamite documents (and a larger number of Aramaic and uninscribed documents) carry two seals but do not follow the counter-seal protocol. In these cases, the left edge of the tablet may be unsealed, or the seal that occurs on the left edge also occurs on another surface. In the Elamite documents, these types of sealing patterns cluster mainly in commodity transfers (Hallock’s text categories A and B), accounts/journals (Hallock’s C1, C2, C4, C6, V, and W texts), and special disbursements before the king and royal family (Hallock’s J texts). There is also a group of M texts (“special rations”) that falls into this category; interestingly, PFS 1121s and PFS 1122 occur on almost half of these M texts. For the moment, we may characterize this sealing practice as the parallel-seal protocol. More research is needed to determine the exact significance of this parallel-seal protocol in these various transaction types. There

is unlikely to be one administrative activity that will account for all cases of it; the compiling of accounts and journals is clearly a distinct activity done by specialists, while the J texts demark a special type of commodity disbursement.

### 2.2.6.2.3. Multiple-seal Protocol

A small percentage of tablets in the archive carry three or more seals. We designate the appearance of three or more seals on a tablet as the multiple-seal protocol.

The Elamite documents studied by Hallock again provide the most accurate statistical sample that we currently have for the multiple-seal protocol:

- Tablets that carry three seals: 246 tablets (= approximately 5% of all sealed Elamite tablets)
- Tablets that carry four seals: sixty-four tablets (= approximately 1% of all sealed Elamite tablets)
- Tablets that carry five seals: eight tablets (= less than 1% of all sealed Elamite tablets)
- Tablets that carry six seals: four tablets (= less than 1% of all sealed Elamite tablets)<sup>316</sup>

The cataloged uninscribed documents (currently 604 tablets) exhibit a similar percentage of tablets bearing the multiple-seal protocol:

- Tablets that carry three seals: seventy tablets (= approximately 12% of cataloged uninscribed tablets)
- Tablets that carry four seals: ten tablets (= approximately 2% of cataloged uninscribed tablets)
- Tablets that carry five seals: two tablets (= less than 1% of cataloged uninscribed tablets)<sup>317</sup>
- Tablets that carry six seals: none

The exact significance of this sealing protocol will certainly become clearer as both the texts and seals used on the Elamite NN tablets are more fully studied. For the moment, we may note that the multiple-seal protocol is limited to certain types of transactions (see below, §2.2.6.2.4.6), and that clusters of the same seals tend to occur together on tablets that follow the multiple-seal protocol.<sup>318</sup> Especially distinctive are clusters of seals that occur in sets of three, particularly in the field accounting transactions (B and C1 texts, see below).<sup>319</sup>

### 2.2.6.2.4. Sealing Protocols and Text Types

At this point, it may be helpful to survey, in an abbreviated manner, Hallock's text types and the sealing protocols that are associated with them. While some patterns do emerge in the relationship between sealing protocols and Hallock's text types, it is clear that one cannot make broad generalizations across the text types concerning these relationships.

By way of review, Hallock's text categories A–S3 are memoranda, T are letters and letter-orders, U are "labels," and V and W are journals and accounts, respectively. The memoranda may be divided into two large groups, categories A–G concerning "the movement of commodities or their employment for broad general purposes," and categories H–S3 recording "apportionments to the ultimate consumer" (Hallock 1969, p. 13).<sup>320</sup>

The discussion that follows tracks sealed documents. Unsealed documents occur in almost all of Hallock's text categories. When the percentage of unsealed documents is especially high within a text category, this is noted.

#### 2.2.6.2.4.1. Single-seal Protocol Exclusively

The letters and letter-orders (T texts) exhibit an almost universal adherence to the single-seal protocol. Two other text types also are so distinguished. The one are the C3 texts, which appear to record some type of a fractional charge or deduction (*battišekaš* or *irrit*) for large quantities of wine; these texts are related to accounts. The other are the "labels" (U texts). Approximately two-thirds of the U texts are, however, unsealed, by far the largest percentage of any transaction category. The sealed U texts follow principally the single-seal protocol, predominately the regional office seals PFS 3 or PFS 30.<sup>321</sup>

#### 2.2.6.2.4.2. Counter-seal Protocol Exclusively

The sealed travel rations (Q texts) exhibit an almost universal adherence to the counter-seal protocol. It is noteworthy that some 21 percent of travel rations are unsealed. To the travel transactions we ought to append the S3 texts, which are rations for animals on the road and which also adhere almost exclusively to the counter-seal protocol. The S2 texts, which concern provisions of wine for horses, with a handful of exceptions, also generally follow the counter-seal protocol.<sup>322</sup> Lastly, the C5 texts, which are exchanges involving *sawur* wine, *tarmu* grain, barley, and sheep, a relative small group of transactions, follow almost exclusively the counter-seal protocol.

#### 2.2.6.2.4.3. Approximately Equal Balance Between the Single-seal Protocol and the Counter-seal or Parallel-seal Protocols

Several transaction categories exhibit a roughly equal use of the single-seal protocol and the counter-seal or parallel-seal protocols. These categories consist of some field accounts (C4 and C6 texts), utilization or processing of commodities (E texts), and ration lists (L2, L3, R, and S1 texts).

Of the accounting texts, categories C4, small cattle (and sheep/goat) received as tax, and C6, apparently deposits and short inventories for accounting purposes, both exhibit approximately equal numbers of tablets following the single-seal and counter-seal or parallel-seal protocols. The C4 texts follow almost exclusively the parallel-seal protocol, while the C6 texts have both counter-seal and parallel-seal protocols. The single-seal transactions in the C4 texts carry principally PFS 9\*, to no surprise considering the substantial number of livestock that are involved.

The transactions of category E generally employ forms of the verb *hutta-*, “to make,” “to do,” which Hallock (1969, p. 18) rendered as “to utilize” in the sense of using the commodity or processing it. The transactions show a roughly equal distribution between the single-seal and the counter-seal protocols, with a slight preference for the latter. The regional directors are often involved as well as some important *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials and well known supply officials/offices.

A large and important set of transactions are ration payments to workers, Hallock’s text categories K1 through L3. Hallock (1969, p. 25) noted that these ration payments “provide regular monthly rations, the K1–3 texts for named persons, the L1–3 texts for unnamed persons or groups of persons.” Of these texts, the L2 and L3 texts exhibit a roughly equal number of tablets following the single-seal and counter-seal protocols (there is in addition a handful of transactions that follow the multiple-seal protocol); the seal of Irtuppiya, PFS 2, figures prominently in the tablets following the single-seal protocol.

Two other types of ration disbursement exhibit a similar equal division between the single-seal and the counter-seal protocols. The R texts are a poorly defined category distinguished by the omission of “the amounts of the individual apportionments or the numbers of recipients” (Hallock 1969, p. 45). The S1 texts are regular monthly rations for animals; tablets following the counter-seal protocol are slightly more numerous among this group of texts (there are isolated occurrences of the parallel-seal protocol as well). The S1 texts have a relatively high percentage of unsealed documents.

#### 2.2.6.2.4.4. Principally Single-seal Protocol but Some Counter-seal or Parallel-seal Protocols

This grouping of transactions is characterized by having a preponderance of tablets adhering to the single-seal protocol and a not insignificant percentage following the counter-seal or parallel-seal protocols. This group includes two very interesting transaction categories, the H texts and the J texts, as well as a small number of accounting texts (C2) and the very large ration category L1.

C2 texts concern balances “carried forward.” Of the two-seal documents that occur here, there is a roughly equal division of counter-seal and parallel-seal protocols. Two C2 texts carry three seals.

The H texts are a special category of ration disbursements that appear to represent something like salary payments rather than subsistence rations.<sup>323</sup> The amounts involved are often substantial. To no surprise, many of these transactions employ the single-seal protocol, the seal representing the individual receiving the payments. Parnaka and Ziššawiš are the two most commonly attested individuals in these transactions. Nevertheless, some of these transactions employ the counter-seal protocol (and one follows the parallel-seal

protocol, another the multiple-seal). As an example of what to our perspective may seem the whimsy of the system, in one H text, PF 686, the elite guide Išbaramištima (see above, §2.2.3) receives a substantial disbursement of flour and seals the tablet with his seal, PFS 49; no other seal occurs on the tablet. In another H text, PF 687, he receives a small disbursement of oil. This transaction requires both his seal (PFS 49 applied to the reverse and upper edge) and the seal of the (unnamed) supplier, PFS 856 (applied to the left edge). Why the one transaction requires only the seal of Išbaramištima, the other both the seal of Išbaramištima and the seal of the supplier, is unknown. Even more difficult to understand are the four H texts involving Kambarma (Gobryas), one of the highest-status individuals in the archive. All four transactions, NN 210, 1133, 2533, and PF 688, require both Gobryas' seal (PFS 857s) and the seals of the suppliers. Why would H texts involving Parnaka and Ziššawiš follow the single-seal protocol, but those involving Gobryas, who must have been by far their superior, follow the counter-seal protocol? The commodities in three of these transactions are beer or wine, in one case a substantial amount, and one may speculate as to whether the commodity may require the counter seal, but this is certainly not the case for beer and wine rations for Parnaka or Ziššawiš or, for example, for Irdumartiya (Old Persian Artavardiya) for whom we have several wine rations, all following the single-seal protocol and sealed with PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* (fig. 2.23), his personal seal.<sup>324</sup> It may be that a counter-seal is required on these H texts associated with Kambarma because he is not a “normal,” perhaps better stated, “administratively documented,” official in the system represented by the archive (whereas Parnaka, Ziššawiš, and Irdumartiya are). Thus, these H texts involving Kambarma are oddities and so require fuller documentation within the system.<sup>325</sup>

The J texts, and the seals that occur on them, have often been discussed.<sup>326</sup> These transactions concern commodities and livestock, often in substantial quantities, that are qualified as EŠŠANA *tibba makka*, “consumed before the king,” or EŠŠANA *tibba kitka*, “poured before the king.” Commodity and livestock disbursements qualified as *tibba makka* or *tibba kitka* are also recorded for five other individuals, the royal women Irdabama, Irtašduna (Greek Artystone), and Udusa (Greek Atossa), Irtašduna's son, Iršama (always in combination with his mother in the J texts), and the probable satrap of Kermān, Karkiš (fig. 2.18a–b).<sup>327</sup> Sealing on the J texts normally follows the single-seal protocol with the exception of the disbursements of flour, which carry PFS 7\* and one of the triplicate replica seals PFS 66a\*, PFS 66b\*, or PFS 66c\*.<sup>328</sup> PFS 7\*, a royal-name seal, appears to have overarching authority in transactions concerning the king. The seal always occurs alone, except in the case of disbursements of flour (see above).<sup>329</sup> Livestock “consumed before the king” are normally sealed not with PFS 7\* but with the magnificent heirloom seal PFS 93\*. In one instance (PF 691), a cattle text is sealed with PFS 859\*, a large seal impressively carved in the Court Style.<sup>330</sup> NN 490 is a disbursement of sheep/goat; there are three seals on the tablet, PFS 2077s, PFS 2078, and PFS 2079.<sup>331</sup> All the seals associated with disbursements “consumed before the king” occur only on the J texts. In contrast, the seals associated with Irdabama (PFS 51), Irtašduna (PFS 38), Irtašduna and Iršama (PFS 38), and Karkiš (PFS 233) also occur outside of the J texts in various transactions linked with these individuals.

Lastly, there is the very substantial category of L1 ration texts, “regular monthly rations for unnamed persons or groups of persons,” which follow primarily the single-seal protocol but also include a goodly number of documents employing the counter-seal protocol (Hallock 1969, p. 25). The seals of the regional directors and high-rank individuals figure prominently in these transactions.

#### 2.2.6.2.4.5. Principally Counter-seal or Parallel-seal Protocols but Some Single-seal Protocol

This grouping of transactions is characterized by having a preponderance of tablets adhering to the counter-seal or parallel-seal protocols and a not insignificant percentage following the single-seal protocol. This group includes the F and G texts as well as a substantial number of ration texts, categories K1 and K2.

The F texts concern the setting-aside of grains for seed and fodder (Hallock 1969, pp. 20–22). The two-seal transactions are almost exclusively the counter-seal protocol; there is only a handful of parallel-seal protocol. The transactions that follow the single-seal protocol include a substantial number with the seal of Irtuppiya, PFS 2 (fig. 2.14b), which, Henkelman (2008a, p. 119) notes, is often associated with towns in the western Fahliyān region and may represent a “(sub-) regional seal.” There is also a significant percentage of unsealed F texts.

The G texts all deploy the noun *haduš* alone or in phrases that Hallock (1969, p. 22) rendered as “(for) provisions it was provided” (cf. Tavernier 2007, s.v. *haduš* [5.5.3.6]: “to receive here”). These transactions have sealing protocols very similar to the F texts. The two-seal transactions are almost exclusively the counter-seal protocol with only a handful of parallel-seal protocol. A relatively large number of unsealed transactions also occur.

The K1–K2 texts are regular monthly rations for named individuals.<sup>332</sup> The K1 texts are noteworthy for concerning individuals with religious functions. Within these text categories, the counter-seal protocol is applied very consistently; the parallel-seal protocol is very rare. The K1 transactions also have numerous unsealed tablets.

#### 2.2.6.2.4.6. Single-seal Protocol, Counter-seal or Parallel-seal Protocols, and Some Multiple-seal Protocol

This grouping of transactions is characterized by exhibiting all three sealing protocols: single-seal, counter-seal or parallel seal, and multiple-seal. As noted above, it is not always clear how we are to understand the multiple-seal protocol. The types of transactions that include all three sealing protocols include records of movements of commodities (A and B), accounting (C1, V, and W), and three large categories of ration disbursements (K3, M, and P).

Transactions of category A concern the transport of commodities. A high percentage (approximately 25%) of these transactions are unsealed. The number of single-seal and counter-seal transactions is roughly equal.<sup>333</sup> There are only a few tablets that follow the multiple-seal protocol.

Transactions of category B record the delivery of commodities. A high percentage of them concern animals and/or animal hides. The transactions favor the counter-seal or parallel-seal protocols, but there are a number of tablets with single-seal protocol and multiple-seal protocol, especially tablets carrying three seals. There is a very interesting run of transactions concerning delivery of cattle who were slaughtered and their hides taken to the treasury, sealed with the triplicate group of PFS 127, PFS 128, and PFS 129, and consistently naming Bakadušda, Ziššawiš, and Pirtanda (and, in one instance, Ampirdawiš).<sup>334</sup> In these transactions, we may state with some degree of confidence that the three seals represent these individuals and/or their offices and that there are no seals of the suppliers (who are, interestingly, often named in the texts).

The C1 texts concern the deposit of commodities “which are to be held until orders arrive for their disposition” to the “accounts” of various individuals at various places (Hallock 1969, p. 15).<sup>335</sup> The C1 texts much prefer the counter-seal (there are no parallel-seal transactions) and multiple-seal protocols. A considerable percentage of transactions exhibit the multiple-seal protocol, more so than any other text category, and include tablets bearing three, four, five, or six different seals. These C1 texts following the multiple-seal protocol include the repeated triplets of seal combinations:

- PFS 8 — PFS 13 — PFS 22
- PFS 8 — PFS 13 — PFS 34
- PFS 8 — PFS 13 — PFS 206
- PFS 8 — PFS 13 — PFS 472
- PFS 8 — PFS 14 — PFS 19
- PFS 14 — PFS 19 — PFS 22

and the repeated four-seal combinations of:

- PFS 8 — PFS 14 — PFS 19 — PFS 22
- PFS 123\* — PFS 230 — PFS 306 — PFS 307 (T20)

The texts of these repeated three- and four-seal combinations generally record only one name, that of the person into whose “account” the commodity is deposited.<sup>336</sup> It is unlikely that any of the seals applied to the tablet represent that individual, as there are many different names involved in transactions sealed by the same seals. Suppliers are rarely named in the texts associated with these repeated combinations of seals.

Transactions of category D deal with receipts of commodities whose exact purpose is uncertain. Hallock (1969, p. 18) thought that the considerable quantities of commodities that are often involved make “it



unlikely that an apportionment to the ultimate consumer is involved.” The transactions follow principally the single-seal and counter-seal protocols, but there are a few instances of tablets that carry three, four, or five seals, including two tablets that carry the four-seal combination of PFS 72, PFS 90, PFS 141, and PFS 399. Both texts concern flour received by Mannunda and Umardada at Persepolis.

The K3 monthly ration texts are closely related to the K1 and K2 texts but “for named persons without qualification” (Hallock 1969, p. 27). Approximately 10 percent of the K3 transactions are unsealed. The preferred sealing protocol is the counter-seal. There is a short run of texts sealed with PFS 1\* or PFS 4\*, thus following the single-seal protocol. There are not many multiple-seal transactions, but seven texts carry the four-seal combination of PFS 72, PFS 90, PFS 141, and PFS 399, the same combination that we saw in the D texts. All seven texts again concern flour or barley received by Mannunda and Umardada at Persepolis; six different suppliers are involved in these transactions.

Transactions of category M are ration disbursements, smaller than normal, to workers; they may represent some type of supplement. This is a substantial category of texts, almost 400 in number. The counter-seal protocol is the most prevalent of the sealing protocols; the parallel-seal protocol is relatively rare and often involves the same two seals, PFS 1121s and PFS 1122. The single-seal transactions often carry seals of high-rank officials (e.g., the seals of the regional directors PFS 1\* and PFS 3). There are a substantial number of multiple-seal tablets, especially those carrying three seals. Several repeated combinations occur, including

- PFS 142; PFS 143s; PFS 144
- PFS 291; PFS 292; PFS 293
- PFS 264; PFS 265; PFS 266\*; PFS 1181

The counter-seal protocol is used in approximately 50 percent of the N texts, an interesting category of transaction that records single payments to mothers who have just delivered children.<sup>337</sup> Tablets following the multiple-seal protocol are the next most common. There is a group of N texts sealed with the repeated triplets of seal combinations:

- PFS 80 — PFS 101 — PFS 276
- PFS 80 — PFS 101 — PFS 1044
- PFS 105s — PFS 114 — PFS 130
- PFS 193 — PFS 312 — PFS 2930s
- PFS 261\* — PFS 1155 — PFS 1699s
- PFS 301 — PFS 302 — PFS 303

As in the C1 texts, several of the seals may appear in different triplet groupings (in the N texts, e.g., PFS 80 and PFS 101).

The P texts are also ration disbursements but specifying daily amounts and often for long periods of time. Hallock (1969, p. 38), based upon the common notation of a *halmi* from the king or some high-rank individual and the prevailing commodity (flour), thought that the recipients were chiefly itinerant occupational groups. These transactions principally follow single-seal and counter-seal protocols (there are no examples of the parallel-seal protocol). Four transactions carry three seals.<sup>338</sup>

The journals (V texts) and accounts (W texts) are somewhat anomalous from the perspective of sealing protocols. The preferred protocol is the single-seal, but there are a considerable number of tablets that carry two seals. As these texts are not memoranda, the distinction between sealing surfaces would not appear to be directly comparable to the distinction among sealed surfaces in the memoranda. Three journals and three accounts carry three distinct and legible seals.<sup>339</sup> Lastly, both journals and accounts have a high percentage of unsealed tablets.

It is clear that there are two sets of “accounting” seals: those that are restricted to the journals and accounts (and, thus, the users probably located in Persepolis); and those that occur on journals and accounts as well as C2 texts (accounting balances) and some other categories of memoranda (the users probably located “in the field”).<sup>340</sup> The seals that occur exclusively on the journals and accounts form a particularly

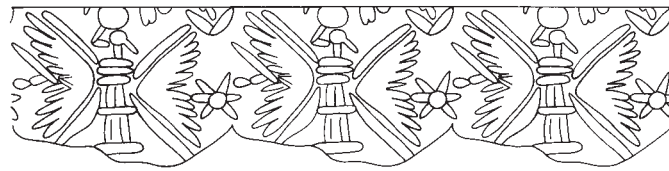
circumscribed glyptic corpus and represent a highly specialized (and important) administrative activity. This glyptic corpus exhibits, moreover, very interesting patterns as regards imagery and style.<sup>341</sup>

### 2.2.7. Seals and Officials

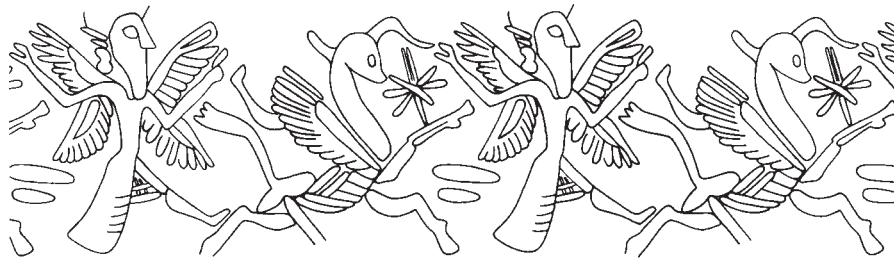
The seals used in Persepolitan glyptic may represent either an individual, what we may call a “personal seal,” or an institutional authority, what we may call an “office seal.” Determining whether a seal is a personal seal or an office seal is not always possible. This is especially true for the many hundreds of seals that occur only once in the archive, unless that single occurrence is on a transaction of categories Q (travel rations) or T (letter-orders). Even in those cases where a seal occurs on more than one transaction, we may still be hard-pressed to identify whether it is a personal or office seal. In many instances, we may identify only the seal “user,” who may be the actual “owner” of the seal or simply the official who happens to be using the seal under the authority of some office at a particular time and place. As we have stated numerous times, the more data the better; this is particularly true in distinguishing personal seals from office seals.

It is noteworthy that a relatively small number of seals account for almost one-half of the sealed tablets in the archive. The forty-four most commonly occurring seals in the archive occur on approximately 45 percent of the surviving sealed documents (Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed). The list is an interesting one:

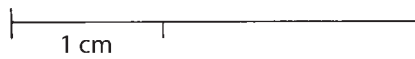
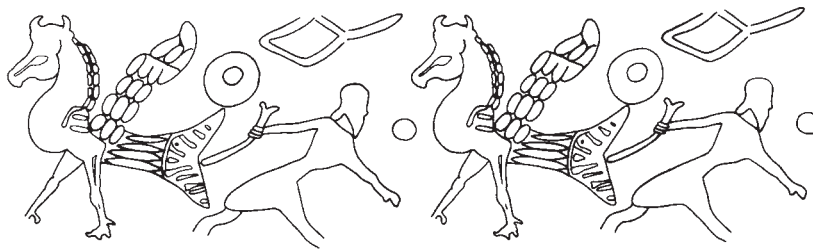
- Seals occurring on over one hundred tablets: PFS 1\*, PFS 9\*/PFS 16\*, PFS 3 (number of seals: four). This list includes two seals representing regional directors, PFS 1\* (Persepolis) and PFS 30 (Kāmfirūz) (fig. 2.14a), and the two seals of Parnaka, PFS 9\* and PFS 16\* (fig. 2.12).
- Seals occurring on 80–100 tablets: PFS 2, PFS 4\* (number of seals: two). These seals represent the other regional directors, PFS 2 (potentially a sub-director of the Fahliyān region) and PFS 4\* (Fahliyān) (fig. 2.14b).
- Seals occurring on 50–79 tablets: PFS 5, PFS 6, PFS 7\*, PFS 8, PFS 83\*/PFS 11\* (T1), PFS 12a, PFS 17, PFS 21, PFS 22 (number of seals: ten). This group consists of office supply seals, PFS 5, PFS 6, PFS 17, and PFS 21 (fig. 2.22a–b), as well as the special office seal PFS 7\* (concerned with the royal table), two field account seals, PFS 8 and PFS 22, the account seal PFS 12a, the most important accounting office at Persepolis, and the two seals of Ziššawiš, the deputy-director, PFS 83\*/PFS 11\* (T1) (fig. 2.13).
- Seals occurring on 30–49 tablets: PFS 10, PFS 13, PFS 14, PFS 18, PFS 19, PFS 20, PFS 24, PFS 25\*, PFS 27\*, PFS 32\*, PFS 33, PFS 34, PFS 39s, PFS 48, PFS 75 (ST1), PFS 95 (number of seals: sixteen). This group consists primarily of supply seals, PFS 10, PFS 18, PFS 20, PFS 24, PFS 33, PFS 39s, and PFS 48 (fig. 2.22a–b), but also includes field account seals, PFS 13, PFS 14, and PFS 19, the account seal PFS 27\*, the second most commonly occurring account seal at Persepolis, seals associated with the Persepolis regional director, PFS 25\* (fig. 2.21) and PFS 32\* (Šuddayauda) (fig. 2.14a), and what may be an office seal associated with the *šaramanna* official Rašda, PFS 75 (ST1) (fig. 2.17a). Lastly, there are PFS 34, which occurs on C1 texts (“deposits with zikka- and da-”) and M texts (“special rations”), almost always on the left edges, and PFS 95, which occurs on the left edges of Q texts (“travel rations”), a sure sign of a supplier, but then, rather unusually, also on the non-left edges of some L2 texts (“regular monthly rations with *galma*”) and M texts (“special rations”) as well as on one letter-order (NN 585).<sup>342</sup>
- Seals occurring on 20–29 tablets: PFS 15, PFS 23, PFS 26, PFS 28, PFS 29, PFS 30, PFS 35\*, PFS 36\*, PFS 40, PFS 64\*, PFS 80; PFATS 1s; PFUTS 18\* (number of seals: thirteen). Here again, we have several supply seals, PFS 23, PFS 26, PFS 29, PFS 40, PFS 80, as well as the regional office seal PFS 30 (fig. 2.14a) and what may represent an over-arching authority in the uninscribed tablets, the royal-name seal PFUTS 18\* (fig. 2.17b). The function of PFATS 1s is as yet not clear; the seal occurs commonly as one of a set of three seals applied to a tablet, never on the left edge. Among this cluster of seals occurring on 20–29 tablets are a relatively large number that may be connected to *šaramanna* officials: PFS 15, apparently an office seal associated with the *šaramanna* official Uštana; PFS 28, following single-seal protocol, but the *šaramanna* official is never named; PFS 35\*, perhaps(?) an office seal associated with the *šaramanna* official Tiyama; PFS 36\*, probably an office seal associated with the *šaramanna* official



PFS 5

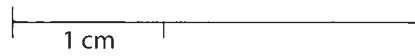


PFS 6



PFS 10

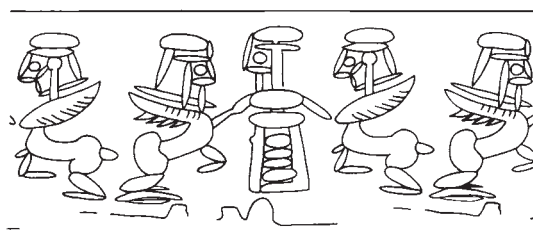
Figure 2.22a. High-occurrence supply seals in the Fortification archive: PFS 5, associated with the flour (grain) supplier Parru at Šurkudur; PFS 6, associated with the flour (grain) supplier Manukka; PFS 10, associated with flour (grain) supply at Kurdušum



PFS 17



PFS 18



PFS 20

Figure 2.22b. High-occurrence supply seals in the Fortification archive: PFS 17, associated with wine supply; PFS 18, associated with the flour (grain) supplier Mirayauda; PFS 20, associated with flour (grain) supply at Gisat

Rašda.<sup>343</sup> Lastly, there is PFS 64\*, a seal whose usage patterns suggest a *šaramanna* official, but exactly who is unclear.<sup>344</sup>

Office seals, particularly those of supply offices, figure prominently among these most commonly occurring seals. Indeed, the only unambiguously identified personal seals among this group are those of Parnaka and Ziššawiš (figs. 2.12–2.13), the director and deputy-director, and Šuddayauda, who serves for a time as the director of the Persepolis region and also uses his personal seal, PFS 32\* (fig. 2.14a), which carries an inscription with his name.<sup>345</sup>

Considering seal usage in the archive in this manner leads one to conclude that most supply (*kurman*) seals are office seals. The most commonly occurring supply seals are all associated with multiple named *kurman* officials. Cases for a supply seal as a personal seal may be made for two grain/flour supply seals, PFS 18 (fig. 2.22b) and PFS 26. The only named *kurman* official with PFS 18 is Mirayauda, with PFS 26, Barušiyatiš.<sup>346</sup>

The most commonly occurring supply seals include:

- PFS 5: grain, at Šurkukur<sup>347</sup>
- PFS 6: grain and flour but also some fruit and wine in the Persepolis region<sup>348</sup>
- PFS 10: grain/flour, at Kurdušum in the western Fahliyān region<sup>349</sup>
- PFS 17: wine<sup>350</sup>
- PFS 18: grain/flour (Mirayauda), at Umpura<sup>351</sup>
- PFS 20: grain, and some beer and wine, at Gisat<sup>352</sup>
- PFS 21: grain/flour, at Kurdušum<sup>353</sup>
- PFS 23: flour, at Kurdušum<sup>354</sup>
- PFS 24: grain/flour, at Umpura<sup>355</sup>
- PFS 26: grain/flour (Barušiyatiš)<sup>356</sup>
- PFS 29: grain, at Hišema<sup>357</sup>
- PFS 33: primarily grain/flour, some beer, near Kurdušum<sup>358</sup>
- PFS 39s: grain/flour, at Kaupirriš in the western Fahliyān region<sup>359</sup>
- PFS 40: tarmu (grain) and beer, at Kurdušum<sup>360</sup>
- PFS 48: grain/flour, probably in an area around Pirdatkaš<sup>361</sup>
- PFS 80: grain and beer
- PFS 95: grain/flour and some fruit, perhaps at Tamukkan<sup>362</sup>

Attributing specific seals to specific individuals, even with the forty-four most commonly occurring seals in the Fortification archive, can thus in some cases be a somewhat complicated affair. Personal (as opposed to office) seals seem rare. Of course, we may have to do here in some contexts with personal seals that are deployed as office seals. This may be the case with many of the seals associated with *šaramanna* officials or even with some of the seals associated with suppliers. For example, the grain/flour supply seal PFS 21 occurs on the left edge of fifty-nine ration memoranda, thirty-five of which are travel rations. In fifty-four of these texts, the *kurman* official is named; forty-nine of those texts name the *kurman* official as Karma. The exceptions are NN 1741, 1827, and 2149, which record allocations of beer for which Kabba is the *kurman* official, and NN 234, which records an allocation of *tarmu* grain that Kabba received for making beer and names Pukša as the *kurman* official. Now, it seems highly significant that NN 234 names both of the two individuals who are *kurman* officials in association with PFS 21 (other than Karma). All three texts, moreover, concern beer. The only other beer disbursement associated with PFS 21 is NN 2393, which does not name a *kurman* official.<sup>363</sup> Thus, we seem to have to do here with some sub-set of activities concerning beer associated with PFS 21. In this sub-set, the normal *kurman* official, Karma, is never named. One may infer, thus, that Karma may have “assigned” this sub-set of activity concerning the making and disbursement of beer to Pukša and Kabba and, by way of an extension of his authority, his seal. Of course, we have no way to confirm this; PFS 21 illustrates nonetheless the fine lines that may exist between a personal seal and an office seal.

Distinguishing personal from office seals is still very much a work in progress in the Fortification archive. As stated before, the more data that we have for each seal, the better situated we may be for this task. A

prosopography of the Fortification archive is desperately needed and would mark a major contribution to distinguishing both personal and office seals and identifying seal users.

### 2.3. The Persepolis Treasury Archive (492–457 BC)

The Persepolis Treasury archive was found in the Treasury building at Persepolis. The written documents from the Persepolis Treasury archive, tablets carrying Elamite texts, are concerned almost exclusively with the Treasury at Persepolis. We assume that the uninscribed, sealed clay “labels,” found interspersed with the Elamite tablets in the Treasury building, also are connected in some manner with the Treasury.

The Elamite texts deal with payments of silver from the Treasury in lieu of partial or full commodity rations (sheep, wine, and grain) to workers involved in construction projects (presumably) at Persepolis and the immediately surrounding area. The archive is dated by date formulae in the Elamite documents to year 30 of Darius I through year 7 of Artaxerxes I, 492–457 BC. As with the Elamite documents from the Fortification archive, the distribution of Treasury texts through time is uneven; the heaviest concentration of dated Treasury texts occurs in years 19 and 20 of Xerxes (467/66–466/65 BC).<sup>364</sup>

Although the two archives from Persepolis concern distinct administrative apparatuses, they are related in several ways.<sup>365</sup> The principal written administrative language in both archives is Elamite. The Elamite documents from the Treasury have the same shape as most of the Elamite memoranda from the Fortification archive: a tongue-shaped tablet with a flattened left edge. The Elamite letter-orders and memoranda from the Treasury archive are, however, larger than the typical Elamite memoranda from the Fortification archive, and generally the clay is of a more refined quality. The Elamite documents from the Treasury archive are, like the memoranda from the Fortification archive, formed around a knotted string that emerges from the corners of the left edge of the tablet. Both archives contain a relatively large percentage of sealed but uninscribed documents. Select technical terms (e.g., *šaramanna*) occur in both archives. A few of the same personnel are active in both archives (see, e.g., the discussion of Baratkama, below, §2.3.2.1), and four seals are used in both archives: PFS 113\*/PTS 4\*, a royal-name seal, PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, belonging to Irdumartiya, PFS 451s/PTS 61s, user unknown, and PFS 1084\*/PTS 42\*, user unknown.<sup>366</sup>

#### 2.3.1. Discovery and Study

The documents from the Treasury archive were discovered in the Treasury building at Persepolis in excavations conducted between 1934 and 1938 by Erich Schmidt for the Oriental Institute.<sup>367</sup> The corpus consists of 198 cuneiform tablets (with 548 smaller fragments) in the Elamite language and 199 uninscribed but sealed clay “labels.” Most of the tablets and uninscribed but sealed labels were found concentrated in a single room in the Treasury, Room 33, which lies between the large Hall 38 running along the northern edge of the building and the entry Room 21, where the famous relief panels from the Apadana were located.<sup>368</sup> Elamite documents were also found in the hallway (Room 31) to the west of Room 33, the large Hall 38 to the north, and other areas adjacent to Room 33. The Elamite documents in Room 33 lay within a destruction horizon ranging from the floor to approximately 75 cm above the floor. The clay labels were more widely dispersed than the Elamite documents; clusters of them were concentrated additionally in Room 47, to the north of Hall 38, and Room 56, which lies to the west of the large Hall 41.<sup>369</sup> There are some relationships between the form of the clay label and its findspot.<sup>370</sup> Schmidt (1957, pp. 5–6) suggested that the Elamite documents lay originally in Room 33 (or in a second story above it); the scattering of tablets outside Room 33 he interpreted as part of the general looting associated with the destruction by Alexander’s troops. Schmidt (1957, pp. 6–7) thought that many of the objects to which the clay labels were attached lay originally in Room 33 and some other spaces in the Treasury, such as Rooms 47 and 56.<sup>371</sup> As with the Elamite documents, the looting of the Treasury caused the dispersal of the clay labels to other areas.

As was common for the time, a portion of the excavated material from the Treasury was given to the Oriental Institute. This allotment included forty-six of the Elamite documents, the Akkadian document from

the Treasury, and some twenty-eight of the clay labels. The remaining Elamite documents and clay labels are in the National Museum of Iran in Tehran.<sup>372</sup>

Study and publication of the Treasury archive proceeded relatively quickly in comparison to the Fortification archive due, no doubt, to the smaller corpus (hundreds rather than thousands of documents) and its better state of preservation. Cameron already in 1939 had made copies of those Elamite documents that were then at Persepolis. He published the main collection of texts in 1948, followed by additional texts in 1958 and 1965.<sup>373</sup> Schmidt (1957, pp. 4–41, pls. 2–14) published the seals found impressed on the Elamite documents and the uninscribed labels, forty-three cylinder seals and thirty-four stamp seals or signet rings, seventy-seven seals in total.

### 2.3.2. The Surviving Archive

The Treasury archive consists of two types of documents. One type is clay tablets carrying texts written in cuneiform script in the Elamite language.<sup>374</sup> The other is uninscribed clay documents, what Schmidt called labels, that carry impressions of seals. There are eighteen seals, all cylinders, that occur on the Elamite documents from the Treasury archive. There are sixty-one seals that occur on the labels.<sup>375</sup>

#### 2.3.2.1. The Elamite Documents

Schmidt discovered 198 Elamite documents and some 548 small fragments of tablets.<sup>376</sup> The texts generally concern one of two issues, the paying out of silver in lieu of grain or the paying of silver in lieu of sheep and/or wine.<sup>377</sup>

There are two types of Elamite documents. One type is a letter-order authorizing the payment of silver to groups of workers or accountants.

PT 1 may serve as an example of a short letter-order:<sup>378</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> Speak to Šakka,
- <sup>2</sup> Baratkama speaks as follows:
- <sup>3</sup> 3 *karša* and 2 shekels
- <sup>4</sup> (and) a half a shekel
- <sup>5</sup> of silver, (to) Haradduma,<sup>379</sup> his name,
- <sup>6</sup> an Egyptian wood-
- <sup>7</sup> cutter (and) *sadabattiš*,
- bottom edge <sup>8</sup> subsisting on rations
- <sup>9</sup> at Parša, under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Bauka
- <sup>10</sup> issue to him; as counter-value
- reverse <sup>11</sup> for sheep and wine:<sup>380</sup>
- <sup>12</sup> 1 sheep for 3 shekels
- <sup>13</sup> 1 *marriš* (wine) for 1 shekel;
- <sup>14</sup> eighth,
- <sup>15</sup> ninth, tenth,
- <sup>16</sup> eleventh, twelfth months
- <sup>17</sup> in total during 5 months,
- <sup>18</sup> 32nd year.
- <sup>19</sup> 1 man is monthly receiving 6 shekels
- <sup>20</sup> and a half
- <sup>21</sup> of a shekel. Hintamukka
- <sup>22</sup> wrote (the tablet); the *dumme* from Mardukka
- <sup>23</sup> he received.

PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* is applied to the left edge of the tablet.

Following protocols in the letter-orders in the Treasury archive, the addressee, Šakka, ought to be the treasurer at Persepolis.<sup>381</sup> In almost all other letter-orders from the Treasury archive, the addressees, four

different individuals, are qualified as treasurer.<sup>382</sup> The addressor, Baratkama, is an official of high rank. The exact place in the administrative hierarchy of the addressor with regard to the addressee is not explicitly stated in any letter-order.<sup>383</sup> One assumes that the addressor is inferior in rank to the addressee, since Baratkama eventually (490–479 BC) serves as the treasurer at Persepolis, and one infers that this administrative change did not represent a demotion in administrative rank.<sup>384</sup> This Baratkama is the same individual who occurs in the Fortification archive, there also concerned with workers at the Treasury and using PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* (fig. 2.23).<sup>385</sup> In PT 1, Baratkama requests the payment of silver to Haradduma, an Egyptian wood-cutter who is also qualified as *sadabattiš* (Old Iranian \**sati-pati*), a “head of a hundred.” The term occurs also in the Fortification archive.<sup>386</sup> Bauka is named as the *šaramanna* official for Haradduma.<sup>387</sup> As generally in letter-orders, there is a colophon. In the case of PT 1, the scribe’s name is given, Hintamukka, as well as the individual, Mardukka, associated with the *dumme*.<sup>388</sup>

Following the protocol for letter-orders from the Treasury, only the seal of the addressor, in this case Baratkama, is applied to the tablet; here, as normal, the seal is applied only on the left edge of the tablet.<sup>389</sup> There are eleven seals that occur on the letter-orders from the Treasury;<sup>390</sup> two of them, PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* and PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* (fig. 2.23), also occur on the memoranda, two of them, PTS 5\* and PTS 8\*, occur also on the labels. PFS 113\*/PTS 4\*, the seal of Baratkama, and PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, the seal of Irdumartiya, are also two of the four seals that occur in both the Fortification and Treasury archives. PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* is a royal-name seal; no impression of the seal in the Treasury archive captures the inscription.<sup>391</sup>

PT 5 may serve as an example of a memorandum from the Treasury archive:

- <sup>1</sup> 904 *karša*, silver,
- <sup>2</sup> allocation from (*kurman*)
- <sup>3</sup> *unsak* (to) the *kamkatiyaq*(?)<sup>392</sup>
- <sup>4</sup> of (the place) Parmizzan,
- <sup>5</sup> under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*)
- <sup>6</sup> Saddumiš (and) who
- <sup>7</sup> (in the place) Marsaška(š)
- bottom edge <sup>8</sup> held...,
- reverse <sup>9</sup> has been given them
- <sup>10</sup> Darius commanded (it).
- <sup>11</sup> Each man (received)
- <sup>12</sup> 8 *karša*.

PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* is applied to the left edge of the tablet.

PT 5 records the distribution of a considerable sum of silver to the *kamkatiyaq* who is under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Saddumiš at the place Parmizzan, all of this done at the order of Darius.<sup>393</sup> As is typical for memoranda in the Treasury archive, the text begins with a statement of the amount of silver involved, followed by the name of a *kurman* official by whom the silver was paid. In the Fortification archive, of course, the *kurman* officials pay out commodities, not silver. In PT 5, the *kurman* official is called *unsak*, an office/official that we have encountered previously in the seal inscriptions on PFS 1\* and PFS 25\* from the Fortification archive.<sup>394</sup> The same term/name, *unsak*, is identified as the *kurman* official also in PT 4, and 6–8. PT 5, following the standard format of the Treasury memoranda, next names the task and/or workmen who receive the payment and the *šaramanna* official responsible for them. In PT 5, the *šaramanna* official is one Saddumiš. There follows then generally the period for which the service was rendered (broken[?] in PT 5) and a detailing of payments made to particular individuals. Memoranda from the Treasury archive never have colophons.

The tablet PT 5 is sealed on left edge with PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*. Sealing protocols for memoranda in the Treasury archive are similar to those for letter-orders: tablets carry only one seal, generally applied only to the left edge.<sup>395</sup> Only six seals are used on memoranda from the Treasury archive;<sup>396</sup> two of them, PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* and PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, also occur on the letter-orders. Neither Schmidt (1957, p. 12) nor Cameron (1948, pp. 25, 58) was able to detect any clear method to link the seals that appear on memoranda with named individuals, and both identified only one seal, that of Baratkama, PFS 113\*/PTS 4\*, as occurring on both memoranda and letter-orders.<sup>397</sup> Cameron and Schmidt assumed, based upon the letter-orders, that the seals would belong



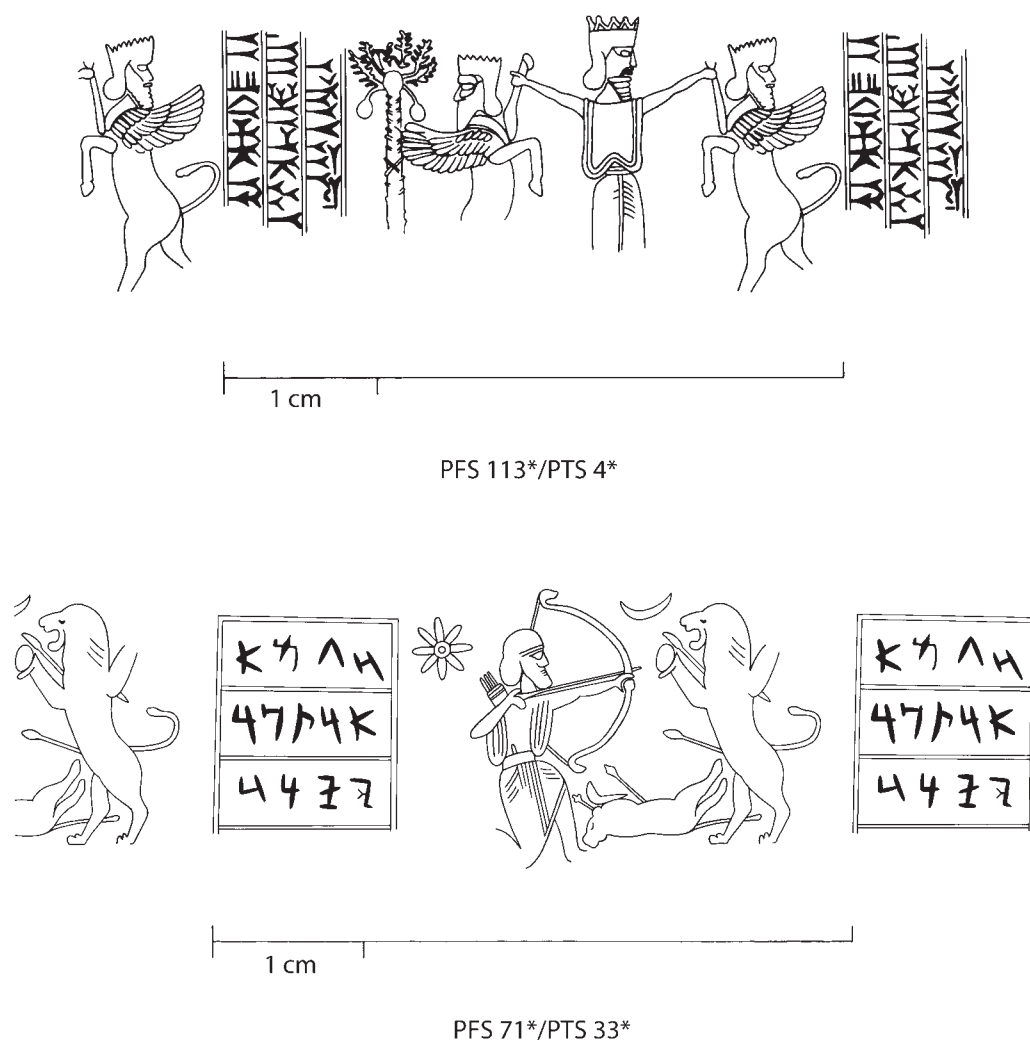


Figure 2.23. Seals that belong to two of the addressors of letter-orders in the Treasury archive and that also occur in the Fortification archive: PFS 113\*/PTS 4\*, the seal of Baratkama; PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, the seal of Irdumartiya

to the “authors” of the memoranda. More likely, as with many ration texts in the Fortification archive, the memoranda are sealed by the ultimate oversight officials, who may be unnamed in the texts.

PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* (fig. 2.23) in fact may provide an interesting example of how sealing worked on the memoranda from the Treasury. The seal occurs also on four other Treasury memoranda: PT 4 and 6–8. All texts sealed by PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* name the *kurman* official as *unsak*.<sup>398</sup> Three different individuals are named as *šaramanna* officials for the work groups: Saddumiš (PT 5), Appišiyatiš (PT 6–7), and Bakabada the *gillira* (PT 8).<sup>399</sup>

Cameron, Schmidt, and Bowman struggled with the translation of the Aramaic inscription on PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*.<sup>400</sup> Following Bowman, Schmidt and Cameron published the personal name on the seal as Artadara. Impressions in the Fortification archive allow now a clear reading:

ḥtm'  
 'rtbr  
 zy br  
 ...

“Seal of Artavardiya, son of ...”

The Elamite form of Artavardiya is Irdumartiya. He is one of a handful of officials who occur in both archives, although the fact that Irdumartiya is one of these officials is not commonly known.<sup>401</sup> The seal PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* is applied to letter-orders that he issues in the Fortification archive, thus ensuring the attribution of the seal to him. Irdumartiya is named only one time in the Treasury archive, issuing a letter-order (PT 1963-20) that is sealed with PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*.<sup>402</sup> The linkages are difficult to track in the scholarship; Cameron (1965) published PT 1963-20 separately from the texts in Cameron 1948, and many readers consulting Cameron 1948 or Schmidt 1957 are unaware of the existence of supplemental Treasury texts. In his article of 1965, Cameron did not specifically cite the seal number used on PT 1963-20 and did not mention in his commentary for PT 1963-20 the new overlap in seal usage between the letter-orders and the memoranda. Thus, the association of the letter-order PT 1963-20 with the memoranda bearing PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* has never been explicitly articulated.<sup>403</sup>

Be that as it may, we are now in a position to understand better PT 5 and the other memoranda sealed by PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*. The person ultimately responsible for the transaction noted in the memoranda is Irdumartiya, as indicated by the application of his seal to the tablets. These memoranda would seem to indicate that the workgroups associated with several *šaramanna* officials come under Irdumartiya's jurisdiction. One suspects that a similar phenomenon may be the case for some of the other memoranda in the Treasury archive. Caution is warranted, however, since Baratkama is specifically named as the *šaramanna* official in the three memoranda (PT 17, 23–24) on which his seal is applied. The exceptional rank/status of Irdumartiya may account for the fact that he is never named in the memoranda; indeed, as we have seen (above, pp. 38–42), many high-rank *šaramanna* officials in the Fortification archive are not named in the transactions that they authorize, their seals serving as the only form of identification.

It should be noted that the two texts selected for discussion, PT 1 and PT 5, date to the reign of Darius and thus exhibit multiple levels of intersection of personnel, terminology, and seals with the Elamite documents from the Fortification archive. As one moves chronologically later in time in the Treasury archive, such direct linkages with the Fortification archive become less frequent.

### 2.3.2.2. The Clay Labels

The Treasury archive includes some 199 clay documents that are uninscribed but sealed. Schmidt called these objects labels, and I shall use the same term, but it is perhaps a bit misleading.<sup>404</sup> The labels have a wide variety of shapes; no proper typology has ever been done.<sup>405</sup> A few of the labels are similar to the uninscribed documents from the Fortification archive; that is, they are tongue-shaped tablets with a flattened left edge, formed around a knotted string that emerges from the corners of the left edge. Other labels are what one would normally characterize as bullae, lumps of clay, round or elliptical, that had been affixed to cords, cords bundling objects (in some cases perhaps folded papyrus or parchment documents), or to the objects directly. Many of these bullae-labels preserve traces of the cords on their reverses. One assumes that the labels were affixed to objects, presumably of some value, that were kept in the Treasury.<sup>406</sup> More seals occur on the labels than on the Elamite documents; those seals include cylinders, stamps, and signet rings.

### 2.3.3. Seals in the Treasury Archive

Seventy-seven different seals occur in the Treasury archive; forty-three cylinder seals and thirty-four stamps/signets. As noted, all eighteen seals that occur on the Elamite documents are cylinder seals, while the seals on the labels consist of cylinders, stamps, and signet rings.

An extended analysis of the seals that occur in the Treasury archive is a desideratum; this is especially so given that we now have a rich corpus of related glyptic imagery preserved in the Fortification archive. For reasons that are not easy to understand, the seals from the Treasury archive, although richly provenanced and published now for over half a century, are rarely evoked in discussions of Achaemenid art.<sup>407</sup>

To no surprise, the glyptic corpus from the Treasury archive exhibits a variety of carving styles; this is true especially of the seals that occur on the labels. The imagery and style of the cylinder seals from the Treasury archive have myriad connections with the glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive.

### 2.3.4. Sealing Protocols

As noted, the Elamite letter-orders and memoranda from the Treasury archive universally follow the single-seal protocol. With rare exceptions, the tablets are sealed only on the left edge. Only cylinder seals, eighteen in number, are used on the Elamite letter-orders and memoranda. The exclusive use of cylinder seals on the Elamite documents from the Treasury archive must surely in part reflect the privileged status of the cylinder seal as an artifact linked with high rank/status at Persepolis. This is not to say that all cylinder seals signal high rank/status, but that almost universally individuals of high rank/status use cylinder seals.<sup>408</sup> This connection of cylinder seals with individuals of high rank/status is yet another phenomenon that links the glyptic corpus from the Fortification archive with that from the Treasury archive.

Sixty-one different seals occur on the labels: twenty-seven cylinder seals, twenty-six stamp seals, and eight signet rings.<sup>409</sup> Of those sixty-one seals, two, PTS 5\* and PTS 8\*, occur also on the Elamite documents from the archive.

Sealing praxis on the labels is much more varied than on the Elamite documents. Here, again, a full discussion of the shapes of the labels and the patterns of sealing that occur on them is a desideratum. The fact that certain shapes of labels and certain seals were found only in specific rooms is very suggestive of important patterns in the distribution of these artifacts.<sup>410</sup> As few as one and as many as seven different seals may occur on a label.<sup>411</sup>

All commentators since Schmidt (1957, pp. 14–15) have noted the high percentage of Greek and Greek-inspired imagery on the stamps and signet rings from the Treasury archive. Schmidt (1957, pp. 15–16) suggested that these seals, or most of them, were owned by Greeks working for Persians. In fact, we have few clues as to when and where these labels were made. Schmidt inferred that the presence of PTS 5\* and PTS 8\* on the labels surely indicated that most if not all of the labels were generated at Persepolis. While this may be so with regard to those labels associated with those two seals, we cannot be as certain about the others. We have no direct information as to how and why objects came to be stored in the Treasury.<sup>412</sup>

### 2.3.5. Seals and Officials

As with seals used in the Fortification archive, seals used in the Treasury archive may represent either an individual or an institutional authority. Sealing protocols in the letter-orders indicate clearly that the seals applied to the left edge of these documents were seals associated with the addressors as individuals representing an administrative authority (rather than as individuals using official seals). There are eleven cylinder seals that occur on the letter-orders from the Treasury.<sup>413</sup>

List of seals that occur on the letter-orders from the Treasury archive and the associated addressors named in the texts

- 
- PTS 1\* Tarkawiš (Old Iranian \**Dargāyuš*)
  - PTS 2\* Irdatakma (Old Iranian \**Ṛtātaxma-*)
  - PTS 3\* Rumatinda/Uratinda (Old Iranian \**Vratēnta-*)
  - PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* Baratkama (Old Iranian \**Baratkāma-*)
  - PTS 6\* Ziššawiš (Old Iranian \**Čiçavahuš*)
  - PTS 8\* Irdašura (Old Iranian \**Ṛtāōūra-*)
  - PTS 14\* Ašbazana (Old Iranian *Aspačanā*)
  - PTS 16 Bakadada (Old Iranian \**Baḡadāta-*)
  - PTS 24\* Appišmanda (Old Iranian \**Abiš(h)uvanta-*)
  - PTS 25 Marrezza (Old Iranian \**Marēča-*)
  - PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* Irdumartiya (Old Iranian *Ṙtavardiya-*)

These associations between seal and addressor are confirmed in three cases by the inscriptions that occur on the seals: PTS 14\*, the seal of Ašbazana, PTS 24\*, the seal of Appišmanda, and PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, the seal of Artavardiya.<sup>414</sup>

There are nine cylinder seals that occur on the memoranda from the Treasury archive. Seals applied to memoranda from the Treasury archive can be associated with specific individuals only in the cases of PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* and PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, which also occur on the letter-orders.<sup>415</sup>

List of seals that occur on the memoranda from the Treasury archive

- PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* Baratkama (Old Iranian \*Baratkāma-)
- PTS 5\* monolingual (Old Persian) royal-name (Xerxes) inscription
- PTS 15\* Elamite inscription on seal, illegible
- PTS 26
- PTS 30\* Aramaic inscription on seal, illegible
- PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* Irdumartiya (Old Iranian Artavardiya-)
- PTS 35 letter-order or memorandum
- PTS 36
- PFS 1084\*/PTS 42\* illegible inscription on seal, Elamite?

Seals applied to the labels from the Treasury archive cannot be associated with any individual except in the case of PTS 8\*, which also occurs on the letter-orders (addressor = Irdašura). In addition to PTS 8\*, there are six other inscribed seals that occur on the labels:

Inscribed seals that occur on the Treasury labels

- PTS 5\* monolingual (Old Persian) royal-name (Xerxes) inscription
- PTS 7\* trilingual royal-name (Xerxes) inscription
- PTS 8\* monolingual (Old Persian) royal-name (Xerxes) inscription,  
addressor = Irdašura (Old Iranian \*Rtāθūra-)
- PTS 11\* illegible inscription
- PTS 20\* (S4) Aramaic inscription, *htm dtm*, “seal of Datam...”
- PTS 27\* illegible inscription
- PTS 39\* Aramaic inscription, *htm...*, “seal of...”

These inscribed seals are not particularly helpful as regards establishing the names of the seal users. Three of them carry royal-name inscriptions, while three have illegible inscriptions. That leaves only PTS 20\* (S4), which carries an Aramaic inscription naming one Datames, a name that is otherwise unattested in either the Fortification or Treasury archive.

## 2.4. Persepolitan Glyptic Imagery

The seals preserved as impressions on the Fortification and Treasury archives constitute a remarkable — indeed, unparalleled — resource for the study of visual imagery in ancient western Asia. As a phenomenon, we may call the seals preserved in the archives simply “Persepolitan glyptic.” By the term Persepolitan glyptic,

I intend to signify not only the thousands of images impressed on tablets from these archives but also the archival contexts in which they are embedded. As a phenomenon, Persepolitan glyptic is characterized by:

- its known and excavated provenances, the fortification wall and Treasury building at Persepolis;
- its administrative contexts, which have precise temporal and spatial boundaries;
- the site and region in which these images functioned, Persepolis, the central heartland capital of the Achaemenid empire, and a region extending principally to the north and the northwest along the main roads; and
- the particularly charged milieu in which the seals functioned, that is, the heartland capital at the most critical, formative period of the most important ruler of the Achaemenid imperial phenomenon.

Persepolitan glyptic thus exists within a complex network of social and administrative relations between hundreds of individuals mentioned by name, office, and/or title in the archives; those individuals range in rank/status from low-rank administrators to the Great King. This administrative apparatus, via personal names, place names, offices, titles, and so on, adds considerable value/depth to the glyptic imagery.

Each individual seal is also part of another network, a visual network consisting of thousands of images circulating in the Persepolis region. This visual network is defined on one level by the internal ties of style, composition, and iconography among seals that occur in these archives. In many cases, these visual ties are so strong that it is most certain that we have to do with the products of individual artisans or workshops. This visual network, and the artisans working within it, are defined on another level by the external ties of style, composition, and iconography to older visual traditions in Elam, Babylonia, and Assyria. In this sense, Persepolitan glyptic is in many ways the final grand summation of the glyptic arts of ancient western Asia.

Despite the considerable published research on Persepolitan glyptic that has appeared in the last twenty years, we are still in the infancy of its study. Indeed, the complete cataloging of the seals from the Fortification archive will most likely consume the better part of the energies of the next generation of Achaemenid glyptic specialists.

The sheer number of images preserved in the Fortification archive is staggering — as noted, to date 3,383 distinct and legible images have been cataloged.<sup>416</sup> Despite the scale of the phenomenon, it is the complexity of the imagery that will be its defining hallmark; indeed, its richness and density are without parallel in the surviving glyptic/sculptural imagery of ancient western Asia.

### 2.4.1. Compositional Types

The following survey of the basic compositional rubrics that constitute the majority of Persepolitan glyptic is brief, intended to give the reader a broad overview of scene types and their relative popularity. It does not attempt to describe all scene types nor to ponder the variety of articulation of imagery within any one scene type. The survey distinguishes the scene types by five orders of magnitude of occurrence.<sup>417</sup> At the highest order are those scenes that number over 600 examples (heroic encounters and animal combats). At the second order are those scenes that number between 200–400 examples (animal/creature studies on stamp seals; worship/ritual; archers). At the third order are those scenes that number between 100–200 examples (displays of heraldic animals/creatures; seated figures, including banquets and processions to a seated figure; geometric or abstract designs). At the fourth order are those scenes that number between 50–100 examples (crossed animals/creatures; figures in chariots; miscellaneous compositions involving an animal/creature and a plant, structure, or inscription). At the fifth order are those scenes that number between 10–50 examples (hunts with a spear; miscellaneous compositions involving humans and animals/creatures; warfare/combat).

The most popular compositional type in Persepolitan glyptic is the heroic encounter.<sup>418</sup> There are two basic rubrics: heroic control, where a heroic figure holds animals/creatures to either side of his body (fig. 2.24), and heroic combat, where a heroic figure fights in hand-to-hand combat with a single animal/creature (fig. 2.25). The diversity in pose, dress, weapons, and animals/creatures within these two basic rubrics is dazzling.

Almost as numerous as the heroic encounters are the animal combats (*Tierkampfszene*), scenes wherein a predator animal/creature attacks another animal/creature. This thematic type takes three basic forms, one animal/creature attacking another, two animals/creatures attacking a third animal, and four animals/creatures interacting in various aggressive manners (fig. 2.26). Of these three types, the two-figure and the three-figure animal combats are the most common, represented by an approximately equal number of seals. Lions and winged leonine creatures constitute the most common predators, caprids and stags the most common prey. As with the heroic encounters, the theme exhibits an amazing variety in combinations of animals/creatures, poses, subsidiary elements in the scenes, and so on.

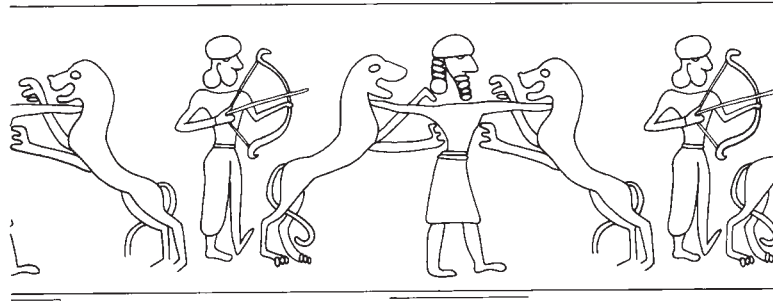
At the second order of magnitude of occurrence (200–400 examples) are three scene types: archers, single animal/creature studies on stamp seals, and worship/ritual.

The assortment of scenes involving a human or humanoid archer is exceptionally rich (fig. 2.27).<sup>419</sup> These scenes are some of the most animated in the corpus of Persepolitan glyptic imagery, the archer often in a running pose (e.g., PFS 286 and PFS 977 [fig. 2.27]), the animal/creature in full gallop or stumbling after being hit (e.g., PFS 286, PFS 977 [fig. 2.27], and PFS 1568\* [fig. 5.28]). There is often a sense of movement through time in these scenes, the animal/creature having been hit by a previously shot arrow and/or an arrow in the air in flight toward the animal/creature (e.g., PFS 286 [fig. 2.27] and PFS 1568\* [fig. 5.28]). Sometimes qualified as “hunts,” the archer scenes signify certainly something more than a realistic hunt since the prey, and the archer himself, are often fantastical. These archer scenes are particularly important in providing a portal through which to view the emerging ideology surrounding the bow, arrow, and quiver in Achaemenid imperial imagery. There are some true glyptic masterpieces within this thematic type.

There is a remarkably rich and varied corpus of single animal/creature studies on stamp seals (fig. 2.28). It seems noteworthy that animal/creature studies on stamp seals occur much more frequently on the Aramaic and uninscribed documents than on the Elamite documents from the Fortification archive.<sup>420</sup> The most common shapes of stamp faces are octagonal (most likely pyramidal stamps, e.g., PFS 271s), square (e.g., PFS 1339s), and oval (most likely scaraboids, e.g., PFS 87s and PFS 1250s). The stamp faces are often very small. Caprids and winged caprids are by far the most common subjects. Among all scene types in the Fortification archive, these small stamp seals with caprids are perhaps the most difficult to distinguish the one from the other. There are also a few single animal studies on cylinder seals. The two most spectacular are PFS 48 (fig. 2.29), a magnificent humped bull rendered in a vigorous version of the Persepolitan Modeled Style of carving, and PFS 14 (fig. 2.29), a composite whirligig creature having no fewer than ten animal heads.

As the study that is the focus of this book, the so-called fire altars, will indicate, Persepolitan glyptic contains a wealth of imagery involving religious worship/ritual.<sup>421</sup> In addition to the scenes showing the stepped and/or the tower structures here studied, there are many examples of the so-called late Babylonian worship scene on stamp seals (fig. 2.30).<sup>422</sup> Indeed, Persepolitan glyptic may contain the largest number of such scenes from a single excavated context. As known from other contexts, the scenes are executed generally in one of two styles, a heavy modeled style of carving or an abstracted cut and drilled style. The symbols on the (pillared) pedestal in Persepolitan glyptic run almost the full spectrum of symbols known on seals from Babylonian contexts, including, for example, the conventional spade of Marduk and stylus of Nabû (e.g., PFS 262s and PFS 273s), the so-called stand with a lamp (e.g., PFS 186s), and a goat-fish on which there is a ram-headed staff (e.g., PFS 1216\*s).<sup>423</sup>

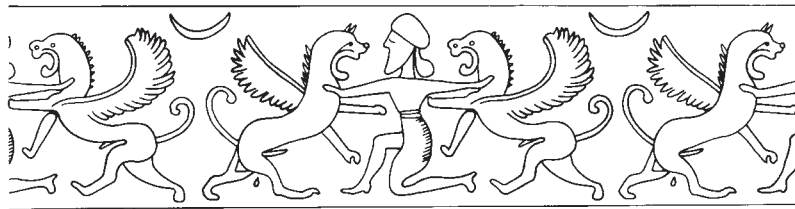
Perhaps of greatest interest within this group of religious worship/ritual scenes are those that concern the figure in the winged ring/disk and the winged ring/disk, long considered the most important symbols in the whole of the Achaemenid visual repertoire (fig. 2.31).<sup>424</sup> Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, there are relatively few scenes that show the figure in the winged ring/disk or the winged ring/disk. As with the archer scenes, those involving the winged symbol document the emergence of an important element in the new Achaemenid imperial ideology. Those scenes that do show the figure in the winged ring/disk or the winged ring/disk admit a variety of compositional formulae. PFS 11\* (T1) (fig. 2.13) is perhaps one of the more familiar scenes from a conventional perspective of Achaemenid art. The scene type is, however, very rare in Persepolitan glyptic. More commonly, the winged symbol is held aloft by atlantid figures, often over a stylized tree (e.g., PFS 420 [fig. 2.31]); the scene has obvious linkages with the Assyrian glyptic repertoire.<sup>425</sup> There is a handful of remarkable scenes in which worshippers stand on the backs of pedestal creatures flanking a winged symbol



PFS 49



PFS 1633\*



PFS 120

Figure 2.24. Examples of scenes of heroic encounter, control sub-type: PFS 49, the seal of Išbaramištima the *barrišdama*; PFS 1633\* and PFS 120, account seals; (see also PFS 1\* [fig. 2.14a], PFS 2 [fig. 2.14b], PFS 16\* [fig. 2.12], PFS 18 [fig. 2.22b], PFS 20 [fig. 2.22b], PFS 32\* [fig. 2.14a], PFS 38 [fig. 2.18b], PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* [fig. 2.23], PFS 233 [fig. 2.18a], and PFUTS 18\* [fig. 2.17b])



PFS 57\*



PFS 98\*



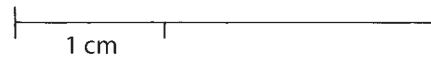
PFS 859\*

Figure 2.25. Examples of scenes of heroic encounter, combat sub-type:  
 PFS 57\*, used by the accountant Mirinzana; PFS 98\*, associated with the *šaramanna* official Abbeteya; PFS 859\*, associated with livestock “consumed before the king”; (see also PFS 4\* [fig. 2.14b], PFS 6 [fig. 2.22a], PFS 9\* [fig. 2.12], PFS 10 [fig. 2.22a], PFS 17 [fig. 2.17a], and PFS 30 [fig. 2.14a])





PFS 8



PFS 19



PFS 466

Figure 2.26. Examples of scenes of animal combat:  
PFS 8, PFS 19, and PFS 466, all occurring on C1 texts (“deposits with zikka- and da-”)

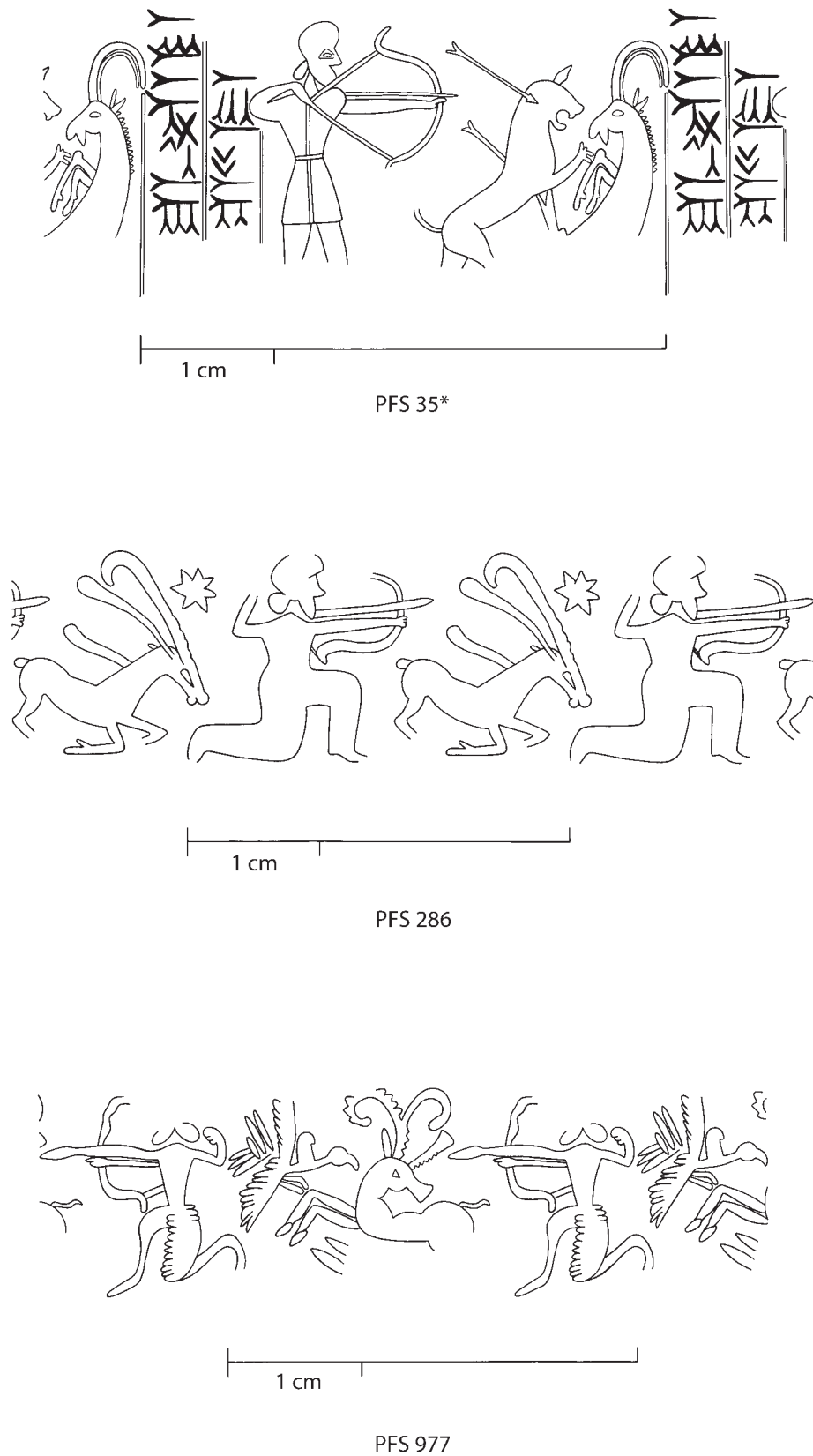


Figure 2.27. Examples of scenes of archers: PFS 35\*, associated with a group of *šaramanna* officials linked with the bureau of Irdabama; PFS 286, occurring on C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”); PFS 977; (see also PFS 71\* [fig. 2.18a], PFS 1568\* [fig. 5.28])

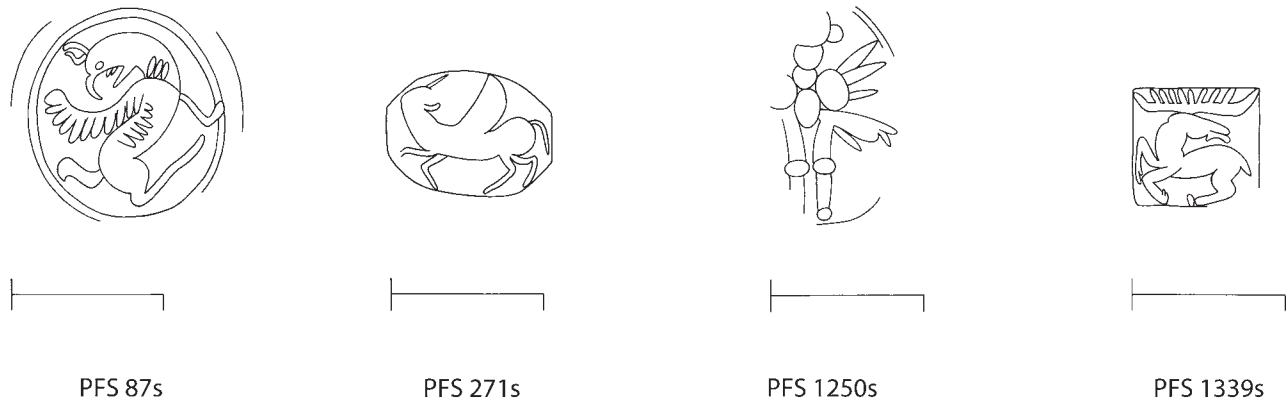


Figure 2.28. Examples of animal/creature studies on stamp seals: PFS 87s, associated with the flour (grain) supplier Zinini; PFS 271s, belonging to Bakapukša; PFS 1250s, belonging to Karkiš the *miktam kutira* (“the fruit carrier/transporter”); PFS 1339s, associated with Akkamuya and Bankama

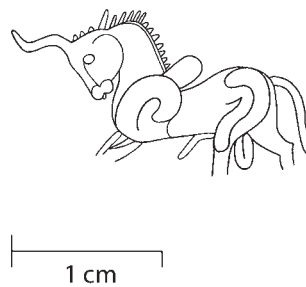
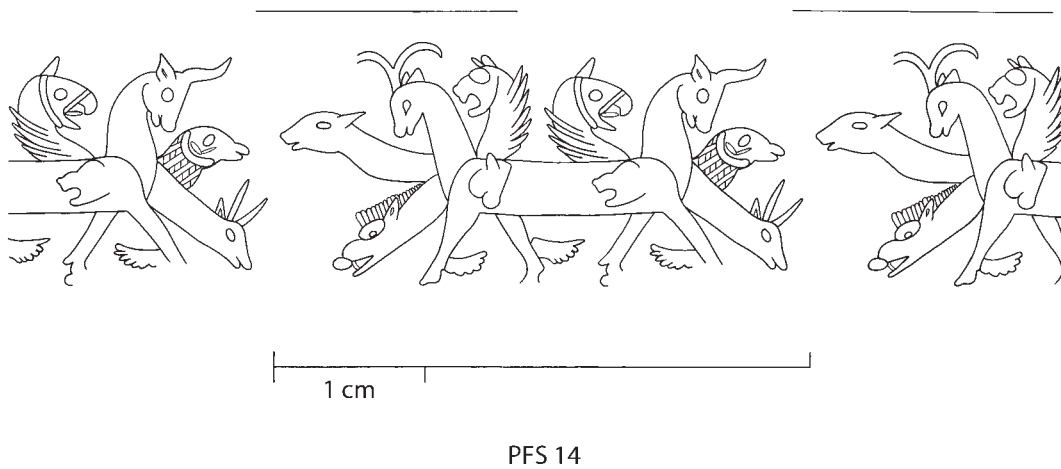


Figure 2.29. Examples of animal/creature studies on cylinder seals: PFS 14, perhaps associated with Irzapparra and companions; PFS 48, associated with the flour (grain) suppliers Katukka and Bakamira

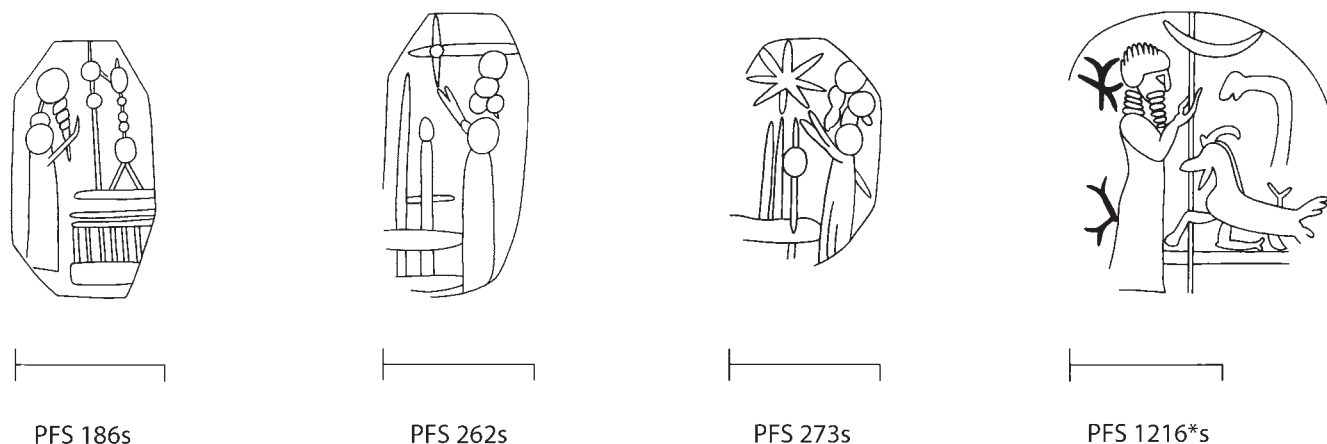


Figure 2.30. Examples of the so-called late Babylonian worship scene on stamp seals: PFS 186s, associated with Barikila; PFS 262s, associated with Uštana; PFS 273s, associated with flour (grain) supply at Hišema; PFS 1216\*s, perhaps associated with an accounting office/official

(e.g., PFS 1567\* [fig. 2.18a], PFS 82\* [fig. 2.31], and PFS 3035\* [fig. 2.31]).<sup>426</sup> PFS 91 (fig. 2.31) is of some note, a figure in the Persian court robe receives a ring (of investiture?) from a figure in a winged disk who floats above a composite creature consisting of two addorsed horned lions.<sup>427</sup> A thorough investigation of the use of the winged symbol in all of its manifestations in Persepolitan glyptic is a desideratum.

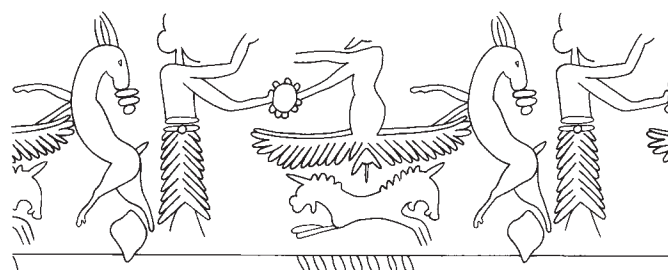
There is a wide array of imagery that concerns numinous entities other than the winged symbol (fig. 2.32). Persepolitan glyptic may then ultimately put to rest the Herodotean notion of the dearth of representations of deities in Persian culture.<sup>428</sup> PFS 68 shows a figure wearing a polos headdress surrounded in a nimbus with winged worshippers holding buckets and cones flanked to either side. The scene has obvious linkages to Assyrian art in both monumental wall relief and glyptic. Several scenes show some iteration of a worshipper with upraised arms before an animal or creature (e.g., PFS 12a and PFS 1572\*). More rare is the depiction of a lunar deity situated within a lunar crescent (e.g., PFUTS 82s).

At the third order of magnitude of occurrence (100–200 examples) are three scene types: heraldic animals/creatures, seated figures, and abstract/geometric designs.

Heraldic animals/creatures exhibit in many cases exceptionally beautiful design qualities (fig. 2.33a–b). There is wonderful variety in the types of animals/creatures, their poses, additional elements in the scenes, and so on. As with the animal combats, the primary animals/creatures are leonine (e.g., PFS 90, PFS 154, and PFS 460) and caprid (e.g., PFS 108\*); taurine-based creatures are rare (e.g., PFS 320\*). Interestingly, there is to date only one example of heraldic stags, PFS 56. Commonly the creatures are fantastical, such as the winged human-faced caprids on PFS 108\*, winged human-headed lions on PFS 154 and PFS 460, the winged human-faced bulls on PFS 320\*, and the scorpion-men on PFS 903.

Scenes involving seated human figures form a particularly interesting group (fig. 2.34a–b). Many are clearly meant to evoke a banquet setting, the seated figures holding cups (e.g., PFS 170), sometimes seated before tables and accompanied by attendants (e.g., PFS 97, PFS 133, PFS 325, and PFS 1601\*), and in a few cases with a rhyton, bowl, or some other item on the table (e.g., PFS 1601\*).<sup>429</sup> The scenes often include animals/creatures (e.g., PFS 170, a caprid couchant and another animal, and PFS 325, crossed lions), suggesting a numinous or otherworldly context. There is also a handful of scenes that show a procession of figures moving toward a seated figure, as if a presentation scene, including a few that are clearly evocative of the central panels of the Apadana (e.g., PFS 22).

A significant number of scenes are abstract or floral designs (fig. 2.35). These occur most commonly on stamp seals.



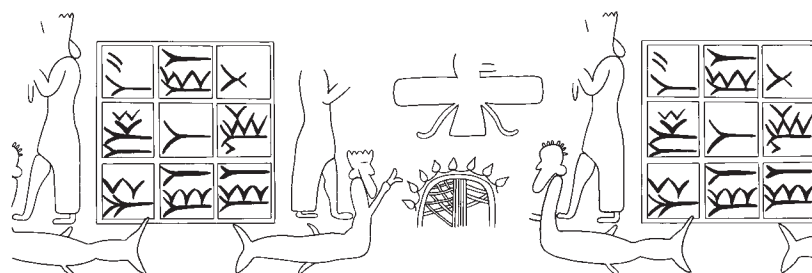
PFS 91



PFS 82\*

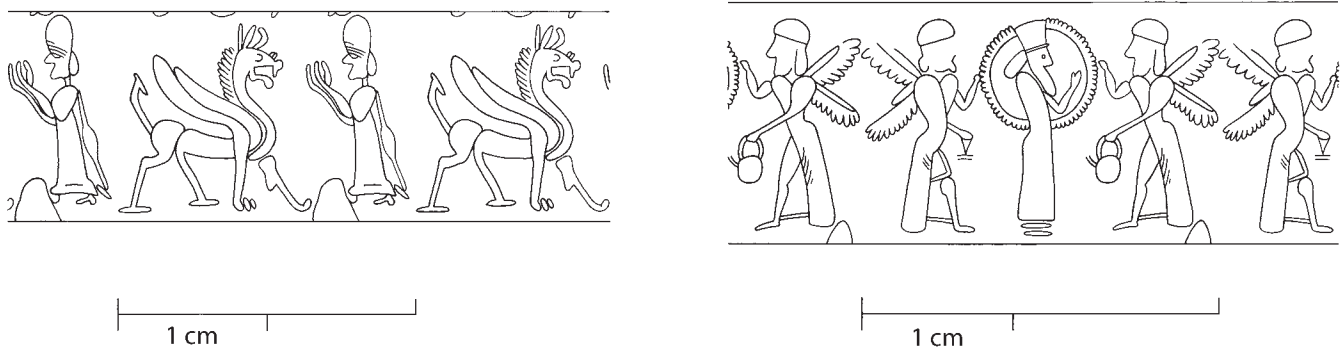


PFS 420



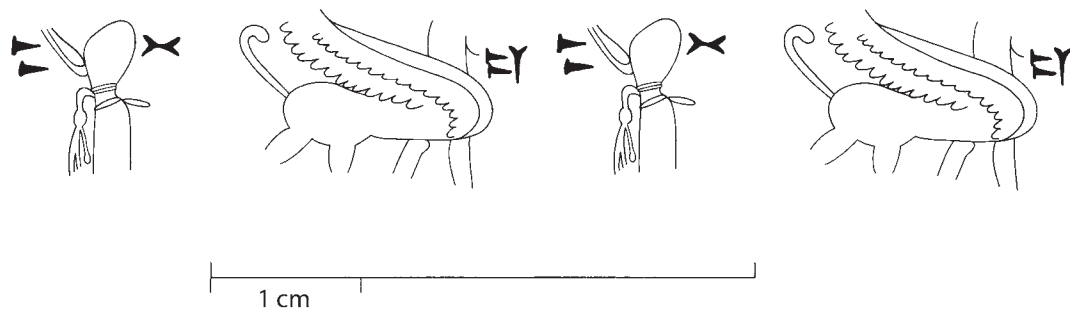
PFS 3035\*

Figure 2.31. Examples of scenes having the figure in the winged ring/disk: PFS 91, probably the personal seal of Tiyama, who handles workers for royal livestock; PFS 82\*, associated with the *šaramanna* officials Maraza and Hašina; PFS 420; PFS 3035\* (see also PFS 11\* [T1] [fig. 2.13], PFS 83\* [fig. 2.13], PFS 1567\* [fig. 2.18a], PFUTS 18\* [fig. 2.17b])

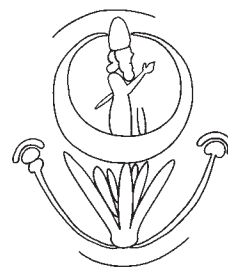


PFS 12a

PFS 68



PFS 1572\*



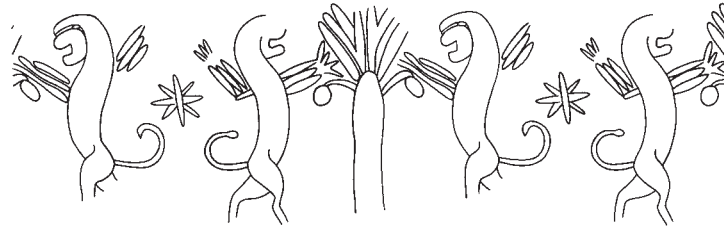
PFUTS 82s

Figure 2.32. Examples of other scenes of religious worship/ritual:  
 PFS 12a, associated with a high-rank accounting office; PFS 68, associated with commodities at Umpuraš;  
 PFS 1572\*, personal seal of Indapippi; PFUTS 82s; (see also PFS 105s [fig. 2.20])



1 cm

PFS 56



1 cm

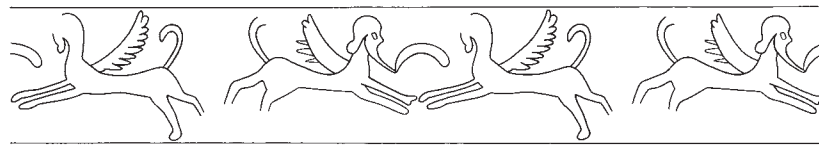
PFS 90



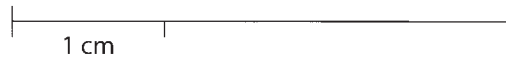
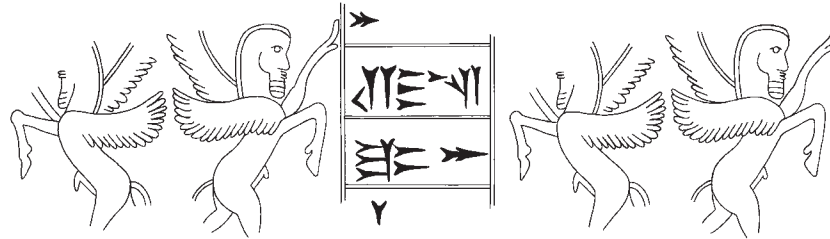
1 cm

PFS 108\*

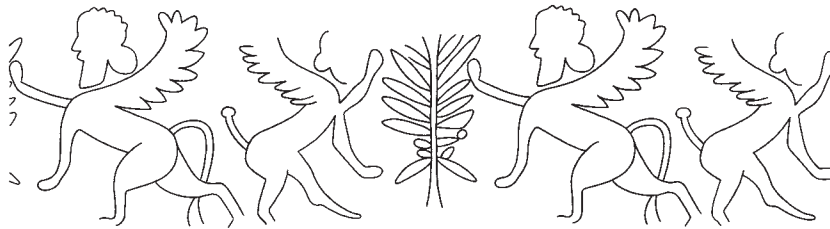
Figure 2.33a. Examples of scenes of heraldic animals/creatures: PFS 56, office seal associated with flour (grain) supply on the royal road, perhaps at Pirrašetaš; PFS 90, associated with Mannunda and Umardada, located at Persepolis; PFS 108\*, representing an accounting office/official



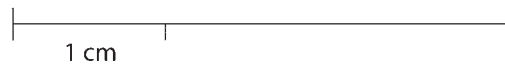
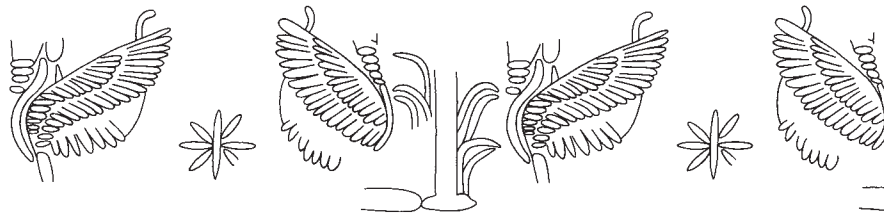
PFS 154



PFS 320\*



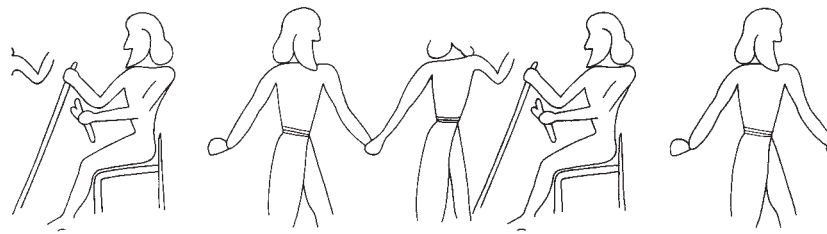
PFS 460



PFS 903

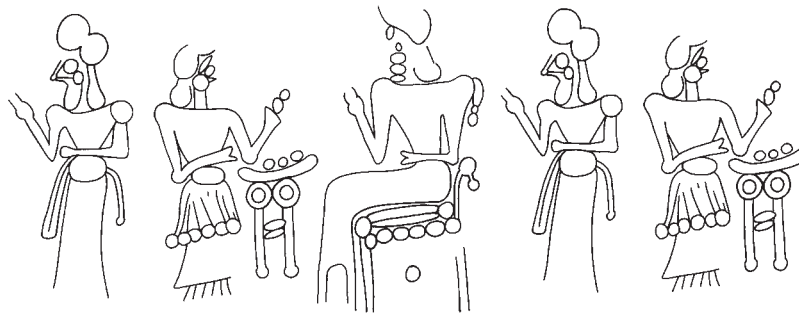
Figure 2.33b. Examples of scenes of heraldic animals/creatures: PFS 154, associated with the grain suppliers Napzilla and Manyakka; PFS 320\*; PFS 460; PFS 903





1 cm

PFS 22



1 cm

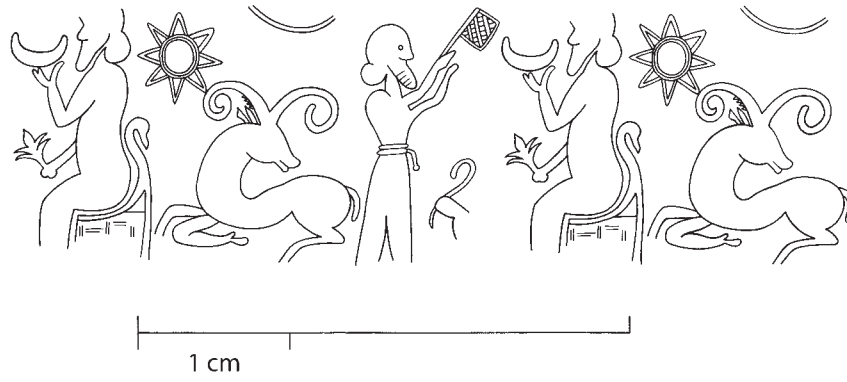
PFS 97



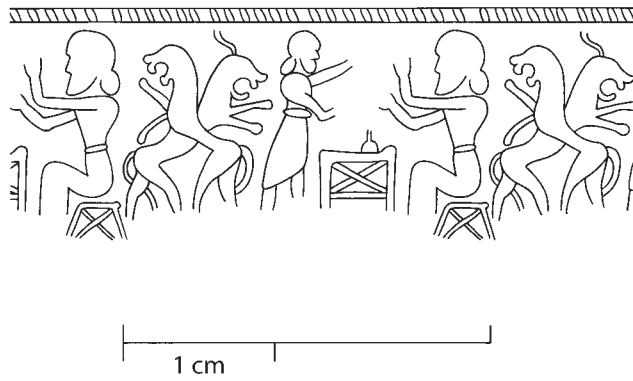
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PFS 133

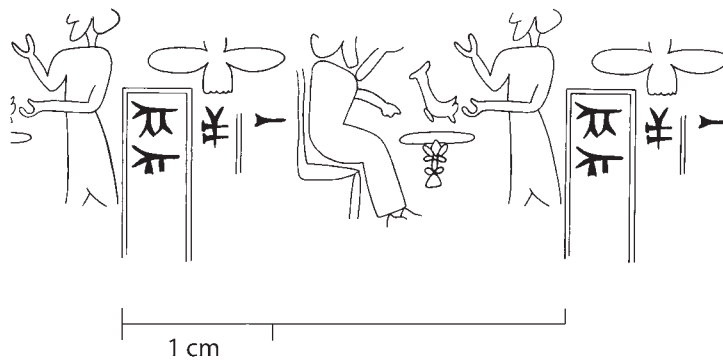
Figure 2.34a. Examples of scenes with seated figures: PFS 22, occurring on C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”); PFS 97, associated with wine supply at Hiran; PFS 133, probably the personal seal of Šada the *maršaparra* (“nurseryman”)



PFS 170



PFS 325



PFS 1601\*

Figure 2.34b. Examples of scenes with seated figures: PFS 170, occurring on A texts (“transportation of commodities”); PFS 325; PFS 1601\* (see also PFS 535\* [fig. 2.17b])



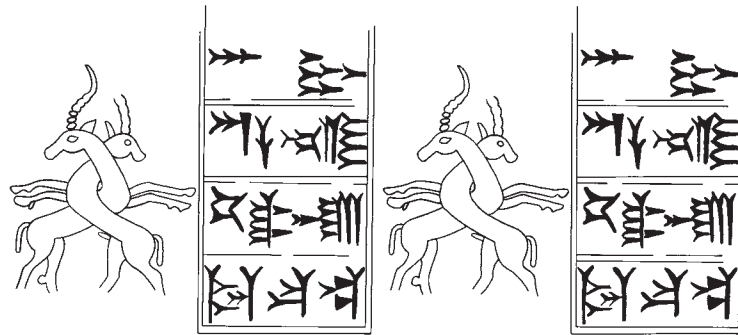
Figure 2.35. Examples of scenes with abstract or floral designs: PFS 70s, office seal (linked mainly with Dakka) associated with flour (grain) supply at Pirraššetaš; PFS 1452s, associated with Damakil

At the fourth order of magnitude of occurrence (50–100 examples) are three scene types: crossed animals/creatures, figures in chariots, and miscellaneous compositions involving an animal/creature and a plant, structure, or inscription.

The scenes showing crossed animals/creatures are closely related in visual dynamics to displays of heraldic animals/creatures. The distinction made here is that the two animals cross or intertwine their bodies or necks (fig. 2.36). Many of these scenes also have inscriptions displayed in paneled frames.<sup>430</sup> The twisted bodies and interlocked compositions create a restless, dynamic visual quality. The most common animals are caprids (e.g., PFS 3 [fig. 2.14a], PFS 81\*, and PFS 1084\*), lions (e.g., PFS 160\*), and bulls (e.g., PFS 25\* [fig. 2.21]).

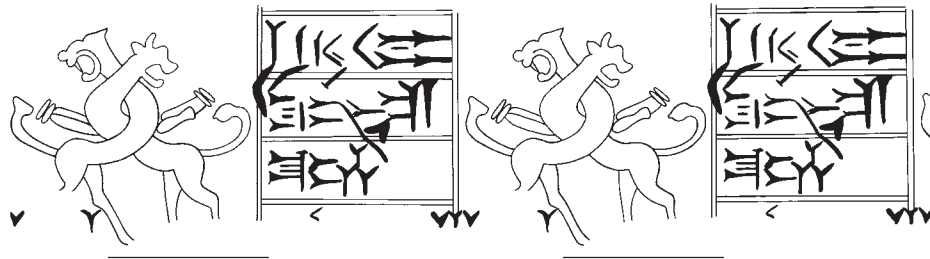
There is an incredibly rich assortment of scenes showing chariots in Persepolitan glyptic (fig. 2.37a–b). This is something of a surprise, given that the theme is not one well documented in existing seals in museum collections or in other archival contexts of the Achaemenid period. The most famous example of a chariot scene in Achaemenid art, the royal lion hunt on the London Darius cylinder, has thus always been something of an oddity.<sup>431</sup> The chariot scenes in Persepolitan glyptic are quite distinct from that shown on the London Darius cylinder. Few of them can be qualified as hunts proper, since they often involve fantastical creatures and/or the person in the cart of the chariot engages in hand-to-hand combat with the animals/creatures as if a heroic encounter (e.g., PFS 546). There are either one or two persons in the cart. In the two-person scenes, the lead figure drives the chariot while the figure in the back grapples with the animal/creature. When weapons are involved, they are spears or swords (e.g., PFS 207 and PFS 311 [fig. 2.37a]). In several examples (e.g., PFS 207), the figure in the cart engages with the draft animal of the chariot, exploiting the compositional potentials of the cylindrical engraved surface of the seal artifact. In the scenes in which there is only one figure in the cart, that figure is always engaged with the reins of the draft animal and never combats animals/creatures. The scenes with a solitary figure in the cart thus have a processional quality; on PFS 874 (fig. 2.37b) the figure in the cart holds an elaborate staff that seemingly highlights the processional quality of the imagery. Remarkably, the draft animals in all the chariot scenes in Persepolitan glyptic are never equids but bulls (e.g., PFS 207, PFS 311, and PFS 874), lions (e.g., PFS 1627 [fig. 2.37b]), or fantastical creatures. This characteristic again suggests that we have to do here not with some action rooted in reality (i.e., a hunt) but with fantastic/numinous phenomena.

An interesting series of seals shows a single animal/creature, marchant or rampant, in combination with a plant, a structure, or an Elamite inscription (fig. 2.38).<sup>432</sup> These scenes seem closely related conceptually



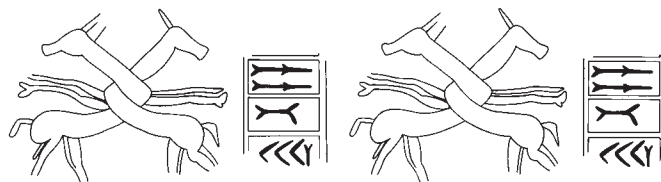
1 cm

PFS 81\*



1 cm

PFS 160\*



1 cm

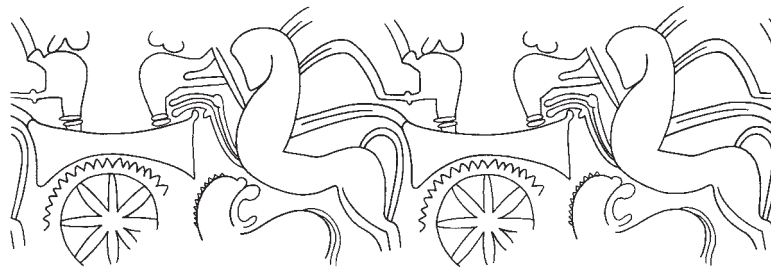
PFS 1084\*/PTS 42\*

Figure 2.36. Examples of scenes of crossed animals/creatures: PFS 81\*, perhaps associated with an office concerned with animal husbandry; PFS 160\*, perhaps the personal seal of Rasamada; PFS 1084\* (= PTS 42\*); (see also PFS 3 [fig. 2.14a] and PFS 25\* [fig. 2.21])

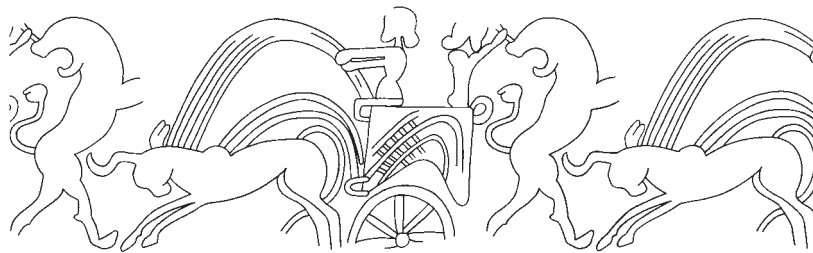
to the single animal studies on stamp seals (fig. 2.28) or, more rarely, cylinder seals (fig. 2.29), as well as the scenes in which two animals cross or intertwine their bodies (fig. 2.36). Like the last, the scenes of a single animal/creature marching with an Elamite inscription are often executed in a rich version of the Persepolitan Modeled Style of carving (e.g., PFS 27\*, PFS 73\*, and PFS 188a\*) suggesting that we have to do here with a specific workshop phenomenon.<sup>433</sup>

At the fifth order of magnitude of occurrence (10–50 examples) are three scene types: hunts with a spear, miscellaneous scenes involving humans and animals/creatures, and scenes of warfare. Although few in number, these scenes can be quite sophisticated.

Within our thematic typology, archers are not included within the category of realistic hunt scenes. This is due principally to the often fantastical nature of the archer scenes.<sup>434</sup> The realistic hunts involve a human figure on foot spearing an animal. There are some wonderful examples of boar hunts (fig. 2.39).<sup>435</sup> Of the groups here illustrated in figure 2.39, PFS 522 is perhaps the most ambitious. The seal is very large. The scene involves a figure in an elaborately rendered Persian court robe spearing a lion that is attacking a caprid; over the scene floats a winged symbol.<sup>436</sup> The imagery is evocative of the age-old protection theme wherein an individual protects flocks/herds from predators.<sup>437</sup>

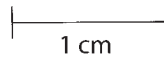
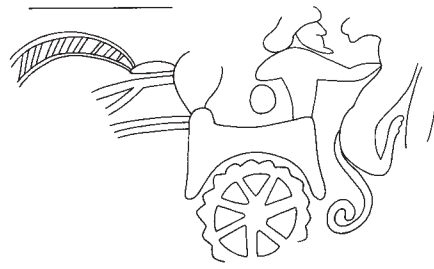


PFS 207

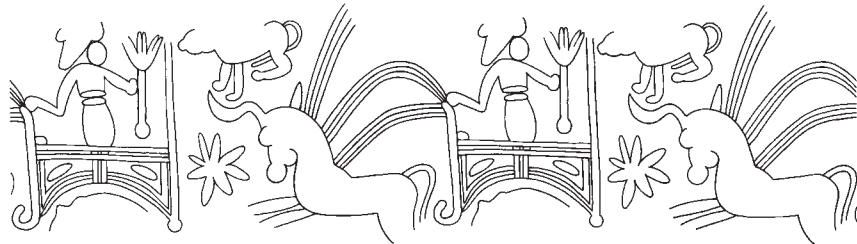


PFS 311

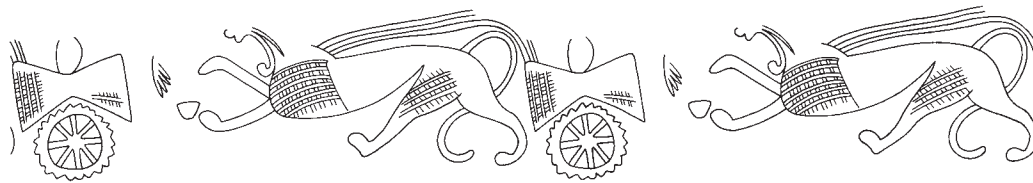
Figure 2.37a. Examples of chariot scenes: PFS 207; PFS 311, occurring on C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”)



PFS 546

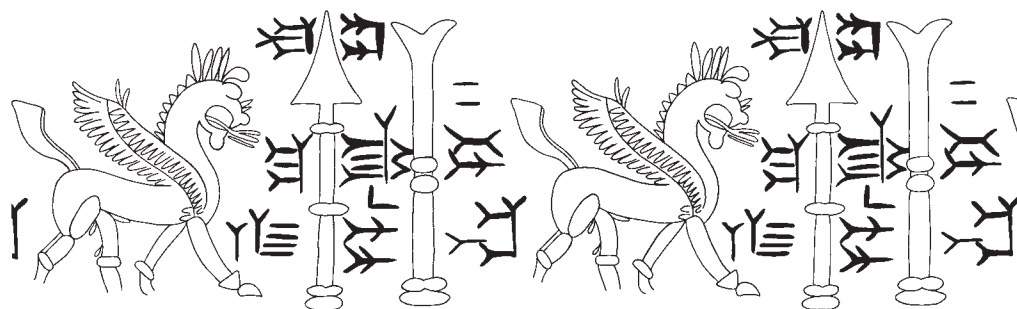


PFS 874



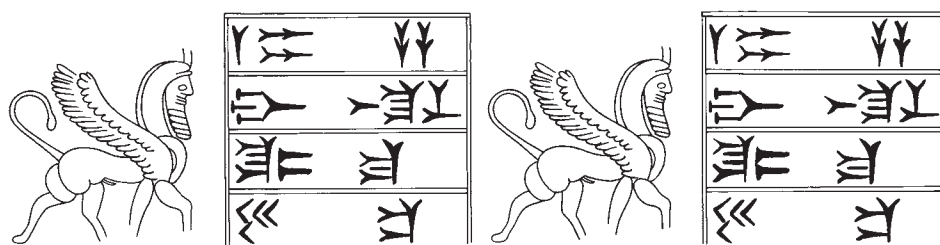
PFS 1627

Figure 2.37b. Examples of chariot scenes: PFS 546, perhaps associated with a religious office/official; PFS 874, associated with Harima, a religious official; PFS 1627



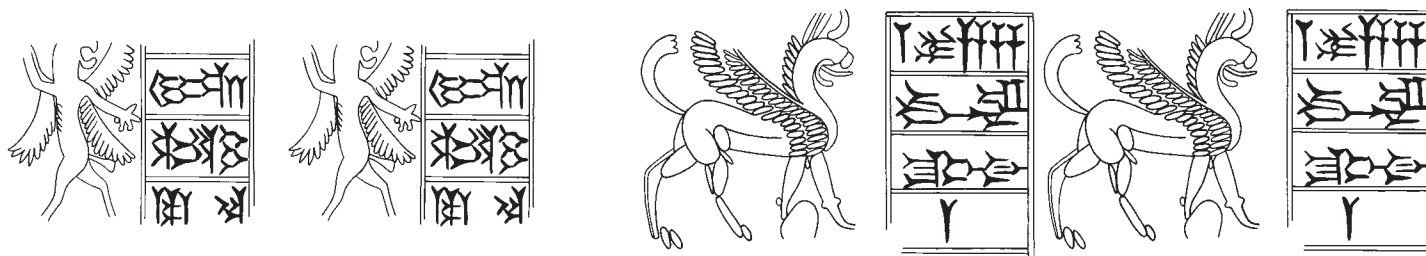
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PFS 27\*



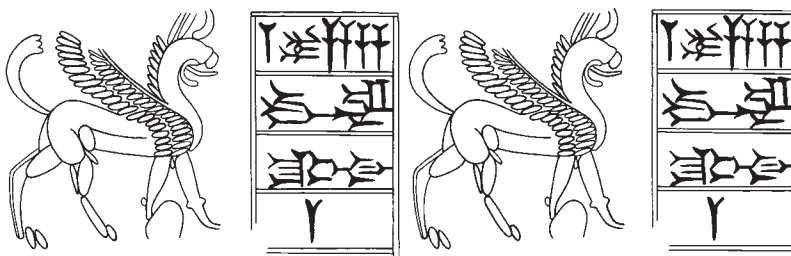
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PFS 73\*



1 cm

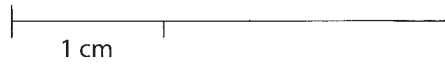
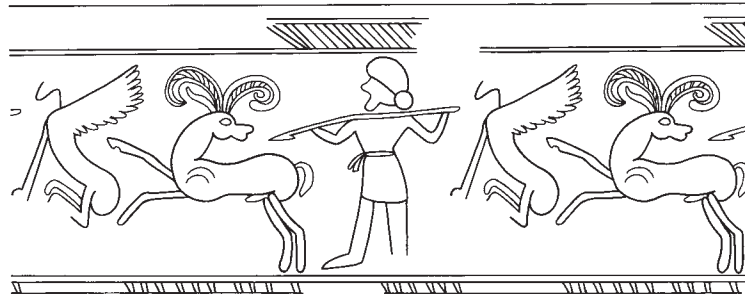
PFS 124\*



1 cm

PFS 188a\*

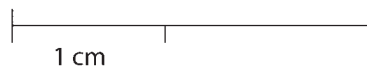
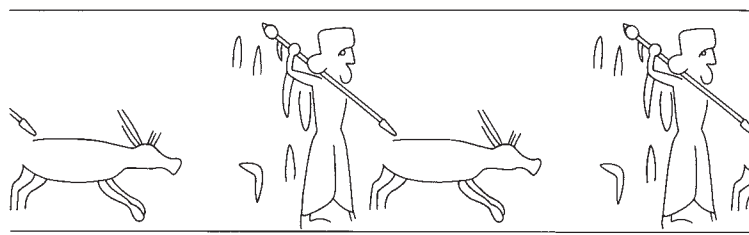
Figure 2.38. Examples of scenes of a single animal and an inscription: PFS 27\*, representing an accounting office/official; PFS 73\*, probably the personal seal of Tiriya *mušin huttira aš-na* (“account maker, accountant of the cattle”); PFS 124\*, probably a personal seal of Hiumizza; PFS 188a\*, perhaps associated with the bureau of Karkiš



PFS 331



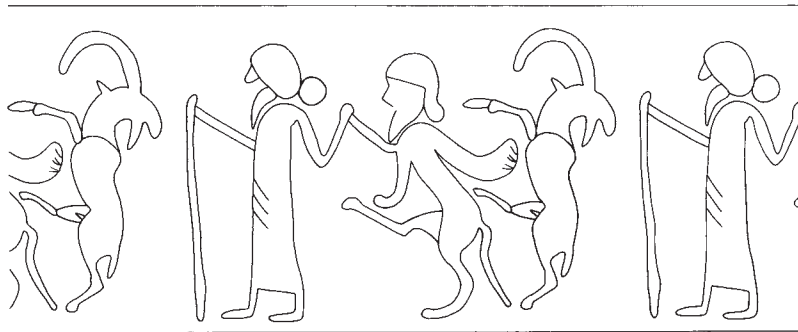
PFS 522



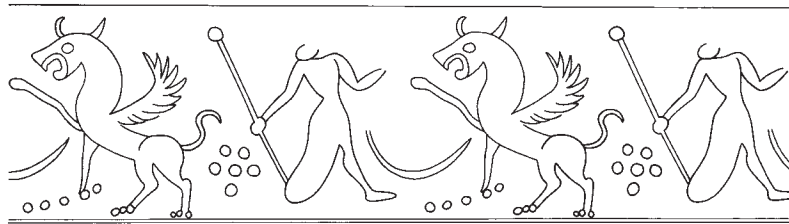
PFS 1000

Figure 2.39. Examples of scenes of a hunt with a spear: PFS 331; PFS 522, possibly representing an accounting office/official; PFS 1000; (see also PFS 51 [fig. 2.18b])

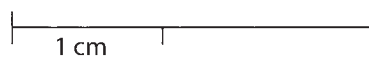
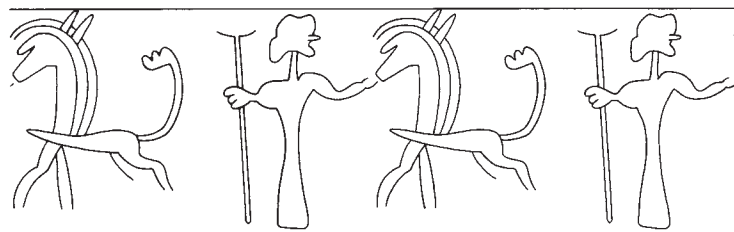




PFS 46



PFS 84



PFS 287

Figure 2.40a. Examples of scenes with a human figure and an animal, perhaps processional: PFS 46, probably representing an accounting office/official; PFS 84, associated with flour (grain) and beer supply at Hidali; PFS 287, perhaps associated with Harriumuna

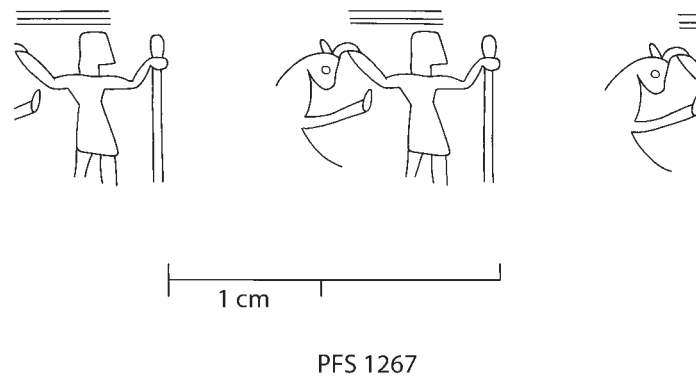
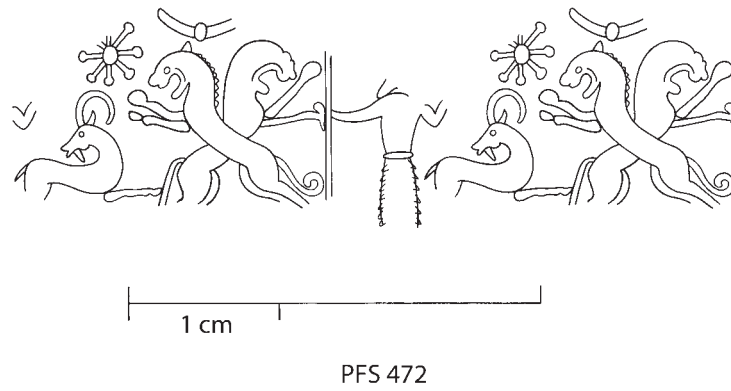


Figure 2.40b. Examples of scenes with a human figure and an animal, perhaps processional: PFS 472, probably representing an accounting office/official; PFS 1267, associated with Kampiya

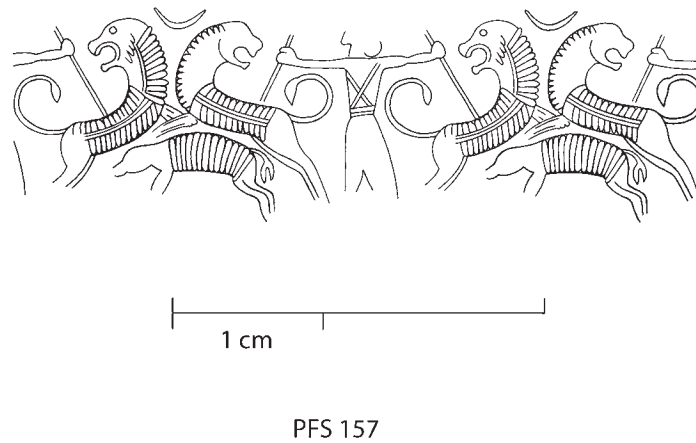


Figure 2.41. PFS 157, associated with flour (grain) and beer supply

A number of scenes depict a human figure and an animal/creature wherein the nature of the engagement is ambiguous. They generally do not evoke the visual dynamics of the heroic encounter and for this reason have been kept separate from them. Some of these compositions appear as if they are processions (fig. 2.40a–b).

Currently, we have identified approximately a dozen seals that show humans in combat. The combat can be on foot or from horseback. The latter, of course, includes the spectacular, and often discussed, PFS 93\*, an heirloom seal from, I have suggested, the late seventh century BC.<sup>438</sup> Some of these scenes, such as that on PFUTS 273\*, resonate with combat scenes preserved in the seals from the Treasury archive. Perhaps rivaling PFS 93\* in both its visual imagery and historical import is the recently discovered seal belonging to the son of Darius and Irtašduna, Iršama (Old Persian Aršāma). The seal, PFS 2899\*, is extremely large and shows a combat between two armed warriors; three dead enemies lie along the bottom of the composition, while a horse stands behind each of the two combatants. A two-line Aramaic inscription reads “Seal of Aršāma, Prince of the House.” Rather remarkably, the seal is the same one found impressed on bullae associated with the famous set of Aramaic parchment documents, now in Oxford, belonging to prince Aršāma and dating from the second half of the fifth century BC.<sup>439</sup>

The richness and diversity of Persepolitan glyptic are well illustrated by many seals that, owing to the exceptionally creative nature of their imagery, do not admit tidy classification. As one example, I illustrate PFS 157 (fig. 2.41). The seal is an office seal for the supply (*kurman*) of *tarmu* grain, flour (grain), and beer. The design is a creative mixture of four different themes. At first glance, it appears to be a heroic encounter: a human figure stands between two rampant lions. The human figure stabs, however, the lions (a spear in each hand) as if in a hunt scene, although no hunt scene has the hunter using two spears. The rampant lions move away from the hero forming a heraldic pair. Below and between the two lions is a third animal, perhaps a boar, thus transfixing this passage into a three-figure animal combat.

## 2.4.2. Developing a Research Program

Persepolitan glyptic is a large and complex phenomenon. In many ways, work that has been conducted to date is very preliminary. Future generations will inevitably develop a variety of research programs that involve myriad methods and lines of inquiry.

Currently, the completion of the project to define the glyptic research corpus is our most critical concern. As noted, we have now completed the reading of the seals that occur on the unpublished Elamite documents that Hallock had edited (the NN texts) and the Aramaic documents. We also have determined most of what will constitute the research corpus for the uninscribed documents.<sup>440</sup> The final reading and collation of the seals that occur on the uninscribed documents are still years in the future.

Persepolitan glyptic will benefit greatly from the traditional concerns of art history: stylistic and iconographic analyses. The particularly dense matrix in which Persepolitan glyptic occurs, closely circumscribed in time, place, and function, offers exciting possibilities for pursuing stylistic and iconographic studies that can offer a level of resolution unparalleled for the study of ancient art.

The study of styles of carving found on seals from the Fortification and Treasury archives is still in its formative stages.<sup>441</sup> There is a vigorous and diverse local school of carving that we have called the Fortification Style (e.g., PFS 46, PFS 84, and PFS 472 in fig. 2.40a–b), which needs a more thorough treatment than that given in Garrison 1988. The Persepolitan Modeled Style of carving (e.g., PFS 1\*, PFS 4\*, and PFS 32\* in fig. 2.14a–b) is also an exceptionally rich and complex phenomenon; it is clear that there exist various clearly defined sub-groups, each of which deploys a very specific mode of modeled engraving.<sup>442</sup> Perhaps the most pressing desideratum, given its importance as one of the major vehicles for dissemination of official Achaemenid ideology at the time of Darius, is a detailed analysis of the Persepolitan Court Style (e.g., PFS 11\* [T1] in fig. 2.13, PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* in fig. 2.23, and PFS 859\* in fig. 2.25). The term “Court Style” itself has proven controversial, and at this point there is confusion as to what, exactly, it designates.<sup>443</sup> Given its chronological and spatial contexts, it is clear that we are witnessing in Persepolitan glyptic the origin of what we conventionally designate as the “Court Style.” Persepolitan glyptic will thus provide the paradigmatic

exemplars of the style and thereby generate portals through which we may be better able to understand the origins, modes of production, and significance of this imagery.<sup>444</sup>

Given the wealth of imagery preserved in Persepolitan glyptic, the study of compositional types and iconography will certainly be topics of great interest. While this study of the so-called fire altars is the first monograph to appear on Persepolitan glyptic imagery, I suspect that most of the major compositional types will eventually receive similar treatment. Of particular interest are other scenes involving ritual activity, especially those centered on the figure in the winged ring/disk or the winged ring/disk. Given that the figure in the winged ring/disk is the most often-discussed symbol in Achaemenid art, and its interpretation highly contested, a monographic treatment of it as it appears in the Fortification and Treasury archives would be highly desirable.<sup>445</sup>

As has been remarked in various venues, Persepolitan glyptic marks the last great flourish of cylinder seal carving in the ancient world. A topic of particular concern, one that brings together issues of style, composition, and iconography, is the phenomenon of archaism in art. One of the distinguishing features of Persepolitan glyptic is its systematic revival/perpetuation of compositional formulae, carving styles, and iconographies of earlier Assyro-Babylonian glyptic.<sup>446</sup> While these compositional formulae, carving styles, and iconographies are recognizable in Persepolitan glyptic, it is clear that they do not represent simple “copying” of earlier models; rather, they reflect a much more considered and nuanced revitalization of them. The modes of transmission of this imagery and the reasons for its revival in the region of Persepolis in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC are as yet not well understood.<sup>447</sup>

A separate but closely linked issue to that of archaism is the relationship of Persepolitan glyptic to Neo-Elamite art, both of the lowlands associated with Susa and of the highlands associated with Anšan. This relationship, while much more difficult to define given the nature of the surviving evidence for Neo-Elamite art, must have been exceptionally important.<sup>448</sup>

A recurring question is the relationship of the imagery in Persepolitan glyptic with that in imperial coinage and monumental relief at Bīsotūn, Naqš-e Rostam, Persepolis, and Susa.<sup>449</sup> A one-to-one match is not the case, nor would one expect such given the traditional distinction in visual arts of ancient western Asia between monumental art and glyptic. The focus of this question ought perhaps to be on how Persepolitan glyptic may provide new layers of evidence, contemporary in time and space, that will allow us both to broaden the horizons and to sharpen the resolution for the visual landscape in which to consider the significance of Achaemenid monumental and numismatic imagery.<sup>450</sup>

Of course, it is the ability to link glyptic imagery with people, places, and administrative functions, that is, a social history of art, that so distinguishes Persepolitan glyptic and makes it an almost unique resource for the study of ancient art. We are in dire need of more studies that attempt to evaluate glyptic imagery within specific administrative and social contexts.<sup>451</sup> I would highlight in particular the following five topics that seem to me to represent potentially fruitful lines of inquiry as regards glyptic imagery within particular administrative and social contexts:

1. The seals that appear on the journals (V texts) and accounts (W texts) are associated with texts that mark a particularly circumscribed and specialized activity, compilation of administrative information at Persepolis by specialized individuals, accountants. A study by Mikołajczak (2010) has established, for the first time, a definitive reading of all the seals that occur on these documents and a preliminary analysis of patterns of administrative activity related to sealing praxis. The next step in this analysis is an in-depth exploration of the imagery on these seals (Mikołajczak in preparation). My own very impressionistic view is that the seals used on journals and accounts are particularly conservative and exhibit an even stronger tendency toward archaism than what one sees in Persepolitan glyptic as a whole.
2. Individuals who issue letters and letter-orders in the Fortification archive have a wide-ranging administrative authority.<sup>452</sup> There are only approximately thirty-five individuals who have this authority. A few, for example, Parnaka (PFS 9\* and PFS 16\* [fig. 2.12]), Irdabama (PFS 51 [fig. 2.18b]), Irtašduna (PFS 38 [fig. 2.18b]), Irdumartiya (PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* [fig. 2.18a]), and Ašbazana (PFS 1567\* [fig. 2.18a]), represent the very highest levels of the Achaemenid elite and royal family. The seals that

are associated with individuals who issue letter-orders will reveal a remarkable portal into glyptic patronage at the very highest social and/or administrative levels.

3. A related study concerns the glyptic imagery associated with the *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials.<sup>453</sup> Here we are dealing with a substantial number of individuals, not all of whom possess the same administrative rank.
4. Travel rations (Q texts) constitute the most numerous transaction type in the Fortification archive. These documents provide a particularly interesting set of circumstances. The supply officials/offices, who seal on the left edge, are all based locally, while in many cases the travelers are “foreign” to the Persepolis system. Of the some 725 edited travel rations, 396 of them name the *kurman* official; approximately seventy-one different and legible names. Obviously, it will be of great interest to determine the “glyptic profile” of these supply officials/offices. The task will be made more complex by the fact that fewer than eighty of the travel rations give a place name for the transaction and over half of those memoranda name either Hidali or Uzikurraš; the journals will, however, be of some assistance in this regard. A much larger task, but potentially even more interesting, will be to develop the glyptic profile of the individuals who are “foreign” to the Persepolis system, that is, those individuals who are receiving travel rations on the royal road but coming from (and stationed at) places outside of the zone administered by the agency represented by the Fortification archive. Here again, the undertaking will be complicated by the fact that we shall not be able to determine in every case who is local and who is “foreign” to the Persepolis system. In some cases, we also have to do with guides who are sealing in lieu of the traveller and/or travel group. As stated above, we already have determined one important feature that distinguishes seals used by recipients of travel rations on the roads: there is an exceptionally high percentage of stamp seals. The exact significance of this phenomenon is unclear.
5. Another type of administratively driven analysis of Persepolitan glyptic imagery centers upon inscribed seals. As noted on many occasions, inscribed seals represent a very special phenomenon in the two archives.<sup>454</sup> To date, across all document types in the Fortification archive, only some 178 inscribed seals have been identified. This represents only approximately 5 percent of legible seals in the Fortification archive.<sup>455</sup> There are eighteen inscribed seals that occur in the Treasury archive, representing approximately 23 percent of legible seals.<sup>456</sup> For the glyptic in both archives, almost half of these inscriptions are in Elamite; another fifth of them are in Aramaic. The remainder are in Babylonian, hieroglyphic Egyptian, trilingual royal-name inscriptions (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian), or the inscription is illegible but clearly cuneiform.<sup>457</sup> It would be exceptionally interesting to know exactly who uses an inscribed seal, and who is named in those inscriptions; the two, seal user and name in the inscription, in a surprising number of cases do not match. To this end, we need a thorough study of the epigraphy, both Elamite and Aramaic, and, as mentioned, a prosopography for the archive as a whole. The manner in which inscriptions on seals are displayed is another important line of inquiry. So, too, patterns in visual imagery (composition, style, and iconography) used on inscribed seals may provide some interesting insights into visual protocols associated with this particular phenomenon.

To conclude, perhaps we may articulate a research agenda for Persepolitan glyptic as constituting a “prosopography” of images at Persepolis, that is, studies of the “public careers and relationships of a group [of images — M.B.G.] in a particular place and period.”<sup>458</sup> These “careers” consist of the interfaces between/among

- images and the individuals who use them and/or the offices that they represent,
- images as a collective phenomenon in the archive,
- images and the cultural milieu (with a stress on the imperial aspirations of Darius and the ruling elite) at Persepolis at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries BC, and
- images and the collective history/memory of glyptic art in Fārs, Elam, Babylonia, and Assyria in the first half of the first millennium BC.

One of our primary goals, then, is to articulate the image-landscape at Persepolis in the late sixth century BC. To that end, the study of the so-called fire altars may constitute a small step toward that goal. Our understanding of this image-landscape may in turn provide a springboard toward distinguishing the social character of images and how images constitute part of the social/political negotiation among administrators and social elites at a particularly exciting and formative moment in space and time, Persepolis during the reign of Darius.

## Notes

<sup>58</sup> The discussions that follow supplement the primary existing overviews of the glyptic from the Fortification archive, Garrison and Root 1996/1998 and 2001, and Henkelman 2008a, pp. 129–35, and the shorter expositions in Garrison 2000 and 2008 as well as the only published survey of the glyptic from the Treasury archive, Schmidt 1957, pp. 4–49.

<sup>59</sup> By the term “ancient western Asia,” I mean to indicate the cultures encompassed by the areas today known as Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, and the Palestinian territories.

<sup>60</sup> For general introductions to seals in ancient western Asia, see, e.g., Gibson and Biggs 1977, Collon 1987, pp. 5–7, 113–19; Pittman 1995; Porada 1980 and 1993; Garrison 2013b.

<sup>61</sup> E.g., Garrison 1996b. Of course, this analogue is helpful only at the most broad level (a large number of Athenian Black- and Red-Figure vases that carry complex imagery survive, as is the case for seals in ancient western Asia); we are woefully uninformed about the original contexts, functions, and distribution of Athenian Black- and Red-Figure vases.

<sup>62</sup> See Cassin 1987 for a provocative discussion of the relationship of the seal to the individual; note the overview of such issues in Winter 2001, pp. 2–3.

<sup>63</sup> Aramaic written on clay is attested, particularly at Persepolis (see below); see also Fales 2007 on the substantial corpus of Aramaic written on clay tablets from the Neo-Assyrian period.

<sup>64</sup> Herbordt 1992, pp. 33–70 is one of the best introductions to the variety of sealing practices (although concerned exclusively with the Neo-Assyrian period).

<sup>65</sup> The term “bulla” is used in the scholarly literature in fact to indicate a variety of document types; see the discussions in Garrison in press d and in press e.

<sup>66</sup> E.g., Avigad and Sass 1997, pp. 31–37.

<sup>67</sup> Textual evidence indicates that seals, both the stones themselves and the imagery carved upon them, also had amuletic functions. Seals were often conspicuously displayed on the body as markers of administrative rank or social status. Seals were also used in a wide range of rituals; see Garrison in press e.

<sup>68</sup> For many commentators, the term “sealing” is used only for a seal impression occurring on a clay document that does not carry writing.

<sup>69</sup> Collon 1987, p. 119.

<sup>70</sup> For example, many seals placed in burials, which have high survival rates owing to the nature of the burial as an archaeological phenomenon (artifacts in good states of preservation are put into the ground) and owing to the disciplinary inclinations of archaeology (archaeologists are interested in identifying and excavating elite burials because they often have beautiful artifacts in them), may not also have functioned as marks of identification on clay administrative tablets. In the same manner, many seals used as devices of administrative identification may not also have been used as grave goods. This suggestion is, however, highly speculative and based upon no empirical data.

<sup>71</sup> Exceptional are the so-called West Semitic *Namensiegeln* of the first millennium BC.

<sup>72</sup> Garrison 2014a.

<sup>73</sup> Especially Menant 1883 and 1886.

<sup>74</sup> Collon 1987, p. 99, for a list of the major publications of museum collections.

<sup>75</sup> On the place of Frankfort in glyptic studies, see, e.g., the comments of Garrison 2013b.

<sup>76</sup> Garrison and Root (2001) derived its conceptual model from Collon 1975.

<sup>77</sup> These studies were especially prominent in pre-literate contexts (e.g., Pittman 1993, the many articles in Ferioli et al. 1994). For citations of some important publications of seals in archival contexts, see Garrison 2013b.

<sup>78</sup> For the Fortification and Treasury archives in particular, see the comments at §2.2.7 and §2.4.2.

<sup>79</sup> E.g., Garrison 2014a, 2014b, and *Chapter 5*, below.

<sup>80</sup> The arrival of Iranian-speaking peoples into southwestern Iran is a much discussed topic. For summaries of the research question, see, e.g., Waters 1999; Briant 2002, pp. 13–24, 877–79; Boucharlat 2003b, pp. 261–63; Henkelman 2011b, pp. 582–84; Wiesehöfer 2012.

<sup>81</sup> Miroschedji 1985, pp. 287–306; Miroschedji 1990.

<sup>82</sup> On the vexed issues concerning events surrounding Darius’ rise to power, one can do no better than to consult Briant 2002, pp. 62–128, 895–900.

<sup>83</sup> Although it should be noted that no trace of ancient written Median has ever been discovered.

<sup>84</sup> Briant 2002, p. 92.

<sup>85</sup> And never as an Achaemenid. For the status of Elam post-Assyrian destruction and Cyrus’ ethnicity, see, e.g., Briant 1984, 1988; Miroschedji 1990; Carter 1994; Stronach 1997; Potts 1999, pp. 288–302, 306–307; Waters 1999, 2000, pp. 100–01, and 2004; Henkelman 2003; Young 2003, pp. 244–45; Miroschedji 2003, p. 35; Tavernier 2004, pp. 20–21; Potts 2005, pp. 22–23; Garrison 2006; Henkelman 2011b; Garrison 2011a; Álvarez-Mon, Garrison, and Stronach 2011.

<sup>86</sup> Note the remarks of Briant (2002, p. 92), “it now appears that it is only with the reign of Darius that the term Achaemenid received its political value.... It would be better to eliminate the term Achaemenid from the discussion concerning Cyrus.” Note also the remarks of Henkelman (2011b, pp. 610–14) concerning the ideological valences of the usage of the terms Anšan and Aryan in the inscriptions of Cyrus and Darius respectively.

<sup>87</sup> Henkelman (2011b, pp. 613–14) stresses that Cyrus and Darius “represent, each in their own way, phases in the development of the same new self awareness, formed over a long incubation period: that of the people of Pārsa.”

<sup>88</sup> Indeed, one may define the core of the Achaemenid heartland as consisting of both the lowland region surrounding Susa (the modern province of western Khūzestān) and the highlands stretching from modern Behbahān to the Marv Dašt plain. Henkelman (2012a, p. 931) cogently notes that the “bipolarity of lowland Khūzestān and highland Fārs had always characterized successive Elamite states from the 3rd millennium onward”; thus, Darius’ move, very early in his reign, to draw Susa into the Persian core reflects a long-lived Elamite perspective (see also the comments at §§6.1–6.2 concerning Naqš-e Rostam).

<sup>89</sup> Root 1979 remains the most complete introduction to the full range official Achaemenid art.

<sup>90</sup> Coinage and glyptic are reviewed in Garrison 2010. Garrison (2014b) articulates the concept of imperial Achaemenid glyptic styles.

<sup>91</sup> Old Persian *Pārsa-*. *Parša* can also refer in general to “the land of Persia.” On the name *Pārsa*, see Mousavi 1992, p. 204, and 2012, pp. 9–10. For a recent surveys of excavations and scholarship on Persepolis, see Boucharlat 2003b; Roaf 2004; Boucharlat 2005, pp.

225–30; Talebian 2008; Shahbazi 2009; Mousavi 2012; Henkelman 2012a, pp. 943–50; Boucharlat in press.

<sup>92</sup> Darius seems to make such a claim in DPf, but note the comments of Lecoq 1997, p. 229 s.v. DPf (see also below, n. 97). The new-found tower/gate at Tol-e Āğori may, however, require a radical revision to our current understanding of the area in the period pre-dating Darius's rise to power (§4.4.2.2).

<sup>93</sup> E.g., Shahbazi 1977, pp. 206–07.

<sup>94</sup> The evidence is most recently reviewed in Root 2010, pp. 186–200. Note Boucharlat (2005, p. 229), who states that Persepolis was “fondée vers 520.”

<sup>95</sup> As Roaf 2004; Shahbazi 2004 and 2009; Henkelman 2012a, pp. 943–50.

<sup>96</sup> Roaf 1983 is still the standard work on the chronology of construction at Persepolis, although it does not represent a consensus of opinion (cf., e.g., Koch 1987). For more recent references and over views, see Briant 2002, p. 908; Mousavi 2012, pp. 41–51.

<sup>97</sup> There were some modifications of the original configuration of the Takht on the east and south (Roaf 1983, p. 157). On the Takht and the water system, see, e.g., Schmidt 1953, pp. 210–12; Tilia 1968, 1972, fig. 30, and 1978, pp. 3–27; Calmeyer 1990; Kleiss 1993; Talebian 2010, pp. 302–03. Lecoq (1997, pp. 98 and 229 n. 2 [s.v. DPf]), commenting upon the wording of the Elamite inscription DPf, wherein Darius says that on the “terrace” (an Elamite transcription of the Old Persian word *gātu*) where before no fortress had been built, he (Darius) built one, raises the interesting question as to whether the text implies that the terrace had been constructed by a predecessor of Darius. There is no archaeological evidence to suggest such, but the wording is ambiguous. On the Old Persian term *gātu*, see the comments of Root (2015). Roaf (1983) in general prefers a late date for initial construction at Persepolis and suggests (Roaf 1983, p. 157) that the mudbrick fortifications may even date post-480 BC.

<sup>98</sup> Schmidt (1953, pp. 40 and 207) dated the fortification system, the so-called Garrison Quarters, and Garrison Street to the reign of Darius; see also Schmidt 1953, pp. 206–11; Tadjvidi 1970; Krefter 1971, pp. 85–89; Shahbazi 1976, pp. 8–9; Kleiss 1980; Huff 1990; Mousavi 1992 and 1999; Kleiss 1992; note the comments above, at n. 97, concerning Roaf's late dating of the mudbrick fortifications.

<sup>99</sup> Schmidt 1953, p. 211; Mousavi 1992, p. 220.

<sup>100</sup> See also the comments of Mousavi (1992, pp. 208–209, 2012, pp. 12–13) on Krefter's reconstruction of a possible gate and doorway (“Arbeitstor”) in the northwestern corner of the Takht.

<sup>101</sup> The texts are quite unusual both individually and as a group (cf. Lecoq 1997, p. 98, “une sorte de tétralogie”). Each occurs only in one language (not trilingual, as is the normal convention), but the texts are displayed as if a trilingual, i.e., the two Old Persian texts are grouped together at left, the Elamite is in the middle, and the Babylonian is at right. These texts are interesting also owing to their contents. DPd concerns the qualities of the Persian people (*dahyu*); DPe, the peoples within the Persian army; DPf, the construction of the terrace (Old Persian *gātu*) at Persepolis; DPg, a short cosmogony and articulation of the wide expanse of peoples participating in the construction of Persepolis (only the Persians and the Medes are mentioned by name).

<sup>102</sup> When the initial entrance at the southwest was closed off cannot be determined. Tilia (1978, pp. 11–18, 27) suggested a date in the late Achaemenid period. On the early phases of construction on the site and the southern gate, see also Roaf 1983, pp. 150–59; Jacobs 1997; Kleiss 2000; Shahbazi 2009; Mousavi 2012, pp. 13–14.

<sup>103</sup> Schmidt 1953, pp. 28, 70; Muscarella 1992, p. 218 note 9; Lecoq 1997, pp. 115–16, 126; Razmjou (2010, pp. 231–33) rejects the notion that the term indicates a large columned hall.

<sup>104</sup> The word is restored, based upon A<sup>2</sup>Hb, on the column base from Susa (D<sup>2</sup>Sa); see Lecoq 1997, pp. 114–16, 268. There is disagreement as to whether the word ought to be read as *apadāna* or *āpadāna* (e.g., Razmjou 2010, pp. 232–33; Root 2015, pp. 17–19).

<sup>105</sup> DPh; Tilia 1972, pp. 127–65, and 1978, pp. 11–27; Roaf 1983, p. 157; Jacobs 1997; Kleiss 2000.

<sup>106</sup> The reliefs on the Apadana staircases at Persepolis are much discussed; e.g., Schmidt 1953, pp. 69–106, and 1957, pp. 69–70; Krefter 1971, pp. 45–54; Root 1979, pp. 227–84; Stronach 1987; Jacobs 1997; Huff 2010; Root 2015.

<sup>107</sup> DPb and DPc also state that Darius built the structure.

<sup>108</sup> E.g., Razmjou 2010, pp. 231–33.

<sup>109</sup> The western staircase was added by Artaxerxes III (359/58–338 BC).

<sup>110</sup> Root 1979, pp. 76–86.

<sup>111</sup> Schmidt 1953, pp. 40–41, 157–58, 199–200, fig. 66.

<sup>112</sup> At the time when he was writing OIP 68, Schmidt had only a general idea of the earliest dated texts from the Fortification archive, ca. 511–507 BC.

<sup>113</sup> While the general dating of the first two phases of the Treasury on historical grounds may in fact be correct, certainly the texts from both the Fortification and the Treasury archives refer to a treasury at Persepolis, one can hardly link the two archives in the manner that Schmidt did to arrive at a precise chronology. The two archives administered distinct administrative phenomena and did not develop directly the one from the other (see the discussion below). Note the comments of Cahill (1985, pp. 375–80) concerning Schmidt's attempts to tie the dating of the construction phases of the Treasury to the dates of the Fortification and Treasury archives. Roaf (1983, p. 157) is undecided on the exact date of the second phase of the Treasury, placing it in the period 490–480 BC.

<sup>114</sup> *kapnuški* (“treasury”) and *kapnuškira* (“treasurer”) are the Elamite terms used most commonly in the Fortification archive. They appear to be the Elamite equivalents of Old Persian \**ganza* and \**ganzabara*. These Old Persian terms are also transcribed in Elamite in the Fortification archive as *kanza* and *kanzabara*, but they are relatively rare (see the glossary entries for the terms in Hallock 1969; Stolper 2012). One journal entry, NN 2356:12–15, mentions receipt of commodities by a treasury worker (*kandabara*) at Persepolis. Another journal entry, NN 2493:12–14, mentions the receipt of wine by Zitrina, the *kapnuški-ma ullira* (“delivery-man at the treasury”), at Persepolis. The letter-order NN 2561 is similar. The comments of Briant (2002, p. 429) are here especially apropos: “the Fortification tablets are extremely discreet regarding the operations carried out at Persepolis itself.”

<sup>115</sup> For studies on treasurers and treasuries in the Fortification and Treasury archives, see Briant 2002, pp. 428–29 and 940; Stolper 2017.

<sup>116</sup> Cameron 1948, p. 9; Stolper 2012. Both note that *pirratam-na*, “in the fortress,” also signals Persepolis.

<sup>117</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 23–32; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 162–73.

<sup>118</sup> Cahill 1985. Razmjou (2010, pp. 242–43) argues along similar lines, that the Treasury building at Persepolis was not a treasury but a depository of precious items, something similar to our concept of a museum.



<sup>119</sup> On the move of the original central panels of the Apadana, see, e.g., Root 1979, pp. 88, 91–94; Abdi 2010, pp. 276–79; Mousavi 2012, pp. 20–21.

<sup>120</sup> Schmidt 1953, pp. 107 and 116; Root 1979, pp. 95–100.

<sup>121</sup> Root (1979, pp. 98–100), with some caveats, suggests late Darius for the building; Roaf (1983, pp. 142–44) dates the main hall to late Xerxes, the north stairs to Artaxerxes I.

<sup>122</sup> Also von Gall 1974, p. 151; Shahbazi 1976, p. 60; 2009.

<sup>123</sup> Recent geophysical survey to the north of the Takht has revealed “structural remains and extensive settlements” (Talebian 2010, p. 302).

<sup>124</sup> Schmidt 1953, pp. 55–56, figs. 16–17; Boucharlat 1984, pp. 130–32; Stronach 1985, pp. 613–17; Wiesehöfer 1994, pp. 70–99; Mousavi 2002, p. 227; Boucharlat 2006, pp. 452–53; Callieri 2003 and 2007, pp. 51–69, 91–93, 99, 144, figs. 24–36.

<sup>125</sup> Boucharlat in press.

<sup>126</sup> Bessac and Boucharlat 2010, p. 31.

<sup>127</sup> Bessac and Boucharlat 2010 with previous literature.

<sup>128</sup> Specifically ca. 520–500 BC. Bessac and Boucharlat (2010, pp. 10–13, 26–28) question the traditional view that the tomb was unfinished and intended for Cambyses. Following Trümpelmann (1988, pp. 15–20) and Henkelman (2003), Bessac and Boucharlat (2010, p. 2) and Henkelman (2012b) propose that the tomb was built for Hystaspes, father of Darius I.

<sup>129</sup> Sumner’s (1986) survey work (actually conducted in the 1970s) laid the foundation for the recent studies: Boucharlat 2007; De Schacht et al. 2012; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013; Boucharlat in press.

<sup>130</sup> Boucharlat (in press) offers a sober assessment of the meager evidence for such walls. See also Tadjvidi 1973, pp. 200–201 and 1976; Kleiss 1976, pp. 131–36, figs. 1–2; Kleiss 1992, pp. 156–60, fig. 1; Mousavi 1992, pp. 217–20, fig. 7 (the “second wall”); Mohammadkhani 2004.

<sup>131</sup> Tadjvidi 1976, pp. 9–14; Tilia 1978, pp. 79–85; Sumner 1986, p. 28; Boucharlat 2003b; Talebian 2008, pp. 182–85; Gondet 2011, pls. 28–29; Mousavi 2012, p. 49; De Schacht et al. 2012, pp. 138–42; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, pp. 4–7; Boucharlat in press.

<sup>132</sup> E.g., Tilia 1978, p. 80; Mousavi 2012, p. 49; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, pp. 5–6.

<sup>133</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2014.

<sup>134</sup> See also the discussion at §4.4.2.2.

<sup>135</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, p. 27; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2014, p. 237: “built in the period between 539 BC... and 518 BC.”

<sup>136</sup> De Schacht et al. (2012, pp. 136–38) suggest that this area extends farther to the north and east toward the Takht.

<sup>137</sup> Note the aerial photograph in Talebian 2010, fig. 26.1. Tadjvidi 1976 is the principal publication of this area.

<sup>138</sup> Schmidt 1953, p. 55, figs. 14–15; Sāmī 1972, pp. 86–91; Tadjvidi 1976; Mousavi 1999, pp. 148–51 and 2002, pp. 228, 231, 237, 241, figs. 10, 22–23, 26; Callieri 2007, p. 15; Mousavi 2012, pp. 26–41; Boucharlat in press.

<sup>139</sup> Mousavi 1999, p. 237, and Sāmī 1972, p. 89, for the column bases carrying inscriptions of Xerxes; Mousavi (2012, p. 26) states that the “plan of the constructions ... were probably conceived at the same time as the preparation of the Terrace of Persepolis.”

<sup>140</sup> Mousavi 1992, pp. 219–20.

<sup>141</sup> Note Wilber (1989, p. 29) and Shahbazi (1976, p. 7) on the correlation of the courses of the underground water channels with the structures built at periods post-dating Darius.

<sup>142</sup> For other administrative records found at Persepolis, see Azzoni et al. in press; Garrison in press d and in press e.

<sup>143</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 123–127. Recent study of previously unedited Elamite documents has revealed the existence of a few texts that refer to administrative records and activity as early as 518/17 BC and as late as 487/86 BC (Stolper in press b). These discoveries confirm what we have suspected for some time: the archive as it is preserved is only a remnant of a much longer-lived phenomenon.

<sup>144</sup> On the significance of the Fortification archive, see, e.g., the comments of Henkelman 2010, pp. 671–72; Azzoni et al. in press.

<sup>145</sup> Stolper and Tavernier 2007.

<sup>146</sup> The most informative surveys of the archive to date are: Briant 2002, pp. 422–48, 938–43; Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 1–60; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 65–179; Azzoni et al. in press. See also Hallock 1969, pp. 1–69, 1977, and 1985; Hinz 1970 and 1971; Lewis 1977, pp. 4–14, 1984, pp. 592–602, 1990, and 1994; Tuplin 1987; Dandamaev and Lukonin 1989, pp. 90–237; Koch 1992, pp. 25–67; Wiesehöfer 2001, pp. 66–79, 268–70; Kuhrt 2007a, pp. 763–814 (select texts with commentary); Azzoni et al. in press. Koch 1990 is still the only attempt to chart in detail the workings of the administrative system (on which see the comments of Briant 2002, p. 938). There is a plethora of studies devoted to specialized topics on the archive; see Henkelman 2008a, p. 67 n. 153, and Azzoni et al. in press for a sample of the scholarly literature. There are two major (and inter-related) projects devoted to the study of the archive. The one is the Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Project, whose aim is the full publication of all the seals that occur on the texts published in Hallock 1969. The other is the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, whose aim is a comprehensive triage of all documents in the archive and the establishment of an expanded study corpus through online publication of photographs, transcriptions, translations, and drawings, with a critical apparatus (see <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/projects/pfa/>).

<sup>147</sup> The issues surrounding the discovery of the archive are covered in detail in Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 23–26; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 69–72; Razmjou 2008. Razmjou’s account, some of which is based on oral reports from individuals who knew other individuals involved in the actual excavations, differs in some details from other accounts. Razmjou (2008, p. 51), as others, reports that the tablets were found as a result of systematic excavations undertaken before the clearing for the road.

<sup>148</sup> Via Krefter’s personal diary and the recollections of Krefter’s son.

<sup>149</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 71: “Tabletten ausgegraben und verpackt. Die Fülle wird unverstaubar.” This timeline would seem to be somewhat shorter than that given by Razmjou (2008, p. 52); but Wouter Henkelman (personal communication) suggest that the statement need not imply the end of excavation of the tablets.

<sup>150</sup> As Henkelman (2008a, p. 72) remarks, the tablets were not found in burned layers and thus were not baked. Oral tradition at the Oriental Institute is that some of the metal boxes were coffee tins.

<sup>151</sup> Razmjou (2008, p. 52, fig. 2) reports that four additional fragments representing two tablets from the Fortification archive were discovered in the course of restoration of the Fortification wall in 1985.

<sup>152</sup> Dusinberre 2005, pp. 150–61; Henkelman 2008a, p. 71.

<sup>153</sup> Garrison 2011a, p. 377 n. 2, relying on the research of Dusinberre 2005, pp. 150–56, for PFS 93\*; Henkelman 2008a, p. 71, concerning the Phrygian tablet.

<sup>154</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 26–29; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 162–73; Razmjou 2008, pp. 52–55.

<sup>155</sup> What Henkelman (2008a, p. 173) calls an “intermediate archive” that “may be provisionally defined as a corpus of documents that is withdrawn from a working archive and that has lost its direct administrative functions, but that at the same time retains its relevance as a body of evidence and that therefore remains the responsibility of an administrative organisation or its overarching authority, which takes appropriate measures to ensure its integral preservation.” Note also the comments of Jones and Stolper 2008, pp. 45–46: “the Fortification archive appears to be ‘dead.’ That is, it is a group of documents of no use to current operations, culled and discarded or put in storage.”

<sup>156</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 69–71.

<sup>157</sup> Azzoni et al. in press; Jones and Stolper 2008, pp. 37–44. Parts of the Fortification archive are now in Iran. Some 151 Elamite tablets and tens of thousands of fragments were returned to Tehran in 1948 and 1951; another 300 Elamite tablets were returned to Tehran in 2004. Cameron had made editions of the 151 Elamite texts returned in 1948; from these Hallock produced collations. Four new tablets and fragments have been found in the National Museum and at Persepolis, and some twelve Elamite tablets have turned up in various collections (Henkelman 2008a, pp. 75–79; Azzoni et al. in press). The tens of thousands of fragments returned in 1951 remained unstudied until 1997 (Razmjou 2004, p. 2); these documents appear to be primarily fragments of Elamite texts, but there are some uninscribed and Aramaic documents as well (Razmjou 2004, pp. 5–8). Razmjou (2004, p. 10) counted some 35,000 objects in Tehran.

<sup>158</sup> Henkelman (2008a, pp. 79, 177–79) estimates that there may have been 100,000 or more tablets in the original archive covering the years 509–493 BC.

<sup>159</sup> There are also four unique texts in the archive (see Stolper and Tavernier 2007, pp. 3–4 and 23–25, with previous bibliography): one in Greek, a short text recording an amount of wine and an Aramaic month name; one in Babylonian script and language, a legal document recording the purchase of a slave at Persepolis in the reign of Darius, a text which Stolper characterizes as extraneous to the archive (Stolper 1984); one in Phrygian script and language whose content is unclear (Brixhe 2004, pp. 118–26); and one in Old Persian script and language, a disbursement of some dry commodity among five villages (Stolper and Tavernier 2007). There is also a handful of sealed clay bag or box closures.

<sup>160</sup> The tablet counts that follow update those in Henkelman 2008a, pp. 75–82, 86–99; Garrison 2008, p. 154; Azzoni et al. in press.

<sup>161</sup> Cf., e.g., Garrison 2008, pp. 183–84; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 157–62.

<sup>162</sup> For preliminary studies of the texts and seals on the Aramaic tablets, see Azzoni 2008 and Dusinberre 2008. Azzoni (2008, p. 257) notes that an Aramaic text may be as short as one word or as long as eleven lines; most Aramaic texts contain three to four lines.

<sup>163</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 90.

<sup>164</sup> Azzoni 2008, p. 260. Parnaka and the king are only mentioned as travel destinations, “to Parnaka” or “to the king.”

<sup>165</sup> Azzoni 2008, pp. 260–61; Henkelman 2008a, p. 90.

<sup>166</sup> I thank Beth Dusinberre for this information. For seal sigla, see the list of abbreviations on p. xi.

<sup>167</sup> The reckoning of the number of legible seals is current as of May 2016. There are currently 153 seals that occur on two document types, representing approximately 4 percent of the legible seals in the archive.

<sup>168</sup> As concluded in Garrison 2008, pp. 180–84.

<sup>169</sup> On the regional directors and *šaramanna/damanna* officials, see the discussion at §2.2.3. The seals of the regional directors are illustrated in figure 2.14a–b.

<sup>170</sup> Two seals are exception in this regard. PFS 2215s occurs on an unpublished account (Fort. 173–101) and PFAT 187. PFS 2218 occurs on an unpublished journal (Fort. 1409–101) and PFUT 689–102. As the two seals occur only once, it is difficult to draw any far-reaching conclusions from them. They may in fact represent what we may call field account seals, i.e., seals that are associated with accounts performed in the field, rather than accounting office(s) located at Persepolis (see Mikołajczak 2010, pp. 62–77). One field account seal, PFS 381, in fact occurs on the uninscribed tablets (PFUT 1408–103). These three seals, PFS 381, PFS 2215s, and PFS 2218, only highlight the complete lack of the principal Persepolitan account seals on the Aramaic and uninscribed documents. On other types of field accounting seals, see also §2.2.6.2.4.6.

<sup>171</sup> The discovery of these seals on the uninscribed tablets has only occurred since 2008; this observation is thus a corrective to Garrison 2008, p. 180. See also Garrison and Henkelman in press and the discussion at §2.2.7 on seals of supply officials/offices.

<sup>172</sup> See the commentary to PFS 75 (ST1).

<sup>173</sup> PF 1042–43: *kurtaš... Irdabama-na* (“workers of Irdabama”). NN 255, 401–402, 1821, PF 400–402: *abbakannuš abbaruš-na* (“for the *abbakannuš*-(workers) of the *abbaruš*” [= Irdabama]). See the discussion in Brosius 1996, pp. 132–44.

<sup>174</sup> Hallock 1969, pp. 40–45. As noted in Garrison 2008, pp. 180–84, the high percentage of stamp seals found on the Aramaic tablets and the uninscribed documents is another important linkage with the travel rations in the Elamite documents.

<sup>175</sup> Other published Elamite texts: Grillot 1986; Vallat 1994; Jones and Stolper 2006, pp. 7–9; Arfae 2008a.

<sup>176</sup> Hallock’s manuscript containing these readings has circulated widely among specialists (see the comments of Henkelman [2008a, pp. 72–79], who will soon publish final readings of these NN texts). Many NN texts have been cited in the scholarly literature and/or published in varying degrees of transliteration/translation (see Azzoni et al. in press for references).

<sup>177</sup> Henkelman (2008a) treats this topic in detail.

<sup>178</sup> For *kurtaš* provisions, see Hallock 1969, p. 43. The exact status of the *kurtaš* is still a subject of much debate. Henkelman and Stolper (2009, p. 282 n. 33) track the scholarship and opinions. For a case study of *kurtaš* groups, see Henkelman and Stolper 2009, pp. 292–99, 307–22, concerning the Skudrians. Garrison (2014b) discusses administrative titles in more detail.

<sup>179</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 102–09.

<sup>180</sup> Hallock (1969, p. 13) divided the memoranda into two groups, A–J and K1–S3, the latter being distinguished by the fact that they “record apportionments to the ultimate consumer.” The H and J texts, while dealing with special types of ration distributions, do concern ration distribution to the ultimate consumer and thus would seem to belong with text categories K1–S3.

<sup>181</sup> On the regional directors, see §2.2.3.

<sup>182</sup> On sealing protocols, see also §2.2.6.2.

<sup>183</sup> On the distinction between journals and accounts, see Hallock 1969, pp. 55 and 57–58; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 107–08; and Jones

and Stolper 2008, pp. 30–31. Mikołajczak 2010 is a preliminary study of the journals and accounts and the seals that occur on them.

<sup>184</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 107.

<sup>185</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 107–08.

<sup>186</sup> Jones and Stolper 2008, pp. 30–31, 37 (in one case an account covers six years). Henkelman (2008a, p. 137) states that the accounts represent “the final stage in the accounting process, at least as far as we can trace it. They were compiled partly on the basis of the credit and debit information from the journals and partly from independent data, presumably gathered by the travelling auditors at the local storehouses, livestock stations, etc., and perhaps from information originating from documentation kept by the *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials.... Quite regularly, accounts pertain to more than one year, suggesting that parts of the account-making was done in a biennial or triennial cycle.”

<sup>187</sup> In a few cases, two years or more (Henkelman 2008a, p. 176).

<sup>188</sup> Hallock 1969, p. 57. Note the comments of Jones and Stolper (2008, pp. 45–48) and Henkelman (2008a, p. 138) on the possibility that the “main underlying purpose of such recording is not to monitor the commodities themselves, but to monitor administrators’ responsibility for commodities” (Jones and Stolper 2008, p. 46); the accumulation of records would then represent a political “need to knit a regional system of fortresses, storehouses, estates and villages — a system that certainly existed before the reign of Darius and probably existed before the Achaemenid imperial expansion — into a network under palace control” (Jones and Stolper 2008, p. 37).

<sup>189</sup> The category in brackets indicates to which of Hallock’s memoranda types (A–S) the entry in the journal relates.

<sup>190</sup> On these titles, see also §2.2.3.

<sup>191</sup> For seal usage on the journals and accounts, see Mikołajczak 2010.

<sup>192</sup> See above, n. 189, for the category in brackets.

<sup>193</sup> Hallock 1969, p. 53 and 1978, p. 113, on the distinction between letter-orders and letters.

<sup>194</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 104; Jones and Stolper 2008, pp. 31–32.

<sup>195</sup> As distinct from the tablets themselves, that may be considered among primary documents.

<sup>196</sup> Hallock (1969, p. 51) noted that colophons also occur in the rations payments (H texts, which seem to be “salary” payments) for Parnaka, Ziššawiš, and Irdumartiya. Colophons are also found in a few other text categories (Tavernier 2008, p. 65).

<sup>197</sup> On the formulae employed in these colophons, including the term *dumme*, which has generated much discussion, see Tavernier 2008, pp. 64–74, with evidence from other textual sources, and Henkelman 2008a, pp. 93, 147–53.

<sup>198</sup> Letters are always sealed by the addressor; see §2.2.6.2.

<sup>199</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 108.

<sup>200</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 109, 134, 145–46. On the three regional directors, see below.

<sup>201</sup> The translation is courtesy of Wouter Henkelman.

<sup>202</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 116.

<sup>203</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 110–17.

<sup>204</sup> Azzoni et al. in press.

<sup>205</sup> Sumner 1986; Koch 1990; Vallat 1993; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 110–23; Arfae 2008b. For discussions of recent fieldwork in the area covered by the Fortification archive, with some speculation on possible applicability of the evidence of place-names from the

archive, see, e.g., Boucharlat 2003b, 2005, p. 230; Boucharlat and Benech 2002; Carter and Wright 2003; Carter et al. 2006; Potts and Roustaei 2006; Potts, Asgari Chaverdi, et al. 2007; Potts 2008; Henkelman 2008b.

<sup>206</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 121.

<sup>207</sup> Hallock 1977, pp. 129–32, and 1985, pp. 595–97; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 118–19.

<sup>208</sup> See Hallock 1978, p. 109; Henkelman 2008a, p. 119. Koch (1990), who has the administrative purview of the agency represented by the Fortification archive stretching all the way to Susa, distinguishes six administrative regions (note the comments of Henkelman 2008a, p. 120).

<sup>209</sup> See Garrison 1996a for a Fortification-type memorandum that probably was excavated at Susa and is sealed with PFS 7\*.

<sup>210</sup> Cf. the distance between Persepolis and Susa, 815 km by modern road. On Kermān and its satrap, Karkiš, see the comments of Henkelman (2010, pp. 704–13).

<sup>211</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 126–29.

<sup>212</sup> Tracked in most detail by Koch (1990). The towns/villages had extensions into the landscape in the form of satellite villages, farmsteads, etc.

<sup>213</sup> On these officials, and other official titles that are named in the journals and accounts, not all of which have ready-made English equivalents, see Hallock 1969, pp. 57–58; Koch 1977, p. 153; Aperghis 1999; Briant 2002, pp. 424, 428. As Henkelman (2008a, p. 235 n. 516) explains, *haturmakša* is an Elamograph of Old Persian \**ātrvaxša-*, Avestan *ātrvaxš-*, “fire-fanner.” As one can imagine, the term has generated a good deal of discussion, both as to its etymology and meaning (note especially Koch 1977, pp. 159–64). The curious aspect of the use of the term in the Fortification archive is that it occurs principally “in journal and account texts (mostly on cereals and fruit), for officials involved in distribution and/or accounting (the term alternates with *ullira* ‘deliverer’...)” (Henkelman 2008a, p. 235 n. 516; see also pp. 208–09, 235–36, 247, and 249); in such contexts, the term would appear to designate an administrative (and non-religious) office rather than a religious one.

<sup>214</sup> On Matezziš, see Koch 1990, pp. 25–30, 254–57; Vallat 1993, s.v. Matezziš; Boucharlat 2003b, p. 263.

<sup>215</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 126–27.

<sup>216</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 127, esp. n. 283, on Parnaka’s career in the archive. He may have been preceded (before year 15, 507/506 BC, the earliest dated occurrence of Parnaka in the archive) by Irdumartiya (his personal seal is PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* [fig. 2.23], a remarkable and early example of court-centric imagery that is also documented in the Treasury archive [there as PTS 33\*]; see Garrison 2010, p. 354, fig. 32.9b and 32.10b and the comments at §2.3.2.1). As Henkelman (2008a, p. 127 n. 283) notes, the last direct attestation of Parnaka is month 3 in year 25; the issue of who is in charge of the agency after that date is not clear. Parnaka may have been succeeded first by Irdumartiya (the same individual who preceded Parnaka) and then by Ašbazana (starting in month 4, year 28, July/August 494 BC), who uses PFS 1567\* (fig. 2.18a); interestingly, Ašbazana, like Irdumartiya, is documented in the Treasury archive, there using a different seal, PTS 14\* (Garrison 1998 and Henkelman 2003, pp. 123–28).

<sup>217</sup> For the seals of Parnaka, see the references in Garrison and Root 2001, Cat.Nos. 22 (PFS 16\*) and 288 (PFS 9\*); for the seals of Ziššawiš, see *Chapter 5*.

<sup>218</sup> Aperghis 1999; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 127–28, 193, esp. p. 127 n. 284, on the rendering of the form; Garrison and Henkelman in press. The *-na* at the end of the PN is a generalized attributive

suffix. The first type of *kurman* transaction, “for allocation by PN,” often involves the same officials who, in other transactions, oversee the distribution of the commodities, “at the allocation of PN.” This first type of *kurman* transaction, “for allocation by PN,” also at times names individuals who clearly have more far-reaching oversight authority (*šaramanna* or *damanna*) and/or belong to the “logistics and rationing” branch of the agency. These individuals are not “suppliers” in the sense of being responsible for the physical allocation of the commodities.

<sup>219</sup> The number 720 is very provisional, based upon the current state of research on the archive, and accounts only for distinct names (not broken readings). This count does not attempt to distinguish multiple individuals bearing the same name.

<sup>220</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 128 n. 285. Following Henkelman, I have opted not for literal translations of the words *šaramanna* and *damanna*, but for phrases that roughly approximate what we think the duties encompassed; thus, *šaramanna*, “under the responsibility of,” and *damanna*, “assigned by.”

<sup>221</sup> Based upon the occurrence of both terms, assigned to different individuals, in PF 1842–43 and 1947:64. Hallock (1969, p. 28) concluded that the number of individuals responsible for assigning (*damanna*) work groups was limited, while the number of individuals responsible for setting the apportionments (*šaramanna*) was large. This observation certainly is true with regard to the number of occurrences of the two terms and the number of individuals involved; the term *šaramanna* is attested almost four times more often than *damanna* (see also the discussion below). Hallock (1969, p. 28) also observed, however, that “[i]n the texts with PN *damana* it may well be that the person named was responsible not only for the assigning but also for the apportioning; this possibility is suggested by the fact that the four persons with *damana* also frequently precede *šaramana*. Evidently the apportioner could be remote from the rationing operations.... Apparently the expressions PN *damana* and PN *šaramana* were employed not so much for the purpose of including every detail as for the purpose of identifying the work group in each case.” This last observation is certainly correct.

<sup>222</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 128: “[t]hese were, minimally, provisioners at whose command commodities (of every kind) could be set aside in, or released from the suppliers’ stores as rations for the individuals, workforces, and animals ‘under their responsibility’ or ‘assigned by them’ (the provisional interpretations of *šaramanna* and *damanna* used throughout this publication). Their function seems comparable to that of a *ptpkn* (\**piθfakāna*-), ‘an official in charge of providing rations.’” Note also the comments of Aperghis (1999, p. 171): “‘apportioner’ and ‘assigner’ are not entirely synonymous but sometimes used fairly indiscriminately.” Aperghis seems to imply that the *šaramanna* officials are senior to the *damanna* officials.

<sup>223</sup> Note, e.g., the journal PF 1949, translated at §2.2.3, in which Mantašturra is named once as *šaramanna* and once as *dama(nna)*.

<sup>224</sup> In three cases, the attestations occur in journals rather than letter-orders: NN 2493:15–16, Baddubastiš the *muzirriyara* (“Egyptian”) is designated as *Parnaka dama*; two entries at PF 1947:23–26, *tuppip appa bapilip* (“Babylonian scribes”) are designated as *Parnaka dama*. One letter-order, PF 1828, is in fact issued by Ziššawiš (see below, n. 225).

<sup>225</sup> NN 61, 1040, 1255, 1511, 1752, 1775, 2529, PF 1806–1808, 1810, 1828 (this letter-order is actually issued by Ziššawiš). Note also the journal entry in PF 1947 (see above, n. 224). The exceptions are the letter-orders PF 1798, where flour is to be issued to *Limepirda makuš u dama* (“Limepirda the magus, assigned by

me”), and PF 1806, where wine is to be issued to *hasup muzriyap u damanna* (“Egyptian workers assigned by me”).

<sup>226</sup> Egyptian workers: NN 1190, NN 2493:27–28, PF 1814; Babylonian scribes: NN 1369, 2394, 2493:22–26, PF 1947:29–30.

<sup>227</sup> On the usage of PFS 75 (ST1), see the commentary to that seal.

<sup>228</sup> On the regional office seals, see §2.2.3.

<sup>229</sup> As with the *kurman* officials, this estimate of the number of individuals is based upon the current state of research on the archive and accounts only for distinct names (not broken readings). This count does not attempt to distinguish multiple individuals bearing the same name.

<sup>230</sup> On Irdumartiya, see above, nn. 196 and 216, and §2.3.2.1. Qualified as *damanna*: PF 1247, and the journal entries NN 2486:30–33 and 51–55, all concerning *tuppip kuš.MEŠ ukku* (“scribes on parchment”); perhaps also NN 516.

<sup>231</sup> NN 1227, PF 1942:19, PF 1946:73 and 77, but Hallock (1969, p. 129) suggested that sending rather than assigning was involved in some of these texts.

<sup>232</sup> NN 1101, 1509, 1731, 2217; PF 1792, 2070. The term *kurdabattiš* is translated “chief of workers.” We do not know exactly what the designation implies with regard to specific duties and administrative rank, but the individuals who hold the title are very active at high administrative levels on several fronts within the archive (see the brief discussion in Briant 2002, pp. 226–27, 431, 940). Only eight individuals are so designated. They include the regional directors Karkiš (NN 1418, PF 1161, 2010), Šuddayauda (Persepolis), and Iršena (Fahliyān), as well as the *šaramanna/damanna* officials Mišparma (PF 158), Bakadada (NN 141–43, 1088, PF 159–60, 1810), Iršena (NN 2529, 2536, PF 1368, 1797–1800), Datukka (NN 161), and Zimakka (NN 161, 1847).

<sup>233</sup> The exception is Vallat (1997), who posits that all memoranda were Elamite copies of Aramaic copies of Aramaic originals. The Elamite copies in his opinion would have been written at Persepolis and sealed purely for filing purposes. See Henkelman 2008a, pp. 140–62, for a critique.

<sup>234</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 143–46. The *lišni U* texts are too few in number and too terse to have served this function on a day-to-day basis. There clearly must have been methods for the regional directors and *šaramanna/damanna* officials to convey instructions, establish standing orders, etc., to suppliers, outside of the occasional *halmi* that is at times mentioned in the Elamite memoranda and journals. One assumes that these prescriptive documents are missing, unexcavated, or were recorded in other media such as wax writing tablets, parchment, etc.

<sup>235</sup> On sealing protocols, see §2.2.6.2.

<sup>236</sup> Jones and Stolper 2008, p. 36.

<sup>237</sup> Hallock’s Q texts. Hallock 1969, pp. 40–45; Koch 1986 and 1993; Giovinazzo 1994; Graf 1994; Aperghis 1997, 1999; Arfa’i 1999; Briant 2002, p. 448; Henkelman 2008a, p. 67 n. 153 (where one may find other case studies concerning travel), 113–15, 143; Garrison and Henkelman in press.

<sup>238</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 118, 133.

<sup>239</sup> The royal road is often discussed; see the summary in Briant 2002, pp. 357–62, 364–77, 927. From an empire-wide perspective, Persepolis lay at the center of the royal road system.

<sup>240</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 113–14; Potts 2008, pp. 280–83.

<sup>241</sup> Garrison and Henkelman in press.

<sup>242</sup> The title, literally “very best safe-keeper,” occurs only in the travel rations (Hallock 1969, p. 42).

<sup>243</sup> On sealing protocols, see §2.2.6.2. There are also illegible traces of a seal impression on the upper edge of the tablet.

<sup>244</sup> Garrison and Henkelman in press.

<sup>245</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 95–96, Cat.No. 23.

<sup>246</sup> On the correspondence of Aršāma, see the discussion in Briant 2002, pp. 217, 364–65, 413–14, 418, 441, 448, 449–50, 457–58, 461–63, 487, 502–503, 596–97, 973, 978, fig. 18f (the seal of Aršāma), with references; Kuhrt 2007a, p. 960, s.v. Arshama, for a list of translated texts from the Aršāma corpus. Ma and Tuplin (in preparation) will provide an extensive re-study of the dossier associated with Aršāma.

<sup>247</sup> Hallock 1985, p. 591; Lewis 1984, p. 598; Koch 1993, pp. 8–12; Henkelman 2008a, p. 348 n. 817.

<sup>248</sup> See above, n. 240.

<sup>249</sup> Azzoni 2008, Azzoni and Dusingberre 2014, Azzoni et al. in press, and the comments at §§2.2.1–2.2.2. There are also short Aramaic epigraphs in ink written on 259 Elamite tablets (Henkelman 2008a, pp. 91–93; Azzoni and Stolper 2015).

<sup>250</sup> I.e., the memoranda belonging to Hallock's text categories A–S; Azzoni and Dusingberre 2014, p. 1.

<sup>251</sup> Azzoni 2008, pp. 258–62; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 89–93. Azzoni et al. in press. See also §2.2.2.

<sup>252</sup> Henkelman 2008a, p. 90; Garrison 2008, pp. 182–84; Dusingberre 2008; Azzoni et al. in press.

<sup>253</sup> See also the comments at §2.2.2. Garrison 2008, Henkelman 2008a, pp. 98–100, and Azzoni et al. in press are the only published accounts of the uninscribed documents from the archive.

<sup>254</sup> Garrison 2008, pp. 152–57.

<sup>255</sup> The exception is the rare Type D, which has the same shape as a typical Elamite memorandum.

<sup>256</sup> For the seals that cross document types, see the discussion at §2.2.2.

<sup>257</sup> See the discussion at §2.2.2.

<sup>258</sup> Garrison 2008, pp. 158–61.

<sup>259</sup> See the catalog entry for PFS 75 (ST1) for details. I have tentatively suggested that PFS 75 (ST1) may have been used by a local agent/representative of Iršena's office (Garrison 2008, pp. 158–59).

<sup>260</sup> PF 289 is a terse text concerning an allocation of donkeys from Tektukka (*kurman*); PFS 94 is applied to the left edge, a seal that is frequently attested with allocations of livestock.

<sup>261</sup> In the case of PFS 535\*, only once on the Aramaic tablets, PFAT 665.

<sup>262</sup> Garrison 2008, pp. 158–59.

<sup>263</sup> Garrison 2014a, pp. 75–76, for detailed analysis of the imagery on PFUTS 18\*.

<sup>264</sup> Koch (1990, pp. 131, 133, and 294) locates Ušaya at Manda; see also Garrison and Henkelman in press.

<sup>265</sup> It is striking that PFS 17 is paired in counter-seal protocol with PFS 1098 on Elamite (PF 1156) and Aramaic (PFAT 355 and 373) tablets, and with PFS 189 on Elamite (PF 1154–55) and uninscribed tablets (PFUT 697–101); the Elamite transactions are, moreover, all M texts (“special rations”).

<sup>266</sup> Hallock 1978, p. 110; Garrison and Henkelman in press. Hallock suggested that the depot was at Pirdatkaš, which Koch (1986, p. 139) identifies as a way-station on the Susa–Persepolis road.

<sup>267</sup> With only a few exceptions, seal impressions are never accompanied by captions, as is common in contemporary and

later legal and economic tablets from Babylonia; see Henkelman 2008a, p. 96 n. 217.

<sup>268</sup> Most notably in Hallock 1977 and 1985.

<sup>269</sup> Garrison and Root 1996/1998, pp. 1–11; Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 44–46.

<sup>270</sup> Hallock 1969, pp. 78–81.

<sup>271</sup> As discussed at n. 146, there are now two intertwined projects to study the seals from the Fortification archive.

<sup>272</sup> These statistics do not indicate all legible seals that occur on each of these specific document types, only the legible seals that have been assigned these specific sigla. As discussed at §2.2.2, there are seals that occur on two or all three document types.

<sup>273</sup> Seals that carry the siglum PFS may also occur on uninscribed and/or Aramaic documents.

<sup>274</sup> This count represents only those seals that carry the PFATS siglum. Considering all legible seals that occur on the Aramaic documents (PFS, PFUTS, and PFATS), the total number is 694 seals (63 PFS, 43 PFUTS, and 588 PFATS).

<sup>275</sup> Seals that carry the siglum PFUTS may also occur on Aramaic documents. Considering all legible seals that occur on the uninscribed documents (PFS and PFUTS), the total number is 676 seals (71 PFS and 605 PFUTS).

<sup>276</sup> Azzoni et al. in press. For the unsealed Elamite documents in the archive, see the comments of Aperghis (1999, pp. 190–91) and Root (2008, pp. 97–103), who show that unsealed Elamite memoranda (among those published in Hallock 1969) are for the most part anomalous by shape. Thus, in what one could characterize as the normal run of things, most “typical” Elamite memoranda (i.e., those tablets that are tongue-shaped with flattened left edge) were sealed.

<sup>277</sup> Root 1988, pp. 8–12, and 1989.

<sup>278</sup> Garrison 2008, pp. 181–82; approximately 46 percent of the stamp seals that occur on the Elamite documents published by Hallock 1969 are associated with individuals receiving commodities as travel rations on the royal road.

<sup>279</sup> Garrison (2008, pp. 169, 181–83) notes that approximately 15 percent of the seals that occur on the Elamite documents published in Hallock 1969 are stamp seals.

<sup>280</sup> The figures below are only for those seals that carry the PFATS siglum (see above, n. 274).

<sup>281</sup> Among the 694 legible seals (PFS, PFUTS, and PFATS) that have been identified on the Aramaic documents, there are 226 legible stamp seals, representing approximately 33 percent of legible seals.

<sup>282</sup> The figures below are only for those seals that carry the PFUTS siglum (see above, n. 275).

<sup>283</sup> Among the 676 legible seals (PFS and PFUTS) that have been identified on the uninscribed documents, there are 202 legible stamp seals, representing approximately 30 percent of legible seals.

<sup>284</sup> Note the comments of Henkelman (2008a, pp. 129–30 and 134). He states that “[t]here are two reasons for this: we cannot read all the information implied by the seals and we cannot, as yet, fully grasp the mechanisms behind the various sealing protocols” (p. 130).

<sup>285</sup> Azzoni et al. in press. On non-sealed tablets, see the important comments of Root (2008, pp. 97–101, 112–16).

<sup>286</sup> On sealing protocols in the archive, see Garrison 2008, pp. 158–69; Dusingberre 2008, pp. 240–42; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 129–34.

<sup>287</sup> NN 332 (although PFS 2527 may collate with PFS 2526), 1850, and 2440; several of the same seals occur on two of these transactions. The C1 texts concern “the deposit of commodities which are to be held until orders arrive for their disposition” (Hallock 1969, p. 14). The texts may be part of auditing and accounting taking place in the field.

<sup>288</sup> Since the uninscribed documents carry no text, we assign the obverse to the large flat surface that carries an impression of a seal, placing the flat edge to the left (as if an Elamite document); if both large flat surfaces carry impressions, the assigning of the obverse is random (but, again, the flat edge is at the left and identified as the left edge). Aramaic documents have in general the same form as the Elamite memoranda, but they are smaller. Text orientation most often is along the long axis with the flat edge at the right (Azzoni 2008, p. 57). This flat edge is what in the Elamite memoranda would be the left edge. Thus, what for the Elamite documents is labeled the left edge is for the Aramaic document labeled the flat edge.

<sup>289</sup> On recipients, agents, and travel leaders, see Hallock 1969, pp. 40–43. There are a few cases where the recipient’s seal is applied to the bottom edge, right edge, and/or obverse. A substantial number of travel rations are unsealed; a few carry only one seal. On the suppliers and their seals in the travel rations, see Garrison and Henkelman in press.

<sup>290</sup> There is a handful of letter-orders issued by two individuals. On the letter-orders PF 1850–51, two addressors are named, Mamannuwiš and Kanzaza, and two seals are applied to the tablet, PFS 20 and PFS 53. The same two seals are applied to the letter-orders NN 2528 and PF 1851, but only Mamannuwiš is named as the addressor. The letter-order NN 1399 carries two seals, PFS 2113 and PFS 2114, but names only one addressor, Šullaggira. The three letter-orders sealed with PFS 98\* are something of a mystery. Each letter-order is issued by a different individual: NN 374, [...].jizza, 1786, Attam(?), 2057, Parnaka. Two of the texts (NN 1786 and 2057) name Abbateya šaramanna. Of the eighteen tablets on which PFS 98\* occurs, seven of the texts name Abbateya šaramanna; for this reason, Garrison and Root (2001, p. 319) suggest that PFS 98\* is used by Abbateya. Abbateya addresses one letter-order, PF 1852, sealed with PFS 1566\*, a seal that carries an Elamite inscription naming Abbateya. None of this information concerning PFS 98\* and Abbateya provides any insight as to the sealing protocols associated with the letter-orders sealed with PFS 98\*. For the moment, they remain outliers within the letter-order category. Wouter Henkelman (personal communication) has suggested to me that in the case of NN 2057, Parnaka may not be the addressor in the normal sense of a letter-order. The letter-order may have been written by an anonymous aide of Abbateya, who refers to a previous order by Parnaka, to Abbateya’s role in that order, and to the actions to be taken by the addressee. The other two letter-orders sealed with PFS 98\* may be functioning in a similar manner.

<sup>291</sup> Azzoni et al. in press: “c. 85% of the sealed tablets have impressions either of a single seal or of two seals.”

<sup>292</sup> This count includes Elamite texts with the following sigla: PF, PFa, and NN; for text sigla, see p. xi. Of the Elamite texts, approximately 13 percent are unsealed (or, in a few cases, the surfaces are so damaged that a seal reading is not possible).

<sup>293</sup> The percentage of tablets following the single-seal protocol among the cataloged uninscribed documents may be slightly inflated owing to research priorities (see the cautionary comments of Garrison 2008, p. 158).

<sup>294</sup> For sealed journals and accounts, there are normally one or two seals applied to the tablets. As many as three different seals

may occur on journals; only one account, PF 1987, carries three legible seals. There are many journals that are unsealed. For sealing protocols on accounts, see Mikołajczak 2010.

<sup>295</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 134, 145–46.

<sup>296</sup> This count includes Elamite texts with the following sigla: PF, PFa, and NN; for text sigla, see p. xi.

<sup>297</sup> Only a small percentage of uninscribed documents have, however, been catalogued; the percentages for this particular document type may, thus, change with future study.

<sup>298</sup> Approximately 93 percent of the Elamite documents that carry two seals follow the counter-seal protocol. The percentage of counter-seal protocol transactions are considerably lower for the Aramaic and uninscribed documents: 62 percent and 69 percent respectively of transactions that carry two seals. In these percentages, we see again a coincident of activity on Aramaic and uninscribed documents (as opposed to the Elamite documents).

<sup>299</sup> The activities and seals of the most commonly occurring *kurman* officials are discussed in Garrison and Henkelman in press.

<sup>300</sup> Aperghis (1998, pp. 55–56; 1999, pp. 167–71, 175–90) discusses some case studies of seals that appear to belong to šaramanna officials. His conclusions have numerous points of contact with the discussion here.

<sup>301</sup> M texts: NN 856 and PF 1161–62; N texts: NN 36, 213, 347, 399, and PF 1206; S2 text: Fort. 6180.

<sup>302</sup> Although one cannot rule out the possibility that PFS 105s is a supply office seal. All ten texts are dated to year 23. This phenomenon, a cluster of transactions related via commodities, personnel, seals, etc., and dating to a single year, is not uncommon in the archive. It is difficult to know what to make of such data given that the archive as preserved is incomplete. See also the comments immediately below concerning the career of Datukka.

<sup>303</sup> NN 213, 347, 399, 856, and PF 1161 and 1206. Koch (1990, pp. 102–05) locates Pittannan in her “südöstliche Bezirk.” Of Datukka, she says that he “offenbar in diesem Ort die Weinvorräte verwaltete” (Koch 1990, p. 105).

<sup>304</sup> Although three of these flour (grain) texts are sealed by important oversight officials, PFS 16\* (NN 908), Parnaka’s seal, and PFS 98\* (NN 466 and 1066), linked with Abbateya (see above, n. 290), which may have obviated the need for the application of the *kurman* seal.

<sup>305</sup> E text: PF 379; F texts: NN 303, 777, 2105, PF 455–57; G texts: NN 874, 1041, PF 570; L1 texts: Fort. 3127, Fort. 6413, NN 164, 1211, 2308, 2571, PF 909–14; M texts: NN 1381, 2049, 2065, PF 1141, 1146; S1 texts: NN 1692, PF 1656; S2 text: NN 503.

<sup>306</sup> See the discussion at §2.2.6.2.1 on repeated occurrences of a seal using the single-seal protocol.

<sup>307</sup> Garrison 1996b, p. 42, and 2006, p. 71; Koch 1990, p. 244; Aperghis 2000, p. 130.

<sup>308</sup> Koch (1990, p. 244) suggests that PFS 25\* is used only in Karkiš’ role as *kurdabattiš*, but this certainly cannot be proven and seems unlikely; Aperghis (2000, p. 130) seems also to stress the association of PFS 25\* with Karkiš as *kurdabattiš*.

<sup>309</sup> Koch (1990, pp. 267–68, 272, 292, and 294) locates Marappiyaš in her “nordwestliche Bezirk,” Paššataš (= Pirraššetaš) in her “südöstliche Bezirk.”

<sup>310</sup> Garrison 2000, pp. 126–30.

<sup>311</sup> See the discussion on inscribed seals at §2.4.2.

<sup>312</sup> For methods of displaying inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic, see the preliminary comments of Garrison 2006, pp. 70–72.

<sup>313</sup> As discussed in Garrison and Root 2001, p. 273.

<sup>314</sup> References with discussion may be found in Garrison and Root 2001, p. 273, and Garrison 2000, pp. 127–29.

<sup>315</sup> On inscription formulae in Persepolitan glyptic, see the preliminary remarks of Garrison (2006, pp. 70–72) and the discussion at §5.3.2.

<sup>316</sup> Of these four tablets, on only two, NN 1850 and 2440 (both C1 text [“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”]), can we definitely confirm the existence of six distinct and separate seals. See also n. 287.

<sup>317</sup> On PFUT 109–202, there are five impressions, but only two of them are legible.

<sup>318</sup> Garrison (2008, pp. 165–68) and Henkelman (2008a, p. 134). Aperghis (1999, pp. 188–89) discusses briefly multiple-seal protocol in association with the C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”).

<sup>319</sup> Aperghis (1999, p. 189) suggests that the pattern of three seals occurring together represents teams of deliverers and/or tax collectors.

<sup>320</sup> See also the comments at §2.2.3. Hallock’s text categories are not without problems; W. F. M. Henkelman’s publication of the NN texts will address in some detail these text categories.

<sup>321</sup> There are, however, a few U texts that carry two seals: NN 1358 (PFS 3140 and PFS 3141); NN 1861 (PFS 2278 and PFS 2279); PF 1902 (PFS 162 and PFS 1575); PF 1929 (PFS 1576s and PFS 1577); PF 1937 (PFS 1580 and PFS 1581); PF 1938 (PFS 1580 and PFS 1581). All of these texts are short labels identifying batches of collected tablets (see the discussion §2.2.3, on the U texts).

<sup>322</sup> The exceptions follow the single-seal protocol; cf. the S1 texts, below, where there is an equal distribution of tablets having the single-seal and counter-seal protocols.

<sup>323</sup> Hallock 1969, p. 23. W. F. M. Henkelman (personal communication) has suggested that the disbursements recorded in the H texts may concern provisioning of these elite administrators and their staffs or extended entourages.

<sup>324</sup> For PFS 71\*, see Garrison 2010, p. 354, and the discussion at §2.3.2.1.

<sup>325</sup> I.e., the salary payments as represented by the H texts under normal conventions concern personnel “in system.” Kambarma’s H texts would thus be considered more like travel rations in the sense that the recipient may very likely be “out system” (and, thus, as in the travel rations, a counter-seal is required). NN 1581 may shed more light on this phenomenon. In this transaction, a *marda(m)*, “workman,” qualified as *batišmariš*, “Patischorian,” for whom Kambarma is *šarama*, receives a large allocation of wine. Henkelman and Stolper (2009, p. 286) note that the unconventional mention of the tribal name, “Patischorian,” and the use of the rare term *marda(m)* (rather than *kurtaš*) may mark different legal and social statuses for “certain social groups, perhaps Persian clans, that were in communication with but not fully integrated in the Persepolis economy” (reiterated in Henkelman 2011c, pp. 11–13; see also Garrison 2014b).

<sup>326</sup> Henkelman 2010, pp. 676–731, for the texts; Garrison 1991 and 1996a, for most of the seals.

<sup>327</sup> These dossiers are thoroughly reviewed by Henkelman 2010; for Udusa (Atossa), see Stolper in press a.

<sup>328</sup> The J texts sealed with PFS 7\* and one of the triplicate replica seals, PFS 66a\*, PFS 66b\*, or PFS 66c\*, prefer the parallel-seal protocol, but there are some instances of the counter-seal protocol. Those J texts concerning Irdabama, Irtašduna, Irtašduna and Iršama, and Karkiš universally follow the single-seal protocol, always the personal seals of the individuals, PFS 51 (Irdabama),

PFS 38 (Irtašduna), and PFS 233 (Karkiš) (fig. 2.18a–b). The transactions involving Udusa are preserved only in entries in three journals and one account (the journals and accounts are secondary records that would not involve her seal; Stolper in press a).

<sup>329</sup> A fragmentary tablet, whose text is illegible, has recently been discovered that is sealed by PFS 7\* and a seal that is not PFS 66a\*, PFS 66b\*, or PFS 66c\*. This discovery indicates that there is yet another coupling of seals within the J texts.

<sup>330</sup> Henkelman (2010, pp. 690–91 n. 86) discusses the authority represented by PFS 859\*.

<sup>331</sup> All three seals are poorly preserved. The transaction appears to involve the taking possession of sheep/goats left over (*Harbezza amme marriš*, “Harbezza took [what remained] on hand”) from an event “consumed before the king.” Henkelman (2010, pp. 690–91 n. 86) has suggested this unusual phrasing (among the J texts) in association with unusual seals (for J texts) probably indicates a “different bureaucratic context” (hence the different sealing protocols).

<sup>332</sup> For the K3 texts, see the section immediately following.

<sup>333</sup> It is interesting that, with the exception of PFS 5 and PFS 17, the high-occurrence supply seals are absent.

<sup>334</sup> NN 344, 872, 1050, 1638, 1811, 2241, PF 73–75, and 105. It seems unlikely that we have to do here with the deputy-director Ziššawiš.

<sup>335</sup> On the C2–C6 texts, see §2.2.6.2.4.

<sup>336</sup> On the C1 texts, see Aperghis 1999, pp. 188–89; Tuplin 2008.

<sup>337</sup> Hallock (1969, p. 37) considered the payments as a reward, not rations to account for time lost from work.

<sup>338</sup> NN 144, 1649, 1714, and PF 1283. The texts reveal no indication as to the need for three separate seals.

<sup>339</sup> Journals: NN 762 and 2371, PFa 31. On two of these tablets, the seals are PFS 27\*, PFS 2082, and PFS 2099\*, on the third tablet, PFS 27\*, PFS 301, and PFS 2099\*. These are the only occurrences of PFS 2099\*. Accounts: NN 530, PF 1987 and 2086. PFS 27\*, PFS 301, and PFS 2082 recur on NN 530.

<sup>340</sup> Mikołajczak 2010, pp. 65–78.

<sup>341</sup> Mikołajczak 2010 marks an important preliminary foray into the seals used on journals and accounts. Mikołajczak is currently preparing a more thorough study of the imagery and style of the seals on the journals and accounts in his PhD dissertation at the University of Chicago.

<sup>342</sup> One does not know exactly what to make of this usage pattern. It may be worthwhile in the future to investigate the possibility that we have to do here with two or more separate replica seals. Impressions of the seal are generally very fragmentary.

<sup>343</sup> For PFS 36\*, see Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 71–72.

<sup>344</sup> PFS 64\* occurs in multiple-seal protocol on one C1 text (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”) and one G text (“providing of provisions”), and in single- and counter-seal protocols on many rations texts, always applied on the left edge. Named *šaramanna* officials include: Bakadada, Iršena, Nappupu, Napumalika, and Rašda.

<sup>345</sup> For PFS 32\* and opinions as to the number of official(s) named Šuddayauda, see Garrison and Root 2001, p. 269.

<sup>346</sup> Garrison and Henkelman in press. There are thirty-three ration memoranda, twenty-one of which are travel rations, sealed by PFS 18; twenty-seven name the *kurman* official, always Mirayauda. The texts date from the middle of year 21 until the end of year 23 (501–498 BC), so, only some two and one-half years. There are twenty-eight ration memoranda, twenty-six of which

are travel rations, sealed by PFS 26; twenty-six name the *kurman* official, always Barušiyatiš. The texts date from year 20 until the end of year 23 (502/501–498 BC); all but two of the texts in fact date to year 23 (499/498 BC).

<sup>347</sup> Koch 1986, p. 146; 1990, pp. 156, 299, 303 (she attributes PFS 5 to Parru); Aperghis 1999, pp. 165, 171–73, 174, 175, 176, 189; 1998, p. 46.

<sup>348</sup> Koch 1990, pp. 45, 56–57, 263 and 265 (she attributes PFS 6 to Manukka).

<sup>349</sup> Hallock 1977, p. 132 (does not mention the seal by number); 1985, pp. 598–99; Koch 1986, pp. 143 n. 26, 145; 1990, pp. 178, 208, 300, 304; Aperghis 1999, p. 189.

<sup>350</sup> Koch 1986, pp. 138, 140; 1990, pp. 131, 133–34, 294 (she attributes PFS 17 to Umayya in her “südwestliche Bezirk” and “nordwestliche Bezirk”); Arfa’i 1999, p. 39; Aperghis 1998, p. 54.

<sup>351</sup> Hallock 1985, p. 598; Koch 1986, pp. 141–42; 1990, pp. 129 n. 569, 138, 293, 294 (she attributes two seals to Mirayauda, PFS 18 and PFS 24, both used at the travel station Umpura which she places in her “nordwestliche Bezirk”).

<sup>352</sup> Koch 1990, pp. 213, 301, 304 (she attributes PFS 20 to Mamannuwiš and the seal to her “Bezirk Elam”); Aperghis 1998, pp. 46, 54.

<sup>353</sup> Koch 1986, p. 144; 1990, pp. 128 n. 562, 174, 304 (she attributes PFS 21 to Karma at the travel station at Kurdušum).

<sup>354</sup> Hallock 1977, p. 132 (does not mention the seal by number).

<sup>355</sup> Koch 1986, pp. 141–42; 1990, pp. 129 n. 569, 138, 140, 293, 294.

<sup>356</sup> See the comments above, n. 346, concerning PFS 26 and the *kurman* official Barušiyatiš; Koch 1986, p. 140 (she attributes PFS 26 to Barušiyatiš and places him at the travel station at Parmadan).

<sup>357</sup> Koch 1990, p. 303 (she attributes PFS 29 to Ammamarda at Hišema in her “Bezirk Elam”); Aperghis 1998, p. 46; 1999, pp. 165–68, 176.

<sup>358</sup> The exact place where PFS 33 occurs is uncertain. Hallock (1978, p. 113) suggested near Kurdušum; Koch (1986, p. 145) placed the seal at the travel station at Zila-Humpan; Lewis 1994, p. 30; Aperghis 1998, p. 52; Tuplin (1998, p. 106 n. 11) places the seal at Hidali.

<sup>359</sup> Koch 1990, pp. 151, 291, 294 (she tentatively attributed PFS 39s to Bakaduwišda at Kaupirriš in her “nordwestliche Bezirk”); Aperghis 1998, p. 46.

<sup>360</sup> Hallock 1977, p. 132 (does not mention the seal by number); Koch 1986, pp. 136–37, 142 n. 22 (she attributes PFS 40 to the *kurman* official Ummanana); Aperghis 1998, p. 52.

<sup>361</sup> Hallock 1978, p. 110; Koch 1986, p. 139; 1990, pp. 34 n. 157, 132 n. 586, 293, 294; Gates 2002, pp. 127–28, 130 n. 19.

<sup>362</sup> See the comments at §2.2.7 and n. 342.

<sup>363</sup> PF 1046, sealed by PFS 21, is a disbursement of some liquid commodity. Like NN 2393, it does not name a *kurman* official. The P text (“daily rations”) NN 1714, an allocation of flour, is unusual. The tablet is sealed by PFS 21, but the *kurman* official is Man[...].pula.

<sup>364</sup> See also the comments at §2.3.2.1.

<sup>365</sup> In general summaries of the Achaemenid period, the two archives, Fortification and Treasury, are often conflated and/or described as similar phenomena. This is not the case and it is important to keep these two archives distinct. Nevertheless, there are clear points of contact/continuity between the two archives.

<sup>366</sup> PFS 451s occurs on four C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”), one P text (“daily rations”), and one uninscribed document

from the Fortification archive. The P text is sealed only by PFS 451s. It mentions the receipt of flour rations by one Beltin, who is qualified as a *mušin zikkira* (“account writer,” “accountant”). As the C1 texts are probably a form of accounting, it is possible that PFS 451s in fact is being used by Beltin.

<sup>367</sup> See Jones and Yie 2011 for a fragmentary Treasury tablet that Herzfeld had found in 1932.

<sup>368</sup> Schmidt 1957, p. 5, fig. 2.

<sup>369</sup> Schmidt 1957, p. 5, fig. 3. One clay label was found in the Apadana (Schmidt 1957, p. 5).

<sup>370</sup> Schmidt 1957, pp. 6–7.

<sup>371</sup> Cf. Razmjou (2008, pp. 55–57), who contents that the documents had been moved to the Treasury for storage only at the very end of the Achaemenid period.

<sup>372</sup> Cameron 1948, p. viii; Razmjou 2008, p. 55. The exceptions are some twenty-two labels that were lost at sea (see Schmidt 1957, p. vii).

<sup>373</sup> For collations and corrections, see Hallock 1960; Arfae 2008c; Jones and Yie 2011.

<sup>374</sup> There is one exception, PT 85, a document written in the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian, of unusual shape (rectangular), unsealed, and stringless (Cameron 1948, pp. 200–01). While it concerns “assays of silver payments made, perhaps at or near Persepolis, by three individuals in years 19 and 20 of Darius I.... Its functional connection, if any, to the Elamite Treasury documents is not known” (Azzoni et al. in press). The tablet is dated to 503–502 BC, much earlier than the earliest surviving Elamite document from the Treasury, 492 BC.

<sup>375</sup> Two seals, PTS 5\* and PTS 8\*, occur on both the Elamite documents and the labels.

<sup>376</sup> Jones and Yie 2011 for an additional Treasury Elamite document found by Herzfeld.

<sup>377</sup> Note Cahill (1985, p. 381) on the chronological distribution and the significance of the Elamite documents.

<sup>378</sup> The translation that follows is from a new edition of the text found in the PhD dissertation (in progress) of Seunghee Yie at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. I thank Ms. Yie for allowing me to use this translation.

<sup>379</sup> The reading is from Hallock 1960, p. 96.

<sup>380</sup> Note Hinz 1971, pp. 274–79, for *šaggi*. Hallock (1960, pp. 91–92, and 94) translated *šaggi* (*šaki*) as “counterpart”; Cameron (1958, p. 161) “remaining payment” in lieu of “equivalent” (found in Cameron 1948).

<sup>381</sup> Šakka is named as the addressee only in this one text. There is some uncertainty concerning whether or not he was actually the treasurer (Briant 2002, p. 428; Stolper 2012). All other treasurers attested in the Treasury archive are almost always identified as such by the use of the Elamite terms *kanzabara* (= Old Persian \**ganzabara*) or *kapnuškira*, which appears to be an Elamite translation of Old Persian \**ganzabara*. On treasurers at Persepolis, see, e.g., Cameron 1948, pp. 9–10, 33, table 2; Koch 1990, pp. 235–37; Briant 2002, pp. 428–29, 940; Stolper 2012 and in press b.

<sup>382</sup> Baratkama, Barišša, Mawiš (Vahuš), and Ratininda; see also the references above, n. 381.

<sup>383</sup> Note the comments of Tuplin 2005.

<sup>384</sup> The issue of the addressors and addressees in letter-orders from the Treasury archive is explored in more detail in Garrison 2014a, pp. 74–75, 77–78.

<sup>385</sup> Garrison 2014a, pp. 74–75.

<sup>386</sup> Briant 2002, p. 431.



<sup>387</sup> On the *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials in the Fortification archive, see the discussion at §2.2.3.

<sup>388</sup> On the term *dumme* and its meaning, see the discussion at §2.2.3 and n. 197, in association with the letter-orders from the Fortification archive. The scribe Hintamukka appears to be the very same scribe who occurs commonly in the Fortification archive, one of the principal scribes associated with the bureau of Ziššawiš. The Hintamukka named in the travel ration NN 447, carrying a *halmi* of Ziššawiš, and using PFS 2509, is probably the same individual.

<sup>389</sup> Another point of similarity between the Fortification archive and the Treasury archive; see the comments at §2.2.6.2 on the sealing of letter-orders from the Fortification archive. The letter-orders from both archives are sealed only with cylinder seals.

<sup>390</sup> PTS 1\*, PTS 2\*, PTS 3\*, PFS 113\*/PTS 4\*, PTS 6\*, PTS 8\*, PTS 14\*, PTS 16, PTS 24\*, PTS 25, and PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*. Three seals (PTS 35, PTS 36, and PTS 42\*) occur on Elamite documents from the Treasury archive that are illegible; thus, it is unclear whether they are letter-orders or memoranda.

<sup>391</sup> PFS 113\*/PTS 4\* and all the royal-name seals of Darius are discussed in Garrison 2014a.

<sup>392</sup> Hallock (1960, p. 97) noted that the word *kamkatiyap*, which differs slightly from Cameron's reading of *kambatiyap*, may mean something similar to *arašap*, an occupational designation for persons charged with distributing cereals, or it may be a geographical designation.

<sup>393</sup> The king orders disbursements of rations also in the Fortification archive using the same phrasing: e.g., PF 1247, 1795.

<sup>394</sup> See the discussion at §2.2.6.2.2.

<sup>395</sup> As with the letter-orders, the memoranda from the Treasury archive carry only cylinder seals.

<sup>396</sup> PFS 113\*/PTS 4\*, PTS 5\*, PTS 15\*, PTS 26, PTS 30\*, and PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*.

<sup>397</sup> See below concerning the letter-order PT 1963-20. Cameron (1965, pp. 182-85) published this text after those in OIP 65. The letter-order names Irdumartiya and carries PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, a seal that occurs only on memoranda in the texts published in OIP 65.

<sup>398</sup> These are the only texts from the Treasury archive that contain the word *unsak*. See the discussion at §2.2.6.2.2. concerning whether *unsak* is an occupational designation, personal name, or both.

<sup>399</sup> Bakabada is Old Persian \**Bagapāta*, Greek Megabates (Tavernier 2007, s.v. \**Bagapāta* [4.2.275]); *gillira* is a title, "commander" (I thank Wouter Henkelman for this translation; cf. Cameron 1948, p. 204 s.v. *gi-ul-li-ra*, "admiral"). This individual appears then to be the admiral Megabates, known to the Greek sources (e.g., Herodotus V.32-35) as the cousin of Darius and for his role at the botched attempt on Naxos in 500/499 BC (Cameron 1948, p. 95; Briant 2002, pp. 146, 153, 353, 926).

<sup>400</sup> For PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, see Cameron 1948, p. 92; Schmidt 1957, pp. 30-31, pl. 10; Garrison 2010, pp. 354, 359 n. 57 (where the publishers have misprinted the transliteration of the Aramaic inscription on PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*); Garrison 2011c, p. 56, figs. 36-37; Garrison 2014, pp. 502-04, fig. 15.

<sup>401</sup> On Irdumartiya, see the comments at §2.2.3, §2.2.6.2.1, §2.2.6.2.4.4, §5.5, and n. 216; also Hallock 1977, p. 129; Garrison 2014b, pp. 502-04. Koch (1990, pp. 65 and 231) identifies Irdumartiya as the Hofmarschall in years 26-27, after Parnaka. Aperghis (1999, p. 164) calls him the probable "commander of Shiraz."

Note the comments of Henkelman (2008a, p. 127 n. 283), "Irdumartiya's profile is diffuse in general."

<sup>402</sup> The name in the letter-order PT 1963-20 is, admittedly, broken, ...]-[*du<sup>1</sup>-mar*, but the coincident with PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* surely must compel us to restore Irdumartiya.

<sup>403</sup> There are then two seals that occur on both letter-orders and memoranda from the Treasury archive, that of Baratkama, PFS 113\*/PTS 4\*, and that of Irdumartiya, PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*.

<sup>404</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, p. 33.

<sup>405</sup> Note the brief comments of Schmidt 1957, p. 6.

<sup>406</sup> Cf. Razmjou 2008, pp. 55-57.

<sup>407</sup> This situation may be due partially to the principal publication, Schmidt 1957. Although done in a lavish folio format, the photographs are not easy to use, there are no collated drawings, and Schmidt's descriptions are somewhat eccentric. Schmidt was not himself a glyptic specialist and treated the seals principally as archaeological artifacts.

<sup>408</sup> The most remarkable exception is, of course, the seal used by Gobryas, PFS 857s, a large and magnificent stamp seal (Root 1990, pp. 130-31, fig. 13, and 1991, pp. 19-21, fig. 4; Gates 2002, pp. 106, 115, 126-27, fig. 1).

<sup>409</sup> Distinguishing the impression of a stamp seal from that of a signet ring is based upon the shape of the outline of the edges of the sealing artifact; a signet ring generally will have a (pointed) elliptical shape. Of course, not all signet rings may be so shaped. Even for those that are elliptical in shape, in impression the elliptical outline of the bezel may be blurred, distorted, etc. The counts of stamps versus signet rings in the Treasury archive are taken from Schmidt's identifications. Of the eight signet rings, Schmidt marked three as possibly being stamps seals: PTS 46s, PTS 56s, and PTS 72s.

<sup>410</sup> As suggested already by Schmidt (1957, p. 6). See also Hinz 1971, p. 272; Cahill 1985, p. 381.

<sup>411</sup> Schmidt 1957, pp. 5-6.

<sup>412</sup> Garrison and Ritner 2010, pp. 40-41. Cahill 1985 remains the most thorough exploration of this topic. His analysis suggests that objects stopped flowing into the Treasury in the late fifth century BC. Certainly, the seals used in the Treasury archive do not contradict this observation.

<sup>413</sup> See also the comments above, n. 390. For the transcriptions of the names in the following tables, see Tavernier 2007, s.vv. *Artavardiya-* (1.2.4); *Aspačanā* (1.2.7); \**Abiš(h)uvanta-* (4.2.11); \**Bagadāta-* (4.2.246); \**Baratkāma-* (4.2.328); \**Čiçavahuš* (4.2.408); \**Dargāyuš* (4.2.501); \**Marēča-* (4.2.1054); \**Ṛtātaxma-* (4.2.1507); \**Ṛtāθūra-* (4.2.1508); \**Vratēnta-* (4.2.1944).

<sup>414</sup> The other inscribed seals in this list all carry royal-name inscriptions (Garrison 2014a).

<sup>415</sup> See the comments at §2.3.2.1.

<sup>416</sup> The scale of the phenomenon represented by Persepolitan glyptic may perhaps be appreciated by the fact that the online archive of the Classical Art Research Center and the Beazley Archive, the world's most complete resource for published Athenian pottery, lists some 3,399 Athenian Red-Figure vases for the period ca. 525-475 BC (<http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/pottery/default.htm>). Without doubt when all the seals from the Fortification archive are cataloged, the number of images used on these tablets (dated to the period 509-493 BC) will surpass the number of Athenian Red-Figure vases in the Beazley archive for the period 525-475 BC. It perhaps needs also to be stressed that not one of these Athenian Red-Figure vases has anything approach-

ing the contextual density of any one seal from the Persepolitan archives.

<sup>417</sup> I refrain from giving exact counts of the numbers of these compositional types, since study of the imagery is still in progress. The figures that follow are based upon the full range of glyptic imagery as preserved on all document types (Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed) from the Fortification and Treasury archives.

<sup>418</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, for the theme of heroic encounter on the seals found on the PF tablets.

<sup>419</sup> These scenes have been discussed in a preliminary manner in Garrison 2010.

<sup>420</sup> See also the discussion at §2.2.6.1 on stamp seals in the Fortification archive.

<sup>421</sup> For a preliminary survey of this imagery, see Garrison 2011c, in press a, and in press b.

<sup>422</sup> Root 1998b and 2003b, for an introduction to the late Babylonian worship scenes in the Fortification archive.

<sup>423</sup> The imagery associated with the late Babylonian worship scene is carefully analyzed in Ehrenberg 1999, pp. 15–25, and 2001, pp. 188–94.

<sup>424</sup> Garrison 2011c, in press b, in press c, tracking the scholarship and opinions concerning the figure in the winged ring/disk. Note also: Maras 2009; Rollinger 2011.

<sup>425</sup> As discussed in Garrison in press b.

<sup>426</sup> PFS 3035\* was formerly labeled PFUTS 1\* (e.g., Garrison 2008, pp. 158–59, 173–75, figs. 35–38); the seal has now been identified on an Elamite document (the upper edge and reverse of NN 1800, a travel ration; flour received by Miramanna for a large group).

<sup>427</sup> There is a considerable body of scholarship concerning the ring, rod and ring, and related items in the visual repertoire of ancient western Asia; Wiggemann 2007 is a convenient overview of the evidence and opinions.

<sup>428</sup> As pursued in Garrison in press b.

<sup>429</sup> On banquet imagery within an Achaemenid sphere, including discussion of a few seals from the Fortification archive, see Miller 2011. Note also the seated figures who hold cups before the tower structure on PFS 307 (T20), PFS 2220 (T21), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFS 738 (T28), PFUTS 257 (T31), and the seated figure before a table, on which there is a jug, and a tower structure on PFUTS 294 (T30).

<sup>430</sup> The percentage of inscribed seals among this scene type is much higher than in the archive as a whole (see the discussion at §2.4.2). The scene type is discussed briefly in Garrison 2006, pp. 70–72, 78–79, within the context of what is commonly known as late Neo-Elamite glyptic.

<sup>431</sup> Merrillees (2005, pp. 52–53) provides a detailed description of the scene on the London Darius cylinder and a bibliography current up to approximately the late 1990s; see also Garrison 2014a, pp. 82–84, fig. 7.25. Exceptionally, a recently discovered impression of a cylinder seal in the Fortification archive appears to show a scene that is for all intents and purposes a replica of the London Darius cylinder. The seal, PFUTS 603, only partially preserved, shows a driver in a chariot, the draft animal(s), a figure in a winged ring and a date palm. The area where a potential trilingual inscription would be is not preserved. The seal will be the focus of a future study by the author (noted briefly in Garrison 2014a, pp. 90, figs. 7.28–7.29).

<sup>432</sup> For a single animal paired with a structure, see PFATS 11 (T35), PFS 897 (T36), PFATS 281 (T37), PFATS 312 (T38), PFATS 450 (T39), PFATS 460 (T40), PFATS 436 (T46), and PFS 628 (T47).

<sup>433</sup> As with the crossed animals, these scenes have often been invoked as indicative of “late Neo-Elamite” glyptic, which is discussed in some detail in Garrison 2006 and 2011a.

<sup>434</sup> The two thematic types, archers and hunts, are, however, often conflated in the scholarly literature. For the archers, see above this section.

<sup>435</sup> For the boar hunt in Persepolitan glyptic, see Garrison 2011d.

<sup>436</sup> The scope of the scene and its execution seems closely related to a group of unprovenanced seals of remarkably high quality preserved as impressions on a set of twenty-one “clay tags” now housed in the Dutch Institute for the Near East (NINO) in Leiden and other institutions (Henkelman, Jones, and Stolper 2004, esp. RB 5 and RB 6, which have very similar compositions to that seen on PFS 522).

<sup>437</sup> The scenes are especially well articulated in Early Dynastic glyptic (Garrison 1988, pp. 36–50).

<sup>438</sup> Garrison 2006 and 2011a. There is still much debate concerning myriad issues arising from the visual imagery and inscription on PFS 93\*; see, e.g., Stronach 2013, pp. 60–62, building upon Zournatzi in press.

<sup>439</sup> Garrison (in preparation) will provide a detailed study of the seal of Aršāma; see also Garrison 2014b, pp. 496–97, fig. 9; Tuplin in press.

<sup>440</sup> Currently numbering some 3,500 tablets.

<sup>441</sup> Garrison 1988 is an attempt to define style groups for the seals that occur on the PF tablets published in Hallock 1969.

<sup>442</sup> Some preliminary comments are offered in Garrison 2000, pp. 126–34; Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 16–17.

<sup>443</sup> Garrison 2011b, 2014b, and in press e.

<sup>444</sup> E.g., Garrison 2014a.

<sup>445</sup> Preliminary comments on the winged symbol in Persepolitan glyptic may be found in Garrison in press b and in press c, and Maras 2009.

<sup>446</sup> The topic has been addressed in multiple publications: e.g., Root 1991, 1998a, and 2003b; Garrison 2010, pp. 126–34 and 2014b. Note also the studies by Ehrenberg (1998, 2000, 2001, and 2008) that consider issues of archaism in late Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid art.

<sup>447</sup> Álvarez-Mon, Garrison, and Stronach 2011, p. 25; Garrison 2011a. Álvarez-Mon (2011) approaches the topic of Assyrianizing imagery in southwestern Iran in the sixth century BC via the remarkable material associated with the tomb at Arğān. See also the discussion at §§5.1–5.5 concerning the seals of Ziššawiš, PFS 83\* and PFS 11\* (T1).

<sup>448</sup> Discussed in some detail in Garrison 2006 and 2011a; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 53–55; Henkelman 2011b, pp. 601–03, esp. n. 71.

<sup>449</sup> The discussion of PFS 11\* (T1) at §5.4 seeks to articulate some aspects of the relationship between glyptic and monumental art.

<sup>450</sup> Garrison 2010 and 2011c.

<sup>451</sup> Garrison 1991 is a preliminary study along these lines; see also Garrison 2014b; Garrison and Henkelman in press.

<sup>452</sup> See the discussions at §2.2.3 and §2.2.6.2.1.

<sup>453</sup> On these terms, see the discussion at §2.2.3.

<sup>454</sup> For discussions of inscribed seals in the archives, see, e.g., Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 7–9; Garrison 2006, pp. 71, 80–90; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 95–103; Garrison and Ritner 2010, pp. 34–41; Garrison 2014a.

<sup>455</sup> On the total number of seals identified in the Fortification archive, see the discussion at §2.2.6.

<sup>456</sup> On the total number of seals identified in the Treasury archive, see the discussion at §2.3.3. This count includes three seals that also occur in the Fortification archive, PFS 113\*/PTS 4\*, PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, and PFS 1084\*/PTS 42\*.

<sup>457</sup> There is one seal inscription in Greek, PFS 284\* (Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 192–93). The illegible cuneiform inscriptions in most cases probably represent Elamite.

<sup>458</sup> “Prosopography, n.” OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com.libproxy.trinity.edu/view/Entry/153010?> (accessed April 30, 2012).

## The Stepped and the Tower Structures in Persepolitan Glyptic: A Catalog

“The seals demand a special study on their own merits. Unfortunately there is no present prospect that such a study will be made.” (Hallock 1969, p. 78)

### 3.1. Introduction

In what follows, I present the Persepolitan glyptic evidence for the stepped and the tower structures based in the first order upon the structure type depicted in the scene (stepped, tower, or stepped and tower), and in the second order on compositional syntax of those scenes.<sup>459</sup> There are thus three principal typological sections to the catalog:

- Section 3.2: Images that show only the stepped structure (catalog entries marked by the siglum S),
- Section 3.3: Images that show only the tower structure (catalog entries marked by the siglum T), and
- Section 3.4: Images that show both the stepped and the tower structures (catalog entries marked by the siglum ST).<sup>460</sup>

Within each of these three principal typological sections, images are organized by compositional syntax. All human figures are male.

For ease and consistency of description and reference, a working vocabulary has been developed to describe specific elements on the structures and typological variants of the structures themselves.

The stepped structures may be composed of three elements: a **base**, from which arises a **column** or **pillar** supporting a **two- or three-stepped podium**, over which there is a fire. More often in this corpus, there is no base, only a columnar/pillar support for a stepped podium (fig. 3.1).

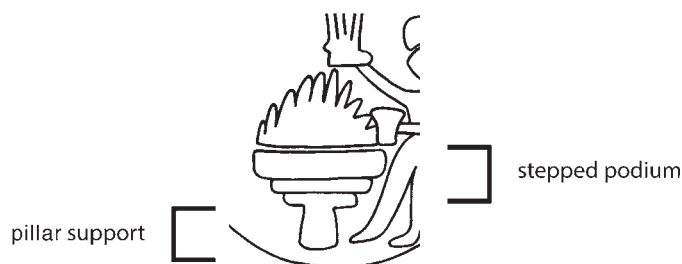


Figure 3.1. A stepped structure on PFUTS 110s (S2) with support and stepped podium indicated (scale 4:1)

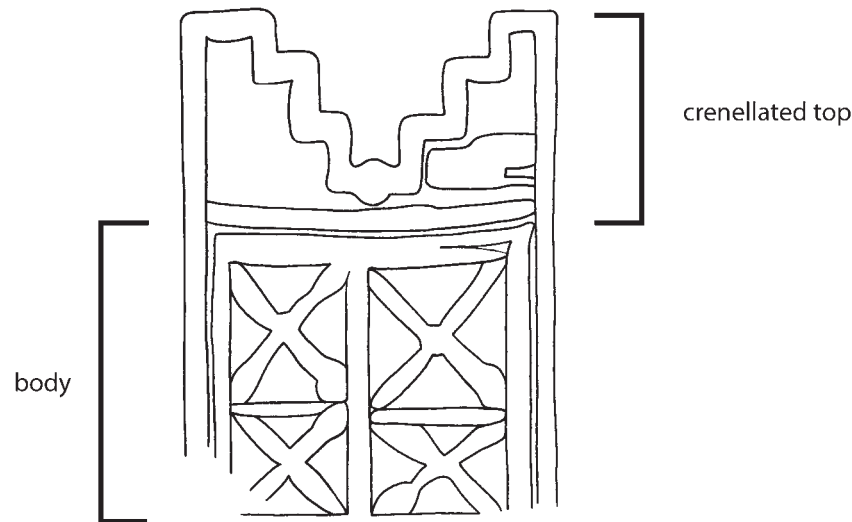


Figure 3.2. A crenellated tower structure on PFS 2525 (T24) with body and top indicated (scale 4:1)

The tower structure is by far the more commonly occurring of the two structure types. It also shows a range of variation in its depiction. One may identify two sections to the structure: the **top** of the structure, which admits two basic types of treatments (with some variations), and the rectangular **body** of the structure (fig. 3.2).

While there is a good deal of variation in the rendering of the top of the tower structure, these variations broadly fall into two distinct types, which will act as the principal typological guides in the study that follows. In the one, there are two roughly triangular elements that extend upward at the edges of the structure. The inner edges of these elements have **offsets** in a **stair-like arrangement**, creating the effect of two half-wall merlons and a crenel (opening) (fig. 3.2). For this reason the structure has often been described as having the appearance of a battlement or crenellation.<sup>461</sup> This particular configuration will be termed in this study the “crenellated tower type.”

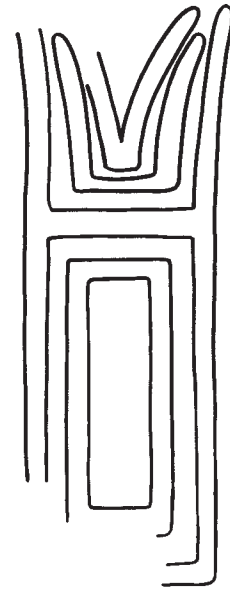
In the other, there are two **triangular masses** that extend upward at the edges of the structure. These triangular masses do not have any offsets and generally intersect in such a manner to create a **V-shaped negative space** over the center of the body of the structure. These triangular masses generally are rendered in one of three ways (fig. 3.3):

1. as one or a series of V-shaped devices (or inverted V-shaped devices), sometimes occurring within a U-shaped frame;
2. as undecorated triangular masses; or
3. as thin triangular elements that curve outward.

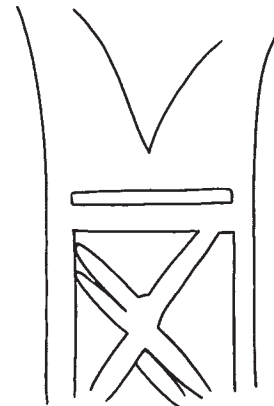
Tower structures that exhibit these configurations will be identified as the “V-shaped tower type.”

The decoration of the body of the tower structures varies but not in accordance with the treatment of the top of the structure. The most common decoration of the body of the tower structure is one or a series of rectangular/square **inset frames** and/or rectangular/square **inset panels** (fig. 3.4). When there is more than one panel or frame, they are sequentially smaller, the one occurring within the other. It is difficult to know whether in fact we are seeing inset panels, inset frames, or some combination of the two. For descriptive purposes only, I have opted in most cases to designate the design as a series of rectangular/square inset frames within the center of which there is a single rectangular/square inset panel. Whether we describe

PFUTS 151 (T10): one or a series of V-shaped devices (or inverted V-shaped devices), sometimes set within a U-shaped frame



PFUTS 294 (T30): undecorated triangular masses



PFS 2315 (T12): thin triangular elements that curve outward

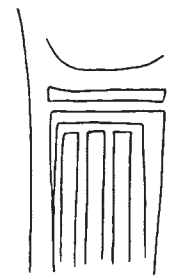
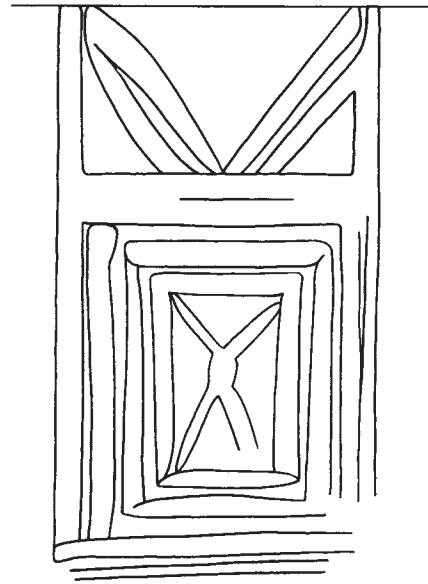
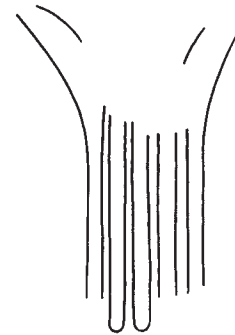


Figure 3.3. Examples of the three principal methods of rendering the top of the V-shaped tower structure (scale 4:1)

PFUTS 33 (T17): inset frames and/or inset panels



PFUTS 604 (T13): thin vertical elements



PFUTS 330 (T19): grid of four or six metopal fields

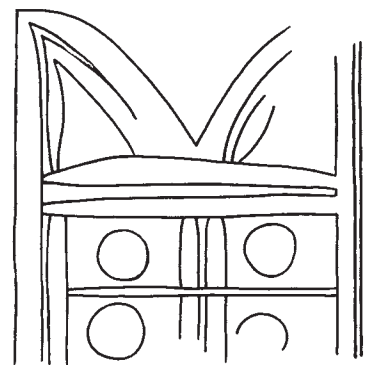


Figure 3.4. Examples of the three principal methods of rendering the body of the tower structure (scale 4:1)

these devices as panels or frames, they appear to represent one and the same phenomenon. At times, the central rectangular/square inset panel may carry a decorative element such as a multi-pronged star-like device. A second major variation of the decoration of the body of the structure, seemingly connected to the inset frames/panels, is a series of **thin vertical elements** (fig. 3.4). These vertical elements may be many and closely spaced or few and widely spaced. In the latter, the body of the structure may have a triglyph-like appearance. A third common treatment of the body of the structure is a **gridded field** of four or six units (fig. 3.4). The “lines” creating this grid are thick and bar-like; for ease of reference, they are called vertical or horizontal elements. The square spaces created by these vertical and horizontal elements are called **metopal fields**. Sometimes these metopal fields carry decoration.

### 3.1.1. Catalog Format

The catalog follows in general the format established in Garrison and Root 2001. Each catalog entry contains the following sections:

*Seal Type:* Cylinder or stamp seal.

*Earliest Dated Application:* Based upon any date notations in texts that are sealed by the seal. If a seal occurs on tablets that are undated or uninscribed, the date given is ND, no date; the seal will, obviously, have a *terminus ante quem* represented by the latest dated tablet within each of the archives, that is, 493 BC for the Fortification archive, 457 BC for the Treasury archive. These dates are, however, assumed, not stated in the catalog entries. The actual seals from the Treasury (as distinct from the seal designs preserved as impressions in the Treasury archive) cannot be precisely dated, and, thus, for all of them the earliest dated application is not applicable, thus ND.

*Language(s) of the Inscription:* The language(s) (or scripts) of the seal inscription (where present) and a transliteration and translation, when possible.

*Preserved Height of Image:* The maximum preserved height of the composite image produced from analysis of all available impressions. Measurements of all glyptic from the Treasury are taken from photographs in Schmidt 1957.<sup>462</sup>

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* An estimate of the height of the original seal face in those cases where it seems that most of the height of the seal is preserved — thereby a reasonable estimation of reconstructed height is possible. When an estimate is not possible, it is designated by NA, not applicable.

*Preserved Length/Width of Image:* The maximum preserved length (cylinder seal) or width (stamp seal) of the composite image produced from analysis of all available impressions. Measurements of all glyptic from the Treasury are taken from photographs in Schmidt 1957.

*Estimated Diameter/Width of Original Seal:* An estimate of the diameter of the original cylinder seal in those cases where the full length of the image is preserved; on stamp seals this measurement is given as the estimated width of the seal face. When an estimate is not possible, it is designated by NA, not applicable.

*Number of Impressions:* The number of impressions of the seal (as distinct from the number of tablets on which a seal occurs).

*Quality of Impressions:* An approximate evaluation of the capacity to retrieve good detail from the impression(s) of the seal.

*Style:* Carving style of the seal.<sup>463</sup>

*Photographs:* References to plates at the end of the book.

*Completeness of Image:* An approximate evaluation of the completeness of the seal image.



*Description of the Scene as Impressed Image:* A detailed description of the image based upon the composite reconstruction of all impressions of the seal. Details of the stepped and tower structures in each scene are described in separate paragraphs following the overall description of the scene. Directions refer to the viewer's perspective. Thus, "a person stands to the left of the tower structure" refers to the person standing to the left of the tower structure from the viewer's vantage point. When referring to handedness, direction always refers to the figure's vantage point. Thus, "the attendant's right arm is bent" refers to the figure's right arm.

*Commentary:* Issues concerning various aspects of composition, iconography, and/or style of the seal image, some discussion of specific elements of the stepped and/or tower structures in the scene, and seal usage patterns. This section concludes with a list of all tablets on which the seal occurs, where on the tablet(s) it occurs, and other seals applied to the tablet(s). Persepolis Treasury documents labeled "(Axxxxx)" are those now in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. These are Treasury documents that the author has consulted. The accounting of tablets for seals from the Fortification archive is current as of May 2016. Future research will inevitably identify additional occurrences of some of these seals.<sup>464</sup>

All measurements have been rounded off to the nearest millimeter (e.g., 1.43 = 1.40 cm; 1.45 = 1.50 cm).

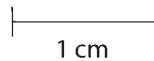
## 3.2. Scenes Showing only the Stepped Structure in Persepolitan Glyptic

### 3.2.1. Stepped Structure and Attendant on Stamp Seals

Catalog numbers S1–S3 are remarkable in all being small stamp seals that show exactly the same scene, with similar details of pose and iconography, as well as a similar carving style.<sup>465</sup> An attendant holds vessel(s) near and/or over a blazing fire on a stepped structure; in the field there is a hooked object and a serrated object.

PFS 578s

Cat.No. S1



*Seal Type:* Stamp

*Estimated Width of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 15

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.20 cm (complete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 1.20 cm

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Width of Image:* 1.10 cm (complete)

*Photographs:* pl. 1a–b

*Completeness of Image:* Complete except for upper right edge.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFS 578s is a stamp seal that shows an attendant at a stepped structure on which there is a blazing fire. The attendant stands at left facing to the right toward the stepped structure. He holds his left arm straight and extends it outward at shoulder level to hold a tube-like object (only partially preserved) over the center of the fire. He holds his right arm bent and brings it across his body at waist level to hold a small conical-shaped vessel(?) over the edge of the fire. He wears a knee-length skirt. He may have a short blunt-pointed beard or be beardless; a bulbous mass of hair rests on his shoulder. At lower left of the scene, there is a hooked device. At right, there is an enigmatic L-shaped device with, immediately to the right, a series of oval-shaped objects stacked one above the other (as if serrated). The edges of the seal are preserved except at upper right.

The stepped structure consists of a short conical pillar (tapering inward at its top) that is crowned by the distinctive three-stepped podium, placed symmetrically atop the pillar, the steps getting progressively wider from bottom to top. The blazing fire is indicated with nine long tongues of flame.

#### COMMENTARY:

The tube-like object that the attendant holds in one of his hands cannot be identified with any certainty given poor preservation. That it may be a bundle of rods, a *barsom* in traditional Zoroastrian ritual, cannot be definitively ruled out.<sup>466</sup> The comb-like object and the hooked object likewise are enigmatic.

The carving style is local Fortification Style. Note especially the distinctive manner in which the hair and face are rendered as separate sections.

PFS 578s has been documented on fifteen tablets from the Fortification archive, including all three document types, Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed. Among these tablets, PFS 578s may occur once on one of three different surfaces: the upper, bottom, or left edges. The exception is PFAT 118, where the seal is applied to both the upper and bottom edges of the tablet. The seal occurs on only one Elamite tablet, PF 332, along with five other seals! This tablet is one of only a few Elamite tablets to carry such a high number of seals. The transaction type is a D text (“general receipts”), recording receipts of commodities whose purpose is uncertain. In PF 332, Miššabadda supplies (*kurman*) four sheep that Dabe receives “for *tur*.” In general, D texts carry only one or two seals, thus PF 332 is highly unusual in this regard. It seems noteworthy that on both the Aramaic and uninscribed tablets on which PFS 578s occurs, it almost always is in conjunction with two or more seals. On four Aramaic tablets, PFAT 9, 263, 270, and 319, PFS 578s occurs with PFATS 4s as two of a clustering of three seals, suggesting a regular administrative pattern.<sup>467</sup> We are unable, however, to link any specific administrator to PFS 578s.<sup>468</sup> That PFS 578s occurs on fifteen tablets and on all three document types suggests that the seal user was firmly entrenched in the local administrative system.<sup>469</sup>

## Attestations of PFS 578s

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PF 332	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 583	PFS 578s/579	PFS 580s/581s/582s	—
PFAT 1	not sealed	PFS 578s	PFATS 81s	not sealed	PFATS 82s	not sealed
PFAT 9	PFATS 3	not sealed	PFATS 4s	PFS 578s	not sealed	not sealed
PFAT 12	PFATS 92	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 578s	not sealed
PFAT 18	not sealed	PFS 578s	PFATS 97s	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFAT 118	PFATS 158s	PFS 578s	not sealed	PFS 578s	destroyed	destroyed
PFAT 146	not sealed	not sealed	PFATS 178	PFS 578s	not sealed	not sealed
PFAT 253	not sealed	not sealed	PFATS 268	PFS 578s	PFATS 4s	not sealed
PFAT 263	not sealed	PFATS 33	PFATS 275s	PFATS 4s	PFS 578s	destroyed
PFAT 270	not sealed	PFS 578s	PFATS 277s	PFATS 4s	destroyed	destroyed
PFAT 319	not sealed	PFS 578s	PFS 1595	not sealed	PFATS 4s	destroyed
PFAT 611	not sealed	PFS 578s	PFS 1595	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 133-205	PFUTS 464s	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 465s	PFS 578s	destroyed
PFUT 696-202	PFUTS 161	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 160s	PFS 578s	not sealed
PFUT 1093-008	PFUTS 161	not sealed	PFUTS 160s	not sealed	PFS 578s	not sealed

PFUTS 110s

Cat.No. S2



1 cm

*Seal Type:* Stamp*Estimated Width of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 14*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.10 cm (complete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Width of Image:* 1.10 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 2a*Completeness of Image:* Complete.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 110s is a stamp seal that shows a single attendant before a stepped structure on which there is a blazing fire. The attendant stands at right facing to the left toward the stepped structure. He holds his right arm straight and extends it upward diagonally to grasp what may be a large tumbler-like vessel or a bundle of five long strands of some substance directly over the center of the fire. The irregular edges near the bottom of this object may indicate the attendant's fingers. He holds his left arm bent and brings it across his body at waist level to hold a small conical cup next to the base of the fire. The two legs of the attendant are clearly indicated, suggesting that he wears trousers. He appears to be beardless; a thick mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. At lower right of the scene, there is a hooked device. At left, there is the L-shaped device with, immediately to left, a series of oval-shaped objects stacked one above the other (as if serrated). The edges of the seal are preserved.

The stepped structure consists of a short conical pillar (tapering inward at its top) that is crowned by the distinctive three-stepped podium, placed symmetrically atop the pillar, the steps getting progressively wider from bottom to top. The top-most step is noticeably thicker than the lower two. The fire is indicated with some ten tongues of flame.

## COMMENTARY:

The scene, and carving style, are exactly the same as on PFS 578s (S1), except that the attendant is to the right rather than to the left of the stepped structure.<sup>470</sup> The stepped structure on PFUTS 110s is very similar to those depicted on PFS 578s (S1) and PFUTS 156s (S3).

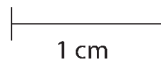
PFUTS 110s occurs on thirteen tablets from the Fortification archive, including both Aramaic and uninscribed tablets. As the Aramaic tablets on which PFUTS 110s occurs are still in the process of study, it is difficult to comment on potential seal users or administrative contexts. It does seem noteworthy, however, that PFUTS 110s often occurs with at least two other seals. As mentioned, this is a relatively rare praxis in the archive.<sup>471</sup> Note also, as with PFS 578s (S1), that PFUTS 110s appears repeatedly with another seal, in this case PFATS 9s (on PFAT 280, 354, 423, 483, 487, and 572). Among these thirteen tablets, PFUTS 110s may occur once on one of two surfaces: the upper or bottom edges. The exception is PFUT 698-101, where the seal is applied to the left edge and probably also the bottom edge.

## Attestations of PFUTS 110s

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFAT 180	not sealed	PFATS 54s	PFATS 210s	PFUTS 110s	not sealed	not sealed
PFAT 280	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	PFATS 282	PFATS 9s	not sealed	destroyed
PFAT 299	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	PFATS 300*s	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFAT 354	PFATS 71s	PFATS 9s	PFATS 71s	PFUTS 110s	not sealed	not sealed
PFAT 423	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	PFATS 401s	PFATS 9s	not sealed	not sealed
PFAT 473	not sealed	PFUTS 110s? / PFATS 54s?	PFATS 441s	PFATS 811	destroyed	destroyed
PFAT 483	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	PFATS 9s	not sealed	PFATS 817s	destroyed
PFAT 487	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	PFATS 452	PFATS 9s	not sealed	not sealed
PFAT 572	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	PFATS 16s	PFATS 9s	not sealed	destroyed
PFUT 242-202	PFUTS 542	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 252-203	PFUTS 542	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	destroyed	not sealed
PFUT 270-203	PFUTS 284s	PFUTS 110s?	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 698-101	PFUTS 108	PFUTS 109s	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 110s	not sealed

## PFUTS 156s

Cat.No. S3

*Seal Type:* Stamp*Estimated Width of Original Seal:* 1.20 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 6*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.20 cm (complete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 1.20 cm*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Width of Image:* 1.20 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 2c*Completeness of Image:* Complete except for details in the center of the image.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 156s is a stamp seal that shows an attendant at a stepped structure on which there is a blazing fire. The attendant stands at left facing to the right toward the stepped structure. He holds his left arm straight and extends it upward diagonally to grasp a tube-like object that appears to bifurcate at its top (only partially preserved) over the center of the fire. He holds his right arm bent and brings it across his body at waist level to hold a small vessel(?) near the base of the fire. He appears to wear a knee-length skirt. He may have a short rounded beard or be beardless; a thick squared mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. At lower left of the scene, there is a hooked device. At right, there is an L-shaped device, pointed at the top, with four serrations running along its right edge. The edges of the seal are preserved.

The stepped structure consists of a short pillar that is crowned by the distinctive three-stepped podium, placed symmetrically atop the pillar, the steps getting progressively wider from bottom to top. At the upper right corner of the top step, there is a short horn-like extension. Of the blazing fire, only parts of four tongues of flame are preserved.

## COMMENTARY:

As previously noted, the composition, iconography, and style of PFUTS 156s are the same as on PFS 578s (S1) and PFUTS 110s (S2), although the carving style is somewhat coarser. This coarseness can be seen in the manner of rendering the attendant's head, the hooked device, and the serrated device. The object that the attendant holds in his left hand over the flame, as in the other two scenes, cannot be determined.<sup>472</sup>

PFUTS 156s occurs on five tablets from the Fortification archive, three Aramaic and two uninscribed. On each of the Aramaic tablets, PFUTS 156s is applied on a different surface. On each of the two uninscribed tablets, the seal is again applied on different surfaces. On three tablets, one other seal is also applied; on two tablets, two or more seals are also applied. Among these five tablets, PFUTS 156s occurs on five different surfaces (only the bottom edge is not represented).

Attestations of PFUTS 156s

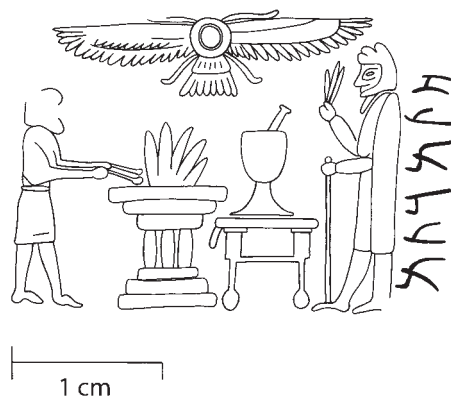
<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFAT 301	not sealed	not sealed	PFATS 57s	not sealed	PFUTS 156s	not sealed
PFAT 608	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 563s	PFUTS 156s	not sealed	destroyed
PFAT 712	not sealed	PFATS 70s	PFUTS 156s; PFATS 647	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 234-201	PFUTS 547	PFUTS 160s	not sealed	PFUTS 548	PFUTS 156s	destroyed
PFUT 1003-103	PFUTS 156s	PFUTS 157s	PFUTS 156s	PFUTS 157s	PFUTS 157s	not sealed

### 3.2.2. Stepped Structure and Two Attendants, One of Whom Interacts with Fire

Catalog numbers S4–S5 are cylinder seals that show two standing attendants, one of whom tends to a fire on a stepped structure.

PTS 20\*

Cat.No. S4



Seal Type: Cylinder

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Language of Inscription: Aramaic

*ḥtm dtm...*, “Seal of Datam...”

Preserved Height of Image: 2.10 cm (incomplete)

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Completeness of Image: Complete, apparently, except for upper and lower edges.

Preserved Length of Image: 3.00 cm (incomplete)

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA

Number of Impressions: 6<sup>473</sup>

Quality of Impressions: Good

Style: Mixed Styles I

Photograph: pl. 3a

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

An attendant stands to either side of a stepped structure, on which there is a blazing fire, and a table. A winged ring-in-disk hovers above the scene. In the terminal field, there is an Aramaic inscription disposed vertically in the field and reading, top to bottom: *ḥtm dtm...*, “Seal of Datam... .” The table is to the right of the stepped structure. The attendant at right stands in front of the table facing to the left. He holds his right(?) arm bent and extends it outward in front of his chest to grasp three stick-like devices. He holds his left(?) arm bent and extends it outward at waist level to grasp a short staff that rests on the top of his right(?) foot. He wears a knee-length robe/coat, open at the front, and a *bashlyk*; the *bashlyk* covers his cheeks and chin. The attendant at left stands in front of the stepped structure facing to the right. This attendant is considerably shorter than the one at right. He holds both arms bent and extends them outward together at waist level, each hand holding an elongated spatula-like device at the base of the fire on the stepped structure. He wears a belted knee-length garment. Facial details are poorly preserved; the figure may have a rounded beard. A tall footed mortar, in which rests a pestle, stands on the top of the table. The table contains much detailing. There are turned elements at the top of the legs, and the feet of the table consist of rounded elements. There is an inset frame in the center of the side of the table. A small appendage hangs down from the left edge of the table top. The winged ring-in-disk is an elaborate one, with a thick rib and two rows of feathers on the wings, two rows of feathers on the tail, an appendage hanging to either side of the tail, and a “yoke” running along the top of the ring-in-disk and wings.<sup>474</sup>

The stepped structure has a three-stepped base from which rise three columnar elements that support the three-stepped podium. The steps of the podium become progressively wider from bottom to top. The fire is indicated with some five long tongues of flame.

## COMMENTARY:

PTS 20\* is unique within the corpus of seals here published. The scene has figured in several discussions of religious ritual in the Achaemenid period.<sup>475</sup> The line drawing here published is, however, the first collated drawing of the seal.<sup>476</sup>

Schmidt (1957, p. 26) identified the rod-like devices held by the attendant at right as *haoma* twigs. Houtkamp (1991, p. 40) saw them more generically as *barsom*.<sup>477</sup> Schmidt (1957, p. 26) thought that the objects held by the attendant at left were sticks. It is difficult to confirm any suggestions regarding the devices held by either of the attendants. Schmidt (1957, p. 9), followed by many subsequent commentators, was certain that the scene depicted the *haoma* ceremony.<sup>478</sup> This was adamantly denied by Boyce (1982, p. 146), who argued that, among what she considered to be various oddities of PTS 20\*, the standing poses of the attendants were troubling since “at all the Zoroastrian acts of worship which include the crushing of *haoma* (*Yasna*, *Visperad*, *Vendidad*) the celebrant is required to sit cross-legged, as close as possible to the good earth.”

The attendant at right and one of the attendants on PTS 23 (T5) and PT4-873 (T7) are, from the corpus of seals here published, the only examples of attendants wearing the so-called *bashlyk*, a floppy cloth/leather headgear that covers also the ears, cheeks, and, at times, the mouth.

The exact date of the seal cannot be determined with any degree of confidence. The seal occurs only on uninscribed labels from the Treasury, and the name in the inscription is not chronologically diagnostic. Schmidt (1957, p. 26 n. 122) seemed to want to date the seal relatively late, in the reign of Artaxerxes I or later, based upon the Aramaic inscription; specifically he equated the presence of an Aramaic inscription on the seal with the Aramaic inscriptions on the chert mortars and pestles from the Treasury (which may date from the time of Artaxerxes I or later). The use of Aramaic on seals and tablets at Persepolis is amply documented, however, in the Fortification archive during the reign of Darius I.<sup>479</sup> Seal cutting style, and the general date range of the Treasury archive, are the only clues as to the date of PTS 20\*. The fussy and precise details in the scene are not features of the local Fortification Style, although the general approach to rendering human figures is not unlike that encountered in the Fortification Style.<sup>480</sup> The profile shoulder is more commonly seen in various iterations of the Persepolitan Modeled Style, hence our suggestion that the seal may be qualified as Mixed Styles I.<sup>481</sup> The Aramaic inscription disposed vertically in the field is commonly found in the seals inscribed in Aramaic in the Fortification archive. The seal could thus very easily date to the period of Darius I.

PTS 20\* occurs on six “labels” from the Treasury archive. In all instances, no other seals are applied to the document. Several of the documents appear to be what one would normally characterize as letter-bullae.

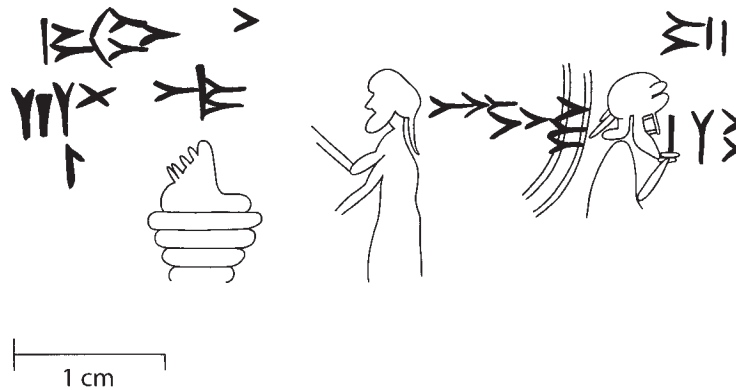
Attestations of PTS 20\*

<i>Label</i>	<i>Other Seals Applied</i>
PT3 363 (A23031)	none
PT3 373 (A23036)	none
PT3 384 (A23038)	none
PT3 385 (A23039)	none
PT3 408 (A23050)	none
PT4 5	none



PFS 790\*

Cat.No. S5

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Earliest Dated Application:* 499/498 BC*Language of Inscription:* Unidentifiable cuneiform script — illegible*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.90 cm (incomplete)*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.*Preserved Length of Image:* 4.90 cm (incomplete)*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Number of Impressions:* 8*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Style:* Fortification Style*Photographs:* pl. 4a–b**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

PFS 790\* is poorly preserved. The impressions may have been over-rolled, or the seal itself may have been re-cut. Owing to the difficulty of reading the image, one ought not to attribute too much weight to the reconstructed collated drawing here published. Cuneiform signs are dispersed throughout the field, none of which may be read with any certainty.

The scene appears to show attendants flanking a stepped structure on which there is a fire. The attendant to the right of the stepped structure stands facing to the left toward the structure. He holds one arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level (the hand is not preserved) toward the top of the fire on the stepped structure. He holds the other arm straight and extends it downward in front of his lower body (the hand is not preserved). His garment cannot be identified with any precision. He appears to have a rounded beard; a long pointed lock of hair hangs downward at the back of his neck. Only the head and shoulders of the other attendant are preserved, at far right of the reconstructed drawing; he faces to the right. Presumably this attendant is to be understood to the left of the stepped structure (although the impressions do not allow a definitive reconstruction of such). One arm is preserved, held bent and extended upward diagonally in front of his chest; two short horizontal lines at the end of the arm apparently indicate the hand. The garment cannot be identified. He has a long pointed beard. A small lock of hair curls upward at the back of his neck. There are two short projections at the front of the head and two (longer) projections at the back. These projections are probably only conventions for rendering hair rather than indications of a headdress. Behind this figure, two curved elements are partially preserved. The cuneiform signs are oriented horizontally in the field. There may be remnants of two lines of inscription over the top of the fire on the stepped structure and another line running between the heads of the two attendants and continuing before the face of the attendant at far right.

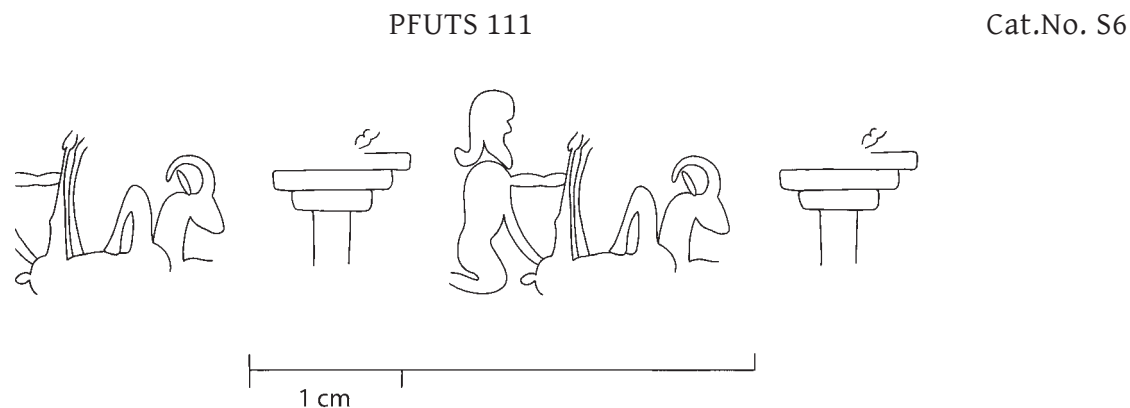
Only the upper part of the stepped structure is preserved. It is a three-stepped podium, the steps of the podium becoming progressively wider from bottom to top. The edges of the steps of the podium are rounded, a convention limited to PFS 790\* in this corpus. Below the lowest step are traces of what may have been the top of a columnar support. The fire is indicated by an unusual L-shaped mass with tongues of flames(?) along the left edge.



### 3.2.3. Stepped Structure and Animal Sacrifice

Five seals have been placed within this compositional group. PFUTS 111 (S6) and PFUTS 148 (S7) are linked by their depictions of animal butchery/sacrifice in association with a stepped structure on which there is a fire. PFUTS 154 (S8) and PFUTS 610 (S10), both of which are only fragmentarily preserved, may similarly show sacrifice. The very poorly preserved PFS 2071 (S9) is also included in the section owing to the similarity of the stepped structure with those shown on PFUTS 154 (S8) and PFUTS 610 (S10).

Animal sacrifice is also documented in scenes that show only the tower structure and in scenes that show both the stepped and the tower structures.<sup>485</sup>



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 3

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.40 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.40 cm (complete)

*Photographs:* pl. 5a-b

*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

An attendant kneels facing to the right; behind him is a stepped structure. In front of him is a caprid lying on its back. The attendant holds one arm straight and extends it outward at shoulder level to grasp a hind leg of the caprid. He holds his other arm slightly bent and extends it downward toward the base of the animal's hind leg. Although the hand is not indicated, the attendant appears to be in the process of cutting off the leg of the animal. The garment of the attendant cannot be determined. He has a long pointed beard; a long curled lock of hair rests on his shoulder. The caprid lies on its back, its hind legs sticking straight up in the air; one foreleg is indicated, sharply bent and extended upward so that its hoof rests on its chest. The head and neck of the animal are raised and face to the right. A long horn curls upward and back from the top of its head; one long thin ear is indicated.

The bottom of the stepped structure is not preserved. A thick column supports the distinctive three-stepped podium; the top step is only preserved at far right. The steps of the podium become progressively wider from bottom to top. Two short diagonal lines near the top of the structure may be traces of a fire.

#### COMMENTARY:

This is the only scene in the corpus here published that definitively shows the butchery of a dead animal in association with either a stepped or a tower structure.<sup>486</sup> More commonly when animals are indicated in the scene, they are being lead toward a stepped and/or tower structure or about to be killed by an attendant.<sup>487</sup>

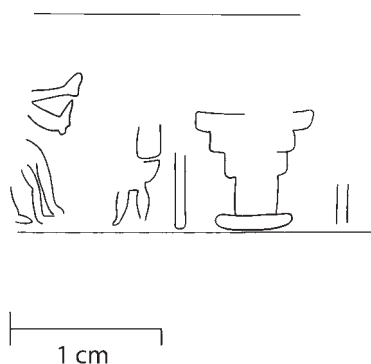
PFUTS 111 occurs on the obverse, bottom, and upper edges of one uninscribed tablet; two other seals are also applied to the tablet.<sup>488</sup>

## Attestations of PFUTS 111

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 698-102	PFUTS 111	PFUTS 111	PFUTS 112	PFUTS 111	PFUTS 128s	not sealed

## PFUTS 148

Cat.No. S7



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 2

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.40 cm (complete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 1.40 cm

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.00 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 6a

*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the bottom and middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 148 is only partially preserved. It appears to show either the leading of an animal toward a stepped structure or its killing. The scene is oriented left to right, with the stepped structure at the right. At far left, there appear to be the arms of an attendant; the hand of the lower arm holds a knife. Below the arms, there are the forelegs of an animal and what appear to be the forward foot and lower leg of the attendant, presumably moving to the right. The area immediately to the right of these figures is very poorly preserved. There are traces of what may be a table(?) with two legs and a thin vertical device. Farther to the right is the stepped structure followed by another thin vertical device (only partially preserved). The edges of the seal are preserved at the top and the bottom of the design.

The stepped structure is only partially preserved. It consists of a single-stepped base that supports a very thick column. Above the column is the distinctive three-stepped podium (the top step is only partially preserved). The steps of the podium become progressively wider from bottom to top. No fire is preserved.

## COMMENTARY:

The scene, although poorly preserved, seems very similar in compositional dynamics to the processional scenes on PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), and PFUTS 285 (ST4).

Other stepped structures that have a stepped base include those on PTS 20\* (S4) and PT5 791 (S12).

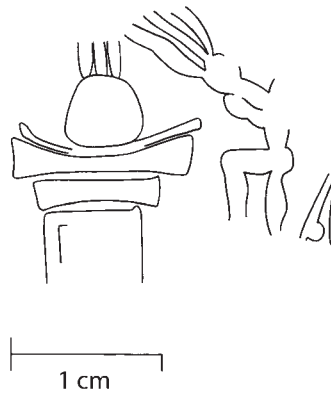
PFUTS 148 occurs on the obverse and reverse of one uninscribed tablet. It is the only seal applied to the tablet.<sup>489</sup>

## Attestations of PFUTS 148

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 1154-204	PFUTS 148(?)	not sealed	PFUTS 148	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

PFUTS 154

Cat.No. S8

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 1*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.80 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.20 cm (incomplete)*Photograph:* pl. 6c*Completeness of Image:* A small segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 154 is only partially preserved. An attendant stands before a stepped structure; there may be an animal behind him. The attendant faces to the left toward the stepped structure. He raises his forward leg (only partially preserved) as if to step upon something. He appears to hold both arms straight. He extends them together upward diagonally in front of his chest. He holds three long thin objects (only partially preserved) that extend upward diagonally toward the fire on the stepped structure. The garment of the attendant cannot be discerned. It is highly unusual to see both legs of the attendant in such a scene, suggesting that he may wear trousers or is nude. The latter would be unprecedented in Persepolitan glyptic. The attendant's head is not preserved. In the lower field to the right of the attendant, there are traces of what may be the forelegs of an animal. This identification is, however, very tenuous given the poor preservation.

The stepped structure is only partially preserved. A thick rectangular element (the lower half is not preserved) supports the distinctive three-stepped podium. The three steps do not have the same thicknesses or configurations. The top and bottom edges of the lowest step are slightly concave. The top edge of the middle step is very concave, making the ends of the step noticeably thicker. The top step is very thin and curved to follow the configuration of the top of the middle step. There are traces of an outline border on the upper left corner of the rectangular support element. Over the top step, there is a large round mass; from the top of this mass, three thin vertical elements (only partially preserved) project upward. These elements may represent the undifferentiated body of the fire with three tongues of flame at its top or a mass of ash from which three flames emerge.

## COMMENTARY:

It is unfortunate that this seal is so poorly preserved. The attendant appears to be extending objects into the fire, as the attendant at the left on PTS 20\* (S4) and the single attendant on the stamp seals PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 110s (S2), and PFUTS 156s (S3). The rendering of the fire, or mound of ash, as a circular mass from which emerge long thin elements is very similar to the fire on the stepped structure on PFS 2071 (S9), and probably also PFUTS 610 (S10) and PFUTS 94 (S11). The distinctive configuration of the steps of the podium on PFUTS 154 is also a feature of the stepped structures on PFS 2017 (S9) and PFUTS 610 (S10).

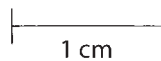
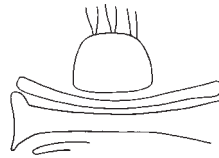
PFUTS 154 occurs on the obverse of one uninscribed tablet. PFUTS 296s is applied to the left edge of the tablet.

## Attestations of PFUTS 154

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 1172-203	PFUTS 154	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 296s	not sealed

PFS 2071

Cat.No. S9



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* 498/497 BC

*Number of Impressions:* 2

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.00 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Fortification Style(?)

*Preserved Length of Image:* 1.40 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 7a

*Completeness of Image:* A very small fragment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

Of the design on PFS 2071, only the podium of a stepped structure and its fire/ash mound are preserved. Only a small section of the left end of the lowest step is preserved; it is very thin and has a pointed termination. The top and bottom edges of the middle step are concave, giving the step an elongated hourglass-like profile. The top and bottom corners of the left edge of the middle step are slightly extended. The top step is very thin and curved, following the outline of the top edge of the middle step. Over the top step is a large hemispherical mass; from the top of this mass, three thin vertical elements (only partially preserved) project upward. These elements may represent the undifferentiated body of the fire with three tongues of flame at its top or a mass of ash from which three flames emerge.

## COMMENTARY:

The distinctive renderings of the steps of the podium and the fire/ash are, as noted, very similar to the stepped structures and fires on PFUTS 154 (S8) and PFUTS 610 (S10), and, possibly, PFUTS 94 (S11).

PFS 2071 occurs on the reverse of one Elamite tablet. Rather unusually, there is no seal on the left edge of the tablet. The text is a K1 text (“rations for individuals with religious functions”). Zamannuma allocates (*kurman*) grain to Aššika, who is qualified as *makuš lan lirira daušiyam lan-na*, “the *makuš*, *lan* performer (as) *daušiyam* for *lan*.”<sup>490</sup>

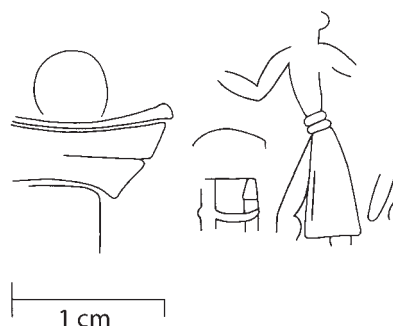
Given the unusual sealing praxis on the tablet, we are unable to associated definitively PFS 2071 with Zamannuma or the *makuš* Aššika. The coincident of religious imagery on a seal with the naming of a cultic expert in the associated text is rare.

## Attestations of PFS 2071

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 598	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2071 (× 2)	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

## PFUTS 610

Cat.No. S10



Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Number of Impressions: 1

Preserved Height of Image: 1.30 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impressions: Fair

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 2.50 cm (incomplete)

Photograph: pl. 7c

Completeness of Image: A segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 610 is only partially preserved. A figure stands before a table and a stepped structure. The figure faces left and may be bowed forward somewhat, although this may simply be distortion of the impression. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the stepped structure (the hand is not preserved). He extends his left arm (only the shoulder and upper arm are preserved) to the right. The figure wears a double-belted Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. The attendant's head is not preserved, with the exception of a small rounded mass of hair at the back of the neck. In the lower field between the figure and the stepped structure, there is a table. Only part of the two legs and a single horizontal support are preserved. A curved element over the top of the table may be traces of some object that rests on the table. In the lower field behind the figure, there is an oblong object disposed diagonally in the field, perhaps traces of an animal leg(?).

The stepped structure is only partially preserved. It appears to consist of a thick rectangular element that supports the distinctive three-stepped podium. Only the outline of the upper right corner of the rectangular support element and the right half of the podium are preserved. The steps of the podium become progressively wider from bottom to top. The bottom edge of the lowest step of the podium is concave; the lower right corner of the end of this step is turned downward slightly. The upper edge of the middle step is concave. The top step is very thin and curved, following the outline of the top edge of the middle step; the right end of the top step is slightly thickened. Over the top step there is a large round mass. This element may represent the undifferentiated body of the fire or a mass of ash.

## COMMENTARY:

PFUTS 610 seems very similar to PFUTS 154 (S8). As mentioned, the stepped structures and fires on PFUTS 154 (S8) and PFS 2071 (S9), and perhaps also PFUTS 94 (S11), are very similar. A table appears with the stepped structure also on PTS 20\* (S4) and PFUTS 605 (S14), and perhaps also PFUTS 148 (S7).

PFUTS 610 occurs on the obverse of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 612s applied to the left edge.

## Attestations of PFUTS 610

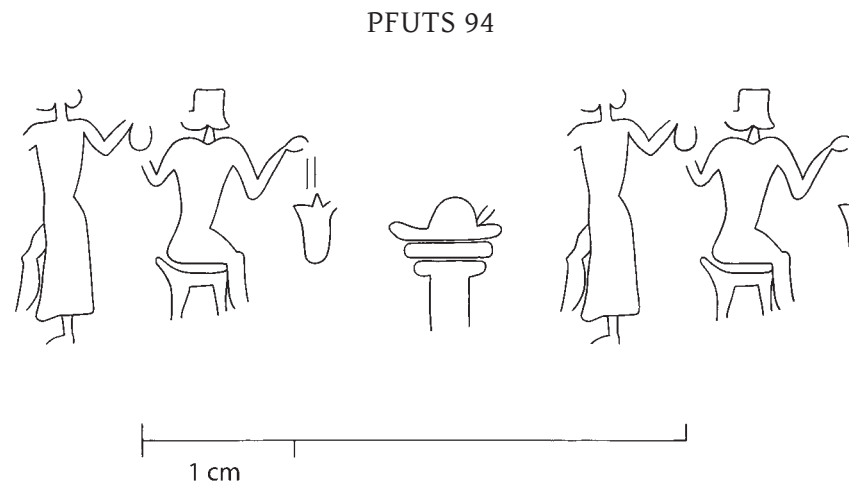
<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 738-204	PFUTS 610	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 612s	not sealed



### 3.2.4. Stepped Structure and Seated Attendants

Catalog numbers S11–S14 show an individual seated next to a stepped structure. Seated figures are more commonly documented in scenes that have the tower structure.<sup>491</sup>

PFS 427 (S13) and PFUTS 605 (S14) have structures that do not admit easy classification. They have features of both the stepped and the tower structures, but they lack the distinctive stepped podium that is one of the defining features of the stepped structure. Their exact classification remains provisional.



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.20 cm

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 3

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.60 cm (complete)

*Photographs:* pl. 8a–b

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

The exact dynamics of the composition are unclear. Based upon directionality of the human figures, our collated drawing places the stepped structure in the middle of the composition with a human figure, one seated and one standing, disposed to either side. It may also be read, however, with the attendant and seated figure as a group and the stepped structure at the end of the scene.

The seated figure is to the left of the stepped structure. He faces right toward the stepped structure. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the stepped structure. He appears to grasp an ovoid object by a long strap/handle. The object has two lug-like extensions at its top. The attendant holds his right arm (only partially preserved) bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to the left (the hand is not preserved). He appears to wear an ankle-length garment. He apparently has a short pointed beard; a small rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He sits upon a low-backed chair/stool, two legs of which are indicated; the bottom of the chair/stool is not preserved. The seat is flat, the short back of the chair/stool curved upward slightly. The standing figure is to the right of the stepped structure. He faces to the left. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to the right, apparently to grasp an ovoid object (only the round bottom edge of the object is preserved). This object is held directly above the right arm of the seated figure. The right arm of the standing figure is not preserved but clearly was extended outward at shoulder level to the left toward the stepped structure. He wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. A small rounded mass of hair may be indicated at the back of his neck. Facial details are not preserved.

The stepped structure consists of a thick columnar support over which is a three-stepped podium. The bottom of the stepped structure is not preserved. The steps of the podium become progressively wider from bottom to top. Each step of the podium has a slightly different configuration. The lowest step has rounded ends. The middle step has squared ends. The upper step has rounded ends that turn upward. The upper part of the middle of the top step of the podium expands into a half circle; from the base of this half circle at right, there emerges a thin element that extends upward diagonally. These elements may indicate the undifferentiated body of the fire with a tongue of flame or a mass of ash from which a flame emerges.

## COMMENTARY:

If one or both of the figures hold vessels, the scene would have obvious connections to those on the stamp seals PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 110s (S2), and PFUTS 156s (S3), where standing attendants hold vessels near the fire on a stepped structure; to the processional scenes on PFUTS 151 (T10), PFUTS 604 (T13), PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 66 (ST7), and PFUTS 91 (ST8), where one or more attendants hold large ovoid jars; and to the seated figures and stepped or tower structures on the seal PT5 791 (S12), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFS 738 (T28), and PFUTS 257 (T31), where the seated figures hold various types of vessels.

The podium of the stepped structure and the fire/ash on PFUTS 94 are similar to the podia and fires on PFUTS 154 (S8), PFS 2071 (S9), and PFUTS 610 (S10).

PFUTS 94 occurs on two inscribed tablets. In both cases, it is applied to the obverse (in one case also the reverse) of the tablet with a different seal applied to the left edge.

## Attestations of PFUTS 94

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 692-102	PFUTS 94	not sealed	PFUTS 94	not sealed	PFUTS 95s	not sealed
PFUT 2150-106	PFUTS 94	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 342	not sealed

PT5 791

Cat.No. S12



PT5 791

scale = 1.5:1

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.00 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* NA*Preserved Height of Seal:* 2.20 cm (complete)*Quality of Impressions:* NA*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.20 cm*Style:* Diverse Styles*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.20 cm (complete)*Completeness of Image:* Complete, but there is considerable damage along the upper and lower edges of the seal.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PT5 791 (Schmidt 1957, p. 45, pl. 16) is an actual seal found in the excavations near the Treasury building on what Schmidt called "Garrison Street."<sup>492</sup> There is considerable damage to both the top and bottom edges of the seal as well as a section in the middle of the design.

As with the previous design, PFUTS 94 (S11), the exact dynamics of the composition are ambiguous. The lion and boar group could be conceptualized to the left of the stepped structure or behind the seated figure with the stepped structure as the end-point of a scene oriented from right to left.

The seated figure is immediately to the right of the stepped structure facing to the left toward the stepped structure. He holds one arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level (the hand is not preserved). He holds the other arm straight and extends it downward diagonally in front of his torso to grasp an hourglass-shaped object, probably a vessel, near the base of the fire on the stepped structure. The figure wears a belted(?) ankle-length garment; the front edge is decorated with serrations, perhaps to indicate fringe. Facial features are not preserved, with the exception of what appear to be the eye and perhaps the beard on the upper cheek. Serration along the top of the head indicates hair. An oval-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The chair is elaborate. Drill holes mark the two feet, the front edge of the seat, and the lower part and top of the back. Four thin horizontal rungs run parallel between the legs of the chair; two diagonal ones run from the seat to the lowest rung. Behind the seated figure (and thus to the left of the stepped structure) is a group of a lion attacking a boar. The lion is rampant, moving to the left, and approaches the boar from the rear. It holds one foreleg straight and extends it upward diagonally, the paw upturned; it holds the other foreleg (only partially preserved) straight and extends it downward diagonally in front of its body. The head is not preserved. The tail curls upward with a pointed termination. A serrated edge along the back of the neck indicates the mane. The boar is also rampant, moving to the left.<sup>493</sup> It holds one foreleg slightly curved and extends it upward diagonally to place its hoof on the neck of the seated figure. It holds the other foreleg straight and extends it downward diagonally in front of its body. The animal raises its forward hind leg (the back hind leg is not preserved). Its head is turned upward. Drill holes punctuate the outline of the head and snout. Long thin bristles run along the animal's back.

The stepped structure is an elaborate affair. Three horizontal elements, each punctuated with drill holes placed irregularly, constitute the base. This base supports two thin columnar supports over which

there are three horizontal elements of roughly equal length, apparently indicating a three-stepped podium. Above the top “step” is a small circular element. Over this element, there are three irregular arches, the one placed over the other, the topmost one having a serrated edge along its top. These elements may indicate the undifferentiated body of the fire with a series of small tongues of flame at its top or a mass of ash from which small flames emerge.

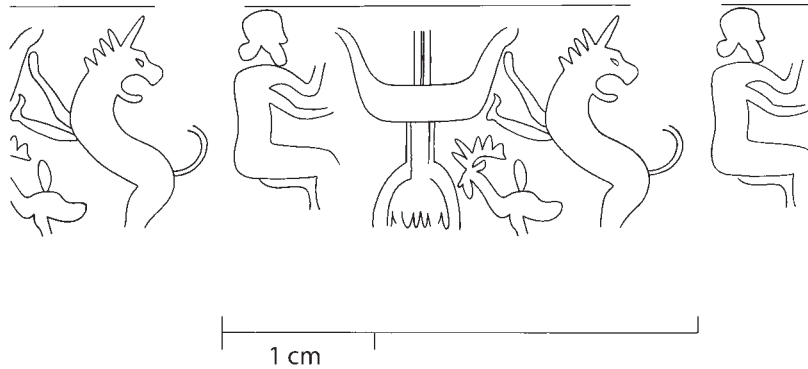
COMMENTARY:

While the details of the stepped structure are unusual, the basic components are recognizable. Schmidt (1957, p. 45) identified the elements over the topmost step as an “offering,” but it seems rather, based upon the evidence of the three previous seals, PFUTS 154 (S8), PFS 2071 (S9), and PFUTS 94 (S11), that we have to do here with an elaborate rendering of the ash and/or fire. Schmidt also identified the seated figure as a deity, although he did not explain how he reached this conclusion.<sup>494</sup> This identification seems unlikely, but, of course, Schmidt was unaware of the existence of the corpus of glyptic scenes from the Fortification archive showing a seated figure before a stepped or tower structure. Specific details that link this seal to the corpus here studied include the seated figure before a stepped structure (note the comments above regarding PFUTS 94 [S11]), the vessel held near the base of the fire on the stepped structure (see, e.g., the stamp seals PFS 578s [S1], PFUTS 110s [S2], and PFUTS 156s [S3]), and the presence of rampant animals (see the discussion at §4.3.2.4).

Schmidt (1957, pp. 42, 45) and Yamamoto (1979, p. 33) dated the seal to the Late Assyrian period, Moorey (1978, p. 149 n. 86), following Porada (1961, p. 69), to the Achaemenid.<sup>495</sup> Whether Schmidt’s dating was based upon his identification of the scene as a seated deity before a table/altar, for which we have ample documentation in Assyrian glyptic, or upon the cutting style, he did not indicate.<sup>496</sup> The style of the cutting does not strike me as distinctively Assyrian, nor can one find parallels in Assyrian glyptic for the rendering of the stepped structure and the garment of the seated figure. The style is characterized by much linear detail and unmasked drill work, but it does not fit easily into any of the Assyrian cut and drilled styles. Such linear detailing and unmasked drill work are not common in Persepolitan glyptic, although there is a substantial group of seals executed in what we have called a Geometric Style where both features appear prominently.<sup>497</sup> The distinctive serration along the top of the head of the seated figure is documented in a series of pre-Achaemenid seals preserved in the Fortification archive.<sup>498</sup> There would seem to be no reason, based upon style, to exclude an early Achaemenid date for the seal. The lion and boar group is certainly well attested in Achaemenid glyptic from the heartland and abroad, while it is unknown in Assyrian glyptic. The composition as a whole seems more at home in an Achaemenid milieu than an Assyrian one.

PFS 427

Cat.No. S13

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.00 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* 499/498 BC*Number of Impressions:* 4*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.50 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 1.80 cm*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.10 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 9a

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle and top of the design survives along its complete length.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces what may be a stepped structure, with a rampant horned lion and a bird to the right of the structure. The seated figure is immediately to the left of the structure, facing to the right toward it. He holds one arm bent (the hand is not preserved) and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the structure. He holds the other arm slightly bent and extends it outward in front of his chest, below the other arm, toward the structure (the hand is not preserved). The figure appears to wear a long dress/skirt (the feet are not preserved). He has a squared beard; a rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Only a small part of the right corner of the seat of the chair is preserved. In the lower field immediately to right of the structure is a bird (cock?) that faces to the left. The bird has a large serrated comb. To the right of the bird is a rampant horned lion that moves to the left toward the structure but turns its head back to the right. The creature holds both forelegs straight and extends them upward together diagonally before its chest to place the upturned paws on the upper part of the structure; a thin tail curls upward. A serrated edge along the back of the neck indicates the mane. A large straight horn extends upward from the top of the head. The mouth is open. A portion of the edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design.

The possible stepped structure consists of an oval-shaped base from which emerges a columnar support for a large U-shaped top section; the ends of the top section curl outward. The base and columnar support have an outline border; a serrated edge runs along the bottom of the base. Two long thin vertical elements (the tops are not preserved), perhaps flames of a fire(?), emerge from the top edge of the U-shaped top section.

#### COMMENTARY:

The seated figure is reaching out toward the structure, a common pose in scenes having an individual seated before a tower structure. Indeed, the compositional type of a seated figure before a tower structure with a rampant animal behind him is one of the most common among scenes having a tower structure (see the discussion at §4.3.2.3).

The large bird standing in the lower field is unique within the corpus of scenes here published. A few other scenes do include a long-necked bird in flight: PFUTS 242 (T15), PFS 2542 (T27), PFATS 11 (T35), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 224 (T44).

The structure appears to be some variation of the stepped structure. The columnar support recalls the conventional rendering of the stepped structure. The two thin vertical elements emerging from the top of the structure echo similar devices emerging from the tops of the stepped structures on PFUTS 154 (S8) and PFS 2071 (S9); perhaps flames of a fire? The U-shaped upper section is anomalous; its outward-turned ends give the element a horn-like appearance.

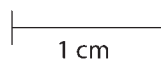
PFS 427 occurs on four Elamite tablets. Two of the texts, PF 120–21, are B texts (“delivery of commodities”) in which PFS 427 occurs with PFS 99 and PFS 426 (PF 120) and PFS 99, PFS 429, and PFS 431 (PF 121). One of the texts is a C1 text (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”), NN 2440, in which PFS 427 occurs with five other seals: PFS 227, PFS 426, PFS 429, PFS 2021, and PFS 99. The last text is an M text (“special rations”); PFS 427 occurs on the reverse of the tablet with PFS 20 on the left edge. The seal user cannot be determined.<sup>499</sup>

## Attestations of PFS 427

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 345	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 427	not sealed	PFS 20	not sealed
NN 2440	PFS 227	PFS 227	PFS 426; PFS 427; PFS 429	PFS 2021	PFS 99	not sealed
PF 120	not sealed	PFS 426	PFS 427	not sealed	PFS 99	not sealed
PF 121	not sealed	PFS 427	PFS 426; PFS 429	PFS 431	PFS 99	not sealed

PFUTS 605

Cat.No. S14



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 1

*Preserved Height of Image:* 0.90 cm (complete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 0.90 cm

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 1.60 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 9c

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle and bottom of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a table and what may be a stepped structure; a second human figure, standing, and a rampant caprid are also in the scene. The full extent of the scene is not preserved, and the exact compositional dynamics are ambiguous. The seated figure faces left toward a table and the possible stepped structure. Only one arm is preserved/indicated, held bent and extended outward at shoulder level toward the structure. The figure appears to wear an ankle-length dress/skirt (the feet are not preserved). The

face is not preserved; a large rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He sits on a chair with a short curved back; one horizontal strut is partially preserved. Immediately to the left of the seated figure is a table (only partially preserved). Behind the seated figure is a human figure who stands facing to the right. He lifts his forward leg. He extends his left arm (only partially preserved) upward at shoulder level to the right. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level behind his body, probably to hold a weapon (the hand is not preserved). He wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. A rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. To the left of the structure, a rampant caprid (only partially preserved) moves to the right toward the structure. Only one foreleg is preserved/shown; it is bent and extended outward in front of its body. A short thin tail curves downward. Portions of the edge of the seal are preserved at the top and bottom of the design.

The possible stepped structure consists of a columnar support that rests on a base. Over this columnar support, there is a squared U-shaped section (the tops of the upward extensions are not preserved). Three thin elements (only partially preserved) rise diagonally from the top of the U-shaped upper section, perhaps flames of a fire(?).

COMMENTARY:

The standing human figure may interact with the rampant animal as if in a heroic encounter; certainly the pose of the human figure is well documented in the scenes of heroic encounter in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>500</sup> We cannot, however, discount the possibility that the figure is meant to be understood killing the animal as an act of sacrifice. Similar ambiguity may be found on PFS 2315 (T12), where a human figure holding a weapon approaches from behind a rampant animal before a tower structure. The seated figure and table on PFUTS 605 suggest a banquet context. As mentioned in the commentary on PFS 427 (S13), the pose of the seated figure, reaching out toward the structure, and the presence of a rampant animal are common features in scenes having an individual seated before a tower structure (see the discussion at §4.3.2.3). PTS 20\* (S4) and PFUTS 610 (S10) also pair the stepped structure with a table.

The possible stepped structure has an unusual configuration, although it bears some resemblance to the possible stepped structure on the previous seal, PFS 427 (S13). The columnar support is typical of the stepped structures in this corpus. The three thin elements on the top of the structure may be representations of fire, although no other stepped structure, where fires always are depicted, has fire so rendered.

PFUTS 605 occurs on the obverse of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 606 applied to the reverse, bottom, and left edges.

Attestations of PFUTS 605

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 838-206	PFUTS 605	PFUTS 606	PFUTS 606	not sealed	PFUTS 606	not sealed

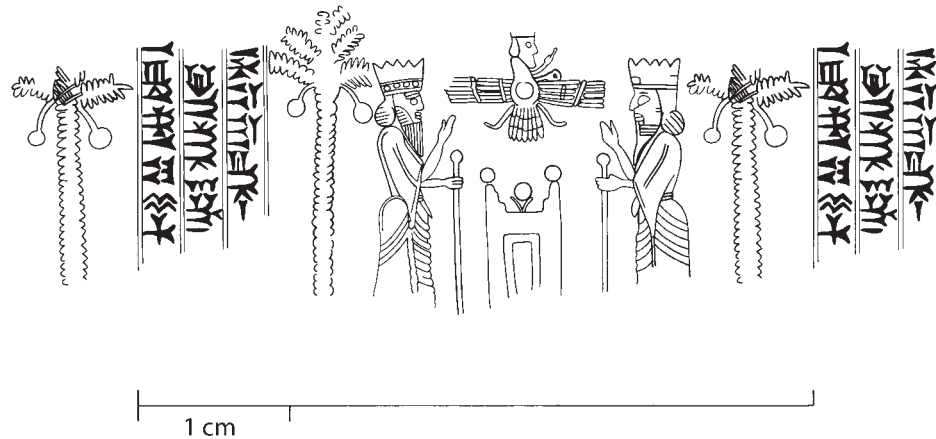
### 3.3. Scenes Showing Only the Tower Structure in Persepolitan Glyptic

#### 3.3.1. Tower Structure with Two Attendants Arrayed Symmetrically

On catalog numbers T1–T8, an attendant stands to either side of a tower structure.<sup>501</sup>

PFS 11\*

Cat.No. T1



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Earliest Dated Application:* January–March 502 BC

*Language of Inscription:* Old Persian, Elamite, and  
Babylonian

[a-da-]ṛmaṛ: da-a-ra-ya-[va-u-ša xš]

[diš-ú diš]da-ri-ia-ṛmaṛ-[u-iš eššANA]

[ana-ku] ḫal-da-ri-iá-ṛmušṛ [šárru rabû]

“I Darius, King” (in Babylonian, “Great King”)

*Preserved Height of Image:* 2.10 cm (incomplete)

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Preserved Length of Image:* 4.50 cm (complete)

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.40 cm

*Number of Impressions:* 77

*Quality of Impressions:* Many preserve excellent detail

*Style:* Court Style

*Photographs:* pls. 10a–c, 11a–d, 12a–c, 13a–c

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

An attendant stands to either side of a crenellated tower structure over which there is a figure in a winged ring; the group is framed by date palms, and there is a trilingual royal-name inscription in the terminal field.<sup>502</sup> The attendants, shown in profile, face the tower structure. They are exact doubles of each other simply rotated 180 degrees. Each attendant holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at waist level to grasp a staff. Each holds his right arm bent and extends it outward in front of his face, the hand cupped upward. Each attendant wears an elaborate version of the Persian court robe. The garment is exceptionally detailed with voluminous elbow-length sleeves on its upper part, a central vertical fold from which diagonal folds depend on its lower part. One end of a belt is indicated at the waist. Each figure has a long pointed beard with horizontal and vertical striations; a rounded mass of hair (striated) rests at the back of his neck. Each attendant wears a dentate crown (fully preserved only on the figure to left of the tower structure). The crown has five points and a band with four circular bosses (only one of these circular bosses is preserved on the crown of the figure to the right of the tower structure). Above the tower structure floats a figure in a winged ring, facing to the right.<sup>503</sup> This figure holds one arm slightly bent and extends it outward before his face, the hand cupped upward. He holds the other arm bent and extends it outward along the top of the wing, the hand grasping a ring. This central group of tower structure, attendants,



and winged symbol is flanked by date palms, each of which has a cluster of dates hanging to either side of the tree trunk. The trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian) royal-name inscription, disposed vertically in the terminal field, has case lines and is enclosed in a panel.<sup>504</sup>

The bottom of the tower structure is not preserved. The structure is smaller than the two attendants and has rather narrow proportions. The top of the structure has the distinctive crenellated profile, two or three offsets are indicated, short in proportion to the body of the structure. A V-shaped stand(?) on the top center of the structure holds a spherical object. A similar spherical object also adorns the two top edges of the structure. There is a thick rectangular inset frame within which there is a rectangular inset panel on the body of the structure.

## COMMENTARY:

PFS 11\*, owing to its trilingual royal-name inscription and beautifully executed scene, is one of the most often-discussed seals from the Fortification archive.<sup>505</sup> While the scene exhibits some compositional and iconographical linkages to the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam, it very clearly is in conversation with that relief, not simply a slavish copy/condensation of it.<sup>506</sup>

The spherical object supported in the V-shaped stand on the tower structure apparently occurs also in PTS 22 (T4). Its exact significance is unknown.

The seal belongs to Ziššawiš, the deputy-director of the agency represented in the Fortification archive.<sup>507</sup> To date, PFS 11\* has been documented on some fifty-five Elamite tablets, always in the single-seal protocol and often applied to multiple surfaces.<sup>508</sup>

## Attestations of PFS 11\*

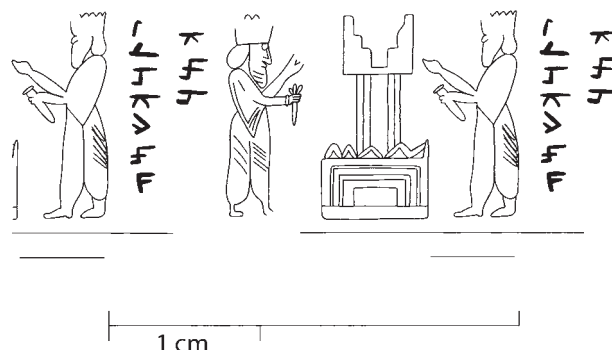
Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
Fort. 29-101	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed
Fort. 1016	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
Fort. 1740-1	not sealed	destroyed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed
Fort. 3566	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 2	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 88	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed
NN 191	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	partially destroyed	PFS 11*	destroyed
NN 333	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 349	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 495	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 779	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed
NN 939	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 948	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	PFS 11*
NN 1036	not sealed	destroyed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed
NN 1269	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 1280	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 1368	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 1369	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 1460	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 1463	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed
NN 1528	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed

Attestations of PFS 11\* (*cont.*)

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
NN 1590	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 1700	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 1839	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 1848	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 1880	not sealed	destroyed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*?	not sealed
NN 2078	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 2394	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
NN 2535	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed
NN 2561	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 614	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 672	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 674	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 675	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 676	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 677	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 678	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1182	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1813	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1814	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1815	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1816	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1817	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1818	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1819	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1820	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1821	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1822	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1823	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1824	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1825	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1826	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1827	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 1828	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed
PF 2069	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed

## PFUTS 19\*

Cat.No. T2

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Language of Inscription:* Aramaic*ptr(d?)kšmh**kmr*

“PN, priest”

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (incomplete)*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle and bottom of the design survives along its complete length.*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.70 cm (complete)*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.90 cm*Number of Impressions:* 44*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Style:* Court Style*Photographs:* pls. 14a–b, 15a–b, 16a–b, 17a–b

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

An attendant stands to either side of a crenellated tower structure; there is an Aramaic inscription in the terminal field. It appears to be a personal name, *ptr(d?)k*, with the enclitic *šmh*, followed by the word *kmr*, “priest.” Rather remarkably, the one-word Aramaic text on one of the tablets on which PFUTS 19\* is applied, PFAT 390, reads, simply, *kmr*.

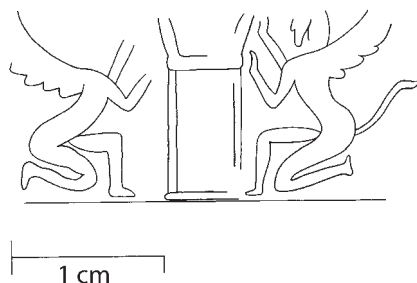
The attendants, whose upper bodies are depicted in profile, face the tower structure. The attendant at right holds both arms bent and extends them outward together before his chest toward the tower structure. Handedness is difficult to determine. The upper hand appears to be open, the fingers held together, the palm facing outward to the viewer. The lower hand holds very faint traces of a bar-like object with flattened top. The figure wears the Persian court robe with voluminous elbow-length sleeves on its upper part and a central vertical fold on the lower part; diagonal folds are indicated on the lower part of the garment. He wears a dentate crown (only partially preserved) and has a long squared beard; a rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The attendant at left holds both arms bent and extends them outward together before his chest toward the tower structure. Handedness is again unclear. His upper hand is poorly preserved but appears to be open, as the upper hand of the other attendant. The lower hand grasps what appears to be a tri-lobed flower with long stem. The fingers are indicated on the hand and there is a bracelet at the wrist. This attendant also wears the Persian court robe with voluminous elbow-length sleeves and detailing lines on its upper part and a central vertical fold on the lower part; a few diagonal folds are preserved on the lower part of the garment. He wears a dentate crown (only partially preserved) and has a thick rounded beard on which there are traces of horizontal striations; an oval-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. In the terminal field, a two-line Aramaic inscription is oriented along the vertical axis of the seal. At the bottom of the design, there is a groundline and traces of the bottom edge of the seal.<sup>509</sup>

The tower structure is large and imposing, just slightly taller than the crowned attendants. The structure consists of a rectangular base from which emerges a thick pillar that supports the crenellated top. The rectangular base has an outline border on all edges. Within this border are two inverted



PFUTS 607

Cat.No. T3

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 1*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.30 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.70 cm (incomplete)*Photograph:* pl. 18a*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle and bottom of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

The scene, only partially preserved, shows what may be a central tower structure to either side of which is disposed a kneeling winged humanoid figure. The winged figure at right kneels facing the tower structure at left. One arm is bent and extended outward horizontally, the hand upturned near the tower structure. The other arm is straight(?) and extended upward diagonally in front of its face, the hand upturned near the top of the tower structure. A human face emerges from the creature's animal neck; it has a short squared beard. The wing curls upward; traces of the tips of feathers run along the bottom edge of the wing. A thin tail undulates upward behind the creature. The winged figure at left kneels facing the tower structure to right. As the other attendant, one arm is bent and extended outward, the other straight and extended upward diagonally toward the tower structure; neither hand is preserved. The head is not preserved. The wing curls upward; traces of the tips of feathers run along the bottom edge of the wing.

The tower structure is only partially preserved. It consists of a rectangular body over which there is a thin U-shaped element (at least as preserved). The vertical extensions of the top of the U-shaped element incline outward; the ends of these elements are not preserved. The body of the structure has an outline border that runs along the side and bottom edges.

## COMMENTARY:

PFUTS 607 is noteworthy for the numinous character of the attendants, the only ones in the whole of the corpus here published that are composite human-animal creatures. The figures add considerable weight to the concept that tower structures have numinous qualities and are, thus, the focus of devotion from the attendants.<sup>514</sup>

The structure seems to be a variation of the V-shaped tower structure (see §4.2.2.2.4). The top of the structure recalls in particular the tops of the tower structures on PFS 2315 (T12) and PFUTS 604 (T13). The poor preservation allows, however, for the possibility of a series of V-/U-shaped elements within the top of the structure as well as additional decoration on the body.

PFUTS 607 occurs on the obverse of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 608 applied to the left edge.

## Attestations of PFUTS 607

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 887-201	PFUTS 607	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 608	not sealed

PTS 22

Cat.No. T4

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 1*Preserved Height of Image:* 2.00 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Court Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.10 cm (incomplete)*Photograph:* pl. 18c*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

The scene is poorly preserved. An attendant stands to either side of what appears to be a crenellated tower structure; a figure in a winged crescent floats in the field above the tower structure. The lower body of the attendant at right is not preserved. He stands, upper body depicted in profile, facing the tower structure at left. He holds his right(?) arm bent and extends it outward in front of his chest, the hand open and held parallel to the pictorial plane. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at waist level, his hand grasping a tri-lobed flower with a long stem. He wears the Persian court robe; the sleeves of the garment are full and carry an outline border. He has a long squared beard; an oval-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He wears a "fluted" crown.<sup>515</sup> The attendant at left is very poorly preserved. He clearly stands facing the tower structure at right, upper body apparently depicted in profile. His arms appear to have been bent. One can see the voluminous sleeves of the upper part of the Persian court robe as well as the vertical fold on the lower part of the garment. The figure in the winged crescent is only partially preserved. He faces right. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward before his chest; the hand is not preserved. What appears to be the left hand is indicated below the right arm resting on the tip of the crescent. He has a long squared beard; the top of the head is not preserved. Only the right wing of the winged symbol is preserved. It is curved with a rib indicated; feathers run along the bottom outer edge of the wing. The bird's tail is triangular in shape.

Unfortunately, the tower structure is not well preserved in the one impression that survives. It seems to be of the crenellated type. Only the upper right corner of the top of the structure is preserved. It carries a spherical object at its termination. Another spherical object rests above the top center of the structure.<sup>516</sup> The body of the structure is broad; at least three rectangular inset frames/panels are partially preserved on it.

**COMMENTARY:**

The style, iconography, and composition of PTS 22 are closely related to those of PFS 11\* (T1).<sup>517</sup> In particular, both designs have the curious spherical objects decorating the tops of the outer edges and resting over the center of the crenellated tower structure.

The only evidence for the date of the seal is its carving style. The carving is in fact a very deep and modeled version of the Court Style, recalling the carving on, e.g., PFS 11\* (T1) and PTS 3\*. A date in the reign of Darius I or early Xerxes is very likely.

PTS 22 occurs on one uninscribed label, PT4 706, from the Treasury, impressed once on the document. There are no other seals applied to the document.

## Attestations of PTS 22

Label	Other Seals Applied
PT4 706 (A23031)	none

PTS 23

Cat.No. T5



Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Number of Impressions: 3

Preserved Height of Image: 2.10 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impressions: Fair

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Style: Court Style

Preserved Length of Image: 2.40 cm (incomplete)

Completeness of Image: A segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PTS 23 is only partially preserved. An attendant stands to either side of what appears to be a crenellated tower structure; a large winged disk floats in the field above the tower structure. There appear to have been one or more objects in the terminal field, but their identifications (trees?) are uncertain. Only the upper part of the attendant to right is preserved. He stands, upper body in profile, facing the tower structure at left. He has his "left arm raised, palm upward in gesture of worship; right arm straight forward, hand perhaps holding some object" (Schmidt 1957, p. 27). He appears to wear the Persian court robe and a "bashlyk with one end drooping on back" (Schmidt 1957, p. 27). The attendant at left stands, upper body in profile, facing the tower structure at right. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward in front of his chest; the hand is not preserved. He holds his right arm straight and extends it downward diagonally to hold the "handle of a pitcher with concave cylindrical neck, from which rises lateral tube

spout (or second handle) at opposite side above oblong body” (Schmidt 1957, p. 27). He wears an elaborate Persian court robe with voluminous elbow-length sleeves on its upper part and a central vertical fold from which diagonal folds depend on its lower part. He appears to have a long pointed beard; a rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He wears a dentate crown. Above the tower structure, there is a winged disk with a bird’s tail; to either side of the bird’s tail is a tendril with up-curved ends. The wings are divided into two or three horizontal sections. The feathers along the ends of the wings are long. Above the disk, there is a “yoke” with up-curved ends. Schmidt (1957, p. 27) noted an object behind each of the attendants, at right, “problematical object with broad lower part and lancelike top,” at left “problematical object, perhaps tree.” It is unclear whether these objects are one and the same or two separate elements.

The lower part of the tower structure is not preserved. The top of the structure has the distinctive crenellated profile, apparently very tall in proportion to the body of the structure. In the open space between the two stepped ends of the structure, there is a “vertical line” (Schmidt 1957, p. 27). The body of the structure appears to have a thick rectangular inset frame within which there is a rectangular inset panel, although Schmidt did not note these features in his description.

#### COMMENTARY:

Although only partially preserved, PTS 23 was clearly an exceptionally well made design.<sup>518</sup> As noted (above, commentary to PTS 20\* [S4]), the attendant at right on PTS 23 is one of only three attestations of the *bashlyk* in the seals here published (also PTS 20\* [S4] and PT4 873 [T7]).

The bar-like device between the crenellations of the tower structure is an enigma. Schmidt and others have suggested that it represents a fire, but this seems unlikely (see the discussion below, PFUTS 76 (T18), §4.2.2.2.2, and §4.4.2). It may be worth noting that the V-shaped tower structure on PFUTS 76 (T18) has a rod-like element emerging from its top, while PFS 1015 (T43) and PFATS 224 (T44) each has a plant-like device emerging from its top. In none of these examples have we to do with a fire. The attendant at left is one of the rare attestations of a standing attendant carrying a vessel in a scene with only a tower structure; PFUTS 151 (T10) and PFUTS 604 (T13) are the only other examples of such. Vessels occur frequently in the scenes that show only the stepped structure. So, too, in the scenes that have both a stepped and a tower structure, attendants often carry vessels. Indeed, the distinctive pitcher-like jug with rounded body that the attendant on PTS 23 carries is very similar to the one held by the front attendant on PFS 75 (ST1).

The date of PTS 23 cannot be determined with precision. On one of the uninscribed labels on which it is applied, PT4 704, the seal occurs with PTS 5\*, a seal that is used on Treasury tablets dated to late in the reign of Xerxes and early in the reign of Artaxerxes I (Schmidt 1957, pp. 20–21). Stylistically, PTS 23 seems very close to PTS 22 (T4). A date in the reign of Xerxes for the cutting of the seal seems very possible.

PTS 23 occurs on three uninscribed labels from room 33 of the Treasury, PT4 343, PT4 704, and PT4 847. On two of the labels, other seals also occur.

Attestations of PTS 23

<i>Label</i>	<i>Other Seals Applied</i>
PT4 343	none
PT4 704	PTS 5*, PTS 17, PTS 32, PTS 38, PTS 74
PT4 847	PTS 32, PTS 38



PTS 57

Cat.No. T6

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 1*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Court Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 1.80 cm (incomplete)*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

Schmidt (1957, p. 37) suggested the seal could be either a stamp or a cylinder; the published photograph of the only impression of the seal is by no means conclusive. Given the fact that this type of scene is not documented on any stamp seal, our inclination would be to identify the seal as a cylinder. Accordingly, it is possible that there were originally two attendants, one disposed to either side of the tower structure.

The design is very poorly preserved, but one can clearly distinguish an attendant at left and a tower structure at right. Only the lower body of the attendant is preserved. He stands facing the tower structure at right. He appears to wear the Persian court robe with central vertical fold on the lower part of the garment.

The tower structure is tall and narrow. The top of the structure has the distinctive crenellated profile. The body of the structure appears to have two inverted U-shaped inset frames within which is a central inset panel. Schmidt (1957, p. 37) suggested that there was a “foundation (terraced?) blurred,” but nothing of this is visible in the published photograph.<sup>519</sup> He perhaps was describing what may be a horizontal border on the bottom of the body of the structure (on which the two inverted U-shaped inset frames and the central inset panel rest).

**COMMENTARY:**

The exact date of the seal cannot be determined with any degree of confidence.<sup>520</sup> Too little of the visual imagery remains to allow for detailed stylistic analysis.

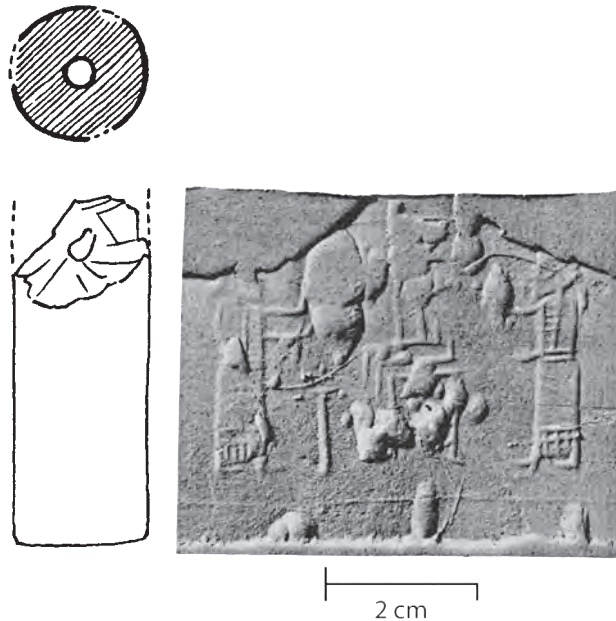
The seal occurs on one uninscribed label from the Treasury, PT6 100, found in room 47. PTS 57 is the only surviving seal on the document.

**Attestations of PTS 57**

<i>Label</i>	<i>Other Seals Applied</i>
PT6 100	none

PT4 873

Cat.No. T7



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Preserved Height of Image:* 4.20 cm (incomplete)<sup>521</sup>

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Preserved Length of Image:* 5.50 cm (complete)

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.80 cm

*Number of Impressions:* NA

*Quality of Impressions:* NA

*Style:* Linear Style

*Completeness of Image:* The top of the seal is destroyed, and there is much damage to the preserved surface of the seal; three oval-shaped chips, equally spaced, run along the bottom edge of the seal.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PT4 873 is an actual seal found in room 33 of the Treasury.<sup>522</sup> The damage along the top and bottom edges of the seal suggest that a seal cap, perhaps in a precious metal, has been removed.

The scene shows what appear to be two attendants flanking a possible tower structure and a stand/table. The attendant at right stands facing the possible tower structure at left. He holds one arm straight and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the possible tower structure to hold what Schmidt (1957, p. 43) termed “a faintly-marked branch.” The object apparently is ovoid, pinched at top and bottom, and appears more likely to be a vessel, if it is not simply damage to the stone. He holds the other arm bent and extends outward slightly at waist level toward the possible tower structure; the hand may be indicated as upturned. The attendant wears a belted ankle-length garment with double hatched border running horizontally at the bottom hem and single hatched border running vertically on the chest. He wears a “bashlyk, end hanging down on back; chin either covered by bashlyk or bearded” (Schmidt 1957, p. 43). The attendant at left stands facing the stand/table and tower structure at right. He holds one arm bent(?) and extends it outward at chest level toward the possible tower structure. Damage to the stone has destroyed all trace of the end of this arm and anything that this attendant may have held. He holds the other arm bent(?) and extends it outward at chest level, the hand upturned. He appears to wear the same type of garment as the attendant at right. Schmidt stated that the attendant’s chin was covered by a *bashlyk* or was bearded. The top of the head is destroyed. Immediately before this attendant is a short T-shaped stand/table. There is a line border at the top and bottom of the design, set well away from the actual edges of the seal.

The possible tower structure is in a very poor state of preservation owing to much damage in this area of the seal face. It appears to consist of a rectangular section with a series of rectangular inset frames. Above this, there are two long thin vertical elements and a third shorter one.

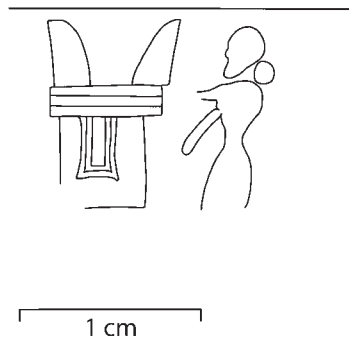
## COMMENTARY:

Schmidt (1957, p. 43) calls what we are suggesting may be a tower structure a “simple flat-topped table, two legs marked” and identified the scene as one of “priests” at “ritual or worship” at an altar.<sup>523</sup> Schmidt (1957, p. 42) noted that the seal was quite large and attributed it provisionally to the Achaemenid period.

As noted (commentary to PTS 20\* [S4]), the attendant at right on PT4 873 is one of only three attestations of the *bashlyk* in the seals here published (also PTS 20\* [S4] and PTS 23 [T5]).

PFATS 354

Cat.No. T8



Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Number of Impressions: 1

Preserved Height of Image: 1.10 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impression: Fair

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 1.30 cm (incomplete)

Photograph: pl. 19a

Completeness of Image: A segment of the middle and top of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFATS 354 is only partially preserved. A figure stands facing a tower structure. The figure stands to the right of the tower structure. He holds his upper arm straight (only partially preserved) and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure. He holds his lower arm straight and extends it downward diagonally toward the tower structure. His garment cannot be determined. He has a short blunt-pointed beard; an oval-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design.

Three thick horizontal elements clearly divide the top of the tower structure from the body. These horizontal elements are wider than the body of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two triangular masses. The masses are so disposed to leave a large flat space between them over the center of the structure. The sides and bottom of the body of the structure have a thick outline border. Within this border, there is a single thin rectangular U-shaped inset frame within which there is a small rectangular inset panel.

## COMMENTARY:

As the seal design is only partially preserved, one may allow for the possibility that the original composition included more figures, most likely either another human figure (to the left) or a rampant animal (see §4.3.2.4).

The tower structure has no exact parallel in the corpus of scenes here published. The large space between the two triangular masses on the upper part of the structure is unusual. More conventionally, these elements are placed close together to form a V-shaped space over the center of the structure. The upper parts of the tower structures on PFUTS 607 (T3), PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 604 (T13), and PFATS 450 (T39) do have, however, large flat spaces between the triangular terminal elements. The three thick horizontal elements that divide the body of the structure from the top have no ready parallels in the corpus of seals here published.

PFATS 354 occurs on the left edge of one Aramaic tablet, with PFATS 3 applied to the obverse, upper edge, reverse, and bottom edge.

## Attestations of PFATS 354

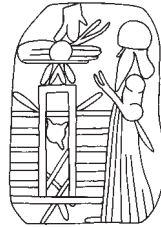
<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFAT 358	PFATS 3 (× 2)	PFATS 3	PFATS 3 (× 2)	PFATS 3	PFATS 354	not sealed

### 3.3.2. Tower Structure with One Attendant

On PFUTS 153s (T9), there is only one attendant at a tower structure.<sup>524</sup> The scene is exceptional in several regards, and it is only with some hesitation that it is included in this catalog.

PFUTS 153s

Cat.No. T9



1 cm

*Seal Type:* Stamp

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (complete)

*Estimated Height of Original Stamp Seal:* 1.60 cm

*Preserved Length of Image:* 1.10 cm (complete)

*Completeness of Image:* Complete.

*Estimated Width of Original Stamp Seal:* 1.10 cm

*Number of Impressions:* 4

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair

*Style:* Cut and Drilled Style

*Photograph:* pl. 19c

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A figure stands before a possible tower structure; above the structure is a figure in a winged disk. The human figure stands at right facing to left toward the possible tower structure. One arm is indicated, bent and extended outward in front of his chest, the hand cupped upward. The figure wears an ankle-length garment that has long vertical folds. A projection from the back of the waist may be part of a belt or a weapon. He has a long pointed beard; a thick mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The cap-like appearance of his head is most likely simply a result of the abstracted carving style rather than a headdress. Above the possible tower structure, there is a figure in a winged disk. The figure is rendered simply as a head and arms emerging from the disk. The wings are short and rounded at their ends; tail feathers are indicated. The figure faces right toward the standing figure. He holds both arms straight and extends them upward diagonally in front of his face, the one above the other. The lower arm appears to have an upturned hand. He has a long rounded beard; a teardrop-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The flat top to the head may indicate a polos-like headdress.

The possible tower structure is broad and rectangular. It consists of a central inverted U-shaped element that rests on a horizontal base. Emerging from either side of the inverted U-shaped device are five horizontal lines stacked one above the other. These lines simply merge into the standing figure at right and the edge of the seal at left. From either side of the top of the inverted U-shaped element, a diagonal line extends upward. Within the inverted U-shaped element, there are, reading from top to bottom, a horizontal line, a round device with three prongs, and three diagonal lines making a hatching. Below the base, two diagonal lines, making an inverted V-shape, extend downward.

#### COMMENTARY:

The composition, pose, and garment of the worshiper, the seal shape (an octagonal stamp), and the use of the cut and drilled carving technique all lead the viewer to expect a well-known compositional type conventionally called the late Babylonian worship scene.<sup>525</sup> In this scene type, the worshiper generally

faces a pedestal which carries religious emblems, most often the spade of Marduk and the stylus of Nabû. Often above the emblems are a star and/or crescent.<sup>526</sup> PFUTS 153s, however, is clearly exceptional with regard to the late Babylonian worship scene. In place of the pedestal with emblems, there is a rectangular structure that carries internal geometric partitioning reminiscent of some treatments of the tower structures discussed in this study. The structure does not, however, have any of the distinctive triangular or crenellated features that we normally see at the top of the tower structure. The inclusion of the winged symbol is very rare in the conventional late Babylonian worship scene.<sup>527</sup> The winged symbol is, however, attested in a handful of the scenes having a tower structure: PFS 11\* (T1), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), PFUTS 152 (T14), and PFUTS 242 (T15). If this is yet another iteration of the tower structure, the implications are potentially important for our understanding of the functioning of the structure, since it is paired with the winged symbol and thus is clearly also the focus of adoration.<sup>528</sup>

PFUTS 153s occurs on four uninscribed tablets. The seal always occurs alone and is always applied only to one surface, the obverse.

Attestations of PFUTS 153s

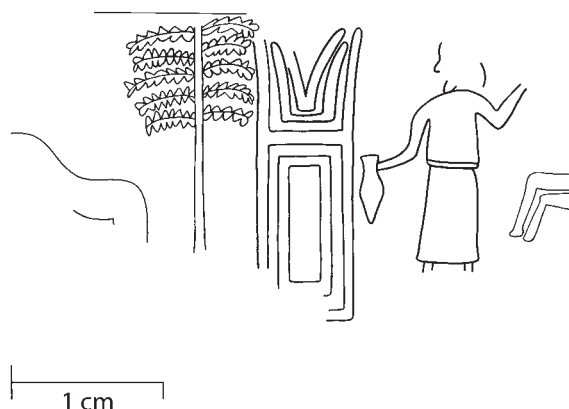
<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 256-202	PFUTS 153s	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 555-202	PFUTS 153s	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 726-202	PFUTS 153s	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 1148-202	PFUTS 153s	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

### 3.3.3. Tower Structure as End-Point of a Procession of Figures: Sacrifice

Catalog numbers T10–T13 show the tower structure as the end-point of a procession of attendant(s) who lead animals, presumably for sacrifice.

PFUTS 151

Cat.No. T10



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 6

*Preserved Height of Image:* 2.00 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.30 cm

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.70 cm (incomplete)

*Photographs:* pl. 20a–b

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A procession of what appears to be one attendant and one animal moves toward a tower structure; a date palm is to the left of the tower structure. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. The attendant stands immediately to the right of the tower structure, facing left toward it. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward at waist level, toward the tower structure, to hold a vessel by its neck. The vessel is a small jar with a wide mouth, narrow neck, ovoid belly, and pointed base. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to right; the hand is not preserved, but he appears to be leading the animal whose forelegs are preserved to right. The figure wears a belted calf-length garment. Although poorly preserved, he appears to have a short pointed beard; he appears to have a rounded mass of hair at the back of his neck. At far right of the restored scene are the bent forelegs of an animal. Those forelegs probably belong to the animal body at far left of the restored scene. Immediately to the left of the tower structure is a date palm. A portion of the edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design.

The tower structure is tall and narrow. The upper part of the structure consists of a U-shaped frame, the outer edges of which are contiguous with the outline borders of the sides of the body of the structure, within which occur another U-shaped element and a V-shaped element. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there is a single rectangular inset frame within which is a rectangular inset panel.

#### COMMENTARY:

PFUTS 151 seems closely related to PFUTS 162 (T11) and PFUTS 604 (T13). On PFUTS 162 (T11), the attendant reaches back to grasp the horn of an animal to lead it toward the tower structure; this seems to be the action of the preserved attendant on PFUTS 151. The shape of the vessel held by the attendant on

PFUTS 151 is the same as those held by attendants on PFUTS 604 (T13), PFUTS 66 (ST7), and PFUTS 91 (ST8). The vessel on PFUTS 604 (T13) has a handle running from the rim to the shoulder.

The date palm is a striking element in the scene. Plants of any type are rare in scenes involving the stepped and/or tower structures; only three other scenes include a tree/plant in the corpus of material here published, PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 76 (T18), and PFATS 450 (T39). The date palm in particular is a tree charged with royal connotations in an Achaemenid glyptic context.<sup>529</sup> The distinctive rendering of the individual fronds of the tree is a feature of date palms in the royal-name seals of Darius and Xerxes, such as PFS 11\* (T1), from Persepolis.

The tower structure is a V-shaped type. Similar renderings of the top of the structure are found on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 2220 (T21), and PFS 2673s (T49).<sup>530</sup>

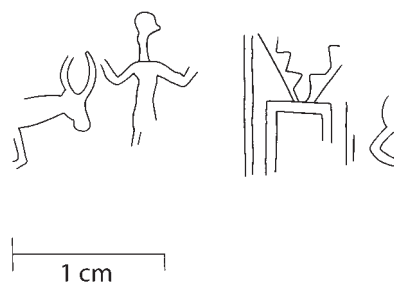
PFUTS 151 occurs on the obverse and reverse of two uninscribed tablets; PFUTS 303s is applied to the left edge of one of the tablets.

## Attestations of PFUTS 151

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 1248-201	PFUTS 151	not sealed	PFUTS 151	not sealed	PFUTS 303s	destroyed
PFUT 1533-203	PFUTS 151	PFUTS 151	PFUTS 151	PFUTS 151	PFUTS 611	not sealed

## PFUTS 162

Cat.No. T11



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 1

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.10 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Linear Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.60 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 21a

*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 162 is only partially preserved. A procession of at least one attendant and one animal moves toward a tower structure. The scene is oriented left to right, with the tower structure at right. The attendant is immediately to the left of the tower structure. He moves right toward the structure. The attendant holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure; the hand is not preserved. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to the left to grasp (presumably, the hand is not preserved) the horn of an animal. The attendant's garment cannot be discerned. The figure is apparently beardless with a shaven head(?), although one hesitates to infer such details from the schematic style of carving. Immediately to the left of the attendant, a horned animal (bovine?) is moving to the right. Only the neck, head, and part of one bent foreleg of the animal are preserved. Two



long curved horns emerge from the top of its head. At far right of the preserved scene, to the right of the tower structure, there are what appear to be a hind leg and the hindquarters of an animal. This may be the same animal as the one at far left of the preserved scene.

The tower structure is very broad and tall; the bottom part of the body of the structure is not preserved. The upper part of the structure consists of two triangular masses along whose inner edges there are a series of offsets. In such a manner, the upper part appears to be a variation on the distinctive crenellated profile of the upper part of the crenellated tower type. There is an outline border running along the two outer edges of the structure. The body is decorated with a single rectangular inset frame within which there is a large rectangular inset panel.

COMMENTARY:

As mentioned, PFUTS 162 seems closely related to PFUTS 151 (T10). One assumes that the attendant on PFUTS 162 may have held a vessel in his left hand.

The upper part of the tower structure appears to be a hybrid rendering that combines the crenellation of the crenellated tower structure with the solid triangular elements documented at times in the V-shaped tower structure; see, for example, the structures on PFUTS 294 (T30), PFUTS 257 (T31), and PFUTS 457 (T32).

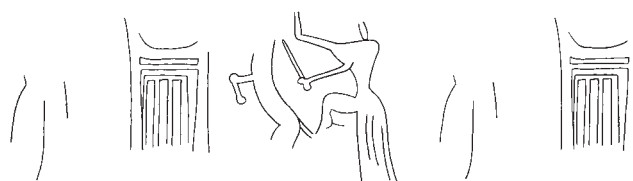
PFUTS 162 occurs on the reverse of one uninscribed tablet; PFUTS 163 and PFUTS 164 are also applied to the tablet.

Attestations of PFUTS 162

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 1030-005	PFUTS 163	not sealed	PFUTS 162	not sealed	PFUTS 164	not sealed

PFS 2315

Cat.No. T12



Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.00 cm

Earliest Dated Application: 501/500 BC

Number of Impressions: 2

Preserved Height of Image: 1.20 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impressions: Fair

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Style: Modeled Style

Preserved Length of Image: 3.00 cm (complete)

Photographs: pl. 22a–b

Completeness of Image: A segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A procession of two attendants and one animal moves toward a tower structure. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately to the right of the tower structure, a rampant

animal moves to the left toward the structure. The head of the animal is not preserved. One foreleg is indicated/preserved, held bent in front of its body. The tail (only partially preserved) curves downward. Behind the rampant animal, a human figure moves to the left toward the tower structure. He strides forward vigorously, the forward leg bent and uplifted to place the foot on the tail of the animal. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the rampant animal; the hand is not preserved. He holds his left arm slightly bent and extends it downward diagonally in front of his body to hold a dagger or short sword. The weapon has a pommel on its end. The attendant wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed below the knee; there appears to be a swag of drapery running between his legs; long vertical folds are indicated on the garment over the back leg. Of the figure's head, only a long lock of hair at the back of the neck is preserved. To the right of this figure is the second attendant. Only a small section of the middle and lower torso of the figure is preserved; directionality cannot be determined. He may wear an Assyrian garment.

The tower structure is tall and narrow. The top of the structure is only partially preserved; the bottom of the body of the structure is not preserved. A thin horizontal element divides the body of the structure from the top. The top of the structure appears to consist of a thin triangular extension at each side. The space between these two triangular extensions is relatively wide. The body of the structure has a thick outline border in which there are four thin vertical elements that are connected at their top by a horizontal element.

#### COMMENTARY:

It is unclear whether the human behind the rampant animal is meant to be understood as killing it in an act of sacrifice before the tower structure or as a separate scene of heroic encounter. Certainly, the compositional type of the hero chasing an animal, often with the forward leg raised to place it on the animal/creature, is amply documented in the Fortification archive.<sup>531</sup> The context of the action, before a tower structure, more likely suggests that we have to do here with animal sacrifice. A similar ambiguity exists with the attendant and animal on PFUTS 605 (S14).

The horn-like quality of the top of the tower structure is similar to the tops of the tower structures on PFUTS 607 (T3) and PFUTS 604 (T13). The long thin vertical elements on the body of the tower structure may find some parallels in the decoration of the bodies of the tower structures on PFUTS 604 (T13), PFUTS 152 (T14), and the seal PT6 699 (T34) from the Treasury.

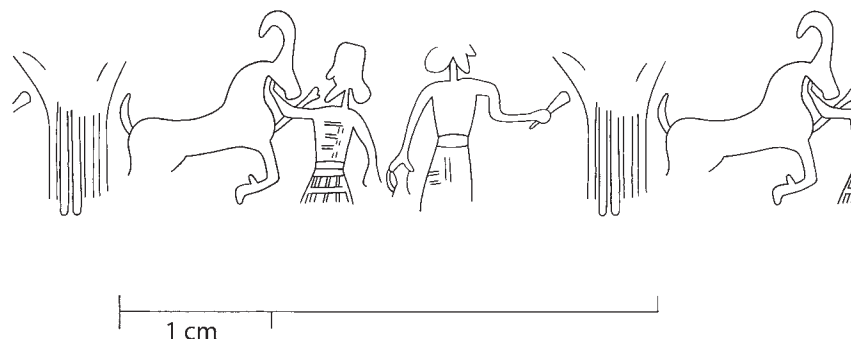
PFS 2315 occurs on the reverse and upper edge of one Elamite tablet; PFS 2314 is applied to the left edge of the tablet. The text is an E text (“utilization”) or a K1 text (“rations for individuals with religious functions”).<sup>532</sup> It concerns an allocation of *tarmu* grain from Hariya for Kaššena, who “used it for the gods during a whole year.” As PFS 2315 occurs on the upper edge and reverse, we may suppose that the seal is used by Kaššena, but this cannot be confirmed. This is the only occurrence of the name Kaššena in the E and K1 texts. The name does occur, however, fairly commonly as a grain supplier. Whether we have to do here with one and the same individual is unknown.

#### Attestations of PFS 2315

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 1606	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2315	PFS 2315	PFS 2314	not sealed

PFUTS 604

Cat.No. T13

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.20 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.40 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.60 cm (complete)*Photographs:* pl. 23a–b*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A procession of two attendants and one animal moves toward a tower structure. The scene is oriented left to right, with the tower structure at right. Immediately to the left of the tower structure, an attendant stands facing to the right toward the structure. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward in front of his chest to hold a stake-like object near the tower structure. He holds his right arm straight and extends it downward behind his body to hold a vessel (only partially preserved) by its rim or handle. The vessel has a wide mouth, narrow neck, and, apparently, ovoid body. A handle runs from the rim of the vessel to its shoulder. The attendant wears a belted garment that has traces of cross-hatching over the back leg, perhaps an Assyrian garment (the lower legs are not preserved). He has a short pointed beard; a large rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Behind him, to left, is another attendant. This figure faces to left (i.e., away from the attendant holding the jar). He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to left to grasp the lower jaw of a large rampant caprid. He holds his left arm slightly bent and extends it downward behind his body to right; the hand is not preserved, but it appears that he may have held some object, perhaps a vessel. He wears a double-belted garment on which there is cross-hatching on both the chest and the lower part of the garment. He has a long thin pointed beard; a rectangular mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The caprid is at far left of the scene. It moves to the right, its forelegs raised as if rampant. It holds one foreleg straight and extends it upward diagonally in front of its chest; it holds the other foreleg bent and extends it downward under its body. A short tail curls upward. A large horn curls upward from the front of its head.

The top of the tower structure is only partially preserved; the bottom of the body of the structure is not preserved. The structure is tall and narrow. The top of the structure appears to consist of a thin triangular extension at each side; these extensions curve outward. The space between these two triangular extensions is relatively wide. There is a thin outline border on the two outer edges of the body of the structure. Within this border, there are three thin vertical elements.

## COMMENTARY:

PFUTS 604 seems closely related to PFUTS 151 (T10) and PFUTS 162 (T11). The shape of the vessel held by the attendant on PFUTS 604 is the same as those held by attendants on PFUTS 151 (T10), PFUTS 66 (ST7), and PFUTS 91 (ST8). The vessel on PFUTS 604 is the only one in this group that has a handle. The

combination of two attendants, one with a vessel, the other with an animal, is documented also on PFS 75 (ST1) and PFUTS 147 (ST2).

The horn-like quality of the top of the tower structure on PFUTS 604 is similar to the tops of the tower structures on PFUTS 607 (T3) and PFS 2315 (T12). The long thin vertical elements on the body of the tower structure may find some parallels in the decoration of the bodies of the tower structures on PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 152 (T14), and the seal PT6 699 (T34) from the Treasury.

PFUTS 604 occurs on the obverse and reverse of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 613s applied to the left edge.

Attestations of PFUTS 604

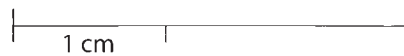
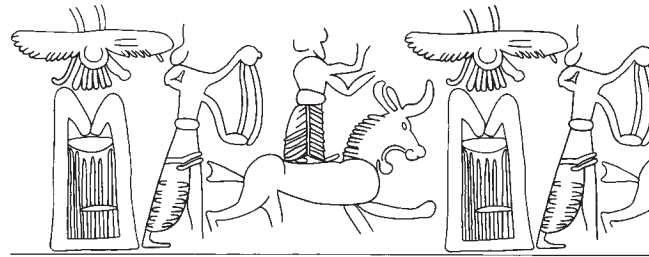
<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 715-203	PFUTS 604	not sealed	PFUTS 604	not sealed	PFUTS 613s	not sealed

### 3.3.4. Tower Structure as End-point of a Procession of Figures: Offerings

PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15) are related to the scenes in the previous section in that they show the tower structure as the end point of a procession of attendant(s). The nature of the processions on PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15) is, however, distinct from the processions on the previous seals. On PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15), one of the attendants in the procession appears to be bearing an object, apparently an offering, and there is a winged symbol over the tower structure.

PFUTS 152

Cat.No. T14



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.80 cm

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 9

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Several preserve excellent detail

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.00 cm

*Style:* Modeled Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.60 cm (complete)

*Photograph:* pl. 24a

*Completeness of Image:* Complete except for details and the top edge.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

An attendant and a figure on the back of a horned lion stand before a tower structure. The scene is oriented left to right, with the tower structure at the right. At the far left of the scene, an attendant moves to the right. He holds his left arm slightly bent and extends it upward diagonally before his face. He holds his right arm bent and extends it downward diagonally across his torso. Between his hands, he holds/displays what appears to be a necklace or, perhaps, a strung bow. He wears a belted Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. There are two detailing lines over the left thigh and fringing along the front and back edges of the garment on the back leg. The face is not preserved; there is an oval-shaped mass of hair at the back of his neck. Immediately to the right, there is a figure who stands on the back of a horned lion. Both the figure and the lion face to the right toward the tower structure. The figure holds both arms bent and extends them outward in front of his upper torso; the hands are not preserved. He wears an ankle-length garment that has a thick belt. The garment over his legs has a central vertical fold from which diagonal folds fall. He has a short pointed beard; a rounded mass of hair is at the back of his neck. The leonine creature on which he stands is marching to the right toward the tower structure. One foreleg is straight and raised. A thick horn curls upward from the front of its head. Two long ears are indicated. A serrated edge indicating the mane runs along the back of its neck. A short bird's tail extends outward horizontally. The mouth is open. Above the tower structure, there is a figure in a winged ring. Only the lower part of the torso of the figure is preserved. There is some distortion in this area, but the torso appears to lean backward slightly. A line border runs along both the front and back edge of the torso.

The symbol has a bird's tail to either side of which depends a tendril. Feathers are indicated on the tail and along the bottom edges and tips of the wings. The edge of the seal is preserved at the bottom of the design.

The tower structure tapers inward slightly from bottom to top. A thick horizontal element that tapers at its ends separates the top of the structure from the body. The top of the structure consists of two thick inverted V-shaped elements, which are contiguous with a thick outline border that runs around the full extent of the body of the structure. Within the outline border, the body of the structure is decorated with a series of long thin vertical elements broken about one-third of the way from the bottom by a horizontal element.

COMMENTARY:

This scene is striking in numerous ways. The occurrence of a figure on the back of an animal/creature in the visual imagery of ancient western Asia generally indicates the epiphany of a deity or a statue of a deity. If the latter, one may read it also as a votive offering. It seems noteworthy that the figure on the back of the horned lion holds his arms in a similar manner to the attendant, suggesting that the figure on the back of the horned lion may also have displayed/held an object between his hands. The remarkable resemblance to some Uruk-period seals surely is fortuitous.<sup>533</sup>

The object held by the attendant at left cannot be identified with certainty. Nevertheless, it is very tempting to read the object as some type of offering to a deity.

The tower structure has some unique elements and as a whole finds no exact parallel in the corpus here published. The top of the structure is somewhat similar to the structures on PFUTS 257 (T31) and PFUTS 457 (T32). The rounded contours of the upper parts of the top of the structure may relate to the structures on the seal PT6 699 (T34) from the Treasury, PFATS 450 (T39), and PFS 1015 (T43). The long thin vertical elements on the body of the tower structure may find some parallels in the decoration of the bodies of the tower structures on PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 604 (T13), and the seal PT6 699 (T34) from the Treasury.

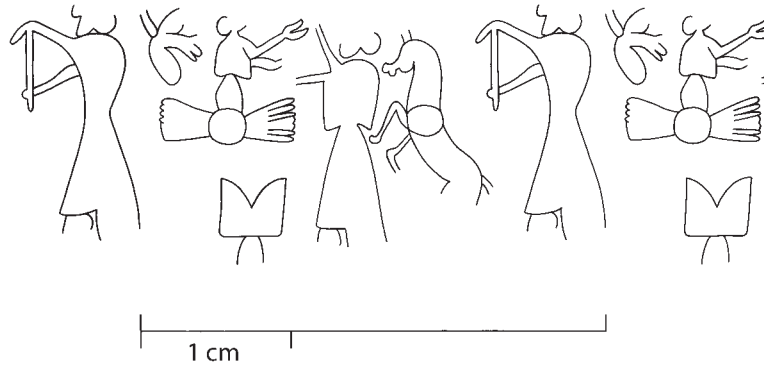
PFUTS 152 occurs on two uninscribed tablets and one Aramaic tablet. In all instances, it is the only seal applied to the tablet and consistently occurs on the obverse, reverse, and left edges of the tablets.

Attestations of PFUTS 152

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFAT 685	PFUTS 152	not sealed	PFUTS 152	not sealed	PFUTS 152	destroyed
PFUT 374-207	PFUTS 152	not sealed	PFUTS 152	not sealed	PFUTS 152	not sealed
PFUT 738-201	PFUTS 152	not sealed	PFUTS 152	not sealed	PFUTS 152	not sealed

PFUTS 242

Cat.No. T15

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 8*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.80 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Good*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.30 cm (complete)*Photographs:* pl. 25a–b*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

An attendant stands next to a tower structure over which there are a figure in a winged disk and a long-necked bird. Behind the attendant is a rampant animal and a second attendant who holds a long thin object. The scene is oriented from right to left, with the tower structure at the left. An attendant stands immediately to the right of the tower structure facing it. He holds one arm straight and extends it upward diagonally before his face (the hand is not preserved) toward the upper hand of the figure in the winged disk. He holds his other arm straight (the hand is not preserved) and extends it outward horizontally at shoulder level toward the figure in the winged disk. The attendant appears to wear some version of an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed below the knee. The upper part of the garment has, however, the distinctive contours of the Persian court robe. His head is only partially preserved. He appears to have a short squared beard, or he may be beardless; a rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Immediately behind this figure, there is a rampant animal, perhaps a caprid, which faces left toward the tower structure. The animal holds both of its forelegs bent and extends them outward in front of its body. A tail, only partially preserved, curves downward. There are traces of a horn emerging from the front of its head. Immediately behind this animal is the second attendant. He faces to the left toward the tower structure. He holds one arm straight and extends it upward diagonally at shoulder level, the hand cupped downward over a long thin pole-like object. He holds the other arm straight and extends it downward diagonally before his torso, the hand apparently wrapped around the bottom of the long thin pole-like object. He wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed below the knee. He has a short rounded beard; a thick rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Above the tower structure is a relatively large figure in a winged disk. Unusually for glyptic representations, almost three-quarters of the figure is indicated. He faces to the right toward the first attendant. The figure in the winged disk holds one arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the upper arm of the first attendant; the hand, rendered as a pincher, is apparently upturned. He holds his other arm slightly bent and extends it outward just below the upper one (the hand is not preserved). The figure may wear a version of the Persian court robe, but this is not at all certain. The face is not preserved. A rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Feathers are indicated along the tips of the wings. Above the wing to the left of the figure in the winged disk is a long-necked bird (the head is not preserved), wings spread in flight to the left.

The lower part of the tower structure is not preserved. The structure is only about one-half the size of the first attendant. The upper part of the structure consists of two solid triangular masses that form a V-shaped space over the center of the structure. The body of the structure is very narrow, tapering at its top, almost columnar in appearance.

## COMMENTARY:

As with the previous seal, PFUTS 152 (T14), the dynamics of PFUTS 242 appear to be that of a procession of gift bearers. The attendant at far right of the scene holds/displays an object in the same manner as the attendant on PFUTS 152 (T14). The attendant standing before the tower structure on PFUTS 242 may have also displayed an object. If not, it is difficult to understand how exactly this attendant and the figure in the winged disk are meant to interact. Their hands, although most of them are not preserved, would have been very close together, and one is tempted to consider the possibility that the figure in the winged disk held a ring in his lower hand.<sup>534</sup> The inclusion of a bird in the same field as the figure in the winged disk is highly unusual in Achaemenid glyptic as a whole. Other scenes in the corpus here published that have a long-necked bird in flight include those on PFS 2542 (T27), PFATS 11 (T35), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 224 (T44).

The garment that the attendant interacting with the figure in the winged disk wears is unusual. The lower part of the garment seems clearly to be an Assyrian garment, but the short swags of drapery that hang to either side of the upper torso seem more in keeping with the Persian court robe.

The dynamics of the scene are complex. The combination of attendant, tower structure, and winged symbol occurs also on PFS 11\* (T1), PTS 22 (T4), and PTS 23 (T5), but in those scenes the attendants seem clearly engaged/focused on the tower structure. On PFUTS 242, the tower structure is small, the figure in the winged disk large, and the first attendant seems engaged in some manner with the figure in the winged disk, not the tower structure. Lastly, the inclusion of a rampant animal may signal several things. One thinks naturally of the processional scenes in which animals seem destined for sacrifice or are in the process of butchery.<sup>535</sup> More likely, the rampant animal on PFUTS 242, as the many scenes that show a seated human figure before a tower structure and a rampant animal (§3.3.5), is simply a sign of the cosmic or numinous character of the scene. That is, the animal itself plays no narrative role in the “physical space” of the scene; its inclusion intensifies, as the figure in the winged symbol, the metaphorical aspects of the activity.

The form of the tower structure is unusual, having characteristics of both the stepped and the tower structures. The two solid undecorated triangular masses at the top of the structure are most closely paralleled by the tops of the tower structures on PFUTS 294 (T30), the seal PT6 699 (T34) from the Treasury, and PFUTS 66 (ST7). In all of those instances, however, the bodies of the tower structures are rectangular. The thin columnar aspect of the “body” of the tower structure on PFUTS 242 in fact seems more like a columnar support for a podium of a stepped structure. The columnar supports of the stepped structures on PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), and PFUTS 149 (ST3) taper inward at their tops in the same way as we see on the structure on PFUTS 242.

PFUTS 242 occurs on two uninscribed tablets. In both cases, it is applied to multiple surfaces of the tablet. In one case, it is the only seal applied to the tablet; in the other, it occurs with PFUTS 243.

Attestations of PFUTS 242

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 255-201	PFUTS 242	PFUTS 242	PFUTS 242	PFUTS 242	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 2113-102	PFUTS 242	PFUTS 242	PFUTS 242	PFUTS 242	PFUTS 243	not sealed

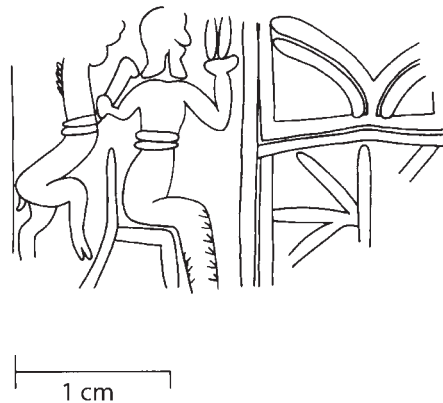


### 3.3.5. Tower Structure with Seated Figure and Animal

Catalog numbers T16–T27 form a distinct group. In all the scenes, a figure is seated before a large tower structure that carries rather elaborate markings/decoration on its body. In each of these scenes, there is also a rampant animal; on T16–T19, the seated figure reaches out to grasp the rampant animal. On T20–T27, the rampant animal and the seated figure do not directly interact, although poor preservation in some cases leaves this a possibility. On PFS 2542 (T27), the seated figure apparently reaches out to grasp not a rampant animal but a bird in flight. While both the crenellated and V-shaped tower types are documented in these scenes, the overwhelming preference is for the latter.

PFS 435

Cat.No. T16

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Earliest Dated Application:* 498/497 BC*Number of Impressions:* 1*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.90 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.90 cm (incomplete)*Photograph:* pl. 26a*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind him, there is a rampant animal, probably a caprid, that he grasps. The scene is oriented left to right, with the tower structure at right. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the right toward the tower structure. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure to grasp two long thin vertical elements (only partially preserved). He holds his right arm slightly bent and extends it at shoulder level to left to grasp the foreleg of the rampant animal. The seated figure wears a double-belted skirt or dress that falls to the ankles. Fringing is indicated along the front and back edges of the garment over the lower legs. He has a squared beard; a small flat mass of hair rests on his shoulder. He sits on a simple undecorated chair consisting of two legs (slanted outward), a seat, and a straight back. The rampant animal is behind the seated figure, moving to the right toward the seated figure and tower structure. One foreleg is preserved/shown, held straight and extended upward diagonally before its chest. The animal raises the forward hind leg as if stepping. Part of a serrated edge indicating a mane or ruff of fur runs along the back of the neck; the animal has a short pointed tail.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. The bottom and the right edge of the structure are not preserved; a vertical line at far left of the scene most likely, however, marks the right edge of the structure. A horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. A

vertical outline border runs along the preserved left edge of the structure. The top of the structure consists of a U-shaped frame (set within the vertical outline border) within which there are two diagonal elements over which there is a V-shaped element. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. Only the left half of the body of the structure is preserved. It shows a vertical element running along the inner edge of the outline border. Within the interior, a horizontal and a vertical element intersect so as to divide the space into four square metopal fields of roughly equal dimensions. Each of these metopal fields is bisected diagonally by a line, yielding a star-like design overall.

## COMMENTARY:

The seal was classified as a heroic encounter in Garrison and Root (2001, pp. 57, 437–38) since the seated figure is holding an animal, but it is now clear that such scenes form a distinct group that is closely related to the ritual scenes here published. Rather than a parody of the heroic encounter (Garrison and Root 2001, p. 57), these scenes consistently emphasize a seated figure before a tower structure with an animal, perhaps indicative of potential animal sacrifice and/or metaphorical allusions to the numinous nature of the space surrounding the tower structure.<sup>536</sup>

The two vertical elements that the seated figure holds in his left hand recall similarly shaped devices held by figures over/near the stepped structure (PFS 578s [S1], PFUTS 110s [S2], PFUTS 156s [S3], PTS 20\* [S4], and PFUTS 154 [S8]) and before the tower structure (PFUTS 19\* [T2] and PFUTS 604 [T13]). PFS 2220 (T21) seems closely related to PFS 435; the figure there holds two(?) similarly shaped elements, one in each hand.

For similar renderings of the top of the tower structure, see in particular the tower structures on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFUTS 457 (T32), and PFATS 312 (T38). Reading the decoration of the inset panel as a six- or eight-pronged star-like device recalls the decoration of the tower structures on PFS 2220 (T21), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 244 (T42). For an “X” design on the body of a tower structure, see PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 2525 (T24) (four, in metopal fields), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFS 2296 (T29), PFUTS 294 (T30), and PFATS 450 (T39).

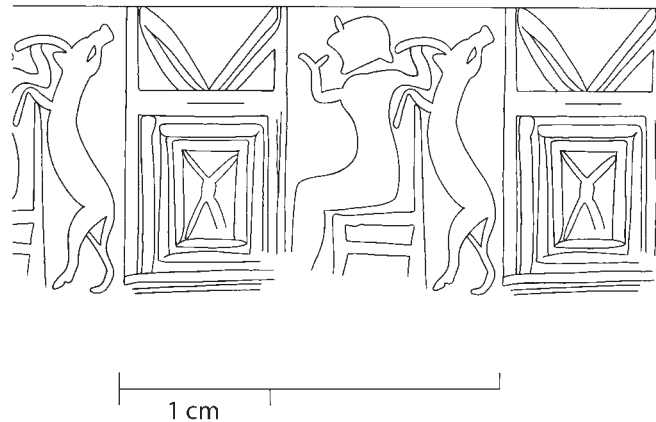
PFS 435 occurs on the left edge of one Elamite tablet, with PFS 434 applied to the reverse. The text is a B text (“delivery of commodities”), whose sealing protocols are not always apparent. The text concerns the deliver of grain by Kitinpan at Tandari, received by Hapima, *ukpiyataš ukku* (“upon/for tax, storage”). If normal sealing protocols are being followed on this tablet, PFS 435 would appear to be used by Kitinpan. He is named as a grain supplier (*kurman*) in three other texts (PF 123, NN 943, and NN 1210).

## Attestations of PFS 435

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PF 124	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 434	not sealed	PFS 435	not sealed

PFUTS 33

Cat.No. T17

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.80 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 2.00 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.20 cm*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.50 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 26c*Completeness of Image:* Complete except for bottom edge and details.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind him, there is a rampant caprid that he grasps. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure, the hand cupped upward. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to the right to grasp the rampant caprid by its horn. The seated figure wears a skirt or dress that falls to the ankles (not preserved). His head and facial details are poorly preserved. He appears to have a short pointed beard; a small pointed lock of hair is at the back of his head. A small pointed projection at the front of his head may be hair, remnants of a headdress, or simply a flaw in the carving. He sits on a high-backed chair. A single horizontal strut runs below the seat of the chair. The rampant caprid moves to the left toward the seated figure and tower structure but turns its head back to the right. One foreleg is indicated, bent and extended outward in front of its body so that it rests over the back of the chair. A horn curves upward from the top of its head; a small pointed ear is indicated. The edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A thick horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along the two sides and the bottom of the structure. A thin horizontal element runs along the bottom of the structure. The top of the structure consists of a U-shaped frame (contiguous with the outline borders and the horizontal division between the top and the body of the structure) within which there are two diagonal elements over which there is a V-shaped element. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. A vertical element runs along the inner edge of the outline borders of the sides of the body of the structure. Within these elements, there are two rectangular inset frames within which there is a rectangular inset panel. On the inset panel, two diagonal elements intersect yielding a crude four-pronged star-like device.

**COMMENTARY:**

In its composition, cupped hand of the seated figure, and cutting style, PFUTS 33 is very similar to PFUTS 76 (T18). The pose with the raised hand upturned may indicate in both scenes that the seated figures

held a cup (no longer preserved?). The seated figure on PFS 307 (T20) may also hold a cup. Attendants hold small cups near fires on stepped structures on PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 110s (S2), PFUTS 156s (S3), and the seal PT5 791 (S12). The seated figures on PFS 738 (T28) and PFUTS 257 (T31) also hold cups in what are apparently banquet-like environments.

An “X” design on the body of a tower structure is also documented on PFS 2525 (T24) (four, in metopal fields), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFS 2296 (T29), PFUTS 294 (T30), and PFATS 450 (T39). For tower structures having a six- or eight-pronged star-like device on their bodies, see those on PFS 435 (T16), PFS 2220 (T21), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 244 (T42).

PFUTS 33 occurs on the obverse and reverse of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 34 applied to the upper edge, PFUTS 35s to the bottom edge, and PFUTS 36 to the left edge. Tablets sealed with four different seals are rare in the Fortification archive. The praxis is not well understood.<sup>537</sup>

## Attestations of PFUTS 33

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 845-101	PFUTS 33	PFUTS 35s	PFUTS 33	PFUTS 34	PFUTS 36	not sealed

## PFUTS 76

Cat.No. T18



1 cm

Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.80 cm

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Number of Impressions: 3

Preserved Height of Image: 1.70 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impressions: Good

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.90 cm

Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 2.50 cm (complete)

Photograph: pl. 27a

Completeness of Image: Complete except for bottom edge and details.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind him, there is a rampant caprid that he grasps. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward before his face, the hand cupped upward almost touching the edge of the tower structure. He holds his left arm slightly bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to the right to grasp the rampant caprid by a foreleg. The seated figure wears a skirt or dress that falls to the ankles (not preserved); fringing is indicated along the front and back edges of the lower part of the garment. He has a long thin pointed beard; a small rounded mass of hair curls upward at the back of his neck. A serration runs along the top

and back of his hair. He sits on a simple stool; the seat curls upward slightly at the back. The rampant caprid moves to the left toward the seated figure and tower structure but turns its head back to the right. It holds one foreleg straight and extends it upward in front of its neck. It holds the other foreleg bent and extends it outward (below the other foreleg) in front of its body. It raises the bent forward hind leg as if stepping. A long horn with serrated edges curls upward from the front of its head; two pointed ears are indicated. A serrated edge runs along the back of the neck. In the lower field to the right of the rampant caprid is a small plant (cypress?). The edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design; a small segment of the edge of the seal is preserved at the bottom of the design.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along the two sides and bottom of the structure. The top of the structure consists of a U-shaped frame (contiguous with the outline borders and the horizontal division between the top and the body of the structure) within which there are two diagonal elements over which there is a V-shaped element. A single vertical element emerges from the center of this V-shaped space. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. The body is very elaborately decorated. A horizontal element divides the body into two zones of decoration. The lower zone is divided into two rectangular vertical sections by a thick vertical element. Each of these sections has a thin rectangular inset frame within which there is a rectangular inset panel; the inset panel at left has traces of two diagonal lines within it. In the upper zone, which is oriented horizontally, a vertical element divides the space into two square metopal fields; each field is bisected by a diagonal element.

COMMENTARY:

As noted, PFUTS 76 is very similar to PFUTS 33 (T17) in its composition, cupped hand of the seated figure, and cutting style. The pose with the raised hand upturned in both scenes may indicate that the seated figures held a cup (no longer preserved?).<sup>538</sup> The tree on PFUTS 76 is an unusual addition to the scene type. Only three other scenes include a tree/plant in the corpus of material here published: PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 151 (T10), and PFATS 450 (T39). Perhaps in a related vein, the body of the tower structure on PFS 628 (T47) is decorated with what appears to be a plant-like device.

The top of the structure is very similar to the structures on PFS 435 (T16), PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFS 307 (T20), and probably also PFS 2542 (T27). The element that rises from the center of the top of the structure may be related to the element that rises from the top of the structure on PFATS 224 (T44), although there the element has a bulbous termination.<sup>539</sup> The stylus of Nabû is perhaps the closest parallel for the object on the structure on PFUTS 76, but this linkage seems unlikely (see the discussion at §4.4.2).<sup>540</sup> The decoration of the body of the tower structure finds no exact parallels, although the partitioning of the body into rectangular and/or square decorative zones is a consistent feature of the V-shaped tower structure.<sup>541</sup>

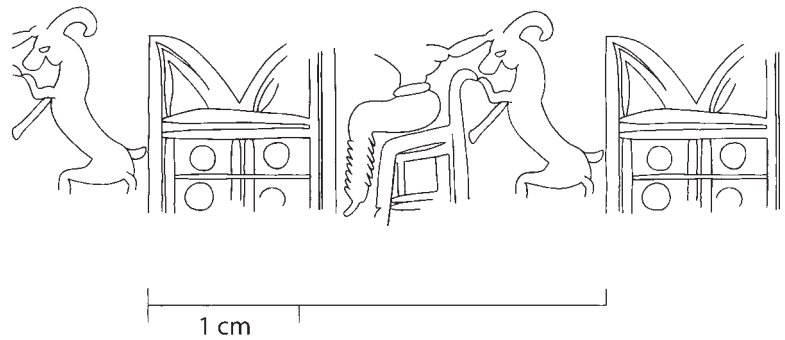
PFUTS 76 occurs on the obverse, reverse, and left edge of one uninscribed tablet. No other seals are applied to the tablet.

Attestations of PFUTS 76

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 686-102	PFUTS 76	not sealed	PFUTS 76	not sealed	PFUTS 76	not sealed

PFUTS 330

Cat.No. T19

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.00 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 4*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.40 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair, but with some distortion on all impressions*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.00 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 27c*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind him, there is a rampant caprid that he grasps. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. His right arm is only partially preserved, but it appears to have been extended outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure. The figure holds his left arm straight and extends it outward at shoulder level to right to grasp the rampant caprid by the top of its head. The figure wears a belted ankle-length skirt or dress; fringing is indicated along the front and back edges below the knee. The figure's head is not preserved. The chair has a tall back that curves outward at its termination. Beneath the seat, there is a horizontal strut that supports a square device (more struts?). The rampant caprid moves to the left toward the seated figure and tower structure. The caprid holds one foreleg bent and extends it outward before its chest, the hoof touching the top of the back of the chair. It holds the other foreleg straight and extends it downward diagonally in front of its body to place the hoof on the back of the chair. A thick horn curls upward from the top of the animal's head. There is a small pointed tail.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A double horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. An outline border runs along all preserved sides of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two sets of two inverted V-shaped elements, the one set within the other. The uppermost inverted V-shaped elements in each set are contiguous with the outline borders of the body of the tower structure. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. The preserved portion of the body of the structure consists of a large inset frame, the interior of which is divided into four square metopal fields by one horizontal and two vertical elements. Within each metopal field, there is a circle.

**COMMENTARY:**

Compositionally, PFUTS 330 is the same as PFS 435 (T16), PFUTS 33 (T17), and PFUTS 76 (T18).

The rendering of the upper part of the tower structure with two sets of two inverted V-shaped elements is similar to the upper parts of the tower structures on PFS 307 (T20), PFUTS 616 (T25), and probably PFATS 312 (T38). The partitioning of the body of the structure into a series of metopal frames finds

parallels in the structures on PFUTS 76 (T18), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 2525 (T24), PFS 897 (T36), and perhaps PFUTS 313 (T22), PFS 738 (T28), and PFS 709 (T33).

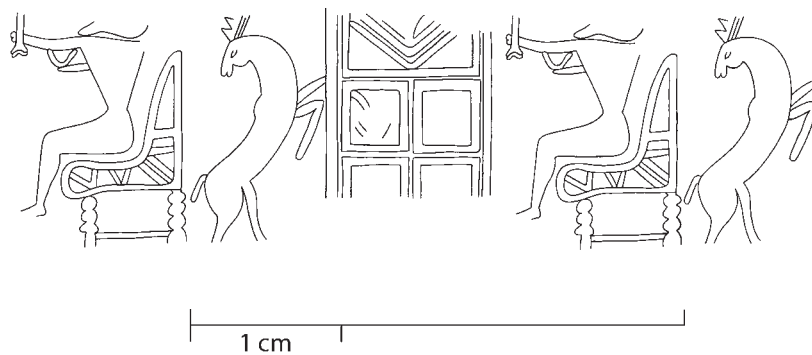
PFUTS 330 occurs on the obverse, reverse, and upper and bottom edges of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 331s applied to the left edge.

## Attestations of PFUTS 330

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 2122-104	PFUTS 330	PFUTS 330	PFUTS 330	PFUTS 330	PFUTS 331s	not sealed

PFS 307

Cat.No. T20



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm

*Earliest Dated Application:* 498/497 BC

*Number of Impressions:* 11

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Good-poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.30 cm (complete)

*Photographs:* pl. 28a–b

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind the seated figure, there is a rampant caprid. Since the caprid moves away from the seated figure and is poised right next to the tower structure, we have reconstructed the dynamics of the scene so as to place the tower structure in the center of the design; alternatively, the tower structure may be conceived as the end point of a design oriented right to left.

Immediately before the tower structure at right, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds one arm straight and extends it outward at shoulder level near the edge of the tower structure to grasp the handle of a thin staff-like object (only the lower end of the object is preserved). The bottom of the object has a bifurcated termination. He holds the other arm straight(?) and extends it outward at chest level to left (below the other arm); at the end of the arm is a U-shaped device that may represent the fingers of the hand (upturned), a cup, or some other object. The figure appears to wear an ankle-length skirt or dress. His head is only partially preserved. He has a thin pointed beard; a large rounded(?) mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The chair is elaborate. The seat and back are rendered as one element consisting of a thin border between which there are struts. The seat is concave; the back tapers to a blunt point. Two legs are indicated, between which there is a thin horizontal strut. At the top of each leg of the chair, there are three turned moldings. The rampant caprid moves to the right away from the seated figure and toward the tower structure but turns its head back to the left. It holds one foreleg straight and extends it upward diagonally in front of its body to touch the edge of

the tower structure. It holds the other foreleg bent and extends it outward in front of its body, the knee almost touching the edge of the tower structure. A short tail curls downward. There are remnants of a thick horn with a serrated edge emerging from the top of the head.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. An outline border runs along the outer edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of a U-shaped frame resting within the vertical outline borders of the edges of the structure. Within this U-shaped frame are three thin V-shaped elements, stacked one over another. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. As preserved, four square inset frames divide the body of the structure into four square metopal fields of equal size. There are traces of curved elements within the upper left metopal field.

COMMENTARY:

The short staff-like object that the seated figure holds calls to mind similar (unidentifiable) devices held by figures on PFUTS 19\* (T2), PFUTS 604 (T13), PFUTS 242 (T15), PFS 435 (T16), PFS 2220 (T21), and PFUTS 313 (T22) as well as the “bundles” held by attendants associated with the stepped structure on PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 110s (S2), PFUTS 156s (S3), PTS 20\* (S4), and PFUTS 154 (S8).<sup>542</sup>

The rendering of the top of the tower structure as a series of inset V-shaped elements is documented also on the structures on PFUTS 151 (T10), PFS 435 (T16), PFATS 312 (T38), and probably also PFATS 297 (T45). The partitioning of the body of the structure into a series of metopal fields occurs also on the tower structures on PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFS 2525 (T24), PFS 897 (T36), and perhaps also PFUTS 313 (T22), PFS 738 (T28), and PFS 709 (T33).

PFS 307 occurs on nine Elamite tablets, all of them C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”). The nine tablets carry multiple seals, in one case three seals, in four cases four seals, in three cases five seals, and in one case six seals. Several seals applied to these tablets, moreover, occur repeatedly: in addition to PFS 307, these include PFS 123\*, PFS 230, PFS 306, and PFS 463. In all these transactions, *tarmu* grain is deposited “into the accounts” of named individuals. In each case, the named official into whose accounts these commodities are deposited is different; some are well known in the archive, for example Šedda and Muška, the latter an agent of Irtašduna. PFS 307 is always applied to the left edge of tablets. No text mentions, however, the name of the supplier. It has been noted by several commentators that transactions sealed by more than two seals are frequently attested in deposits of commodities (such as the C1 texts) and that the seals may not belong to the individuals named in the transactions but with (unnamed) oversight officials.<sup>543</sup> There are, moreover, clearly patterns where sets of seals occur repeatedly together in these types of transactions (Garrison 2008, pp. 165–68).

Attestations of PFS 307

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 332	PFS 2528	PFS 2527	PFS 123*; PFS 2526	PFS 230	PFS 307 (× 3?)	not sealed
NN 1551	PFS 2544	not sealed	PFS 123* (?)	PFS 123* (?)	PFS 307 (?)	not sealed
NN 1708	PFS 306	PFS 123*	PFS 123*; PFS 463	PFS 230 (?)	PFS 307	destroyed
NN 1744	PFS 306	PFS 123*	PFS 123*	PFS 463	PFS 307	not sealed
NN 1976	PFS 306	PFS 123*	PFS 123*; PFS 230	PFS 230	PFS 307	not sealed
PF 164	PFS 306	PFS 123*	PFS 123*; PFS 230; PFS 463	PFS 230	PFS 307	not sealed
PF 219	PFS 306	PFS 486	PFS 123*; PFS 230	PFS 486	PFS 307	not sealed
PF 220	PFS 306	PFS 123*	PFS 229; PFS 230	PFS 230	PFS 307	not sealed
PF 221	PFS 306	not sealed	PFS 229; PFS 230	PFS 230	PFS 307	not sealed



PFS 2220

Cat.No. T21

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.00 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* March/April 498 BC*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.20 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.00 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 29a*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind the seated figure, there is a rampant animal. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds one arm straight(?) and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure to hold a rod-like device (only partially preserved; alternatively, this object is the forearm of his bent arm). He holds his other arm slightly bent and extends it outward, below the straight arm, at waist level toward the tower structure to hold a thick cone-like device (only partially preserved). The seated figure wears a double-belted skirt or dress that falls to the ankles (not preserved). Fringing is indicated along the front and back edges of the garment over the legs. He has a thick pointed beard; an oblong mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He sits on a low-backed chair/stool of which only the curved seat and thick pointed back are preserved. The rampant animal, only partially preserved, moves to the left toward the seated figure and tower structure. One foreleg is preserved/shown, held straight and extended outward before its chest to touch the back shoulder of the seated figure.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A thick horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. The bottom of the body of the structure and most of the top of the structure are not preserved. There are outline borders on each side of the structure. Of the upper part of the structure, only a short extension of the outline border and another vertical element are preserved at right. The body of the structure is decorated with a large square inset frame (the top horizontal element is contiguous with the horizontal element dividing the top from the body of the structure). Within the inset frame at top, there is a thick horizontal element. Below this horizontal element is another thick inset frame the interior panel of which is divided by a vertical and a horizontal element into four square metopal fields of roughly equal dimensions (the lower two are only partially preserved). Each of these quadrants is then bisected diagonally by another element. As so construed, the interior panel has the appearance of a star-like design.

## COMMENTARY:

The device in the upper hand of the seated figure may be some type of staff. The object in the lower hand may be a vessel. Both staff-like objects and vessels are documented in many scenes within the corpus here published.<sup>544</sup> For a six- or eight-pronged star-like device on the body of a tower structure, see the structures on PFS 435 (T16), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 244 (T42). For an "X" design on the body of a

tower structure, see the structures on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 2525 ( T24) (four, in metopal fields), PFUTS 616 ( T25), PFS 2296 (T29), PFUTS 294 (T30), and PFATS 450 (T39).

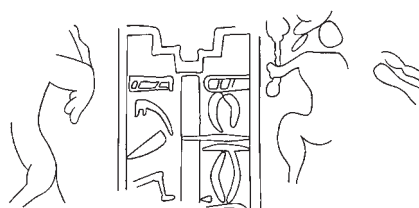
PFS 2220 occurs on the reverse of one Elamite tablet and one Aramaic tablet. The Elamite document is an L2 text (“regular monthly rations with *galma*”), an allocation of grain from Pirruyasuba received by workers *Turmiraš* (“Lycians”), sealed on the left edge with PFS 2221. Ration texts such as NN 1347 are at times sealed on the reverse by oversight officials for the workers. Often, as in the case with NN 1347, the oversight official(s) themselves are not named. The Aramaic document carries two other seals in addition to PFS 2220.

## Attestations of PFS 2220

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFAT 732	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2220	PFATS 629	PFATS 630s	not sealed
NN 1347	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2220	not sealed	PFS 2221	not sealed

PFUTS 313

Cat.No. T22



1 cm

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.40 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.80 cm (incomplete)*Photographs:* pl. 30a–b*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind the seated figure, there is a rampant caprid. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. Only one arm is shown/preserved. The figure holds this arm straight and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure to hold a mace-like device (only partially preserved). This device consists of a vertical staff, the two ends of which terminate in irregular rounded elements, the upper one larger than the lower one. The garment that the seated figure wears cannot be determined. He has a thin pointed beard; a large teardrop-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The chair is not preserved. The rampant caprid moves to the left toward the seated figure and tower structure but turns its head back to the right. The forelegs at far right of the reconstructed design most likely belong to this animal.<sup>545</sup> A single knobby horn, only partially preserved, extends upward from the top of the animal's head.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. An outline border runs along all preserved edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of the distinctive crenellated profile (three insets) of the crenellated tower type. The body of the structure is elaborately decorated. A thick vertical element divides the body into two equal vertical zones; elements are arranged vertically within each of these zones. At left, reading from top to bottom, there are a ladder-like element, a hooked device, a cone-shaped device, and a Z-shaped element (only partially preserved). At right, reading from top to bottom, there are a ladder-like element, paired curved elements, two horizontal lines the upper of which bisects the thick vertical border, another set of paired curved elements, and a horizontal line (only partially preserved).

## COMMENTARY:

The mace-like device that the seated figure holds is anomalous within the corpus here published. It may have some relationship to the device held by the seated figure on PFUTS 240 (T26). It seems less likely to be connected to the staffs held by the attendants on PFS 11\* (T1) and PFUTS 294 (T30) or the various thin rod- or stick-like devices often held by attendants in scenes with either the stepped or the tower structure.<sup>546</sup>

The tower structure on PFUTS 313 seems closely related to the one on PFS 2525 (T24). Both have the distinctive crenellation of the crenellated tower and the elaborately decorated body often associated with the V-shaped tower. They are the clearest examples linking the V-shaped tower structures with the more well-known crenellated tower structures (i.e., catalog numbers T1–T6). The various decorative elements on the body of the tower structure on PFUTS 313 are, however, very unusual. Several of the devices seem to imitate Aramaic letters. The overall layout of the decoration, divided into two vertical zones and, in one instance, perhaps a metopal field (upper right), may find some parallels in those tower structures that are decorated with square metopal fields: PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 2525 (T24), PFS 897 (T36), and perhaps also PFS 738 (T28) and PFS 709 (T33).

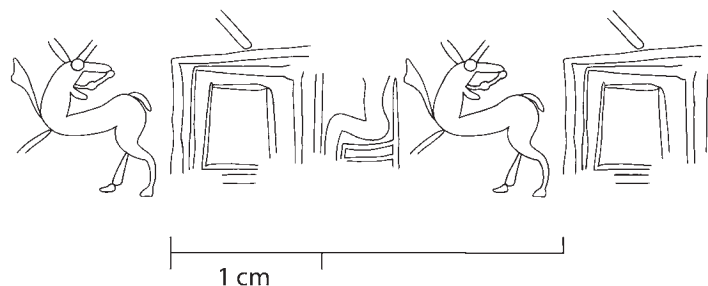
PFUTS 313 occurs on the reverse and left edge of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 312 applied to the obverse and upper and bottom edges.

## Attestations of PFUTS 313

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 1116-101	PFUTS 312	PFUTS 312	PFUTS 313	PFUTS 312	PFUTS 313	not sealed

PFS 978

Cat.No. T23

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.80 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* January/February 493 BC*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.30 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.60 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 31a*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind the seated figure, there is a rampant animal, probably a caprid. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. The arms and head of this figure are not preserved. The figure appears to wear a skirt or dress that falls to the ankles (not preserved). He sits on a high-backed chair. A single horizontal strut runs below the seat of the chair (the bottom of the chair is not preserved). The rampant animal moves to the left toward the seated figure and tower structure but turns its head back to the right. It holds one foreleg slightly bent and extends it upward diagonally before its chest. It holds the other foreleg (only partially preserved) straight and extends it downward diagonally. A short tail curves downward along its hindquarters. Two horns, only partially preserved, emerge upward diagonally from the top of the head. The mouth is open and a long tongue is indicted.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the top of the structure is very poorly preserved, while the bottom of the structure is not preserved. An outline border, in places only partially preserved, runs along all three preserved edges of the structure. A thin element placed diagonally over the top of the structure is most likely the remnants of an inverted V-shaped element that would have been part of a triangular element above the left end of the structure. The body of the structure is decorated with two irregular square inset frames within which there is a single square inset panel.

## COMMENTARY:

The decoration of the body of the tower structure on PFS 978 is very similar to that on the bodies of the tower structures on PFS 2542 (T27), PFATS 224 (T44), PFATS 297 (T45), and PFUTS 66 (ST7).

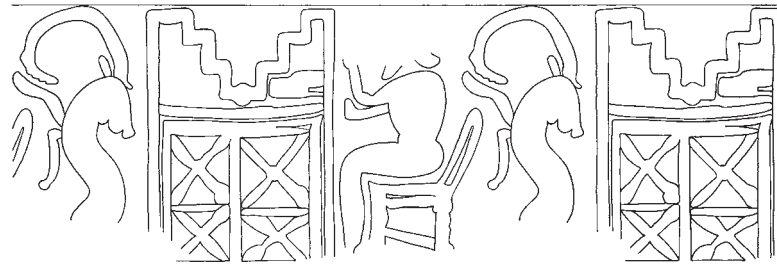
PFS 978 occurs on two Elamite tablets; in the one case on the left edge with PFS 977 on the reverse, in the other case on the reverse with PFS 25\* on the left edge. The texts are both L1 texts (“regular monthly rations with *gal makip*”) and, indeed, are almost duplicates. Uštana allocates (*kurman*) grain rations to workers who are qualified as *Hašuriyap* (“Assyrians” or “Syrians”) *GIR-hutip*. PFS 978 most likely represents an office or personal seal of an unnamed overseer for the workers.

## Attestations of PFS 978

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 2571	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 978	not sealed	PFS 25*	not sealed
PF 867	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 977	not sealed	PFS 978	not sealed

PFS 2525

Cat.No. T24

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.00 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* 499/498 BC*Number of Impressions:* 23*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.00 cm*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.00 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 32a

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the top and middle of the design survives along its complete length.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind the seated figure, there is a rampant caprid. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds one arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure; the hand is only partially preserved. He holds his other arm straight(?) and extends it outward, immediately below the upper arm, toward the tower structure; the hand(?) appears to be upturned. He has a pointed beard; a lock of hair curls upward at the back of his neck. He appears to wear a skirt or dress that falls to the ankles (not preserved). He sits on a high-backed chair. There are two horizontal struts below the seat of the chair. The back leg of the chair appears to have a series of turned moldings. The back of the chair inclines backward and appears to consist of two separate vertical sections. The rampant caprid moves to the left toward the seated figure and tower structure but turns its head back to the right. It holds one foreleg slightly bent and extends it upward diagonally in front of its neck. It holds the other foreleg bent and extends it outward in front of its chest. A large thick horn curls upward from the top of its head; there is one ear indicated. The edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. A thick horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along all preserved edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of the distinctive crenellated profile (three insets) of the crenellated tower structure. There are traces of horizontal elements at far right on the top of the structure. The body of the structure is elaborately decorated. Within the outline border, there is a large inset frame that is divided into four square metopal fields by one vertical and two horizontal elements. Each metopal field is divided into four sections by two intersecting diagonal lines, creating a series of "X" designs.

#### COMMENTARY:

As previously noted, the tower structure here seems closely related to the one on PFUTS 313 (T22). Both show the distinctive crenellation of the crenellated tower and the elaborately decorated body often

associated with the V-shaped tower. They are the clearest examples linking the V-shaped tower structures with the more well-known crenellated tower structures (i.e., catalog numbers T1–T6). Other tower structures whose bodies carry square metopal fields include those on PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 897 (T36), and perhaps also PFUTS 313 (T22), PFS 738 (T28), and PFS 709 (T33). For an “X” design on the body of a tower structure, see the tower structures on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFS 2296 (T29), PFUTS 294 (T30), and PFATS 450 (T39).

PFS 2525 occurs on the reverses (and, with two exceptions, the upper and right edges) of nine Elamite tablets, all of which are C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”). On all nine tablets, PFS 286 is applied to the left edge. The texts are remarkably similar. Fruit, qualified as *EŠŠANA-na* (“of the king,” “royal”), is deposited into an official’s account at a place that is designated as being under the responsibility (*šaramanna*) of another official. The fruits, places, and officials include:

Tablet	Fruit	Place	<i>šaramanna</i>	Deposited into Account of
NN 141	<i>karukur</i>	Tirazziš	Bakadadda	Dadumanya
NN 142	dates	Tirazziš	Bakadadda	Mišbesa
NN 143	mulberries	Tirazziš	Bakadadda	Dadumanya
NN 169	<i>karukur</i>	[...]širaya	Bakadadda	Matemesa
NN 273	dates	Nuraya	Bakadadda	Makas[...]san
NN 1088	...	Tirazziš	Bakadadda	Mišbesa
NN 2421	apples	Rappittanna	Karkiš	[...]ra[...]tuppi
NN 2423	quinces	Rappittanna	Karkiš	Bakaparna
NN 2576	quinces	Mišdubaš	Karkiš	Kunsuš

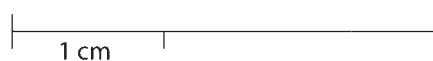
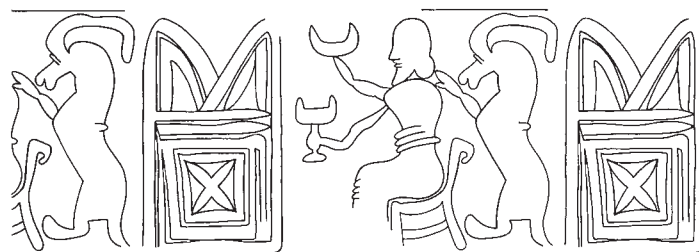
All the texts are dated to year 23. The distinction in the transactions appears to be by place. Those in Tirazziš, [...]širaya, and Nuraya fall under the responsibility (*šaramanna*) of Bakadadda, those in Rappittanna and Mišdubaš under Karkiš. Both Bakadadda and Karkiš are very well known in the archive and carry the designation *kurdabattiš* (“chief of workers”); Karkiš is also a regional director who uses PFS 1\*.<sup>547</sup> Neither PFS 2525 nor PFS 286 probably ought to be associated with Bakadadda or Karkiš, as their naming in these texts indicates not their presence at the transactions but the places under their oversight.<sup>548</sup> In general, the C1 texts function similar to accounts, where the seals applied more often are those of the un-named accountants/oversight officials rather than the individuals named in the transactions.<sup>549</sup>

#### Attestations of PFS 2525

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 141	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2525	PFS 2525	PFS 286	PFS 2525
NN 142	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2525	PFS 2525	PFS 286	PFS 2525
NN 143	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2525	partially destroyed	PFS 286	PFS 2525
NN 169	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2525	PFS 2525	PFS 286	PFS 2525
NN 273	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2525	PFS 2525	PFS 286	PFS 2525
NN 1088	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2525	destroyed	PFS 286	partially destroyed
NN 2421	not sealed	destroyed	PFS 2525	PFS 2525	PFS 286	not sealed
NN 2423	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2525	PFS 2525	PFS 286	PFS 2525
NN 2576	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2525	PFS 2525	PFS 286	PFS 2525

PFUTS 616

Cat.No. T25

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.90 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.80 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 33a

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the top and middle of the design survives along its complete length.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind him, there is a rampant caprid. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds one arm slightly bent and extends it upward diagonally in front of his face toward the tower structure; the hand grasps a large shallow bowl/cup. He holds his other arm slightly bent and extends it downward diagonally before his body, below the arm whose hand holds the large shallow bowl/cup, toward the tower structure; the hand grasps a large stemmed goblet. The figure has a thick blunt-pointed beard; a large rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He wears a belted skirt or dress that falls to the ankles (not preserved); fringe is indicated along the front edge over the legs. The belt has three large bands. He sits on a short-backed chair. The seat of the chair is concave; there is one horizontal strut below the seat. The back of the chair is straight and inclined backward, bending downward sharply at its termination. The rampant caprid moves to the left toward the seated figure and tower structure; the forward hind leg is bent and lifted as if to step on the back of the chair. One foreleg is shown/preserved, held straight and extended upward diagonally in front of its neck, the hoof placed on the shoulder of the seated figure. A large thick horn curls upward and backward from the top of its head. A portion of the edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A double horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along all preserved edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two sets of two inverted V-shaped elements, the one placed over the other (the upper inverted V-shaped element is contiguous with the outline border of the sides of the structure). As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. On the body of the structure, there are two square inset frames within which is a central inset panel decorated with two intersecting elements, placed diagonally, creating a crude four-pronged star-like device. There is a vertical element running along the outline border on the sides of the body of the structure.

## COMMENTARY:

The seated figure holds two vessels, thus explicitly marking a banquet and/or libation setting. For other scenes where a figure seated before a tower structure holds cups/vessels, see PFS 738 (T28), PFUTS 257 (T31); perhaps also PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFS 307 (T20), and PFS 2220 (T21).

The overall form and decoration of the tower structure are very similar to the structures on PFUTS 33 (T17) and PFATS 312 (T38). For other tower structures whose tops consist of two sets of two inverted V-shaped elements, see PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFATS 312 (T38), and probably also PFATS 297 (T45). For a four-pronged star-like design on the body of a tower structure, see the tower structures on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 2525 (T24) (four, in metopal fields), PFS 2296 (T29), PFUTS 294 (T30), and PFATS 450 (T39). For a six- or eight-pronged star-like device on the body of a tower structure, see those on PFS 435 (T16), PFS 2220 (T21), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 244 (T42).

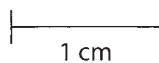
PFUTS 616 occurs on the obverse or reverse of one Aramaic tablet and one uninscribed tablet. PFUTS 617s is also applied to the uninscribed tablet, PFS 17 to the Aramaic tablet.

## Attestations of PFUTS 616

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFAT 629	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 616	not sealed	PFS 17	not sealed
PFUT 2092-207	PFUTS 616	not sealed	PFUTS 617s	PFUTS 617s(?)	PFUTS 617s(?)	not sealed

PFUTS 240

Cat.No. T26



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 1

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (complete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Good-fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 1.70 cm

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.60 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 33c

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 240 is only partially preserved. A seated figure faces what may be a tower structure; behind him, there is a rampant caprid. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the structure. He holds one arm slightly bent and extends it upward diagonally in front of his face and near the possible tower structure; the hand is



not preserved. He holds the other arm straight and extends it outward diagonally before his chest, below the slightly bent arm, to grasp a short staff/scepter. The staff/scepter has a rounded termination on its top; there is another rounded section approximately at the middle of the object. The seated figure wears an ankle-length dress or skirt that carries long fringing on both the front and back edges over the legs. The figure has a thin pointed(?) beard; a large rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The top of the head is not preserved. Only portions of the seat and legs of the chair are preserved, but it appears to have been a complex affair. It appears to consist of two sections. The upper section is a flat seat that inclines downward, a front leg that is bent inward, and two struts placed diagonally in an inverted V-shape under the seat. The lower section consists of a front leg that has two vertical elements, one horizontal element, and a bifurcated foot; a strut runs horizontally between the lower part of the legs. To the left of the possible tower structure in the preserved design (and probably immediately behind the seated figure), a rampant caprid (only partially preserved) moves to the left but turns its head back to the right. It holds one foreleg slightly bent (only partially preserved) and extends it upward diagonally in front of its neck; it holds the other foreleg bent and extends it outward horizontally in front of its body. It has a long squared beard; facial details are not preserved, but one cannot rule out the possibility of a human face. A long horn emerges from the front of its head and curves backward; there are two long ears behind the horn. Portions of the edge of the seal are preserved at the top and bottom of the design.

The possible tower structure consists of a two-stepped base from which emerges a columnar support for a two-stepped podium over which two triangular masses are placed so as to make a V-shaped space over the center of the structure. There is a thick outline border running along all three sides of each of the triangular masses.

COMMENTARY:

With the exception of the irregular structure, the compositional elements are the same as those found in the scenes showing a seated figure and an animal before a tower structure collected in this section of the catalog.

The structure itself appears to be some type of hybrid of the stepped and tower structures. The stepped base, columnar support, and stepped podium recall the conventional rendering of the stepped structure. The two triangular masses forming a V-shaped space over the center of the structure constitute the defining configuration of the V-shaped tower. The structure may be similar to the structure on PFUTS 242 (T15), which shows a partially preserved columnar support for two triangular masses forming a V-shaped space.

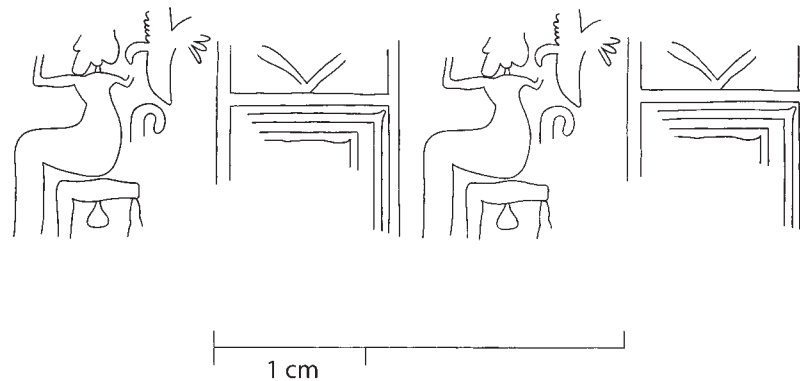
PFUTS 240 occurs on the obverse of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 241s applied to the left edge.

Attestations of PFUTS 240

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 195-201	PFUTS 240	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 241s	not sealed

PFS 2542

Cat.No. T27

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.90 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* 497/496 BC*Number of Impressions:* 3*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.70 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 34a*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

A seated figure faces a tower structure; behind him, there is a bird in flight. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds one arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure; the hand is not preserved. He holds his other arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to the right, apparently(?) to grasp the neck of the bird (the figure's hand is not preserved). He has a long squared beard; a rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He appears to wear a skirt or dress that falls to the ankles (not preserved). He sits on a high-backed chair. Below the seat of the chair, there is a teardrop-shaped device. The back of the chair is only partially preserved. It appears to have been straight; the top of the back of the chair curls downward sharply. A bird is in flight to the left in the upper field immediately behind the seated figure.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. The top of the structure is only partially preserved; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. A horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along all preserved edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of a U-shaped frame (contiguous with the outline border and the horizontal border) within which is a V-shaped element. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. The preserved part of the body of the structure has remnants of two rectangular inset frames and one large rectangular inset panel.

**COMMENTARY:**

The bird on PFS 2542 seems to act in place of the rampant animal that occurs in the previous seals in this compositional category. The fact that the seated figure apparently grasps the bird is quite unusual not only within the corpus of scenes here published but also in the entirety of the Persepolitan glyptic corpus. Other scenes that have a long-neck bird in flight in the corpus of scenes here published include PFUTS 242 (T15), PFATS 11 (T35), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 224 (T44). PFS 427 (S13) has a cock at ground level.

The U-shaped frame within which is a V-shaped element (or a series of V-shaped elements) at the top of the structure occurs also on the tower structures on PFUTS 151 (T10), PFS 435 (T16), PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 2220 (T21), PFATS 436 (T46), PFATS 392 (T48), and PFS 2673s (T49).

PFS 2542 occurs on the reverse and upper and right edges of one Elamite tablet, with PFS 2541 applied to the left edge. The text is a C1 text (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”) very similar to the ones discussed above in association with PFS 2525 (T24): mulberries qualified as *EŠŠANA-na* (“of the king,” “royal”) were deposited on the account of Miššakka at the place Pirraššetaš, with Karkiš, the *kurdabattiš* (“chief of workers”), named as the *šaramanna* official.

## Attestations of PFS 2542

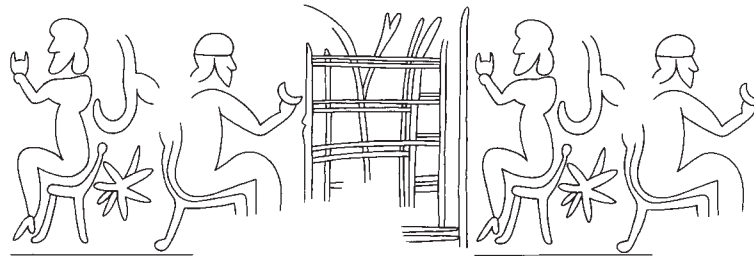
<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
NN 1418	not sealed	partially destroyed	PFS 2542	PFS 2542	PFS 2541	PFS 2542

### 3.3.6. Tower Structure with Seated Figure(s)

Catalog numbers T28–31 appear to be related to those in the previous sub-group. The scenes do not, however, have a rampant animal. In three of the four cases, the compositions include a second human figure who is seated (PFS 738 [T28] and PFUTS 257 [T31]) or standing (PFS 2296 [T29]). Overall, these scenes have a distinctive banquet character to them.

PFS 738

Cat.No. T28



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.00 cm

*Earliest Dated Application:* 500/499 BC

*Number of Impressions:* 1

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.00 cm

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.10 cm (complete)

*Photograph:* pl. 35a

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle and bottom of the design survives along its complete length.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure is disposed to either side of a possible tower structure. Both figures face the possible tower structure. Only one arm is depicted for the seated figure at right. He holds it bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure; the hand holds a small shallow cup/bowl. The figure appears to wear an ankle-length skirt or dress. He has a pointed beard; a teardrop-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The chair has a curved back with a rounded termination; the two legs slant outward. Only one arm is depicted for the seated figure at left. He holds it bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure; the hand holds a small shallow cup/bowl. The figure appears to wear an ankle-length skirt or dress (the feet are not preserved). He has a short pointed beard. The chair has a curved back with a rounded termination; the two legs slant outward. In the field behind the two seated figures are a star (below) and a hooked device (above), the latter perhaps a scorpion or bucranium. A portion of the edge of the seal is preserved at the bottom of the design.

The possible tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the bottom of the structure is only partially preserved. The structure consists of a U-shaped frame with double line border on the bottom. Within this frame are thin vertical and horizontal elements. The vertical elements, reading from left to right, consist of: one that is straight and upright; one that inclines to the left, bifurcating near its top, one branch curving to the right, the other curving to the left; a set of two vertical elements whose upper sections incline to the right; one that is straight and upright. Between this last vertical element and the outer edge of the U-shaped frame at left run four sets of two thin horizontal elements, placed

equidistant from each other. At far right, the horizontal elements are offset upward, with the exception of the topmost pair.

## COMMENTARY:

The two seated figures, both of whom hold vessels, appear emphatically to indicate a banquet/libation environment. The association of drinking vessels, pitchers, and jars with the stepped and tower structures is a recurring feature of the corpus here published as a whole.<sup>550</sup> The star and possible scorpion/bucranium in the terminal field, as the rampant animals associated with seated figures and tower structures in the previous section of the catalog, serve to emphasize the numinous/cosmic quality of the scene.

In its complete aspect, the tower structure on PFS 738 finds no exact parallels and we ought to leave open the possibility that the structure has no connection to the tower structures here published. The V-shaped aspect of the top of the structure and the internal partitioning of the body do recall, however, the rendering of the tower structure on other seals. The disposition of the seated banqueters around the structure on PFS 738 seems also in keeping with the spirit of scenes associated with the V-shaped tower structures here published.

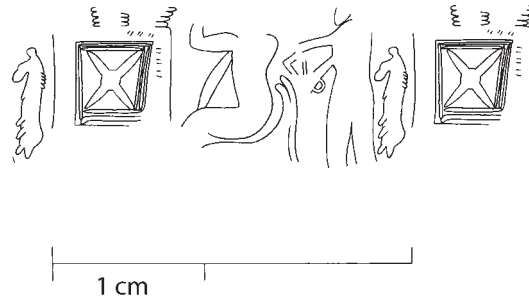
PFS 738 occurs on the reverse of one Elamite tablet, with PFS 5 applied to the left edge. The text is an F text (“setting aside of grains”), an allocation of grain from Parru with Iššante named as the *šaramanna* official. The association of PFS 5 with the supplier Parru is well attested in other texts. Whether PFS 738 is used by Iššante cannot be determined. The name occurs in some sixteen other texts, primarily E texts (“utilization”) where the individual so-named, associated with a variety of seals, receives various commodities for storage or conversion into food stuffs. The only other text that names an Iššante as a *šaramanna* official is NN 210, an L2 text (“regular monthly rations with *galma*”); the tablet is not sealed.

## Attestations of PFS 738

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PF 511	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 738	not sealed	PFS 5	not sealed

PFS 2296

Cat.No. T29

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.80 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 1*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.10 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.40 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 36a*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

A seated and a standing figure face a tower structure; an unidentifiable object is in the field behind the standing figure. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds one arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure; the hand is not preserved. Under this arm there is a pole-like element disposed diagonally in the field. This may be the figure's other arm or a staff. The head is not preserved. One assumes that the figure wears an ankle-length garment, although the lower legs are not preserved. The chair is only partially preserved. It has a short back that has a bifurcated termination and curves inward. Behind the seated figure, a second figure stands facing to the left, toward the tower structure. He holds one arm straight and extends it outward horizontally at shoulder level before his body; the hand is not preserved. He holds the other arm straight(?) and extends it downward diagonally in front of his body; the hand is not preserved. A U-shaped device is attached to the lower edge of this arm near its termination. There are illegible traces in the area where the figure's hands would have been, suggesting that he held something. His garment cannot be determined, although the legs are visible, suggesting trousers. Of the head, only the end of a blunt-pointed beard is preserved. Behind the standing figure, there is a bag-like object with two projections at its top disposed vertically in the field. There are serrations along the lower front and upper back of the object.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. The top of the structure is only poorly preserved; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. Of the top of the structure, there remain only segments of serrated edges of two thick frond-like objects. The body of the structure has at least two thin square inset frames within which is a single central inset panel. Within the central inset panel, two diagonal elements intersect creating a four-pronged star-like device.

**COMMENTARY:**

The attendant who stands behind the seated figure may indicate a banquet setting. As preserved, the object behind the standing person cannot be identified.

The frond-like elements at the top of the structure are unique within the corpus here published. Some large boxy plants with three fronds do appear in Persepolitan glyptic. For instance, PFS 280 and PFS 148 each has a figure seated before a rectangular plant with three fronds and reaching back to grasp a rampant animal.<sup>551</sup> The fronds on the ends of these "plants" are triangular in shape, thus recalling the tower structures with triangular masses here published. However, the "plants" on PFS 280 and PFS 148

do not have any decoration on their bodies, a feature that seems to demark them clearly from the tower structures. Nevertheless, the overlap between the two image types is intriguing on both iconographic and iconologic levels.<sup>552</sup> The triangular masses on the tower structures on PFATS 224 (T44) and PFUTS 66 (ST7) have serrations or something similar running along several edges, thus yielding a frond-like appearance. The diagonal elements decorating the interior of the triangular mass on the structure on PFUTS 457 (T32) may evoke the same. The bodies of the structures on PFUTS 457 (T32) and PFS 628 (T47) also carry plant-like decoration. The decoration of the body of the structure on PFS 2296, square inset frames and a four-pronged star-like device, is, however, common; see the tower structures on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 2525 (T24) (four, in metopal fields), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFUTS 294 (T30), and PFATS 450 (T39). For a six- or eight-pronged star-like device on the body of a tower structure, see the tower structures on PFS 435 (T16), PFS 2220 (T21), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 244 (T42).

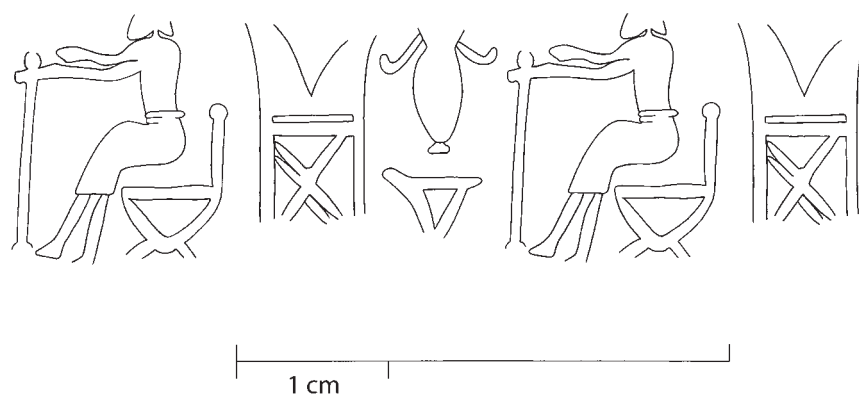
PFS 2296 occurs on the reverse of one Elamite tablet, with PFS 24 applied to the left edge. The text is an E text (“utilization”). Mirayauda supplies grain to Miššeza for a *bakadaušiya* (“feast belonging to the offering for a god”) for the gods Auramazdā and Mišdušiš; afterwards workers (*kurtaš*) consumed the grain.<sup>553</sup> The linkage of PFS 24 with Mirayauda is well attested.<sup>554</sup> Miššeza occurs in three other E texts, all of which concern feasts for deities and one of which (NN 613) names him a *šatin* (“priest”). In each of these cases, a different seal is applied to the reverse of the tablet.

## Attestations of PFS 2296

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 978	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2296	not sealed	PFS 24	not sealed

PFUTS 294

Cat.No. T30



Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 1.00 cm

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Number of Impressions: 5

Preserved Height of Image: 1.60 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impressions: Fair

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 3.20 cm (complete)

Photographs: pl. 37a–b

Completeness of Image: A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A seated figure faces a table and a tower structure. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the table, a figure sits facing to the left toward the table and the

tower structure. He holds both arms slightly bent and extends them outward at chest level, the one above the other. The hand of the lower arm grasps the top of a staff disposed vertically in the field before him. The staff has rounded terminations at both top and bottom. The figure wears a double-belted calf-length dress or skirt. He has a thick blunt-pointed beard; a small pointed lock of hair rests at the back of his neck. The chair has a flat seat and a straight back. The two legs intersect below the seat, suggesting some type of folding arrangement. The top of the back of the chair is rounded. Immediately in front of the seated figure to left is a table (the bottom of the table is not preserved). The legs of the table intersect below the top of the table, suggesting, as with the chair, a folding device. Above the table is suspended a large amphora. It has a small ring foot; two handles extend downward from the neck of the vessel, curling upward at their terminations.

The tower structure is tall and narrow; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. A horizontal element divides the top of the structure from the body. The top of the structure consists of two large triangular masses (the tops of these are not preserved). As so disposed, they form a V-shaped space over the center of the structure. There is an outline border on the two sides of the body of the structure creating a single large inset panel. Within the panel, six diagonal elements, four clustered together running from upper left to lower right, intersect creating a six-pronged star-like device.

COMMENTARY:

The amphora posed above the table is unique within the corpus of scenes here published. The amphora and the table would seem to indicate a banquet setting, but the seated figure holds a staff rather than a cup.

Two undecorated triangular masses on the top of a tower structure occur also on the structures on PFUTS 242 (T15), PFATS 354 (T8), the seal PT6 699 (T34) from the Treasury, and PFUTS 66 (ST7). The treatment of the tops of these structures may have some affinity with those on the structures on PFUTS 152 (T14), PFATS 354 (T8), and PFUTS 240 (T26). Four-pronged star-like devices are found on the bodies of the structures on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 2525 (T24) (four, in metopal fields), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFS 2296 (T29), and PFATS 450 (T39). For a six- or eight-pronged star-like device on the body of a tower structure, see the tower structures on PFS 435 (T16), PFS 2220 (T21), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 244 (T42).

PFUTS 294 occurs on one uninscribed tablet, applied to five surfaces, with PFUTS 295s also applied to the bottom edge.

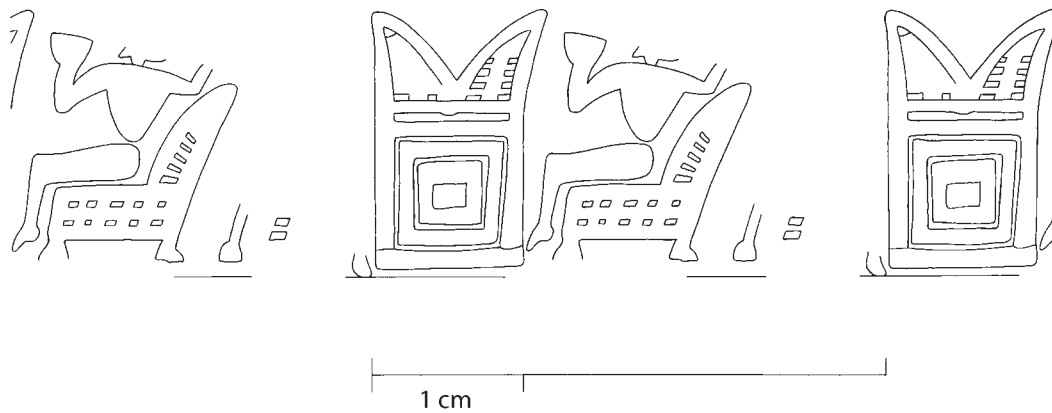
Attestations of PFUTS 294

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 1159-202	PFUTS 294	PFUTS 294; PFUTS 295s	PFUTS 294	PFUTS 294	PFUTS 294	not sealed



PFUTS 257

Cat.No. T31

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.80 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.10 cm*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.30 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 38a*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

A seated figure, perhaps two, face(s) a tower structure. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure sits facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the tower structure; the arm terminates in a rectilinear manner that may indicate the hand or a handless cup. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level behind him to the right; the hand is not preserved. The head is poorly preserved; he has a short pointed beard (or perhaps is beardless). The figure appears to wear an ankle-length garment. The chair is large. The seat is thick and the two legs appear to terminate in turned moldings. Two horizontal rows of small rectangles decorate the seat, perhaps indicating a series of struts. The back of the chair is thick, curving backward and tapering at its termination. A single row of small rectangles runs along the length of the back of the chair. Behind the seated figure, there are traces of what appear to be two legs of a chair and two small rectangular elements, suggesting another chair (and, thus, another seated person). Segments of the edge of the seal are preserved at the bottom of the design.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. Two thick horizontal elements divide the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along all edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two inverted V-shaped elements (contiguous with the outline border). As so construed, the top of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. Two vertical rows of small rectangles are preserved in the right triangle of the top of the structure. Two small rectangles in the left triangle suggest this section was also so decorated. The body of the structure consists of two thick rectangular inset frames within which there is a single small rectangular inset panel.

**COMMENTARY:**

There appears to have been a second chair in the scene, but the spacing seems too cramped to allow for a second seated person. Perhaps these traces of a second chair are ghosting from a distorted rolling of the seal. Despite the awkwardness of the carving, the seated figure appears to hold a cup (rather than

to have a cup-shaped hand), thus relating it directly to the seated figures who hold cups on PFUTS 616 (T25) and PFS 738 (T28); perhaps also PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFS 307 (T20), and PFS 2220 (T21).

The treatment of the top of the tower structure on PFUTS 257 is most closely related to the tower structure on PFUTS 457 (T32); possibly also related are the tower structures on PFATS 450 (T39) and PFS 1015 (T43), which have horizontal or diagonal striations in the two triangular elements. The two thick square inset frames on the body of the structure are also found on the body of the structure on PFATS 392 (T48); the tower structures on PFS 978 (T23) and PFS 2542 (T27) both have thin square inset frames on their bodies. Inset panels/frames are a conspicuous feature of both the crenellated and the V-shaped tower types.

PFUTS 257 occurs the obverse and reverse of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 256 applied to the left edge.

Attestations of PFUTS 257

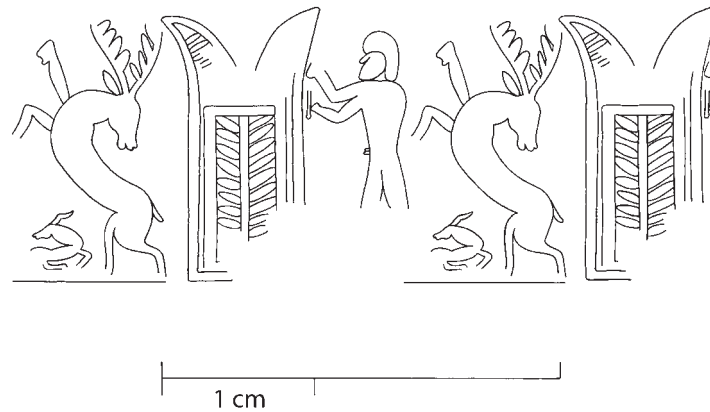
<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 536-201	PFUTS 257	not sealed	PFUTS 257	not sealed	PFUTS 256	not sealed

### 3.3.7. Tower Structure with Standing Figure and Animal

PFUTS 457 (T32) and PFS 709 (T33) show a standing figure and a rampant animal before a tower structure.

PFUTS 457

Cat.No. T32



Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.90 cm

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Number of Impressions: 6

Preserved Height of Image: 1.80 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impressions: Fair-very poor

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 2.10 cm

Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 2.70 cm (complete)

Photographs: pl. 39a-b

Completeness of Image: A large segment of the middle and bottom of the design survives along its complete length.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A standing figure faces a tower structure; behind him, there are a rampant stag and a small caprid couchant. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure stands facing to the left toward the tower structure. He holds one arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to the left, the hand (only partially preserved) placed on the edge of the upper part of the tower structure. He holds his other arm bent and extends it outward, just below the first arm, the hand holding a very thin small rod-like device (only partially preserved) near the edge of the upper part of the tower structure. He may wear an Assyrian garment (the lower legs are not preserved); two small projections at the front of the waist may be remnants of a belt. He has a blunt-pointed beard; a thick mass of hair hangs straight down at the back of his neck. Immediately behind this figure to right is a rampant stag. The rampant stag moves to the left toward the standing figure and the tower structure but turns its head back to right. It holds one foreleg straight and extends it upward diagonally before its chest. It holds the other foreleg bent and extends it outward before its body. It has a short pointed tail. A set of large antlers with multiple branches curves upward from the top of the head. A small ear is indicated at the base of the antlers. In the lower field between the standing figure and the rampant stag is a small caprid couchant.<sup>555</sup> The animal's body is oriented to the right, but it turns its head back to the left. The legs are tucked under the body. A bent horn emerges upward diagonally from the top of the head. A small section of the edge of the seal is preserved at the bottom of the design.

The tower structure is tall and narrow and elaborately decorated; the top and the bottom of the structure are only partially preserved. An outline border runs along all edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two inverted V-shaped elements (contiguous with the outline border; preserved only at left). As so construed, the top of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create

a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. The upper parts of these triangular masses curve outward. In the interior of the triangular mass at left, there are thin linear elements placed diagonally. The decoration on the body of the structure consists of a large rectangular inset frame (only partially preserved) within which there is a central vertical element from which emerge short diagonal extensions. As so construed, the decoration in the center of the inset frame has a plant-like appearance.

## COMMENTARY:

This is a handsome and well-executed design. The treatment of the top of the tower structure on PFUTS 457 is most closely related to the tower structure on PFUTS 257 (T31); possibly also related are the tower structures on PFATS 450 (T39) and PFS 1015 (T43), which have horizontal or diagonal striations in the two triangular elements. While the rectangular inset frame on the body of the tower structure on PFUTS 457 is unremarkable for this corpus, the plant-like device contained therein has only one parallel, the tower structure on PFS 628 (T47), which shows a similar multi-branched plant within a rectangular inset frame; the scene is only poorly preserved, but there is clearly a caprid before the structure. Possibly also related is the tower structure on PFATS 436 (T46), on which a caprid occurs within a rectangular inset frame on the body of the tower structure.

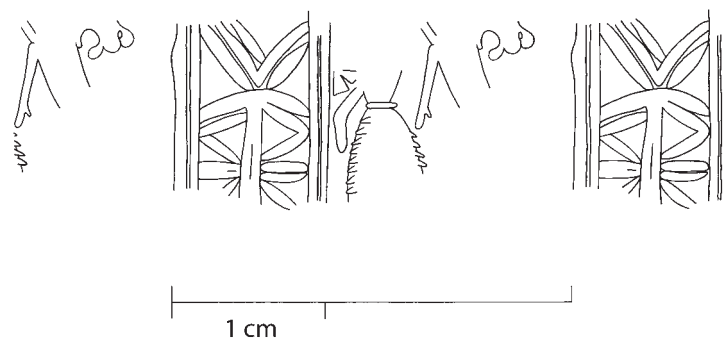
PFUTS 457 occurs on the obverse and reverse of three unscribed tablets; it is the only seal applied to the tablets.

Attestations of PFUTS 457

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 131-201	PFUTS 457	not sealed	PFUTS 457	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 1519-202	PFUTS 457	not sealed	PFUTS 457	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFUT 1522-206	PFUTS 457	not sealed	PFUTS 457	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

PFS 709

Cat.No. T33

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.90 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 6*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.40 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.70 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 40a*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

A figure stands before a tower structure; a rampant animal is behind him. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. Immediately before the tower structure, a figure stands facing to the left toward the tower structure. The chest, shoulders, head, and feet of the figure are not preserved. A bent element immediately in front of the waist of this figure may be an arm or a belt(?) from his garment. Above this is a smaller bent element whose identification is unclear. The figure wears a belted dress or skirt with fringing indicated along the front and back edges on the lower part of the garment. Immediately behind him to right is a rampant animal (lion?). The animal moves to the left toward the standing figure and the tower structure but turns its head back to right. It holds one foreleg straight (only partially preserved) and extends it upward diagonally before its chest. It holds the other foreleg straight and extends it downward before its body.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. The bottom of the tower structure is not preserved. A double outline border runs along the left and right edges of the structure. A thick slightly curved border divides the top of the structure from the body. The double outline borders continue upward to the top of the structure. Between them, there are two diagonal elements over which there is a V-shaped element; a third diagonal element lies over the left side of the V-shaped element. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. A thick vertical element bisects the body of the structure; two horizontal elements then divide the body into four metopal fields. Each of the upper two metopal fields contains a V-shaped element placed horizontally, the pointed end intersecting with the outline border. The lower two metopal fields appear to be similarly decorated, although only one segment of a single diagonal element is preserved in each metopal field.

**COMMENTARY:**

Garrison and Root (2001), with hesitation, identified the scene as one of heroic encounter. Additional impressions of the seal (the drawing here published is a revised one based upon those additional impressions) indicate, however, that we have to do with a standing figure, rampant animal, and tower structure.<sup>556</sup> The lion is, however, an oddity; in all other scenes in which there is a tower structure and an animal, that animal is a caprid or stag.

The decoration of the body of the tower structure is similar to that on the tower structures on PFS 435 (T16) and PFATS 244 (T42).

PFS 709 occurs on the left edges of six Elamite tablets; two carry also PFS 81\*, the other four also PFS 708. Three texts, NN 168, NN 2436, and PF 482, are F texts (“setting-aside of grains for seed and fodder”); the *kurman* official named in all three texts is Kitin-riri. NN 518 is a G text (“providing of provisions”); the *kurman* official is Panuka. NN 163 is a Q text (“travel rations”), NN 342 an S1 text (“regular rations for animals”); in both the *kurman* official is Kitin-riri. Based upon Q texts protocols, one can conclude with confidence that PFS 709 represents a grain supply authority and was used principally by Kitin-riri.

## Attestations of PFS 709

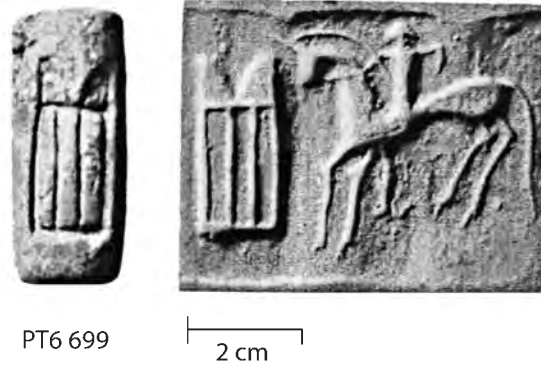
<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
NN 163	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 81*	not sealed	PFS 709	not sealed
NN 168	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 708	not sealed	PFS 709	not sealed
NN 342	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 81*	not sealed	PFS 709	not sealed
NN 518	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 708	destroyed	PFS 709	not sealed
NN 2436	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 708	not sealed	PFS 709	not sealed
PF 482	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 708	PFS 708	PFS 709	not sealed

### 3.3.8. Tower Structure with Horseman

One seal from the Treasury at Persepolis, PT6 699 (T34), shows a figure on horseback before a tower structure.

PT6 699

Cat.No. T34



PT6 699

2 cm

*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Preserved Height of Image:* 2.30 cm (complete)

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.30 cm

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.10 cm (complete)

*Completeness of Image:* Complete.

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.00 cm

*Number of Impressions:* NA

*Quality of Impressions:* NA

*Style:* unknown

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PT6 699 is an actual seal found in a surface layer in Plot IG 34 in the Treasury.<sup>557</sup>

A figure on horseback is before a tower structure. The scene is oriented right to left, with the tower structure at left. The horseman moves to the left toward the tower structure. The rider extends his right arm to the neck of the horse (the hand is not indicated). He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to the right. The abstracted cutting style does not allow determination of the rider's facial details or garment.

The tower structure is tall and narrow. The upper part of the structure consists of two undecorated triangular masses that form a V-shaped space over the center of the structure. The body of the tower structure has an outline border that runs along the sides and bottom. Within the outline border, two thin vertical elements divide the space into three equal sections yielding a triglyph-like arrangement.

#### COMMENTARY:

Schmidt (1957, p. 37 [s.v. PTS 57] and 43) identified the structure as an "altar" similar to the tower structure on PTS 57 (T6). Yamamoto (1979, p. 32) also linked the structure to the crenellated tower type (a "simplified shape") and suggested that it showed a "warrior or king returning home."<sup>558</sup> Stronach (1966, p. 222) discusses this seal in relation to the structures on the reverses of the coinage of the *frataraka* dynasty of Fārs (see the discussion at §4.4.2.3). Because of this linkage, he dated the seal to the second century BC (whereas Schmidt dated the seal to the Achaemenid period).<sup>559</sup>

That we have to do here with a tower structure seems almost certain given the manner in which the details of the structure are rendered. The two undecorated triangular masses at the top of the structure occur also on the tower structures on PFUTS 242 (T15), PFUTS 294 (T30), and PFUTS 66 (ST7). The treatment of the tops of these structures may have some affinity with the structures on PFUTS 152 (T14), PFATS 354 (T8), and PFUTS 240 (T26). The tower structures on PFS 2315 (T12) and PFUTS 149 (ST3) have similar

thin vertical elements, four and two in number respectively, occurring within an inset panel, but they are more closely spaced than those on the tower structure on PT6 699; perhaps related are the numerous thin vertical elements decorating the tower structures on PFUTS 604 (T13) and PFUTS 152 (T14).

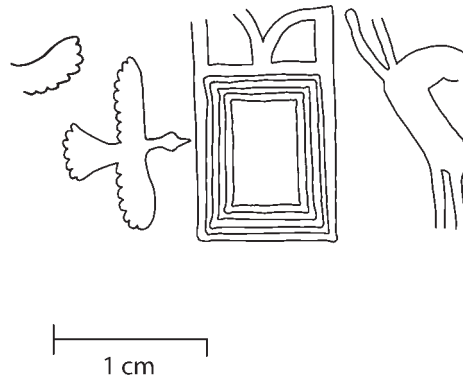
The context of the tower structure, with a horseman, is unique within the corpus here published. Given that the composition is an outlier, that the style is unknown within Persepolitan glyptic, that the seal was found in a surface layer in the Treasury, and that similar renderings of a tower structure are found on the late coinage of the *frataraka* dynasty, it is most likely, as Stronach suggested, that the seal dates to the post-Achaemenid period.<sup>560</sup>

### 3.3.9. Tower Structure with Rampant Animal(s)

A relatively large number of scenes show the tower structure with one or two animals. On catalog numbers T35–T43, the animal(s) is rampant; in the scenes in the following section (§3.3.10), the animal(s) is marchant or courant (catalog numbers T44–T48).

PFATS 11

Cat.No. T35



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 9

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.10 cm (incomplete)

*Photographs:* pl. 41a–b

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A rampant animal (at right) and a bird in flight (at left) are before a tower structure. A fragment of a wing at far left of the preserved design may belong to the rampant animal at right or to a different creature. The rampant animal moves to the left toward the tower structure but turns its head back to the right. It holds its two forelegs straight and extends them upward together diagonally. Immediately to the left of the tower structure is a bird with wings spread in flight to the right.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A thick horizontal element divides the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along all edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two inverted V-shaped elements (contiguous with the outline border). As so construed, the top of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there are two thin rectangular inset frames within which there is a large central rectangular inset panel.



## COMMENTARY:

Other scenes that include a bird in flight in the corpus here published are those on PFUTS 242 (T15), PFS 2542 (T27), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 224 (T44).

The tower structure is very similar in composition to the tower structures on PFS 2542 (T27), PFUTS 257 (T31), and PFUTS 457 (T32); see also the tower structures on PFUTS 76 (T18) and PFUTS 616 (T25). The rectangular inset frames on the body of the structure are found on both the crenellated tower structure and the V-shaped tower structure.

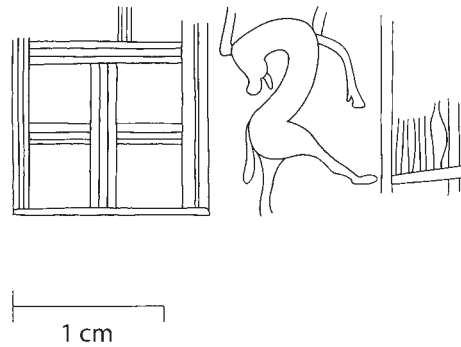
PFATS 11 occurs on seven Aramaic tablets. The seal always occurs with one other seal, but the applications of the seals on the tablets follow no recognizable pattern.<sup>561</sup> Two tablets, PFAT 50 and 81, carry the combination of PFATS 2 and PFATS 11.

## Attestations of PFATS 11

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFAT 50	PFATS 11	not sealed	PFATS 2	not sealed	PFATS 11	not sealed
PFAT 51	not sealed	not sealed	PFATS 113	not sealed	PFATS 11	not sealed
PFAT 56	PFATS 11	PFS 1090	PFS 1090	PFS 1090	PFS 1090	not sealed
PFAT 59	not sealed	not sealed	PFATS 6	not sealed	PFATS 11	not sealed
PFAT 81	PFATS 2	not sealed	PFATS 11 (× 2)	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed
PFAT 87	not sealed	not sealed	PFATS 135	not sealed	PFATS 11	not sealed
PFAT 98	PFATS 11	not sealed	PFATS 11	not sealed	PFATS 743	not sealed

PFS 897

Cat.No. T36

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Earliest Dated Application:* 495/494 BC*Number of Impressions:* 1*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.40 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.00 cm (incomplete?)*Photograph:* pl. 42a*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

It is unclear whether the full extent of the scene is preserved. The scene has what appears to be the body of a tower structure and a rampant caprid. The horizontal and vertical lines at far right of the impression may be part of the body of the tower structure, but they are poorly preserved, perhaps distorted and/or over-rolled, and a collation, while probable, is not currently possible.

The caprid is rampant, moving to the right but turning its head back to the left. It raises the forward hind leg to place it near the edge of the tower structure. It raises one foreleg (only partially preserved) upward diagonally before its neck. It holds the other foreleg slightly bent and extends it downward diagonally before its body. A short tail extends downward. A sharply bent horn (only partially preserved) rises from the front of the head. There is a short beard.

The top of the tower structure is not preserved, and it is unclear whether we are seeing the full extent of the body of the structure. The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad. There is a double outline border running along the vertical edge of the structure at right; a single outline border is at the bottom, but this element may not represent the full extent of the lower part of the structure. At far left of the preserved impression, the structure terminates in two vertical elements. These may mark the left edge of the structure, but, if so, they cannot be reconciled with the traces of what appear to be the left edge of the structure at far right of the preserved impression. Two horizontal elements run along the top of the preserved body of the structure. The field delineated by the vertical and horizontal elements is divided vertically into two equal sections by two thick vertical elements; there is a small space between these vertical elements. These sections are then divided into two equal sections by two horizontal elements. The overall effect yields four square metopal fields. Above the two horizontal lines at the top of the body of the structure are traces of two very thin vertical lines, suggesting another passage that is subdivided into square and/or rectangular panels.

## COMMENTARY:

The partitioning of the body of the tower structure into four metopal fields occurs also on the structures on PFUTS 330 (T19), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 2525 (T24), and perhaps also PFUTS 313 (T22). The doubling of the horizontal and vertical elements calls to mind the treatment of the body of the possible tower structure on PFS 738 (T28).

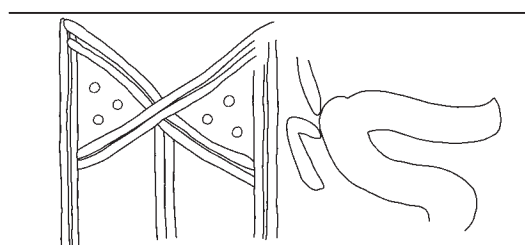
PFS 897 occurs on the reverse of one Elamite tablet, PF 771, a K1 text (“rations for individuals with religious functions”). There are no other seals applied to the tablet. The text is a receipt of beer by Irdabada, who delivered it as *daušiyam* (“offering”) for the god Auramazdā. The text is basically a duplicate to another K1 text, NN 683, which carries two seals, neither of which is PFS 897. Irdabada is a well-attested *kurman* official, concerned with grain and flour, with whom numerous seals are associated. Whether PFS 897 represents him or his office cannot be determined.

## Attestations of PFS 897

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PF 771	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 897	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

PFATS 281

Cat.No. T37



1 cm

*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 4

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.90 cm (incomplete)

*Photographs:* pl. 43a–b

*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle and top of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFATS 281 is only partially preserved. A rampant winged creature (caprid?) is before a tower structure. The rampant winged creature moves to the left toward the tower structure; its head is not preserved. It holds one foreleg slightly bent (only partially preserved) and extends it upward diagonally in front of its head. It holds the other foreleg bent (only partially preserved) and extends it outward before its chest. The edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. There is a double outline border that runs along all preserved edges of the structure. The top of the structure appears to consist of two sets of two inverted V-shaped elements, the one placed over the other, both contiguous with the double outline border. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular elements that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. Rather than terminating at the center of the structure, the two lines constituting the inner part of the triangular elements continue downward diagonally to intersect with the double outline border on the vertical edges of the structure. Within each triangular element, there are three small dots. Two

vertical elements (only partially preserved) run down the center of the body of the structure, dividing it into two fields.

## COMMENTARY:

While the inverted V-shaped elements on the top of the structure are a common convention for the rendering of the top of the V-shaped tower structure, see the structures on PFUTS 330 (T19), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFATS 244 (T42), and probably also PFATS 312 (T38) and PFATS 297 (T45), the exact configuration of these elements on PFATS 281 finds no parallels in the corpus here published. Generally, the division between the top of the structure and the body of the structure is marked by a horizontal element. The preserved vertical elements suggest that the body of the structure may have been divided into metopal fields.

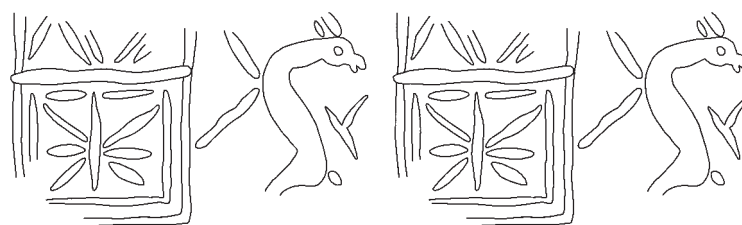
PFATS 281 occurs on the obverse, reverse, and left edge of one Aramaic tablet; no other seals are applied to the tablet.

## Attestations of PFATS 281

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFAT 278	PFATS 281 (× 2)	destroyed	PFATS 281	not sealed	PFATS 281	destroyed

## PFATS 312

Cat.No. T38



1 cm

Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.80 cm

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Number of Impressions: 13

Preserved Height of Image: 1.40 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impressions: Fair-poor

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 2.40 cm (complete)

Photographs: pl. 44a–b

Completeness of Image: A segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A rampant animal (caprid?) stands before a tower structure; a bird in flight is behind the animal. The rampant animal moves to the left but turns its head back to the right. It holds one foreleg straight (only partially preserved) and extends it upward diagonally in front of its neck. It holds the other foreleg straight and extends it downward diagonally before its body, the hoof/paw placed near the edge of the tower structure. Remnants of a horn are preserved at the top of the head; one small ear is indicated. A short tail extends downward. A thin bird(?), one wing is indicated, flies to the left in the field immediately behind the rampant animal.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. The top of the structure is only partially preserved; the lower left bottom of the structure is not preserved. A horizontal element divides the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along all preserved edges of the structure. The top of the structure appears to consist of two sets of two inverted V-shaped elements, the one placed over the other; the upper inverted V-shaped elements are probably contiguous with the outline border on the sides of the structure. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular masses that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. The body of the structure has one rectangular inset frame within which there is a large rectangular inset panel. Within the panel, there is an eight-pronged star-like device. The prongs are of unequal length.

## COMMENTARY:

For other scenes in which there is a bird in flight with a tower structure, see PFUTS 242 (T15), PFS 2542 (T27), PFATS 11 (T35), and PFATS 224 (T44).

Overall, the tower structure is very similar to the one on PFS 435 (T16). For other tower structures that have a six- or eight-pronged star-like device on the body, see those on PFS 2220 (T21) and PFATS 244 (T42). For a four-pronged star-like device on the body of tower structure, see those on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 2525 (T24) (four, in metopal fields), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFS 2296 (T29), PFUTS 294 (T30), and PFATS 450 (T39).

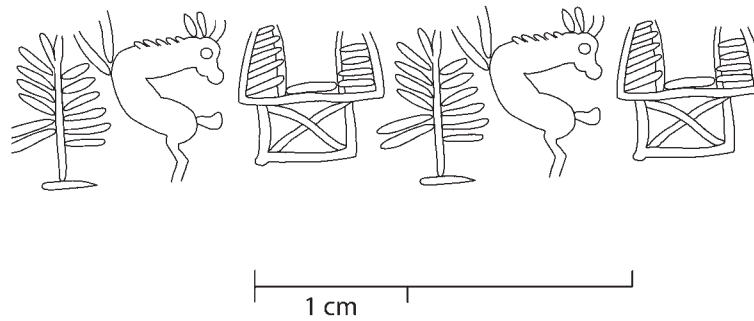
PFATS 312 occurs on two Aramaic tablets, applied to five or six surfaces; no other seals are applied to the tablets.

## Attestations of PFATS 312

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFAT 314	PFATS 312	PFATS 312	PFATS 312 (× 2)	PFATS 312	PFATS 312	PFATS 312
PFAT 786	PFATS 312 (× 2)	PFATS 312	PFATS 312	PFATS 312	PFATS 312	not sealed

PFATS 450

Cat.No. T39

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.80 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 6*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Good*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.50 cm (complete)*Photographs:* pl. 45a–b*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

A rampant caprid stands before a plant and a tower structure. The rampant caprid moves to the left but turns its head back to the right. It holds one foreleg straight (only partially preserved) and extends it upward diagonally in front of its neck. It holds the other foreleg straight (only partially preserved) and extends it upward diagonally before its body and over the plant. Remnants of a horn are preserved at the top of the head; two large ears are indicated. A serrated edge runs along the back of the neck. A short thick tail curls outward. Immediately before the rampant caprid to left is a large plant (schematic conifer tree?). The trunk of the plant emerges from a base and bifurcates at its top. Six branches are indicated to each side of the trunk.

The tower structure is to the left of the plant. It sits well above the base of the large plant. The structure consists of a rectangular body over which there are two large triangular masses. These two triangular masses do not intersect and extend outward beyond the vertical edges of the rectangular body. As so construed, there is a large space between them over the top of the structure. A horizontal element runs between the two triangular masses. Each triangular mass has an outline border; the bottom border is contiguous with the top border of the body of the structure. The interior of the triangular mass at right has horizontal striations; that at left has diagonal striations. The body of the structure has an outline border that runs along all four edges. Within the central rectangular inset panel created by the outline border, two diagonal lines intersect, making a “X” (or star-like) design.

**COMMENTARY:**

While all the common characteristics of the V-shaped tower structure are seen in this structure, the configuration of the two triangular masses on the top of the structure is very unusual, as is the fact that the structure itself does not share the same ground-line as the other figures in the scene. The decoration of the triangular masses on the top of the structure may find some parallels in the tops of the tower structures on PFUTS 257 (T31) and PFUTS 457 (T32), and perhaps also PFS 1015 (T43). Although rather crudely executed, the two diagonal lines intersecting in an X-like design on the body seem related to the “star-like” designs (four prongs) on the bodies of the tower structures on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 2525 (T24) (four, in metopal fields), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFS 2296 (T29), and PFUTS 294 (T30). For a six- or eight-pronged star-like device on the body of a tower structure, see the tower structures on PFS 435 (T16), PFS 2220 (T21), PFATS 312 (T38), and PFATS 244 (T42).

PFATS 450 occurs on the obverse, reverse, and bottom and upper edges of one Aramaic tablet, with PFATS 451s applied to the left edge.

## Attestations of PFATS 450

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFAT 486	PFATS 450 (× 2)	PFATS 450	PFATS 450 (× 2)	PFATS 450	PFATS 451s (× 2)	not sealed

## PFATS 460

Cat.No. T40



1 cm

*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 1

*Preserved Height of Image:* 0.90 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impression:* Fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.00 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 46a

*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFATS 460 is only partially preserved. A rampant caprid(?) stands before a tower structure. The caprid moves to the right but turns its head back to the left. It holds one foreleg slightly bent (only partially preserved) and extends it upward diagonally in front of its neck. It holds the other foreleg straight and extends it downward diagonally before its body. A thin tail (only partially preserved) curves downward. Portions of a large horn are preserved at the back of the head.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. The top of the structure is only partially preserved; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. A horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. The preserved outer edges of the top of the structure consist of a thin vertical element (only partially preserved) that extends upward and is inclined outward; these elements are contiguous with the outline border on the sides of the body of the structure. Between these outer edges are two thick horizontal elements between which are closely spaced vertical elements of varying thickness. Fragments of similar closely spaced vertical elements above the top horizontal element suggest that this pattern continued above. The body of the structure has an outline border. Within this border, there is a thick rectangular inset frame (only partially preserved) within which there is a central rectangular inset panel (only partially preserved).

## COMMENTARY:

Among this compositional group of rampant animals before a tower structure, PFATS 460 and PFS 1015 (T43) are the only designs that are oriented left to right.

While the inset frame on the body of the structure is a common feature of both the crenellated and V-shaped tower types, the treatment of the top of the structure on PFATS 460 is unique within the corpus here published.

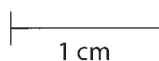
PFATS 460 occurs on the upper edge of one Aramaic tablet, with PFATS 462s applied to the reverse.

## Attestations of PFATS 460

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFAT 498	not sealed	not sealed	PFATS 462s	PFATS 460	not sealed	not sealed

PFS 2361

Cat.No. T41



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* 499/498 BC

*Number of Impressions:* 3

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.50 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Modeled Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.60 cm (incomplete)

*Photographs:* pl. 47a–b

*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFS 2361 is only partially preserved. A rampant winged human-headed creature is before what may be a tower structure. The creature moves to the right but turns its head back to the left. The creature has two sets of wings, the one disposed horizontally from the shoulders, the other extending downward diagonally from its back. Feathers are indicated along the bottom edges of all four wings. Emerging from the top of the wings that extend horizontally from the shoulders are what appear to be four human forearms with hands, two emerging together at an angle from each wing. Only one of these appendages is fully preserved (at right); the hand is cupped upward. The human head has a rounded beard; a teardrop-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of its neck. The top of the head is flat, perhaps indicating a headdress. The creature stands within a circular device (only partially preserved) consisting of two circular outline borders between which are closely spaced hatch marks.

The possible tower structure is poorly preserved. It consists of an intersecting vertical and horizontal element. Below the horizontal element is a fragment of some device, preserved as two intersecting lines.



## COMMENTARY:

The rampant winged creature and the device that encircles it are unique within the corpus of scenes here published.<sup>562</sup>

Given the poor preservation, one cannot be certain that we are dealing here with a tower structure. If not, it is difficult to understand what this device/structure may be. The configuration of the lines may suggest an inscription rather than a tower structure, but, if so, the “lines” of the inscription would be exceptionally large.

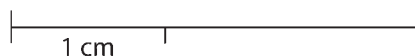
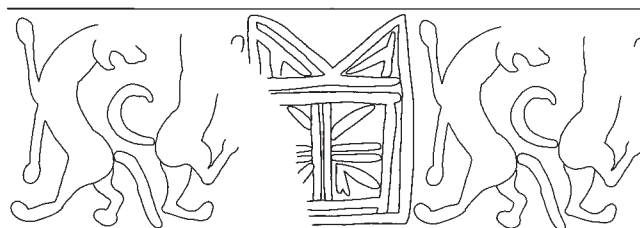
PFS 2361 occurs on the reverse and upper and left edges of one Elamite tablet; no other seals are applied to the tablet. The text is a K3 text (“regular monthly rations for named persons without qualification”), an allocation of wine from Karkiš to one Mida at the order of the royal woman Irdabama. The personnel are intriguing. Karkiš is a regional director and *kurdabattiš*, whose seal, PFS 1\* (fig. 2.1), is the most commonly occurring seal in the archive.<sup>563</sup> Irdabama is the well known royal woman who uses the heirloom seal PFS 51 (fig. 2.18b).<sup>564</sup> The single seal-protocol on a ration text such as the one here normally signals a high-rank authority. It is tempting to associate PFS 2361 with Karkiš, especially given the rather striking stylistic affinities between PFS 1\* and PFS 2361.

## Attestations of PFS 2361

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 1946	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2361	PFS 2361	PFS 2361	not sealed

## PFATS 244

Cat.No. T42



Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: 0.80 cm

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Number of Impressions: 1

Preserved Height of Image: 1.50 cm (complete)

Quality of Impressions: Fair

Estimated Height of Original Seal: 1.50 cm

Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 2.60 cm (complete)

Photograph: pl. 48a

Completeness of Image: Complete except for a few passages and some details.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

There are two rampant lions and a tower structure. The lion immediately to the right of the structure moves to the left toward the structure but turns its head back to the right. It holds one foreleg slightly curved and extends it upward diagonally in front of its neck. It holds the other foreleg straight and extends it downward diagonally before its body. A long tail curves downward. The mouth is open. The other rampant lion (only the lower body is preserved) is to the left of the tower structure, moving to

the right. It lifts its forward hind leg. A long thick tail curls upward. There are traces of what may be a paw of this lion in the upper field immediately to the left of the tower structure. The edge of the seal is preserved at the top and the bottom of the design.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the left edge of the structure is not preserved. Two horizontal elements divide the top of the structure from the body. There is an outline border that runs along all preserved edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two sets of two inverted V-shaped elements, the one placed over the other. The upper inverted V-shaped elements are contiguous with the outline border. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular masses that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. The body of the structure carries one irregular square inset frame within which there is a large central square inset panel. The panel is divided into four square metopal fields by two horizontal and two vertical elements. Each of these metopal fields is bisected by a diagonal element; in the metopal field at lower right, there are two diagonal elements. As so rendered, the design appears as a star-like device that has thirteen (preserved) irregularly rendered prongs.

COMMENTARY:

The two rampant lions are disposed heraldically around the tower structure. Such a scene echoes a very popular compositional type in Persepolitan glyptic, rampant heraldic animals/creatures. PFS 1015 (T43) is closely related, but there the animals move in the same direction. PFATS 244 is the only design in the corpus here published having heraldic animals displayed to either side of the tower structure.

Overall, the tower structure is similar in conception to the tower structures on PFS 435 (T16) and PFATS 312 (T38). For similar renderings of the top of the tower structure, see the tower structures on PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFUTS 616 (T25), and probably also PFATS 297 (T45). For a tower structure that carries an eight-pronged star-like device on its body, see PFS 2220 (T21).

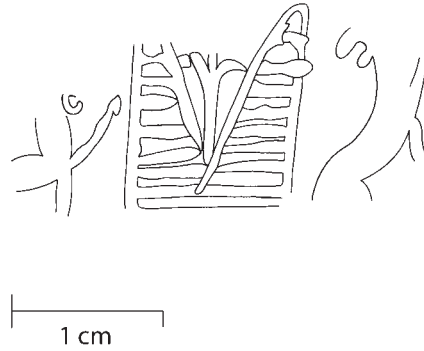
PFATS 244 occurs on the reverse of one Aramaic tablet; no other seals are applied to the tablet.

Attestations of PFATS 244

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFAT 214	not sealed	not sealed	PFATS 244	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

PFS 1015

Cat.No. T43

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Earliest Dated Application :* November 504–February/  
March 503 BC*Number of Impressions:* 3*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.40 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.80 cm (incomplete)*Photograph:* pl. 49a*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFS 1015 is only partially preserved. A rampant lion is disposed to either side of what appears to be a tower structure. The lion immediately to the right of the tower structure moves to the right but turns its head back to the left. It holds one foreleg straight (only partially preserved) and extends it upward diagonally in front of its neck. It holds the other foreleg slightly curved(?) (only partially preserved) and extends it downward diagonally before its body. The mouth is open. The other lion (only part of the upper body is preserved) moves to the right immediately to the left of the tower structure. It holds one foreleg straight and extends it upward diagonally in front of its neck, the paw near the edge of the tower structure. It holds the other foreleg straight(?) (only partially preserved) and extends it downward diagonally before its body. The mouth is open.

The possible tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. Most of the body of the tower structure is not preserved. The top of the tower structure consists of two very large triangular sections that meet to form a V-shaped space. Each section has an outline border, seemingly contiguous with an outline border on the (unpreserved) body of the structure. Thick horizontal elements run along the lengths of each of these triangular sections and appear to continue onto the body of the structure (or this may be a horizontal border that separates the top of the structure from the body). From the center of the V-shaped space over the center of the structure rises a vertical element with a trefoil termination at its top.

## COMMENTARY:

The two rampant lions appear to constitute an animal combat, a very popular scene in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>565</sup>

The possible tower structure is irregular within the tower type, although one recognizes some characteristic features. The two triangular sections seem very large in relation to the body of the structure, at least as preserved. For other V-shaped tower structures whose upper sections carry horizontal or diagonal striations, see the structures on PFUTS 257 (T31), PFUTS 457 (T32), PFATS 450 (T39), and, perhaps also, PFATS 224 (T44). The trefoil device that emerges from the top of the possible tower structure has a plant-like quality. The tower structure on PFATS 224 (T44) has a thin vertical element with a bulbous termination that emerges from the center of the top of the structure; as with the device on PFS 1015,

there is a plant-like quality to the device on PFATS 224 (T44).<sup>566</sup> Perhaps related are the rod-like devices that emerge from the tops of the tower structures on PTS 23 (T5) and PFUTS 76 (T18).<sup>567</sup>

PFS 1015 occurs on the reverse of one Elamite tablet, with PFS 1016 applied to the left edge. The text is an L2 text (“regular monthly rations with *galma*”), an allocation of beer from Battuš to Belitur who gave it to 45 men “as rations.” The name Belitur occurs in five other Elamite texts. Two of them are Q texts (“travel rations”), where one Belitur receives rations and uses PFS 295. Two other occurrences are on monthly ration lists where Belitur receives rations and passes them along to workers; different seals are applied to the reverse of these tablets in each case.

Attestations of PFS 1015

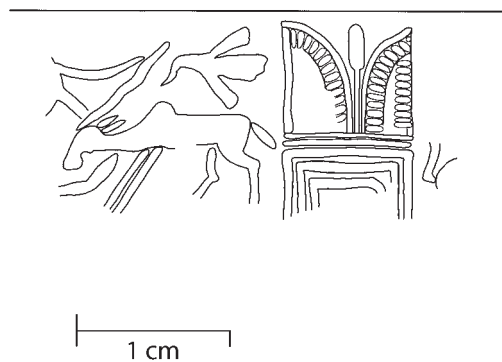
<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PF 1040	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 1015 (× 3)	not sealed	PFS 1016	not sealed

### 3.3.10. Tower Structure with Animal(s) Marchant/Courant

On catalog numbers T44–48, there is an animal that is marchant or courant before a tower structure. PFATS 224 (T44) and PFATS 392 (T48) have two animals.

PFATS 224

Cat.No. T44



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 1

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.40 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.70 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 49c

*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle and top of the design survives.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFATS 224 is only partially preserved. An animal marchant and the forelegs of another animal are to the left of a tower structure; a bird in flight is in the field above the animal marchant. The animal marchant moves to the left; the two forelegs are straight and held together. It has a hump on the back of its shoulders. The tail is short and extends downward diagonally. A very long horn/antler(?) emerges from the top of its head and extends upward diagonally over its back. Two pointed ears emerge from the back of its neck. To the left of this animal, there are the forelegs of a rampant animal; the paws/hoofs of this animal rest on the horn/antler of the animal marchant. To the right of the tower structure, there are the remnants of what appear to be the hindquarters and tail of an animal, presumably belonging to the rampant animal at far left of the preserved design. Above the hindquarters of the animal marchant, there is a long-necked bird in flight to the left; one wing is above the bird's body, the other below. Beneath the jaw of the animal marchant, there are traces of a hooked element, perhaps another animal. The edge of the seal is preserved at the top of the design.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. A double horizontal border separates the top from the body of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two inverted V-shaped elements. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular masses that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. The inner edges of the right and left outline borders on the triangular mass at right are decorated by a contiguous sequence of oval-shaped elements. The same decoration occurs on the right inner edge of the outline border of the triangular mass at left. A thin tall vertical element with a large bulbous termination rises from the center of the top of the structure. The body of the structure has an outline border on the preserved edges. Within this border, there are two square inset frames (only partially preserved) within which there is a central square inset panel (only partially preserved).

## COMMENTARY:

For other scenes that have a bird in flight with a stepped or tower structure, see PFUTS 242 (T15), PFS 2542 (T27), PFATS 11 (T35), and PFATS 312 (T38).

The tower structure is quite interesting. The oval-shaped elements that decorate the inner edges of the triangular masses on the top of the structure are unparalleled in the corpus of seals here published, although it is not uncommon to decorate these spaces with outline borders and/or linear detailing.<sup>568</sup> The rectangular inset frames and panel on the body of the structure are conventional decoration on the bodies of both the crenellated tower structure and the V-shaped tower structure; the three inset frames on the body of the tower structure on PFATS 297 (T45) are very similar. The thin vertical device that rises from the top of the structure may have some connection to the rod-like element emerging from the top of the tower structure on PFUTS 76 (T18); the bar-like device on the tower structure on PTS 23 (T5) may also be related as well as the object with a trefoil termination on the structure on PFS 1015 (T43). None of these devices can convincingly be identified as a fire. The bulbous termination of the element on PFATS 224 suggests a plant-like phenomenon, which may also be the case for the trefoil termination on the element emerging from the structure on PFS 1015 (T43).

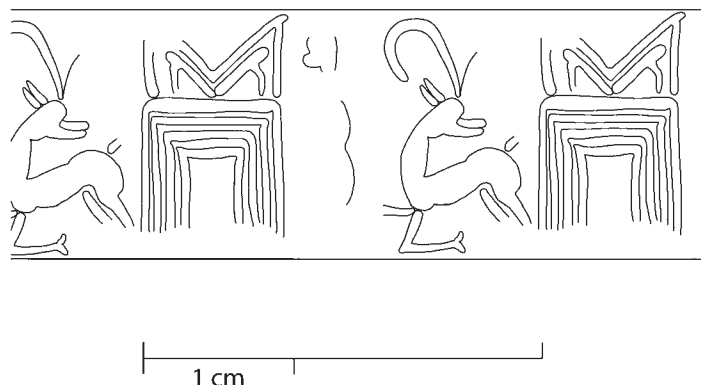
PFATS 224 occurs on the reverse of one Aramaic tablet, with PFATS 225s applied to the bottom edge of the tablet.

## Attestations of PFATS 224

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFAT 198	not sealed	PFATS 225s	PFATS 224	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

PFATS 297

Cat.No. T45

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.90 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (complete)*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 1.70 cm*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.70 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 50a*Completeness of Image:* Complete except for a few passages and some details.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A caprid courrant is next to a tower structure. The caprid moves to the left but turns its head back to the right. It holds one foreleg straight(?) (only partially preserved) and extends it outward horizontally before its chest. It holds the other foreleg bent and extends it downward under its body. A tail (only partially preserved) extends upward diagonally. A large thick horn curves upward from the top of the head; traces of another horn are preserved to right. Two long thin ears are indicated at the back of the head. In front of the caprid to left, there may be traces of some object/animal/person, but they cannot be resolved into anything meaningful.<sup>569</sup>

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the top of the structure is only partially preserved, while the bottom of the structure is not preserved. The upper part of the outline border that runs along the top and sides of the body of the structure divides the top of the structure from the body. The top of the structure consists of two sets of two inverted V-shaped elements, the one placed over the other. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular masses that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. There is an outline border that runs along the three preserved edges of the body of the structure. Within the outline border, there are three rectangular inset frames within which there is a single rectangular inset panel.

## COMMENTARY:

Although only partially preserved, the tower structure overall seems similar to those on PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 978 (T23), PFUTS 616 (T25), and PFS 2542 (T27).

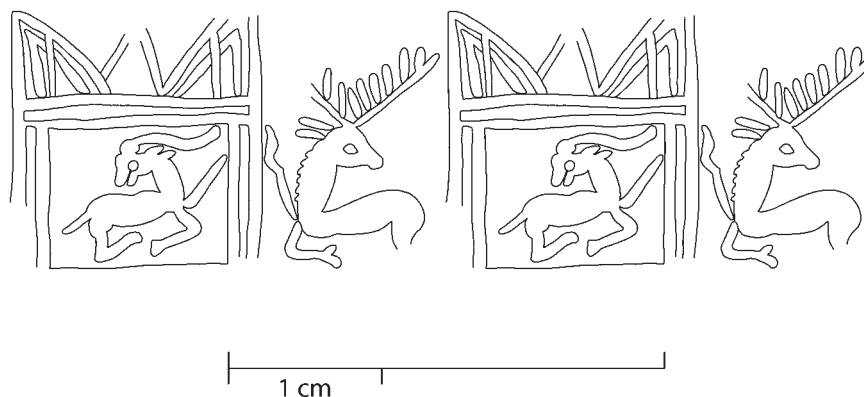
PFATS 297 occurs on the obverse and reverse of one Aramaic tablet, with PFATS 8s, PFATS 298, and PFATS 766 also applied to the tablet.

## Attestations of PFATS 297

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFAT 297	PFATS 8s (× 2); PFATS 297	PFATS 298	PFATS 8s (× 2); PFATS 297	PFATS 298	PFATS 766	not sealed

PFATS 436

Cat.No. T46

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.90 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 4*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Good-fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.90 cm (complete)*Photographs:* pl. 51a–b*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

A stag courrant is before a tower structure. The stag moves to the left but turns its head back to the right. It holds one foreleg slightly bent and extends it upward diagonally before its chest, the hoof upturned and placed on the edge of the tower structure. It holds the other foreleg bent and extends it downward under its body. A set of antlers emerges from the top of its head (only partially preserved at left). Two long ears are at the back of its head.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure and extremely broad; the very bottom edge of the structure is not preserved. Two thick horizontal borders divide the top of the structure from the body; the lower horizontal border is contiguous with the upper part of the inset frame on the body. An outline border runs along the two sides of the structure. The top of the structure consists of three elements. At left and right are three superimposed inverted V-shaped elements (the uppermost one in each case is contiguous with the outline border that runs along the sides of the body of the structure). In the middle is a single inverted V-shaped element. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be a serration. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there is a large irregular rectangular inset frame within which there is a large rectangular inset panel. Within the inset panel, there is a caprid(?) courrant. The caprid(?) moves to the right but turns its head back to the left. It holds one foreleg straight and extends it upward diagonally before its chest, the hoof placed on the inner edge of the inset frame. It holds the other foreleg bent and extends it downward under its body. One hind leg is depicted, bent and held under its body. A short tail curves downward. A long horn undulates upward diagonally from the back of its head. A mass of bone/flesh is indicated at the front of the horn; two ears are indicated at the back of its head.

**COMMENTARY:**

This seal is very well executed. The tower structure is exceptional owing to the extra inverted V-shaped element at the top of the structure and the caprid(?) depicted on the body. This tower structure and the tower structures on PFATS 457 (T32) and PFS 628 (T47), which have plants depicted within inset frames on the bodies of the structures, are the only examples among the corpus of designs here published having a plant or animal on the body of a tower structure.



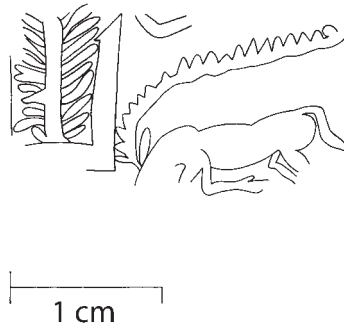
PFATS 436 occurs on the obverse, upper edge, reverse, and bottom edge of one Aramaic tablet, with PFS 17 applied to the left edge.

## Attestations of PFATS 436

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFAT 466	PFATS 436	PFATS 436	PFATS 436	PFATS 436	PFS 17	not sealed

PFS 628

Cat.No. T47



Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA

Earliest Dated Application: 503/502 BC

Number of Impressions: 4

Preserved Height of Image: 1.20 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impressions: Fair

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Style: Fortification Style

Preserved Length of Image: 2.20 cm (incomplete)

Photograph: pl. 52a

Completeness of Image: A segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFS 628 is only partially preserved. A caprid(?) courrant is before what may be a tower structure. The caprid (only partially preserved) moves to the left. It holds one foreleg straight(?) (only partially preserved) and extends it downward diagonally under its chest. It holds the other foreleg bent and extends it downward under its body. A thick bent tail hooks downward. An extremely long horn with serrated upper edge curves up over the back of the animal. One long ear is indicated behind the horn. In the field above the head of the creature, there are remnants of what may be a crescent.

Only part of the body of the possible tower structure is preserved. The body of the structure consists of a thick outline border within which there is a plant. The plant has a thick stalk/trunk from either side of which spring long branches/leaves.

## COMMENTARY:

Although only partially preserved, the structure appears to be very similar to the tower structure on PFUTS 457 (T32), where a tall and narrow structure carries a rectangular inset frame within which there is a plant-like device. The two plants on the structures on PFS 628 and PFUTS 457 (T32) are, moreover, very similar.

PFS 628 occurs on the left edge of four Elamite tablets. NN 1613 and PF 373 are E texts (“utilization”), PF 1113 an M text (“special rations”), and NN 2319 a P text (“daily rations”). In all four texts, the commodity is wine and the *kurman* official is Akkuku, thus he is almost certainly the individual using the seal. An Akkuku who is a *šaramanna* official is named in NN 1917. Whether he is the same individual as the one using PFS 628 is unknown. On two tablets (NN 1613 and NN 2319), there is one seal applied to the

reverse. On two tablets (PF 373 and PF 1113), there are two seals applied to the reverse (and in one case the upper edge as well).

## Attestations of PFS 628

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 1613	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2316	not sealed	PFS 628	not sealed
NN 2319	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2788	not sealed	PFS 628	not sealed
PF 373	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 627; PFS 1698	not sealed	PFS 628	not sealed
PF 1113	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 177; PFS 1045	PFS 1045	PFS 628	not sealed

PFATS 392

Cat.No. T48



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 5

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Fortification Style

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.60 cm (complete)

*Photograph:* pl. 52c

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle and bottom of the design survives along its complete length.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

An animal and a winged creature are before a tower structure. The winged creature is immediately to the left of the tower structure. The creature is marching facing to the right toward the tower structure. The head is not preserved. Behind this creature to the left is an animal that also faces to the right. The pose seems couchant. One foreleg is preserved, bent and held under the body. One hind leg is indicated, bent and held under the body. The head is not preserved. The edge of the seal is preserved at the bottom of the design.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. An outline border runs along all edges of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two inverted V-shaped elements (these elements are contiguous with the outline border on the sides of the structure). As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular masses that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. Within each of the triangular masses are three diagonal elements. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there are two thick square inset frames within which there is a small square inset panel.

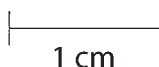
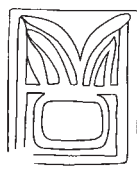


## 3.3.11. Tower Structure Alone

There is one seal, PFS 2673s (T49), whose design includes no imagery other than a tower structure.

PFS 2673s

Cat.No. T49



*Seal Type:* Stamp

*Estimated Width of Original Stamp Seal:* 0.90 cm

*Earliest Dated Application:* 497/496 BC

*Number of Impressions:* 1

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.10 cm (complete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair-poor

*Estimated Height of Original Stamp Seal:* 1.10 cm

*Style:* Fortification Style(?)

*Preserved Width of Image:* 0.90 cm (complete)

*Photograph:* pl. 53a

*Completeness of Image:* Complete except for lower left corner.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

A tower structure fills the rectangular face of a stamp seal. A horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along the sides and the bottom of the structure. The outline borders on the sides of the structure and the horizontal border create a U-shaped frame at the top of the structure. Within this U-shaped frame, there is a large V-shaped element. Within each of the two fields defined by the V-shaped element and the outline borders of the structure, there is an inverted V-shaped element. As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular masses that create a V-shaped space above the center of the structure. Depending from the horizontal border and contained within the outline border on the body of the structure, there is a rectangular inset frame, whose corners are rounded, within which there is a central rectangular inset panel.

## COMMENTARY:

This is the only design within the corpus here published that shows only a tower structure. The top of the structure is similar to the tops of the tower structures on PFS 435 (T16), PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFUTS 616 (T25), and PFATS 244 (T42). This is the only example of a tower structure that occurs on a stamp seal.

PFS 2673s occurs on the left edge of one Elamite tablet, with PFS 2674 applied to the reverse. The text is an E text (“utilization”), an allocation of flour from Battirampa to Dabarizza. Seal protocol would suggest that PFS 2673s may belong to the *kurman* official Battirampa. The name occurs in two other texts, NN 2082, a Q text (“travel rations”), and Fort. 6575, an A text (“transportation of commodities”), but different seals are involved in each case.

## Attestations of PFS 2673s

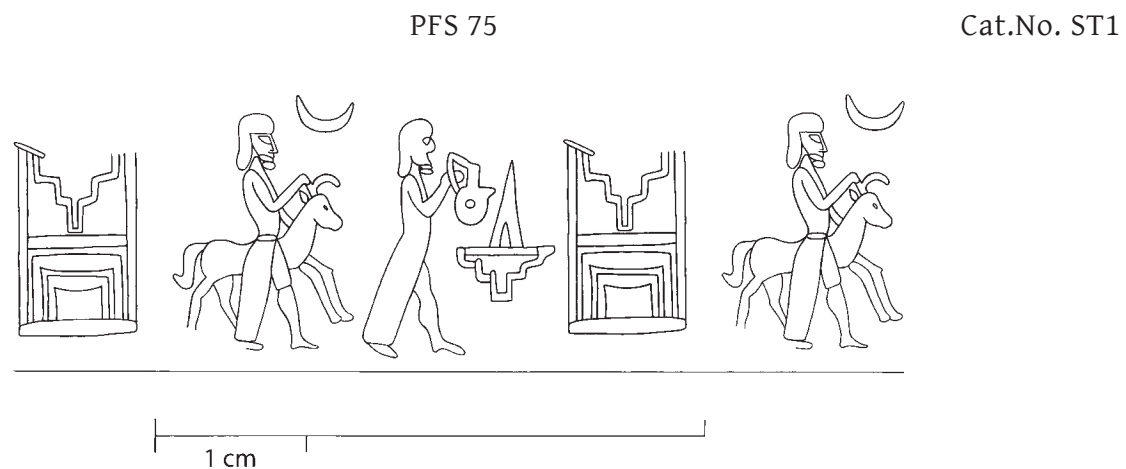
Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 1413	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2674	not sealed	PFS 2673s	not sealed

### 3.4. Scenes Showing Both the Stepped and the Tower Structures in Persepolitan Glyptic

Catalog numbers ST1–ST11 constitute one of the most remarkable series of scenes in Persepolitan glyptic. Each scene shows both the stepped and the tower structures. The importance of these scenes for the topic at hand cannot be overstressed.

#### 3.4.1. The Tower and the Stepped Structures as End-Point of a Procession of Figures: Sacrifice

Catalog numbers ST1–ST6 involve processions of figures, one of whom either leads an animal or is in the process of slaughtering an animal.



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.20 cm

*Earliest Dated Application:* April/May 500 BC

*Number of Impressions:* 133<sup>570</sup>

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.80 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Good-poor

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.00 cm

*Style:* Mixed Styles I

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.70 cm (complete)

*Photographs:* pls. 54a–b, 55a–b

*Completeness of Image:* Complete except for top edge and some details.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

Two attendants, one leading an animal, move toward a stepped structure, on which there is a fire, and a tower structure. The scene is oriented from left to right, with the two structures at the far right, stepped structure in front of tower structure. Both attendants face to the right toward the two structures. The first attendant stands to the left of the stepped structure. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward in front of his chest to hold a pitcher by its handle. The pitcher is poised over the fire on the stepped structure. The pitcher has a large round body and a long cylindrical neck. A V-shaped handle extends from the rim of the vessel to its shoulder. The attendant wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. A thick segmented beard rests over his chest; an oval-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Immediately to left is the second attendant. He moves to the right leading a horned animal. He holds his left arm straight and extends it downward in front of his body to grasp the animal by the back of its neck. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward in front of his chest to grasp the animal's horn. This attendant wears a belted Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed below the knee. A thick segmented beard rests over his chest; a thick mass of hair rests at the back of his

neck. The animal moves to the right. It holds its two forelegs bent together before its body. It has a long thick tail that curls downward, perhaps suggesting a bovid rather than a caprid. A horn curves outward from the front of its head; a short ear is indicated at the back of its head. In the field above the head of the animal, there is a crescent. The edge of the seal is preserved at the bottom of the design.

All impressions of the seal, and there are many of them, indicate that there is no support for the distinctive three-stepped podium of the stepped structure. In such a manner, the stepped podium appears to “float” in front of the first attendant. There is an outline border running along the edges of the podium. The three steps of the podium increase in width from bottom to top. The fire is indicated by a large triangular mass inside of which is a second smaller triangular mass.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A thick horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along all edges of the structure. The top of the structure has the distinctive crenellated profile (three insets). The lowest recess of the top of the structure is very narrow. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there are two thick rectangular inverted U-shaped inset frames within which there is a central rectangular inset panel.

#### COMMENTARY:

This rather spectacular seal was already known, in description not seal number, to Moorey (1979, p. 222).<sup>571</sup> PFS 75, like the other scenes in this typological category, shows a precise syntax of attendants moving toward the two structures, the stepped structure placed in front of the tower structure. In this manner, the tower structure seems to act as a frame or background for the stepped structure. The animal here is unambiguously led toward the two structures for what can only be a sacrifice. An almost exact replica of PFS 75 appears on the poorly preserved PFUTS 618 (ST6). On PFUTS 147 (ST2), an attendant with vessels stands at a stepped structure, while behind him a second attendant kills an animal. PFS 75 is also related to PFUTS 148 (S7), PFUTS 162 (T11), PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 604 (T13), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), and probably also PFUTS 151 (T10) and PFUTS 111 (S6), the last of which shows the animal dead and in the process of being butchered.

The attendant holding a vessel near the base of a fire or over it is a common feature of scenes showing only the stepped structure (and, less so, the tower structure).<sup>572</sup> Attendants also carry vessels in many of the processional scenes involving only the stepped or the tower structures.<sup>573</sup>

The inclusion of a crescent in the scene is one of the rare indicators of the divine in the corpus of scenes here published. The only other occurrence of a crescent is on PFS 628 (T47). A star (in the field of the design rather than on the body of a tower structure) occurs in one scene, that on PFS 738 (T28).<sup>574</sup>

It is noteworthy that both attendants wear Assyrianizing garments. This garment type in fact is worn by all the attendants in the scenes showing both the stepped and the tower structures with the exception of the attendant on PFUTS 285 (ST4), who wears a knee-length dress or skirt.

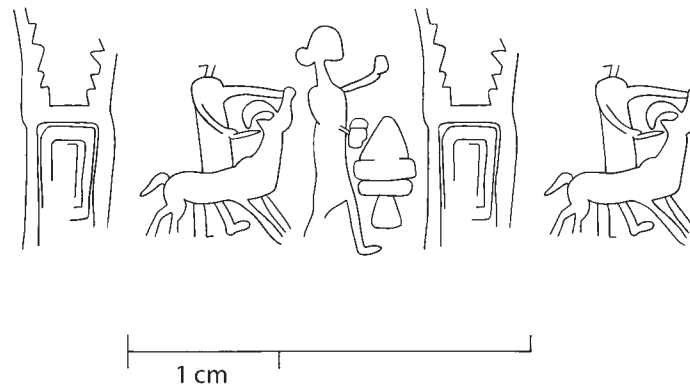
The rendering of the stepped structure as only the three-stepped podium is enigmatic. As noted, so rendered it appears magically suspended before the attendant. One cannot help but notice that the top of the tower structure for all intents and purposes outlines a negative space that echoes the profile of the podium of the stepped structure; the podium of the stepped structure looks as if it could be nestled into the top of the tower structure, the latter serving as a holder for the former. One is hesitant to push this line of reasoning to its logical conclusion: the two types of structures, stepped and tower, are in fact two parts of one and the same installation.

PFS 75 occurs on all three document types in the PF archive: Elamite, Aramaic, and uninscribed tablets. In all three document types, it always occurs alone and is almost always applied to multiple surfaces of a tablet. As noted, this type of glyptic praxis is generally indicative of high rank/status within the archive. To date, PFS 75 is the most commonly occurring seal in the uninscribed tablets.<sup>575</sup> I have suggested that the seal is one of a handful of “super-user” seals in the uninscribed tablets, that is, seals that occur repeatedly (alone) on the uninscribed tablets and thus signal some type of high administrative authority.<sup>576</sup> In the accompanying textual evidence from the Elamite documents, the transactions sealed with PFS 75 always have to do with supplying workers who are under the responsibility of (*šaramanna*) Iršena. This would appear to be the same Iršena whom we know as the *kurdabattiš* using PFS 4\* (fig. 2.14b).<sup>577</sup> Of Iršena, we



PFUTS 147

Cat.No. ST2

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.20 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Good-poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.10 cm*Style:* Broad and Flat Styles*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.70 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 56a*Completeness of Image:* Complete except for top and bottom edges and some details.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

Two attendants, one cutting the throat of an animal (caprid?), move toward a stepped structure, on which there is a fire, and a tower structure. The scene is oriented from left to right, with the two structures at the far right, stepped structure in front of tower structure. Both the attendants face to the right toward the two structures. The first attendant stands immediately to the left of the stepped structure. He holds his left arm straight and extends it upward diagonally at shoulder level over the fire on the stepped structure; he appears to hold a small rectangular vessel in his hand, but this may simply be a schematic rendering of the hand. He holds his right arm straight(?) and brings it across his body downward diagonally to hold a rectangular vessel near the base of the fire on the stepped structure. The vessel may have a handle (or this may simply be a schematic rendering of the top of the vessel). He wears a garment (Assyrian?) that leaves the forward leg exposed below the knee. Facial details are indistinct; he may be beardless(?), but this may simply be an aspect of the rather schematic carving style. There is a small rounded mass of hair at the back of his neck. Immediately to left is the second attendant. He stands facing to the right in the act of cutting the throat of an animal. He holds his left arm straight and extends it outward at shoulder level to grasp the animal by the snout that he pulls upward. He holds his right arm straight and brings it across his body downward diagonally to grasp a knife that he plunges into the neck of the animal. His garment cannot be determined and the head is not preserved. The animal stands facing to the right. It has a short tail that extends downward diagonally. A thick horn curves upward from the top of its head; a small pointed ear is indicated at the back of its head. The narrow snout, curved horn, and short tail suggest a caprid.

The stepped structure consists of a short conical base over which there is a two-stepped podium. The structure is short and seems to float in the space before the tower structure. The two steps of the podium increase in width from bottom to top. The fire is indicated by a large triangular mass.

The tower structure is tall and narrow; the bottom is not preserved. There is a thick outline border running along the two sides of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two long narrow triangular extensions whose inner edges have an irregular serration. These extensions are contiguous with the outline border on the sides of the body of the structure. There is a wide empty space between these two



elements over the center of the structure. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there are remnants of two rectangular inset frames and a central rectangular inset panel.

## COMMENTARY:

The composition on PFUTS 147 is very similar to that on PFS 75 (ST1) and PFUTS 618 (ST6) (see the commentary to PFS 75 [ST1]). The second attendant on PFUTS 147 slaughters the animal rather than simply leading it, and the first attendant appears to hold two vessels (rather than the one on PFS 75 [ST1]), and those vessels are different in form from those on PFS 75 (ST1).

While the stepped structure has only a two-stepped podium, its form otherwise is closely related to the stepped structures on the stamp seals PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 110s (S2), and PFUTS 156s (S3). Interestingly, the stepped structure appears as if it is suspended in space, as the one on PFS 75 (ST1).

The rendering of the upper part of the tower structure seems to be an awkward attempt to show crenellations (the carving style is schematic and somewhat careless). The overall form of the tower structure is paralleled somewhat by the tower structures on PFUTS 162 (T11) and PFUTS 149 (ST3), but in both of those examples, the structures are more carefully rendered.

As noted, the carving style is rather schematic and crudely executed.

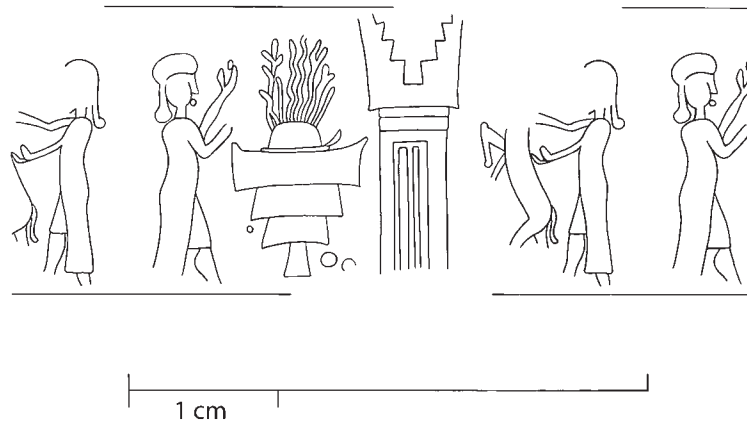
PFUTS 147 occurs on the obverse and reverse of one uninscribed tablet, with PFUTS 165s applied to the left edge.

## Attestations of PFUTS 147

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 547-201	PFUTS 147	not sealed	PFUTS 147	not sealed	PFUTS 165s	not sealed

PFUTS 149

Cat.No. ST3

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 11*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.90 cm (complete)*Quality of Impressions:* Good*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 1.90 cm*Style:* Mixed Styles I*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.50 cm (complete)*Photograph:* pl. 56c*Completeness of Image:* Complete except for a few passages and some details.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

An attendant stands to either side of a stepped structure, on which there is a blazing fire, and tower structure (the stepped structure at the left, the tower structure at the right). The attendant to left stands facing the stepped and tower structures at right. He holds his left(?) arm straight(?) and extends it upward diagonally in front of his face, the hand cupped upward. He holds his right(?) arm bent and extends it outward at chest level toward the base of the fire on the stepped structure; the hand is not preserved. He wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed below the knee. He appears to be beardless or, perhaps, to have a small short beard. A small lock of hair with bulbous termination rests at the back of his neck. The attendant at right stands facing the tower and stepped structures at left. He appears to be leading a rampant animal toward the two structures (or perhaps in the process of killing the animal, the upper part of the animal and the hand of the attendant are not preserved). He holds his upper arm slightly bent and extends it outward at shoulder level toward the neck of the rampant animal; the hand is not preserved. He holds his lower arm straight and extends it downward diagonally toward the back of the rampant animal, the hand cupped upward. He wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed below the knee. The face is not preserved; a small mass of hair curls upward at the back of his neck. The rampant animal, whose head and lower hind legs are not preserved, moves toward the tower structure to left. It holds one foreleg bent in front of its body; the other foreleg is only partially preserved, but it may also have been bent. A small tail curves downward, suggesting a caprid. There are three circular elements below the stepped structure; they may be remnants of damage to the surface of the original seal. Portions of the edge of the seal are preserved at the top and bottom of the design.

The stepped structure is a large and elaborate affair. It has a short conical base that supports three very large steps of the podium. The three steps of the podium increase in width from bottom to top. The upper corners of the top step extend outward slightly. The two lower corners of the middle and bottom steps turn downward slightly. There is a thin element that rests over the center of the top step; it curls upward at its right end. This element lies under a hemispherical mass from which emerge long elaborately rendered flames. The flames undulate upward, two of them bifurcating at their tops, a third having multiple tongues of flame.

The tower structure is very tall and narrow, the tallest element in the design; the bottom of the structure is not preserved. Two horizontal borders divide the top from the body of the structure. The top part of the structure has the distinctive crenellated profile (four insets preserved). The top of the structure is slightly wider than the body of the structure. A thick outline border runs along the two sides and the top of the body of the structure. Within this outline border, there are two long narrow rectangular panels/elements (yielding a triglyph-like appearance).

## COMMENTARY:

The placement of the attendants, around the two structures rather than in linear procession toward them, is unique within the scenes that show both the stepped and the tower structures; the compositional dynamic is that of those scenes with the crenellated tower structure flanked by attendants (T1–T6). As with almost all of the attendants in the scenes that show both the stepped and the tower structures, they wear Assyrianizing garments.

The stepped and the tower structures are some of the most elaborate and detailed in the corpus. The podium of the stepped structure is enormous in comparison to most other depictions of it. The fire is the most elaborately rendered in the corpus here published. Its size, in relation to the human figures, is very large in comparison to most other depictions of fire on stepped structures in this corpus.

The multiple insets of the crenellated top of the tower structure occur also on the tower structures on PFUTS 162 (T11) and PFUTS 147 (ST2). The long thin triglyph-like decoration on its body seems related to the multiple thin vertical elements on the bodies of the tower structures on PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 604 (T13), and PT6 699 (T34), and perhaps also those on the tower structure on PFUTS 152 (T14).

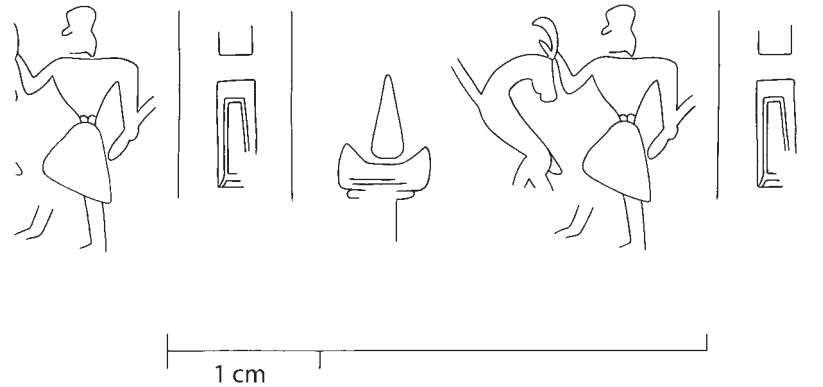
PFUTS 149 occurs on three uninscribed tablets. In all three instances, the seal is applied to multiple surfaces of the tablet and a second seal is applied to the left edge.

## Attestations of PFUTS 149

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 901-201	PFUTS 149	PFUTS 149	PFUTS 149	PFUTS 149	PFUTS 302s	not sealed
PFUT 1195-205	PFUTS 149	PFUTS 149	PFUTS 149	PFUTS 149	PFUTS 301	PFUTS 149
PFUT 1212-201	PFUTS 149	not sealed	PFUTS 149	not sealed	PFUTS 302s	destroyed

PFUTS 285

Cat.No. ST4

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.20 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.70 cm (incomplete)*Number of Impressions:* 2*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 2.10 cm*Style:* Mixed Styles I*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.60 cm (complete)*Photographs:* pl. 57a–b*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

A single attendant leads a rampant caprid toward a stepped structure, on which there is a fire, and tower structure. The scene is oriented right to left, with the two structures at the left, the stepped structure in front of the tower structure. The attendant stands at far right of the scene facing left toward the two structures. He holds his right arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level in front of his body to grasp the horn of the rampant caprid. He holds his left arm straight and extends it downward behind his body to hold a dagger/sword (only partially preserved). He wears a belted knee-length dress or skirt. The head is only partially preserved; there appears to be a short pointed lock of hair at the back of his neck. Immediately in front of the attendant to left is the rampant caprid. The caprid moves to left toward the structures but turns its head back to the right toward the attendant. One foreleg is partially preserved, held straight and raised upward diagonally in front of its body. A large horn curls upward from the front of its head; a short pointed ear is at the back of its head. The tail is short and pointed.

The stepped structure is only partially preserved. The base appears to be columnar, but the preservation is very poor. The podium appears to have only two steps. The two steps of the podium increase in width from bottom to top. The bottom step is extremely thin. The top step is very thick with rounded edges and a concave upper edge (giving the step a horn-like appearance). The fire is indicated by a large triangular mass over the center of the top of the podium.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall; the bottom and the very top of the structure are not preserved. The top of the structure consists of two thick rectangular extensions (only partially preserved) that are contiguous with the outline borders on the body of the structure. There is a relatively wide empty space between these two extensions over the center of the top of the structure. The body of the structure has a thick outline border within which are a thin rectangular inset frame and central rectangular inset panel.

**COMMENTARY:**

The poses of the attendant and the animal vividly recall numerous heroic encounters.<sup>579</sup> As on PFS 2315 (T12), the action of the attendant on PFUTS 285 could be understood either as killing the animal as part of a sacrifice or as a separate scene of heroic encounter. In the case of PFUTS 285, however, there is only

one human figure in the scene; thus, on the primary level of reading, one would assume that this is a sacrifice before the two structures. Nevertheless, a deliberate ambiguity between ritual sacrifice and heroic encounter may have been intended. This is the only attendant who definitively does not wear the Assyrian garment among the scenes that show both the stepped and the tower structures.

The poor preservation of the stepped structure hinders any detailed analysis. As preserved, the podium seems to have only two steps.

Although poorly preserved, the top of the tower structure leaves open the possibility that it was crenellated. The long narrow inset frame and inset panel on the body of the structure are similar to those on the tower structures on PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PTS 57 (T6), and PFUTS 151 (T10).

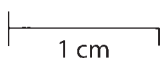
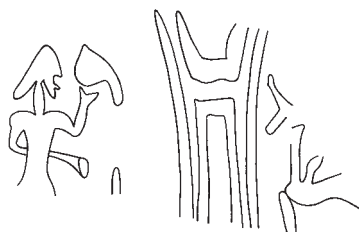
PFUTS 285 occurs on the obverse and reverse of one uninscribed tablet; no other seals are applied to the tablet.

## Attestations of PFUTS 285

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 133-202	PFUTS 285	not sealed	PFUTS 285	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

## PFUTS 146

Cat.No. ST5



Seal Type: Cylinder

Estimated Diameter of Original Seal: NA

Earliest Dated Application: ND

Number of Impressions: 2

Preserved Height of Image: 1.50 cm (incomplete)

Quality of Impressions: Fair

Estimated Height of Original Seal: NA

Style: Broad and Flat Styles

Preserved Length of Image: 2.30 cm (incomplete)

Photograph: pl. 58a

Completeness of Image: A large segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 146 is only partially preserved. The scene appears to be an attendant and an animal before a stepped structure (apparently, only the tip of the flame is preserved) and tower structure. The scene is oriented left to right, with the two structures at the right, the stepped structure in front of the tower structure. At left, there is an attendant who stands facing to the right toward the two structures; only the upper part of his body is preserved. He holds his left arm bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to right to hold what appears to be an ovoid vessel with a long spout; the vessel is tilted forward, the spout pointing down over what appears to be the tip of a flame of fire. He holds his right arm bent and brings it across his body toward the possible flame; the hand is not preserved or only summarily indicated. The garment cannot be determined. He appears to have a short pointed beard (or perhaps he

is beardless). A long thick straight lock of hair projects outward at the back of his neck. At far right of the reconstructed scene, there are very poorly preserved traces of what may be the hindquarters of an animal(?). A V-shaped device disposed horizontally in the upper field of this passage may be a human hand(?).

Immediately before the attendant at right is preserved part of a pointed element; this appears, by placement, to be the tip of a flame from a stepped structure (not preserved).

The tower structure is tall and narrow. The bottom of the structure is not preserved. The top of the structure consists of a U-shaped element that lies between the extended outline borders of the sides of the body of the structure (the outline border at left, the only one that is preserved, tapers to a point). As so construed, the upper part of the structure appears to be two triangular masses that create a U-shaped space above the center of the structure. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there is a narrow rectangular inset frame within which there is a central rectangular inset panel.

COMMENTARY:

Although only partially preserved, PFUTS 146 seems to be a procession with an animal toward stepped and tower structures. The scene is most closely related to PFS 75 (ST1) and PFUTS 147 (ST2). The schematic carving style on PFUTS 146 is also related to PFUTS 147 (ST2). The spouted vessel that the attendant on PFUTS 146 holds is unique within the corpus here published. It perhaps may simply be a poor rendering of a pitcher such as the one held by the attendant near the fire on the stepped structure on PFS 75 (ST1).

The tower structure is very similar to the one on PFUTS 151 (T10), which is, like PFUTS 146, a processional scene.

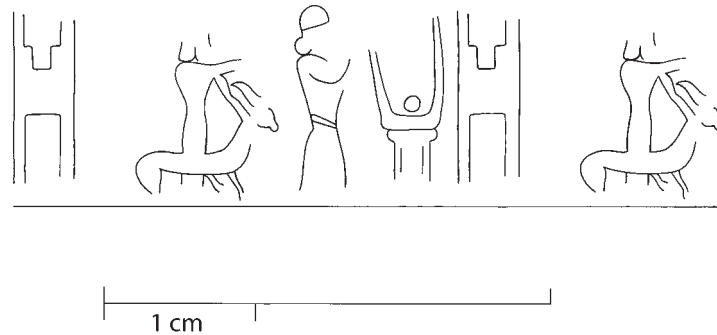
PFUTS 146 occurs on the obverse and reverse of one uninscribed tablet; no other seals are applied to the tablet.

Attestations of PFUTS 146

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 1116-102	PFUTS 146	not sealed	PFUTS 146	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

PFUTS 618

Cat.No. ST6

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 0.90 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* NA*Number of Impressions:* 4*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.30 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Fortification Style*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.90 cm (complete)*Photographs:* pl. 59a–b*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

The impressions of the seal are very poor; nevertheless, the general outlines of the scene are clear. Two attendants, one leading an animal, move toward a stepped structure and a tower structure. The scene is oriented from left to right, with the two structures at the far right, stepped structure in front of tower structure. Both the attendants face to the right toward the two structures. The first attendant stands to the left of the stepped structure. Only one arm is partially preserved, apparently held bent and extended outward toward the stepped structure. He appears to wear a long belted garment, but the preservation is very poor. The face is not preserved; a rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Immediately to left is the second attendant. He moves to the right leading an animal. He holds one arm straight (only partially preserved) and extends it outward at shoulder level to right. He holds the other arm partially bent and extends it downward diagonally to grasp the neck of the animal. This attendant also appears to wear a long garment (the feet are not preserved). The head is very poorly preserved; there may be traces of a beard and a mass of hair at the back of the neck. The animal moves to the right. A thick horn extends upward diagonally from the top of its head.

The stepped structure is very poorly preserved. The structure appears to consist of a two-stepped(?) podium that rests on a thick pillar-like support. The outer edges of the top step of the podium extend upward for a considerable distance yielding a horn-like appearance. There is a circular device over the top of the podium between the two extensions, but this object may only be a blemish in the surface of the tablet. The pillar-like support appears to have an outline border.

The tower structure is very poorly preserved but appears clearly to be a crenellated type (two off-sets preserved). The structure is very narrow and tall. There is an outline border on the two sides of the structure within which is a rectangular inset panel.

## COMMENTARY:

Although poorly preserved, it is clear that this scene is very similar to PFS 75 (ST1). It is difficult to determine exactly how the second attendant interacts with the animal, but his posture does not suggest that he is in the act of killing it.

The horn-like extensions on the top of the stepped structure are unique within the corpus of stepped structures here published. If there is indeed a circular device over the top of the structure, and preservation is very poor in this passage, it recalls the circular devices on the tower structure on PFS 11\* (T1).

The relatively large space between the crenellated top of the tower structure and the inset panel on the body of the structure is very unusual.

PFUTS 618 occurs on the obverse, reverse, and bottom and upper edges of one uninscribed tablet, with PFS 744 applied to the left edge.

Attestations of PFUTS 618

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 2097-204	PFUTS 618	PFUTS 618	PFUTS 618	PFUTS 618	PFS 744	not sealed

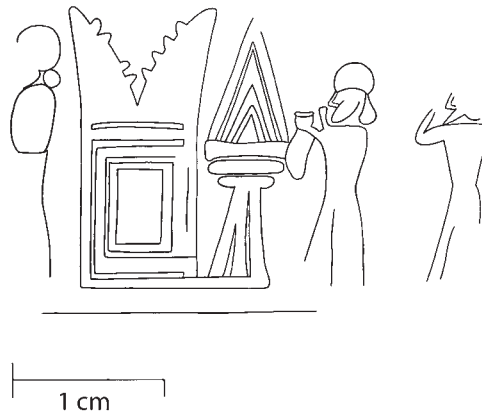


### 3.4.2. The Tower and the Stepped Structures as End-Point of a Procession of Figures: Vessels

Catalog numbers ST7–ST11 constitute a closely linked group of scenes that have multi-figured processions in which attendants hold a vessel and/or raise an arm to place a hand over/near the mouth.

PFUTS 66

Cat.No. ST7



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 2

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.90 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Mixed Styles I

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.30 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 60a

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives.

#### DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 66 is only partially preserved. Three attendants (perhaps more in the complete design) stand/move in a procession toward a stepped structure, on which there is a blazing fire, and a tower structure. The scene is oriented right to left with the two structures at the left, the stepped structure in front of the tower structure. All the attendants face to the left toward the two structures. Although the arms of the attendant closest to the stepped structure are small and not well preserved, it appears that he holds one arm sharply bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to left, the hand near the mouth. He holds the other arm bent and extends it outward, below the arm with the hand near the mouth, to grasp either a small shallow cup/bowl or what may be the rim of an ovoid vessel with a flat-bottomed base (no handles are indicated). This passage is poorly preserved, and the ovoid mass may simply be a flaw in the original stone. This attendant appears to wear an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. He has a blunt-pointed beard; a teardrop-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The cap-like dome of the head most likely is simply a carving convention rather than a headdress. The attendant immediately to right is only partially preserved. One arm is indicated/preserved, held sharply bent and extended outward at shoulder level to left; the hand is not indicated/preserved, but it appears to have been over/near the mouth. This figure also appears to wear an Assyrian garment, but preservation is very poor. He has a thin pointed beard. A third attendant is preserved immediately to the left of the tower structure, at far left of the restored design. This third figure is poorly preserved; a small rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The garment cannot be determined; it may be belted. A section of the edge of the seal is preserved at the bottom of the design.

The stepped and the tower structures appear to rest on a raised baseline. The stepped structure consists of the distinctive three-stepped podium, but in this case it rests on a tall triangular base that appears to have three legs (i.e., a tripod). The three steps of the podium increase in width from bottom to top. The edges of the bottom and middle step are rounded, the upper squared. The large fire is indicated by three inverted V-shaped elements that are stacked one above the other.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A horizontal border separates the top of the structure from the body. The top of the structure consists of two large triangular masses that create a V-shaped space over the center of the structure. The inner edges of both triangular masses are serrated. An outline border runs along the edges of the body of the structure; the outline border at the bottom of the structure is contiguous with the baseline on which the two structures stand. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there are two rectangular inset frames within which there is a central rectangular inset panel.

#### COMMENTARY:

PFUTS 66 is a remarkable and intriguing design. Unfortunately, preservation does not allow us to reconstruct the full number of attendants in the procession. The scene has an almost exact replica on PFUTS 614 (ST10) and in many respects is intimately related to PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), and PFUTS 615 (ST11). All six scenes show a procession of figures, wearing Assyrian garments, moving toward a stepped structure and a tower structure. The lead attendants in the processions (with the exception of PFS 2360 [ST9], where this passage is not preserved) hold vessels near the base of a fire on a stepped structure. While the attendant on PFS 75 (ST1) carries a pitcher, those on PFUTS 66 (probably), PFUTS 91 (ST8), and PFUTS 614 (ST10) hold a distinctive wide-mouth amphora/jar with pointed toe. This vessel recurs on PFUTS 151 (T10).

The placing of a hand over or near the mouth is a striking feature that will instantly recall figures on the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam and the attendant in trousers and coat immediately before the seated king on the famous Treasury panel reliefs, which originally were the central panels on the Apadana stairways (see the discussion at §4.4.1.1, §4.4.2, and §6.3.2.3). The attendants on PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), PFUTS 615 (ST11), and, apparently, PFS 2360 (ST9) have the same pose. Commentators have often taken the gesture as a sign of Zoroastrian fire worship, since modern Zoroastrian priests of the Parsi community cover their mouths so as not to pollute the fire.<sup>580</sup>

The tripod-like base of the stepped structure on PFUTS 66 occurs also on the stepped structures on PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11). The fires on PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) are also rendered in a manner similar to the fire on the stepped structure on PFUTS 66. These stepped structures with tripod-like bases may represent a distinctive variation on the type.

The multiple rectangular inset frames on the body of the tower structure are a distinctive treatment of both the crenellated and the V-shaped tower types.<sup>581</sup> While the two triangular masses on the top of the structure are well attested, the serration along the inside edges of these elements is unusual; interestingly, the top of the V-shaped tower structure in the closely related PFUTS 91 (ST8) also seems to have serrations.<sup>582</sup> This serration may in fact simply be a stylistically peculiar way to render the conventional crenellations; compare, for example, the top of the tower structure on PFUTS 147 (ST2). The tops of the tower structures on PFUTS 66 and PFUTS 91 (ST8) suggest a plant-like aspect.<sup>583</sup>

The cutting style on PFUTS 66 is very similar to that used in the closely related PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

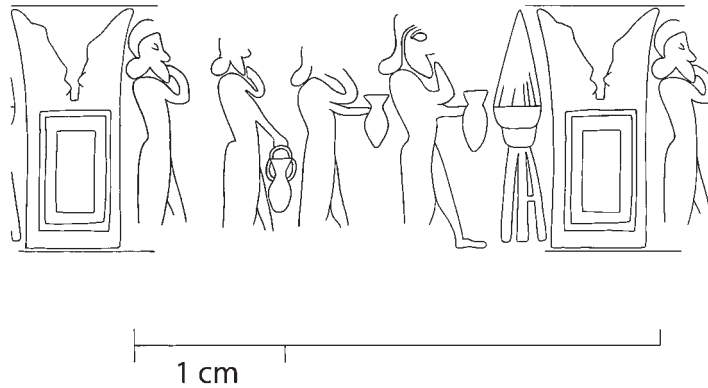
PFUTS 66 occurs on the obverse and left edge of one uninscribed tablet; no other seals are applied to the tablet.

#### Attestations of PFUTS 66

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 858-102	PFUTS 66	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 66	not sealed

PFUTS 91

Cat.No. ST8

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* 1.10 cm*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 3*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.60 cm (complete)*Quality of Impressions:* Good-fair*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* 1.60 cm*Style:* Mixed Styles I*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.50 cm (complete)*Photographs:* pl. 61a–b*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives along its complete length.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

Four attendants move toward a stepped structure, on which there is a fire, and a tower structure. The design is oriented left to right, with the two structures at the right, the stepped structure in front of the tower structure. All the attendants face to the right toward the structures. The first two attendants at the front of the procession are posed and dressed similarly. Each one holds one arm (right?) slightly bent and extends it outward at waist level to hold a large vessel. The vessel has a wide mouth, narrow neck, and ovoid body with a pointed base (no handles are indicated). Each figure holds the other arm sharply bent, above the arm with the hand holding a vessel, and extends it outward at shoulder level to right, the hand apparently over or near the mouth (although the hand is not indicated/preserved on either figure). The first figure in the procession has a long blunt-pointed beard; a baggy mass of hair rests on the back of his neck. The face of the second attendant is not preserved; he has a similar baggy mass of hair at the back of his neck. Both figures wear Assyrian garments that leave the forward leg exposed. The third figure in the procession holds one arm (right?) straight and extends it downward diagonally in front of his body to hold a large vessel by a handle. The vessel has a wide-mouth, narrow neck, and ovoid body. There are three handles. Two handles run from the rim of the vessel to its shoulder. A third handle, the one held by the attendant, is attached to the rim. This third attendant holds his other arm sharply bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to right, the hand apparently placed over or near the mouth (the hand of the figure is not indicated/preserved). This attendant has a short pointed beard; a rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. Only one arm of the fourth attendant is preserved/indicated. He holds it sharply bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to right, the hand apparently placed over or near the mouth (the hand of the figure is not indicated/preserved). He has a thick pointed beard; an oval-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. He wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. Segments of the edges of the seal are preserved at the top and the bottom of the design.

The stepped structure consists of a small podium that apparently has only two steps (but preservation is poor in this passage). The podium rests on a tall triangular base that has three legs (i.e., a tripod). The steps of the podium increase in width slightly from bottom to top. The large fire is indicated by two inverted V-shaped elements that are stacked one above the other.

The tower structure is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. The top of the structure consists of two large triangular masses that create a V-shaped space over the center of the structure. The inner edges of both triangular masses have blunt serrations irregularly placed. An outline border runs along all the edges of the body of the structure. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there is a rectangular inset frame within which there is a central rectangular inset panel.

## COMMENTARY:

PFUTS 91 is another striking processional scene. The individual at the front of the procession is clearly larger and taller than the other three. No other of the processional scenes here published appears to register such hierarchy of scale. In its processional quality and its iconography, the scene is closely related to PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).<sup>584</sup> The processional on PFUTS 615 (ST11) is also oriented left to right.

There are clearly two distinctive types of vessels held by the attendants on PFUTS 91. One is the wide-mouthed amphora/jar with blunt-pointed toe.<sup>585</sup> This vessel apparently has no handle. The other is a similarly shaped vessel, but the body of the vessel is more rounded and it has three handles. The vessel may also be documented on PFUTS 604 (T13). The fragmentarily preserved PFS 1431 (fig. 4.24) also shows the same vessel; the scene in fact may have originally included a stepped and/or tower structure, although a conventional banquet setting cannot be ruled out.

The podium on the stepped structure on PFUTS 91 is similar to the stepped structure on PFS 2360 (ST9). The podia on the stepped structures on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) all rest on tripods.

The tower structure on PFUTS 91 is very similar to the tower structure on PFUTS 66 (ST7) in its serrated top.

As noted, the cutting style on PFUTS 91 is very similar to that used in the closely related PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

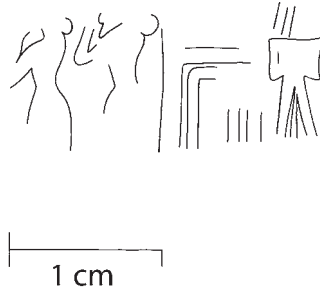
PFUTS 91 occurs on two uninscribed tablets; no other seals are applied to the tablets.

## Attestations of PFUTS 91

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
PFUT 607-103	PFUTS 91	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 91	not sealed
PFUT 691-103	PFUTS 91	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed

PFS 2360

Cat.No. ST9

*Seal Type:* Cylinder*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA*Earliest Dated Application:* ND*Number of Impressions:* 2*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.00 cm (incomplete)*Quality of Impressions:* Poor*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA*Style:* Mixed Styles I*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.10 cm (incomplete)*Photograph:* pl. 62a*Completeness of Image:* A segment of the middle of the design survives.**DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:**

PFS 2360 is only partially preserved. Two attendants (as preserved) move toward a stepped structure, on which there is a fire, and a tower structure. The design is oriented right to left, with the two structures at the left, stepped structure in front of the tower structure. The two surviving attendants (both only partially preserved) are from the end of the procession; both face to the left. Each figure has only one arm indicated/preserved, held sharply bent and extended outward at shoulder level to left, the hand apparently placed over or near the mouth (the hands of the figures are not indicated/preserved). The garments that the attendants wear cannot be determined. The figure at the end of the procession has a short pointed beard; a large rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Of the head and face of the other attendant, only a small rounded mass of hair at the back of his neck is preserved.

The stepped structure is poorly preserved. It clearly has a tripod-like base. The podium appears to consist of a single thick "step." Above the podium, there are remnants of two diagonal elements that apparently are part of a large fire.

Only a small section of the upper part of the body of the tower structure is preserved. A horizontal border separates the top of the structure from the body. An outline border runs along the two sides of the structure. Within this outline border on the body of the structure, there is a thick rectangular inset frame within which there is a central rectangular inset panel.

**COMMENTARY:**

In composition, poses, and iconography, PFS 2360 is closely related to PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

The pose of placing a hand over or near the mouth is found also on the attendants on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

The single step of the podium on the stepped structure on PFS 2360 is similar to the stepped structure on PFUTS 91 (ST8). The podia on the stepped structures on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) all also rest on tripods.

While the preservation of the tower structure on PFS 2360 is poor, it clearly is closely related to the other tower structures in this compositional group and almost certainly was of the V-shaped type.

PFS 2360 occurs on the reverse and left edge of one Elamite tablet; no other seals are applied to the tablet. The text is a K3 text ("regular monthly rations for named persons without qualification"). It concerns an allocation of wine from Marriyadadda to the woman Irdamanuš. These types of ration texts

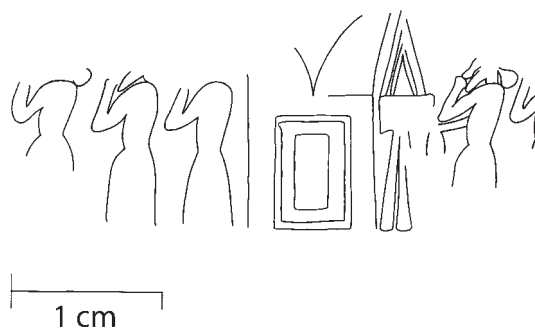
often are sealed by the receiver, although sealing praxis is variable. This is the only occurrence of the name Irdamanuš in the archive.

## Attestations of PFS 2360

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge
NN 1005	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 2360	not sealed	PFS 2360	not sealed

PFUTS 614

Cat.No. ST10



*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 4

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.50 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Mixed Styles I

*Preserved Length of Image:* 3.40 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 62c

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives.

## DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

Three to five attendants stand/move in a procession toward a stepped structure, on which there is a large fire, and a tower structure.<sup>586</sup> The scene is oriented right to left with the two structures at the left, stepped structure in front of the tower structure. All the attendants face to the left toward the structures. The figure closest to the stepped structure is only partially preserved. He holds one arm straight and extends it outward at chest level to left to grasp what appears to be a large vessel (only poorly preserved), held apparently up against the podium of the stepped structure. He holds the other arm sharply bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to left, the hand held over or near the mouth. This figure appears to wear a long garment (the lower part of the garment is not preserved). He has a long thin beard; a large teardrop-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Of the other four (or two) attendants, only the upper and mid-torsos are preserved. Each figure has only one arm depicted, held sharply bent and extended outward to left at shoulder level, the hand held over or near the mouth (not preserved). Each attendant appears to wear a long garment similar to the one worn by the attendant immediately before the stepped structure. The middle attendant to the left has a long pointed beard.

The stepped structure is only partially preserved; it appears to have only one step to the podium, but the preservation is poor in this passage. The podium rests on a tall triangular base that has three legs, only two of which are preserved (i.e., a tripod). The large fire is indicated by two inverted V-shaped elements that are stacked the one above the other.

The top and the bottom of the tower structure are poorly preserved. It is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A thick horizontal border separates the top of the structure from the body;

this border is contiguous with an outline border that runs along all preserved sides of the body of the structure. The top of the structure consists of two large triangular masses (only the one at right is preserved) that create a V-shaped space over the center of the structure. Within the outline border on the body of the structure, there is a single rectangular inset frame within which there is a central rectangular inset panel.

## COMMENTARY:

As noted, this scene is almost an exact replica of PFUTS 66 (ST7). There are small but clear differences between the two scenes, such as the configuration of the decoration on the bodies of the structures and the spacing of the attendants; the modeling on PFUTS 614 is more full than on PFUTS 66 (ST7).

As with PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 614 is closely related to PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), and PFUTS 615 (ST11). All six scenes show a procession of figures, wearing Assyrian garments, moving toward paired stepped and tower structures. The lead attendant in the processions (with the exception of PFS 2360 [ST9], where this passage is not preserved) holds a vessel near the base of a fire on a stepped structure. While the attendant on PFS 75 (ST1) carries a pitcher, those on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), and PFUTS 614 hold a distinctive wide-mouth amphora/jar with pointed toe. This vessel occurs also on PFUTS 151 (T10).

The pose of placing the hand over or near the mouth occurs also on the attendants on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 615 (ST11), and, apparently, PFS 2360 (ST9).<sup>587</sup>

The tripod-like base of the stepped structure on PFUTS 614 is found also on the stepped structures on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), and PFUTS 615 (ST11). The fires on PFUTS 66 (ST7) and PFS 2360 (ST9) are also rendered in a manner similar to that on PFUTS 614. These stepped structures with tripod-like bases may represent a distinctive variation on the type.

The rectangular inset frame on the body of the tower structure is a distinctive treatment of both the crenellated and the V-shaped tower type.<sup>588</sup>

The cutting style on PFUTS 614 is very similar to that used in the closely related PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

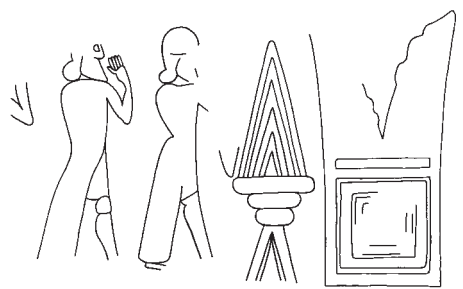
PFUTS 614 occurs on the obverse and upper and bottom edges of one uninscribed tablet; no other seals are applied to the tablet.

## Attestations of PFUTS 614

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 1819-203	PFUTS 614 (× 2)	PFUTS 614	not sealed	PFUTS 614	destroyed	not sealed

PFUTS 615

Cat.No. ST11



1 cm

*Seal Type:* Cylinder

*Estimated Diameter of Original Seal:* NA

*Earliest Dated Application:* ND

*Number of Impressions:* 2

*Preserved Height of Image:* 1.80 cm (incomplete)

*Quality of Impressions:* Good-fair

*Estimated Height of Original Seal:* NA

*Style:* Mixed Styles I

*Preserved Length of Image:* 2.90 cm (incomplete)

*Photograph:* pl. 63a

*Completeness of Image:* A large segment of the middle of the design survives.

DESCRIPTION OF SCENE AS IMPRESSED IMAGE:

PFUTS 615 is only partially preserved. Three attendants (as preserved) move toward a stepped structure, on which there is a blazing fire, and a tower structure. The design is oriented left to right with the two structures at the right, the stepped structure in front of the tower structure. All the attendants face to the right toward the structures. The attendant immediately before the stepped structure is poorly preserved. He holds one arm (only partially preserved) bent and extends it to the right, probably to hold the hand up over or near the mouth as with the other two attendants. Near the base of the fire on the stepped structure are traces of what may be the bottom of a vessel; one may assume the attendant held this vessel in his other hand. This attendant wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed below the knee. He has a long beard (only partially preserved); an oval-shaped mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. The attendant immediately to left has one arm indicated. He holds it sharply bent and extends it outward at shoulder level to right to place the hand over or near his mouth. The thumb and four fingers of the hand are clearly indicated, showing that the hand was held open. This attendant wears an Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed below the knee. He has a thick blunt-pointed beard; a rounded mass of hair rests at the back of his neck. Of the third attendant, immediately to left, there is preserved only part of a sharply bent arm. He would seem thus to have had the same pose as the second attendant.

The stepped structure consists of a three-stepped podium that rests on a tall triangular base that has three legs, only two of which are preserved (i.e., a tripod). The three steps of the podium are rounded and increase in width from bottom to top. The large fire is indicated by three inverted V-shaped elements that are stacked one above the other.

Passages on the tower structure are poorly preserved. It is a large rectangular structure, very broad and tall. A horizontal border separates the top of the structure from the body. The top of the structure consists of two large triangular masses that create a V-shaped space over the center of the structure. There are indications of a serration running along the inner edge of both triangular masses, but preservation is very poor. An outline border runs along all edges of the body of the structure. Within the outline border, there are two square inset frames within which there is a central square inset panel.



## COMMENTARY:

As noted, the scene is especially close in composition to the processional on PFUTS 91 (ST8). There are, however, clear differences between the two scenes, such as the vessels held by the attendants, the configuration of the decoration on the bodies of the two tower structures, and the open hand of the second attendant on PFUTS 615.

In its processional quality and its iconography, the scene is related to PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), and PFUTS 614 (ST10).<sup>589</sup> All six scenes show a procession of figures, wearing Assyrian garments, moving toward paired stepped and tower structures. The lead attendant in the processions (with the exception of PFS 2360 [ST9], where this passage is not preserved) holds a vessel near the base of a fire on a stepped structure.

The pose of placing the hand over or near the mouth occurs also on the attendants on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and, apparently, PFS 2360 (ST9).<sup>590</sup>

The tripod-like base of the stepped structure on PFUTS 615 is found also on the stepped structures on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), and PFUTS 614 (ST10). The fires on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10) are also rendered in a manner similar to that on PFUTS 615. These stepped structures with tripod-like bases may represent a distinctive variation on the type.

The multiple rectangular inset frames on the body of the tower structure are a distinctive treatment of the tower structure, both the crenellated type and the V-shaped type.<sup>591</sup>

PFUTS 615 occurs on the obverse and left edge of one uninscribed tablet; no other seals are applied to the tablet.

## Attestations of PFUTS 615

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>
PFUT 1816-205	PFUTS 615	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFUTS 615	not sealed

## Notes

<sup>459</sup> The seals thus are not organized by archive (PF or PT), seal number, or tablet type (Elamite, Aramaic, or uninscribed). For a concordance of all seals included in this study listed in order of seal number, see the indices.

<sup>460</sup> Each seal in the catalog is given a number based upon its structural type, S1–S14 for scenes that show only the stepped structure, T1–T49 for scenes that show only the tower structure, and ST1–ST11 for scenes that show both the stepped and the tower structures. For seal and tablet sigla, see p. xi.

<sup>461</sup> Houtkamp (1991, p. 27) describes the top of the structure as “a bifurcated top which looks like the front view of two corner battlements.” See also Anderson 2002, pp. 171–72.

<sup>462</sup> Schmidt (1957) did not record measurements of either seal impressions or actual seals in his written descriptions.

<sup>463</sup> For seal carving styles in Persepolitan glyptic, see Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 16–20.

<sup>464</sup> See the discussion at §2.2.6 on the current state of research in documenting seals in the Fortification archive.

<sup>465</sup> As regards carving style, note the convention of markedly separating the mass of hair from the face, the manner in which the lower arm of the attendants on PFUTS 110s (S2) and PFUTS 156s (S3) is curved, the thin V-shaped torsos of the attendants, etc.

<sup>466</sup> On the *barsom*, see the discussion in association with PTS 20\* (S4).

<sup>467</sup> See the comments at §2.2.6.2.3 and §2.2.6.2.4.6, and Garrison 2008, pp. 165–68, on Elamite tablets sealed by three seals.

<sup>468</sup> The content of the Aramaic texts sealed with PFS 578s is still under study. As with other tablets that carry four or more seals, we are often hard-pressed to understand the functions of each seal.

<sup>469</sup> As noted in the discussion of the multiple-seal protocol (§2.2.6.2.3), this sealing protocol is frequently attested in deposits of commodities, e.g., C1 texts (“deposits with *zikka-* and *da-*”).

<sup>470</sup> For the carving style, see the commentary to PFS 578s (S1).

<sup>471</sup> For tablets sealed with more than two seals, see the comments at §2.2.6.2.3.

<sup>472</sup> See the commentary to PFS 578s (S1).

<sup>473</sup> This count is based upon the number of labels on which the seal occurs, not upon actual inspection of the labels.

<sup>474</sup> For the term “yoke,” see Roaf 1983, p. 137.

<sup>475</sup> E.g., Yamamoto 1979, pp. 30, 26, pls. 8–9; Houtkamp 1991, pp. 25–26, 39–40, fig. 1.

<sup>476</sup> The drawing in Houtkamp 1991, fig. 1, is based upon only one impression of the seal.

<sup>477</sup> The *barsom* bundles in Zoroastrian ritual may be *haoma* or pomegranate twigs, although in more recent times they are brass or silver wires (Kanga 1989, p. 825).

<sup>478</sup> On this much discussed ceremony, see, e.g., Boyce 2003.

<sup>479</sup> As discussed in Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 7–9, 489; Garrison 2006, pp. 70–72 (within the context of an analysis of the use of Elamite inscriptions on seals); Azzoni 2008.

<sup>480</sup> For the local Fortification Style, see Garrison 1988, pp. 258–368, 481–98, 525–28; Garrison and Root 2001, p. 18.

<sup>481</sup> This stylistic category indicates carving styles that show characteristics of both the Fortification Style and the Modeled Style.

<sup>482</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 131–34.

<sup>483</sup> On the *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials, see the discussion at §2.2.3. It is rare for a text to name both a *šaramanna* and *damanna* official.

<sup>484</sup> Most often receiving special rations for workers of the royal woman Irdabama (Koch 1990, pp. 71–72), as also, interestingly, is Iršena (see the commentary to PFS 75 [ST1]).

<sup>485</sup> PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 147 (ST2), and PFUTS 285 (ST4). The topic of animal sacrifice is discussed in more detail at §4.3.1.4 and n. 694.

<sup>486</sup> There is an actual seal from Persepolis, PT5 36, found in the Throne Hall, that Schmidt (1957, p. 43, pl. 15) identified as a scene of animal sacrifice, but this identification is not at all clear (it could simply be an unusual version of the heroic encounter), and there certainly is no structure in the scene.

<sup>487</sup> See the discussion at §4.3.3.2.

<sup>488</sup> For tablets sealed with more than two seals, see the comments at §2.2.6.2.3.

<sup>489</sup> For tablets sealed with one seal, see the comments at §2.2.6.2.1.

<sup>490</sup> The translation is from Henkelman 2008a, p. 514. On the phraseology *makuš lan lirira*, see the comments of Henkelman 2008a, pp. 298–99; for *daušiyam* (“offering”) and the *lan* sacrifice, Henkelman 2008a, pp. 211–13 and 181–304 (esp. p. 231).

<sup>491</sup> Discussed in detail at §4.3.2.3.

<sup>492</sup> Schmidt 1957, p. 45. As described by Schmidt, the seal is “baked clay, light red paste, brown slip,” from excavation plot HG 12.

<sup>493</sup> Schmidt did not identify the animal, but the long bristles running along the back surely indicate a boar, as documented often in the glyptic from the Fortification archive (Garrison 2011d).

<sup>494</sup> Perhaps it was his reading of the hairstyle as potentially a “serrated headdress.”

<sup>495</sup> Houtkamp (1991, p. 41) offers no opinion on the date of the seal.

<sup>496</sup> For seated deities before altars/tables in Assyrian glyptic, see Collon 2001, pp. 65–67.

<sup>497</sup> E.g., PFS 2, PFS 1519, PFS 463, PFS 690, and PFS 740, all published in Garrison and Root 2001.

<sup>498</sup> The pre-Achaemenid seals are discussed in detail in Garrison 2011a. For similar rendering of hair in Achaemenid seals, see, e.g., Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 91–92 (PFS 1465) and 321–22 (PFS 33).

<sup>499</sup> On the B and C1 texts, see the comments at §2.2.6.2.4.6.

<sup>500</sup> E.g., Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 312–13 (PFS 795), 313–14 (PFS 815\*), 316–17 (PFS 98\*).

<sup>501</sup> The compositions on PTS 57 (T6) and PFATS 354 (T8), as preserved, have only one attendant; it is highly probable, however, that both scenes originally had a second attendant; they thus have been included in this section of the catalog.

<sup>502</sup> The drawing here published is revised from previously published drawings of this seal. The new drawing shows the figure in the winged disk holding a ring and a corrected reading of the last preserved sign of the Elamite inscription. The former is based upon a new impression of the seal preserved on the recently cleaned tablet Fort. 1740-1. The latter is based upon further study of previously identified impressions of the seal.

<sup>503</sup> Unfortunately, the upper part of the head of the figure in the winged disk is not preserved; one assumes that the figure wears a dentate crown.

<sup>504</sup> Known as SDF, published in Schmitt 1981, pp. 22–23. The seal is one of four seals bearing trilingual inscriptions of Darius I in the Fortification archive: PFS 7\*, PFS 11\* (T1), PFS 113\*, and PFUTS 18\*. All four inscriptions appear to be the standard trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian) inscription that occurs on provenanced seals of the time of Darius: “I (am) Darius ....” See also the discussion at §5.4.2.

<sup>505</sup> Garrison 1998, pp. 126–28; 2000, pp. 141–42; 2001, pp. 73–74; 2007; 2011c; 2014a, pp. 71–73, *passim*; in press b. See also the discussion at §5.4.

<sup>506</sup> See the discussion at §5.4.4.

<sup>507</sup> See the discussion at §5.2.

<sup>508</sup> See the discussion of text types associated with the seals used by Ziššawiš at §5.2.

<sup>509</sup> Or, alternatively, the two horizontal lines mark the edges of a decorative cap for the seal.

<sup>510</sup> As one may see from the impression on the left edge of Fort. 1501–153.

<sup>511</sup> E.g., the famous Treasury panels (originally the central elements of the Apadana) and the audience scenes on the doorways of the northern wall of the Throne Hall (Schmidt 1953, pls. 97–99, 119–23).

<sup>512</sup> Cf., however, the treatment of the top and the body of the crenellated tower structure on PTS 57 (T6).

<sup>513</sup> The Elamite tablet, Fort. 1501–153, is recently discovered, in a very poor state of preservation, and unedited.

<sup>514</sup> See the discussion at 4.4.2.

<sup>515</sup> Schmidt (1957, p. 27) described the attendant at left in the same manner, but I cannot confirm this based upon my examination of the impression on label PT4 706.

<sup>518</sup> Schmidt (1957, p. 27) noted of the tower structure on PTS 22 that there was a “crescent or angle open at top in center, disk above it.” I saw no traces of the “crescent or angle open at top in center” in the one impression.

<sup>517</sup> PTS 22 was mentioned briefly also in Yamamoto 1979, pp. 30–31, pl. 5, and Houtkamp 1991, p. 42.

<sup>518</sup> All labels on which the seal is impressed are in Tehran. I thus rely on Schmidt’s description for much of what follows since the publication photographs are difficult to read. Yamamoto (1979, pp. 30–31, pl. 6) and Houtkamp (1991 p. 43) simply follow Schmidt’s description of the seal.

<sup>519</sup> Houtkamp (1991, p. 42) says nothing of the “foundation.”

<sup>520</sup> PTS 57 is noted briefly in Yamamoto 1979, pp. 30–31, pl. 4, and Houtkamp 1991, p. 42.

<sup>521</sup> There is a discrepancy between measurements taken from the cast of the impression of the seal, 4.20 cm, and the reconstructed drawing of the original seal, 4.90 cm. I have used the former. As Schmidt (1957, p. 42) noted, PT4 873 is an exceptionally large seal for the Achaemenid period.

<sup>522</sup> Schmidt (1957, p. 43, pl. 15) described the seal as “white calcareous stone”; found “at center N. wall, floor.”

<sup>523</sup> Neither Yamamoto (1979) nor Houtkamp (1991) included the seal in their studies.

<sup>524</sup> See also, however, the comments for the compositions on PTS 57 (T6) and PFATS 354 (T8).

<sup>525</sup> For an excellent introduction to the late Babylonian worship scene based upon the rich archive of seal impressions from the Eanna at Uruk, see Ehrenberg 1999, pp. 15–25.

<sup>526</sup> Traditionally identified as the star of Ištar and the crescent of Šîn, as Ehrenberg (1999, p. 17) does for the glyptic from the Eanna at Uruk.

<sup>527</sup> The glyptic from the Fortification archive to date has yielded three examples, PFS 958s, PFATS 656s, and PFUTS 220s. PFS 958s, PFUTS 220s, and PFS 153s are discussed in more detail in Garrison in press c. There are only three seals (all octagonal stamps) from the Eanna at Uruk that definitely combine the winged ring/disk with a worshipper standing before religious symbols on a pedestal (Ehrenberg 1999, nos. 40, 42, and 73; Ehrenberg 1999, no. 113, a cylinder seal, is a small fragment that preserves only a bearded worshipper and a winged disk). In the recently published impressions from Sippar, there is only one seal (octagonal stamp) that definitely has the winged ring/disk in the late Babylonian worship scene (Altavilla and Walker 2009, no. A36). As with the glyptic evidence from the Eanna at Uruk, many of the impressions from Sippar are fragmentary; thus, we need to leave open the possibility that there are more examples of the occurrence of the winged ring/disk in the late Babylonian worship scene. E.g., no. A25 from Sippar, an octagonal stamp, may show such a scene, but the preservation is very poor. Nos. A07 and B29, cylinder seals, show a worshipper before several *kudurrus* on which symbols are placed, including winged disks. No. P04, a poorly preserved cylinder, shows the upper part of a *kudurru* that holds a star and part of a winged disk, presumably floating in the upper field. A study of the glyptic preserved on Babylonian archives of Achaemenid date catalogs only one seal that definitely combines the late Babylonian worship scene with a winged ring/disk (Balzer 2007, no. H4s.11, an octagonal stamp dating the reign of Darius II). No. H4s.10, a fragmentarily preserved cylinder seal, has a worshipper standing before a winged ring and star floating in the upper field. No. H9aa.1, a fragmentarily preserved cylinder seal, shows the same type of scene with a winged ring/disk and crescent. I wish to thank Wolfgang Balzer for his generosity in making available to me his study and allowing me to cite it here. In all three cases from Uruk, Ehrenberg (1999, pp. 17–18) appears to identify the winged symbol with the sun-god Šamaš based, presumably, on the date (i.e., pre-Achaemenid) and provenance (Babylonia). Altavilla and Walker (2009, p. 154) appear to suggest the same for all occurrences of the winged ring/disk in the seals that they publish, regardless of whether the seal is applied to tablets of late Babylonian or Achaemenid date.

<sup>528</sup> See the discussion at §4.4.2.

<sup>529</sup> Garrison 2014a.

<sup>530</sup> See also the discussion at §4.2.2.2.1.

<sup>531</sup> E.g., PFS 795 (Cat.No. 214), PFS 815\* (Cat.No. 215), and PFS 98\* (Cat.No. 217) in Garrison and Root 2001. See also the discussion at §4.3.2.2.

<sup>532</sup> As Hallock (1969, p. 19) noted, there is sometimes difficulty distinguishing whether a text belongs to his E category or his K1 category. The former Hallock identified as disbursements to deities, the latter disbursements to individuals for “performance of religious duties.”

<sup>533</sup> E.g., Amiet 1980, pl. 11 (nos. 203A and 203B) and 13bis (nos. A–C and L). One thinks here also of the famous Achaemenid-period seal that shows a crowned figure in the Persian court robe surrounded by a nimbus standing on the back of a lion before a female figure (Furtwängler 1900, p. 120, fig. 81; Boardman 1970, no. 878). The seal was found in the so-called Nereid coffin from Gorgippa, ancient Anapa, and is generally dated to sometime in the fourth century BC. The female figure is almost universally associated with the Iranian goddess Anāhitā; Jacobs

(in press, s.v. Anahita) identifies the female figure as a divine statue (owing to its standing on the back of a lion) but notes that its identification as Anāhitā cannot be proven (any of a number of female deities known in ancient western Asia are possible).

<sup>534</sup> Cf. the scene on PFS 91 (fig. 2.31) where the winged symbol extends a ring to an attendant dressed in the Persian court robe. The winged symbols on the tomb reliefs at Naqš-e Rostam also hold rings (figs. 6.7 and 6.12–6.13).

<sup>535</sup> Animals in procession: PFUTS 154 (S8), PFUTS 151 (T10), PFUTS 162 (T11), PFUTS 604 (T13); animals in processions being killed: PFUTS 148 (S7), PFS 2315 (T12); animals being killed (not in procession): PFUTS 605 (S14); butchery: PFUTS 111 (S6).

<sup>536</sup> See the discussion below, §4.3.3.3, and remarks concerning the subgroups T10–T12, ST1–ST4, and ST6–ST8.

<sup>537</sup> Garrison 2008, pp. 168–69; see also §2.2.6.2.3 and §2.2.6.2.4.6.

<sup>538</sup> See the discussion at §4.3.2.3.

<sup>539</sup> Note the comments of Houtkamp (1991, pp. 28–29), who illustrated a seal from the Bibliothèque nationale de France (no. 401) showing a crenellated tower structure on which a pointed rod-like device emerges from the top of the structure. Houtkamp compared such structures to small towers with crenellations from which a tree-like device emerges, engraved on Urartian bronze vessels from Kamir Blur. Note also the bar-like device that lies in the middle of the top of the crenellated tower structure on PTS 23 (T5).

<sup>540</sup> The similarity of this vertical device and its central placement with the vertical object on the famous relief on the altar of Tulkulti-Ninurta from the Middle Assyrian period, while striking, would seem to be fortuitous. See Bahrani 2003, pp. 190–93, on the identification of the god depicted on the altar of Tulkulti-Ninurta.

<sup>541</sup> PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 2525 (T24), PFS 897 (T36), and perhaps also PFUTS 313 (T22), PFS 738 (T28), and PFS 709 (T33).

<sup>542</sup> See the discussions at §4.3.2.1, §4.3.2.3, §4.3.2.7, and §4.3.3.3.

<sup>543</sup> E.g., Aperghis 1999, pp. 188–89; Koch 1990, p. 104 n. 438; Henkelman 2008a, p. 134; Garrison 2008, pp. 165–68; Tuplin 2008; Mikołajczak 2010, pp. 106–07.

<sup>544</sup> See the discussions at §4.3.2.1, §4.3.2.3, §4.3.2.7, and §4.3.3.3.

<sup>545</sup> Preservation does not allow a definitive collation.

<sup>546</sup> I.e., PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 110s (S2), PFUTS 156s (S3), PTS 20\* (S4), PFUTS 154 (S8), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PFS 435 (T16), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 2220 (T21), and PFUTS 457 (T32).

<sup>547</sup> See the comments of Henkelman (2008a, p. 129 n. 287) on *kurdabattiš* and Bakadadda. In PF 777, a Bakadadda is designated *anzanra*, “the Anšanite,” an interesting qualification, if this Bakadadda is the same as the *kurdabattiš* Bakadadda (on the political import of the term Anšan/Anšanite, see the comments of Garrison 2006 and 2011a).

<sup>548</sup> No seal may definitively, at the moment, be attributed to Bakadadda.

<sup>549</sup> See the references above, note 543.

<sup>550</sup> For scenes where a figure seated before a tower structure holds cups/vessels, see also PFUTS 616 (T25), PFUTS 257 (T31); perhaps also PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFS 307 (T20), and PFS 2220 (T21); see also the discussion at §4.3.2.3.

<sup>551</sup> PFS 280 (Cat.No. 309) and PFS 148 (Cat.No. 311) are published in Garrison and Root 2001. PFS 1459 shows a very similar scene, although the top of the “plant” is not preserved, and there is an attendant behind the seated person.

<sup>552</sup> See the catalog entry for PFUTS 91 (ST8) and §4.2.2.2.5.

<sup>553</sup> Aspects of the text are discussed in Henkelman 2008a, pp. 226–27, 236, 289, 381, 476, 527, 528, and 529. The translation of *bakadaušiya* is from Henkelman 2008a, p. 381.

<sup>554</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 421–22; Garrison and Henkelman in press.

<sup>555</sup> This animal is clearly visible on the impressions on PFUT 1519–206 and 1522–206; the animal does not seem to occur, however, on the impressions on PFUT 131–201, although that area of the seal design is rather well preserved. If we have to do here with two separate seals, they are exact duplicates in every other aspect. For the moment, we have collated the impressions as one seal.

<sup>556</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, p. 383; the animal is identified as a lion, but, given its poor preservation, we may have to do here with a caprid.

<sup>557</sup> Schmidt 1957, p. 43, pl. 15. As described by Schmidt, the seal is “light brown baked clay.”

<sup>558</sup> This suggestion is based upon a series of conjectures about the crenellated tower type representing the altar for the dynastic fire and, by extension, “the symbolic center of the nation, and thus as the representative of the homeland” (Yamamoto 1979, p. 32).

<sup>559</sup> Yamamoto (1979, p. 32, pl. 18) apparently dated the seal to the Achaemenid period; Houtkamp (1991, p. 44), following Stronach, dated the seal to the second century BC.

<sup>560</sup> Cf. the *frataraka* coin types in Haerincq and Overlaet 2008, pl. 3 nos. 5 and 6, dated to Dārēv I, and no 8, dated to Vādfradād III; see also the comments at §4.4.2.3.

<sup>561</sup> The seal on the left edge of PFAT 98 is illegible; given the sealing patterns on the other six tablets, it is most likely that this seal was not PFATS 11.

<sup>562</sup> The hatched device circling the winged creature recalls a similar device (dots contained within a circle) encircling a pair of rampant caprids in the quite spectacular PFS 3 (fig. 2.14a), one of three regional office seals in the Fortification archive (e.g., Hallock 1977, pp. 129–31; Koch 1990, pp. 147, 242, 290–91; Henkelman 2008a, p. 118; Root 1990, pp. 131–32). The device on PFS 3 and PFS 2361 may have some connection to the motif of a dotted circle border that occurs in coinage in the western realms of the empire (Root 1990, pp. 131–32).

<sup>563</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 272–74.

<sup>564</sup> Garrison 2011a, p. 383, figs. 14–19, with bibliography on Irdbama.

<sup>565</sup> Although it is rare to have a lion attacking a lion.

<sup>566</sup> See the discussion at §4.2.2.2.2 and §4.4.2 regarding this device.

<sup>567</sup> See the discussion of PFUTS 76 (T18) concerning the possibility that the rod-like device on the tower structure on that seal may represent the stylus of Nabû.

<sup>568</sup> Cf., e.g., the tower structures on PFUTS 257 (T31), PFUTS 457 (T32), PFATS 450 (T39), and PFS 1015 (T43).

<sup>569</sup> Their placement may suggest that there was a human figure here, in which case we would have to do with typological category 3.3.7, tower structure with standing figure and animal.

<sup>570</sup> This number represents a minimum number of impressions. The seal is often over-rolled on the reverses and obverses of many tablets, making a definitive count of impressions very difficult. In addition, there are many uncataloged impressions of the seal on unscripted tablets.

<sup>571</sup> Moorey (1979, p. 226 n. 18) stated that he saw drawings of the seal made by Edith Porada. A collated drawing was first published in Garrison 2000, p. 142, fig. 19. The seal has since appeared in several publications, e.g., Brosius 2006, fig. 14. The drawing here published adds some details from newly discovered impressions of the seal on the uninscribed and Aramaic tablets.

<sup>572</sup> See the discussions at §4.3.

<sup>573</sup> See above, n. 572.

<sup>574</sup> For the figure in the winged ring/disk, and divine symbols overall within the corpus of scenes here published, see the discussion at 4.4.1.

<sup>575</sup> While eleven uninscribed tablets bearing PFS 75 have to date been cataloged, there are many more uncataloged uninscribed tablets that carry the seal.

<sup>576</sup> Garrison 2008, pp. 159–60.

<sup>577</sup> Koch (1990, p. 130 n. 575) attributes PFS 75 to the supplier on PF 1025, one Yamakka. Aperghis (2000, p. 130) appears to be the only person to have attributed (in print) PFS 75 to Iršena. For Iršena and PFS 4\*, see Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 411–13, with bibliography. There are differing opinions on the exact administrative region covered by PFS 4\*; e.g., Henkelman 2008a, 119): “... territory is defined by long, sometimes narrow valleys running northwest/southeast.... In the east, the region starts at Parmadan, which might be situated in the Ardakān plain. Westwards, it includes the Mamasanī area.... From here, the region continues westwards beyond modern Behbahān and probably ends at Tappeh Bormī near Rām Hormoz (= Hunar) or a little further northwestwards.”

<sup>578</sup> On the rationing branch of the archive and the officials characterized by the terms *šaramanna* and *damanna*, see the discussion at §2.2.3.

<sup>579</sup> E.g., PFS 149 (Cat.No. 212), PFS 236 (Cat.No. 213), and PFS 795 (Cat.No. 214) in Garrison and Root 2001.

<sup>580</sup> E.g., Boyce 1987a, pl. 1. The gesture is discussed in more detail at §6.3.2.3.

<sup>581</sup> See the discussions at §4.2.2.1.1 and §4.2.2.2.6.

<sup>582</sup> Perhaps the serrations on the top of the tower structure on PFATS 224 (T44) are related; see also the rather more unusual tower structure on PFS 2296 (T29).

<sup>583</sup> Note, e.g., PFS 148 (Cat.No. 311), PFS 280 (Cat.No. 309), and PFS 1459, which show a seated figure, rampant animal, and some type of bushy plant. These seals would seem potentially connected to the series of seals, discussed in §3.3.5, that show a seated figure, rampant animal, and tower structure. On PFS 148 (Cat.No. 311), PFS 280 (Cat.No. 309), and PFS 1459, the seated figure appears to be interacting with the rampant animal as if in a heroic encounter. In the catalog entries for PFS 148 (Cat. No. 311) and PFS 280 (Cat.No. 309), we identify the plants as date palms. In a related scene, PFS 1459, the seated figure holds a tri-lobed flower; behind him there is a standing figure who seems to interact with the rampant animal. The fragmentary PFS 688 preserves a kneeling human figure before a plant-like object with a rampant animal and, perhaps, a bird(?). For the moment, I am inclined to distinguish the tower structure such as we see on PFUTS 66 (ST7) et al. from the large plant with three leafy fronds, although, as we have noted, the scenes on these seals share some aspects of vocabulary (e.g., seated figures) and syntax. Note also the tower structure on PFS 2296 (T29), which appears to have frond-like elements (although the preservation is very poor).

<sup>584</sup> See also the commentary to PFUTS 66 (ST7).

<sup>585</sup> Other occurrences of this vessel type in the corpus are listed in the commentary to PFUTS 66 (ST7).

<sup>586</sup> The three impressions of the seal are short and difficult to collate. It is unclear whether we have the full extent of the design. The impression on the bottom edge of PFUT 1819-203 clearly shows three attendants to the left of the tower structure. The impression on the upper edge clearly shows two attendants to the right of the stepped structure. Given that the attendants are rendered very similarly, we are unable to provide a collation with any certainty. Hence the line drawing here shows five attendants.

<sup>587</sup> See the commentary to PFUTS 66 (ST7) with regard to the attendants on that seal.

<sup>588</sup> See the discussion at §4.2.2.1.1 and §4.2.2.2.6.

<sup>589</sup> See also the commentary to PFUTS 66 (ST7).

<sup>590</sup> See the commentary to PFUTS 66 (ST7), with regard to the attendants on that seal.

<sup>591</sup> See the discussion at §4.2.2.1.1 and §4.2.2.2.6.

## The Stepped and the Tower Structures in Persepolitan Glyptic: Discussion

“Nevertheless, I shall try to put emphasis on the things I know rather than on the things I am confused about.” (Hallock 1977, p. 127)

### 4.1. Introduction

*Chapter 3* contains the corpus of Persepolitan seals currently identified as having scenes that have representations of the stepped structure and/or the tower structure. As research continues on the Fortification archive, undoubtedly more seals that will add to the corpus here published will emerge. Be that as it may, given the large number of seals already identified, it seems unlikely that new data will radically alter the inferences that we may draw from the current corpus. This chapter examines the significance of this new data for our understanding of the stepped and the tower structures and the question of the so-called fire altars in early Achaemenid art.

Houtkamp 1991, the most comprehensive previous attempt to collect the data concerned with fire altars, listed sixteen seals of Achaemenid date in her catalog. The catalog of seals here published consists of seventy-four seals preserving eighty-five examples of the stepped or the tower structures.<sup>592</sup> Houtkamp (1991) included five seals from the Treasury at Persepolis in her study; those seals are also in this catalog.<sup>593</sup> The other sixty-seven seals in this catalog are new additions to the corpus of material available for study,<sup>594</sup> they represent almost six times more evidence than was available for consultation previously. This huge increase in the data available for study in and of itself is a remarkable feature of the glyptic material from the Fortification archive. Additionally, it needs to be stressed that of the eleven seals in Houtkamp’s catalog that did not come from the Treasury at Persepolis, none had a secure archaeological provenance. The sixty-seven new seals from the Fortification archive here published not only have a known archaeological provenance, the fortification wall at Persepolis, but also belong to an administrative archive and thereby are richly contextualized via the accompanying archival information. So, too, the use of these sixty-seven seals from the Fortification archive is well dated via their archival context, that is, 509–493 BC, the date of the Fortification archive. The non-Treasury seals in Houtkamp’s catalog, by contrast, cannot be securely dated; those seals certainly range in date down into the fifth and fourth centuries BC. While the usage dates of the seals in the Fortification archive are no guarantee of the actual dates of their creation, I see no stylistic elements in any of these seals to suggest that any would predate the reign of Darius I by any considerable amount of time. That is, the glyptic from the Fortification archive collected in this study is roughly contemporary in date of execution. Thus, the evidence from the Fortification archive not only adds a substantial number of new images to the research corpus for these structures but also is securely provenanced (an imperial capital, no less), richly contextualized, and extremely well dated to a relatively short period of time. This period is, moreover, the most critical phase for the development and canonization of imperial Achaemenid art.

## 4.2. Typology

It may be useful to review the formal characteristics that these two structures, the stepped and the tower, exhibit in the glyptic evidence from Persepolis.

### 4.2.1. The Stepped Structure

There are twenty-five examples of the stepped structure in this study (fig. 4.1).<sup>595</sup> The structure is fairly consistently rendered, although there is some variation. The most persistent features, and thus what appear to have been its defining characteristics, are a blazing fire and the three-stepped podium. Each step of the podium becomes wider moving from the bottom step to the top step. Setting aside the anomalous structures on PFS 427 (S13) and PFUTS 605 (S14), which may not be directly related to the stepped structure per se, there are a few exceptions to the three-stepped podium. The stepped structures on PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 285 (ST4), and PFUTS 618 (ST6) have two steps to the podium, and those on PFS 2360 (ST9) and PFUTS 614 (ST10) appear to have only one step (but it should be noted that the stepped structures in these designs are poorly preserved and do not allow for definitive readings).

The support and base for the three-/two-stepped podium vary. There appear to be four types.<sup>596</sup>

#### 4.2.1.1. *The Stepped Structure: Conical Support*

One well-attested support for the podium of a stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic is a simple short conical one that has no base (fig. 4.2). This type is found on the following seals:

- PFS 578s (S1)
- PFUTS 156s (S3)
- PFUTS 149 (ST3)
- PFUTS 110s (S2)
- PFUTS 147 (ST2)

The stepped structure on PFUTS 149 (ST3) is noteworthy for the exceptionally thick steps of the podium, the small horn-like extensions on the outer corners of the top step, and the relatively short height of the conical support.

#### 4.2.1.2. *The Stepped Structure: Tripod Support*

A tripod-like arrangement for the support of the podium of the stepped structure is documented on five seals (fig. 4.3):

- PFUTS 66 (ST7)
- PFS 2360 (ST9)
- PFUTS 615 (ST11)
- PFUTS 91 (ST8)
- PFUTS 614 (ST10)

It is noteworthy that these five examples occur in processional scenes that are very similar in composition, iconography, and style.

#### 4.2.1.3. *The Stepped Structure: Broad Rectangular Support*

A third type of support for the podium of the stepped structure appears to be a broad rectangular affair (fig. 4.4), although none of the examples are completely preserved. This type of support appears to occur on:

- PFUTS 154 (S8)
- PFUTS 610 (S10)
- PFUTS 618 (ST6)

PFUTS 618 (ST6) has been included in this category and §4.2.1.6, irregular renderings, since the configuration of the podium of the structure is highly unusual.

#### 4.2.1.4. *The Stepped Structure: Columnar Support(s) with or without a Base*

The fourth type of support for the podium of the stepped structure consists of a single columnar support or a series of thin columnar elements (fig. 4.5). In all the examples where the bottom of the structure is preserved,

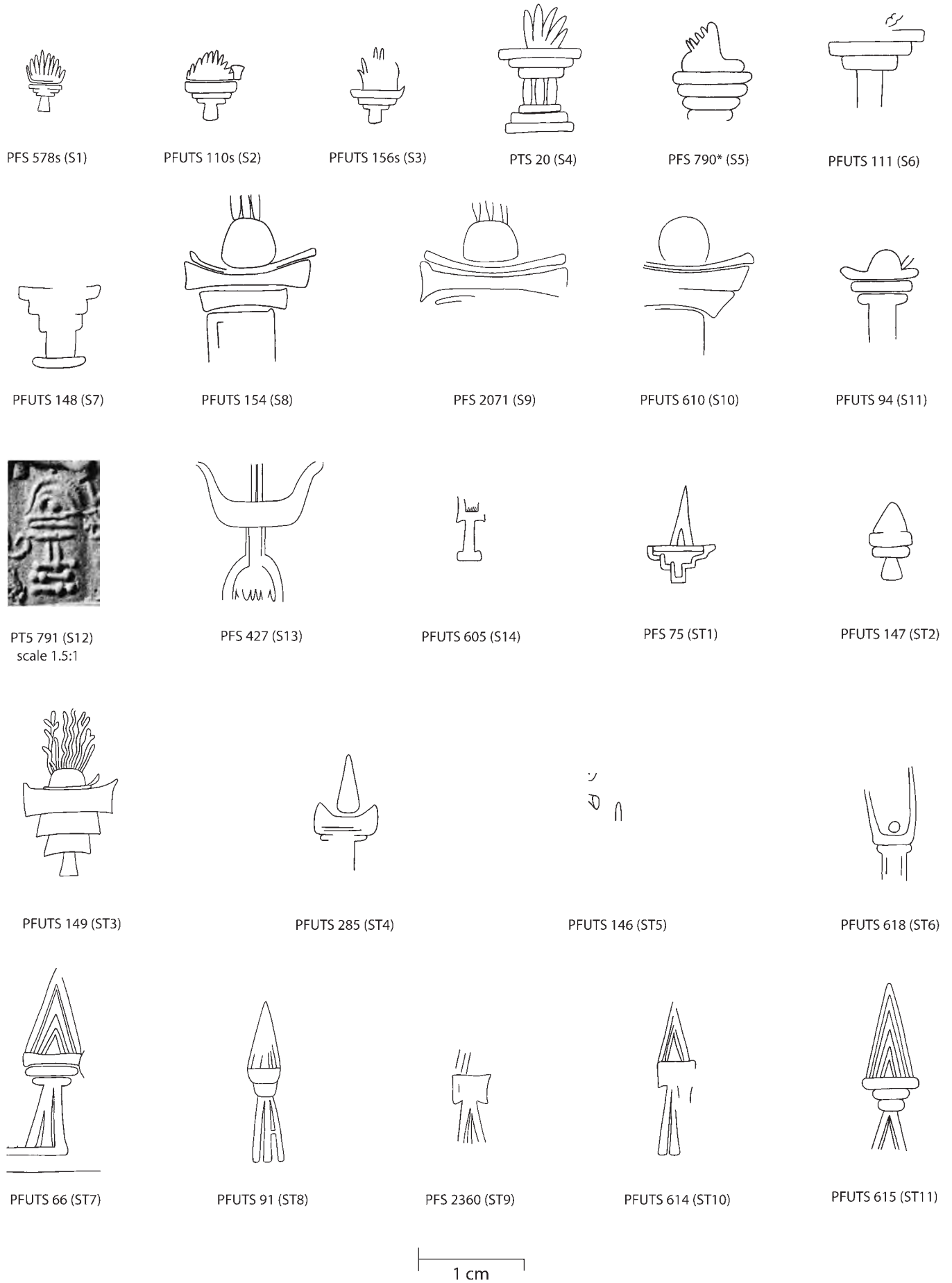


Figure 4.1. The stepped structure in Persepolitan glyphic (scale 2:1, except where noted)



these columnar supports rest upon a base. The lower parts of the stepped structures on three seals are not, however, preserved:

Single columnar support:

- PFUTS 111 (S6), bottom not preserved
- PFUTS 148 (S7), one-stepped base
- PFUTS 94 (S11), bottom not preserved
- PFUTS 285 (ST4), bottom not preserved

Series of columnar supports resting on base:

- PTS 20\* (S4), three columnar supports resting on three-stepped base
- PT5 791 (S12), two columnar supports resting on three-stepped base

The structure on PFUTS 285 (ST4) has been included here, although the preservation is very poor. The stepped structure on PFUTS 148 (S7) has a thick columnar support resting upon a single-stepped base. It seems noteworthy that PTS 20\* (S4) and the seal PT5 791 (S12) (although rendered in a schematic drilled cutting style, the details of the structure are clearly legible), both from the Treasury, are the only examples in the research corpus in which the stepped structure has two or more columnar supports resting on a three-stepped base.<sup>597</sup> The three-stepped base is, of course, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the stepped structure on the tomb façade of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam (figs. 5.21, 6.6–6.7, and 6.10). The stepped structure on Darius' relief is, however, different from any preserved example of a stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic in having a rectangular support, decorated with a rectangular inset frame and inset panel, resting on a stepped base. The inset frames/panels are, interestingly, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>598</sup>

#### 4.2.1.5. *The Stepped Structure: No Support*

An oddity among the stepped structures is that on PFS 75 (ST1). Preserved in dozens of applications, it is clear that the three-stepped podium has no support; rather, it appears to float in space before the attendant (fig.4.6). What, exactly, one is to make of this convention is unclear.

#### 4.2.1.6. *The Stepped Structure: Possible Irregular Renderings*

I have tentatively classified the structures on three seals as potential variations on the stepped structure (fig. 4.6):

- PFS 427 (S13)
- PFUTS 605 (S14)
- PFUTS 618 (ST6)

The stepped structures on the three seals seem broadly similar; all appear to share elements of the two structure types, tower and stepped. The large size of the structure on PFS 427 (S13) seems more in keeping with depictions of the tower structure. The oval-shaped base and thin columnar support may find some resonance with some examples of the stepped structure, and the thin vertical elements emerging from the elongated U-shaped “podium” may be fire (always occurring on the stepped structure). The large elongated U-shaped “podium” itself is, however, without parallel, with the potential exception of the irregular structures on PFUTS 605 (S14) and PFUTS 618 (ST6). The structure on PFUTS 605 (S14) has a base from which emerges a columnar support for an orthogonal U-shaped “podium.” The ends of the top step of the two-stepped podium on PFUTS 618 (ST6) seem similar to those on PFUTS 605 (S14); they turn and extend upward for a considerable distance, giving the top of the structure a horn-like appearance. The stepped base, columnar support, and possible representation of fire on PFUTS 605 (S14) may represent similar features seen on stepped structures. As with the structure on PFS 427 (S13), the structure on PFUTS 605 (S14) is very tall, much more in keeping with the relative scale of tower structures. So, too, the orthogonal vertical extensions on the top of the structure on PFUTS 605 (S14) appear to have terminated in a point, giving them something of a triangular appearance found on the top sections of some of the V-shaped tower structures.<sup>599</sup>

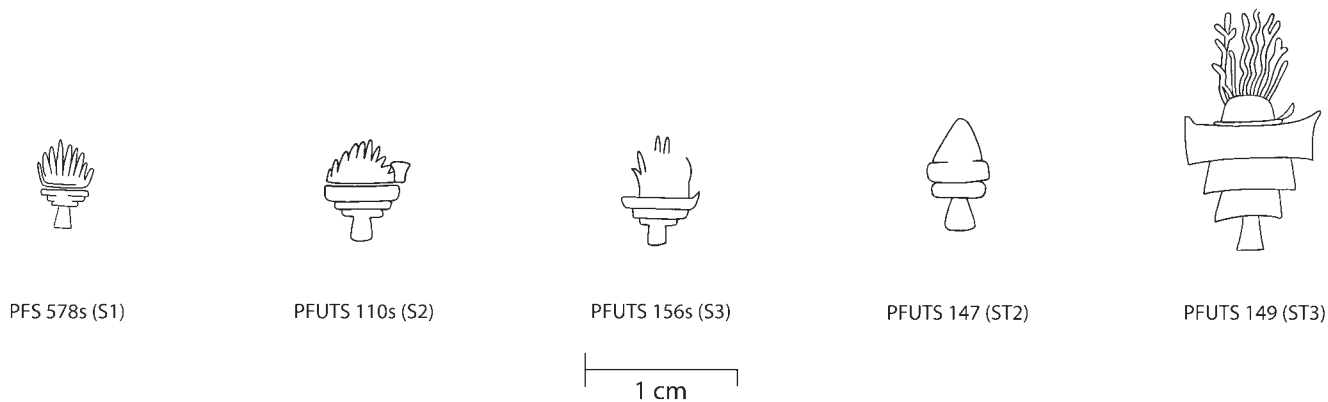


Figure 4.2. Stepped structure with conical support (scale 2:1)

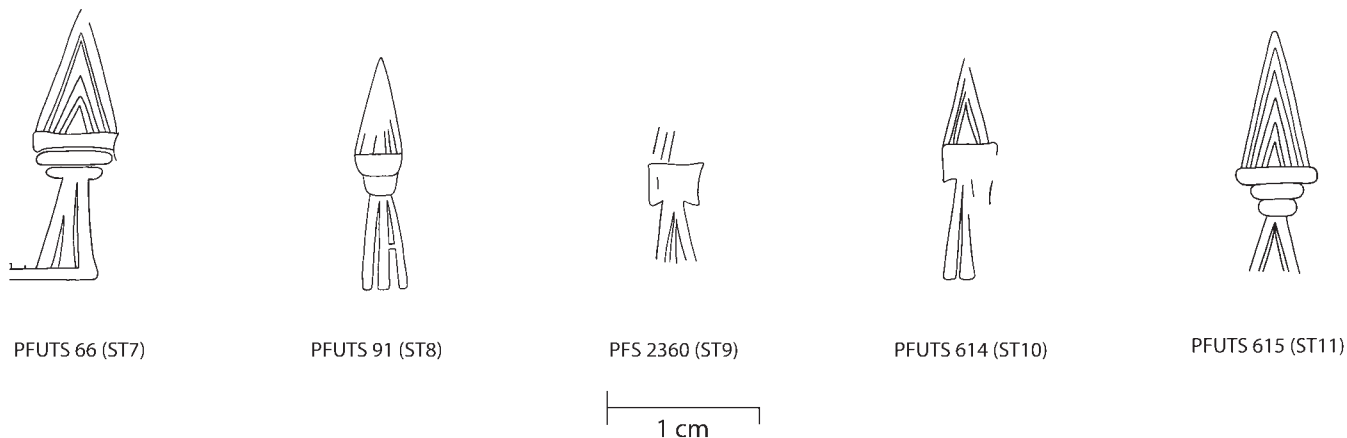


Figure 4.3. Stepped structure with tripod support (scale 2:1)

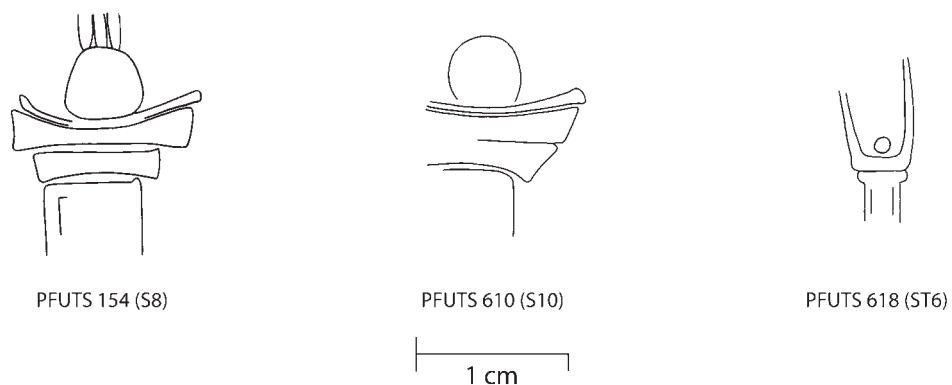


Figure 4.4. Stepped structure with broad rectangular support (scale 2:1)

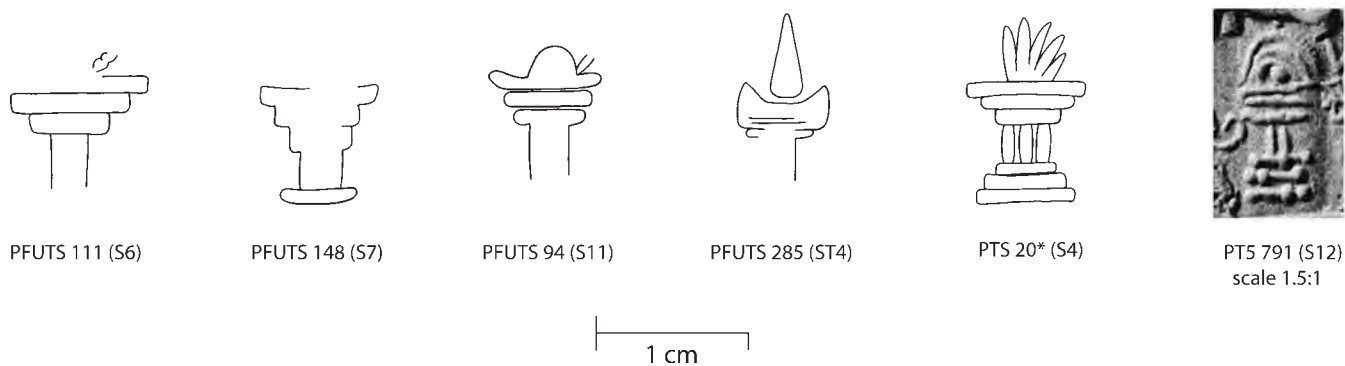


Figure 4.5. Stepped structure with columnar support(s) with or without a base (scale 2:1, except where noted)

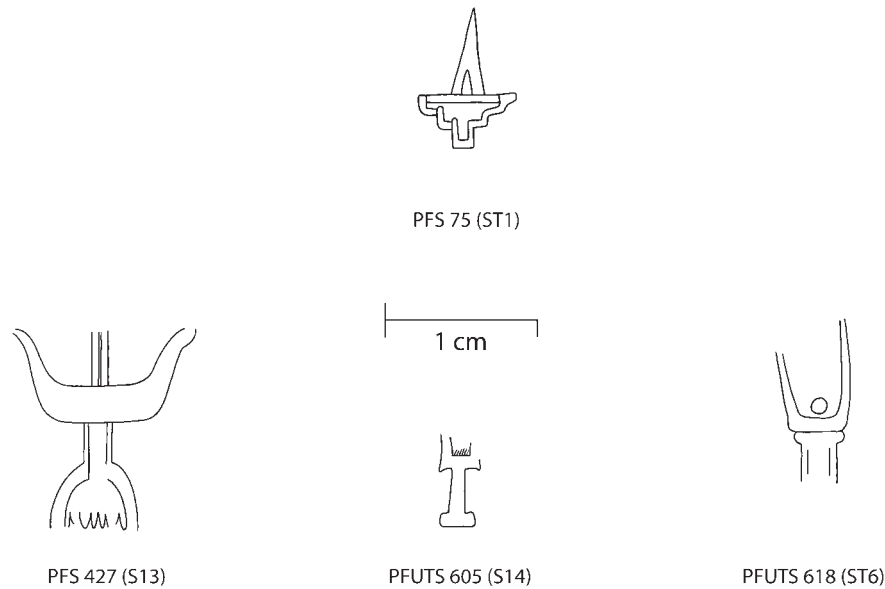


Figure 4.6. Possible irregular renderings of the stepped structure (scale 2:1)

#### 4.2.1.7. The Stepped Structure: Typology Concluding Remarks

While the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic admits some variation in its depiction, the structure as a phenomenon is easily recognized. Its most distinctive features are the large blazing fire (and/or mound of ash/fire) and the stepped podium (with graded widths of the steps). In relative scale, the stepped structure is almost always considerably smaller than the human attendants with which it is shown.

#### 4.2.2. The Tower Structure

There are sixty examples of the tower structure documented in this study (fig. 4.7a–c). While the rendering of the tower structure at first blush appears to allow a good deal of variation, in fact one may recognize two standard types based upon the treatment of the top section of the structure. The first type, what I have called the crenellated tower structure, generally has a tall narrow rectangular body decorated with a series of rectangular inset frames/panels over which there is the distinctive crenellation, usually in three offsets (fig. 4.8). The crenellations create a negative space in the form of a “staggered V” over the top center of the structure. The crenellated tower structure is by far the less numerous of the two types, consisting of only thirteen examples. The second type, which I have called the V-shaped tower structure, generally has a broad square or rectangular body decorated in a variety of geometric patterns (but generally some variation of the rectangular inset frames/panels seen on the crenellated tower type); over the body are two triangular masses, either undecorated or consisting of a series of V-shaped or inverted V-shaped elements (fig. 4.9a–c). These triangular masses create a negative space in the form of a “V” over the top center of the structure. The V-shaped tower type is far and away the most common type of tower structure documented in Persepolitan glyptic, consisting of some thirty-nine unambiguously identified examples and four probable examples.<sup>600</sup>

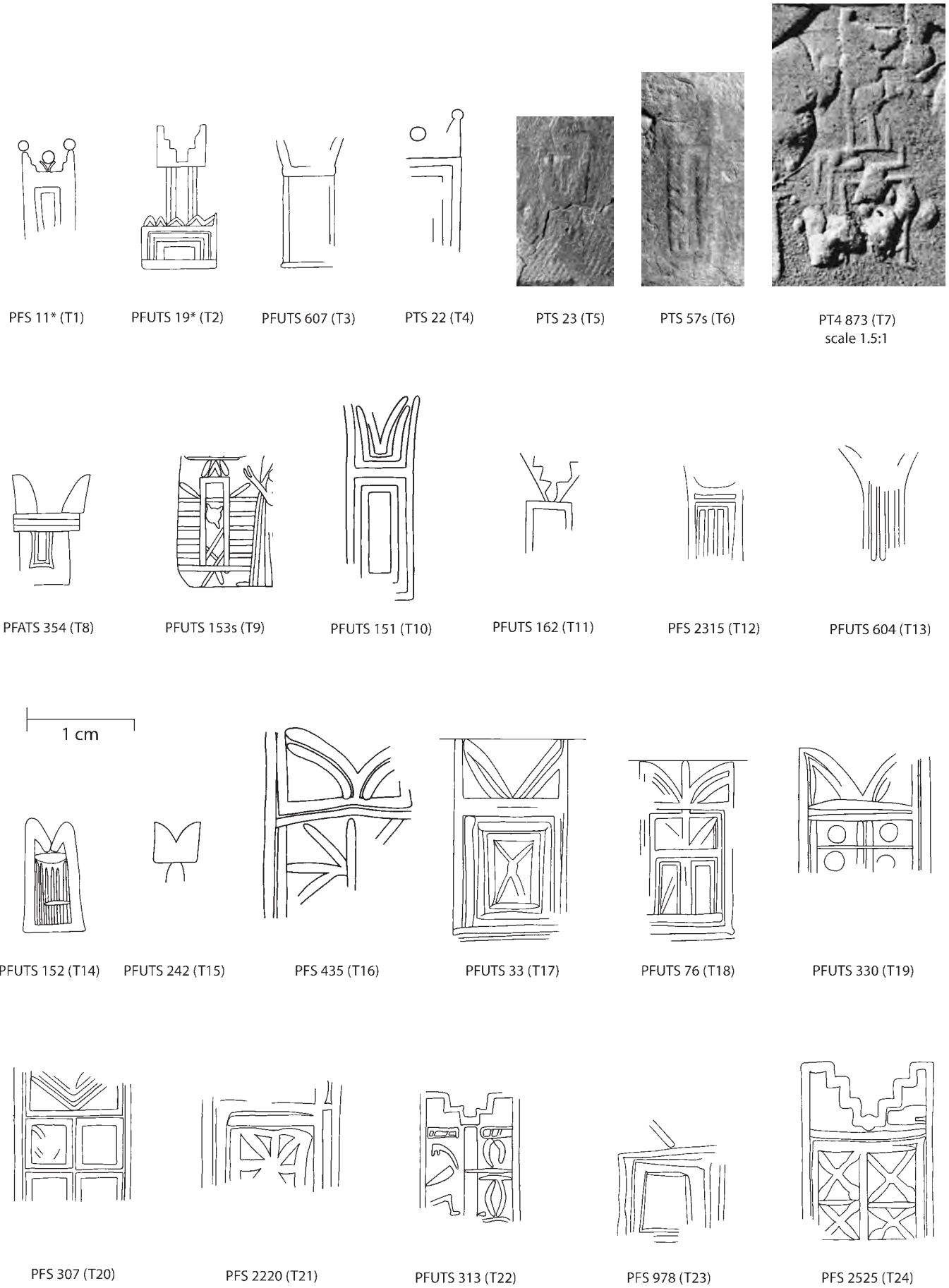
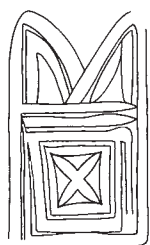


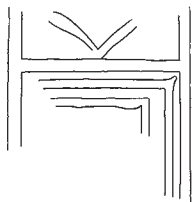
Figure 4.7a. The tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic (scale 2:1, except where noted)



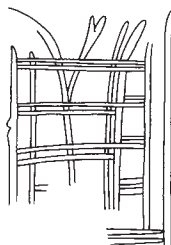
PFUTS 616 (T25)



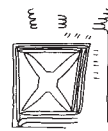
PFUTS 240 (T26)



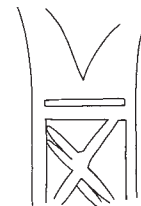
PFS 2542 (T27)



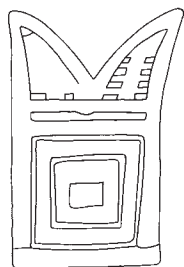
PFS 738 (T28)



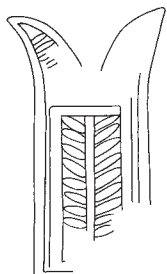
PFS 2296 (T29)



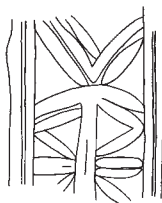
PFUTS 294 (T30)



PFUTS 257 (T31)



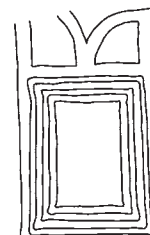
PFUTS 457 (T32)



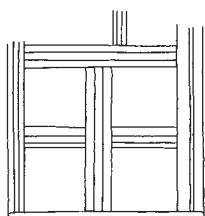
PFS 709 (T33)



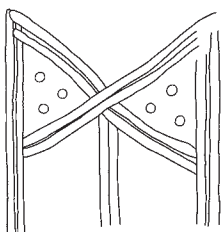
PT6 699 (T34)  
scale 1.5:1



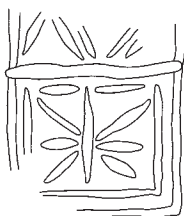
PFATS 11 (T35)



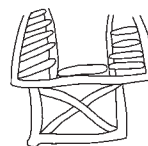
PFS 897 (T36)



PFATS 281 (T37)



PFATS 312 (T38)



PFATS 450 (T39)



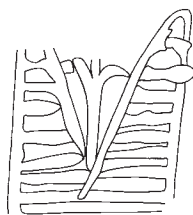
PFATS 460 (T40)



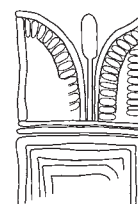
PFS 2361 (T41)



PFATS 244 (T42)



PFS 1015 (T43)



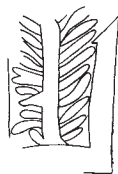
PFATS 224 (T44)



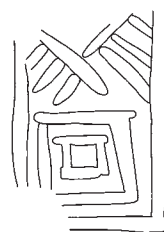
PFATS 297 (T45)



PFATS 436 (T46)



PFS 628 (T47)



PFATS 392 (T48)



PFS 2673s (T49)

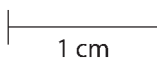


Figure 4.7b. The tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic (cont.) (scale 2:1)

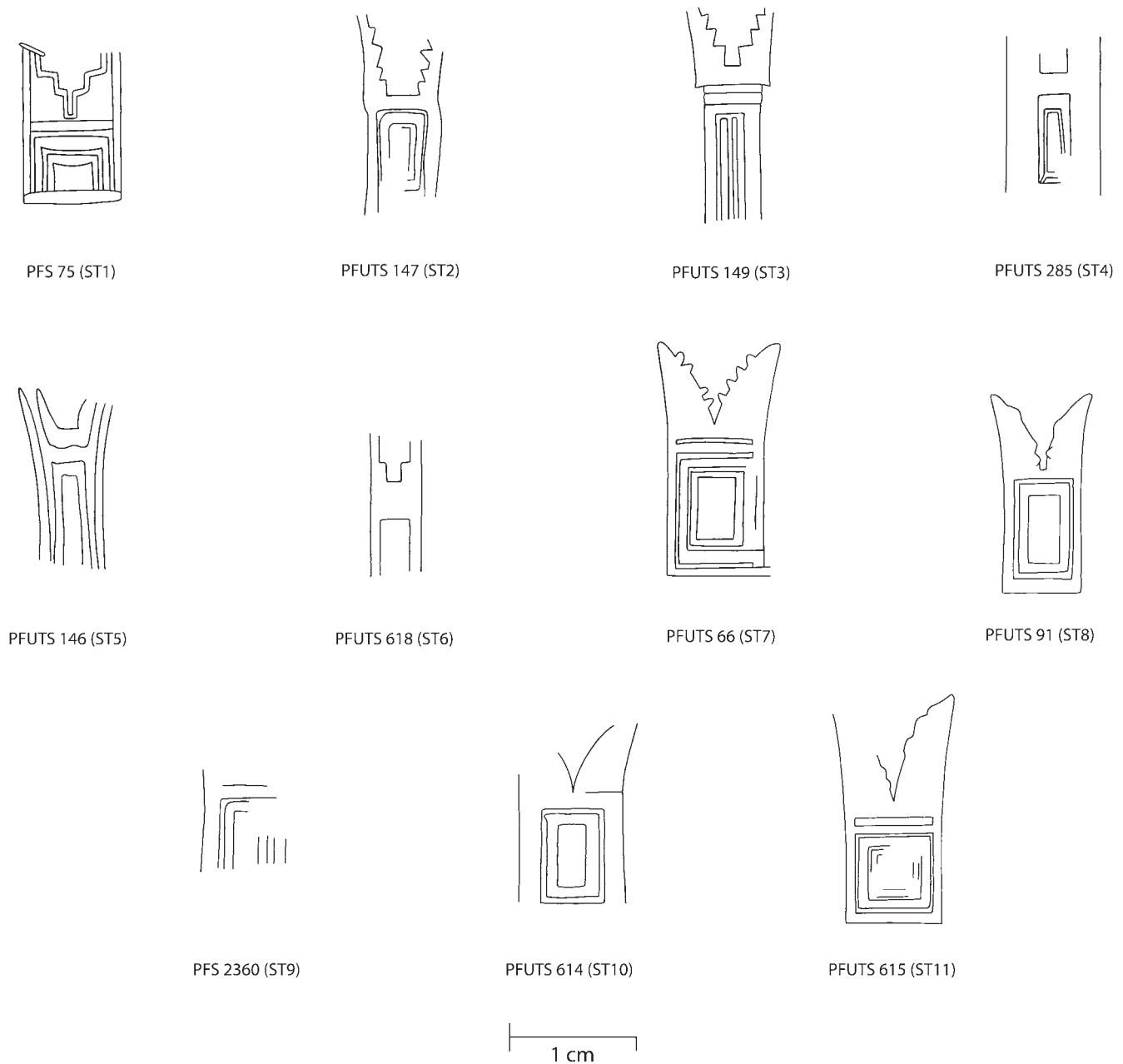


Figure 4.7c. The tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic (*cont.*) (scale 2:1)

#### 4.2.2.1. The Tower Structure: Crenellated Top

The tower structures with the crenellated top are familiar, having been recognized and discussed previously in the scholarly literature (fig. 4.8).<sup>601</sup> In this type belong the tower structures on the following thirteen Persepolitan seals:

- PFS 11\* (T1)
- PFUTS 19\* (T2)
- PTS 22 (T4)
- PTS 23 (T5)
- PTS 57 (T6)
- PFUTS 162 (T11)
- PFUTS 313 (T22)
- PFS 2525 (T24)
- PFS 75 (ST1)
- PFUTS 147 (ST2)
- PFUTS 149 (ST3)
- PFUTS 285 (ST4)
- PFUTS 618 (ST6)

Most of the tower structures on these seals are rectangular in profile, seemingly having a tall and narrow façade. One could perhaps group these examples into various sub-types, but overall the rendering of them seems very consistent. The basic format consists of a rectangular structure whose “half-merlons” are marked by regular orthogonal offsets, generally two to three in number.<sup>602</sup> Two examples show more than three offsets: PFUTS 147 (ST2), four to five offsets; PFUTS 149 (ST3), four offsets. Some of the offsets are precise and regular, for example, the tower structure on PFUTS 19\* (T2), while others are haphazard and irregular, for example, the tower structure on PFUTS 147 (ST2). The open space between the two “half-merlons” is generally very narrow, although the tower structures on PFS 11\* (T1) and PFUTS 147 (ST2) are noteworthy in having a wide spacing between the “half-merlons.” The depth of this space also varies, from very shallow (e.g., the tower structure on PFS 11\* [T1]) to quite steep (e.g., the tower structure on PFS 75 [ST1]). The tower structures on PFS 11\* (T1) and PTS 22 (T4) each have a circular device decorating the top corners of the “half-merlons;” a third circular device rests upon a holder in the space between the “half-merlons” on PFS 11\* (T1). The tower

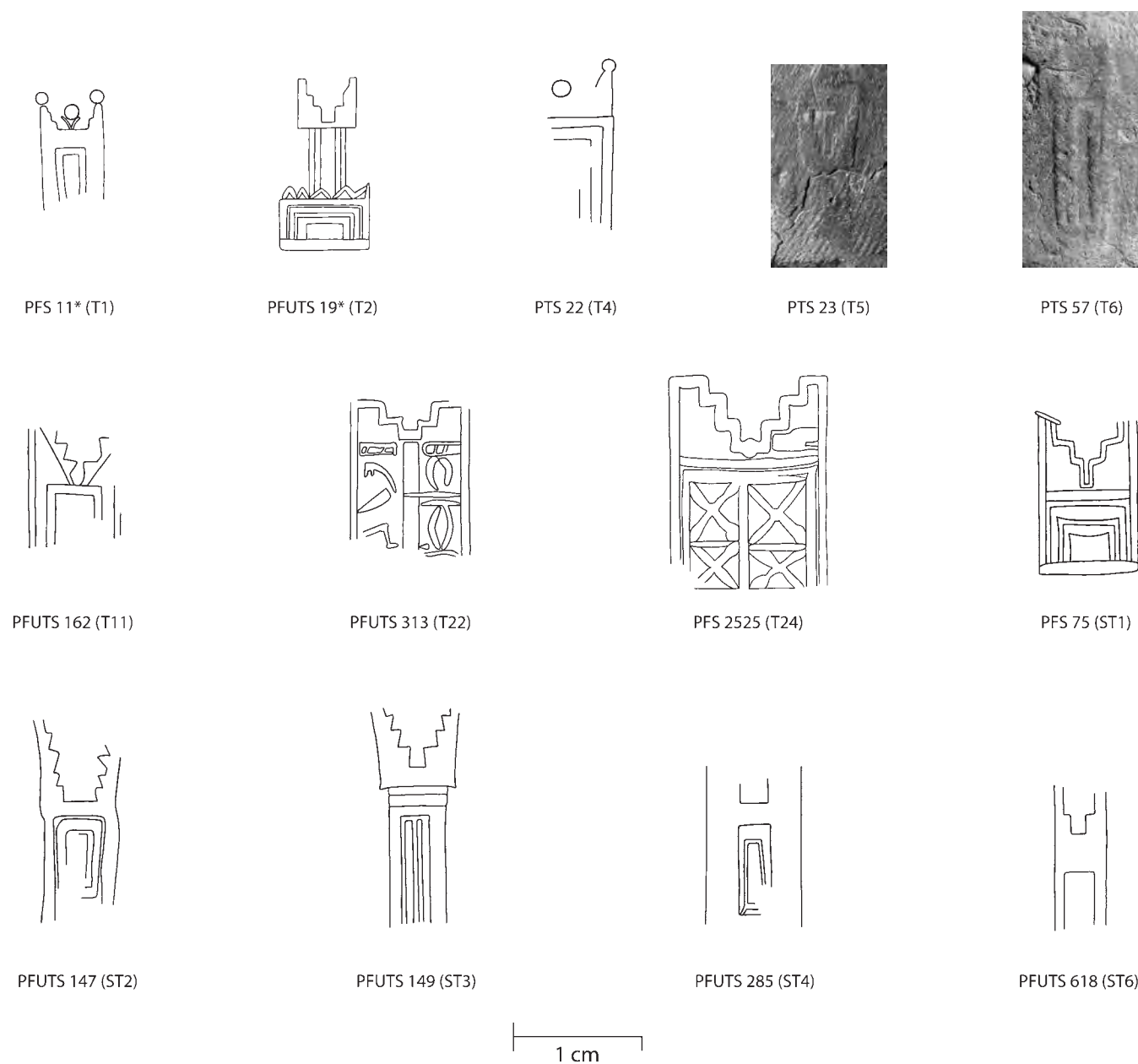


Figure 4.8. The crenellated tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic (scale 2:1)

structures on PTS 23 (T5) and PTS 57 (T6) may also have similar circular devices on the corners of the structures.<sup>603</sup> What, exactly, these circular devices are meant to signify is unclear. The tower structures on PFUTS 162 (T11), PFUTS 313 (T22), PFS 2525 (T24), and PFS 75 (ST1) carry an outline border along the top edges of the structure. That outline border is contiguous with an outline border on the outer edges of the body of the structure. This type of detailing is often seen in the V-shaped tower structures (see §4.2.2.2.6 and §4.2.2.2.7), marking one of a group of correspondences between the two tower types.

#### 4.2.2.1.1. The Tower Structure: Crenellated Top — Inset Frames/Panels

The almost universal treatment of the body of the crenellated tower structure consists of a series of rectangular inset frames/panels (fig. 4.8); only the tower structures on PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24) do not conform to this pattern. As preservation is often poor or fragmentary on the bodies of the crenellated tower structures, it is not possible to make sweeping generalizations concerning the exact configuration of these inset frames/panels. For example, it is often unclear exactly how many rectangular inset frames/panels a particular crenellated tower structure has. The preserved evidence suggests that the standard configuration was one frame outlining a single inset panel.

The inset frames/panels on the tower structures on three seals are somewhat unusual. The tower structure on PFS 75 (ST1) has a thick horizontal border separating the top of the structure from the body; the inset frames are square (rather than rectangular) and rendered as inverted U-shaped elements (cf. similar inset frames on the base of the tower structure on PFUTS 19\* [T2]). Two thick horizontal borders separate the top from the body of the tower structure on PFUTS 149 (ST3). The tower structure has one large rectangular inset panel within which there are two thin rectangular elements, thereby yielding a triglyph-like appearance. The tower structure on PFUTS 285 (ST4) has a very thick (undecorated) outline border within which occur a very thin rectangular inset frame and a small rectangular inset panel. It may be significant that these three structures all occur in dynamic processional scenes where the tower structure serves as a backdrop to the stepped structure and the processional.

The tower structure on PFUTS 19\* (T2) exhibits some distinctive features. Firstly, alone of all the tower structures here published, it has a large rectangular base. The base supports a narrow shaft-like section over which there is the crenellated top section. The base itself has a series of inverted U-shaped rectangular inset frames within which there is a rectangular inset panel; vertical borders, frames, and panel share a thick horizontal border at the bottom of the base. As so construed, the inset frames and panel on the base of the structure are very similar to those on the body of the tower structure on PFS 75 (ST1). The base on PFUTS 19\* (T2), moreover, carries a dentate frieze along its top edge. This design element has no parallel in the corpus of tower structures here published. The shaft-like middle section carries at both outer edges a double outline border within which is a single rectangular inset panel. Lastly, the crenellated top of the tower structure is clearly demarked from, and considerably broader than, the thick pillar (but narrower than the base). This configuration gives the structure a highly irregular vertical profile. In all other examples of the crenellated tower type, the vertical profile is fairly straight and smooth. The one exception is the tower structure on PFUTS 149 (ST3), where the crenellated top section is slightly wider than the body of the structure.

The treatments of the bodies of the crenellated tower structures on PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24) clearly are exceptional. While the tower structure on PFUTS 313 (T22) has the distinctive crenellated top section (only two offsets and having an outline border), the body of the structure carries an unusual configuration of elements. An outline border runs along all preserved edges of the structure. A thick vertical element divides the body into two equal vertical zones; elements are arranged vertically within each of these zones. At left, reading from top to bottom, there are a ladder-like element, a hooked device, a cone-shaped device, and a Z-shaped element (only partially preserved). At right, reading from top to bottom, there are a ladder-like element, paired curved elements, two horizontal lines, the upper of which bisects the thick vertical border, another set of paired curved elements, and a horizontal line (only partially preserved).<sup>604</sup> The tower structure on PFS 2525 (T24) is in some ways very similar to that on PFUTS 313 (T22). The structure has three offsets in the top section and an outline border runs along all preserved edges of the structure. A thick horizontal border divides the top of the structure from the body. On the body of the structure, a large inset frame is divided into four square metopal fields by one vertical and one horizontal element. Each metopal



field is divided into four sections by two intersecting diagonal lines. The use of metopal fields is, of course, a decorative treatment commonly seen in the V-shaped tower type (see §4.2.2.2.7); yet another example of the linkages between the two types of tower structures.

In almost all of the scenes that show the crenellated tower structure, the tower structures appear to be large and imposing, generally taller than the human figures in the scenes; in those cases where the tower structure occurs with the stepped structure in the same scene, the tower structure is always much larger than the stepped structure.

#### 4.2.2.2. *The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top*

The V-shaped tower structure admits more variation than the crenellated tower structure (fig. 4.9a–c). The general characteristics of the type consist of a broad, square-ish body, decorated in a variety of geometric patterns; over the body, there are set two triangular masses, rendered either as undecorated or consisting of a series of V-shaped or inverted V-shaped elements. Despite the different methods of rendering the triangular masses, the end result is the creation of a negative space in the form of a “V” over the top center of the structure. These triangular masses thus create a negative space that is, in effect, much the same as the negative space created over the top of the crenellated tower structure by the “half-merlons.” For this and other reasons, particularly compositional and iconographic parallels between the two types of tower structures, it is my belief that these two tower types, crenellated and V-shaped, represent related phenomena (see also §4.2.2.4).<sup>605</sup>

There do not appear to be specific correlations between the methods of rendering the tops of the V-shaped tower structures and the methods of decorating the bodies. Despite their variations, the bodies of these structures almost always consist of geometric grids, generally in the form of inset frames/panels or metopal fields. With regard to the decoration on the bodies of the V-shaped tower structures, one should note that a significant number of them carry a series of rectangular inset frames/panels and, thus, are directly analogous to the typical decoration on the bodies of the crenellated tower structures.

There follows below a discussion of the methods of rendering both the tops of the V-shaped tower structures and the decoration of the bodies of the structures.

##### 4.2.2.2.1. **The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top — Inverted V-Shaped Elements/Decoration**

In the most common treatment of the top of the V-shaped tower structure, each of the two triangular masses consists of (or is decorated with) one or two inverted V-shaped elements (fig. 4.10a–b). It is difficult to know whether these inverted V-shaped elements are meant to represent physical architectural features or simply modes of decoration. Often the outer edges of these inverted V-shaped elements are contiguous with the outline borders on the edges of the bodies of the tower structures, suggesting that we are meant to understand the inverted V-shaped elements as some type of decorative treatment of the triangular masses rather than distinct structural phenomena. In any case, it is helpful to employ the terminology of “inverted V-shaped element” for descriptive purposes while understanding that this descriptive terminology is not meant to impose a particular interpretive agenda on the nature of the structures themselves.

I have distinguished two typological variants within this group based upon the presence of linear detailing on the triangular masses.

In the more common treatment of the top of the structure (fig. 4.10a), each triangular mass consists of (is decorated with) one or two (or parts of two) inverted V-shaped elements (without any linear detailing). These structures include those on:

- PFUTS 152 (T14)    • PFS 978 (T23)    • PFATS 281 (T37)    • PFATS 297 (T45)
- PFUTS 76 (T18)    • PFUTS 616 (T25)    • PFATS 312 (T38)
- PFUTS 330 (T19)    • PFATS 11 (T35)    • PFATS 244 (T42)

In most examples, the outer edges of these inverted V-shaped elements are contiguous with the outline borders on the edges of the bodies of the tower structures. There is always a horizontal border that separates the top of the structure from the body of the structure. The one exception is the tower structure on

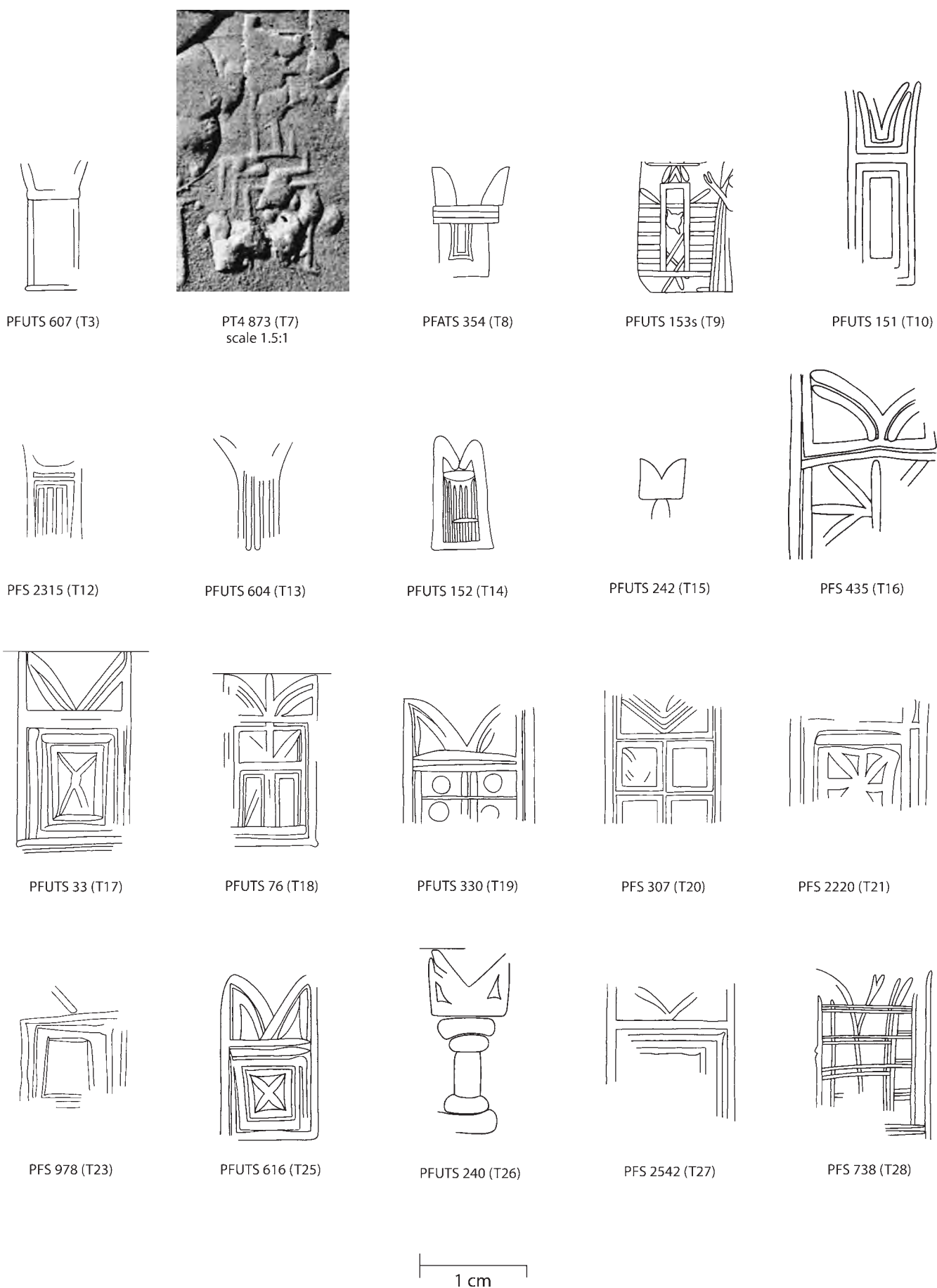


Figure 4.9a. The V-shaped tower structure in Persepolitan glyphic (scale 2:1, except where noted)

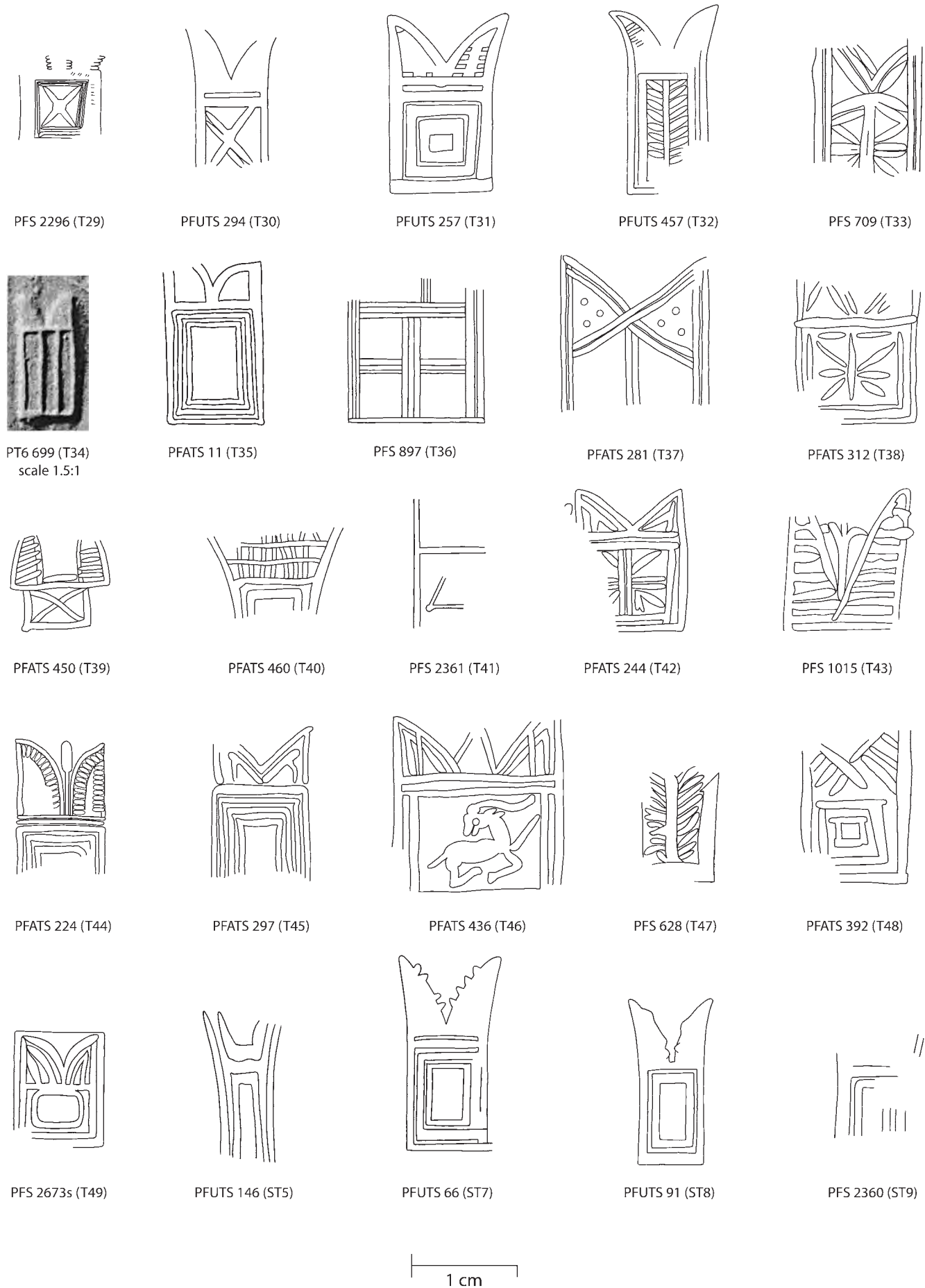


Figure 4.9b. The V-shaped tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic (cont.) (scale 2:1, except where noted)

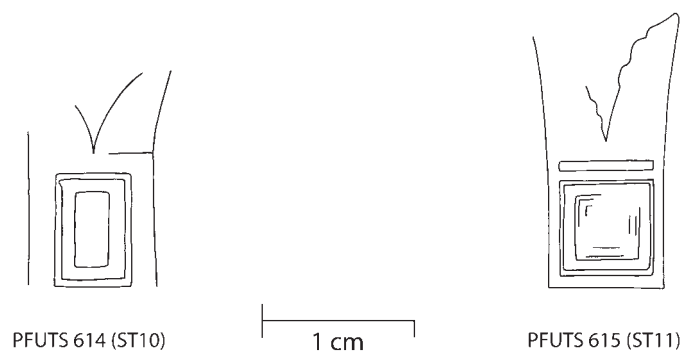


Figure 4.9c. The V-shaped tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic (*cont.*) (scale 2:1)

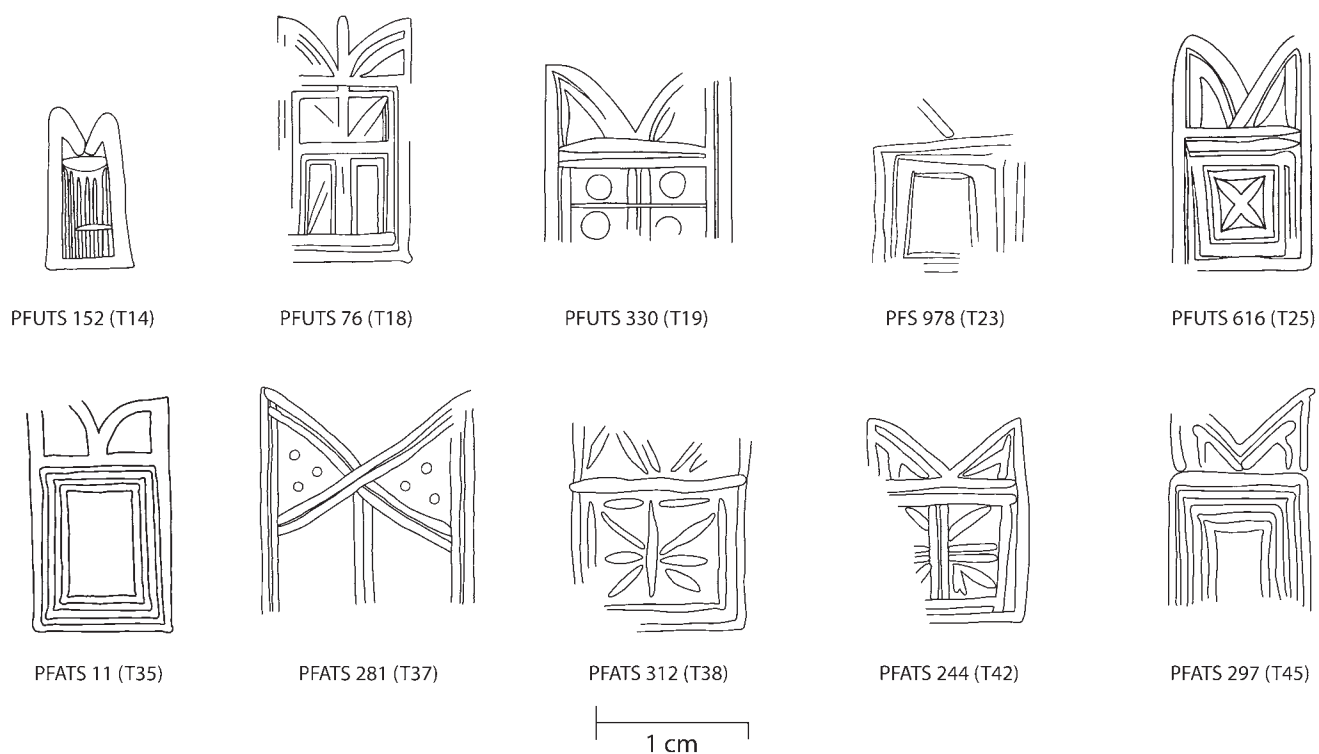


Figure 4.10a. V-shaped tower type: top — inverted V-shaped elements/decoration (scale 2:1)

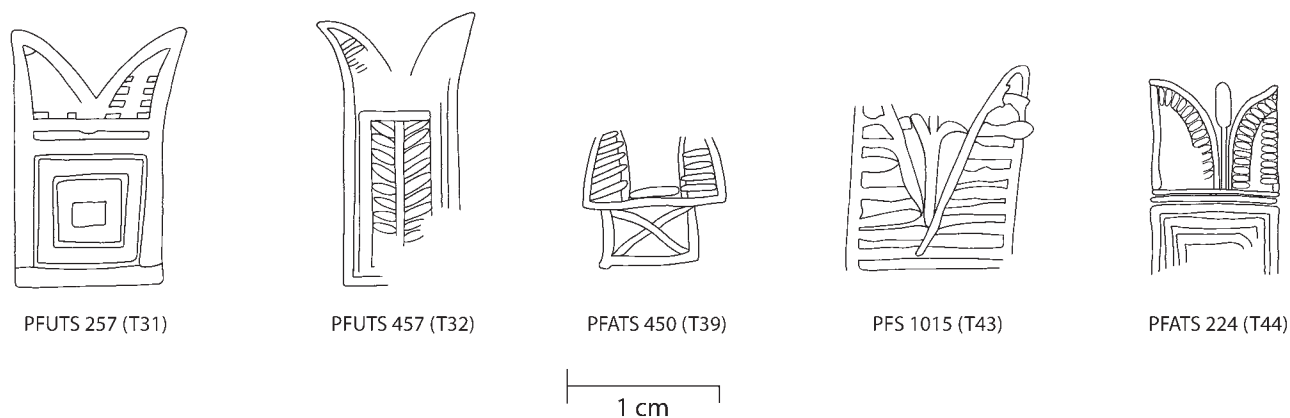


Figure 4.10b. The V-shaped tower structure: top — inverted V-shaped elements with linear decoration (scale 2:1)

PFATS 281 (T37), which in other ways is distinct within this subgroup. The top of the structure appears to consist of two sets of two inverted V-shaped elements, the one placed over the other, both contiguous with the double outline border. The inner edges of these structures continue, however, downward diagonally into the body of the structure.

The tower structure on PFUTS 152 (T14) has been included within this subgroup, although the top of the structure is somewhat unusual. Here two very thick inverted V-shaped elements, which are contiguous with a thick outline border running around the whole of the structure, sit above a horizontal border marking the transition to the body of the structure.

A subgroup of five seals (fig. 4.10b) is distinguished by linear detailing within the area demarcated by the inverted V-shaped elements.

- PFUTS 257 (T31)
- PFATS 450 (T39)
- PFATS 224 (T44)
- PFUTS 457 (T32)
- PFS 1015 (T43)

Four of these structures have other noteworthy features. The triangular masses on the structure on PFATS 450 (T39) are set widely apart from each other and extend beyond the vertical edges of the body of the structure. The structure, moreover, does not rest on the same groundline as the other figural elements in the scene. It is striking that three of these structures have plant-like features. The structure on PFUTS 457 (T32) has a plant within an inset frame on the body. The triangular masses on the top of the structure on PFS 1015 (T43) are very large and the rail-like horizontal linear detailing is unique; a plant-like device with trefoil termination emerges from the top of the structure. The tower structure on PFATS 224 (T44) has a thin vertical element with a bulbous termination that emerges from the center of the top of the structure.<sup>606</sup> These plant-like devices are rare within the corpus of seals here published, and one does not know exactly what to make of their appearance within what is otherwise a closely related group of tower structures.<sup>607</sup> The scenes in which these structures appear all have animals within them; this is not an unusual feature in the corpus in and of itself, but it may suggest an attempt to emphasize a conjunction of natural elements.

#### **4.2.2.2.2. The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top — V-Shaped Elements/Decoration Set within U-Shaped Frame**

The tops of the V-shaped tower structures in the following eleven seals are closely related to the V-shaped tower structures in section 4.2.2.2.1. These eleven structures are configured in such a manner, however, that the tops of the structures appear to be a U-shaped frame within which occur various configurations of V-shaped elements (or inverted V-shaped elements) (fig. 4.11); in one instance, PFUTS 146 (ST5), the top of the structure consists of a U-shaped element.

- PFUTS 151 (T10)
- PFS 307 (T20)
- PFS 709 (T33)
- PFS 2673s (T49)
- PFS 435 (T16)
- PFS 2220 (T21)
- PFATS 436 (T46)
- PFUTS 146 (ST5)
- PFUTS 33 (T17)
- PFS 2542 (T27)
- PFATS 392 (T48)

In many of the seals in this group, the outer edges of the U-shaped frame are contiguous with an outline border on the outer edges of the body of the structure.<sup>608</sup> In all cases but one, the structure on PFATS 436 (T46), the two triangular masses form a V-shaped space over the top of the structure. The structure on PFATS 436 (T46) is unique in having various V-shaped and inverted V-shaped elements that constitute three triangular masses over the top of the structure. The caprid depicted on the body of the structure is also unique within the corpus here published. The top of the structure on PFUTS 146 (ST5) is something of a variation, having a U-shaped element set within the extended outer edges of the body of the structure, but its visual relation to the tops of the other structures in this group is clear.

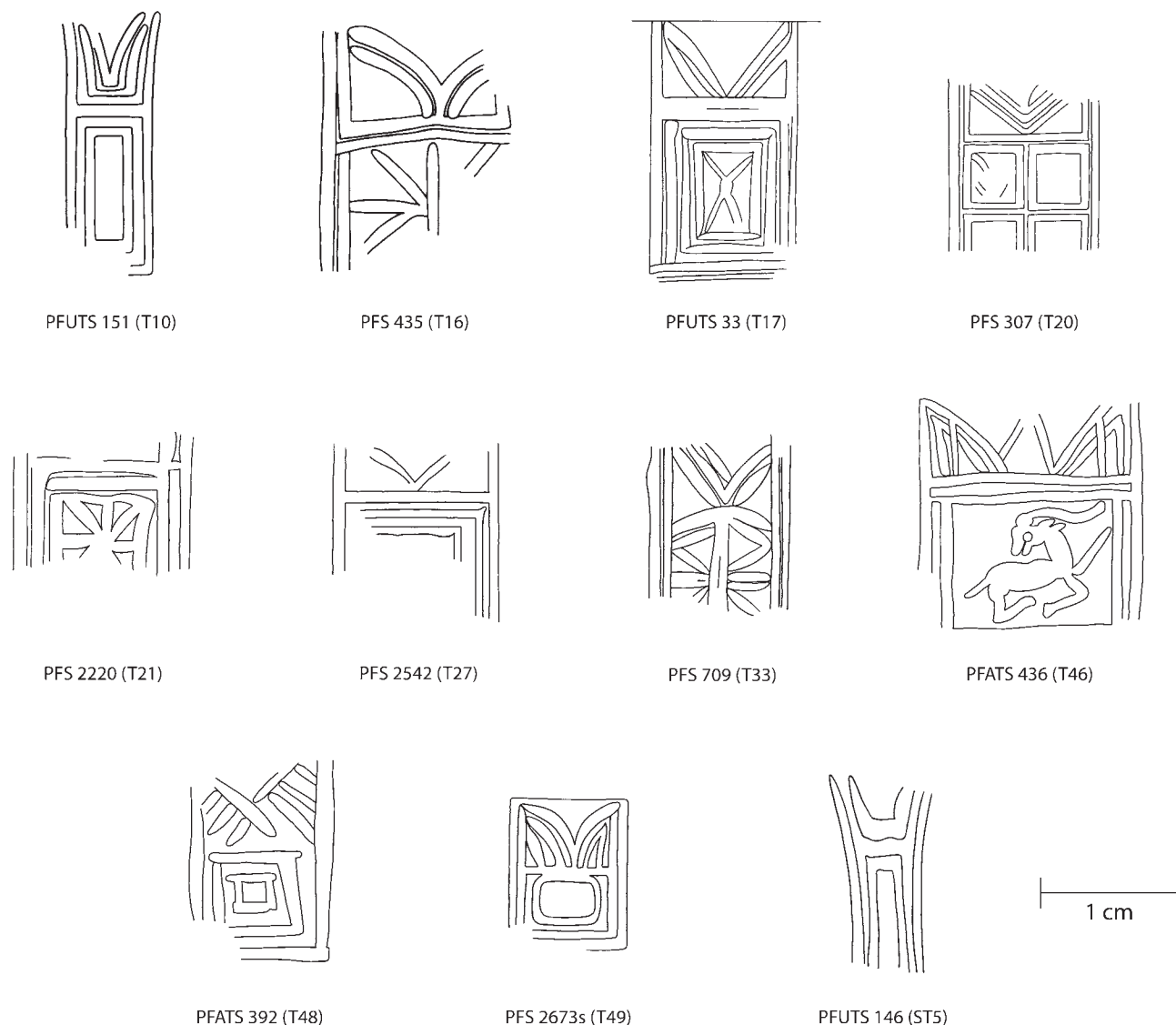


Figure 4.11. The V-shaped tower structure: top – V-shaped elements set within U-shaped frame (scale 2:1)

#### 4.2.2.2.3. The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top – Undecorated

The tops of the tower structures in this group consist of two triangular masses that are undecorated (fig. 4.12).

- PFATS 354 (T8)      • PFUTS 294 (T30)      • PFUTS 91 (ST8)
- PFUTS 242 (T15)      • PT6 699 (T34)      • PFUTS 614 (ST10)
- PFUTS 240 (T26)      • PFUTS 66 (ST7)      • PFUTS 615 (ST11)

This group is slightly less homogeneous than the previous ones and contains some oddities. The top of the structure on PFATS 354 (T8) is unusual in having a large negative space between the two triangular masses which themselves extend well beyond the edges of the body of the structure; three thick horizontal elements emphatically demarcate the top of the structure from the body. The structure on PFUTS 242 (T15) is very unusual. Within its scene, the structure itself is small; this is the only potential tower structure which is clearly

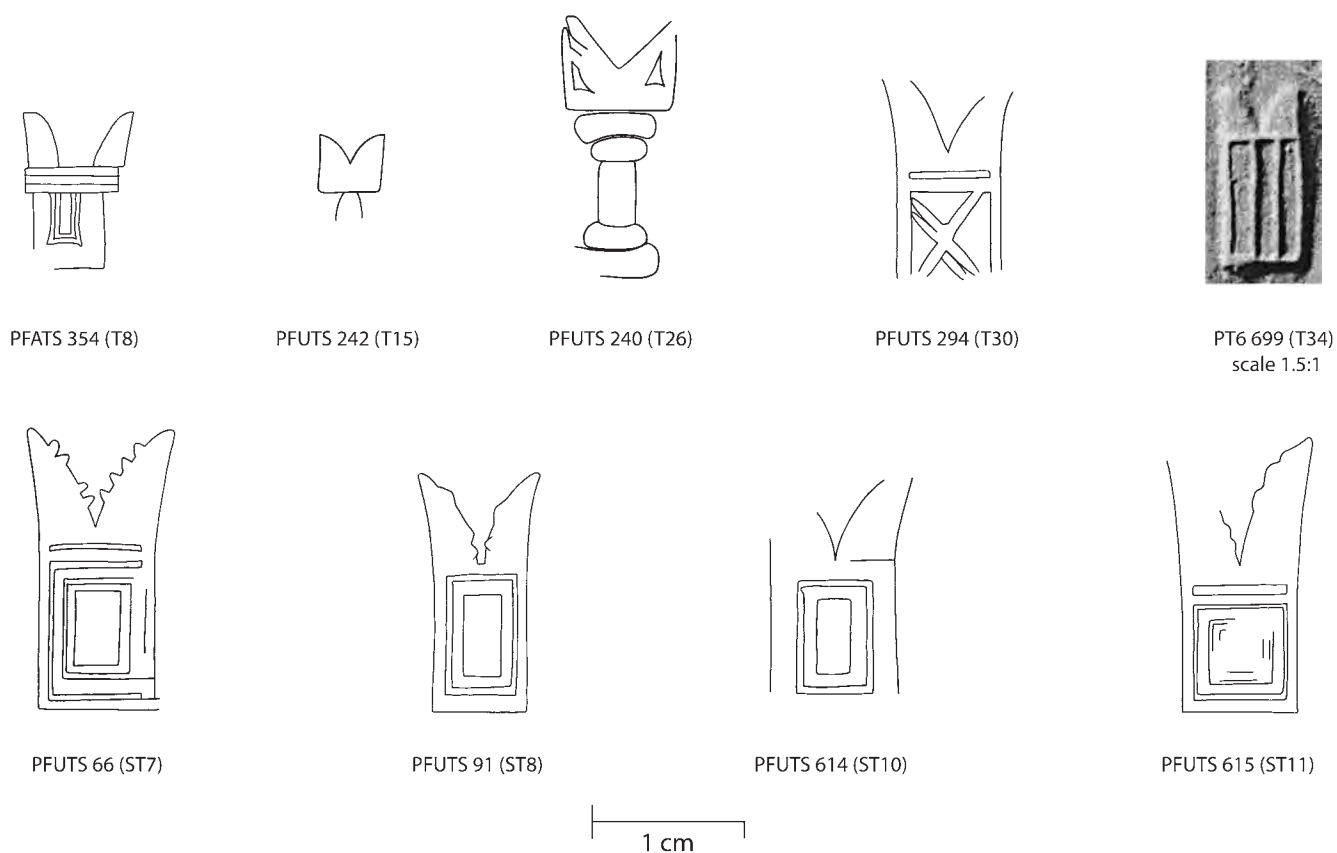


Figure 4.12. The V-shaped tower structure: top — undecorated triangular masses (scale 2:1, except where noted)

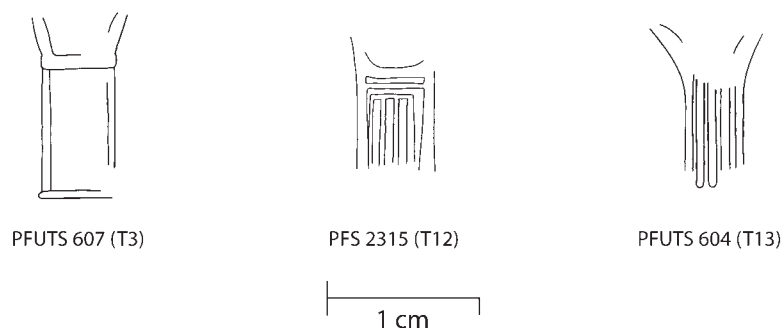


Figure 4.13. The V-shaped tower structure: top — thin vertical extensions at outer corners (scale 2:1)

smaller than the human figures in the scene, and in this case considerably so.<sup>609</sup> The body of the structure appears to be simply a conical support (the structure is not, however, completely preserved). The conical support calls to mind another unusual tower structure, that on PFUTS 240 (T26), which has been included in this section although there are some linear markings on the two triangular masses. The two triangular masses on PFUTS 240 (T26) rest on a two-stepped “podium” under which there is a columnar support that itself rests upon a two-stepped base. The structure, unlike the one on PFUTS 242 (T15), is, however, relatively large. These structures on PFUTS 242 (T15) and PFUTS 240 (T26) appear as if they are hybrids of the stepped and tower structures. The stepped base, columnar and conical supports, and stepped podium recall the conventional depiction of the stepped structure. The two triangular masses forming a V-shaped space over the center of the structures are, of course, features of the V-shaped tower type.

The tower structures in the processional scenes on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) all carry undecorated triangular masses. The bodies of these structures are very similar: broad and carrying inset frames and panels. The structures on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) are noteworthy for having a serration running along the inner edges of the two triangular masses. The consistency in the depiction of these particular structures within the context of very distinctive processional scenes is noteworthy.

Lastly, as noted in its commentary in the catalog, seal PT6 699 (T34) may in fact date to the post-Achaemenid period.

#### 4.2.2.2.4. The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top — Thin Vertical Extensions at Outer Corners

The tops of the tower structures on the following three seals have very thin vertical extensions on their outer corners, in a sense triangular in shape but much narrower than seen in the structures in the previous groups (fig. 4.13). This configuration results in an extremely broad flat space over the center of the structure between the two extensions:

- PFUTS 607 (T3)
- PFS 2315 (T12)
- PFUTS 604 (T13)

In all three examples, the extensions incline outward. The tower structures on PFS 2315 (T12) and PFUTS 604 (T13) are related in having a series of thin vertical elements on the bodies; both scenes, moreover, are processional. One cannot rule out the possibility that the structure on PFUTS 607 (T3) had a similar decoration on its body, since the preservation is very poor. All three scenes are very interesting. The processions on PFS 2315 (T12) and PFUTS 604 (T13) indicate some type of animal sacrifice; PFUTS 607 (T3), where winged human-headed creatures flank the structure, for all intents and purposes would appear to situate the tower structure as an object of adoration.

#### 4.2.2.2.5. The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top — Other Configurations

The tops of the structures on the following five seals are anomalous (fig. 4.14):

- PT4 873 (T7)
- PFS 738 (T28)
- PFATS 460 (T40)
- PFUTS 153s (T9)
- PFS 2296 (T29)

The structure on PFUTS 153s (T9) is included here as a possible tower structure only with much hesitation. The structure does not have either of the distinctive features, crenellated or triangular masses, found on the tops of tower structures. It does, however, share with numerous V-shaped tower structures a distinctive geometric decoration on the body of the structure. While that decoration cannot be exactly paralleled in any other tower structure, its affinity with them cannot be ignored. So, too, there is a figure in a winged symbol that floats over the structure, iconographic and syntactical features that are seen on several seals with tower structures.<sup>610</sup> In the catalog, we have commented, however, on the unusual nature of PFUTS 153s (T9), what one would instinctively call a late Babylonian worship scene, and its distinctive style, a cut and drilled style; these are features that are found on no other seal having a stepped or a tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic. For the moment, the structure and the scene in which it occurs remain anomalous within the corpus of seals here published.

As noted in the catalog, in its complete aspect the tower structure on PFS 738 (T28) finds no exact parallels, and we should leave open the possibility that the structure has no connection to the tower structure *per se*. The V-shaped elements at the top of the structure and the internal partitioning of the body do recall, however, the tower structure in other scenes. The disposition of the seated banqueters around the structure on PFS 738 (T28) seems also in keeping with the spirit of many scenes associated with the tower structures here published.<sup>611</sup>

The top of the structure on PFS 2296 (T29) appears to be leafy fronds, a feature that is seen on no other tower structure.<sup>612</sup> The triangular masses on the tower structures on PFATS 224 (T44), PFUTS 66 (ST7), and PFUTS 91 (ST8) do have, however, serrations running along several edges, thus yielding a frond-like



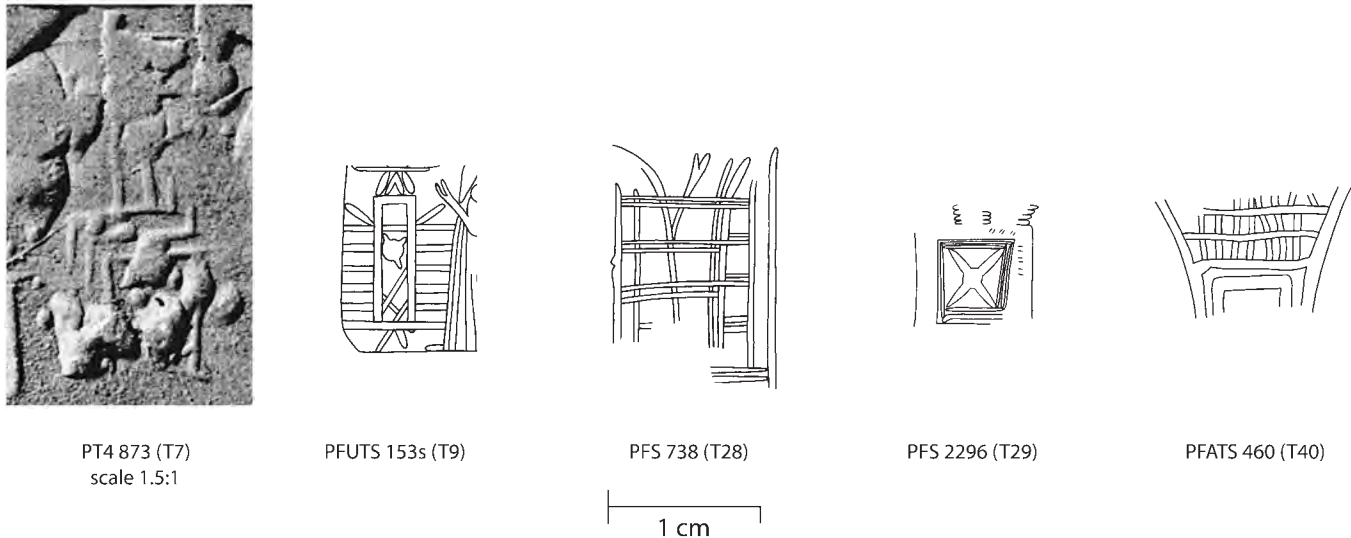


Figure 4.14. The V-shaped tower structure: top — other configurations (scale 2:1, except where noted)

appearance. The diagonal elements decorating the interiors of the triangular masses on the structure on PFUTS 457 (T32) may evoke the same. Otherwise, some large boxy plants with three fronds do appear in Persepolitan glyptic. For instance, PFS 280 and PFS 148 show a figure seated before a boxy plant with three fronds; he reaches back to grasp a rampant animal.<sup>613</sup> The fronds on the ends of this “plant” are triangular in shape, thus recalling the V-shaped tower structures with triangular masses here published.<sup>614</sup> The “plants” on PFS 280 and PFS 148 do not have, however, any decoration on their “bodies,” a feature that seems clearly to distinguish them from the tower structures here published. Nevertheless, the correspondence between the two image types is intriguing.<sup>615</sup>

The structure on PFATS 460 (T40), although poorly preserved, seems more conventional. There are traces of what were probably V-shaped or inverted V-shaped elements at the very top of the preserved structure, and the body carries the ubiquitous inset frames and central inset panel. The two rows of vertical elements on the top of the structure are, however, without parallel.

The poor state of preservation and probably over-cutting of the seal PT4 873 (T7) offer little room for productive discussion about the nature of the possible tower structure there depicted.

#### 4.2.2.2.6. The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top — Inset Frames/Panels on the Body

As with the tops of the V-shaped tower structures, the treatment of the bodies of the V-shaped tower structures exhibits some variation (figs. 4.15–4.18). Nonetheless, on the overwhelming majority of them we may easily recognize the distinctive rectangular inset frames/panels that are also the primary manner in which the bodies of crenellated tower structures are decorated. As with the crenellated tower structures, it is difficult to know whether we are dealing with inset frames, panels, or a combination of the two. The correspondence in the treatment of the bodies of the crenellated and V-shaped tower structures is another important indication that the two structure types probably represent related phenomena.

The following V-shaped tower structures have rectangular inset frames/panels on their bodies (fig. 4.15):

- PFUTS 607 (T3)
- PFUTS 151 (T10)
- PFS 978 (T23)
- PFS 2542 (T27)
- PFUTS 257 (T31)
- PFATS 11 (T35)
- PFATS 460 (T40)
- PFATS 224 (T44)
- PFATS 297 (T45)
- PFATS 392 (T48)
- PFS 2673s (T49)
- PFUTS 146 (ST5)
- PFUTS 66 (ST7)
- PFUTS 91 (ST8)
- PFS 2360 (ST9)<sup>616</sup>
- PFUTS 614 (ST10)
- PFUTS 615 (ST11)

It is noteworthy that these tower structures include at least one example from each of the various methods of rendering the top of the V-shaped tower structure discussed above.

As with the rectangular inset frames/panels on the crenellated towers, it is often difficult to know exactly how many frames/panels a particular V-shaped tower structure has owing both to poor preservation and ambiguity in the mode of depiction. The preserved evidence suggests that two frames with a central inset panel is the standard configuration. The rectangular inset frames vary from very thin (e.g., those on the structure on PFATS 11 [T35]) to very thick (e.g., those on the structure on PFUTS 257 [T31]). In two cases, the tower structures on PFUTS 257 (T31) and PFATS 392 (T48), the frames/panels are square rather than rectangular in shape.

An interesting variation is the addition of a star-like design in the central inset panel (fig. 4.16). The use of the term “star” is only for descriptive purposes and is not meant to imply that these devices represent stars; they are, nevertheless, in many cases similar to the stars commonly found in the upper fields in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>617</sup> The rectangular inset frames/panels with star-like devices are almost as numerous as the plain inset frames/panels:

- PFS 435 (T16)      • PFUTS 616 (T25)      • PFATS 312 (T38)
- PFUTS 33 (T17)      • PFS 2296 (T29)      • PFATS 450 (T39)
- PFS 2220 (T21)      • PFUTS 294 (T30)      • PFATS 244 (T42)

The star-like device generally has four prongs (e.g., PFUTS 33 [T17]) or eight (e.g., PFS 435 [T16]). The devices on the tower structures on PFUTS 294 (T30) and PFATS 244 (T42) have six and twelve prongs, respectively.

Another interesting variation of the rectangular inset frames/panels scheme is the addition of a plant or an animal in the central inset panel (fig. 4.17):

- PFUTS 457 (T32)      • PFS 628 (T47)      • PFATS 436 (T46)

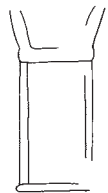
The tall tree-like plants on the tower structures on PFUTS 457 (T32) and PFS 628 (T47) are very similar, suggesting that they are meant to represent the same phenomenon. The rampant caprid in the inset frame on PFATS 436 (T46), beautifully executed, is unique within the corpus of seals here published.<sup>618</sup>

A final variation of the rectangular inset frames/panels is the inclusion of thin vertical elements within the central inset panel (fig. 4.18):

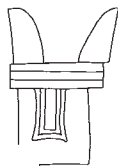
- PFS 2315 (T12)      • PFUTS 604 (T13)      • PFUTS 152 (T14)      • PT6 699 (T34)

The overall forms of the tower structures on PFS 2315 (T12) and PFUTS 604 (T13) seem closely related. The tops of both structures consist of thin triangular masses that curve outward. Within the rectangular inset panel on the body of the tower structure on PFS 2315 (T12), there is a thin horizontal element from which depend four thin vertical elements. The body of the tower structure on PFUTS 604 (T13) is poorly preserved, but there appear to be three thin vertical elements. The tower structure on PFUTS 152 (T14) is somewhat anomalous. There are six surviving thin vertical elements within the thick outline border of the structure; a thin horizontal element bisects four of them in the lower part of the body. It may be noteworthy that all three of these scenes, PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 604 (T13), and PFUTS 152 (T14), are processional in nature.

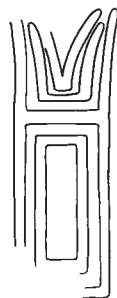
Lastly, the tower structure on PT6 699 (T34) has only two thin vertical elements spaced equidistantly. The result is a triglyph-like arrangement. As noted in the catalog entry, the seal may date to the post-Achaemenid period.



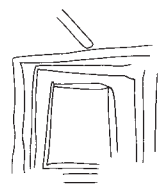
PFUTS 607 (T3)



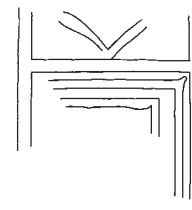
PFATS 354 (T8)



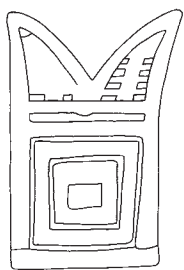
PFUTS 151 (T10)



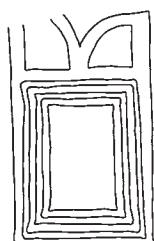
PFS 978 (T23)



PFS 2542 (T27)



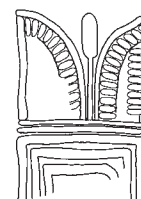
PFUTS 257 (T31)



PFATS 11 (T35)



PFATS 460 (T40)



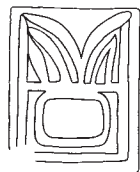
PFATS 224 (T44)



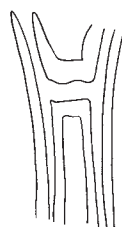
PFATS 297 (T45)



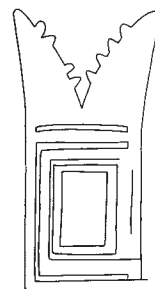
PFATS 392 (T48)



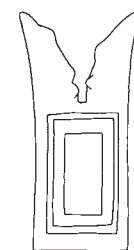
PFS 2673s (T49)



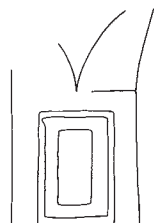
PFUTS 146 (ST5)



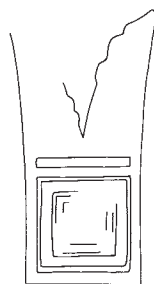
PFUTS 66 (ST7)



PFUTS 91 (ST8)



PFUTS 614 (ST10)



PFUTS 615 (ST11)

Perhaps also



PFS 2360 (ST9)

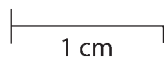


Figure 4.15. The V-shaped tower structure: body — inset frames/panels (scale 2:1)

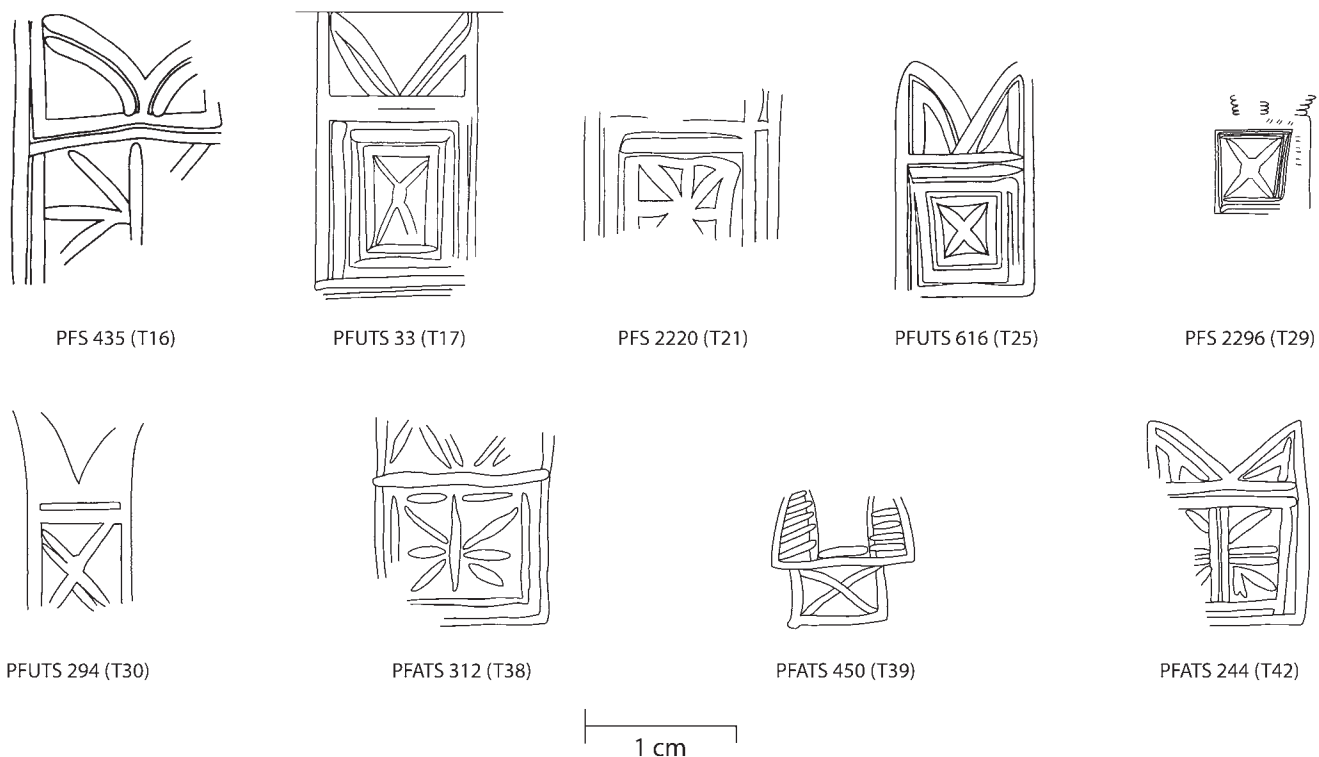


Figure 4.16. The V-shaped tower structure: body — inset frames/panels with central star-like design (scale 2:1)

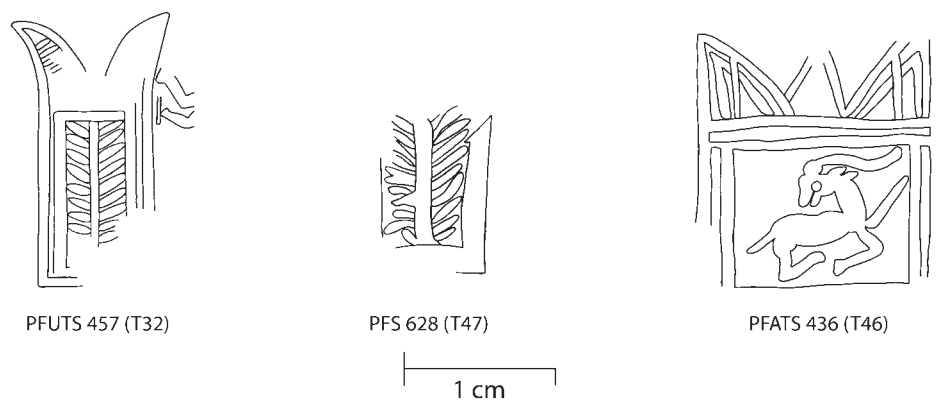


Figure 4.17. The V-shaped tower structure: body — inset frames/panels with central plant or animal (scale 2:1)

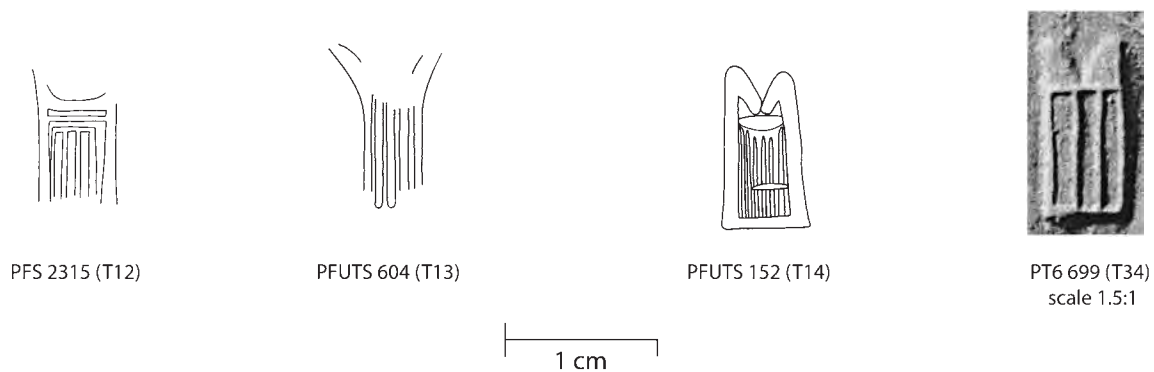


Figure 4.18. The V-shaped tower structure: body — inset frames/panels with thin vertical elements (scale 2:1, except where noted)

**4.2.2.2.7. The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top — Metopal Fields on the Body**

The bodies of the tower structures on six seals are gridded in such a manner to produce a series of square metopal fields (fig. 4.19). The treatment may simply be another variation of the rectangular inset frames/panels, but it is distinctive enough to warrant its own type:

- PFUTS 76 (T18)
- PFS 307 (T20)
- PFS 709 (T33)
- PFUTS 330 (T19)
- PFS 738 (T28)
- PFS 897 (T36)

The bodies of the tower structures on PFUTS 330 (T19), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 709 (T33), and PFS 897 (T36) have four metopal fields; the metopal fields on the tower structure on PFUTS 330 (T19) each contains a large dot. All four structures recall the body of the crenellated tower structure on PFS 2525 (T24) (fig. 4.8), where there are four square metopal fields, each of which carries a four-pronged star-like device — yet another instance of correspondence between the crenellated tower type and the V-shaped tower type. The body of the tower structure on PFUTS 76 (T18) also has four metopal fields, but the upper two are square in shape and bisected diagonally by a thick element, the lower two rectangular in shape and contained in a thin rectangular inset frame. As noted above (at §4.2.2.2.5), the structure on PFS 738 (T28) is irregular; the body is divided into at least fourteen square or rectangular metopal fields by a series of irregular thin horizontal and vertical elements.

**4.2.2.2.8. The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top — Anomalous Treatments of the Body**

The bodies on the structures in three scenes are anomalous (fig. 4.20):

- PFUTS 153s (T9)
- PFUTS 242 (T15)
- PFUTS 240 (T26)

On the tower structures on PFUTS 242 (T15) and PFUTS 240 (T26), the broad rectangular body of the typical V-shaped tower structure has been replaced by a conical and a columnar support, respectively.<sup>619</sup> As discussed in its catalog entry, it is unclear whether or not the structure on PFUTS 153s (T9) ought to be classified as a tower structure per se.

**4.2.2.2.9. The Tower Structure: V-Shaped Top — Body not Preserved**

The bodies of the tower structures on the following seals are too poorly preserved to allow any detailed analysis (fig. 4.21):

- PFATS 281 (T37)
- PFS 2361 (T41)
- PFS 1015 (T43)

**4.2.2.3. The Tower Structure: Top not Preserved**

On four seals, the top of the tower structure is not preserved (fig. 4.22).<sup>620</sup>

- PFS 897 (T36)
- PFS 2361 (T41)
- PFS 628 (T47)
- PFS 2360 (ST9)

Given that only rarely does the crenellated tower structure not carry some variation of the conventional inset panels/frames on its body, one may speculate that the tower structures on PFS 897 (T36), PFS 2361 (T41), and PFS 628 (T47), all of which show irregular treatments of the bodies of the structure, were most likely of the V-shaped type.<sup>621</sup>

The identification of the type of tower structure on PFS 2360 (ST9) poses more challenges, given that it carries the conventional inset frames/panels on the body. In the ten other scenes that show both the stepped and the tower structures, that is, the scene type in which the tower structure on PFS 2360 (ST9) occurs, the tower structure is well enough preserved to allow its identification (crenellated or V-shaped). These structures are equally divided between crenellated and V-shaped tower types: five scenes seem to have crenellated tower structures, PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4, probably),

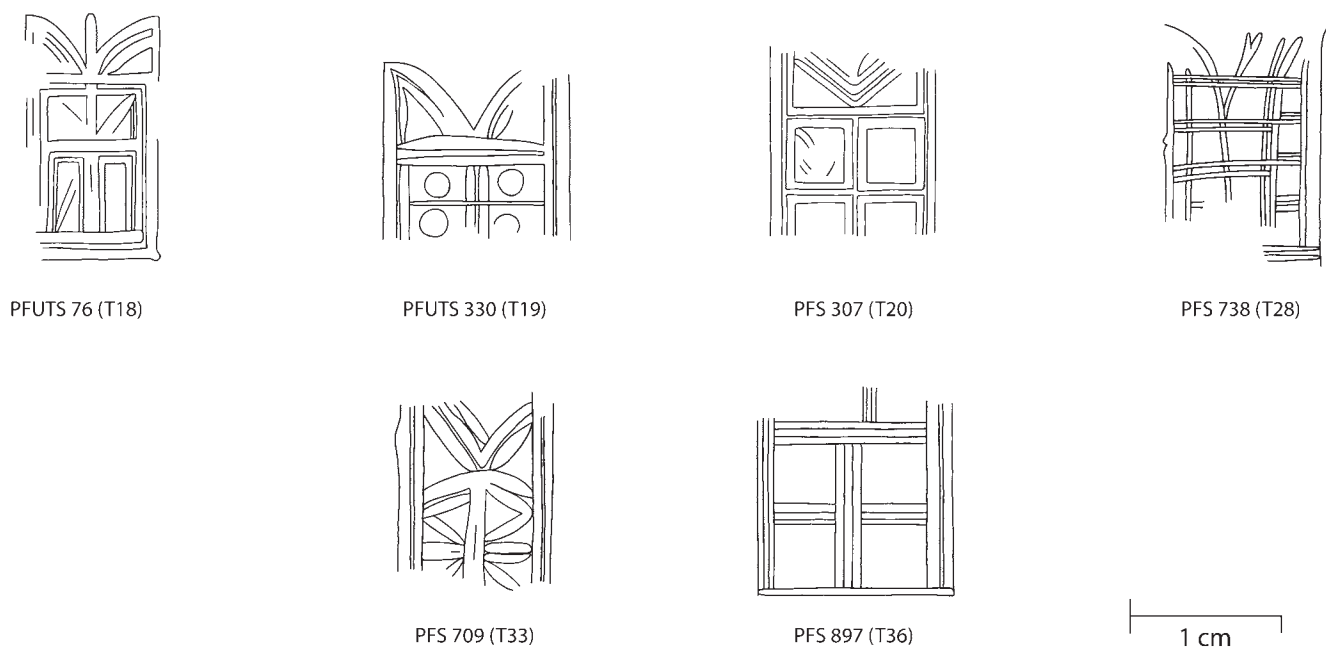


Figure 4.19. The V-shaped tower structure: body – metopal fields (scale 2:1)

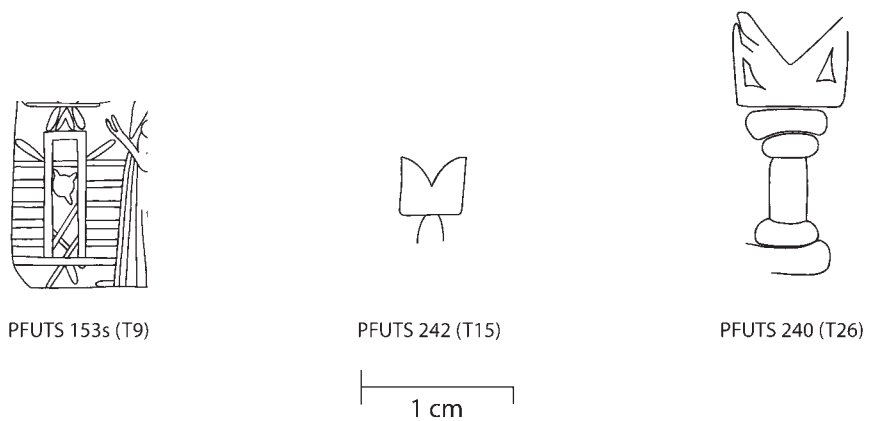


Figure 4.20. The V-shaped tower structure: body – anomalous treatments (scale 2:1)

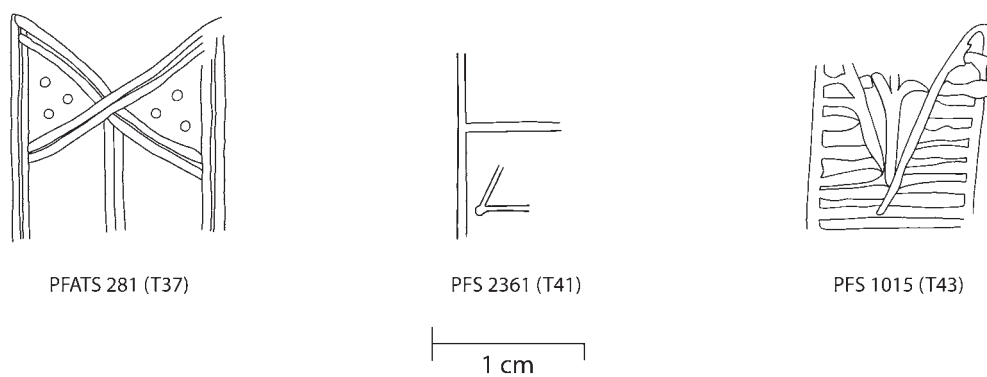


Figure 4.21. The V-shaped tower structure: body – not preserved (scale 2:1)

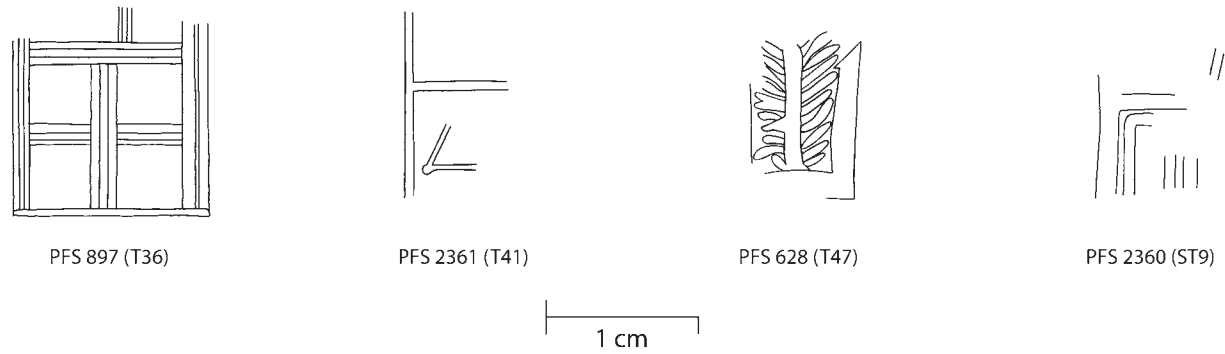


Figure 4.22. The tower structure: top not preserved (scale 2:1)

and PFUTS 618 (ST6); five scenes clearly have V-shaped structures, PFUTS 146 (ST5), PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11). Given that PFS 2360 (ST9) appears closely related to PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11), and given that the stepped structure on PFS 2360 (ST9) has a tripod as a stand, similar to the stepped structures on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11), one may infer with some confidence that the tower structure on PFS 2360 (ST9) was of the V-shaped type.

#### 4.2.2.4. The Tower Structure: Typology Concluding Remarks

Despite the two distinctive manners of rendering the top of the tower structure, what we have called the crenelated and V-shaped types, the significant overlap in various iconographic details and compositional formulae strongly suggests that we are dealing with closely related phenomena.

In addition to the formal typological characteristics of the tower structures articulated above, two critical observations have emerged. Firstly, tower structures are almost always the largest elements in the scenes in which they occur. Secondly, without exception, no tower structure carries a fire. These two observations distinguish the tower structure from the stepped structure, which is almost always significantly smaller than the human figures that accompany them and always carries a large burning fire.

## 4.3. Syntax of Scenes

Persepolitan glyptic now provides a robust data set for considering the significance of the stepped and the tower structures and the scenes in which they occur. As a primary level of analysis, it may be useful to review the scenes as groups based upon syntactical clusters (as they have been organized in the catalog). Secondary levels of analysis will concern iconography and style. As will emerge in the following discussion, it seems that there is a clearly articulated syntax with regard to the two structure types, stepped and tower.

### 4.3.1. Syntax: The Stepped Structure

The stepped structure occurs in three distinct types of scenes. In the first scene type, a single figure interacts with the structure. In the second, two figures interact with the structure. In the third, the stepped structure is paired with the tower structure and together the two structures are the end point of a procession of figures.

#### 4.3.1.1. Syntax: The Stepped Structure — Single Figure Interacting with the Structure

The stamp seals PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 110s (S2), and PFUTS 156s (S3) provide remarkably consistent compositional and iconographic contexts for the stepped structure. A single attendant stands next to the stepped structure on which there is a large burning fire. The attendant holds in one hand, over the top of the fire, an object that may be a vessel or a bundle of thin straight rod-like elements; in his other hand, he holds a small cup that he extends near the base of the fire. In all three scenes, there are a comb-like object and a hooked object. The attendants wear a knee-length skirt, appear to be clean-shaven, and wear no headgear.

The consistency in the depiction of these scenes (and always on stamp seals) is quite striking, suggesting fairly rigorous iconological parameters. The vessel(s) that the attendants hold near, and perhaps over, the fire suggests a liquid sacrifice that is about to be poured into the fire.<sup>622</sup> The objects held over the fires may in fact be bundles and thus potentially connected to the often-discussed *barsom*, the sacred twigs that are part of the Zoroastrian liturgical apparatus in later periods.<sup>623</sup> These objects held above the fires are not, however, well preserved in the impressions, and one is reluctant to infer specific identifications for them.

The seal PT5 791 (S12) from the Treasury and PFS 427 (S13) also have single figures interacting with a stepped structure. In both instances, the compositional dynamics are somewhat different from those on the stamp seals; while the figures do extend their hands toward a fire on a stepped structure, they are seated, and there are rampant animals in the scenes. The seated figure on the seal PT5 791 (S12) extends a vessel toward the base of the fire on the stepped structure. Behind him, a rampant lion attacks a rampant boar. The seated figure on PFS 427 (S13) extends both arms toward a possible stepped structure and may also hold something (the hands are not preserved). To the right of the structure, there are a rampant horned lion and a cock(?).

PFUTS 605 (S14) seems closely related to PT5 791 (S12) and PFS 427 (S13), although it involves two attendants rather than one. A seated figure reaches out his arms toward a table and what appears to be a stepped structure. A second human figure approaches a rampant caprid from the rear. The composition and poses of the human figure and the rampant animal of this group signal for all intents and purposes a heroic encounter, but, as noted in the catalog entry, there are other scenes that appear to exploit the inherent compositional similarity between the heroic combat and the killing of an animal for sacrificial purposes.

The seated pose of the attendants before the stepped structures and the occurrence of rampant animals on PT5 791 (S12), PFS 427 (S13), and PFUTS 605 (S14) directly link these compositions to a relatively large number of scenes that show a seated figure and rampant animal before a tower structure.<sup>624</sup> The appearance of the animals on PT5 791 (S12), PFS 427 (S13), and PFUTS 605 (S14) relates directly also to the processional scenes in which animals are led toward either a tower structure or paired stepped and tower structures; presumably animal sacrifice is indicated. Lastly, there is also the scene of animal butchery associated with the stepped structure on PFUTS 111 (S6).

The stepped structures on PT5 791 (S12), PFS 427 (S13), and PFUTS 605 (S14) thus have iconological correspondences with one other scene showing only the stepped structure (i.e., PFUTS 111 [S6]), with scenes showing only the tower structure, and with scenes in which the two structures, stepped and tower, appear together. The animals may signal the potential for sacrifice or may serve to introduce a numinous element into the scenes. The lion attacking a boar on PT5 791 (S12) must surely signal the numinous character of the scene. Such a phenomenon (i.e., a predator animal attacking another animal) would not occur in the same (real) physical space as a seated figure before a stepped structure. Similarly, the rampant lion on PFS 427 (S13) has a long horn and, thus, is clearly fantastical. Finally, the poses of the human figure and rampant caprid on PFUTS 605 (S14) are closely related to one of the primary compositional types documented in the scenes of heroic combat, a theme that certainly has numinous qualities. The animals on PT5 791 (S12), PFS 427 (S13), and PFUTS 605 (S14) are thus probably to be distinguished from those in the processional scenes with both the stepped and the tower structures (discussed below); in those cases, the animals are part of a narrative, animal sacrifice, rooted in a real space.

#### 4.3.1.2. Syntax: The Stepped Structure — Two Figures Interacting with the Structure

PTS 20\* (S4) and PFS 790\* (S5) appear to show extended versions of the activity documented on the stamp seals PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 110s (S2), and PFUTS 156s (S3). In both scenes, one attendant extends objects into



the fire. Only the objects on PTS 20\* (S4) are preserved, two thin rod-like elements perhaps with flattened ends. PTS 20\* (S4) is notable in having a large winged disk hovering above the stepped structure and table. In both scenes, the attendants have beards. One of the attendants on PTS 20\* (S4) wears a knee-length coat and the so-called *bashlyk*, a floppy cloth/leather headgear that covers also the ears, cheeks, and mouth; the other attendant wears a knee-length dress/skirt. Rather interestingly, both seals are inscribed.

PTS 20\* (S4) is outstanding in several ways. Much has been made of the rod-like elements that both attendants hold and the mortar and pestle that rest on the table next to the stepped structure. As mentioned, Schmidt (1957, p. 9), followed by many subsequent commentators, was certain that the scene depicted the *haoma* ceremony.<sup>625</sup> The scene is certainly more developed in the specifics of its iconography than most scenes here published.

One other scene depicts two individuals with a stepped structure. On PFUTS 94 (S11), the two figures are disposed to either side of a stepped structure. One of them is seated and appears to hold some type of vessel. The other figure is standing and may also hold a vessel. As noted above (§4.3.1.1), seated figures are more commonly documented in scenes having a tower structure and rampant animals; we have here thus yet another conjunction of scene types involving the stepped and the tower structures. The movement of the standing attendant on PFUTS 94 (S11) may suggest a processional, in which case it may also be related to the scenes involving the stepped and the tower structures discussed below.<sup>626</sup>

#### 4.3.1.3. Syntax: the Stepped Structure — Processions

Eleven remarkable scenes depict the stepped structure in combination with the tower structure as the end point of a procession of figures (fig. 4.23a–d):

- PFS 75 (ST1)      • PFUTS 285 (ST4)      • PFUTS 66 (ST7)      • PFUTS 614 (ST10)
- PFUTS 147 (ST2)      • PFUTS 146 (ST5)      • PFUTS 91 (ST8)      • PFUTS 615 (ST11)
- PFUTS 149 (ST3)      • PFUTS 618 (ST6)      • PFS 2360 (ST9)

Several scenes showing only the stepped structure appear also to be processional in nature, although they are poorly preserved:

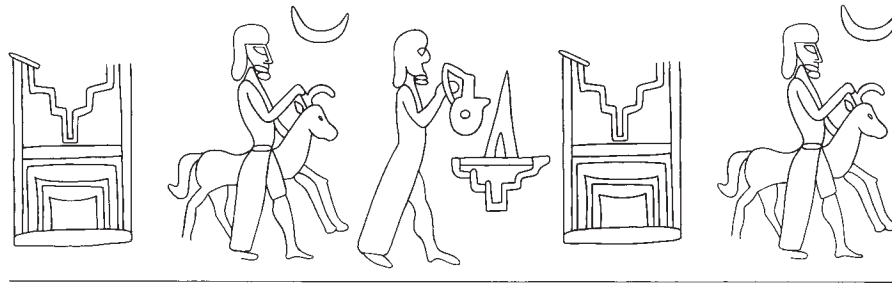
- PFUTS 148 (S7)      • PFUTS 154 (S8)      • PFS 2071 (S9)      • PFUTS 610 (S10)

Additionally, the well preserved PFUTS 111 (S6) would seem to be concerned with events after the procession has arrived, that is, the butchery of the sacrificial animal (see §4.3.1.4).

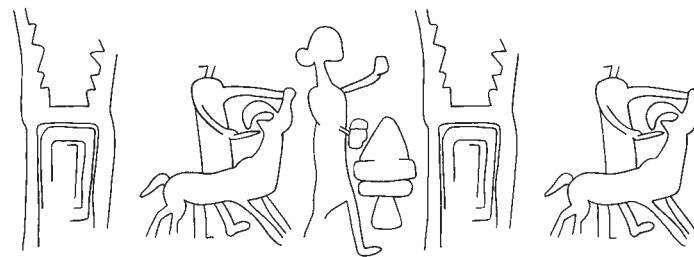
Taking first the scenes that show both the stepped and the tower structures (fig. 4.23a–d), it is important to note immediately that they are directly connected with the scenes that show only the stepped structure through large fires on the stepped structures, attendants who carry vessels, and liquid that is poured into the fire.

These scenes that show both the stepped and the tower structures constitute one of the most noteworthy series in Persepolitan glyptic. They document, to my knowledge for the first time, the occurrence of the two structures, stepped and tower, in the same visual space. Moreover, those spaces are undeniably ritual in context. We have thus a strikingly rare window into the ritual landscape of Persepolis in the late sixth century BC.

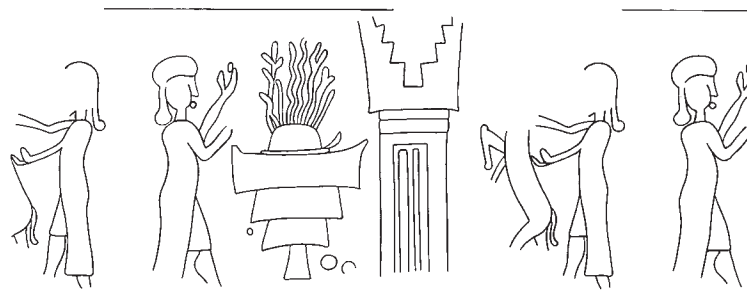
PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), PFUTS 146 (ST5), and PFUTS 618 (ST6) clearly constitute one distinct version of this scene type (fig. 4.23a–b). With the exception of PFUTS 285 (ST4) and perhaps PFUTS 146 (ST5), which is poorly preserved, there are two attendants, one at the fire on the stepped structure, the other leading an animal toward the two structures (PFS 75 [ST1], PFUTS 149 [ST3], and PFUTS 618 [ST6]) or in the act of killing it (PFUTS 147 [ST2]).<sup>627</sup> PFUTS 285 (ST4) has only one attendant, holding a rampant caprid by the horn with one hand and a weapon in the other, presumably in the act of killing the caprid. All of the scenes, with the exception of PFUTS 149 (ST3), are unidirectional. On PFUTS 149 (ST3), the two attendants are disposed one to either side of the two structures. On PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), and PFUTS 149 (ST3), the attendant at the stepped structure clearly interacts with the fire.<sup>628</sup> On PFS



PFS 75 (ST1)



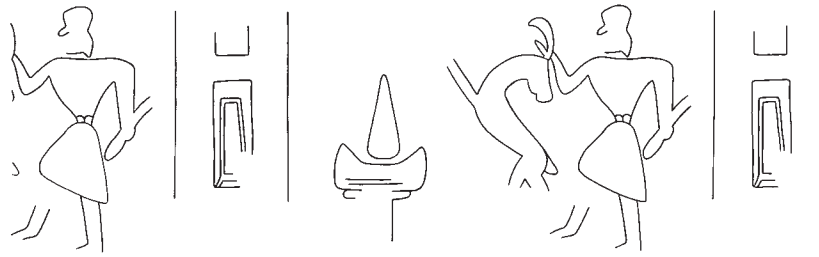
PFUTS 147 (ST2)



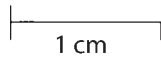
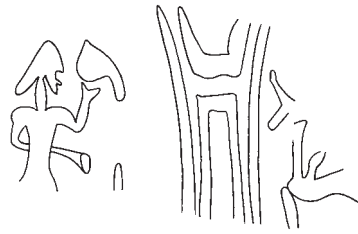
PFUTS 149 (ST3)

Figure 4.23a. Syntax: the Stepped Structure — Processions. PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3)

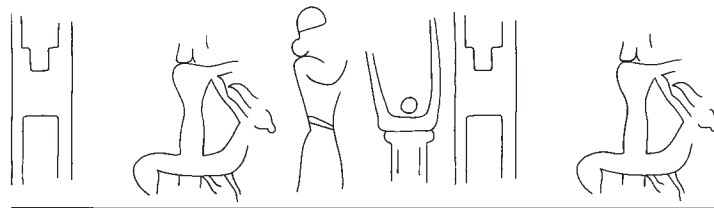
The Ritual Landscape at Persepolis



PFUTS 285 (ST4)

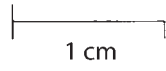
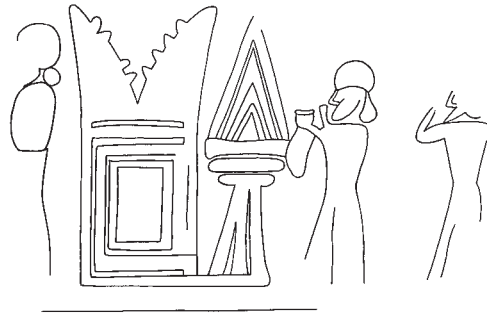


PFUTS 146 (ST5)



PFUTS 618 (ST6)

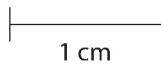
Figure 4.23b. Syntax: the Stepped Structure — Processions (cont.).  
PFUTS 285 (ST4), PFUTS 146 (ST5), PFUTS 618 (ST6)



PFUTS 66 (ST7)



PFUTS 91 (ST8)



PFS 2360 (ST9)

Figure 4.23c. Syntax: the Stepped Structure — Processions (*cont.*).  
PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9)



Figure 4.23d. Syntax: the Stepped Structure — Processions (*cont.*). PFUTS 614 (ST10), PFUTS 615 (ST11)

75 (ST1) and PFUTS 146 (ST5), the attendant holds an elaborate pitcher above the fire, apparently in the act of pouring a libation. The attendant on PFUTS 147 (ST2) holds a small cup/bowl in each hand and extends them near/over the fire. The hand on the lower arm of the attendant on PFUTS 149 (ST3) is not preserved; one assumes that he, like the attendants in the other scenes, holds a vessel.

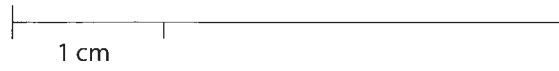
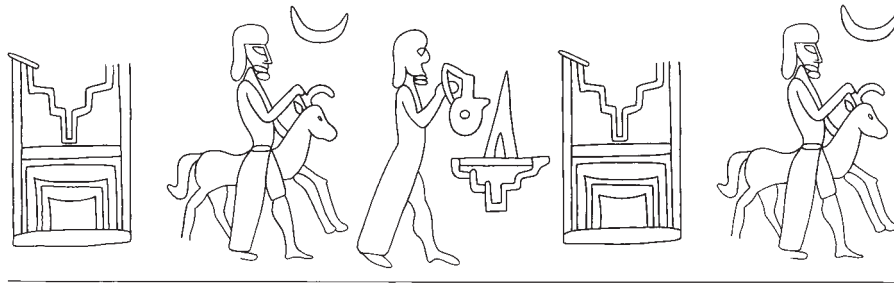
Despite the similarity of the syntax of these six processional scenes, the stepped structures exhibit some variation. The stepped structure on PFS 75 (ST1) floats in space without any visible support, while the podia on PFUTS 147 (ST2) and PFUTS 285 (ST4) have apparently only two steps. As noted, the stepped structure on PFUTS 618 (ST6) is highly irregular.

There is a clear preference in these scenes for the crenellated tower type; only the tower structure on PFUTS 146 (ST5) is the V-shaped type. The number of offsets on the crenellations on each of the tower structures is, however, different. Additionally, while all six tower structures have rectangular inset frames/panels on the bodies, the configuration on each is distinct:<sup>629</sup> inverted U-shaped inset frames and a central inset panel oriented horizontally on the tower structure on PFS 75 (ST1); two thin inset frames with a central inset panel oriented vertically on PFUTS 147 (ST2); two thin vertical elements set within an inset panel oriented vertically on PFUTS 149 (ST3); a thin inset frame and central inset panel on PFUTS 285 (ST4); a narrow inset frame and central inset panel on PFUTS 146 (ST5); a single inset panel on PFUTS 618 (ST6).<sup>630</sup>

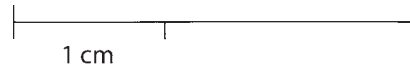
It is noteworthy that the stepped structure in these six processional scenes always carries a fire and occurs before the tower structure (i.e., the attendants encounter first the stepped structure).<sup>631</sup> The large size of the stepped structure and the elaborate fire on PFUTS 149 (ST3) distinguish it among the scenes within this group.

PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) constitute a second distinct version of this scene type (fig. 4.23c–d). Here we have to do with multiple personages in procession (unidirectional) toward paired stepped and tower structures. These scenes are distinguished by the uniformity in the rendering of the stepped and the tower structures, the sequencing of attendants, and the distinctive pose of the hand placed over/near the mouth. In several cases, attendants also carry vessels. When the lead person in the procession is preserved (PFUTS 66 [ST7], PFUTS 91 [ST8], and probably also PFUTS 614 [ST10] and PFUTS 615 [ST11]), he always holds a vessel near the base of the fire on the stepped structure. On PFUTS 91 (ST8), the lead figure in the procession is larger than the other figures, thus indicating some hierarchy of scale.

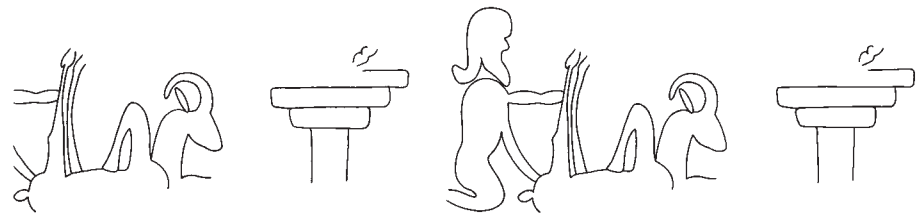
Unlike the structures in the other processional group, the stepped and tower structures on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) are very uniform. The stepped structure in all five cases is supported on a tripod-like arrangement (the only stepped structures so configured in the corpus here published). The podium of the stepped structure on PFUTS 91 (ST8) has only two steps;



PFS 75 (ST1)



PFUTS 147 (ST2)



PFUTS 111 (S6)

Figure 4.23e. A ritual narrative? PFS 75 (ST1) – PFUTS 147 (ST2) – PFUTS 111 (S6)

those on PFS 2360 (ST9) and PFUTS 614 (ST10) may have only one step, but preservation is poor. All five tower structures are of the V-shaped tower type, tall and broad, and carry one to two rectangular inset frames with

a central inset panel on the body. The top of the tower structure on PFS 2360 (ST9) is not preserved, but, given the uniformity within this compositional group, it most likely was of the V-shaped type.

As with the previous processional group, the stepped structure in these five processional scenes always carries a fire and occurs before the tower structure (i.e., the attendants encounter first the stepped structure).

A few scenes that are only partially preserved probably also show processions toward a stepped structure. PFUTS 148 (S7) appears to show an attendant leading an animal, which he is in the process of killing, toward a stepped structure. PFUTS 154 (S8) may show the same: here an attendant stands near the stepped structure holding elongated objects toward the fire; an animal may be behind him. On PFUTS 610 (S10), there are preserved only an attendant before a very substantial stepped structure and what may be the foreleg of an animal. Even less is preserved of PFS 2071 (S9), just the podium of a stepped structure. Its form is, however, so distinct and so similar to the stepped structures on PFUTS 154 (S8) and PFUTS 610 (S10) that one is tempted to suggest that the scene may have been processional.

Although not processional *sensu stricto*, PFUTS 111 (S6) may perhaps be most usefully discussed within a processional context. An attendant butchers an animal next to a stepped structure. The scene thus seems to depict the climax of those processions wherein attendants lead animals toward the stepped structure or cut their throats before the stepped structure.

The appearance of animals that are in the process of being killed or butchered with the stepped structure is significant. Moorey (1979, pp. 221–23) noted the rarity of the depiction of animal sacrifice in art of the Achaemenid period and collected the few examples known to him. The issue of animal sacrifice within the context of the supposed Zoroastrianism at the time of the Achaemenids has been often discussed.<sup>632</sup> Many of the scenes from the Fortification archive provide incontrovertible evidence for the linking of animal sacrifice and the stepped structure. The exact ritual (and deity-specific) context for these scenes is, however, unknown.<sup>633</sup>

#### 4.3.1.4. Syntax: the Stepped Structure — Concluding Remarks

In reviewing the syntax of scenes involving the stepped structure, one is struck by several features. Firstly, there are limited types of compositional formulae in which the stepped structure occurs. One or two figures interact directly with the fire on the stepped structure, or a procession of attendants moves toward paired stepped and tower structures. Secondly, the overriding character of the great majority of these scenes is their dynamic quality rooted in a real space. Individuals actively engage/interact with the fires on these structures. The nature of this interaction centers around liquids within vessels, often held near the base of the fire or over it, and animals that are led toward the stepped structure, killed before it, or butchered next to it. There is thus an urgent sense of narration in these scenes, something has come before and something will follow. Indeed, one could arrange the three seals PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), and PFUTS 111 (S6) so as to yield a linear narrative (fig. 4.23e):

- animal is led to sacrifice as libations are offered on the stepped structure (PFS 75 [ST1]);
- animal is killed as libations are offered on the stepped structure (PFUTS 147 [ST2]);
- animal is butchered next to the stepped structure (PFUTS 111 [S6]).

#### 4.3.2. Syntax: The Tower Structure

Despite the large number of designs that contain a tower structure, there are basically only five syntactical groups in which it occurs, and the third, fourth, and fifth groups seem closely related. In the first group, there are two attendants who stand one to each side of the tower structure. Included in this first type are a few scenes that have only one attendant standing next to the tower structure. In the second, there is a procession of attendants toward the tower structure or, in eleven examples, a procession of attendants toward paired stepped and tower structures. In the third, there are one or two figures seated before a tower structure. Animals often occur in this third group. In the fourth, a human figure and rampant animal stand before a tower structure. In the fifth, there is only an animal before a tower structure.<sup>634</sup>

#### 4.3.2.1. Syntax: The Tower Structure — One or Two Attendants Standing before a Tower Structure

The preferred composition is two attendants, one standing to each side of a tower structure.

Two attendants:

- PFS 11\* (T1)      • PFUTS 607 (T3)      • PTS 23 (T5)      • PT4 873 (T7)
- PFUTS 19\* (T2)      • PTS 22 (T4)      • PTS 57 (T6)

One attendant:

- PFATS 354 (T8)      • PFUTS 153s (T9)

PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), and PTS 57 (T6) form a distinct and tightly circumscribed subgroup, exhibiting an exceptionally consistent syntax and iconography. In each case, there are two attendants, one disposed to each side of a rather well executed crenellated tower structure.<sup>635</sup> Each attendant extends one hand, the palm open, toward the tower structure while holding some object in the other hand. These objects include: a staff (PFS 11\* [T1]); a short, rod-like device (PFUTS 19\* [T2]); a flower (PFUTS 18\* and PTS 22 [T4]); a pitcher (PTS 23 [T5]).<sup>636</sup> The preserved attendants, with one exception, all wear the Persian court robe and are crowned.<sup>637</sup> Winged symbols are, moreover, present on PFS 11\* (T1), PTS 22 (T4), and PTS 23 (T5); PFS 11\* (T1) carries a trilingual royal-name inscription, PFUTS 19\* (T2) an Aramaic inscription.<sup>638</sup> All five seals may be classified as Court Style, although the carving on PFUTS 19\* (T2) is somewhat less developed than one normally encounters in the Court Style.

PFUTS 607 (T3) and the seal PT4 873 (T7) clearly belong with this syntactical group but stand apart. The two figures flanking the tower structure on PFUTS 607 (T3) are composite human-animal creatures. They appear to have human arms, body, and legs, but they are winged and have tails. The one to the right of the tower structure appears to have a human face grafted onto an animal neck. The creatures are kneeling and do not appear to be holding anything; nor do they appear to wear garments. The tower structure seems to be a variation of the V-shaped type (it certainly is not a crenellated tower type). Details of the scene on the seal PT4 873 (T7) are difficult to resolve; one cannot even be certain that there is a tower structure in the scene, and the seal may have been re-cut. The two attendants wear ankle-length garments with hatched decoration.

PFATS 354 (T8) may belong to this syntactical group, but the design is poorly preserved. A single figure extends both arms toward a tower structure; there may have been another attendant in the scene. The attendant clearly does not wear the Persian court robe or a crown. The carving style is local Fortification Style. The tower structure is a somewhat unusual variation of the V-shaped tower structure.

We may perhaps include PFUTS 153s (T9) with this syntactical group, but, as noted in the catalog, the scene has many unusual features in comparison to the corpus of seals here published. One cannot be certain that the structure in the scene is a tower structure; it has neither the distinctive crenellation nor V-shaped elements at its top. Indeed, we may have to do here with some unusual combination of two distinct iconological traditions, the attendants flanking the tower structure and the so-called late Babylonian worship scene.

#### 4.3.2.2. Syntax: The Tower Structure — Procession of Attendants toward a Tower Structure or Paired Stepped and Tower Structures

The following scenes of a procession of attendants toward a tower structure are remarkable and, when considered with those scenes showing a procession of attendants toward paired stepped and tower structures (fig. 4.23a–d), constitute some of the most important visual evidence to have survived for early Achaemenid ritual:

- PFUTS 151 (T10)      • PFUTS 242 (T15)      • PFUTS 146 (ST5)      • PFUTS 614 (ST10)
- PFUTS 162 (T11)      • PFS 75 (ST1)      • PFUTS 618 (ST6)      • PFUTS 615 (ST11)
- PFS 2315 (T12)      • PFUTS 147 (ST2)      • PFUTS 66 (ST7)
- PFUTS 604 (T13)      • PFUTS 149 (ST3)      • PFUTS 91 (ST8)
- PFUTS 152 (T14)      • PFUTS 285 (ST4)      • PFS 2360 (ST9)



The processions are, with the exception of that on PFUTS 149 (ST3), unidirectional with the tower or paired stepped and tower structures as their end points. There are two dominant themes in these processions: animals, clearly intended for sacrifice, and liquids contained in vessels. In what follows, I treat the processional scenes with animals separately, but one is struck by the consistency of the syntactical group as a whole. The exceptions are the processional scenes on PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15).

Animals occur in the following processional scenes:

- PFUTS 151 (T10)
- PFUTS 162 (T11)
- PFS 2315 (T12)
- PFUTS 604 (T13)
- PFS 75 (ST1)
- PFUTS 147 (ST2)
- PFUTS 149 (ST3)
- PFUTS 285 (ST4)
- PFUTS 146 (ST5)  
(probably)
- PFUTS 618 (ST6)

An attendant leads an animal toward the tower structure (and stepped structure in some cases) on PFUTS 151 (T10), PFUTS 162 (T11), PFUTS 604 (T13), PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), and PFUTS 618 (ST6). Although only a small fragment of the animal is preserved on PFUTS 151 (T10), the attendant appears to reach back to grasp the animal and lead it toward the tower structure. The animal may be a cow on PFUTS 162 (T11) and PFS 75 (ST1); otherwise, when preserved well enough for identification, the animal is a caprid. The caprid(?) on PFUTS 604 (T13) is noteworthy for its large size, taller than the attendant who leads it. The tower structure may be either the crenellated or the V-shaped tower type in these scenes.

On PFS 2315 (T12), a V-shaped tower structure, and PFUTS 147 (ST2), a crenellated tower structure, an attendant leads an animal while at the same time beginning to cut its throat. As noted in the catalog, the pose of the attendant with rampant animal on PFS 2315 (T12) is evocative of the heroic encounter; as with PFUTS 605 (S14), discussed above, the ambiguity between the ritual nature of the action and the heroic encounter may be intentional. Two scenes discussed in the previous paragraph may also be noteworthy within this context of the killing of animals. The attendant on PFUTS 285 (ST4) appears to hold some type of weapon in preparation for the kill. The attendants who hold the animals on PFUTS 149 (ST3) and PFUTS 618 (ST6) may also be in the act of killing them (preservation is fragmentary).

The following processional scenes include animals and vessels.

- PFUTS 151 (T10)
- PFUTS 604 (T13)
- PFS 75 (ST1)
- PFUTS 146 (ST5) (probably)
- PFUTS 147 (ST2)

The attendants carry a range of vessel types. The vessel on PFUTS 151 (T10) has a pointed toe and, apparently, no handles. Although only partially preserved, the vessel on PFUTS 604 (T13) may be similar, but there is a handle running from the shoulder to the rim of the vessel.<sup>639</sup> This particular type of vessel is also documented in the processional scenes on PFUTS 66 (ST7) and PFUTS 91 (ST8), discussed below. The vessel on PFS 75 (ST1) is distinct: a large round-bodied pitcher with a single large flaring handle that runs from the shoulder to the rim of the vessel. The attendant near the stepped structure on PFUTS 147 (ST2) appears to hold two small cups. Lastly, the attendant on PFUTS 146 (ST5) holds a large ovoid jar with a long spout over a fire.<sup>640</sup> The tower structure may be either the crenellated or the V-shaped tower type in these scenes.

There are five processional scenes that do not include animals. All five scenes have both the stepped and the tower structures, and one or more of the attendants make the gesture of holding a hand over/near the mouth (discussed above):

- PFUTS 66 (ST7)
- PFUTS 91 (ST8)
- PFS 2360 (ST9)
- PFUTS 614 (ST10)
- PFUTS 615 (ST11)

In three cases, PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), and PFUTS 614 (ST10), one or more of the attendants carry a vessel; vessels were probably also included in the fragmentarily preserved PFS 2360 (ST9) and PFUTS 615 (ST11). One may recall here the similarity of the vessels carried by the attendants on PFUTS 66 (ST7) and PFUTS 91 (ST8) with the one depicted on PFUTS 151 (T10) and, perhaps, the one on PFUTS 604 (T13). One of the vessels carried in the procession on PFUTS 91 (ST8) is more elaborate, having three handles. This vessel

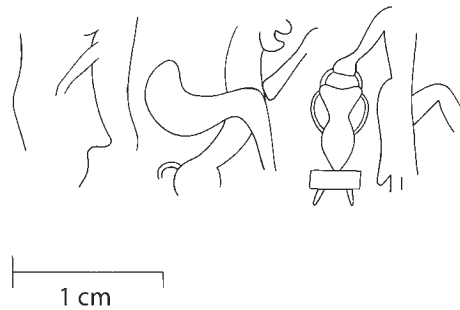


Figure 4.24. PFS 1431

may be seen again on the fragmentarily preserved PFS 1431 (fig. 4.24), where a figure in an Assyrian garment holds/places it on a small stand.<sup>641</sup>

Lastly, there are two processional scenes that have a different dynamic. Both may have to do with the presentation of offerings. PFUTS 152 (T14) is, perhaps, one of the most spectacular designs in the corpus. An attendant faces toward a V-shaped tower structure over which there is a figure in a winged ring. The attendant appears to hold between his hands a necklace or, perhaps, a strung bow. Before him is a male figure standing on the back of a horned lion. The occurrence of a figure on the back of an animal/creature traditionally in ancient western Asia indicates the epiphany of a deity or a statue of a deity. It seems noteworthy that the figure on the back of the horned lion holds his arms in a similar manner to the attendant, suggesting that this figure may also have displayed/held an object between his hands. We thus may have to do here with two offerings, the necklace-like object held by the attendant and a statue.

PFUTS 242 (T15) is no less provocative. Here an attendant appears to interact directly with a figure in a winged disk, who hovers above what is apparently a V-shaped tower structure, although its form is irregular. Behind him there is a rampant animal and a second attendant who holds, in a manner very similar to the attendant on PFUTS 152 (T14), a long thin object.

Taking the processional scenes showing the tower structure as a whole, one is struck by several features. Firstly, the tower structures themselves are more commonly the V-shaped tower type than the crenellated tower type. Crenellated towers are found only on PFUTS 162 (T11), PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3), and PFUTS 618 (ST 6).<sup>642</sup> Secondly, with the exception of the winged symbols on PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15), scenes that are quite unusual, there is a complete absence of court-centric iconography such as the Persian court robe, dentate crowns, and inscriptions. Where preserved, the preferred garment type is the Assyrian garment that leaves the forward leg exposed. The attendants on PFUTS 151 (T10) and PFUTS 285 (ST4) wear a knee-length dress/skirt, those on PFUTS 604 (T13) wear dresses with hatched patterns.<sup>643</sup> One ought perhaps to note the garment of the figure who stands on the back of the horned lion on PFUTS 152 (T14); the lower part of the garment appears similar to that of the lower part of the Persian court robe, although the thickness of the diagonal folds may indicate fleece rather than folds. Lastly, none of the seals are executed in the Court Style. This comes as no surprise given the lack of court-centric iconography. Most of the seals are executed either in versions of the Persepolitan Modeled Style or the Fortification Style.

#### 4.3.2.3. Syntax: *The Tower Structure — One or Two Figures Seated before a Tower Structure*

The syntactical group of one or two figures seated before a tower structure is one of the most common in the corpus of scenes that include the tower structure here published. There appear to be two basic variations. In the first, a rampant animal is behind the seated figure. In the second, there are only one or two human figures seated before the tower structure.

Those scenes having a rampant animal, seated figure, and tower structure include:

- PFS 435 (T16)
- PFUTS 33 (T17)
- PFUTS 76 (T18)
- PFUTS 330 (T19)
- PFS 307 (T20)
- PFS 2220 (T21)
- PFUTS 313 (T22)
- PFS 978 (T23)
- PFS 2525 (T24)
- PFUTS 616 (T25)
- PFUTS 240 (T26)
- PFS 2542 (T27)

On PFS 435 (T16), PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 76 (T18), and PFUTS 330 (T19), the seated figure reaches out to grasp the rampant animal. This pose is an unusual one, and led Garrison and Root (2001) to classify PFS 435 (T16) as some type of variation of a heroic encounter.<sup>644</sup> This identification now seems unlikely in view of the relatively large number of scenes that show this particular syntax within the context of the tower structure. The seated figure in these scenes always extends his other hand toward the tower structure. On PFS 435 (T16), he holds a pair of rod-like elements. The seated figures on PFUTS 33 (T17) and PFUTS 76 (T18) hold the hand upturned (and, seemingly, empty).<sup>645</sup> The rampant animal is always, when identifiable, a caprid. The tower structures in all the scenes in this cluster of seals are variations of the V-shaped tower type.

PFS 2542 (T27) may be a variation on the seated figure grasping a rampant animal; the seated figure appears, however, to reach back to grasp a bird in flight. The hand is not preserved, but the reconstruction of the pose seems very likely.

In the other scenes showing a rampant animal, seated figure, and a tower structure, the rampant animal is behind the seated figure moving toward him, but the seated figure does not directly interact with the animal.<sup>646</sup> Where preserved, the seated figure always extends his arms toward the tower structure.<sup>647</sup> In several instances, the seated figure clearly holds objects: a staff-like object in one hand, a cup(?) in the other on PFS 307 (T20); a rod-like device and a conical device (both poorly preserved) on PFS 2220 (T21); a scepter-like object with rounded ends on PFUTS 313 (T22); a shallow cup/bowl and a stemmed goblet on PFUTS 616 (T25). The seated figure on PFUTS 240 (T26) may also hold a scepter-like object; the form of the structure on this seal appears to be some hybrid of the two structure types, stepped and tower. Only the seated figure on PFS 2525 (T24) does not seem to hold anything in his hands.<sup>648</sup> As in the previous group, where identifiable, the rampant animal is a caprid. Two of the tower structures are crenellated, those on PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24). The others are all the V-shaped tower type; they exhibit a wide range of treatments of both the top and the body of the structure.

Those scenes that have only seated human figures before a tower structure include:

- PFS 738 (T28)
- PFS 2296 (T29)
- PFUTS 294 (T30)
- PFUTS 257 (T31)

This subgroup exhibits a more eclectic syntax than the previous subgroup. There are two seated figures, one to each side of the tower structure, on PFS 738 (T28). There may also be two seated figures on PFUTS 257 (T31), but the preservation is very poor. If there are two seated figures on PFUTS 257 (T31), they appear to be seated one behind the other and facing in the same direction; a very different syntax from that on PFS 738 (T28), where the seated figures are disposed to either side and look inward toward the tower structure. There is only one seated figure on PFUTS 294 (T30). On PFS 2296 (T29), there are two human figures, one seated and one standing (and both facing the same direction). The seated figures on PFS 738 (T28) hold cups; the one preserved seated figure on PFUTS 257 (T31) may do the same.<sup>649</sup> There is a large double-handled amphora poised over a table on PFUTS 294 (T30); the seated figure here holds a staff. The tower structures in all of these scenes are the V-shaped tower type. It may be noteworthy that the bodies of the tower structures on PFS 2296 (T29) and PFUTS 294 (T30) both carry star-like designs. Two of the most unusual renderings of the top of the tower structure, frond-like elements, are found on the tower structures on PFS 738 (T28) and PFS 2296 (T29).

To summarize briefly, in the scenes of a seated individual before a tower structure, as in the processions toward a tower structure, there is a complete absence of court-centric iconography such as the Persian court robe, dentate crowns, winged symbols, and inscriptions. Garments, where discernable, are belted ankle-length dresses or skirts; fringing is indicated on the garments worn by the seated figures on PFS 435 (T16), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFS 2220 (T21), PFUTS 616 (T25), and PFUTS 240 (T26). As preserved, no figure wears a headdress. The repeated presence of vessels, both those for drinking and those for storage, indicates that banqueting is an important aspect of the scenes showing only seated figures; one suspects that it is critical also in the scenes showing seated figures and rampant animals.<sup>650</sup> As with the processional scenes, none of the seals in this group are executed in the Court Style; the predominant cutting style is the local Fortification Style.

#### 4.3.2.4. Syntax: *The Tower Structure — Standing Human Figure and Rampant Animal before a Tower Structure*

Two seals have a standing human figure and a rampant animal before a tower structure:

- PFUTS 457 (T32) • PFS 709 (T33)

These compositions would seem to be closely related conceptually to the compositions that have a seated figure before a tower structure with a rampant animal. In both cases, the rampant animal is behind the standing human figure, moving toward him but turning its head in the opposite direction. It may be noteworthy that the animal on PFUTS 457 (T32) is a stag, while that on PFS 709 (T33) may be a lion. If a lion, it would be the only example of such among all the scenes that have a seated or standing figure and an animal before a tower structure. In the previous groups that involve animals, those animals are almost always caprids. The tower structure on PFUTS 457 (T32) is a rather remarkable version of the V-shaped tower structure having a plant-like device decorating the body.<sup>651</sup> As with the previous groups involving animals, there is no court-centric iconography. The style of engraving on both seals is the local Fortification Style.

#### 4.3.2.5. Syntax: *The Tower Structure — Animal(s)/Creature(s) before a Tower Structure*

These scenes are relatively numerous and seem closely connected to those that show a seated figure and a rampant animal before a tower structure. One may subdivide the compositions according to various criteria: number of animals/creatures (one or two); pose (rampant or marchant); animal type (caprid, lion, stag, fantastical). The following scenes have a rampant animal(s)/creature(s) before a tower structure.<sup>652</sup>

Single rampant animal/creature:

- PFATS 11 (T35) • PFATS 281 (T37) • PFATS 450 (T39)
- PFS 897 (T36) • PFATS 312 (T38) • PFATS 460 (T40)

Two rampant animals:

- PFATS 244 (T42) • PFS 1015 (T43)

Where there is only one rampant animal/creature, it invariably moves in one direction but turns its head back in the opposite direction. In this manner, the dynamics of the scene in extended rolling of the seal allow the animal to engage, as it were, the tower structure from both sides. In almost every instance, the animal/creature places its paws/hoofs on the tower structure or very near it, as if it were a framing element.<sup>653</sup> On PFATS 11 (T35) and PFATS 312 (T38), there is a bird in flight, while PFATS 450 (T39) includes a plant between the rampant caprid and the tower structure. The animals/creatures, where they can be identified, are caprids (PFS 897 [T36], PFATS 450 [T39], and PFATS 460 [T40]) and winged creatures (PFATS 11 [T35] and PFATS 281 [T37]).

The compositions on two seals, PFATS 244 (T42) and PFS 1015 (T43), have two rampant animals. In one, PFATS 244 (T42), a rampant lion is disposed to either side of a tower structure; in the other, PFS 1015 (T43), rampant lions are placed the one behind the other and move in the same direction. The scenes appear closely related to compositional types commonly found in Persepolitan glyptic: heraldic animal groups and animal combat, respectively.

The following scenes have an animal(s)/creature(s) marchant before a tower structure.<sup>654</sup>

Single animal/creature marchant:

- PFATS 297 (T45) • PFATS 436 (T46) • PFS 628 (T47)

Two animals/creatures marchant:

- PFATS 224 (T44) • PFATS 392 (T48)

The preferred pose of the animal/creature is facing and moving in the same direction. The exception is the beautiful stag on PFATS 436 (T46), which moves to the left but turns its head back to the right. In one composition (PFATS 224 [T44]), there is a bird in flight. The animals/creatures are stags (PFATS 224 [T44] and PFATS 436 [T46]) or caprids (PFATS 297 [T45] and PFS 628 [T47]).

PFATS 392 (T48) has two creatures before a tower structure. They face in the same direction. One of them is winged and marchant, the other a caprid(?) that appears to be couchant.

The tower structures in all of these scenes that have either rampant or marchant animals/creatures are V-shaped tower structures. As one would imagine with such a large number of scenes, the form of the V-shaped tower structure itself includes examples from all of its major typological categories. Of note are the tower structures on PFS 1015 (T43) and PFATS 224 (T44), both of which have objects arising from the top of the structure.<sup>655</sup> The tower structure on PFATS 436 (T46) has a rampant caprid on the body of the structure (unique within the corpus of structures here published), while that on PFS 628 (T47) has a plant-like device on the body of the structure.<sup>656</sup>

The cutting style employed for the seals in this syntactical group (animal[s]/creature[s] before a tower structure) is predominately the local Fortification Style, but the Persepolitan Modeled Style is also documented.

Lastly, it seems noteworthy that there are an exceptionally large number of seals that are found only on the Aramaic tablets (PFAT) in this syntactical group (animal[s]/creature[s] before a tower structure). Of the thirteen seals in this group, ten of them occur only on Aramaic tablets. There are only eleven seals that occur exclusively on the Aramaic tablets in the corpus of seals here published.<sup>657</sup> Thus, all but one of the seals that occur only on the Aramaic tablets are found in this one compositional category. Such a high percentage cannot simply be a statistical oddity. What it represents, however, is not clear. There is, however, a clear preference among seal users on the Aramaic tablets for imagery that involves only animals. Thus, the almost universal adherence of seals that occur only on the Aramaic tablets within the corpus of seals here published to those scenes that involve animal(s)/creature(s) before a tower structure (without any human figures) would seem in line with tendencies in glyptic imagery for seals that occur only on the Aramaic tablets as a whole.

#### 4.3.2.6. Syntax: The Tower Structure — Miscellaneous Scenes

There are three scenes that do not admit tidy classification into one of the compositional categories articulated above:

- PT6 699 (T34)
- PFS 2361 (T41)
- PFS 2673s (T49)

A horse and rider move toward a V-shaped tower structure on the seal PT6 699 (T34) from the Treasury. While the tower structure is readily recognizable, it is difficult to understand the significance of its pairing with the horse and rider. As noted in the catalog, the form of the tower structure is exactly the same as that seen on some late coinage issues of the *frataraka* rulers of Persis, suggesting that the seal may in fact date to this period.

As noted in the catalog, given the poor preservation we cannot be certain that there is actually a tower structure on PFS 2361 (T41). While the compositional syntax may fit with those scenes showing a rampant animal before a tower structure, the form of the rampant creature, a composite winged bull with human head and four human forearms and hands, and the enclosure surrounding it are anomalous.

Lastly there is the remarkable PFS 2673s (T49), a small stamp seal whose rectangular face is carefully filled with a representation of a tower structure. This is the only scene in the corpus of images here published showing one of the structures, stepped or tower, on its own without any human or animal figures.

#### 4.3.2.7. Syntax: The Tower Structure — Concluding Remarks

One may collapse the five syntactical groups in which the tower structures appear into three distinct syntactical conventions. These conventions appear to be relatively distinct with regards both to syntax and iconography.

The first convention, best represented by PFS 11\* (T1), is a quiet, static arrangement where two (or one) attendants flank a crenellated tower structure.<sup>658</sup> These attendants stand back from the tower structure and never interact with it by touch.<sup>659</sup> An upraised hand seems to signal devotion; the other hand may hold a staff, bundle(?), or flower.<sup>660</sup> These scenes are quiet and evoke a serene calmness. The figures appear frozen in time and space. In the examples where two figures are preserved, they appear to be identical, thus yielding a magical space of multiplicity, sameness, and panoptic perspective.<sup>661</sup> The tower structures always have rectangular inset frames/panels on their bodies. A fire is never indicated on them. With three exceptions, the first syntactical convention always includes much court-centric iconography: the Persian court robe, dentate crowns, winged symbols, etc.<sup>662</sup> The first syntactical convention is rare, at least within the two Persepolitan archives, represented by only seven, perhaps eight seals.<sup>663</sup> Five of these seals, PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), and PTS 57 (T6), are remarkably, indeed insistently, similar in syntax, iconography, and cutting style.

This first syntactical convention thus lacks any overt sense of temporal narration, that is, a time before and/or a time after. The scenes exist in an unreal, atemporal space. This particular *syntax*, in combination with the very specific iconography (i.e., *vocabulary*) employed within it, thus yields a very specific *semantics* that may best be described as emblematic.<sup>664</sup> This semantics seeks not to articulate a particular narrative but to convey messages about the nature of Achaemenid kingship. It comes as no surprise that the stillness and careful balance of these scenes, in addition to the court-centric iconography, are very much in keeping with the decorum of royal relief at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis.<sup>665</sup>

The intensity of court-centric iconography and the use of the Court Style of carving in the scenes of the first syntactical convention are surely not fortuitous. These observations would seem to suggest that, at least during the early Achaemenid period as covered by the two Persepolitan archives, the crenellated tower structure as it appears in scenes of the first convention has a very specific and strictly royal/court semantics.<sup>666</sup>

The second syntactical convention, represented well by several seals, but in particular by PFS 75 (ST1), is an active scene wherein two or more attendants move toward or do something next to a tower structure or paired stepped and tower structures.<sup>667</sup> In general, there is a rigid linear directionality in this convention; multiple attendants, often in the same pose and wearing the same garments, stand/move one behind the other toward the tower structure or the paired stepped and tower structures. A few scenes feature the gesture of the hand placed over/near the mouth.<sup>668</sup> Recurring iconographic features of these processional scenes are animals and liquids, the former for ritual sacrifice, the latter seemingly for ritual libations.<sup>669</sup> The preferred garment is the Assyrian. There are no headdresses. Eleven remarkable scenes in this convention pair the stepped structure with the tower structure (fig. 4.23a–d).<sup>670</sup> PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15) are noteworthy in apparently showing offerings being carried in a procession. PFUTS 152 (T14) may even indicate a divine statue or votive offering.

The tower structures in the second syntactical convention admit both forms, crenellated (PFUTS 162 [T11], PFS 75 [ST1], PFUTS 147 [ST2], PFUTS 149 [ST3], PFUTS 285 [ST4], PFUTS 618 [ST6]) and V-shaped (PFUTS 151 [T10], PFS 2315 [T12], PFUTS 604 [T13], PFUTS 152 [T14], PFUTS 66 [ST7], PFUTS 91 [ST8], PFUTS 614 [ST10], and PFUTS 615 [ST11]) as well as variants (PFUTS 242 [T15]). This concurrence of the two typological variants of the tower structure within the same syntactical convention is important, indicating that we are in fact dealing with related phenomena. In all cases, whether crenellated or V-shaped tower structure, there is no indication of a fire.

In direct opposition to the first syntactical convention, the second syntactical convention eschews almost completely any reference to court-centric iconography and Persepolitan Court Style carving.<sup>671</sup> The exceptions are the occurrences of the figure in the winged ring on PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15); these two scenes, as noted several times, are remarkable and exceptional for seemingly showing the bringing of gift objects (as distinct from animal and liquid offerings) before a tower structure.<sup>672</sup> The fact that both of them emphatically indicate a numinous presence also clearly distinguishes these scenes from others within the second syntactical convention.

The overriding character of these processional scenes in the second syntactical convention is their dynamic quality. Individuals move toward and do things around the tower structure or paired stepped and tower structures. The scenes thus possess an overriding sense of narration: something has come before and

something will follow. That narration is, moreover, embedded in a real space. The narrative character of these processional scenes in the second syntactical convention directly connects them to scenes that show the stepped structure; it is not simply fortuitous that all the scenes that have paired stepped and tower structures possess this narrative quality. The second syntactical convention is also linked to those scenes showing the stepped structure through the appearance of animal sacrifice and libation.

The third syntactical convention, and the largest, represented well by several seals, but in particular by PFUTS 76 (T18), combines elements of the first and the second syntactical conventions. These scenes concern seated or standing human figures and rampant animals before a tower structure or animals before a tower structure.<sup>673</sup> Those scenes that have a human figure (whether seated or standing) and a rampant animal have an active, processional character, as in the second syntactical convention. These scenes also are ordered in a linear manner with the tower structure as the end point of directionality/movement. This sense of action is intensified in those scenes where the human figure grasps the rampant animal. At the same time, some of these scenes have static qualities characteristic of the first syntactical convention. The seated figures provide a full stop in the flow of the composition. This is especially prevalent on PFS 738 (T28), where a seated figure is disposed to either side of a possible tower structure; in this particular case, the syntax is essentially the same as that seen in the first syntactical convention. The human figures, whether seated or standing, never directly touch the tower structure; often they raise one hand, seemingly in adoration, and/or hold an object (vessels, staffs, rod-like elements, etc.). The separateness of the tower structure also holds true for most of the scenes that have a rampant animal before a tower structure: the animal only rarely actually places its hoofs/paws on the edge of the tower structure.<sup>674</sup>

Even more so than in the second syntactical convention, the third syntactical convention eschews completely any reference to court-centric iconography and Persepolitan Court Style carving.<sup>675</sup> The preferred garment is a long dress or skirt; there are no headdresses. The animals are, when well enough preserved, caprids or stags, animals that have no direct linkage to court-centric iconography.<sup>676</sup>

The tower structures in the third syntactical convention are, with the exception of those on PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24), the V-shaped tower type. In all cases, there is no indication of a fire on the tower structures.

Despite the rather simple syntax of these scenes in the third convention, the structure and semantics of the imagery are complex. Possessing both active (narrative) and static (emblematic) qualities, the scenes seemingly offer multiple readings. The fact that many of the figures are seated, and in some cases hold cups, seems to indicate that we have here to do with banquet contexts, an imagery which in and of itself is open to both narrative and emblematic readings. A critical feature is the presence of rampant animals in most of these scenes. The presence of these animals dislodges any sense of real space and time in the scenes. The unreal aspect of the semantics of the scene is highlighted especially in those examples where the animal is fantastical — PFATS 11 (T35), PFATS 281 (T37), and PFATS 392 (T48) — or where the seated figure grasps the rampant animal as if in a heroic encounter. Thus, a scene that could be read as a narrative (banquet within the context of a ritual setting) embedded in a real space, assumes an unreal emblematic quality.

The banquet-like environments on PFS 738 (T28), PFS 2296 (T29), PFUTS 294 (T30), and PFUTS 257 (T31), where there are no animals, seem, however, firmly embedded in a real time and space. The depiction of the banquet as a phenomenon of elite culture, of course, has a very long history in ancient western Asia.<sup>677</sup> Owing to that long-lived tradition, the significance of the banquet scene per se may have become primarily emblematic rather than narrative. Be that as it may, the third syntactical convention concerning the tower structure may have been appealing owing to its potential emblematic and narrative qualities.

#### 4.3.3. Syntax: The Stepped and the Tower Structures — Concluding Remarks

The three syntactical conventions described above in association with the tower structure may in fact serve as an organizing framework for articulating a general synthesis of all the scenes that involve the stepped structure, the tower structure, or the stepped and tower structures together. These syntactical conventions, in combination with iconographic features, may also provide a conduit for determining some of the high-order semantic qualities of the scenes under discussion.

4.3.3.1. First Syntactical Convention

Scenes in the first syntactical convention are quiet, calm, and static, consisting of one or two attendants standing near (and facing toward) a crenellated tower structure (fig. 4.25).<sup>678</sup> These scenes are relatively rare in the corpus of images here published.<sup>679</sup> In this convention, Achaemenid court-centric iconography is very prevalent: the Persian court robe, dentate crowns, winged symbols, staffs, flowers, etc.<sup>680</sup> Overall, these scenes exist in an undefined space and for an undefined duration of time; they thus have strong emblematic qualities.

We may express the qualities of scenes in the first syntactical convention in the following abbreviated manner (fig. 4.25):

tower structure – flowers/staffs – court-centric iconography – static – unreal space and time – emblematic character

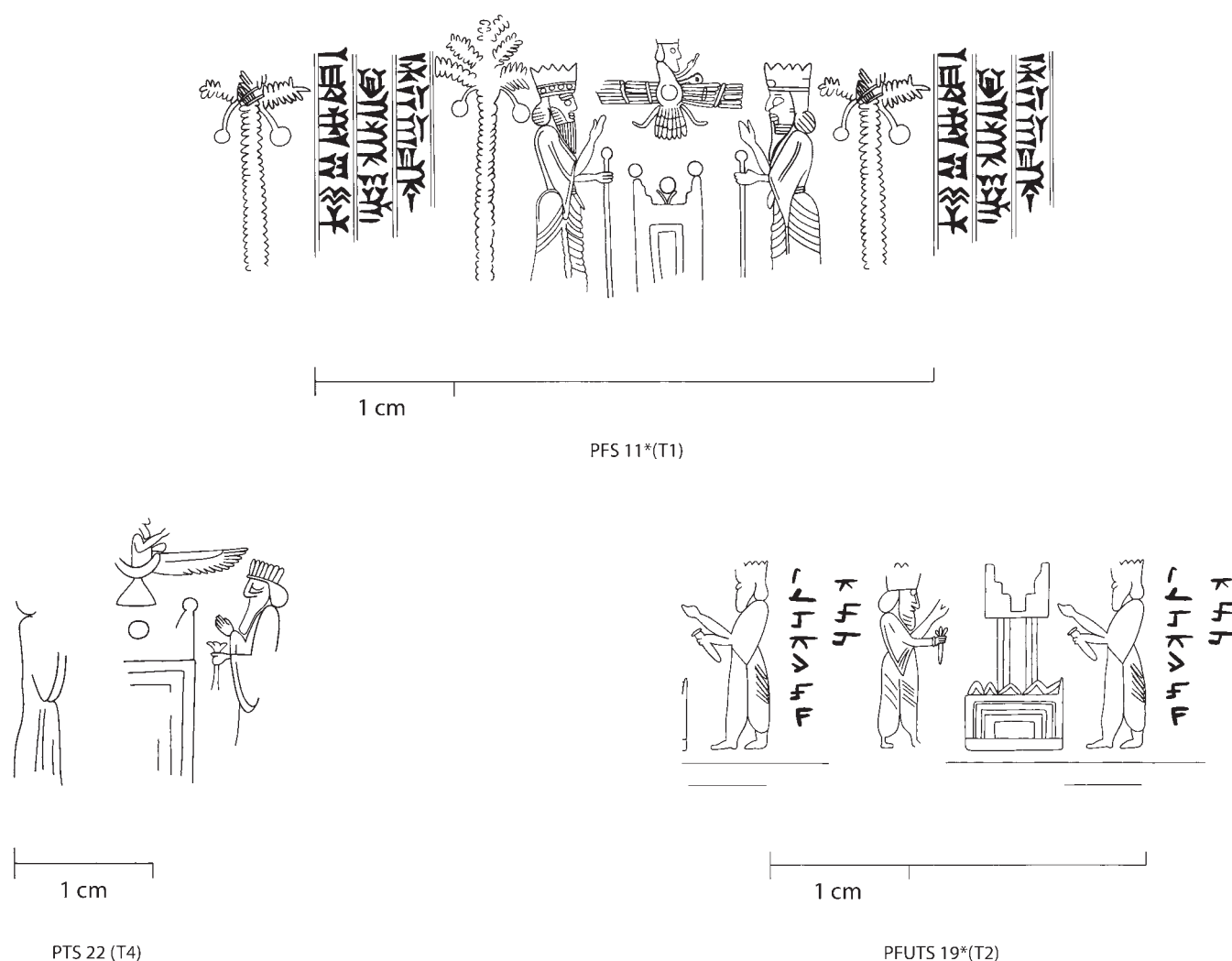


Figure 4.25. Examples of scenes in the first syntactical convention: tower structure – flowers/staffs – court-centric iconography – static – unreal space and time – emblematic character



#### 4.3.3.2. *Second Syntactical Convention*

Scenes in the second syntactical convention exhibit action wherein an individual is engaged directly with the fire on a stepped structure, or a group of individuals process in a linear manner toward a tower structure or paired stepped and tower structures (fig. 4.26). To this convention belong all scenes that show the stepped structure and those scenes where attendants move in a procession toward the tower structure or toward paired stepped and tower structures.<sup>681</sup> Recurring iconographic features of these scenes are: a large fire on the stepped structure; animals led by attendants and liquids contained in vessels carried by attendants, the former for ritual sacrifice, the latter for ritual libations (the vessels are often held at the base of the fire or directly over it); rod-, bundle-, or stick-like elements held by the attendants; Assyrian garments. In this convention, Achaemenid court-centric iconography is very rare.<sup>682</sup> When the tower structure is present, it is more often the V-shaped tower type.<sup>683</sup> Overall, these scenes are embedded in a real space and time and thus have strong narrative qualities, a sense of something happening before and after. To this convention belong all eleven of the remarkable scenes in which a procession moves toward paired stepped and tower structures (fig. 4.23a–d).<sup>684</sup>

We may express the qualities of scenes in the second syntactical convention in the following abbreviated manner (fig. 4.26):

fire on stepped structure — some interaction with the fire — tower structure — libations — animal sacrifice — rod-/bundle-/stick-like elements — no court-centric iconography — action — embedded in real space and time — narrative character

#### 4.3.3.3. *Third Syntactical Convention*

Scenes in the third syntactical convention exhibit some action, but for the most part they are static (fig. 4.27a–b). The vocabulary is very limited; seated or standing human figure and a rampant animal before a tower structure or an animal(s) (rampant or marchant) before a tower structure.<sup>685</sup> Recurring iconographic features of these scenes are: cups/bowls, staffs, or bundles held by the seated figures; stags and caprids; Assyrian garments. In this convention, Achaemenid court-centric iconography is completely absent. The tower structures are, with two exceptions, the V-shaped tower type.<sup>686</sup> The scenes have primarily an emblematic quality; the seated figures, in their distance from the tower structures and their raised hands, recall the attendants disposed to either side of the crenellated tower structure in the first syntactical convention. Some narrative qualities are present, that is, the seated figure grasping a rampant animal, but they are muted. These scenes, owing principally to the presence of the animals, are unreal, taking place in an undefined space and for an undefined duration of time.

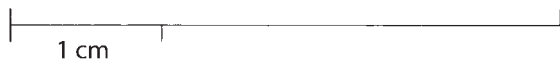
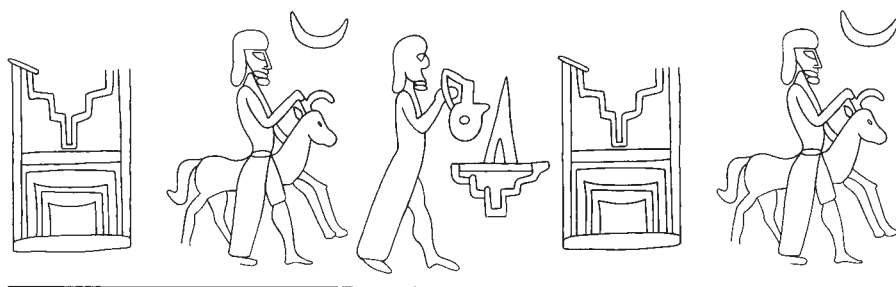
We may express the qualities of scenes in the third syntactical convention in the following abbreviated manner (fig. 4.27a–b):

tower structure — cups/bowls/staffs/bundles — caprids and stags — no court-centric iconography — static — unreal space and time — emblematic character

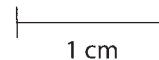
## 4.4. The Significance of the Stepped and the Tower Structures

### 4.4.1. *Stepped Structure*

Based upon the glyptic evidence from Persepolis, we may infer the following observations concerning the stepped structure. Firstly, the stepped structure is a fire-bearing structure. The fire is unambiguously rendered and ubiquitous. Secondly, the stepped structure is almost always smaller than the human figures that stand near it. In six cases, PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11), a tripod-like base may even suggest a portable structure. Thirdly, while iconographically the stepped structure is easily recognizable by the distinctive stepped podium and blazing fire, in fact there is a good



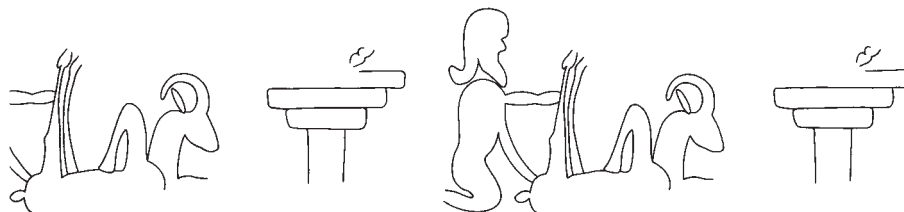
PFS 75 (ST1)



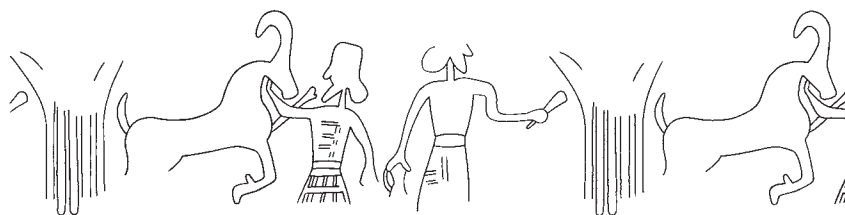
PFS 578s (S1)



PFUTS 91 (ST8)



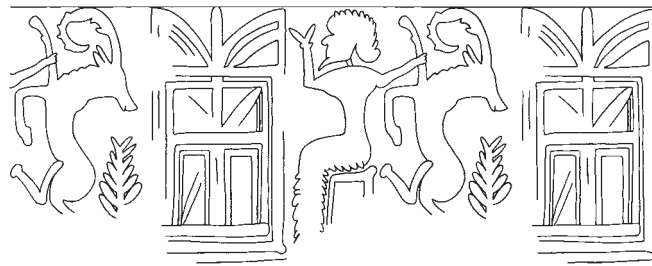
PFUTS 111 (S6)



PFUTS 604 (T13)

Figure 4.26. Examples of scenes in the second syntactical convention: fire on stepped structure – some interaction with the fire – tower structure – libations – animal sacrifice – rod-/bundle-/stick-like elements – no court-centric iconography – action – embedded in real space and time – narrative character

*The Ritual Landscape at Persepolis*



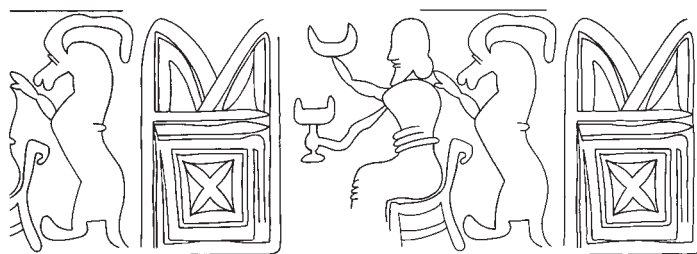
1 cm

PFUTS 76 (T18)



1 cm

PFS 307 (T20)



1 cm

PFUTS 616 (T25)

Figure 4.27a. Examples of scenes in the third syntactical convention: tower structure — cups/bowls/staffs/bundles — caprids and stags — no court-centric iconography — static — unreal space and time — emblematic character

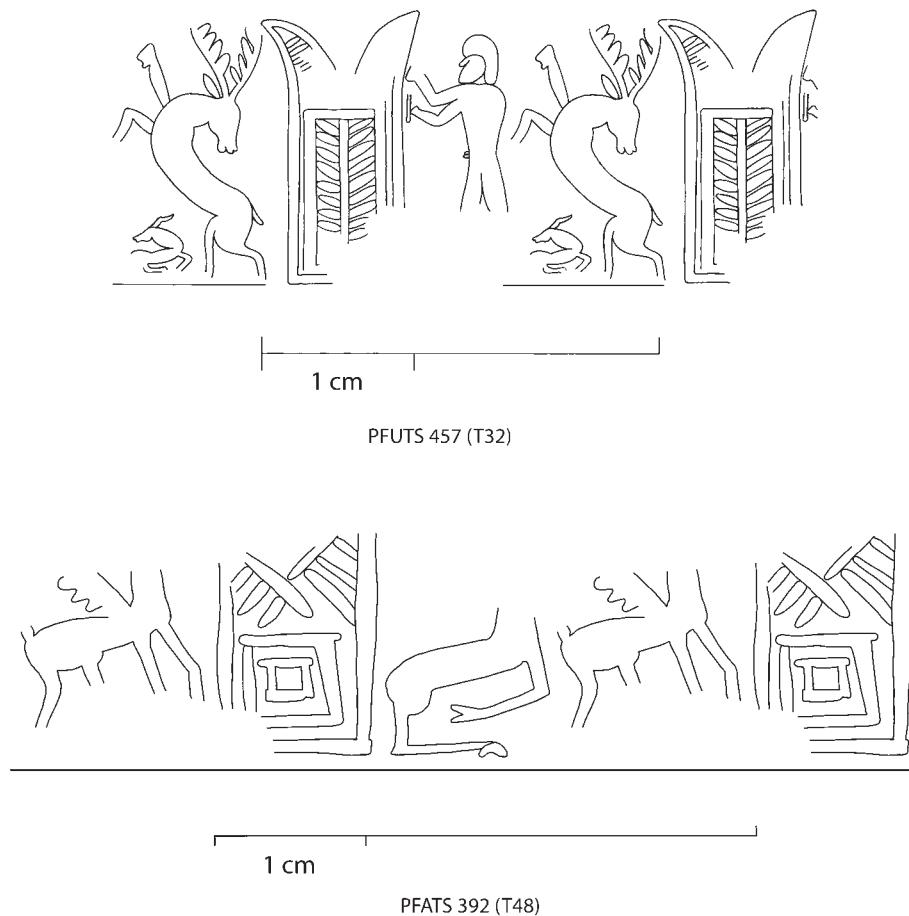


Figure 4.27b. Examples of scenes in the third syntactical convention: tower structure — cups/bowls/staffs/bundles — caprids and stags — no court-centric iconography — static — unreal space and time — emblematic character

deal of variation in the rendering of the steps of the podium and its supporting elements. Fourthly, one or more individuals are always engaged with the fire on a stepped structure. The nature of this engagement may involve one or more of the following activities:

- liquids contained in cups/bowls held near/over the fire, or carried in large jars
- “bundles,” long thin elements held together in the hand over the fire
- processions of animals
- killing of animals
- butchering of animals
- placing a hand over/near the mouth

Fifthly, in eleven examples the stepped structure with a burning fire is placed before a tower structure. The paired structures are then the focus of a procession of figures who may lead animals, carry vessels, and/or place a hand over/near the mouth (fig. 4.23a–d).<sup>687</sup> These scenes establish without a doubt the distinctive nature of the two structures, stepped and tower, and their distinctive functions. Lastly, and quite notably, there is an almost complete absence of court-centric iconography in the scenes that have a stepped structure.

These observations suggest very strongly that the stepped structure is an altar in the traditional definition of the word, that is, “a block, table, stand, or other raised structure with a flat top used as the focus for a religious ritual, especially for making sacrifices or offerings to a god or gods.”<sup>688</sup>

It seems notable that the scenes involving the stepped structure lack specificity. A variety of individuals may be associated with a stepped structure and may engage with it in a variety of manners. The activities include placing stick- or rod-like elements onto, near, or over the fire, holding vessels at the base of or over the fire, or pouring a liquid into the fire; attendants in processions may also carry vessels toward paired stepped and tower structures. Attendants may lead animals toward the stepped structure, kill animals before the stepped structure, or butcher them next to the stepped structure.

There is an almost complete absence of divine referents in the scenes with the stepped structure. The two unambiguous exceptions are the winged ring on PTS 20\* (S4) and the crescent on PFS 75 (ST1). PTS 20\* (S4) is unique and thus should not in any way be used as an interpretive guide for the corpus as a whole. The mortar and pestle do suggest a potential reference to the *haoma* ceremony.<sup>689</sup> As to the divine referent in the winged ring, we are still unable to state categorically that the emblem represents the god Auramazdā, although this suggestion certainly remains the most popular one.<sup>690</sup> The crescent, as seen on PFS 75 (ST1), in Persepolitan glyptic probably refers to a lunar deity<sup>691</sup>; traditionally in Sumero-Akkadian culture, the crescent was an emblem of the moon god Sîn.<sup>692</sup> It is perhaps noteworthy that the crescent is ubiquitous within Persepolitan glyptic; thus, its absence within these ritual scenes involving the stepped and/or tower structures seems quite striking. Lastly, each of the interesting scenes showing an attendant at a stepped structure on the three stamp seals, PFS 578s (S1), PFUTS 110s (S2), and PFUTS 156s (S3), has an unusual hooked device and comb-like device on the edges of the design. We can find no clear meaning for these devices; if they are divine referents, they occur in no other image of which we are aware.

The association of animal sacrifice with the fires on stepped structures is significant. Unfortunately, the only expressed divine referent included in a scene suggesting animal sacrifice is the crescent on PFS 75 (ST1). The scenes involving animal sacrifice thus leave unexpressed the deity to whom the sacrifices are dedicated. This ambiguity opens the field of speculation to any of myriad deities whom we know (via the texts of the Fortification archive) were worshipped in the area of Persepolis in the late sixth century BC.<sup>693</sup> This evidence names various Elamite and Iranian deities, including Auramazdā. Indeed, the scenes in Persepolitan glyptic may concern animal sacrifice to any number of deities.<sup>694</sup>

Given the lack of specificity in the scenes showing the stepped structure, one may infer that we are probably dealing with multiple types of ritual activities for multiple deities. The variety of activities associated with the fires on stepped structures is not, however, conducive to a reading of the scenes as the worship of sacred fire per se. The fires on the stepped structures do not appear to be iconic; on the contrary, the fires seem quite functional, a conduit for the consumption of liquid and animal sacrifices intended for a deity. The fires on the stepped structures here collected thus would seem to have little if any connection to Zoroastrian fire worship as known from a modern Zoroastrian ritual context where sacred fire is one of the most visible and pervading themes of the religion. In some modern Zoroastrian ritual contexts, the purity and sacredness of the fire demand that only certain sweet-smelling woods and incense be put into it.<sup>695</sup> Dead matter in particular is seen as a pollutant to sacred fire in some contemporary Zoroastrian contexts.<sup>696</sup>

It is necessary to stress again that PTS 20\* (S4), showing a mortar and pestle standing on a table next to a stepped structure and an attendant placing long thin elements into the base of the fire, so often invoked in discussions of Achaemenid religion and religious ritual, is an outlier. Out of seventy-four images in the corpus of images here published, there is no other scene similar to it. One ought not to make far-reaching conclusions concerning the function of the stepped structure and the nature of Achaemenid religion and religious ritual based upon this one exceptional scene.

The suggestion that the scenes showing the stepped structure may involve a variety of rituals for a variety of divine entities is appealing not least because of the textual evidence from the Fortification archive, which, as Wouter Henkelman (2008a) has clearly articulated in his magisterial study on the religious texts from the archive, documents state sponsorship of the worship of a wide variety of deities of Elamite and Iranian backgrounds.<sup>697</sup> Additionally, recent research on the depiction of the divine and the numinous in Persepolitan glyptic has stressed the remarkable diversity and complexity of that visual record, one that documents a wide variety of scene types and deities.<sup>698</sup> Thus, three types of evidence, the scenes involving the stepped and tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic, the textual evidence from the Fortification archive for state sponsorship of religious cults, and the scenes involving the depiction of the divine and the numinous in Persepolitan glyptic,

present the same picture: in the Persepolitan region in the late sixth century BC, various deities of Elamite and Iranian backgrounds were worshipped in a variety of manners. Thus, previous monolithic readings of the stepped and the tower structures and the scenes in which they occur (i.e., as Zoroastrian fire worship) cannot account for the complexity and diversity of the visual and textual evidence.

It is noteworthy that all the seals that have a stepped structure are executed in the local Fortification style or various modeled styles of carving (also local), not the Court Style, the distinctive style of carving that emerges as the glyptic platform for the expression of select aspects of Achaemenid royal ideology in the last decade of the sixth century BC at Persepolis.<sup>699</sup> Moreover, as noted above, in these scenes that show the stepped structure, there is an almost complete absence of court-centric iconography, for example, the Persian court robe, dentate crowns, and the winged symbol.<sup>700</sup> When garment types are legible, the most common ones are the Assyrian garment and a knee-length dress or skirt. In the processional scenes showing both the stepped and the tower structures, the attendants, where one can discern the exact garment types, always wear the Assyrian garment. This in and of itself is not remarkable within the glyptic of the Fortification archive, where the Assyrian garment is by far the most common one.

The lack of Court Style carving and court-centric iconography is surely not fortuitous. It must signal a conscious decision on the part of Court Style planners and patrons to exclude these scene types from their repertoire. This observation is all the more remarkable given the appearance of the stepped structure on one of the premier monuments of Darius' reign, his tomb relief at Naqš-e Rostam.<sup>701</sup>

#### 4.4.1.1. Excursus: The Reliefs at Kūl-e Farah in the Valley of Īzeh (Mālamīr)

As noted previously, Moorey (1979, p. 221) remarked on the “strikingly original” quality of glyptic scenes that showed “what might loosely be called a fire or incense altar” in Achaemenid glyptic. Certainly, the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian visual traditions preserve nothing that is similar. There is, however, an important group of reliefs dating to the Neo-Elamite period at the site of Kūl-e Farah in the Valley of Īzeh (Mālamīr), located some 175 km to the northwest of Shiraz in the Baḳtiārī mountains. Several features in these reliefs relate directly with the scenes that show the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic.

There are six relief groups at Kūl-e Farah (traditionally numbered I–VI). The reliefs have often been described, but there is today still no comprehensive publication of the reliefs or the site as a whole.<sup>702</sup> The site, a gorge within the eastern face of the cliffs in the valley, is clearly a sacred one, a beautiful example of a common Elamite religious space, the open-air sanctuary.<sup>703</sup> Three of the reliefs (I, IV, and V) are cut into the sheer face of the cliffs. The other three reliefs (II, III, and VI) are carved onto large boulders that rest on the floor of the gorge. The exact dating of the reliefs remains open, with scholars opting for a variety of dates within the Middle and Neo-Elamite periods.<sup>704</sup> The exception is Kūl-e Farah I, which bears a long inscription (EKI 75) of the local ruler Hanni son of Tahhi. The inscription identifies Hanni as the *kutur* (“leader,” “chief”) of Ayapir and suggests that he is a vassal of King Šutur-Nahhunte, son of Indada. There is almost universal agreement that Hanni dates to the seventh or early sixth century BC.<sup>705</sup>

The six groups of reliefs, while distinct, emphasize the themes of processional, sacrifice, feasting, and music. Two of these themes, processional and sacrifice, are, of course, common in the scenes that show the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic; feasting is also implied in the sacrificial scenes involving the stepped structure. Additionally, many of the scenes involving the tower structure also clearly evoke a banquet context.<sup>706</sup> The eleven glyptic scenes where figures move in procession toward paired stepped and tower structures (fig. 4.23a–d) are especially evocative of the ritual milieu expressed at Kūl-e Farah.

The relief known today as Kūl-e Farah I, carved into the northern face of the cliffs at Kūl-e Farah, is perhaps the most interesting of the reliefs at the site with regard to the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic. In the lower right of the relief panel, there is a small scene in two registers. In the upper one, the bodies of three beheaded caprids lie one atop the other; at right, the heads of the animals are laid in a row and an attendant pushes a live caprid to the right. In the lower register, two attendants bring a humped bovine (“zebu,” de Waele 1989, p. 30) to the right, one, behind the beast, pushing, the other, in front, pulling the horns. This group moves toward an altar on which there is a tall fire; a figure stands on the other side of the altar facing toward the attendants and animal. This figure next to the altar is generally described as a priest who is making offerings, although his exact actions are unclear owing to poor preservation.<sup>707</sup> What

one may say is that this figure stands close to the altar and extends one(?) arm toward it. The altar itself appears to consist of a triangular-shaped support over which there is a thin flat platform on which a tall, triangular fire burns.<sup>708</sup>

This little vignette on Kūl-e Farah I evokes numerous direct comparisons with scenes in Persepolitan glyptic showing the stepped structure. In particular, one is struck by the processional scenes involving an animal and attendant(s) moving toward paired stepped and tower structures (fig. 4.23a–d). The Persepolitan scenes are, however, without exception unidirectional, while the vignette on Kūl-e Farah I has the “priest” on one side of the altar facing toward the attendants with animal (that move toward the “priest”). The killing of an animal before a single stepped structure is also documented on PFUTS 148 (S7), the butchery of an animal before a stepped structure on PFUTS 111 (S6). Of course, one of the characteristics of scenes involving the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic is an attendant who stands close to the structure and engages in some manner directly with the fire on it. Lastly, while there is not a one-to-one correspondence between the altar on Kūl-e Farah I and the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic, there are arresting similarities in the triangular-shaped support (cf. the tripod supports on PFUTS 66 [ST7], PFUTS 91 [ST8], PFS 2360 [ST9], PFUTS 614 [ST10], and PFUTS 615 [ST11]) and the tall, triangular-shaped fire (cf. PFS 75 [ST1], PFUTS 147 [ST2], PFUTS 285 [ST4], PFUTS 66 [ST7], PFUTS 91 [ST8], PFS 2360 [ST9], PFUTS 614 [ST10], and PFUTS 615 [ST11]).<sup>709</sup>

The reliefs known today as Kūl-e Farah IV, carved into the southern face of the cliffs at Kūl-e Farah, provide other interesting points of contact with the scenes having the stepped and/or tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic. The tableau of Kūl-e Farah IV is an extended one concerning a banqueting ruler with attendants, officials, and musicians (144 figures total).<sup>710</sup> The overall composition has no formal connections to the scenes showing the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic; there are, however, registers of attendants who, moving/standing together in files, raise one hand over/near their mouths.<sup>711</sup> Certainly in the case of the rows of attendants on Kūl-e Farah IV, the parallels with the attendants who raise one hand over/near their mouths on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) are quite striking.<sup>712</sup> Vessels also figure prominently in two passages of the relief Kūl-e Farah IV. Three vessels rest on a stand or table behind the seated “king” in the central scene, while two vessels stand on the groundline at the head of a procession of attendants in the second register below the central one. While no attendant in Kūl-e Farah IV carries a vessel, as in the glyptic scenes involving the stepped and/or the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic, the distinctive shape of the vessels, a handleless amphora-like container with wide mouth, narrow neck, ovoid body, and pointed foot, is similar to the vessels on PFUTS 151 (T10), PFUTS 66 (ST7), and PFUTS 91 (ST8). The similarity in the shape of the vessels at Kūl-e Farah IV and in Persepolitan glyptic is not surprising given the proximity in time, space, and cultural milieu.<sup>713</sup>

These links between Persepolitan glyptic scenes showing the stepped structure and the sacrificial scene on Kūl-e Farah I in particular, and the whole of the programmes at Kūl-e Farah I and Kūl-e Farah IV in general, document yet again the particularly close connection of the Kūl-e Farah reliefs with early Achaemenid art, a connection that has been articulated by many commentators.<sup>714</sup> The links between the reliefs at Kūl-e Farah and Persepolitan glyptic contribute also to the growing body of evidence attesting to the Elamo-Iranian synthesis, the “ethnogenesis” of the Persians, in the period of the ninth through the early/mid-sixth centuries BC.<sup>715</sup> As Louis Vanden Berghe (1963, p. 39) commented, “l’art de Mālamir annonce déjà celui des achéménides.” Much of the Persepolitan glyptic imagery involving the stepped structure documents the vibrancy of this Elamo-Iranian phenomenon in a particularly vivid manner.

#### 4.4.2. The Tower Structure

Based upon the glyptic evidence from Persepolis, we may infer the following observations concerning the tower structure. Firstly, the tower structure is not a fire-bearing structure. In almost every case in the corpus of imagery here published, there is absolutely nothing on the top of the tower structure; in the few examples where there is something on the top of the tower structure, it is nothing that could remotely be construed as a fire.<sup>716</sup> Secondly, the tower structure occurs in two basic forms, what we have termed the crenellated tower structure and the V-shaped tower structure. Thirdly, while the treatment of the body of

the crenellated and V-shaped tower types shows some variety, the underlying configuration in most cases is a series of rectangular inset frames/panels. Fourthly, despite the variety of manners in which the tower structure is depicted, in almost every case it is larger than the human figures who stand next to it. Fifthly, while human figures stand or sit near the tower structure, they never interact directly with it (this in contrast to the fire on the stepped structure).

The scenes in which the tower structure appears may be broken down into three broad types. In the first, attendants stand back from and face the tower structure, raising one hand, seemingly in adoration, while holding a variety of objects in the other hand.<sup>717</sup> In the second, a procession of attendants moves toward a tower structure or paired stepped and tower structures. In these processions, the attendants may hold vessels for libations and/or lead animals for sacrifice toward the structure. Two processional scenes with tower structures, PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15), may depict offerings being delivered to a deity. In another group of processional scenes showing the stepped and tower structures together (fig. 4.23c–d), attendants place a hand over/near the mouth. In the third scene type, there are human figures, generally seated directly before the tower structure, and rampant animals.<sup>718</sup> The seated figures may hold a variety of objects.<sup>719</sup>

As has been noted in several places above, in eleven scenes the stepped structure with a burning fire is placed before a tower structure (fig. 4.23a–d); the paired structures are then the focus of a procession of figures who may lead animals, carry vessels, and/or place a hand over/near the mouth. The scenes showing both the stepped and the tower structures are important in establishing the separateness of both the physical phenomena and their functions.

A small subset of seals is distinctive in showing a very consistent scene type in which two attendants flank a crenellated tower structure.<sup>720</sup> Those attendants are visually exact (or almost exact) doubles of each other in their respective scenes. This group of seals is distinguished also by insistent court-centric iconography such as the Persian court robe, dentate crowns, the winged symbol, and inscriptions. By contrast, court-centric iconography is almost completely absent in all other scenes that show the tower structure, whether crenellated or V-shaped.

As with the stepped structures, so, too, with the tower structures: explicit divine referents, outside of the scenes depicting two figures flanking a crenellated tower structure, are very rare. The crescent on PFS 75 (ST1), showing both stepped and tower structures, has been discussed above in association with the stepped structure (§4.4.1). A crescent may also appear with the tower structure on PFS 628 (T47). Winged symbols are found in two scenes that show only tower structures: PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15). As noted, the potential gift-offering nature of the two scenes is unique to them within the corpus of scenes here published. The form of the tower structure on PFUTS 242 (T15) is also irregular.

Four tower structures, those on PTS 23 (T5), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFS 1015 (T43), and PFATS 224 (T44), have a device that emerges from the top of the structure between the two triangular masses: a rod-like device on PTS 23 (T5), a stylus-like object on PFUTS 76 (T18), a plant-like device with trefoil termination on PFS 1015 (T43), a thin vertical element with a bulbous termination on PFATS 224 (T44). Houtkamp (1991, pp. 28–29) noted the appearance of a rod-like device on a crenellated tower structure on an unprovenanced seal from the Bibliothèque nationale de France (no. 401) and on the crenellated tower structure on PTS 23 (T5).<sup>721</sup> As comparanda, she illustrated small towers with crenellations from which tree-like devices emerge engraved on Urartian bronze vessels from Kamir Blur; however, she offered no insights as to how we are to understand the devices on the structures on the seal in the Bibliothèque nationale de France or PTS 23 (T5).

These devices that rise from the tops of these few tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic are difficult to conceptualize as fires (*pace* Schmidt 1957, p. 27, for PTS 23 [T5]). These devices do not look anything like fires, certainly nothing like the fires that are so vividly rendered on the stepped structures here studied. Moreover, there is absolutely nothing indicated over the tops of the other fifty-six tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic. We have noted in the catalog that the stylus of Nabû is perhaps the closest parallel for the object on the tower structure on PFUTS 76 (T18). The suggestion is not as outlandish as it may appear on first blush given the fact that the Fortification archive contains several hundred examples of the so-called late Babylonian worship scene in which the stylus of Nabû often appears on a pedestal before a worshipper.<sup>722</sup> Even if the identification of this feature on PFUTS 76 (T18) as the stylus of Nabû is correct, it serves principally to highlight again the rarity of overt divine markers within this corpus.



The plant-like devices that emerge from the tops of the tower structures on PFS 1015 (T43) and PFATS 224 (T44) may be related and potentially refer to vegetation deities, or they simply may be signals of the numinous nature of the space. In a related vein, the tower structures on PFUTS 457 (T32) and PFS 628 (T47) each has a tall multi-branched plant on its body. PFATS 450 (T39) shows a similar tall plant standing before a V-shaped tower structure. These plants likewise may potentially refer to vegetation deities or numinous space in general.

The tower structure on PFATS 436 (T46) has a rampant caprid on its body. This animal, and the stag that is before the tower structure in the same scene, remind us that animals, often in rampant poses, are critical elements in a substantial number of scenes involving the tower structure.<sup>723</sup> These animals, when they can be identified, are almost universally caprids and stags. The possibility that they may refer to the divine or numinous is very high.<sup>724</sup> Unfortunately, even if they do, we have no manner of identifying exactly which deities may be involved.

Lastly, a large number of tower structures carry on their bodies what may be read as stars (fig. 4.16). The rendering of these devices is, however, exceptionally varied, making one hesitant to interpret them as a specific reference to a specific deity. Stars are, of course, a symbol often evoked in the art of Darius, most prominently on the king's crown and the headdress that the figure in the winged ring wears at Bīsotūn. The star is also one of the most common divine symbols employed in Persepolitan glyptic. Whether any one, some, or all of these stars refer to the goddess Ištar, as traditionally in Assyro-Babylonian culture, is unclear.<sup>725</sup>

While one may with some confidence identify the stepped structure as an altar, one encounters several obstacles in seeking a specific identification for the tower structure. Indeed, given the variety of form and decoration, one could perhaps posit that we have to do here with multiple phenomena.

In Persepolitan glyptic, the tower structure, both crenellated and V-shaped types, visually serves two functions. In the first and more commonly documented function, the tower structure acts as a “backdrop/background” to some type of activity. In those scenes showing the stepped and the tower structures together, the tower structure always serves as the second element from the perspective of the flow of the processional. In the large number of scenes that show seated figure(s) and animals before a tower structure, the structure appears likewise to act as a “backdrop/background” for the activity. In the second function, the tower structure is flanked by attendants who stand back and raise their hands seemingly in adoration. The scenes in which the tower structure so functions are numerically small and exhibit a rich and well developed court-centric iconography.

Given these characteristics, it seems that we have to do here with a “structure” whose significance is embedded not in what it literally does (e.g., supporting a fire, as is the case with the stepped structure) but in its ability to convey meaning by association; that is, it is a sign.

The study of signs and sign processes, known generally as semiotics or semiotic theory, has played an influential role in critical inquiry of visual images in the last fifty years.<sup>726</sup> There are two distinct methodological models in semiotic theory, the triadic model established by Charles Sanders Peirce and the dualist structuralist model most famously associated with Ferdinand de Saussure. Art historians often tend, however, to employ an eclectic mix of the semiotics of both Peirce and Saussure.

Since the 1970s and the advent of poststructuralism, the semiotics of Saussure have in general been more commonly employed in art history and visual cultural studies than the semiotics of Peirce. Peirce's theory of semiotics is complex and his writing is often inscrutable.<sup>727</sup> Art historians have seized upon one aspect of his system of semiotics, the tripartite division of the sign: icon-index-symbol. This triad is at first blush enticing, seemingly constituting a clear and logical manner of classifying signs in ways that are useful for visual studies.<sup>728</sup> From a Peircian perspective, an icon is a sign that physically resembles its referent (Peirce also used the terms *likenesses* and *hypoicon*) (Liszka 1996, p. 37);<sup>729</sup> we read/understand the sign via this physical resemblance.<sup>730</sup> An index is a sign that correlates in space and time with and points to some other phenomenon (referent) via some natural-causal connection. For Peirce an index is “really and in its individual existence connected with the individual object”;<sup>731</sup> the index “like a pronoun demonstrative or relative, forces the attention to the particular object intended without describing it.”<sup>732</sup> The most often-cited examples of indexical signs are, for example, smoke (to fire), footprint (to human). A Peircian symbol is a

pattern that derives its significance primarily by convention. More so than an index, the significance of a symbol is arbitrary and relies on “agreed upon” conventions within a group.

As Peirce wrote,

A Symbol incorporates habits.... Moreover, Symbols afford the means of thinking about thoughts in ways in which we could not otherwise think of them.... But since symbols rest exclusively on habits already definitely formed but not furnishing any observation even of themselves, and since knowledge is habit, they do not enable us to add to our knowledge even so much as a necessary consequence, unless by means of definitely performed habit.<sup>733</sup>

This system seems on the surface quite clear. There are, however, problems in the actual implementation of this typology. There is some confusion/disagreement as to whether a sign can exist only as one of the aspects of this triad or potentially may have intrinsically all three aspects of the triad, one of those aspects at any one point in time having semantic dominance (Johansen 1988, p. 499).<sup>734</sup> The exact characteristics of the index also have proven difficult to articulate and exemplify within the study of visual images;<sup>735</sup> in some analyses, the index seems, to borrow a phrase, prone to slippage.<sup>736</sup>

There are also problems of method. The triad icon–index–symbol is only one part of Peirce’s much larger and much more complex theory of semiotics. In its very broadest form, Peirce’s system is based on a series of triadic relations:

A sign ... is a First which stands in such a genuine triadic relation to a Second, called its Object, as to be capable of determining a Third, called its Interpretant, to assume the same triadic relation to its Object in which it stands itself to the same Object. The triadic relation is genuine, that is its three members are bound together by it in a way that does not consist in any complexus of dyadic relations.<sup>737</sup>

This triadic relationship between *sign*, *object*, and *interpretant* is foundational for Peirce’s typology and classification of signs. Regarding his typology of signs, each of the three elements, *sign*, *object*, and *interpretant*, may express itself in one of three aspects:

sign:

- *qualisigns*
- *sinsigns*
- *legisigns*

object:

- *icons*
- *indices*
- *symbols*

interpretant:

- *rhemes*
- *dicisigns*
- *arguments*

This typology is then the basis for a classification of signs that consists of ten classes.<sup>738</sup>

To wrench the icon–index–symbol triad from Peirce’s original system and then apply it as a theory of Peircian semiotics within an art historical analysis thus completely ignores that original context and probably is a misuse/misunderstanding of both the triad and Peirce’s theory of semiotics.<sup>739</sup> This problem of method is compounded by the fact that without rigorous grounding in formal logic, Peirce’s writing is almost impossible to understand and, even to seasoned logicians, complex.<sup>740</sup> Additionally, Peirce’s project underwent constant revision and was never completed.<sup>741</sup> Of contemporary art historical research that attempts to invoke Peirce’s icon–index–symbol triad, Elkins (2003, p. 6) observes that the “critical uses of [Peirce’s] ideas are so simple, and so distant from the original texts, that in many cases it is not necessary for art historians to invoke his name at all.”

The application of the icon–index–symbol triad within art historical analysis as an extension of Peircian semiotics is thus problematic. Nevertheless, there is something inherently attractive about this particular trichotomy to the art historian. Indeed, provided that we are careful to define the terms (and not to claim any direct linkages to Peirce’s semiotics as a whole), I think that the triad may provide a very broad interpretive conduit when confronted with a phenomenon such as the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic.

In the following, very simplified, analysis, we shall consider an *icon* as a sign (image) which resembles in form its physical referent. We read/understand the sign via this physical resemblance. The power of the signification (in art) of the icon lies in the fact that it represents, via direct similitude, what it is. The stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic, thus, would be considered an icon, an image, repeatedly rendered, that is meant to invoke, via verisimilitude, a physical object that exists in reality. We may define an *index* as a sign that points to something else. That “pointing to” may be by way of synecdoche (some physical resemblance of a part to the whole), shorthand (abbreviation, condensation, etc.), or convention. Lastly, we shall consider a *symbol* as a sign that derives its significance primarily from mental associations with other symbols and secondarily from correlations with environmental patterns; a symbol is thus connected to its referent only by convention. The referent of a symbol in this sense is not a physical object but abstract ideas that are generally the result of the processing of a set of associated objects and ideas. More so than an index, the significance of a symbol is arbitrary and relies on “agreed upon” conventions within a group. One aspect of the power of a symbol is its ability, in one sign, to refer to complex concepts and to do so instantaneously.

If we were to consider the tower structure from an iconic perspective (as defined here), one would seek in the surviving archaeological record of the landscape of Fārs in the late sixth century BC a real structure that has the same physical characteristics as the sign (i.e., the tower structure). Our search through the surviving archaeological record would at present yield only two viable candidates, the famous tower structures that stand at Pasargadae and Naqš-e Rostam, the Zendān-e Solaymān (figs. 4.28–4.30 and 4.36) and the Ka‘bāye Zardošt respectively (figs. 4.31–4.36).<sup>742</sup> The linkage of the Achaemenid towers to the crenellated tower structures documented in glyptic has, not surprisingly, frequently been made.<sup>743</sup> The iconic correspondence between the sign and the referent is not, however, without some ambiguity. Neither of the actual towers has at or above the level of the roofline crenellations or anything remotely V-shaped in appearance, features that are dominant aspects of the visual presentation of both the crenellated and the V-shaped tower structures in glyptic. The only surviving decoration at the level of the roofs on the towers are dentil friezes that project from flat bands that crown the tops of the wall surfaces between the corner piers.<sup>744</sup> So, too, both actual towers employ a treatment of the wall surfaces that has no exact equivalent with the decoration of the bodies of the tower structures in glyptic, although, there is some similarity in select passages.<sup>745</sup>

The actual towers are a cube whose corners are thickened (fig. 4.34).<sup>746</sup> The wall surfaces between the thickened corners thus are huge inset “panels.”<sup>747</sup> The wall surfaces that do not have doors carry two types of decoration (fig. 4.32). The first is a series of “evenly spaced rows of staggered rectangular depressions” (Schmidt 1970, p. 35); the technique is unique to the two towers in Achaemenid monumental architecture. The second are three rows of false windows that occur in the upper half of the wall surfaces.<sup>748</sup> These false windows are made of dark gray limestone, in contrast to the white limestone of the rest of the structure. Each row contains two windows; the windows in each row are similar in size and proportions but different in size and proportion from the windows in the other rows. The windows in the lowest row are oblong rectangles, in the middle row squares, in the upper row small oblong rectangles.<sup>749</sup> All of the windows consist of three elements, an outer frame into which is set a recessed frame into which is set an inset panel. The wall surfaces on which there are doors have, in addition to the framed doorways, the “evenly spaced rows of staggered rectangular depressions” and two small windows, the one set above the other in the space over the top of the doorway (figs. 4.29, 4.31, and 4.33). These windows are made of the same gray limestone and have the same tripartite divisions as the windows on the other wall surfaces. The overall treatment of the wall surfaces is thus highly distinctive within the context of Achaemenid monumental architecture. The two towers are, with the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, the only completely stone-built structures in Achaemenid monumental architecture in Fārs.<sup>750</sup>

If the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic are iconic references to the Achaemenid towers, the primary linkages between sign and referent would seem to be restricted to the general shape of the tower structure (tall and rectangular, like the actual towers) and size (larger than humans). As noted, the treatment of the wall surfaces on the actual towers, in particular the windows with insets, obviously recalls the use of rectangular inset frames/panels on the crenellated and V-shaped tower structures, but there is no one-to-one correspondence.

Stronach (1978, pp. 125–29, figs. 64–65, pl. 101A and B) found a fragment of a stone door, decorated with three twelve-petal rosettes, at the Zendān-e Solaymān in Pasargadae (fig. 4.30). Stronach argued that this fragment came from the stone door of the Zendān and reconstructed each of the two door leafs as having six rows of three rosettes (figs. 4.29–4.30). If the attribution of the door to the Zendān-e Solaymān is correct, it may perhaps open up speculation that those treatments of the bodies of the V-shaped tower structures showing rosettes, circles, or metopal fields (figs. 4.16 and 4.19) may represent the doorways to the actual towers (figs. 4.29–4.30 and 4.33).<sup>751</sup> Be that as it may, no tower structure in glyptic has what we could call direct similitude with the towers at Pasargadae and Naqš-e Rostam. As signs, thus, their iconic qualities (verisimilitude) seem weak, at least based upon our current evidence.

Potential indexical referents for the tower structures in glyptic open a wide field of inquiry. One of the most distinctive features of the crenellated tower structures in glyptic is the treatment of the top of the structure, the half-merlons and crenel. These crenellations seem especially weighted as semiotic markers and researchers have often puzzled over their significance.<sup>752</sup> They are in fact evocative of three well-known architectural and figural elements in early Achaemenid architecture and art. The first are what Schmidt called “crenelated parapets” that run along the tops of the outer edges of staircases, the top of the circuit of the Takht, and parts of the rooflines of buildings at Persepolis and in the surrounding plains.<sup>753</sup> In the center of these “crenelated parapets,” there is, moreover, rectangular recessing (fig. 4.37).<sup>754</sup> It is intriguing that these “crenelated parapets” should possess both of the two defining characteristics of the crenellated tower structure, crenellations and insets. The second are the crenellations adorning the crowns worn by Darius in his rock-cut reliefs at Bisotūn and Naqš-e Rostam (figs. 4.38–4.39).<sup>755</sup> The third are the crenellated structures that decorate the garment of one of the famous archer guards of glazed siliceous brick from Susa.<sup>756</sup>

Crenellated architecture, both secular and religious, is abundantly documented in pre-Achaemenid western Asia.<sup>757</sup> The motif, either in art or as a physical element in architecture, could invoke city defenses, generalized notions of the city and/or political dominance, sacred and protective power, temples and/or ziggurats, as well as the sacred landscape par excellence, the mountain.<sup>758</sup> The use of crenellations in Persepolitan architecture is widespread and dense. Several commentators have suggested that the extensive use of crenellations at Persepolis signals sacred, cosmic, and/or ritual elements.<sup>759</sup>

In no case, crenellated parapets at Persepolis, crowns, or garment decorations, is there a one-to-one match with the crenellated tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic. The configuration of the tops of the crenellated tower structures is somewhat unusual, if meant to represent a wall parapet, in appearing to represent two half-merlons and a crenel (opening). Moreover, the rectangular inset frames/panels on the crenellated tower structures are not in the same place as the recesses on the crenellated wall parapets that adorn Persepolitan architecture. Nevertheless, the similarity between the configuration of the tops of the crenellated tower structures in glyptic and the Persepolitan parapets is notable, and one may infer that some indexical reference is possible.

If these crenellations — tower structures, architecture, crowns, and garment decorations — form in some manner a constellation of related references, the challenge is to determine how they relate to each other and to what do they refer. One possible inference is that the figural components of this grouping, that is, the crenellated tower structures in glyptic and the garment decorations and crenellated crowns in relief, point to (index) the actual physical objects, that is, the crenellated parapets on architecture at Persepolis. In all cases, tower structures in glyptic and garment decorations and crowns in relief sculpture, the referent would seem to be not the actual crenellated parapets themselves on architecture at Persepolis or a specific building that employed such crenellations but monumental architecture more generally.<sup>760</sup>

One of the defining features of both the crenellated and V-shaped tower structures is the rectangular inset frames/panels that are found on the bodies of the structures; indeed, only the bodies of two crenellated



Figure 4.28. Northwestern façade (entrance) of the Zendān-e Solaymān, Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, pl. 95a)

tower structures, those on PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24), do not conform to this convention.<sup>761</sup> This decorative schema may point to several referents in the surviving architectural landscape. We have mentioned already the distinctive inset false-windows on the wall surfaces of the actual towers, Zendān-e Solaymān (figs. 4.28–4.29 and 4.36) and the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt (figs. 4.31–4.33 and 4.35) at Pasargadae and Naqš-e Rostam, and the recessing on the crenellated parapets (fig. 4.37) employed on architecture at Persepolis. The visual correspondence between the rectangular inset frames/panels on the tower structures in glyptic and the false-windows on the actual towers and the recessing on the crenellated parapets is in fact quite strong.

A survey of architecture at Persepolis finds, however, that the recessed façade (called “niches” by Schmidt) was a common motif employed on mudbrick walls, following a time-honored tradition of mudbrick architecture. Of the buildings dated to the time of Darius, only the Apadana had recessing, in this case on the outer façades of the towers (fig. 4.40).<sup>762</sup> Recessing is commonly found on buildings post-dating Darius, the most prominent example being the outer façades of the mudbrick walls of the Gate of Xerxes (fig. 4.41).<sup>763</sup>

Closely related to the recessed façades on mudbrick walls is the framing of the outer faces of stone door jambs with a series of inset flat bands (in Greek parlance, fascia), generally two in number. This is a very common motif found not only on the stone door jambs at Persepolis (e.g., fig. 4.42) but also the doorways of all the royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam (fig. 6.8).<sup>764</sup> In addition, the stone windows in the Palace of Darius have a single inset frame (fig. 4.42).<sup>765</sup>

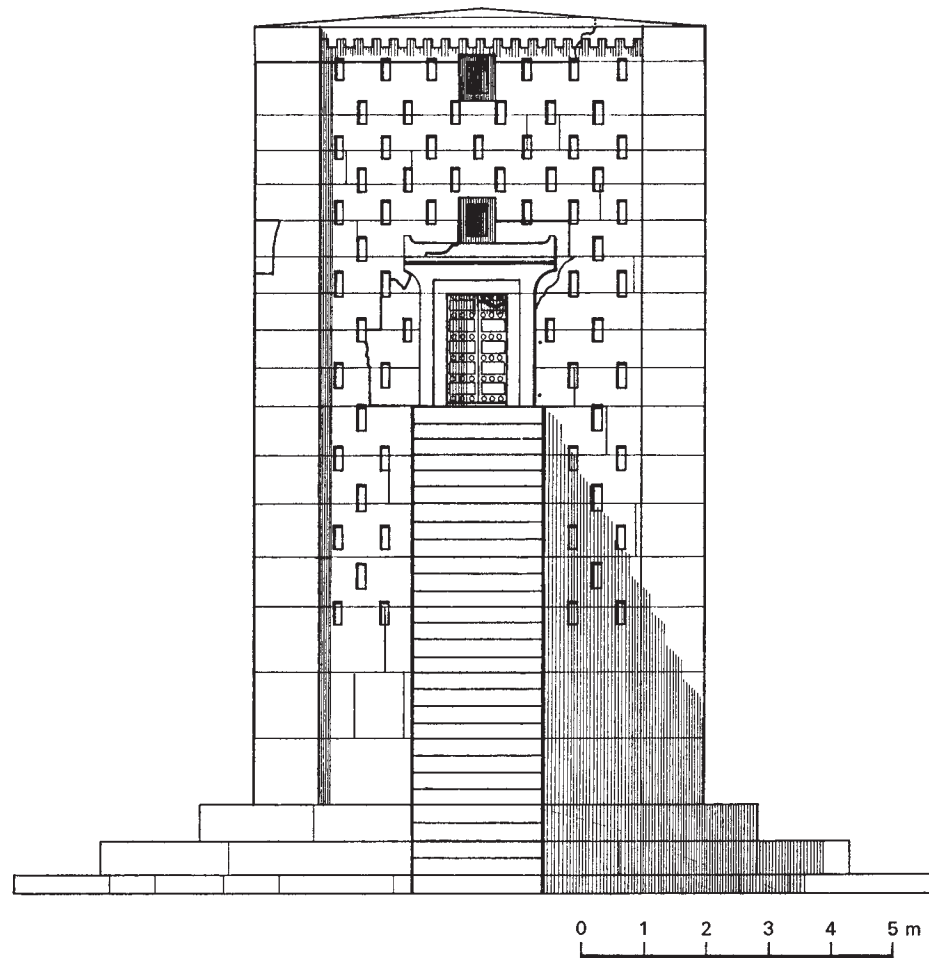
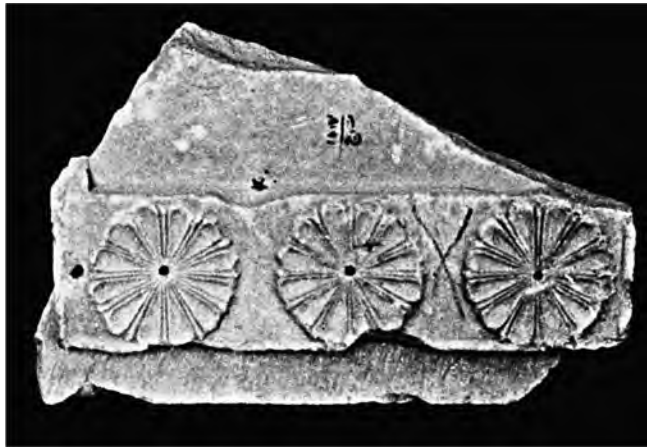


Figure 4.29. Reconstruction of the northwestern façade (entrance) of the Zendān-e Solaymān, Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, fig. 57)

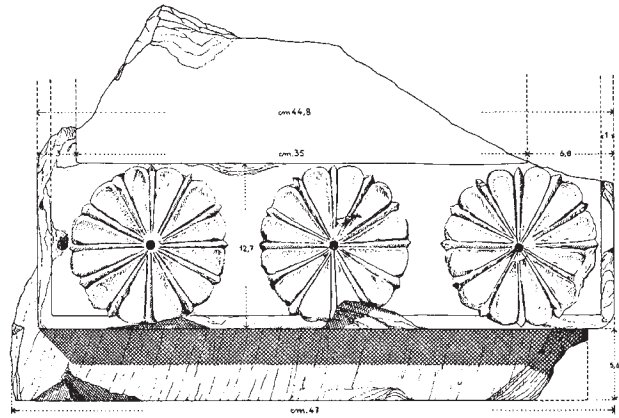
If the rectangular inset frames/panels on tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic point toward the treatments of walls, doors, and/or windows of structures at Persepolis or the royal tombs at Pasargadae and Naqš-e Rostam as synecdoche (*pars pro toto*), we are unable to determine which structures are the specific referents. Doorways, rather than wall surfaces, seem potentially a more fruitful line of inquiry (see also the comments below). As with the crenellations on the crenellated tower structures, the rectangular inset frames/panels on the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic seem rather to point in a general manner to the constellation of royal architecture as a whole rather than a specific structure.

Turning to the treatment of the tops of the V-shaped tower structures, we have already suggested that perhaps the easiest solution is to read these triangular masses as simplified abstractions of the crenellations on the crenellated tower structures. If so, their legibility (to us) seems weak. Several other lines of inquiry are, however, possible.

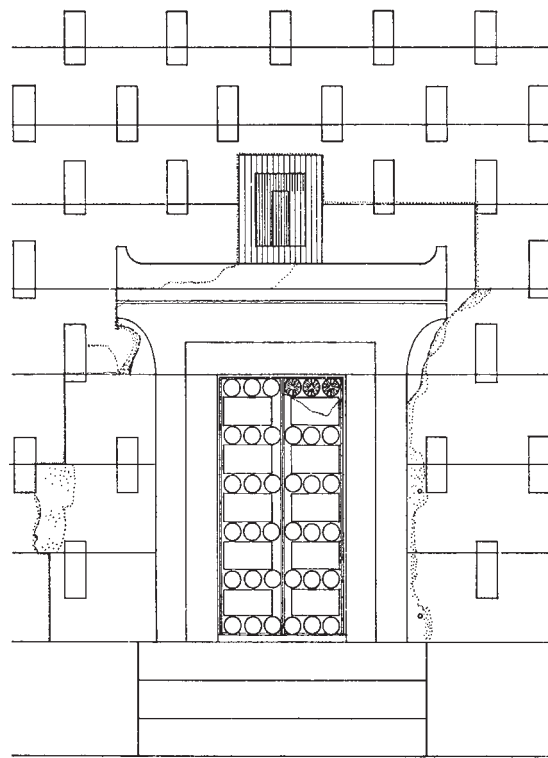
Above the doorway in the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt at Naqš-e Rostam, there is an architrave crowned by a fillet and ovolo molding over which there is a cornice (figs. 4.31, 4.33, and 4.35).<sup>766</sup> The architrave and cornice are distinctive. In Schmidt's (1970, p. 37) words: "The sides of the architrave flare in a cavetto-like profile, and the face has a recessed band around the door opening .... Above the ovolo molding the flat cornice ... turns up at the ends and is squared off." The turning up at the ends of the cornice in fact creates a triangular configuration at each end of the cornice. Stronach (1978, pp. 125–29, fig. 65) reconstructed the doorway of the Zendān-e Solaymān in a similar manner (based upon the better preserved Ka'ba-ye Zardošt) (fig. 4.29).<sup>767</sup> His



a



b



c

Figure 4.30. (a and b) Possible fragment of stone doorway from the Zendān-e Solaymān, Pasargadae; (c) Stronach's reconstruction of the doorway (Stronach 1978, fig. 64, pl. 101a)



Figure 4.31. Northwestern façade (entrance) of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 12)





Figure 4.32. View of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt from the cliff, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 4)

reconstruction of the doorway of the tomb of Cyrus (fig. 4.43) is very similar, but that reconstruction also relied heavily on the doorway of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt.<sup>768</sup>

While there is a large space that separates these two triangular elements on the cornices of the doorways of these three structures, the end result is remarkably evocative of the general configuration of the top of the V-shaped tower structure in glyptic (fig. 4.36). The fact that the underlying door architraves on the towers and the tomb of Cyrus carry recessed bands also strikingly recalls the rectangular inset frames/panels that generally decorate the bodies of the both the V-shaped and the crenellated tower structures. The possibility that the doors themselves on the Zendān and the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt may have been decorated is especially noteworthy given those V-shaped tower structures whose bodies are decorated as rectangular inset frames/panels with stars (figs. 4.15–4.16 and 4.36) or metopal fields (figs. 4.19 and 4.36).<sup>769</sup> The correspondence of the configurations of the cornices on the doors of the Zendān-e Solaymān, the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, and the tomb of Cyrus with the tops of the V-shaped tower structures in glyptic allows one to speculate that the tops of the V-shaped tower structures may be indexical to the doorways of these structures and, by synecdoche, to the whole of the towers and/or the tomb of Cyrus. The similarity of the recessed bands on the door architraves of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt and the tomb of Cyrus (and restored on the Zendān) with the rectangular inset frames/panels on the bodies of many V-shaped tower structures reinforces this linkage. It seems notable that this particular configuration of the doorways of the Zendān, the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, and the tomb of Cyrus is unique to them in Achaemenid monumental architecture in Fārs.<sup>770</sup>

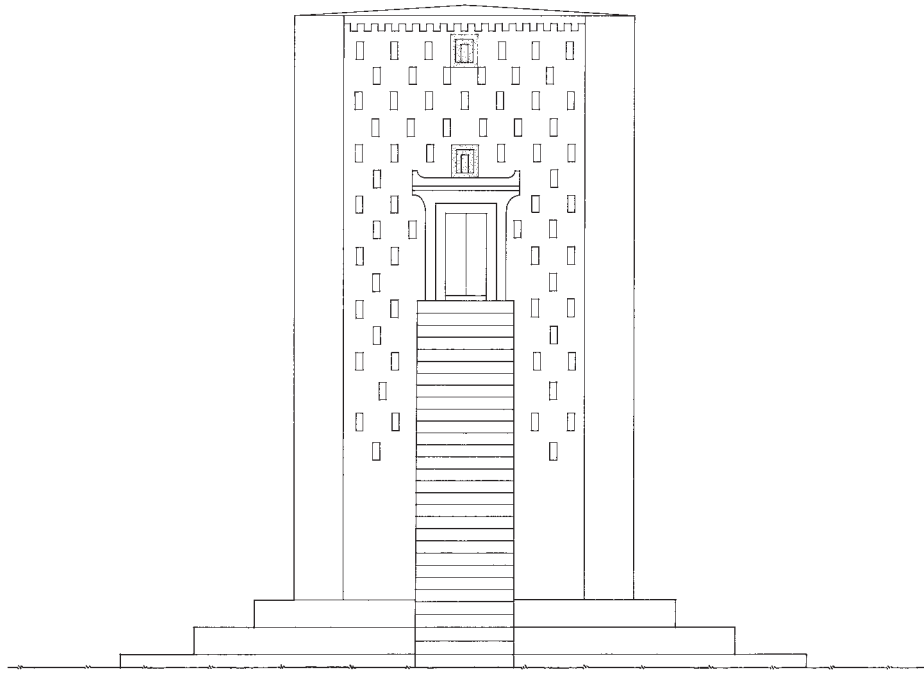


Figure 4.33. Reconstruction of the northwestern façade (entrance) of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, fig. 20A)

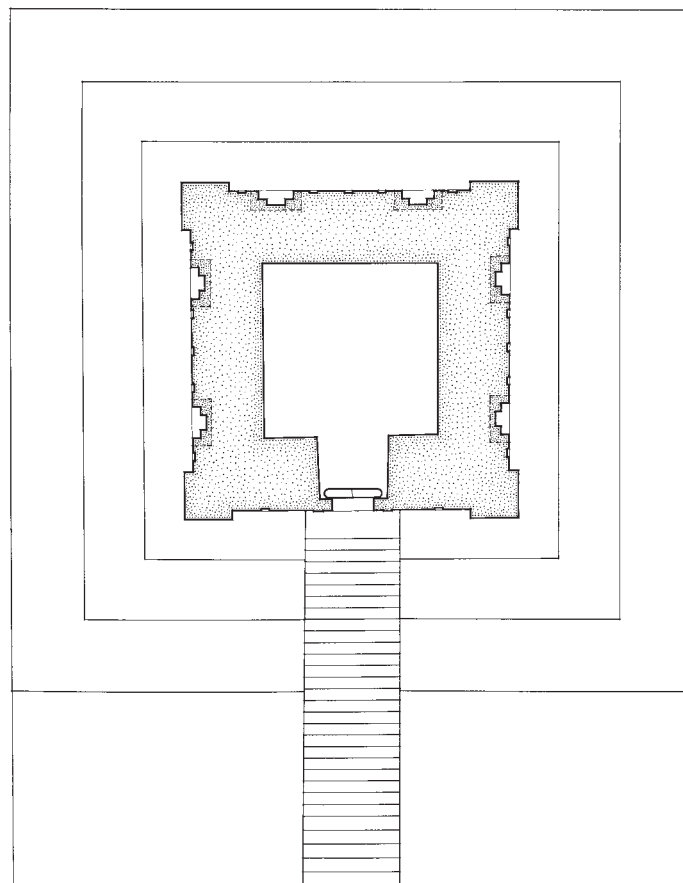


Figure 4.34. Reconstructed plan of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, fig. 19)

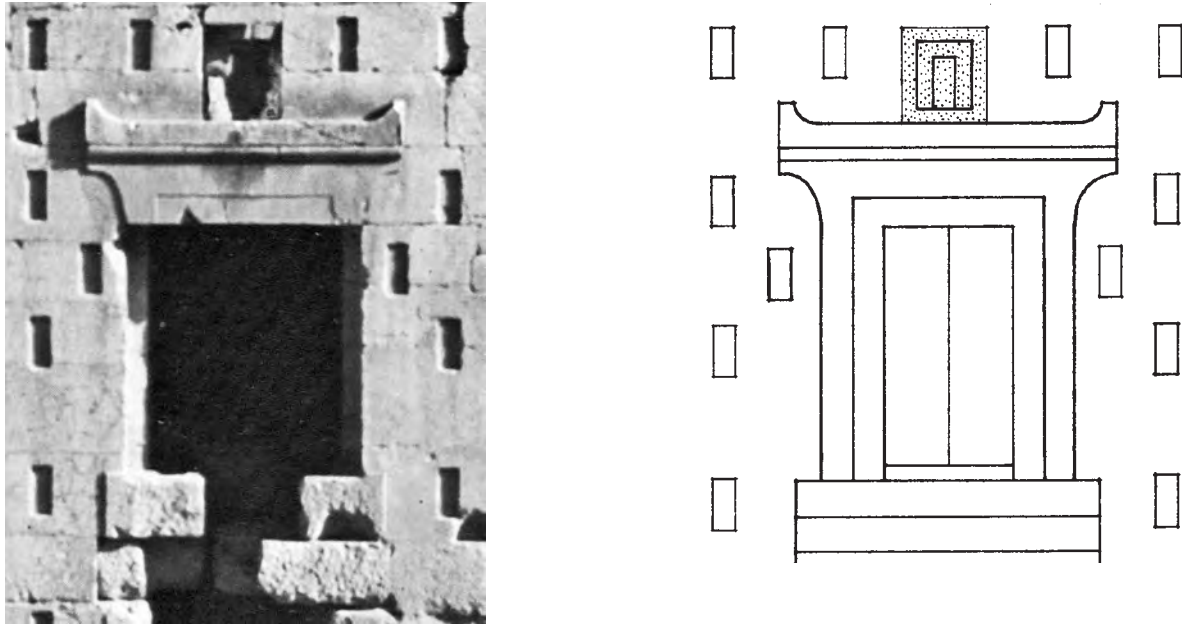
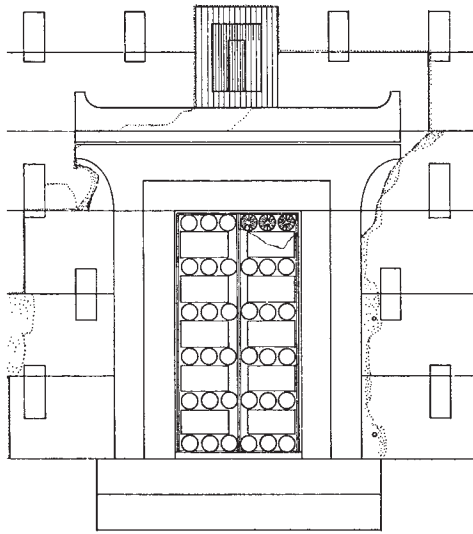


Figure 4.35. Detail of the doorway of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, Naqš-e Rostam, and its reconstruction (Schmidt 1970, pl. 12 detail, fig. 20A detail)

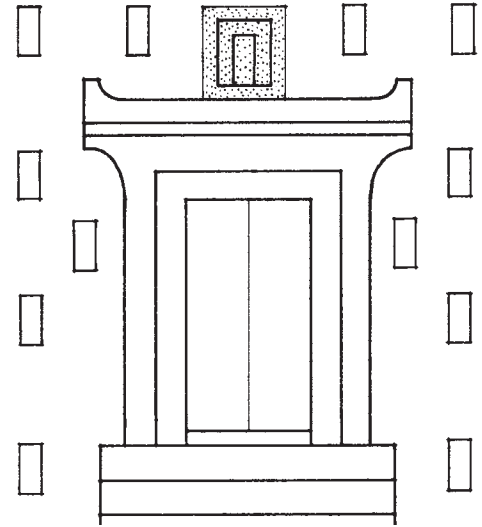
On a purely visual level, the general configuration of the tops of the V-shaped tower structures evokes animal horns; in some cases where the extensions are thin and placed well apart from each other (fig. 4.13), the horn-like quality is even more striking.<sup>771</sup> The possibility that the tops of the V-shaped tower structures point to (index) animal horns is, perhaps, a bit of a stretch. The evidence for the occurrence of horns on Elamite religious architecture is, however, quite extensive.<sup>772</sup> From the perspective of Fārs in the late sixth century BC, a connection between Persepolitan glyptic and Elamite architecture is, nevertheless, somewhat remote both temporally and spatially. The nearest horned temples documented to date are at Susa from the late Neo-Elamite period. A pair of large alabaster horns from Susa carries an inscription of Šutur-Nahhunte II and appears to have been destined for a temple of Pinigir.<sup>773</sup> Another inscription on a stele commissioned by Šilhak-Inšušinak mentions “a residence” for Humban on/near which wooden horns were set up.<sup>774</sup> An oft-quoted passage concerning the sack of Susa in Aššurbanipal’s campaign annals (the sixth campaign in 646 BC) notes the breaking of the “horns of shining bronze” on the ziggurat at Susa.<sup>775</sup> A famous Assyrian relief from Room I (slab 9) in Aššurbanipal’s North Palace at Nineveh, now known only from a drawing, shows a ziggurat, probably at Susa, with two sets of horns (bulls?) on its top.<sup>776</sup>

This line of inquiry, the “horns” on the tops of the V-shaped tower structures point toward the horns on religious buildings, is somewhat of a dead end given the fact that we have no unambiguously identified religious structure preserved in Achaemenid Fārs.<sup>777</sup> Nevertheless, such structures must surely have existed; a full excavation of the mound at Naqš-e Rostam would certainly add greatly to this discussion. Several commentators have attributed religious functions, most commonly connected to sacred fire, to the towers Zendān-e Solaymān and Ka'ba-ye Zardošt.<sup>778</sup> For a variety of reasons, primarily having to do with so little evidence for a cult of fire in the Achaemenid period, I find the sacred fire explanation of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt less than convincing. A religious function for the tower is, however, highly attractive, not least of all because of the combination of its monumentality and context (an Achaemenid sanctuary). Indeed, perhaps the “horns” on the cornice of the door of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt in fact indicate, following Elamite tradition, its sacred nature.<sup>779</sup>

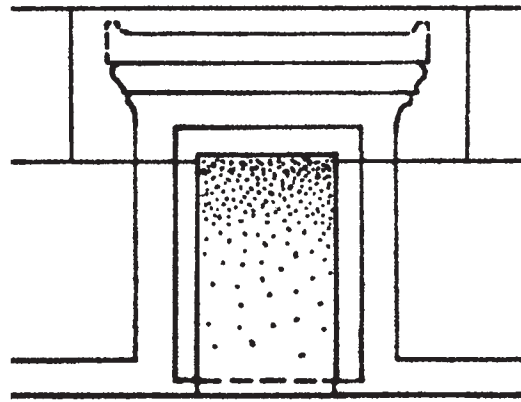
Of potential interest in this line of inquiry is the discovery of horn-shaped stone fragments near Palace H on the terrace at Persepolis by the Tiliās as part of their restoration efforts (fig. 4.44).<sup>780</sup> They reconstructed these fragments as parapet elements and placed them on the top edge of the terrace wall south and west of



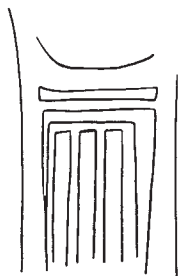
Zendān-e Soleymān, Pasargadae



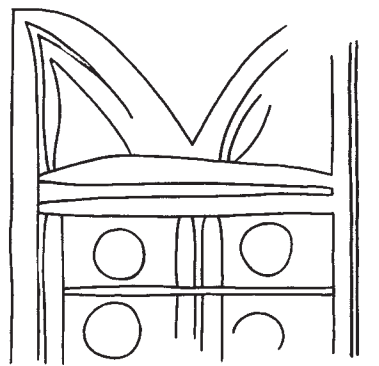
Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, Naqš-e Rostam



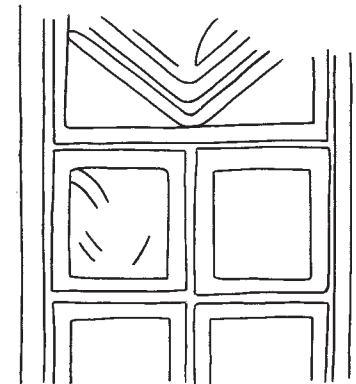
Tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadae



PFS 2315 (T12)



PFUTS 330 (T19)



PFS 307 (T20)

Figure 4.36. Reconstructed doorways of the Zendān-e Solaymān, Pasargadae; the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, Naqš-e Rostam; and the tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadae. The tower structures on PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 330 (T19), and PFS 307 (T20).

Doorways not to scale; seals scale 4:1

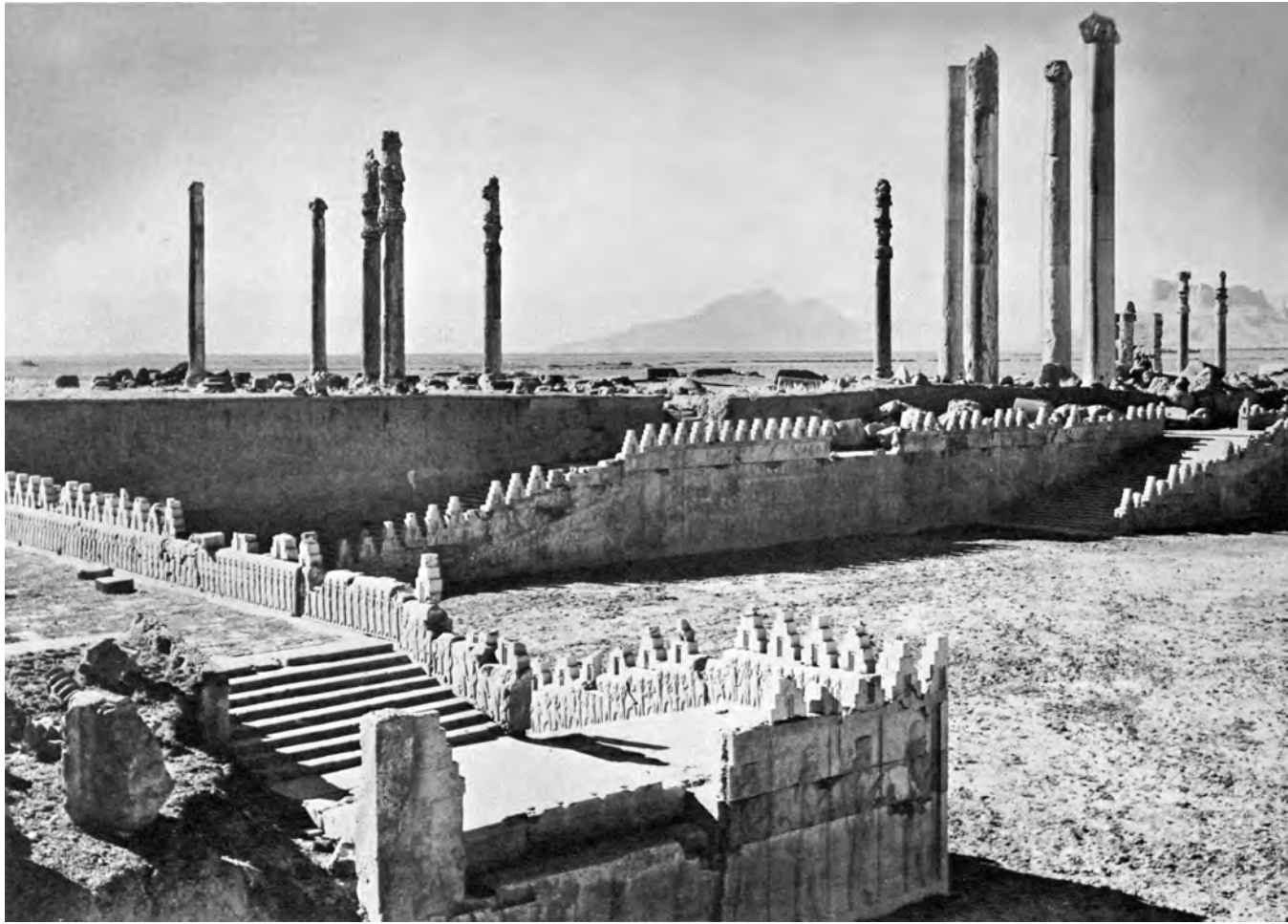


Figure 4.37. Crenellated parapets with recessing running along the tops of the eastern stairway of the Apadana and the southern wing of the Central Building, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953, pl. 17B)



Figure 4.38. Detail of the crown worn by Darius in his rock-cut relief at Bīsotūn (courtesy of Wouter F. M. Henkelman and Bruno Jacobs)



Figure 4.39. Detail of the crown worn by Darius in his rock-cut relief at Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 22B, detail)

Palace H.<sup>781</sup> Below the horn-like elements on each parapet are a double fascia (recessed) and a dentil frieze. The body of each parapet is decorated with a sunk relief arrow (pointing upward) or a cross consisting of two triangles (on the horizontal) and two squares (on the vertical). The date of these horn-like parapets has never been determined with certainty. Tilia (1969, pp. 33–42) at first implied that the parapets were Achaemenid in date but later (1972, pp. 252, 258, 314–16) linked the parapets with a hypothetical residence for the *frataraka* rulers of Persis post-300 BC.<sup>782</sup> If the only manner of dating the horned parapets is by spatial association with a building, then one is able to speculate on either an Achaemenid or a post-Achaemenid date for them as the mound of rubble today currently called Palace H has not been excavated.<sup>783</sup>

Because of the difficulties of establishing the date of the horned parapets and the function(s) of the area of Palace H through time, one cannot press the potential linkages of the horned parapets with the horn-like configuration of the V-shaped tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic. Nevertheless, one may note that the area where Palace H is located lies just to the northeast of the original entrance to the Takht in the southern wall. As a space, then, the area of Palace H would have been, in the initial phases of the construction at least, a prime one and, thus, a suitable location for an important structure.<sup>784</sup> Given the strong tradition in Elam for horns to symbolize religious architecture, it may not be too speculative to suggest that the horned parapets signaled the presence of a nearby religious structure.<sup>785</sup>

An equally intriguing line of inquiry as regards the possible horn referent on the upper parts of the V-shaped tower structures concerns the famous theriomorph column capitals at Persepolis and Susa. Indeed, Seidl (2003, pp. 74–75) has already made the suggestion that the concept of animal protomes decorating Achaemenid column capitals may have derived directly from the horns on Elamite religious structures. Developing this idea a bit more, one could view the horn-like treatments of the tops of the V-shaped tower structures as pointing on a primary level to the horns on the bull or composite bull creature capitals at Persepolis and, perhaps, on a secondary level to the heritage of Elamite religious architecture. The indexical relationship, as with the crenellations and rectangular inset frames/panels on the crenellated tower structures, would seem to be a general one, Achaemenid monumental architecture, perhaps religious architecture (and the Elamite religious heritage), rather than a specific one, a particular building at Pasargadae, Naqš-e Rostam, or Persepolis.

As noted above (§4.2.2.2.6), rectangular inset frames/panels are the primary manner in which the bodies of the V-shaped tower structures are decorated (figs. 4.15–4.16). The previous discussions concerning possible referents for the inset frames/panels on crenellated tower structures are thus applicable also to the substantial group of V-shaped tower structures. A goodly number of V-shaped tower structures also have a star in the center of the inset frames/panels (fig. 4.16), and three V-shaped tower structures have a plant or animal set within inset frames/panels (fig. 4.17).<sup>786</sup> The decoration on these structures seems related to another ten V-shaped tower structures that show a variety of geometric decorations on the bodies. These include squared metopal fields (fig. 4.19), at times containing elements within each of the fields, or thin vertical striations (fig. 4.18). While the decoration of the bodies of these V-shaped tower structures may have some reference to the recessing discussed above on wall surfaces, door frames, and windows on Achaemenid monumental architecture, it seems, however, more evocative of door frames and the doors themselves. As mentioned, there are a fragment of a stone door decorated with rosettes that may be associated with the Zendān-e Solaymān at Pasargadae (fig. 4.30) and a stone slab decorated with “two partially complete rows of shallow square depressions” (i.e., square metopal fields) that may be associated with the tower at Naqš-e Rostam. Here, again, the relation between sign and referent would be indexical (synecdoche), door for a whole structure. The diversity of decoration would suggest that the reference could be to various individual buildings (a door with a star being the most common citation), doors on buildings of a certain type, most likely religious building(s), or, perhaps, tombs.

To summarize the indexical qualities of the crenellated and V-shaped tower structures, a wide array of referents has been explored. One inference that we may draw from this analysis is that the crenellated and V-shaped tower structures are polyvalent, pointing (*pars pro toto*) toward specific buildings (e.g., the towers Zendān-e Solaymān and the Ka‘ba-ye Zardošt), tombs, or generically to Achaemenid religious architecture and/or Achaemenid monumental architecture. The two tower types in glyptic, crenellated and V-shaped, seem to point toward distinct phenomena: the crenellated tower to architecture as a constructed unit, the

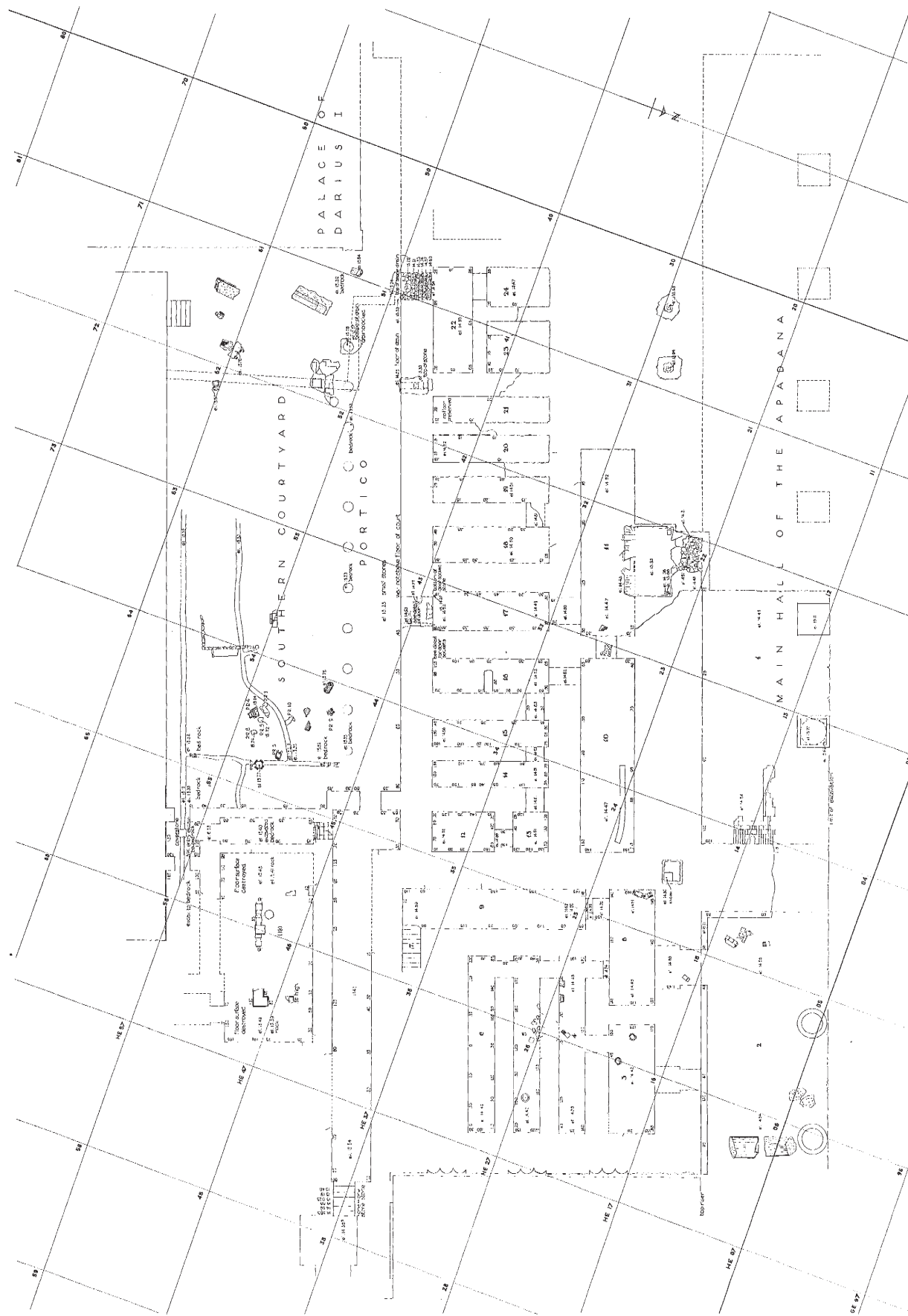


Figure 4.40. Plan of the southern part of the Apadana showing recessing on the outer façade of the southeastern tower, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953, fig. 32)

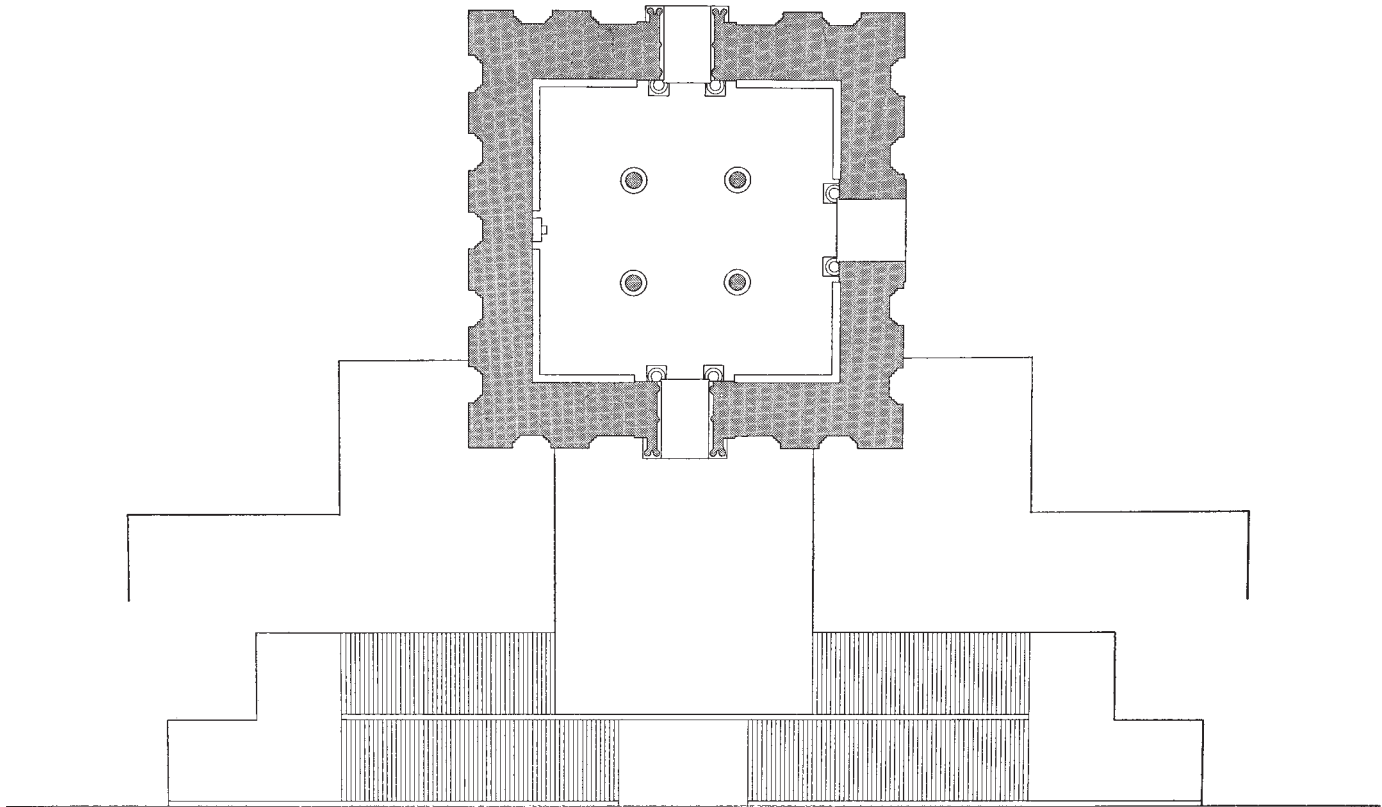


Figure 4.41. Plan of the Gate of Xerxes, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953, fig. 26)

V-shaped tower structure to the doorway and/or door. The linkage between the V-shaped tower structure and the doorway seems to be particularly strong in the case of the doorway of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt. Doorways and doors seem best suited to account for the variety of decoration seen on the bodies of tower structures. The crenellated tower structures on PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24) are exceptionally interesting in their combination of the crenellations of the crenellated tower with the metopal fields of the V-shaped tower.

Lastly, there is the possibility that the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic have no physical visual relationship with their referent, that is, as sign objects they are symbols. If this is the case, we shall be hard-pressed to identify the referent(s) for these signs, given that we are so far removed from the system and have no access to a literature that would potentially help us to link the sign (whose visual qualities are arbitrary) with its referent (established by convention). Our only potential portal may be the scenes in which the tower structures occur. These scenes indicate a highly ritualized context for the tower structure.

The broad semantic parameters of the crenellated and V-shaped tower structures in the scenes as they occur in Persepolitan glyptic are clearly ritual ones. This is especially the case in the eleven scenes that show paired stepped and tower structures (fig. 4.23a–d). Ritual activity is also inferred from the pose of many attendants (hand upraised before the tower structure). One may conclude then that the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic signal first and foremost a ritual landscape. Given the current state of the evidence, that ritual landscape would appear to have been religious and/or funerary. The texts from the Fortification archive document the existence of both phenomena, that is, religious (principally the *lan*, *šip*, and *daušiyam* ceremonies) and funerary rituals (offerings/sacrifices for/at the *šumar*, “tomb,” “memorial,” of deceased noble Persians and at the *bašur*, an “offering table” at a funerary structure).<sup>787</sup>

In both cases, the crenellated tower structure and the V-shaped tower structure, our analysis has suggested indexical linkages to surviving monumental architecture, including tomb architecture, in Fārs.<sup>788</sup> In the case of the crenellated tower structures, the index appears to be a generic one, Achaemenid monumental





Figure 4.42. Southern doorway and windows, Main Hall, Palace of Darius, Persepolis (Schmidt 1953, pl. 128)

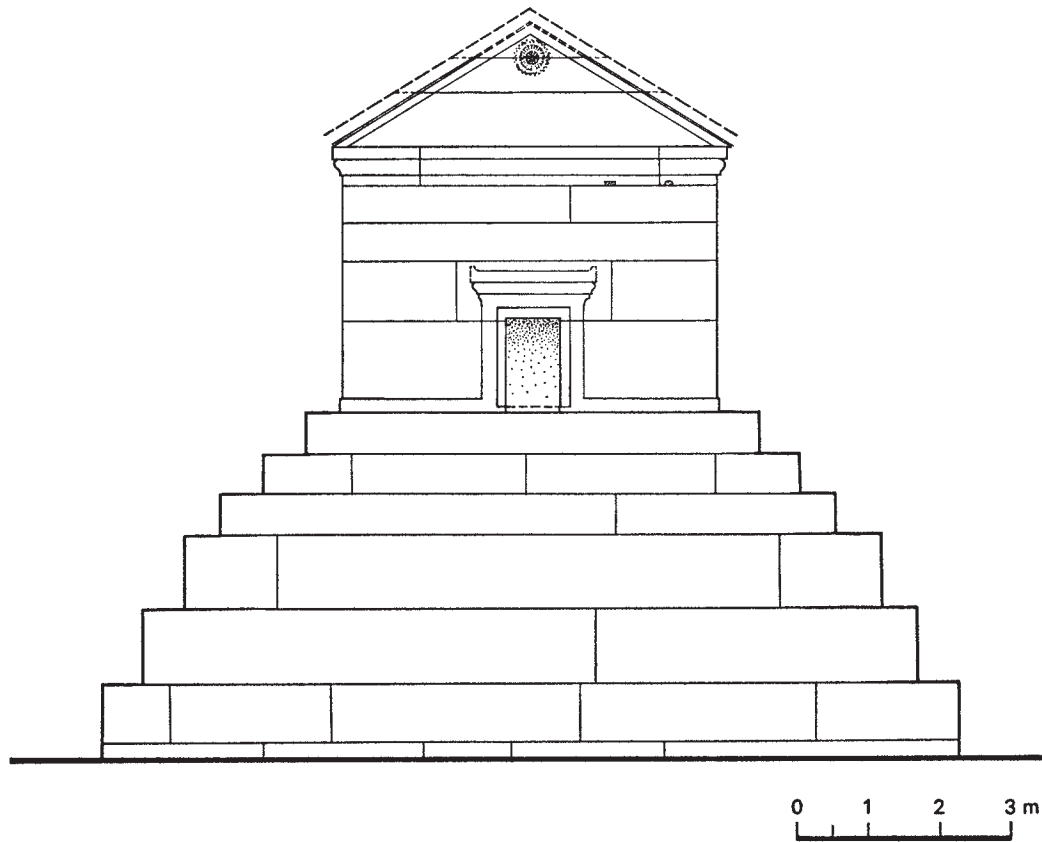


Figure 4.43. Reconstructed doorway of the tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadae (Stronach 1978, fig. 13)

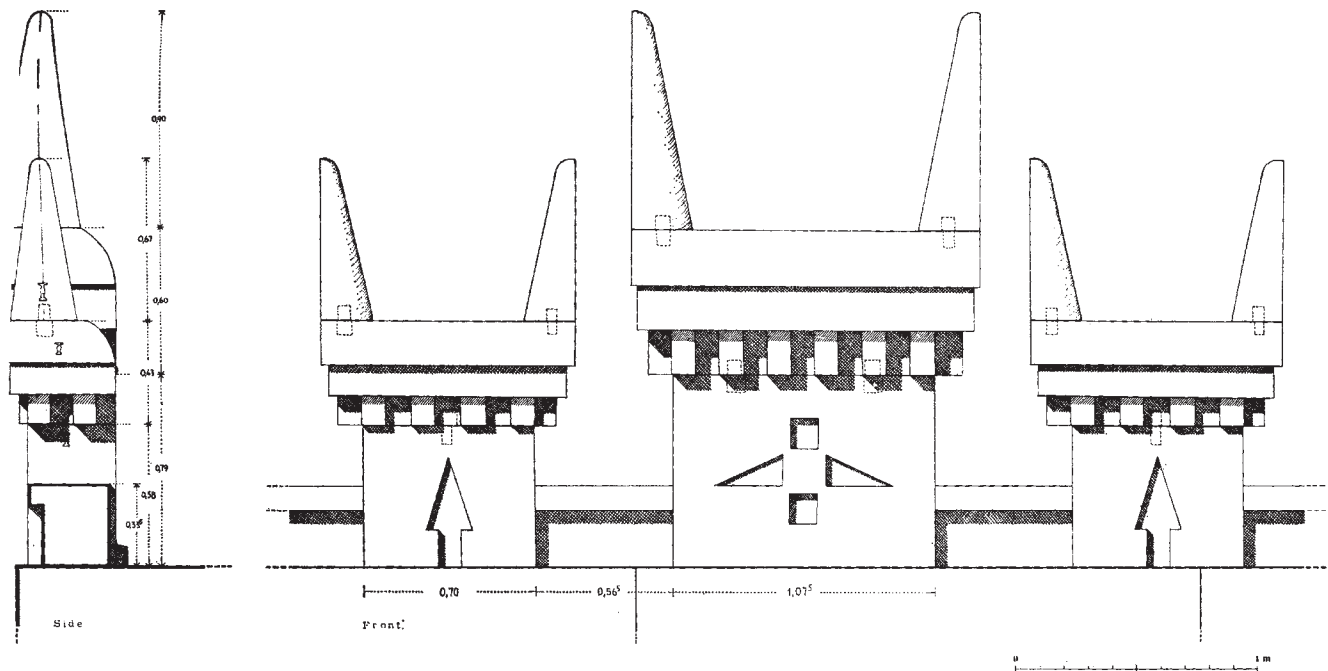


Figure 4.44. Horn-shaped parapets, Persepolis (Tilia 1969, figs. 5 and 46)

architecture; the broader semantics (symbolic) of the image may then be royal building as an expression of legitimate kingship, royal/Achaemenid patronage and prestige, revival/establishment of empire, welfare of the empire, etc. These emblematic associations may well have also encompassed religious and/or ritualized aspects of Achaemenid kingship, potentially, in some cases, linked to fire and/or ancestor memorials/worship.<sup>789</sup> The gestures of the flanking figures in the scenes that have crenellated tower structures are ambiguous enough to allow various readings, and those gestures in many cases may be associated with the winged symbol and not the tower structure.<sup>790</sup> In the case of the V-shaped tower structures, indexical linkages (doorways) repeatedly lead us to the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt at Naqš-e Rostam (and by extension, its less well preserved mate the Zendān-e Solaymān at Pasargadae). Nevertheless, we should leave open the possibility that the V-shaped tower structures are referencing funerary structures (potentially via their doorways), either free-standing ones such as the tomb of Cyrus or the rock-cut tomb façades at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis, or religious structures that no longer are standing.<sup>791</sup>

#### 4.4.2.1. Excursus: The Achaemenid Towers Zendān-e Solaymān and Ka'ba-ye Zardošt

One turns in vain to the Zendān-e Solaymān and the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt for insights into the potential semantic relations with the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic. The very functions of these buildings, alas, remain for us today unknown; the most common suggestions include tower temples, fire temples, *atašgāhs* (receptacles for sacred fire), tombs, coronation towers, repositories for the paraphernalia of Achaemenid rule, “foundation houses” (depots for Zoroastrian sacred texts and/or utensils), and fire altars.<sup>792</sup> Several commentators have noted the physical resemblance of the Achaemenid towers to Urartian temple towers, but the similarities in form have yielded no consensus on the function of the Achaemenid towers.<sup>793</sup>

The specifics of the spatial contexts of both Achaemenid towers are not well understood. The Zendān-e Solaymān (figs. 4.28–4.30) is located in a large open space approximately 250 m to the northeast of the so-called palace area at Pasargadae. The nearest structure standing above ground level is in fact Palace P. Only one wall of the tower remains standing, the northwestern. The corners of the tower have an approximate cardinal orientation, the north–south axis of the building through the northern and southern corners of the building is a few degrees east of true north. That orientation is approximately the same as the structures in the palace area and the tomb of Cyrus.<sup>794</sup> The doorway is on the northwestern wall of the tower; the tower thus faces away from the palace area and toward the so-called sacred precinct that lies almost a kilometer away to the northwest. Stronach (1978, pp. 117–37) investigated only the tower itself, but geomagnetic surveys of the area in 1999 immediately behind (to the southeast) the Zendān have revealed a large rectangular stone structure (approximately 45 m on each long side) lying only some 20–30 m from the tower's socle and on exactly the same axis and orientation as the tower.<sup>795</sup> Traces of other linear features, making an “enclosure” on the same orientation as the structure and the tower, behind this structure extend to the southeast for another 100 m.<sup>796</sup> As Boucharlat (Boucharlat and Benech 2002, p. 26) has noted, if this architectural complex dates to the period of the construction of the Zendān, it would transform “ce secteur en un ensemble monumental presque aussi vaste que la zone des jardins.” The exact nature of this potentially exciting architectural context remains, however, unknown.<sup>797</sup>

The Ka'ba-ye Zardošt (figs. 4.31–4.35) is situated on the eastern edge of the oval-shaped mound at Naqš-e Rostam, approximately 95 m to the southwest of the tomb of Darius I (fig. 6.4). It is the only built structure that survives above the current surface level of the mound. The Ka'ba-ye Zardošt is very well preserved. The corners of the building have only roughly cardinal orientation (less so than the Zendān). Like the Zendān, the doorway to the building is on the northwestern wall of the tower, and, thus, again like the Zendān, the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt faces away from the palace area (in this case, Persepolis). Schmidt (1970, pp. 38–41, fig. 17) excavated only a few meters beyond the walls of the tower in each direction, creating a large rectangular pit which is the opening the visitor still sees today.<sup>798</sup> The stratigraphic information and finds from this excavation yielded nothing of substance regarding Achaemenid-period activity around the tower.<sup>799</sup> Approximately 18 m to the southwest of the tower, in excavation units BA74/75 and BA84/85, Schmidt found a stone paving (“culvert”) that he dated contemporary to the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, but only a small part of the feature was excavated and its original context was unclear.<sup>800</sup> Another set of excavation trenches that Schmidt opened near the tomb of Darius revealed a corner of a mudbrick building that Schmidt assigned to the Achaemenid

period; unfortunately, again, nothing could be determined of the function of the building.<sup>801</sup> Thus, until new excavations are undertaken at the mound of Naqš-e Rostam, the surrounding physical and functional contexts of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt remain unknown. Nevertheless, the tower must certainly have been part of a larger and inter-connected architectural and functional setting; that setting most likely would have been an Achaemenid religious sanctuary.<sup>802</sup> The Elamite relief on the site (fig. 6.5), much destroyed by a later Sasanian one, attests to the religious character of the site in earlier periods.<sup>803</sup>

Perhaps one of the most remarkable aspects of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt is the fact this structure is the one place where Darius unequivocally announces/celebrates his ties to Cyrus. As many commentators have noted, the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, the later of the two towers, is almost an exact duplicate in form, size, and surface decoration to the Zendān at Pasargadae. This is really quite striking given: 1) the changes that Darius and his planners systematically introduced into other aspects of Achaemenid art and architecture, e.g., site layout, architectural design, tomb design, and glyptic styles; 2) the manner in which Darius largely ignored Cyrus in his royal inscriptions; and 3) the wholesale change in royal ideology, from Teispid to Achaemenid, that Darius wrought.<sup>804</sup> In the face of these substantial changes, one is almost forced to the conclusion that the construction of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt was a prerequisite in order for Persepolis/Naqš-e Rostam to be a viable royal site.<sup>805</sup> Such rigid adherence in architectural form, scale, decoration, and orientation to a structure (the Zendān) that was intimately associated with Teispid kingship suggests that some extremely powerful and conservative forces were at play in the construction of Ka'ba-ye Zardošt. These factors would seem to indicate that, at some deep level, the towers had strong religious connotations.<sup>806</sup>

#### 4.4.2.2. Excursus: The Monumental Structure at Tol-e Āğori

In 2011, the Joint Iranian-Italian Archaeological Mission in Fārs, as part of a larger research project centered upon the archaeological zone to the west of the Takht at Persepolis, began trial excavations at the mound Tol-e Āğori, located some 3.5 km southwest of the Takht in the area known today as Bāgh-e Fīrūzi.<sup>807</sup> Those excavations have revealed a large monumental structure built of mudbrick and faced with baked and glazed bricks. This is perhaps the most impressive structure discovered in the environs of Persepolis since the clearance of the Takht in the 1930s. At the time of this writing, the full extent of the structure and its surrounding archaeological context have not yet been revealed.<sup>808</sup> The structure would appear, however, to add a new dimension not only to our understanding of the built environs to the west of the Takht but also to our considerations of the tower structures preserved in the glyptic evidence here studied.

Based on the partial excavation of the building, the excavators have been able to reconstruct the overall plan of the structure: a massive rectangular building measuring 39.07 × 29.06 m (Chaverdi, Callieri, and Martin 2014, p. 225). The walls of the structure are approximately 10.47 m in width. The walls enclose an inner room measuring 8.00 × 14.33 m with benches along the long sides.<sup>809</sup> The corners of the structure are very loosely aligned to the cardinal points.<sup>810</sup> The southeastern and northwestern walls are punctuated by a large doorway.<sup>811</sup>

The wall has a thick mudbrick core faced with baked brick. At its base, the wall has nine courses of baked brick that served as what the excavators call a “projecting foot” for the wall.<sup>812</sup> It is unclear whether this projecting foot was visible above ground level in antiquity. If so, it raises the possibility that in the unpreserved upper sections of the wall there may have been more offsets, perhaps producing something like a stepped pyramid/ziggurat effect. On the inner and outer faces of the wall (not the projecting foot), the preserved sections of the baked brick are faced with colored glazed bricks.<sup>813</sup> Fragments of figural glazed bricks, found in situ and in the disturbed layers above and outside the structure, indicate that parts of the walls were decorated with figural imagery.<sup>814</sup> The style and iconography of the figural glazed bricks are Babylonian.<sup>815</sup> Lastly, two glazed brick fragments that join, found in disturbed fill, carried one cuneiform sign that Basello suggests is the Babylonian sign SAR/ŠAR, possibly the beginning of the word *šarru*, “king.”<sup>816</sup>

Currently there is no pottery evidence to provide a framework for the dating of the structure. The excavators suggest a date just before the time of Darius I based on the orientation of the structure (different from the buildings on the Takht), its plan (similar to Gate R at Pasargadae), and its decoration (Babylonian in origin).<sup>817</sup>

On present evidence, we would appear to have an extremely large, free-standing rectangular structure carrying figural decoration. It has one room that is entered from doorways in the southeastern and northwestern walls. The thickness of the walls suggests a very tall structure. The excavators conclude that this structure is a monumental free-standing gateway, emulating or copying the famous Ištar Gate in Babylon.

The size of the structure (39.07 × 29.06 m) and the thickness of its walls (ca. 10.47 m) are striking. As a comparison, the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt at Naqš-e Rostam measures only approximately 7.3 m on each side, the Palace of Darius on the Takht at Persepolis approximately 42.3 × 29.9 m.<sup>818</sup> The monumental structure at Tol-e Āğori is thus more than three times the size of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt and approximately equal to the width of the Palace of Darius. It is difficult to estimate how tall the monumental structure at Tol-e Āğori was. Mudbrick, even the extremely high-quality bricks at Tol-e Āğori, was not a medium for supporting extremely tall structures. Nonetheless, the thickness of the walls must indicate that the structure was of considerable height. For comparative purposes, one should note that the width of the wall (10.47 m) of the structure is greater than the width of the mudbrick walls of the main throne room (B) of Aššurnasirpal II at Nimrud. Although we do not know the exact height of the walls of throne room B, a recent reconstruction suggest that they may have stood some 12 m in height.<sup>819</sup> Again, for comparative purposes, the height of the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, including the stepped platform, is 14.31 m.<sup>820</sup>

The two entrances to the structure combined with its rectangular plan will, of course, immediately call to mind the monumental gateway at Pasargadae, known today as Gate R.<sup>821</sup> Gate R employs, however, both stone and mudbrick and has four entrances (one in each wall). It measures approximately 28.5 × 25.5 m, thus comparable in size to the monumental structure at Tol-e Āğori.<sup>822</sup> Stronach (1978, p. 46) estimates the height of the mudbrick walls to have been more than 16 m.<sup>823</sup> The corners of Gate R are closely aligned to the cardinal points, the north-south axis through the northern and southern corners of the building being less than 5 degrees off a true north-south bearing.<sup>824</sup>

The immediate archaeological context of the monumental structure at Tol-e Āğori is unknown. It lies, however, in a zone, the area that the Joint Iranian-Italian Archaeological Mission in Fārs calls Bāgh-e Firūzi, that has for many years been recognized as an area of high-prestige structures.<sup>825</sup> The excavators are inclined to consider the structure as a monumental entrance to a large complex that lay to the northwest of the structure.

Although the structure at Tol-e Āğori has two entrances, and thus would seem to function as a gateway, the size of the mudbrick walls and the fact that it is free-standing would indicate that in the landscape the structure would appear as a tall tower. Thus, while functionally it may be best to consider the structure as a gate, visually it would be most accurately described as a tower.<sup>826</sup>

Given its form (rectangular tower-gate), size, decoration, and location, and the possibility of an inscription naming the king, the excavators are surely correct in assigning a ritual function to the monumental structure at Tol-e Āğori.<sup>827</sup>

The new evidence from Tol-e Āğori for a monumental tower-gate that carries figural decoration standing some 3.5 km away from the Takht at Persepolis is remarkable on its own right. From the perspective of the glyptic evidence here published, the monumental tower-gate at Tol-e Āğori raises the possibility of a potential iconic and/or indexical (as used in this study) referent for one or more of the tower structures in the Persepolitan glyptic record. Even more intriguing, however, is the possibility that in the immediate environs of Persepolis there stood other tower-gate structures. It perhaps needs to be emphasized that while recent survey projects have greatly improved our general understanding of the environs of Persepolis, very little actual excavation has been undertaken.<sup>828</sup> Thus, while we are able to state that there are clues on the ground in the form of Achaemenid material culture in many sites surrounding the Takht, in most cases we cannot be precise about the nature of either the type(s) of construction or the type(s) of activity. In this regard, the monumental structure at Tol-e Āğori provides a startling reminder of exactly how much we do not know about specifics of the built environment in the area surrounding the Takht at Persepolis.

What we do know now is that there are at least two tall towers, one in stone at Naqš-e Rostam and one in mudbrick at Tol-e Āğori, in the environs of Persepolis. While the possibility that there may be more towers in the region can for the moment remain only speculative, the richness of the Persepolitan glyptic evidence for the tower structures here studied in combination with this spectacular tower-gate at Tol-e Āğori

certainly make the likelihood of other towers much more than simply idle speculation. Indeed, it may not be too far-fetched to envision a series of towers orbiting the Takht from Naqš-e Rostam in the north to the modern village of Šamsābād-e Takht in the south.<sup>829</sup>

Given that we currently know little about the superstructure of the tower-gate at Tol-e Āğori, it is perhaps premature to speculate on the intriguing ways in which the structure may enrich/expand both the iconic and indexical readings of the glyptic tower structures here studied. The Persepolitan towers, both built and in images, open, however, a new window on the religious landscape at Persepolis.

#### 4.4.2.3. Excursus: Coinage of the *frataraka* Rulers of Persia

Any discussion of the Achaemenid towers and the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic inevitably turns to the imagery on the reverses of various coinage issues of the local Persid rulers of Fārs in the time between the early Seleucid period and the Sasanian. The first four kings employed the title *frataraka* on their coinage; later kings abandoned this title, but the dynasty as a whole, and their coinage, are today generally called *frataraka* whether or not the title is depicted on the coins (fig. 4.45).<sup>830</sup> While these coins are of course post-Achaemenid in date, the physical resemblance of some of the structures depicted on the coins to the Achaemenid towers and the tower structures on Persepolitan glyptic is intriguing.<sup>831</sup>

On the reverses of most of the coins of the *frataraka* rulers Ardaxšīr I, Vahbarz, and Baydād, an attendant stands before what appears to be the façade of a large rectangular structure (fig. 4.45a–c).<sup>832</sup> The structure rests on a two-stepped platform. The façade consists of what appear to be two thick doorjambs running along the vertical edges of the façade within which there are two doors each of which is gridded into four superimposed metopal fields; a dentil frieze is indicated above the door jambs and door. Over the façade of the structure, presumably on the roofline, are three small “stands” in the form of an inverted U. A V-shaped device emerges from the tops of each of these objects. The attendant stands at left facing to right, toward the structure. He wears an ankle-length garment and a *bashlyk*.<sup>833</sup> He holds his right arm bent and extends it toward the structure, the hand held open. On some issues, the attendant holds a bow in his left hand (resting on his foot). To the right of the structure, there is a standard or flag. Inscriptions (in Aramaic but writing Persian names and legends) are found at right and below the scene and sometimes at left.<sup>834</sup> A pellet border surrounds the scene.

In the reign of Vādfradād I, the structure on the reverses of the coinage may assume three different forms. The first form is the same as the structure on the coinage of the previous rulers (Alram 1986, nos. 533–39, 542–43; fig. 4.45d). On the second form, the V-shaped devices that emerge from the tops of the “stands” along the top of the structure become vertical and, thus, assume a horn-like appearance (Alram 1986, nos. 540–41; fig. 4.45e). The bodies of the structures in both forms have the door-like appearance with eight metopal fields. The third form is radically different. The top of the structure consists of two triangular masses; the body is divided vertically by thin vertical elements, generally two in number (Alram 1986, nos. 544–45; fig. 4.45f). This structure is thus very similar to the V-shaped tower type in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>835</sup> Most of the issues of Vādfradād I also include a partial winged humanoid figure (shoulders, arm, and head) that hovers over the structure. This winged symbol looks to the left (toward the attendant); one arm is depicted, bent and raised before his face, the palm open. On one issue of Vādfradād I (Alram 1986, no. 544; fig. 4.45f), a winged figure, generally identified as Tyche or Fortuna, stands behind the attendant and holds a wreath over his head.

After the reigns of Vādfradād I and Baydād, the rulers abandon the title *frataraka* for *mlk*/*shah*, probably indicating that they were vassals of the Parthians.<sup>836</sup> A crenellated top is the primary manner of rendering the top of the structure on the coins of Vādfradād II; the bodies of the structures have either the door-like metopal fields or the vertical elements (two in number; fig. 4.45g).<sup>837</sup> In the reigns of unknown king I and Dārēv I, the bodies of the structures change again. Some continue to have the vertical elements (one or two in number) (Alram 1986, nos. 557–59; fig. 4.45i); some have horizontal elements between the vertical ones (Alram 1986, nos. 551–53; fig. 4.45h); some have a U-shaped frame set within an outline border (Alram 1986, nos. 554–56; fig. 4.45j); others have an inverted U-shaped frame set within an outline border with a central vertical row of dots (Alram 1986, nos. nb1 and nb2; fig. 4.45k).<sup>838</sup> The coins of Vādfradād III modify this structure yet again; on most of the issues, the tower structure now consists of two triangular masses at



Figure 4.45. *Frataraka* coins: (a) coin of Ardaxšir I (after Alram 1986, pl. 17, no. 515); (b) coin of Vahbarz (after Alram 1986, pl. 17, no. 519); (c) coin of Baydād (after Alram 1986, pl. 17, no. 526); (d) coin of Vādfradād I (after Alram 1986, pl. 17, no. 533); (e) coin of Vādfradād I (after Alram 1986, pl. 18, no. 540); (f) coin of Vādfradād I (after Alram 1986, pl. 18, no. 544); (g) coin of Vādfradād II(?) (after Alram 1986, pl. 18, no. 546); (h) coin of unknown king I (after Alram 1986, pl. 18, no. 551); (i) coin of Dārēv I (after Alram 1986, pl. 18, no. 557); (j) coin of Dārēv I (after Alram 1986, pl. 18, no. 554); (k) coin of Dārēv I (after Alram 1986, pl. 18, no. NB1); (l) coin of Vādfradād III (after Alram 1986, pl. 19, no. 560); (m) coin of Ardaxšir II (after Alram 1986, pl. 19, no. 568)

the top (with an outline border), while the body of the structure is divided into three panels by two vertical elements (Alram 1986, nos. 560, 562–63; fig. 4.45l). This last structure is, for all intents and purposes, the Persepolitan V-shaped tower structure seen on the seal PT6 699 (T34).<sup>839</sup> The winged symbol continues to be shown above the structure.

On the coinage of Dārēv II through Vahšīr (Alram 1986, nos. 564–86), the rectangular structure is replaced by a fire resting on a (generally) stepped podium with columnar or pillar support; that is, what we have called the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic (fig. 4.45m).<sup>840</sup> The attendant now holds a rod, which most commentators identify as bundles and, thus, *barsom*. The style of carving becomes very schematic.

Formally, the structures on the reverses of the *frataraka* coinage thus include the stepped structure (on the late coins) and both versions of the tower structure as documented in Persepolitan glyptic. The appearance of the three types of Persepolitan structures on *frataraka* coinage seems rather more than fortuitous. There are, moreover, three other points of overlap between the structures on *frataraka* coinage and Persepolitan glyptic. Firstly, the syntax of the scenes on the *frataraka* coinage is very similar to the syntax of the small group of scenes in Persepolitan glyptic showing a crenellated tower structure with two attendants (see above, §4.3.2.1).<sup>841</sup> Secondly, the attendant in the scenes on the coins strikes exactly the same pose as the attendants in the scenes showing the crenellated tower structure with two attendants. Thirdly, the structures on the coins pre-Dārēv I emphasize what seem to be sets of doors, a feature that appears to be the most likely indexical referent of the decoration occurring on the bodies of many of the V-shaped tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic.

Interpretations of the structures on the reverses of the coinage of the *frataraka* dynasty have generally taken the structure to be an icon (in the sense used in this study) and ignored the markedly different forms that the structure takes, preferring to see the different forms as simply a stylistic development.<sup>842</sup> Potts (2007) has surveyed the historiography on the identification of the structures on the coins. As he notes, there is a long tradition of associating the structures on the coins with the Achaemenid towers; and, indeed, the towers remain for most commentators the most convincing candidates for the structures on the coins pre-Dārēv I.<sup>843</sup> Regarding the functions of the structures on the coins, the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic, and the actual Achaemenid towers (regardless of whether or not one identifies the structures on the coins with the towers), one risks placing oneself in a referential circle (*frataraka* coinage — the towers Zendān-e Solaymān and Ka‘ba-ye Zardošt — tower structures in glyptic) in calling upon one member of the triad to validate a thesis about another. In fact, for any one of these three phenomena, we currently cannot identify independently with any certainty what they are and/or their functions(s). Persepolitan glyptic allows us, however, to state definitively that the tower structure is a separate phenomenon from the stepped structure.<sup>844</sup>

Structurally and iconographically, the scenes on the *frataraka* coinage and Persepolitan glyptic are linked. One striking difference between the two visual corpora is the incorporation of the bow into some of the scenes on the coins (fig. 4.45d), a phenomenon that must certainly be a direct quotation of the tomb façades at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis. This mash of syntax and iconography suggests that the scenes on *frataraka* coinage may be appropriating and reformulating various syntactical and iconographic elements of Achaemenid imperial art without any sense of the significance of the original context of the imagery and, perhaps, without the intent to depict any true lived experience of the *frataraka* period.<sup>845</sup> The importance of the evidence from the *frataraka* coinage would appear to be its testimonial to the strength of the Achaemenid visual tradition, not its documentation of the continuation of actual ritual behavior or the presence of specific types of buildings in Fārs in the early Hellenistic period.<sup>846</sup>

## 4.5. Synopsis

The foregoing analyses have suggested that the stepped structure is a fire-bearing structure that functioned as an altar to receive liquid and meat sacrifices. The tower structure in both of its forms appears to be a complex indexical symbol whose various elements point toward monumental architecture, the crenellated tower structure in a more general manner, the V-shaped tower structure to doorways and, potentially, specifically to royal and noble tombs and/or to one or both of the Achaemenid towers Zendān-e Solaymān and Ka‘ba-ye



Zardošt. The relatively small number of scenes showing the crenellated tower structure flanked by attendants, the intense court-centric iconography that those scenes display, and their generalized (rather than building-specific) references to royal monumental architecture may reflect the fact that these scenes were part of Darius' larger programme involving high-order semantics concerning the nature of Achaemenid kingship.

In conclusion, I would note three observations. First, the evidence and discussion here presented clearly echo one of the conclusions reached by Moorey (1979, p. 225) in his study of the so-called fire altars: the varied role played by the tower and the stepped structures in worship scenes.<sup>847</sup> Second, it is worth stressing again that the archival context is absolutely critical in providing interpretive frameworks. At the most basic level, one does not have to worry about the authenticity of the objects. So, too, the archive provides exceptionally precise temporal, spatial, and functional contexts. These images do not float in time and space (as the great bulk of glyptic artifacts in museum collections) but operate within restricted temporal, spatial, and functional contexts of which we are very well informed. Thus, the aggregation of these images is not a construct of modern scholarly investigation (i.e., grouping images together because they look alike or show similar types of objects, despite the fact that one knows nothing at all about the history of the artifacts that carried those images); rather, these images existed and functioned together in the Persepolitan archives. One may infer multiple zones of interaction for these images: craftsmen, workshops, patrons, administrative systems, tablets, etc. Third, these temporal and spatial contexts necessarily mean that the inferences drawn from these analyses are restricted to this particular time and place. Visual conventions/decorum in southwestern Iran at other times, and other places at the same and/or other times, may have been very different from what we see in the area of Persepolis in the late sixth and early fifth centuries BC.

## Notes

<sup>592</sup> There are eleven seals that have both the tower and the stepped structures in their designs; see the catalog section ST1–11.

<sup>593</sup> PTS 20\* (S4), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), PTS 57 (T6), and PT5 791 (S12). I additionally include the seals PT4 873 (T7) and PT6 699 (T34) from the Treasury in the catalog in *Chapter 3*.

<sup>594</sup> See above, n. 593, concerning the seals PT4 873 (T7) and PT6 699 (T34) from the Treasury, which have been published now for many years.

<sup>595</sup> The stepped structures in the scenes on two seals, PFS 427 (S13) and PFUTS 605 (S14), are highly irregular in appearance, while that on PFUTS 146 (ST5) is not preserved; thus, the research corpus for all intents consists of twenty-two stepped structures; the comments that follow are based upon these twenty-two examples.

<sup>596</sup> On PFS 790\* (S5) and PFS 2071 (S9), the support for the three-stepped podium is not preserved; these seals have thus been excluded from the following analysis.

<sup>597</sup> The anomalous stepped structure on PFUTS 605 (S14) has a two-stepped base and a columnar support; see the comments immediately following.

<sup>598</sup> See the discussion at §6.3.2.2.

<sup>599</sup> See the discussion at §4.2.2.2.4.

<sup>600</sup> There are, in addition, four structures where the top does not survive: PFS 897 (T36), PFS 2361 (T41), PFS 628 (T47), and PFS 2360 (ST9) (fig. 4.22). As discussed below (§4.2.2.3), it is most likely that these structures were of the V-shaped type. These structures have thus been included in the analysis of the V-shaped tower structures. There are in addition five structures, occurring on PT4 873 (T7), PFUTS 153s (T9), PFS 738 (T28), PFS 2296 (T29), and PFATS 460 (T40), that have been classified as tower structures, but their configurations do not conform comfortably either to the crenellated or the V-shaped tower types. These structures have been included in fig. 4.9a–c.

<sup>601</sup> See the discussion at §1.6.

<sup>602</sup> I employ the term “merlon” in this context simply as a useful descriptive tool.

<sup>603</sup> Schmidt (1957, pp. 27 and 37) does not, however, include any such feature in his descriptions of the seals. See also the irregular stepped structure on PFUTS 618 (ST6) (fig. 4.6), but preservation is exceptionally poor in the upper part of the structure.

<sup>604</sup> As noted in the catalog entry for PFUTS 313 (T22), several of the devices on the body of the structure seem to imitate Aramaic letters.

<sup>605</sup> Iconographically, one should note in particular the regular use of rectangular inset frames/panels on the bodies of both the crenellated and the V-shaped tower structures. We have already highlighted above two seals, PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24), on which the bodies of crenellated tower structures are decorated with the metopal field layout sometimes found on the V-shaped tower structure.

<sup>606</sup> Perhaps related are the rod-like devices that emerge from the tops of the tower structures on PTS 23 (T5) and PFUTS 76 (T18). See the discussion at §4.4.2 concerning the possibility that the rod-like device on the tower structure on PFUTS 76 (T18) may represent the stylus of Nabû.

<sup>607</sup> See also the discussion at §4.4.2.

<sup>608</sup> PFUTS 33 (T17), PFS 2542 (T27), PFATS 436 (T46), PFATS 392 (T48), and PFS 2673s (T49).

<sup>609</sup> There is a very large figure in a winged disk that hovers above the tower structure; this may have necessitated diminishing the size of the tower structure. On the other hand, we ought to leave open the possibility that the structure on PFUTS 242 (T15) is a phenomenon completely different from the tower structures here studied.

<sup>610</sup> See the discussion at §4.3.2.1.

<sup>611</sup> See §3.3.6 and §4.3.2.3.

<sup>612</sup> It should be noted, however, that the preservation of the top of the structure is very poor. The top of the anomalous tower structure on PFS 738 (T28) could perhaps be describe as plant-like. Its formal characteristics have, however, no connection to the tower structure on PFS 2296 (T29).

<sup>613</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, PFS 280 (Cat.No. 309) and PFS 148 (Cat.No. 311). PFS 1459 shows a very similar scene, although the top of the “plant” is not preserved and there is an attendant behind the seated person.

<sup>614</sup> The compositions on PFS 280 and PFS 148 are, moreover, very similar to that on PFS 2296 (T29).

<sup>615</sup> See the discussion at §4.4.2.

<sup>616</sup> The top of the structure on PFS 2360 (ST9) is not preserved, thus one does not know whether we have to do with a crenellated or V-shaped type of tower structure. It has been included here on the assumption that the structure was a V-shaped one; see the comments at 4.2.2.3.

<sup>617</sup> Garrison in press b.

<sup>618</sup> On the potential significance of both the tree-like plants and the caprid on these tower structures, see the discussion at §4.3.2.7.

<sup>619</sup> See the discussion at §4.2.2.2.3 for both structures and their hybrid character.

<sup>620</sup> See also the comments above, n. 600, concerning these structures. On the assumption that all of these structures were V-shaped tower types, they have been included in the preceding analyses. The exception is the structure on PFS 2361 (T41), the exact identification of which is uncertain (see catalog entry).

<sup>621</sup> Only the crenellated tower structures on PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24) do not have inset panels/frames on the bodies.

<sup>622</sup> Bordreuil (1986, p. 104 [no. 136]), commenting on the altar scene on the often-illustrated seal of *zrtštrš*, where an attendant holds a large ladle in the fire, identified the ritual as the *ātaš-zōhr*, a Zoroastrian ritual of offering of animal fat; for the ritual, see de Jong 1997, pp. 355–56. On the applicability of the later Pahlavi texts to the Achaemenid period, scholars are at some disagreement; e.g., de Jong 1997, pp. 39–75; Garrison 2011c, pp. 19–26; Garrison in press b; above, §§1.2–1.3. The authenticity of the seal of *zrtštrš* is, alas, not without question.

<sup>623</sup> Kanga 1989. Note perhaps the same object on PTS 20\* (S4), discussed at §4.3.1.2.

<sup>624</sup> See §3.3.5. In several instances, the seated figure before the tower structure actually reaches out to grasp the rampant animal, the imagery thus merging with that of the heroic encounter: PFS 435 (T16), PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 76 (T18), and PFUTS 330 (T19). See also the discussion at §4.3.2.2 concerning processional scenes with the stepped and tower structures.

<sup>625</sup> On this much discussed ceremony, see, e.g., Boyce 2003. As noted in the catalog entry for PTS 20\* (S4), Boyce (1982, p. 146) was convinced that the scene could not represent a Zoroastrian act of worship that involved crushing of *haoma*, since the attendants were standing rather than seated.

<sup>626</sup> Sections 4.3.1.3 and 4.3.2.2.

<sup>627</sup> As the upper hand of the attendant on PFUTS 149 (ST3) is not preserved, this figure may also be in the act of killing the animal. On PFUTS 285 (ST4), there is only one attendant who leads an animal toward the two structures. As noted, PFUTS 146 (ST5) is too poorly preserved to determine the number of attendants.

<sup>628</sup> PFUTS 285 (ST4) is an outlier here; there clearly is no attendant interacting with the fire on the stepped structure. Although his arms are not preserved, the attendant on PFUTS 618 (ST6) most likely is interacting with a fire on a stepped structure.

<sup>629</sup> The treatment of the body of the tower structure on PFUTS 618 (ST6) is poorly preserved, but there clearly are traces of an outline border or a rectangular inset frame.

<sup>630</sup> Preservation is very poor in this passage on PFUTS 618 (ST6); we should leave open the possibility of more elements.

<sup>631</sup> The exception is PFUTS 618 (ST6), where poor preservation does not allow for a definitive reading of the passage over the stepped structure.

<sup>632</sup> There is ample documentation on animal sacrifice in Zoroastrian belief; the subject has been often studied, as surveyed in de Jong 2002.

<sup>633</sup> See also the discussion at §4.4.1.

<sup>634</sup> Three scenes do not admit tidy classification (see §4.3.2.6).

<sup>635</sup> Only one attendant is preserved on PTS 57 (T6). As noted in the catalog entry, the seal is probably a cylinder (not a stamp, *pace* Schmidt), and preservation leaves open the possibility that there was another attendant to the right.

<sup>636</sup> The upper body of the one preserved attendant on PTS 57 (T6) is only poorly preserved.

<sup>637</sup> One of the attendants on PTS 23 (T5) wears the *bashlyk* rather than a crown.

<sup>638</sup> For the royal-name seals of Darius and observations on the roles/functions of the inscriptions on these seals, see the comments of Garrison 2014a.

<sup>639</sup> The large amphora that, unusually, floats above the table on PFUTS 294 (T30) may have the same form, although with projecting handles.

<sup>640</sup> The scene on PFUTS 146 (ST5) is only partially preserved; both the stepped structure and the animal are inferred based upon small fragments of imagery and the context of the activity.

<sup>641</sup> Based upon the preserved dynamics of the scene on PFS 1431, it is highly possible that it may have included a tower structure.

<sup>642</sup> The tower structure on PFUTS 285 (ST4) may also have been crenellated; the top of the structure is not preserved.

<sup>643</sup> The lower parts of these garments are not, however, preserved; they may be the Assyrian garment.

<sup>644</sup> Additionally, at the time of the publication of PFS 435 (T16), only very few of the V-shaped tower structures had been identified.

<sup>645</sup> On PFUTS 330 (T19), the seated figure's hand that is extended toward the tower structure is not preserved.

<sup>646</sup> An exception is PFS 307 (T20), where a rampant animal moves toward the tower structure (and thereby away from the seated figure). The arms of the seated figure on PFS 978 (T23) are not preserved, leaving open the possibility that this figure in fact interacted directly with the rampant animal behind him.

<sup>647</sup> The exception is PFS 2542 (T27).

<sup>648</sup> The arms and hands of the seated figure on PFS 978 (T23) are not preserved.

<sup>649</sup> The hands of the seated figure on PFS 2296 (T29) are not preserved; the figure may hold a staff.

<sup>650</sup> Indeed, the seated figure on PFUTS 616 (T25) clearly holds large drinking vessels.

<sup>651</sup> The tower structure on PFS 628 (T47) has a similar plant-like device.

<sup>652</sup> The compositions on the following seals are incomplete, and, thus, may have originally contained humans and/or more animals: PFATS 281 (T37), PFATS 460 (T40), and PFS 1015 (T43).

<sup>653</sup> The exception is PFATS 450 (T39), where a plant stands between the rampant caprid and the tower structure.

<sup>654</sup> The compositions on the following seals are incomplete, and, thus, may have originally contained humans and/or more animals: PFATS 224 (T44) and PFS 628 (T47).

<sup>655</sup> See the discussion at §4.2.2.2.

<sup>656</sup> Similar to the plant-like device seen on the body of the structure on PFUTS 457 (T32).

<sup>657</sup> PFATS 11 (T35), PFATS 224 (T44), PFATS 244 (T42), PFATS 281 (T37), PFATS 297 (T45), PFATS 312 (T38), PFATS 354 (T8), PFATS 392 (T48), PFATS 436 (T46), PFATS 450 (T39), and PFATS 460 (T40).

<sup>658</sup> PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PFUTS 607 (T3), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), PTS 57 (T6), PT4 873 (T7); perhaps also PFATS 354 (T8), although the preservation is very poor. All of these tower structures are crenellated, with the exception of the V-shaped tower structures on PFUTS 607 (T3) and PFATS 354 (T8).

<sup>659</sup> The only exception is one of the attendants on PTS 23 (T5), who holds an elaborate pitcher (see §4.3.2.1). The pitcher links, at least in this one instance, scenes of the first convention with those of the second convention.

<sup>660</sup> But see the commentary to PTS 23 (T5).

<sup>661</sup> Discussed in more detail at §§5.4.3–5.4.6, in association with the visual dynamics of the scene on PFS 11\* (T1).

<sup>662</sup> See the comments below, n. 663.

<sup>663</sup> Omitting the outliers, PFUTS 607 (T3), the seal PT4 873 (T7) from the Treasury, and PFATS 354 (T8).

<sup>664</sup> See the discussion at §§5.4.5–5.4.6 on the emblematic quality of PFS 11\* (T1).

<sup>665</sup> See also the extended analysis of the scene on PFS 11\* (T1) at §§5.4.4–5.4.6.

<sup>666</sup> As variously articulated by other scholars; e.g., Houtkamp 1991, p. 33, discussed here at §1.6, where the tower structure is said to have been a symbol of royal power and its divine origin. I am less inclined to read this scene specifically, e.g., as a representation of the dynastic fires of the Achaemenids (e.g., Yamamoto 1979, pp. 31–32; Boyce 1987a, p. 2).

<sup>667</sup> PFUTS 151 (T10), PFUTS 162 (T11), PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 604 (T13), PFUTS 152 (T14), PFUTS 242 (T15), PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), PFUTS 146 (ST5), PFUTS 618 (ST6), PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

<sup>668</sup> PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

<sup>669</sup> Animals: PFUTS 162 (T11), PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), PFUTS 618 (ST6); liquids: PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10); animals and liquids: PFUTS 151 (T10), PFUTS 604 (T13), PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 146 (ST5).

<sup>670</sup> PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), PFUTS 146 (ST5), PFUTS 618 (ST6), PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

<sup>671</sup> In fact, no seal in the second syntactical convention is cut in the Court Style.

<sup>672</sup> PFUTS 152 (T14) is cut in a rich version of the Persepolitan Modeled Style; PFUTS 242 (T15) in the local Fortification Style.

<sup>673</sup> PFS 435 (T16), PFUTS 33 (T17), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFUTS 330 (T19), PFS 307 (T20), PFS 2220 (T21), PFUTS 313 (T22), PFS 978 (T23), PFS 2525 (T24), PFUTS 616 (T25), PFUTS 240 (T26), PFS 2542 (T27), PFS 738 (T28), PFS 2296 (T29), PFUTS 294 (T30), PFUTS 257 (T31), PFUTS 457 (T32), PFS 709 (T33), PFATS 11 (T35), PFS 897 (T36), PFATS 281 (T37), PFATS 312 (T38), PFATS 450 (T39), PFATS 460 (T40), PFATS 244 (T42), PFS 1015 (T43), PFATS 224 (T44), PFATS 297 (T45), PFATS 436 (T46), PFS 628 (T47), and PFATS 392 (T48).

<sup>674</sup> PFATS 460 (T40); PFATS 436 (T46).

<sup>675</sup> All seals are cut in variations of the local Fortification Style or the Persepolitan Modeled Style.

<sup>676</sup> In opposition to bulls, and, to a lesser degree and in specific contexts, lions, which are often intimately connected to court-centric iconography (see the comments of Garrison 2013a).

<sup>677</sup> For a recent discussion of the banquet within an Achaemenid Persian context, see Miller 2011.

<sup>678</sup> The exceptions are the V-shaped tower structures on PFATS 354 (T8) and PFUTS 153s (T9); see the discussion at §4.3.2.1 for the exceptional features of these two scenes.

<sup>679</sup> See the discussion at §4.3.2.1: PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PFUTS 607 (T3), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), PTS 57 (T6), PT4 873 (T7), and PFATS 354 (T8).

<sup>680</sup> The exceptions are the scenes on PFATS 354 (T8) and PFUTS 153s (T9) (see above, n. 678) and the seal PT4 873 (T7), which is poorly preserved and probably re-cut.

<sup>681</sup> See the discussions at §4.3.1.3 and §4.3.2.2.

<sup>682</sup> Limited to the winged symbols on PTS 20\* (S4), PFUTS 152 (T14), and PFUTS 242 (T15). These scenes, as noted above, are exceptional in other ways: PTS 20\* (S4) for its table, mortar and pestle, and headdress; PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15) for the votive objects that are carried in the processions.

<sup>683</sup> Crenellated towers are found on PFUTS 162 (T11), PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), and PFUTS 618 (ST6). It seems noteworthy that all but one of these crenellated tower structures, that on PFUTS 162 (T11), are found in the scenes having paired stepped and tower structures.

<sup>684</sup> PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), PFUTS 146 (ST5), PFUTS 618 (ST6), PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

<sup>685</sup> See the discussions at §§4.3.2.3–4.3.2.6.

<sup>686</sup> Crenellated tower structures are found on PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24).

<sup>687</sup> PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), PFUTS 146 (ST5), PFUTS 618 (ST6), PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11).

<sup>688</sup> See above, n. 21.

<sup>689</sup> See the commentary to PTS 20\* (S4).

<sup>690</sup> This is not the venue to explore the complex issues surrounding the identification of the figure in the winged ring/disk and the winged ring/disk. Surveys of opinions may be found in Garrison in press b, in press c; Rollinger 2011.

<sup>691</sup> This is probably also the case for the crescent in a disk on the tomb relief of Darius I at Naqš-e Rostam.

<sup>692</sup> The evidence from Persepolitan glyptic is discussed in some detail in Garrison in press b. See Jacobs in press (s.v. \*Uvar/n-) for Iranian lunar deities.

<sup>693</sup> Henkelman 2008a.

<sup>694</sup> The subject of animal sacrifice in Zoroastrianism is much studied and debated. As de Jong (2002, pp. 127–28) notes, while the Parsi community of India abandoned animal sacrifice in the late nineteenth century, it is still a living ritual in modern Iranian Zoroastrianism. The issue is clouded by older debates swirling around the intentions of the founding prophet, Zoroāstra, who, many argued, banned both animal sacrifice and the *haoma* ceremony. The debate in many ways reflects Western attempts to construct a pure/true Zoroastrianism (see de Jong 2002, p. 129). Thus, one can find in the scholarship statements both that animal sacrifice plays a critical role in Zoroastrian belief, and that it does not, depending on one's perspective. Whether or not an individual by the name of Zoroāstra sought to introduce reforms to an ancient Iranian religion, there is no question that both animal sacrifice and the *haoma* ceremony are featured prominently in the Zoroastrian texts. This issue is part of the complex problem of the nature of the sources on Zoroastrianism and how one decides to use those sources (de Jong 1997, pp. 39–75, is an excellent overview on the historiography). Henkelman (2008a, pp. 319–83), in the course of a lengthy analysis of the so-called religious journal, NN 2259, which records large numbers of allocations of livestock for cultic purposes, captures much of the scholarship on the issue of animal sacrifice in Fārs under Darius I. One of the critical points that Henkelman makes is the unequivocal evidence that the text provides for direct royal involvement in animal sacrifice.

<sup>695</sup> Boyce 1968, pp. 53, 65; de Jong 2002, p. 128; cf. the rather convoluted remarks of Yamamoto (1979, p. 25) on a supposed Iranian fire-worshipping tradition in which “nothing is ever placed on fire that does not contribute to its own maintenance and worship ... the function of the fire at the sacrifice is not to consume a part of the flesh on behalf of the gods, but, by cooking it (without direct contact) to release its odour for them to enjoy.”

<sup>696</sup> Boyce 1968, p. 65. See also the comments above, n. 694. Owing to the nature of the surviving textual record (see the discussion at §§1.2–1.3) and the tendency to project into the historical record contemporary Zoroastrian practices, the historical development of sacred fire among Mazdā-believers is complex and the interpretations put forward not always in harmony.

<sup>697</sup> One of the most important results to emerge from Henkelman's (2008a) study is the documentation of the variety of deities whose cults are (at least partially) supported by the state. As Henkelman emphasizes throughout his study, this picture is in direct contrast to the ideologically charged royal inscriptions where one named deity, Auramazdā, dominates the religious landscape.

<sup>698</sup> Garrison 2010; Garrison in press b.

<sup>699</sup> Garrison 2014a and 2014b.

<sup>700</sup> No scene showing a stepped structure, other than the one on PTS 20\* (S4), has a winged symbol. Only PFUTS 152 (T14) and PFUTS 242 (T15) include winged symbols among the scenes that have a tower structure; these two scenes are, as I have remarked, exceptional in many regards.

<sup>701</sup> This feature is discussed in more detail in *Chapter 6*.

<sup>702</sup> Henkelman 2011a, p. 128 n. 116, and Álvarez-Mon 2010a, 2010b, and 2013, pp. 207–08, for previous bibliography on the site and the reliefs.

<sup>703</sup> See the discussion at §6.2.

<sup>704</sup> Henkelman 2011a, p. 129.

<sup>705</sup> Henkelman 2011a, p. 129 n. 120.

<sup>706</sup> See the discussions at §4.3.2.3, §4.3.2.7, and §4.3.3.

<sup>707</sup> Note the description of this personage in de Waele 1973, p. 42: “[s]on attitude propre à la prière récitée à haute voix l’identifierait au grand prêtre ou au roi dans ses fonctions de prêtre.”

<sup>708</sup> Seidl (1997b, p. 202) calls the structure a “thymiaterion” but without any further commentary. She may have been led to this identification based on the triangular shape of what I have identified as the fire of the altar and its visual similarity to what are generally identified as incense burners on the central panels of the Apadana (cf. Schmidt 1953, p. 164, pls. 119, 121–23, who described the objects as censers). Based on the glyptic evidence from Persepolis, I think that we have to do at Kül-e Farah I with a fire on an altar, not an incense burner. One should note also the altar on Kül-e Farah V. The scene shows what must be a ruler standing before a triangular support over which there is a triangular fire (de Waele 1981, fig. 8; Álvarez-Mon 2013, figs. 2 and 4).

<sup>709</sup> Note also the similarly configured altar on Kül-e Farah V (see above, n. 708). Located on the opposite cliff face of the gorge from Kül-e Farah I, at the base of the cliff face that carries Kül-e Farah IV, there is a large boulder into the top of which are carved two circular cavities, often taken to be “fire bowls” or the boulder as a whole a “fire altar”; see Henkelman 2011a, p. 128; de Waele 1973, pp. 41–44, photograph on p. 43, who remarks that “[d]ans la plaine d’Izeh-Malamir à l’époque néo-élamite on pratiquait le culte (par l’intermédiaire) du feu qui deviendra officiel à l’époque achéménide jusqu’à l’Islam.” De Waele (1989, p. 33) states that the five figures wearing long garments at the bottom left section of the relief Kül-e Farah IV are priests who are meant to be envisioned as directing their attention to the “fire altar” boulder that has the circular cavities.

<sup>710</sup> De Waele 1981, figs. 7–8; de Waele 1973, photograph on p. 37; de Waele 1989, pls. IVa–Vb; Álvarez-Mon (2013) counts “at least 141 individuals” (p. 217).

<sup>711</sup> De Waele (1989, p. 32) and Álvarez-Mon (2013) interpret the gesture as one of eating. While this may be the case for the seated figure (generally identified as the king) and the large figure at far left of the tableau, who hold the tips of the fingers together, I am not convinced that it applies equally to the anonymous rows of attendants.

<sup>712</sup> Some commentators identify the gesture within the Achaemenid milieu as what the Greek sources called *proskynesis*; on the gesture, see the discussion at §6.3.2.3. The context of the gesture on the reliefs at Kül-e Farah IV, while not providing a definitive answer to the question of the meaning of the gesture, surely indicates an act of (religious) ritual significance (even if it indeed is eating, as has been suggested for Kül-e Farah IV).

<sup>713</sup> Álvarez-Mon (2013, pp. 218–19, fig. 7a–f) reviews the scholarship concerning the vessels depicted in Kül-e Farah IV. As he notes, the exact form of the foot of the vessel on Kül-e Farah IV cannot be determined. The handleless amphora-like container with wide mouth, narrow neck, ovoid body, and pointed foot depicted on PFUTS 151 (T10), PFUTS 66 (ST7), and PFUTS 91 (ST8) is similar to small ovoid jugs (in both clay and faience) that are found in very late Neo-Elamite levels at Susa (Álvarez-Mon 2010c, pp. 219–21, pls. 99, 112[f and g], and 115); those vessels have small loop handles and a knobbed foot. The ambiguity surrounding the exact forms of the vessels depicted in the reliefs at Kül-e Farah and in Persepolitan glyptic and our limited understanding of pottery and metalware assemblages in the Elamite highlands in the first millennium BC limit any attempts at exact identification of the vessel types in the visual record with actual contain-

ers in the archaeological record (ovoid jug, amphora, “Middle Elamite goblet,” or some other form).

<sup>714</sup> Henkelman (2011a, pp. 130–33) surveys the scholarship attesting to the linkages between Kül-e Farah and early Achaemenid art and culture (to which one may add Álvarez-Mon 2010a and 2010b). Henkelman’s (2011a, p. 130) list of iconographic parallels includes “the absence of images of deities, representations of figures in superimposed registers (in combination with an audience scene), costume of the ruler, platform with the ruler carried by atlas-figures, *proskynesis* gesture(?), prayer attitude, use of fire altars, and the retinue of dignitaries including the ruler’s weapon bearer.” Other cultural parallels, drawn principally from the inscriptions at Kül-e Farah, that Henkelman notes are the structure of the court, theology (note in particular the concept of *kitin*), and religious ritual and attitudes.

<sup>715</sup> See the discussion at §2.1.1.2. Note in particular the seminal study by Miroschedji (1985) and the summary comments by Henkelman (2011a, pp. 91–92, 133–34).

<sup>716</sup> See the catalog entries for PFS 11\* (T1), PTS 23 (T5), PFUTS 76 (T18), PFS 1015 (T43), PFATS 224 (T44), and the comments below.

<sup>717</sup> See the discussion at §4.3.2.1.

<sup>718</sup> I include in this scene type those showing only animals and the tower structure.

<sup>719</sup> See the discussions at §§4.3.2.3–4.3.2.7.

<sup>720</sup> PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), PTS 57 (T6).

<sup>721</sup> Schmidt (1957, p. 27) described the device on PTS 23 (T5) as a “vertical line.” The published photograph of the seal is so poor that one can distinguish no details about the device.

<sup>722</sup> Root 2003b, for the late Babylonian worship scene in Persepolitan glyptic. As noted in the catalog entry for PFUTS 76 (T18), the similarity of the device that emerges from the top of the tower structure with the object on the famous altar of Tulkulti-Ninurta from the Middle Assyrian period, while striking, would seem to be fortuitous.

<sup>723</sup> See §§3.3.5, 3.3.7, 3.3.9, and 3.3.10. These animals are to be distinguished from those that appear in processional scenes and are specifically targeted for sacrifice (see §3.3.3).

<sup>724</sup> See the discussion at §4.3.1.1.

<sup>725</sup> The issue is explored in some detail in Garrison in press b.

<sup>726</sup> The literature is substantial. One of the best introductions to the use of sign theory in the study of visual images remains Eco 1976; see also Bal and Bryson 1991. Potts (1996) surveys some of the trends and methodological problems.

<sup>727</sup> Peirce’s writings are most easily accessed in Hartshorne, Weiss, and Burks 1980 and Fisch et al. 1980–1993. For overviews of Peirce’s semiotics, from which much of the following is taken, see Hoopes 1991, Liszka 1996, and Elkins 2003.

<sup>728</sup> For a general introduction to the triad icon–index–symbol in Peirce’s own words, see “The Icon, Index, and Symbol” in Hartshorne, Weiss, and Burks 1980, vol. 1, pp. 156–73. Johansen (1988, p. 90), remarking on the importance of Peirce’s work to semiotics, stated that the icon–index–symbol triad represented “the most fundamental division of signs.”

<sup>729</sup> “A sign is said to be iconic when there is a topological similarity between the signifier and its denotata” (Sebeok 1994, p. 28).

<sup>730</sup> With an icon, “... the signs qualities are similar to the object’s characteristics” (Liszka 1996, p. 37). The resemblance may not be as tangible in some sign systems, e.g., algebra.

<sup>731</sup> Hoopes 1991, p. 251, from Peirce 1906, p. 495.

<sup>732</sup> Hoopes 1991, p. 181, from Peirce MS 901.

<sup>733</sup> See above, n. 731.

<sup>734</sup> E.g., Johansen (1988, p. 499) and Deely (1990, p. 46).

<sup>735</sup> Elkins 2003, pp. 9–12.

<sup>736</sup> The tension between the icon and the index is nicely articulated in Schiff 1987, who remarks that “the distinction [between icon and index — M.B.G.] is obvious enough, but in practice not very stable.... at one moment, a given mark may signify a relationship of iconicity (resemblance); but, on another viewing, it may seem to establish indexicality (causal connection)” (Schiff 1987, p. 96). For Schiff, indexicality is a matter of performance: “we can now redefine the aim of modernism as the attempt—perhaps doomed—to fuse iconic appearance to indexical performance” (Schiff 1987, p. 103).

<sup>737</sup> Hartshorne, Weiss, and Burks 1980, vol. 2, p. 274.

<sup>738</sup> Liszka 1996, pp. 34–52; Elkins 2003, pp. 12–20.

<sup>739</sup> Note Elkins (2003, p. 6), quoting Peirce giving an example of the icon–index–symbol triad. As Elkins states, Peirce is thinking on much more abstract terms than an art historian. Elkins (2003, p. 7) notes that “if we seek to delimit the conceptual or pragmatic range of Peirce’s trichotomy, we risk damaging the theory’s coherence because we have no secure sense of how the theory works together with its examples.”

<sup>740</sup> Cf. the comments of Elkins (2003, p. 6) on “the full extent of Peirce’s weirdness,” and Peirce’s “almost bewildering later theory.” Note Harris (1987, p. 26) and Elkins (2003, pp. 12–15) on the possibility of there being 59,049 classes of signs within Peirce’s later work.

<sup>741</sup> Liszka 1996, pp. 34–35; Elkins 2003, pp. 12–15.

<sup>742</sup> Schmidt 1970, pp. 18–49, and Stronach 1978, pp. 117–36, for the excavations reports; see also Gropp 2009 for the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt. Only one wall of the Zendān-e Solaymān survives intact today. Enough of the structure was recovered for Stronach to state that the better preserved Ka’ba-ye Zardošt at Naqš-e Rostam was “almost an exact replica” of the Zendān-e Solaymān (e.g., Stronach and Gopnik 2009). See also the discussion at §4.4.2.1. Note also the recent discovery of the monumental structure at Tol-e Āğori (see §4.4.2.2).

<sup>743</sup> E.g., Houtkamp 1991, pp. 29–33. Note Potts 2007 and the discussion at §4.4.2.3 on the association of the Achaemenid towers with the structures depicted on the reverses of the coinage of the *frataraka* rulers of Persis.

<sup>744</sup> Schmidt (1970, p. 34) described them as denticulate cornices. Of course, this does not mean that there might not have been some other applied decoration (that no longer survives) on the rooflines or on top of the roofs themselves. Little survives of the roof of the Zendān-e Solaymān. The roof of the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt is, however, well preserved. It consists of four huge slabs of stone originally held together by dovetail clamps (Schmidt 1970, fig. 11D and pls. 4 and 10A and B). There is no evidence for the attachment of any devices to the roof.

<sup>745</sup> See also the comments below.

<sup>746</sup> Schmidt (1970, p. 35) described the configuration as “engaged piers.” The depth of the recession of the wall surfaces is about 19 cm.

<sup>747</sup> Cf. the plan in Schmidt 1970, fig. 5, and the actual wall façades in Schmidt 1970, pls. 4–9, 11–13.

<sup>748</sup> The exceptions are the wall surfaces that have the doorways, for which see below.

<sup>749</sup> Following Schmidt’s (1970, p. 35) terms.

<sup>750</sup> In distinction to the use of stone and mudbrick for monumental structures.

<sup>751</sup> No door was preserved for the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt at Naqš-e Rostam; Schmidt (1970, p. 37) suggested that the two leaves of the door were metal or wood with metal overlay. A stone slab decorated with “two partially complete rows of shallow square depressions” found in the foundation of the tower could potentially have been a doorway but not necessarily to the tower (Schmidt 1970, pp. 34, 37, fig. 11-F); in any case, its ultimate function certainly was not as a door to the tower. One may perhaps compare here again those V-shaped tower structures whose bodies carry metopal fields (e.g., PFUTS 330 [T19], PFS 897 [T36], perhaps also PFUTS 153s [T9]). The doorway itself of the actual tower is framed by a recessed band.

<sup>752</sup> E.g., Stronach 1966, pp. 220, 222, following the suggestion of Schmidt (1957, p. 9) that the crenellations represent the raised corners of a square fire altar.

<sup>753</sup> E.g., Schmidt 1953, p. 64, for the great ceremonial stairway to the Takht, fig. 15, for building C in the plain to the south of the Takht. Krefter’s (1971) reconstructions make generous use of crenellated parapets. Stepped “merlons” were also recovered at Susa (Porada 1967, p. 6, fig. 12).

<sup>754</sup> On the use of recessing in Achaemenid architecture, see below.

<sup>755</sup> One should note also here the crenellated headband worn by an attendant on the west door jamb of the west door in the north wall of the main hall of the Palace of Darius (Tilia 1978, p. 63, fig. 10 and pl. 34 [figs. 51–52]) and the crown worn by the royal figure in the Palace of Darius, the exact nature of which is of some dispute. Henkelman (1995/96, p. 276) describes it as crenellated, noting that “the crenellations on top of the crowns are only fully elaborated as ‘stepped’ crenellations on the left and right side, the other crenellations appear as mere peaks” (Henkelman 1995/96, p. 277); Schmidt (1953, p. 226) described the crowns as having a “dentate top”; Roaf (1983, fig. 132) draws the crown as many small dentates (with no crenellations). For other occurrences of crenellated crowns (post-Darius), see the discussion in Roaf 1983, p. 131. Various propositions have been forwarded concerning the chronology and significance of the various types of royal headgear documented in the Achaemenid period: e.g., von Gall 1974; Calmeyer 1976; Calmeyer 1977; Tilia 1978, pp. 58–64; Root 1979, pp. 92–93; Roaf 1983, pp. 131–33; Henkelman 1995/96; Anderson 2002, pp. 178–80; Merrillees 2005, pp. 97–100; Tuplin 2007 (with copious referencing to the previous literature on Achaemenid crowns). Anderson (2002, pp. 179–80) reads the dentate crown worn by royal figures in Persepolitan glyptic and imperial coinage as a reductive version of the crenellated crown. For our purposes, it is only important to note that the crenellated crown is well documented in the time of Darius I.

<sup>756</sup> Harper et al. 1992, pp. 224–28, fig. 155; Calmeyer 1992; A. Caubet and N. Daucé in Perrot 2010, pp. 322–26 and 334–36. Tilia (1969, p. 36 n. 120) stated that the decoration on the garments represents two types of structures, “one of them very closely resembles a gate building, where the flanking towers are crowned by crenellations, whereas the other presents three freestanding towers crowned by elements, which are very much like the parapet elements” [that lined the Persepolis terrace near Palace H — MBG].

<sup>757</sup> Garbini 1958; Porada 1967; Anderson 2002, pp. 175–82; Callieri 2007, p. 122; Root 2013, pp. 40–44 and 2015, pp. 9–10; Callieri 2014, pp. 92–94.

<sup>758</sup> See the references above, n. 757; Smith 2003, pp. 255–65 (with reference to and discussion of the use of crenellations in Urartian art and architecture); Anderson 2002, pp. 176, 181.

<sup>759</sup> Pope's (1957, pp. 125–26) comments on the crenellations as the sacred mountain are perhaps a bit dated: the “panel inset in the crenellation marks the gateway by which the fertility god enters the mountain and through which he will triumphantly emerge in response to the supplication of king and people. The panel is an encouraging prophecy of return” (p. 126). See also Garbini 1958; Anderson (2002, pp. 177–78) suggests that the crenellation rendered in stone also had associations with imperial appropriation; Root (2013, pp. 40–44) explores in detail the cosmic associations of the crenellations in Persepolitan architecture and on the Achaemenid crowns. The recent discovery of Persepolis-type crenellated parapets associated with a columned portico at the site of Qaleh Kali (near the modern village of Gīn-ġin) in the Mamasani Valley reinforces the critical role that this architectural feature played in Achaemenid court architecture (Potts et al. 2009, pp. 217, 222, 241, figs. 16, 18, 37–39). The authors (Potts et al. 2009, p. 256) speculate that the portico is part of a complex of buildings, perhaps even centered around a garden, serving as a way-station along the royal road.

<sup>760</sup> Such an argument has already been posited for the crenellations that occur on Achaemenid crowns; note the remarks of Merrillees (2005, p. 97), who describes the crenellations on the crown of Darius at Bisotūn as “a transposition of the ‘sacred and protective’ aspects of military architecture” (following Porada 1967, p. 6, on crenellations on Persepolitan architecture).

<sup>761</sup> See the discussion at §4.2.2.1.1.

<sup>762</sup> This recessing took the form of “three units of three attached segments of circles, apparently carved from the mud-brick body of the wall and plastered over” (Schmidt 1953, p. 73, figs. 29, 30, 32, and 36A).

<sup>763</sup> Schmidt 1953, fig. 26. Other recessed façades occur on the walls lining Garrison Street, the outer facades of the Treasury, the Throne Hall, etc.

<sup>764</sup> Of the structures dating to the time of Darius, see: Palace of Darius (Schmidt 1953, figs. 126, 28–29, 131A, 133C, 138B, 140–41, etc.); Apadana, the stone door jambs of the two doors on the northern wing are reconstructed as having framed insets based upon the threshold and jambs of the one excavated door (eastern) (Schmidt 1953, p. 79, figs. 29 and 38C; Krefter, whose reconstructions are at times somewhat liberal, restored recessing on all four façades of the Apadana [Krefter 1971, Beilage 3–5]); tomb of Darius (Schmidt 1970, fig. 32A and pl. 20). Roaf (1998) discusses the use of recessed doorways, what he calls rabbeted doorways, in Assyria and western Iran in the Iron Age. While recessed doorways generally signaled religious architecture in Assyria and Babylonia, Roaf (1998, p. 78) concludes that it is uncertain whether this architectural feature served such a purpose at Persepolis or in western Iran in general.

<sup>765</sup> Schmidt 1953, pls. 128B, 131A.

<sup>766</sup> Schmidt 1970, figs. 7, 12–13 (esp. 12A), 20B, pls. 4, 5, and 11–13.

<sup>767</sup> Only part of the outline of the door frame of the Zendān survives (Stronach 1978, pls. 96A, 98A, and 99A). Stronach restored the same architrave and cornice on the doorway of the Zendān-e Solaymān based upon the overall similarity of the two towers.

<sup>768</sup> Stronach 1978, pp. 31–34, figs. 13, 17a, and 18a. The doorway of the tomb is very poorly preserved. The upturned finials have almost completely disappeared, but Stronach (1978, p. 32) noted that “the departure of the right-hand finial is still to be seen just where the stone surface begins to break away.”

<sup>769</sup> Cf. also the crenellated tower structures on PFUTS 313 (T22) and PFS 2525 (T24).

<sup>770</sup> It should be stressed, however, that no V-shaped tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic shows a one-to-one match (i.e., an iconic correspondence) with the door treatments on these three buildings. Boardman (2000, p. 59) rightly points out that the doorways on these three structures have been almost completely ignored. He notes that the manner in which the door jambs splay out at the top, below the cyma, is Egyptian in origin. The cyma is, however, Greek (in Egyptian architecture there would be a cavetto molding). The flat cornice that “turns up at the ends and is squared off” (Schmidt 1970, p. 37; Boardman [2000, p. 59] describes it as a “fascia with upturned corners”) recalls, Boardman (2000, p. 59) notes, “the corner acroteria on Greek roofs or the tops of Greek votive reliefs and altars, but for the blunt tips.” He notes that the false door on the enigmatic rock-cut tomb at Taş Kule (late sixth or early fifth century BC in date) and the fascia on one of the “Greco-Persian” reliefs from Daskyleion (late fifth century BC in date; see also below, n. 787) have similar upturned corners (for Taş Kule, see Cahill 1988, who emphasizes the eclectic nature of the tomb, neither Iranian nor Anatolian in design). Boardman (2000, pp. 59–60) prefers to see this particular treatment of doorways as of western inspiration (Lydo-Ionian; Stronach and Gopnik [2009] concur). Whether western, eastern, or some mix of the two, the critical point here is that only the doorways of the Zendān-e Solaymān, the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, and the tomb of Cyrus are so treated in Achaemenid monumental architecture in Fārs.

<sup>771</sup> Specifically, PFUTS 607 (T3), PFS 2315 (T12), and PFUTS 604 (T13).

<sup>772</sup> For references to the scholarly literature, see Henkelman 2008a, p. 357 n. 833; Potts 1990, for a brief survey of the evidence, including literary references to horns on the Esagila in Babylon, the preeminent religious structure in the Assyro-Babylonian world in the first millennium BC.

<sup>773</sup> EK1 71a–b; Vallat 1990; Vallat 1995; Henkelman 2008a, p. 33; Henkelman 2012c, pp. 371–72.

<sup>774</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 357–58. Note also Potts 1999, p. 284, for literary allusions to horns and religious architecture in earlier Elamite inscriptions and art.

<sup>775</sup> Luckenbill 1927, pp. 309–10, paragraph 810. The quote is from Potts 1999, p. 284, following the German translation of Streck 1916, p. 53. Potts 1990, p. 37: “horns of shining copper.”

<sup>776</sup> Reade (1976, pp. 100–101, pls. 24–25), in reviewing the possible locations in Elam for the scene, opts for Susa; Potts (1990, pp. 33 n. 4, 37–38) reviews the scholarship. Note also a relief from Sargon's palace at Dur Šarrukin/Khorsābād that may show the Iranian fortress at Kišesim crowned with three sets of what appear to be stag horns; Potts (1990, pp. 34–36, esp. n. 14, fig. 3) follows a very early suggestion of Billerbeck that the horns are in fact flames.

<sup>777</sup> There is a considerable body of scholarship on temple architecture in Iran (seminal studies include Erdmann 1941 and Schippmann 1971; excellent overviews of the scholarship may be found in Shenkar 2007 and 2011 and Canepa 2013). The starting point is generally the late antique Sasanian fire temples, for which we have abundant archaeological documentation. Various ideas have been posited regarding the identification of pre-Sasanian forms of this fire temple and the Iranian temple tradition in general. W. F. M. Henkelman (personal communication) brings my attention to the structures uncovered on the terraces in front of the royal Tombs V and VI at Persepolis (Sāmī 1972, pp. 84–86). Sāmī found no definitive evidence for the exact functions of the structures and terraces, although he was of the opinion that they were places of “religious rites.” On the terrace in front

of Tomb VI (traditionally attributed to Artaxerxes III), there was found a stone slab (1.03 m square) that has a raised square surrounded on all sides by a recessed channel with an opening. Canepa (2013, pp. 326–27) has suggested that this stone slab may be a *bašur* (“offering table”) mentioned in association with the *šumar* (“tomb”) in texts from the Fortification archive. While it is impossible to confirm this particular association definitively, it seems highly likely, as Sāmī inferred, that the areas in front of all the royal tombs, both those at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis, were religiously charged spaces that had sacred structures and cultic paraphernalia.

<sup>778</sup> Gropp (2009) surveys the scholarship.

<sup>779</sup> Root (2015, pp. 28–30) also links the cornice of the door of the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt with horns. See the discussion at §6.2 for the pronounced Elamite influences at Naqš-e Rostam.

<sup>780</sup> Tilia 1969, figs. 5–6, 46–48; Callieri 2007, pp. 120–21; Mousavi 2012, p. 23; Callieri 2014, pp. 101–02.

<sup>781</sup> Tilia (1969, p. 35) believed that this was the only place on the terrace where the horn-like parapets stood, the other edges of the terrace carrying the crenellated parapets.

<sup>782</sup> See also the comments at §4.4.2.3.

<sup>783</sup> Schmidt (1953, p. 279) stated that Palace H was post-Achaemenid in date; Tilia (1972, pp. 252, 258, 314–16) thought that the area was a Palace for Artaxerxes I, which was destroyed by Alexander and then rebuilt as a residence for the *frataraka* rulers. Root (2015, pp. 28–30) implies that the horns may date back to the time of Darius. She links the inset patterns on the Persepolis parapets with the so-called fire temple at Nūš-e Ğān (Stronach and Roaf 2007, pp. 67–92, figs. 2.8 and 2.11).

<sup>784</sup> There is no evidence, as noted, that this type of horned parapet existed in this area at the time of Darius.

<sup>785</sup> Tilia (1969, pp. 36–38) discussed the possible association of these horned parapets with “fire altars” (for her these included both what are here called the stepped and the tower structures), even offering the suggestion that the parapets might have represented “altars.” Tilia (1969, p. 41) concluded that “there existed a passage of certain importance on the inside of the parapet ... the place on the top of this south-western corner of the Terrace had another function different from that of the other buildings and courtyards, be it religious or profane.” Potentially of interest here are the fragments of Egyptian blue animal horns found in Palace D at Persepolis; Schmidt (1953, p. 269) suggested that they were originally attached to column capitals or statues (I thank W. F. M. Henkelman for bringing these discoveries to my attention).

<sup>786</sup> See also the comments at §§4.2.2.2.6–4.2.2.2.7.

<sup>787</sup> See Henkelman 2008b, for the *lan*, *šip*, and *daušiyam* ceremonies and the *šumar* and *bašur*; Henkelman 2003, for the *šumar* of Cambyses and Hystaspes. In this context, it may bear mentioning the two often-illustrated relief stelai from Daskyleion, dated to the late fifth century BC, that show one or two attendants holding a *barsom* before what appears to be a reduced architectural façade (e.g., Canepa 2013, figs. 14.5–14.6). The one relief (Istanbul Archaeological Museum no. 3261) appears to show the heads of a ram and a bull, presumably sacrificial offerings, lying on bundles of grass or twigs that rest on a platform or short table. The other relief (Istanbul Archaeological Museum no. 5391), whose structure is better preserved, shows a structure topped by a double inset fascia with an extension at its upper right corner and at least one inset frame within which there is an inset panel, thus having numerous points of contact with some of the V-shaped tower structures (see also the comments above, n. 770). These reliefs have in general been read as

funerary, and Canepa (2013, pp. 326–27) relates the scenes to Achaemenid royal funerary ritual in Fārs. This is an intriguing observation, but there are considerable spatial, temporal, and contextual distances separating the phenomena.

<sup>788</sup> We ought probably to leave open the possibility that both the crenellated and the V-shaped tower structures in glyptic refer to wooden structures, perhaps of temporary duration, that no longer survive. Such an explanation is appealing in potentially explaining the variety that we see in the V-shaped tower structures. Arguments *ex silentio*, are, however, not particularly persuasive.

<sup>789</sup> As Porada (1967), following Garbini (1958), on the sacred aspects of architectural battlements from ancient Iran and Iraq. Garbini (1958, pp. 86 and 88) specifically invokes the sacred mountain, heaven, and/or the zigurat for the Assyrian evidence.

<sup>790</sup> The one exception in the scenes showing the tower structure is PTS 23 (T5), where the attendant clearly holds a pitcher not unlike the pitcher held by the attendant nearest the stepped structure on PFS 75 (ST1).

<sup>791</sup> This is true particularly of Naqš-e Rostam. Although the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt is the only standing Achaemenid structure, there is no reason to assume that it was the only monumental Achaemenid building originally at the site.

<sup>792</sup> Potts (2007), Gropp (2009), von Gall (2009), and Canepa (2013, pp. 333–35) have recently surveyed the literature.

<sup>793</sup> E.g., Stronach 1967; Kleiss 1963–64 and 1989. Although one does not wish to press the point too much, the model of an Ura-rtian tower from Toprak Kale (dated to the late eighth–seventh centuries BC; Barnett 1950, pl. 1 [1]) is strikingly similar to the crenellated tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic.

<sup>794</sup> The buildings in the palace area are not aligned exactly with each other.

<sup>795</sup> Boucharlat and Benech 2002, pp. 24–26, figs. 11–12; Boucharlat 2003a and 2005, p. 228.

<sup>796</sup> As Boucharlat notes (2003a, p. 85), one cannot of course be certain that these linear features are contemporary with the structure.

<sup>797</sup> The complex would seem certainly to rule out the idea that the Zendān was a tomb (Boucharlat 2003a, p. 96).

<sup>798</sup> What Schmidt called the tower excavations. This excavation pit did not follow the survey grid that the team had established. The space cleared was approximately 6.8 m to the east and west of the walls of the tower, approximately 9.2 m to the north (door face of the tower), and 7.5 m to the south. See also the summary in Boucharlat 2003a, pp. 92–94.

<sup>799</sup> Schmidt did not excavate below the lowest stone base of the tower, with the exception of the robber’s tunnel (marked “U” and “V” in Schmidt 1970, fig. 17B).

<sup>800</sup> Schmidt 1970, p. 56, figs. 22A and 23A and D, the West Test. Parts of two mudbrick buildings, Building I and Building II, were also revealed in this area and tentatively assigned to the Achaemenid period based upon orientation and levels (Schmidt 1970, pp. 54–55, 57).

<sup>801</sup> What Schmidt called the Center Test in excavation quadrant AB and BB. The possible Achaemenid mudbrick structure was in unit BB05 (Schmidt 1970, p. 65, fig. 26A).

<sup>802</sup> Boucharlat (2003a, pp. 92–98), on the necessity of conceptualizing the two towers as parts of larger architectural complexes.



<sup>803</sup> Schmidt 1970, pp. 10 and 121, pls. 87–89; see Seidl (1986, fig. 2b), for a line-drawing reconstruction of the relief. See also the discussion at §6.2.

<sup>804</sup> On Teispid versus Achaemenid ideology, see the comments of Garrison 2011a.

<sup>805</sup> Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1983, pp. 150–51) addressed this issue briefly, suggesting that the Zendān was a symbol of legitimate kingship.

<sup>806</sup> Connections that in and of themselves would not rule out the possibility that the towers signified other things, e.g., legitimate kingship.

<sup>807</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2014. Bāgh-e Fīrūzi is located just to the east of the modern village of Fīrūzi. As the authors explain, the archaeological remains surrounding the modern town of Fīrūzi have been treated in various manners. They opt for the identification of two zones: South Fīrūzi and Bāgh-e Fīrūzi.

<sup>808</sup> A modern ditch appears to have destroyed part of the northwestern wall of the structure; modern robbing and digging are prevalent across the structure (Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, pp. 14, 27–28). Dr. Callieri brought my attention to an interview that the excavators gave during the 2014 season, upon which (in addition to the 2013 and 2014 reports) the following preliminary discussion is based (<http://www.chn.ir/NSite/FullStory/Video/?Id=113791&Ser v=5&SGr=36>). I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Callieri for kindly informing me about this interview and his discussion with me about the structure.

<sup>809</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2014, p. 225; for the evidence for benches, see pp. 233–36.

<sup>810</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, p. 14: “The building appears to have an orientation from NW to SE, with a 20° shift from the E–W axis.”

<sup>811</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, p. 15 n. 11.

<sup>812</sup> The topmost ninth course of baked brick at the base of the wall is in fact offset some 10 cm and forms the first course of the wall proper (Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, fig. 13).

<sup>813</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, pp. 14–22, figs. 10–11, 17; in trench 1 (figs. 10–11) there are five courses of brown glazed brick above which are three courses of yellow glazed brick over which there is one preserved course of white glazed brick.

<sup>814</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, pp. 26–27, figs. 24–27; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2014, pp. 239–46. The imagery includes rosettes, *mušhuššu* dragons, and bulls.

<sup>815</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, p. 27; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2014, pp. 243–46, figs. 21–22.

<sup>816</sup> Basello in Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, pp. 41–43; Basello in Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2014, pp. 246–50 publishes a second fragmentary inscribed glazed brick.

<sup>817</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, pp. 27 and 37; Chaverdi, Callieri, and Matin 2014, pp. 237–38.

<sup>818</sup> The measurements of the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt are of the tower proper, not its stepped platform, which at its bottom step measures 14.815 × 14.750 m (Schmidt 1957, p. 35 and fig. 15, from which the measurements of the lowest step of the platform were derived). The measurements of the Palace of Darius are taken from Schmidt’s (1953, fig. 92) reconstructed plan and include the southern staircase but not the western one.

<sup>819</sup> The Northwest Palace of Ashur-nasir-pal II at Nimrud: An Interactive Publication – Prototype at: [http://www.learningsites.com/NWPalace/NWP\\_ABS-archit.htm](http://www.learningsites.com/NWPalace/NWP_ABS-archit.htm).

<sup>820</sup> Schmidt 1957, p. 35. The Ka’ba-ye Zardošt is, of course, a stone-built structure. See also below on Stronach’s (1978, p. 46) suggestion that the height of the mudbrick walls of Gate R at Pasargadae were over 16 m.

<sup>821</sup> Stronach 1978, pp. 44–55.

<sup>822</sup> Stronach 1978, p. 44.

<sup>823</sup> Stronach (1978, fig. 22) restored buttressed mudbrick walls that at their widest point measure approximately 4.4 m in width.

<sup>824</sup> The corners of the monument at Tol-e Āğori are also oriented toward the cardinal points but some 20 degrees off a true north-south alignment (see above, n. 810).

<sup>825</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet (2013, pp. 4–7) review the scholarship concerning archaeological work in the area of the modern town of Fīrūzi. They state (pp. 6–7) that the zone which they call Bāgh-e Fīrūzi covers some 130 ha and “includes 10 known Achaemenid sites: seven with stone architectural elements, one with baked bricks on the surface, and two corresponding to 3 m.-high rounded tepes.” The excavators argue (p. 35) that the zone centered specifically on Bāgh-e Fīrūzi was not an elite residential suburb (as Sumner 1986, p. 27) but an area consisting of “sumptuous constructions ordered by the King or nobles with various possible functions (audience hall, ceremonial buildings, reception place, ...).”

<sup>826</sup> The discovery of the monumental structure at Tol-e Āğori will, I suspect, force us to consider anew Gate R at Pasargadae. Indeed, I would suggest that both structures, Gate R and Tol-e Āğori, may best be described as freestanding tower-gates.

<sup>827</sup> Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet 2013, p. 37. The excavators are also most probably correct in inferring that the monumental structure at Tol-e Āğori was most likely built under royal patronage. Chaverdi, Callieri, and Gondet (2013, p. 37), based on only the results up through the 2013 excavation season, tentatively suggest calling the structure a “temple tower,” potentially linked to structures known as *kukkunum/kukunnum* in the Middle Elamite textual evidence. With the discovery of the second doorway, the excavators have abandoned this line of thinking. It seems clear, however, that even if the structure is indeed a gate, it would seem most certainly to mark an entrance to a ritual area.

<sup>828</sup> See the discussion at §2.1.1.3. The best introductions to the fieldwork in the environs of Persepolis are Boucharlat 2003b, 2005, pp. 225–28, 229–30, in press, and Henkelman 2012a, pp. 943–50.

<sup>829</sup> See fig. 6.1 for a plan of the region of Persepolis. One wonders also whether the tower-gate at Tol-e Āğori ought to reopen the discussion concerning the function of the monument known as Takht-e Rostam that lies between Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam (recently re-studied in Bessac and Boucharlat 2010; see also Henkelman 2012b). The standing remains, long known, consist of a two-stepped stone platform, the lowest step measuring 13.28 × 12.22 m (Bessac and Boucharlat 2010, p. 7). As Bessac and Boucharlat (2010, pp. 3–14, esp. p. 7) note, while the majority of scholars have identified Takht-e Rostam as tomb on the model of the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, a few have suggested a fire altar or a tower. Schmidt (1953, pp. 56–57) in particular entertained the idea that Takht-e Rostam was a tower, stating that the dimensions were not too different than those of the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt. Most commentators reject this idea because, among other reasons, the plan of Takht-e Rostam is rectangular, not square as the towers at Naqš-e Rostam and Pasargadae (Bessac and Boucharlat 2010, pp. 7–8). The tower-gate at Tol-e Āğori is, however, rectangular in plan, negating at least this one objection to the

identification of Takht-e Rostam as a tower or, perhaps, even a freestanding tower-gate.

<sup>830</sup> The rulers who carry the title *frataraka* are Ardashīr I, Vahbarz, Baydād, and Vādfradād I. The relative sequence of the *frataraka* rulers and the absolute dating of the rulers and the coinage have long been disputed. An early dating puts the first coins and *frataraka* rulers ca. 300–250 BC, a late date ca. 200–180 BC. On the meaning of the term *frataraka* and the inscriptions on the coins more generally, see Curtis 2010, pp. 380, 393, n. 1. Alram 1986, pp. 162–86, pls. 17–22, is a comprehensive study of the chronology of the coinage. His typology and chronology of the coinage, based primarily on the ruler portraits on the obverses of the coinage, is summarized by Haerinck and Overlaet (2008, pp. 208–09). Those authors arrange the coinage in question into four groups, A–D, based upon both obverses and reverses. See also the overviews of the coinage in Callieri 2007, pp. 118–32; Klose and Müseler 2008; Hoover 2008; Curtis 2010, pp. 385–89; Callieri 2014, pp. 90–99.

<sup>831</sup> Potts 2007, Callieri 2007, pp. 118–24, and Haerinck and Overlaet 2008 are excellent overviews of the various interpretations that have been put forth regarding the structures on the reverses of the *frataraka* coinage and the Achaemenid towers. Potts (2007) and Haerinck and Overlaet (2008) come to radically different conclusions concerning the identification of the structures depicted on the coinage; see also Curtis 2010, pp. 389–91.

<sup>832</sup> As noted, there is debate on the exact sequence of *frataraka* rulers; see Hoover 2008, pp. 213–15; Curtis 2010, pp. 387–89. The coinage of these three rulers and Vādfradād I is represented by Alram's (1986) nos. 511–45, all of which, except nos. 544 and 545, Haerinck and Overlaet (2008) put into their Group A.

<sup>833</sup> There is no consensus on the identification of the attendant: king, priest, worshipper, etc. (Curtis 2010, p. 390; Callieri 2014, p. 95).

<sup>834</sup> There are some issues that are anepigraphic.

<sup>835</sup> Haerinck and Overlaet (2008) place Alram 1986, nos. 544–563 into their Group B.

<sup>836</sup> Potts 2007, p. 273.

<sup>837</sup> Alram 1986, nos. 546–550; Haerinck and Overlaet's (2008) Group B.

<sup>838</sup> All of these issues Haerinck and Overlaet (2008) place into their Group B.

<sup>839</sup> Thus the reason why this seal, whose scene is so different from other scenes showing the tower structure in the corpus here published, may in fact date to the *frataraka* period rather than the Achaemenid.

<sup>840</sup> Haerinck and Overlaet's (2008) Group C. The issues of Haerinck and Overlaet's (2008) Group D (Alram 1986, nos. 587–655) abandon both the rectangular structure and the stepped structure until the reign of Ardashīr V, when, as the first Sasanian ruler Ardashīr I, the coin reverses show a stepped structure with a blazing fire that was to become one of the signature emblems of Sasanian coinage.

<sup>841</sup> The scenes on the *frataraka* coinage have only one human attendant.

<sup>842</sup> As, most recently, Haerinck and Overlaet (2008). See also the references above, nn. 830 and 831.

<sup>843</sup> This is still a point of dispute: cf. Haerinck and Overlaet 2008, Curtis 2010, p. 390, and Callieri 2014, pp. 90–99.

<sup>844</sup> As Potts (2007, p. 296) correctly infers for the tower and stepped structures on the *frataraka* coinage.

<sup>845</sup> To reformulate Potts 2007, pp. 296–97, slightly, the scenes on the coinage reflect a desire to incorporate aspects of the visual displays of Achaemenid kingship, owing to its prestige, as a way of legitimizing the current ruling authority. That ruling authority may have had little to no understanding of the significance of the imagery in its original contexts; in a similar vein, if the structures on the coins are references to the Achaemenid towers Zendān-e Solaymān and Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, they inform us only about how those structures were perceived in the period of the later rulers of Persis, not in their original Achaemenid contexts. Cf. the remarks of Curtis (2010, p. 390) and Haerinck and Overlaet (2008, pp. 213–18).

<sup>846</sup> This is not, of course, to say that the *frataraka* rulers did not perpetuate Achaemenid rituals, only that the scenes on *frataraka* coinage cannot be used as evidence for such.

<sup>847</sup> Further analyses of divine imagery in Persepolitan glyptic (Garrison 2011c and in press b) highlight Moorey's other two conclusions: the polytheistic attitude of Achaemenid religious iconography; the persistent strength of the Assyro-Babylonian legacy.



## Glyptic Imagery as Social Identity: The Seals of Ziššawiš

“A crucial factor in state reproduction is the evolution of a bureaucratic elite that has a sense of its own function within the state or society... At higher levels of state development, this elite identifies with a particular set of ideological and symbolic narratives and can recruit and train its personnel into institutional roles and behavioral patterns relevant to the maintenance and even expansion of these structures.” (Goldstone and Haldon 2009, p. 8)

### 5.1. Introduction

One of the most interesting and important scenes displaying the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic occurs on PFS 11\* (T1).<sup>848</sup> As a glyptic artifact, this seal is in many ways exceptional. The purpose of this chapter is to explore in detail the full contexts of this seal both as an exceptionally sophisticated visual expression of Achaemenid imperial ideology and as a socio-political artifact in and of itself. These contexts involve, among other things, the seal user, Ziššawiš, a high-rank administrator at Persepolis, his previous seal, PFS 83\*, other seal users and seals at Persepolis in the late sixth century BC, and Persepolis as an emergent capital city of an empire that was the largest political state conceived, executed, and maintained to date. This analysis thus may serve to augment the iconographical discussions of the tower structure per se on PFS 11\* (T1) presented in the previous chapters and to highlight other potential research pathways that the archival context of Persepolitan glyptic may open for any one seal that occurs in the archive.

As in other places and times in ancient western Asia, the images preserved via glyptic artifacts at Persepolis were not neutral phenomena. Glyptic images did not exist simply as mechanical administrative devices (identity-surrogates) or as objects of visual pleasure (“art” in one modern sense of the word). Images had meaning. That meaning could and did function on numerous levels.

In *Chapter 4*, we delved into one aspect of sign theory as a way of attempting to provide some interpretive pathways regarding the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic. In this chapter, we are concerned with the significance of images within the context of an individual, Ziššawiš, living and working within the region of Persepolis. At one level, we may conceptualize Ziššawiš’s seals within traditional art historical frameworks such as “personal choice” or “patron mandates.” It is clear, however, that images were powerful communicative devices at Persepolis, operating on multiple levels of significance. Given the rich archival context of the two seals of Ziššawiš, we may move beyond imaginative reconstructions of the personal “taste” of Ziššawiš, or what the images may have to say about Ziššawiš’s personal religious beliefs, to contemplate images within deeper socio-political contexts.

The analysis that follows is concerned primarily with some aspects of the social history of images at Persepolis in the late sixth century BC.<sup>849</sup> This analysis is greatly influenced by numerous methodological perspectives, Marxism as articulated by critics such as Althusser and Eagleton being the most prominent.<sup>850</sup> Thus, we shall attempt to address the ideology of images, particularly the manner in which images helped to form the cultural landscape at Persepolis.

On a very broad perspective, images conceived as vehicles of cultural formation and indoctrination may originate from two principal sources: from those individuals and institutions of power, a conventional

understanding of the propagandistic nature of ideological enterprises systematically undertaken by the ruling elite; from various social levels below the ruling elite, the promotion/adoption of specific types of imagery serving as signals of cultural membership, affirmations of belonging to a particular socio-political group, etc. Both processes reflect in part the (ongoing) negotiation of social and political space by individual members of a society.

Analyses that seek perspectives on the social history of art are notoriously difficult to pursue within the context of the art of ancient western Asia owing to the fragmented and diffuse nature of the surviving visual record. What we may call a depth of evidence, that is, an intense concentration of imagery in time and space, is rare. Noteworthy exceptions include a few funerary deposits, for example, the Royal Cemetery at Ur, monumental relief from some royal palaces, for example, the Assyrian palaces at Nimrud, Khorsābād, and Nineveh, and the rare site-wide destruction horizon, for example, Hasanlu IVB in northwestern Iran.<sup>851</sup> The traditional strength of art historical analyses for ancient western Asia has been in formal analyses of iconography, attempting to match imagery with surviving literary and mythological narrative, and, to a lesser degree, style, understanding workshop traditions and affiliations.<sup>852</sup>

Seal images preserved via impressions on clay administrative documents are a remarkable, indeed, almost unique, resource in pursuing a social history of art. When the archive is still intact and has a known archaeological provenance, the imagery can be embedded in a densely interwoven network of temporal, spatial, individual, and administrative contexts. The more tablets, texts, and seals that survive from an archive, the more detailed may be the reconstruction of the social networks of those images.

The glyptic imagery preserved on the Fortification and Treasury archives constitutes an exceptionally rich portal into the image-landscape at Persepolis at the end of the sixth century BC. That image-landscape is itself one dimension of the complex space wherein socio-political negotiation among individuals, many of them administrative elite, took place.

### 5.1.1. Replacement Seals

One of the many interesting features of glyptic praxis that is documented in the Fortification and Treasury archives is the replacement of seals.<sup>853</sup> PFS 11\* (T1), the focus of this chapter, is used by Ziššawiš, a high-rank administrator in the Fortification archive. PFS 11\* (T1) is a replacement seal for his earlier seal, PFS 83\*.

By replacement of seals, I mean the systematic removal (or cessation of use) of one seal and its (apparently) concurrent replacement by another seal. Owing to the rich textual context of the Fortification archive and the Treasury archive, this phenomenon may often be tracked with great precision. In one now famous case involving the two seals of Parnaka, the director of the agency represented by the Fortification archive (generally identified as a member of the royal family, perhaps even the uncle of Darius I), two texts specifically mention the replacement of the earlier seal, PFS 9\* (fig. 5.1), with the new one, PFS 16\* (fig. 5.2).<sup>854</sup> In all other cases known to me, the replacement of seals goes unmentioned in the texts from Persepolis.

With regard to seal imagery, the replacement of seals may take three different forms. In one form, the new seal bears a completely “new” design and makes no attempt to “copy” the composition, iconography, and/or style of its predecessor. The two seals of Parnaka (figs. 5.1–5.2) fall into this category, as do the two seals of Ziššawiš, PFS 83\* (fig. 5.5) and PFS 11\* (T1) (fig. 5.15 and pls. 10–13), which are the focus of this chapter. While there is no one-to-one match in composition, there may be, however, an active dialogue between the two seals on multiple levels of style and imagery.<sup>855</sup> In a second form, the “new” seal seems to “copy” the composition of its predecessor, but the style of the new seal may be quite different and a few minor iconographic variations may be introduced. The seals of Ašbazana, known to the Greek sources as Aspathines and named by Herodotus (III.70, 78) as one of the conspirators with Darius, PFS 1567\* (fig. 5.3) and PTS 14\* (fig. 5.4), fall into this category.<sup>856</sup> As in the previous form, there is an interesting dialogue, on multiple levels, between the old seal and the new one. In a third form, the “new” seal seems to attempt to “copy” its predecessor, thus meant, for all intents and purposes, to pass as the original seal. I have proposed distinguishing these types of seals as “replica” seals.<sup>857</sup>

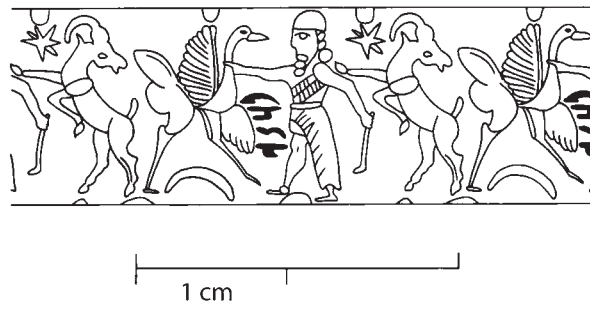


Figure 5.1. PFS 9\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 659 (left edge)

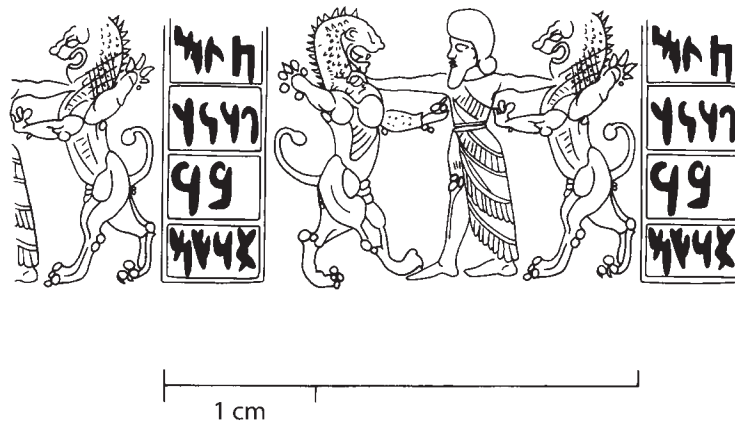
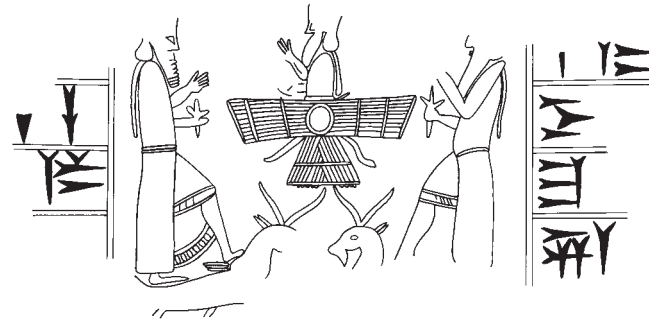


Figure 5.2. PFS 16\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 665 (left edge)



1 cm



Figure 5.3. PFS 1567\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive:  
(top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 1853 (left edge)



1 cm



Figure 5.4. PTS 14\* from the Persepolis Treasury archive:  
(top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PT 12 (left edge) (OIM A23259, field number PT4 506)

## 5.2. Ziššawiš, a Persepolitan Administrator

The administrator Ziššawiš is known to us primarily through the texts from the Fortification archive, but there are also four letter-orders from the Treasury archive, PT 28–29, 31, and 33, where a person of the same name issues orders.<sup>858</sup> Whether these two individuals by the name of Ziššawiš are one and the same we cannot know for certain. Both are high-rank administrators.

The Ziššawiš in the Fortification archive is the deputy-director of the agency, the right-hand man of Parnaka, the director. As indicative of his high administrative rank, Ziššawiš receives very high food payments (including livestock), issues letter-orders and *halmi* (a “sealed document” that authorizes the issuance of commodities), uses “long” colophons on some of his letters and memoranda, employs scribes, presides over certain types of religious ceremonies, and never needs a counter seal on his transactions.<sup>859</sup>

Ziššawiš is named in over 200 transactions in the Fortification archive. The earliest securely documented attestation of him is month 2 in year 15, thus May/June 507 BC.<sup>860</sup> His latest attestation in the Fortification archive is month 12 in year 28, March/April 493 BC, wherein a traveler is noted having a *halmi* of Ziššawiš (NN 1950). Month 12 in year 28 is the latest date for any surviving document in the archive.

Almost all of the transactions concerning Ziššawiš involve one of three types of activities: issuing authorizations for travel rations, what are called *halmi* or *miyatukkaš*; issuing letter-orders; receiving ration commodities.

Ziššawiš most commonly occurs in the archive issuing authorizations for travel rations, a *halmi* or *miyatukkaš* (Old Persian \**viyātika*-, “viaticum”).<sup>861</sup> PF 1389 may serve as an example of such a text:

<sup>1-6</sup> 1.3 BAR (of) flour, allocation from (*kurman*) Mirayauda, Iddamana received, and he himself received 2 QA, and his 11 boys received each 1 QA.

<sup>7-10</sup> He carried a *halmi* of Ziššawiš; they went to the place Yaparša.

<sup>10-11</sup> 7th month.

PFS 24: left edge; PFS 1312s: reverse

The actual *halmi*, an Aramaic or Elamite document prescribing the nature and amount of the rations to be issued to the traveler(s) and, presumably, carrying an impression of the seal of Ziššawiš, does not survive. Following sealing protocols on the travel ration memoranda, the *kurman* official, Mirayauda, a well-attested supplier on the royal road, applies his seal (or the seal of his office), PFS 24, to the left edge, the recipient, Iddamana, applies his seal, PFS 1312s, to the reverse (and/or upper edge).<sup>862</sup>

The term *halmi*, a seal or a sealed document, also can occur in contexts other than travel rations. Thus Ziššawiš issues a *halmi* on one D text (“general receipts”), PF 317, one K2 text (“rations for persons qualified in some way”), NN 957, and three P texts (“daily rations”), NN 144, 1242, and 2575.<sup>863</sup>

The next most common administrative function documented in the archive for Ziššawiš is the issuance of letter-orders; some fifty-two letter-orders of Ziššawiš survive.<sup>864</sup> PF 1812 may serve as an example:

<sup>1-3</sup> Speak to Uštana, Ziššawiš speaks:

<sup>3-9</sup> Issue 29 *marriš* (of) wine as rations to Turmašbada and his companions with him, *halmarraš nuškip* (“fortress guards”) (at Persepolis). <sup>10-16</sup> (In) the 10th month, 17th year, 2 men receive each 4 *marriš*, and 7 men receive each 3 *marriš*. <sup>16-17</sup> Kurdumiš wrote (the text). <sup>17-19</sup> He received the *dumme* from Kamezza.

PFS 83\*: left edge

Letter-orders are only issued by members of the royal family and high-rank officials. Parnaka and Ziššawiš account for the great bulk of the surviving letter-orders (Henkelman 2008a, pp. 133–34). Following sealing protocols on the letter-orders, the tablet carries only the seal of the issuer, in this case PFS 83\*, the first seal of Ziššawiš.<sup>865</sup>

The third major context in which Ziššawiš appears in the archive is receiving ration commodities, most commonly in a series of H texts (“receipts by officials”). Hallock (1969, pp. 23–24) noted that the transactions recorded in the H texts are distinguished by the high rank of many of the recipients, the large amount of commodities involved, and in almost all cases the naming of scribes in colophons.<sup>866</sup> These transactions may be “salary payments” rather than daily subsistence rations per se; or, perhaps, rations for the recipient



and his extended entourage. Both Parnaka and Ziššawiš received fixed amounts of commodities on a daily basis, individual towns being required to provide them for a certain number of days. For Ziššawiš, this daily payment is 6 BAR of flour (grain), 3 *marriš* of wine, and 1 and 1/2 sheep/goat.<sup>867</sup> He also receives, irregularly, fruit commodities.<sup>868</sup>

In addition to these three principal categories of activities in which Ziššawiš is documented, there is an interesting series of texts, B texts (“delivery of commodities”), that record a Ziššawiš and two other officials receiving animal hides or slaughtered animals (presumably for their hides); often the hides are then *ulla-kapnuški-ma* (“deliver[ed] to the treasury”).<sup>869</sup> It seems logical to infer, as Hallock (1969, p. 14) and many thereafter, that these hides are to be converted to parchment for Aramaic documents.<sup>870</sup> In eight of the B texts, the three officials named are Bakadušda, Ziššawiš, and Pirtanda.<sup>871</sup> In one B text, NN 617, the officials are Irkamukka, Ziššawiš, and Pirtanda. Sealing praxis on these texts is very regular. With the exception of NN 617, three seals are applied to the tablet: PFS 127, PFS 128, and PFS 129. On NN 617, the three seals are PFS 97, PFS 127, and PFS 128. The lack of one of Ziššawiš’s seals on these tablets need not mean that the Ziššawiš named in these B texts is not the same as the deputy-director; a subordinate could be sealing in Ziššawiš’s stead. The mention of hides and the treasury (presumably the one at Persepolis) leads me to think that we are in fact dealing with the deputy-director in these texts.<sup>872</sup>

Lastly, it bears noting that Ziššawiš is involved with religious ceremonies. He issues letter-orders to allocate commodities to ceremonies and/or presides over them himself (Henkelman 2011a, pp. 99–102). In NN 561, he presides over a *lan* ceremony.<sup>873</sup> The text is somewhat unusual. The normal protocols of the *lan* texts name a supplier, a receiver, who uses the commodities in the ceremony, and a place. In the case of NN 561, Badumakka the *šatin* receives wine as *daušiyam* for a *lan*, but there is appended the statement that “for the *lan*... Ziššawiš utilizes (it).”<sup>874</sup> In PF 672, Ziššawiš presides over a *šip* ceremony at Appištapdan.<sup>875</sup> Finally, in the entry in the journal NN 2486:47–48, Ziššawiš issues a *halmi* for fruit for an *anši* ceremony, again at Appištapdan, and presides over it himself.<sup>876</sup> In a potentially related vein, Ziššawiš issues letter-orders for commodities at the *šumar* (tomb) of Mišdašba (Hystaspes) and the *šumar* of an unnamed individual, presumably for sacrifices.<sup>877</sup>

Of the Ziššawiš in the Treasury archive, we are less well informed. As an addressor of letter-orders, he is among a group of elite few, men who may have represented an administrative agent/agency of the court treasury at Persepolis or, perhaps, some other administrative department/office.<sup>878</sup> Hallock and, apparently, Cameron assumed that the two officials were the same individual.<sup>879</sup> Lewis (1984, pp. 592, 601) also saw them as one and the same and even went so far as to identify him with the Mede Tithaios, son of Datis, a hipparch in 480 BC (based upon Herodotus VII.88.1).<sup>880</sup> Koch (1990, pp. 232–33) prefers to see two separate individuals owing to the extremely long time-span involved in the two careers.<sup>881</sup> As noted, Ziššawiš is first securely attested in the Fortification archive (NN 698) in month 2 in year 15, May/June 507 BC. The latest dated letter-order from the Treasury archive (PT 33) addressed by Ziššawiš is dated to the month of Viyaxna (Addaru) in year 18 of Xerxes, February/March 467 BC.<sup>882</sup> Thus, assuming that the two individuals are one and the same, he would have had a career as an exceptionally high-rank administrator (not, presumably, his whole career!) spanning some forty years at the minimum.<sup>883</sup>

For the purposes of this study, that is, an examination of the two seals of Ziššawiš used in the Fortification archive, it is not critical to decide one way or the other on the issue of whether the Ziššawiš in the Fortification archive is the same individual as the Ziššawiš in the Treasury archive. If one and the same, though, one would perhaps want to examine in more detail PTS 6\*, the seal under which Ziššawiš addresses his orders in the Treasury archive, in relation to the two seals used by Ziššawiš in the Fortification archive. PTS 6\* would, then, potentially be a third seal used by Ziššawiš and thus of interest on multiple levels of analysis. Given the uncertainty of the collation of the two individuals and the rather lengthy separation in time between the last occurrence of PFS 11\* (T1), the second seal of Ziššawiš in the Fortification archive (PF 1828, month 11 in year 25 of Darius, February/March 496 BC), and the earliest appearance of PTS 6\* in the Treasury archive (PT 28, month of Ačiyadiya [Kislimu] in year 15 of Xerxes, November/December 471 BC), I have opted to exclude PTS 6\* from the present extended analysis. I have included, however, a short synopsis of the seal and a collated drawing of it (fig. 5.29) in an appendix at the end of this chapter.

### 5.3. PFS 83\*, the First Seal of Ziššawiš in the Fortification Archive

As is typical of seals of high-rank offices and officials in the Fortification archive, PFS 83\* (fig. 5.5) always occurs alone on the tablets that it seals. The following are the tablets on which it has been documented to date:<sup>884</sup>

Attestations of PFS 83\*

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge	Month	Year
Fort. 3678	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	7	18
NN 49	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	destroyed	not sealed	9/10	18
NN 299	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	4/5	18
NN 543	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	destroyed	PFS 83*	not sealed	—	17
NN 698	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	2	15
NN 947	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	not sealed	9	18
NN 1034	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	4	17
NN 1093	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	destroyed	destroyed	3	17
NN 1190	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	3	18(?)
NN 2004	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	9	17
NN 2279	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	—	—
NN 2425	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	not sealed	PFS 83*	not sealed	3	15
NN 2566	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	10	15
PF 670	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	7	18
PF 671	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	8	18
PF 673	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	9	18
PF 1811	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	PFS 83*	not sealed	7	16
PF 1812	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 83*	not sealed	10	17

The earliest attested use of PFS 83\* is month 2 in year 15, May/June 507 BC; the latest attested use of the seal is month 9 in year 18, November/December 504 BC.<sup>885</sup>

PFS 83\* is large by Persepolitan standards. The preserved height of the seal is 1.70 cm; neither the top nor the bottom edges of the seal are preserved. The length of the design is 2.80 cm, which would yield a diameter for the original seal matrix of approximately 0.9 cm.<sup>886</sup>

#### 5.3.1. The Figural Imagery and Style of PFS 83\*

PFS 83\* is a cylinder seal. Among the seal designs found in Persepolitan glyptic, PFS 83\* is unique. Two figural compositions and two non-figural elements constitute the design. At right, a winged horned bovine moves to the right, turning its head back to the left. The forelegs are slightly bent, held together and extended forward slightly; the hind legs are also held together. The wings have two rows of feathers. The horn is short and curves downward from the front of the head. An ear is indicated at the top of its head. The tail extends out horizontally, then bends at a sharp angle downward, becoming thicker toward its termination. Below this creature, a small calf stands facing to the left, reaching its mouth up to suck the udder of the winged bovine. One teat of the udder is indicated. The calf apparently strides forward. A short tail curls upward. At left, a four-winged bull-man stands facing to the left. The bull-man holds its bent arms up above its head to

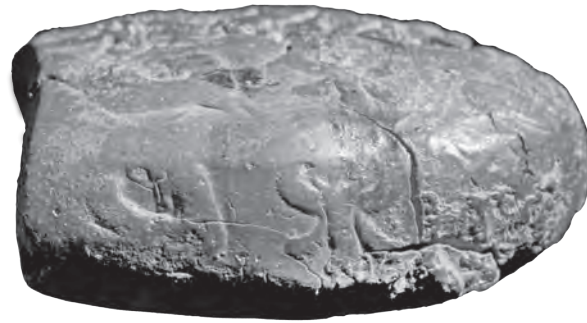
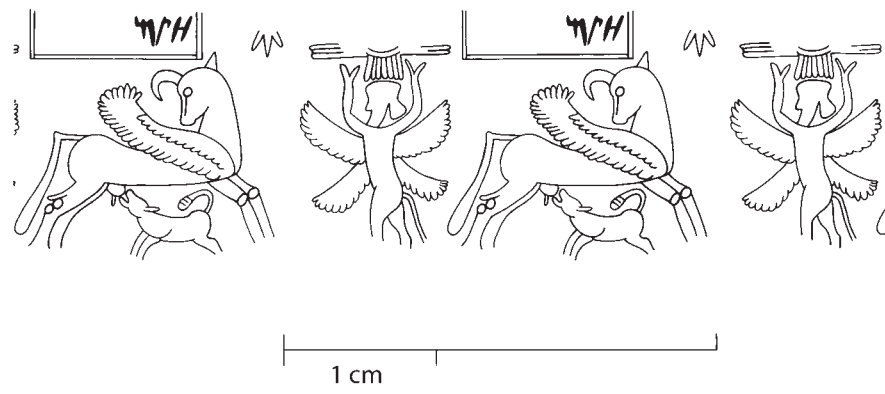


Figure 5.5. PFS 83\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (top to bottom) collated line drawing; impression on PF 670 (upper edge); impression on PF 673 (upper edge); impression on PF 1811 (left edge); impression on PF 1812 (left edge)

support a winged ring with bird's tail (only the tail, the lowest part of the ring, and parts of the tips of the wings are preserved).<sup>887</sup> The bull-man has a squared beard; a mass of thick hair hangs down at the back of his neck. A thin tail undulates downward. A third element of the design is a paneled inscription (in Aramaic) in the upper field immediately above the winged bovine. A fourth element of the design is a star (only the lower three prongs of which are preserved) in the upper field between the winged ring and the paneled inscription.

The seal is rendered in a smooth and restrained modeled style of carving; some passages are deeply carved, others are more flatly carved (e.g., the body of the winged bull-man). Generally, transitions from one animal form to the other are not indicated, although the heavy use of the unmasked running drill in the knees of the winged bovine is noteworthy and quite distinct as regards the general carving technique. Otherwise, detailing is generally limited to the articulation of feathers in the wings. The outline is crisp, the execution careful and hard. The rendering of the bovine head is especially sharp and lively. Animal bodies are large. Stylistically, the seal does not seem to fit easily within the three major carving styles documented in Persepolitan glyptic, what we have called the Fortification Style, the Modeled Style, and the Court Style.<sup>888</sup> I would suggest that the seal represents a blending of two of these carving styles, the Fortification Style and the Modeled Style.<sup>889</sup> The modeled passages and the large figures draw the seal toward the Modeled Style. The generally plain surface treatment and the passages of more restrained carving look toward the Fortification Style. The unmasked drill work, as mentioned, is quite distinctive and appears only sporadically in Persepolitan glyptic. Interestingly, it is sometimes seen in the large, heavily modeled seals, for example, PFS 16\* (Cat.No. 22) (fig. 5.2), and often in an abstracted and reductive style of carving, what we have suggested calling a Geometric Style, as well as a cut and drilled style of carving that perpetuates earlier Assyro-Babylonian carving styles.<sup>890</sup>

### 5.3.2. Inscription on PFS 83\*

Only the first word in what appears to have been a one-line Aramaic inscription is preserved: *htm*, “Seal (of) ...” (fig. 5.5).<sup>891</sup> The inscription is enclosed in a panel, the right, left, and bottom frames of which are preserved. There would seem to be space for four or five more letters in the line after the *htm*. One assumes that the missing section of the inscription contained a personal name. Certainly, the formula “Seal of PN” is a common one in seals that are inscribed in Aramaic in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>892</sup>

The disposition of a one-line inscription horizontally in the upper field is rare in Persepolitan glyptic. To date, only a few seals certainly have inscriptions so disposed: PFS 123\* (Aramaic), PFS 284\* (Greek script), PFS 1612\* (Aramaic), PFS 2084\* (Aramaic), PFS 2899\* (Aramaic, two-line), PFUTS 336\* (Aramaic), PFATS 22\* (Aramaic, two-line), and PTS 30\* (Aramaic). The Aramaic inscription on PFS 82\* (fig. 5.6) may also be so arranged, although there may be traces of a letter in the lower field below the *htm* suggesting that the whole of the terminal field contained an inscription.<sup>893</sup> In none of these cases is the inscription enclosed in a panel. Indeed, the enclosure of a one-line inscription in a panel is a very rare treatment of inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>894</sup> The combination of the placement of the inscription in the upper field and its enclosure within a panel may be paralleled in Persepolitan glyptic only by, perhaps, PFS 1568\* (fig. 5.28), where a two-three line Aramaic inscription with case lines and a panel appears to be disposed in the upper zone of the design.<sup>895</sup>

### 5.3.3. Iconographic and Compositional Comments

As mentioned, in many ways the figural imagery on PFS 83\* is unique, both within Persepolitan glyptic and glyptic of the first half of the first millennium BC in general. To date, only three other seals from the Fortification archive show scenes of a suckling animal: PFS 2987s, PFUTS 138s (fig. 5.7), and PFUTS 145 (fig. 5.8); the dynamics of PFUTS 609s (fig. 5.9) suggest that it may belong to this compositional type, but the young animal does not in fact seem to be suckling. No other seal identified to date in the archive exhibits any combination of winged creature/cow with a calf. The overall combination of design elements (winged creature and calf — bull-man supporting winged device — paneled inscription — star) is, to my knowledge, undocumented in any of the glyptic styles of the early first millennium BC. There follow some comments

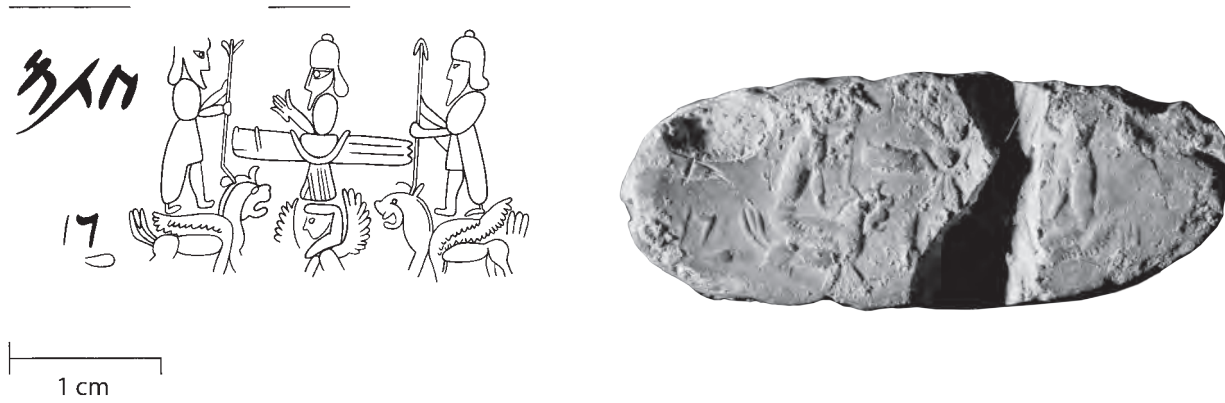


Figure 5.6. PFS 82\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive:  
(left) collated line drawing; (right) impression on NN 1062 (left edge)

concerning each of these design elements in hopes of providing broader contexts in which to consider both the individual features and the imagery as a whole.

While winged creatures (mainly lions, bulls, and caprids) abound in Persepolitan glyptic, the emphatic femaleness of the winged bovine on PFS 83\* is exceptionally rare. In almost all other cases when sex is indicated on animals, it is male. There are, of course, many designs where the sex of animals/creatures is not indicated; thus, we ought to leave open the possibility that in some of those designs female may have been coded.<sup>896</sup> So, too, the lack of manes on leonine creatures and the lack of horns on certain animals/creatures that appear to belong to the cervidae and bovidae family may have indicated female in some cases.<sup>897</sup> It is difficult also to determine whether the curved horn on the winged creature of PFS 83\* is significant as regards the sex of the animal. Most cattle (male and female) have un-branched horns, and, as discussed below, in the Assyrian evidence for the scene the cow without exception has a horn. The large size of the horn and the distinctive profile of the head seem, however, much more in keeping with conventions of indicating a bull in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>898</sup> Indeed, were only the head of this creature preserved, we would most likely have identified it as a bull.<sup>899</sup>

The beautifully executed seal PFUTS 138s (fig. 5.7), recently having come to light on the uninscribed tablets from the Fortification archive, shows a cow and suckling calf.<sup>900</sup> The cow moves to the right, turning her

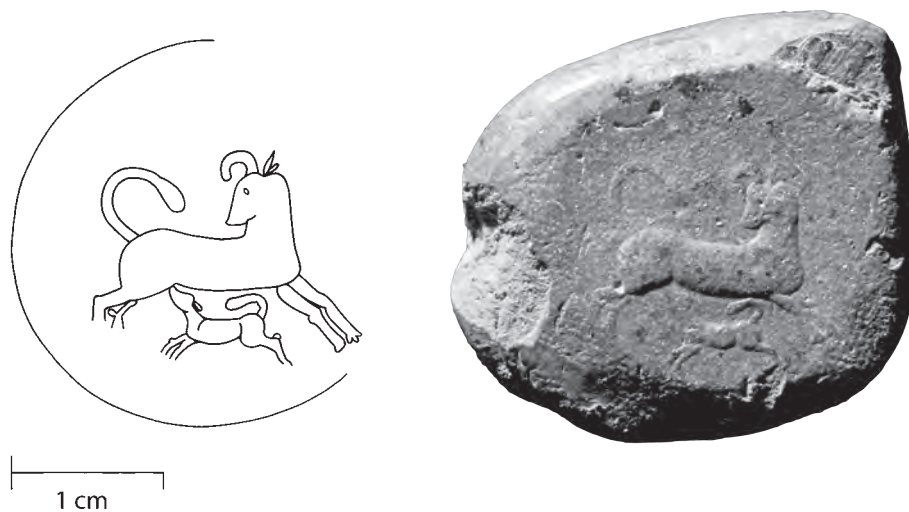


Figure 5.7. PFUTS 138s from the Persepolis Fortification archive:  
(left) collated line drawing; (right) impression on PFUT 400-201 (obverse)

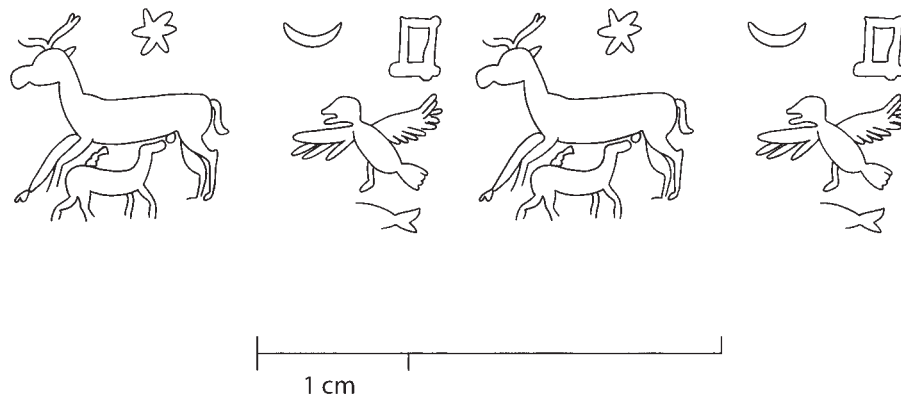


Figure 5.8. PFUTS 145 from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PFUT 1159-203 (obverse)



Figure 5.9. PFUTS 609s from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (left) collated line drawing; (right) impression on PFUT 1563-201 (left edge)

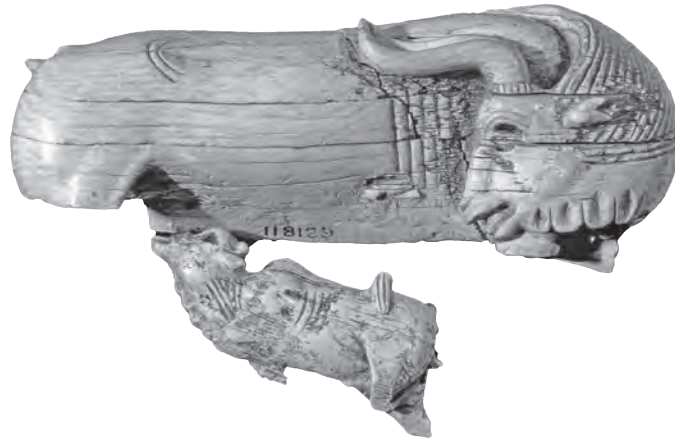


Figure 5.10. Two ivory fragments (not certainly of the same piece) of the Neo-Assyrian period showing a cow suckling a calf; from the Northwest Palace of Aššurnasirpal II, Rooms V-W; London, British Museum, WA 118129 (cow) and 123827 (calf) (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

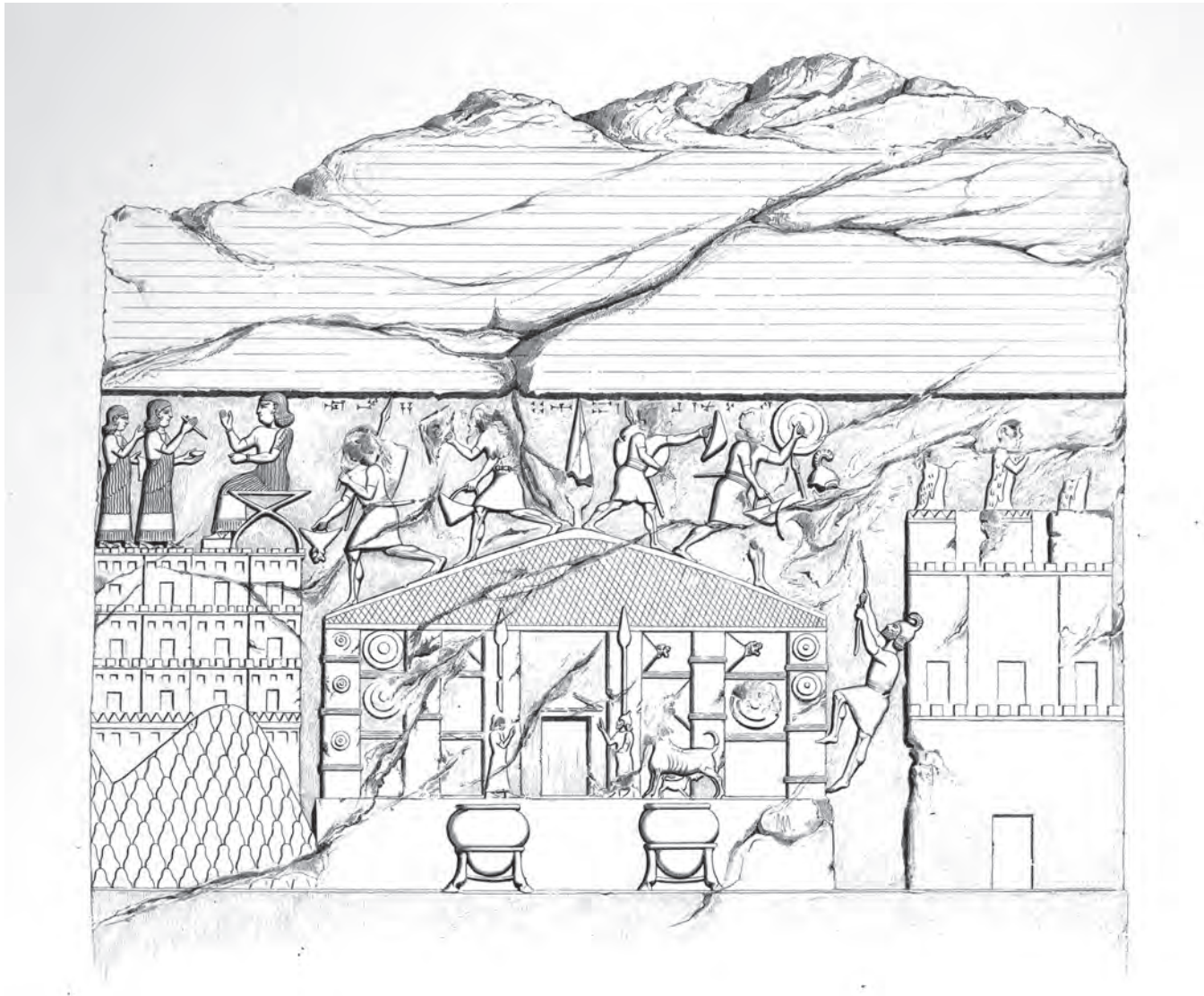


Figure 5.11. Botta's drawing of a relief from the Palace of Sargon at Khorsābād showing the sack of a temple at Muṣaṣir in Urartu (Botta 1849–1850, vol. 2, pl. 141)

head back to the left. The forelegs are slightly bent, held together and extended forward slightly; the hind legs are also held together. The horn is short and curves downward from the front of the head. The tail curls upward with a large tufted termination. Below her, a small calf stands facing to the left, reaching its mouth up to suck the udder. The calf apparently strides forward. A short tail curls upward with a tufted termination. With the exception of the disposition of the tail of the cow and the lack of a wing, the group on PFUTS 138s is exceptionally similar to the winged cow and calf group on PFS 83\*. The carving styles of the two seals are also similar, although the carving seems deeper and transitions more pronounced on PFUTS 138s. Of course, the two seals are distinct in that the cow and calf group on PFS 83\* is set within a larger scene, while PFUTS 138s focuses exclusively on the cow and calf. So, too, PFUTS 138s is a large stamp seal, not a cylinder.<sup>901</sup>

PFUTS 138s is important not only for its similarity to the cow and calf group on PFS 83\* but also for the fact that it occurs within the same archive. Otherwise, this particular composition of a cow or winged cow suckling a calf is, as far as I know, undocumented in any seal from the period of Darius I and rare in the Achaemenid period as a whole.<sup>902</sup>

Three other seals from the archive, PFS 2987s, PFUTS 145 (fig. 5.8), and PFUTS 609s (fig. 5.9), may also be relevant. PFUTS 145 is a mother and suckling offspring.<sup>903</sup> The animal here appears to be a deer (less likely a caprid), and the compositional dynamics and style are very different from that seen on PFS 83\* and PFUTS 138s. PFUTS 609s would appear to be more closely related: a mother and its offspring, perhaps a cow and calf; the calf appears, however, to turn its head toward its mother's forelegs.<sup>904</sup> There is another animal couchant in the upper field of the scene and a bird in flight at right. PFS 2987s is only partially preserved; it appears to show a caprid suckling its offspring.

Although a rare scene in Persepolitan glyptic, the cow and suckling calf is an old theme, especially well attested in western Asia in the Neo-Assyrian period.<sup>905</sup> The theme was clearly popular in Assyrian and Syrian/Phoenician ivory carving, glyptic, and metalwork of the Neo-Assyrian period.<sup>906</sup> Without doubt, the most often-published example from the Neo-Assyrian period is the openwork ivory panel, from the Northwest Palace of Aššurnasirpal II (reconstructed from two separate pieces), showing a cow looking back over its shoulder to lick the suckling calf on its hindquarters (fig. 5.10).<sup>907</sup>

The famous scene of the sack of a temple at Muṣaṣir in Urartu on a wall relief from the Palace of Sargon II at Khorsābād (fig. 5.11) seems to show a statue of a cow and suckling calf, suggesting that the theme was documented as well in monumental sculpture, possibly in metal.<sup>908</sup>

Unlike the ivories, many of which are only fragmentarily preserved, glyptic of the Neo-Assyrian period, including material from the areas of modern Syria, Israel, and Lebanon, provides a broad array of thematic contexts for the scene of cow and suckling calf. Collon (2001, p. 86, nos. 215 and 218–219) has (re)published the Neo-Assyrian glyptic examples in the British Museum. She notes the common association of the cow and calf group with the winged disk.<sup>909</sup> Other celestial imagery (e.g., the seven globes of the *sibitti*, star and/or lunar crescent) may occur with the winged disk in these Assyrian examples; in some cases (e.g., fig. 5.12), the seven globes of the *sibitti*, star and/or lunar crescent occur alone.<sup>910</sup> Worshipers also commonly appear on the Neo-Assyrian examples. One seal, unprovenanced, shows a male weather deity standing on the back of the suckling cow (Keel 1980, fig. 99). On a few Neo-Assyrian seals, the cow is mounted by a



Figure 5.12. Impression of a stamp seal of Neo-Assyrian date showing a cow suckling a calf; from Nimrud (ND 3464); New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 54.117.28 (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



bull as she suckles her calf.<sup>911</sup> The examples of the scene from the Levant are clearly distinguishable from the Assyrian ones (Shuval 1990, pp. 105–10). With the Levantine examples, the identification of the animals is unclear, but they do not seem to be bovine, and the mother rarely turns her head back.<sup>912</sup>

Collon (2001, p. 86) seems to imply that the identifications of species and sex in the Assyrian scenes are open to some question (“quadruped [goat or bull]”) in the seals that she publishes from the British Museum, but in the individual catalog entries, she always identifies the sex as female, the species as bovine.<sup>913</sup>

The exact significance of this scene of the cow and calf in the glyptic evidence from the Neo-Assyrian period is unclear. There appears to be a very strong linkage to celestial deities. The presence of worshipers would also hint at potential cultic/religious aspects of the scene.<sup>914</sup> Sexuality and fertility are obviously implied in the scene, especially those in which the cow is mounted by a bull as she suckles her calf.<sup>915</sup>

The other figural group on PFS 83\*, a bull-man who holds aloft a winged symbol, is fairly well represented in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>916</sup> In Persepolitan glyptic, bull-men atlantids may be winged or un-winged.<sup>917</sup> PFS 774 (fig. 5.13) has a bull-man supporting a figure in a winged device in the terminal field of a heroic encounter. In the terminal field of another heroic encounter, PFS 1071, two winged human-headed taurine/leonine creatures support a figure in a winged device. On PFS 105s (fig. 5.14), a bull-man holds aloft a partial figure in a lunar crescent. PFS 420 and PFS 122 have two bull-men (or, possibly, leonine creatures) on either side of a stylized tree holding aloft a figure in a winged device. In other cases, preservation does not allow a secure identification of the type of atlantid figure and/or full reconstruction of the group; for example, PFS 310, PFS 586s, and PFS 1359 all show two human-headed figures on either side of a stylized tree holding aloft a figure in a winged device.<sup>918</sup> The particular convention of bifurcated terminations of the hands of the atlantids in many of these scenes in Persepolitan glyptic, as seen in the bull-man on PFS 83\*, is a very common phenomenon.<sup>919</sup>

The atlantid figure, like the cow suckling its calf, is an old theme in the art of western Asia, first appearing consistently in the middle of the second millennium BC;<sup>920</sup> it is especially well documented in glyptic of the Mitanni and Middle Assyrian styles of the second millennium BC where, alone or in pairs, it may support a winged disk or some other device.<sup>921</sup> The bull-man in particular was, since the Old Babylonian period, an attendant of Šamaš.<sup>922</sup>

The tradition of atlantid figures, especially bull-men, and the association of the atlantid with a winged ring/disk continue in an especially vibrant manner into the Neo-Assyrian period in glyptic art.<sup>923</sup> Bull-men (single or in pairs) and scorpion-men also support the winged ring/disk or a figure in a winged ring/disk on Assyrian drilled and modeled style seals.<sup>924</sup> Collon (2001, p. 113) notes the popularity of atlantid figures (predominantly bull-men) supporting a winged ring/disk or a figure in a winged ring/disk on impressions of stamp seals, mainly from Nimrud, Nineveh, and Aššur, in the seventh century BC.<sup>925</sup>

Collon (2001, pp. 85, 121) has suggested that the atlantid figure (at least in Collon 2001, no. 230, and, it seems, extended to other scenes with atlantid figures as well) in Neo-Assyrian glyptic represents a link between earth and heaven.<sup>926</sup> Matthews (1990, pp. 113–14) notes that the atlantid scene in the Neo-Assyrian period appears to be “specially related to the ritual aspects of kingship”; Matthews associates the form of the atlantid figures with demonic foundation figurines of the Neo-Assyrian period, concluding that the atlantids are “direct representations of the supernatural world.” Root (1979, p. 148) highlights the association of the bull-man and scorpion-man with cosmic phenomena. The bull-man in these Neo-Assyrian contexts has traditionally been identified with the Assyrian *kusarikku*.<sup>927</sup> Ehrenberg identifies the bull-man as a “protective Mischwesen” and notes the continued association with Šamaš via the winged disk.

Given the wide variety and contexts of the atlantid figure in early Achaemenid art, it is very likely that much of its significance from the Neo-Assyrian period may still have been relevant.<sup>928</sup> An exhaustive analysis that addresses the variety of atlantid types and their visual contexts in the early Achaemenid period is not possible here. In another venue, I have suggested that the atlantid figure (in both glyptic and monumental relief) is intimately connected to an important theme in Achaemenid art and architecture, a theme perhaps best characterized as “ascension.”<sup>929</sup> As seen in the bull-men supporting winged symbols in glyptic art and the subject peoples of the empire or guards supporting the king in monumental art, these figures literally raise their arms so as to elevate their respective subjects. The concept is articulated in more subtle manners via

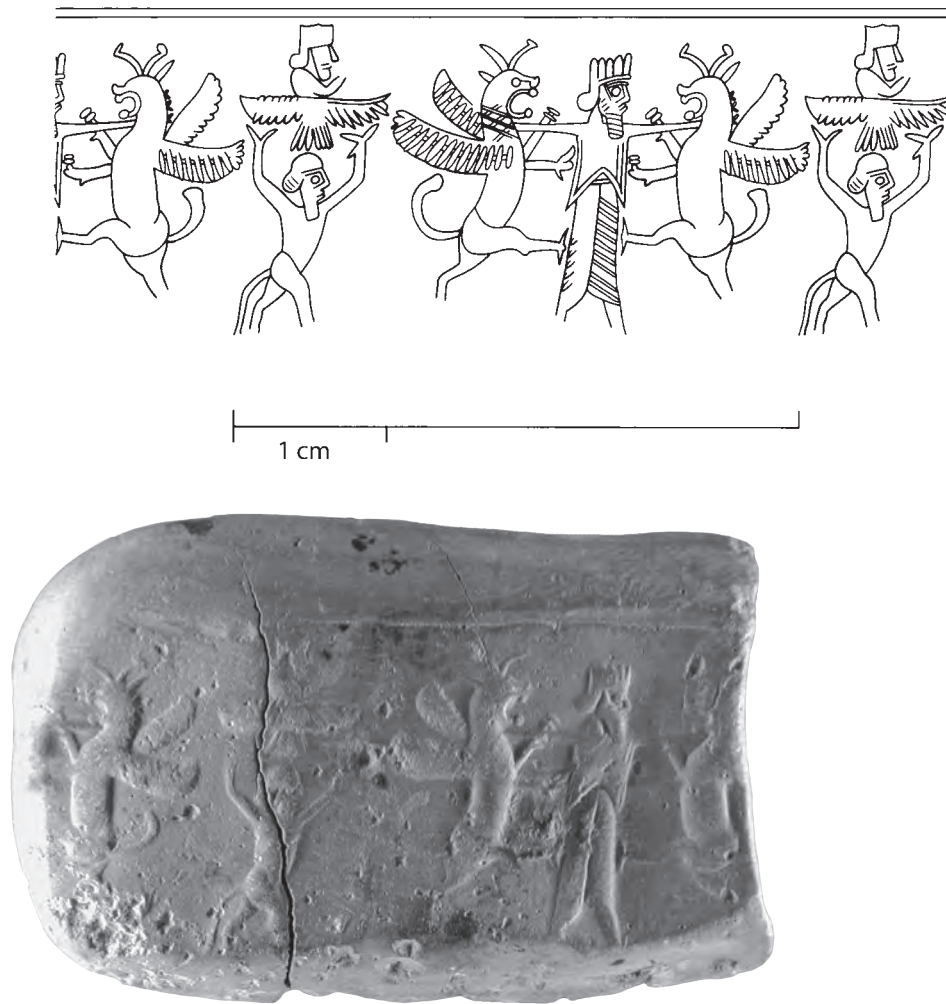


Figure 5.13. PFS 774 from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 556 (reverse)

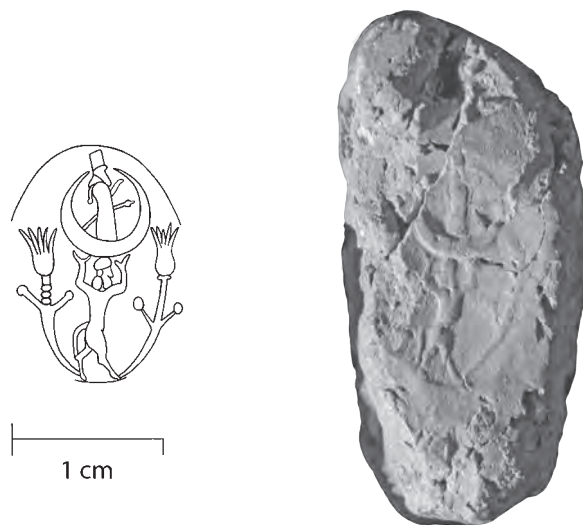


Figure 5.14. PFS 105s from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (left) collated line drawing; (right) impression on PF 1161 (left edge)

movement upward (rather than holding aloft) in other visual imagery in both glyptic and monumental relief: for example, the ubiquitous winged creatures (both anthropomorphic and theriomorphic), the figure in the winged ring/disk, the partial figure in the type I imperial coinage, figures standing on the backs of animals/creatures, and astral and lunar symbolism. In architecture at Naqš-e Rostam, the concept is expressed via the tall, cubic form of the famous tower, the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, as well as via the placement of the royal tombs and their accompanying figural imagery on sheer faces of rock; the cruciform outline of the façades of these tombs may function in a similar manner.<sup>930</sup>

The winged symbol that the bull-man supports on PFS 83\* is the most well known symbol in the Achaemenid visual repertoire, occurring in both monumental art and glyptic. The symbol takes a variety of forms, the two principal ones being the winged ring/disk and the figure who stands within/emerges from the winged ring/disk. The image almost always has a bird's tail (as on PFS 83\*) and very often tendrils that depend from either side of the tail (e.g., see below, PFS 11\* [T1], fig. 5.15). The symbol in both of its principal forms is the most-often discussed, and most perplexing, symbol in the whole of Achaemenid art; attempts at identifying it are now legend.<sup>931</sup> Determining its exact semantic referent is not critical in the current discussion; I would note that in Persepolitan glyptic of the time of Darius the winged symbol, in both of its principal forms, is in fact quite rare.<sup>932</sup> The stiff and angular rendering of the wings and tail of the winged ring on PFS 83\* conforms with stylistic tendencies seen during the reign of Darius.<sup>933</sup>

Formally, the figure in a winged ring/disk and the winged ring/disk in the Achaemenid period clearly derive directly from predecessors in the Neo-Assyrian period. As we have seen, the combination of the bull-man atlantid and the winged symbol also has a long pedigree in the arts of ancient Assyria. The winged symbol itself occurs in myriad contexts in both Assyrian glyptic and monumental relief. There is, however, no consensus on exactly whom that symbol represents in the Neo-Assyrian period, the two most commonly suggested deities being the Assyrian state god Aššur and (some iteration of) the sun god Šamaš.<sup>934</sup>

Lastly, there is the star in the upper field of PFS 83\*. The star may be one of the most commonly occurring symbols in the Achaemenid glyptic repertoire, matched in popularity only perhaps by the crescent; the two, crescent and star, are often depicted together in the upper field of seal designs.<sup>935</sup> The star is also commonly found in the terminal field of many scenes.<sup>936</sup> In Persepolitan glyptic, the star is generally rendered abstractly by three or four intersecting diagonal marks, thus yielding a six- or eight-pointed star respectively. Interestingly, the star combined with the figure in the winged ring/disk or the winged ring/disk, as seen on PFS 83\*, is not uncommon in the glyptic evidence from Persepolis.<sup>937</sup> Fixing its exact semantic referent in either its six- or eight-pointed version in Persepolitan glyptic is problematic at best.

Like the other figural elements on PFS 83\*, the star has a long history in the visual arts of ancient western Asia and is particularly popular in Assyro-Babylonian glyptic.<sup>938</sup> Its exact significance is often not clear, although the star (representing the planet Venus) was one of the symbols of Ištar.<sup>939</sup>

#### 5.3.4. Summary of PFS 83\*

As the preceding analysis suggests, the figural imagery of PFS 83\* exhibits multiple affinities to Neo-Assyrian seals and ivories. Both of the two main figural groups of the design, the cow and the calf and the bull-man atlantid supporting a winged ring, are very popular in the Neo-Assyrian period. The combination of astral imagery (winged ring/disk and the star) and the winged cow and calf on PFS 83\* is a common feature of scenes showing a cow suckling a calf in Neo-Assyrian glyptic. So, too, the particular convention of having the cow turn its head back is also seen in several Neo-Assyrian seals and many of the ivories.<sup>940</sup>

Despite these iconographic and compositional links to the Neo-Assyrian material, it is clear that PFS 83\* is not an Assyrian product. The particular configuration of the overall design of PFS 83\*, winged bull-man atlantid holding aloft a winged ring/disk — winged cow and calf — paneled inscription — star, is unprecedented in the Assyrian evidence. None of the published Assyrian examples show the cow having wings. The paneled Aramaic inscription is also quite out of place within the context of Neo-Assyrian glyptic. Finally, of course, the style of the carving is not Assyrian (at least as conventionally understood by the label of “Neo-Assyrian”). PFS 83\* presents us, rather, with yet another example of a seal design that actively draws upon and, indeed, revives Neo-Assyrian glyptic models within the context of glyptic workshops at Persepolis in the early years

of Darius I. This “Assyrianizing” phenomenon is exceptionally widespread in Persepolitan glyptic and has now been addressed in multiple venues.<sup>941</sup> I would stress, however, that the Assyrianizing tendencies that we see in Persepolitan glyptic are not chronologically diagnostic (i.e., pre-Darius).<sup>942</sup> PFS 83\* is a product of the exceptionally rich glyptic environment of the late sixth century BC centered on the region surrounding Persepolis. This glyptic environment (including the patron mandates) clearly was deeply influenced by the Assyrian visual experience but was not simply rote copying of particular iconographic/carving traditions.<sup>943</sup>

#### 5.4. PFS 11\* (T1), the Second Seal of Ziššawiš in the Fortification Archive

As PFS 83\*, PFS 11\* (T1) (fig. 5.15, pls. 10–13) always occurs alone on the tablets that it seals. For convenience, I list again the fifty-five tablets on which PFS 11\* (T1) has been documented, including the date of the transaction where indicated:<sup>944</sup>

Attestations of PFS 11\*

<i>Tablet</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Bottom Edge</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Upper Edge</i>	<i>Left Edge</i>	<i>Right Edge</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Year</i>
Fort. 29-101	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed	—	—
Fort. 1016	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	2/3	24
Fort. 1740-1	not sealed	destroyed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed	—	—
Fort. 3566	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	11	23
NN 2	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	12	22
NN 88	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed	8	20
NN 191	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	partly destroyed	PFS 11*	destroyed	3/4	—
NN 333	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	10	23
NN 349	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	9	23
NN 495	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	3	23
NN 779	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed	1	22
NN 939	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	11	22
NN 948	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	10	23
NN 1036	not sealed	destroyed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed	—	—
NN 1269	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	4/5	24
NN 1280	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	1	24
NN 1368	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	9	23
NN 1369	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	8	20
NN 1460	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	13	22
NN 1463	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed	11	21
NN 1528	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed	not sealed	8	24
NN 1590	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	3/4	24
NN 1700	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	2/3/4	23
NN 1839	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	7	25
NN 1848	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	9/10/11	22

## Attestations of PFS 11\* (cont.)

Tablet	Obverse	Bottom Edge	Reverse	Upper Edge	Left Edge	Right Edge	Month	Year
NN 1880	not sealed	destroyed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*?	not sealed	—	23
NN 2078	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	3	23
NN 2394	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	—	—
NN 2535	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	destroyed	—	22(?)
NN 2561	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	2/3	23
PF 614	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	—	22
PF 672	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	8	25
PF 674	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	8/9	20
PF 675	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	12	22
PF 676	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	9	22
PF 677	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	11	23
PF 678	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	10/11	19
PF 1182	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	2	25
PF 1813	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	12	22
PF 1814	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	13	22
PF 1815	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	2	23
PF 1816	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	5	23
PF 1817	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	7	23(?)
PF 1818	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	11	23
PF 1819	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	5	23
PF 1820	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	7	23
PF 1821	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	3	23
PF 1822	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	11	23
PF 1823	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	1	24
PF 1824	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	1	24
PF 1825	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	11/12	23
PF 1826	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	1/2/3	24
PF 1827	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	8	25
PF 1828	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	not sealed	10/11	25
PF 2069	not sealed	not sealed	not sealed	PFS 11*	PFS 11*	not sealed	—	23(?)

The earliest attested use of PFS 11\* (T1) is months 10/11 in year 19, mid-January–early March 502 BC; the latest dated use of the seal is months 10/11 in year 25, mid-January–early March 496 BC.<sup>945</sup> There is just over a one-year hiatus between the latest attested use of PFS 83\* (month 9 in year 18, November–December 504 BC) and the earliest attested use of PFS 11\* (T1). The journal NN 2493 records, however, Ziššawiš receiving wine rations and issuing *halmi* throughout year 19; thus, he seems to be active in the region during the hiatus in seal usage. The hiatus may reflect simply a lacuna in the documentation or a real period of time during which Ziššawiš did not use a seal in association with the ration system represented by the Fortification archive.<sup>946</sup>

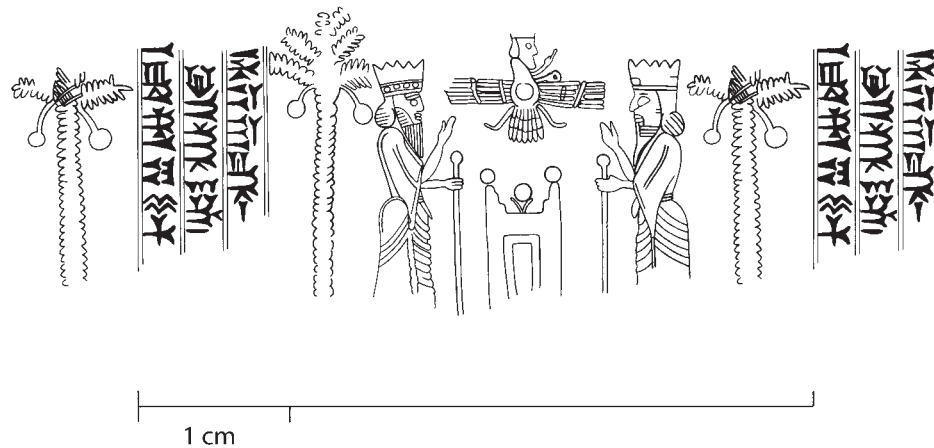


Figure 5.15. Collated line drawing of PFS 11\* (T1) from the Persepolis Fortification archive

PFS 11\* (T1) is a large seal. The preserved height of the seal is 2.10 cm; neither the top nor the bottom edges of the seal are preserved. The length of the design is 4.50 cm, which would yield a diameter for the original seal matrix of approximately 1.40 cm.

#### 5.4.1. The Figural Imagery and Style of PFS 11\* (T1)

PFS 11\* (T1) is a magnificent seal, one of the great masterpieces of glyptic carving from the Fortification archive.<sup>947</sup> As the scene is described in some detail in *Chapter 3*, I give here only the broad outlines. A crowned figure in an elaborately detailed Persian court robe stands to either side of a central crenellated tower structure.<sup>948</sup> The crowned figures, shown in profile, face the tower structure and are exact doubles of each other simply rotated 180 degrees. Each crowned figure holds a staff vertically in his left hand; each figure raises his right arm, bent at the elbow, before his face, the hand cupped upward. The crenellated tower structure has a thick rectangular inset frame within which there is a central rectangular inset panel on its body. A small V-shaped stand on the top center of the structure holds a spherical object; a spherical object also adorns the two top edges of the structure. Above the structure hovers a figure in a winged ring, facing to the right. This figure holds one arm along the top of the wing and grasps a ring; he raises the other arm before his chest, the palm cupped upward. This central scene of crowned attendants, structure, and figure in winged ring is flanked by date palms, each of which has a cluster of dates hanging to either side of the tree trunk. A paneled trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian) royal-name inscription is disposed vertically in the terminal field.

PFS 11\* (T1) is one of the paradigmatic exemplars of the carving style that is intimately connected to Darius I and the central heartland region of the empire. Following Boardman, I have called this style the Court Style.<sup>949</sup> Some of the earliest dated versions of the fully developed Court Style are the royal-name exemplars in Persepolitan glyptic: PFS 7\* (fig. 5.16), PFS 11\* (T1) (fig. 5.15), PFS 113\* (= PTS 4\*) (fig. 5.17), and PFUTS 18\*.<sup>950</sup> These four seals must be the starting point for any discussion concerning stylistic parameters of the Court Style.<sup>951</sup> The similarity in broad rhythms in all of these royal-name seals of Darius from Persepolis visually unites them: that is, three rigid staccato vertical axes, the use of similar types of garments and crowns, and the presence of similar ancillary motifs (paneled inscriptions, palm trees, and winged symbols). So, too, all four seals have much detailed carving in the human faces and beards, the human garments, and the animal wings. As regards style, however, the seals are in fact rather distinct. PFS 11\* (T1) exhibits a soft, rounded approach to form; the profile shoulder has a wonderful sense of depth and mass. PFS 7\* shows, on the other hand, a more restrained modeled approach to form within a hard, sharp outline.<sup>952</sup> PFS 113\* and PFUTS 18\* appear to fall somewhere in between these two seals. On both of these seals, the edges of human and animal form are rounded, as are the swags of drapery on the Persian court robe and the striations in the beard. PFS



Figure 5.16. PFS 7\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive:  
(top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 702 (reverse)

113\* does not have, however, the deep modeling of PFS 11\* (T1); both human and animal form appear flatly carved, closer to that seen on PFS 7\*. The idiosyncratic triangular swelling at the necks of the humans on PFS 7\*, PFS 113\*, and PFUTS 18\* is very distinctive and, I think, may indicate a close workshop affiliation.

I have previously suggested that, based upon their stylistic attributes, we may have two distinct traditions at work in the “court workshop(s)” that have been commissioned to execute the Court Style in the early years of the reign of Darius I. The one, represented by PFS 11\* (T1), reflects a deeply modeled tradition of carving, the other, represented by PFS 7\* (and to a lesser degree by the other royal-name exemplars from the archive, PFS 113\* [= PTS 4\*] and PFUTS 18\*), a more restrained, but still modeled, approach to the carving of form. One then wonders whether these two traditions are themselves not a reflection of large-scale stylistic phenomena within Persepolitan glyptic, where the two most numerically significant carving

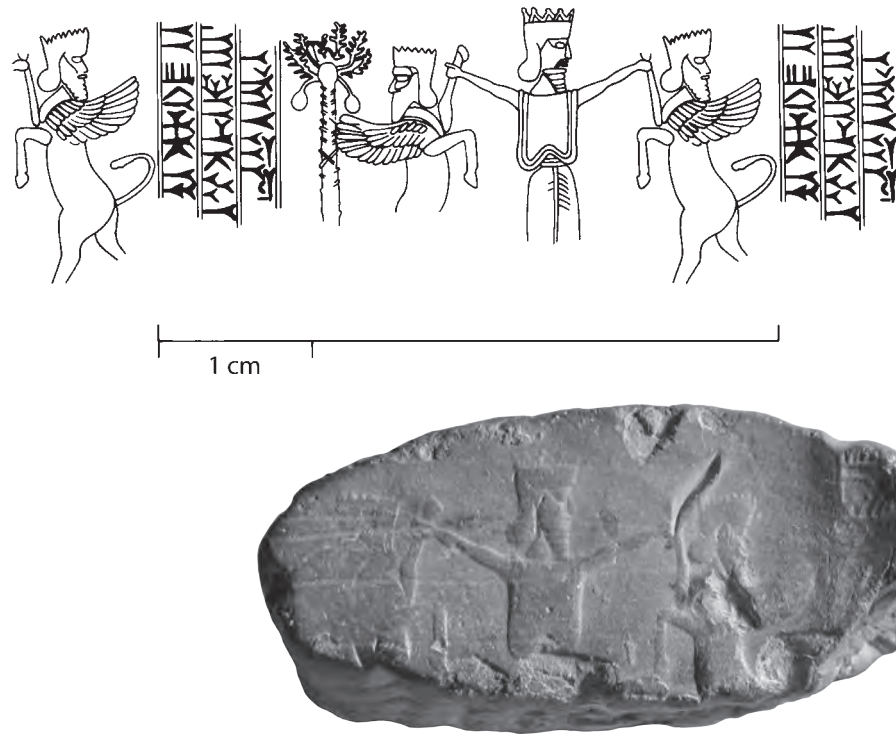


Figure 5.17. PFS 113\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 864 (left edge)

traditions, what we have called the Modeled Style and the Fortification Style, are distinguished in a similar manner, the one exceptionally well modeled, the other flat and linear.<sup>953</sup>

These four royal-name seals are clearly the paradigmatic exemplars of the fully-developed Court Style at Persepolis. This is indicated not only by their fine and detailed execution, similar overall compositional principles, and consistent iconography, but also by the royal-name inscriptions. The inscriptions act essentially as the seal upon on the seal, leaving absolutely no doubt as to the “ownership” and “authorship” of the imagery.<sup>954</sup> They unmistakably represent court imagery at its highest level. As one would expect, the owners/users of the seals are well placed: PFS 7\*, an office seal associated with procurement of provisions for the king; PFS 11\* (T1), the personal seal of Ziššawiš, the deputy-director of the agency represented by the Fortification archive; PFS 113\* (= PTS 4\*), the personal seal of Baratkama, who later (490–479 BC, as recorded in the Treasury archive) became treasurer at Persepolis.<sup>955</sup>

#### 5.4.2. The Inscription on PFS 11\* (T1)

The trilingual inscription on PFS 11\* (T1), designated Sdf, in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian, has been known for some time.<sup>956</sup> The copy provided here differs slightly from previous published copies of the inscription; further study of the impressions has allowed us to clarify the last preserved sign in the Elamite. The reading provided here slightly amends that given in Schmitt 1981; we cannot see as many of the signs as claimed in Schmitt 1981 (via a letter from Hallock), but this does not change the proposed restoration of the inscription. The inscription is what appears to have been the standard trilingual inscription that occurs on provenanced seals of the time of Darius: “I Darius, king.”<sup>957</sup>

[a-da-]r ma<sup>1</sup>: da-a-ra-ya-[va-u-ša xš]  
 [diš<sup>ú</sup> diš]da-ri-ia-r ma<sup>1</sup>-[u-iš EŠŠANA]  
 [ana-ku]<sup>HAL</sup>da-ri-ia-r muš<sup>1</sup> [šárru rabû]



As is typical for these large royal-name inscriptions on seals, the text is aligned on the vertical axis of the seal and has case lines and is enclosed in a panel.

### 5.4.3. Iconographic and Compositional Comments

Scenes similar to the central passage on PFS 11\* (T1), that is, attendants disposed to either side of a crenellated tower structure, have been known and discussed for many years.<sup>958</sup> Traditionally, the structure between the two attendants has been identified as a “fire altar,” the scene as a whole as one of Zoroastrian fire worship.<sup>959</sup> The analysis in *Chapter 4* (§4.4) definitively rules out the possibility that the tower structure is a “fire altar,” suggesting rather that it may be a sign indexical to aspects of Achaemenid monumental architecture with emblematic qualities associated with royal prestige and legitimacy. Certainly, one of the foremost concerns of Darius’ reign was the expression of the legitimacy of his kingship via architecture.

Within a Persepolitan context, scenes of attendants flanking a crenellated tower structure are rare, follow a rigid syntax, and are distinguished (among scenes showing the stepped and/or the tower structures) by the wealth of court-centric iconography (discussed at §4.3.2.1). In addition to PFS 11\* (T1), this small group of scenes with attendants flanking a crenellated tower structure includes PFUTS 19\* (T2) (fig. 5.18), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), and PTS 57 (T6) (fig. 5.19). Stylistically, all of these seals employ a rich modeled version of the Court Style that renders the profile shoulders deeply so as to indicate recession into space. One notes also the Aramaic inscription disposed along the vertical axis of PFUTS 19\* (T2) (fig. 5.18).<sup>960</sup> The scenes on all of these seals are very static, the crenellated tower structure acting as the focal element, flanked by attendants who stand back somewhat from the tower structure. The attendants almost always raise one hand (the exact position of the hand varies) and generally hold something in the other hand. These seals thus all share structural, stylistic, iconographical, and rhetorical qualities.

Another seal from the Fortification archive, PFS 161\*s (fig. 5.20), offers some interesting insights into the composition on PFS 11\* (T1). The seal, a pyramidal stamp, shows an attendant with upraised arm standing to either side of a central device. That device consists of a tall conical stand that has a cross-bar at its top and that supports a five-sided object. The device could be some type of altar, an incense burner, or some other type of cultic furniture.<sup>961</sup> In the upper field, there is a crescent; to the left, there is a Babylonian inscription that reads <sup>AN</sup>KASKAL.<sup>962</sup>

The shape of PFS 161\*s, a pyramidal stamp, the distinctive carving style, hastily modeled with much linear detailing in the human faces, the Babylonian inscription, the distinctive poses of the attendants, and, finally, the overall composition itself all relate the seal to a large class of seal/seal imagery conventionally called the Late Babylonian worship scene. This scene is most often carved on stamp seals, especially pyramidal stamps (as on PFS 161\*s). More commonly, the scene shows a single worshiper, rendered in profile with an upraised arm, standing before a (pillared) pedestal on top of which are divine symbols.<sup>963</sup> The Fortification archive preserves a substantial number of such scenes. The particular variation of two attendants to either side of a central device is rare in this class of seal imagery, and the central device on PFS 161\*s cannot

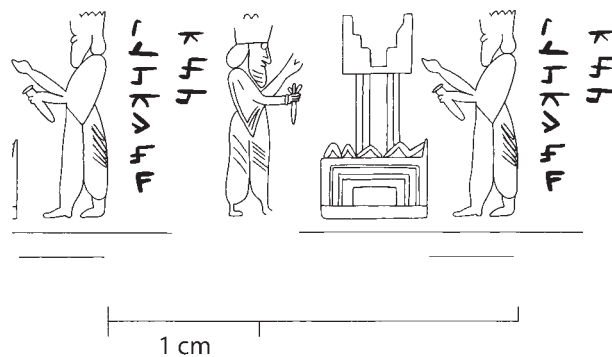


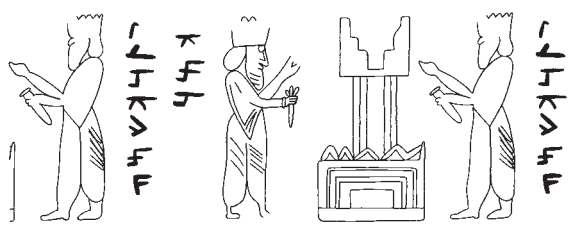
Figure 5.18. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 19\* (T2) from the Persepolis Fortification archive

readily be paralleled.<sup>964</sup> The Babylonian inscription, <sup>AN</sup>KASKAL, is found, with minor variations, on a relatively large number of seals bearing the Late Babylonian worship scene impressed on tablets from both the Late Babylonian and Achaemenid periods.<sup>965</sup>

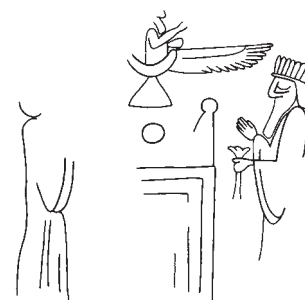
While details of iconography and style on PFS 161\*s are, of course, very different from that seen on PFS 11\* (T1), one is struck by the similar rigid disposition of two attendants around a central device. The



PFS 11\* (T1)



PFUTS 19\* (T2)



PTS 22 (T4)



PTS 23 (T5)



PTS 57 (T6)

Figure 5.19. Scenes of the First Syntactical Convention:  
PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), AND PTS 57 (T6)

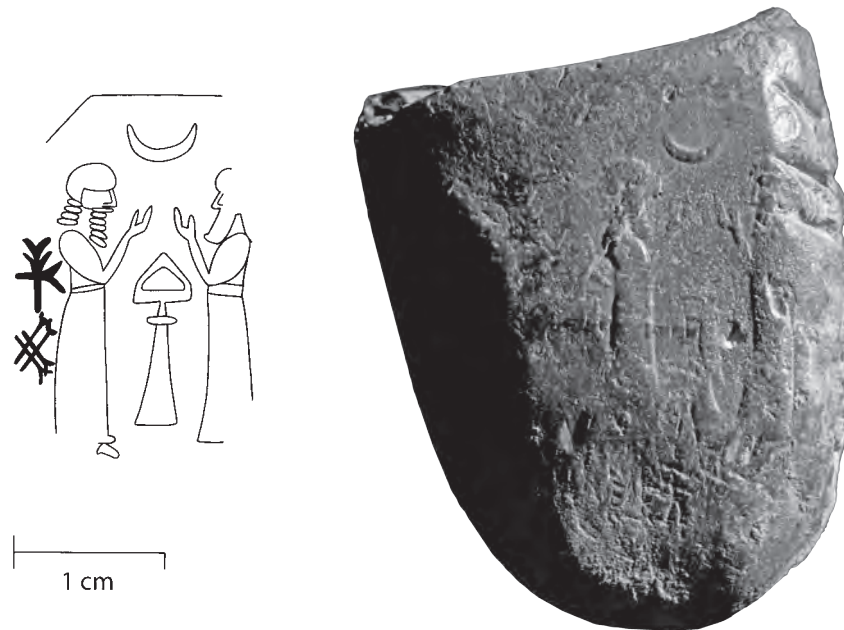


Figure 5.20. PFS 161\*s from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (left) collated line drawing; (right) impression on NN 1174 (reverse)

structural similarity of PFS 161\*s with PFS 11\* (T1) and related scenes may suggest that some versions of the Late Babylonian worship scene may have played a role in the development of the very distinctive scenes involving the crenellated tower structure such as we see on PFS 11\* (T1) and related seals from Persepolis.<sup>966</sup>

#### 5.4.4. The Tomb Relief of Darius I at Naqš-e Rostam

At first glance, PFS 11\* (T1) and related seals appear to have much in common with the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam, although there, of course, the king stands before a stepped structure on which there is a blazing fire (figs. 5.21, 6.3, 6.6–6.12, 6.14–6.15).<sup>967</sup> Certainly, the stillness and careful balance of most of the scenes that follow the compositional format of PFS 11\* (T1) are very much in keeping with the decorum of royal relief at Naqš-e Rostam and, indeed, at Persepolis. These glyptic scenes, like monumental relief, also carry multiple visual markers to Achaemenid kingship and imperial aspirations.

The issue of the interfaces between monumental relief and glyptic masterpieces such as PFS 11\* (T1) is particularly intriguing. Winter (2000, p. 77) has recently problematized the use of monumental relief as a springboard for exploration of imagery on glyptic given the “variables of function, audience and social context” between the two data sets. In particular, she highlights the potential distortions in interpretation caused by the elision of difference in scale (afforded by modern photographic and graphic devices) and function between monumental relief and glyptic. As such, seals “could have had quite different goals, as well as audiences, in their visual display, however related their imagery” (Winter 2000, p. 53). We should thus be aware of the specific context(s) in which glyptic imagery occurred.

Critical to this discussion, as noted in Winter’s (2000) analysis, is the identification of the audience for this imagery. With regard to the seals preserved on the Persepolitan archives, we are in fact in a rather fortunate situation of knowing at least one segment of the audience for the glyptic imagery, the seal users themselves. The depth of information about any one administrator within the archive, of course, varies; in some cases, it is nothing more than a name, while in others, such as Ziššawiš, the dossier is quite extensive. In addition to the seal users themselves, the audience would have included individuals who will have seen the imagery in its impressed state (at the actual point of transaction or by handling the documents at later stages of their processing) and/or who will have come into contact with the seal user (by administrative or

social proximity). Most importantly, the archival context of Persepolitan glyptic insures that the audience for that imagery inhabited, at the minimum, shared spatial and temporal environments and, in many instances, shared administrative and socio-political networks.<sup>968</sup>

Regarding for the moment only the users of the royal-name seals such as PFS 11\* (T1), we can be certain that they were well versed in court protocols. I have suggested that the office represented by PFS 7\* actually traveled with the king.<sup>969</sup> Ziššawiš (PFS 11\* [T1]) and Baratkama (PFS 113\*) clearly moved among the administrative elite and probably actually were in the company of the king and court on numerous occasions. Individuals such as these most assuredly also had intimate knowledge of the imagery in monumental relief at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis, not only because of their membership within the administrative elite but also because of their responsibility in some cases for the provisioning of the actual work-groups associated with construction activity in the Persepolis region; and they were, of course, eye-witnesses themselves to that construction activity (and the associated visual imagery). Such individuals would have been the type of audience that possessed the knowledge and, indeed, would have had the inclination, one assumes, to make associations across media despite the differences in scale.<sup>970</sup>

Returning to the imagery on PFS 11\* (T1) and the main scene of Darius standing before a stepped structure on the upper part of his tomb relief at Naqš-e Rostam (fig. 5.21), one is struck initially by an overall sense of visual similarity. While the central scene at Naqš-e Rostam is embedded in a much larger and more complex tableau, it shares with PFS 11\* (T1) some elements of iconography (court garments and crowns), vocabulary (crowned figure in court robe with up-raised arm, figure in winged ring, and inscription), and, broadly speaking, style of carving.<sup>971</sup> The distinctive arrangement and depiction of the crowned attendants on PFS 11\* (T1) impart to it, however, a very different quality from that seen in the tomb relief. The doubling of the crowned figure to create a rigidly balanced composition adds a layer of complexity that is present in



Figure 5.21. Relief on the upper part of the tomb of Darius I (Tomb I) at Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 19)

Persepolitan monumental pictorial space but expressed in a different manner.<sup>972</sup> Palm trees frame the central passage on PFS 11\* (T1), an element of vocabulary that is especially strong in Court Style glyptic but absent in monumental relief (see also the comments at §5.4.5). The scene at Naqš-e Rostam has a strong directionality left to right (from Darius to the figure in the winged ring, stepped structure, and the lunar disk), while the visual dynamics on PFS 11\* (T1) move both left to right and right to left or, perhaps even better conceived, in a circular manner (inscription — date palm — figure in crown — crenellated tower structure/winged symbol — figure in crown — date palm — inscription — date palm, etc.) (fig. 5.23a).<sup>973</sup>

#### 5.4.5. Assyrian Precedents for PFS 11\* (T1)

Even more vividly than the imagery on the tomb of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam, the compositional dynamics of PFS 11\* (T1) evoke the symmetrical scenes of the king, winged genii, and the stylized tree in the wall reliefs of the Palace of Aššurnasirpal II at Nimrud, both those scenes that show the king with the winged genii on either side of the stylized tree and those that show only the winged genii on either side of the stylized tree (fig. 5.22).<sup>974</sup> The compositional framework of PFS 11\* (T1) seems exceptionally close in spirit to slabs B13 and B23 (figs. 5.23a–b) in throne room B of the Palace of Aššurnasirpal II at Nimrud. There, five emphatic verticals, as in the figural scene of PFS 11\* (T1), demark the basic compositional framework. At Nimrud, the central vertical is the stylized tree above which floats the figure in a winged ring; on PFS 11\* (T1), it is the crenellated tower structure above which floats the figure in a winged ring (marked A in fig. 5.23a–b).<sup>975</sup> On both the Nimrud reliefs and PFS 11\* (T1), the king, doubled, flanks the central elements looking inward, one arm raised, the other holding a staff/mace (B). Behind the figures of the king at Nimrud are the winged genii, *apkallu*, while on PFS 11\* (T1) there are date palms (C). The royal inscription, Aššurnasirpal's Standard Inscription, runs across the middle of the visual imagery at Nimrud, while on PFS 11\* (T1) the royal-name inscription is contained in a panel at the terminal (thus, potentially expanding the scene to seven vertical elements, if the inscription is repeated) (fig. 5.23c–d).

Although there is no universally agreed-upon interpretation of the scene at Nimrud, Winter (1981, p. 10) has highlighted the long-standing tradition of the scene of the king with a stylized tree and “mirror, or axial symmetry.”<sup>976</sup> The symmetry emphasizes, in her opinion, the “semantic centrality of the tree.”<sup>977</sup> She, as others, has seen the symmetry of the Assyrian composition and the unrealistic doubling of the figure of the king as serving both to anchor the scene and to elevate it to “the realm of the ‘ideal’ world that implies the divine” (Winter 1981, p. 10, with references).<sup>978</sup>

While the contexts of PFS 11\* (T1) are divorced in time, space, and function from the wall reliefs in throne room B at Nimrud, its structural similarity to those reliefs is striking and compels us to explore this connection, not necessarily to seek an explanation for the specific origins of this imagery on PFS 11\* (T1), but to use the Assyrian reliefs (and seals) as a springboard or structural analog to consider the meaning of the imagery on PFS 11\* (T1) within its Persepolitan contexts.<sup>979</sup>

One is struck especially in the imagery of PFS 11\* (T1) by the insistent doubling, crowned figure, palm trees, and inscription, and the true axial symmetry (fig. 5.23e–h).<sup>980</sup> The crowned figure on the left is for all intents and purposes the same figure as the one on the right, simply turned 180 degrees. The lack of any overt clues as to a specific narrative context for the scene would seem to indicate that the two figures are meant to be read as the same individual expressed in the pictorial space panoptically. Are we to read the two date palms in the same manner? If so, the date palms appear to function in the pictorial space in lock-step with the crowned figures. The date palms then potentially become doubles of the (doubled) crowned figures, perhaps reflective of the age-old idea of the connectedness between the health (body) of the king and agricultural abundance.<sup>981</sup>

The paneled inscription, if the cylinder is carefully rolled a little extra, may serve as yet a third layer of doubling, although not in true axial symmetry (fig. 5.23e, g–h). It is interesting that the text in the paneled inscription carries two very clear signifiers, the name of Darius and the designation king (xš, EŠŠANA, šárru rabû).<sup>982</sup> This placement of the text as the final layer of framing seems neatly to reference back both to the crowned figures (name/title in the text, actual figures of the king in image) and, I would argue, to the



Figure 5.22. Slab B23 from the throne room (B) of the Palace of Aššurnasirpal II at Nimrud showing the king and the “sacred tree”; London, British Museum, WA 124531 (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum)

date palms (the use of the Babylonian language in the third line of the inscription, actual date palms in the image).<sup>983</sup>

The rigid symmetry of PFS 11\* (T1) is broken by the figure in the winged ring. This figure faces to the right, introducing directionality toward the crowned figure at right. Nevertheless, the raised and cupped hand, hairstyle, and beard (and probably also garment and dentate crown) of the figure in the winged ring essentially “double” the doubled crowned figures, thus constituting another layer of self-referencing in the image (fig. 5.23f). The placement of the figure in the winged ring in the upper part of the field also links it spatially to the date palms, which themselves may represent yet another layer of doubling of the king.

The semantics of PFS 11\* (T1) thus constitute a doubling, and in one instance tripling, of signifiers, all of which point to the same referent (king/kingship). The (at times axial) symmetry reinforces this semantics through a series of elements that reference each other via placement and orientation. The scene therefore does not easily yield a linear reading; on the contrary, there is a repetitive, circular rhythm. Perhaps we may even characterize this rhythm as ring composition: inscription – date palm – figure in crown – crenellated tower structure/winged symbol – figure in crown – date palm – inscription – date palm, etc. (fig. 5.23g–i).<sup>984</sup> As a result, the “semantic centrality” of the crenellated tower structure and figure in the winged ring is constantly interrupted by the doubled royal references (crowned figure, date palm, inscription, and, indeed, even figure in the winged ring) and the circular rhythm.<sup>985</sup>

The repetition of royal signifiers on PFS 11\* (T1) produces a space that we may perhaps best characterize as a “visual echo.” The compositional dynamics likewise encourage a reading that moves back and forth across the pictorial space (fig. 5.23g–o). The visual focus is forced inward by the uneven number of vertical axes (thus creating a dominate, central vertical axis, the crenellated tower structure and figure in the winged ring) (fig. 5.23a, g–i). This inward movement is accentuated by the directionality of the crowned figures (facing inward) (fig. 5.23j). The centripetal dynamic continuously forces the viewer back to the crenellated tower structure and figure in the winged ring (fig. 5.23k–l). At the same time, the centripetal rhythm is balanced by a similarly strong centrifugal one. The iterative doubling of the same semantic referent (crowned figure, date palm, and inscription) pushes the focus to the edges (fig. 5.23n). The rigid geometry of the central part

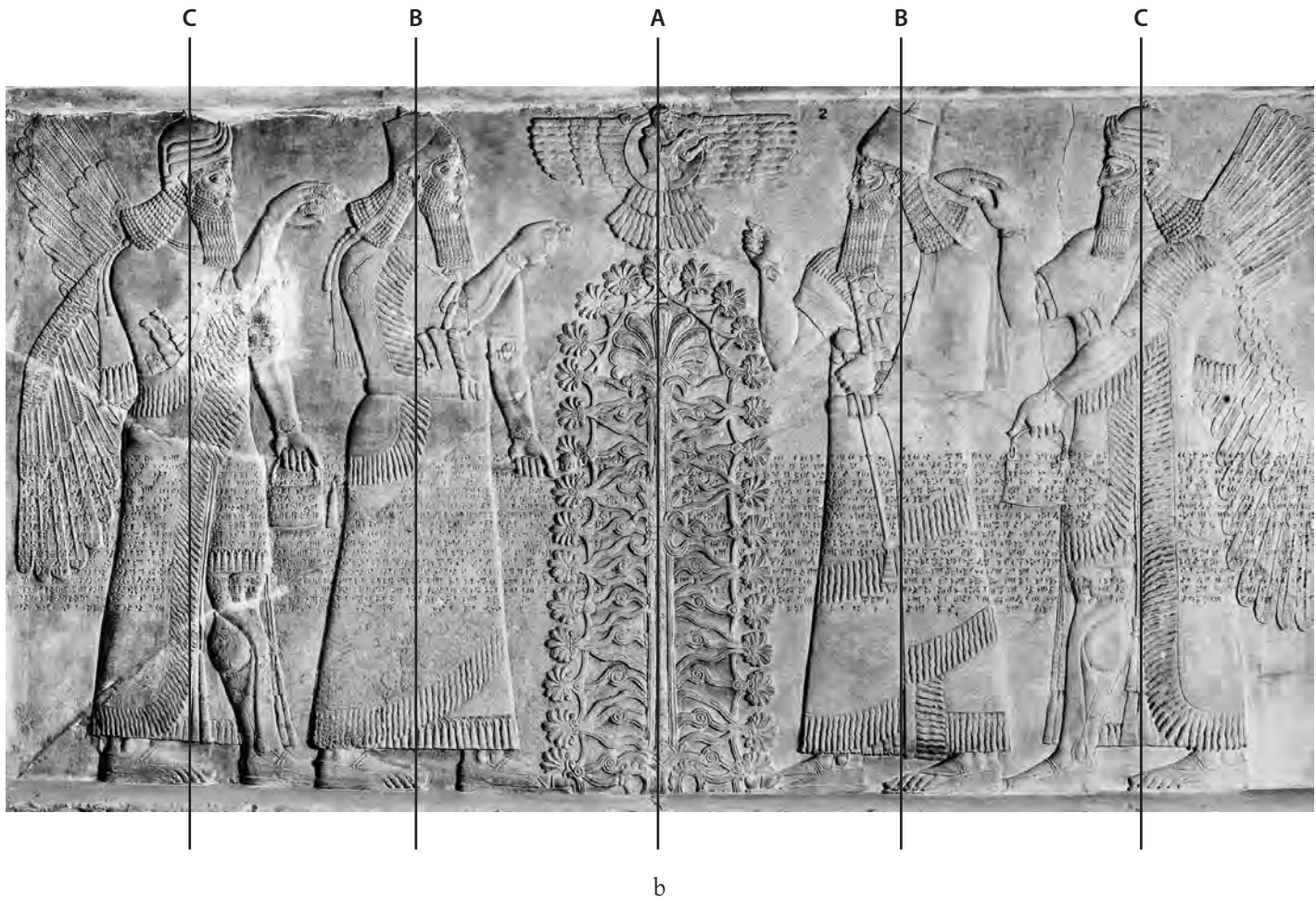
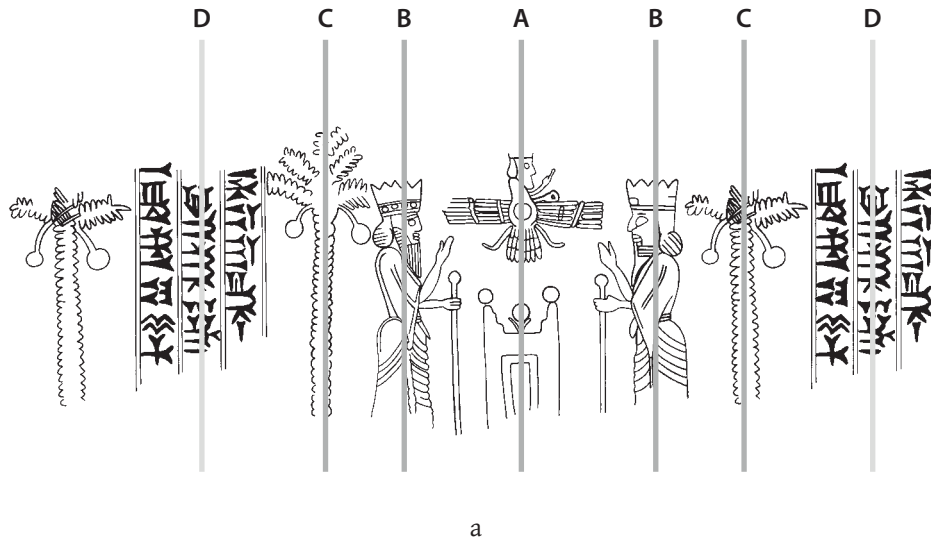
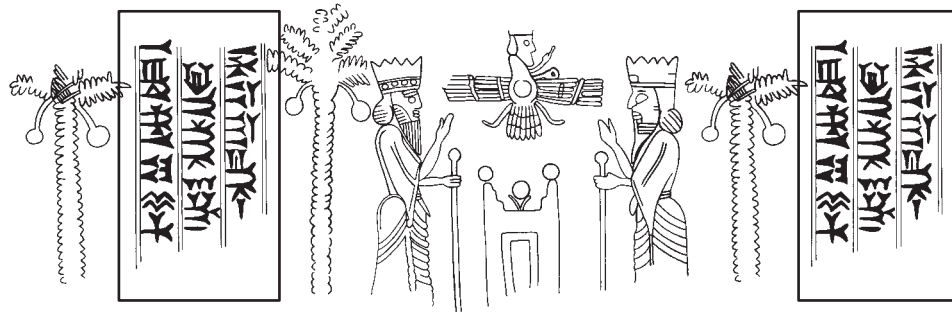
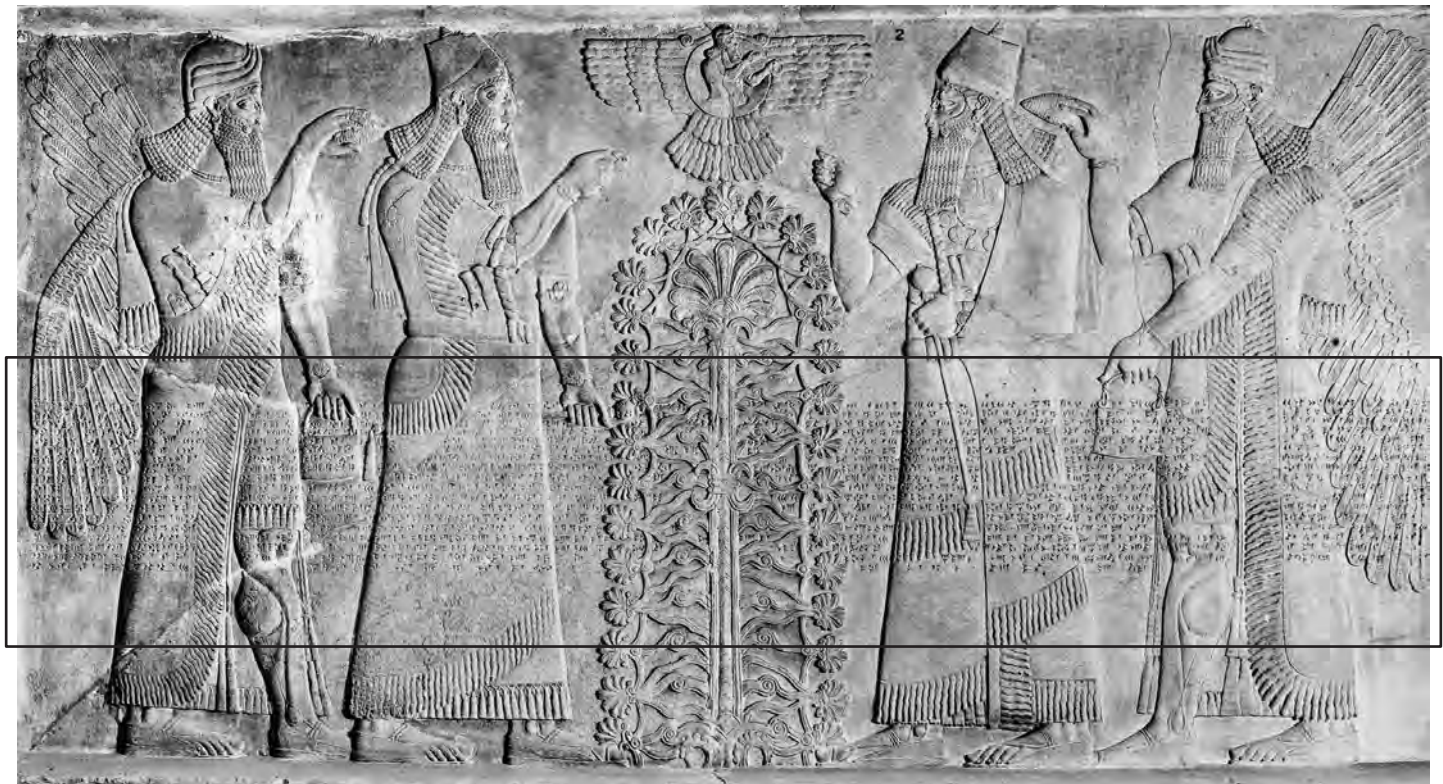


Figure 5.23a-b. Visual dynamics of (a) PFS 11\* (T1) and (b) slab B23, Palace of Aššurnasirpal II, Nimrud: compositional formulae



c



d

Figure 5.23c–d. Visual dynamics of (c) PFS 11\* (T1) and (d) slab B23, Palace of Aššurnasirpal II, Nimrud: royal inscriptions



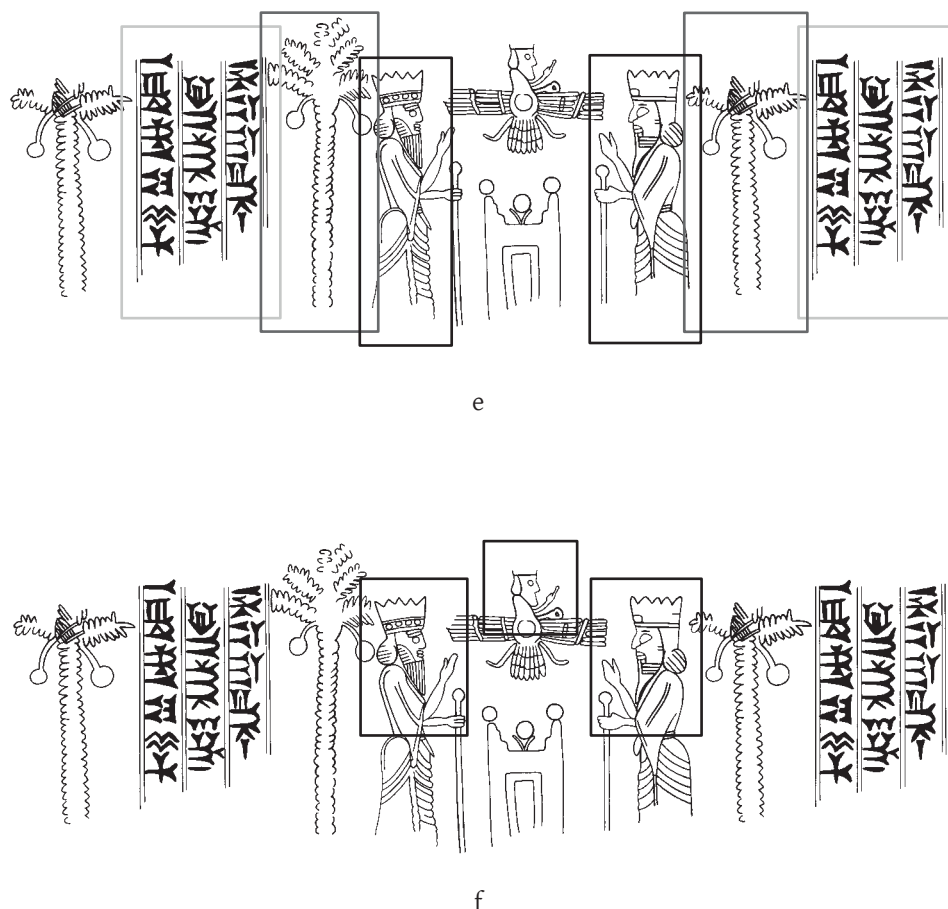


Figure 5.23e–f. Visual dynamics of PFS 11\* (T1): doubled royal referents

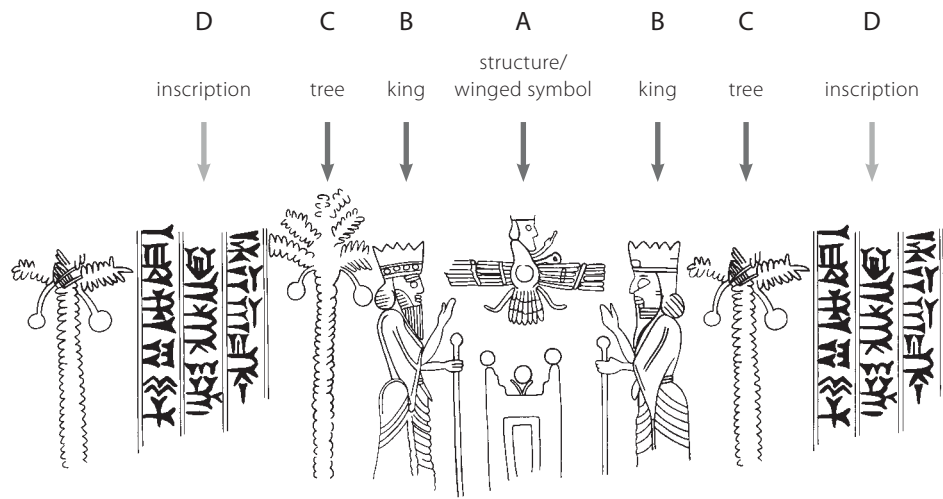
of the design, a V-shaped passage formed by two converging lines running downward along the top edges of the date palms, the crowns, faces, and raised hands of the crowned figures terminating at the spherical object in the center of the tower structure, allows for a similar movement both inward and outward (fig. 5.23m, o).

#### 5.4.6. Summary of PFS 11\* (T1)

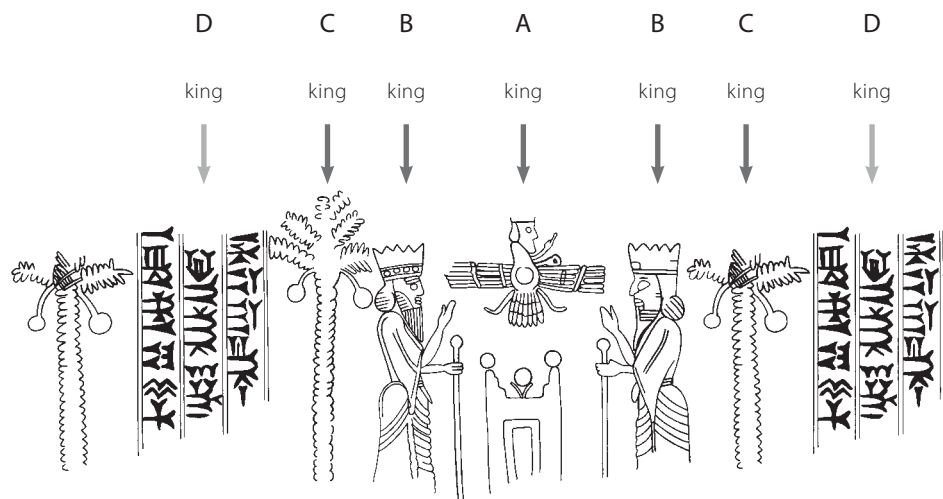
The careful treatment of space and the continuous doubling/symmetry on PFS 11\* (T1) invoke a panoptic perspective, encouraging a view through, around, and along the scene (fig. 5.23i).<sup>986</sup> The comments of Winter (1981, pp. 10–11) on the throne room reliefs at Nimrud are applicable equally to PFS 11\* (T1): the purpose of dynamic tension (centripetal and centrifugal) in the composition is to bring about a specific desired effect, the “absorption of the whole at once.” This complex visual dynamic is characteristic of images expressing strong emblematic qualities.

On the other hand, we also easily read PFS 11\* (T1) in a narrative, literal manner: the Achaemenid king does something before a crenellated tower structure and winged symbol.

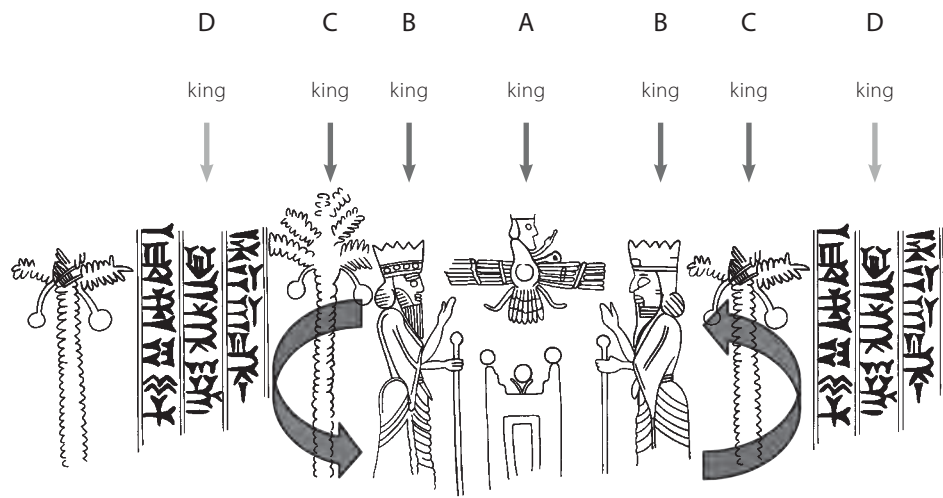
There thus seem to be two distinct semantics at balance on PFS 11\* (T1), the one narrative, the other emblematic.<sup>987</sup> The literalness, a narrative as it were articulating the physical acts of the king, is constantly interrupted by various compositional and iconographic formulae that strip away any sense of a particular time and space and encourage an absorption rather than a reading of the scene. The narrative is also interrupted/disrupted by the fact that the tower structure and the figure in the winged ring, the central elements in the composition, are fantastical having no literal (iconic) referent in the lived landscape.<sup>988</sup> This semantics operates in the unreal, where the king appears from multiple, all-encompassing perspectives (panoptic), cinematic in presentation, and is magically transposed/doubled into god, tree, and inscribed word (fig. 5.40g–i). Such a semantics seems strongly hieratic, seeking to elide distinctions between the king



g



h

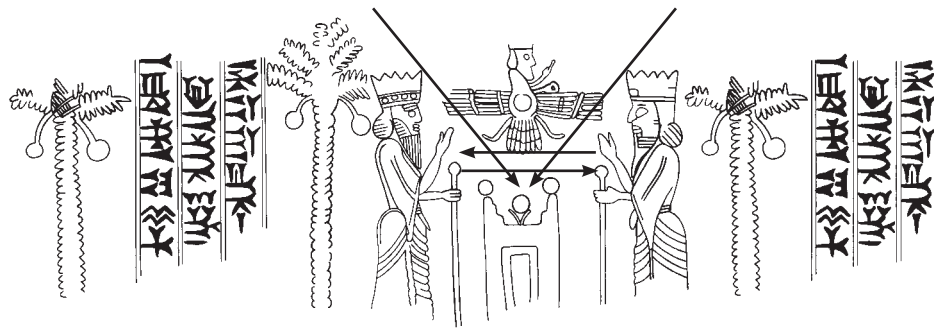


i

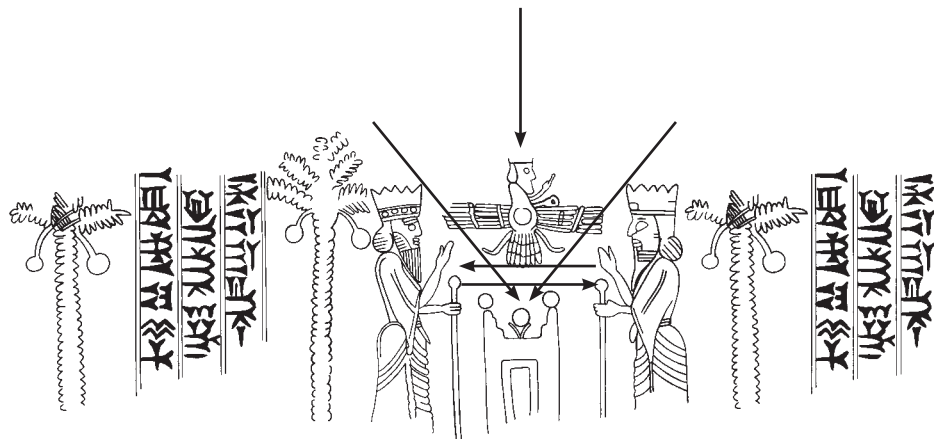
Figure 5.23g-i. Visual dynamics of PFS 11\* (T1): royal referents



j



k



l

Figure 5.23j-l. Visual dynamics of PFS 11\* (T1): tension

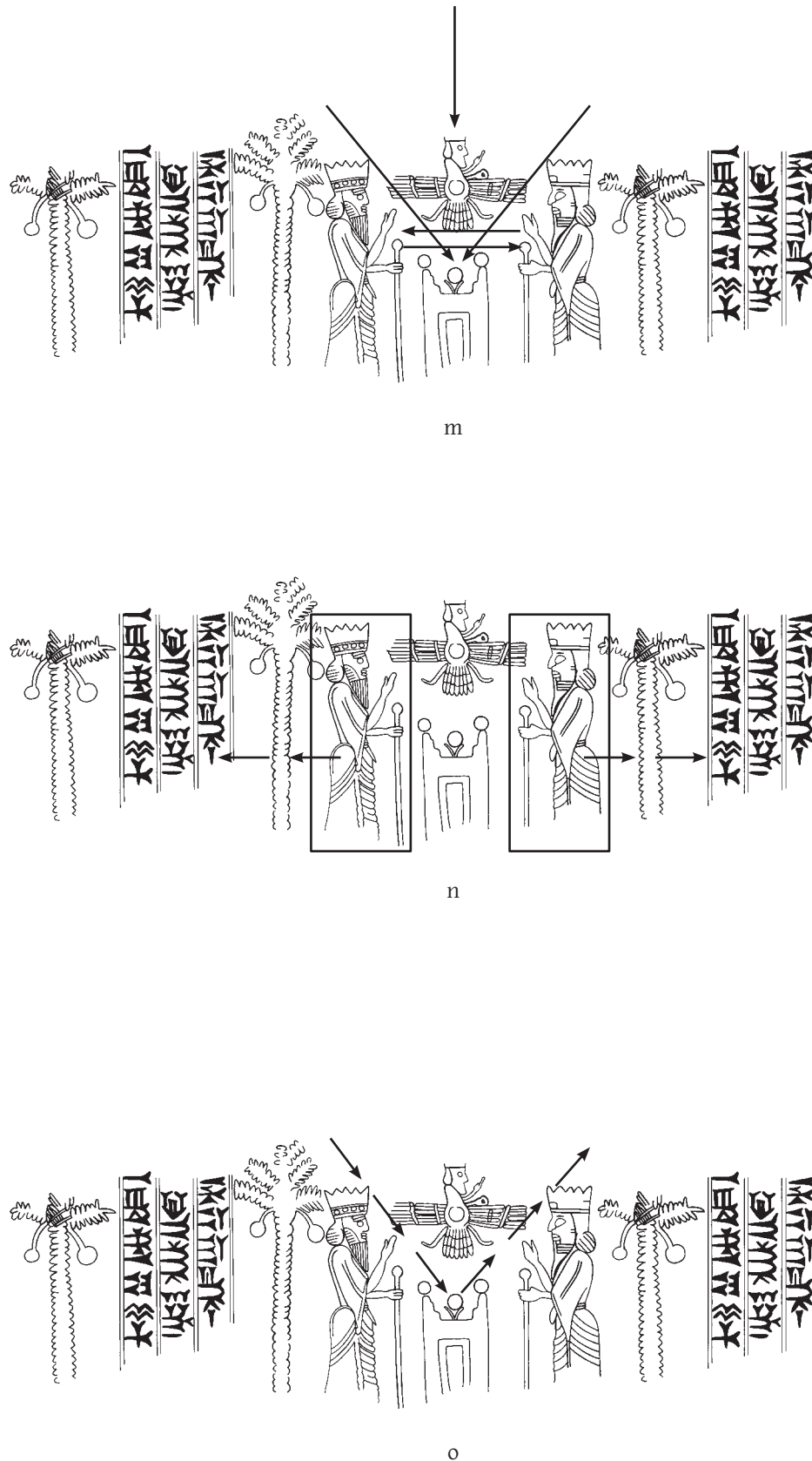


Figure 5.23m-o. Visual dynamics of PFS 11\* (T1): tension. Solid line = centripetal; broken line = centrifugal

and the divine. The date palms may also serve to (re)iterate an age-old idea of the connection of the health and continued welfare of the community/state with the body/words of the king.

The imagery of PFS 11\* (T1) makes no claim to pictorial reality, and, thus, would seem to articulate, more forcefully and fully than monumental relief, the numinous aspects of Achaemenid kingship.<sup>989</sup> Given the lack of textual documentation on the specific concepts of kingship in the early years of Darius and the curiously elusive evidence for such from the inscriptions of Darius I at Bisotūn and Naqš-e Rostam, seals carved in the Court Style take on critical importance as vehicles that may provide added (and new) insights into this issue.<sup>990</sup>

PFS 11\* (T1) belongs with a handful of brilliantly executed Court Style seals, several of them bearing trilingual royal-name inscriptions, that vividly express complex messages of Achaemenid kingship. These seals are part of a much larger programme of visual imagery in coinage, rock-cut relief, free-standing stelae, and architectural sculpture initiated by Darius and his planners in the last two decades of the sixth century BC. One of the most interesting — indeed remarkable — aspects of this phenomenon is the distinctive nature of the expression of this programme in each of these media.<sup>991</sup> While the three major (surviving) vehicles for the dissemination of visual imagery of kingship during the reign of Darius share elements of iconography and vocabulary, each appears to employ a fairly distinct syntax. This phenomenon cannot be a chance affair but must represent a carefully planned programme of visual imagery, devised by Darius and his advisors in the early years of his reign, aimed at the heart of the empire.

## 5.5. Concluding Remarks: The Seals of Ziššawiš

The two seals that have been the focus of this chapter, PFS 83\* and PFS 11\* (T1), provide an in-depth view of the glyptic imagery associated with an individual working at a high level of the imperial administration at the heart of the empire. Both seals, as we have seen, are special artifacts, possessing iconographic, stylistic, and compositional traits that are either rare or unique. Both must be commissioned objects, as one may have expected for an individual of Ziššawiš's administrative rank; we may infer that Ziššawiš played some role in the selection of their style and imagery. The precise social/administrative/political dynamics that led to Ziššawiš's initial selection of the imagery on PFS 83\*, and then his replacement of that imagery with PFS 11\* (T1), are, of course, lost to us. Nevertheless, we may be able to infer some aspects to these processes owing to the rich archival contexts of both Ziššawiš the administrator and the seals that he uses.

Despite the fact that almost 3,400 distinct and legible seal designs are preserved in the Fortification archive, the winged cow and calf imagery (and by extension the overall compositional format of PFS 83\*) finds no exact parallel in the known glyptic from Persepolis. The seal is not, however, an import into the Persepolitan glyptic environment. The paneled Aramaic inscription, bull-man atlantid supporting a winged ring, and the carving style link the artifact to the rich Persepolitan glyptic context. The strong Assyrianizing features of the imagery place the seal (and Ziššawiš) right in line with the seals of many other individuals in the Persepolitan administrative region. The uniqueness of the winged cow and calf imagery, its combination with the bull-man atlantid supporting a winged ring, and the placement of the paneled Aramaic inscription in the upper field clearly distinguish, however, PFS 83\* from the Assyrianizing seals of other administrators. Thus, we have an artifact that is both similar to and unique among other seals at Persepolis.

Rather than trying to decode the individual elements (and/or their combination) of the figural imagery (e.g., the winged disk = Auramazdā = Ziššawiš the Zoroastrian), I suggest that the primary signification of the imagery lay in its very distinctive, and blatant, Assyrianizing “flavor.” In this sense, PFS 83\* is closely related to the seals of Ziššawiš's immediate superior, Parnaka, who also employed a very distinctive, indeed palpable, Assyrianizing style and imagery in both of his seals, PFS 9\* (fig. 5.1) and PFS 16\* (fig. 5.2).<sup>992</sup> Such overt Assyrianizing imagery moreover is found in the seals of other members of the royal family. The royal woman Irtašduna, known from the Greek sources as Artystone, whom Herodotus (VII.69.2) says was the daughter of Cyrus and favorite wife of Darius, uses a seal, PFS 38 (fig. 5.24), with exceptionally evocative Assyrianizing style and imagery.<sup>993</sup> Another royal woman, Irdabama, who is either a wife or the mother of Darius, uses a very prestigious heirloom seal, PFS 51 (fig. 5.25), which has exceptionally strong compositional ties

to Assyrian wall relief.<sup>994</sup> Similar Assyrianizing glyptic products are documented for some of the very highest elites at Persepolis. The first seal of Ašbazana, most probably the same person as the *vaçabara* Aspačanā named and depicted at Naqš-e Rostam (DNd), may serve as an example. The seal, PFS 1567\* (fig. 5.3), is an extremely evocative Assyrianizing product showing a worshiper standing on the back of a goat-fish to either side of a large figure in a winged ring.<sup>995</sup>

While employing different Assyrianizing styles and imagery, these seals are nevertheless linked by their overt “Assyrian-ness” and their usage by members of the royal family and the upper echelon of the elite of the Achaemenid court. Ziššawiš’s first seal, PFS 83\*, thus associates him, via the overt “Assyrian-ness” of his seal design, with these individuals. That association is not through a direct one-to-one match in any particular aspects of iconography or composition with the seals of his superiors but via the complete visual “package” offered by PFS 83\*. Ziššawiš thus appears to be deploying seal imagery in an attempt to emulate a distinct Assyrianizing element among the seals of the very elite. That emulation does not take the form of outright copying; on the contrary, it is a sophisticated referencing of a particular archaizing disposition among these high-status seal users. Like these glyptic products of the very elite, PFS 83\* is distinctive, easily

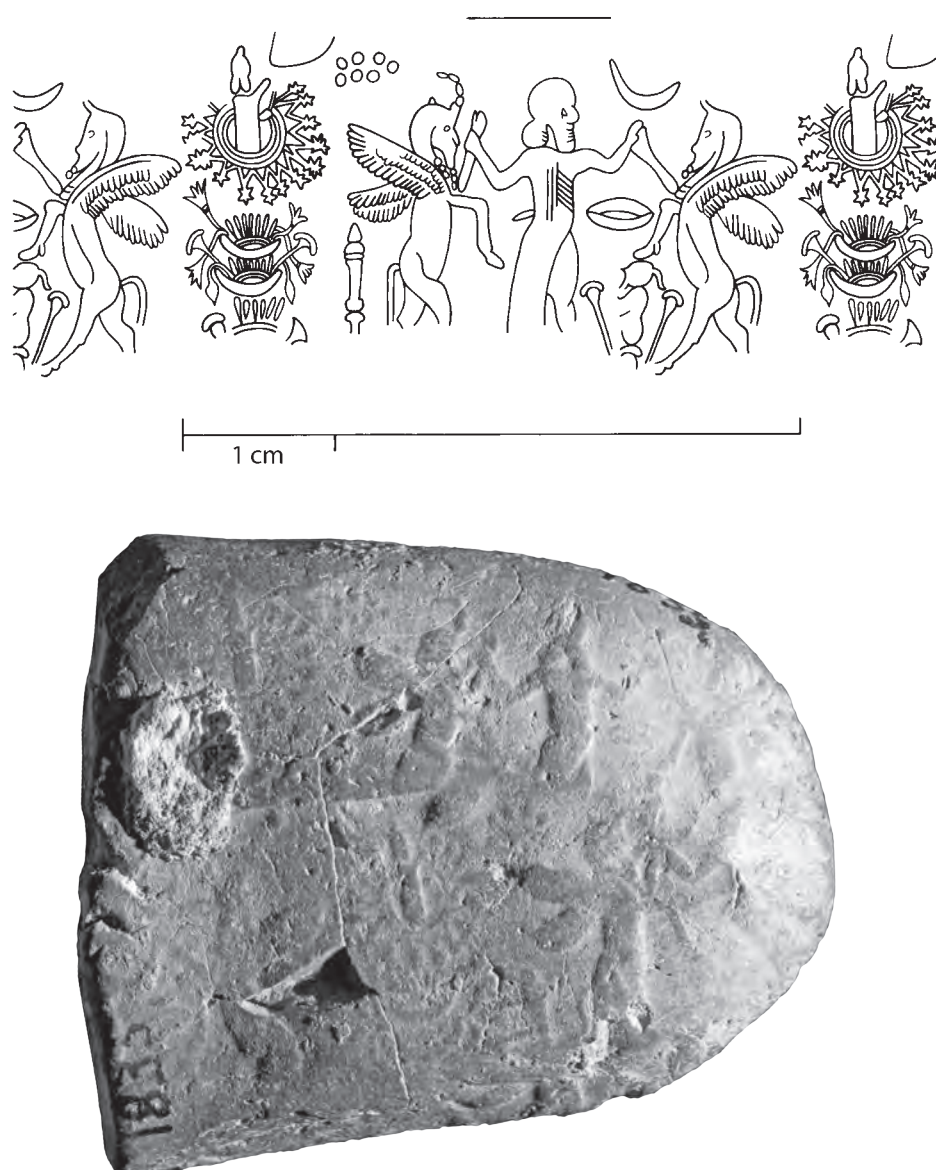


Figure 5.24. PFS 38 from the Persepolis Fortification archive:  
(top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 1835 (reverse)

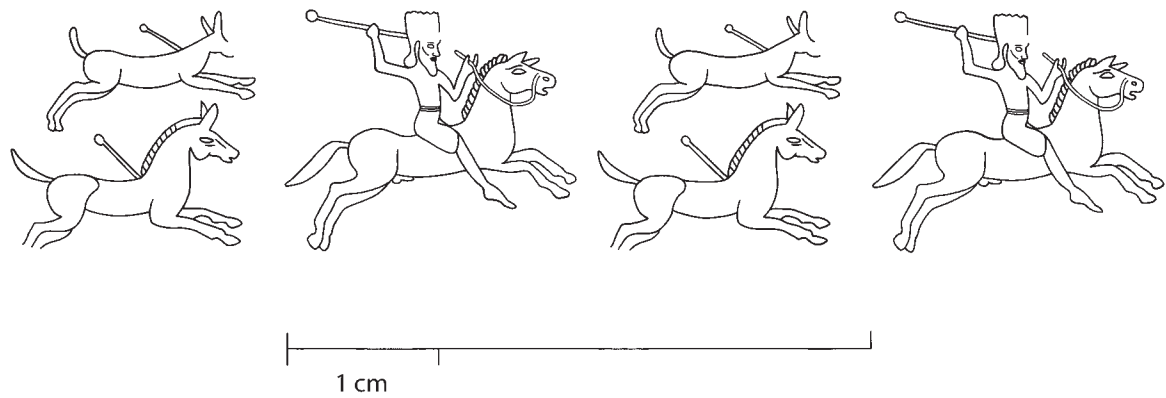


Figure 5.25. PFS 51 from the Persepolis Fortification archive:  
(top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 736 (reverse)

recognizable owing to its unique synthesizing of Assyrianizing compositional and iconographic elements. As a young administrator in 508 BC, PFS 83\* would then be a remarkable testament to Ziššawiš's attempts to position himself socially at the beginnings of his career.

Given the rarity and unambiguous importance of royal-name seals and the fully developed Court Style in glyptic in the Fortification archive, the sudden appearance of PFS 11\* (T1) must mark a critical point in the biography of Ziššawiš the administrator. Potential keys to understanding the significance of the phenomena represented by royal-name seals and the fully-developed Court Style must lay in the socio-political contexts of their initial appearance. The individuals who use these royal-name seals appear to fall into a particular socio-political profile. In addition to Ziššawiš and PFS 11\* (T1), they include: an unnamed office associated with procurement of provisions for the king using PFS 7\* (fig. 5.16); Baratkama, later (490–479 BC, as recorded in the Treasury archive) the treasurer at Persepolis, using PFS 113\* (= PTS 4\*) (fig. 5.17); an unnamed official/office found only on the unscribed tablets using PFUTS 18\*.<sup>996</sup> Despite their high administrative rank, none of the users of these early Court Style seals are connected, as far as we know, by birth or marriage to the Achaemenid family, hail from one of the families of the other six conspirators who helped bring Darius to power, or hold the position of satrap, one of the most exalted political positions in the empire.<sup>997</sup> These four phenomena, being a blood relative of the royal family, marrying into the royal family, belonging to one

of the six aristocratic families who participated in the conspiracy to bring Darius to power, and holding a satrapal appointment, may constitute the most prestigious socio-political markers in the Persian empire.<sup>998</sup>

To the cluster of royal-name seals, we ought also to add particularly impressive examples of seals bearing court-centric iconography that may mark early experimental phases of the Court Style at Persepolis. PFS 859\* (fig. 5.26), which shows a heroic encounter, is used by an unnamed official/office associated with cattle *eššANA tibba makka* (“dispensed before the king”). As PFS 859\* occurs within the same administrative context as the royal-name seal PFS 7\*, both seals are confined to the transactions known as J texts (“royal provisions”), one may assume that the officials/offices were of similar administrative rank. Unfortunately, only a small fragment of the full design is preserved, but it is clear that the seal was originally quite large.<sup>999</sup> The hero is decked out in an elaborate Persian court robe and carries a large quiver full of arrows on his back. The rendering of the shoulder and upper torso of the hero in profile is characteristic of the Court Style (cf., especially, PFS 11\* [T1]), but the large figures and heavy modeling are more typical of the Persepolitan Modeled Style.

An especially interesting seal that one ought to consider with this dossier of early court-centric glyptic is PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* (fig. 5.27).<sup>1000</sup> The seal is used by Irdumartiya.<sup>1001</sup> The name is the Elamite transcription of the Old Persian *Artavardiya*. An individual by this name occurs in the Bīsotūn inscription at DB III.28–49 (Schmitt 1991, pp. 64–65), an important army commander and *bandaka* (“vassal,” “loyal servant”).<sup>1002</sup> It is tempting to assume that the Irdumartiya named in the Fortification archive is the same as the one named at Bīsotūn. In the Fortification archive, Irdumartiya occurs already in year 15 (PF 1830); he is also named in an account in year 13 (PF 1968), the beginning year of the surviving archive. Henkelman (2008a, p. 127 n. 283) has stated that there are indications, inconclusive, that he may have been the acting director before Parnaka, who first appears in year 15 (507/506 BC). There is a series of H texts (“receipts by officials”) in which



Figure 5.26. PFS 859\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 691 (reverse)



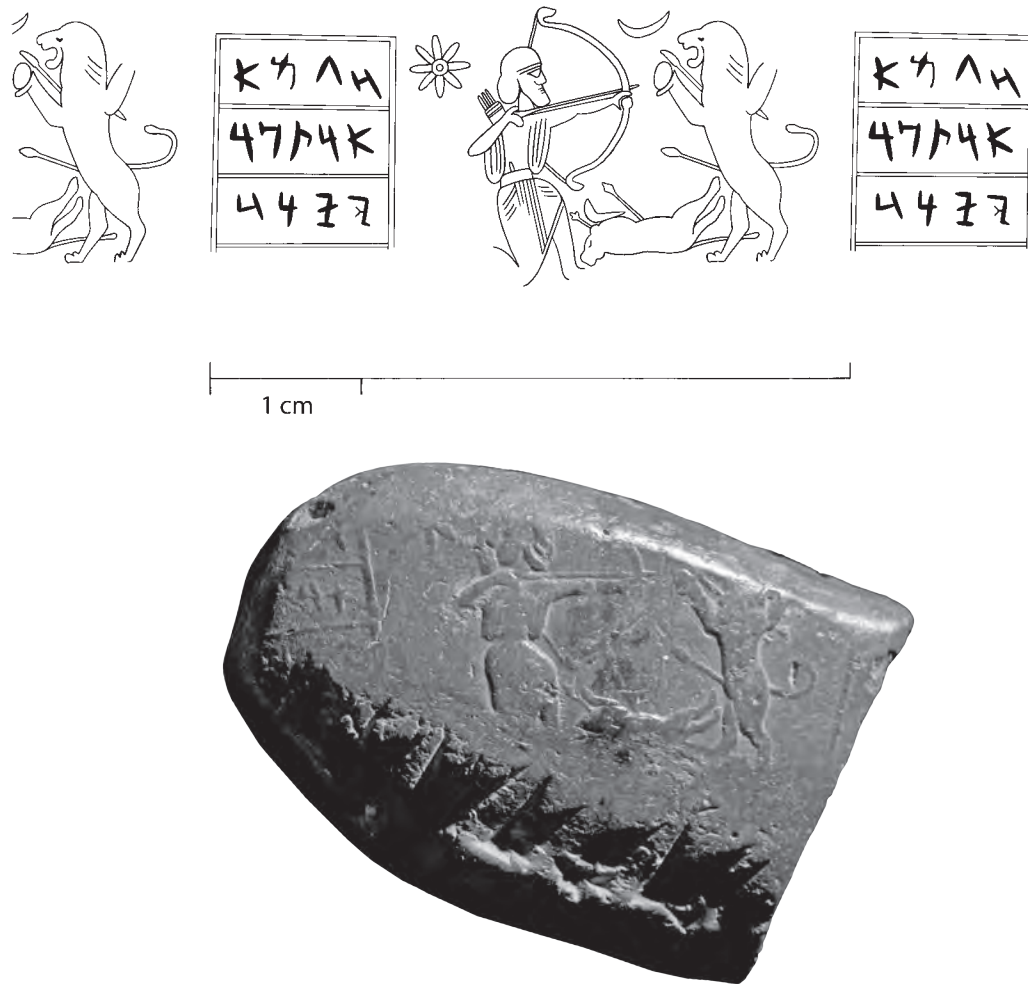


Figure 5.27. PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* from the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury archives: (top) collated line drawing; (bottom) impression on PF 254 (reverse)

Irdumartiya receives substantial payments, five *marriš* of wine per day.<sup>1003</sup> Ziššawiš, by comparison, receives three *marriš* of wine per day as payment, Parnaka nine *marriš*. The H texts that mention these payments to Irdumartiya are dated to year 26.<sup>1004</sup>

If the Irdumartiya named at Bisotūn and in the Fortification archive are one and the same, we have yet another point of reference in the social/administrative structure at Persepolis. Judging from his wine payments, Irdumartiya is of slightly higher rank/status than Ziššawiš but considerably lower than Parnaka, despite the fact that he may well have held (at two different times) the same administrative position as Parnaka. This would suggest something that we have suspected for some time, that payments are based both on administrative rank and social status. Irdumartiya was also an army commander who appears to have played a critical role in the fighting in Fārs during Darius' first year. He seems, thus, to have been an individual trusted by Darius, but not possessing any of the four markers (being a blood relative of the royal family, marrying into the royal family, belonging to one of the six aristocratic families who participated in the conspiracy, and/or holding a satrapal appointment) that distinguish the men (and women) whom, perhaps, we could call the *οἱ πρότοι καὶ δοκιμότατοι*, the first and most distinguished, the very highest aristocratic elite at court.<sup>1005</sup>

All of this matters because the seal associated with Irdumartiya, PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, bears evidence regarding the development of court-centric imagery at Persepolis. The seal is a magnificent scene of an archer dressed in the court robe shooting an arrow at a rampant lion. A dead lion lies in the lower field. An Aramaic inscription, with case lines and a panel, reads: "Seal of Ḍrtavardiya, son of ..." (see §2.3.2.1). The inscription thus confirms the attribution of PFS 71\* to Irdumartiya.

The seal occurs on tablets dated to year 14 (508/507 BC, NN 415) and months 4 and 5 in year 15 (July–September 507 BC, PF 1830), thus some five years predating the appearance of the royal-name seals PFS 7\* and PFS 11\* (T1) in year 19. While the imagery shows several features of court-centric iconography, for example, the Persian court robe, bow, and quiver, the cutting style is not what one would classify as Court Style. The figures are broad and deeply carved. The animal form is particularly heavy. Moreover, the agitated movement within the design is very unlike scenes in the Persepolitan Court Style, one hallmark of which is a deeply ingrained sense of stillness and serenity. So, too, there is a clear indication of a succession of events through time in the past and a hint of more events to follow: archer shoots one arrow, then another at the first lion, first lion falls dead; archer shoots one and then another arrow at the second lion, lion continues to move forward; archer readies bow and arrow to shoot a third arrow. Such sequencing of events through time is completely antithetical to the timelessness that is such a prevalent aspect of the Persepolitan Court Style. Indeed, the theme itself, the killing of lions with a bow and arrow, has yet to be documented in a Persepolitan Court Style seal.<sup>1006</sup> The inclusion of the star and crescent is also noteworthy; both are very rare in Court Style seals. The fact that the archer does not wear a dentate crown may also be a diagnostic marker; one can hardly imagine the central protagonist in a Persepolitan Court Style seal not wearing a crown. These observations suggest that PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* represents an early experimental phase in the development of court-centric iconography, a phase that will lead, in a few short years, to the emergence of the fully articulated Court Style.

Another impressive seal that appears experimental in this regard is PFS 1568\* (fig. 5.28), used by Harrena, a *kasabattiš* (“cattle chief”).<sup>1007</sup> Harrena, like Ziššawiš, issues letter-orders. The exact duties and rank indicated by his designation as a *kasabattiš* are not clear, although he is the only individual so designated in the archive, and in general cattle appear to fall under a special, perhaps royal, jurisdiction.<sup>1008</sup> The scene is an archer, wearing a Persian court robe, shooting at a pair of fleeing caprids, the one disposed over the other. The larger of the two caprids has been hit by two arrows. The Persian court robe, although only partially preserved, is elaborate. The convention of rendering the upper part of the garment as two large swags of drapery that frame a narrow torso is repeatedly documented in a series of seals that are executed in the Fortification Style, suggesting that this convention may be another marker of the early experimental phases of the Court Style.<sup>1009</sup> PFS 1568\* shares with PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* the agitated movement of the animals, the narration through time, and the suggestion of more action to follow in the future. The stacking of the animals on PFS 1568\* is, moreover, not unlike the combination of rampant and prone lions on PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*. Like PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, the style of carving on PFS 1568\* is a restrained version of the Persepolitan Modeled Style.

The distinctive characteristics of the visual dynamics of PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* and PFS 1568\*, agitated movement, a sense of narration (things having happened before and about to happen in the future), and the stacking of figures, link these seals to the famous heirloom seals PFS 93\* and PFS 51 (fig. 5.25).<sup>1010</sup> While an extended discussion concerning the possible significance of this interesting linkage is not possible in the



Figure 5.28. PFS 1568\* from the Persepolis Fortification archive: (left) collated line drawing; (right) impression on NN 2572 (reverse)

current forum, one can remark that this phenomenon may be yet another vestige of the complex interactions, what we may term the “visual politics,” between Teispid and Achaemenid visual rhetoric.

PFS 11\* (T1) then is part of a cluster of seals attesting to the very early appearance of court-centric iconography and the Court Style in glyptic. The earliest usage date for the royal-name seals is year 19 (503/502 BC), documented for both PFS 7\* (fig. 5.16) and PFS 11\* (T1). It perhaps is not so surprising that PFS 859\* (fig. 5.26), another striking scene with intense court-centric iconography and probably to be classified as very early Court Style, also first appears in year 19.<sup>1011</sup> These seals, which, of course, are only a sample representing some of the highest-quality Court Style seals at Persepolis, indicate that the Court Style as a fully developed glyptic phenomenon apparently emerged in year 19 (503/502 BC); its experimental phases (represented by PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*, PFS 1568\*, etc.) would date back at least a half a decade.<sup>1012</sup>

The individuals who use these early Court Style artifacts appear to possess a similar administrative profile. Their rank is high, in the case of Ziššawiš the deputy-director of the agency represented by the Fortification archive, but by no means is this rank the highest in the archive. Nor do these individuals have direct ties to the royal family, the families of the co-conspirators, or hold satrapal power. The men who use these early Court Style seals, from what we can tell, are at least one step removed from the upper echelons at court, two steps removed from the imperial family itself.<sup>1013</sup> They are Iranian, at least to judge by the names of the seal users that are preserved.<sup>1014</sup>

The royal-name seals PFS 7\* and PFS 11\* (T1) serve to announce the canonization of the Court Style. The iconography and rhetoric of the Court Style are specific and consistent. The number of Court Style seals in the last decade of the sixth century BC is small, suggesting that the phenomenon is a recent one, and/or that the circulation of these seals is tightly circumscribed. Court Style seals exhibit stylistic, iconographic, and compositional associations to monumental relief at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis and imperial coinage, indicating that they are part of a broader imperial programme to disseminate the royal message in images. Court Style seals thus function as one of several media for the promulgation of a distinctive ideological message about the nature of Achaemenid kingship, a message that would be echoed/reinforced/expanded in monumental rock-cut relief and architectural sculpture in Fārs and Elam.<sup>1015</sup>

The political ideology that lay behind Persepolitan Court Style seals would be readily understandable even were we ignorant of the archaeological contexts of the seals. The fact that the seals discussed in this study come from a known and excavated archaeological provenance and the fact that the images are embedded in a rich archival context obviously enrich our ability to link the ideological intent to particular individuals at a particular time and place.

The social context of the images from the archive allows us to push beyond the traditional parameters of political ideology so as to make inferences about ways of behaving at Persepolis in the late sixth century BC. The consistent rhetoric of Court Style seals, the rather precise temporal frame in which they first appear, and the fairly uniform administrative and social profile of the individuals who use these seals suggest that Court Style seals were carefully targeted to a particular and small group of Persepolitan administrators at a particular time and place. Given these circumstances, Court Style seals would seem to act as focal points of a dialogue between the king and this administrative elite concerning the relationship of state power and social behavior. The seals communicate multiple messages and function on various socio-political levels.<sup>1016</sup>

Firstly, early Court Style seals as represented by PFS 11\* (T1) signal the king’s recognition of these individuals as closely linked by loyalty (in lieu of blood and/or marriage) to the king/royal family. They thereby mark an attempt on the part of the king to bond this important group to the imperial enterprise. Issues concerning the connectedness of this particular social group to the king may have been cause for some concern, perhaps from the perspective of both that group and the king. The royal-name seals might thus have been part of an ideological programme that sought, via a distinctive glyptic style, to acknowledge/reinforce the existence of links between the regime and a specific level of the administrative elite and/or a particular social group in the heartland.<sup>1017</sup> As objects of exchange, these important Court Style seals would have been part of the gift economy that played such a critical role at court. The seals are thus probably yet another representation of the “giving king”; that is, the king’s gifting of objects to members of the court and aristocracy in recognition of deeds done and in anticipation of loyalty in the future.<sup>1018</sup>

Secondly, acceptance of early Court Style seals signaled, from the point of view of the seal user, a message of affirmation: I/we belong/are loyal to the newly (re)constituted royal order. While we are accustomed to consider ideological programmes from a “top down” perspective, the projection of ideas/beliefs/messages from the center of power downwards, one of the most potent manners in which an ideology operates is from the “bottom up,” where the consumers of ideas/beliefs/messages become the conveyors of those very same ideas/beliefs/messages via the performance of public celebrations or rituals, wearing or carrying markers of alliance, etc., in hopes of securing further recognition and/or rewards. Royal-name seals such as PFS 11\* (T1) could have so functioned both in their impressed state (via the distinctive imagery and royal-name inscription) and as a physical artifact (large, probably made of a precious material, most likely colorful [gold, lapis blue, etc.], and worn conspicuously on the body).

Thirdly, as markers of acceptance and recognition, Court Style seals would have created a sense of group-identity among the administrators in question. In this sense, the lines of signification are not vertical, administrative elite to king or king to administrative elite, but horizontal, administrative elite to administrative elite. The seals served in this manner as tokens of recognition and as markers of membership within a particular social group.

Fourthly, while these early Court Style seals signaled membership in a particular social group, at the same time they would have marked boundaries for that group, both up and down the social spectrum. On the upper end, this particular group appears to have been one or two levels removed from the highest elite at the court. These early Court Style seals are clearly distinct from the heavily Assyrianizing imagery belonging to the uppermost echelons. It is noteworthy that Ziššawiš, at least, appears initially to have had the freedom to access and emulate this Assyrianizing mode of representation (in his first seal, PFS 83\*). The appearance of his new seal, PFS 11\* (T1), may then indicate a rupture in the previous ways of behavior and signal the institution of new socio-political codes. The appearance of early Court Style seals at Persepolis may thus signal the beginning of a new way of behaving at court, a hardening of the boundaries between the uppermost elite and those immediately below them. It is striking that for the very highest elite among the Persian nobility and the royal family, distinctions in their glyptic imagery such as royal-name inscriptions, court-centric iconography, and Court Style carving were clearly unnecessary, perhaps even undesirable.<sup>1019</sup>

The appearance of Court Style seals, a handful such as PFS 11\* (T1) bearing royal-name inscriptions no less, suddenly in the last decade of the sixth century BC may suggest the presence of tension within some segments of the upper levels of Achaemenid society (represented in this study by Ziššawiš). Court Style seals such as PFS 11\* (T1) function then as a type of public assertion/mediation of ties/relationships between a particular segment of the administrative elite and the king. We do not know whether the impetus for this programme initiated from the administrative elite, from the very highest social level at court, from the king himself, or from some joint recognition of the need for such visible markers of allegiance/boundaries. I have previously suggested that the period 510–500 BC. represents an interlude between major military campaigns and may have provided Darius an opportunity to address issues surrounding socio-political hierarchies within the heartland.<sup>1020</sup>

Early Court Style seals such as those discussed in this study represent a deliberate glyptic “programme” aimed at a specific segment of Achaemenid society. As such, the imagery and style of the seals discussed in this study reflect social forces having more to do with personal relationships than abstract concepts of imperial ideology. Images and image-making, and the associated rhetoric of imperial ideology that they express, while dominant features of the physical and intellectual landscape of the Persepolis region in the late sixth century BC, also played a critical role in the negotiated social and political lives of individuals.

## 5.6. PTS 6\*, the Seal of Ziššawiš in the Treasury Archive

As mentioned above (§5.2), there is an administrator by the name of Ziššawiš who issues four letter-orders in the Treasury archive: PT 28–29, 31, and 33. Whether this individual is the same as the Ziššawiš mentioned in the Fortification archive is uncertain. The Ziššawiš in the Treasury archive seals his orders using PTS 6\* (fig. 5.29).<sup>1021</sup>

PTS 6\* is a scene of heroic encounter that takes place on pedestal creatures. The hero stands facing right. He holds his arms straight and extends them upward above shoulder level to grasp two inverted lions by a hind leg. He wears a dentate crown (four points) and has a long squared beard that lies over his left shoulder along the chest; a rounded mass of hair rests at back of his neck. He wears the Persian court robe. The sleeves of the garment are pushed up to reveal his bare arms; a detailing line is preserved along the right edge of the upper part of the garment. A central vertical fold indicated by two vertical lines is on the lower part of the garment; a few diagonal folds are preserved at the hips. Each lion places one foreleg and one hind leg along the hero's body as if marching; the other foreleg is held downward behind the wing of a pedestal creature. Each lion turns its head away from the hero, the mouth open. The tails extend upward and then curl downward with tufted terminations. The hero stands on the heads of two winged human-headed bulls(?) couchant. These bull creatures face each other. The human head of each pedestal creature has a thick beard. The wing of the pedestal creature at right curls inward at its end. A winged ring-in-disk hovers directly above the heroic encounter. The wings are divided into two sections and curve upwards at their ends; feathers are indicated along the bottom edge of the wings. Above the ring-in-disk, there are remnants of a curved element, probably a yoke. The bird's tail is square and divided into two sections; feathers are indicated along the bottom edge of the tail. A tendril depends from either side of the tail, curling upward at its termination. Date palms frame the central scene of heroic encounter and winged symbol. Individual fronds are indicated on each tree; bulbous fruit clusters depend from each side of the tree. The monolingual inscription, with case lines and contained in a panel, aligned on the vertical axis of the seal, is in the terminal field.

The Old Persian inscription on PTS 6\*, designated SXb, has been known for some time (Schmitt 1981, pp. 24–25, for the bibliography). The reading provided here follows Schmitt.<sup>1022</sup>

*a-da-ma: xa-ša-[ya-]*

*a-ra-ša-a: xš*

“I (am) Xerxes, the King.”

The seal is exceptionally well executed. The carving is very deep and richly modeled.

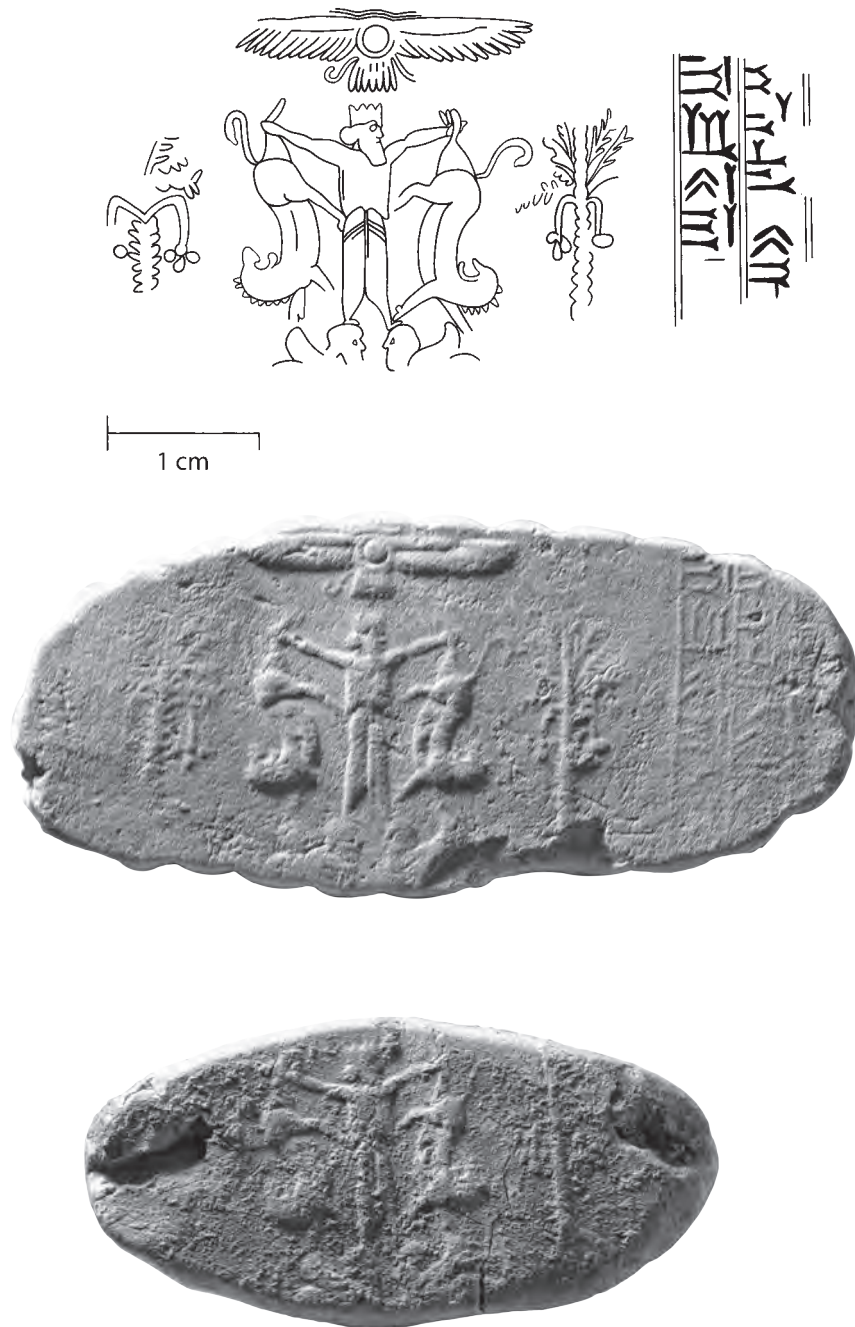


Figure 5.29. PTS 6\* from the Persepolis Treasury archive:  
 (top) collated line drawing; (middle) impression on PT 28 (left edge) (OIM A23323, field number PT4 749);  
 (bottom) impression on PT 33 (left edge) (OIM A23373, field number PT4 975)

## Notes

<sup>848</sup> Some of the issues surrounding the seals of Ziššawiš were presented in an abbreviated form in a lecture presented at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in May 2007 (now published in Garrison 2007). Analyses of some aspects of the visual dynamics of PFS 11\* (T1) discussed here figure in other studies by the author, especially Garrison 2011c and 2014a, pp. 71–73, 87–89.

<sup>849</sup> Speaking very broadly, two of the principal methodological perspectives employed by art historians are those that may be characterized as primarily psychological and those that may be characterized as primarily socio-political. Of course, the psychological and the social are invariably densely intertwined. The search for the “total symbolic horizon of an image” (Mitchell 1986, p. 2), or the discourse of images (what images say/mean), is often called iconology. That term, iconology, is a loaded one, closely associated, of course, with Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), who famously distinguished between iconography, the cataloging/description/identification of particular “artistic motifs,” and iconology, determining the “intrinsic meaning or content,” the “symbolic value” of an image (Panofsky 1972, pp. 7–8). Various art historians have understood the term in various manners, one of the most influential being Gombrich (1972), but most of these readings, like Panofsky’s, focus upon expanding the cultural “situation” of an image; Panofsky himself was, however, little interested in the social matrixes in which images were produced and functioned. The literature on Panofsky’s method (a “humanist art history”; Gaston 1998, p. 618) and his influence in the discipline of art history is substantial. Details of Panofsky’s method have been the subject of much debate and criticism (Gaston [1998, p. 614] characterized some of the contributions to the Princeton centennial commemoration on Panofsky [Lavin 1995] as “using the occasion to promote programs triumphantly built on the ruins of Panofsky’s methodology”); it may seem somewhat ironic that Panofsky’s enduring legacy remains his brilliance as an iconographic “detective” rather than his theoretical work. Certainly, from the perspective of the art of ancient western Asia, one is uncomfortable especially with Panofsky’s privileging of the subjectivity of the artist as a primary determining factor in our search for “meaning” in a visual image and his views on the cultural superiority of classicizing art. Concerning the former, the oft-quoted passage is found in Panofsky 1972, p. 7 (originally published in 1939): intrinsic meaning or content [how Panofsky articulated the goal of iconological analysis — M.B.G.] “is apprehended by ascertaining those underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion — unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work.” Of the wealth of literature evaluating Panofsky’s legacy, see, e.g., the collected papers from a symposium on Panofsky (Lavin 1995), Bann 1996, and Gaston 1998. Embedded within the quote from Panofsky is, however, a clear awareness of forces working beyond the knowledge of the individual artist, what we could characterize as a Marxian world of ideas that shape, and are in turn shaped by, visual images.

<sup>850</sup> Specifically, Althusser 1971 and Eagleton 1991.

<sup>851</sup> For recent analyses of the royal tombs of Ur, see Pollock 1991; Sürenhagen 2002; Cohen 2005; Pollock 2007a and 2007b. Assyrian palace reliefs (the following articles from 2004 are from a recent Rencontre concerning the site of Nineveh): Atač 2004; Ornan 2004; Bonatz 2004; Watanabe 2004; Bahrani 2004; Dolce 2004; Atač 2010. Of the many studies devoted to Hasanlu IVB, one

should highlight here the excellent analysis of the glyptic from the site, Marcus 1996.

<sup>852</sup> That is, a very Panofskian enterprise!

<sup>853</sup> On replacement seals at Persepolis, see also Garrison 1998 that concerns the two seals of Ašbazana (figs. 5.3–5.4), the one (PFS 1567\*) from the Fortification archive, the other (PTS 14\*) from the Treasury archive.

<sup>854</sup> Both seals are now documented in Garrison and Root 2001, where previous bibliography is given: PFS 9\* (Cat.No. 288); PFS 16\* (Cat.No. 22). The two texts in question are PF 2067 and 2068. See also the comments of Garrison 2014b, pp. 492–97.

<sup>855</sup> Garrison 1991, pp. 9–10, for the seals of Parnaka.

<sup>856</sup> I have discussed these two seals in Garrison 1998 and Garrison in press b. Ašbazana is the Elamite form of the Old Persian Aspačanā (Tavernier 2007, s.v. Aspačanā [2.2.7]). See Garrison 1998, p. 116, and Henkelman 2003, pp. 119, 123–29, for the evidence relating to the identification of the Ašbazana mentioned in the Fortification archive and the Treasury archive with Aspačanā, depicted and labeled at Naqš-e Rostam, and Aspathines, mentioned in Herodotus. For the initial publication of PTS 14\*, see Schmidt 1957, p. 24, pl. 6.

<sup>857</sup> The replica seals in Persepolitan glyptic will be the focus of a future study by the author and W. F. M. Henkelman. For the purposes of the documentary publication of Persepolitan glyptic, replica seals are distinguished by the addition of an alphabetic letter to the seal number: e.g., PFS 12a and PFS 12b; PFS 66a\*, PFS 66b\*, and PFS 66c\*; PFS 85a\* and PFS 85b\*. Concerning PFS 66a\*, PFS 66b\*, and PFS 66c\*, see Garrison 1991, pp. 10–12, Garrison and Root 1996/1998, p. 9.

<sup>858</sup> Ziššawiš is the Elamite form of the Old Persian \*Čiçavahuš “of good lineage” (Cameron 1948, p. 133; Tavernier 2007, s.v. \*Čiçavahuš [4.2.406]). See Hallock 1969, s.v. Ziššawiš, for the Elamite variant forms and a partial listing of PF and PT tablets that mention this name; Cameron 1948, s.v. Ši-iš-šá-ú-ma-iš.

<sup>859</sup> The functions/roles of the Ziššawiš in the Fortification archive have been frequently noted; e.g., Hinz 1971, pp. 288, 302 (the “Vizemarshal”); Hallock 1973, p. 322, and 1977, p. 128; Lewis 1977, pp. 8 n. 31, 9–11, and 1984, pp. 592, 595, 601; Hallock 1985, pp. 589–590, 606; Koch 1990, p. 362, s.v. Zí-iš-šá-ú-iš, for references, esp. pp. 227–34; Lewis 1994, p. 23; Briant 2002, pp. 425, 427; Henkelman 2008a, pp. 132–34, 147–53, 237, 439, and 549 (on šip and anšī religious ceremonies), 418 n. 962 (on livestock payments); on “long” colophons, see also Tavernier 2008, pp. 64–74.

<sup>860</sup> NN 698, wherein Ziššawiš receives ration payments (H text [“receipts by officials”]). A fragmentary G text (“providing of provisions”), NN 705, lists a Ziššawiš as a recipient of grain rations over a two-year period in years 13 and 14, thus as early as 509/508 BC. Whether this individual is the same as Ziššawiš the deputy-director is unknown.

<sup>861</sup> Some eighty-eight Q texts so name Ziššawiš. On Hallock’s (1969) text categories and travel rations, see the discussion at §2.2.3. Additionally, there are four S3 texts (“travel rations for animals”) and four entries in journals (NN 65:40–50; 2339:22–23; PFa 29:52–53; 29:58–59) wherein Ziššawiš issues a *halmi* for travel rations. An intriguing label (U text), PF 1917, mentions “9 *halmi* of Ziššawiš.”

<sup>862</sup> This is the sole occurrence of both PFS 1312s and Iddamana in the Elamite documents. PFS 1312s does occur repeatedly, however, in both the unscrubbed and Aramaic documents.

<sup>863</sup> Additionally, there are the following journal entries naming a *halmi* issued by Ziššawiš: PF 1948:1 (an A transaction [“transportation of commodities”]); NN 2486:47–48 (an E transaction

["utilization"] or K1 transaction ["rations for individuals with religious functions"]; 544:3, 2071:20–24, 25–28, 29–32, 2356:5–8, 9–11, 12–15, PF 1947:31 (all K2 transactions ["rations for persons qualified in some way"]); NN 65:51 (perhaps a K3 transaction ["rations for persons without qualification"]); PF 1948:21 (an L1 transaction ["regular monthly rations with *gal makip*"]); NN 2493:22–23, 24–26, 27–28, PF 1947:29 (L2 transactions ["regular monthly rations with *galma*"]); NN 745:1–2, 3–5 (M transactions ["special rations"]); NN 65:48 (unknown transaction type). The statements Ziššawiš *šeraš/šerašta*, "Ziššawiš ordered it," in five journal entries may imply the issuance of a *halmi*: PF 1949:6; 1986:10; 1987:11, 13, 15.

<sup>864</sup> See the discussion at §2.2.3 on letter-orders; as noted there, letter-orders may also be considered a form of *halmi*. A *halmi* that occurs in a travel ration would be, one imagines, a very standardized type of document authorizing the traveler to draw rations from the post-stations on the royal road. The letter-orders, by contrast, are drafted to address specific problems within the system.

<sup>865</sup> As Henkelman (2008a, p. 134 n. 299) notes, NN 2578 and PF 1850–51 are letters by two addressors (Mamannuš and Kanzaza) and so carry two seals (PFS 20 and PFS 53).

<sup>866</sup> In many instances, a second official is named, *batikamaš* PN *lišda*, "PN communicated the message" or PN *talliš dumme* PN *-ikkimar dušda*, "PN wrote the text, he received the *dumme* from PN." These colophons are similar to those on letters; see the discussion above, §2.2.3.

<sup>867</sup> This is 60 or 40 times the normal daily flour rations of 1 or 1 and 1/2 QA. Parnaka receives 18 BAR of flour, 9 *marriš* of wine, and 2 sheep/goat per day. On Ziššawiš's daily payments, see Koch 1990, p. 227; Lewis 1994, p. 23. Flour (grain): NN 88, 779, 947, PF 670–71, and the entries in the journals NN 1751:2–3, PF 1947:27; wine: Fort. 3678, NN 49, 698, 1460, 1463, 2425, PF 673–77, and the entries in the journals NN 544:2, 2493:17–21; sheep/goat: NN 2004, PF 678, and the entry in the journal NN 2259:23–24.

<sup>868</sup> NN 2 and the entries in the journals NN 2486:29 (figs, *šap*, *kazla*, and mulberries) and 2486:60–62 (fruit).

<sup>869</sup> NN 344, 617, 872, 1638, 1811, 2241, PF 73–75. Two C4 texts ("small cattle as tax") also specify hides, received by Bakadušda, Ziššawiš, and a companion, delivered to the treasury: NN 167 and 1628. In all of these texts, the location of the treasury is never stated; one assumes that it is the one at Persepolis (see the comments below, n. 872).

<sup>870</sup> Babylonian scribes and parchment are mentioned in the entries in the journal PF 1947:23, 25, 29. See also the mention of Babylonian scribes in the travel ration PF 1561 and the letter-orders NN 61, 1040, 1255, 1369, 1511, 1752, 1775, 2394, 2529, PF 1807, 1808, 1810, 1828; the Babylonians removing/cutting dead animals in the letter PF 1856 are presumably also concerned with generating hides for parchment.

<sup>871</sup> Or Bakadušda, Ziššawiš, and a companion. The texts are NN 344, 872, 1638, 1811, 2241, PF 73–75.

<sup>872</sup> Other B texts are concerned with the delivery of animals and/or hides to the treasuries at Persepolis, Batrakataš (Pasargadae), Tirazziš (Širāz), Matezziš, Hiran, and Rakkan but name different receiving officials: NN 497, 653, 811, 886–87, 1050, 1231, 1253, 1478, 1614, 1897, 1977, 2413, 2514, PF 58–71, 76; perhaps also NN 430 and 737, but the texts do not mention *kapnuški-ma*.

<sup>873</sup> Text summary in Henkelman 2008a, p. 517. On the *lan* ceremony, see the detailed analyses in Henkelman 2008a, pp. 182–304, and 2011a, pp. 93–98.

<sup>874</sup> The translation is from the text summary in Henkelman 2008a, p. 517. Henkelman (2011a, p. 101 n. 26) characterizes Ziššawiš's participation in the ceremony as "uncertain."

<sup>875</sup> On the *šip* ceremony, see Henkelman 2011a. PF 672 is republished with commentary in Henkelman 2011a, pp. 146–48. Note also Henkelman's (2011a, p. 148 note on lines 16–17) comments concerning two letter-orders, NN 87 and PF 1827, which may refer to Ziššawiš's involvement with religious ceremonies.

<sup>876</sup> On the *anši* ceremony, see Henkelman 2011a, pp. 98–102. NN 2486:47–48 is published with commentary in Henkelman 2011a, pp. 148–51.

<sup>877</sup> So Henkelman 2011a, pp. 101, 119. The texts are NN 1700 and 1848, respectively. On these texts and the *šumar*, see Henkelman 2003, pp. 117–29, 137–38, 140–41, 143, 148–49, 160–62.

<sup>878</sup> Schmidt 1957, pp. 12–14, and Garrison 2014a, pp. 71–73, 87–89.

<sup>879</sup> Hallock 1985, pp. 589–90; Cameron 1948, p. 133.

<sup>880</sup> Repeated in Lewis 1994, p. 23.

<sup>881</sup> Koch (1990, p. 233) suggests that they perhaps were father and son.

<sup>882</sup> Cameron 1948, p. 138.

<sup>883</sup> I am uncertain from where Lewis (1984, p. 601) inferred his dates of 504–467 BC.

<sup>884</sup> Hallock, in a working (and unpublished) list of corrigenda and addenda to his list of seals (Hallock 1969, pp. 78–81), noted the occurrence of PFS 83\* on the NN tablets here listed. Hallock also noted the occurrence of PFS 83\* on one of the 151 tablets that were returned to Tehran in 1948 (Hallock had collated these texts based upon transliterations by Cameron): Fort. 3678. I have examined all of the NN tablets that are in Chicago and photographs of the one tablet that is now in Tehran and can confirm that PFS 83\* does indeed occur on them. For Fort. 3678, see now Arfaee 2008a, pp. 100–01.

<sup>885</sup> NN 698, for the earliest date; NN 947 and PF 673, for the latest.

<sup>886</sup> Cf. the size of seals from the Fortification archive published in Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 471–83.

<sup>887</sup> Preservation does not allow one to determine whether there was a partial figure in the ring, as often is the case.

<sup>888</sup> On glyptic styles in Persepolitan glyptic, see Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 16–20, with previous literature. Merrillees (2005, pp. 25–38) has recently put forward rather substantial (but undocumented) modifications of the stylistic schema and chronology of the seals in Persepolitan glyptic (as suggested by the author and Root). These suggested modifications seem problematic at best but cannot be addressed in this study (for detailed commentary, see Garrison 2011b).

<sup>889</sup> What we have called Mixed Styles I; Garrison and Root 2001, p. 19.

<sup>890</sup> On the Geometric Style, see the comments in Garrison and Root (2001, p. 20) with examples. On a cut and drilled style at Persepolis, see the comments of Root (2003b).

<sup>891</sup> We can see very faint traces of two characters (not indicated on the inscription copy), which may yield a reading: *h̄tm* 'x...x'. Hallock (1977, p. 128) did not recognize that the seal carries an inscription.

<sup>892</sup> A comprehensive study of the inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic is in preparation. I have given some preliminary remarks focused mainly on the monolingual Elamite inscriptions in Garrison 2006, pp. 70–72; see also the comments at §2.4.2. Inscribed seals are rare in Persepolitan glyptic (currently some 178 seals, constituting approximately 5% of the legible seals cataloged in



the archive). Approximately one fifth of the inscribed seals are monolingual Aramaic, as the inscription on PFS 83\*. Many of the Aramaic inscriptions cannot be read with any degree of certainty. There seem to be five formulae that these Aramaic inscriptions follow:

1. PN (e.g., PFS 9\*, the first seal of Parnaka (fig. 5.1);
2. *h̄tm* PN: e.g., PFS 164\*;
3. “PN title”: e.g., the replica seals PFS 66a\*, PFS 66b\*, and PFS 66c\*;
4. *h̄tm* PN1, *br* PN2: e.g., PFS 16\* (fig. 5.2);
5. PN1, *br* PN2: e.g., PFS 981\*.

I have speculated (Garrison 2006, p. 71) that there may be two distinct scribal traditions reflected in this evidence. The one, in Aramaic, based upon the formula “*h̄tm* PN,” the other, in Elamite, based upon the formula “PN<sub>1</sub> DUMU PN<sub>2</sub>: (-na).” The rare appearance of *br*, “son of,” in the Aramaic inscriptions would reflect crossover from the Elamite tradition, the rare appearance of *halmi*, “seal of,” in the Elamite inscriptions would reflect crossover from the Aramaic tradition.

<sup>893</sup> The inscriptions on PFS 629\* and PFS 1572\*, both in Elamite, are very poorly preserved. The few surviving signs are disposed in the upper zones of the figural field. One suspects, however, that both employed the “free-floating” display formula (where signs fill the design field without case lines) commonly found in Elamite inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic. It is thus noteworthy that this convention, an inscription running along the upper edge of a seal, appears to be exclusively associated with alphabetic scripts (Aramaic and one example in Greek).

<sup>894</sup> The one-line inscriptions on the replica seals PFS 66a\*, PFS 66b\*, and PFS 66c\*, all three disposed vertically in the field, are the only other examples known to date from Persepolitan glyptic (see also n. 892).

<sup>895</sup> The disposition of Aramaic inscriptions in Persepolitan glyptic may occur as follows: horizontal: e.g., PFS 82\* (fig. 5.6); horizontal with panel: e.g., PFS 83\* (fig. 5.5); horizontal with case lines and a panel: e.g., PFS 16\* (fig. 5.2); vertical: e.g., PFS 9\* (fig. 5.1); vertical with panel: e.g., PFS 66a\*, PFS 66b\*, and PFS 66c\*; vertical with case lines and panel: PFS 535\*. For the disposition of Elamite inscriptions, see Garrison 2006, pp. 71–72.

<sup>896</sup> The issue of sexual characteristics of animals in Persepolitan glyptic is, obviously, a substantial topic that deserves a study unto itself. The comments offered here should be seen as quite provisional. The general impression that one takes away from this material is, however, a predominantly male animal/creature menagerie.

<sup>897</sup> PFS 857s, the now-famous seal of Gobryas, may provide the best evidence for a leonine creature where the overt lack of a mane is meant specifically to code female; for discussion of PFS 857s, see, e.g., Hallock 1977, p. 129, pl. E(10) and 1985, p. 591; Root 1990, pp. 130–31, fig. 13, 1991, pp. 19–21, fig. 4, and 1996, p. 21, pl. 3, fig. 10; Garrison 2000, p. 156; Boardman 2000, p. 166, fig. 5.23; Gates 2002, pp. 106, 115, 126–127, fig. 1; Root 2002, p. 202 and 2003a, p. 25 n. 6.

<sup>898</sup> Again, this is an issue that would require a much more in-depth study of Persepolitan glyptic than can be provided here. Note the comments of Moorey (1978, p. 150) on the problem of horned animals in suckling scenes.

<sup>899</sup> Perhaps, given the nature of this creature, we may need to re-think such assumptions in the future. One wonders also whether, owing to the uniqueness of the scene on PFS 83\*, we ought, perhaps, to leave open the possibility that the creature is coding both male and female. While this would again be a very unusual,

if not unique, semantics within Persepolitan glyptic, clearly this design lies outside the norm.

<sup>900</sup> Found on two tablets to date, PFUT 400-201 and 1438-206.

<sup>901</sup> The size of PFUTS 138s is in fact quite striking, the engraved face measuring 2.55 cm in diameter. Most stamp seals in Persepolitan glyptic are much smaller. The high quality of the carving and the large size of the seal call to mind Gobryas’ seal, PFS 857s, another large stamp seal with round face (see the comments above, n. 897, on PFS 857s). PFS 857s measures 2.70 cm in diameter.

<sup>902</sup> PFS 2987s and PFUTS 145 (fig. 5.8) depict a caprid or deer suckling its young; on PFS 609s (fig. 5.9), see the comments below. A seal in the British Museum (ANE 89574), said to be “from Layard’s expeditions to Mesopotamia between 1845 and 1851” (Merrillees 2005, no. 91), shows a humped cow (zebu) with what appears to be a suckling calf. Merrillees dates the seal to her “Achaemenid (Early/Mature)” period. She gives also references to a few examples of the theme in Phoenician glyptic and Greek glyptic (fifth century BC) and coinage; see Keel (1980, pp. 138–40, figs. 122–27) for discussion of examples in Phoenician glyptic, dated from the eighth to the fifth/fourth centuries BC. The motif of an animal suckling its young occurs on several seals preserved in the Murašû archive from Nippur, dating from the second half of the fifth century BC: Bregstein 1993, nos. 353–54, 356–360. Bregstein identifies the scene in her nos. 353–354 and 356–258 as a mare and foal; no. 359 is a humped bull and calf; no. 360 is a cow and calf. The last seems especially close in composition to PFS 83\*, although the cow is not winged; it also carries an Aramaic inscription. A drawing of Bregstein 1993, no. 360 may be found in Donbaz and Stolper 1997, p. 47 (no. 50) (I thank M. W. Stolper for this reference). All of these examples, with the exception of the scenes described by Bregstein as a mare and foal, appear heavily indebted compositionally to scenes in Neo-Assyrian glyptic.

<sup>903</sup> PFS 2987s occurs on the reverse of NN 1565. PFUTS 145 occurs on the obverses of PFUT 195-202 and 1159-203. No other seals are applied to either tablet. PFUTS 609s occurs on the left edge of PFUT 1563-201.

<sup>904</sup> Preservation is, however, very poor in this passage.

<sup>905</sup> The subject of an animal suckling its young is treated in great detail from a biblical perspective by Keel (1980), who collected much of the evidence known in 1980; see also Moorey 1978, p. 150; Shuval 1990, pp. 105–10.

<sup>906</sup> Barnett (1957, p. 173) noted that fragments of ten cows and six calves that come from cow and calf scenes had been found at Nimrud (only two of these fragments could be joined together with certainty to form a complete group of mother and calf); for illustrations of some of these fragments, see Barnett 1957, pl. V, nos. C.22, C.23, C.29, C.31, C.32, C.33, C.34; note also Keel 1980, pp. 132–36, figs. 118–19, for additional examples, including relief plaques, from Nimrud found by Mallowan. Other examples of the scene in ivory have been found at Arslan Taš in Syria and Samaria in Israel (Keel 1980, pp. 130–34, figs. 114–16, for illustrations of examples from Arslan Taš). Whether or not the scene itself is in fact Syrian in origin, remains, I think, an open question. Barnett (1957, pp. 133–35, 173) identified the style of the Nimrud examples as Phoenician. Note the discussion in Keel 1980, pp. 126–30 (metalwork) and 130–36 (ivories).

<sup>907</sup> Curtis and Reade 1995, p. 131, no. 97, with previous bibliography for the objects.

<sup>908</sup> Keel 1980, p. 120, for commentary. The relief itself was lost long ago.

<sup>909</sup> Collon 2001, p. 86. For the glyptic comparanda, see Keel 1980, pp. 120–26; Herbordt 1992, p. 188, s.v. Nimrūd 67; Collon 2001, s.v. no. 215; Keel-Leu and Teissier 2004, s.v. no. 182 (note in this reference that Frankfort 1939, pl. 35:g, is the same seal as Collon 2001, no. 214). Recently, Mitchell and Searight (2008, no. 194) have published a new drawing of a stamp seal on a tablet from Nineveh (cf. Herbordt 1992, p. 241, s.v. Nineveh 147). Their drawing shows a suckling calf beneath a cow, with a plant at left, a crescent and star above. The cow does not turn its head back.

<sup>910</sup> E.g., two stamp seals from Nimrud, one an impression (ND 3464, Herbordt 1992, pl. 16, 1, here fig. 5.12), the other an actual seal (ND 5327, Parker 1955, pl. 12,2); a stamp seal from Nūš-e Ğān (Curtis 1984, p. 24, no. 233 [NU 73/78], fig. 4, pl. 11); an unprovenanced cylinder now in the British Museum (Collon 2001, no. 219); and an unprovenanced cylinder now in Berlin (Moortgat 1988, no. 630); see the discussion in Keel 1980, p. 126. A seal published by Buchanan and Moorey (1988, no. 324) shows a “radiate disk with central dot” above the cow and calf.

<sup>911</sup> Collon 2001, no. 214 (BM 89620), Pittman and Aruz 1987, no. 63, and Keel-Leu and Teissier 2004, no. 182; see Keel 1980, pp. 122–24, for more examples.

<sup>912</sup> In the Assyrian examples, the cow frequently turns her head back toward the calf, as on PFS 83\* and PFUTS 138s. The seal published by Mitchell and Searight (2008, no. 108) is noteworthy in showing a cow/bull striding to the right but turning its head back to the left; the scene does not include a calf.

<sup>913</sup> The only exception is no. 215, where the horns are described as “more like that of a goat,” but the species is still identified as bovine. See Shuval 1990, p. 110, for similar ambiguity on the sex of the animals in the seals from the Levant.

<sup>914</sup> There are also other scenes that show a bovine creature (but without the calf) associated with the winged disk (e.g., Collon 2001, no. 217 [WA 135284]; Herbordt 1992, pl. 16,3 [Nineveh 147]). With regard to cows, Parker (1962, p. 108, s.v. ND.772, on this seal the calf simply lies under the cow and does not nurse) noted that Ištār of Nineveh is depicted in literary texts as a cow suckling the infant Aššurbanipal; in other texts, “NIN.LÍL., the sovereign cow, *rimtu elliltu*, attacks the enemies of Aššurbanipal with her great horns”; in Sumerian tradition, the great mother (e.g., Ninhursāga) is symbolized as a cow. Barnett (1957, pp. 143–45) suggested that the scene had “emotional charm,” “aesthetic compactness,” and symbolic importance. As Parker, he stressed the linkages to Ištār and Ninhursāga and the syncretic imagery of the cow/goddess and calf/king. He also noted that the “subject of the cow and calf, as understood by the Phoenicians, depicted the mystery of the birth of one of their principal deities” (i.e., Ba‘al). Note also the discussion in Keel 1980, pp. 142–43 and Shuval 1990, p. 107, the latter of whom also stresses the connection to Ištār.

<sup>915</sup> See above, n. 911, for the Assyrian glyptic examples.

<sup>916</sup> Bull-men, i.e., creatures that generally stand upright and have a taurine lower body (and, sometimes, horns) and a human torso, arms, and head, are to be distinguished from other taurine-based *Mischwesen*, especially the human-headed bull (as Black and Green 1992, pp. 48–51; Potts [2002] surveys the possible Akkadian and Avestan terms for both the bull-man and the human-headed bull) and the human-faced bull creature. Bull-men acting as atlantids are also documented in the Treasury archive (PTS 18 and PTS 19; Schmidt 1957, pl. 6). It is interesting to note that in the major glyptic corpora of Achaemenid date in the western realms of the empire (Daskyleion and Wadi Daliyeh), the atlantid figure is completely absent (Kaptan 2002, for Daskyleion; Leith 1997, for Wadi Daliyeh). I would note also

that atlantid figures play a critical role in Achaemenid imperial reliefs at Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam (Root 1979, p. 131, for an inventory). In these cases, the atlantid figures are not composite human-animal creatures but personifications of the subject peoples or guards, and, of course, they never (directly) support a winged device; see Root 1979, pp. 147–61, for extensive analysis of the scene at Naqš-e Rostam, as well as the comments below, *Chapter 6*.

<sup>917</sup> In all of the examples that follow, the atlantids have only two wings indicated (not four, as is the case for the bull-man on PFS 83\*). The evidence from Garrison and Root (2001, scenes of heroic encounter) indicates that four-winged humanoid creatures in Persepolitan glyptic are as common as two-winged humanoid creatures (for the heroic figure, at least; Garrison and Root 2001, p. 519, s.v. Heroes as Composite Creatures).

<sup>918</sup> See also PFS 1582, a winged bull creature in an atlantid pose; PFS 442, a winged human-headed bull/lion creature in an atlantid pose. In the case of PFS 216, the atlantid figure is completely humanoid in form. PFS 1381s is a unique design showing a winged human with a bull protome attached to either side of his torso in the atlantid pose.

<sup>919</sup> The hands generally are U- or V-shaped. For V-shaped, as the bull-man of PFS 83\*, see, e.g., PFS 105s (fig. 5.14), PFS 310, and PFS 774 (fig. 5.13).

<sup>920</sup> Note the late Early Dynastic/early Akkadian seal from Ebla (Porada 1985, p. 92, fig. 14) and the stela fragment from Mari (Room 149 of the palace) dated anywhere from the Akkadian to the Old Babylonian periods (Börker-Klähn 1982, p. 159, no. 99).

<sup>921</sup> Note the comments of Matthews (1990, p. 113): the atlantid scene “originated in the local style of Kirkuk and was one of the main components of the initial Assyrian inheritance”; see Matthews 1990, nos. 452–82, 495–501, for the Middle Assyrian examples. Examples supporting the winged disk: Matthews 1990, nos. 468–77, 481–82; some other device: Matthews 1990, no. 462. In the double atlantid scenes, a stylized tree can stand between the atlantids (e.g., Matthews 1990, nos. 476, 481–82). In late Middle Assyrian seals, only one atlantid is present, kneeling, and almost always directly supporting the winged disk. Watery imagery occurs on two of the seals (Matthews 1990, no. 499, fish-cloaked figure with bucket, no. 501, water streams). The theme is prominent also in contemporary Hittite art (especially glyptic and relief carving [e.g., an ivory relief from Megiddo and the rock-cut relief at Eflatun Pınar; see Matthews 1990, p. 109, for references]). In Syrian glyptic of the first half of the second millennium BC, the basic elements of the composition, bull-man, sacred tree, and winged disk, are already present, but the bull-men simply stand to either side of the tree rather than acting as true atlantids supporting the winged disk (e.g., Collon 1987, no. 220). Matthews (1990, pp. 109–10) surveys the possible meanings of the atlantid scenes from the second half of the second millennium BC in Mesopotamia (especially with regard to the association of the atlantids with the winged disk); in his opinion, in Mitanni and early Middle Assyrian glyptic the underlying concepts of the atlantids appear to have been associated with the portrayal of heaven and the circulation of water (the latter of which appears to carry over into late Middle Assyrian glyptic), both concepts reflecting a connection to the Kassite “chthonic god” series of seals.

<sup>922</sup> Ehrenberg 1999, p. 28, with references.

<sup>923</sup> The linkage of the bull-man with the winged disk may denote the continued association of the creature with Šamaš; for discussion, see, e.g., Collon 2001, pp. 70–85, Ehrenberg 1999, pp. 27–28, Herbordt 1992, pp. 106–07, all with full references. One of

the earliest (ninth or eighth century BC) Neo-Assyrian examples is a linear style cylinder seal that shows a bearded male figure supporting a winged disk (Collon 2001, no. 200). Other examples on cylinder seals in both the Assyrian drilled and modeled styles show kneeling humanoid figures supporting a figure in a winged disk, traditionally identified either as the Assyrian state god Aššur or the sun god Šamaš (e.g., Collon 2001, nos. 204 [said to be of Syrian origin] and 207 [said to be re-cut]). The theme of atlantids is very rare in Neo-Babylonian glyptic art. Wittmann (1992, p. 200 [nos. 55–56]) identifies two seals that show atlantid figures as Neo-Babylonian in origin: no. 55, a kneeling frontal-faced male figure in a long robe supporting a winged disk (Wittmann suggests a date in the tenth century BC); no. 56 (= Collon 2001, no. 202), a kneeling figure in a long skirt supporting a winged disk, framed on either side by a vase with flowing water and a winged genius (Wittmann suggests a date in the end of the ninth to the second third of the eighth century BC). Two bull-men supporting a winged disk on either side of a stylized tree occurs on a seal impressed on a Late Babylonian letter from the Šamaš temple at Larsa (found in the Eanna temple archives at Uruk; Ehrenberg 1999, no. 199) and on a sixth-century tablet from Larsa itself (= Herbordt 1992, p. 106, pl. 13, no. 3). As both Ehrenberg and Herbordt note, the seal is fully “Assyrian” despite its Babylonian spatial and temporal contexts. See MacGinnis 1995, no. D.1, for bull-men supporting a winged symbol above a stylized tree on a seal impressed on a letter-order from Sippar dated to year 27 of Darius.

<sup>924</sup> E.g., Collon 2001, nos. 208–211; Herbordt 1992, pl. 3 (no. 13). See Collon 2001, p. 113, and Ehrenberg 1999, p. 28 and no. 199, for comparanda. Herbordt (1992, p. 80) suggests that the cylinder seals with atlantid figures probably should be dated in the seventh century BC, the same date as the atlantids on stamp seals.

<sup>925</sup> E.g., Herbordt 1992, pl. 13 (nos. 1–5, 7–8). Despite the wealth of evidence, no monumental Assyrian wall relief appears to show a true atlantid scene, i.e., a figure with upraised arms supporting something above its head, rather than simply a figure in the atlantid pose; moreover, bull-men in general are rare in Assyrian monumental relief (e.g., the striding bull-man on a bronze gate-band from Khorsābād; Loud and Altman 1938, pl. 49, no. 20). For a possible bull-man in an atlantid pose, see the limestone altar of Aššurnasirpal II from Nineveh, which has relief on all four sides; one side shows a winged scorpion-man in an atlantid pose; another side shows a creature that may be a bull-man (the preservation is poor) in an atlantid pose (Thompson and Hutchinson, 1931, p. 83, pl. 27; Curtis [1995, p. 78] identifies the latter as a bull-man). Atlantid figures occur, however, as supports on the arms of thrones in several scenes from Assyrian palace reliefs (Root 1979, p. 150 n. 60, for a list of occurrences). Root (1979, pp. 150–53) discusses examples of actual thrones that have vertical struts in the form of atlantids from Assyria, Babylonia, and Urartu; Curtis (1995) more recently reviews the evidence for *Stützfiguren*. The bull-man does not appear in the surviving evidence for figures shown as supporting the arms of thrones on relief from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods (Curtis 1995, pp. 81, 82–83).

<sup>926</sup> See also the comments at n. 921 on glyptic examples from the Middle Assyrian style.

<sup>927</sup> Ehrenberg 1999, p. 28, with previous bibliography.

<sup>928</sup> Root (1979, pp. 153–61) discusses the atlantid figures in Achaemenid monumental relief with regard to the question whether the images represent actuality (a real ceremony) or metaphor (king’s relationship to the subject peoples); see also Álvarez-Mon (2010a) for the atlantid figures on the reliefs Kül-e

Farah III and IV; in both cases, the atlantid figures are kneeling and supporting a platform.

<sup>929</sup> E.g., Garrison 2010; 2011c; in press a; in press b.

<sup>930</sup> This cruciform shape blocks out in geometric form the outline of the figure in the winged ring/disk. See also Garrison 2010 and in press a on the expression of this concept of ascension in the very fabric of the Takht and architecture at Persepolis.

<sup>931</sup> See the discussion at §2.4.1 and Garrison 2011c, in press b, and in press c for a detailed review with bibliography. Important studies include, e.g., Unvala 1930; Shahbazi 1974; Calmeyer 1975a; Root 1979, pp. 169–76; Calmeyer 1979; Shahbazi 1980; Jamzadeh 1982; Boyce 1982, pp. 100–05; Lecoq 1984; Jacobs 1987 and 1991; Kaim 1991; d’Amore 1992, pp. 210–11; Stronach 1997, p. 46; de Jong 1999; Merrillees 2005, pp. 115–18; Rollinger 2011; Root 2013, pp. 52–54; Jacobs in press, s.vv. Auramazdā, \*Uvar/n-. The bulk of scholarly opinion seems most recently to lean toward the long-standing identification of the symbol as the god Auramazdā (owing to the prevalence of the deity in Achaemenid imperial texts).

<sup>932</sup> See Garrison in press b for a detailed survey of the glyptic evidence from the Persepolitan archives and Garrison in press c for suggestions of interpretive pathways. While the figure in the winged ring is conspicuous in the reliefs at Bisotūn and Naqš-e Rostam, it cannot be documented in any surviving relief from Persepolis dated to the time of Darius I. The tip of a wing of a probable winged ring/disk is preserved on the southern stairway of the Palace of Darius: Schmidt 1953, pls. 126–27. Roaf (1983, fig. 141) identifies also parts of the tail and appendages; see Krefter 1971, Beilege 11, for a reconstruction of the full southern façade of the Palace of Darius.

<sup>933</sup> Cf. also the discussion of PFS 11\* (T1) at §5.4.

<sup>934</sup> Jacobs (in press, s.v. Auramazdā) discusses the issue in some detail. See also, e.g., Dalley 1986; Parpola 1993, pp. 184–85; Collon 2001, pp. 79–82; Ornan 2005.

<sup>935</sup> Garrison (in press a) provides a brief overview of the star in early Achaemenid glyptic; there does not appear to be a major scene type in which the star is not documented.

<sup>936</sup> For a sample of the range of the occurrence of the star in the scenes of heroic encounter, see the iconographic index in Garrison and Root (2001, s.v. Devices and Symbols, star). Note also PFS 237s, a stamp seal showing no figural imagery, only a star, crescent, and rhomb, a design combination that draws on a Syrian tradition.

<sup>937</sup> E.g., PFS 122, a devotional scene, and PFS 285, a caprid courrant (both seals are illustrated and discussed in Garrison in press b). Stars are very rare in Achaemenid monumental relief. There are, however, several occurrences of stars on the rock relief of Darius at Bisotūn. The top of the horned headdress worn by the figure in the winged ring consists of a star-in-disk (note the drawing in Tilia 1978, p. 58, fig. 7a). This part of the headdress, as several other passages in the relief, is a separate piece of relief inserted into the rock; when this was done and what it signifies are matters of dispute. Additionally, the headband of Darius’ crown at Bisotūn (fig. 4.38) is decorated by a frieze of alternating stars-in-disks (eight-pointed stars) and abstracted floral devices (probably lotuses); see Stronach 1997, p. 48. Root (1979, p. 213) has suggested that the star atop the horned headdress worn by the figure in the winged ring at Bisotūn is similar in form to the emblem of Ištar in earlier periods (on some Neo-Assyrian seals the goddess wears a star-topped crown). Both Root and Stronach (1997, p. 46) have suggested that the impetus for this reference to Ištar, as so much at Bisotūn, probably came from the rock relief of Anubanini near Sar-e Pul-e Zohāb, where the

star-in-disk of Ištar floats in the upper field between the goddess and Anubanini. For Root, the star-in-disk potentially may have suggested a “conscious syncretization of Ahuramazda to Ištar as well as to Assur” as a way to stress the victory in warfare theme (but note also the comments in Root 1979, p. 213 n. 90 and Root 2013, pp. 37–49, where the star is linked with Šamaš). For Stronach, the linkage to Ištar seems to reflect the concept of investiture. The (reduced) copy/variant of the Bīsotūn relief that was found at Babylon apparently did not include a figure in a winged ring, but it did include a star. Seidl (1999, pp. 110–12, fig. 2) restored with the star both a sun and crescent-in-disk on analogy with Babylonian monuments. The reference here to Ištar seems straightforward. How, if at all, this evidence from Babylon is to be factored into our understanding of the star atop the horned crown that the figure in the winged ring at Bīsotūn wears (and the fact that this section of the relief is clearly a separate insertion into the rock) is not clear.

<sup>938</sup> Herbordt 1992, p. 80; Collon 2001, p. 15; Black and Green 1992, pp. 169–70.

<sup>939</sup> E.g., Black and Green 1992, p. 109; Herbordt 1992, p. 102. Ehrenberg (1999, p. 17) notes that the seven-pointed star is clearly associated with Ištar in the Late Babylonian period; she suggests that the six-pointed and eight-pointed stars probably also are to be linked with the goddess in the glyptic from the Eanna.

<sup>940</sup> Seals, see, e.g., Collon 2001, nos. 215 (WA 89331) and 219 (WA 89478); Herbordt 1992, pl. 16,1 (ND 3464); Parker 1955, pl. 12,2 (ND 5327). Note that the tail on the cow on WA 89331 (Collon 2001, no. 215) is bent downward in the same manner as that seen on the cow of PFS 83\*. Ivories from Nimrud, see, e.g., Barnett 1957, nos. C.22, C.23, C.29.

<sup>941</sup> I thus need not rehearse it here; e.g., Garrison 1991, pp. 7–10 and 2000, pp. 126–34; Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 13–17 (with bibliography); see Root 2003b, pp. 259–63, 265, and 271–75) on the continuity of the cut and drilled style worship scene (i.e., the so-called Late-Babylonian worship scene) and archaizing in general in Persepolitan glyptic. Ehrenberg (1998 and 2000) discusses archaism within the context of the Late Babylonian seal impressions from Babylonia (from the Eanna sanctuary at Uruk, the Egibi private archive at Babylon, and the Ebabbar temple at Sippar) stressing the Babylonian and to a lesser extent Assyrian features.

<sup>942</sup> Merrillees (2005, pp. 22–32) appears to date the execution of the majority of the seals preserved in the Fortification archive back into one of two periods, ca. 625–559 BC and ca. 559–522 BC. These suggested revisions are unsubstantiated (see the comments in Garrison 2011b).

<sup>943</sup> The mechanisms for the preservation of these Assyrian features in the glyptic of the time of Darius, and the role played by Assyria, lowland Elam, and highland Elam/Fārs, are of some considerable interest but cannot be addressed in the current discussion (see, e.g., Garrison 2006 and 2011a for some aspects of this issue and the suggestion that the locus of this Assyrianizing interaction would have been the Teispid line centered at Anšan). Álvarez-Mon (2011, pp. 356–64) has identified a similarly strong Assyrianizing presence in the material from the remarkable tomb at Arğān but posits, as more traditionally, the site of Susa as the focal point of this Assyrianizing phenomenon.

<sup>944</sup> Fort. 1016 and Fort. 3566 are two of the 151 tablets that were returned to Tehran in 1948 (for these two tablets, see now Arfaee 2008a, pp. 246–49). Concerning the tablets returned to Tehran in 1948, see above, n. 157. Fort. 29-101 and 1740-1 are newly identified occurrences of PFS 11\* (T1) on unedited tablets. Not included in this list is NN 87, a letter-order issued by Ziššawiš,

whose left edge is destroyed; PFS 11\* (T1) most likely appeared on this surface.

<sup>945</sup> PF 678, for the earliest date; PF 1828, for the latest.

<sup>946</sup> See the discussion at §2.2.3 concerning the uneven chronological distribution of the dated memoranda and journals and accounts from the Fortification archive. The memoranda (the only types of texts on which PFS 83\* and PFS 11\* [T1] occur) are heavily skewed to the years Darius 21–24 (501/500–498/97 BC). Nevertheless, we have a contiguous sequence of years in which either PFS 83\* or PFS 11\* (T1) occurs on a dated text: Darius 15–Darius 25. Two years, Darius 16 and Darius 21, have only one dated memorandum associated with one of the seals. I am inclined to see the lacuna in seal usage between PFS 83\* and PFS 11\* (T1) as simply reflecting the chance nature of the survival of the documentation.

<sup>947</sup> I have previously discussed the seal in Garrison 1998, pp. 126–28; 2000, pp. 141–42; 2001, pp. 73–74; 2007; 2011c; 2014a, pp. 71–73, 84–89; in press b. As noted in the catalog entry, the drawing here published as fig. 5.15 is revised from previously published drawings of this seal.

<sup>948</sup> On the possible significance of the crenellated tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic, see the discussion at §4.4.2.

<sup>949</sup> The fully developed Court Style in glyptic is addressed in Garrison 1991, pp. 13–21; 1996a, p. 28; 1998, pp. 122–29; 2001, pp. 67–69; 2014b; in press e. Boardman (2000, pp. 156–58) has remarked, somewhat disapprovingly, on my adoption of the term “Court Style.” Boardman (1970, pp. 305–09) originally distinguished both an “Archaic eastern Court Style,” “the style of the Persian palaces and in glyptic ... expressed on cylinders and on conoid stamps,” and an “Archaic western Court Style,” “an attenuated and rather summary version of the eastern” (Boardman 1970, p. 305). More recently, Merrillees (2005, pp. 32–33), in lieu of “Court Style,” has suggested “Achaemenid (Persepolitan)” within which, apparently, there are to be distinguished “Early and Mature Persepolitan styles” (not chronological, but reflecting a “state of mind”), although in the actual catalog of seals from the British Museum there occurs only “Early/Mature.” Further complicating (and confusing) her revisions are: 1) her retention of the term “Court Style” for “seals of the late sixth century, mainly stamps, whose Achaemenid content displays a technical and artistic archaism that has been identified with the art of the East Greek states”; 2) the fact that none of the seals in the British Museum included in Merrillees 2005 are executed in a style which I would qualify as equivalent with the Court Style as represented in royal-name (and other) exemplars from Persepolis (see more, below). The impression on the clay “label” from the grave at Ur (included in Merrillees 2005, p. 81, pl. 34a, but discussed by D. Collon) does appear to have strong links stylistically with the Court Style at Persepolis. I have suggested that it may be useful to indicate a “Persepolitan Court Style” to identify the phenomenon in its fully developed form at Persepolis (and to distinguish the Persepolitan phenomenon from the hundreds of seals, like those in the collection of the British Museum, that show the distinctive thematic and iconographic elements of the Court Style but are clearly executed in different styles). Merrillees (2005, pp. 32–33) seems to be advocating the same, in theory. It is clear that a detailed analysis of the Court Style as it appears in both the Fortification and Treasury archives is a high priority. I continue to think that the term Court Style is a helpful one for defining a specific set of stylistic, iconographic, and ideological concerns as first articulated in Persian glyptic at the end of the sixth century BC in the center of the empire.

<sup>950</sup> PFUTS 18\*, a seal that occurs only on the uninscribed tablets, is another Court Style masterpiece that carries the standard (glyptic) trilingual inscription of Darius I (this seal was included in Garrison 1988 as PFS 1683\*, but we have opted to re-label the seal following the convention for the seals that occur only on the uninscribed tablets). See Garrison 2008, figs. 4–7, and 2014a, figs. 7.9–7.18, for collated line drawing and photographs. Garrison (2014a, pp. 75–76, 84–89) discusses the seal in more detail; see Dusinberre 1997, pp. 106–09, fig. 7, for a photograph of one of the impressions of PFUTS 18\*. Four royal-name seals carrying the name of Darius are found in the Treasury archive: PTS 1\*, PTS 2\*, PTS 3\*, and PTS 4\* (= PFS 113\*) (Schmidt 1957, pls. 3–4; Garrison 2014a, pp. 77–82). PTS 4\* (= PFS 113\*) occurs on tablets dated to the reigns of Darius and to Xerxes. PTS 1\* and PTS 2\* occur only on tablets dated to the reign of Xerxes. There is one other known royal-name seal in the Fortification archive: the famous heirloom seal PFS 93\*, which names in its inscription “Kuraš the Anzanite, son of Šešpeš” (Teispes) (see Garrison 2011a for the most recent discussion of this seal with previous bibliography).

<sup>951</sup> The following develops from Garrison 1998, pp. 126–28 and 2014a. The royal-name seals of the Achaemenid period deserve a full study, which is beyond the parameters of the present analysis (see preliminary remarks on the royal-name seals of Darius in Garrison 2014a). Understanding both how these royal-name seals functioned within Achaemenid administrative structures and society and what their stylistic and iconographic characteristics signified are two of the most important desiderata in the study of imperial Achaemenid imagery.

<sup>952</sup> Note PFS 1684, a seal that most certainly has to be by the same hand as PFS 7\* (Hallock had mistakenly taken it as another impression of PFS 7\*). It is noteworthy that the contours on PFS 1684 are somewhat softer than that seen on PFS 7\*.

<sup>953</sup> Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 16–18 and Garrison 2014b, for an introduction to these carving styles. I have discussed in more detail one version of the Modeled Style of carving in Persepolitan glyptic in Garrison 2000, pp. 129–34.

<sup>954</sup> As distinct from the ownership of the seal matrix itself.

<sup>955</sup> See also the comments at §5.5 as well as Garrison 2014a and 2014b. Use of PFS 7\* and PFS 113\* (= PTS 4\*) is discussed in Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 69–70 and 89, respectively. PFS 113\* (= PTS 4\*) is one of four seals that occur in both the Fortification archive and the Treasury archive (see §2.3). The official/office associated with PFUTS 18\* cannot be determined, since the seal occurs only on uninscribed tablets; Garrison (2008, pp. 159–61, 182–83, and 2014a, pp. 75–76) explores the possible administrative contexts of PFUTS 18\*. It is commonly assumed, incorrectly, that these royal-name seals are the “king’s seal(s)” (as, e.g., Merrillees 2005, p. 34). All examples of royal-name seals that occur in secure administrative contexts are either personal seals of high-rank administrators or office seals (Garrison 2001 and, in more detail, 2014a, pp. 84–89). None of them act, administratively, in the name of the king.

<sup>956</sup> The inscriptions on three of the royal-name seals from the Fortification archive, SDe (PFS 7\*), SDf (PFS 11\* [T1]), and SDg (PFS 113\*), were earlier published by Schmitt (1981, pp. 22–23). Garrison and Root (2001, s.vv. PFS 7\* [Cat.No. 4] and PFS 113\* [Cat.No. 19]) provide slightly amended readings for these two seals (confirming some of what Schmitt and Hallock had restored at the beginnings of the lines). For the reading of the inscription on PFUTS 18\*, a seal not known to Schmitt (1981), see Garrison 2014a, p. 75.

<sup>957</sup> In Babylonian, “Great King.” My thanks to Charles E. Jones and W. F. M. Henkelman for the transliteration of the inscription on PFS 11\* (T1). As one can see, the ends of the lines on PFS 11\* (T1), as all other Persepolitan royal-name seals of Darius, are poorly preserved. Schmitt (1981, p. 22, s.v. SDe) restored “king” (“Great King” in Babylonian) for PFS 7\* based, it seems, upon a reading provided by Hallock. These restorations depend on the inscription that is preserved on the so-called London Darius cylinder (Schmitt 1981, p. 19, s.v. SDa). Impressions of PFUTS 18\* preserve a broken šarru and EŠŠANA, thus confirming the readings within a Persepolitan context. The London Darius cylinder has been republished, with lengthy bibliography, in Merrillees 2005, pp. 52–53, no. 16; see also the comments in Garrison 2014a, pp. 82–84.

<sup>958</sup> See especially §1.6.

<sup>959</sup> On the term “fire altar,” see the comments at §1.4. For Zoroastrian fire rituals/worship in the Achaemenid period, see §1.3.

<sup>960</sup> As mentioned above, n. 892, the presence of an inscription is generally a mark of high administrative rank in the Fortification archive. Additionally, the vertical disposition of the Aramaic inscription on PFUTS 19\* (T2) (fig. 5.18) may also signify special rank/status.

<sup>961</sup> Conceivably, the device may be a highly stylized *marru*-spade of Marduk, although the normal convention for this emblem is a triangular spade head set on a shaft, often with a cross-bar near the head. For a very similar scene, but on a cylinder seal and with a figure in a winged device hovering over the central element, see Pedersén 2005, p. 149, fig. 71, an impression on a tablet from Babylon dating to year 7 of Darius.

<sup>962</sup> For the meaning of the inscription <sup>AN</sup>KASKAL, which occurs fairly regularly in Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Babylonianizing glyptic, see n. 965.

<sup>963</sup> Ehrenberg 1999, pp. 15–25, for an introduction to the Late Babylonian worship scene as preserved on the tablets from the Eanna sanctuary at Uruk. Root (2003b, pp. 258–63), following Buchanan and Moorey (1988), suggests identifying the style as the “Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid ‘Drilled’ and ‘Cut’ Styles” in order to acknowledge the now long-recognized fact that this scene type, rendered in this particular carving style, continues into the Achaemenid period for a considerable period of time.

<sup>964</sup> Cf., e.g., the following seals published by Ehrenberg (1999): no. 71, where two attendants, one in a fish-cloak, flank a star; no. 72, two figures facing each other, one in a fish-cloak and holding a pail, but with no central device; no. 77, two attendants flank a rhomb. Ehrenberg (1999, p. 65, s.v. no. 77) collects some examples of this class of seal imagery showing attendants flanking a central device, many of which are divine symbols on pillared pedestals.

<sup>965</sup> Bregstein (1993, pp. 105–08) summarizes the various interpretations, preferring to read the inscription as an abbreviation for the god Nabû; Ehrenberg (1999, p. 19 n. 59) updates the bibliography.

<sup>966</sup> The rather enigmatic scene on PFUTS 153s (T9) may be relevant to this discussion, combining as it does compositional and stylistic elements of the Late Babylonian worship scene with the vocabulary, a potential tower structure and a figure in a winged disk, of select scenes showing the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic.

<sup>967</sup> For an extended discussion of the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam within the context of the glyptic evidence presented in this study, see Chapter 6.

<sup>968</sup> Indeed, the fact that we can be absolutely certain that these individuals moved in the Persepolitan region at the same time and interacted with each other in these bureaucratic contexts adds considerably to the inferences that we may draw about the inter-connectedness of their glyptic imagery.

<sup>969</sup> See the discussion of PFS 7\* in Garrison 1996a and 2014a, pp. 84–89.

<sup>970</sup> Garrison 2014a, pp. 84–89, for detailed analysis of the social status and administrative rank of the users of royal-name seals.

<sup>971</sup> The tomb relief, of course, includes personifications of the lands of the empire holding aloft a platform on which the upper scene takes place; in addition, there are attendants to either side of the main scene. Root (1979, pp. 131–81) has analyzed the scene at Naqš-e Rostam in detail, both as regards the theme of “king on high” and the “king before Ahuramazda and the fire altar.” See also *Chapter 6*.

<sup>972</sup> Garrison (2011c) explores this issue in more detail. It is the rigid and declarative symmetry that distinguishes the design of PFS 11\* (T1) from monumental relief. Wall relief at Persepolis does, of course, exhibit a tendency toward balanced compositions. Certainly, the individual Apadana staircases may be said to be balanced, but they are not symmetrical; the placement of the lion and bull groups is, however, always symmetrical on the staircases. So, too, if we consider the door jambs in the Palace of Darius as units rather than as distinct pictorial spaces, they would certainly qualify as exceptionally symmetrical arrangements. Note that the inscription on PFS 11\* (T1), if rolled twice, would complement the symmetry of the figural scene.

<sup>973</sup> See the discussion at §5.4.5. The comments of Winter (1981, pp. 10–11) on the negation of directionality within similar Assyrian scenes are especially appropriate here (e.g., slab B23 from the throne room [B] of the Palace of Aššurnasirpal II at Nimrud, here, fig. 5.22).

<sup>974</sup> For the Assyrian reliefs, see Meuszyński 1981, pls. 2 (room B), 4 (room C), 7 (room F), 14–15 (room L) and 17 (room N); Paley and Sobolewski 1987, pls. 1 (room I), 2 (rooms I and S), 3 (room S), 4 (rooms T and Z), 6 (rooms C, D, F, and L). For discussion of the imagery in monumental relief, see, e.g., Winter 1981, pp. 6–11, and 2000, pp. 65–68; Russell 1998, pp. 687–96; Porter 2003, *passim*, esp. pp. 11–58; Giovino 2006; Ataç 2006, pp. 84–92, and 2010, pp. 125–44. Collon (2001, pp. 82–85) discusses the Assyrian glyptic evidence for the scene of attendants and the stylized tree.

<sup>975</sup> It is interesting that in the throne room panels B13 and B23, which for all intents and purposes are doubles of each other, the figure in the winged ring looks to the right (in slab B23) and to the left (in slab B13). I suspect that one aspect of the decision to have the figure in the winged ring in B13 face to the left must have been dictated by the architectural dynamics of the room, which required the visitor to enter the room (facing slab B13) and then to turn to the left (the direction in which the figure in the winged ring looks in slab B13) to face the king seated at the far eastern end of the room.

<sup>976</sup> The scene in the throne room does not, however, exhibit mirror or axial symmetry, as noted by Ataç (2006, p. 84); see also the comments in the following paragraph.

<sup>977</sup> Winter (1981, p. 10) notes, however, that “it is the scale and placement of the motif in relation to its symmetry that is significant here,” in reference to slab B13 being axially aligned with the main doorway into the throne room, slab B23 with the throne (and thus actual body) of the king. The literature on the “sacred tree” in Assyrian art is quite extensive; see the references above, n. 974.

<sup>978</sup> Ataç (2006, pp. 84–92) suggests that the doubled images of the king represent two different aspects of Assyrian kingship, the one terrestrial/transcendence/esoteric, the other celestial/immanence/exoteric.

<sup>979</sup> At the same time, the exceptionally strong Assyrianizing tendencies seen in both monumental relief and glyptic at the time of Darius leave open the possibility of a direct line of influence/emulation. Assyrianizing elements in monumental art and type I coinage of Darius have been recognized for some time now (e.g., Root 1979, pp. 202–18; Stronach 1989; Garrison 2010). As mentioned at §5.3.4, this Assyrianizing phenomenon is even more forcefully and frequently expressed on the seals preserved in the Fortification archive.

<sup>980</sup> Ataç (2006, pp. 90–92) describes this type of symmetry as “bilateral complementarity” and notes that it is “a seminal visual convention throughout Neo-Assyrian art, particularly attached to what has been referred to here as hieratic representations” (p. 90).

<sup>981</sup> The fact that the date palm occurs universally in royal-name seals of Darius cannot be fortuitous. At the same time, the date palm raises interesting issues of meaning within the Persepolitan context, since the plant cannot be cultivated in the highlands landscape of southwestern Iran. In this sense, the Assyrian and Achaemenid evidence again are similar; as Porter (1993, pp. 137–38 = Porter 2003, pp. 17–18) and many other commentators have noted, while the palm tree is frequently illustrated in Assyrian art, it cannot be cultivated in Assyria. Porter reads the date palm (via the stylized tree, which Porter takes to be a representation of the date palm) in the Assyrian evidence as a reference to agricultural abundance, a divine gift, and as a continuation of a long-standing connection between the date palm and the goddess Ištar (and, potentially, other deities). Collon (1995, p. 74) suggests that the date palm within Achaemenid glyptic symbolized Babylon (Babylonia being the place par excellence for date cultivation) and, by extension, its subjection by Darius. Porada (1979, p. 85) identified the date palm in Achaemenid royal-name seals as a “royal symbol” and suggested a possible linkage with the Egyptian royal date palm associated with the palm grove at Buto.

<sup>982</sup> See §5.4.2 on royal-name seal inscriptions.

<sup>983</sup> The use of declarative statements on the royal-name seals is an intriguing phenomenon that deserves more study. They seem to function as a highly reductive form of the texts on monumental relief of the time of Darius I, Darius’ narration in the first person in the texts of both Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam being equivalent to the declarative statements using the personal pronoun in the royal-name seal inscriptions.

<sup>984</sup> On ring composition and PFS 11\* (T1), see also the comments in Garrison 2011c, pp. 64–65.

<sup>985</sup> I borrow the concept of “semantic centrality” from Winter 1981, p. 10.

<sup>986</sup> Garrison 2011c, pp. 64–65.

<sup>987</sup> See also the comments at §4.3.3 on the visual dynamics of scenes involving the stepped and tower structures.

<sup>988</sup> On the distinction between icon and index as used in this study, see the comments §4.4.2.

<sup>989</sup> In this manner, the imagery on PFS 11\* (T1) is closely connected to the heroic encounters displayed on the door jambs of the Palace of Darius; does PFS 11\* (T1) compel us then to read the monumental evidence more directly as statements regarding the cosmic aspects of Achaemenid kingship? Root (1979, pp. 303–08) has discussed in detail the specific iconography of the

heroic encounters in monumental relief at Persepolis. Garrison (2011c) explores the complex interplay of built environment and images in monumental rock-cut relief and architectural sculpture in Achaemenid Iran. See also the comments in Root 2013.

<sup>990</sup> Garrison (2011c) pursues this issue in more depth.

<sup>991</sup> Garrison (2010) explores this issue in more detail especially with regard to Achaemenid imperial coinage.

<sup>992</sup> Garrison 2014b, on seal carving styles as vehicles of group identification at Persepolis.

<sup>993</sup> Garrison 1991, pp. 7–10, figs. 6–7; Root 2003a, pp. 28–29, fig. 9; Kuhrt 2007a, p. 596, fig. 12.4.

<sup>994</sup> Garrison 1991, pp. 3–7, figs. 3–4, and 2011a. PFS 51 is closely related to the much better known heirloom seal, PFS 93\*, that names in its inscription “Kuraš the Anzanite, son of Šešpeš” (Teispes). Garrison (2011a) proposes a substantial modification to the positioning of both PFS 51 and PFS 93\* with regard to Neo-Elamite and Assyrian art.

<sup>995</sup> On Ašbazana and his seals, see n. 856.

<sup>996</sup> These officials/offices are discussed in more detail in Garrison 2014b.

<sup>997</sup> Garrison 2014a and 2014b, for more comments on the social function of Court Style seals and the special privileges accorded the families of the individuals associated with the regicide of 522 BC.

<sup>998</sup> Briant (2002, pp. 307–47, 923–26) discusses the various markers of status for the Persian elite.

<sup>999</sup> It is especially unfortunate that so little is left of the inscription, given the fact none of the individuals who hold these offices associated with the J text transactions are named in the texts themselves.

<sup>1000</sup> The seal also occurs in the Treasury archive, there labeled PTS 33\*. The collated line drawing here published (fig. 5.27, top) is a revised one based upon newly discovered impressions of the seal.

<sup>1001</sup> Confirmed by the letter-orders NN 1507, 1517, 2367, PF 1830–1831, and PT 1963–20, issued by Irdumartiya and carrying PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* (see the discussion at §2.3.2.1 and n. 216). Three other individuals seem also to have been associated with the seal in the Fortification archive: Zimaš(?) in PF 254, Iršena in PF 280, and Datapparna in NN 1615, all of whom “apportion” (*šaramanna*) rations (on *šaramanna* officials, see the discussion at §2.2.3). Iršena, if it is the same person, is well known, a regional director who normally uses the office seal PFS 4\* but only in the years 17–23 (Garrison and Root 2001, pp. 411–13). The transaction in PF 280 is dated to year 14 (508/507 BC), thus before Iršena is documented as a regional director using PFS 4\*. The name Datapparna occurs frequently in the archive in a variety of roles. Two prominent ones are as a supplier (*kurman*) under the seal of the regional director represented by PFS 1\* and as a *šaramanna* official. Whether these are the same individual is unclear. Individuals who “apportion” (*šaramanna*) have wide-ranging authority, and it is not unusual to have other individuals named in texts sealed by the seals of the *šaramanna* officials (the *šaramanna* official present, as it were, via his seal rather than mention of his name in the text) and vice versa. Irdumartiya first uses PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* (by name) in NN 1507, a letter-order dated to month 7 in year 15 (Oct./Nov. 507 BC). He then uses the seal (PF 689) as late as month 10 in year 26 (495 BC). No usage dates are preserved on the texts sealed by PFS 71\*/PTS 33\* in the Treasury archive.

<sup>1002</sup> The Persian term *bandaka* has shades of meaning. Briant (2002, p. 325) notes that “a *bandaka* was a person simultaneously subject and loyal to the king.” Eilers and Herrenschildt (1989,

p. 682) define the term as “henchman, (loyal) servant, vassal,” a “bound nobleman” but not “slave.” The Babylonian text at Bisotūn has *qal-la-a*, “subordinate,” the Elamite *u libaruri*, “my henchman,” “servant” (Eilers and Herrenschildt 1989, p. 682), or “subordinate” (Wouter Henkelman, personal communication). Within the contexts of its use at Bisotūn, it does not seem possible to assign a particular socio-political status to the term.

<sup>1003</sup> NN 1127, 1983, PF 689–90, all sealed with PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*. On the H texts (“receipts by officials”), see the comments at §2.2.6.2.4.4 and n. 323.

<sup>1004</sup> These payments and their late date may suggest that Irdumartiya had been re-installed for a short period of time as director of the agency after Parnaka and before Ašbazana (as, e.g., Koch 1990, pp. 231–32); see n. 216.

<sup>1005</sup> The phrase comes from Ps.-Arist., *De Mundo*, 398a.

<sup>1006</sup> The famous London Darius cylinder, which carries a trilingual royal-name inscription of Darius, shows a lion hunt from a chariot. This seal is unusual in many ways and is certainly an outlier within the corpus of royal-name seals of Darius; see the comments in Garrison 2014a, pp. 82–84. We have discovered a poorly preserved and fragmentary impression of a seal, PFUTS 603, that appears to be almost a duplicate of the London Darius cylinder (presented briefly in Garrison 2014a, p. 90, figs 7.28–7.29). The impression preserves only fragments of the driver of the chariot, the draft animal, a figure in the winged ring, a rampant lion, and a date palm. The area where a trilingual inscription would be expected is not preserved in the impression. The quality of the impression is very poor and does not allow one to infer much by way of the seal’s style.

<sup>1007</sup> PFS 1568\* occurs on only three letter-orders, NN 614, 2572, PF 1854, none of which are dated. Harrena the *kasabattiš* is, however, first attested in year 17 (NN 2515). The collated line drawing (fig. 5.28, left) here published is a revised one based upon newly discovered impressions of the seal. These new impressions indicate clearly that the seal carried an Aramaic inscription displayed in a panel with case lines. Unfortunately, too little of the inscription survives to allow a reading.

<sup>1008</sup> On cattle and royal oversight, see Henkelman 2008a, pp. 422–26, “royal earmarking of livestock” (p. 423). Harrena is mentioned frequently in the archive. In the letter-orders Fort. 2512, Fort. 6764, NN 644, 727, 1101, 1289, 1665, 2174, 2515, PF 1791–94, Harrena receives orders from Parnaka concerning livestock allocations. In the accounts NN 701, 2071, 2291, 2356, PF 2008–2009, 2025, and the letter-order PF 2070, Harrena is apportioning (*šaramanna*) rations. On *šaramanna* and *damanna* officials, see §2.2.3.

<sup>1009</sup> Garrison 1996b, pp. 39–42. Note that this convention is also used on PFS 71\*/PTS 33\*.

<sup>1010</sup> Garrison 2011a.

<sup>1011</sup> PFS 113\* dates later, year 27 (495/94 BC), but this is probably because Baratkama himself appears in the archive starting only in year 27.

<sup>1012</sup> On the uneven chronological distribution of the dated texts from the Fortification archive, see the discussion at §2.2.3. Because of the fact that PFS 11\* (T1) is a replacement seal for PFS 83\*, we can be quite precise regarding the time when it was actually introduced into the archive. Thus, the uneven chronological distribution of the surviving texts is a moot issue with regards to its initial appearance. The fact that PFS 7\* and PFS 859\* first appear in the same year, 19, as PFS 11\* (T1) would seem to indicate that, despite the uneven chronological distri-

bution of dated texts, the archive is fairly sensitive to certain shifts in visual imagery in glyptic.

<sup>1013</sup> Garrison (2014a and 2014b) discusses this phenomenon in more detail.

<sup>1014</sup> Garrison 2014a, p. 87.

<sup>1015</sup> Garrison 2011c.

<sup>1016</sup> The following is from Garrison 2014a and 2014b.

<sup>1017</sup> Perhaps also to create these links via the delegation of authority as marked by Court Style Seals. Garrison (2014a, pp. 88–89) explores these issues in more detail with possible analogs in the Akkadian and Ur III periods. As noted in that study, there is a wealth of research on the dynamics of empire stressing the critical need in the formation, reproduction, and maintenance of state power for “the evolution of a bureaucratic elite that has a sense of its own function within the state or society” (Goldstone and Haldon 2009, p. 8); note the quote at the top of this chapter, from the same study.

<sup>1018</sup> As discussed in detail by Briant (2002, pp. 302–54, 923–26): “the gifts/services exchange was included in the ‘dynastic pact’ by which the king undertook — absent blatant treachery or obvious error by a satrap or a strategos — to protect and favor his Faithful (*bandaka*)” (p. 354). In the powerful manner in which such gifting operates, the seals by their very issuance also legitimized the authority of the king (directly analogous to official Achaemenid coinage during the reign of Darius).

<sup>1019</sup> Garrison 2014b. It is worth recalling that Parnaka’s new seal, PFS 16\* (fig. 5.1), one of the most heavily Assyrianizing glyptic artifacts in the archive and clearly a special commissioned seal, is introduced into the archive (literally announced within two texts, PF 2067 and 2068; see §5.1.1) on day 16 of month 3 in year 22, 6 June 500 BC, a good two and one-half years after the appearance of PFS 7\* and PFS 11\* (T1) in months 10/11 in year 19, mid-January–early March 502 BC.

<sup>1020</sup> Garrison 2014a and 2014b.

<sup>1021</sup> The drawing and inscription copy here (fig. 5.29, top) are collations based upon personal inspection of two of the four tablets on which PTS 6\* occurs, PT4 749 (= PT 28) and PT4 975 (= PT 33), both of which are now housed at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (fig. 5.29, middle and bottom). The drawing and inscription copy show only what can be seen on those tablets. I am deeply indebted to several people at the Oriental Institute, especially Walter Farber and Jonathan Tenney, who facilitated my viewing of these two tablets. The other two tablets on which PTS 6\* occurs are housed at the National Museum, Tehran. On the royal-name seals of Darius, to which PTS 6\* is closely related, see Garrison 2014a.

<sup>1022</sup> Schmitt’s reading follows that of Cameron (1948, p. 58 n. 9), who would have had access to all the tablets on which the seal occurs. He clearly was able to see more of the inscription on the tablets in Tehran than is preserved on the two tablets in Chicago (see above, n. 1021).





## A Return to Naqš-e Rostam

“The Zoroastrian implications of the tomb-sculpture are made explicit by the fact that the king stands before a fire-holder.... This is the earliest known representation of the fire-holder with burning fire, which was to be the most generally used Zoroastrian symbol down the ages. To pray before an elevated fire may be assumed to have been a rite peculiar to a Zoroastrian king; and so by this carving Darius was making a strong visual affirmation of his faith.” (Boyce 1982, p. 113)

### 6.1. Introduction

The most well known depiction of a stepped structure on which there is a blazing fire occurs in the main figural scene on the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam. This chapter returns to that most famous relief at Naqš-e Rostam and seeks to explore anew possible readings of the main scene within the contexts of the Persepolitan glyptic evidence having the stepped and/or tower structures here presented.

### 6.2. The Setting

The funerary monument of Darius is cut into a sheer rock face of the mountain known today as Husain Kūh, approximately six kilometers to the north of Persepolis (figs. 6.1–6.4).<sup>1023</sup> The tomb façade faces to the southeast, looking over the Marv Dašt and toward Persepolis. Because of the manner in which the Takht at Persepolis is set back into the mountain Kūh-e Rahmat and the configuration of that mountain itself, the two sites Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis are not visible to each other (fig. 6.1).

A large mound lies at the foot of the royal tombs (figs. 6.2–6.4). Schmidt opened a few test trenches on the mound but worked there only briefly.<sup>1024</sup> His primary objectives were to clear the tower Ka’ba-ye Zardošt and to make a photographic record of the tombs and reliefs. He identified some fragments of mudbrick structures and stone paving potentially dating to the Achaemenid period, but this data revealed little to no insights on the nature of the place immediately before or during the reign of Darius. There is a substantial fortification wall, with towers, that forms a half-oval at the foot of the cliffs, its western and eastern ends abutting the face of the rock cliff, and delimits the mound. The date of the wall is Arsacid or Sasanian.<sup>1025</sup>

There is no textual or archaeological evidence as to why Darius decided to adopt a radically new type of burial monument, a rock-cut tomb, or why he selected the site known today as Naqš-e Rostam (“Pictures of Rostam”) for his tomb. The pre-Achaemenid phases of the site are little known, and, indeed, it is often assumed that Darius was the first to build there.

One pre-Achaemenid rock-cut relief is cut into the far western edge of the cliff face (figs. 6.4–6.5).<sup>1026</sup> It was badly damaged by the carving of a relief of Bahram II in the Sasanian period (NRu III in Schmidt’s labeling schema). Seidl (1986, fig. 2b) reconstructs the Elamite relief as two deities seated on serpent thrones approached by three figures at left (the two at far left much smaller in scale); at right, behind the seated deities, is an individual who stands on a platform. Following some earlier commentators, Seidl (1986, pp. 17–19) dates the preserved sections of the relief to two separate periods: an original relief, the central pair of seated deities and the large attendants at right and left, to anywhere between the seventeenth and the twelfth centuries BC

(more likely closer to the former than the later); a later addition to the relief, the heads of two smaller figures at left, probably of a king and a queen, to the Neo-Elamite period (9th–7th centuries BC).<sup>1027</sup>

It is generally assumed that the presence of the Elamite relief indicates that Naqš-e Rostam was a sacred place at least since the first half of the second millennium BC. If the dating of the two smaller figures at the left of the relief to the late Neo-Elamite period is correct, it would be critical evidence for a lived religious presence at the site in the seventh century BC, one potentially still active in the period immediately preceding Darius' reign.<sup>1028</sup> We would in any case be incorrect to call the individuals who frequented Naqš-e Rostam in the late Elamite period "Elamites." Rather, by the seventh century BC the population of the highlands of Fārs would have been an ethnically mixed Elamo-Iranian one, probably for a considerable period of time. Thus, highland open-air sanctuaries such as the one at Naqš-e Rostam in the late Neo-Elamite period would have been visited and used by individuals who, for all intents and purposes, we may call "Persian."<sup>1029</sup>

Striking features of the religious landscape in the Elamite highlands, of which Naqš-e Rostam is the most easterly attestation, were open-air sanctuaries on hill-tops or hill-sides, often at water-rich locations, embellished with rock-cut relief.<sup>1030</sup> Several such long-lived Elamite sanctuaries were certainly still functioning in the Neo-Elamite period. Closest to Naqš-e Rostam is the site of Kūrāngūn, located in the Fahliyān valley in western Fārs.<sup>1031</sup> The exact dating of the reliefs at Kūrāngūn, as with all Elamite rock-cut reliefs, is uncertain. The central section of the tableau, in which a male and female deity are seated and surrounded by worshippers, the god seated on a serpent throne holding a rod and ring from which gush forth waters to the first of the three worshippers at front and back of the divine couple, is generally dated to the nineteenth–sixteenth centuries BC (in the *sukkalmah* period). The scenes to the left and right of the central section, a procession of figures in three superimposed ranks descending toward the original central scene at left and four figures at right, are dated anywhere between the end of the second millennium BC and the seventh century BC. In the Īzeh (Mālamīr) plain in the Baḳtīārī mountains of eastern Khūzestān, there are several Elamite open-air sanctuaries, the most important of which is that at Kūl-e Farah, located in a gorge in the mountains. There are six rock-cut reliefs at Kūl-e Farah. The dating of the reliefs at Kūl-e Farah remains in flux, but opinion is now trending to a Neo-Elamite date for most or all of the reliefs.<sup>1032</sup> The most well known relief at the site is KF I, which is accompanied by captions and a long Neo-Elamite inscription (EKI 75) of King Hanni, generally dated to the seventh–sixth centuries BC.<sup>1033</sup>

Darius' decision to place his tomb at Naqš-e Rostam may then have been dictated partially by the desire to connect himself and his reign with the Elamite and Elamo-Iranian cultural heritage that the site represented.<sup>1034</sup> Indeed, one could even speculate that the decision to site Persepolis where he did may have been dictated partially by the proximity of the Elamo-Iranian sanctuary.<sup>1035</sup> So, too, Darius' addition of a relief to the rock face at Naqš-e Rostam would have been very much in the local highlands tradition, where, as we have seen, the original second-millennium BC rock-cut reliefs in open-air sanctuaries were almost always augmented in the first millennium BC. Thus, from one perspective, Darius may be seen as acting in the tradition of highland Elamo-Iranian rulers by adding a rock-cut relief at Naqš-e Rostam. This is an interesting and generally overlooked aspect of the decision to situate the tomb of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam. In fact, it is striking that the first two monuments of Darius' reign, the victory relief at Bisotūn and the tomb and relief at Naqš-e Rostam, are both rock-cut reliefs with long trilingual inscriptions.<sup>1036</sup> This phenomenon may reflect an inclination on Darius' part, at the very earliest stages of his kingship, to emulate traditional patterns of visual displays of kingship found in the Elamite highlands.

On the other hand, it must have been a very radical change in the disposition and traditional usage of the site to introduce a tomb at Naqš-e Rostam. Certainly, we have no evidence from the Neo-Elamite period for open-air sanctuaries functioning also as royal burials. At our remove, it is difficult to know how the placement of his tomb in/near an Elamo-Iranian open-air sanctuary was received locally. Perhaps Darius' tomb lay far enough outside the bounds of the early sanctuary, which may have been confined to the far western edge of the cliff side, to allow it both to connect to the local cultural heritage and to establish a new, specifically Achaemenid tradition for the site. One cannot also help but wonder whether the placement of the tomb in/near an Elamo-Iranian sanctuary may not have been motivated by the desire to associate Darius with aspects of the divine and numinous.<sup>1037</sup>

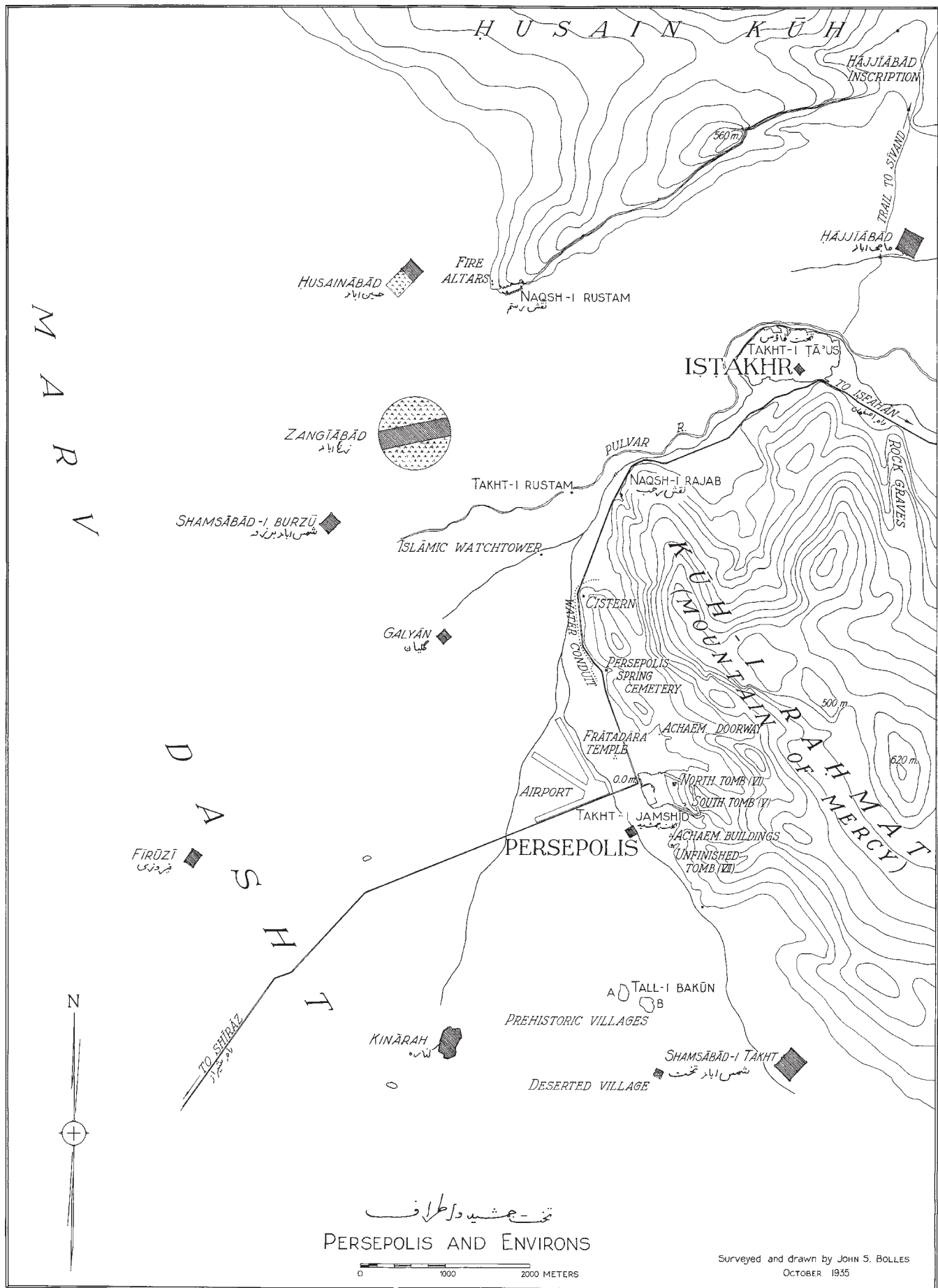


Figure 6.1. Plan showing the region of Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1953, fig. 13)

There is another structure in the neighborhood of Naqš-e Rostam, the stone platform known today as Takht-e Rostam (fig. 6.1), potentially of interest to this discussion of the setting of Darius' tomb. The monument lies in the plain to the south of Naqš-e Rostam, not quite midway to Persepolis. Nearby are the remains of a hypostyle hall and what appears to have been a garden area at a site today called Dašt-e Gohar. Of the monument at Takht-e Rostam, two steps of a substantial platform survive. The date and the function of the platform are much disputed. For many years, the most common opinion was that the platform was the base of an unfinished tomb, similar in form to the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, for Cambyses.<sup>1038</sup> The recent study by Bessac and Boucharlat (2010, pp. 30–31) has shown that the monument was, in fact, brought to completion (its superstructure above the level of the first two steps having been robbed) and that it dates to the first two decades of the reign of Darius, ca. 520–500 BC. Those authors (Bessac and Boucharlat 2010, pp. 31–36) and Henkelman (2003, pp. 157–58) have argued that Takht-e Rostam and the architectural ensemble at Dašt-e Gohar were built for Darius' father, Hystaspes. In any case, the dating of Takht-e Rostam to the reign of Darius rather than Cambyses clearly places the monument within the context of Darius' ambitious building activities along the Naqš-e Rostam–Persepolis axis and thus removes it as a potential site of influence on Darius' tomb relief at Naqš-e Rostam.

In addition to the Elamite relief, there is one other standing monument that is critical for our understanding of the context of the tomb of Darius, the tower Ka'ba-ye Zardošt (figs. 4.31–4.35 and 6.2–6.4).<sup>1039</sup> The tower, of course, dates to the reign of Darius; whether early or late in his reign is uncertain. The conceptual relationship of the tower Ka'ba-ye Zardošt to the tomb of Darius is unclear. The tower stands near what is today the southwestern edge of the mound (figs. 6.2 and 6.4); the northern corner of the tower is some 95 m from the foot of the cliff where the tomb of Darius is situated. The tower faces to the northwest, directly toward the face of the cliff where now Tomb IV (Darius II) is located. Thus, the tower lies at a fair remove from the tomb of Darius, does not face it, and does not appear to have any specific orientation to



Figure 6.2. Aerial view of Naqš-e Rostam with tombs and reliefs indicated (Schmidt 1970, fig. 2)

it.<sup>1040</sup> Indeed, there are hardly any other places in what is today the mound at Naqš-e Rostam that are farther removed from the tomb of Darius than where the tower is. One may characterize the location of the tower as approximately the mid-point between the Elamite reliefs and the tomb relief.<sup>1041</sup> This particular location of the tower may be significant, indicating that it was conceptualized as a visual bridge between the old Elamo-Iranian sanctuary and the new Achaemenid tomb. Whether or not the tower is responding to the earlier reliefs, one may speculate that the primary motivation for the siting of the two monuments, tower and tomb, was the need to keep them distinct physically (and thus conceptually?).

Until new excavations are undertaken at the mound of Naqš-e Rostam, the surrounding physical and functional contexts and potential relationships of the hypothetical Elamite/Elamo-Iranian sanctuary, the tomb of Darius, and the tower Ka‘ba-ye Zardošt remain unknown. For the moment, I am inclined to treat the tower as a religious monument (thus linked in a very broad sense with the older Elamo-Iranian sanctuary) whose purposes were primarily distinct from the tomb of Darius. Nevertheless, it seems inconceivable that the tower and tomb were not parts of a larger, and interconnected, architectural setting at Naqš-e Rostam.<sup>1042</sup> On the ground (as distinct from the cliff face), that setting most likely would have been an Achaemenid religious sanctuary.

### 6.3. The Façade of the Tomb of Darius

There are known to us today five major monuments that carried figural imagery dating to the reign of Darius in Iran: the rock-cut relief at Bīsotūn, the tomb of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam, the Apadana and the Palace of Darius on the Takht at Persepolis, and the Palace of Darius at Susa.<sup>1043</sup> Of the visual programme at Susa, little remains.<sup>1044</sup> Commentators have tended to highlight Bīsotūn and the Apadana, the former owing to its text, which is the only Persian narration of historical events to have survived from the reign of Darius, the latter owing both to the complexity of its imagery, gift/tribute from the subject peoples of the empire, and to the sheer scope of the visual display (along two stairways on the Apadana). By comparison to the reliefs at Bīsotūn and on the Apadana, the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam has received little attention.<sup>1045</sup> One reason may be that commentators have tended to elide the complexity of the relief at Naqš-e Rostam owing to the *communis opinio* that the scene quite straightforwardly shows Darius worshipping before a Zoroastrian fire altar. As I have suggested in another study (Garrison 2011c, pp. 33–67), the relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam deserves an equal place with those at Bīsotūn and Persepolis, being an exceptionally sophisticated expression of Darius’ visual programme, the only one that is concerned primarily with the divine-royal interface.<sup>1046</sup>

Three bits of evidence, none precise, exist for the date of the carving of the tomb relief. Nylander notes the sparing use of the toothed chisel in the tomb; this detail, he argues, indicates that the tomb and its façade were cut early in the reign of Darius.<sup>1047</sup> Potentially a more precise date may be provided by the name applied to one of the platform carriers, the *Sakā paradraya*, “the Skythian beyond the sea” (DNe.24), and the mentioning of the *Sakā paradraya* in DNa.28–29.<sup>1048</sup> These *Sakā paradraya* have at times been generally equated with the European Skythians against whom, Herodotus (IV.1–143) says, Darius campaigned. The equation of the *Sakā paradraya* with Herodotus’ European Skythians is, however, not without difficulties, nor is there consensus on the dating of the campaign mentioned by Herodotus, 519 BC or 513 BC.<sup>1049</sup> The naming of the *Sakā paradraya* at Naqš-e Rostam could then potentially provide a *terminus post quem* of 519 BC or 513 BC for the carving of the tomb. Another bit of epigraphic evidence is the place given the Babylonians in the listing of the lands of the empire, sixteenth out of thirty, in Darius’ tomb inscription at Naqš-e Rostam (DNa.26). Schmidt (1970, pp. 111–18), based upon the fact that the Babylonians are listed at the front of the lists of the lands of the empire in the inscriptions at Bīsotūn (DB I.14) and in the Persepolitan inscriptions DPe, DPd, DPf, and DPg, argued that the naming of the Babylonians in the middle of the inscription in DNa.26 reflected a deterioration in their status. Schmidt also noted that of all the thirty platform bearers on Darius’ tomb, only the Babylonians are weaponless, again indicating, according to Schmidt, their humiliated and distained status. Schmidt reckoned that the deterioration in their status may have been due to some unknown events preceding the Babylonian rebellions in the reign of Xerxes. For these reasons, Schmidt placed the completion of the tomb of Darius late in his reign, perhaps even extending down into the early reign of Xerxes.

Von Gall (2009), based upon Schmidt's line of reasoning, is more categorical, stating that Xerxes "probably supervised the final work on the tomb of his father Darius I."

None of this evidence for the date of the tomb of Darius evokes confidence. The late dating for the completion of the tomb based upon the equation of the place of the Babylonians in the list of subject nations in DNa.26 and their weaponless status in the tomb relief with hypothetical and real revolts in Babylonia seems a stretch. The dating evidence surrounding the *Sakā paradraya* question seems tenuous at best, while that concerning the stage of development of the use of the toothed chisel is less than precise. Given this data, the



Figure 6.3. Panorama of Naqš-e Rostam showing tombs I, III, and IV and the tower Ka'ba-ye Zardošt (Schmidt 1970, pl. 1)

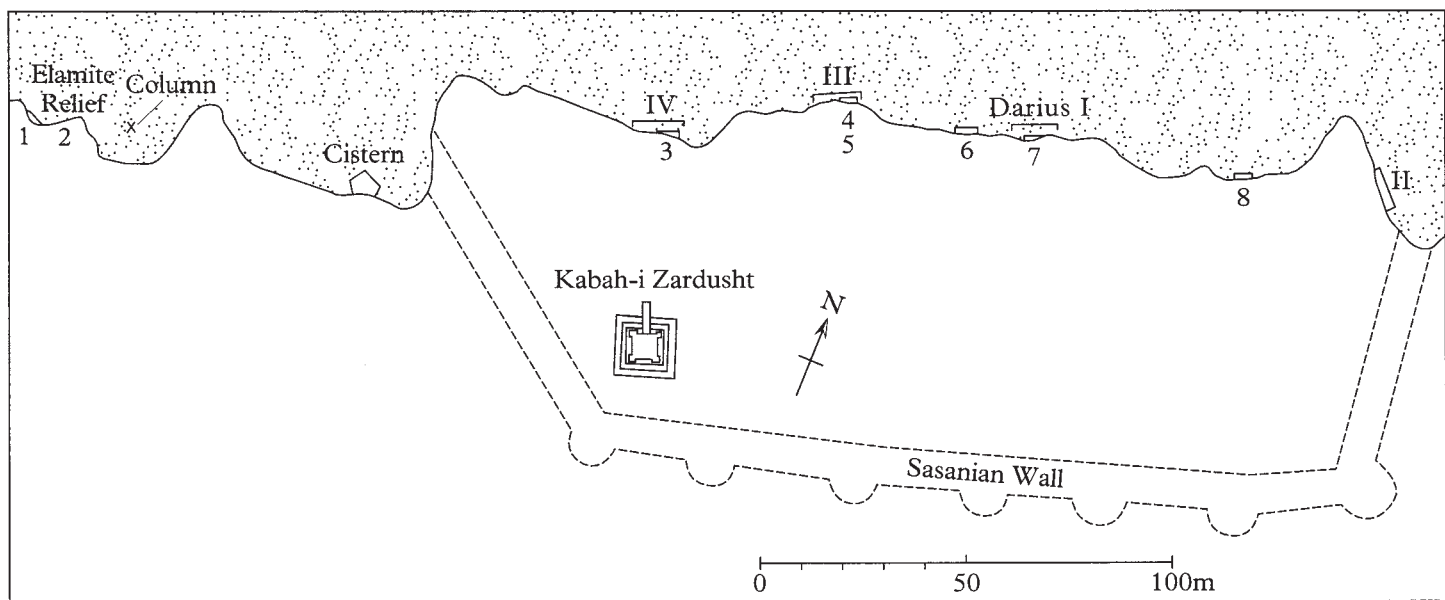


Figure 6.4. Plan of Naqš-e Rostam; Achaemenid reliefs marked I-IV, Sasanian reliefs marked 1-8 (Seidl 1997a, fig. 1)

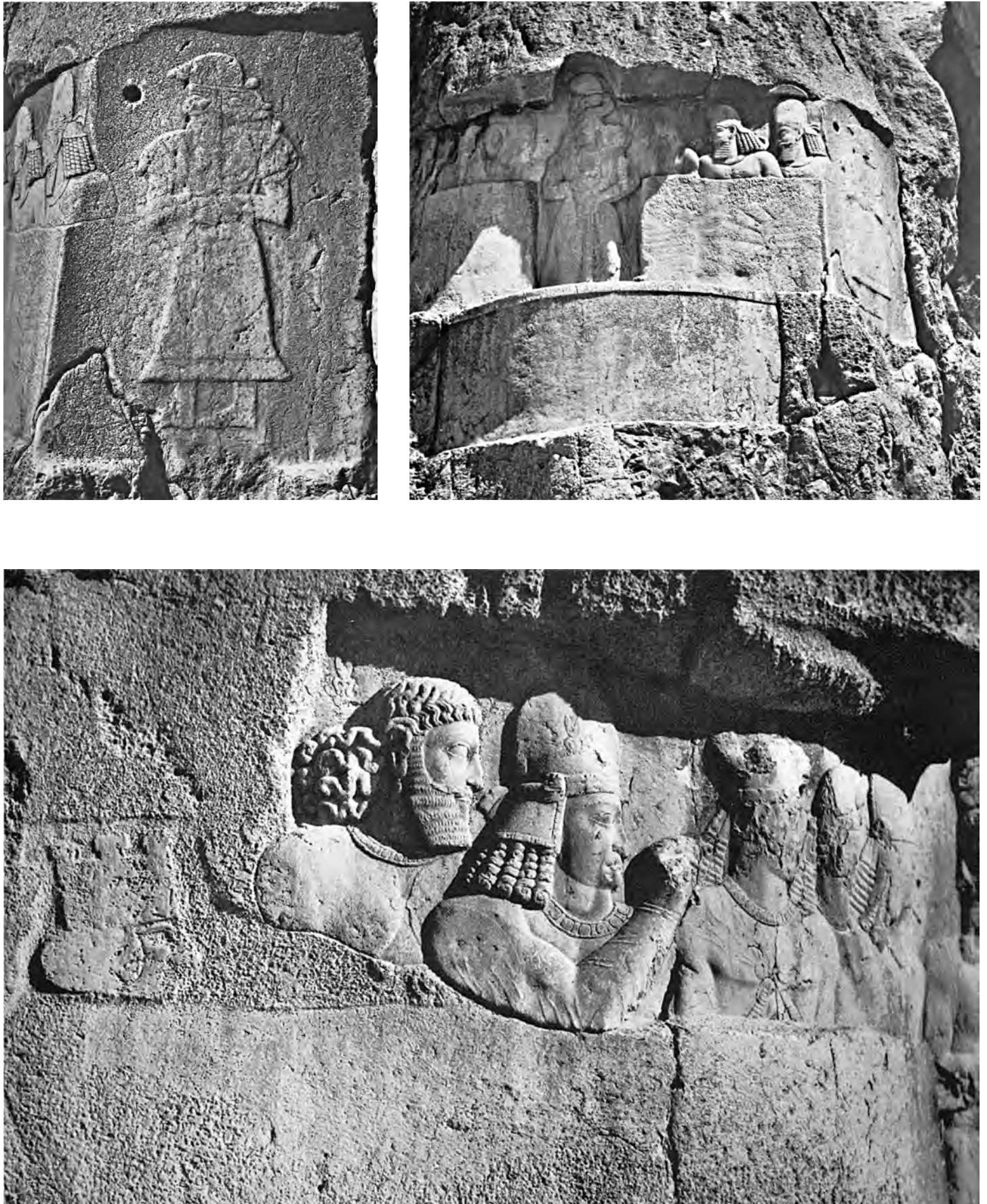


Figure 6.5. Elamite relief at Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pls. 86–88)



best that one can do for the moment is to make some reasoned inferences concerning the date of the tomb. It seems to me most likely that the tomb façade was started fairly early in Darius' reign, principally owing to the importance of the monument and its conceptual linkage (rock-cut monument) with the earliest of Darius' monuments, the relief at Bīsoṭūn. For the moment, the best that we may do is to follow Root in dating the carving of the tomb to the first half of the reign of Darius, thus ca. 521–505 BC.<sup>1050</sup>

### 6.3.1. The Façade of the Tomb of Darius: Description

Although the tomb façade is often illustrated, the nuances of the composition (beyond the central group of Darius standing before a stepped structure) are generally overlooked (figs. 6.6–6.7). For that reason, it may be helpful to give a full description.<sup>1051</sup>

The façade of the tomb of Darius is a huge cruciform cavity and thus presents three clearly demarked zones, a bottom register, a middle register, and a top register. The bottom edge of the bottom register is approximately 15 m above the Achaemenid-period ground surface; the top edge of the top register is some 22.93 m above the Achaemenid-period ground surface. The bottom register was carved flat and left blank. The middle register is carved in relief and depicts an architectural façade of four columns with addorsed bull protome capitals supporting roof beams that carry an entablature (fig. 6.8). That entablature consists of three fascia over which there is a dentil frieze. The four columns divide the middle register into five roughly equal panels. A door in the middle panel leads into the rock-cut burial chambers. Three inset fascia frame the doorway; an Egyptianizing cavetto molding crowns the lintel. The inscription known today as DNb fills three panels, the Old Persian version in the panel immediately to the left of the doorway, the Elamite in the panel immediately to the right of the doorway, the Akkadian in the panel at far right (fig. 6.7). The panel at far left was left blank. There is an Aramaic inscription that lies below the Elamite version of DNb.<sup>1052</sup> It is a later addition to the façade, dating to the Seleucid period. Schmidt (1970, p. 81) noted the similarity in some dimensions and design between the architectural façade on the tomb and the entry façade of the Palace of Darius at Persepolis, suggesting that the latter served as the model for the former.

There is an undecorated band between the top of the dentil frieze on the architectural façade in the middle register and the narrow raised ledge (19 cm in width) on which the subject peoples supporting the platform in the lowest level of the scene in the top register stand (figs. 6.8–6.9). Schmidt (1970, p. 83) wondered whether this undecorated band could “correspond to boards or bricks containing a layer of soil mixed with chopped straw such as presumably covered the roofs of most or all of the Persepolis structures.” He also thought that the narrow ledge (which he termed a “fillet”) on which the figures in the lowest level of the scene in the top register stand was in fact part of the entablature.

The top register contains a figural relief, the main scene of which depicts, presumably, Darius (figs. 6.6–6.7 and 6.10–6.12). Darius is at the left of the tableau, facing to the right, standing on a three-stepped dais that rests on a platform held aloft by two tiers of personifications of the subject peoples/lands of the empire (thirty in number). At right, apparently the focus of Darius' attention, appear: 1) a figure emerging from a winged double ring with bird's tail and undulating appendages floating near the upper center of the tableau; 2) a blazing fire on the top of a stepped structure situated to the right on the same platform on which Darius stands; 3) a crescent inscribed within a disk in the upper right field of the tableau.

The platform on which Darius and the stepped structure stand is a complex affair (fig. 6.9). Along the length of the top edge of the platform runs a bead-and-reel frieze under which is a tongue (with raised edges) and dart frieze. Beneath the top of the platform, between the two legs, runs a rung. It is decorated with, in Schmidt's (1970, p. 85) words, “vertical pairs of connected volutes oriented in opposite directions and separated by three vertical strips, the central strip being wider than the others.” The two legs that are indicated are each crowned by a composite creature consisting of the forepart of a horned lion, the mouth open. The ear of each creature is taurine. The straight foreleg of each creature extends outward slightly beyond the leg of the platform.<sup>1053</sup> The middle sections of the legs of the platform are each decorated with five turned moldings. Below them, the leg becomes a lion's leg and paw. The paw rests on “a basal unit composed of a fluted member ... with single moldings above and below it” (Schmidt 1970, p. 85). The

bottoms of the legs are suspended above the ground line, the platform understood to be held above ground level by the subject peoples.

One set of fourteen subject peoples stands on the rung of the platform, arms uplifted as if supporting the top of the platform (fig. 6.9). Trilingual inscriptions below the tongue-and-dart frieze originally identified each of these subject peoples (only the inscriptions DNe.1–4, 8–10, and 13 are still preserved and legible).<sup>1054</sup> Another set of fourteen subject peoples stands immediately below the rung, arms uplifted as if supporting it. Trilingual inscriptions below the decorative frieze on the rung identify each of these subject peoples (only the inscriptions DNe.15–17, 20, and 22–23 are still preserved and legible). A single subject people stands to the side of each of the legs, arms extended outward to grasp the bottom of the leg. Trilingual inscriptions above their heads identify them (DNe.29–30). The subject peoples are dressed in a variety of manners to indicate their origins.

Darius raises his bent right arm before his chest, the hand held open, the back of the hand facing the viewer (figs. 6.10–6.12). His left hand, held at waist level, grasps the top of a bow. Darius has a long blunt-pointed beard, presumably a squared beard but shown in profile; his hair bunches at the back of his neck and is decorated with neatly ordered rows of curls. He wears the Persian court robe, strapless shoes, bracelets, and a crown that has three-stepped crenellations along its top edge.<sup>1055</sup> The garment is billowy, with stacked folds indicating the voluminous sleeve and a large multi-folded central vertical pleat from which depend diagonal folds on the lower part of the garment. The shoulder is rendered in true profile.

The figure in the winged ring hovering in the upper center part of the tableau shows approximately two-thirds of a human figure emerging from a double ring (fig. 6.12). The double ring passes over the lower part of the figure and behind his waist. The rings themselves are beaded (in Schmidt's [1970, p. 85] terms, "tangent curls"). The wings are broad and squared. The feathers undulate in horizontal bands along the length of the wings, broken into four(?) sections of approximately equal length by three(?) rows of single spirals set diagonally across the height of the wings. The tail fans out narrowly. The feathers undulate in radial bands along the length of the tail, broken into three roughly equal sections by two rows of single spirals; each feather terminates in a spiral. To either side of the tail, an undulating tendril depends from the ring; each tendril has a tripartite termination. The figure within the ring, shown in true profile, faces to the left toward Darius. He extends his left arm, bent, along the upper edge of the wing; the hand is poorly preserved, but it is generally assumed that the figure held a ring, like similar figures in reliefs associated with the other royal Achaemenid tombs at Naqš-e Rostam. His right arm is raised in front of his body; the hand is destroyed, but it is generally assumed that it was held flat with the palm facing the viewer, echoing the position of Darius' right hand, but showing the palm rather than the back of the hand. The figure has a long blunt-pointed beard with small curls indicated in rows, presumably a squared beard but shown in profile; a rounded mass of hair with rows of curls emerges from below the headdress at the back of the neck. The figure wears the Persian court robe. Schmidt (1970, p. 85) noted that the figure's garment is "alike" to the one that Darius wears. This cannot be confirmed from published photographs, but one can perhaps distinguish a billowy sleeve on the upper part of the garment and certainly vertical and diagonal folds on the lower part of the garment. The figure wears a cylindrical headdress. The top of the headdress is poorly preserved and does not allow a definitive reading.<sup>1056</sup>

The stepped structure on which a large fire burns acts as a vertical counterbalance at right to the standing figure of Darius (fig. 6.7). The structure has passages that are poorly preserved but can be restored based upon better-preserved examples on the other royal tombs (fig. 6.13). A rectangular shaft sits on a three-stepped base. On top of the shaft is a three-stepped podium, the width of each step increasing from bottom to top; the dimensions of the three-stepped podium are similar to the three-stepped base below. The rectangular shaft is poorly preserved. On analogy with the other tomb reliefs, it is assumed that it was decorated with a rectangular inset frame within which is a central rectangular inset panel. The shaft itself appears to taper inward at its top, although this may simply be due to the angle at which the photographs in Schmidt 1970 were taken.<sup>1057</sup> The fire is indicated by what appear to be two to three rows of undulating flames that form a parabolical mass above the top of the structure.

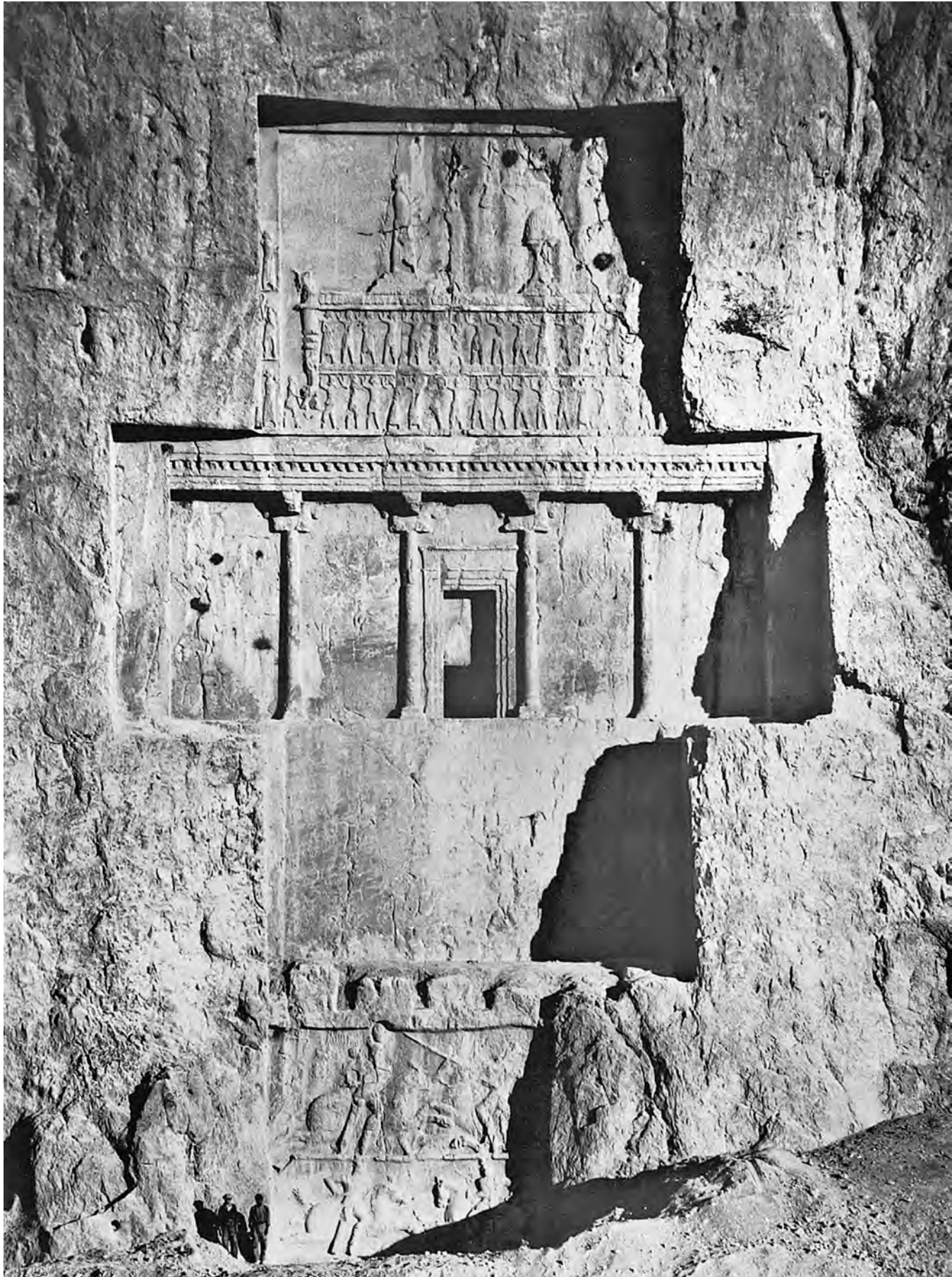


Figure 6.6. Façade of the tomb of Darius, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, frontispiece)

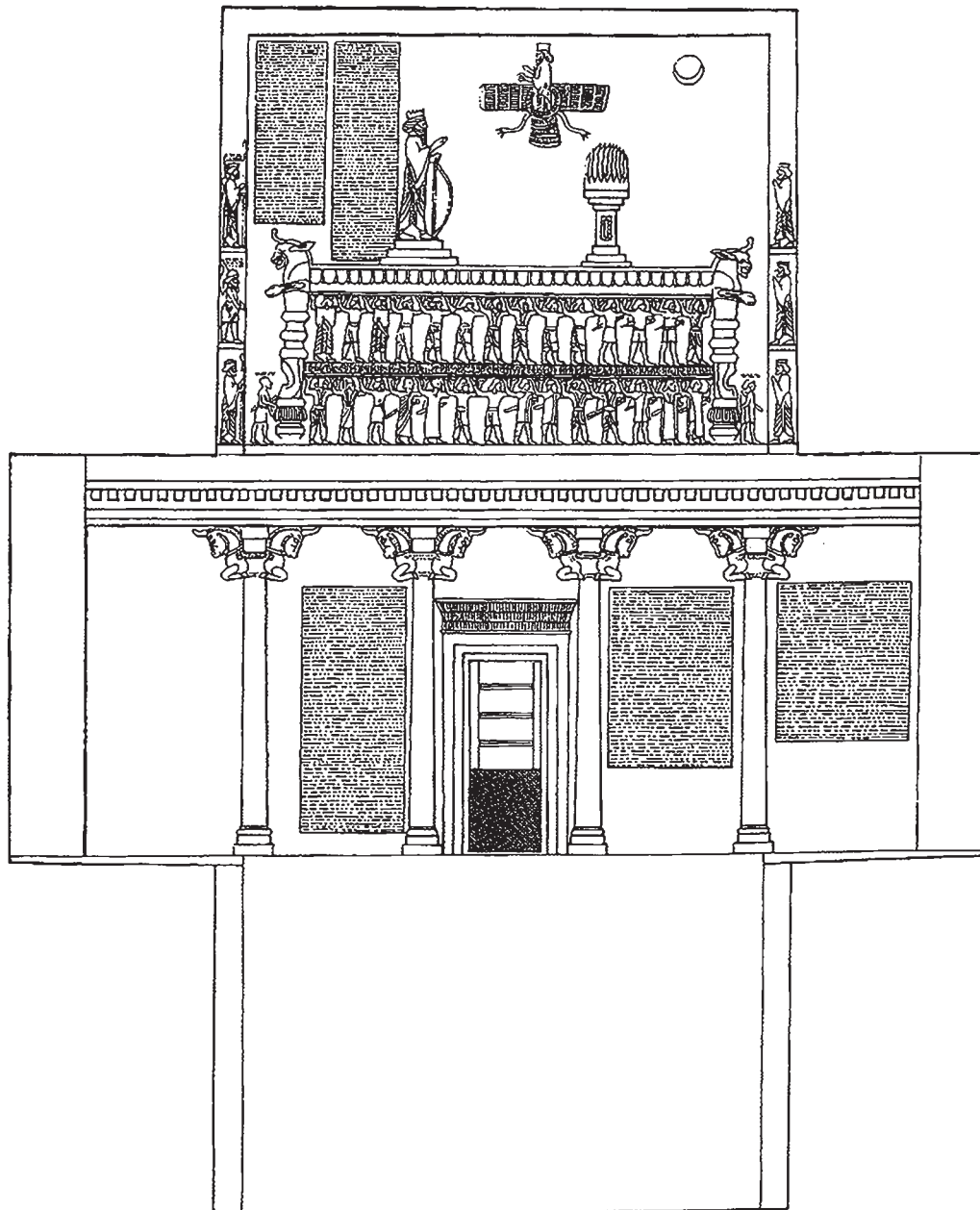


Figure 6.7. Line drawing of the façade of the tomb of Darius, Naqš-e Rostam (Seidl 2003, fig. 1)

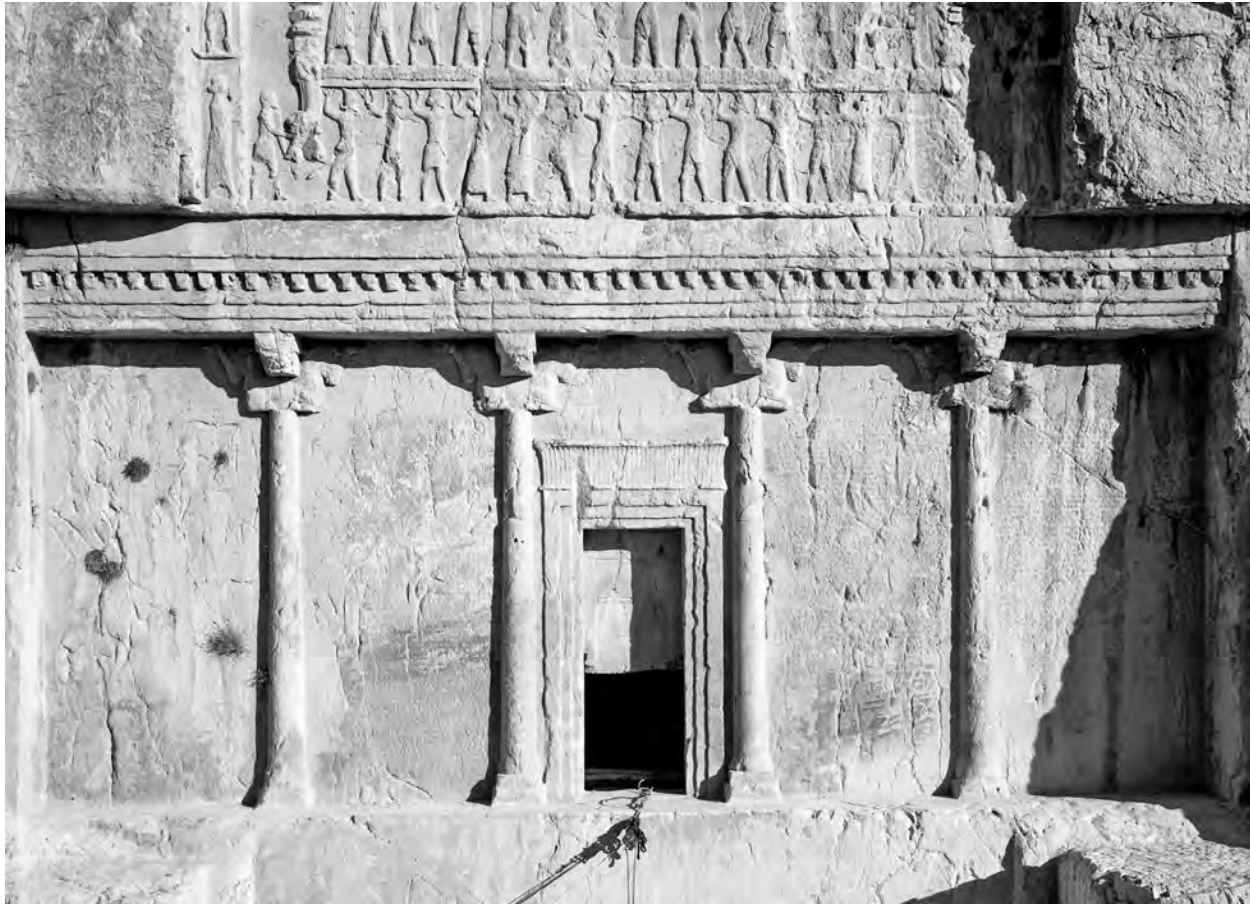


Figure 6.8. Detail of the middle register on the tomb of Darius, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 20)



Figure 6.9. Detail of the platform bearers on the tomb of Darius, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 22A)

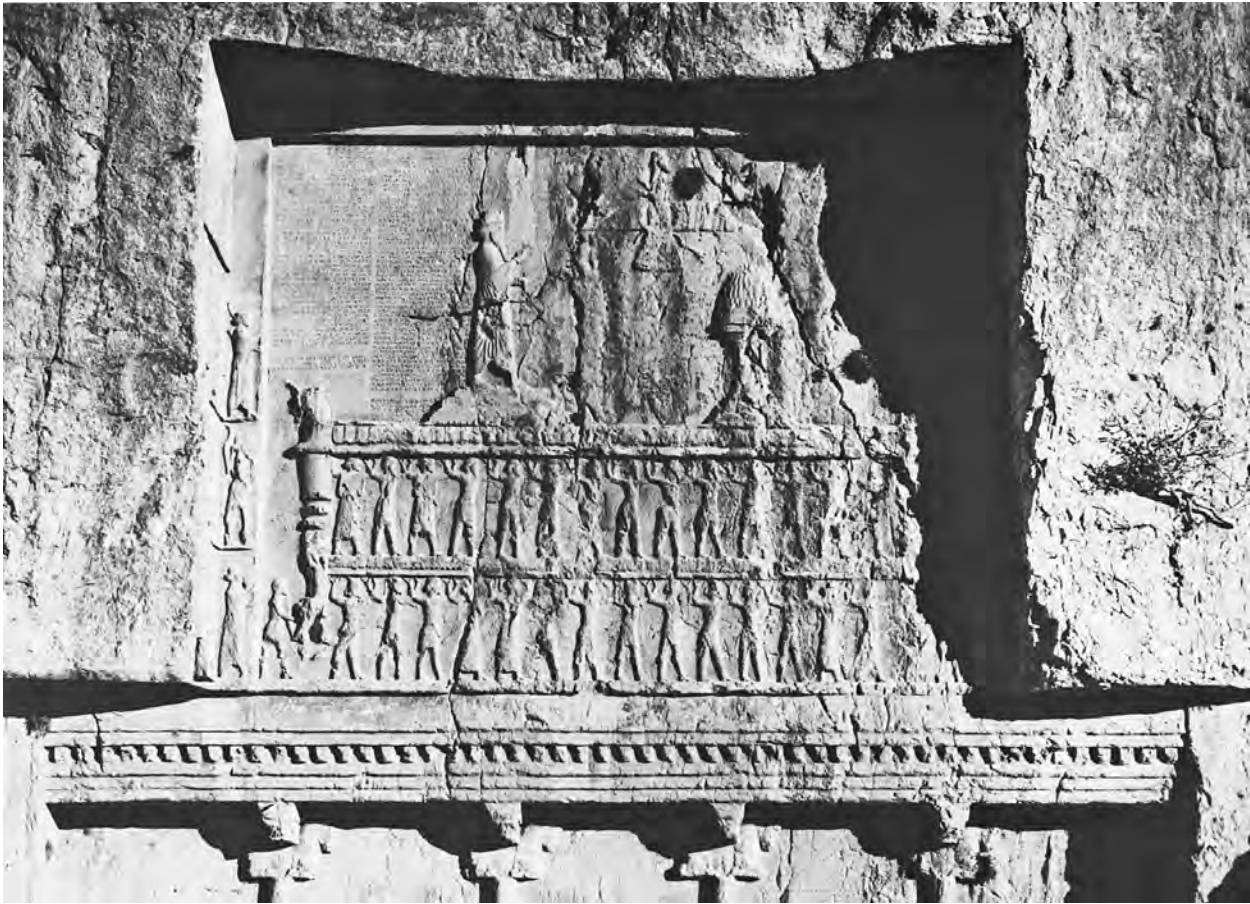


Figure 6.10. Detail of the top register on the tomb of Darius, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 19)



Figure 6.11. Detail of Darius in the top register on the tomb of Darius, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 22A)



Figure 6.12. Detail of Darius and the figure in the winged ring in the top register on the tomb of Darius, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 22B)



Figure 6.13. Detail of the stepped structure in the top register on the tomb of Xerxes (Tomb II), Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 42A)

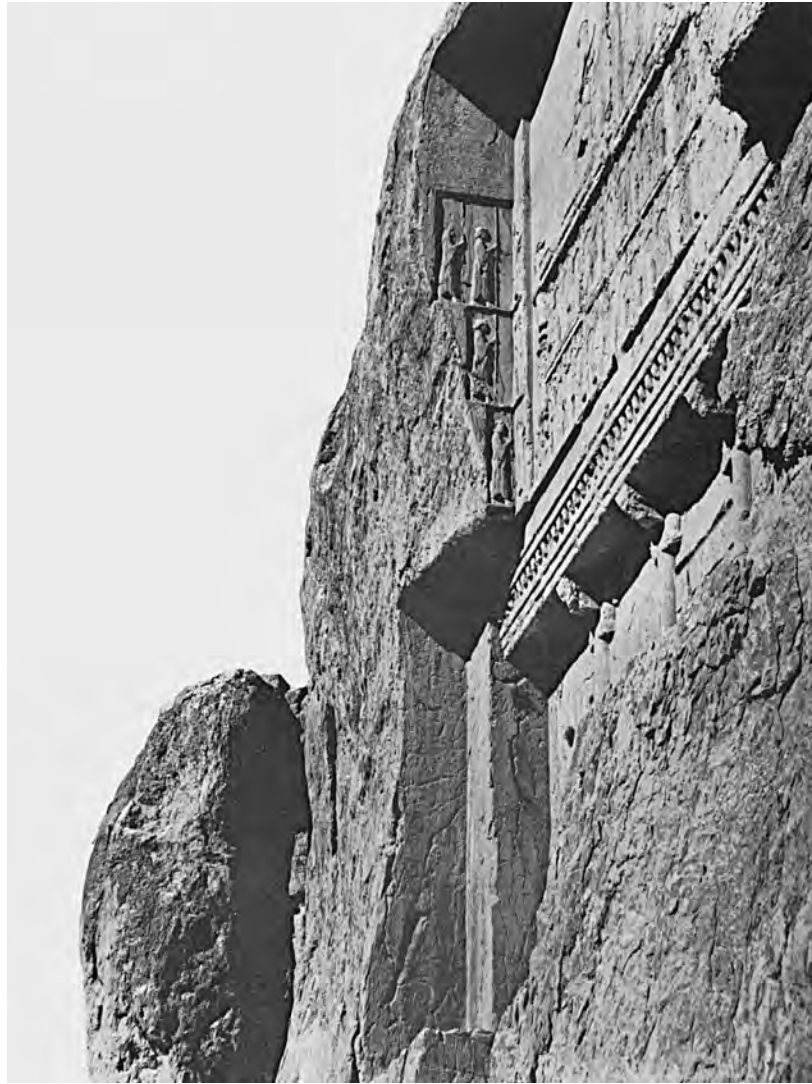


Figure 6.14. Attendants on the left projecting wing on the tomb of Darius, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 21A-D)





Figure 6.15. Attendants on the right projecting wing on the tomb of Darius, Naqš-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970, pl. 27C)

The crescent inscribed within a disk in the upper right zone of the register is almost impossible to see in detail in published photographs. Schmidt (1970, p. 85) described it as “a discoid symbol with accentuated, lunate, lower part,” referencing better preserved examples on other royal tombs.

The Old Persian and Elamite versions of the inscription DNa are located in the top register, in the field behind Darius, the Elamite in the column at left, the Old Persian in the column at right (fig. 6.7).

To the left of this central tableau on the raised frame, three weapon-bearers are disposed one atop the other in registers (figs. 6.8–6.9). The top figure, dressed in the Persian court robe with a low fillet-like cap on his head, wears a strung bow and quiver on his left shoulder and holds a spear vertically before his body (Schmidt 1970, pl. 23). A trilingual inscription (DNc) above his head identifies him as “Kambarma, a Patischorian, spear-bearer of Darius the king.”<sup>1058</sup> The middle figure, dressed in pants and a knee-length coat with a rounded cap (with tassels) on his head, wears a bowcase on his left shoulder and holds a battle ax in his right hand (Schmidt 1970, pl. 24); at his waist a sagging strap holds a scabbard for a short sword or dagger. A trilingual inscription (DNd) above his head identifies him as “Ašbazana, *lipte*-bearer, holds Darius the king’s bow-and-arrow case.”<sup>1059</sup> The figure in the lowest register, dressed in the Persian court robe with a low fillet-like cap on his head, holds a spear (Schmidt 1970, pl. 26B). There is no accompanying inscription. To the right of the central scene on the raised frame, there are another three attendants, again disposed one atop the other in registers (fig. 6.7). All three figures wear the Persian court robe with low fillet-like caps on their heads. Each attendant faces to the left, toward the main scene, and holds his left hand up to his mouth, the hand apparently cupped.<sup>1060</sup>

The main scene and raised frame (on which the attendants stand) are set back into the face of the cliff. To either side, a rock face projects out perpendicular to the façade of the tomb. On the left projecting wing, four attendants who hold spears vertically in front of their bodies, wearing the Persian court robe with low fillet-like caps on their heads, are carved in three registers, two in the top register, one each in the middle and bottom registers (fig. 6.14).<sup>1061</sup> The Akkadian version of DNa is located above the spear-bearers in the top register. On the right projecting wing, three attendants, dressed in the Persian court robe with low fillet-like caps on their heads, are carved in three registers one atop the other (fig. 6.15). Each attendant raises his left hand to his mouth, the hand cupped.<sup>1062</sup>

### 6.3.2. The Façade of the Tomb of Darius: Analysis

#### 6.3.2.1. Historiography

The almost universal consensus concerning the central scene of the tomb façade of Darius is that it shows the king worshipping before a fire altar, most famously articulated by Boyce in the quotation at the head of this chapter.<sup>1063</sup> Many commentators also assume that all or parts of the central scene are a photographic-like documentation of an event that actually took place, either inside a building at Persepolis or on its roof.<sup>1064</sup> Both interpretations, that it represents the worship of sacred fire and that it records in some manner an actual event, may, I think, need some revision given the glyptic evidence for the stepped and the tower structures presented in this study.

Root 1979 (pp. 147–81, 162–81) remains the most extended analysis of the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam.<sup>1065</sup> Root highlights the numerous Assyrian and Babylonian features in the iconography of the relief but stresses the novel nature of the scene within the history of royal imagery in ancient western Asia.<sup>1066</sup> Her comment on the novel nature of the scene resonates with Moorey’s (1979, p. 221) observation on the originality of Achaemenid scenes in glyptic that showed “worship at an altar.”

Briant (2002, pp. 249–50) has remarked, however, that it is not at all clear exactly how we are to read the scene. There are in fact many unresolved issues. The functions/roles of the divine symbols are difficult to understand. Are they cult images (an interpretation that would seem mandatory, were the scene a record of an actual event[s]), epiphanies of the deities, or simply the actualized images of fantastical divine entities (not physically present at the event[s])? The combination of the divine symbols with the metaphorical allusions to ascension in the uplifted platform and atlantid poses of the subject peoples suggests the fantastical (rather than the real).<sup>1067</sup> The fact that Darius and the figure in the winged ring resemble each other and make the same gesture has often posed an interpretive conundrum.<sup>1068</sup> The attendants disposed to either side of

the central scene seem to be carefully arranged, posed, and garbed, suggesting that they were conceived as playing some critical but (to us) enigmatic role.

In a previous analysis (Garrison 2011c), I have attempted to explore some of the dynamics of the scene at Naqš-e Rostam through the lens of Persepolitan glyptic imagery. In particular, that analysis sought to broaden the semantic contexts in which to consider the tomb relief through an exploration of the use of the themes of atlantids, the figure in the winged ring, lunar imagery, and the inscribed word in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>1069</sup> It is there suggested that the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam exhibits both narrative/historical and emblematic/numinous qualities, the semantics of the latter of which consistently express an ideology that seeks to blur the distinction between the king and the numinous/divine.

### 6.3.2.2. *The Central Scene on Darius' Tomb at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolitan Glyptic*

The comments that follow are directed specifically toward the issue of the stepped structure and the scene in which it occurs at Naqš-e Rostam within the context of the stepped and the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>1070</sup>

Rather remarkably, the exact physical qualities of the stepped structure itself in the scene on Darius' tomb are unlike any of the twenty-five examples of stepped structures that occur in Persepolitan glyptic. While one recognizes the distinctive three-stepped podium on which there is a blazing fire, the stepped structure at Naqš-e Rostam is distinguished from those in Persepolitan glyptic by its combination of a three-stepped base with a rectangular shaft that carries a rectangular inset frame within which there is a central rectangular inset panel. Bases overall are relatively rare on stepped structures in Persepolitan glyptic.<sup>1071</sup> Only the stepped structures on PTS 20\* (S4) and the seal PT5 791 (S12) have a three-stepped base. In both of those cases, thin columnar supports rest on the bases and carry the three-stepped podia. The rectangular shaft that carries an inset frame and panel can be paralleled by no stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic. While a shaft-like support for the three-stepped podium may be seen on PFUTS 111 (S6), PFUTS 154 (S8), and PFUTS 94 (S11), none of those examples carry either an inset frame or an inset panel. The one possible exception may be the stepped structure on PFUTS 154 (S8), but the preservation is so poor that one hesitates to draw any inferences from it.

The unique nature of the stepped structure at Naqš-e Rostam within the context of Persepolitan glyptic seems especially curious in light of the importance and visibility of the tomb relief. Given that stepped structures occur in Persepolitan glyptic in a variety of scene types, how could it be that not one of them is exactly similar to what would be (from our perspective) the canonical version of the stepped structure as documented in the monumental relief? One is forced to the conclusion that the stepped structure in the relief is in fact exceptional.

The exceptional quality of the stepped structure on Darius' tomb applies equally to the central scene on the tomb relief, king before stepped structure. Firstly, the dense court-centric iconography exhibited in the tomb relief is almost completely absent in the corpus of scenes showing the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic. No scene showing the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic includes a crowned figure or, indeed, even a figure wearing the Persian court robe. The one exception to the lack of court-centric iconography is the winged ring on PTS 20\* (S4), a scene which is, as noted on several occasions in the study, highly unusual. Secondly, the quiet, static compositional dynamics of the central scene on the tomb relief are very different from the active scenes involving the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic. In almost all scenes having the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic, attendants stand directly next to the stepped structure and are actively involved with the fire on the structure, not standing away from it in a devotional gesture. Activities take place around the stepped structure, e.g., sacrificial killing of animals, butchery, and/or processions of figures standing directly before the structure or moving toward it.

The one possible point of contact between the central scene on the tomb relief and the glyptic scenes showing the stepped structure may be the sense of directionality. In almost all scenes in Persepolitan glyptic involving the stepped structure, there is a clear motion/movement toward it from one direction (rather than a composition wherein there is a balance to both sides of the stepped structure). The central scene on the tomb relief functions in a similar manner: Darius faces toward the stepped structure, creating a strong horizontal accent left to right.<sup>1072</sup>

The static compositional dynamics and court-centric iconography in the central scene on the tomb relief are, however, closely related to a small sub-set of seals that involve two figures flanking a crenellated tower structure: PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), and PTS 57 (T6) (fig. 6.16). In these glyptic scenes, crowned figures wearing the Persian court garment stand back away from the crenellated tower structure and raise one arm before their chest, the hand held open, essentially equivalent to Darius' pose on the tomb relief. The bow that Darius holds in the tomb relief, an important artifact of Achaemenid court-centric iconography, is, however, completely absent in Persepolitan glyptic scenes that show the stepped and/or tower structures.<sup>1073</sup> The glyptic scenes showing the crenellated tower structure also often include a figure in a winged disk and, in two instances, inscriptions, marking, again, points of contact with the tomb relief.<sup>1074</sup> Thus, one sees a conjunction of syntax and vocabulary between the glyptic scenes showing attendants flanking the crenellated tower structure and the central scene of the tomb relief.

In a striking manner, the stepped structure itself on the tomb relief exhibits linkages with the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic. The inset frame and panel on the shaft of the stepped structure on the tomb relief evoke the rectangular inset frames/panels that occur on the bodies of tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic. These rectangular inset frames/panels constitute one of the defining characteristics of the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic; indeed, inset frames/panels are the one constant linking the two distinctive tower types, the crenellated and the V-shaped.

One is thus compelled to conclude that aspects of iconography and syntax that are distinct in Persepolitan glyptic involving the stepped and the tower structures are blurred in the central scene of the tomb relief. We appear to witness in that central scene of the tomb relief not only a re-configuring of the stepped structure itself (adding a three-stepped base and rectangular inset frame and panel) but also a re-situation of its syntax. Is the tomb relief responding to pre-existing glyptic conventions involving the stepped and the tower structures, reformulating them as part of a complex re-statement of imperial ideology being pursued in monumental relief? Or perhaps the tomb relief and the glyptic conventions are emerging contemporaneously, each reflecting back on the other as part of a dialectics of image-making. Or are some of the glyptic images (i.e., those court-centric scenes involving the crenellated tower structure flanked by attendants) in fact derivative of conventions emerging out of the process of creating monumental relief in Fārs?<sup>1075</sup>

### 6.3.2.3. *The Extended Scene on Darius' Tomb at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolitan Glyptic*

In another venue, I have suggested that there are two principal zones of the tomb façade of Darius, the one consisting of the subject peoples, the other consisting of the central tableau of Darius before the stepped structure and religious symbols and the attendants to left and right.<sup>1076</sup> The dynamics of the tomb façade hinge on the figure of the king and offer both a vertical and a horizontal reading. The vertical reading concerns Darius' relationship with the subject peoples who support the platform on which he stands. While this relationship is complexly structured, the significance (for us, and, seemingly, the ancient audience) is readily understandable. The king is voluntarily and joyously supported by the unified peoples of the empire; a political statement on the extent of the empire and its harmonious internal workings. At the same time, the pose (atlantid) and action (lifting the platform) of the subject peoples convey a more nuanced message of numinous kingship; a politico-religious statement on the nature of Achaemenid kingship.<sup>1077</sup> The horizontal reading concerns Darius' relationships with religious symbols, winged symbol, crescent inscribed within a disk, and stepped structure, and with a select group of attendants who, to judge from their dress, actions, and proximity to the king, appear to be Persian nobility of the highest order. These relationships are (for us) highly complex and seemingly ambiguous, open to various levels of reading. This is especially so with regard to the figure in the winged ring and the crescent inscribed within a disk, which I have discussed in more detail elsewhere.<sup>1078</sup> In the following analysis, I focus upon the stepped structure and the attendants within the context of the stepped and the tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic.

When considering an extended horizontal view of the tomb relief that includes the three attendants that stand, one above the other, on the raised frames to left and right of the central nexus, a scene that was a somewhat unbalanced composition with directionality, king facing toward stepped structure, winged symbol, and crescent inscribed within a disk, becomes a balanced composition: two groups of attendants on a raised frame, symmetrically disposed with regard to each other, look inward to a central scene that may be

conceptualized as a unit constituting the central vertical axis. This compositional dynamic, central scene/element flanked by ancillary groups, calls to mind numerous scene types in Persepolitan glyptic. Especially noteworthy within the context of this study are the scenes involving the crenellated tower structure with attendants flanked to either side of it (fig. 6.16).<sup>1079</sup> This extended perspective of the central scene on the tomb relief (with three attendants to either side), however, does not exhibit mirror or axial symmetry, as the glyptic representations involving crowned figures and a crenellated tower structure. Indeed, there is a calculated separation of the two sets of attendants on the relief. The three at left are armed, have variations in dress, pose, and weapons between them, and two of them are named in trilingual inscriptions.<sup>1080</sup> Those at right are all dressed and posed in the same manner and are anonymous. Those at left are rigidly static, at attention, while those at right are active, caught in act of raising a hand before the mouth.

Extending further the view of the central scene to encompass the wings that are set perpendicular to the façade, the structural balance is broken by having four attendants on the left wing, three on the right (figs. 6.14–6.15).<sup>1081</sup> As with the interior framing figures, there appears also to be a calculated separation of the iconography and poses between the two sets of figures on the projecting wings. The four attendants on the left wing are armed; indeed, they appear to be identical in dress, weapon, and disposition to the weapon-bearer in the bottom register on the raised frame at left. The three attendants on the right wing appear to be identical to the three attendants on the raised frame at right; each wears the Persian court robe and raises a hand before his mouth.

Schmidt (1970, p. 87) inferred that all thirteen attendants were of equal rank, but elements of syntax and iconography clearly indicate a hierarchy, both between those to the left and those to the right side of the central scene and also among the attendants to left. All the attendants to the left of the central scene are armed, those to the right unarmed. The weapons that the attendants to left hold, and in some cases wear/carry, clearly signal their elevated rank/status (in comparison to the attendants to right of the central scene).<sup>1082</sup> Kambarma and Ašbazana are then clearly distinguished among the weapon-bearers at left. They are physically closest to the king, standing behind him (a position of honor, as seen in the audience scenes at Persepolis, where the crowned prince stands behind the seated king, and at Bīsotūn, where two attendants stand behind the king), are naturally the first two figures read when looking to the left of the central scene, and carry extra and special/elaborate weapons (bow, quiver with tassel, bowcase, short sword or dagger, and battle ax). Ašbazana, moreover, is highlighted among all the attendants on the relief by his garment, a coat and trousers, headdress, a domed hat, long beard, and the scabbard at his waist for a short sword or dagger. Ašbazana thus has three weapons, bowcase, battle ax, and short sword/dagger, unmatched by any other attendant in the relief. Lastly, and perhaps most spectacularly, both Kambarma and Ašbazana have accompanying inscriptions that identify them by name and titles. They are the only such Persian attendants who are so distinguished in the whole of Achaemenid monumental relief.<sup>1083</sup>

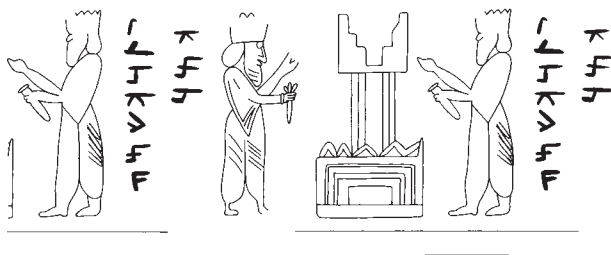
It has been suggested that the number of attendants might be significant. Boyce (1982, p. 113) at one point stated that the six attendants on the raised frame symbolized the six Aməša Spəntas surrounding Auramazdā, thus adding yet another Zoroastrian layering to the relief (in her opinion).<sup>1084</sup> Although I am not aware of any published theory along these lines, the labeling of Kambarma and Ašbazana to left may indicate that the seven attendants to left, all of whom are armed, represent the seven conspiratorial families. If so, one would have to assume that the Achaemenid clan would be represented twice, once by Darius and once by one of the unnamed figures.<sup>1085</sup> The number of attendants, thirteen, could conceivably have some cosmic significance, but the linkage is a stretch.<sup>1086</sup>

Each of the attendants to the right of the central scene raises a hand before his mouth (figs. 6.7 and 6.15). Based upon the gesture of hand held to mouth, Schmidt (1970, p. 87) identified the attendants at right on the tomb façade as mourners and the whole of the scene as one showing Darius after death.<sup>1087</sup> Other interpretations of this gesture associate it with Zoroastrian practice and/or the need to keep pure the sacred fire on the stepped structure.<sup>1088</sup> The gesture will, however, instantly evoke the gesture made by the attendants in five important scenes having paired stepped and tower structures in Persepolitan glyptic: PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) (fig. 6.17).

The gesture of the hand held over/near the mouth is, unfortunately, one that still eludes our understanding. In addition to the tomb façade and the processional scenes in Persepolitan glyptic, the marshals in the



PFS 11\* (T1)



PFUTS 19\* (T2)



PTS 22 (T4)



PTS 23 (T5)



PTS 57 (T6)

Figure 6.16. PFS 11\* (T1), PFUTS 19\* (T2), PTS 22 (T4), PTS 23 (T5), and PTS 57 (T6)

audience scenes on the central panels of the Apadana and on the door jamb reliefs on the northern doors of the Throne Hall also make the gesture of the hand held over/near the mouth.<sup>1089</sup> With the evidence of Persepolitan glyptic, we now have two distinct contexts in which the gesture is made at the time of Darius:

- In the direct presence of the king (tomb façade, central panel reliefs from the Apadana, and door-jamb reliefs in the Throne Hall);
- In ceremonial procession toward paired stepped and tower structures (Persepolitan glyptic).

The individuals making the gesture may wear:

- Persian court garment (tomb façade);
- Riding trousers and coat (central panel reliefs from the Apadana and doorjamb reliefs in the Throne Hall);
- Assyrian garment (Persepolitan glyptic).

The fact that the gesture is made both within and without the direct presence of the king would seem to indicate that the king is not the defining factor.<sup>1090</sup> Given the variety of settings within which the gesture occurs, it may thus be simply one that is applicable in various contexts requiring “ritualized” performance: audience scenes before the king (Apadana and Throne Hall); ritualized processions involving the divine and/or sacrifice (Persepolitan glyptic).

The exact context of the gesture on the tomb façade is, however, ambiguous (to us), since the attendants who hold their hands before their mouths at right of the central scene face the king, divine symbols, and a blazing fire on a stepped structure. Are we to understand, for example, that the attendants “see” the divine symbols in the highly charged space involving the king, or is this perspective open only to the king (and viewers)?

Given the consistent evidence for the gesture of the hand held over/near the mouth in Persepolitan glyptic, what one may conclude is that the appearance of the gesture within the context of the central scene on the tomb façade is (yet another) aspect of its complexly structured, religiously-charged ritual context; complex in the sense that the focus of the attendants’ gesture is multifaceted. Indeed, from the perspective of the attendants at right, an expanded numinous field is articulated:

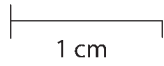
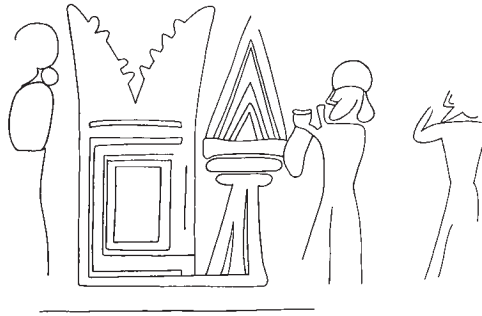
crescent inscribed within disk — stepped structure — winged symbol — king

We may venture a proposition that, based upon the glyptic evidence from the Fortification archive, the king and his planners have deliberately transposed a gesture, the hand held over/near the mouth, from a ritualized context that is primarily a religious one (sacrifice on a stepped structure before a tower structure) to ritualized settings that are both openly religious and socio-political:

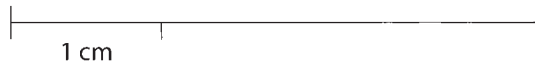
gesture made before paired stepped and tower structures (Persepolitan glyptic)  
gesture made before stepped structure, king, and religious symbols (tomb façade)  
gesture made before enthroned king (Apadana and Throne Hall)

The above schematic suggests a chronological development, and it may very well be that the particular processional scenes that employ the gesture of the hand held over/near the mouth in Persepolitan glyptic (fig. 6.17) in fact pre-date the tomb of Darius.<sup>1091</sup> Indeed, it is very intriguing that these glyptic scenes showing the gesture of the hand held over/near the mouth consistently and insistently contain no court-centric iconography, despite the fact the gesture appears in what one could easily argue are two of the most important visual contexts of imperial imagery in monumental art at the time of Darius, the central panels of the Apadana and his tomb façade. The clear separation of contexts for the gesture between glyptic and monumental art must be purposeful and signal a break/disjunction. Perhaps once the gesture is incorporated into imperial monumental art with the tomb of Darius, it is then restricted only to scenes involving the king. This suggestion is, however, obviously highly speculative.<sup>1092</sup>

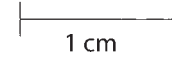
I find this potential chronological sequence, processional scenes in Persepolitan glyptic showing the gesture of the hand held over/near the mouth predating the imperial programme in monumental art, a



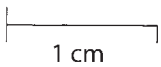
PFUTS 66 (ST7)



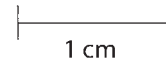
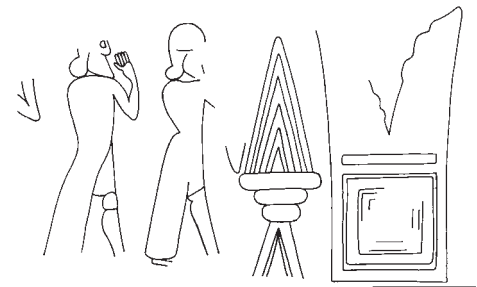
PFUTS 91 (ST8)



PFS 2360 (ST9)



PFUTS 614 (ST10)



PFUTS 615 (ST11)

Figure 6.17. PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11)



compelling one also owing to what I see to be a dominant feature in the imagery on the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam: the combination of narrative/historical and emblematic/numinous as a device to express an ideology that seeks to blur the distinction between the king and the numinous/divine.<sup>1093</sup> In a previous study, I focused upon the tension inherent in the tomb relief between the narrative and the emblematic. We may now expand that reading even further with the evidence of the processional scenes in Persepolitan glyptic.

The appearance of the gesture of the hand held over/near the mouth in the processional scenes on PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFS 2360 (ST9), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) (fig. 6.17) provides a new perspective and context for reading the tomb relief of Darius. While previous interpretations have focused almost exclusively on the central scene on the façade, Persepolitan glyptic now allows us, as it were, to bring the rest of the relief into focus. Thus, the attendants who hold a hand over/near the mouth would suggest to a contemporary viewer a processional scene within a religious context; that is, the attendants on the tomb façade are not standing before the king but moving toward him in ritual processional, a ritual procession that, based upon Persepolitan glyptic, would have instantly signified a religious setting. Such a reading aligns the tomb relief structurally with the Apadana stairways:

a central scene:

- Apadana: audience scene of king, prince, and *protoi*
- Naqš-e Rostam: king and *protoi* before stepped structure, winged symbol, and crescent inscribed within a disk

to one side of which is a procession of figures moving toward (before) the king:

- Apadana: gift-bearing representatives of the subject peoples of the empire
- Naqš-e Rostam: attendants in Persian court garment with hand held over/near the mouth

to the other side of which are Persian nobility and spearmen:

- Apadana: spearmen in Persian court robe and Persian nobility (unnamed) in Persian court robe or coat and trousers
- Naqš-e Rostam: Ašbazana, Kambarma, and spearmen in Persian court robe or coat and trousers

This reading compels us to pursue this line of investigation one step further, expanding the field of inquiry beyond the physical bounds of the tomb façade to the whole of the site of Naqš-e Rostam (fig. 6.18). Drawing back, as it were, to encompass the site and the tomb relief, one immediately encounters, of course, the tower Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, standing prominently at the far western edge of the site. So situated, the tower provides a “backdrop” for the tomb relief from the perspective of the attendants in procession to the right of the central scene. The tomb relief then becomes a structural analog, but expanded and reformulated, to those processional scenes involving the paired stepped and tower structures:

Processional scenes in glyptic

- attendants with one hand held over/near the mouth
- stepped structure
- tower structure

Naqš-e Rostam

- attendants with one hand held over/near the mouth
- stepped structure + divine symbols + king
- Ka'ba-ye Zardošt

This is not to suggest that the tower structures in the glyptic scenes are iconic signs referring specifically to the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt. Rather, as discussed above (§4.4.2), the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic is a complex sign indexing aspects of Achaemenid secular and religious architecture. At Naqš-e Rostam, it would appear that we have a very interesting congruence of visual imagery (the relief) and actual architecture (the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt). Thus, Darius' tomb relief, via the specific dynamics of the relief and its spatial relationship



Figure 6.18. PFUTS 91 (ST8) overlaid on a panorama of Naqš-e Rostam showing tombs I, III, and IV and the tower Ka'ba-ye Zardošt (Schmidt 1970, pl. 1)

to the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt, presents a tableau consisting of a processional moving toward a figure (the king) standing before paired stepped and tower structures, the stepped structure carved on the façade of the cliff, the tower structure an actual building standing in the physical landscape (fig. 6.18). The effect is not unlike that achieved in the reliefs on the Apadana, where the king and retinue in the central panels are most likely to be understood ensconced somewhere in the Apadana itself, the processional retinue of Persian nobility and the gift-bearing delegations arranged in the courtyards fronting the eastern and northern stairways.

One will recall also that a series of Persepolitan seals documents processions with attendants leading animals to sacrifice toward, or actually in the process of killing animals before, paired stepped and tower structures or a single tower structure (e.g., fig. 4.23a–b).<sup>1094</sup> Although highly speculative, one may wonder whether this aspect of the ritual landscape at Naqš-e Rostam, the sacrificial killing of animals, may, like the tower Ka'ba-ye Zardošt itself, have complimented the tomb relief via the lived experience, that is, the actual killing of animals by human performers before/near the tower.

In the glyptic scenes involving paired stepped and tower structures, processional is directly linked with sacrifice at a stepped structure. The attendants to the right of the central scene involving the king, stepped structure, and religious symbols at Naqš-e Rostam would appear, thus, to indicate that the immediate contextual “frame” for the central scene was one of processional, the broader context that of religious ritual. That processional (and religious) context has, however, clearly been reformulated within the new imperial milieu wherein the king takes central stage.

## 6.4. Summation

In conclusion, the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam is an especially sophisticated expression of Achaemenid kingship, concerned with multiple issues above and beyond simply “the king at a fire altar.” The relief imbeds messages concerning the numinous nature of Achaemenid kingship (emblematic mode) within a central scene (king before altar) that seems almost quotidian in its simplicity (narrative mode). The atlantid platform supporters metaphorically lift the king to a realm beyond the mortal. The king inhabits a semantic zone that is rife with numinous references: winged symbol, stepped structure, inscription, and crescent inscribed within a disk. That semantic zone is, moreover, the focus of processional (from the right) that is associated with religious ritual (via directionality, pose and gesture of the attendants, and the inclusion of the stepped structure) in Persepolitan glyptic. The whole of the relief is situated on the cliff face of a mountain that had long-standing associations with Elamo-Iranian sacred space. The tomb relief also expresses subtle nuances in court hierarchy via the poses, clothing, weapons, and inscriptions of the attendants at left, who stand behind the king in the position of honor/support.

Both the glyptic evidence in this study and the monumental tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam stand as vivid testaments to the integration of ritual into Darius' visual programme and the efforts expended to project that programme into the socio-religious landscape in the Naqš-e Rostam–Persepolis axis. The expression of legitimate kingship took a multitude of forms. At Naqš-e Rostam, the project involved the re-imaging of the ritual landscape around the central figure of the king. The imagery in and space surrounding the tomb articulated a careful re-structuring of ritual behavior. The placement of the relief and tomb within a highly charged and long-lived ritual space served to enhance and amplify the message. That message sought to give visual expression to the new socio-political system underpinning elite and central authority and to reinforce the new structure of socio-religious relations inaugurated by Darius' accession to power.

## Notes

<sup>1023</sup> Tomb I in Schmidt's (1970) numbering schema; three later Achaemenid kings (tombs II–IV) followed Darius' lead, cutting tombs and reliefs modeled on that of Darius. See Kleiss 1976, pp. 139–50, fig. 13, for a brief survey of monuments in the area immediately adjacent to the royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam.

<sup>1024</sup> On Schmidt's excavations at Naqš-e Rostam, see Boucharlat 2003a, pp. 93–94 and above, §4.4.2.1.

<sup>1025</sup> Schmidt 1970, p. 58; von Gall 2009; Seidl 1999, p. 166, fig. 1; Henkelman 2012a, p. 949.

<sup>1026</sup> Schmidt 1970, pp. 10, 121, fig. 2 (no. 2), pls. 86–88; Seidl 1986, pp. 14–19; Root 2015, pp. 6–8.

<sup>1027</sup> See also the comments of Miroschedji (1989, pp. 359–60), who dates the central part of the relief to the seventeenth century BC, the attendant at right to the twelfth century BC, and the crowned queen at left to the seventh century BC.

<sup>1028</sup> It is impossible to know the exact date for the cutting of the relief in the Neo-Elamite period or whether the sanctuary was still actively used/visited in the sixth century BC preceding Darius' rise to power. These Neo-Elamite open-air sanctuaries were not managed, one assumes, in the same manner that a temple complex in an urban setting was. While formal ceremonies involving the community as a whole certainly took place in them (see the discussion below concerning the sanctuary at Kūl-e Farah), individuals or groups could, conceivably, visit the sanctuaries at any time. See the comments of Henkelman 2008a, p. 58.

<sup>1029</sup> Amiet (1974, p. 167), as is often the case, already anticipated this perspective: "Vers la fin du vii<sup>e</sup> siècle, un potentat local qui était peut-être un Perse y avait ajouté son effigie et celle de sa femme."

<sup>1030</sup> Álvarez-Mon, Garrison, and Stronach (2011, pp. 17–18) have recently reviewed the evidence with previous bibliography. Potts (2004) addresses the numinous qualities of rivers and the importance of watery imagery in Elamite art, religion, and law. Schmidt (1970, p. 10) noted that there may have been a spring or stream in the area of the western edge of the cliff face at Naqš-e Rostam in antiquity. Henkelman and Khaksar (2014, pp. 218) state that "[w]ater once poured out of various holes in the porous limestone and there may have been a (seasonal) waterfall directly right of the relief" (see the vertical channel in the rock in fig. 6.5 [upper right photograph]). Naqš-e Rostam thus possessed two important characteristics of an Elamite open-air sanctuary, water and rock-cut reliefs. See also the comments of Root 2015, pp. 6–8.

<sup>1031</sup> Seidl 1986, pp. 7–13, with previous bibliography; Vanden Berghé 1986; Potts 2004.

<sup>1032</sup> Álvarez-Mon, Garrison, and Stronach 2011, p. 18 n. 54. Henkelman 2011a, pp. 128–33 is an extended discussion of the importance of the relief and inscriptions at Kūl-e Farah (and the related reliefs and inscriptions at nearby Šekaft-e Salmān III) for Achaemenid imperial imagery, ideology, and royal activities (including sacrifice and building) associated with the worship/honoring of specific divinities. For the reliefs Kūl-e Farah III and IV, see also Álvarez-Mon 2010a and 2013.

<sup>1033</sup> Álvarez-Mon, Garrison, and Stronach 2011, p. 18 n. 56; Henkelman 2011a, p. 129. Note also the discussion at §4.4.1.1 on Kūl-e Farah I. EKI 75 refers to the numbering schema of König (1965).

<sup>1034</sup> Henkelman 2008a, pp. 58–59, and 2017.

<sup>1035</sup> The siting of Persepolis may also have attempted to triangulate roughly with the ancient Elamite capital at Anšan and Cyrus' unfinished project at Pasargadae.

<sup>1036</sup> On the dating of the stages of the execution of the rock-cut relief of Darius at Bisotūn, 520–518 BC, see Borger 1982 and Lushey 1968. The exact dating of the tomb of Darius is not certain; see the discussion at §6.3.

<sup>1037</sup> See the extended discussion in Garrison 2011c; Root 2010, 2013, and 2015, pp. 33–36. Henkelman and Khaksar (2014, pp. 218) make the very interesting observation that the zone in which the Achaemenid tombs occur in fact is a vast recess in the face of the cliff, creating what they characterize as a "majestic stone theatre." The plan fig. 6.4 shows this recess clearly. Note that the tomb of Darius I is placed approximately in the middle of this recess.

<sup>1038</sup> The historiography is tracked in Bessac and Boucharlat 2010, pp. 3–15 and Henkelman 2012b. See also the discussion above, n. 829, concerning the form and function of the structure at Takht-e Rostam.

<sup>1039</sup> On the towers Ka'ba-ye Zardošt and Zendān-e Solaymān, see also the discussion at §4.4.2.1.

<sup>1040</sup> The northwestern face of the tower is roughly parallel to the face of the Tomb IV. As suggested above (§4.4.2.1), the orientation of the tower Ka'ba-ye Zardošt appears to be based upon the orientation of the Zendān at Pasargadae. Root (2015, p. 6) has suggested that the tomb of Darius was oriented to the southeast so as to face toward the rising sun.

<sup>1041</sup> The tower lies approximately 130 m from the Elamite reliefs.

<sup>1042</sup> See the remarks at §4.4.2.1 and Boucharlat 2003a, pp. 92–98.

<sup>1043</sup> The so-called Central Building at Persepolis has at times been dated to Darius' reign; the evidence is uncertain, since the building carries no inscriptions (see §2.1.1.3).

<sup>1044</sup> The famous statue of Darius found on the site was clearly moved there from its original Egyptian context. See Perrot 2010 for a recent publication of the excavations in the palace and accompanying figural imagery, which may have included a copy of the relief at Bisotūn (Canby 1979; Muscarella in Harper et al. 1992, pp. 218 n. 2 and 221 n. 14).

<sup>1045</sup> This echoes the remarks of Root (1979, p. 181).

<sup>1046</sup> Garrison (2011c) augments the important observations about the monument found in Root 1979, pp. 147–81, 162–81. See also Root 2015.

<sup>1047</sup> Nylander 1965, p. 52. In general, Nylander seems implicitly to infer that the tomb dates early in the reign of Darius. He actually uses the implied early date of the tomb to confirm his dating of the first appearance of the toothed chisel in Iran. The earliest dated appearance of the toothed chisel (the Takht at Persepolis), as determined by Nylander, is generally agreed as ca. 520–515 BC (see, e.g., Boardman 2000, pp. 36, 51). Nylander (1965, pp. 51–55) suggests that the toothed chisel appears at first only sporadically, becoming more common throughout the reign of Darius, and then is enthusiastically adopted in the reign of Xerxes and thereafter. The appearance of the toothed chisel per se cannot establish whether a monument dates in the early, middle, or late reign of Darius, although Nylander seems to indicate that the more pronounced the presence of the toothed chisel, the later in the reign of Darius a monument should date.

<sup>1048</sup> The inscriptions identifying platform bearer no. 24 on Darius' tomb are all destroyed. The name is restored based upon the inscriptions (A<sup>2</sup>Pa.24) identifying platform bearer no. 24 on Tomb V at Persepolis (generally attributed to Artaxerxes II), where all three languages are preserved (see Schmidt 1970, p. 109, table III; Schmitt 2000, pp. 119–22); on the date of Tomb V, see Calmeyer 2009, p. 33.

<sup>1049</sup> The date of Darius campaign against the European Skythians as mentioned in Herodotus is long debated; see the discussion in Briant 2002, pp. 141–43, 904, where a definitive date of 513 BC is given for the campaign.

<sup>1050</sup> Root 1979, pp. 75–76 and 163: “the tomb and its sculpture must pre-date any of Darius’ architectural reliefs at Persepolis”; Briant 2002, p. 170: “it was doubtless at the beginning of his reign that Darius decided to dig a tomb in the rock some 6 km. from Persepolis.” Cf., however, Roaf 1974, pp. 89–90, who dates the tomb to the middle years of Darius.

<sup>1051</sup> This description is essentially the same as that found in Garrison 2011c, pp. 33–42. Readers familiar with the relief may want to move directly to the analysis below, §6.3.2.

<sup>1052</sup> Schmidt 1970, pp. 12 and 83, pl. 35–36A; Frye 1982.

<sup>1053</sup> Schmidt (1970, p. 86) noted that these creatures are winged; if this is true, the wings are only abstractly rendered. These wings are more clearly seen in Tomb III (Schmidt 1970, pls. 50 and 51A). Schmidt also identified the “feathered pattern” used to indicate the mane as avian, but this seems unlikely.

<sup>1054</sup> See the comments above, n. 1048, and Schmitt 2000, pp. 47–48.

<sup>1055</sup> Schmidt (1970, p. 84) also noted a belt at Darius’ waist, but this cannot be confirmed in published photographs.

<sup>1056</sup> Garrison 2011c, p. 37 n. 78. Wouter Henkelman (personal communication) says that the crenellations on the crown are clear on close inspection of the actual relief.

<sup>1057</sup> One gets the same impression from Schmidt 1970, pl. 42A, Tomb II (Xerxes).

<sup>1058</sup> This is the translation of the Elamite; in Old Persian his name is Gaubaruva. The Greek sources know him as Gobryas.

<sup>1059</sup> This is Henkelman’s (2003, p. 118) translation of the Elamite; in Old Persian his name Aspačānā. On the difficulties of this inscription and the identification of this Ašbazana, see Garrison 2011c, p. 34 n. 69 and the discussion at §5.1.1. Henkelman (2003, pp. 117–19) renders *lipte* as “garment,” thus his title would be “garment-bearer.”

<sup>1060</sup> Schmidt (1970, p. 87) described the gesture as the hand raising the fabric of the garment to a point in front of the mouth.

<sup>1061</sup> The other three royal tombs at Naqš-e Rostam have six figures in this zone of decoration, two in each of the three registers.

<sup>1062</sup> See the discussion of this gesture at §6.3.2.3.

<sup>1063</sup> Sometimes explicitly identified as a Zoroastrian fire altar, other times not.

<sup>1064</sup> E.g., Root (1979, p. 178), but without the divine symbols. Root (2015, pp. 31–34) reviews again the idea that the scene on the tomb relief could depict an actual ceremony, either on the roof of the Palace of Darius or the Apadana; Amiet (1974, pp. 168–69) earlier suggested such, identifying the structure for the ceremony as the Apadana. L’Orange (1982, pp. 80–87 [reprint of 1953]), relying on medieval sources for Sasanian court ritual, vividly evoked a ceremony in which the Achaemenid king, held aloft by his supporters, “adjusts himself to the movements of the heavens, thus manifesting his own astral power” (p. 85); he also identified the scene on the tomb relief as Darius’ enthronement (p. 87).

<sup>1065</sup> As mentioned above, the tomb façade, apart from Root 1979, has not received extensive discussion; see also Schmidt 1970, pp. 80–87; Calmeyer (1975a and 1975b) postulated origins in Urartian rock-cut structures; Boyce 1982, pp. 110–16; von Gall 1989; Seidl 1997a, 1999, and 2003; Musche (2006) proposes an interesting idea that the tomb originally had wooded stairs leading from

the ground to the tomb entrance; von Gall (2009); Nagel (2010, pp. 140–54) and Nagel and Rahsaz (2010) explore the evidence of polychromy on the relief.

<sup>1066</sup> Root specifically examines the themes of platform supporters, atlantid figures, the king as bowman, and the king and the figure in the winged ring (whom she identifies as Auramazdā).

<sup>1067</sup> Root 1979, pp. 147–61, 180–81 and Garrison 2011c, pp. 43–47.

<sup>1068</sup> Cf. von Gall 2009: “The representation thus stresses the close connection between the king and Ahura Mazdā, whose will is decisive for the king’s actions. This interpretation is supported by the Achaemenid royal inscriptions, which are directly related to the reliefs.” This interpretation, of course, rests on the assumption that the figure in the winged ring is the god Auramazdā. If this is so, the relief in fact stresses the physical and gestural similarity of the king and god, not simply their close connection. I see little to no direct relationship between the inscriptions and the relief (Garrison 2011c, pp. 57–61).

<sup>1069</sup> Garrison (2011c, pp. 51–55) also explores briefly the stepped structure in the relief at Naqš-e Rostam; some of that analysis is included in the following discussion.

<sup>1070</sup> These comments reiterate and augment observations in Garrison 2011c.

<sup>1071</sup> See the comments at §4.2.1.4. It should be noted, however, that in several cases the bottom of the stepped structure is not preserved.

<sup>1072</sup> See also, however, the comments at §6.3.2.3.

<sup>1073</sup> The iconological boundaries involving the bow and quiver in Achaemenid imperial imagery are complex; see the discussion of archer imagery in the early Achaemenid period in Garrison 2010.

<sup>1074</sup> PFS 11\* (T1) and PFUTS 19\* (T2). Note the discussion of PFS 11\* (T1) at §5.4.2.

<sup>1075</sup> Unfortunately, we lack the chronological precision to determine the exact temporal dimension concerning the relationship of the tomb façade with those court-centric scenes involving the crenellated tower structure flanked by attendants. See the discussion above (§§5.4.6–5.5) on the emergence of the Court Style during the decade 510–500 BC. The exact date of the completion of the tomb relief is not known, although, as noted, many commentators assume that the tomb would have been complete, or nearly complete, by 500 BC.

<sup>1076</sup> Garrison 2011c, pp. 38–40.

<sup>1077</sup> Garrison 2011c, pp. 43–47.

<sup>1078</sup> Garrison 2011c, pp. 47–51, 55–57.

<sup>1079</sup> See §4.3.2.1. Marking yet another point of contact between the scenes having a crenellated tower structure with attendants in glyptic and the tomb relief. On the importance of balanced compositions in Achaemenid architectural sculpture, see Garrison 2013a.

<sup>1080</sup> The one, Gobryas, certainly intimately involved in the events of 522 BC, the other, Ašbazana, most likely. The names of the conspirators as given in Herodotus and at Bisotūn are in disagreement on the seventh member of the conspiracy; Herodotus has Aspathines, surely the same individual as Ašbazana named and pictured at Naqš-e Rostam, while Bisotūn names Ardumaniš, son of Vahauka, otherwise unknown. See the comments of Briant (2002, pp. 108–09, 898).

<sup>1081</sup> On the left projecting wing, there are two attendants in the top register, one each in the middle and bottom registers.

<sup>1082</sup> Note the discussion at §5.5 concerning weapons and seals as tokens of rank and/or status.

<sup>1083</sup> Inscriptions identify the atlantid supporting figures at Naqš-e Rostam, of course, but only generically by region; it is clear that the supporting figures are conceived completely differently in both function and conceptual space from the Persian attendants Kambarma and Ašbazana. The naming of Kambarma and Ašbazana is thus a very different phenomenon (with different significance) than the naming of the subject peoples.

<sup>1084</sup> Grenet (2008[2012], p. 35) states that after Boyce had written her *History of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 2, she recanted, in private conversation with Grenet, her linkage of the six attendants on the tomb relief with the six Aməša Spəntas.

<sup>1085</sup> All later Achaemenid tombs at Naqš-e Rostam have, however, six (rather than four) spearmen in the wing at left, two in each of the three registers. It is unclear why this is so. If the number of attendants had no significance, then one may assume that it simply suited the planners of the later tombs to have a more balanced composition on the left wing. If the number of attendants was significant, then the only explanation that I may offer is that six spearmen were originally planned for the left wing of the tomb of Darius, but the rock sheared away during construction (cf. Schmidt 1970, pls. 21 [tomb of Darius] and 45A [tomb of Xerxes]). It is clear that the bottom spearman on the left wing of the tomb of Darius is pushed to the right, his spear is almost touching the frame, and is out of vertical alignment with the two spearmen above him in the middle and upper registers (fig. 6.14). Clearly space was an issue in this passage, but whether this was a problem owing to the natural configuration of the rock or to breakage one cannot tell (at least from published photographs). The frames for the middle and bottom spearmen on the left wing of the tomb of Darius are finished; thus, if there was an issue of a section of rock shearing away in this area, it happened before the current figures and their frames were carved.

<sup>1086</sup> I.e., thirteen months in a year with an inter-calendric month.

<sup>1087</sup> How exactly this pose symbolized mourning Schmidt did not explain. Schmidt (1970, p. 87 n. 61) stated also that the pose was one of respect, hence the lead marshals in the central panels of the Apadana assume it. Herzfeld (1941, p. 263) also suggested that the scene showed Darius after death. Boyce (1979, p. 58, and in other places) described the hand near the mouth as “a ritual gesture of mourning (a gesture which Zoroastrian priests still

make today when reciting confessional texts for the dead).” As Root (1979, p. 178), I think that this suggestion has little merit. Briant (2002, pp. 170, 211) proposes that the unarmed officials at right of the central scene may “metaphorically reflect the court’s mourning.” See also below, n. 1089.

<sup>1088</sup> E.g., Hinz 1969, p. 63 n. 4; Seidl 1999, pp. 166–68; cf. the comments of Root (1979, p. 179), showing respect for the king’s majesty. None of these readings concerning the gesture of the hand held over/near the mouth rely on any specific ancient testimonia.

<sup>1089</sup> Schmidt 1953, pls. 119–23 (Apadana central panels), and 91, 96–99 (Throne Hall). The audience scenes on the door jamb reliefs on the northern doors of the Throne Hall post-date the reign of Darius and are, of course, derivative of the central panels of the Apadana.

<sup>1090</sup> As Root (1979, p. 238) and others have stressed, the gesture in any event cannot be equated with the Greek term *proskynesis* (προσκύνησις); see also Garrison 2011c, pp. 24–25.

<sup>1091</sup> PFUTS 66 (ST7), PFUTS 91 (ST8), PFUTS 614 (ST10), and PFUTS 615 (ST11) (fig. 6.17) occur only on the uninscribed tablets, on which, of course, there are no date formulae. PFS 2360 (ST9) occurs on one Elamite document, NN 1005, which is not dated to a year. There are no iconographic or stylistic features, i.e., extended court-centric iconography and/or Court Style carving, that would insist on a date post-502/501 BC, the date based upon the current state of the evidence when we can document the appearance of the Court Style (see the discussion at §5.5).

<sup>1092</sup> In any case, the usage dates of the glyptic evidence, sometime in the period spanning the dates of the archive, 509–493 BC, are so close to the date of the execution of the tomb façade that one does not need explicit evidence that the seals predate the tomb. The glyptic evidence establishes the existence of a particular convention of depicting ritualized activity that must certainly have been known to the planners of the tomb façade.

<sup>1093</sup> Garrison 2011c.

<sup>1094</sup> Rather than holding a hand over/near the mouth: PFUTS 151 (T10), PFUTS 162 (T11), PFS 2315 (T12), PFUTS 604 (T13), PFUTS 152 (T14), PFUTS 242 (T15), PFS 75 (ST1), PFUTS 147 (ST2), PFUTS 149 (ST3), PFUTS 285 (ST4), PFUTS 146 (ST5), and PFUTS 618 (ST6).



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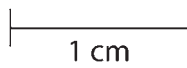
S1: PFS 578s



a



b



c

PFS 578s (Cat.No. S1) on (a) PFAT 12 (left edge) and (b) PFAT 253 (upper edge);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

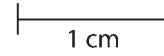


Plate 2

S2: PFUTS 110s



a

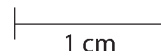


b

S3: PFUTS 156s



a



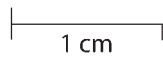
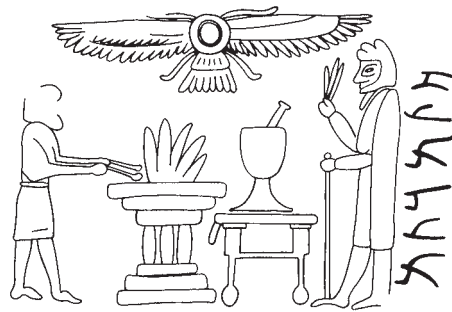
d

PFUTS 110s (Cat.No. S2) on (a) PFUT 698-101 (left edge); (b) composite drawing.  
PFUTS 156s (Cat.No. S3) on (c) PFUT 1003-103 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

S4: PTS 20\*



a



b

PTS 20\* (Cat.No. S4) on (a) PT3-384; (b) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

Plate 4

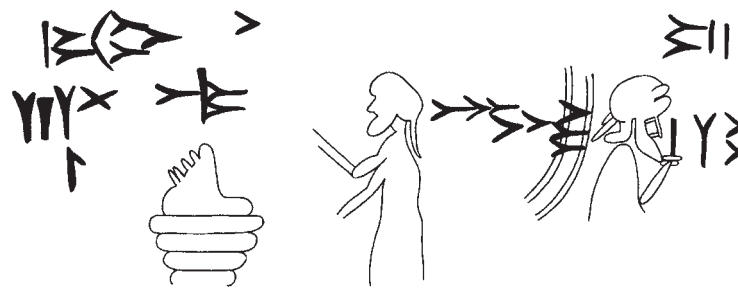
S5: PFS 790\*



a



b



c

PFS 790\* (Cat.No. S5) on (a) PF 582 (left edge) and (b) PF 582 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

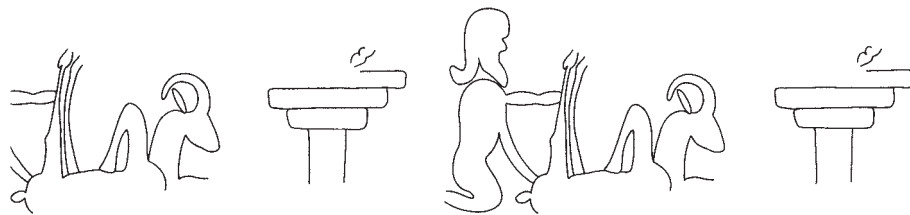
S6: PFUTS 111



a



b

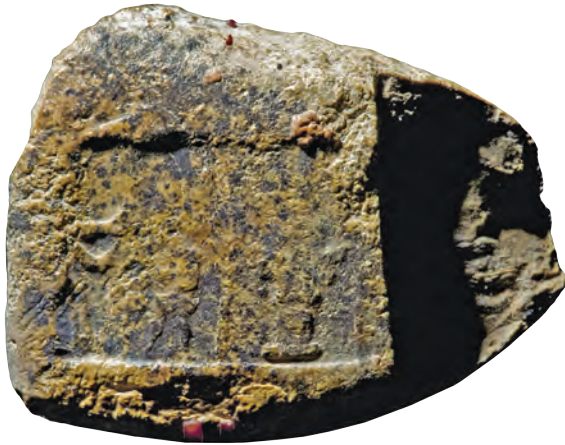


c

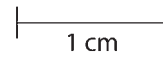
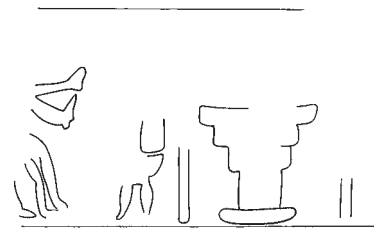
PFUTS 111 (Cat.No. S6) on (a) PFUT 698-102 (reverse) and (b) PFUT 698-102 (upper edge);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

Plate 6

S7: PFUTS 148



a

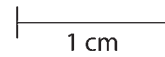
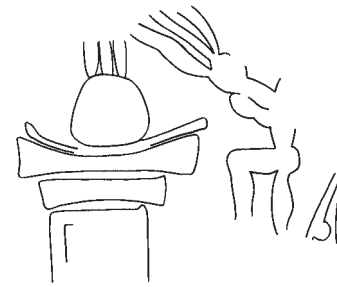


b

S8: PFUTS 154



c



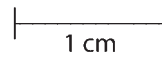
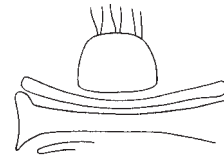
d

PFUTS 148 (Cat.No. S7) on (a) PFUT 1154-204 (reverse); (b) composite drawing;  
PFUTS 154 (Cat.No. S8) on (c) PFUT 1172-203 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

S9: PFS 2071



a

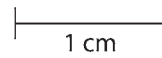
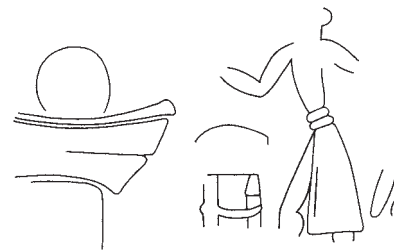


b

S10: PFUTS 610



c



d

PFS 2071 (Cat.No. S9) on (a) NN 598 (reverse); (b) composite drawing.  
PFUTS 610 (Cat.No. S10) on (c) PFUT 738-204 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

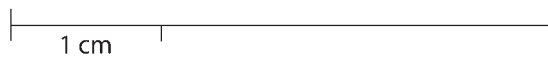
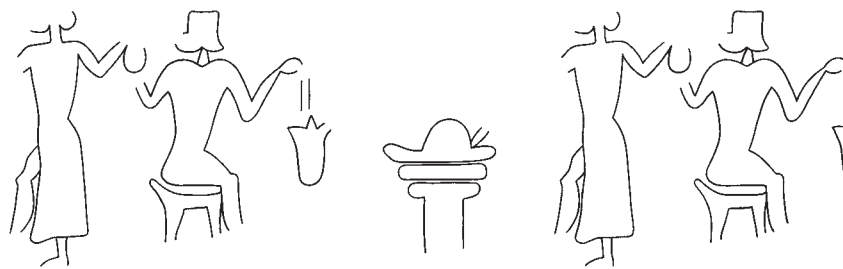
S11: PFUTS 94



a



b



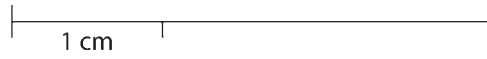
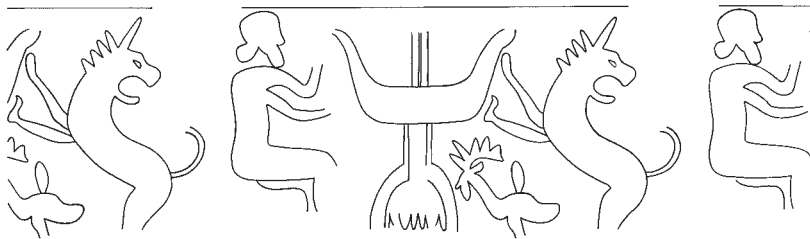
c

PFUTS 94 (Cat.No. S11) on (a) PFUT 692-102 (obverse) and (b) PFUT 2150-106 (obverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

S13: PFS 427



a

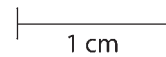
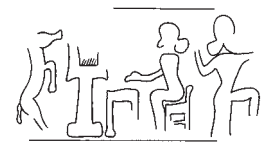


b

S14: PFUTS 605



c



d

PFS 427 (Cat.No. S13) on (a) NN 345 (reverse); (b) composite drawing.  
PFUTS 605 (Cat.No. S14) on (c) PFUT 838-206 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1



T1: PFS 11\*



PFS 11\* (Cat.No. T1) on (a) Fort. 29-101 (left edge), (b) Fort. 1740 (left edge), and (c) PF 614 (reverse);  
(d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T1: PFS 11\* (*cont.*)



a



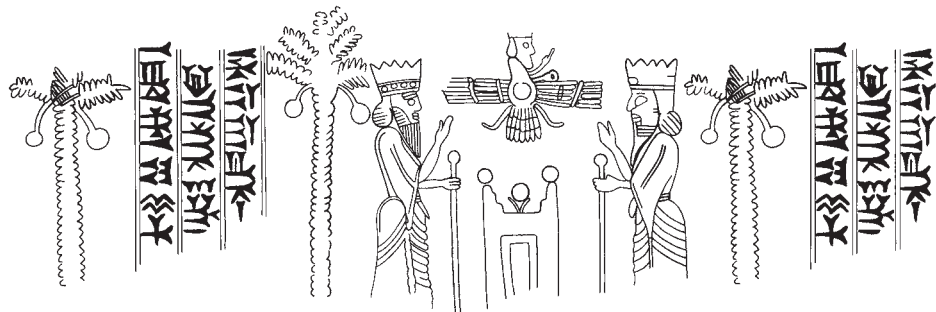
b



c



d



e



PFS 11\* (Cat.No. T1) (*cont.*) on (a) PF 674 (upper edge), (b) PF 1813 (left edge), (c) PF 1815 (left edge), and (d) PF 1815 (upper edge); (e) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T1: PFS 11\* (cont.)



a



b



c



d



PFS 11\* (Cat.No. T1) (cont.) on (a) PF 1818 (left edge), (b) PF 1820 (left edge), and (c) PF 1820 (upper edge); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T1: PFS 11\* (cont.)



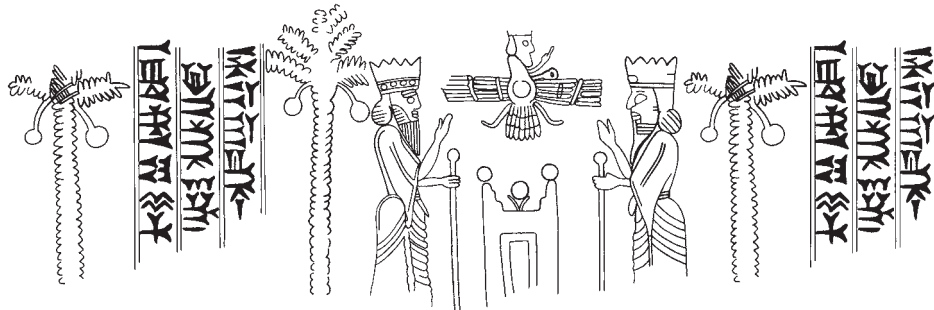
a



b



c



d



PFS 11\* (Cat.No. T1) (cont.) on (a) PF 1822 (left edge), (b) PF 1824 (left edge), and (c) PF 1826 (left edge); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

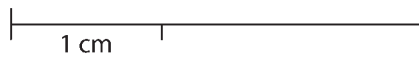
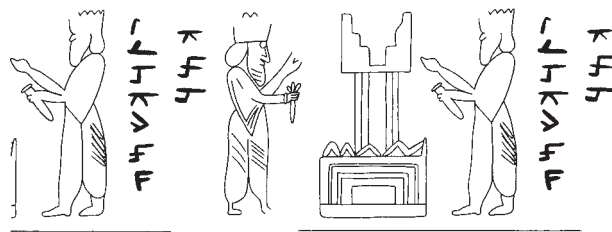
T2: PFUTS 19\*



a



b



c

PFUTS 19\* (Cat.No. T2) on (a) Fort. 1501-153 (left edge) and (b) Fort. 1501-153 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

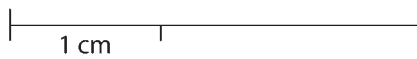
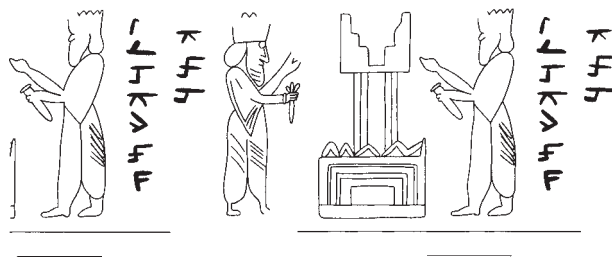
T2: PFUTS 19\* (*cont.*)



a



b



c

PFUTS 19\* (Cat.No. T2) (*cont.*) on (a) PFAT 390 (reverse) and (b) PFUT 676-201 (obverse);  
(d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T2: PFUTS 19\* (*cont.*)



a



b



c

PFUTS 19\* (Cat.No. T2) (*cont.*) on (a) PFUT 676-201 (reverse) and (b) PFUT 2329-201 (obverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

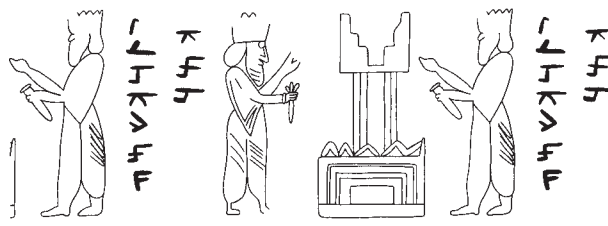
T2: PFUTS 19\* (*cont.*)



a



b



c

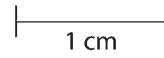
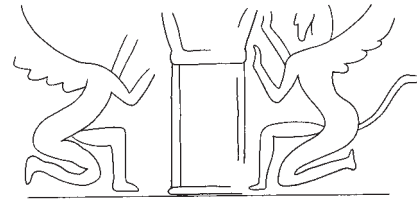
PFUTS 19\* (Cat.No. T2) (*cont.*) on (a) PFUT 2329-201 (right edge) and (b) PFUT 2329-201 (upper edge);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1



T3: PFUTS 607



a

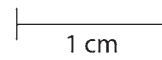


b

T4: PTS 22



c



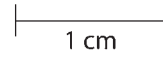
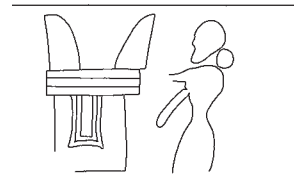
d

PFUTS 607 (Cat.No. T3) on (a) PFUT 887-201 (obverse); (b) composite drawing.  
PTS 22 (Cat.No. T4) on (c) PT4-706; (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T8: PFATS 354



a

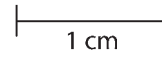
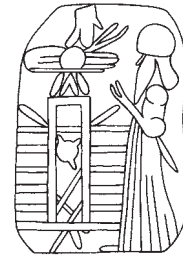


b

T9: PFUTS 153s



c



d

PFATS 354 (Cat.No. T8) on (a) PFAT 358 (left edge); (b) composite drawing.  
PFUTS 153s (Cat.No. T9) on (c) PFUT 555-202 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

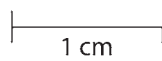
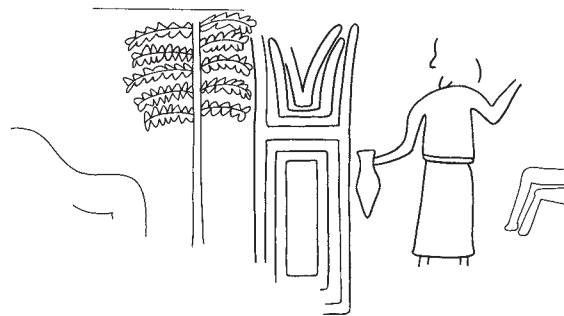
T10: PFUTS 151



a



b



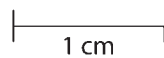
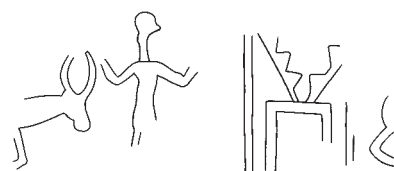
c

PFUTS 151 (T10) on (a) PFUT 1248-201 (obverse) and (b) PFUT 1533-203 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T11: PFUTS 162



a



b

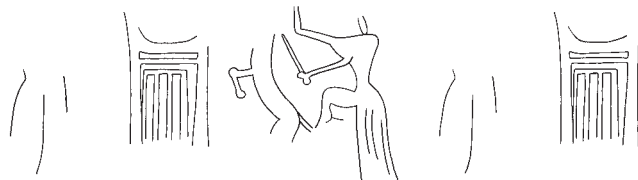
T12: PFS 2315



a



b



c

PFS 2315 (Cat.No. T12) on (a) NN 1606 (reverse) and (b) NN 1606 (upper edge);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T13: PFUTS 604



a



b



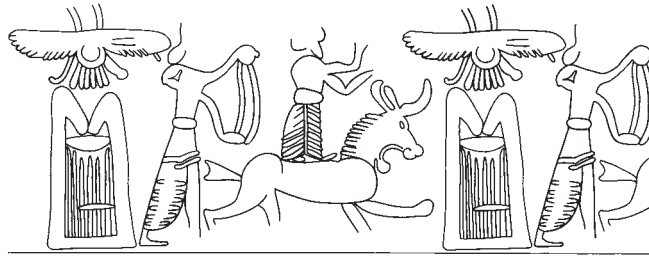
c

PFUTS 604 (Cat.No. T13) on (a) PFUT 715-203 (obverse) and (b) PFUT 715-203 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T14: PFUTS 152



a



b

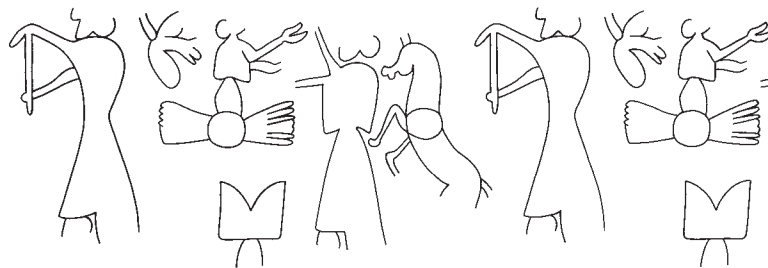
T15: PFUTS 242



a



b



c

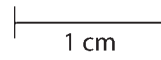
PFUTS 242 (Cat.No. T15) on (a) PFUT 255-201 (obverse) and (b) PFUT 2113-102 (obverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1



T16: PFS 435



a

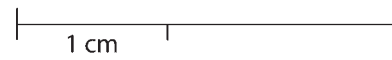
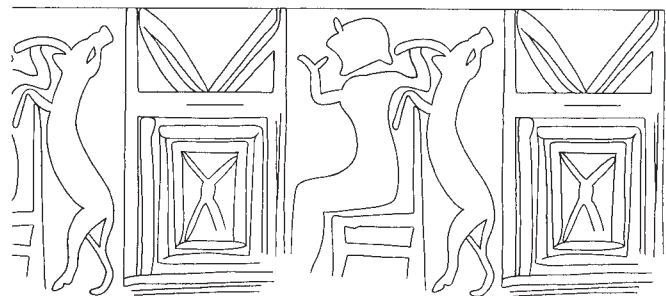


b

T17: PFUTS 33



c



d

PFS 435 (Cat.No. T16) on (a) PF 124 (left edge); (b) composite drawing.  
PFUTS 33 (Cat.No. T17) on (c) PFUT 845-101 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T18: PFUTS 76



a

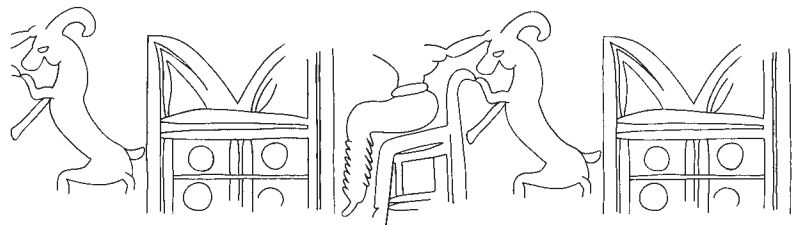


b

T19: PFUTS 330



c



d

PFUTS 76 (Cat.No. T18) on (a) PFUT 686-102 (obverse); (b) composite drawing.  
PFUTS 330 (Cat.No. T19) on (c) PFUT 2122-104 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

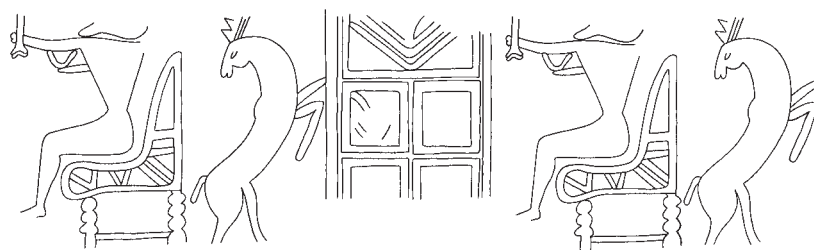
T20: PFS 307



a



b



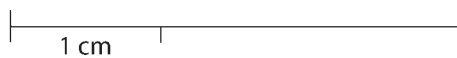
c

PFS 307 (Cat.No. T20) on (a) NN 1708 (left edge) and (b) NN 1744 (left edge);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T21: PFS 2220



a



b

PFS 2220 (Cat.No. T21) on (a) NN 1347 (reverse); (b) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

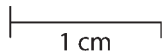
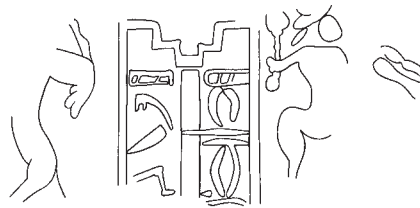
T22: PFUTS 313



a



b



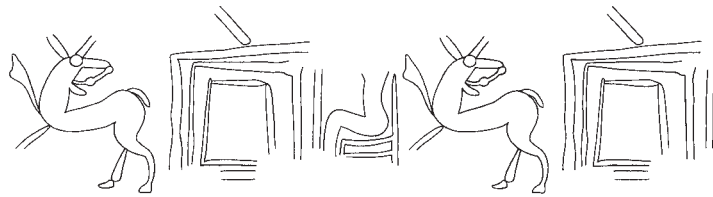
c

PFUTS 313 (Cat.No. T22) on (a) PFUT 1116-101 (left edge) and (b) PFUT 1116-101 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T23: PFS 978



a

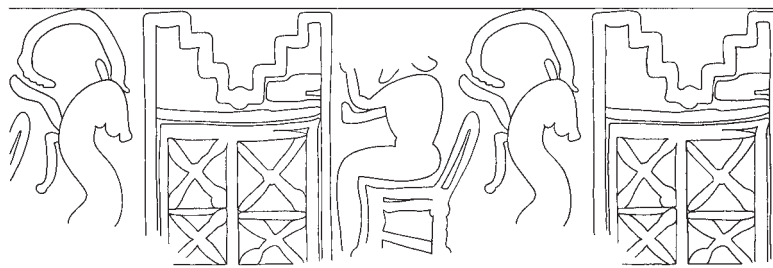


b

T24: PFS 2525



a

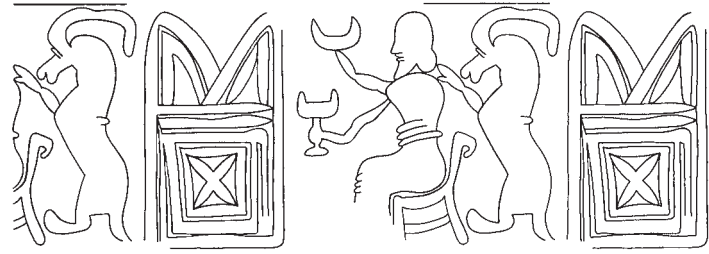


b

T25: PFUTS 616



a



b

T26: PFUTS 240



c



d

PFUTS 616 (Cat.No. T25) on (a) PFAT 629 (reverse); (b) composite drawing.  
PFUTS 240 (Cat.No. T26) on (c) PFUT 195-201 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1



T27: PFS 2542



a

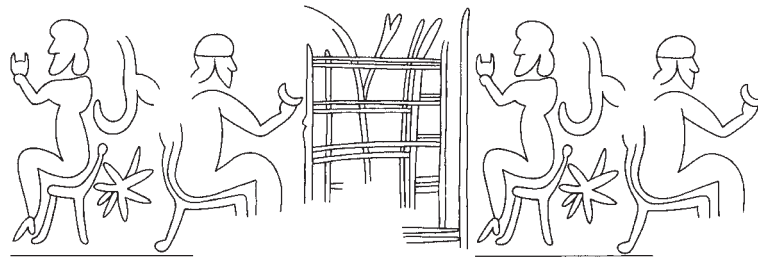


b

T28: PFS 738



a

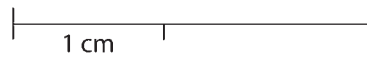


b

T29: PFS 2296



a



b

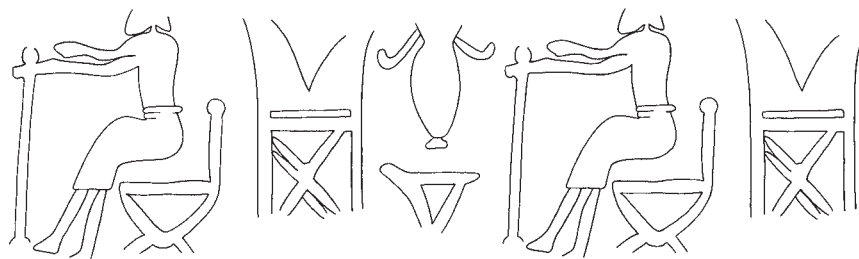
T30: PFUTS 294



a



b



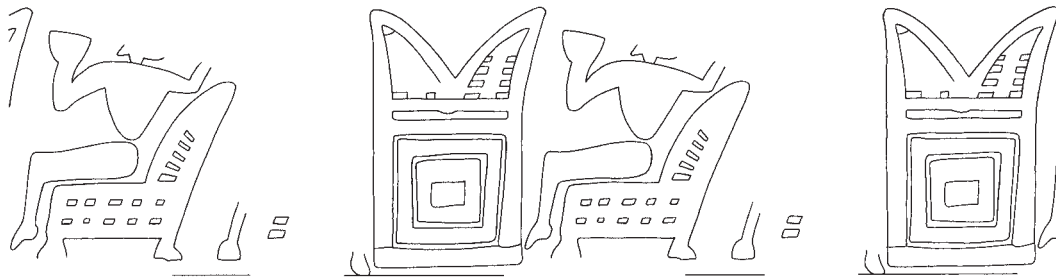
c

PFUTS 294 (Cat.No. T30) on (a) PFUT 1159-202 (obverse) and (b) PFUT 1159-202 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T31: PFUTS 257



a



b

PFUTS 257 (Cat.No. T31) on (a) PFUT 536-201 (obverse); (b) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

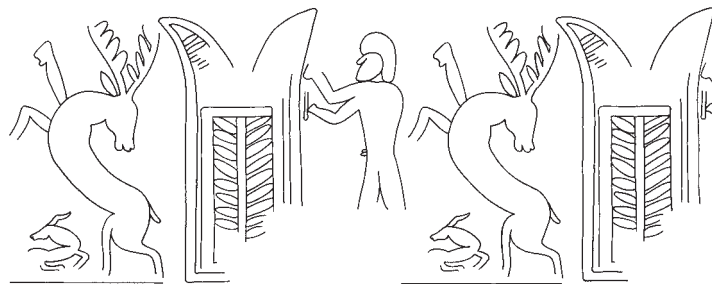
T32: PFUTS 457



a



b



c

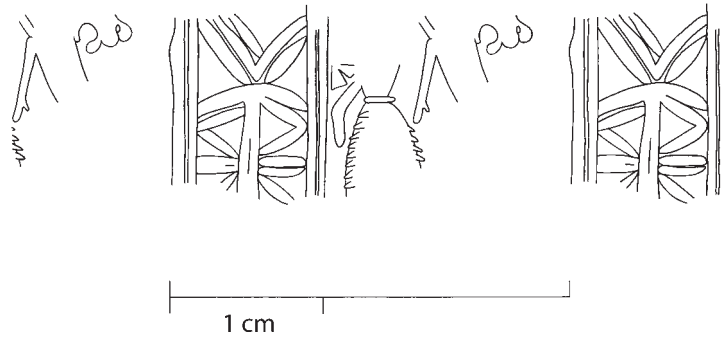


PFUTS 457 (Cat.No. T32) on (a) PFUT 131-201 (obverse) and (b) PFUT 1522-206 (obverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T33: PFS 709



a



b

PFS 709 (Cat.No. T33) on (a) PF 482 (left edge); (b) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

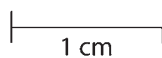
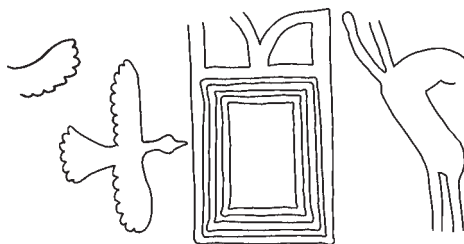
T35: PFATS 11



a



b



c

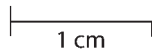
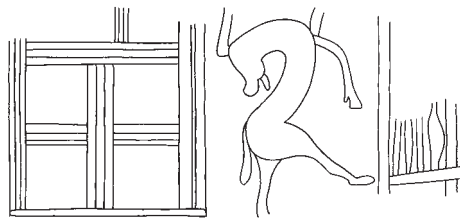
PFATS 11 (Cat.No. T35) on (a) PFAT 50 (obverse) and (b) PFAT 87 (left edge);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1



T36: PFS 897



a



b

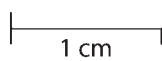
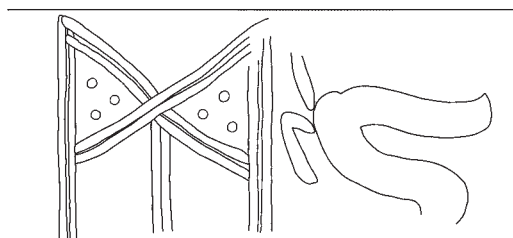
T37: PFATS 281



a



b



c

PFATS 281 (Cat.No. T37) on (a) PFAT 278 (left edge) and (b) PFAT 278 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

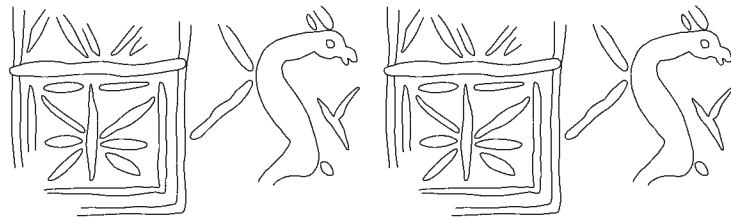
T38: PFATS 312



a



b



c

PFATS 312 (Cat.No. T38) on (a) PFAT 314 (left edge) and (b) PFAT 314 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

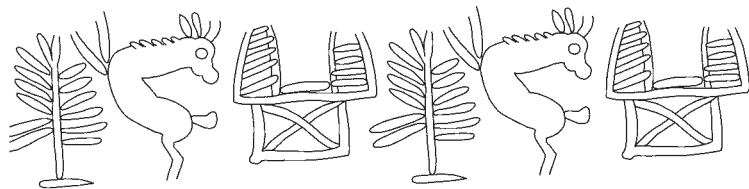
T39: PFATS 450



a



b



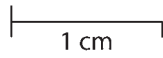
c

PFATS 450 (Cat.No. T39) on (a) PFAT 486 (obverse) and (b) PFAT 486 (upper edge);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T40: PFATS 460



a



b

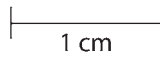
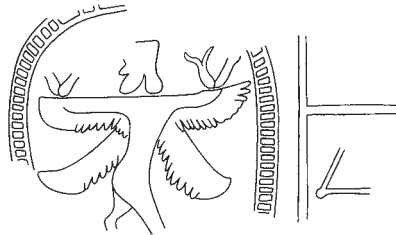
T41: PFS 2361



a



b



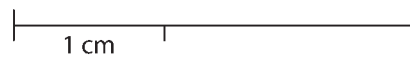
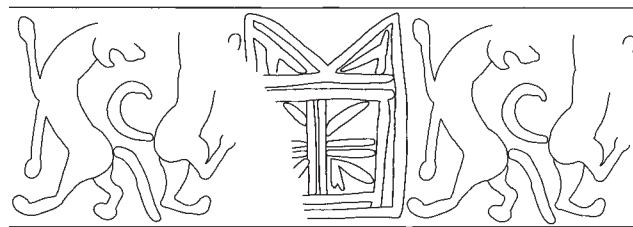
c

PFS 2361 (Cat.No. T41) on (a) NN 1946 (left edge) and (b) NN 1946 (upper edge);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T42: PFATS 244



a



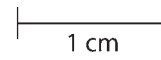
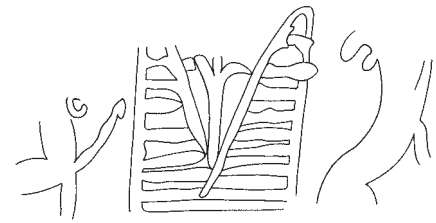
b

PFATS 244 (Cat.No. T42) on (a) PFAT 214 (reverse); (b) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T43: PFS 1015



a

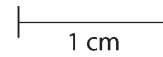
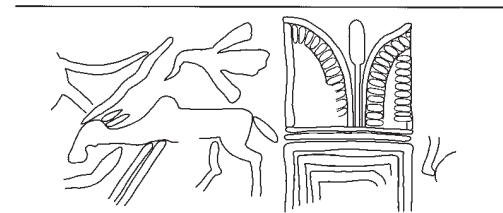


b

T44: PFATS 224



c



d

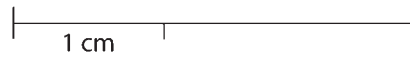
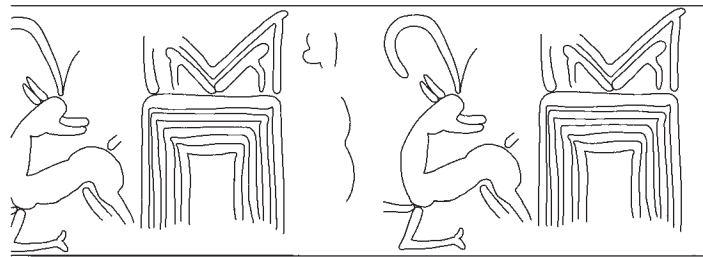
PFS 1015 (Cat.No. T43) on (a) PF 1040 (reverse); (b) composite drawing.  
PFATS 224 (Cat.No. T44) on (c) PFAT 198 (reverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1



T45: PFATS 297



a



b

PFATS 297 (Cat.No. T45) on (a) PFAT 297 (reverse); (b) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

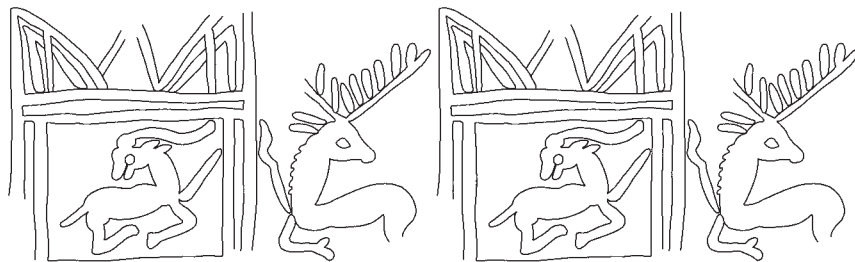
T46: PFATS 436



a



b



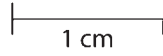
c

PFATS 436 (Cat.No. T46) on (a) PFAT 466 (obverse) and (b) PFAT 466 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T47: PFS 628



a

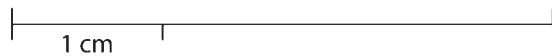
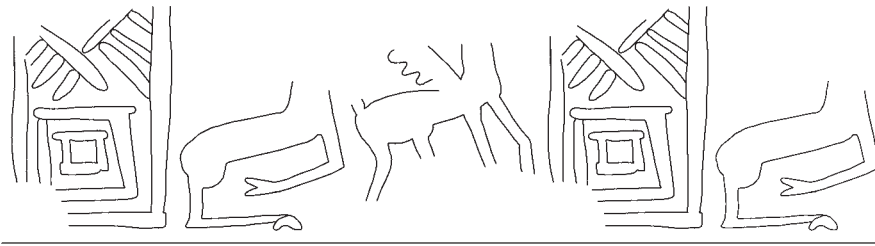


b

T48: PFATS 392



c



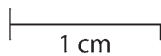
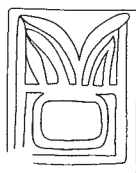
d

PFS 628 (Cat.No. T47) on (a) PF 373 (left edge); (b) composite drawing.  
PFATS 392 (Cat.No. T48) on (c) PFAT 411 (reverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

T49: PFS 2673s



a



b

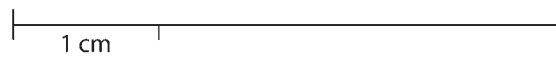
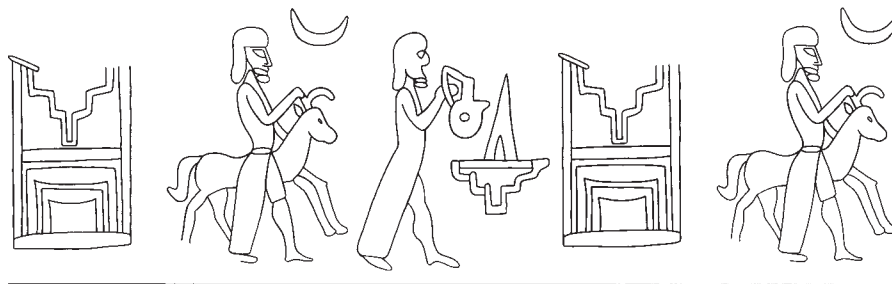
ST1: PFS 75



a



b



c

PFS 75 (Cat.No. ST1) on (a) PF 1023 (upper edge) and (b) PFUT 705-101 (obverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

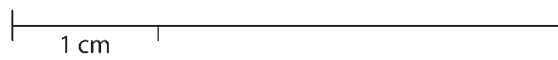
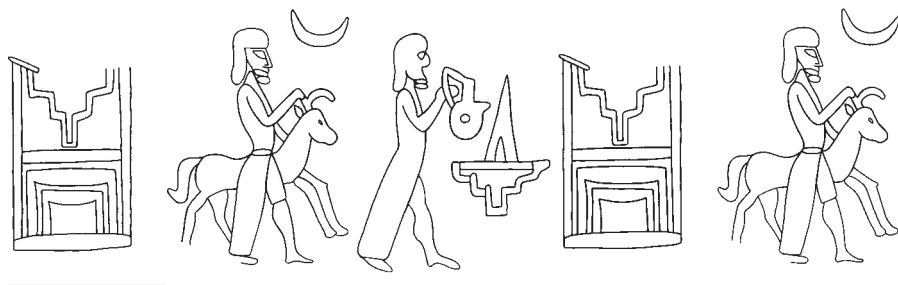
ST1: PFS 75 (*cont.*)



a



b



c

PFS 75 (Cat.No. ST1) (*cont.*) on (a) PFUT 707-101 (reverse) and (b) PFUT 2146-104 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

ST2: PFUTS 147



a

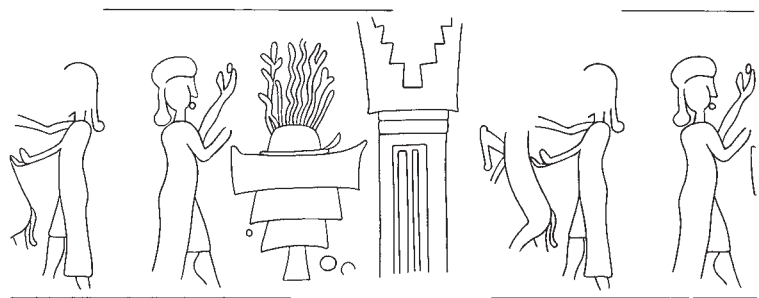


b

ST3: PFUTS 149



c



d

PFUTS 147 (Cat.No. ST2) on (a) PFUT 547-201 (obverse); (b) composite drawing.  
PFUTS 149 (Cat.No. ST3) on (c) PFUT 1212-201 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

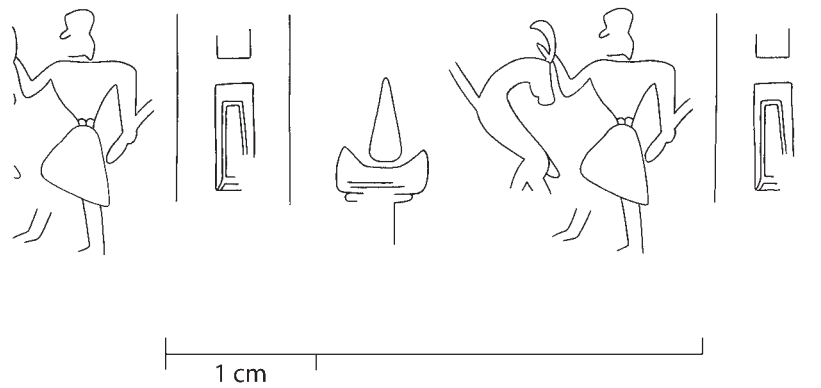
ST4: PFUTS 285



a



b



c

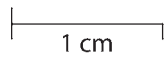
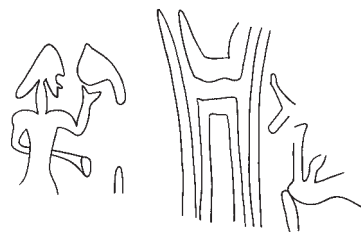
PFUTS 285 (Cat.No. ST4) on (a) PFUT 133-202 (obverse) and (b) PFUT 133-202 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1



ST5: PFUTS 146

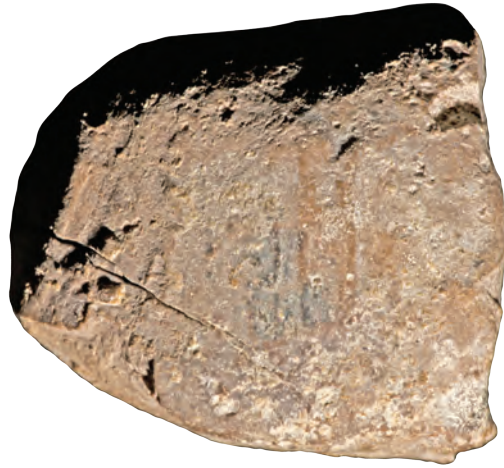


a



b

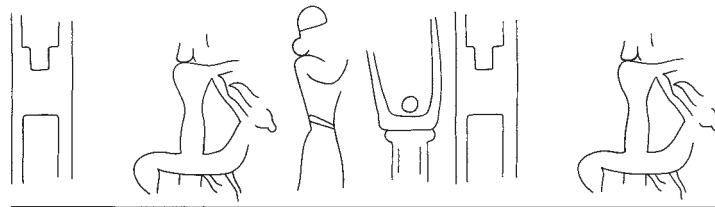
ST6: PFUTS 618



a



b



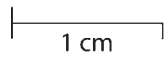
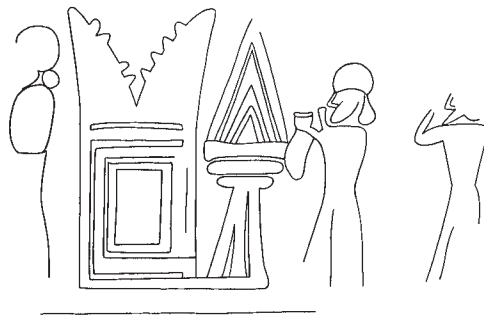
c

PFUTS 618 (Cat.No. ST6) on (a) PFUT 2097-204 (obverse) and (b) PFUT 2097-204 (reverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

ST7: PFUTS 66



a



b

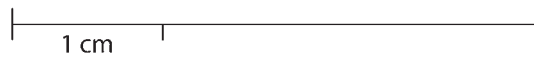
ST8: PFUTS 91



a



b



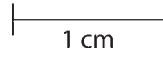
c

PFUTS 91 (Cat.No. ST8) on (a) PFUT 607-103 (obverse) and (b) PFUT 691-103 (obverse);  
(c) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

ST9: PFS 2360



a

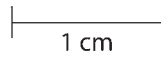


b

ST10: PFUTS 614



c



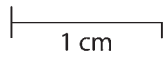
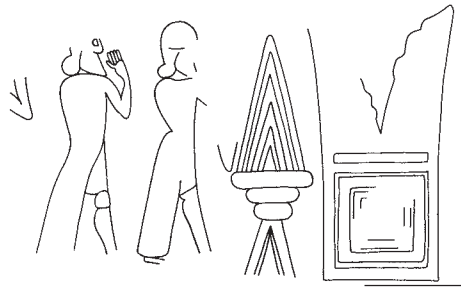
d

PFS 2360 (Cat.No. ST9) on (a) NN 1005 (left edge); (b) composite drawing.  
PFUTS 614 (Cat.No. ST10) on (c) PFUT 1819-203 (obverse); (d) composite drawing. Scale 2:1

ST11: PFUTS 615



a



b

