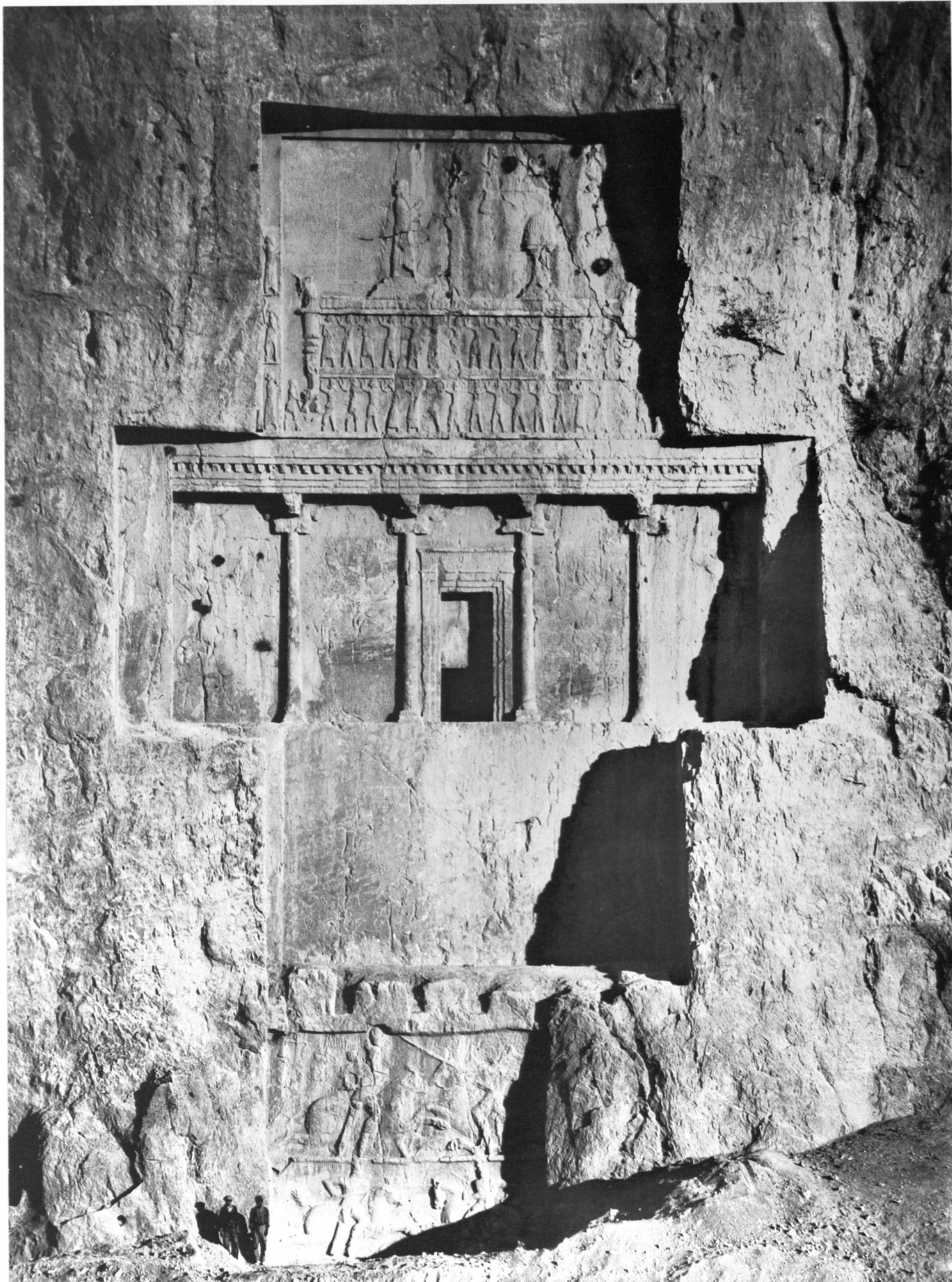


THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME LXX

PERSEPOLIS

III

THE ROYAL TOMBS AND OTHER MONUMENTS



THE TOMB OF DARIUS THE GREAT AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM (DIRECTION OF VIEW, 54° W OF N)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
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PERSEPOLIS

III

THE ROYAL TOMBS AND OTHER MONUMENTS

ERICH F. SCHMIDT[†]



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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

UNTIL his untimely death on October 3, 1964, Professor Schmidt had for many years been concentrating his efforts on the preparation of the manuscript and illustrations for the present volume. When he left Chicago in November of 1963, to spend the winter at his home in California, he told this writer that the manuscript was finished "except for polishing." Because of illness, however, he was able to accomplish very little during his last year. There are indications in his notes that he may have been contemplating certain additions to the manuscript, but these are too nebulous to be taken into consideration and his final work is here presented substantially as he left it. He had not written even a first draft of his preface, which, according to his notes, was to include comments based on certain reviews of his first Persepolis volume as well as a summary list of all those who were in any way connected with the Persepolis Expedition and with the preparation of his three Persepolis volumes. Detailed acknowledgments may be found in the Preface of

Volume I. In connection with Volume III one might mention briefly Mr. Richard C. Haines, field architect from 1937 to 1939, to whom are owed most of the drawings, Mrs. Ursula Schneider, who made the photographic prints, Miss Edith Lindquist, secretary and editorial assistant, and Miss Nanette Rauba, typist. Specific acknowledgments to various colleagues and specialists appear in appropriate places in the text. Professor Schmidt would wish to pay tribute to Mr. Edward J. Chalifoux of Photopress Incorporated, who died on April 23, 1968, and whose standards of excellence in offset printing are reflected in the illustrations of Volumes I and II.

As one who worked closely with Professor Schmidt for many years, the writer wishes to express appreciation for his scholarly integrity, thoroughness, and accuracy and for the privilege of editing his final manuscript.

ELIZABETH B. HAUSER

CHICAGO
June 1968

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise noted, references to classical authors are to the "Loeb Classical Library" editions.

<i>AHI</i>	HERZFELD, ERNST, Archaeological history of Iran. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1934 (London, 1935).
<i>AJSL</i>	American journal of Semitic languages and literatures (Chicago etc., 1884–91).
<i>AMI</i>	Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (Berlin, 1929–38).
<i>BIFAO</i>	Cairo. Institut français d'archéologie orientale. Bulletin (Le Caire, 1901—).
<i>BSOAS</i>	London. University. School of Oriental and African Studies. Bulletin (London, 1917—).
<i>Ctesias Persica</i>	HENRY, RENÉ (ed.). Photius Bibliothèque I (Paris, 1959) 105–47 ("Codex" 72).
Christensen, <i>Sassanides</i>	CHRISTENSEN, ARTHUR. L'Iran sous les Sassanides (2d ed.; Copenhagen, 1944).
Curzon, <i>Persia</i>	CURZON, GEORGE N. Persia and the Persian question (2 vols.; London and New York, 1892).
Erdmann, <i>Kunst der Sasaniden</i>	ERDMANN, KURT. Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden (Berlin, 1943).
Flandin, <i>Relation du voyage</i>	FLANDIN, EUGÈNE. Voyage en Perse . . . pendant les années 1840 et 1841. I–II. Relation du voyage (Paris, 1851–52).
Flandin and Coste, <i>Perse ancienne</i>	FLANDIN, EUGÈNE, and COSTE, PASCAL. Voyage en Perse . . . pendant les années 1840 et 1841. Perse ancienne. Text and plates (Paris, 1843–54).
Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre"	HERZFELD, ERNST. La sculpture rupestre de la Perse sassanide. Revue des arts asiatiques V (1928) 129–42.
Herzfeld, <i>Paikuli</i>	HERZFELD, ERNST. Paikuli. Monument and inscription of the early history of the Sasanian empire. I. Text. II. Plates (Forschungen zur islamischen Kunst III [Berlin, 1924]).
<i>IAE</i>	HERZFELD, ERNST. Iran in the ancient east (London and New York), 1941).
<i>IF</i>	SARRE, FRIEDRICH, and HERZFELD, ERNST. Iranische Felsreliefs. Aufnahmen und Untersuchungen von Denkmälern aus alt- und mittelpersischer Zeit (Berlin, 1910).
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern studies (Chicago, 1942—).
<i>KA</i>	WEISSBACH, F. H. Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, 3. Stück [Leipzig, 1911]).
King and Thompson, <i>Behistûn</i>	KING, L. W., and THOMPSON, R. C. The sculptures and inscription of Darius the Great on the rock of Behistûn in Persia (London, 1907).
<i>MDOG</i>	Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, <i>Berlin</i> . Mitteilungen (Berlin, 1899—).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- OIC* No. 21 SCHMIDT, ERICH F. The Treasury of Persepolis and other discoveries in the homeland of the Achaemenians (Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications, No. 21 [Chicago, 1939]).
- OIP* Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924—).
- OIP* LIX LANGSDORFF, ALEXANDER, and McCOWN, DONALD E. Tall-i-Bakun A. Season of 1932 (1942).
- OIP* LXVIII SCHMIDT, ERICH F. Persepolis. I. Structures, reliefs, inscriptions (1953). Cited throughout as "Vol. I."
- OIP* LXIX SCHMIDT, ERICH F. Persepolis. II. Contents of the Treasury and other discoveries (1957). Cited throughout as "Vol. II."
- OPG* KENT, ROLAND G. Old Persian. Grammar, texts, lexicon (American Oriental series XXXIII [2d ed.; New Haven, 1953]).
- Ouseley, *Travels* OUSELEY, WILLIAM. Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia (3 vols.; London, 1819-23).
- Pope, *Survey* POPE, ARTHUR UPHAM (ed.). A survey of Persian art from prehistoric times to the present (6 vols.; London and New York, 1938-39).
- Porter, *Travels* PORTER, ROBERT KER. Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, ancient Babylonia, etc. during the years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820 (2 vols.; London, 1821-22).
- Schmidt, *Flights* SCHMIDT, ERICH F. Flights over ancient cities of Iran. Special publication of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (Chicago, 1940).
- Sprengling, *Third Century Iran* SPRENGLING, MARTIN. Third Century Iran. Sapor and Kartir. Prepared and distributed at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago (1953).
- Vol. I See *OIP* LXVIII.
- Vol. II See *OIP* LXIX.
- ZDMG* Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift (Leipzig, 1847-1944; Wiesbaden, 1950—).

I
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

THE first volume of our Persepolis publication deals principally with the palatial Achaemenid structures of Parsa-Persepolis. It briefly lists sites in the Persepolis area¹ and traces monuments of the Achaemenids within the borders of their empire.²

The second volume presents the objects, from Persia and other lands, found largely in the debris of the Persepolis Treasury, which had been looted and burned by Alexander of Macedonia. One chapter deals with an extramural cemetery which we assigned, with some hesitation, to the end of the Achaemenid era.³

The third and final volume, which we introduce herewith, is linked with the preceding volumes mainly by the graphic and descriptive documentation of the tombs of the Achaemenid monarchs at Naqsh-i Rostam and Persepolis, by a study of the excavated Achaemenid Tower ("Ka'bah-i Zardusht") at Naqsh-i Rostam, and by an appended review of tribute-bearers and throne-bearers depicted in the Persepolis reliefs.

In Volume III, Naqsh-i Rostam rather than Persepolis is the focal site. In addition to the Achaemenid monuments, the volume records reliefs of pre-Achaemenid and Sasanian origin and the newly uncovered important inscriptions which Shapur I and the priest Kartir engraved

on the Achaemenid Tower about eight hundred years after its construction.

The third site referred to in Volume III is Naqsh-i Rajab, in the Persepolis plain (see Fig. 1). It is a natural recess at the foot of the Mountain of Mercy, adorned with Sasanian reliefs. Rock reliefs of the same era in other parts of Iran and in eastern Anatolia are also described.

Our investigations in the Persepolis area included excavations and tests in two prehistoric mounds (Tall-i Bakun A and B), which had previously been examined by Herzfeld,⁴ and in the extensive city mound of Istakhr. Most of the objects uncovered by us at Istakhr represent the early centuries of Islam and are to be published apart from the earlier, mainly Achaemenid, remains presented in the Persepolis volumes. So far, only the coins have been published in final form.⁵

4. See Ernst Herzfeld, "Steinzeitlicher Hügel bei Persepolis," *Iranische Denkmäler I*, Lfg. 1-2 (Berlin, 1932); Alexander Langsdorff and Donald E. McCown, *Tall-i-Bakun A, Season of 1932 (OIP LIX [1942])*. See also pertinent references in McCown, *The Comparative Stratigraphy of Early Iran* ("Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization" No. 23 [Chicago, 1942]). We had hoped McCown would publish the results of the Bakun excavations of 1937, but, to our regret, he has relinquished his archeological career. A preliminary report is to be found in *OIC* No. 21, pp. 121-29 and 137-38.

5. See George C. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region* ("Numismatic Notes and Monographs" No. 143 [New York, 1959]). The general results are summarized in *OIC* No. 21, pp. 105-21 and 133-36. For Herzfeld's work at Istakhr see *IAE*, pp. 276-81.

1. Vol. I (*OIP* LXVIII) 45-57.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 7-43.

3. Vol. II (*OIP* LXIX) 115-23.

II

NAQSH-I RUSTAM

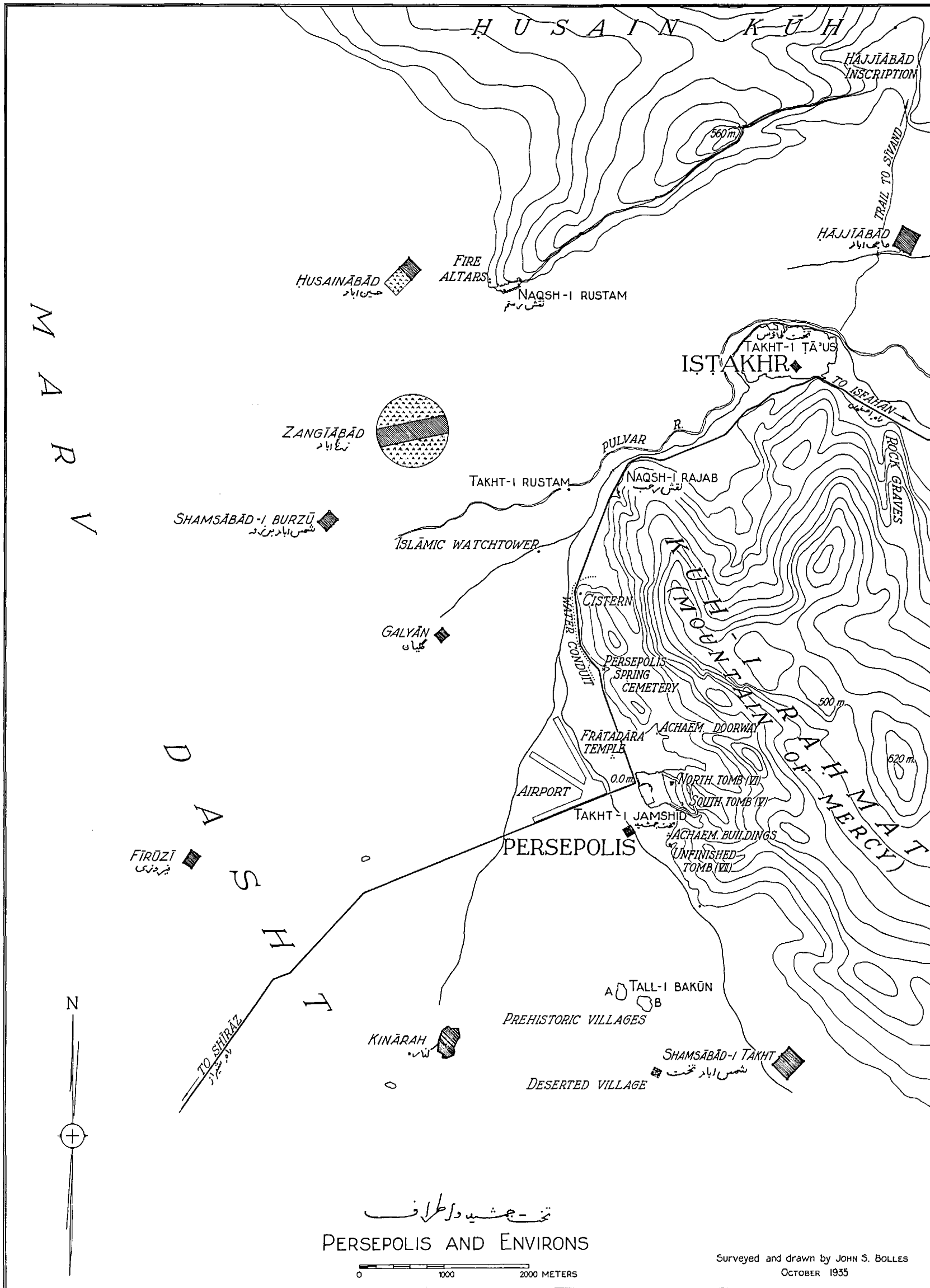
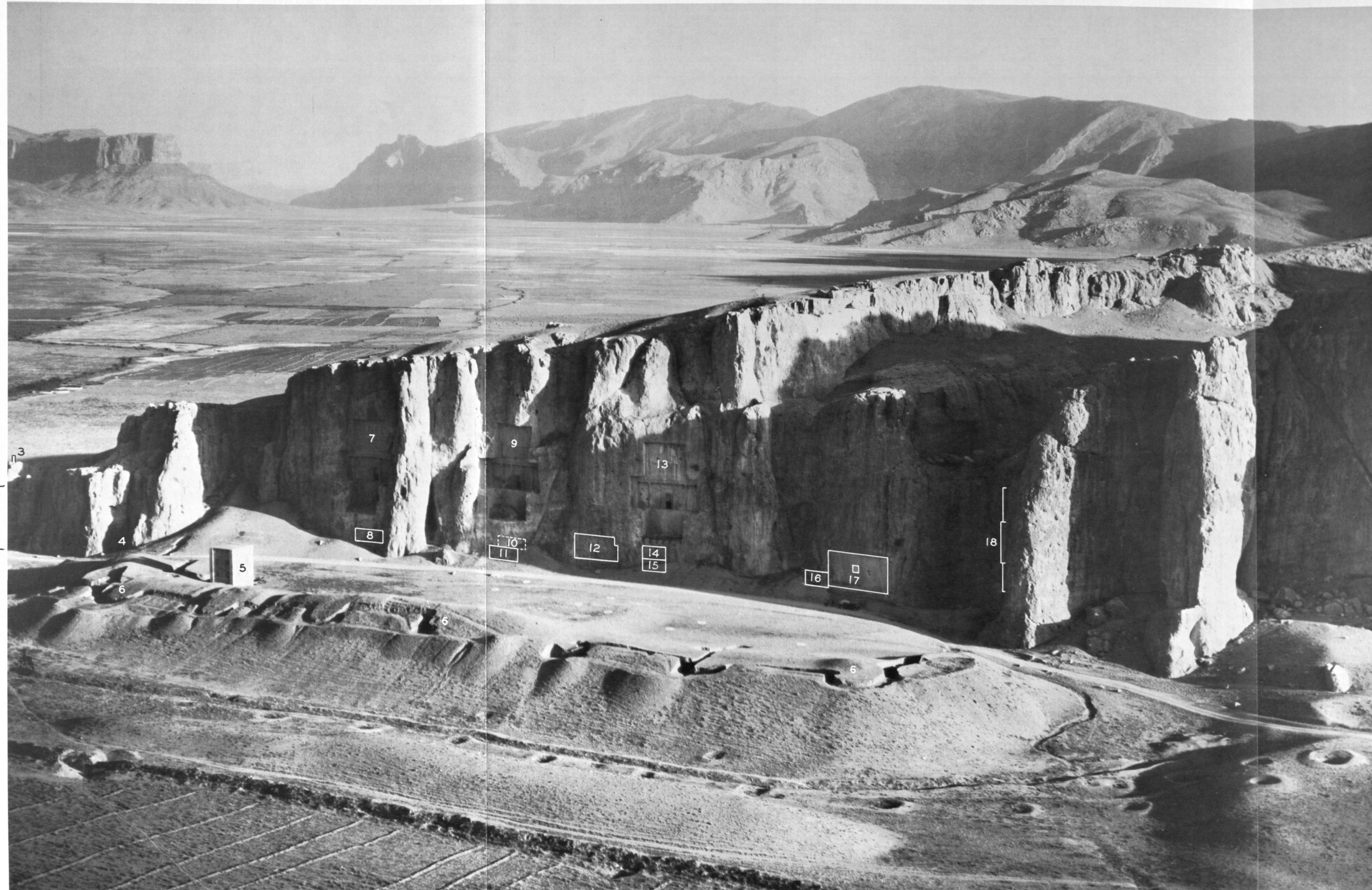


FIG. 1. PERSEPOLIS AND ENVIRONS. SCALE, 1:50,000



Key to Location of Monuments

- 1 Sasanian relief NRu I
- 2 Sasanian relief NRu III carved over pre-Achaemenid ritual scene
- 3 Islamic(?) rock column
- 4 Achaemenid rock cistern
- 5 Achaemenid Tower ("Ka'bah-i Zardusht")
- 6 Towers of Sasanian Fortification
- 7 Tomb (No. IV) of Darius II
- 8 Sasanian relief NRu IX
- 9 Tomb (No. III) of Artaxerxes I
- 10 Sasanian relief NRu VIII
- 11 Sasanian relief NRu VII
- 12 Sasanian reliefs NRu II and NRu II K
- 13 Tomb (No. I) of Darius I
- 14 Sasanian relief NRu IV
- 15 Sasanian relief NRu V
- 16 Sasanian relief NRu VI
- 17 Sasanian rock panel bearing Islamic inscription dated A.D. 1821
- 18 Tomb (No. II) of Xerxes

FIG. 2. OBLIQUE AIR VIEW OF NAQSH-E RUSTAM (May 8, 1936; 6:06 A.M.; direction, approximately NW)



A



B



C

FIG. 3. NAQSH-I RUSTAM. *A*. TWO FIRE ALTARS. *B*. SHRINE. *C*. ROCK COUCH

THE SITE AND ITS MONUMENTS

THE location of Naqsh-i Rostam is indicated on our map of the Persepolis area (Fig. 1). The extent of this awe-inspiring site is shown on our air map (Fig. 4), provided with survey grid,¹ and its principal monuments are marked and identified on our oblique air view (Fig. 2).²

Co-ordinating these monuments with others nearby (but not shown on Fig. 2) and with stratigraphic data derived from excavations in the main mound, we are able to establish a tentative chronology of the site.³ Remains of the pre-Achaemenid, Achaemenid, Hellenistic, Sasanian, and Islamic epochs were observed.

PRE-ACHAEMENID REMAINS

A prehistoric settlement could plausibly have existed in the vicinity of the impressive cliff, but in our tests we uncovered only a few stray sherds of painted pottery of the fourth and third millenniums B.C. Thus, there is not sufficient proof, at present, that the site was settled in prehistoric times.

An assumedly Elamite relief of ritual character (see p. 121), mostly obliterated during the carving of a relief of Bahram II (No. 2 on Fig. 2), is the earliest monument of Naqsh-i Rostam.⁴ To be sure, no structural remains of pre-Achaemenid times have here been uncovered, but the

remnants of this ritual scene demonstrate beyond doubt that the site had religious significance long before the beginning of the Achaemenid era. The possibility that a spring existed in the vicinity may perhaps explain the location of the relief at the rather inconspicuous western toe of the cliff. A rock-hewn Achaemenid cistern (see below), 50 meters to the west, seems to support such an assumption. The postulated spring (or stream?) may have been active at this spot as late as the Sasanian period to judge by the location of a relief of Ardashir I (No. 1 on Fig. 2) and that of Bahram II mentioned above.

ACHAEMENID MONUMENTS

The Achaemenid period is represented by the most imposing monuments of the site: the stone-built Tower (No. 5 on Fig. 2; see pp. 34–49), now called “Ka‘bah-i Zardusht,” and the rock-hewn tombs (Nos. I–IV) of four Achaemenid monarchs,⁵ namely Darius I (No. 13 on Fig. 2), Xerxes (No. 18 on Fig. 2), Artaxerxes I (No. 9 on Fig. 2), and Darius II (No. 7 on Fig. 2).

Our excavation of the Tower and tests in the western and central parts of the pronounced mound in front of the cliff tombs indicated that at the points investigated the lowest stratum is Achaemenid. The bottom of the deposit corresponds to the ground level (el. 90.05–90.24 m.) of the unquestionably Achaemenid Tower. The West Test (see

pp. 54–58) revealed two mud-brick buildings of this period and strong evidence of an Achaemenid wall inclosing the precinct in front of the tombs. Remnants of a building uncovered in the Center Test are assigned to this period (see p. 64). Otherwise, the Achaemenid stratum was practically sterile (see pp. 66–76). We found no coins of the Achaemenids and no pottery or other objects which we could definitely identify as Achaemenid. However, a few architectural fragments of this period were found at various depths (see pp. 40 and 62).

We assign to the Achaemenid period a cistern (see above) with pentagonal orifice that was cut into bedrock at the foot of the cliff but outside the pronounced mound formation of the site (see No. 4 on Fig. 2, Fig. 4, Plots BZ 38 and 48, and p. 65). What appears to be a shrine with stepped entry (Fig. 3 B) and a “couch” (Fig. 3 C)—both carved from bedrock on top of the cliff—may be attributed to either the Achaemenid or the Sasanian period. The couch definitely suggests a device for disposal of the dead by exposure to animals. If it is Achaemenid, it was probably used for disposal of the corpses of Magians.⁶

About 150 meters north-northwest of the western end of

1. The grid consists of survey quadrants marked by letters and measuring 100×100 meters. Each quadrant is subdivided into plots of 10×10 meters: our excavation units, marked by numerals. For our technique in preparing aerial surveys of sites, see especially *OIC* No. 21, pp. 133–36 and Figs. 88 and 96.

2. See also Schmidt, *Flights*, Pls. 11–12.

3. Only from large-scale operations in the main mound, combined with tests of adjacent deposits, could the complete stratigraphy be determined.

4. Mr. A. J. Kovacs claimed that he discovered another relief, apparently by means of a color photograph (published by Agfacolor, Aufn. und Verlag A. J. Kovacs, Grosshesselohe bei München, Germany). The rock patch concerned, badly abraded by the action of the elements, is situated above a relief depicting Shapur’s triumph over Valerian (No. 12 on Fig. 2) and about midway between the top registers of the tombs of Artaxerxes I and Darius I (Nos. 9 and 13 on Fig. 2). The faint remnants(?) of the assumedly pre-Achaemenid pattern suggest the statue of a deity facing toward the right and standing on a tall cylindrical pillar. To the left, what appears to be a worshiper seems to extend one arm toward the deity. In the summer of 1963 Professor and Mrs. George G. Cameron examined the area of the “relief” for several hours under changing conditions of light and informed the writer that they could see no trace of any relief.

5. Tomb I (see pp. 80–90) is identified by its inscriptions as the tomb of Darius I. Tomb II is assigned to Xerxes for reasons given below (see p. 90). Tombs III and IV (see pp. 93–99) are only tentatively identified as the sepulchers of Artaxerxes I and Darius II, and we are uncertain whether Tombs V and VI (see pp. 99–107), at Persepolis, were definitely prepared by Artaxerxes II and III. Nevertheless, since our doubts vary in degree, we omit question marks when referring to the dating of Tombs III–VI. As to the unfinished Tomb VII, south of the Persepolis Terrace, there is scarcely a doubt that it was started by the last Achaemenid ruler, Darius III (see p. 107).

6. See Herodotus i. 140.

the cliff two altars (Fig. 3 A'), carved from bedrock, rise from the foot of the west slope of Husain Kuh (see Fig. 1 and Pl. 2 for location). Our tests did not extend to the vicinity of the altars. To our regret, we did not survey them and therefore are dependent on the drawings and measurements of Flandin and Coste. These drawings⁸ have been republished in an article dealing specifically with the altars.⁹ Aligned in an approximately north-south direction, the two altars are essentially truncated pyramids with identically elaborated surfaces. They rise from a narrow artificially leveled ledge which is reached at the southern end by three, but originally perhaps more, steps. They stand about 80 cm. apart and differ slightly in height and plan. The southern altar is oblong-rectangular in ground plan (1.70 × 1.50 m.) and about 1.75 m. high, whereas the northern one is almost square (1.35 × 1.30 m.) and about 1.55 m. high. The corners of each altar are modeled in the shape of engaged three-quarter columns, each standing on an angular quasi basis. On each side the tops of the columns are connected by an arch which springs from fillets suggesting an impost or the molding of an impost. The top of each altar, converging from a cornice of two bands, is bordered on each side by five conoid merlons. The table inclosed by these dentations has a central depression (ca. 40 cm. square, ca. 15 cm. deep) whose rim is slightly raised and forms a shallow channel between the rock basin and the parapet.

There is almost general agreement that the two altars of Naqsh-i Rostam and the similarly paired altars of Pasargadae¹⁰ are fire altars. It has been suggested that the fire which burned on these open-air altars during public ceremonies was brought from some nearby roofed sanctuary (*āyadanā*),¹¹ one of the structures which assumedly sheltered the principal ("eternal") fires.¹² As to Naqsh-i Rostam, it is possible that the altars were not entirely and permanently exposed to view. The writer accidentally noticed a smoothed circular depression near the south-westerly corner of the ledge or platform from which the two altars rise.¹³ The depression (ca. 6–8 cm. in diameter, ca. 5 cm. deep) resembles a pivot hole for a doorpost. Conceivably, a curtained canopy could have been erected in

preparation for the ritual. The priest or priests would have entered from the steps to the south, and at the start of the ritual the postulated western curtain could have been pulled aside to expose altars and fires to the people assembled in the open area to the west. However, we noticed no depressions which could have served as sockets for additional poles of a canopy. Furthermore, only deep and preferably angular sockets and poles would have assured stability to such a canopy. Thus, we can merely assume that the circular depression was the pivot hole for a door and guess that the door was part of a removable canopy or tent. In fact, a door of pliable material would not have required a pivoting device.

The general opinion that the altars of Naqsh-i Rostam were fire altars was rejected—erroneously, we believe—by at least one scholar because according to the Avesta the sacred fire may burn in dark spaces only.¹⁴

There have been various attempts—none convincing—to explain the duplication of altars at Pasargadae and Naqsh-i Rostam.¹⁵ The Pasargadae monuments have been described as the "original altars to the tribal divinities, Anahita and Ahuramazda."¹⁶ It has been suggested, furthermore, that Strabo's reference to the Persians' sacrifices to fire and water¹⁷ may have bearing on these dual altars.¹⁸ An early theory that the two altars served for the worship of the principles of good (Ahuramazda) and evil (Ahriman) has been refuted.¹⁹ It has been suggested also that both of the altars at each of the two sites were dedicated to the same, symbolically duplicated, deity.²⁰ We query this suggestion because at both sites one of the altars is larger than the other. On the contrary, the very difference in the size of the altars indicates that two deities, or two elements or substances, were there worshiped and that one of them was of major importance. However, we are unable to identify the two subjects of worship with any degree of certainty.²¹

As to the age of the altars, those situated near Pasargadae,²² the capital of Cyrus II (559–530 B.C.), are generally attributed to the reign of that king. Opinions vary, however, as to the age of the altars at Naqsh-i Rostam. It has been suggested that they are possibly "the oldest Mazdean relic in Persia,"²³ that they are possibly earlier than the reign of Cyrus,²⁴ and that they are possibly older than Persepolis.²⁵

7. A workman standing in front of the altars was deleted by the censor (as were workmen in Fig. 3 B-C and other photographs) before the expedition departed from Tehran in December of 1939.

8. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 180.

9. See Kurt Erdmann, "Die Altäre von Naqsh i Rustem," *MDOG* No. 81 (1949) pp. 6–15 and Fig. 2. [See now also David Stronach, "The Kūh-i-Shahrak fire altar," *JNES* XXV (1966) 217–27.—Ed.] For various photographic views of the altars see Marcel Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse: Achéménides, Parthes, Sassanides III* (Paris, 1885) Pl. V; *IF*, Pl. X; André Godard, "Les monuments du feu," *Athār-é Irān III* (1938) Fig. 37; Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran* (Paris, 1962) Pl. 35; L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* ("Documenta et monumenta Orientis antiqui" VI [Leiden, 1959]) Pl. 31 a.

10. Cf. e.g. Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum* (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, "Sendschrift" XI [Leipzig, 1941]) pp. 13–14, but for orientation of inclosure see our Vol. I 20 f. and Fig. 4 A-B. For a recent survey of these altars see Maxime Siroux in *Athār-é Irān III*, Fig. 97.

11. See e.g. Godard in *Athār-é Irān III* 63; cf. Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 10, with n. 56.

12. Erdmann (*ibid.* p. 21) strongly suggests that the stone towers of Pasargadae (the Zindan-i Sulaiman) and Naqsh-i Rostam (the Ka'bah-i Zardusht) were such sanctuaries, which contained the exalted ("royal") fire and he lists (*ibid.* p. 76, n. 121) the principal proponents of the two theories (fire sanctuary or tomb) concerning these towers.

13. The depression is visible on an unusual view of the altars in Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran*, Pl. 35.

14. See Ferdinand Justi, "Die älteste iranische Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathustra," *Preussische Jahrbücher* LXXXVIII (Berlin, 1897) 65, n. 24. However, cf. Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 10, with n. 56.

15. See Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 74, n. 75.

16. A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire [Achaemenid Period]* (Chicago, 1948) p. 61.

17. Strabo xv. 3. 14; see also Herodotus i. 131.

18. See Godard in *Athār-é Irān III* 11, 43, and 67.

19. See Flandin, *Relation du voyage* II 393–94, and cf. Godard in *Athār-é Irān III* 66.

20. See Kurt Galling, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients* (Berlin, 1925) p. 88.

21. Herzfeld (*IF*, pp. 89–91) deals with these altars and directs attention to the double and triple fires of India.

22. See Vol. I 20–21 and Figs. 3–4.

23. Curzon, *Persia* II 147.

24. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse III* 8.

25. See Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V (Paris, 1890) 642–43, where attention is directed to the similarity between the pattern on a "Chaldean" (Neo-Babylonian?) sculpture (*ibid.* Vol. II [1884] 221, Fig. 79) and on the altars of Naqsh-i Rostam.

With some hesitation we join those who assign the altars of Naqsh-i Rostam to the Achaemenid period, but we agree with Galling that they cannot be exactly dated. He considers them probably Achaemenid²⁶ and assigns them, together with the altars of Pasargadae, to about 600 B.C.²⁷ We prefer to assign the altars at Naqsh-i Rostam to the reign of Darius I (522–486 B.C.), that is, to the time of the preparation of his tomb and of the construction of the Tower (Ka'bah-i Zardusht). Godard originally listed both pairs of altars as Achaemenid²⁸ but subsequently designated those of Naqsh-i Rostam as possibly pre-Achaemenid.²⁹

In contrast to most opinions, Erdmann in his studies dealing with Iranian sanctuaries offers reasons for assign-

ing the altars of Naqsh-i Rostam to the Sasanian period.³⁰ He quite persuasively suggests that the form of the altars is derived from or related to the Sasanian *chahār tāq*: a dome supported by four arches on pillars and shielding the sacred fire. Arches existed, of course, prior to the Achaemenid period, but there is doubt whether they had been combined with columns in the manner suggested by the altars of Naqsh-i Rostam. Again, no Sasanian fire altars imitating the form of the *chahār tāq* are known to us.³¹ On the other hand, the form of the altar shown on the tombs of Darius I (see e.g. Pl. 19) and his successors completely differs from that of the altars under discussion. We must admit, therefore, that the age of the altars of Naqsh-i Rostam is still in doubt.

HELLENISTIC REMAINS

For purposes of our local chronology we apply the term "Hellenistic" to events or tangible remains which represent the era between the end of the Achaemenid and the beginning of the Sasanian period. Actually, the Hellenistic era comprises several subperiods. The Alexandrian phase (330–323 B.C.) covers the time from the fall of Persepolis until Alexander's death in Babylon. The Seleucids (323 to ca. 150 B.C.) came to power with the division of Alexander's empire and ruled until the conquest of Persis by the Arsacid Parthians, whose defeat (in A.D. 224) by Ardashir I marked the beginning of the Sasanian era. To judge by Persis coins,³² local princes initially bearing the title "Fratadara" ruled under the overlordship of Seleucids and Parthians from about 250 B.C., or "possibly a generation earlier,"³³ until the end of the Hellenistic era.

There are vestiges of the Hellenistic era in the Persepolis area, namely the so-called "Fratadara temple,"³⁴ a building with a reused Achaemenid doorway,³⁵ and structural fragments at Istakhr.³⁶ The cliff of Naqsh-i Rostam, however, bears only one relic of this era which spanned more than half a millennium. It is a poorly preserved Aramaic inscription, assumedly in the Old Persian language, engraved on the façade of the tomb of Darius I below the Elamite version of his DNb inscription (see p. 83). Herzfeld discovered the Aramaic text in 1923 and at first considered it an Aramaic version of Darius' inscription.³⁷ Subsequently, it was reported that the Aramaic text men-

tions the name Artaxerxes and it was therefore assigned to Artaxerxes I.³⁸ At a meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1954, however, it was announced that the inscription actually belongs to Parthian times.³⁹ Finally, W. B. Henning informed us that the document (late Old Persian or early Middle Persian written in Aramaic script) must be assigned to the first half of the third pre-Christian century since it mentions the name Seleucus.⁴⁰ Henning stated that the earliest possible date of the inscription is the reign of Seleucus Nicator (320–280 B.C.) but that it may possibly be ascribed to his son Antiochus Soter (280–261).

The Hellenistic stratum of the mound of Naqsh-i Rostam, in so far as it was tested, was disappointingly ill-defined and sterile. We were able to attribute certain alterations and repairs of an assumedly Achaemenid culvert to the Hellenistic age (see p. 57). We were quite sure that a debris layer—patches of soil, fragments of floors and walls—above a rather clearly defined Achaemenid building accumulated in part during the Hellenistic period, but our only guide specimen was a Roman lamp, which we tentatively assign to the second Christian century (see pp. 67 f.). Our numismatic evidence consists of a single coin (NR1 53)—our earliest specimen from the site—minted about A.D. 200 and documenting the last phase of the Hellenistic age at Naqsh-i Rostam (see p. 66).

26. Galling, *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients*, p. 81.

27. *Ibid.* p. 89.

28. *Athār-é Īrān* III 72.

29. Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran*, p. 88, legend of Pl. 35.

30. See Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 13, and especially in *MDOG* No. 81, p. 12. Friedrich Wachsmuth, in reviewing *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, apparently accepts Erdmann's dating (see *Archiv für Orientforschung* XVI [1952–1953] 100). Previously, Robert Ker Porter too had considered these altars probably Sasanian but possibly Achaemenid (see Porter, *Travels I* [London, 1821] 569).

31. For list of structures of *chahār tāq* type and of altars see L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Irān ancien*, pp. 239–40.

32. See George F. Hill in Pope, *Survey I* 402–3.

33. *Ibid.* p. 402. See also Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* (London, 1922) pp. clx–clxxxii.

34. See Vol. I 56 and Figs. 16 and 17 A–D.

35. See *ibid.* pp. 55 f. and Fig. 17 E–G.

36. See *IAE*, pp. 276–81.

37. Herzfeld, "Reisebericht," *ZDMG* LXXX (1926) 244. See also *AHI* (1935) p. 48; *AMI* VIII (1937) 12; Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften (AMI, 1. Ergänzungsband* [1938]) legends of Fig. 6 and Pl. IV.

38. By Franz Altheim, "Eine neue Aśoka-Inschrift," *Festschrift Otto Eissfeldt zum 60. Geburtstag* (Halle an der Saale, 1947) pp. 42–46. George G. Cameron, with commendable caution, seriously doubted that the Aramaic text was written at the time of Darius, because an Artaxerxes is almost certainly mentioned in it; see Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets (OIP LXV* [1948]) p. 29.

39. See Richard N. Frye in *American Journal of Archaeology* LIX (1955) 177.

40. See *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abteilung, 4. Band, 1. Abschnitt (Leiden-Köln, 1958) p. 24.

SASANIAN RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS

In the Persepolis area the Sasanian period lasted from the reign of Ardashir I (A.D. 224–41),⁴¹ who defeated the Parthian overlord Ardavan V, until the Arabs occupied neighboring Istakhr in 649/50.⁴² The return of the focus of political power to the homeland of the Achaemenid dynasty is strikingly demonstrated by monumental reliefs carved by the Sasanian monarchs in the cliff of Naqsh-i Rostam, below and near the tombs of their illustrious predecessors, and in the rock of the nearby recess of Naqsh-i Rajab, by the triumphal inscription of Shapur I on the Achaemenid Tower of Naqsh-i Rostam, and by the inscriptions of the lordly priest Kartir.

There are nine reliefs of Sasanian royalty on the cliff of Naqsh-i Rostam, listed chronologically in Table I.

The first two Sasanian kings carved reliefs in the low rock walls of Naqsh-i Rajab also: investiture scenes of Ardashir I (NRa I; see pp. 123–25) and Shapur I (NRa II; see pp. 125 f.) and Shapur I with his court (NRa III; see pp. 126 f.).

Perhaps the most significant monument emphasizing the renewed prominence of Naqsh-i Rostam is the trilingual inscription—Middle Persian, Greek, and Parthian—which Shapur I engraved on the east, south, and west walls

41. Actually a few years before, when Ardashir founded the city of Ardashir Khurrah (see p. 125, with n. 35).

42. That is, about seven years after the decisive victory of the Arabs at Nihavand and about two years prior to the death (in 651/52) of the last Sasanian king, Yazdagird III; cf. Bertold Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, "Veröffentlichungen der orientalischen Kommission" II [Wiesbaden, 1952]) pp. 17 and 20.

of the Achaemenid Tower (No. 5 on Fig. 2). It is considered the most important of all Sasanian inscriptions.⁴³

One of the four extant inscriptions of the priest Kartir, all written in Middle Persian, was also discovered on the Tower, below the Middle Persian version of Shapur's

TABLE I
SASANIAN RELIEFS AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM

DESIGNATION	REIGN OF	DATE OF REIGN	NO. ON FIG. 2	SEE PAGES
NRu I	Ardashir I	A.D. 224–41	1	122 f.
NRu II	Shapur I	241–72*	12	127
NRu III	Bahram II	276–93	2	129 f.
NRu IV	Bahram II	276–93	14	130 f.
NRu V	Bahram II	276–93	15	131
NRu VI	Narseh	293–302	16	134
NRu VII	Hormizd II	302–9	11	135 f.
NRu VIII	Adarnarseh?	309	10	136
NRu IX	Shapur II?	309–79	8	136 f.

* Relief later than A.D. 260.

record on the east wall. A second inscription of Kartir, with a relief of his bust (NRu II K; see p. 131), is appended to the triumphal relief of Shapur I at Naqsh-i Rostam (NRu II), and a third inscription, also with bust (NRa IV; see p. 131), is found beside the relief of Ardashir I at Naqsh-i Rajab (NRa I). For Kartir's fourth inscription, at Sar-Mashhad, see page 132.

43. See report of W. B. Henning in *Bulletin de la Commission nationale iranienne pour l'U.N.E.S.C.O.* III (Téhéran, 1951) 46.

III

THE EXCAVATIONS AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM

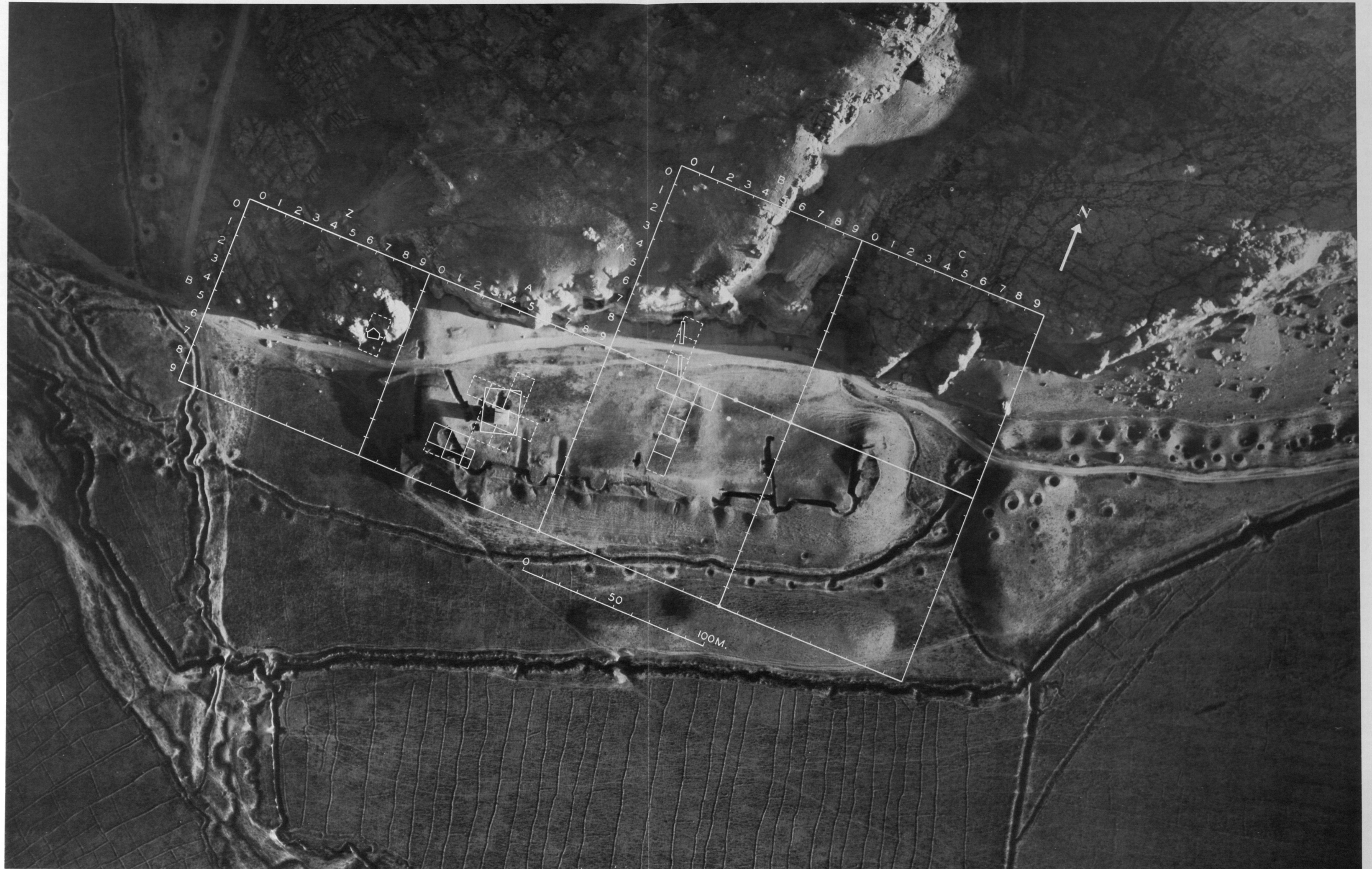


FIG. 4. AIR MAP OF SITE OF NAQSH-I RUSTAM WITH SURVEY GRID (May 8, 1936; 6:01 A.M.)

SUMMARY LOG¹

IN 1933, according to letters on file in the Oriental Institute, Herzfeld traced the exterior face of the presumably Sasanian mud-brick fortification which confines the principal mound deposit of the site (see p. 58 and Figs. 2 and 4). At the same time part of a mud-brick building (see p. 54) was uncovered southwest of the Achaemenid Tower, and tracts west and northwest of the Tower and at the eastern border of our Quadrant BB were sounded by means of trenches. An excavation marked on Figure 4 adjacent to and north of the Tower was started by Flandin and Coste in 1840 (see p. 11) and apparently extended at some later time.²

In 1936, the writer decided to continue the tests at Naqsh-i Rostam but to concentrate on the deposit within the immured area. On May 8 the site was surveyed by means of aerial photographs: oblique panoramic views (e.g. Fig. 2)³ for recording the elevations and relative positions of mound, cliff, and monuments; vertical views, which with the aid of control points marked on the ground were immediately convertible into maps (Fig. 4).⁴

On May 13 work was started in the Center Test, which eventually included Plots BB 03-05, 14, 24, 34, and the northern part of 44. The most important find was a hoard of Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian silver coins (see p. 63) uncovered on May 19 in the top layer of Plot BB 05.

A test in Plot AB 79 was soon discontinued because of the depth of a talus of rubble mixed with stone flakes which had undoubtedly been chipped off the cliff by stonecutters who smoothed a nearby panel (No. 17 on Fig. 2).

The clearing of the Tower (No. 5 on Fig. 2) was begun on June 1, and on June 12 the Middle Persian version of Shapur I's great inscription (Pl. 16) was discovered on the east wall (see Fig. 16 B). The excavation, which concentrated on Plots BA 45-46 and 56, was stopped on June 13, to be resumed in 1939.

In the meantime, beginning in the autumn of 1938, the royal tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam were documented through the combined efforts of the photographer, Boris Dubensky, and the architect, Richard C. Haines. An enormous scaffold (see Pl. 18) constructed under Dubensky's supervision enabled him to record the tomb façades by undistorted horizontal exposures. A relief of Hormizd II (No. 11 on Fig. 2) was discovered at this time (see pp. 135 f.). The tomb of Darius I was documented with particular thor-

oughness, because it could be entered from the scaffold whereas access to the other three tombs had to be gained with the aid of ladders. Our surveys enabled us to correct those made in the past, especially the plan of Xerxes' tomb. The easily accessible tombs near the Persepolis Terrace were photographed between 1936 and 1939 and surveyed in the summer of 1939.

During our second season at Naqsh-i Rostam, starting on June 5, 1939, work in the Center Test was continued in Plots BB 03-05 and 14, and parts of Plots AB 73, 83, and 93 were sounded by means of a narrow trench. A rock-cut cistern, located west of the mound in a recess of the cliff, was tested in Plots BZ 38 and 48. Our main effort involved clearing the Tower, defining its ground level, and determining the depth of the mound at this point. Here we excavated a rectangular area (23.60 × 20.30 m.) oriented in accordance with the directions of the Tower walls (see Figs. 4 and 17).

We were soon rewarded by the discovery, between June 6 and 9, of the Greek and Parthian versions of Shapur's inscription on the south and west faces of the Tower (see Fig. 16 C and D) and of the inscription of the priest Kartir below Shapur's Middle Persian version on the east face. We left a thin wall of soil in front of the inscribed areas to protect them from the action of the sun until the excavation was carried deep enough to permit recording by means of photographs and squeezes. The squeezes, made of a rubber compound, subsequently served as molds for plaster casts (Pls. 14, 15, and 17).⁵

The excavation revealed the remnant of a staircase, which once gave access to the only room of the Tower, and established the fact that the imposing structure rises from a terraced base. There was never any real doubt that the Tower is Achaemenid. An earlier stratum could have been expected because of the presence of a pre-Achaemenid relief on the cliff (see p. 10), but we found that the ground level of the Tower was the bottom level of the mound at this point.

In the West Test, comprising sections of Plots BA 73-74 and adjacent squares, we completed the excavation of the mud-brick building which had been partially exposed by Herzfeld's crew. The test revealed the presence of a second, similar, structure and a culvert piercing a wall which antedates the assumedly Sasanian fortress wall.

The excavations at Naqsh-i Rostam were terminated on July 31, 1939. A small crew continued to prepare sun-dried bricks which were to be used to buttress the trench walls around the Tower, but we were unable to carry through our intention. In order to delay damage, we built steps of baked bricks in the wall of the northern trench (see Fig. 16 F) and erected shelters to protect the inscriptions on the Tower faces.

5. Molds and casts are stored in the Oriental Institute.

1. For a summary record of all activities of the Persepolis Expedition see Vol. I 3-5.

2. Curzon, *Persia* II 144, refers to excavations by a Governor-General of Fars, about 1874. Except for a sketch plan drawn by Karl Bergner in 1934, the Persepolis Expedition has no records of Herzfeld's excavations at Naqsh-i Rostam. Bergner's plan does not indicate any work at the Tower.

3. See also Schmidt, *Flights*, Pl. 12.

4. See *OIC* No. 21, pp. 136 f.

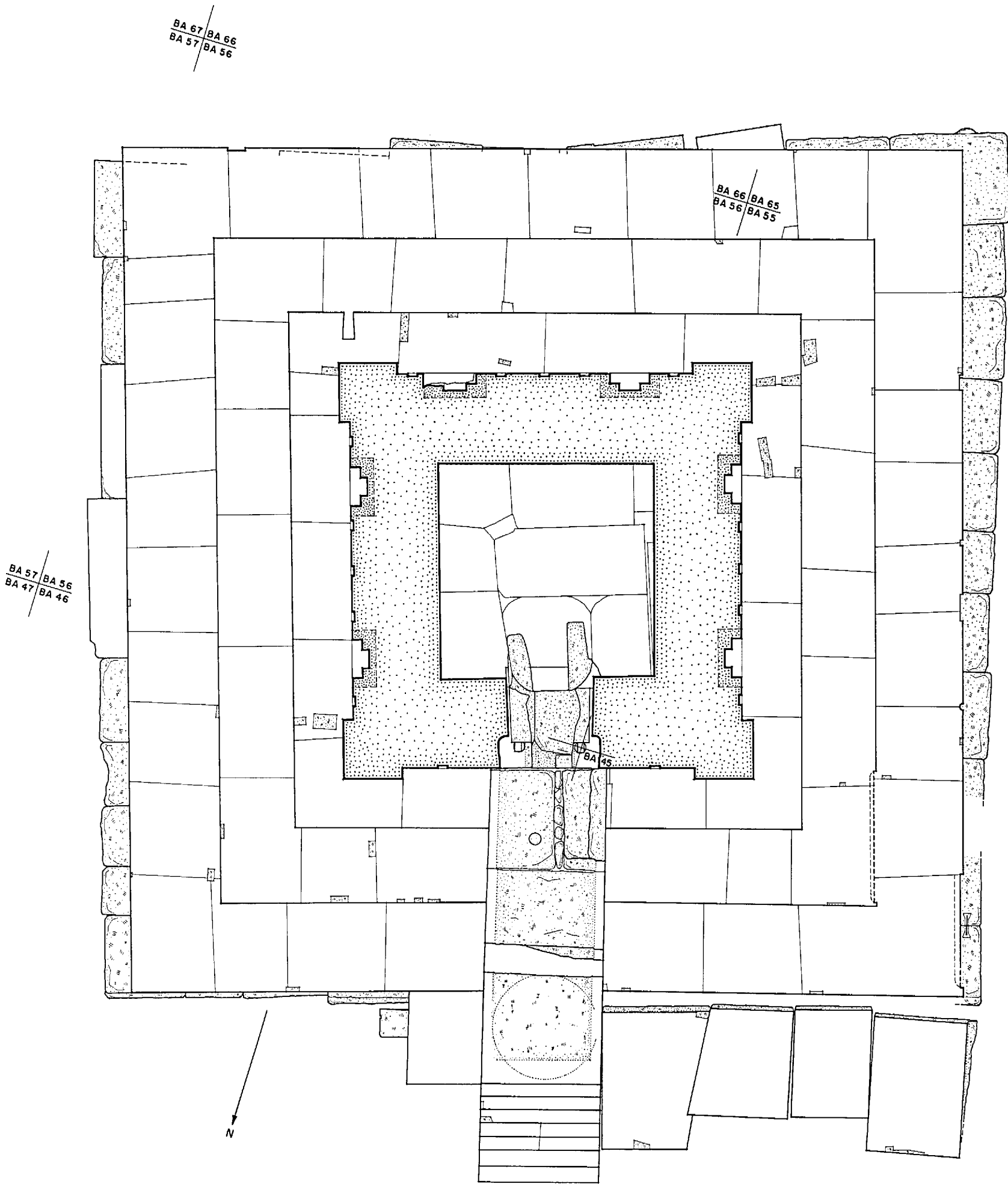


FIG. 5. PLAN OF THE TOWER OF NAQSH-I RUSTAM. SCALE, 1:80

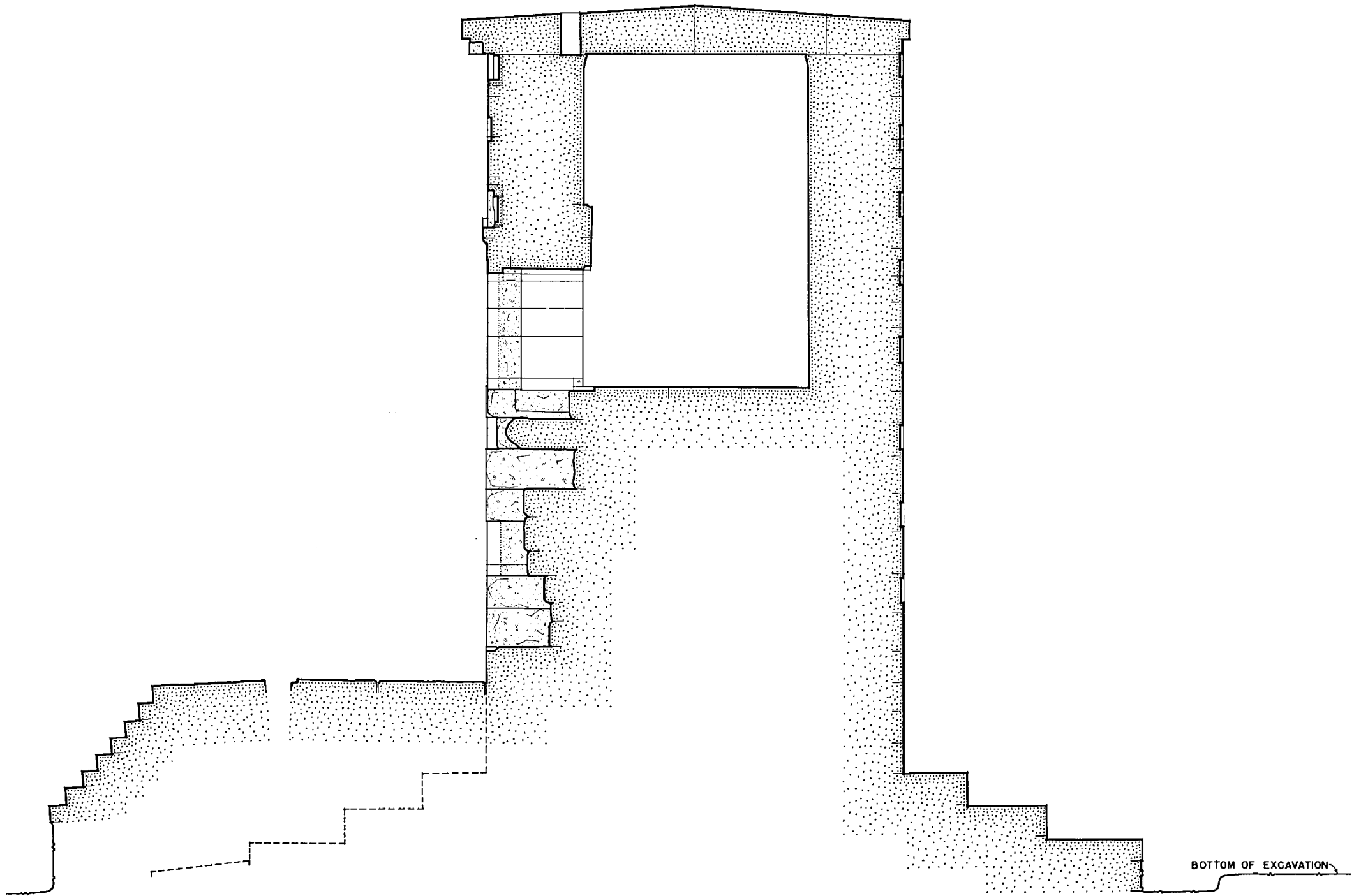


FIG 6. SECTION OF THE TOWER. SCALE, 1:80

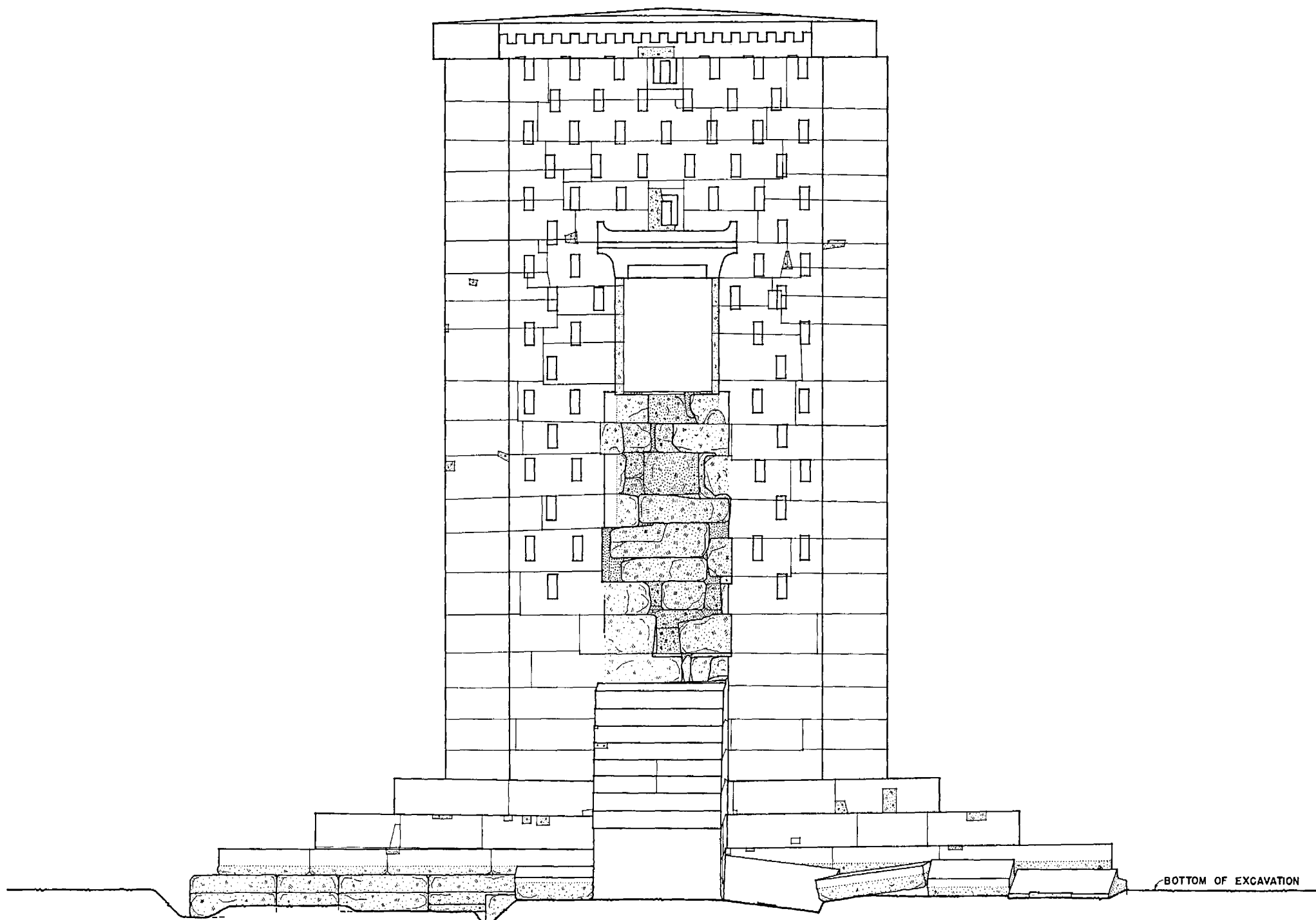


FIG 7. ELEVATION OF NORTH FACE OF THE TOWER. SCALE, 1:80

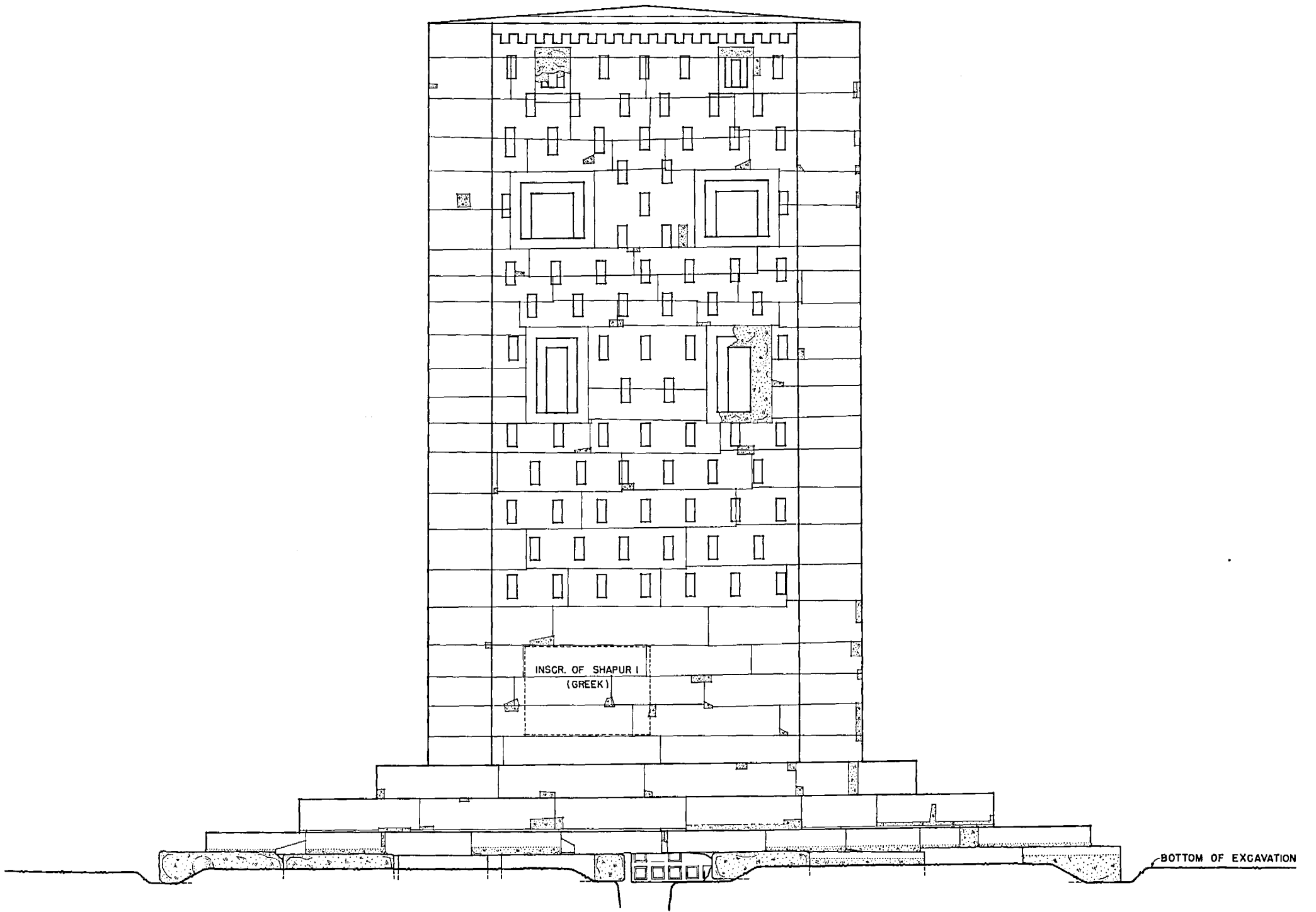


FIG. 8. ELEVATION OF SOUTH FACE OF THE TOWER. SCALE, 1:80

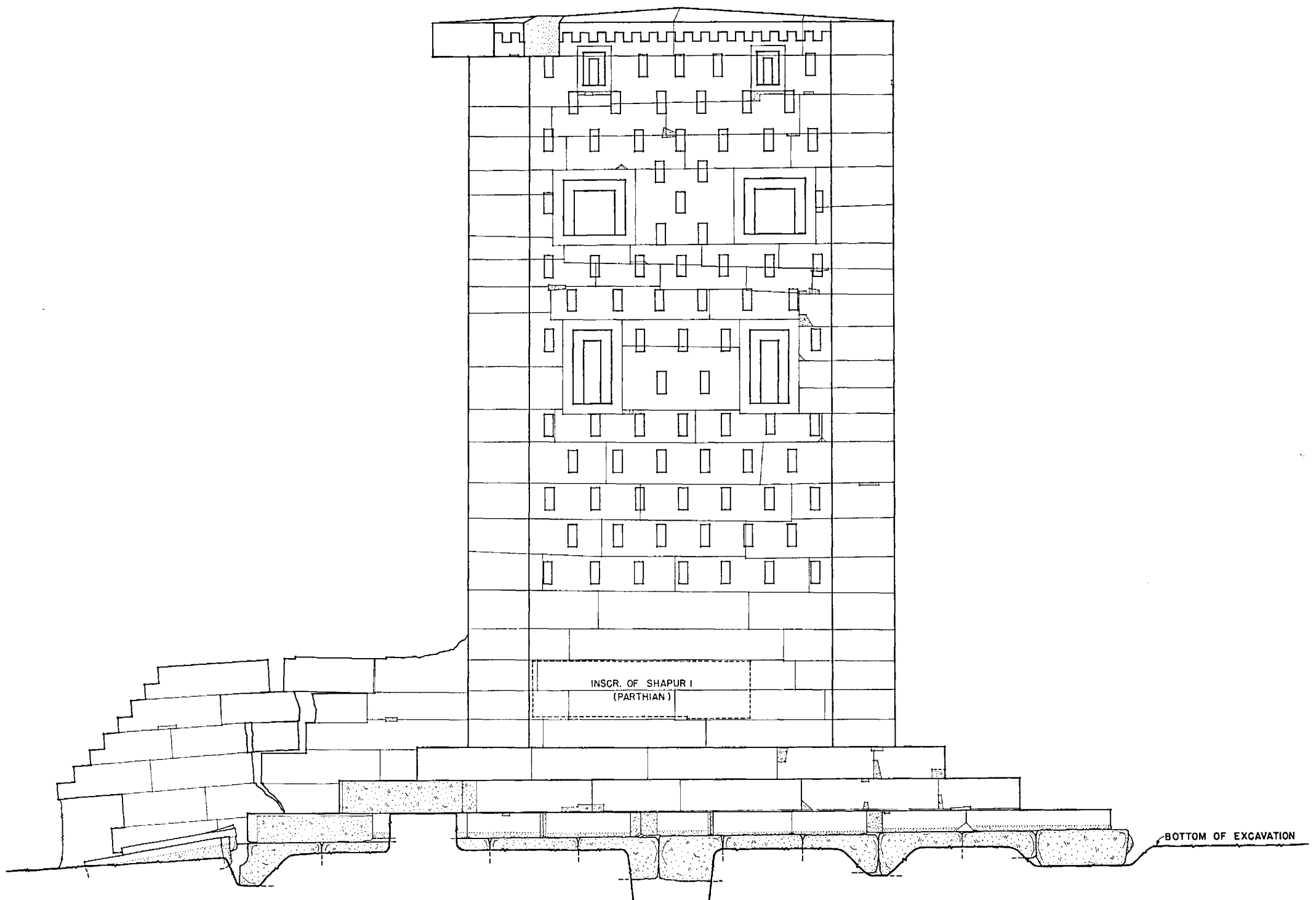


FIG. 9. ELEVATION OF WEST FACE OF THE TOWER. SCALE, 1:80

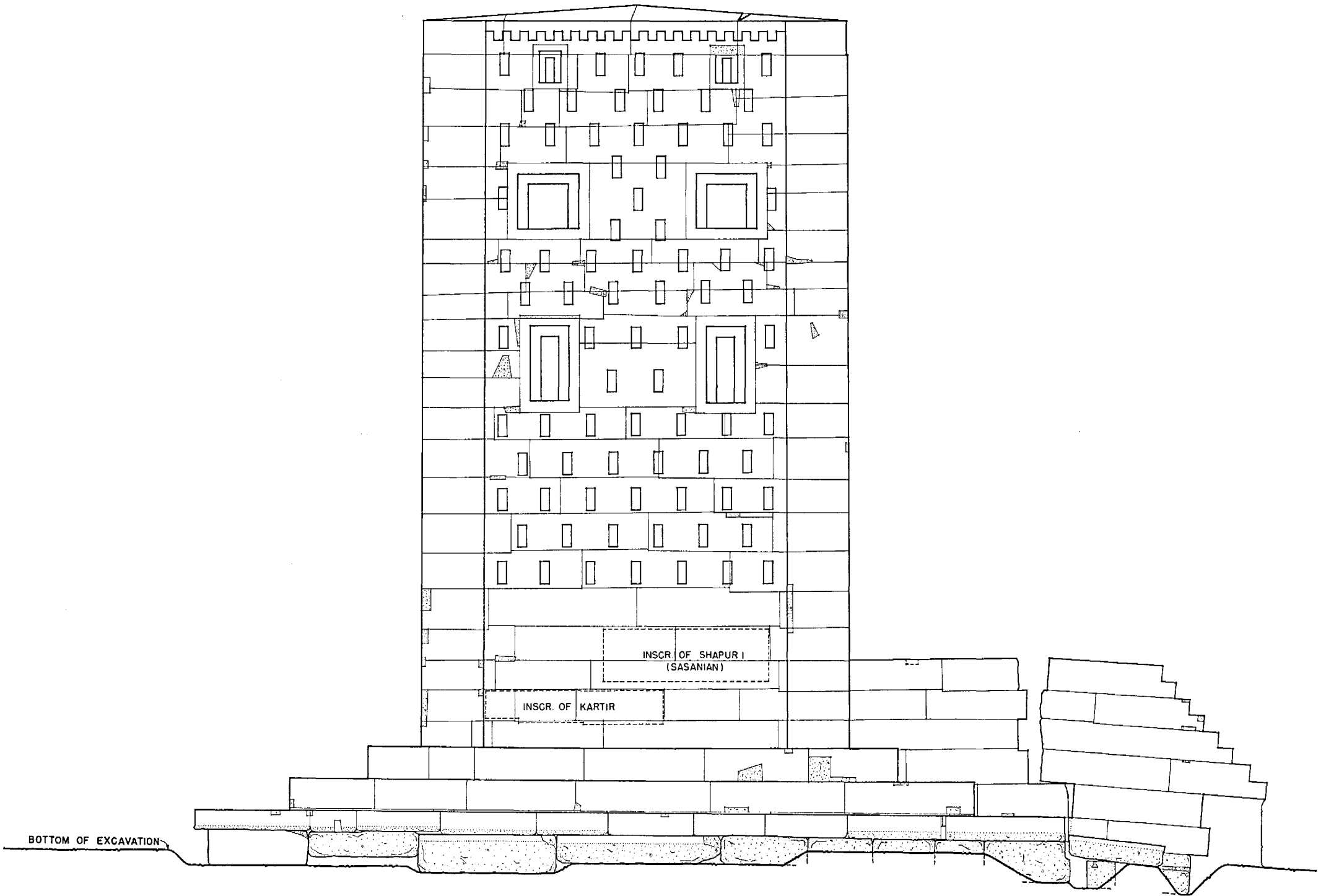


FIG. 10. ELEVATION OF EAST FACE OF THE TOWER. SCALE, 1:80

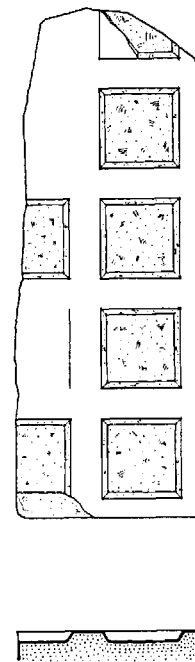
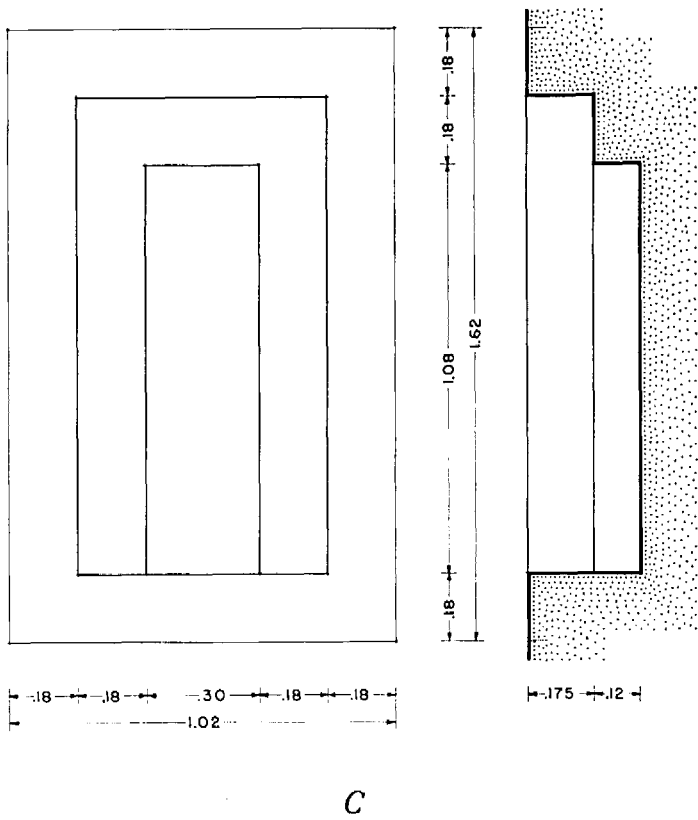
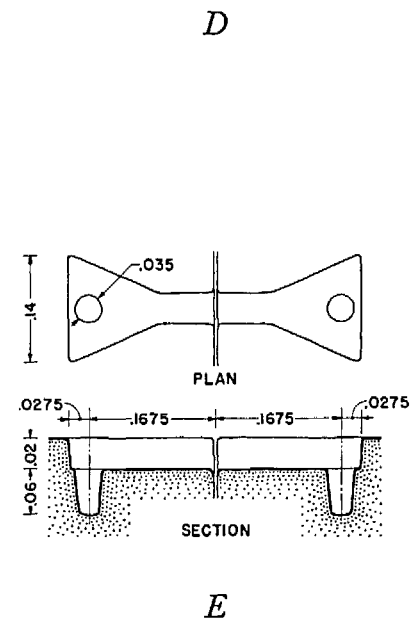
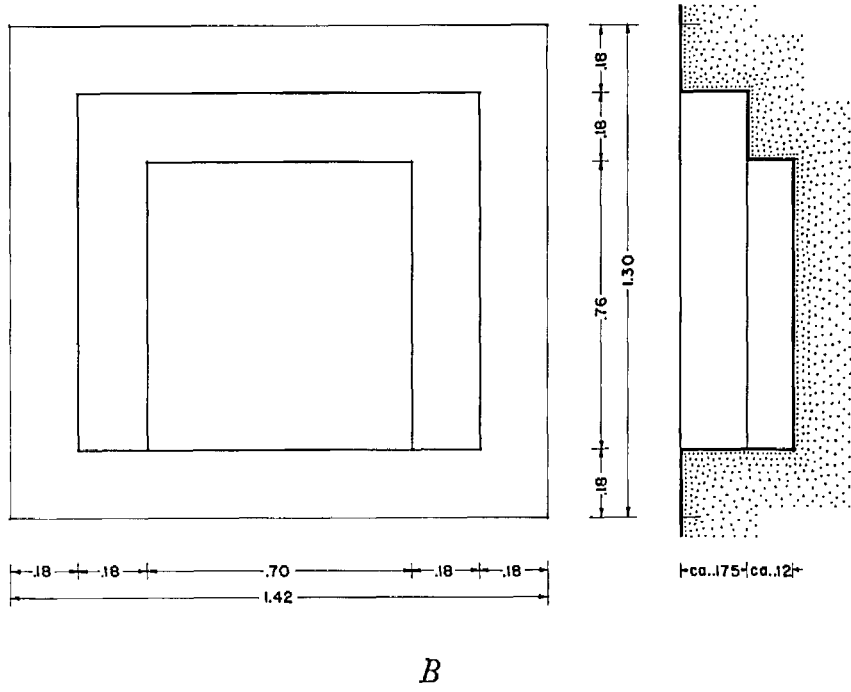
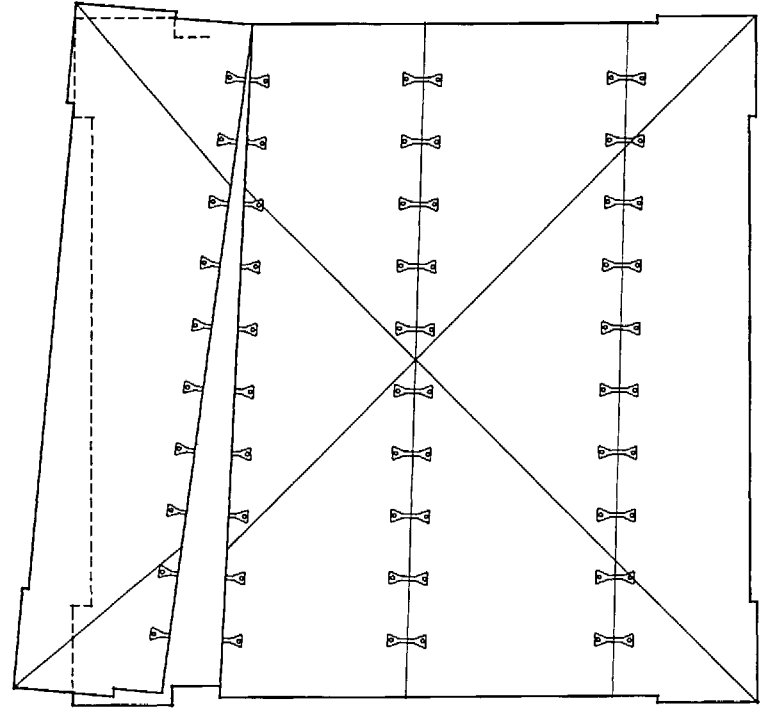
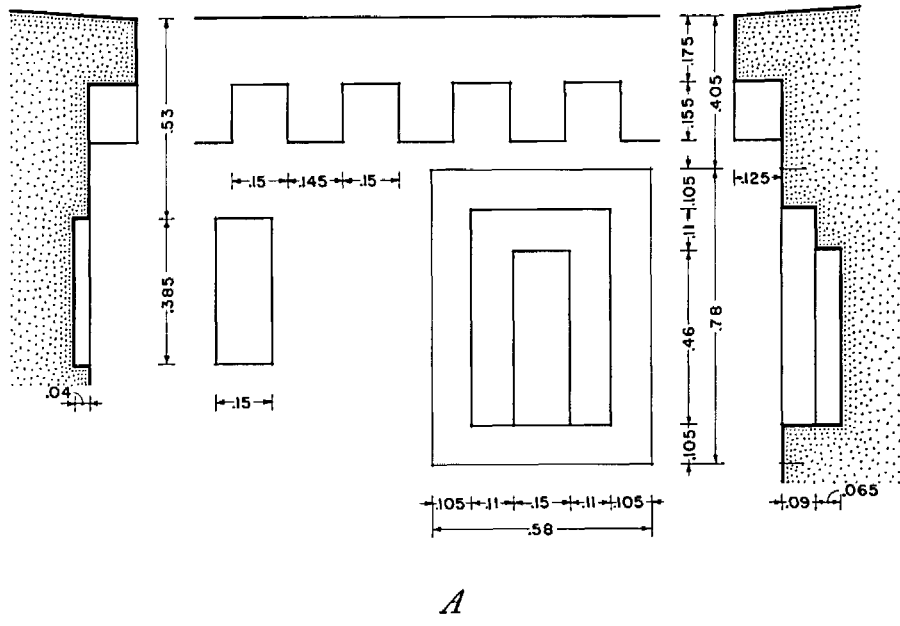


FIG. 11. DETAILS OF THE TOWER. *A.* FALSE WINDOW OF TOP TIER, CORNICE, AND DECORATIVE DEPRESSION. *B.* FALSE WINDOW OF CENTRAL TIER. *C.* FALSE WINDOW OF LOWEST TIER. *D.* ROOF. *E.* CRAMP HOLE IN ROOF. *F.* WROUGHT STONE IN FOUNDATION. SCALES, 1:20 (*A-C, F*), 1:80 (*D*), AND 1:10 (*E*)

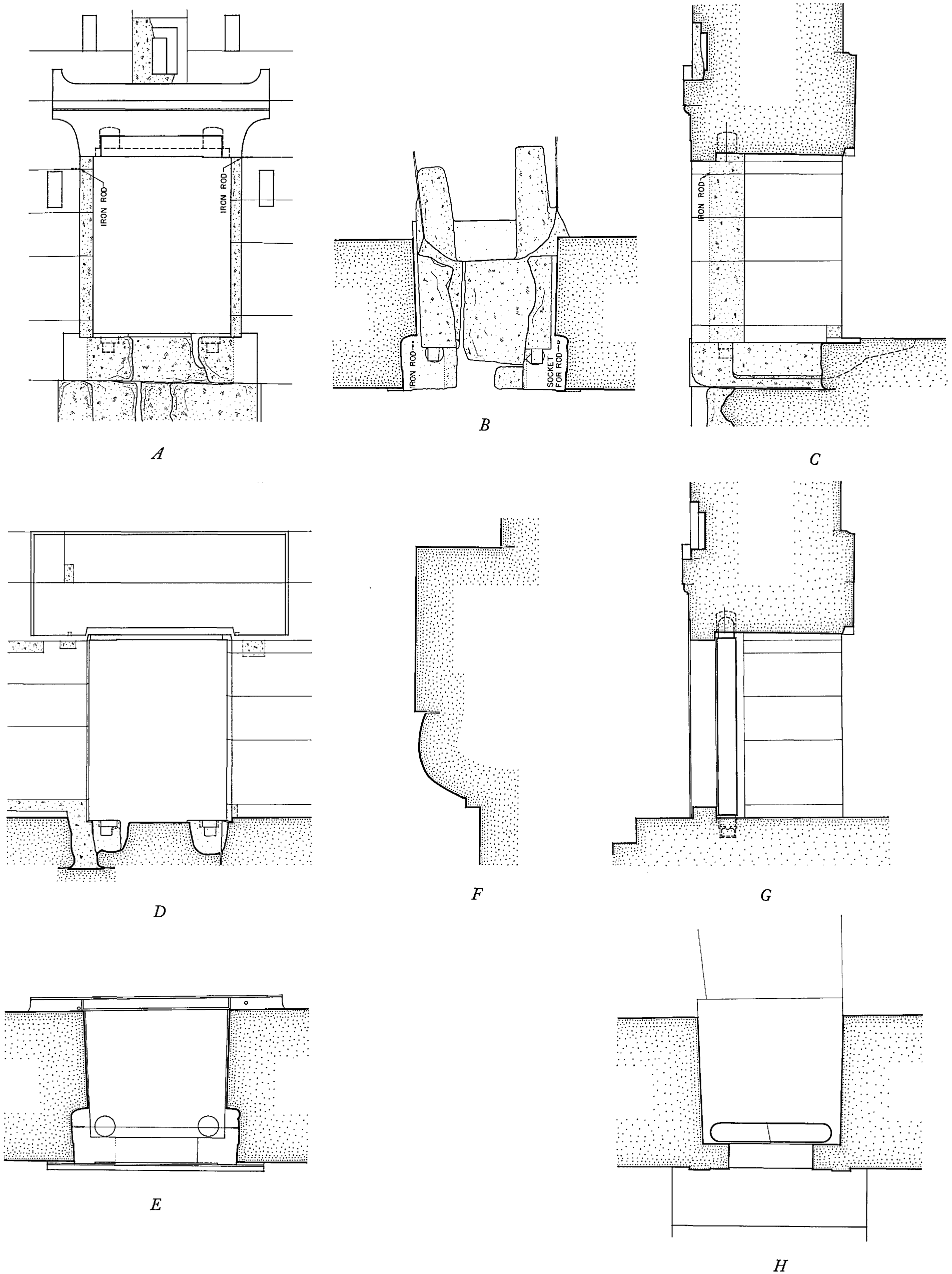
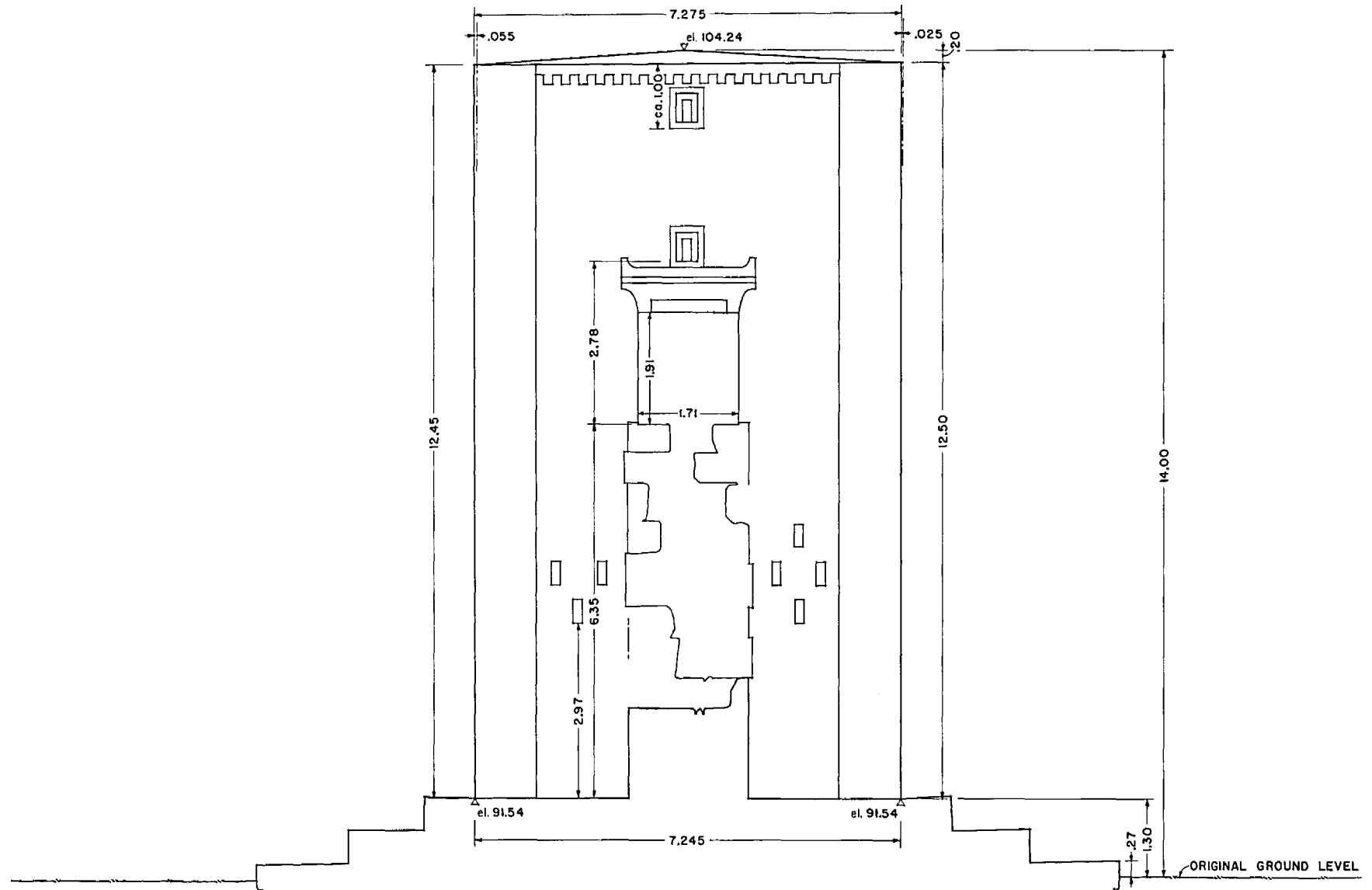
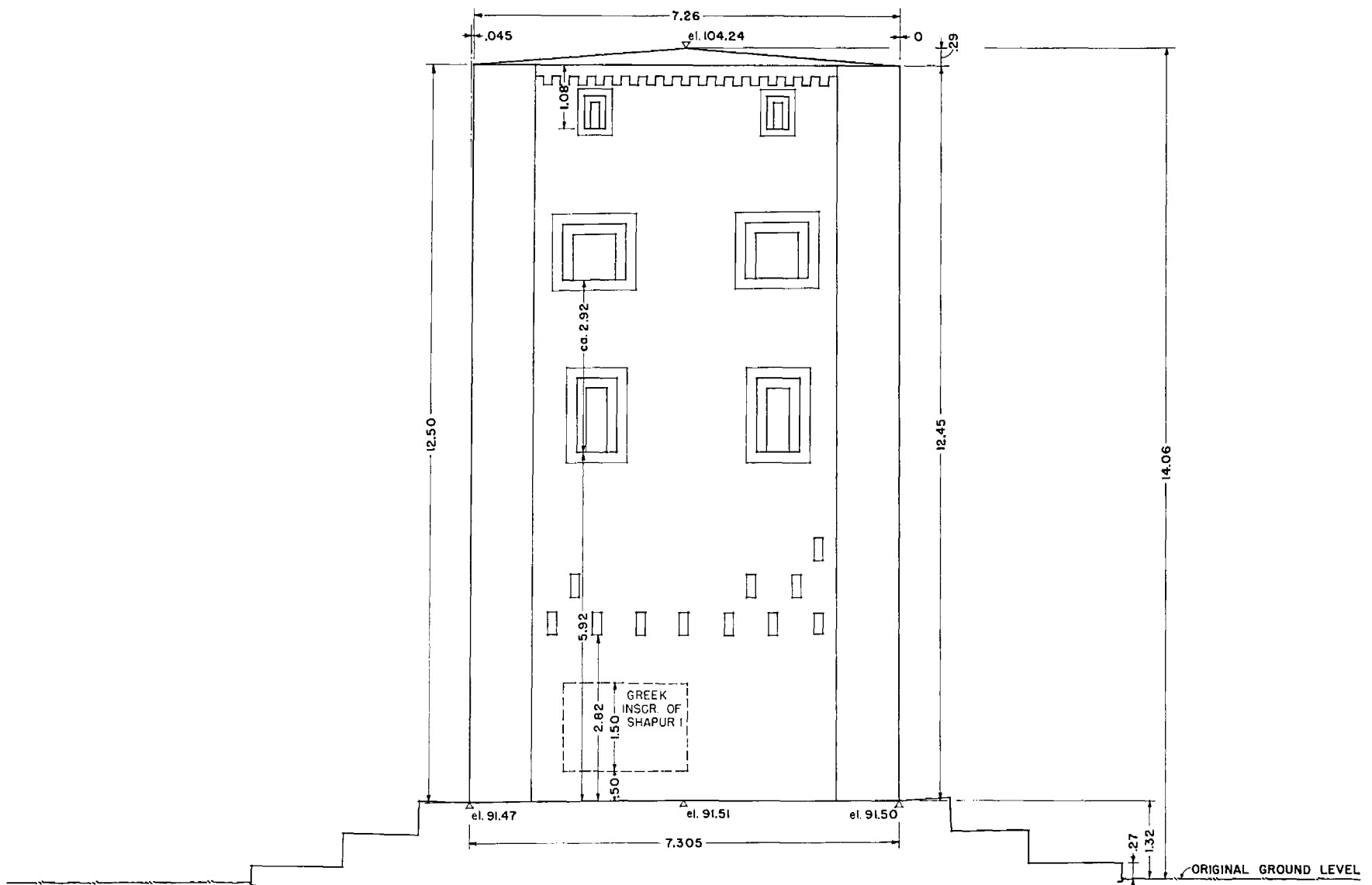


FIG. 12. THE TOWER DOORWAY. *A.* EXTERIOR ELEVATION. *B.* PLAN. *C.* SECTION. *D.* INTERIOR ELEVATION. *E.* REFLECTED PLAN OF CEILING. *F.* SECTION OF CORNICE. *G.* RECONSTRUCTED SECTION. *H.* RECONSTRUCTED PLAN. SCALES, 1:4 (*F*) AND 1:40

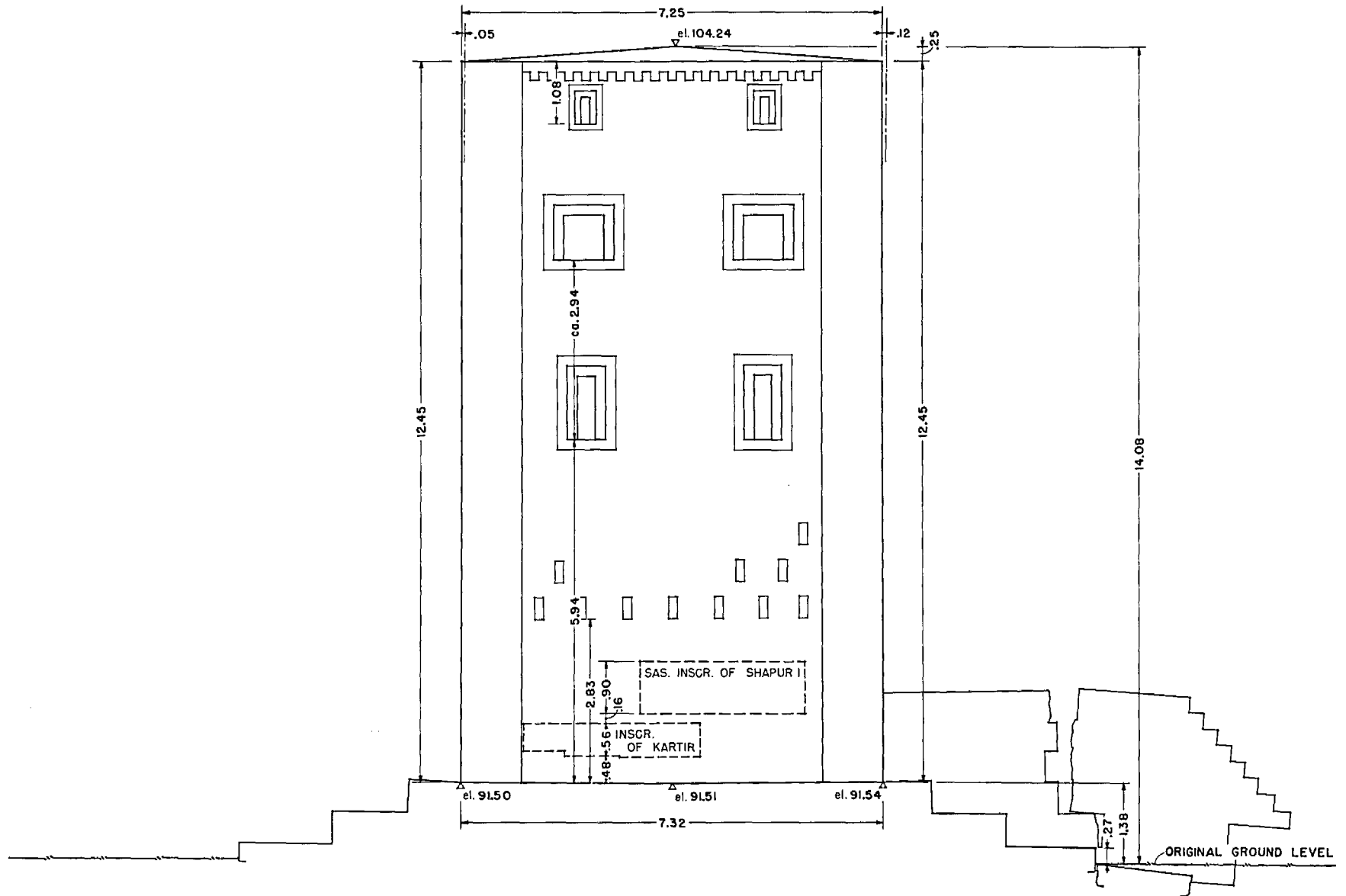


A

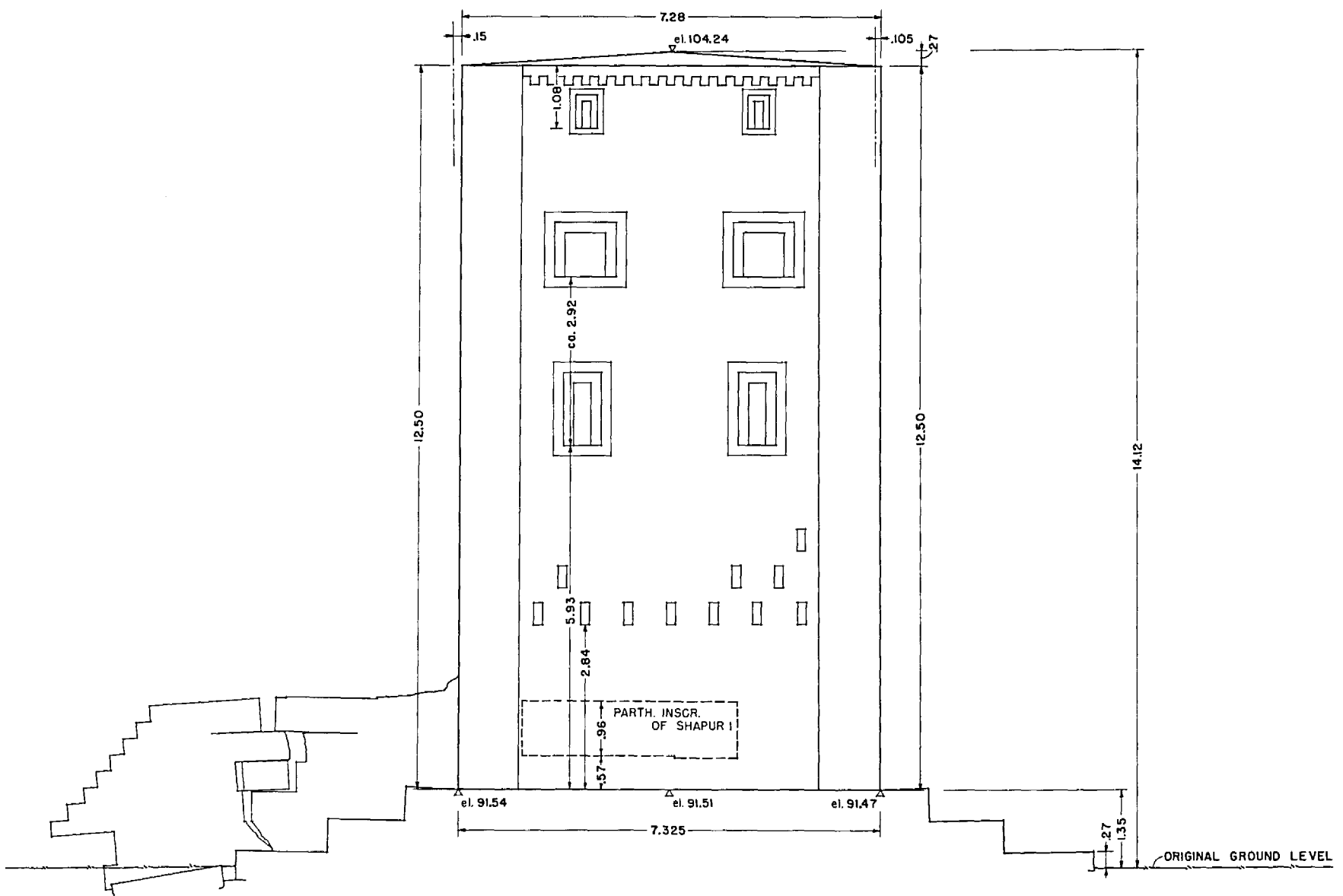


B

FIG. 13. SCHEMATIZED NORTH (A) AND SOUTH (B) FAÇADES OF THE TOWER WITH MAIN DIMENSIONS. SCALE, 1:100



A



B

FIG. 14. SCHEMATIZED EAST (A) AND WEST (B) FAÇADES OF THE TOWER WITH MAIN DIMENSIONS. SCALE, 1:100

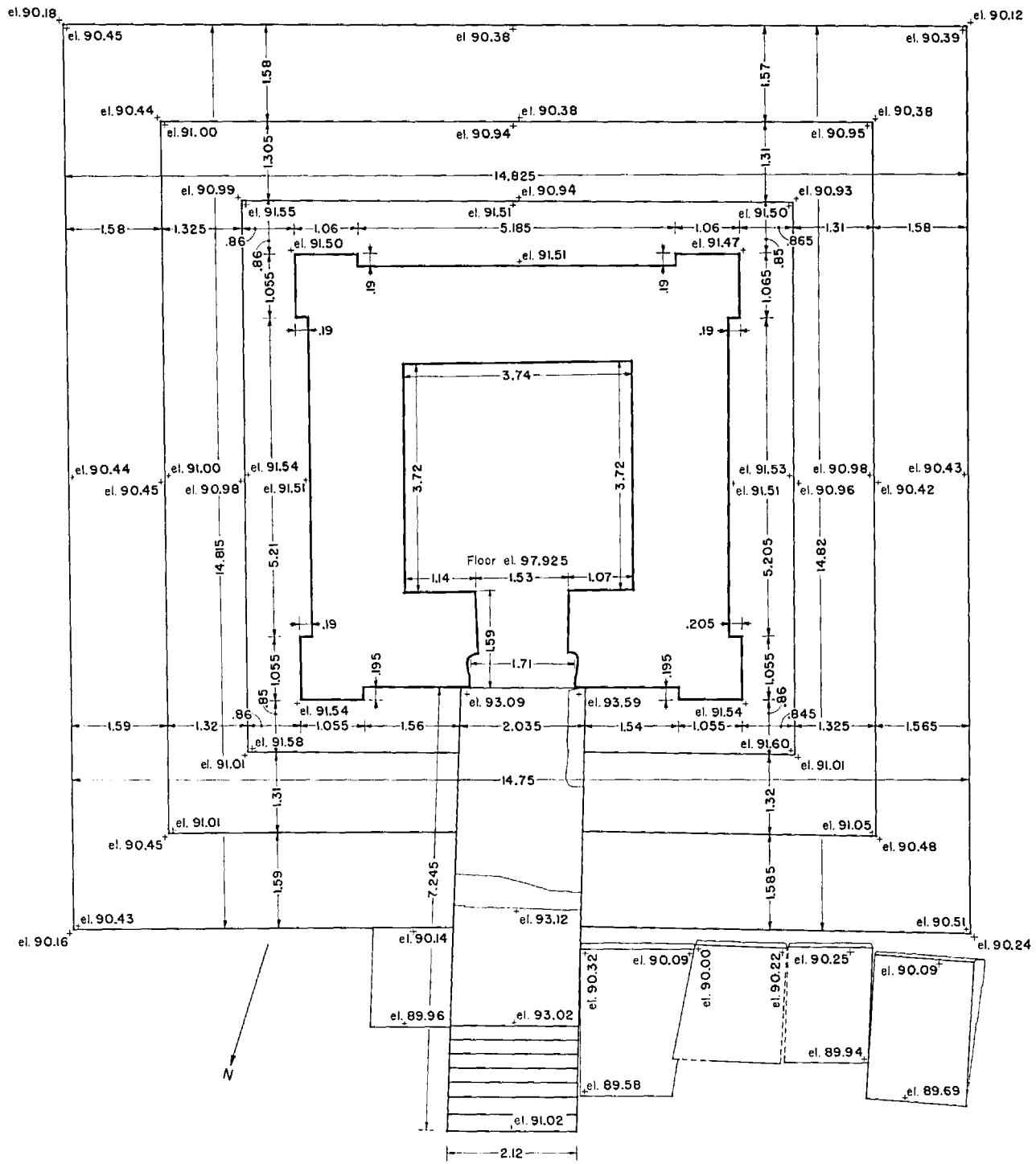
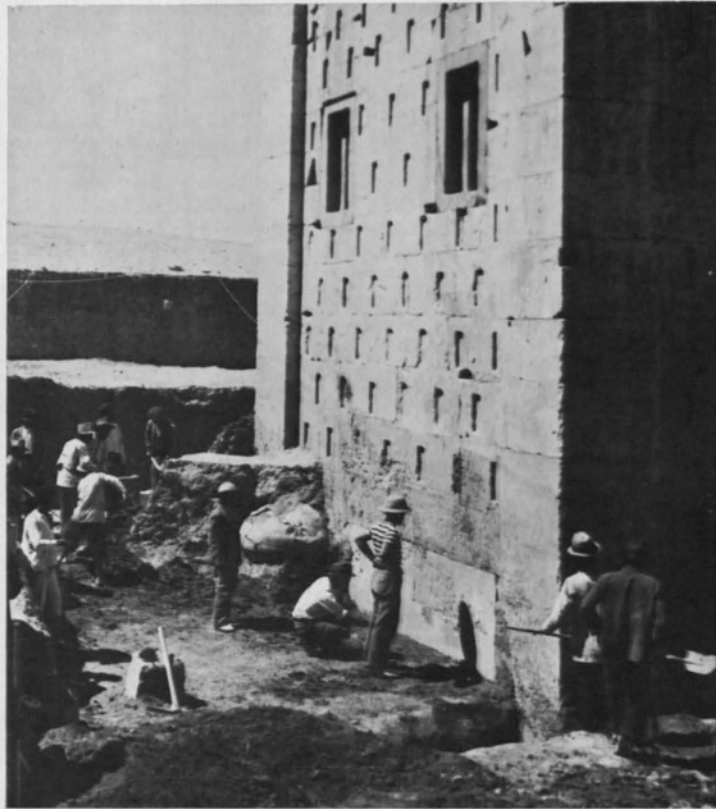


FIG. 15. SCHEMATIZED PLAN OF THE TOWER WITH MAIN ELEVATIONS AND DIMENSIONS. SCALE, 1:100



A



B



C



D

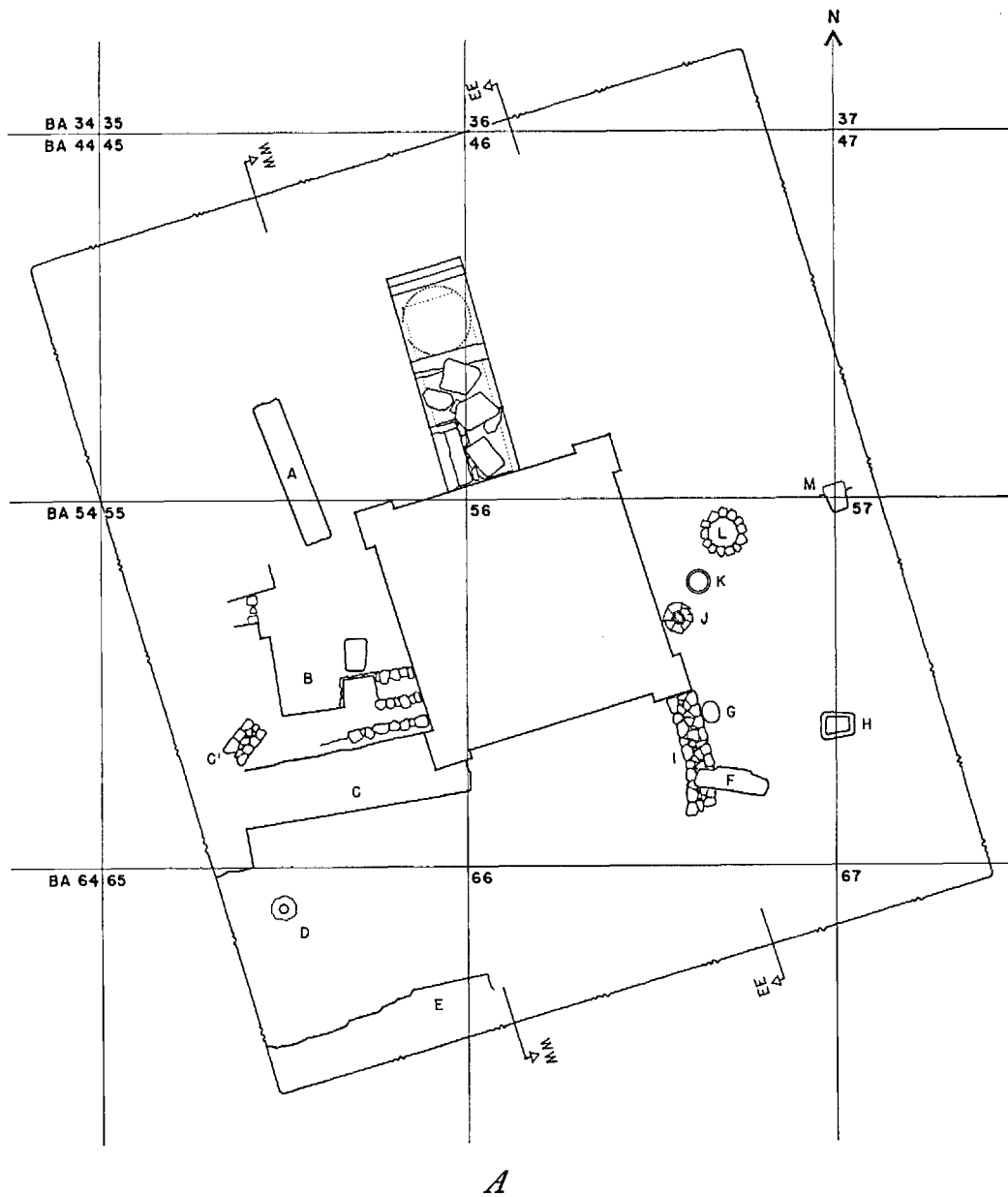


E

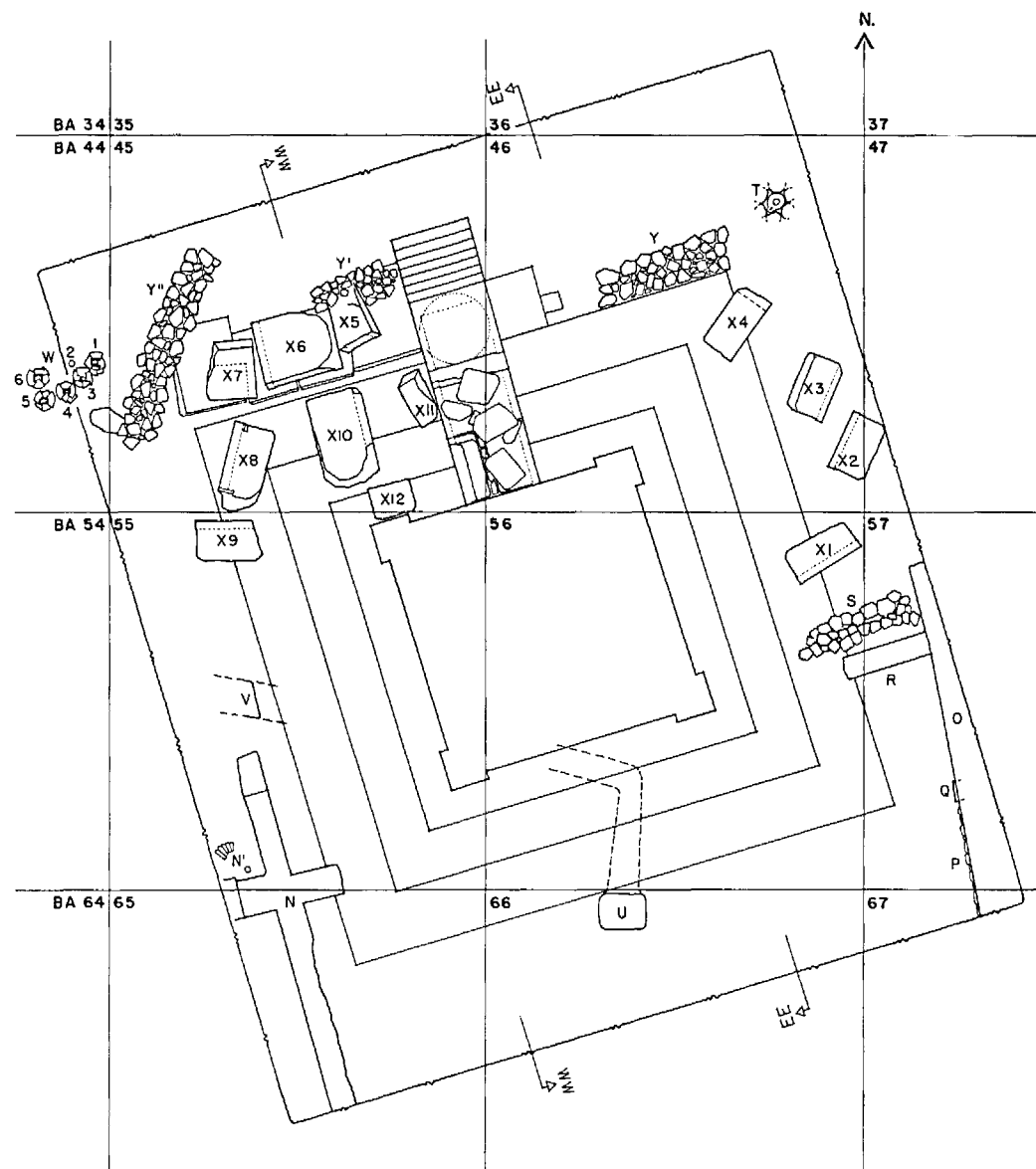


F

FIG. 16. EXCAVATION VIEWS OF THE TOWER. A. NORTHEAST CORNER. B-D. DISCOVERY OF MIDDLE PERSIAN, GREEK, AND PARTHIAN TEXTS OF INSCRIPTION OF SHAPUR I ON EAST, SOUTH, AND WEST WALLS RESPECTIVELY. E. SASANIAN STUCCO *in situ* ON FLOOR TO WEST. F. AREA TO NORTH, SHOWING BRICK STAIRS BUILT BY EXPEDITION



A



B

FIG. 17. PLANS OF STRUCTURAL REMAINS EXCAVATED ADJACENT TO THE TOWER. A. UPPER LEVELS. B. LOWER LEVELS. SCALE, 1:200

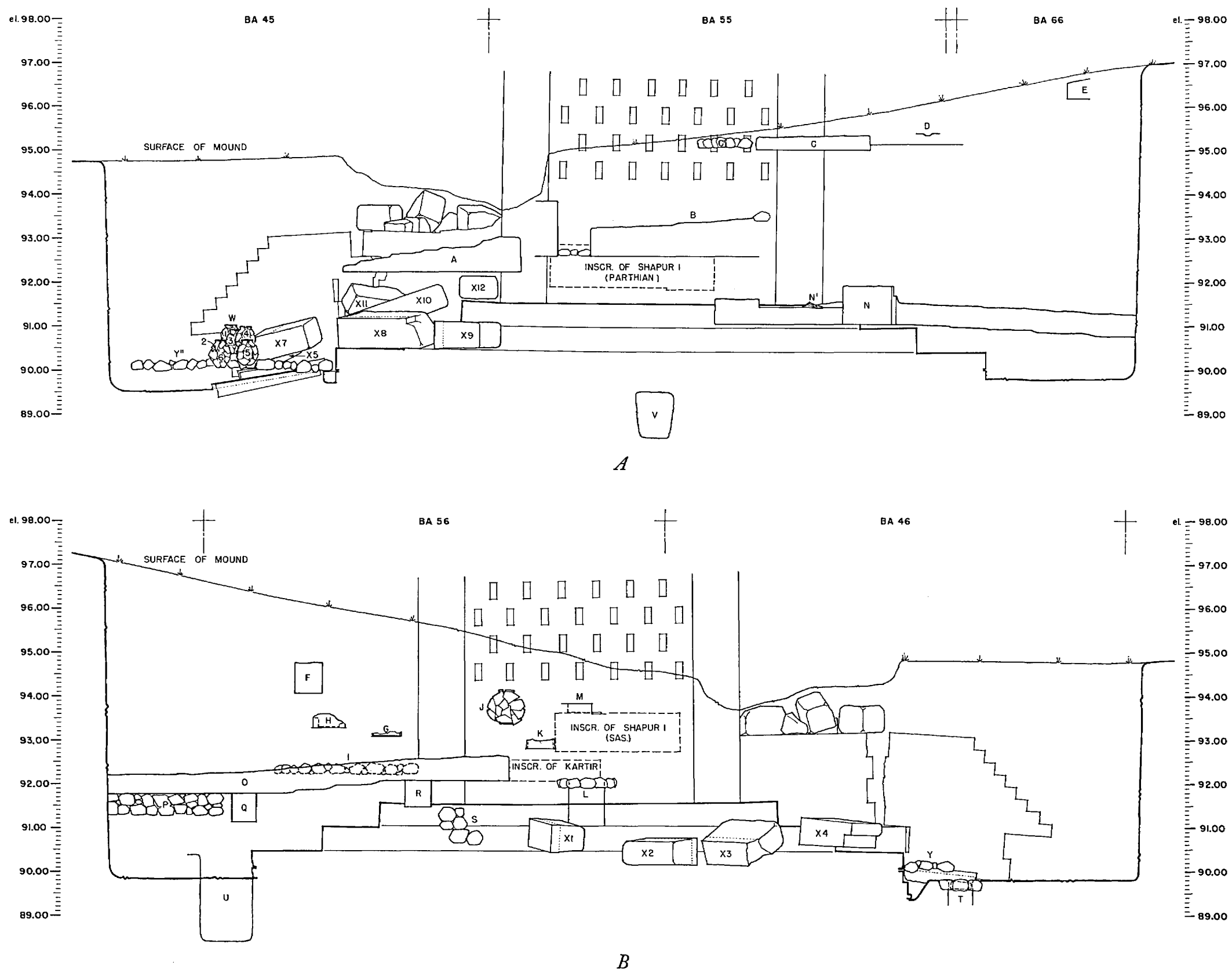


FIG. 18. STRUCTURAL REMAINS SHOWN IN FIGURE 17 PROJECTED ON SECTION *WW* (A) AND SECTION *EE* (B). SCALE, 1:100

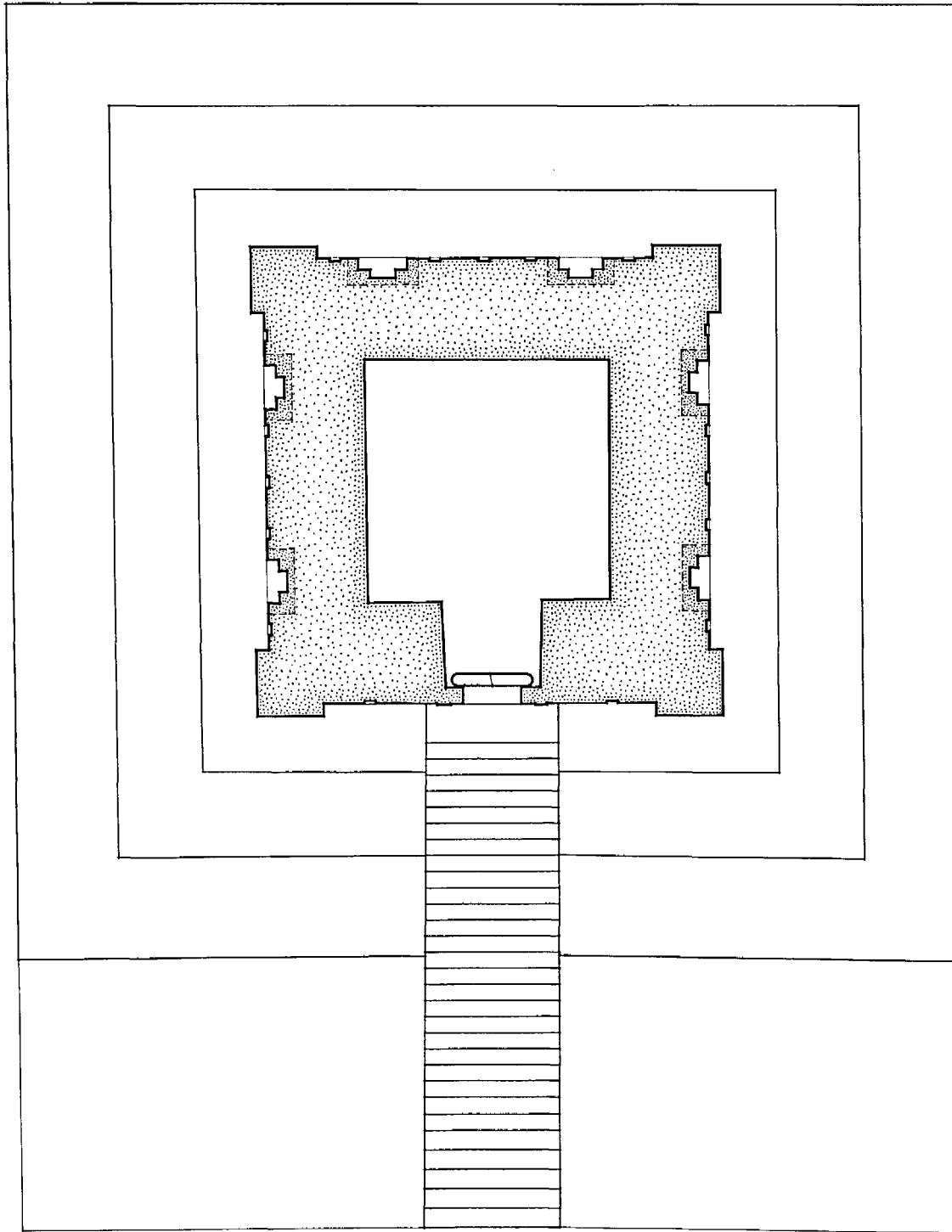
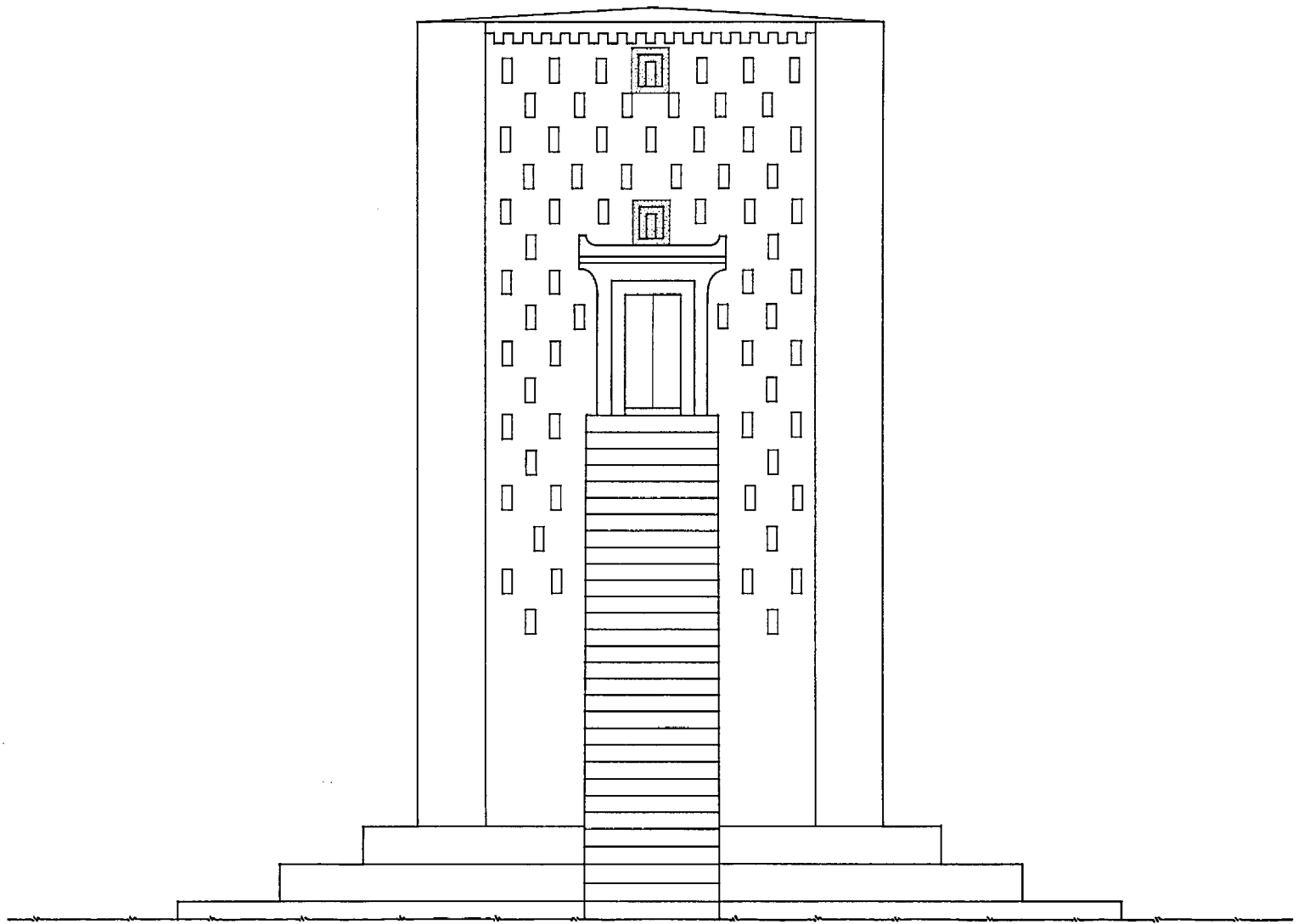
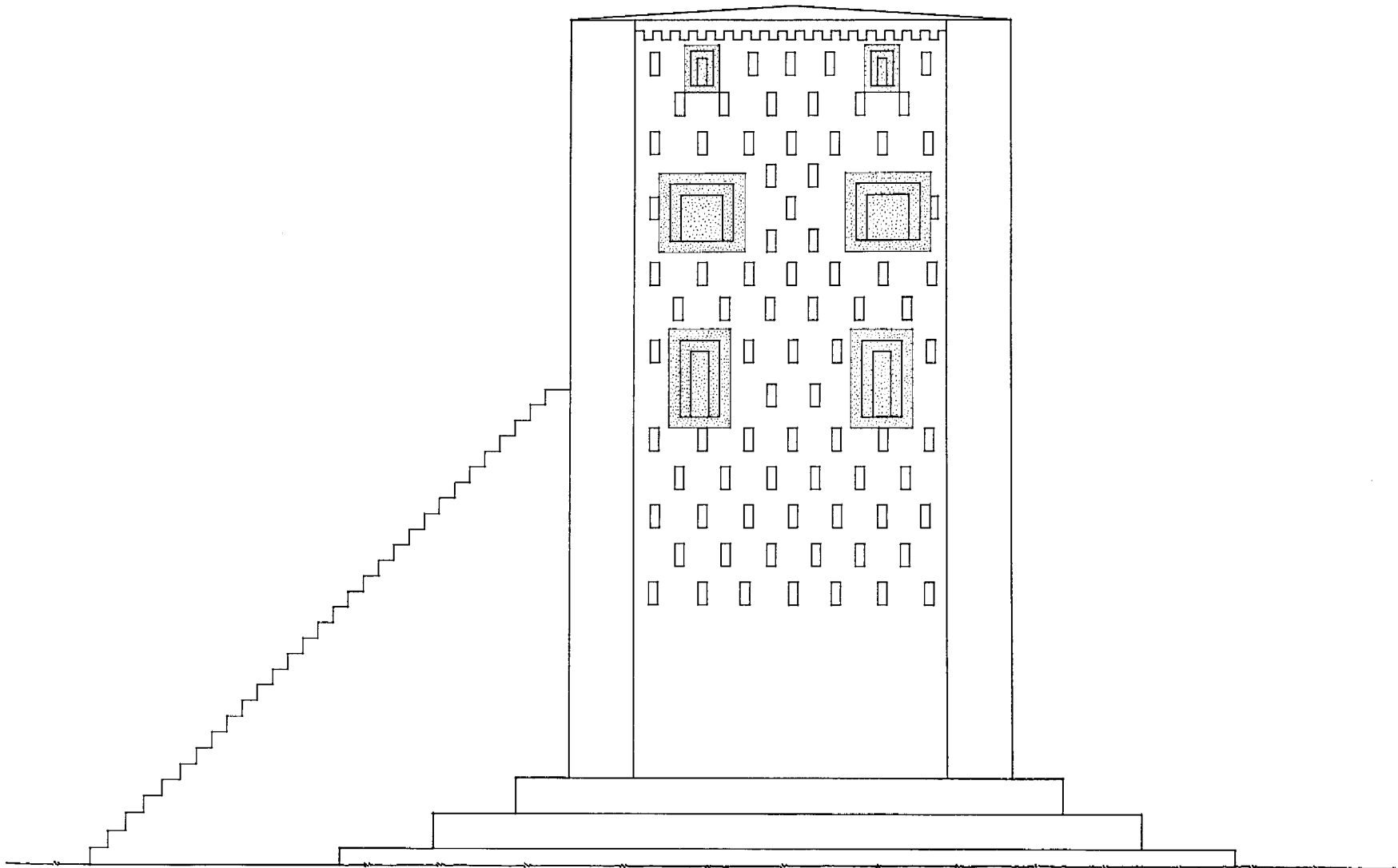


FIG. 19. RECONSTRUCTED PLAN OF THE TOWER. SCALE, 1:100



A



B

FIG. 20. RECONSTRUCTED ELEVATIONS OF NORTH (*A*) AND WEST (*B*) FAÇADES OF THE TOWER. SCALE, 1:100

THE TOWER

ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION

To avoid repetitions while correlating parts of the Tower with the stratigraphy of the adjacent deposits, we find it necessary to describe the entire structure before giving an account of its excavation.

Viewed from certain directions, particularly from the south, that part of the Tower which was exposed above ground prior to our excavation had an almost cubiform appearance (see Pls. 1 and 3¹). Thus the shape and the fact, known to the Muslims, that the structure was built in pre-Islamic times may explain the term *Ka'bah-i Zardusht* ("Cube of Zoroaster") applied to it by the natives.² Our excavation revealed the pyramidal base of three steps and thus greatly altered and enhanced the appearance of the building. The *Ka'bah* was transformed into the impressive Tower, whose true height and terraced pedestal neither we nor others could have visualized (cf. p. 38). We did expect to find traces of the stone stairs whose remnants, formerly buried beneath debris, abut the north wall of the structure. The staircase once led to a doorway giving access to the room in the upper part of the building (see Fig. 6).

The upper parts of the wall faces, crowned by denticulate cornices beneath the edges of the flat pyramidal roof, are ornamented with false windows and rows of uniformly staggered rectangular depressions. Perhaps we owe our most significant discovery at Naqsh-i Rostam to the fact that the builders of the Tower omitted these ornamental depressions on the lower parts of the walls, for the blank spaces on the east, south, and west were subsequently chosen for the monumental inscriptions of Shapur I and the priest Kartir.

Except for the false windows of dark gray limestone (see p. 35) the Tower is of light-colored limestone which was undoubtedly quarried in the immediate vicinity, that is, in the Husain Mountain (*Husain Kūh* on Fig. 1).³ Because of differences in weathering, the surface color of the structure ranges from white to shades of light gray, cream, tan, and brown.

The masonry of the Tower,⁴ whose main axis is 18° west

1. See also Curzon, *Persia* II 144, and *IF*, Fig. 3.

2. Other native names reported for this structure are *Naqarah Khanah* ("Drum House"), *Karna-i Khanah* ("Trumpet House"), and *Kabutar Khanah* ("Pigeon House"); see Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde im Verhältniss zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen . . .*, Achter Theil, Drittes Buch, *West-Asien* II (2d ed.; Berlin, 1838) 935.

3. Cf. Vol. I 57. Rows of parallel cuts mark quarries in the slope of the mountain in Quadrant BZ (see our Fig. 4) and to the north in AZ (not outlined or lettered on Fig. 4). Samples from a quarry near the fire altars (see p. 11) and from the east face of the Tower were submitted to Mrs. Hans Ramberg of the University of Chicago for analysis and comparison. Mrs. Ramberg observed that both samples were pure limestone and probably came from the same locality, whereas seven samples of gray stone from Persepolis (from quarry east of the Terrace, Gate of Xerxes, Apadana, Throne Hall, Council Hall, Palace of Darius, and Palace of Xerxes respectively) proved to be impure bituminous limestone containing clay.

4. The technical descriptions are based to a great extent on Haines's surveys, detail drawings, and field notes.

of north, consists of large blocks of stone laid without mortar. Hourglass-shaped depressions in the roof slabs (see below) indicate that cramps were used to give stability to the structure. In order to assure tight joints, the masons dressed strips 12–14 cm. wide along the edges of the abutting faces of the blocks and recessed the rest of the surface slightly by chipping (see top of staircase remnant and surfaces of fallen blocks in Pls. 11–13). The exposed surfaces of the blocks were dressed and polished. The blocks are not of uniform size and often not laid exactly horizontally. Thus, although the courses appear rather regular to the casual observer, they actually slope in many cases and vary in number from 20 to 22 on different parts of the Tower faces. Because of this irregularity every block had to be shaped individually to fit the adjacent parts of the masonry, as is most obviously demonstrated by units fitted into notched or stepped faces of adjoining blocks. While there is a certain rectangularity, nevertheless we have to classify the manner of construction of the Tower as a variety of irregular masonry.⁵ Many small angular cavities of various shapes in the walls and base of the structure result from faulty spots which were chiseled out by the masons and patched with neatly fitted insets, as shown by several examples preserved *in situ*.

The foundation of the Tower is a layer of stone slabs of various shapes, though their exposed faces are as a rule approximately rectangular. The slabs are embedded in a mass of stone chips and soil of unknown depth but extending at least 1.20 m. beneath the bottom of the foundation at the center of the southern edge. A similar bed of stone chips mixed with dirt was encountered in the West Test and the Center Test beneath the lowermost remnants of structures traced by us. Considering the fact that many of the slabs were wrought for some other purpose (see below) before they were used in the Tower foundation, we must assume that portions of the rubble bed consist of masons' chippings such as were found all along the sculptured cliff of Naqsh-i Rostam.

Although the foundation slabs vary in thickness, they were laid in such a fashion as to provide an approximately level surface for the structure to be erected on top of them. Many of the slabs were obviously discarded, for they have wrought faces which indicate that they had been prepared for other purposes—for use in the base or walls of the Tower or in some structure that is unknown to us. The most interesting reject is a slab with two partially completed rows of shallow square depressions (see Figs. 8 and 11 *F*), that is, a coffer design such as one might expect to find on a door (see p. 37) or ceiling.

The top of the foundation slopes, undoubtedly because of settling, from el. 90.11 m. at the southeast corner to el. 90.01 m. at the northeast corner. The foundation was

5. See Louis Réau, *Dictionnaire illustré d'art et d'archéologie* (Paris, 1930) p. 22, "appareils de construction," No. 7.

never intended to be exposed to view, for its top was 5–20 cm. lower than the surface of the open area adjacent to the Tower. The ground level was ascertained from slight differences in the surface finish of the risers of the lowest step of the terraced base and from the elevations of a remnant of pavement north of the building. According to Haines's measurements, at the time of the completion of the structure the surface in its vicinity, that is, the bottom level of the mound at this point, was about 27 cm. lower than the lowest tread of the base.

The remnant of pavement consists of five slabs, four to the west and one to the east of the staircase (see Figs. 5 and 15). The tops of the slabs are dressed, and the upper parts of their northern and southern sides show strips (7.5 cm. high) that were smoothed to assure tight joints with the adjacent units. Similar strips may exist on the other sides, which were not investigated. The irregular northern border of the row of slabs to the west of the staircase suggests that the pavement originally continued northward, and it seems safe to assume that it extended at least as far as the lowest step of the staircase. The four slabs at the west rest directly on the layer of stone chips and soil that extends beneath the entire structure. These slabs, as well as superposed blocks of the demolished upper part of the staircase, tilt northward (see e.g. Pl. 13), presumably because of the collapse of a cavity or tunnel. The slab to the east of the stairs is tilted to a lesser degree and lies partly on a slab marked as a reject (see above) by half of a cramp hole in its east face. On the west side of the Tower, however, a cramp actually linked two slabs of the foundation (see Fig. 5), and at the northwest corner a cramp fastened a block of the base to a foundation slab (end of cramp shown on Fig. 7). A strip of rubble (*Y* on Figs. 17 *B* and 18 *B*) extending along the base east of the staircase (see e.g. Pl. 11) may be a remnant of flooring that was substituted for the missing pavement slabs, but we are inclined to believe that it is simply debris like two piles of small stones (*Y'* and *Y''* on Fig. 17 *B*) covering parts of the pavement west of the stairs.

The base of the Tower is an approximately square terraced pyramid of three steps built of large stone blocks whose visible surfaces are dressed and polished. The steps were laid in rather regular straight courses. In elevation the blocks appear to be rectangular (see Figs. 7–10), but in plan they are mostly rhomboid or trapezoid (see Fig. 5). Obviously, the builders of the Tower were able to fashion rectangular masonry but preferred to cut the blocks in irregular sizes and shapes and to fit them individually. The good preservation of the base and the Tower which it supports proves the stability of this type of construction.

In several instances the top of a step block is slightly above the tread, so that the jointing appears near the bottom of the next higher riser (see second riser in Fig. 8) or near the foot of the Tower wall. If this scheme had been carried through consistently we might assume that the builders tried to prevent damage to the structure from seepage of rain water. For the most part, however, the joints are level with the treads and with the foot of the Tower walls.

With the exception of the cramp that ties a block of the lowest step of the base to a foundation slab, there is no evidence of the use of cramps on the visible surfaces of the

base. Cramps may, of course, link those parts which are not exposed to view. The measurable blocks vary in size from $2.90 \times 2.10 \times 0.48$ m. to $1.10 \times 1.08 \times 0.56$ m. Some blocks show cracks caused by the weight of the superposed stone mass. The settling of the Tower depressed the central portion of the base and caused its steps to slope down toward the center. The base too has settled. For instance, at the outer edge of the lowest tread there is a drop of 12 cm. from the northwest corner to the southwest corner. The three steps vary in depth of tread and height of riser. Specific measurements and elevations are indicated on Figure 15.

The Tower proper is essentially square in plan (*ca.* 7.30 m. on a side). The corners are ornamented with engaged piers which are about 1.06 m. on a side and project about 19 cm. The maximum height of the Tower itself is 12.77 m. Adding the steps of the base above ground level, we arrive at a total maximum height of 14.12 m. (see Figs. 13–15).

The manner of construction of the Tower is described above (p. 34). We may add that the stone courses average 50 cm. in height and that the corner blocks vary in size from $1.59 \times 1.38 \times 0.50$ m. to $3.40 \times 2.24 \times 0.65$ m. One block in the west wall is 4.40 m. long, but the longest units were used for the roof (see below).

The south, west, and east façades are each embellished with three pairs of false windows (see Figs. 8–10), and two false windows are centered one above the other in the upper part of the north façade (see Fig. 7). All are made of dark gray limestone,⁶ which contrasts with the light-colored limestone of local origin (see p. 34) used for the rest of the building. Some of the windows are carved from monolithic blocks, whereas others are composed of several pieces. A few of the windows are in excellent condition. Others have been damaged by the elements, but some mutilation appears to have been caused by human hands—presumably by persons searching for hidden treasure.

The three tiers of windows on three walls give the impression of a building of three stories. In each "story" the windows are of the same shape. Those of the lowest tier are oblong rectangles; those of the middle tier are almost square; and those of the top tier are smaller oblong rectangles (Fig. 11 *A–C*). The two windows on the north wall are similar in size and shape. The upper one corresponds in size and elevation to the windows of the top tier on the other walls, while the lower one rests directly on the cornice of the entrance (see Fig. 7 and Pl. 5 *A*) and its elevation corresponds approximately to that of the middle tier on the other walls. The windows of the lowest tier on the east, south, and west walls have no architectural relationship to the inner arrangement of the building, for they extend partly above and partly below the level of the door-sill and of the floor of the Tower room.

Starting 2.83 m. (east), 2.82 m. (south), 2.84 m. (west), and 2.97 m. (north) above the top tread of the base, a pattern of rather evenly spaced rows of staggered rectangular depressions (*ca.* 15 cm. wide, 38–40 cm. high, 4 cm. deep) covers the Tower faces between the corner piers. There are 16 rows on the north and 15 on each of the other three faces. We observed no traces of pigments in these depressions (nor anywhere else on the Tower), and the

6. Presumably quarried in the Mountain of Mercy (see Fig. 1), which supplied building material for the Persepolis Terrace.

adjacent debris gave no evidence of any material with which they could have been inlaid.⁷ We consider them ornamental depressions that relieve the monotony of the façades.

The smooth lower portions of the east, south, and west faces were chosen—long after the construction of the building—for the inscriptions of Shapur I and the priest Kartir (see p. 47).

Seventeen dentils (for dimensions see Fig. 11 *A*) simulating the ends of roof timbers project beneath a flat band to crown each face of the Tower between the corner piers.

The roof of the Tower consists of four huge slabs extending east-west across the building. The two inner slabs form the ceiling of the Tower room. The bottoms of the slabs are flat, but their tops slant up toward the center and form a low pyramid whose apex is 25 cm. above the level of the edges of the roof. Three rows of rather evenly spaced metal cramps, ten in each row, once tied the slabs together (see Fig. 11 *D*) and assured the stability of the roof. The cramps, presumably made of iron and set in lead, have been pilfered, but the dovetail depressions in which they were bedded are still clearly visible (see Pls. 4 and 10 *A-B*). Circular holes at both ends of the approximately hourglass-shaped depressions indicate that two shanks projected from the lower surface of each cramp (see Fig. 11 *E*). At some time unknown to us, but certainly after the removal of the cramps, the northernmost roof slab was dislocated, by either an earthquake⁸ or human hands. At present its west end is 60 cm. north of its original position, but its east end still touches the adjacent slab.

The staircase, which gave access to the only room of the building, was constructed of stone blocks of rather uniform height (51–56 cm.). Although the courses have a rather regular appearance (see Pl. 5 *B-C* and Figs. 9–10), here too there are blocks which were shaped to fit adjacent units (cf. p. 34). The extant remnant of the staircase and the scattered dislocated pieces indicate that two steps were carved in each stone course. Eight steps are preserved *in situ*.

The two lowermost blocks are missing and must have been removed by persons who intended to destroy the staircase. It is conjectural whether they were removed by fanatics, treasure hunters, or stone pilferers. It seems unlikely that stone pilfering was the objective since blocks in good condition are still lying nearby. In any event, the two missing blocks could only have been removed by undermining after adjacent slabs of the pavement had been pulled out. The upper part of the staircase could have been demolished by an earthquake, but we are inclined to believe that it was destroyed by human hands at about the time the two lowest blocks were removed, as suggested by the find-levels of some of the dislocated blocks. To be sure, the position of at least one block indicates that it had been pulled away from the spot where it fell (see p. 41). Furthermore, to judge by the shapes and quantity of the scattered blocks, some of the staircase blocks and all the missing pavement slabs must have been transported to another locality.

The width of the staircase remnant increases slightly from the point of abutment, where it is 2.035 m. wide, to the lowest preserved step (2.12 m. wide). The removal of

7. This answers the question in Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V 474.

the two lowermost blocks caused the remaining portion of the stairs to split along the edge of the lowest step of the Tower base (see e.g. Pl. 5 *C*). The outer part slopes down toward the north in the same manner as the adjacent pavement slabs (see p. 35), and the inner part slopes down slightly toward the south as a result of the settling of the Tower. The top of the outer part was mutilated by persons who intended to fashion a disk with a diameter of 1.86 m. Two corners and part of the east side of the block were chiseled off before work was abandoned (see Fig. 5 and Pls. 11–13). The neat workmanship of the staircase convinces us that this block had not been defaced prior to its use as part of the construction. The refashioning evidently took place after the demolition of the upper stairs. On the other hand, a circular depression (20 cm. in diameter, 8 cm. deep) suggesting a door socket in a block which abuts the Tower face (see Fig. 5) may indicate that this block had originally been intended for a different purpose but was found usable in the staircase since the depression would not be visible.

The preserved steps indicate that the depth of the treads (25.5–28 cm.) corresponds approximately to the height of the risers (25–29.5 cm.). Haines's reconstruction (Figs. 19–20) based on these measurements and the original angle of the extant steps shows that the staircase had thirty steps and ended at a small landing in front of the entrance to the Tower room.⁹

The portion of the north wall which was once obscured by the upper portion of the staircase is mostly destroyed. Several explanations are possible. We believe that much of the damage was caused by treasure hunters who intended to penetrate into the lower part of the structure rather than by burglars who, in trying to enter the Tower chamber, were forced by a locking mechanism and the solidity of the door to mine their way through masonry and doorsill.¹⁰ At least one block of the staircase remnant (second from top as faintly visible on Pl. 5 *C*) is bonded with the Tower masonry. Thus, it is to be assumed that other parts of the stairs also were bonded with the structure and that some damage was caused to the wall when the stairs were demolished. Blocks jutting out from the extant face of the almost identical structure at Pasargadae¹¹ prove that there the staircase was bonded with the wall. On the other hand, at Naqsh-i Rostam remnants of façade blocks which abutted the staircase project slightly (see e.g. Pl. 5 *A*) and several of them show along the vertical edge the smooth strip which assured a tightly fitting joint with the adjacent block of the staircase.

The entrance to the Tower room at present is an opening 1.91 m. high and 1.71 m. wide. After reconstructing the missing outer parts of the jambs and the sill Haines determined that the original doorway was about 1.75 m. high and 87 cm. wide (see Fig. 12 *G-H*).

8. A statement by Edward Stack, *Six Months in Persia* I (London, 1882) 61, that the slab was dislocated by an earthquake "ten years ago" (i.e., ca. 1871) is obviously wrong, for the displaced slab was noticed by William Ouseley between 1810 and 1812 (see Ouseley, *Travels* II [1821] 298).

9. It is interesting to note that a perfectly correct reconstruction of the staircase (without the lower, then unknown, portion) by F. H. Weissbach, "Das Grab des Kyros und die Inschriften von Murghāb," *ZDMG* XLVIII (1894) 662, was criticized as "stilwidrig" by Ferdinand Justi in Wilh. Geiger and Ernst Kuhn (eds.), *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* II (Strassburg, 1896–1904) 422, n. 4.

10. Cf. *IAE*, p. 213.

11. See Vol. I, Fig. 6 *B*.

Carved on two blocks of the Tower wall the ornamental crown of the doorway shows the architrave separated from the cornice by a fillet and an ovolo molding (see e.g. Fig. 12 *A* and *F* and Pl. 5 *A*).¹² The sides of the architrave flare in a cavetto-like profile, and the face has a recessed panel which undoubtedly was part of a recessed band around the door opening (see Fig. 20 *A*). The architrave projects 2 cm. from the wall face, and the recessed panel is 1 cm. deep with chamfered edges. Above the ovolo molding the flat cornice, which juts out 9 cm. from the wall, turns up at the ends and is squared off. Remnants of iron rods (8 × 10 mm. in cross-section) which fastened the missing outer parts of the jambs are preserved in the adjacent masonry (see Fig. 12 *A-C*).

Pairs of sockets at the top and the bottom of the entrance, combined with two channels cut into the floor, prove that there was once a door with two leaves. When the door was closed, its face was about 27 cm. from the outer edge of the entrance. The leaves swung toward the inside, against the jambs. The bottom sockets are of somewhat unusual shape. The upper part is circular (19 cm. in diameter, 6.5 cm. deep), whereas the lower portion, which is not exactly centered on the upper part, is rectangular (11.5–12 cm. wide, 17 cm. long, 9.5 cm. deep). The inner (southern) end of each lower socket is open (for view of west socket see Pl. 10 *C*). We do not believe that the rectangular portions were locking devices, although one could imagine cylindrical or conoid pivot shafts ending in rocker-shaped projections of rectangular plan, oriented transversely to the broad axis of the door leaves, instead of normal, roughly hemispherical, pivot points. In theory, the lower pivots of door leaves provided with such “rockers” would be placed—after insertion of the upper pivots in the lintel sockets—in the circular portions of the sill sockets. When the door leaves were closed, that is, turned ninety degrees, the rockers would drop into the rectangular parts of the sockets and lock the door in this position.¹³ In reality, we believe, the rectangular part of each sill socket held a massive bar of iron with a pivot hole on top (see Fig. 12 *G*), similar to iron pivoting devices found at Persepolis.¹⁴ The lintel sockets are cylindrical with domed tops. They are 23 cm. deep, that is, 7 cm. deeper than the sill sockets, and measure 21 cm. in diameter, that is, 2 cm. more than the circular portions of the sill sockets.

Two channels extend from the sill sockets along the jambs of the doorway into the Tower room. The northern end of each channel is 21 cm. lower than the bottom of the

adjoining socket. Within the doorway the channels are of rather uniform depth, but their southern sections, reaching 75 and 95 cm. into the Tower room, slope upward to floor level (see Fig. 12 *B-C*). There is no doubt that here, as in the rock tombs (see e.g. p. 83), the channels had the sole purpose of serving as slides for the installation of the two leaves of the door. The leaves were transported horizontally into the Tower room, placed in the sloping southern ends of the two channels, raised to a vertical position, and pushed toward the entrance. They cleared the top of the doorway because of the depth of the channels. The long cylindrical top pivot, presumably with conoid end, of each leaf was inserted into the lintel socket until the bottom pivot cleared the edge of the postulated iron bar and dropped into its socket. After the door leaves were installed, the channels were undoubtedly covered with slabs, as suggested by a cover slab in the tomb of Darius I (see p. 83), to complete and block the southern ends of the sill sockets and to provide an even floor.

We believe that the door was of metal rather than stone. Wood veneered with sheets of metal might have been even more suitable.¹⁵ The absence of stone fragments recognizable as pieces of doors in or near the rock tombs suggests that either metal or wood with metal veneer, subsequently removed by pilferers, was used for doors which were exposed to the elements. On the other hand, the unfinished coffer-patterned slab that was utilized in the Tower foundation, if it was actually intended for a door (see p. 34), may indicate that stone doors were used, though not necessarily in the Tower. Each leaf of the Tower door would have been approximately 20 cm. thick, 64 cm. wide, and 1.88 m. high (see Fig. 12 *G-H*).

Inside the Tower room, on the north wall and above the doorway, a rectangular panel (2.625 m. wide, 1.055 m. high) juts out 12 to 14 cm. (see Fig. 12 *C-E*). A vertical hole (3 cm. in diameter, 2.5 cm. deep) is cut into the base of the projection at either side of the opening. The purpose of these holes is problematical. Perhaps they held devices for the suspension of a curtain, but, if so, we should assume that sockets for such devices would have been drilled horizontally into the wall.

The Tower room (see Fig. 6) is almost square (3.72 × 3.74 m.) and, at the northeast corner, 5.54 m. high. The walls range in thickness from 1.54 to 1.62 m. The ceiling is formed by the flat lower surfaces of the two central monolithic slabs of the Tower roof. The walls, especially in the southwest corner, show the effect of fire and smoke. No conclusion as to the purpose of the structure can be based on this fact, however, because the room has for many centuries been used as a shelter by shepherds and travelers, whose campfires have blackened the damaged parts as well as the extant original surfaces of the walls.

15. Cf. e.g. Marcel Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse d'après les fouilles exécutées en 1844, 1885, 1886, sous les auspices du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1893) p. 238; *IAE*, p. 225, with n. 1; Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* II 253 f.; see also our Vol. II 74.

12. It has been stated that the frames of both the entrance and the false windows are of black stone (see *IAE*, p. 213; *IF*, p. 3). Another source informs us that the framing of the entrance, except for the uppermost motif, i.e., what we call the cornice, was of black stone (see Djavad Zakataly, *L'Authentique tombeau de Cyrus* [1954] p. 15). Neither Haines nor I noted that the extant part of the frame is of dark stone, but we must admit that we failed to scrape the surface to determine beyond doubt whether the stone is identical with that used for the Tower walls.

13. Herzfeld theorized, without further explanation, that the door was locked permanently by an “enormous bolt” (see *IAE*, p. 213).

14. See Vol. I, e.g. Figs. 70 *P*, *Q*, *V* and 107 *K*.

STRATIGRAPHY OF THE ADJACENT DEPOSIT

According to ceramic evidence so far available to us (see p. 69) the mound of Naqsh-i Rustam ceased to be occupied by about the middle of the ninth century after Christ. Thus, it had by then attained its final shape but for the action of the elements which transformed the remnant of the mud-brick inclosure into a smooth ridge and leveled the immured area.

At the start of our work the only structure piercing the surface of the mound was the Achaemenid Tower. As far as we know, the adjacent deposit was first investigated by Flandin and Coste, who in 1840 sounded the northeast corner of the structure to a depth of 1.60 m. below the surface. However, they committed an error that misled scholars for almost a century in announcing that they had determined the original ground level of the building¹⁶ 11.05 m. below the edge of the roof.¹⁷ Some obstruction, perhaps a stone slab or a patch of flooring, may have deceived them. Our excavation showed that the foot of the Tower is about 1.45 m. below the bottom of their trench and in addition revealed the pyramidal base of three steps. The original ground level proved to be 2.87 m. lower than previously reported.

At the time of William Ouseley's visit, between 1810 and 1812, the surface of the debris¹⁸ at the north face of the Tower corresponded roughly to our el. 94.55 m. The trench dug in 1840 by Flandin and Coste reached el. 93.10 m. Subsequently, a Governor-General of Fars did some additional digging (see p. 17, n. 2). At the start of our work (see Pl. 3) the irregular debris surface at the north face was roughly at el. 93.75 m., corresponding to the level of the tops of stone blocks which lay on the remnant of the staircase. The deposit was highest (el. 95.80 m.) at the south face, and the debris surface along the east and west faces sloped downward toward the north from el. 95.80 m. to about el. 93.75 m.¹⁹ Except for pieces of the demolished upper part of the staircase the architectural vestiges uncovered in the vicinity of the Tower were remnants of insignificant dwellings without relationship to the structure which they surrounded and in some cases abutted.

THE UPPER LEVELS

Structural remains which we attribute definitely to the Islamic period are shown in plan on Figure 17 *A*. We shall first examine the area west and southwest of the Tower. In Plots BA 45, 55, and 65, fragments of walls and floors (*A-E* on plan) of the top stratum occurred from el. 92.25 m. (*A*) in the north to el. 96.21 m. (*E*) in the south (see also Fig. 18 *A*). The differences in elevation are due largely to the profile of the mound. The fragments at the southwest (*C-E*) represent structures built on top of dissolved

mud bricks that had been washed down by the winter rains from the fortress wall at the south. Walls *A*, *E*, and the extant walls of Room *B* are *chinah*²⁰ walls, that is, they are constructed of mud layers rather than of individual bricks. The floor level (el. 92.60 m.) of Room *B* is about 25 cm. below the level of the top of the Parthian version of Shapur's inscription on the west wall of the Tower. This wall may actually have served as the east wall of Room *B*, if we judge by an abutting row of foundation boulders. The southern wall of Room *B* is a mass of *chinah* with two additional rows of boulders abutting the Tower. A fragment of a stone wall (*C'*) founded at el. 95.05 m. above the southwest corner of Room *B* represents a late, perhaps quite recent, building or shelter. In the southwest corner of Room *B* the original faces of the *chinah* walls, preserved to a height of about 70 cm., were discolored by fire. A coat of mud plaster (2 cm. thick) must have been applied at a later date, for it shows no traces of scorching. This is difficult to explain in view of the fact that a layer of ashes, in places 10 cm. deep, covered the floor. Only the southern face of Wall *C* could be determined. This wall is of mud bricks measuring 41 × 41 × 9 cm. The elevation of its base (95.00 m.) suggests that it was related to nearby bits of flooring (els. 95.14 and 95.37 m.) and a scorched patch (*D*) with a circular depression, apparently a cooking hole, 20 cm. in diameter and 3 cm. deep.

Future excavators will perhaps succeed in determining the appearance of the site at the end of the Sasanian era. The fortification which we attribute to that period may have been kept in good repair, or it may have started to crumble prior to the Arab invasion. In any event, the fortress wall south of the Tower had partly disintegrated by the time the structures represented by remnants *C-E* were built. Wall *A* and Room *B* are older, but their levels in respect to Shapur's inscription on the west face of the Tower strongly suggest that they were built after the end of the Sasanian period.

The objects found in the western strip of the Tower excavation are of little help for elucidating the stratigraphy of the debris. For instance, east of Wall *A* (el. 92.25 m.) a Middle Islamic glazed sherd (Fig. 29:12; see p. 69) was found at el. 93.20 m. on one of the stone blocks that lie on the remnant of the Tower staircase. Two meters below, at the side of the staircase, we found a copper coin (NR2 26) of the Muzaffarid Shah Shuja' (*ca.* A.D. 1363-84), while in the same area a coin (NR2 38) of the Sasanian king Khusrau II (A.D. 590-628) came to light at el. 90.05 m., that is, at the original ground level of the Tower. The potsherd may have been left by diggers quarrying for Tower stones, but the fourteenth-century coin lay in soil which probably accumulated during the Sasanian period and the Sasanian coin, tentatively dated A.D. 623, was at the Achaemenid ground level of the site. Among the other objects from this area is a gold finger ring (Fig. 28:8) that may be either Sasanian or Early Islamic (see p. 67). A pot lid (Fig. 29:1) found 45 cm. higher than the top of Shapur's Parthian inscription is Early Islamic (see p. 68). A millstone (Fig. 30:19) found

16. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, p. 141: "... au moyen d'une fouille pratiquée à sa base"; see also Pl. 179, top left, "sol du monument."

17. *Ibid.* Pl. 179, top center.

18. Eleven feet below the entrance to the Tower room according to Ouseley, *Travels* II 298.

19. For views of the Tower prior to our excavation see Pope, *Survey* IV, Pl. 79 *A*; *IF*, Figs. 2-3 and Pl. I; Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* I (1884) Pls. VI and VIII. On his Pl. VIII Dieulafoy erroneously indicates the original ground level (hypothetically excavated) at the east face and ignores the trench of Flandin and Coste, which should be marked at the right side of the building.

20. A term used by our workmen. See "wall" in Arthur N. Wollaston, *A Complete English-Persian Dictionary* (London, 1904) p. 1429.

near this inscription, about 10 cm. above the level of its upper edge, may be Early Islamic or possibly older (see p. 76). It closely resembles a millstone which capped a presumably Achaemenid pit in Plot BA 46 (*T* on Fig. 17 *B*). We consider a three-flanged iron arrowhead (Fig. 30:2) pre-Islamic although it was found in Room *B* (see p. 69). A crude bronze stamp seal (Fig. 28:4) found on the floor of Room *B* is presumably pre-Sasanian (see p. 66). Grooved fragments of stone vessels (e.g. Fig. 30:16) found 60 cm. below the floor level of Room *B* are tentatively assigned to the Early Islamic period because they resemble specimens from Islamic Istakhr.

The second group of incoherent structural remains (*F-M* on Figs. 17 *A* and 18 *B*) which we attribute to the Islamic period was uncovered east and southeast of the Tower, mostly in Plot BA 56. Differences in elevation indicate that certain remnants are later than others. For instance, a *chinah* wall fragment (*F*) which is preserved to a height of 68 cm. has a base elevation of 94.04 m., a single-course stone foundation (*I*) stands at el. 92.20 m., and a scorched fireplace (*G*) with plastered sides and 5–10 cm. high is at el. 93.06 m. Here, again, it is instructive to compare the elevations with certain features of the Tower. The foot of Wall *I* is 69 cm. above the top tread of the Tower base and 19 cm. higher than the bottom of the Greek version of Shapur's inscription on the south face of the Tower. Two-thirds of this inscription was below the surface when the fireplace (*G*) was in use. Kartir's inscription on the east face of the Tower was completely covered by this time, and only the upper part of Shapur's Middle Persian inscription was still visible. When Wall *F* was erected all the inscriptions had been covered. In addition to the fireplace (*G*) several vestiges of domestic activities were found in Plot BA 56, although no traces of house walls could be observed. The walls of a trapezoid bin (*H*) at el. 93.27 m. are of mud bricks standing on edge and are preserved to heights ranging from 5 to 30 cm. A large storage jar (*J*) had been crushed and stood against the east wall of the Tower (at el. 93.35 m.) 84 cm. above the top of Kartir's inscription. A hearth (*M*) at el. 93.60 m. and the jar are presumably contemporaneous. The north end of the hearth is open. Its sides, about 20 cm. high and coated with mud plaster, and its floor are scorched. The jar, a cylindrical oven or *tannūr* (*K*), and a storage or refuse pit (*L*) probably represent different sublayers. The walls (ca. 17 cm. high, 2.2 cm. thick) of the oven (el. 92.76 m.) are of poorly baked red-brown earthenware. The pit is 80 cm. in diameter, and its orifice (el. 92.09 m.) is lined with boulders. The bottom, 1.10 m. below the orifice, corresponds to the middle tread of the Tower base.

The information gained from the objects found in the eastern part of the Tower excavation was no more satisfactory than the evidence gathered in the western part. Here, too, the find-spots of most of the coins suggest that the debris had been thoroughly disturbed and even partially reversed in the course of successive building activities. For instance, a Sasanian coin (NR1 60) of the sixth or seventh century after Christ was found near the southeast corner of the Tower at el. 94.42 m., that is, roughly at the level of the uppermost wall fragment (*F*), which may actually be a remnant of a shelter built after the desertion of the site. A second Sasanian coin (NR1 56), probably to be attributed to Khusrau II (A.D. 590–628), was found

at approximately the same depth. An Arab-Sasanian coin (NR1 59) of the early eighth century after Christ was found 45 cm. lower (at el. 93.97 m.) in a chiseled-out rectangular cavity at the southeast corner of the Tower. Its find-spot convinces us that this coin had not been disturbed. It was evidently placed in the cavity, once repaired by means of a stone patch, when this spot was within reach of the depositor. The top of Shapur's inscription on the east face of the Tower is only 39 cm. lower than the cavity. An Umayyad coin (NR2 30), struck during the reign of the caliph Marwan II in A.D. 747/48, was found still lower, namely at el. 91.85 m., 1.42 m. above the northeast corner of the bottom tread of the Tower base and 20 cm. below the level of the bottom of Kartir's inscription. North of the Tower, a Sasanian coin (NR2 48) came to light at the original (Achaemenid) ground level, the second Sasanian coin found at this level (see p. 38), whereas no pre-Sasanian coins were recovered in the entire Tower excavation. These observations show that the coins provide dubious or even misleading information in regard to the stratigraphy of the mound. As to other finds, a Middle Islamic glazed sherd (Fig. 29:11) was found about 40 cm. above the level of the top (el. 93.58 m.) of Shapur's inscription on the east wall of the Tower and about 80 cm. below the mound surface (see p. 69). There were, further, an iron arrowhead (Fig. 30:1), an iron point which could have been used as an arrowhead (Fig. 30:3), a perforated object which was probably a whetstone (Fig. 30:13), a bronze needle (Fig. 30:10), and a gold finger ring (Fig. 28:9).

THE LOWER LEVELS

Figure 17 *B* (see also Fig. 18) records architectural fragments and other vestiges which seem to represent pre-Islamic periods.

Building *N*, in the southwest corner of the excavated area, is Sasanian, to judge by its elevation in respect to certain features of the Tower. It was founded (el. ca. 91 m.) at the elevation of the middle tread of the Tower base (see Fig. 18 *A*), which corresponds to our postulated maximum for the level of the ground at the time the Sasanian inscriptions were engraved on the Tower walls (see p. 47). The walls of Building *N* are of mud bricks (37.5–38.5 × 40 × 11 cm.), and their faces are coated with mud plaster. A weathered fragment of ornamental stucco (*N'*) lay on a patch of flooring (el. 91.42 m.), visible at left in Figure 16 *E*. Its design of five petals (see Fig. 30:23) suggests a large rosette. Because of its find-spot we consider the fragment Sasanian, although ornamental stucco was in use before²¹ and after the Sasanian era.

Objects from the lower layers in the western strip of the Tower excavation include a stamp seal (Fig. 28:2) of Sasanian type (see p. 67) found near the northwest corner of the Tower, 20 cm. below the level of the top tread of the base. A bronze spoon (Fig. 30:11) found near the seal but 20 cm. lower (at el. 91.20 m.) may belong to the same period, whereas a stone tool (Fig. 30:12) which lay on the bottom tread (at el. 90.50 m.) is probably pre-Sasanian. Broken storage pots (*W* on Fig. 17 *B*) were clustered in

21. For Parthian stucco see e.g. Oscar Reuther in Pope, *Survey* I 414 ff.; Walter Andrae and Heinz Lenzen, *Die Partherstadt Assur* (Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, "Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen" LVII [Leipzig, 1933]) p. 57.

Plot BA 44 at elevations of 90.40 m. to 90.50 m., that is, near the bottom of the mound deposit. The Achaemenid ground level indicated on the lowest riser of the nearby northwest corner of the Tower base corresponds to el. 90.24 m. Accordingly, the storage pots could be Achaemenid, but our doubts are expressed below (p. 68). A copper coin found with the crushed vessels is too badly corroded to be datable. We have already mentioned (p. 38) a Sasanian coin (NR2 38) that was found north of the Tower at the Achaemenid ground level of the site.

A fragment of an Achaemenid inscription on stone (Fig. 28:14) came to light in Plot BA 45 at the level (el. 91.05 m.) of the middle tread of the Tower base and about 80 cm. above the original (Achaemenid) ground level. The cuneiform sign on this stone flake is most probably Elamite *ga*, according to Cameron, who informed us that another fragment of an Achaemenid inscription on stone (Fig. 28:15), found at about the same depth (el. 90.95 m.) east of the Tower, bears remnants of Old Persian signs. Both flakes are of cream-colored limestone like that used for the construction of the Tower and undoubtedly quarried in the immediate vicinity of the site (see p. 34). It is possible, of course, that a stone building with Achaemenid inscriptions may yet be discovered in the Naqsh-i Rostam mound, but at present we know of only one monument to which the two fragments could have belonged, namely the tomb of Darius I. Most plausibly, they were parts of the badly damaged legends of the throne-bearers. Since they were found close to the Tower, about 100 meters southwest of the tomb, at the level of the middle tread of the Tower base, we believe that they were carried here and discarded during the Sasanian period or later. Their irregular edges indicate that they are not repair patches, which were always fitted into neatly excised flaws of the stone, but that they were severed by blows or that they fell away because of weathering of the inscribed surfaces.

A few pre-Islamic architectural remnants were uncovered in the eastern part of the Tower excavation (see Fig. 17 B). Wall O, constructed of mud bricks measuring $36 \times 36 \times 10$ cm., was founded at el. 91.75 m. in the south and el. 92.05 m. in the north. It is preserved to a maximum height of 55 cm. and is superposed on remains of somewhat earlier structures—a stone foundation (P) at el. 91.25 m. and Walls Q and R, constructed of mud bricks and founded at el. 91.10 m. and el. 91.45 m. respectively. There are no definite clues for dating these walls. All of them may be Sasanian. A shapeless pile of boulders (S), about a meter high, slopes down toward the Tower from el. 91.28 m. in the east to its western end (el. 90.60 m.), which is 15 cm. above the lowest step of the Tower base. The slant of the pile suggests that the ground east of the Tower sloped upward at the time the pile was formed, presumably by a collapsing wall. A pit (T) of unknown purpose belongs most probably to the period of the construction of the Tower. Its top (el. 89.80 m.) is about 30 cm. below the original (Achaemenid) ground level. Its orifice was encircled by boulders and covered by a millstone which is almost identical with the specimen (Fig. 30:19) found in later debris (see pp. 38 f.) west of the Tower. A small gray limestone column base (Fig. 30:22) was found at the original ground level north of the Tower. Its shape is that of many Persepolis column bases,²² but its

22. See Vol. I, e.g. Fig. 72 B, D-G, I-K.

bearing surface indicates a column diameter (*ca.* 29 cm.) that is smaller than that of any Persepolis column.²³ Nevertheless, the find-spot of the Naqsh-i Rostam base suggests that it belongs to the Achaemenid period.

The few objects found in the lower debris of the eastern part of the excavation do not help to define the layers of the deposit. We have mentioned (p. 39) a Sasanian coin (NR2 48) found at the Achaemenid ground level. A grinding bowl of stone (Fig. 30:21) and a glass cone (Fig. 29:16) found at the level of the middle tread of the Tower base may be Sasanian or Early Islamic, whereas a theriomorphic bronze pendant (Fig. 28:10) which lay on the bottom tread is presumably older.

A fragment of an Achaemenid rock inscription (Fig. 28:15) that we believe came from the tomb of Darius I is discussed above. A flake of the same kind of limestone, bearing part of a Middle Persian inscription (Fig. 28:13), was found in loose soil near the southeast corner of the Tower, that is, within a few meters of the Middle Persian inscriptions of Shapur I and Kartir. The find-level (el. *ca.* 91.65 m.) was between the levels of the bottom of Kartir's inscription and the top tread of the Tower base and thus suggests that the fragment is part of either Shapur's or Kartir's inscription. The latter can be discounted because of its excellent state of preservation. There are extensively damaged areas and several holes in the inscribed panel of Shapur, but our fragment could not be fitted in anywhere. Professor Martin Sprengling examined a photograph of the fragment and stated that he could find no gap in the preserved part of Shapur's inscription which the text would fill. There are parts of three lines, which Sprengling read and translated as follows:

1. Illegible.
2. GVLKAN ZY = (possibly) Gürkân who . . . (followed by father's name, or title, or office, etc.) or (more probably) Gūl(i?)kân = Gūlik's son (Gūl = *ward* = "Rose") who
3. . . . LKAN MLK. . . to be restored [M]LKAN MLK[A] = Malikân Malkā = Shāhānshāh = King of Kings.

When the excavation south of the Tower reached the lowest tread of the base our workmen noticed beside the center of the tread an oblong spot (U on Fig. 17 B) marked by debris soil of a texture which differed from that of the adjacent ground. This spot (*ca.* 1.25×0.90 m.) proved to be the top of a pit whose orifice was flush with the lowest tread (el. 90.38). The pit extended below the original ground level (el. here *ca.* 90.11 m.), pierced a deposit of rubble, and stopped 2 meters below the orifice at el. 88.37 m. (see Fig. 18 B). The excavation of the pit revealed its purpose. It gave access to a tunnel which had been dug through the rubble hardpan beneath the Tower. The tunnel, averaging 70 cm. in width and about 1.10 m. in height, was partly filled with loose rubble. Its roof is the bottom of the stone foundation of the Tower. After extending about 3 meters in a northerly direction the tunnel turns abruptly west-northwest. At a distance of 2 meters from the turn and directly below the center of the south wall of the Tower our workman noticed a soft patch in the rubble floor and sounded it to a depth of about half a meter. At this point the writer, distrusting the consistency of the surrounding rubble and the stability of the stone blocks overhead, stopped the clearing of the tunnel.

23. Even the smallest specimens, found in and near Courtyard 17 of the Treasury, indicate a column diameter of not less than 41 cm. (see *ibid.* p. 171).

The ancient diggers, however, had continued burrowing for a distance of 8 more meters. They emerged at the center of the west edge of the Tower base, where our workmen found the bottom of their trench at el. 88.30 m. (see *V* on Figs. 17 *B* and 18 *A*), which corresponds almost exactly to the elevation of the floor of the pit at the south, whose well defined outline suggests that it was the entrance to the tunnel. The elevation of the original orifice of the pit at the west, probably the exit pit, could not be determined.

There is no doubt that the tunnel was dug by treasure hunters, but its course—missing the points, beneath the center and the corners of the building, where valuable spoils could most plausibly be expected—suggests that the diggers met with no success. We do not believe that they could have operated here during the Achaemenid period, when undoubtedly the area in front of the royal tombs was closely guarded. It is certain, therefore, that the tunnel was dug after the fall of Persepolis.

Stone blocks from the demolished upper part of the Tower staircase (see p. 36) are scattered on and beside the northern and eastern parts of the Tower base (*X* 1–12 on Figs. 17 *B* and 18; see also Pls. 11–13). The positions of the blocks (*X* 5–12) that lie west of the staircase remnant suggest that they are still where they fell, whereas at least one block (*X* 1) must have been moved to its present location as a result of human effort. It is conjectural whether

the other blocks (*X* 2–4) that lie to the east have been shifted.²⁴ As noted above, the two lowermost blocks of the stairs must have been pulled out by human hands and the upper portion may have been demolished in the same manner or by an earthquake. In any event, the destruction took place when the northwest corner of the bottom tread of the Tower base was partly exposed, as shown by a block (*X* 8) which rests directly on it, and partly covered with detritus, as shown by a block (*X* 9) which is separated from it by a thin layer (4 cm. thick) of soil. Blocks *X* 5–7 lie on soil which slopes up from the pavement (see p. 35) to the level of the bottom tread, while *X* 10–11 rest on soil which reaches the level of the middle tread and *X* 12 lies on the top tread. Blocks *X* 10–12 possibly fell or were moved to their present locations after the original destruction. The positions of the blocks found at the east (*X* 1–4) indicate the approximate ground level at the time of demolition. Two of these blocks (*X* 1 and *X* 4) lie on thin layers of soil on the bottom tread of the Tower base, and the other two extend somewhat below the level of the bottom tread.

Some blocks that lie on top of the staircase remnant are undoubtedly from the north wall of the Tower (see p. 36). A large fragment (visible in Fig. 16 *A*, right foreground) was found at about the same level (el. *ca.* 93 m.) 5 meters northeast of the other pieces, but it fell or was moved to that location at some later date.

INTERPRETATION

We have shown that the Tower is an Achaemenid structure and that the combination of light and dark stone in its masonry links it with the architecture of Pasargadae, in particular with an almost identical building, the Zindan-i Sulaiman ("Prison of Solomon," hereinafter called the Zindan), which rises in the palace area of Cyrus the Great.²⁵ There is no doubt that both were built during the pre-Persepolitan phase of Achaemenid monumental architecture, that is, approximately during the years between the founding of Pasargadae (*ca.* 559–550 B.C.) and the founding of Persepolis (between 520 and 511 B.C.),²⁶ and that both were erected for the same purpose.

The Tower of Naqsh-i Rostam, even in its present dilapidated state, is a lofty monument. Its imposing appearance and the solidity of its construction—superior even to that of the palaces of the Achaemenids—mark it as a building erected by order of the king.

Although three tiers of false windows on the east, west, and south faces give the impression of a dwelling of three stories—an illusion which is accentuated by the denticulate cornice simulating the ends of wooden roof beams—the Tower is not a profane structure. In fact, the extraordinary effort required in erecting the monumental building was spent solely to raise and immure a solitary chamber which occupies the upper section of the otherwise solid

mass of masonry (see Figs. 6 and 19). Furthermore, the fact that the entrance to the only room was barred or could be barred by a heavy two-winged door suggests that its contents had to be protected against sacrilege. The staircase of thirty steps (see Fig. 20) that rose from the paved court north of the Tower to the threshold of the focal, windowless room must have served for the solemn ascent and descent of persons who in some manner attended the sacred structure.

With the discovery of the three-stepped pyramidal base that raises the Tower above the level of the ground, an additional feature emphasizing the exalted purpose of the structure was revealed. It can be no mere accident that in the reliefs on the façades of the royal tombs the king stands on a pedestal of three steps as he worships his god and that the base and the crown of the fire altar in front of him are modeled as three-stepped upright and inverted pyramids (see e.g. Pl. 42 *A*). Three steps leading to the two rock altars of Naqsh-i Rostam (see Fig. 3 *A*) may also have bearing on this subject.

Although these clues indicate the sacred character of the Tower, they do not suffice to reveal its specific purpose. They do, however, delimit the range of possibilities. The edifice was a royal tomb, a depository for objects of dynastic or religious importance, or a sanctuary.

THE TOWER CONSTRUED AS A TOMB

The tombs of the kings were sacred places, as attested by Aristobulus' story of the Magi guardians who each month—obviously with solemn ritual—had to sacrifice a horse to the memory of Cyrus the Great.²⁷

24. Small fragments, visible at left on Pl. 11, were piled up by our workmen during the cleaning of the excavation trenches.

25. See Vol. I 23 f. and Figs. 3, 5 *B*, and 6 *B*. [For an architectural survey of the Zindan, with plan and restored elevations, see David Stronach's third preliminary report on the excavations of the British Institute of Persian Studies at Pasargadae, published in *Iran* III (1965) 11–14. It is now known that the Zindan has a three-stepped pyramidal base, as assumed by Schmidt (see p. 44 below).—ED.]

26. See Vol. I 39–41.

27. Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 7.

In comparing our Tower with the Qabr-i Madar-i Sulaiman (hereinafter called the Qabr), the edifice at Pasargadae now almost unanimously accepted as Cyrus' tomb,²⁸ we note features which suggest that the two structures served similar purposes. Each is a one-room stone building, the Tower rising from a three-stepped and the Qabr from a six-stepped pyramid; in both structures a two-winged door²⁹ barred entrance to a windowless room; and in both the treatment of the frame and crown of the doorway may have been quite similar.³⁰ There are, however, pronounced dissimilarities. The steeply gabled roof of the Qabr contrasts with the almost flat pyramidal roof of the Tower; the oblong plan of the Qabr contrasts with the square plan of the Tower; and the plain façades of the Qabr contrast with the ornamented walls of the Tower. Also, the Qabr, built of cream-colored limestone, does not show the two-color scheme which was employed in other structures of Pasargadae and in the Tower of Naqsh-i Rustam.

One of the strongest arguments in favor of identifying the Tower as a tomb is that its only room had the same devices for barring entrance as the royal tombs at Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis, namely a heavy two-winged door that pivoted in pairs of large sockets in sill and lintel and two channels in the floor for the installation of the door (see p. 37).³¹ Dieulafoy did not recognize the true purpose of the channels but considered them devices for the transport of heavy objects and pictured a sarcophagus being pulled into the room of the Tower on rollers.³² This erroneous interpretation has misled scholars to assume that the channels were used for the transport of a coffin³³ or for the installation and occasional shifting of a fire altar.³⁴

As noted above, the Tower and the Zindan were almost identical structures and no doubt were erected for the same purpose. While it is plausible to consider them royal tombs, Dieulafoy's proposal that the Zindan is the tomb of Cyrus' father, Cambyses I,³⁵ is not convincing, for, so far as we know, there are no monumental stone structures at Pasargadae that antedate the reign of Cyrus the Great. Dieulafoy's suggestion that the Tower at Naqsh-i Rustam was a provisional tomb erected by Darius I³⁶ is to be rejected because the construction of the "provisional" tomb

would have required about the same amount of time as the preparation of the "final" tomb. Curzon, who reviewed the opinions of earlier writers in regard to the purpose of the Zindan and the Tower, quite definitely rejected the theory that they were fire sanctuaries and suggested, in agreement with Perrot,³⁷ that the Tower was the tomb of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, if the Zindan was the tomb of the father of Cyrus³⁸ (but see above). F. W. von Bissing³⁹ believed that the two structures were modeled after the towers ("Wohntürme") of the Persian palaces. He suggested that they might be the tombs of Cambyses II (since we know the tomb of Cyrus) and Hystaspes and considered their identification as fire sanctuaries completely unfounded. He drew attention to similar towers of a later period in Palmyra.⁴⁰ Weissbach⁴¹ pointed out that Aristobulus' description of the tomb of Cyrus the Great, as reported by Arrian and Strabo (see below), fits the Zindan rather than the Qabr. In a recent study Djavad Zakataly claims to have proved that the Zindan is indeed the tomb of Cyrus whereas the builder of the assumedly earlier Qabr is unknown.⁴² Zakataly believes that the Tower was meant to be the tomb of Cyrus' successor, Cambyses II (530–522 B.C.), though his remains may never have been deposited there.⁴³ Herzfeld, on the other hand, proposed without reservation that Takht-i Rustam,⁴⁴ a terraced platform between Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis (see Fig. 1 for location), is the unfinished tomb of Cambyses II. Regrettably, Herzfeld gutted the core of the platform in fruitless search for documents but failed to excavate the adjacent soil, which may hide instructive architectural features, to the original ground level.⁴⁵

Herzfeld most vigorously defended the identification of the Tower and the Zindan as tombs. He attempted to trace related architectural features in structures of the ancient and modern Near East and concluded that the house of ancient Persis was their prototype.⁴⁶ Subsequently, he declared that the closest analogy is an Urartean house depicted on a bronze from Van.⁴⁷ He considered it possible

37. See Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V 633.

38. See Curzon, *Persia* II 144–47.

39. See "Der persische Palast und die Turmbasilika," *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens* (Wien und Hellerau, 1923) pp. 41 f., with n. 10.

40. An example is the five-story tomb tower of Iamlichus, built in A.D. 83. (Le Comte Melchior de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale: Architecture civile et religieuse du I^{er} au VII^e siècle* [Paris, 1865–1877] I 73 f. and Pl. 26).

41. "Das Grab des Kyros und die Inschriften von Murghāb," *ZDMG* XLVIII 653–65.

42. See Zakataly, *L'Authentique tombeau de Cyrus*. In theory, the Qabr could have been the tomb of a member of Cyrus' family, for instance Queen Cassandane, who predeceased Cyrus and was deeply mourned by him (Herodotus ii. 1). To be sure, it has been pointed out that the architecture of the Qabr and the Muslim tradition that ascribes it to the "Mother of Solomon" are insufficient criteria for considering it the tomb of a royal lady (see Curzon, *Persia* II 84).

43. Zakataly, *op. cit.* p. 38. Ctesias, however, states that the body of Cambyses was conveyed to Persia (*Persica* 38a. 16–17). Nevertheless, since Persia at the time of Cambyses' death was under the rule of the usurper Gaumata, it is possible that the remains of Cambyses were never placed in the tomb which presumably he had prepared or started to prepare during his lifetime.

44. See Vol. I 56 f.

45. See *IAE*, pp. 214–15, and *AHI*, pp. 36 f.

46. See *IF*, pp. 3–13 and 152–54.

47. See *IAE*, pp. 213 f. and Fig. 324. [See now also David Stronach, "Urartian and Achaemenian tower temples," *JNES* XXVI (1967) 278–88.—Ed.]

28. See Vol. I 24. [See now also David Stronach, "Excavations at Pasargadae: Second preliminary report," *Iran* II (1964) 23–28.—Ed.]

29. Less weighty, because they were smaller, the wings of the door of the Qabr were installed without the aid of channels in the floor.

30. Cf. our Figs. 12 A and 20 A with *IF*, p. 168 and Fig. 80. [But see now Stronach in *Iran* II 26.—Ed.]

31. However, a post-Achaemenid stone tower which presumably served as a fire sanctuary was provided with sockets in sill and lintel, indicating that its entrance too was barred by a door. In this structure ventilation could be effected through an opening in the roof. See R. Ghirshman, "La tour de Nourabad, étude sur les temples iraniens anciens," *Syria* XXIV (1944–1945) 175 ff.

32. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* I 15 and 28 and Fig. 19. For his theory in regard to the installation of the door see *ibid.* Vol. III 2, n. 2.

33. So Curzon, *Persia* II 146, and Herzfeld in *IF*, p. 4.

34. So Sarre in *IF*, p. 4, n. 1; Friedrich Wachtsmuth, *Der Raum* (Marburg, 1929) p. 104; Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 20.

35. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* I 22.

36. *Ibid.* p. 27. Flandin's suggestion that the Tower was the place of embalment of the kings (Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, p. 141) is also implausible. His theory is presumably based on Herodotus' statement that "before the Persians bury the body in earth they embalm it in wax" (Herodotus i. 140).

that the Zindan is the tomb of Cyrus' father, Cambyses I, who died in 559 B.C., and that the Tower is the tomb of Darius' father, Hystaspes, but he emphasized that only the discovery of a document might provide proof.⁴⁸

Walther Hinz⁴⁹ is inclined to view the Tower as the tomb of Zoroaster⁵⁰ and suggests that the remains of the prophet might previously have been entombed in the Zindan, before the latter assumedly was destroyed by Gaumata in 522 B.C.

Several authors have drawn attention to the similarity of the Tower to Lycian structures. Dieulafoy attempted to show its relationship to the "Tombeau du Chien" at Telmissus.⁵¹ Perrot and Chipiez⁵² cautiously compared it with the tomb tower at Xanthos and referred to the campaign of Harpagus,⁵³ a Median general of Cyrus the Great, who subdued Lycia about 550 B.C. More recently it has been stated that the similarity of the Tower to the tomb tower at Xanthos removes all doubt as to its purpose.⁵⁴ Benndorf and Niemann suggested that the Lycian rock tombs and the Tower—which they too considered a tomb—are derived from analogous house forms.⁵⁵

The Greek historians do not mention the Tower, but their descriptions of the tomb of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae⁵⁶ may suggest some clue as to the purpose of the Zindan and, by analogy, of the Tower. Our most reliable sources are Arrian and Strabo, whose descriptions are based mainly on the eyewitness report of Aristobulos, an officer of Alexander the Great.

According to Arrian "the tomb itself was built, at the base, with stones cut square and raised into rectangular form. Above, there was a chamber with a stone roof and with a door leading into it . . ." ⁵⁷ Curzon's somewhat different translation is as follows: "The tomb itself in its lower parts had been wrought of squared stone in the form of a square; and above was a house (*οἶκημα*) upon it, of stone, roofed, having a door that led within . . ." Weissbach reads that the lower part of the tomb is built of hewn stones ("Quadern") on a quadrangular plan and above is a roofed room made of stone.

Strabo describes the tomb of Cyrus as a small tower, solid below, with a roof and a sepulcher⁵⁸ above. He adds that according to Onesicritus, who like Aristobulos was one of Alexander's officers, the tower had ten stories and the uppermost story contained the king's remains. Strabo also quotes Aristus of Salamis, stating that he was a much later writer than Alexander's officers but that he said the tower had only two stories and was large.⁵⁹

48. *AHI*, p. 37.

49. In *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* L (1955) 148.

50. So originally Herzfeld in *AMI* II (1930) 47; but cf. *AHI*, p. 37.

51. Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* I 18 and Fig. 21.

52. *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V 616 and Fig. 268.

53. See Herodotus i. 171–77.

54. Clément Huart and Louis Delaporte, *L'Iran antique: Élam et Perse et la civilisation iranienne* (Paris, 1943) pp. 301 f.

55. Otto Benndorf and George Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* ("Reisen im südwestlichen Kleinasien" I [Wien, 1884]) pp. 109 f.

56. For more or less complete, though variant, translations see Curzon, *Persia* II 79–82, and Weissbach in *ZDMG* XLVIII 658–60; see also *IF*, pp. 173 ff.

57. *Anabasis* vi. 29. 5.

58. "Shrine" in Curzon, *Persia* II 81; "Cella" in *IF*, p. 174; "Kammer" in *ZDMG* XLVIII 658.

59. See Strabo xv. 3. 7–8.

Both Arrian and Strabo emphasize the extremely small size of the entrance to the tomb. In Arrian's words the door was "so narrow that with difficulty, and after great trouble, one man, and he a small one, could enter." Both authors quote the inscription⁶⁰ carved on Cyrus' tomb, which according to Arrian was situated in the royal park at Pasargadae and surrounded by an irrigated grove of various trees and a meadow with deep grass.

The narratives of the Greek historians prove beyond doubt that in Persia at the time of Cyrus the Great the royal tomb was a house or tower constructed of stone. None of the descriptions of Cyrus' tomb fits exactly either the Qabr or the Zindan. We agree with Weissbach that they correspond more closely to the Zindan, but actually they appear to combine features of both structures. The "tower" mentioned by Strabo—whether small, ten stories high, or large—corresponds to the Zindan but not to the Qabr, whereas the "house" or "room" described by Arrian corresponds to the tomb chamber of the Qabr. Weissbach⁶¹ and others have pointed out that none of the historians refers specifically to the distinctive pyramidal substructure of the Qabr. However, Aristobulus, according to both Strabo and Arrian, described a monument of two distinct parts. The lower part could be the base of either the Zindan or the Qabr. The two stories mentioned by Aristus also have bearing on this point. The descriptions of the doorway, emphasized as extremely small by both Arrian and Strabo, can apply only to the entrance to the Qabr (78 cm. wide, 1.35 m. high⁶²), because the entrance to the Zindan, as suggested by the size of the present mutilated opening and the size of the undoubtedly almost identical doorway of the Tower at Naqsh-i Rostam (87 cm. wide, *ca.* 1.75 m. high), was conveniently spacious to admit a person of average height.⁶³ The descriptions of the environs of the tomb could fit either the Zindan or the Qabr. Both could have been situated in groves of the royal park or parks⁶⁴ and isolated from the rest of the area by inclosures.⁶⁵

On the Qabr there is now no trace of the inscription referred to by the historians. Conceivably, it could have been inscribed on plaques, or the like, which have been removed. A stone fragment with remnants of a cuneiform inscription in Old Persian and Elamite recently came to light in the debris of the Zindan. Since it bears part of the name Cyrus in the genitive, the inscription has been at-

60. In Persian language and script according to Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 8. "In Greek, carved in Persian letters, and another written in the Persian language with the same meaning" according to Strabo xv. 3. 7 (quoting Onesicritus) and 8 (quoting Aristus). Plutarch (*Alexander* 69. 2) states that Alexander, after reading the inscription on Cyrus' tomb, ordered that it be engraved again below in Greek characters.

61. *ZDMG* XLVIII 660 (but cf. *IF*, p. 174).

62. *IF*, p. 167; or 2'3" (68.5 cm.) wide and 4'3" (1.295 m.) high according to Curzon, *Persia* II 77. [See now *Iran* II 24, where Stronach states that the Qabr entrance is 78 cm. wide and 1.39 m. high.—Ed.]

63. [According to Stronach (*Iran* III 13) the much damaged doorway of the Zindan "appears to have been 1.83 m. high and 94 cm. broad—measurements that make it 44 cm. taller and 16 cm. wider than the door of the Tomb of Cyrus."—Ed.]

64. Even at present, irrigated fields are near both monuments (see Vol. I, Fig. 3).

65. See Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 7. Column fragments now inclosing the Qabr are parts of other structures, brought there during the Islamic period (see our Vol. I 24). [See now also Stronach in *Iran* II 28 and, for inclosure of Zindan, *Iran* III 16.—Ed.]

tributed to Cambyses II and used as an argument for considering that the Zindan is the tomb of that king.⁶⁶

Comparison of the Zindan with the Qabr convinces us that the former—provided it was still in fairly good repair in Alexander's time—was a more impressive monument than the latter. The Zindan, reconstructed in accordance with the dimensions of the Tower at Naqsh-i Rostam, had a total height of more than 14 meters as compared with the Qabr's height of about 11 meters. The sepulchral chamber of the Qabr is 5.55 m. high and rests on a squat six-stepped pyramidal base of almost equal height, whereas the Zindan rose about 12.70 m. above its postulated [see now p. 41, n. 25] three-stepped base. The staircase that once led to the room of the Zindan⁶⁷ would have added to the impressiveness of the structure. Thus, if the Qabr is the structure described by the Greek historians as the tomb of Cyrus, we are confronted with the puzzling question as to why they did not mention the more impressive Zindan, no matter what its purpose may have been. Again, as stated above, the historians' narratives actually seem to combine features of both structures, therefore implying that both served the same purpose. This point—since there is no doubt as to the funerary purpose of the Qabr—adds support to the opinions of those who claim that the Zindan and, necessarily, the Tower at Naqsh-i Rostam were royal tombs.

There is perhaps another, though possibly quite deceptive, clue which prior to our discovery of the three-stepped base of the Tower at Naqsh-i Rostam could not have been suspected. Some rare variants of Egyptian hieroglyphs which have been classified by Egyptologists as representations of mastaba tombs show a tower-like superstructure, slightly tapering as a rule, on a three-stepped base.⁶⁸ However, so far as we know, no mastaba of exactly this shape has been found in Egypt, and we are told that the signs showing a tower on a stepped pyramidal base are meant to express the idea of ascending rather than to picture a true mastaba.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, they appear to represent structures of some kind, and it is possible that they do picture funerary monuments. Therefore, in our attempt to determine the purpose of the Tower at

Naqsh-i Rostam, which was probably built shortly after the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, we cannot entirely disregard the possibility that there may be some relationship between the Tower (and the Zindan at Pasargadae) and the structures depicted by the Egyptian hieroglyphs. If there is such a relationship, however, we would have to assume that Persian architecture adopted the form of an Egyptian type of building as early as the reign of Cyrus the Great (559–530 B.C.), for we can scarcely assign the older of the two towers, namely the Zindan, to a later time. The Egyptian crown of the genie in the relief on the Gate Structure at Pasargadae cannot be adduced as evidence of the adoption of an Egyptian building form during Cyrus' reign.⁷⁰ It is implausible to assume that Persian architecture was influenced by Egyptian architecture prior to the invasion of Egypt by Cambyses II, in 525 B.C., and it is therefore improbable that the building type represented by the two Persian towers was derived from an Egyptian type of structure. In this connection it is significant that Egyptianized lintels, not found at Pasargadae, were first employed in structures of Darius I at Persepolis.⁷¹

THE TOWER CONSTRUED AS A DEPOSITORY

According to our second theory in regard to the purpose of the Tower at Naqsh-i Rostam, this structure may have been erected as a depository for objects of dynastic or religious importance (cf. p. 49, n. 112). Such objects could conceivably have been royal or ritualistic paraphernalia—the king's standard, divine symbols, and the like. While the Zindan, situated near the palaces of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae, could plausibly have been erected by Cyrus as such a depository, it is improbable that the Tower at Naqsh-i Rostam—whether it was built by Cambyses II or Darius I—was intended for this purpose. It is not known whether Cambyses contemplated building a new capital in the Persepolis plain, but it is more reasonable to assume that he intended to retain his great father's capital as the home residence of the dynasty. If Darius was the builder of the Tower, it is difficult to believe that he erected it as a storage shrine while he was constructing the fortified palace compound of Persepolis, only 6 kilometers to the southeast, which on completion was to provide safe and dignified places of storage. Thus, since there is no doubt that the Zindan and the Tower had identical purposes, we dismiss as improbable the idea that they were simply exalted storage towers.

THE TOWER CONSTRUED AS A FIRE SANCTUARY

According to our third theory, defended by most scholars who have dealt with the problem, the Tower was a fire sanctuary,⁷² more specifically the repository for the "royal fire" (see p. 48, n. 110). The Zindan and the Tower are royal structures that were erected for identical purposes. Thus, the fires which they supposedly sheltered had to be the royal fires of the two lines of Achaemenid dynasts. Accordingly, the Zindan would have been built by Cyrus the Great and the Tower by Darius the Great.

70. See Vol. I 22, n. 54.

71. See *ibid.* e.g. pp. 27 and 222.

72. For a thorough compilation of the opinions of previous writers in regard to the two principal interpretations—tomb or fire sanctuary—see Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum* (1941) pp. 18–22.

66. See Ali-Sami, *Pasargadae, the Oldest Imperial Capital of Iran*, trans. R. N. Sharp (Shiraz, 1956) pp. 100 and 140 (No. 4). [According to Stronach, a fresh examination of the fragment revealed that the first, much damaged, Old Persian sign had been misread, so that instead of the name Cyrus there is a word of unknown meaning (see *Iran* II 38) and the inscription provides no basis for considering that the Zindan is "the tomb of Cambyses II or that of any other monarch" (see *Iran* III 16).—Ed.]

67. Weissbach (*ZDMG* XLVIII 659 and 662; cf. p. 36, n. 9, above) considered this staircase the *anabasis* that according to Aristobulus led to the tomb of Cyrus, whereas others have translated this word as "approach" (e.g. Herzfeld in *IF*, p. 176) or "ascent" (e.g. Curzon, *Persia* II 79). The *anabasis* (at which the house of the Magi guardians was situated) may therefore refer to either the Qabr or the Zindan.

[For description of the Zindan staircase see Stronach in *Iran* III 13.—Ed.]

68. See especially §§ 613 *a* and 641 *a* of the Pyramid Texts (Kurt Sethe, *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte* I [Leipzig, 1908] 329 and 348); see also Alexander Badawy, "The ideology of the superstructure of the mastaba-tomb in Egypt," *JNES* XV (1956) 180–81 and Fig. 1. For a similar sign which is described as a funeral stele emblemizing a grave, see W. M. Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt* I (10th ed.; London, 1923) 22 and Fig. 17; see also Alan Rowe, "Excavations of the Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., Expedition at Mejdûm, Egypt, 1929–30," *The Museum Journal* XXII (1931) Pl. V 1.

69. Oral information from Professors John A. Wilson and William F. Edgerton. See Badawy in *JNES* XV 180–81 and translations of §§ 613 *a* and 641 *a* of the Pyramid Texts (e.g. Kurt Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* III [Glückstadt etc., 1936] 128 and 187).

It has been proposed⁷³ that both structures were Anahita "temples," that the Zindan was the sanctuary in which Artaxerxes II (404–359 B.C.) was inaugurated,⁷⁴ and that the Tower was subsequently built by that king. However, we consider it implausible that the Tower was constructed later than the beginning of the reign of Darius I.

The architecture of the lofty Tower is not incompatible with its interpretation as a fire sanctuary. The single room could have enshrined the fire altar, but the weighty two-winged door is difficult to explain. Since the room has no specific outlet for smoke or gases (cf. p. 42, n. 31), the door would have had to be open while the fire, attended by priests, was burning. So far as we know, the sacred fire was extinguished only on the death of the monarch,⁷⁵ to be relighted, of course, by his successor. In theory, then, this was the only occasion for the closing of the door, which would appear to have been senselessly massive for a temporary, symbolic barrier.

Some of the stratigraphic evidence from our excavation of the Tower tends to deepen rather than to solve the enigma of its purpose. At the start of our work the debris inclosing the Tower had a depth of 4.65–6.20 m., measured from the surface to the original ground level adjacent to the northern and southern edges of the lowest step of the base (see Fig. 18). This deposit accumulated—in theory, as we shall see—in the course of twenty-four and a half centuries, during the Achaemenid, Hellenistic, Sasanian, and Islamic eras.

The Achaemenid period is represented by the Tower itself. Except possibly for a small column base (see p. 40), no objects definitely attributable to this period were found at or near the original ground level. The environs of the Tower may have been kept free of debris and litter because of the sacred character of the structure. Nevertheless, in the course of approximately two hundred years the level of the ground may have risen in parts to the level of the lowest tread of the Tower base, which is flush with the orifice of the pit that gave access to the treasure hunters' tunnel (see pp. 40 f.).

It is more difficult to explain the absence of objects definitely assignable to the Hellenistic era, which in Persia proper lasted about five and a half centuries. At the beginning of the Sasanian era the ground level around the Tower could not have been higher than the second tread of the three-stepped base (see p. 47). Thus, if debris was allowed to accumulate in the vicinity of the Tower, the ground level rose about 50 cm. during the long span of the Hellenistic era. The Sasanians may have cleared the Tower base, or it may have been kept clean during the preceding centuries. In the latter case we must assume that the structure continued to be held sacred during the entire Hellenistic era, although there is no rock relief, no inscription, and so far as we know at present no other prominent structure at Naqsh-i Rostam to suggest that the site played a distinctive role from the time of the destruction of Persepolis (330 B.C.) until the beginning of the Sasanian era (A.D. 224). A culvert that was repaired during this period and a Roman lamp that we tentatively assign to the second Christian century are meager evidence for the

occupation of the site at a time when Istakhr,⁷⁶ less than 3 kilometers to the east-southeast, was the residence of local rulers and when prominent structures such as the so-called "Fratadara temple" and the building with reused Persepolitan doorway were erected near the Persepolis Terrace (see p. 12).

In trying to trace the story and purpose of the Tower, we were disappointed to find no clues in the form of buildings or objects in the adjacent lowermost debris layer, which plausibly could have accumulated during the first seven and a half centuries after the erection of the structure. However, clues as to the time or times of its defilement and mutilation may throw some light on our problem. We refer to the tunnel which treasure hunters dug underneath the Tower and to the present locations of blocks which fell from the demolished upper part of the staircase (see pp. 40 f.). The mouth of the tunnel's entrance pit is flush with the lowest tread of the Tower base, and in our opinion the tunnel was dug after the site ceased to be protected, that is, after the fall of Persepolis. As to the staircase, the absence of the lowermost steps and the locations of blocks from the upper part, which lie at, slightly above, and slightly below the level of the lowest tread, suggest that the mutilation of the stairway roughly coincided with the digging of the tunnel (but see p. 47). In attempting to determine the time of these activities, we must review those historical phases during which sacred structures in Persia proper (Parsa, Persis—now Fars) were exposed to defilement.

The earliest events which could possibly have bearing on our problem are the destruction, in 522 B.C., of sanctuaries (*āyadanā*) by Gaumata and their restoration by Darius I. The nature of these sacred places is controversial,⁷⁷ but it is hardly to be assumed that they were tombs. It has been suggested⁷⁸ that the Zindan at Pasargadae was one of the sanctuaries destroyed by Gaumata and that the Tower at Naqsh-i Rostam was built by Darius as a replica of the older structure. In view of the fact that Pasargadae continued to be a place of dynastic importance,⁷⁹ one should assume that Darius, in accordance with his own words,⁸⁰ would have restored the Zindan if it had been destroyed by Gaumata. As to the Tower, which stands 100 meters from the tomb of Darius, there can be no doubt that he would have restored it had it been built and defiled prior to his accession to the throne. We therefore exclude Gaumata's desecration of sacred structures as an event to which we could plausibly ascribe the defilement and partial destruction of the Tower.

The destruction of Persepolis in 330 B.C. may not immediately have affected the monuments at Naqsh-i Rostam and Pasargadae, to judge by Alexander's respect for the tomb of Cyrus the Great.⁸¹ However, events which oc-

76. See "Istakhr" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* II (Leyden, 1927) 556 f.; *IAE*, pp. 276–81.

77. See G. B. Gray in the *Cambridge Ancient History* IV (1930) 175.

78. By Walther Hinz, "Altpersische Feuerheiligtümer," *Geistige Arbeit* IX (Berlin, 1942) No. 2, pp. 1 f., in agreement with Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 6. [See now also Stronach in *Iran* III 16 f.—Ed.]

79. To judge by the story of the inauguration of Artaxerxes II (see Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 3). [See now also Stronach's report (*Iran* III 19 f.) on the discovery at Pasargadae of a limestone tablet inscribed in Old Persian cuneiform with Xerxes' "Daiva" text.—Ed.]

80. See King and Thompson, *Behistūn*, p. 13, § XIV, and *OPG*, p. 120, § 14.

81. See Strabo xv. 3. 7; Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 4, 10.

73. By Stig Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran* (Lund, 1946) pp. 68 f.

74. See Plutarch *Artaxerxes* 3. 1–4.

75. See Diodorus Siculus xvii. 114. 4.

curred during Alexander's campaigns to the eastern provinces of the Persian empire may provide a clue. According to Arrian,⁸² Orxines, who took command of Persis after the death of the satrap appointed by Alexander, "rifled temples and royal tombs." The Tower at Naqsh-i Rustam was presumably one of the sacred places defiled by Orxines. On that occasion the door too was probably pilfered. Since there are no traces of stone doors at the royal tombs or in the debris of the Tower at Naqsh-i Rustam, we conclude that the doors were wholly or in part of metal and therefore valued as plunder. Thus, no matter what the Tower contained during the Achaemenid period, its contents and its door had disappeared before the commencement (ca. 300 B.C.) of the rule of the Fratadara princes. Stratigraphically, the level of the orifice of the treasure hunters' tunnel, the present locations of several blocks of the demolished upper part of the staircase, and the fact that the lowermost steps are missing would permit us to attribute the defilement of the Tower to the time of Alexander's eastern campaign (330–325 B.C.),⁸³ but there is conflicting evidence (see p. 47).

As to destructive events which might have endangered Persis structures during the Hellenistic era subsequent to the time of Alexander, to our knowledge there is only the dubious reference to an attack, in 165 B.C., by Antiochus Epiphanes, who "entered the city called Persepolis⁸⁴ and tried to rob temples and get hold of the city," whereupon his army was supposedly routed by the Persians.⁸⁵ The Parthian annexation of Persis by Mithridates I (ca. 171–138/37 B.C.)⁸⁶ and the rather anarchic conditions—in particular during an apparently short-lived revolt (ca. A.D. 196)—toward the end of the Parthian domination⁸⁷ may have exposed such royal structures as the Tower to mutilation.

Coins, so far, provide the most important clues in regard to the story of the Tower during the Hellenistic era. Several authors have stated, with varying degrees of emphasis, that Persis coins of the Fratadara princes show on the reverse the Tower of Naqsh-i Rustam. Without doubt, there is a distinct resemblance. From the reign of Bagadates I to that of Autophradates I the evidently sacred structure pictured on coins (Hill's first series of Persis coins;⁸⁸ ca. 250⁸⁹ to 150 B.C.) stands on a podium which may be a simplified representation of the stepped base of the Tower. The coffer pattern of the façade may stand symbolically for the Tower door (see p. 37). The pilasters flanking the façade could represent the projecting corner

piers of the Tower, whose denticulate cornice is also matched on the coins. Most of the coins show three horned altars⁹⁰ on the roof of the structure, which is flanked by a standard and a figure, undoubtedly the prince, whose hand is raised in adoration. The winged symbol with the god's bust hovers above the altars on the most recent coins and on some uncertain specimens of the series.⁹¹ Persis coins from the reign of the first king represented in Hill's second series (ca. 150–100 B.C.)⁹² show a structure that retains some semblance to the Tower,⁹³ but the later specimens show merely an altar in the form of a rectangle which is usually subdivided by three vertical panels and crowned by two stepped or plain triangular merlons. In most cases, the god appears to rise from the crenel. In Hill's third series (1st century B.C.)⁹⁴ the rectangular altar is replaced by an object suggesting a metal altar, from which rises a flame. The deity is omitted, and only the adorant remains. Finally, in Hill's fourth series (1st Christian century to A.D. 224)⁹⁵ the altar is superseded by other symbols, by the prince's figure, or by a royal bust.

Briefly, then, the numismatic evidence so far as it concerns our problem may be summarized as follows. A sacred structure resembling the Tower of Naqsh-i Rustam is pictured on coins of the earliest known Fratadara rulers.⁹⁶ Soon after the annexation of Persis by the Parthians, the structure shown on the local coinage ceases to bear resemblance to the Tower; it now represents an altar—at first large and apparently made of stone, subsequently small and probably made of metal. During the last two centuries of Parthian overlordship the altar is entirely omitted. After the fall of the Parthians, the altar reappears on coins of the founder of the Sasanian empire, Ardashir I.

The structure which the early Fratadara rulers chose for representation on their coins must have been of paramount national or dynastic importance. Erdmann emphatically identifies this structure as the Naqsh-i Rustam Tower, which he considers the *ateshgah* of the royal fire—undoubtedly the most precious heritage of the past and thus the focal point of the realm of the Persis rulers, the symbol of their sovereignty.⁹⁷ He correctly points out that those who consider the Tower a tomb simply ignore the structure shown on the early Fratadara coins or try to interpret

82. *Anabasis* vi. 30.1–2, but cf. the romantic tale of Quintus Curtius x. 1. 22–39.

83. See e.g. Benedictus Niese, *Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeronea* ("Handbücher der alten Geschichte," II. Serie, 2. Abt.) I (Gotha, 1893) 94–157.

84. Presumably meant to be Istakhr.

85. II Maccabees 9:1–2 (trans. by James Moffat in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, ed. R. H. Charles [Oxford, 1913] I 143); see also Neilson C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938) pp. 20 f.

86. See Debevoise, *op. cit.* pp. 27 and 270; W. W. Tarn in the *Cambridge Ancient History* IX (1932) 579. Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, p. 135, dates the seizure of Persis ca. 150 B.C.

87. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, pp. 85–87.

88. See Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, pp. 196–203 and Pls. XXVIII 8–XXIX; cf. Allotte de la Fuÿe, "Étude sur la numismatique de la Perse," *Corolla Numismatica: Numismatic Essays in Honour of Barclay V. Head* (London etc., 1906) pp. 63–97.

89. "Possibly a generation earlier" (see Hill in Pope, *Survey* I 402). Jacques de Morgan believed that the Persis coinage did not come into use prior to the beginning of the Arsacid period and assigned a date of ca. 220 B.C. to Bagadates I ("Note sur la succession des princes mazdéens de la Perse," *Académie des inscriptions & belles-lettres, Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1920* [Paris, 1920] pp. 134 and 138); see also Jacques de Morgan, *Numismatique de la Perse antique* (Ernest Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*. III. *Monnaies orientales* I [Paris, 1933]) pp. 343 and 397.

90. Called "battlements" by Hill.

91. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, Pl. XXIX 5–10, 12, 14.

92. *Ibid.* pp. 204–15 and Pls. XXX–XXXII 4.

93. See especially *ibid.* Pl. XXX 1–8.

94. *Ibid.* pp. 216–24 and Pls. XXXII 5–XXXIV 5.

95. *Ibid.* pp. 225–44 and Pls. XXXIV 6–XXXVII.

96. We discount the possibility that the structure represents the Zindan also, for apparently Pasargadae ceased to play any role after the end of the Achaemenid era.

97. Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 32; see also Sarre in *IF*, p. 4, n. 1, and Ferdinand Justi, *Geschichte der orientalischen Völker im Altertum* (Berlin, 1884) pp. 412–15 and 453.

it as a fire altar,⁹⁸ but he himself does not attempt to explain why this focal building disappears from the coins after the seizure of Persis by the Parthians and why even the fire altar—which could represent the structure symbolically—is finally omitted on the Persis coinage.⁹⁹

Whether or not the early Fratadara coins picture the Naqsh-i Rostam Tower, the numismatic evidence suggests that venerable buildings linked traditionally with the Persian dynasts were defiled during the Parthian domination of Persis. In theory, therefore, the Tower could have been damaged at that time (but see p. 47).

There are neither reliefs nor inscriptions at Naqsh-i Rostam to indicate that the site was revered by the Persis rulers of the Hellenistic era, but monumental inscriptions and sculptures of their imperial successors prove that at the very beginning of the Sasanian era the site again became a dynastic sanctum. There is no doubt that during more than four centuries of Sasanian rule it was protected against defilement. The reverence for this locality is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that Shapur I chose the Tower as a worthy medium for transmitting to posterity the greatest historical document of his reign, supplemented by a proud message of the priest Kartir.

The locations of the inscriptions indicate that at the time of their engraving the ground level in the vicinity of the Tower must have been no higher than the middle tread of the Tower base. A person standing at that level in front of the Parthian version of the royal inscription, for instance, would find the center lines of the inscription approximately at eye level, whereas from the top tread the top line would be below eye level (see Fig. 14 B). The situation at the south wall of the Tower, which bears the Greek version of Shapur's inscription, is similar (see Fig. 13 B). On the east wall the bottom of the inscribed area is at about the same level (see Fig. 14 A), but, significantly, Kartir's inscription is carved below Shapur's Middle Persian version, so that here the space between the bottom of the royal inscription and the top tread of the base is more than twice the corresponding spaces below the other two versions.

Kartir's inscription mentions four kings: Shapur (I), who died in A.D. 272, Hormizd (I), Bahram (I), and Bahram II. Obviously it could not have been completed before the reign (A.D. 276–93) of the last-named ruler. Nevertheless, the arrangement of the inscriptions of priest and king on the east wall of the Tower as compared with the locations of the other two versions of the royal inscription strongly suggests that Kartir himself planned and supervised the disposition of Shapur's inscription and his own. Without doubt, the three versions of the king's inscription were first indited elsewhere and the locations and dimensions of the spaces to be inscribed on the Tower walls carefully planned and computed. Henning puts forth the hypothesis that the Middle Persian version is the original, that a written copy of this text was translated into Parthian by "Öhrmizd the son of Šylk," and that the Greek version too was made from the Middle Persian, "from the same written copy."¹⁰⁰ Sprengling, on the other

hand, considered the Parthian version the original, with the scribe "Ahurmazd the son of Širak" naming himself at the end.¹⁰¹ In any event, after the engraving of Shapur's Middle Persian version was completed, presumably near the end of his reign, Kartir started to add his own inscription. The latter could not have been finished before the reign of Bahram II, but the exact time is not relevant to our problem. The relative locations of the inscriptions of king and priest are to us sufficient proof that, while their positions were being calculated, Kartir reserved the space beneath the king's inscription for his own message. We conclude, therefore, that this zealous Mazdean reformer, the founder of the Sasanian state church,¹⁰² definitely sanctioned the choice of the Tower or was even instrumental in selecting it to immortalize Shapur's deeds and his own. Thus, while the choice of the Tower for the most important document of the Sasanian empire that so far has been discovered¹⁰³ suggests that it was traditionally a structure of dynastic importance, the additional message of the priest suggests that it was a building of religious significance also.

On the basis of these considerations we now doubt that the Tower was seriously damaged in Alexander's time or during a post-Alexandrian phase of the Hellenistic era, for it seems inconceivable that this structure would have been selected for the monumental records under discussion if in Shapur's time it was in its present dilapidated condition. True, the treasure hunters' tunnel may have been dug shortly after the fall of Persepolis, but its unsightly outlets could easily have been filled and leveled. Furthermore, the cavities left by missing stone patches or by erosion did not greatly deface the structure, nor did they bother the engravers of the inscriptions.¹⁰⁴ We are convinced, however, that the staircase was not in its present condition at the time the inscriptions were engraved. Otherwise, Shapur would have repaired it to restore the loftiness of the monument and to provide access to the Tower chamber. Moreover, his masons would have reused the dislocated original stone blocks, for we noticed no traces of other building materials which they could have utilized in rebuilding the stairs. We conclude that the Tower was in good repair throughout the Sasanian era and that its present condition—with blocks from its staircase scattered about, with a roof slab dislocated (see p. 36), and with its northern section gutted by treasure hunters—is due to later despoliation, most plausibly during the Arab conquest.

The locations of the staircase fragments which lie at, slightly above, and slightly below the level of the lowest tread of the Tower base (see p. 41) mark the ground level at the time of demolition, presumably between A.D. 640¹⁰⁵ and 650.¹⁰⁶ Thus, we are confronted with the curious phe-

101. See Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, pp. 21 and 20.

102. See *ibid.* e.g. pp. 45 and 63 f.

103. Quoting Henning, "The great inscription of Šāpūr I," *BSOAS* IX (1937–39) 849.

104. As shown by words of Shapur's Greek version that straddle the cavities; see A. T. Olmstead, "The mid-third century of the Christian era," *Classical Philology* XXXVII (1942) 246.

105. Possibly the year in which the Arabs first attacked the Persepolis area but were repulsed (see Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, p. 11).

106. Istakhr (including, of course, the site of Naqsh-i Rostam) was finally seized by the Arabs in 649/50 (see *ibid.* pp. 16 f.). We do not believe that later events have bearing on the demolition of the Tower—events such as a short-lived revolt in 659/60 (*ibid.* p. 25), the order of the caliph Mu'tasim

98. Erdmann, *Das iranische Feuerheiligtum*, p. 78, n. 144.

99. It is to be assumed that the chronology of the Persis coins as presented by Hill is correct in its major sequences.

100. See W. B. Henning, "A farewell to the Khagan of the Aq-Aqatārān," *BSOAS* XIV (1952) 513–14.

nomenon that at the beginning of the Islamic era, almost 1,200 years after the erection of the Tower, the ground level in its immediate vicinity was only about 30 cm. above the original Achaemenid surface (see p. 35), while other parts of the immured precinct had risen in the usual manner of mound deposits.¹⁰⁷ The difference in the rate of accumulation of detritus must have been due to the distinctive character of the Tower, to its traditional connection with the Persian dynasts, whether emperors or local kinglylets, and to their continuous efforts to retain or, if necessary, restore its original appearance.

During the Achaemenid era the Tower, together with the entire precinct in front of the royal tombs, was obviously regarded with particular reverence and kept clear of litter and debris.

At the beginning of the Hellenistic era the site was probably despoiled (see pp. 45 f.), and it was undoubtedly neglected during the Alexandrian and Seleucid phases. However, provided the sacred structure that appears on Fratadara coins indeed depicts the Tower (see p. 46), the building and its environs were certainly again invested with dignity.

It is controversial whether the Tower was damaged or simply neglected during the period of Parthian overlordship. In any event, if damaged, it would have been restored by Shapur I and debris which might have accumulated on its terraced base would have been cleared away.¹⁰⁸ We have emphasized above our reasons for believing that the site was kept clear of structures,¹⁰⁹ debris, and litter during the Sasanian era.

Arab invaders, treasure hunters, and stone pilferers finally demolished parts of the Tower, which had ceased to be an object of reverence. During the Islamic era, layers of successive crude structures of mud bricks and unhewn stones, domestic litter, and parts of the crumbling mud-brick fortification that was washed down from the south and west accumulated beside the walls of the defiled structure until its terraced base, the remnant of its staircase, and the inscriptions of king and priest were covered by the detritus of the mound.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

On the preceding pages we have attempted to trace the story of the Tower by investigating its architecture, the stratigraphy of the adjacent deposit, and the historical events and records which are or might be relevant. In concluding, we must admit that we have not succeeded in answering unequivocally the question as to the original purpose of the structure.

Admittedly, prior to the excavation of the Tower we were inclined to consider it and the Zindan royal tombs rather than fire sanctuaries. One of our principal reasons

was that according to Greek historians (see pp. 43 f.) the royal tomb during the Pasargadae phase of Achaemenid architecture, which is represented by the Tower also, was a house or tower erected on a distinct substructure. The Greeks' confusing descriptions of the tomb of Cyrus the Great in some respects correspond more closely to the Zindan (and the Tower) than to the Qabr and suggest that they refer to both Pasargadae structures and that both were tombs of royalty. Moreover, the use of tombs similar in form to the Zindan and the Tower is attested by structures in southwest Anatolia, which was subdued by Cyrus (see p. 43), the founder of Pasargadae. Finally, the channels and sockets for the installation and pivoting of the evidently massive two-winged door of the Tower are identical with corresponding devices in the rock tombs of Darius I and his successors (but see p. 42, n. 31).

Nevertheless, the results of our investigations, combined with observations of previous writers, have induced us to reverse, with some measure of hesitation, our original opinion. The most cogent reasons against the identification of the Tower as a tomb of Achaemenid royalty are provided by the role which this structure played during the Hellenistic and Sasanian eras.

While there are no records to prove that a specific edifice sheltered the royal fire of the Achaemenid monarchs, the reliefs on the tombs of Darius the Great and his successors may permit postulating the existence of such a structure. In these reliefs the king stands on a three-stepped pedestal in front of an altar with flaming fire and the winged symbol of Ahuramazda hovers between and above altar and king (see e.g. Pl. 42 *A*). The ritual here pictured could have taken place in an edifice reserved for the royal fire.¹¹⁰ Incidentally, there is a peculiar, though perhaps delusive, resemblance between the king's statuesque figure standing on its three-stepped pedestal and the Tower of Naqsh-i Rostam rising from its three-stepped base. Undeniably, there is a relationship between the tomb scene and the scenes on certain Persis coins. The sanctuary depicted on these coins of the early Fratadara princes (see p. 46), who were intimately linked by tradition and presumably by kinship with the Achaemenid dynasts, so closely resembles the Achaemenid Tower of Naqsh-i Rostam that we can scarcely doubt the identity of the two structures, and the image of the Fratadara—the "Guardian of the Fire"—worshiping beside the Tower obviously indicates that this building was the most exalted sanctum of Persis, that is, the shrine of the royal fire. On subsequent issues of Persis coins the Tower is not shown. To explain this omission we must assume that the royal fire, because it was linked with the local dynasty, was extinguished by order

110. 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.

As to ancient records, Diodorus Siculus, in mentioning that the fire was extinguished on the death of the monarch, obviously refers to the royal fire (see p. 45 above). The fire altar carried before the king in Cyrus' procession (see Xenophon *Cyropaedia* viii. 3. 12) presumably represents the royal fire as we see it depicted in the reliefs on the tombs of Darius and his successors.

A passage in a record ascribed to the Sasanian era, which refers to the extinguishing of the fires of local rulers by Ardashir I, implies quite plausibly that during the Achaemenid era the royal fire was linked solely with the Persian emperor; see James Darmesteter, "Lettre de Tansar au roi de Tabaristan," *Journal asiatique*, 9^e série, III (Paris, 1894) 530 f.; see also Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* III ("Annales du Musée Guimet" XXIV [Paris, 1893]) pp. xxx f.; but cf. Christensen, *Sassanides*, p. 167.

(A.D. 833-42) for the destruction of fire temples at Istakhr (*ibid.* p. 185, n. 8), and, finally, the destruction of Istakhr toward the end of the 10th century (see "Istakhr" in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* II [1927] 557).

107. In Plot BB 05 of the Center Test, for example, the Islamic floor (see p. 63) was ca. 3 meters above the bases of the Achaemenid walls (see p. 64).

108. The alternating accumulation and removal of refuse soil and debris which rose on the Tower base during periods of profanation and neglect due to foreign rule may account to some extent for the confused stratigraphy in the vicinity of the structure.

109. Except perhaps for a presumably Sasanian building (*N* on Fig. 17 *B*) to the west (see p. 39).

of the Parthian overlords. In other localities sacred fires were kept burning. We are told, for instance, that Sasan, the eponym of the succeeding dynasty, was keeper of the Anahita fire sanctuary at Istakhr.¹¹¹

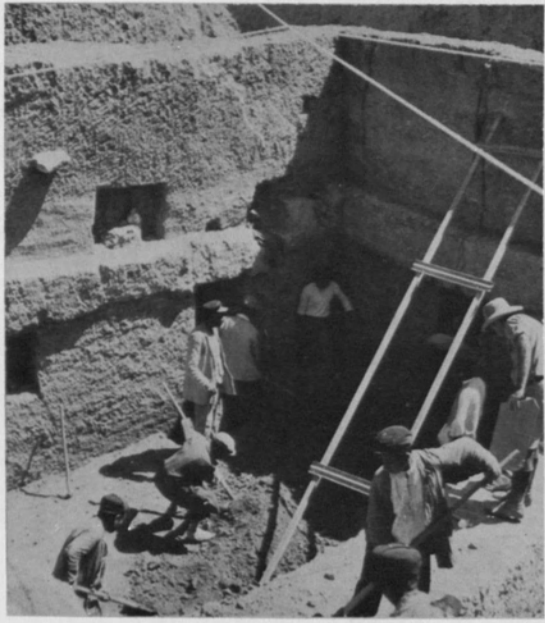
Although Sasanian coins do not depict a tower-like sanctuary, the fact that the Tower of Naqsh-i Rostam was selected by Shapur I and the priest Kartir to immortalize their deeds (see p. 47) convinces us that during Shapur's reign (A.D. 241-72), or more probably before, the royal fire was rekindled in the Tower, to burn until the end of the Sasanian era, when it was extinguished finally by the Arab conquerors.¹¹²

The evidence pointing to the use of the Tower as the dynastic fire sanctuary of Persis princes and Sasanian emperors induces us to conclude that this edifice and its

111. Presumably the building with reused Achaemenid stone parts which was subsequently converted into a mosque (see *IAE*, p. 276).

counterpart at Pasargadae were erected to shelter the royal fire in the two homeland capitals of the Achaemenids. The Zindan at Pasargadae was undoubtedly built by Cyrus the Great. It is conjectural whether it was demolished by Gaumata, restored by Darius the Great or one of his successors, and finally destroyed sometime after Alexander's conquest. The tower at Naqsh-i Rostam was most probably built by Darius the Great, even before the foundation of the Persepolis Terrace was completed, to enshrine the royal fire of his line of the Achaemenid dynasty.

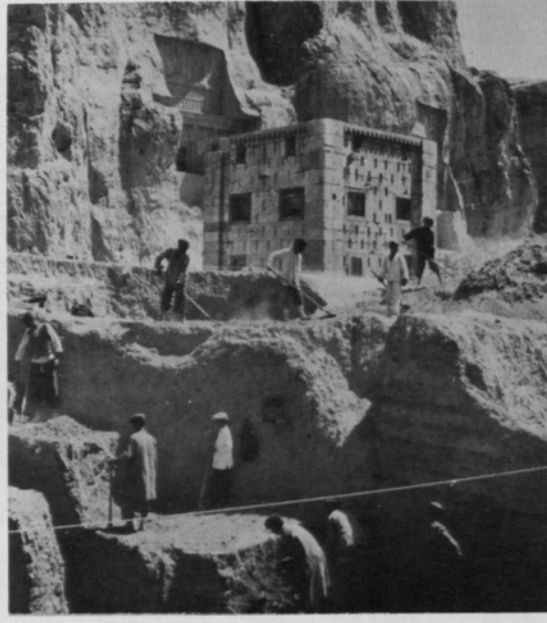
112. Henning conjectures, on the basis of his translation of a passage in Kartir's Tower inscription, that "this foundation-house," i.e., the Tower, was "destined for the safe keeping of the charters and records of the church," not only such documents as are mentioned in Kartir's inscriptions but "presumably also the principal copy of the Avesta"; see Henning's introduction to "The Inscription of Naqsh-i Rostam" in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part III, Vol. II, Plates Portfolio II (London, 1957).



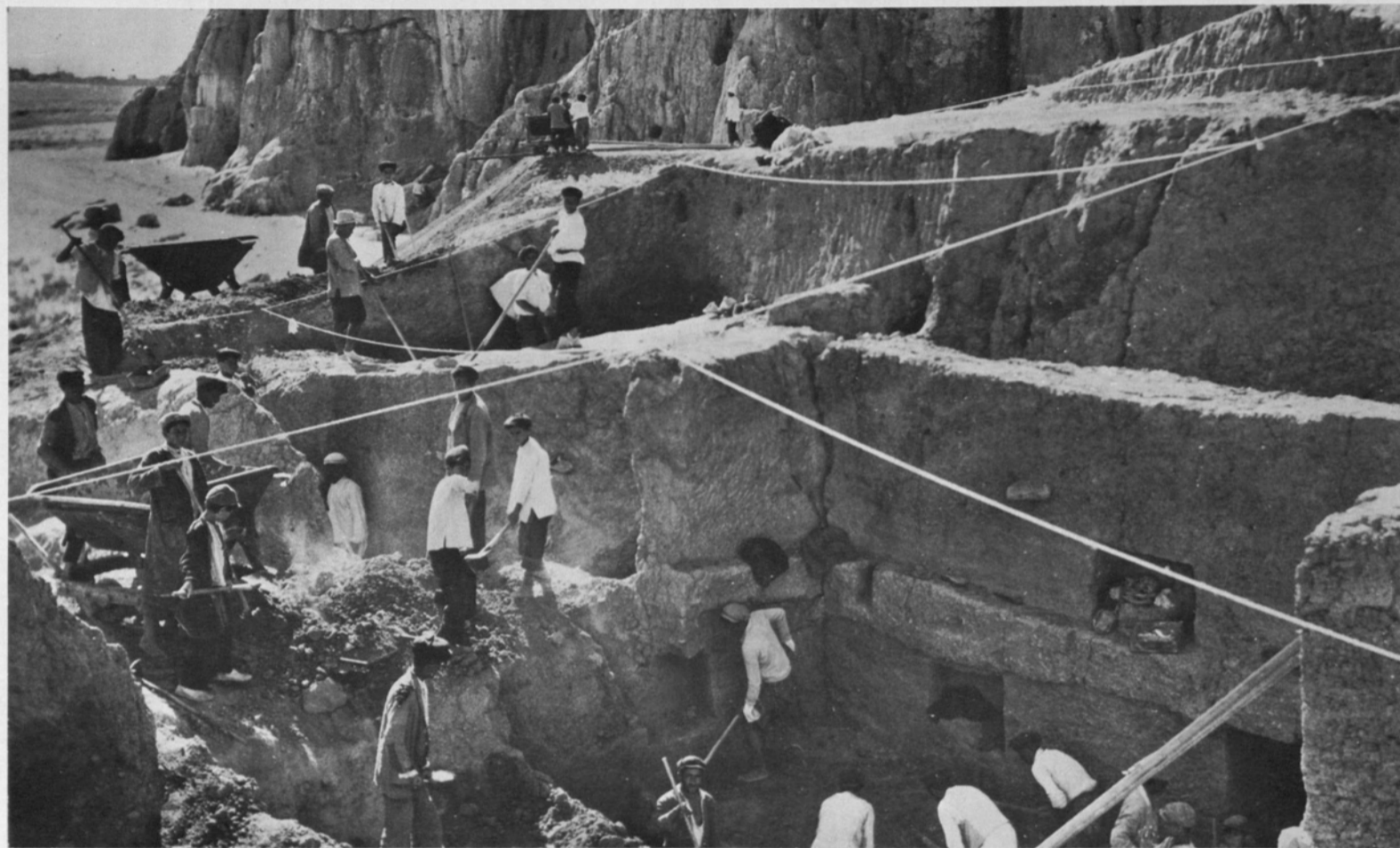
A



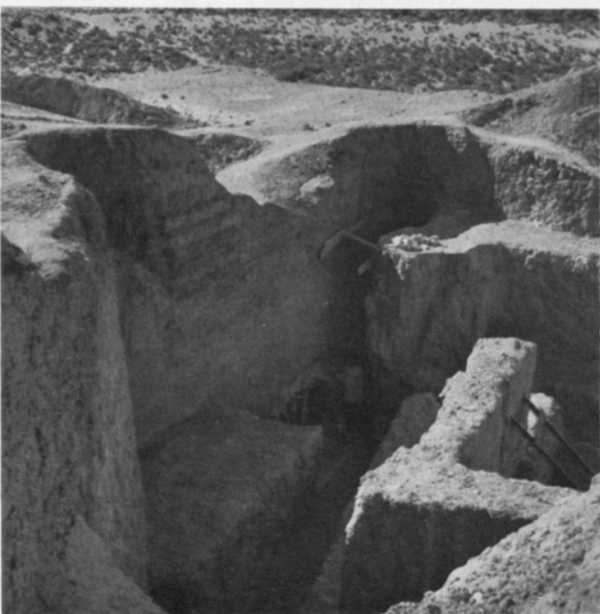
B



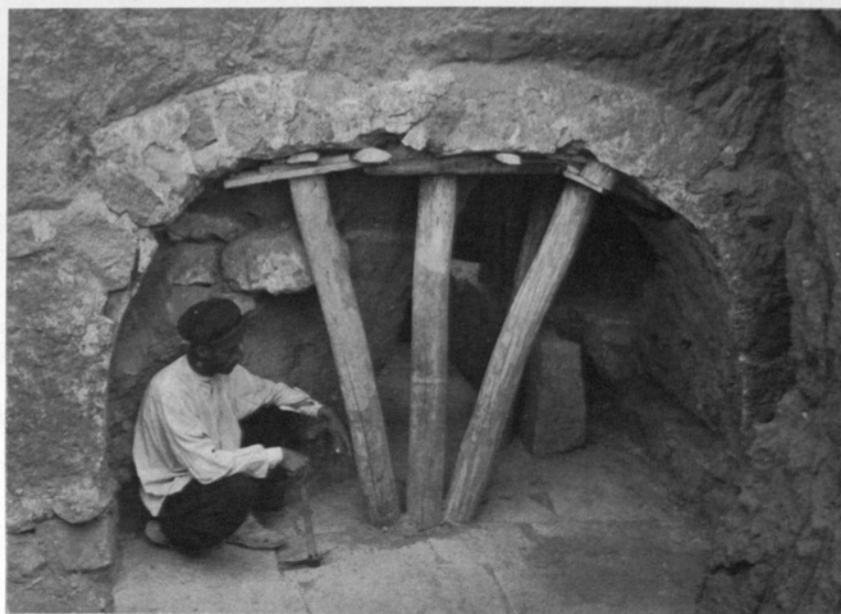
C



D

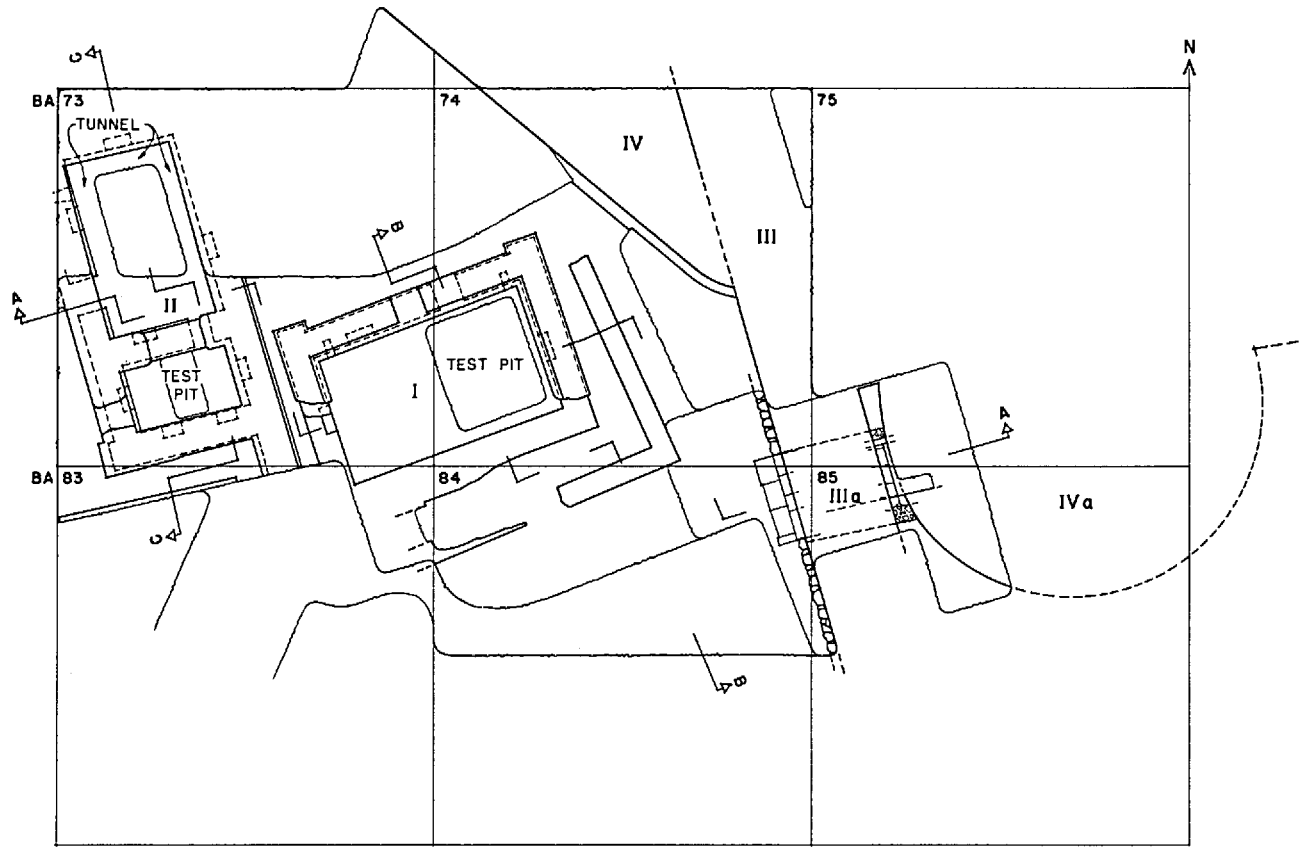


E

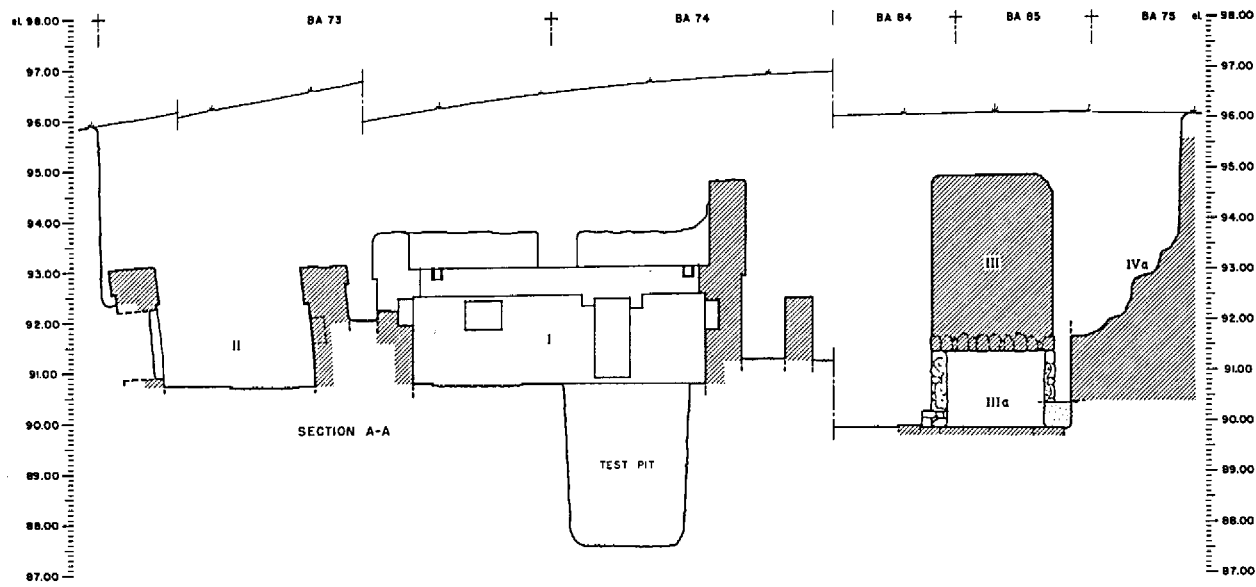


F

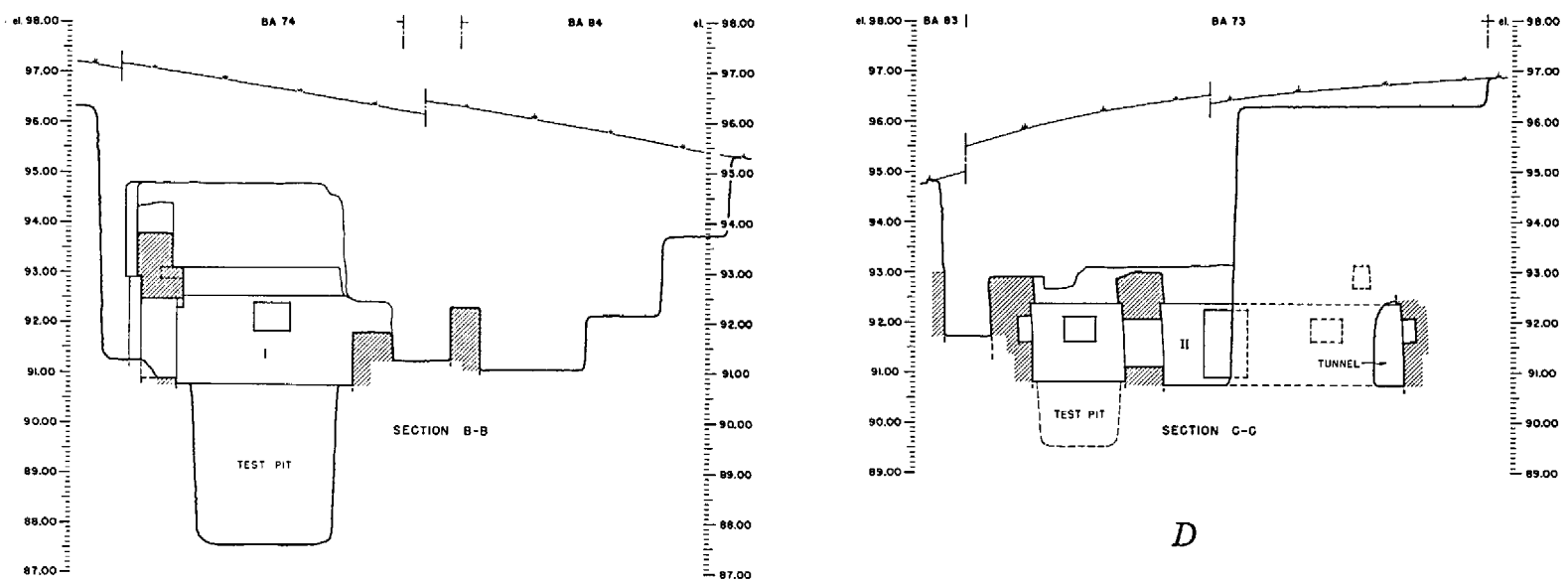
FIG. 21. EXCAVATION VIEWS OF THE WEST TEST. A. INTERIOR OF BUILDING I (*direction, NE*). B. EXTERIOR NORTHEAST CORNER OF BUILDING I. C. BUILDING I WITH THE TOWER IN BACKGROUND. D. WORK IN BUILDINGS I (*in foreground*) AND II (*direction, NW*). E-F. DISTANT VIEW AND CLOSE-UP OF CULVERT



A



B



C

D

FIG. 22. EXCAVATED STRUCTURES IN THE WEST TEST. A. PLAN. SCALE, 1:200. B-D. SECTIONS. SCALE, 1:150

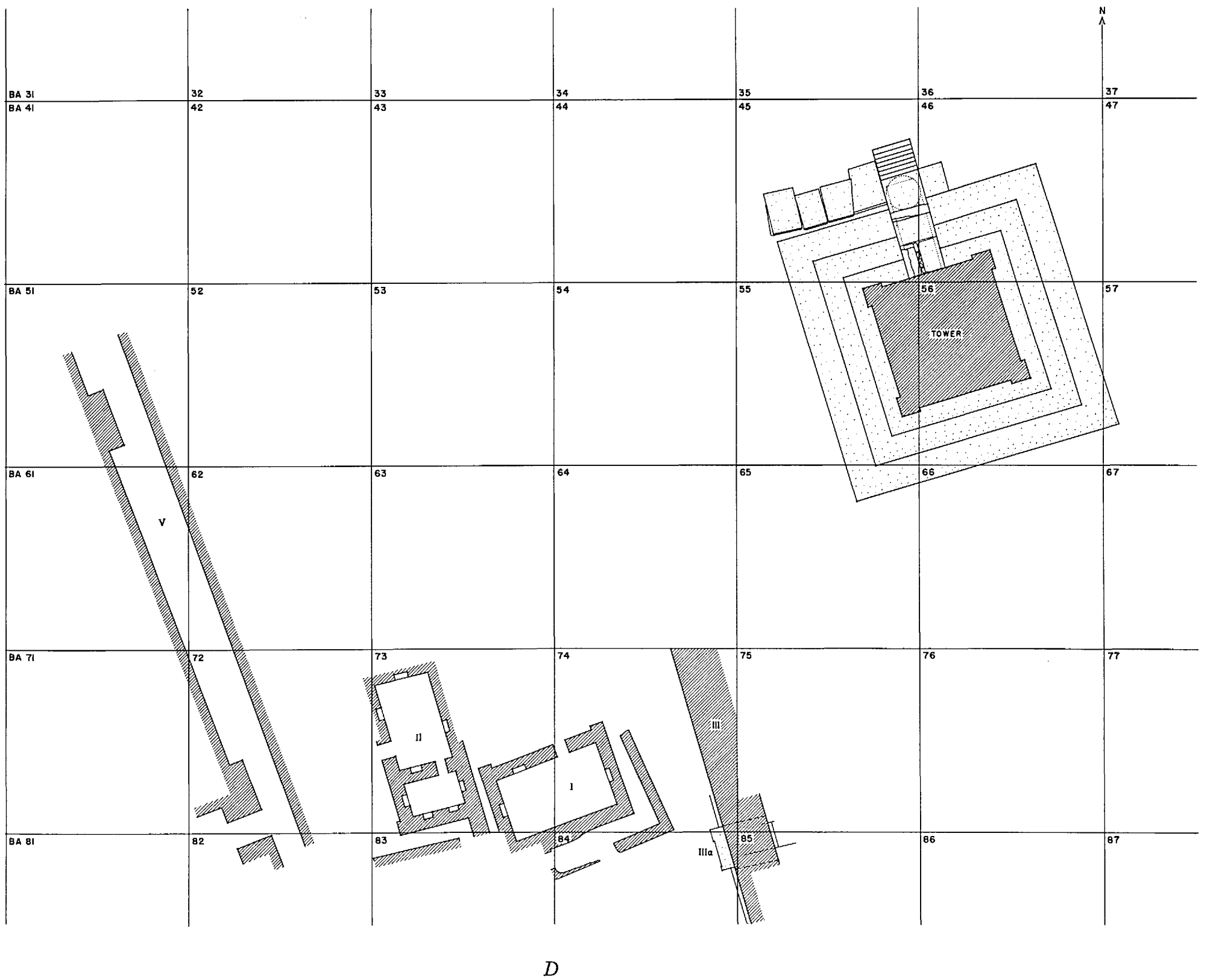
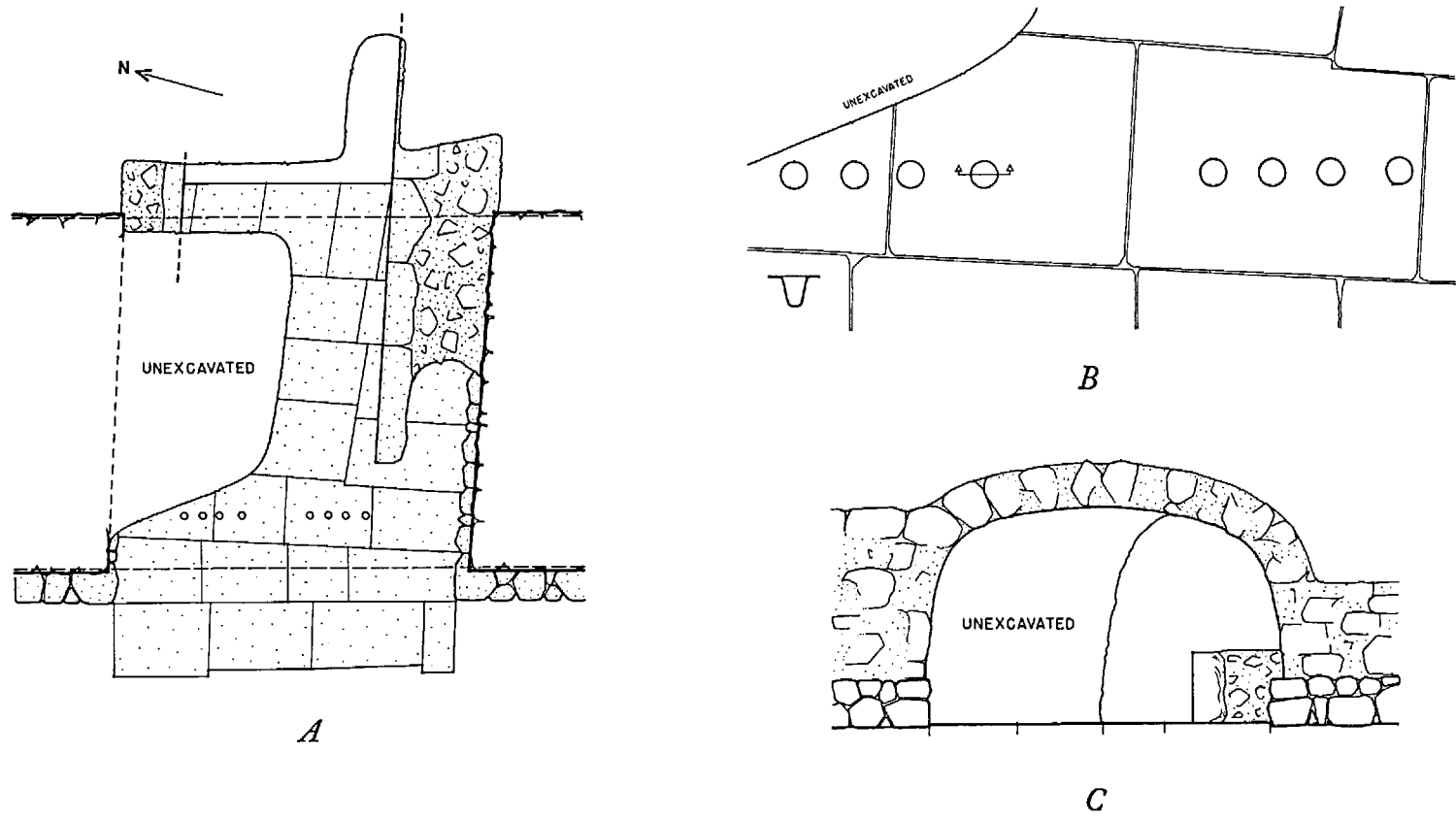


FIG. 23. THE WEST TEST. *A*. PLAN OF CULVERT. *B*. DETAIL OF CULVERT SOCKETS. *C*. ELEVATION OF CULVERT. *D*. SCHEMATIZED PLAN SHOWING LOCATION OF THE TOWER. SCALES, 1:50 (*A*, *C*), 1:15 (*B*), AND 1:250 (*D*)

THE WEST TEST AND THE FORTIFICATION

On our air map (Fig. 4), which shows the extent of soundings made prior to our own operations, Plots BA 73–75 and 83–85 cover most of the area with which we are now concerned. Here Herzfeld's trenches had previously exposed the upper parts of mud-brick structures, the exterior face of the inclosure with rounded towers (see No. 6 on Fig. 2), and the inner faces of two walls which flank a corridor of unknown length, the tested section extending from Plot BA 82 to Plot BA 51 (see Fig. 23 D). We com-

pleted the excavation of one mud-brick building (I) and uncovered most of a second such structure (II). For lack of time, however, we were forced to content ourselves with tracing the inner wall faces of the northern part of Building II by tunneling (see Fig. 22 A). Our test revealed the existence of a strong wall (III), pierced by a culvert (IIIa), which antedates a curtain wall (IV) and an approximately semicircular tower (IVa) that are parts of the assumedly Sasanian inclosure referred to above.

BUILDINGS I AND II

Buildings I and II are founded at the same level and constructed in the same fashion.¹ The south wall of Building I is of *chinah*, but otherwise the walls of both buildings are of mud bricks ranging in size from $38 \times 38 \times 10$ cm. to $40 \times 40 \times 11$ cm. They are covered with mud plaster (2–2.5 cm. thick) finished with a smooth greenish-gray wash (less than 0.5 mm. thick) similar to the surface coat applied to the walls of a low-level building in Plot BB 05 of the Center Test (see p. 64). It resembles the finish of the Persepolis Treasury walls in color, but its body is different in that it lacks gritty material.² Buildings I and II most probably had two stories. The rooms were provided with wall niches, at least in the lower stories, and both buildings have corner piers projecting 17–22 cm. from the entrance façades. We found no evidence of windows.

The plan of Building I (see Fig. 22 A) shows a rectangular room measuring 3.50×5.80 m. The building faces north,³ as indicated by the corner piers and by the entrance (69 cm. wide, 1.58 m. high) in the north wall. A mud-brick sill rises 12 cm. above the floor.

About 1.10 m. above the floor there are rectangular niches (73 cm. wide, 53–56 cm. high, 26–30 cm. deep) in the center of the west and the east wall and in the western part of the north wall, here balancing the off-center doorway. The south wall is not preserved to the level of the niches, but we assume that it too was niched. We were not able to define the south face of this poorly preserved *chinah* wall or the purpose of two exterior wall fragments to the east and south roughly paralleling the east and south walls of the building. The floor was once covered with plaster, but only small light tan patches remained. Plaster of the same color from the better preserved floor of Building II has been analyzed (see p. 55, n. 4).

The walls of both buildings show a peculiar feature,

which is clearest on the north wall of Building I. Here, 1.70 m. above the floor, the inner face projects 13 cm. and, 60 cm. above this line, recedes to form a ledge 21 cm. wide (see Fig. 22 C). This ledge undoubtedly marks the ceiling level of the first story (see Fig. 21 A and D). About 2.15 m. above the floor level of the room the exterior (north) face of the wall juts out 8 cm. This projection is carried around the corner piers (see Fig. 21 B) and along the east and west faces of the structure. Since exterior and interior projections equal the width of the interior ledge, the upper (i.e., second-story) portion of the wall has the same thickness (73 cm.) as the lower portion.

There are no definite clues in regard to the construction of the ceiling. We found neither timber impressions on the ledge nor rows of holes in the base course of the second-story wall. However, there are two rectangular cuts (*ca.* 20 cm. wide and 21 cm. high) in the ledge, one near the east end and one near the west end of the north wall (see Fig. 22 B). The eastern cut (visible in Fig. 21 A above workman in northeast corner of room) is about 46 cm. deep, that is, it extends 25 cm. into the wall (see Fig. 22 C). The depth of the western cut (clearly visible in Fig. 21 D) was not ascertained, and the remnant of the south wall is not high enough to show whether it had a ledge and corresponding cuts. These cuts must be sockets for beams which supported other, transverse, beams or planks, though it is difficult to understand why the builders would have laid the ceiling timber lengthwise (6-m. span) instead of choosing the short axis (*ca.* 3.80 m.).

There is an opening 78 cm. wide, undoubtedly a doorway, in the center of the upper part of the north wall. As the wall at this point is preserved to a height of only 70 cm. above the ledge (see Fig. 22 B), the original height of the doorway is unknown. The doorway is visible in Figure 21 A and D, where it has the appearance of a niche (filled with belongings of workmen) because the debris on top of the wall remnant had not yet been removed. Apparently the upper story was entered from the outside by means of a ladder since there are no traces of a staircase. That portion of the east wall (total extant height 4.00 m.) which belongs to the upper story is 1.65 m. high. The fact

1. The technical parts of the descriptions are based on Haines's drawings and field notes.

2. See Vol. I 159 and 287.

3. Actually 18° to 19° west of north. In general we designate the orientation of the structures by the main compass points which the directions of their axes or walls approximate.

that the wall face is unbroken suggests that the upper room was not provided with niches, in contrast to all the first-story rooms of both buildings.

In the eastern part of Building I we tested the underlying deposit to a depth of 3.20 m. below the level of the floor. There was only a mixture of stone chips and dirt such as we encountered beneath the Tower, and we found no artifacts or other traces of an occupation prior to that represented by Building I.

The plan of Building II (see Fig. 22 *A*) shows two rooms connected by an unusually low doorway (95 cm. high, 55 cm. wide) whose mud-brick sill rises 30 cm. above the floor level. A doorway in the west wall of the larger, northern, room (4.70 × 3.00 m.) indicates that the building faces west. This doorway, though somewhat larger than the inner opening, is also abnormally low (1.35 m. high, 88 cm. wide). Its mud-brick sill is 15 cm. high. At the southern end of the entrance façade a pier projects about 20 cm. from the wall face. A corresponding pier is to be assumed at the unexcavated northwest corner of the building. The walls that were completely cleared are 78 cm. thick but nowhere preserved to the level of the ground-floor ceiling. However, both exterior and interior wall faces have projections (*ca.* 7 cm.) similar to those of Building I. This feature, combined with the fact that the walls of Building II are even thicker than those of Building I, strongly suggests that Building II also had two stories.

Each wall of the north room has at least one niche (60–70 cm. wide, 50 cm. high, 25–30 cm. deep) about 85 cm. above the floor level. As mentioned above, the main portion of this room had to be traced by tunneling. Near each end of the west wall we found a cavity (see Fig. 22 *D*) resembling the cuts in the ledge of Building I. In Building II, however, the cuts are larger. The cavity at the north is trapezoid (30 cm. wide at top, 35 cm. wide at bottom, 45 cm. high) and is coated with mud plaster like that on the wall faces. It was cleared to a depth of 50 cm., but its back was not reached. Although the existence of a ledge in Building II was not definitely determined, there is not much doubt that the top (2.40 m. above floor) of the trapezoid cavity marks the level of the same kind of ledge that in Building I indicates the ceiling level (2.30 m. above floor) of the lower story. Only part of the bottom and part of the south side of the cavity near the south end of the west wall of Building II are preserved, as shown in section in Figure 22 *D* by the indented top line of the wall. While it is plausible to consider the cuts in Building I as

sockets for ceiling beams, it seems quite improbable that the cuts in the narrower and subdivided Building II were prepared for this purpose. Haines frankly states that the purpose of both pairs of cuts is unknown.

The small south room (2.98 × 1.80 m.) of Building II has single niches in the west and east walls and two niches in the south wall. The niches are about 80 cm. above the floor. They are 50–62 cm. wide, 45–50 cm. high, and 25–30 cm. deep. The floors of both rooms were once covered with light tan plaster resembling that found in Building I, but only the flooring of the south room is fairly well preserved.⁴

In the south room we tested the deposit to a depth of 1.30 m. beneath the floor, thereby confirming the results of the test below Building I. There were only stone chips mixed with dirt, and we found no trace of an occupation antedating that represented by Building II.

There are structural remains south of Building II. The plan (Fig. 22 *A*) shows that the east wall of Building II continues toward the south and that its south wall is paralleled by a wall whose north face projects from unexcavated debris.

The deposit which we excavated around Buildings I and II was almost sterile as to objects. Evidently it consisted mainly of dissolved mud bricks which had crumbled from the walls (III and IV) crossing the area at the east. The debris soil immediately above the floors of the two buildings was as sterile as the rest. A prehistoric sherd (NR2 21)⁵ found on the floor of Building I near the east wall antedates the structure by many centuries. A small fragment of cream-colored limestone bearing part of an engraved Old Persian cuneiform sign (*u*) came to light about 4 meters above the floor of Building I. Its original provenance may be the same as that of two inscribed pieces (Fig. 28:14–15) found near the Tower (see p. 40). A signet ring of silver (Fig. 28:5) is possibly Achaemenid (see p. 66), but it was found in the northeast corner of Plot BA 74, about 6 meters above the floor level of Building I, that is, high above any level to which it could have belonged. A serpentine stamp seal (Fig. 28:3) which is probably pre-Sasanian was found about 2.60 m. above the floor level of the north room of Building II, that is, slightly above the level of the extant wall tops. A gray incised sherd (Fig. 29:13) found about 4 meters above the floor of the south room of Building II is tentatively classified as Early Islamic.

WALLS III AND IV

Limits of space and time permitted only a partial investigation of the architectural situation in the eastern part of the West Test. Obviously there are tangled sections of two constructions (see Fig. 22 *A*) represented by a later wall (IV) with an approximately semicircular tower (IV*a*) and an earlier wall (III) pierced by a culvert (III*a*).

Wall III is founded at el. 89.87 m., that is, 86 cm. lower

4. Plaster fragments from this room were analyzed by Professor F. R. Matson, who informed us that the material is a gypsum mortar containing more calcite than any of the other samples of gypsum plaster or mortar from the Persepolis area examined by him (see Vol. I 285) and that the inclusions of gypsum, anhydrite, calcite, and clay have a maximal dimension of 0.7 mm.

than the level of the floor in the southeast corner of Building I. It is of mud bricks (39 × 39 × 11 cm.) laid on a boulder foundation 1.55 m. high north of the culvert and 1.25 m. high south of it. At the west face the lower courses (30 cm. high) of the foundation jut out and form a ledge 20 cm. wide (see Fig. 22 *B*). No mortar was used in these

5. It is a fragment of a thin-walled (3 mm.) bowl or cup which was probably made on a slow wheel. It is of fine medium-hard buff ware with dark red-brown painted decoration outside consisting of a row of small scrolls near the rim, a zigzag line between pairs of straight lines, and part of a checkerboard(?) motif. The sherd shows no relationship with the painted ware of Tall-i Bakun A (see OIP LIX) and is presumably later.

lower courses, whereas the stones above the ledge were laid in mortar and covered with it to such an extent that in places they are completely hidden. The top of the stone foundation is 2.45 m. thick, and the mud-brick portion of the wall is slightly thinner (2.40 m.). At least at one point (see light-colored stripes in Fig. 21 *C* and *E*) the wall is preserved to a height of more than 5 meters above the foundation. The east face could be defined only in the immediate vicinity of the culvert, but the west face could be traced to the northern part of Plot BA 74 where Wall IV abuts it (see Fig. 22 *A*).

We believe that the paved and arched opening (III*a*) piercing Wall III was a culvert for the drainage of water which during the rainy season threatened to inundate the area in front of the cliff. Its original width (see below) suggests even that once a watercourse may have been channeled through the sacred precinct to water trees and meadows⁶ and that the opening may have served as a water gate. Modern ditches paralleling the cliff (see Fig. 4) and irrigating the neighboring fields quite strikingly show the plausibility of this idea, but they bypass the sacred precinct because of its present height.

Nevertheless, since no traces of an ancient watercourse have been found, we consider the opening a culvert. It is roofed by a low stone arch springing from the projecting lower part of the wall foundation (see Fig. 23 *C*). The width of the opening is 2.30 m. at floor level and 2.42–2.52 m. at the spring line of the arch. Because the arch sags (see Fig. 21 *F*, which shows wooden supports installed by our workmen), the present height (1.48 m.) of the culvert is somewhat less than that of the original opening. The stones of the arch are laid in mortar⁷ and heavily coated with it in the same fashion as the upper portion of the wall foundation (see Fig. 21 *F*). Their visible faces average about 15 × 30 cm. The masonry of both arch and wall foundation is coarse. To judge by exposed parts, it consists of unwrought or crudely wrought slabs and boulders and contrasts with the culvert pavement (see Fig. 23 *A*) of cut and fitted slabs whose visible surfaces were wrought to a pebble finish. Because the masonry of the pavement, composed of irregular units cut individually to fit adjacent slabs, is so closely related to that of the Tower (see e.g. p. 35) the two constructions must be assigned to the same period. The relative elevations of the pavement (89.87 m.) and the original ground level (90.12 m.) at the southwest corner of the Tower, roughly 18 meters to the north-northwest (see Fig. 23 *D*), support this conclusion. Although patches of mortar were found in the pavement, it seems likely that the slabs were laid dry (i.e., after the fashion of the Tower masonry) and later pointed with mortar (see p. 57).

6. Cf. the irrigated grove of all sorts of trees and deep grass which surrounded the tomb of Cyrus (see e.g. Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 4).

7. Professor Matson examined samples of this substance, which he found to be a coarse fill of white to light tan gypsum mortar. He stated that the samples showed many grains of gypsum "about 1/8 to 1/4 inch in size, and one cube about 3/4 inch on one side." See also Vol. I 285.

At each end of the culvert the pavement projects 20 cm. beyond the line of the wall face, and thus at the west end it extends as far as the projecting lower courses of the wall foundation. Four slabs, whose tops are 2 cm. above the rest of the floor, were added at the west, and the irregularity of the western edge suggests that the pavement once extended still farther in that direction.

Sometime after the construction of the arch, the width of the culvert was reduced to about 1.40 m. by means of stone slabs which were set on edge directly on the pavement and parallel to the original walls. The slabs at the south are 57–80 cm. long, 42–53 cm. high, and 20–30 cm. thick. The space between them and the old wall is filled with small stones laid in mortar. At the north we uncovered only one slab (50 cm. high, 14 cm. thick), but it is backed by stones laid in mortar and must be part of a wall corresponding to that at the south. The slabs were undoubtedly taken from some pavement, to judge by their shapes and the pebble finish of the faces turned toward the inside of the channel. They may have come from the culvert pavement, which appears to be incomplete at the west end (see above). The western portion of the alteration is missing. At the east the slab-lined channel extends beyond the line of the face of Wall III (see Fig. 23 *A*) and continues under Tower IV*a* (see Fig. 22 *A*).

There are two aligned rows of four holes each in the pavement near the west end of the culvert (see Fig. 23 *A–B*). The holes (averaging 5.5 cm. in diameter and 6 cm. in depth) are undoubtedly sockets for iron(?) rods which were meant to block at least part of the opening. However, the gaps (40 and 60 cm. wide) between the outermost holes and the wall foundation to the north and south and the gap (40 cm. wide) between the two rows of holes are wide enough to admit persons. Even if the barrier was erected after the narrowing of the channel, the central gap would still have permitted access. We have no record of corresponding holes in the soffit of the arch, but it is possible that they exist and were covered by our wooden supports (see Fig. 21 *F*).

The builders of the later and, as far as we know, final inclosure of the site apparently utilized at least part of Wall III, but the exact relationship of the two constructions can only be determined by further excavation. There is a space of only 32 cm. between the late tower (IV*a*) and the east face of the early wall at the culvert (see Fig. 22 *A–B*). As noted above, the slabs confining the reduced channel of the culvert continue eastward, for an unknown distance, beneath the tower. The latter is founded at el. 90.38 m., that is, 53 cm. above the level of the east end of the culvert pavement. Sample mud bricks of the tower measure 37 × 37 × 10 cm. and 40 × 40 × 11 cm.

On Bergner's sketch plan (not shown, but cf. Fig. 4) Wall IV is about 9.50 m. thick and is linked with the tower. Actually it abuts Wall III, with which it is not bonded. We uncovered part of the southwest face of Wall IV but did not penetrate to its foundation. The mud bricks measure 35 × 35 × 10.5 cm.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE STRUCTURES

There are no objects which can assist us in dating Walls III and IV. A bead (Fig. 28:11) which somehow strayed into the fill of the culvert affords no clue (see p. 67). Since the debris soil in and around Buildings I and II was equally sterile, we have to rely on relative elevations and architectural clues in attempting to establish the chronology of the structural remnants uncovered in the West Test and to determine their relations to the Achaemenid Tower of Naqsh-i Rostam.

As to Wall III, we explained above that the pavement of its culvert (IIIa) must be assigned to the period of the Achaemenid Tower. Appropriately, the culvert pavement is 25 cm. lower than the original ground level at the nearest corner of the Tower. The sections of Wall III that adjoin the culvert are founded at the same elevation (89.87 m.) as the culvert pavement. It is possible, therefore, that the projecting lower courses of the wall foundation (see p. 55) are to be attributed to the same period as the pavement. Although the crudely wrought boulders of the foundation do not show the mark of Achaemenid masonry, they are laid without mortar and examples of similarly crude Achaemenid foundations are known.⁸ The roof of the original culvert probably fell into disrepair and crumbled sometime after the fall of Persepolis. In any event, the arch which now spans the opening and the adjoining upper courses of the wall foundation are post-Achaemenid, as indicated by the mortar in the joints and on the faces of the masonry, for, as far as we know, mortar was not used in stone structures of the Achaemenid period in Persia (Parsa). Subsequent to the construction of the arch the width of the culvert channel was reduced by means of reused slabs backed by stones laid in mortar. Patches of mortar found in the culvert pavement were presumably applied during these alterations (see p. 56). We are unable to assign these operations to a specific historical phase but have no doubt that they occurred prior to the Sasanian period, that is, during the Hellenistic era. We do not know whether the mud-brick part of Wall III includes portions of an Achaemenid mud-brick wall. The dimensions (39 × 39 × 11 cm.) of the bricks above the culvert differ from those of the Persepolis fortification bricks, which are 31–33 cm. square and average 12 cm. in thickness.⁹ Nevertheless, the directions of Wall III (ca. 17° west of north) and the main axis (18° west of north) of the Achaemenid Tower are almost identical (see Fig. 23 D) and support our belief, based primarily on the nature of the culvert pavement, that Wall III was originally an Achaemenid structure. Future excavators may determine whether it was part of an inclosure for the monumental Tower or for the entire sacred precinct as in the case of the later Wall IV (see below).

There is no reason to doubt that Buildings I (el. 90.73–90.77 m.) and II (el. 90.73–90.80 m.) are contempora-

neous. They were built close together at the same level, with the same architectural peculiarities and practically the same orientation, the short axis of Building I being 18° to 19° west of north and the long axis of Building II being 16° to 17° west of north. As to the chronological relations of the two buildings and Wall III, since the floor level of Building I is 86 cm. above the level of the culvert pavement, which we assign to the Achaemenid period, and since the sizes of the bricks (38 × 38 × 10 cm. to 40 × 40 × 11 cm.) used in both buildings closely agree with those of the presumably post-Achaemenid bricks (39 × 39 × 11 cm.) above the culvert and even with those of the tower (see p. 56) of the assumedly Sasanian inclosure, it is possible that the two buildings are post-Achaemenid. On the other hand, the proximity of a drain or canal may explain the elevated location of the buildings. Furthermore, their orientation is almost identical with that of Wall III and the Achaemenid Tower (see Fig. 23 D) and, finally, our test pits proved that they were built on virgin soil. Thus, we tentatively assign Buildings I and II to the Achaemenid period. We are at a loss, however, to explain their purpose. The total lack of common objects of domestic use and the absence of martial equipment show in our opinion that they were neither ordinary dwellings nor soldiers' quarters.¹⁰ Moreover, they were apparently without windows, at least in their lower stories. The solution of this problem will perhaps be found in neighboring buildings still to be excavated.

A long corridor (V on Fig. 23 D) was partly cleared by Herzfeld. Its northern and southern limits and the thickness of the flanking walls are yet to be defined. We transferred the corridor from Bergner's sketch to our drawing because it appears to belong approximately to the level of Wall III and because of its similar orientation (ca. 20° to 21° west of north). Similar or even identical orientation alone, however, does not necessarily prove contemporaneity (see p. 64).

There remain Wall IV and Tower IVa (see Fig. 22 A). We have pointed out that the secondary, slab-lined channel of the culvert extends beneath the tower, given our reasons for assigning the construction of the culvert arch and the secondary channel walls to the Hellenistic era, and shown that these alterations of an originally Achaemenid structure preceded the erection of Tower IVa and Wall IV, whose orientation (51° west of north), furthermore, sets it apart from all other walls in the area under discussion. In theory, wall and tower could have been built during a late phase of the Hellenistic era. Their brick sizes, for instance, are close to or identical with those of the earlier structures. Nevertheless, in addition to the great difference in orientation of the curtain wall there are other points which suggest a later date. In our tests at Naqsh-i Rostam we uncovered no substantial buildings of the Hellenistic era and found no trace of any relief or other monument of that era which would require an additional protective wall stronger than Wall III. The curtain and the tower are

8. For example the foundation of a wall in the Persepolis garrison quarters (see Vol. I 208) and foundation boulders beneath the well wrought masonry of a barrage (see Karl Bergner in *AMI* VIII 2 and Pl. VI).

9. See Vol. I 211. The bricks of the Persepolis Treasury are 32–34 cm. square and 12–13 cm. thick (*ibid.* p. 159). The Apadana bricks average 33 × 33 × 13 cm. (*ibid.* p. 72). However, larger baked bricks (50 × 50 × 8 cm.) were found in the garrison quarters (*ibid.* p. 208).

10. For the objects found in the garrison quarters at Persepolis see *ibid.* pp. 207–10.

parts of what appears to be a needlessly strong fortification inclosing the precinct in front of the royal tombs and hence the majority of the Sasanian reliefs. There is no trace of an inclosure later than this wall. We conclude

therefore that this fortification was constructed during the Sasanian period, although it is difficult to explain why the reliefs of Ardashir I and Bahram II (Nos. 1 and 2 on Fig. 2) are located outside the immured area.

NOTES ON THE FORTIFICATION OF THE SITE

The western section of the fortification is represented by our Wall IV, which is about 9.50 m. thick (see p. 56). The rather straight southern section of the Naqsh-i Rostam inclosure, extending roughly parallel to the cliff, is almost 200 meters long (see Figs. 2 and 4). Its seven semicircular towers average 10 meters in diameter, and its curtains about 21 meters in length. The estimated distance between the inner face (not defined) of the wall and the cliff ranges from 60 to 80 meters. At the east, only a curtain (*ca.* 24 m. long) and part of an additional tower have been traced, but obviously both the eastern and western sections of the fortification abutted the cliff. At least one gate must have existed at one of the two points which have not yet been tested, that is, the eastern and western limits of the mound between the ends of Herzfeld's soundings and the cliff.

The city wall of nearby Istakhr¹¹ also has roughly semicircular towers (*ca.* 9 m. in diameter), which at the point tested by Herzfeld are connected by a curtain about 17 me-

ters long. The age of the Istakhr fortification is uncertain. It is undoubtedly post-Achaemenid,¹² but further work is required to determine whether it was built during the Hellenistic era, when the town was the residence of local rulers, or whether it was erected or restored after the rise of the Sasanians.¹³ Herzfeld described it¹⁴ in a chapter combining the Arsacid and Sasanian periods. However, a stone structure of Achaemenid type which he considered "the main gate of Istakhr" is entirely apart from the circumvallate town mound.¹⁵ It may have been an Achaemenid road gate, possibly without any relation to Istakhr, guarding the entrance to the Persepolis plain. As yet we have no proof for the existence of an Achaemenid town stratum at Istakhr.

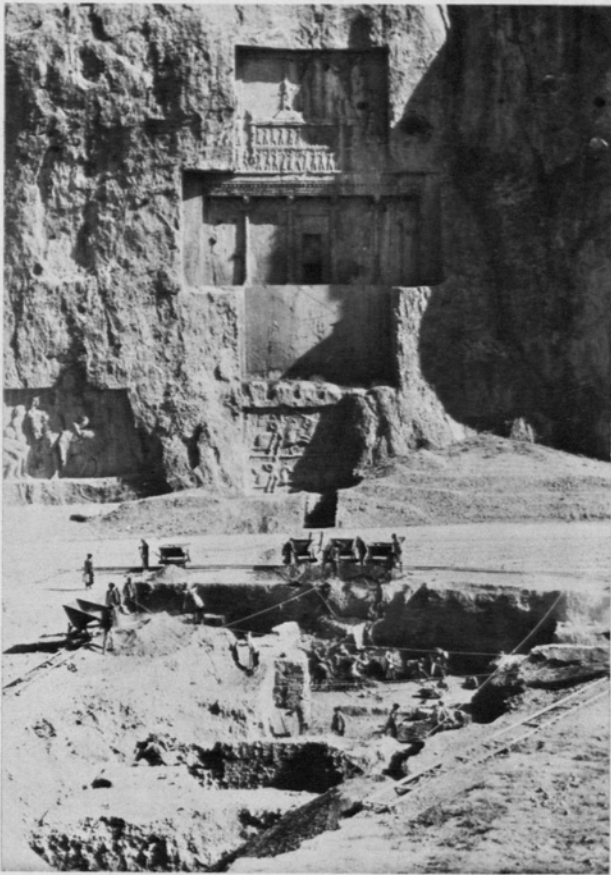
12. For the Persepolis fortification with square towers see Vol. I 211 and Fig. 82.

13. Modifying our statement in *OIC* No. 21, p. 107.

14. *IAE*, p. 276.

15. See *OIC* No. 21, Figs. 74 (Quadrant JN) and 96; see also Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pls. 58 (bottom) and 60.

11. See *IAE*, p. 276 and Pls. XCII and XCIII right.



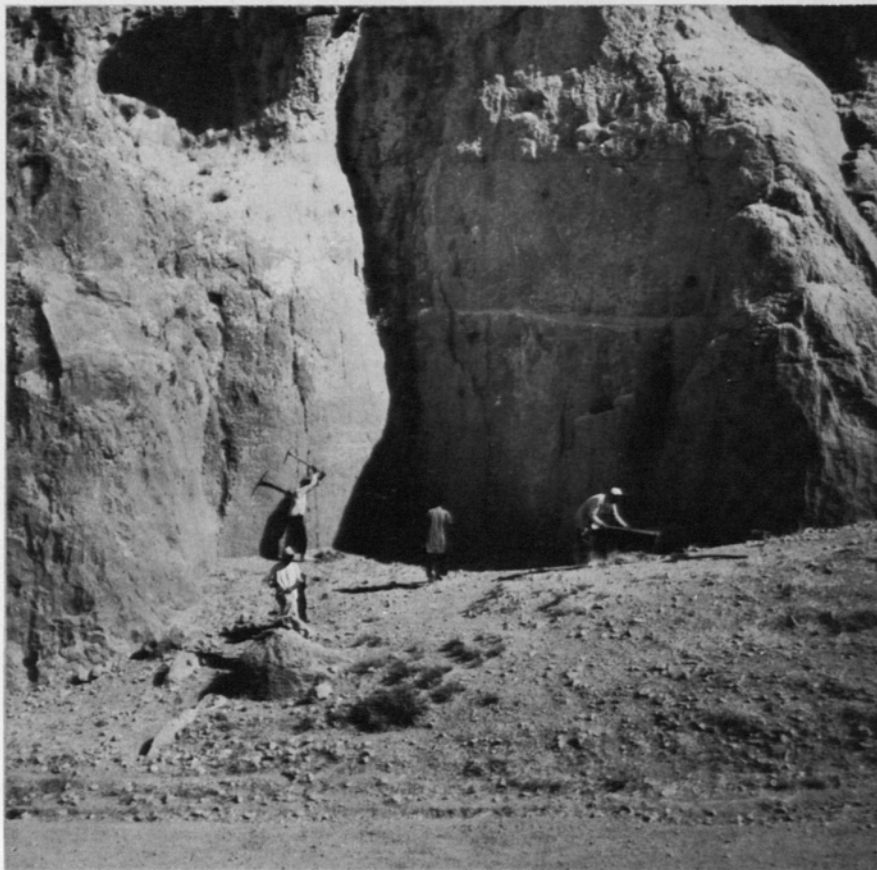
A



B



C



D

FIG. 24. A. VIEW OF THE CENTER TEST WITH TOMB OF DARIUS I IN BACKGROUND. B. PLOT BB 03 OF THE CENTER TEST (direction of view, SE). C. TRENCH IN PLOT AB 93 OF THE CENTER TEST. D. START OF WORK AT THE CISTERN

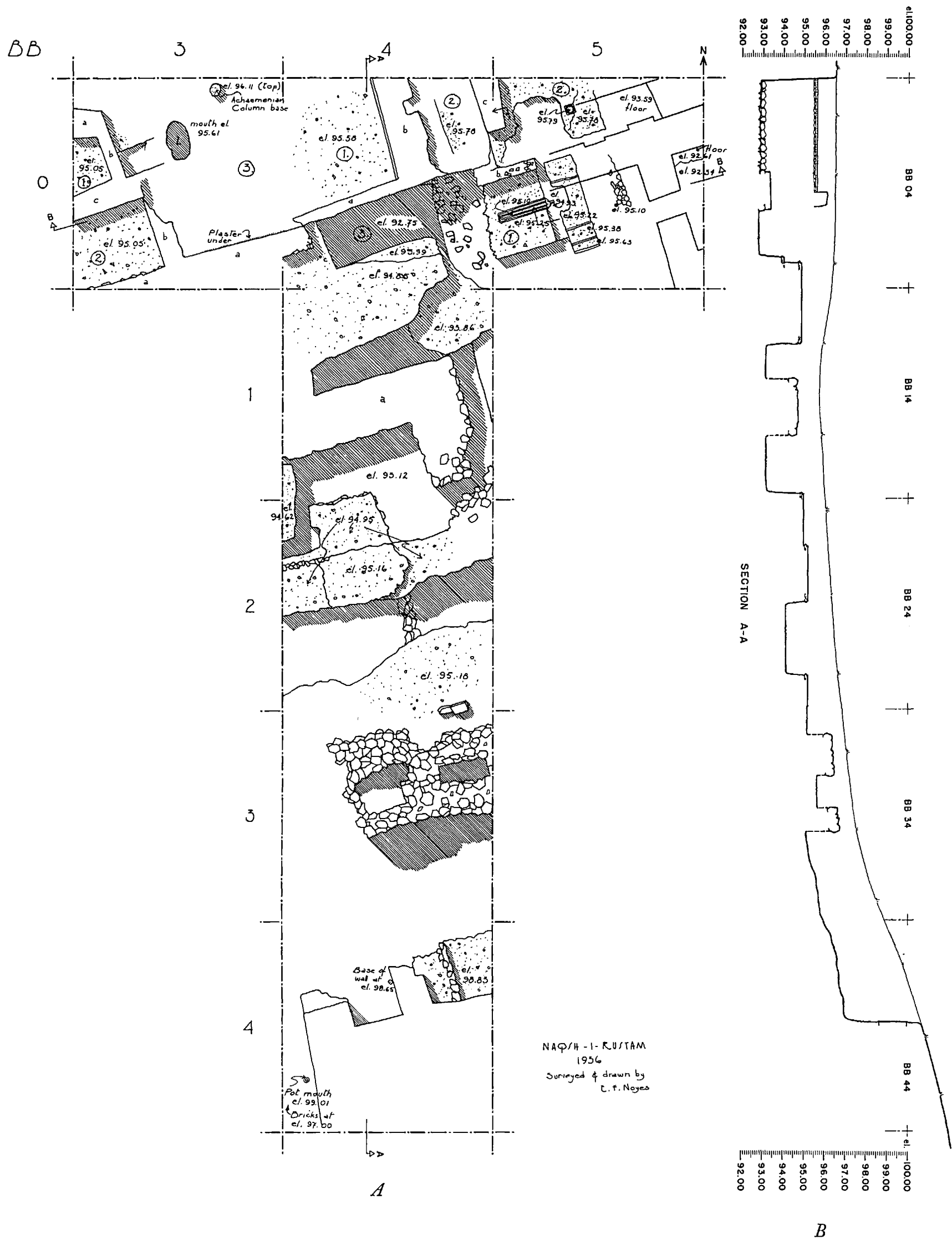


FIG. 25. THE CENTER TEST. A. EXCAVATION PLAN OF FIRST SEASON. B. SECTION COMBINING FEATURES OF FIGURES 25 A AND 26 A. SCALE, 1:200

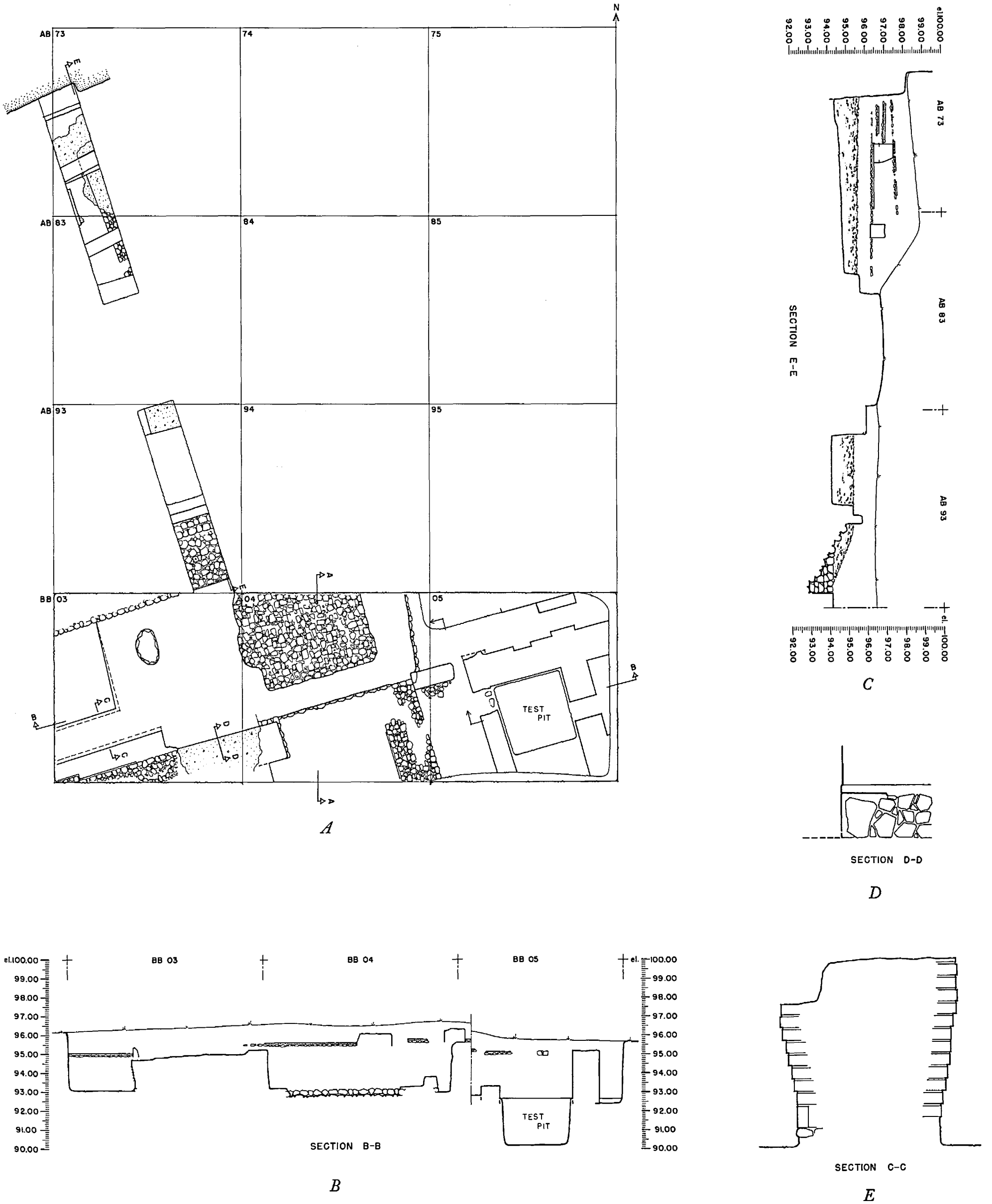


FIG. 26. THE CENTER TEST. *A.* EXCAVATION PLAN OF SECOND SEASON. *B.* SECTION COMBINING FEATURES OF FIGURES 25 *A* AND 26 *A*. *C.* SECTION OF NARROW TRENCH. *D.* SECTION OF PLATFORM EDGE. *E.* SECTION OF WALL IN PLOT BB 03. SCALES, 1:200 (*A-C*), 1:10 (*D*), AND 1:40 (*E*)

THE CENTER TEST

The purpose of this test was to determine the stratigraphy of the mound in front of the tomb of Darius (Fig. 24 *A*), where our vertical air view (Fig. 4) shows contours of structures. The area was first examined in 1936 by means of a T-shaped trench (Fig. 25 *A*). In 1939 the three northern plots (BB 03–05) were deepened and a narrow trench was dug to extend the test across Plots AB 93, 83, and 73 to the face of the cliff (Fig. 26 *A*).

The Center Test revealed remnants of structures which range in time from the early phase of the Islamic era to the Achaemenid period. As to the intermediate phases, none of the scraps of floors and walls could be definitely assigned to either the Sasanian or the Hellenistic period, but what appeared to be the extant top of the assumedly Sasanian inclosure was traced at the southern end of the test in Plot BB 44.

THE ISLAMIC STRATUM

The remnants in the top stratum consisted mainly of fragmentary floors and walls extending across Plots BB 03–05. The differences between the elevations marked on the plan (Fig. 25 *A*) and those indicated in the sections (Figs. 25 *B* and 26 *B*¹) may mean that these structural remains represent two or more building phases or, quite plausibly, that different sections of the complex were built at different levels. At present nothing can be said about the general plan or purpose of these remains, but a few architectural details are of interest.

The worn and rutted floors of two rooms at the west edge of Plot BB 03 (1 and 2 on Fig. 25 *A*) consisted of a mixture (*ca.* 5 cm. thick) of grayish plaster and rubble. The walls were of mud bricks (*ca.* 36 × 36 × 15 cm.) and faced with a coat (2 cm. thick) of mud and chopped straw showing traces of whitewash. The orifice of a pit (el. 95.61 m.) near the center of the plot (1 in hatched area) was 56 cm. above the floor level of the two rooms. The pit contained a lid (Fig. 29:2) and three plain vessels (see p. 68), namely two pitchers (Fig. 29:4–5) and a jar (Fig. 29:9). An open area in Plot BB 03 (3 on Fig. 25 *A*) was bordered at the south by fragments of a mud-brick wall (*a*) standing on a stone platform whose top and northern face (14 cm. high) are covered with white plaster (see Fig. 26 *A*, at section *D–D*, and Fig. 26 *D*; see also Fig. 24 *B*, where Wall *a* has been removed).²

Three copper coins found on the platform, in the southeast corner of Plot BB 03 at el. 95.20 m., 1.25 m. below the mound surface, and a hoard of silver coins from Plot BB 05 (see below) provide important clues for the dating of the top stratum. Two of the copper coins (NR2 3*a* and 3*c*) are 'Abbasid, struck by the caliph Mahdi (A.D. 775–85), and

the third copper specimen (NR2 3*b*) is Arab-Sasanian in type, dated between A.D. 728 and 737. Two late Sasanian copper coins (NR1 46*a–b*) were found in surface debris in the southwest part of Plot BB 03, and an Arab-Sasanian copper specimen (NR2 2) dated approximately between A.D. 689 and 709 came to light during the removal of the top layer of floors and walls. Part of a bell-shaped Achaemenid column base lay near the northern limit of Plot BB 03, slightly above the level of the orifice of the nearby Islamic pit.

In Plot BB 04 *chinah* walls (*a* and *b* on Fig. 25 *A*) bordered parts of an area (1) whose badly worn flooring (el. 95.58 m.) consisted of plaster laid on small stones. Similar floors, laid at a somewhat higher level (el. 95.78 m.), were noticed in Room 2 of the same plot and, beyond another *chinah* wall (*c*), in Room 2 of Plot BB 05. Imbedded in the sagging and broken floor of the latter room was a column base of gray limestone resembling certain specimens from the Persepolis Treasury.³ It consists of a square plinth (45 cm. on a side, 13.5 cm. high) and a superposed discoid torus (45 cm. in diameter, 12.5 cm. high) with one molding. Its bearing surface indicates that the column had a base diameter of 36 cm.⁴ In spite of the fact that it was found in the top stratum, it should probably be assigned to the Achaemenid period since it is of the same type as the column base found at the original (Achaemenid) ground level north of the Tower (see p. 40).

Room 1 of Plot BB 05 (see Fig. 25 *A*) had the appearance of a bath or laundry. Its plastered floor sloped from north, south, and west to a central channel (2.40 m. long, 15 cm. deep) which in turn slanted toward the east and terminated in a drainpipe. The flooring consisted of a layer of grayish-tan plaster (*ca.* 7 cm. thick) laid on two or three layers of rubble totaling about 20 cm. in depth. The channel was fashioned at the same time as the flooring, for its plaster was the same as and continuous with the floor plaster. The pipe, attached to the channel end by means of friable brown plaster, was a brown earthenware tube, about 30 cm. long with wall 1 cm. thick and diameter of about 11 cm. It obviously drained into a pit, but only

1. These sections refer to both Fig. 25 *A*, drawn by Eliot F. Noyes, and Fig. 26 *A*, drawn by Richard C. Haines. The technical descriptions in our text are based on the drawings and field notes of both architects.

2. Professor Matson analyzed a piece of the plaster (63 × 38 × 20 mm.) and commented as follows: "When a freshly fractured edge was examined under a binocular microscope it was seen that the body was extremely porous, full of holes approximately 0.5 mm. in diameter. There were a few clay lumps included in the body. The petrographic thin section showed that this was a gypsum plaster with a few angular quartz grains, clay lumps, anhydrite, and a little calcite as inclusions. The great porosity of this plaster might have been intentional, but quite possibly the plaster was not mixed correctly, with the result that a large number of air bubbles were trapped when the plaster set." See also Vol. I 285.

3. Cf. *ibid.* e.g. Fig. 72 *E, G, I, and K*.

4. A few unusually small tori from the Treasury indicate column diameters of 41–42 cm. (*ibid.* p. 171).

part of the pit mouth could be traced. The rather straight edges at the eastern and southern limits of the floor suggested lines of walls built perhaps after the fashion of the north wall (*b*), which was of mud mixed with small stones. The southern face had a heavy coat of plaster (3 cm. thick) of the same color as the floor plaster. To the east, beyond a gap which suggested the course of a wall or bench, was another floor. It was formed of low terraces built of small stones and plaster of the same kind as that used for the flooring to the west.

An important hoard of thirty-six silver coins (NR1 9:1-36) was found at the foot of the north wall (*b*) of Room 1 in Plot BB 05, that is, at the highest point (el. 95.50 m.) of the sloping floor. The hoard, including Sasanian coins and specimens of Arab-Sasanian type (see p. 66), was cached at this spot not earlier than A.D. 694/95, as indicated by the date of the last-minted specimen. In addition to this coin and the three copper coins found on the platform in Plot BB 03 and dated between A.D. 728 and 785 (see p. 62), a few scattered specimens have bearing on the dating of the top stratum in spite of their indeterminate find-spots. A copper coin (NR1 48) struck in the reign of the Umayyad caliph Hisham in A.D. 741/42 was found in Plot BB 24. A copper coin (NR1 50) minted in the reign of the 'Abbasid caliph Mahdi in A.D. 777/78 was found in loose dirt in Plot BB 04 at a level (el. *ca.* 93.75 m.) lower than that of the complex to which it should be assigned. Another copper coin (NR2 1) of Mahdi, also minted in A.D. 777/78, appeared in Plot BB 14. The 'Abbasid caliph Ma'mun is represented by a silver coin (NR1 54) minted in A.D. 828/29; it was found in Plot BB 34. In our opinion these coins, ranging from A.D. 694/95 to 828/29, indicate the approximate date of the architectural remnants uncovered in the top stratum of Plots BB 03-05. The lack of elaborate ceramics suggests that the site was deserted soon after the most recent of these coins was minted.

Insignificant patches of floors uncovered in Plot BB 24 at el. 95.16 m. and el. 95.18 m. (see Fig. 25 *A-B*), crumbled stone foundations in BB 34, a floor fragment (el. 98.83 m.) and a remnant of a mud-brick wall (base el. 98.65 m.) that was apparently built against the top of the Sasanian inclosure (see p. 58) in BB 44, and structural fragments in AB 73 and 83 (see below) may have been contemporaneous with the Early Islamic remnants in Plots BB 03-05.

In addition to the coins and pots mentioned above, the following objects from the top stratum of the Center Test may be assigned, in some cases tentatively, to the Early Islamic period. A pitcher and a two-handled jar (Fig. 29:6-7) came to light in Plot BB 44 (see pp. 68 f.). A small bottle (Fig. 29:8) from mixed debris in Plot BB 14 may be pre-Islamic (see p. 68). There were a few fragments of glass vessels, including a sherd (Fig. 29:15) with wheel-cut

facets (see p. 69) which was found in Plot BB 34. The Kufic inscription (see p. 67) on a bronze signet ring (Fig. 28:6) from Plot BB 05 marks this object as Early Islamic. A bronze finger ring (Fig. 28:7) from Plot BB 14 may be Sasanian (see p. 67). There were also a bronze arrowhead (Fig. 30:4), two spindle whorls (Fig. 30:7-8), an iron stud (Fig. 30:9), a polishing stone (Fig. 30:14), grooved fragments of a bowl and a lid of stone (Fig. 30:17-18), and a stone pounder (Fig. 30:20).

The narrow trench between Plot BB 03 and the cliff revealed a number of superposed plaster floors and some walls (see Fig. 26 *A* and *C*).⁵ The trench starts in Plot AB 73 at a rock shelf which was left when the lower of two Sasanian reliefs (Nos. 14-15 on Fig. 2) was carved beneath the tomb of Darius I (see Fig. 24 *A*). Below the shelf (el. 98.00 m.) the cliff face, sounded to a depth of 3.70 m., continues almost vertically. The section of the trench (Fig. 26 *C*) shows, beneath the uppermost floor in Plot AB 73, a wall of mud bricks (38.5 × 38.5 × 10 cm.) which rested on an earlier wall of mud bricks (39 × 40 × 10 cm.) that was built on a plaster floor (el. 96.50 m.). The lowest patch of flooring was at el. 96.00 m. in the northern part of Plot AB 93 (see Fig. 24 *C*). Beneath the lowest floors was a layer of jumbled debris on top of a mass of stone chips mixed with dirt sloping from el. 95.65 m. at the cliff face to el. 95.25 m. near the center of Plot AB 93. In the southern part of this plot the stone chips spilled across the remnant of a stone wall (*ca.* 3.50 m. thick) whose south face was traced across Plot BB 03 (see below). The north face of the wall, seemingly leaning in Plot AB 93 against mud bricks, was not clearly defined. This wall was undoubtedly built to retain the rubble mass.

There are no definite clues as to the age of these remains. A Sasanian silver coin (NR2 15) of Khusrau II, minted in A.D. 624, was found in Plot AB 73 about 2 meters south of the rock shelf and at about the same elevation (98.00 m.). Nearby, while the ground was being prepared for the erection of a scaffold, a copper coin (NR2 54) of the Muzaffarid Shah Shuja' (*ca.* A.D. 1363-84) was found somewhat higher. This coin, like all our post-'Abbasid specimens, was lost after the desertion of the site. Considering the fact that buildings erected on any of the floors which we uncovered in Plots AB 73 and 83 would have obstructed the view of and access to the Sasanian reliefs mentioned above, we should assume that the floors and wall remnants in these plots were post-Sasanian. We may guess, furthermore, that the mass of stone chips and dirt was leveled to its rather even surface and buttressed during the Sasanian period. Our soundings did not penetrate deep enough to reveal whether any structures exist beneath this rubble, which may be composed largely of sculptors' flakes from the tomb reliefs.

SASANIAN AND HELLENISTIC REMAINS

The deposit between the Islamic stratum discussed above and an Achaemenid building to be considered below consisted mainly of indeterminate patches of floors and wall fragments and of a few objects which can be approximately dated.

Until the adjacent areas are excavated the remains exposed in the trench extending from Plot BB 14 to Plot

BB 44 will be of doubtful significance, but at least they suggest a rather continuous occupation of the site. Better preserved structures may exist beneath these remnants. It is unlikely that part of an Achaemenid wall was incorporated in the assumedly Sasanian inclosure, which

5. We interrupted this trench in Plot AB 83 in order to leave a surface passage.

extends across the southern part of Plot BB 44. Nevertheless, in the southwest corner of this plot there were mud bricks (el. 97.00 m.) whose dimensions ($33 \times 33 \times 13$ cm.) correspond to those of Persepolis structures (see p. 57, n. 9).

The most important object from this trench is a bronze lamp (Fig. 28:12) which we consider an import from Roman territory and assign tentatively to the second century after Christ (see pp. 67 f.). It was found at el. 93.90 m. about a meter west of the northeast corner of Plot BB 24. It lay in ill-defined debris, not on a floor, but its find-level corresponds to that of a floor (el. 93.86 m.) in the northeast corner of BB 14 (see Fig. 25 A). Nearby floors in BB 24 are at higher levels (el. 94.62, 94.95, and 95.16 m.). The find-spots of individual coins were, as usual, indecisive. A Sasanian copper coin (NR1 58) assigned to the sixth or seventh century after Christ was found near the floor in the northeast corner of BB 14. A copper coin (NR1 51) probably of Khusrau II (A.D. 590–628) was in surface debris (el. 98.40 m.) near the northwest corner of BB 44, and at approximately the same point was another Sasanian copper coin (NR1 49) of the sixth or seventh century. For the sake of curiosity we may mention a fragment (NR1 12) of an Achaemenid mortar of green chert found in the surface layer of BB 14. Such mortars occurred in great numbers in the Persepolis Treasury.⁶

The removal of the top stratum of structural remnants in Plots BB 03–05 disclosed that at least parts of them

rested on a mass of poorly laid mud bricks (e.g. $38 \times 37.5 \times 12$ cm., $38 \times 36.5 \times 11$ cm., and $35 \times 35 \times 12$ cm.) supported by a stone foundation which we exposed at el. 93.00–93.19 m. in Plot BB 04 (see Figs. 26 A–B and 25 B). The relation of the mud-brick platform to the adjacent and superposed remains is obscure. Its eastern and southern limits were traced in Plot BB 04. In the northern part of Plot BB 03 and in the southeast corner of AB 93 it abuts a stone wall which appears to buttress the mass of stone chips and dirt extending from this point to the cliff (see above). The peculiar cross-section of a mud-brick wall in Plot BB 03 (Fig. 26 E; see also Fig. 26 A) suggests that this wall, decreasing in thickness toward the base, was built in a trench. Stone walls uncovered near the southern border of BB 03 and in the southeast part of BB 04 show heavy coats of plaster after the fashion of the culvert arch in the West Test (see p. 56).

As to pre-Islamic objects from this area, an inscribed Sasanian stamp seal (Fig. 28:1; see pp. 66 f.) was found in debris (el. 93.85 m.) about 4 meters north of the southeast corner of Plot BB 04 and 1.40 m. below the level of Room 1 of Plot BB 05 (see Fig. 25 A). The earliest coin yet found at Naqsh-i Rostam, namely a silver coin (NR1 53) of about A.D. 200 (see p. 66), came from approximately the same location and depth. A copper coin (NR1 45) which should probably be assigned to Khusrau II was found in excavated soil from the center of Plot BB 04.

AN ACHAEMENID BUILDING

The most promising architecture uncovered in the Center Test is a section of a building in Plot BB 05. The well defined mud-brick walls are faced with a layer (2–4 cm. thick) of mud mixed with chopped straw. In places we observed patches of a greenish-gray surface coat which resembles the surfacing of the buildings in the West Test but differs somewhat from the greenish-gray plaster on the walls of the Persepolis Treasury (see p. 54). In that section of the building which was excavated during the first season (see Fig. 25 A) were found bricks whose dimensions ($33 \times 33 \times 13$ cm.) correspond to those of Persepolis structures (see p. 57, n. 9). During the second season, however, larger bricks ($36 \times 36 \times 12$ cm.) were found in the relatively thin wall bordering the structure on the west (see Fig. 26 A).⁷ There are parts of two rooms separated by a rather thick wall (1.45 m.) which is cut by a doorway. Even more substantial (1.75 m. thick) is the north wall of the two rooms, presumably a section of the exterior wall of the building, which extends toward east and south into unexcavated territory. The west wall of the west room is a meter thick. At least part of the floor was paved with mud bricks. In the east room such flooring was found at el. 92.61 m. (see Fig. 25 A). At other spots, however, the nature of the floor could not be determined.

In a roughly square pit we tested the deposit beneath the west room to a depth of more than 2 meters (el. 90.20 m.) and found no traces of human occupation. The deposit,

here as in other soundings beneath the lowest structures, consists of rubble and stone chips mixed with dirt. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the rubble mass encountered at a much higher elevation (95.25–95.65 m.) in Plots AB 73, 83, and 93 (see p. 63) covers remains of pre-Sasanian structures.

Although the building in Plot BB 05 yielded no datable objects we assign it to the Achaemenid period. Our criteria are the absence of earlier vestiges at this point, the solidity of the construction, the brick sizes (but see n. 7), and the wall surfacing tinted after the fashion of Persepolis walls. The orientation of the building (ca. 17° west of north), though close to that of the Achaemenid Tower (18° west of north) and that of the two supposedly Achaemenid buildings (I and II) uncovered in the West Test (see p. 57), provides only an ancillary clue in view of the fact that the architectural remnants in the early Islamic top stratum of the Center Test were similarly oriented (ca. 15° west of north). The walls of the Achaemenid building in Plot BB 05 are founded at el. 92.38–92.60 m. The differences in the base levels of the other structures assigned to the same era—namely the Tower (el. 90.16–90.18 m. at east side; see Fig. 15), which is about 100 meters to the southwest, and the culvert pavement (el. 89.87 m.; see p. 56) and Buildings I and II (el. 90.73–90.80 m.) in the West Test—must be attributed to the unevenness of the original profile of the site.

7. Such discrepancies indicate the need for caution in the use of brick sizes as chronological clues without supporting evidence.

6. See Vol. II 55.

THE CISTERN

Smooth rock faces induced us to test a recess (No. 4 on Fig. 2) at the foot of the cliff west of the pronounced mound area, in Plots BZ 38 and 48 (see Fig. 4). We uncovered the neatly defined pentagonal orifice of a cistern cut out of the living rock. The maximal dimensions of the orifice (Fig. 27) are 7.20 m. (east-west) and 5.50 m. (north-south). The lowest point of the cistern mouth is at el. 90.00 m. The sides of the shaft show a rough pebble finish which extends on the faces of the cliff as high as el. 91.70 m. We sounded the fill of the cistern along the edges

but discontinued excavation (at el. 87.20 m.) before we reached the bottom of the shaft.

The rock-hewn cistern of Naqsh-i Rostam and that of Persepolis¹ are probably contemporaneous, that is, Achaemenid. It is problematical whether the cistern of Naqsh-i Rostam was once fed by a spring and whether a depressed panel (see Fig. 24 *D*) a few meters above the orifice was cut out in preparation for the carving of a relief which was never executed.

1. See Vol. I 212.

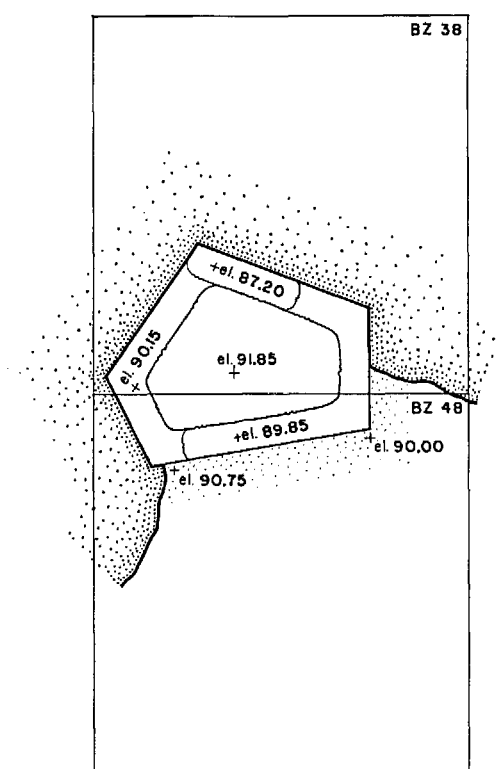


FIG. 27. PLAN OF THE CISTERN. SCALE, 1:200

THE OBJECTS

COINS¹

Our numismatic collection from the tests at Naqsh-i Rostam provides some interesting information. To be sure, we found no coins of the Achaemenids, and the Hellenistic era is represented by a single specimen, from the very end of the period. This coin, the earliest so far uncovered at the site (see p. 64), was minted by Ardashir (I) before he defeated and killed his nominal Parthian overlord, Ardavan V, in the battle of Hormizdaghan (A.D. 224). This battle marks the beginning of the Sasanian era, although Ardashir's reign as king of kings of Iran is apparently counted from A.D. 226.²

It is a curious fact that except for Ardashir I, whose coin shows him while he was still a feudatory prince of Persis, none of the Sasanian monarchs who engraved their reliefs at Naqsh-i Rostam and Naqsh-i Rajab are represented in our numismatic collection. There are coins of the following kings:³

Bahram IV	(A.D. 388-99)	1 specimen
Bahram V	(420-38)	1 specimen
Hormizd IV	(578-90)	2 specimens
Khusrau II	(590-628)	12 specimens (plus 3 doubtful)

However, the two coins of Hormizd IV and ten specimens of Khusrau II were part of a hoard which was cached or lost not earlier than A.D. 694/95, that is, more than forty years after the end of the Sasanian period in the Persepolis area. This hoard, comprising thirty-six silver pieces, was found in the extensive though badly damaged building complex which represents the uppermost occupational level in the central area of the mound (Plots BB 03-05; see pp. 62 f.). In addition to the twelve Sasanian coins just mentioned, the hoard included twenty-four Arab-Sasanian specimens, that is, coins of Sasanian type with inscriptions of the Arab conquerors.⁴

The Arab-Sasanian coins from the hoard range in time

from 31 to 75 A.H. (A.D. 651/52 to 694/95). The name of the counter-caliph 'Abd Allah ibn al-Zubair appears on two specimens, dated in 66 and 69 A.H. (A.D. 685/86 and 688/89), and the names of five Arab officials are found on the remaining coins of this group.⁵ In addition to these silver pieces, there are three copper specimens of Arab-Sasanian type.⁶

The Umayyad caliphs of Damascus are represented by three coins. One was minted during the reign of Hisham in 124 A.H. (A.D. 741/42), one during the reign of Marwan II in 130 A.H. (A.D. 747/48), and the third is of uncertain date.

There are seven coins representing the early 'Abbasid caliphs, whose capital was Baghdad. Our oldest 'Abbasid piece was struck during the reign of either Mansur or Mahdi between A.D. 768 and 776. Mahdi's reign (158-69 A.H./A.D. 775-85) is definitely represented by four coins. One 'Abbasid piece is assigned to the eighth century after Christ, and an unidentifiable coin of the same century is probably 'Abbasid. Our latest 'Abbasid coin was struck during the reign of Ma'mun in 213 A.H. (A.D. 828/29). The question whether the site was still occupied during the reign of Ma'mun (A.D. 813-33) is linked with the dating of the elaborate 'Abbasid pottery, which was not found at Naqsh-i Rostam (see pp. 63 and 69).

Six copper coins were lost by occasional visitors long after the site had ceased to be occupied. These include an Ilkhanid coin minted by Abu Sa'id (A.D. 1316-36), a coin of an Ilkhanid or a succeeding ruler of the fourteenth century, and two specimens of the Muzaffarid Shah Shuja' (ca. A.D. 1363-84), a contemporary and patron of the famous poet Hafiz of Shiraz. The remaining two are an Islamic coin or token probably of the fifteenth century and an unidentifiable Islamic piece.

STAMP SEALS AND SIGNET RINGS

None of the sealing devices from the mound of Naqsh-i Rostam could be definitely assigned to the Achaemenid period. There are no cylinder seals. A signet ring (Fig. 28:5) whose elliptical bezel forms one piece with the hoop resembles Achaemenid specimens from the Persepolis Terrace,⁷ but its find-spot in post-Achaemenid debris (see p. 55) does not help in dating it and its abraded design provides no clue. Two crude stamp seals (Fig. 28:3-4) are presumably pre-Sasanian, but we are at a loss to assign them to a specific period.⁸

1. Since the coins from our tests at Naqsh-i Rostam have been published by Dr. George C. Miles of the Museum of the American Numismatic Society in New York, we give merely a summary and omit illustration of this material in the present volume. See Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region*, pp. 91-107 and 115, Pls. XIV-XVIII.

2. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, pp. 87 f.; *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt . . . von Th. Nöldeke (Leyden, 1879) pp. 409-11.

3. Also nine Sasanian coins assigned to the 6th or 7th Christian century (see Miles, *op. cit.* p. 95, Nos. 21-29).

There is no doubt about the dating of two stamp seals (Fig. 28:1-2), for they are Sasanian according to form and design.⁹

One of the Sasanian stamp seals (Fig. 28:1) was found about 1.40 m. below the level of the Early Islamic occupation in Plot BB 04. Its design consists of a griffin with wings and head of an eagle and body of a lion. Claws or

4. See especially John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941). For a convenient summary of the Arab conquest of Iran with extensive bibliography see Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, and for lists of dynasties and reigns see Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties* (Paris, 1925).

5. See Miles, *op. cit.* pp. 95-100, Nos. 31-53.

6. *Ibid.* pp. 101-3, Nos. 54-56.

7. See Vol. II 46.

8. For Parthian seals see Neilson C. Debevoise in Pope, *Survey I* 471-74.

9. For interpretations of Sasanian seal designs and bibliography see Phyllis Ackerman in Pope, *Survey I* 784-815. See also Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, pp. 110-15.

talons are not indicated. The head, with curved beak, is reverted. Two vertical strokes above the head seem to be ears or horns rather than part of the encircling legend, since they are not represented in Professor Sprengling's transcription. The griffin's hind legs are bent and the forelegs are shown in standing position.¹⁰ The tail curves upward. Eye and rump were made with a drill. The inscription (starting at the griffin's beak and ending behind the head) was read and translated by Professor Sprengling as *Āth(u)r zi K(a)y F¹¹ārv¹²(a)kht*, "(the) Fire of Kai Farnvakht (earlier 'Farnbagh?')." Sprengling pointed out that *kai* is an old Avestan title of royalty, applied later in an archaizing manner. He identified "Farnvakht" with "Farnbagh," one of the three most sacred fires of the Zoroastrians, but stated that the form found on our seal was new to him. "Aturfarnbag," the Fire of the Priests, is mentioned on a number of seals.¹³ The location of this important fire and its sanctuary is still in doubt. A. V. Williams Jackson¹⁴ concluded that it was finally located in the province of Fars, in all likelihood at

Kariyan, and Ferdinand Justi¹⁵ too assigned it to Persis (Fars) but stated, without giving specific reasons, that it was situated at Istakhr.

The second Sasanian stamp seal (Fig. 28:2) was found in Plot BA 45 at el. 91.40 m., that is, 20 cm. below the level of the top tread of the Tower base (see p. 39). The design shows the head of an ibex with two curved horns clearly marked. Behind the head is a cross-shaped symbol, and in front of it appears a branch or tree. From the neck of the ibex two wings spread to either side and touch the cross (star?) and the branch. Animal heads above paired wings are frequently encountered on Sasanian seals,¹⁶ but human heads¹⁷ and "monograms"¹⁸ too were combined with wings in the same fashion.

There remains a signet ring (Fig. 28:6) found in refuse in the top stratum of Plot BB 05. Its Kufic legend, together with the find-level, marks it as Early Islamic. The inscription, according to Professor Nabia Abbott of the Oriental Institute, consists of the name 'Abd Allah and the phrase "in the name of Allah."

PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

A rectangular bead (Fig. 28:11) made of a glasslike substance was found in the fill of the culvert (IIIa) which pierces Wall III (see pp. 55 f.). According to its find-spot this bead is definitely pre-Islamic, but there is doubt as to the period to which it should be assigned. It has a pattern of slender bluish-gray ellipsoids dividing the red ground into curved lozenges and triangles.¹⁹

A bronze pendant (Fig. 28:10) in the form of a quadruped, with two joined ears, hunched back, long tail, and legs consisting of two knobs, was found on the lowest tread of the Tower base. It is pre-Islamic, but we are not able to assign it to a specific period.

The find-spots of two finger rings leave doubt as to

whether they should be assigned to the Sasanian or the Early Islamic period. One is of bronze (Fig. 28:7), and its missing stone may have been a beveled tablet of a type used as seals or ornaments during the Sasanian²⁰ and Islamic eras. The other ring is of gold (Fig. 28:8), and its bezel is too small to have accommodated a signet stone. The matter left in the bezel may be remains of a fritlike substance. A gold finger ring (Fig. 28:9) with empty conoid bezel was found at the south side of the Tower above the level of the top of the Greek version of Shapur's inscription. It is to be assumed, therefore, that it is post-Sasanian. Perhaps it was lost by a visitor after the desertion of the site.

A BRONZE LAMP

A bronze lamp (Fig. 28:12) was found in debris in Plot BB 24 of the Center Test at an elevation (93.90 m.) which corresponds to the level (el. 93.86 m.) of a patch of flooring uncovered nearby in Plot BB 14. This floor is lower by 1.40–1.90 m. than the floor remnants of the Early Islamic complex in Plots BB 03–05 (see Fig. 25 A).

A ridge encircles the large central filling-hole, which undoubtedly was originally covered by a lid that was attached to the vertical ring handle by means of a chain. The rather long nozzle is flanked by volute-like projections ornamented with small circles, and three more circles em-

bellish its flat top. At the opposite end of the squat body a slanting heart-shaped ornament or guard is attached to the handle, whose aperture is barely large enough to fit a child's finger. The guard is decorated with four small circles.

To our knowledge, no comparable lamps have been uncovered in Islamic, Sasanian, or pre-Sasanian sites in Iran. There is no doubt, however, that our specimen is post-Achaemenid, as indicated by its shape (see below) and by the fact that our extensive excavations at Persep-

10. Sejant, couchant, and standing griffins frequently appear on Sasanian seals. See e.g. Paul Horn and Georg Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine* (Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, "Mittheilungen aus den orientalischen Sammlungen" IV [Berlin, 1891]) p. 16 and Pls. IV–V, though these examples do not show reverted heads.

11. Or *Ph*.

12. Or *w*.

13. See Horn and Steindorff, *op. cit.* pp. 23 f., 27; Paul Horn, "Sasanidische Gemmen aus dem British Museum," *ZDMG* LXIV (1890) 655, No. 491, 658, No. 569 (cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 81 f., No. 14) and Pl. Ia. See also "Farnbag" in Ferdinand Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895) p. 93.

14. "The location of the Farnbāg Fire," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XLI (1921) 81–106. See also Christensen, *Sassanides*, pp. 164–66.

15. "Die älteste iranische Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathustra," *Preussische Jahrbücher* LXXXVIII (Berlin, 1897) 257.

16. See e.g. Horn and Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, p. 13 and Pl. III, Nos. 1386, 858, and 1383.

17. *Ibid.* p. 21 and Pl. VI, No. 1042.

18. *Ibid.* p. 20 and Pl. VI, Nos. 749 and 1572.

19. A purplish-red, gray, and white frit bead from the Persepolis Treasury (Vol. II, Pl. 43:11) resembles this bead as to the technique of combining design elements of different colors.

20. Cf. Horn and Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, p. V, forms VIb and VIc.

olis yielded no objects that could be defined as lamps²¹ whereas contemporary Greece produced great numbers of baked-clay receptacles whose shapes mark them as lighting devices.²²

Our bronze lamp closely resembles certain Roman lamps of the first century after Christ that were excavated in the military camp or settlement of Vindonissa in what is now northern Switzerland.²³ These lamps and our specimen have several features in common: a flattened spheroid body with pronounced base, a large filling-hole encircled by a ridge, a vertical ring handle with superposed ornamental attachment or guard, and a fairly long laterally compressed nozzle flanked by volute-like elements. Significantly, bronze lamps with almost identical features have

been found at Dura-Europos; the excavators attribute them to the middle of the second century after Christ and consider them imports from Rome.²⁴ In view of the close resemblance of our bronze lamp to lamps from Roman deposits as remote as Vindonissa and Dura-Europos, we believe that our specimen too was imported from Rome, or Roman territory, presumably in the second century after Christ.²⁵ Most of the baked-clay lamps found in the Parthian levels of Seleucia are of different shapes,²⁶ but a few specimens²⁷ may be copies of Roman lamps of the first or second century after Christ. As to Sasanian lamps, two blue-glazed specimens excavated near Shiraz²⁸ appear to be related to lamps of the Islamic era and show no resemblance to our bronze lamp.

POTTERY AND GLASS

Because of the character of the site and the lack of well defined occupational levels with remnants of substantial habitations and domestic refuse, we were unable to establish a satisfactory sequence of ceramic types.

In theory, the Achaemenid period could be represented by a group of storage vessels (*W* on Fig. 17 *B*) uncovered at el. 90.40–90.50 m. in Plot BA 44. The original (Achaemenid) ground level at the nearby northwest corner of the Tower corresponds to el. 90.24 m. (see p. 40). By the end of the Achaemenid period the mound deposit may have risen to the level of the bottom tread of the Tower base (el. at northwest corner 90.51 m.). Storage pots were often kept in subsurface shelters (dug into earlier deposits) for the protection of their contents. Furthermore, we believe that we have proved that the vicinity of the Tower was kept clear of debris until the Arab conquest (see pp. 47 f.). Thus, our storage pots could be as recent as the Sasanian era²⁹ or even later. One of them has been restored (Fig. 29:10), but at the present state of our knowledge we see no distinctive feature in form, paste, or surface treatment that would permit us to assign it to any particular period. In profile it resembles certain vessels which are in all likelihood Early Islamic (Fig. 29:4–7) except that its greatest

body diameter is lower. The group of vessels with which this jar was associated did not include Persepolis types such as slender bottles³⁰ for the storage of liquids, canteens,³¹ or certain bowls with distinctive profiles.³² At Persepolis, furthermore, we found no pot lid of the type shown in Figure 29:3, whereas similar specimens (Fig. 29:1–2) with a pronounced grip instead of a knob were found in the Early Islamic stratum of Naqsh-i Rostam.

A sherd (Fig. 29:14) of a jar or pitcher with ornamental grooves and a row of stipples was found near the northeast corner of the Tower at el. 90.70 m., that is, between the middle and the lowest tread of the Tower base. According to its find-spot the sherd is post-Achaemenid and pre-Islamic. Because of the peculiar stratigraphic conditions in the environs of the Tower the sherd cannot be dated more exactly, and the object itself provides no clues.

A small bottle (Fig. 29:8) with red-brown paste like that of the lid shown in Figure 29:3 (see above) was found in the Center Test in mixed debris which could represent the Early Islamic occupation or a preceding period.

The Early Islamic stratum was more clearly defined than the underlying layers, and with a fair degree of certainty we are able to assign certain objects to the last occupation although the objects themselves are not distinctive enough to provide clues as to the period of their manufacture. Three vessels and a lid had been discarded in a trash pit whose orifice (el. 95.61 m.) was at about the same level as a nearby floor (el. 95.58 m.) of the Early Islamic building complex that extended across Plots BB 03–05 (see Fig. 25 *A*). There are two pitchers (Fig. 29:4–5) of almost identical shape. Both have ornamental grooves (pronounced on No. 4) on the neck and a handle with angular profile. Except for lack of a handle, the third vessel (Fig. 29:9) has the same form as the two pitchers. The lid from the trash pit (Fig. 29:2) is in the form of a disk with ornamental grooves and a central grip. Another pot lid (Fig. 29:1) is so similar in form and surface treatment that it must be assigned to the same period. It was found west of the Achaemenid Tower, 45 cm. higher than the top of the Parthian version of Shapur's inscription. Two vessels, a pitcher and a two-handled jar (Fig. 29:6–7), should probably be assigned to the Early Islamic period. Their

21. See Vol. II 90 and 96.

22. For classification and extensive bibliography see e.g. "Lucerna" in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* XXVI (1927) 1566–1613; Oscar Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps* (American School of Classical Studies at Athens, *Corinth* IV 2 [Cambridge, Mass., 1930]); H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum* (London, 1914).

23. See Siegfried Loeschke, *Lampen aus Vindonissa* (Zürich, 1919) pp. 321 (133), 452 (264), 499 (311), and Pl. XXI (Types XV–XVI: "Bronzlampen mit gerundeter Volutenschnauze"). For similar bronze lamps see Walters, *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum*, Pls. VII–VIII, and for related shapes of baked clay see e.g. *ibid.* Pls. XXVI–XXVII and Broneer, *op. cit.* Type XXI, pp. 73–76 and Pl. VII.

24. See *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, Final Report IV, Part III, *The Lamps*, by P. V. C. Baur (New Haven and London, 1947) pp. 74 f. and Pl. XIV (especially Nos. 428 and 430 and probably Nos. 423 and 425) and p. 84.

25. In contrast to our dating of the lamp in *OIC* No. 21, p. 101.

26. See Neilson C. Debevoise, *Parthian Pottery from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1934) pp. 23 and 26–27, Figs. 354 ff.

27. *Ibid.* e.g. Nos. 416–17.

28. See Joseph M. Upton in *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* XXIX (1934) Section II, December, p. 17 and Fig. 24.

29. For Sasanian pottery and bibliography see Richard Ettinghausen in Pope, *Survey* I 664–80.

30. Vol. II, Pls. 71:11–13 and 73:5–6.

31. *Ibid.* Pls. 71:9 and 73:2.

32. *Ibid.* Pl. 72:1–2.

shapes are close to those of the pitchers (Fig. 29:4-5) from the Early Islamic pit, and they too come from the top stratum of the Center Test.

A sherd (Fig. 29:13) of a broad-mouthed vessel with decorative grooves and incised zigzags may also belong to the Early Islamic stratum of the site. It was found in the West Test about 4 meters above the floor of the south room of Building II (see Fig. 22 A-B), which is tentatively assigned to the Achaemenid period (see p. 57).

There are two fragments of glazed vessels which must have been broken by visitors at the site after it had ceased to be inhabited. Both sherds were found near the Tower, one (Fig. 29:11) in Plot BA 56 about 40 cm. above the level of the top of the Middle Persian version of Shapur's inscription, and the other (Fig. 29:12) in Plot BA 45 on one of the stone blocks that lie on the remnant of the Tower stairway. According to their find-locations both sherds could be Early Islamic, but there are several clues which indicate that they are Middle Islamic. The T-shaped rim, ornamental cursive inscription,³³ transparent glaze, and fritlike paste of No. 11 are features which are characteristic of certain Rayy bowls of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries after Christ, while No. 12 appears to be somewhat more recent. We may assume that both vessels were products of local manufacture in the province of Fars rather than imports from the north. There is hardly a doubt that most or all of the pottery dealt with above was manufactured at nearby Istakhr. To judge by the great numbers of fragments of elaborately embellished vessels found in our tests of the Istakhr mound, this town had an important ceramic industry in the ninth and tenth centuries of our era. Whether Islamic Shiraz rivaled Istakhr in the manufacture of elaborate pottery or wheth-

er it became a ceramic center after the destruction of Istakhr around A.D. 1000 is unknown at present.

The elaborately glazed and molded wares of 'Abbasid Istakhr are not represented among the potsherds from our tests at Naqsh-i Rostam. We must conclude, therefore, that Naqsh-i Rostam was deserted before the kilns of Istakhr, barely 3 kilometers distant, produced these wares. It is to be hoped that when the final results of our tests in the Istakhr mound are co-ordinated it will be possible to determine the time of the appearance of these distinctive ceramic types.³⁴

The sherd lots from Naqsh-i Rostam included fragments of light brown earthenware glazed in shades of bluish green to yellowish green and olive. There were also two sherds of cream-colored and light red-brown ware with purplish-gray glaze. The age of these sherds is not certain, but they appear to be Early Islamic. A few may be parts of pots that were broken after the desertion of the site.

Although in our limited tests of deposits ranging from the Achaemenid period to the beginning of the Islamic era we were unable to determine a sequence of distinctive pottery types we at least confirmed our observation at Istakhr and Rayy that Iran had no share in the development of the renowned ceramics which appeared in great quantities during 'Abbasid times.

Few glass fragments appeared in our tests at Naqsh-i Rostam, and none were large enough to enable us to reconstruct the form of a vessel. We illustrate two pieces. One (Fig. 29:15) is decorated with a continuous pattern of oblong hexagonal facets whose sharp edges indicate that they were cut rather than molded; its find-spot suggests that it is Early Islamic. The purpose of a Sasanian or Early Islamic glass cone (Fig. 29:16) is unknown to us.

ARROWHEADS

In our tests at Naqsh-i Rostam we failed to uncover remnants of weapons such as blades of daggers or swords and heads of lances or javelins, and we found no such military accouterments as armor scales, buckles and strap guards, bridle bits and bridle ornaments. All these categories of weapons and other martial equipment occurred at Persepolis in the quarters of the garrison and especially in certain storerooms of the Treasury.³⁵ It is regrettable that Naqsh-i Rostam yielded no post-Achaemenid material comparable with the Achaemenid martial equipment from Persepolis. Obviously, none of the structures uncovered in our tests were used for the storage of weapons or as soldiers' quarters. Nevertheless, it is astonishing that not one example of the types of iron and bronze arrowheads which are represented at Persepolis by many hundreds of specimens³⁶ appeared at Naqsh-i Rostam.

33. According to Professor Nabia Abbott *malik*, "king," or *mulk*, "kingdom," perhaps occurs in the text fragment.

34. See *OIC* No. 21, pp. 111-18.

35. See Vol. II 99-101.

36. See *ibid.* p. 99, Table IX, Nos. 4-5 and 7-8.

Two arrowheads from Naqsh-i Rostam resemble types that were not common at Persepolis. A three-flanged tanged iron specimen (Fig. 30:2) may be related to a three-flanged barbed Persepolis type,³⁷ and a bronze arrowhead (Fig. 30:5) resembles a Persepolis type with offset tang and lanceolate blade.³⁸ Although both Naqsh-i Rostam specimens were found in soil which probably accumulated after the end of the Sasanian period, we consider them pre-Islamic, without being able to date them more accurately.

An iron arrowhead (Fig. 30:1) with distorted ovate or lanceolate blade and unusually long tang may be grouped with similar specimens found at Persepolis near the surface or in debris of doubtful age.³⁹ A slender iron blade (Fig. 30:3) could have been used as an arrowhead or as a tool for drilling or tracing. A tanged bronze arrowhead (Fig. 30:4) has a broad triangular blade. All three specimens were found in the top deposit of Naqsh-i Rostam and may be Early Islamic.

37. *Ibid.* No. 15 (9 specimens).

38. *Ibid.* No. 22 (3 specimens).

39. See *ibid.* p. 99.

No. ON FIG. 28	FIELD No.	FIND-SPOT	OBJECT	MATERIAL	REMARKS	PERIOD	SCALE
1	NR1 17	Center Test, Plot BB 04, el. 93.85 m.	Stamp seal	Polished red-brown carnelian	Three-quarter globe; griffin encircled by Middle Persian inscription	Sasanian	Impression and base, 2:1; side view, 1:1
2	NR2 23	Tower, Plot BA 45, el. 91.40 m.	Stamp seal	Polished red-brown carnelian	Three-quarter globe; ibex head above spread wings, cross-shaped symbol, branch	Sasanian	Impression, 2:1; seal, 1:1
3	NR2 24	West Test, Plot BA 73, center, el. ca. 93.30 m.	Stamp seal	Smooth gray serpentine	Pyramidal; curvilinear cross, five knobs	Pre-Sasanian?	1:1
4	NR2 20	Tower, Plot BA 55, floor of Room B, el. 92.60 m.	Stamp seal	Bronze, patinated	Domed; pattern doubtful, perhaps two superposed birds	Pre-Sasanian?	Impression, 2:1; seal, 1:1
5	NR2 5	West Test, Plot BA 74, NE. corner, el. ca. 96.30-96.90 m.	Signet ring	Purplish-gray silver, patinated	Elliptical bezel with animal(?) pattern	Achaemenid?	Impression, 2:1; ring, 1:1
6	NR1 8	Center Test, Plot BB 05, SE., refuse from top stratum	Signet ring	Bronze, patinated	Rounded rectangular bezel with Kufic inscription	Early Islamic	Impression and bezel, 2:1; side view, 1:1
7	NR1 29	Center Test, Plot BB 14, refuse	Finger ring	Bronze, patinated	Elliptical bezel, stone missing	Sasanian or Early Islamic	1:1
8	NR2 58	Tower, Plot BA 45, refuse, el. ca. 91-92 m.	Finger ring	Yellow gold	Elliptical bezel containing traces of gray substance	Sasanian or Early Islamic	1:1
9	NR1 32	Near center of S. wall of Tower, Plot BA 56, 50 cm. below surface	Finger ring	Yellow gold	Conoid bezel, stone missing, hoop broken	Islamic?	1:1
10	NR2 28	Bottom tread of Tower base near staircase, Plot BA 46, el. 90.43 m.	Pendant	Bronze, patinated	Long-tailed quadruped, lateral perforation	Pre-Islamic	1:1
11	NR2 49	West Test, Plot BA 84, refuse from Culvert IIIa, el. ca. 90-91 m.	Bead	Glass?	Red ground and bluish-gray design	Pre-Islamic	2:1
12	NR1 25	Center Test, Plot BB 24, near NE. corner, el. 93.90 m.	Lamp	Bronze	Circular body, annular base and rim, elaborate spout and handle	Hellenistic	1:1
13	NR2 43	Tower, Plot BA 56, SE., refuse, el. ca. 91.65 m.	Inscription fragment	Cream-colored limestone	Parts of Middle Persian text	Sasanian	1:2
14	NR2 42	Above NW. corner of bottom tread of Tower base, Plot BA 45, el. 91.05 m.	Inscription fragment	Cream-colored limestone	Elamite cuneiform sign (<i>qa?</i>)	Achaemenid	1:2
15	NR2 41	Tower, Plot BA 56, S. border 4 m. W. of SE. corner, el. 90.95 m.	Inscription fragment	Cream-colored limestone	Remnants of Old Persian cuneiform signs	Achaemenid	1:2

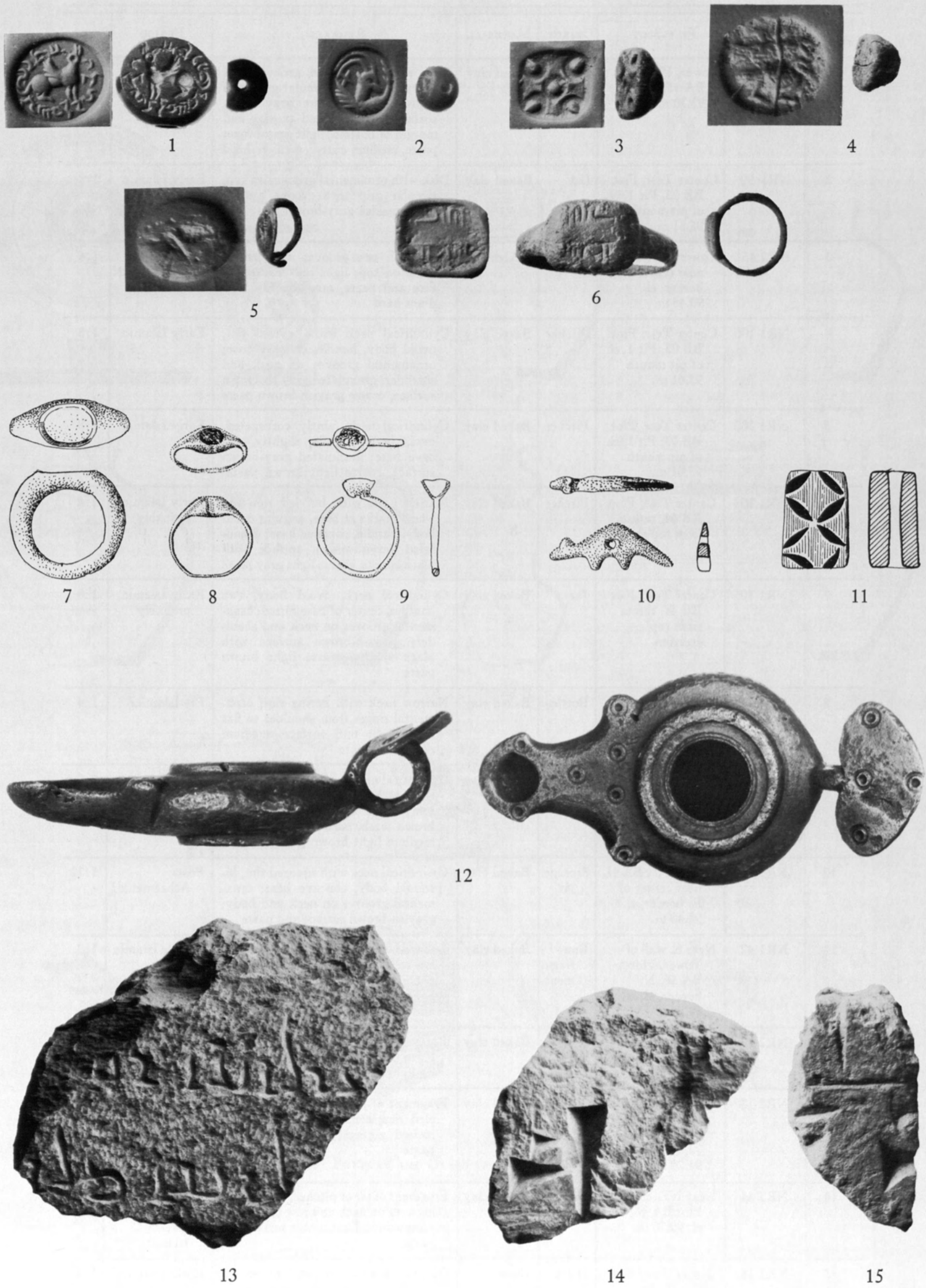


FIG. 28. STAMP SEALS, PERSONAL ORNAMENTS, BRONZE LAMP, AND INSCRIBED FRAGMENTS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

No. on FIG. 29	FIELD No.	FIND-SPOT	OBJECT	MATERIAL	REMARKS	PERIOD	SCALE
1	NR2 16	Tower, Plot BA 55, el. 93.30 m.	Lid	Baked clay	Disk with ornamental grooves and wavy line on top, circular grip with depressed top; light gray-brown surface, fire-blackened at edge and margin of bottom, light gray-brown paste, medium coarse, medium hard	Early Islamic	1:4
2	NR1 99	Center Test, Plot BB 03, Pit 1, el. of pit mouth 95.61 m.	Lid	Baked clay	Disk with ornamental grooves on top, circular grip with groove around top; greenish gray-brown	Early Islamic	1:8
3	NR2 45	Tower, Plot BA 44, near center of E. border, el. 90.45 m.	Lid	Baked clay	Disk with two grooves and central knob on top; light red-brown surface and paste, medium fine, medium hard	Post-Achaemenid?	1:4
4	NR1 100	Center Test, Plot BB 03, Pit 1, el. of pit mouth 95.61 m.	Pitcher	Baked clay	Cylindrical neck with beveled rim, ovoid body, handle, concave base; ornamental grooves on neck and shoulder; granulated grayish-brown surface, coarse grayish-brown paste	Early Islamic	1:8
5	NR1 103	Center Test, Plot BB 03, Pit 1, el. of pit mouth 95.61 m.	Pitcher	Baked clay	Cylindrical neck faintly corrugated, ovoid body, handle, slightly concave base; granulated gray-brown surface, coarse light brown paste	Early Islamic	1:8
6	NR1 104	Center Test, Plot BB 44, refuse from top stratum	Pitcher	Baked clay	Flaring neck with beveled rim and wheel marks at base, angular ovoid body, handle, concave base; granulated grayish-brown surface with black specks, coarse light gray paste	Early Islamic probably	1:8
7	NR1 105	Center Test, Plot BB 44, refuse from top stratum	Jar	Baked clay	Cylindrical neck, ovoid body, two handles, center of base raised; ornamental grooves on neck and shoulder; grayish-brown surface with black specks, coarse light brown paste	Early Islamic probably	1:8
8	NR1 13	Center Test, Plot BB 14, SE., refuse	Bottle	Baked clay	Narrow neck with flaring rim; ornamental ridges from shoulder to flat base; light buff surface, medium red-brown paste	Pre-Islamic?	1:4
9	NR1 101	Center Test, Plot BB 03, Pit 1, el. of pit mouth 95.61 m.	Jar	Baked clay	Cylindrical neck with beveled rim and ridge at base, ovoid body, flat bottom; light brown surface, buff-brown wash, partly fire-blackened, medium light brown paste	Early Islamic	1:8
10	NR2 46	Tower, Plot BA 44, near center of E. border, el. 90.40 m.	Storage jar	Baked clay	Cylindrical neck with squared rim, biconoid body, concave base; ornamental grooves on neck and body; grayish-brown surface and paste	Post-Achaemenid?	1:12
11	NR1 42	Near E. wall of Tower, Plot BA 56, N. border, el. ca. 94 m.	Bowl fragment	Baked clay	T-shaped rim; cursive inscription in low relief on exterior, thin transparent glaze on interior and exterior; light yellowish-brown, medium soft and gritty paste	Middle Islamic	1:2
12	NR2 18	Tower staircase, Plot BA 45, el. 93.20 m.	Sherd	Baked clay	Bottom of plate or bowl; decomposed glaze on interior, gray floral design on light brown ground	Middle Islamic	1:2
13	NR2 13	West Test, above S. room of Building II, Plot BA 73, el. ca. 94.70 m.	Sherd	Baked clay	Fragment of jar or pitcher with beveled rim; ornamental grooves and incised zigzags; gray surface and paste	Early Islamic?	1:2
14	NR2 44	Near NE. corner of Plot BA 46, el. 90.70 m.	Sherd	Baked clay	Fragment of jar or pitcher; ornamental grooves on neck and row of stipples on shoulder; light brown surface and paste	Post-Achaemenid (pre-Islamic)	1:2
15	NR1 18	Center Test, Plot BB 34, SE. corner, refuse	Sherd	Glass	Oblong hexagonal facets cut on exterior; yellow patina over iridescent surface	Early Islamic probably	1:2
16	NR2 40	Tower, Plot BA 66, el. ca. 90.90 m.	Cone	Glass	Truncated cone; convex base; gray-white and light yellow surface	Sasanian or Early Islamic	1:2

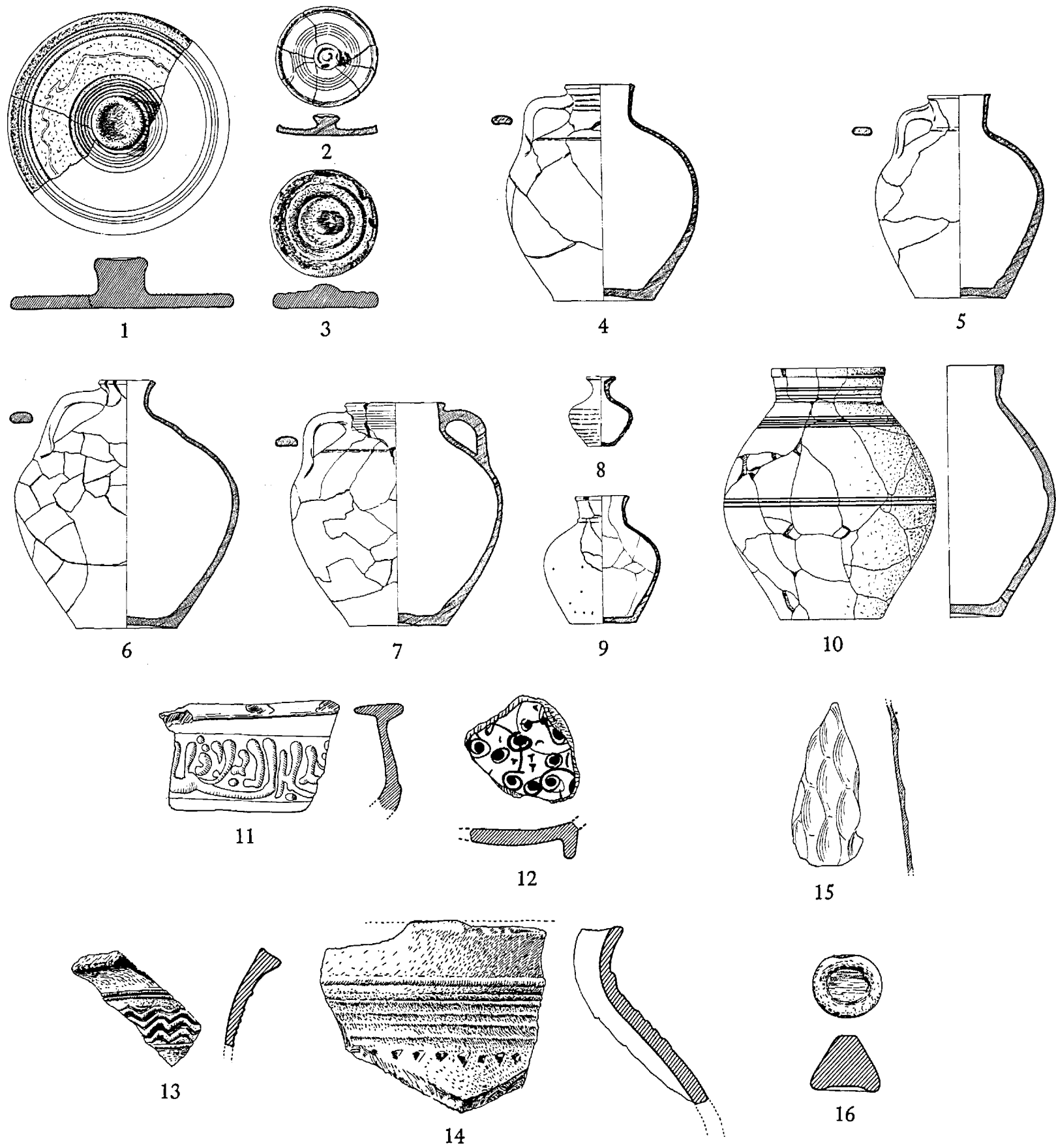


FIG. 29. POTTERY AND GLASS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

No. ON FIG. 30	FIELD No.	FIND-SPOT	OBJECT	MATERIAL	REMARKS	PERIOD	SCALE
1	NR1 36	Tower, Plot BA 56, el. 93.26 m.	Arrowhead	Iron, corroded	Blade distorted, long cylindrical tang	Early Islamic?	1:2
2	NR2 19	Tower, Plot BA 55, el. 92.80 m.	Arrowhead	Iron, corroded	Three-flanged blade, tang broken	Pre-Islamic	1:2
3	NR1 31	Tower, Plot BA 46, center E., refuse from top stratum	Arrowhead?	Iron, corroded	Slender blade with square section, tang with circular section	Early Islamic?	1:2
4	NR1 2	Center Test, Plot BB 04, NW., refuse from top stratum	Arrowhead	Bronze, patinated	Rounded triangular blade, tang with square section	Early Islamic?	1:2
5	NR2 33	Tower, Plot BA 65, el. ca. 91.50-92 m.	Arrowhead	Bronze, patinated	Lanceolate blade with medial ridge	Pre-Islamic	1:2
6	NR2 27	Center Test, Plot BB 05, near center, el. ca. 91.25 m.	Spindle whorl	Light yellowish-brown baked clay (or bone?), purplish wash	Plano-convex; incised seven-pointed star and groups of lines suggesting rotation	Early Islamic?	1:2
7	NR1 14	Center Test, Plot BB 05, center E., refuse	Spindle whorl	Dark gray baked clay	Irregular plano-convex	Early Islamic	1:2
8	NR1 6	Center Test, Plot BB 03, NW., refuse	Spindle whorl	Purplish stone	Plano-convex, smooth	Early Islamic	1:2
9	NR1 41	Center Test, Plot BB 44, NE., refuse from top stratum	Stud	Iron, corroded	Plano-convex rhomboid with remnant of nail shaft	Early Islamic	1:2
10	NR1 43	Tower, Plot BA 56, dump soil from top stratum	Needle	Bronze, patinated	Perforation in flat ovate head	Early Islamic	1:2
11	NR2 34	Tower, Plot BA 45, 2 m. W. of N. end of staircase, el. 91.20 m.	Spoon	Bronze, patinated	Small deep bowl, long handle	Sasanian?	1:2
12	NR2 22	Bottom tread of Tower base, Plot BA 45, el. 90.50 m.	Scraper?	Light brown stone	Sharp-edged rhomboid with medial ridge on one face	Pre-Sasanian probably	1:2
13	NR1 35	Tower, Plot BA 56, center E., refuse from top stratum	Whetstone?	Black limestone	Rod with irregular rectangular section, one end perforated	Early Islamic?	1:2
14	NR1 1	Center Test, Plot BB 04, Room 2 of top stratum, el. 95.78 m.	Polisher	Red-brown conglomerate	Oblong with roughly trapezoid section	Early Islamic	1:2
15	NR1 21	Center Test, Plot BB 14, center S., refuse	Polisher	Yellowish-gray stone	Flattened semiglobe, base polished by use	Pre-Islamic?	1:2
16	NR2 36	Tower, at SW. corner, 50 cm. above top step of base, Plot BA 55, el. 92.00 m.	Bowl fragment	Cream-colored stone	Rim with ledge for placement of lid, parallel grooves on upper body	Early Islamic probably	1:4
17	NR1 39	Center Test, Plot BB 05, SW., below level of plaster floor, el. ca. 95 m.	Bowl fragment	Tan stone	Rim and grooves as on No. 16	Early Islamic?	1:4
18	NR1 38	Same as No. 17	Lid fragment	Tan stone	Rim wrought to fit bowls like Nos. 16-17, grooves on exterior, perforation, grip broken	Early Islamic?	1:4
19	NR2 7	Tower, Plot BA 55, el. ca. 92.25 m.	Millstone	Light grayish-brown stone	Circular with rounded projection, perforation, hole in projection	Early Islamic?	1:8
20	NR1 20	Center Test, Plot BB 44, NW., top stratum	Pounder	Gray stone	Grip and body with oblong roughly rectangular plan	Early Islamic?	1:4
21	NR2 31	Tower, Plot BA 46, NE., el. 90.95 m.	Grinding bowl	Gray basalt?	Oval with shallow smooth depression on top	Sasanian or Early Islamic	1:8
22	NR2 52	Tower, Plot BA 46, near NW. corner, el. 90.00 m.	Column base	Gray limestone	Discoid torus with rough surface, edge of molding chipped	Achaemenid probably	1:8
23	NR2 39	Tower, Plot BA 55, on floor at W. edge of excavation, el. 91.42 m.	Part of architectural ornament	Grayish-white stucco	Five petals suggesting fragment of large rosette	Sasanian	1:8

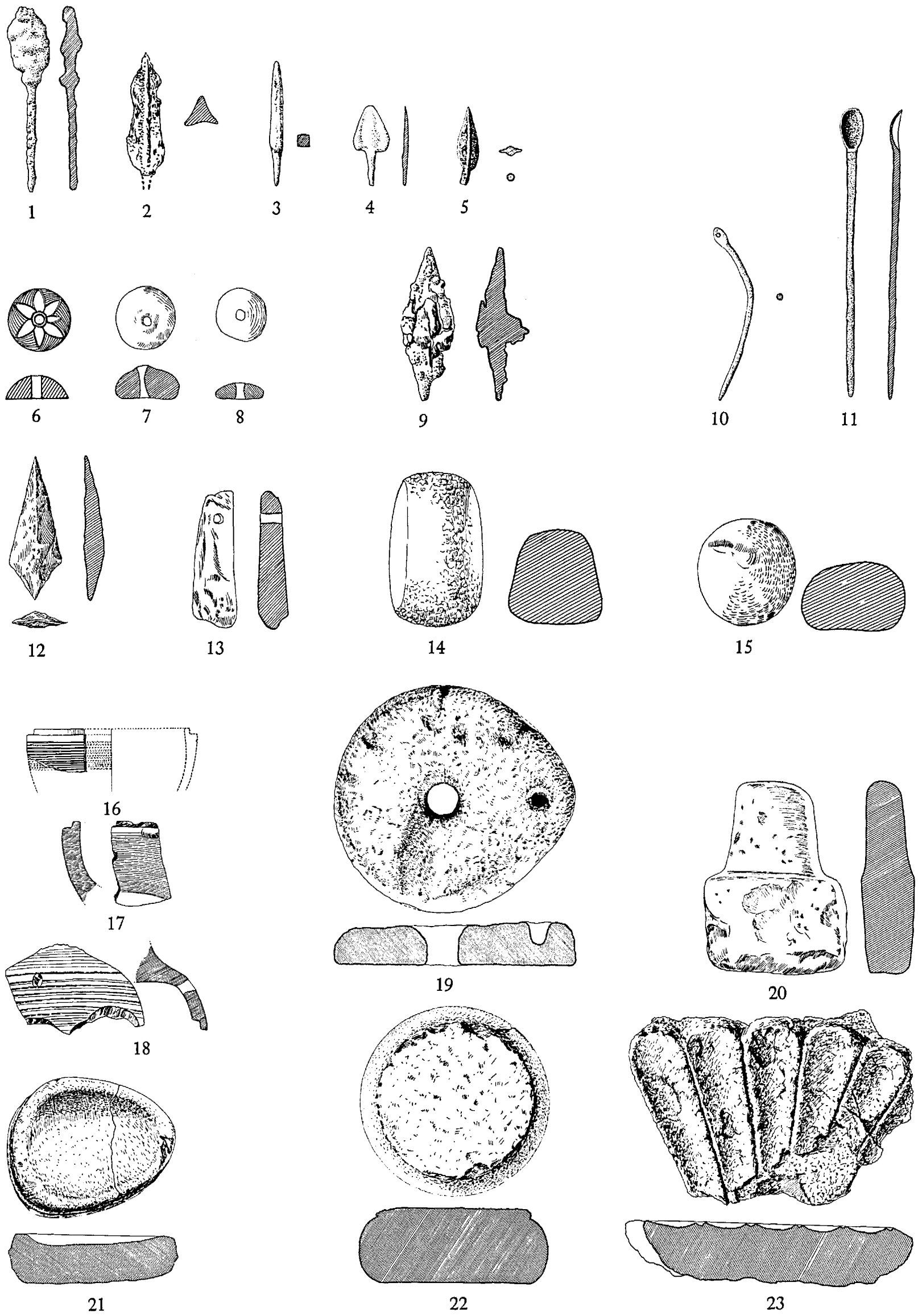


FIG. 30. ARROWHEADS, TOOLS AND UTENSILS, AND ARCHITECTURAL FRAGMENTS FROM NAQSH-I RUSTAM

TOOLS AND UTENSILS

Our collection includes three plano-convex spindle whorls, all from the Center Test. A baked-clay specimen (Fig. 30:7) and one of stone (Fig. 30:8) are undecorated. They are from the Early Islamic stratum. The third whorl (Fig. 30:6) is light yellowish brown with patches of purplish wash and is made of either well baked clay or bone. Its incised decoration, consisting of a seven-pointed star and groups of parallel lines which suggest counter-clockwise rotation, reminds us of the neatly patterned whorls of the Islamic strata of Istakhr and Rayy. For this reason we are inclined to attribute it to the Early Islamic period even though it was found 4 meters below the structures of that period. It may have been thrown into a pit which was not recognized as such by our workmen, for the floors of Muslim settlements in Iran are frequently pierced by pits which have disturbed the underlying deposits. As to the possibility that our whorl may be pre-Islamic, we do not know the forms and decoration of post-Achaemenid pre-Islamic whorls in Iran. Our whorl is definitely not Achaemenid, since no similar specimen⁴⁰ was found at Persepolis.⁴¹ Its decoration does not exclude the possibility that it could be prehistoric. However, we do not

40. Except for a patterned stone whorl of Islamic type (see Vol. I 211, n. 76).

41. See Vol. II 103 and Pl. 81:1-7.

know of any similar whorls from early Iran, and the specimens from nearby Tall-i Bakun A are completely different.⁴²

There are a few metal objects. An iron stud (Fig. 30:9) of problematical use and a bronze needle (Fig. 30:10) were found in Early Islamic debris. A bronze spoon (Fig. 30:11) may be Sasanian.

A sharp-edged rhomboid scraper(?) of stone (Fig. 30:12), probably pre-Sasanian, was found on the bottom tread of the Tower base. Other stone utensils, of Early Islamic and possibly pre-Islamic origin (see datings in table opposite Fig. 30), include a perforated object that was probably a whetstone (Fig. 30:13), two polishers (Fig. 30:14-15) which could also have been used as pounders, grooved fragments of bowls (Fig. 30:16-17) and a lid (Fig. 30:18), a millstone (Fig. 30:19; see also pp. 38 f.) which was rotated by means of a rod inserted in a hole near the edge,⁴³ and a pounder or pestle of peculiar oblong shape (Fig. 30:20). A grinding bowl (Fig. 30:21), Sasanian or Early Islamic, was found at a level corresponding to that of the middle tread of the Tower base.

42. See *OIP* LIX 69 and Pl. 82.

43. This object was the top part of a "quern"; see John Storck and Walter Dorwin Teague, *A History of Milling: Flour for Man's Bread* (Minneapolis, 1952) pp. 81 ff.

IV

THE ROYAL TOMBS

THE EARLY TOMBS

THE edifice which enshrined at Pasargadae the remains of Cyrus the Great has been referred to above (p. 42). The location and appearance of the tomb of his son Cambyses II are still in doubt (see p. 42). The tombs of the Achaemenid predecessors of Cyrus the Great and those of the kings of Media are unknown or unidentified. In the mountains of Kurdistan, however, there exist rock tombs, apparently prototypes of the late Achaemenid tombs, which have been tentatively assigned to Median or early Achaemenid rulers. As we have had no occasion to examine these early rock tombs, we confine ourselves to describing them briefly, proceeding from north to south.

Fakhriqah, near Qum Kal'ah, south of Lake Riza'iyyah, is an open chamber above a vertically cut panel in the rock face. It has two pairs of columns and three sepulchral cists. Herzfeld considered it pre-Achaemenid, possibly the tomb of a ruler of Manai.¹ Aurel Stein² and Jacques de Morgan³ were inclined to consider it Achaemenid.

Dukkan-i Daud ("David's Shop"), near Sarpul, between Qasr-i Shirin and the Pa-i Tak Pass, is high above an almost vertically cut panel in the rock face. Behind a portico with triple frame and remnants of two columns is a tomb chamber with one cist. The tomb is considered Median or Achaemenid.⁴ Carved in the rock face below it is a relief depicting a man (Kel-i Daud, "Stele of David") in assumedly Elamite dress and holding a barsom bundle. Herzfeld considered the relief not later than the reign of Cyrus the Great,⁵ but it has also been defined as Seleucid.⁶

Farhad u Shirin is apparently the local name for a tomb at Sahnah, between Kirmanshah and Kangavar.⁷ It is high in the rock and has a portico like that of Dukkan-i Daud. A winged disk symbol is carved above the doorway to a tomb chamber with a sepulchral cist at either side; between the two cists is an opening to the main chamber, which is at a lower level and has an exceptionally large cist (*ca.* 2.50 m. long). Herzfeld considered the tomb Median.

Utaq-i Farhad ("Chamber of Farhad") is an unfinished tomb south of Sarpul, reported to be similar in type to Dukkan-i Daud.⁸

Qyzqapan ("the Ravisher") is in the area of Surdash in

1. See *AHI*, p. 31; *IAE*, pp. 202-4 and Fig. 310 (plan, elevation, details).

2. *Old Routes of Western Iran* (London, 1940) pp. 409 f. and Fig. 107 (general view).

3. Who described it as the tomb of Takhiraka near Endir-kach; see *Mission scientifique en Perse IV* (Paris, 1896-97) 293 ff. and Figs. 171 (map) and 172-76. The tomb was discovered by Henry C. Rawlinson; see his "Notes on a journey from Tabriz, through Persian Kurdistan, to the ruins of Takhti-Soleimán . . . to Gilán . . .," *The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society X* (1841) 37 f. See also *IF*, pp. 9, 61 f., 121 f., and 256, and Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920) pp. 10 f. and 145, n. 10 (bibliography).

4. See *IAE*, pp. 200 f. and Pl. XXXV left; De Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse IV* 298 f., Figs. 177-78, and Pl. XXXI. See also Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 6-8, Fig. 3 (elevation, plan, section), p. 145, n. 8 (bibliography), and Pls. V-VI; *IF*, pp. 9 f., 61 f., and 121 f., Figs. 20-21.

5. *IF*, p. 62.

6. Neilson C. Debevoise, "The rock reliefs of ancient Iran," *JNES I* (1942) 87 f.

northeast Iraq.⁹ It has a deep portico, with two engaged columns, and three burial chambers, each containing one cist. The ceiling shows meticulous imitation of roof timbers. Relief decoration consists of three disks with divine symbols and, above the doorway from the portico to the central chamber, two Medes worshiping at a fire altar similar to the altar depicted on the royal tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam and Persepolis. Herzfeld suggested that Qyzqapan is the tomb of a Median governor rather than that of a king.

Kurh u Kich ("the Lad and the Lass") is near Qyzqapan.¹⁰ Its portico originally had two columns; one base with square plinth, circular torus, and fragment of the shaft is preserved. Half of the burial chamber is occupied by a cist.

For the sake of interest we mention three small rock-cut chambers in the Sakavand region, near Harsin and east of Kirmanshah. These rock niches are not tombs but *ostothekai*, that is, depositories for the bones of persons whose bodies had been disposed of by animals and birds according to Magian custom. One *ostotheke* is ornamented with the relief of a bareheaded bearded man in Persian dress worshiping at two altars (or one fire altar with table) and a smaller worshiper (priest?) at the opposite side. Herzfeld¹¹ assigned this *ostotheke*, too emphatically in our opinion, to Gaumata, who was killed in 522 B.C. De Morgan described the three *ostothekai* as Achaemenid tombs near the village of "Dî-nou" in a cliff called "Ferha-tach."¹²

In addition to the royal tombs to be described below, only one monumental rock tomb is known in southern Iran, namely Da' u Dukhtar ("the Nurse and the Princess"), 91 miles northwest of Shiraz.¹³ The façade has two pairs of engaged columns with "proto-Ionic" or "quasi-Ionic" capitals supporting an entablature crowned by crenelations. The burial chamber has neither benches nor cists. A secondary chamber is located at a higher level. Herzfeld was convinced that Da' u Dukhtar is the tomb of one of the predecessors of Cyrus the Great and that its date is between 640 and 560 B.C., but Stein questioned this attribution.¹⁴

7. See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 8-10, 11 (for explanation of name), 145, n. 9 (bibliography), Fig. 4 (elevation, plan, sections), and Pl. VII; see also *IAE*, Fig. 309 and pp. 200-202.

8. See Rawlinson, "Notes on a march from Zoháb . . . to Khúzistán . . .," *The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society IX* (1839) 41; see also *IF*, p. 10.

9. See C. J. Edmonds, "A tomb in Kurdistan," *Iraq I* (1934) 184-89, Figs. 1-4, and Pls. XXIII-XXVI; see also *IAE*, pp. 203-5 and Figs. 311-13 (plan, details, relief).

10. See Edmonds in *Iraq I* 190-91, Figs. 1 and 5-7, and Pl. XXVII b-c; see also *IAE*, p. 203.

11. See *IAE*, pp. 206 and 217 f., Fig. 216. See also *IF*, p. 63 and Fig. 22; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, p. 12.

12. See *Mission scientifique en Perse IV* 299-301, Pls. XXXII-XXXIII, and Fig. 179.

13. For location see Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, maps on p. 35 and in pocket at end. For description and illustrations see *ibid.* pp. 45-47 and Fig. 14; *IAE*, pp. 206-8, Fig. 317, and Pls. XXXV-XXXVIII; *AHI*, p. 32 and Pl. V.

14. See *IAE*, p. 208, and Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, p. 47.

THE TOMBS OF DARIUS THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Many centuries before Darius the Great decided to carve his sepulcher into the precipitous cliff of the "two-peaked mountain"¹ the site of Naqsh-i Rostam had been a sacred place, as shown by a pre-Achaemenid relief of ritual character (see p. 121). Darius' successors² copied the form of his tomb, which was derived from the less elaborate rock tombs referred to above (p. 79).³

There are seven royal rock tombs in the Persepolis area, four at Naqsh-i Rostam and three near the Persepolis Terrace, but only the tomb of Darius I (No. I) can be identified beyond doubt by means of inscriptions. The other three tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam (Nos. II-IV) have been assigned to his immediate successors,⁴ whereas the Persepolis tombs (Nos. V-VII) are presumed to be those of the last three Achaemenid monarchs. We attribute

Tomb II to Xerxes for reasons stated below (see p. 90), while the sequence of Tombs III and IV is established with a fair degree of probability. Although we omit the awkward question mark in all references to Tombs III-VII, it is to be understood that their chronology is not certain. The locations of the tombs are indicated on Figures 1 (Nos. V-VII) and 2 (Nos. I-IV).

The tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam each have an imposing cruciform façade with a central entrance to sepulchral compartments which are tunneled into the rock. The interiors of the tombs differ in plan, workmanship, and number of burial cists, whereas the façades are essentially alike. Therefore, in order to avoid tedious repetition, we describe the tomb of Darius I in detail and merely indicate divergent features in the descriptions of the later tombs.⁵

TOMB I: THE TOMB OF DARIUS THE GREAT

At the point chosen by Darius as the site of his tomb (No. 13 on Fig. 2) and at the time his masons started to carve out the cruciform depression, presumably soon after 520 B.C., the cliff had a height of about 64 meters, provided the foot of the cliff and the floor of the Achaemenid building in Plot BB 05 (see p. 64) were at approximately the same level. If such was the case, the distance from the ground to the foot of the façade was about 15 meters. The height of the façade is 22.93 m., and the distance from the top of the façade to the top of the cliff is about 26 meters.

According to an ambiguous passage from Ctesias, who was court physician to Artaxerxes II from 401 until 384 B.C., Darius' parents,⁶ wishing to inspect their son's tomb, perished when the priests who were pulling them up became frightened (by snakes according to one version) and dropped the ropes. If the story is true we must assume that the tomb was completed by the time of the accident, because there is scarcely a doubt that while the work was in progress a stable scaffold gave access and firm foothold to workmen and visitors.

THE FAÇADE

The dimensions, form, and ornamentation of the façade (see Frontispiece and Fig. 32 A) had obviously been computed and designed by the king's architects and artists

1. Thus designated by Ctesias (*Persica* 38a. 38-39). The term can only refer to the two mountains, Husain Kuh and Kuh-i Rahmat, which are separated by the valley of the Pulvar River (see our Fig. 1). In our flights above Husain Kuh we did not notice pronounced formations, such as twin summits, which would justify the term "two-peaked."

2. Except for three kings who were assassinated after short reigns: Xerxes II, who ruled for forty-five days (*Ctesias Persica* 42a. 14-16); Secydianus, whose reign lasted six months and fifteen days (*ibid.* 42b. 1-2); and Arses, who was murdered in the third year of his reign (*Diodorus Siculus* xvii. 5. 4).

3. See *AHI*, pp. 31 ff., and *IF*, p. 63.

before masons and sculptors began to execute the imposing project. A huge cruciform cavity cut into the irregular and slightly sloping rock wall provided a smooth and perpendicular face. This area was divided into three registers. The middle register, which was sculptured to imitate the front of a palace, and the blank bottom register combined recall the T-shape of some of the early rock tombs referred to above. Darius initiated the cross shape⁷ of the façade of the imperial tomb by adding the top register adorned with reliefs and showing in its principal scene the monarch in worship above the throne, or throne stage, which is supported by representatives of the nations of his realm.

The composition of the façade is illusory. It would be absurd to believe that the throne stood on the roof of a palace.⁸ In reality, it stood inside a palatial structure. To go a step farther, we are convinced that each of the principal public buildings of Persepolis—the Apadana, the Throne Hall, the Council Hall, and the Treasury—had its own throne and that these thrones varied in dimensions and design. The reliefs in the eastern doorway of the Council Hall, which was almost completed during Darius'

4. See Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* V 633; Curzon, *Persia* II 142; *IF*, pp. 60 f.

5. The technical items of the descriptions of all tombs are based largely on Haines's surveys and field notes, supplemented by the photographs taken by Boris Dubensky.

6. See Ctesias *Persica* 38a. 39-38b. 4; the ambiguity involves the meaning of γουεῖς.

7. The cross is not involved in Achaemenid iconography. It is therefore quite certain that the form of the façade has no symbolical meaning.

8. Yet, there is a bizarre reconstruction of the Apadana of Persepolis showing a huge throne stage on its roof; see James Fergusson, *The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored* (London, 1851) Figs. 17-18, and *A History of Architecture in All Countries, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (2d ed.; London, 1874) I, Fig. 93.

reign, depict a throne stage similar to that on Darius' tomb. In the Council Hall, however, the stage, carried by the representatives of twenty-eight nations, supports a throne chair in which Darius is seated, while Xerxes, the crown prince, is shown standing behind the ruler.⁹ The contemporaneous audience reliefs in the Treasury show king and successor in the same positions, but the throne chair rests on a plain low platform instead of an elaborate stage.¹⁰ The Throne Hall, founded by Xerxes and completed by Artaxerxes I, has two sets of throne reliefs. Those embellishing the northern doorways¹¹ closely resemble the Treasury reliefs. The guards shown below the audience of Artaxerxes are meant to be flanking the scene. The reliefs in the southern doorways of the Throne Hall depict complementary pairs of throne stages.¹² Each stage is borne by the representatives of fourteen nations and supports the throne chair in which Artaxerxes is seated. In our opinion the thrones depicted are copies—adapted to representation in reliefs of various dimensions—of the actual thrones which stood in these buildings. The throne chair was removable, if necessary, but the heavy elaborate throne stage was undoubtedly a permanent fixture.

It is not known whether the Apadana was embellished with reliefs in doorways or on orthostats, but there is no doubt that this lofty audience hall offered the most appropriate setting for the most impressive example of the "throne of empire," that is, the throne pictured on Darius' tomb. It is problematical whether the Apadana was in use during Darius' reign¹³ and whether a throne was installed prior to the completion of the structure by Xerxes. In any event, the design of the throne stage on the tomb façade was undoubtedly based on that of an existing or projected throne.

The middle register of the tomb façade pictures the front of Darius' residential palace, modified for reasons of economy and durability (see below). Except for the image of the king and perhaps some mourners, the reliefs of the top register have no bearing on the palace. Obviously, there was no monumental throne stage in the private quarters of the ruler. Apropos, none of the residential palaces of Persepolis show a relief of the enthroned king.

The blank bottom register of Darius' tomb façade, as of the early rock tombs referred to above, was presumably cut to prevent easy access to the funerary compartments. The top and bottom registers are equal in width (10.90 m.) and accurately aligned. Both registers even have projecting side panels, sculptured in the top register and plain in the bottom. The symmetry of the façade is barely disturbed by the difference in height between the top register (8.50 m.) and the bottom register (6.80 m.). Possibly these two parts of the façade were intended to be equal in height. The crenelated front of the ledge that projects 3 meters from the base of the façade (see Frontispiece and Fig. 32 B) suggests a reason for the discrepancy. Compared with the meticulous execution of the entire tomb the coarseness of the illusive "parapet," which obviously has no bearing on the adjoining Sasanian relief, indicates that the floor of the ledge was left unfinished. The crenels have the appearance of quarrying slots, that

is, parallel channels hewn by stonemasons for the removal of slabs of rock by means of moistened wooden pegs.¹⁴ Such grids of slabs and slots are found in nearby quarries (see Fig. 4, north of Quadrant BZ).

THE MIDDLE REGISTER

At Persepolis Darius the Great founded the Apadana, the Council Hall, the Treasury, and his residential palace.¹⁵ Appropriately, he chose the front of his residence as the model for the middle register of his tomb façade (see Pl. 20). Architectural features alone would indicate that no other structure can be represented on the tomb façade. Conclusive proof is established by comparison of the principal dimensions. The length (18.57 m.) of the palace front on the tomb (see Fig. 32 A) differs by only 3 cm. from the length (18.60 m.) of the corresponding portion—portico plus antae—of the palace itself.¹⁶ Further, on the tomb the height (7.63 m.) of the antae is close to the height (7.52 m.) of the antae of the palace.¹⁷ Finally, on the tomb (see Fig. 31 B) and in the palace¹⁸ the distances between the centers of the columns are the same (3.15 m.). There are, however, discrepancies. The windows of the palace, presumably because irrelevant, are not indicated on the tomb.¹⁹ The four pairs of columns which supported the roof of the palace portico are merely suggested on the tomb by four engaged columns. Actually, this adaptation is both pleasing and practical. While effectively representing the palace portico, the engaged columns saved labor and were less exposed to the destructive action of the elements than the detached columns of some of the early rock tombs. The widths of the openings of the doorway (1.385 m.) from the portico to the main hall of the palace²⁰ and the entrance (1.40 m.) to the tomb are almost identical, but other features differ. In the palace the total width of the stone doorframe is 3.125 m. and the total height 5.95 m. On the tomb, obviously because of lack of space, the corresponding measurements are only 2.45 m. and 4.90 m. Furthermore, the Egyptianized cornice of the palace doorway has twenty-six flutes, whereas the less attractively proportioned cornice of the tomb entrance shows thirty-eight.

The orientation of Darius' palace has no bearing on that of his tomb. The palace faces 20° east of south,²¹ whereas the tomb façade—oriented 36° east of north to 36° west of south—faces 54° east of south. The orientation of each of the royal tombs was determined solely by the direction of the rock face in which it was carved.

The rock walls projecting from either end of the middle register of Darius' tomb were left blank, like those flanking the bottom register, in contrast to the relief-embellished side walls of the top register. The antae (1.40 m. wide, 1.05 m. deep) also were left blank. The space between them is subdivided by the four engaged columns into five panels. The central panel is pierced by the doorway to the sepulchral compartments. The westernmost panel is blank. The three remaining panels bear a trilingual cuneiform inscription (DNb) of Darius I: Old Persian to the left of the

9. See Vol. I, Pls. 77-78.

10. See *ibid.* Pls. 121-23.

11. See *ibid.* Pls. 96-101.

12. See *ibid.* Pls. 102-13.

13. See *ibid.* p. 40.

14. See *ibid.* p. 57.

15. See *ibid.* pp. 39-41.

16. See *ibid.* Figs. 90 and 91 A.

17. See *ibid.* Fig. 94 B.

18. See *ibid.* Fig. 92.

19. Cf. *ibid.* Pl. 126.

20. See *ibid.* Fig. 93 A and Pl. 128.

21. See *ibid.* Fig. 21.

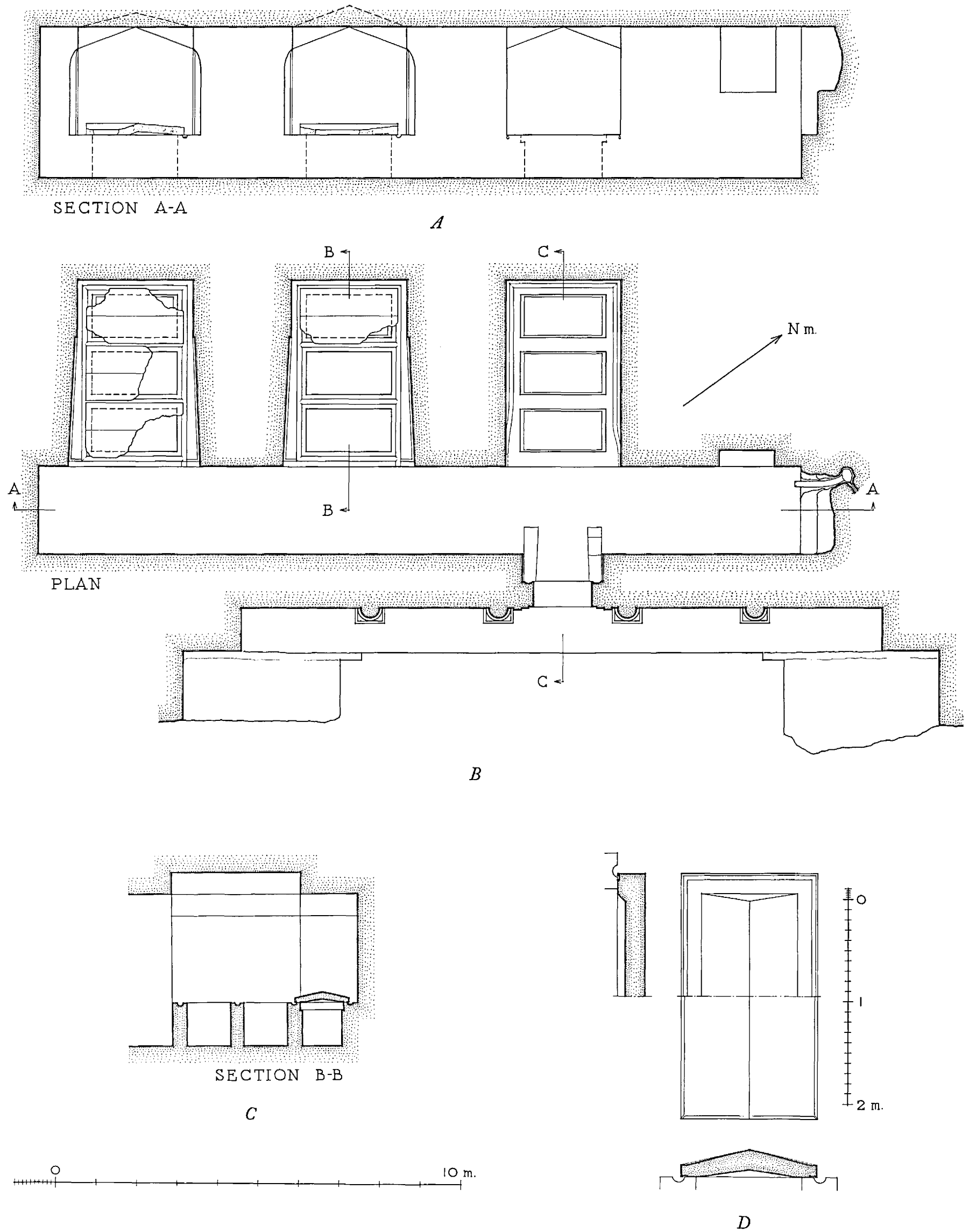


FIG. 31. THE TOMB OF DARIUS I AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM (TOMB I). A. SECTION OF VESTIBULE. B. PLAN. C. SECTION OF CENTER VAULT. D. DETAILS OF LID. SCALES, 1:100 (A-C) AND 1:40 (D)

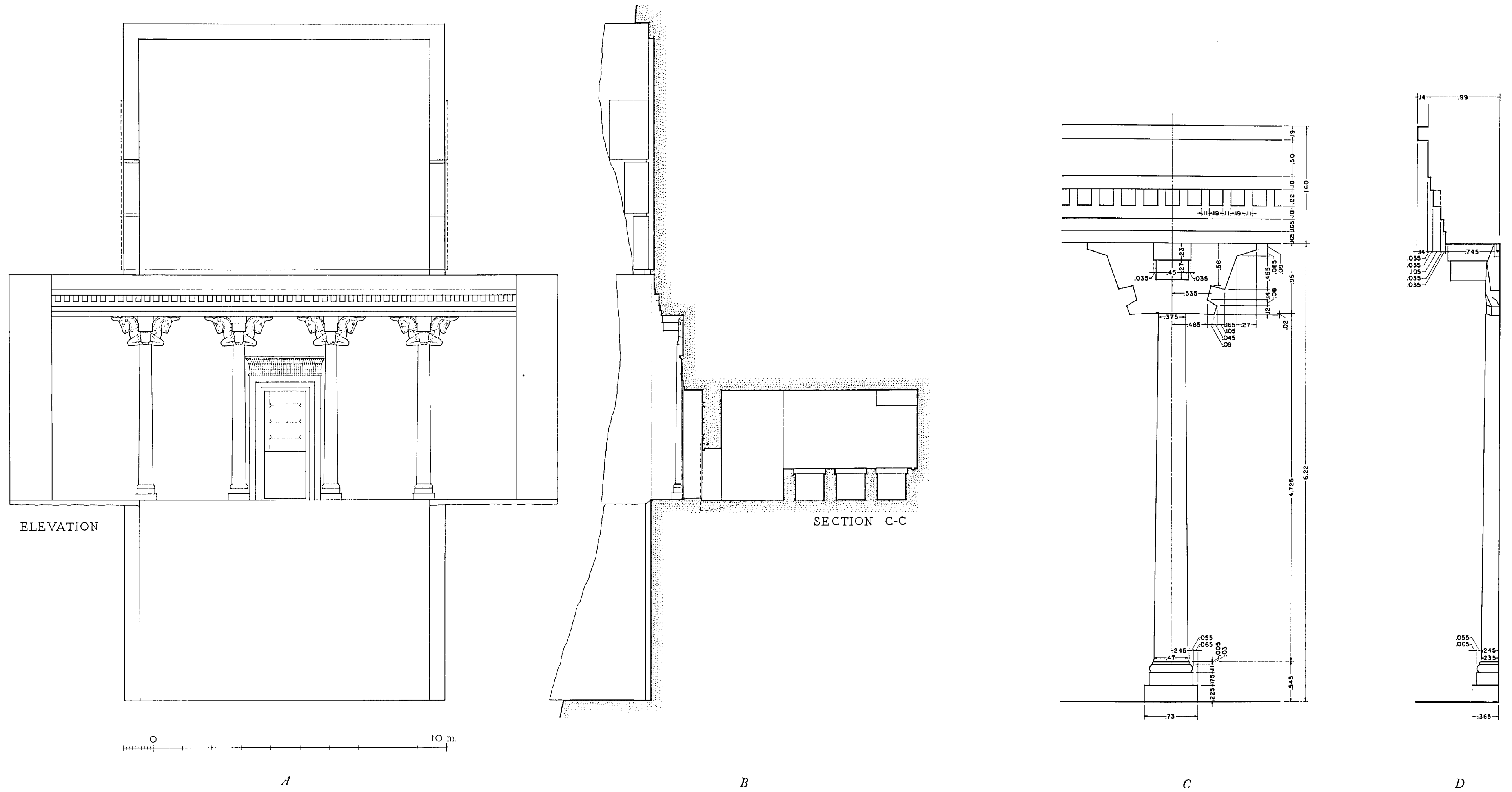


FIG. 32. THE TOMB OF DARIUS I. *A.* ELEVATION. *B.* SECTION (C-C ON FIG. 31 *B.*). *C-D.* ELEVATION AND SECTION OF COLUMN AND ENTABLATURE. SCALES, 1:100 (*A-B*) AND 1:40 (*C-D*)

doorway (Pl. 34), Elamite to the right of the doorway (Pl. 35), and Akkadian on the easternmost panel (Pl. 36 B). In the Seleucid period an Aramaic inscription (see p. 12 and Pls. 35–36 A) was engraved below the Elamite version.

It is to be assumed that the order of the portico columns of Darius' palace was the same as that depicted on the tomb façade (see Fig. 32). At the tomb, the column base is a square two-stepped plinth supporting a torus with one molding. The plain shaft tapers from a diameter of 47 cm. at the bottom to 37.5 cm. at the top. The capital has the shape of addorsed bulls carrying a roof beam. The total height is 6.22 m., whereas the columns in the portico of the palace were apparently somewhat shorter, namely 5.93 m.²² It is problematical whether the shafts of the portico columns were also unfluted. If so, they consisted of wood or of wooden cores with painted plaster shells.²³ All stone columns, or fragments of such, found at Persepolis are fluted. Traces of blue pigment were found on some of the capitals of the tomb columns (see p. 84).

The entablature on the tomb façade, representing the elements of the presumably wooden roof of the palace, is composed of horizontal units which project in inverted steps of varying dimensions from the lower edge toward the top (see Fig. 32 C–D) and abut the antae at either end. The three lowest units are plain bands which correspond to the main beams of the roof. The dentils of the fourth unit represent the projecting ends of the small beams carrying the roofing, which is presumably indicated by the plain band of the fifth unit. The wide band of the sixth unit could, plausibly, 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.

On the façades of the Naqsh-i Rostam tombs, the fillet separating the middle register from the top register appears to be simply the base of the throne scene of the top register. On the façades of the two finished Persepolis tombs (V–VI) the fillet is treated as a part of the palace register, namely as the seventh unit of the entablature, since it continues across the entire length of the register beneath the overhanging rock to right and left (see Pls. 64 and 70). We must assume, therefore, that the abbreviated fillet on Darius' tomb represents also the crowning member of the entablature. Dieulafoy²⁴ suggested that this fillet corresponds to the projecting border, that is, the drip, of tiling which protected the soil layer of the roof against the elements. He proposed, further, that at Persepolis, as at Ecbatana, the border tiles of the palace roofs were covered with thin sheets of gold or silver.²⁵

The stepped top parts of the stone antae of Darius' palace portico indicate that the ends of the entablature rested on the antae and that the palace entablature too had seven units. However, their dimensions²⁶ differ from those of the tomb façade (cf. Fig. 32 D) to such an extent that the entablatures of palace and tomb can merely be called related. They were not derived from the same mod-

el. Yet, the height (1.60 m.) of the tomb entablature and the height (1.59 m.) of the entablature indicated by the palace antae are practically identical.

The rock-carved face of the entrance to the tomb (see Fig. 32 A and Pl. 20) shows essentially the same features as the faces of the stone doorways in the structures of Darius I and his successors at Persepolis, namely a banded frame crowned by an Egyptianized fluted cornice. We mentioned above that the entry to Darius' tomb corresponds to the doorway which gives access from the portico to the main hall of his palace but pointed out that, except for the width of the openings, the two doorways differ in dimensions and details. The smaller size of the tomb doorway was obviously determined by the amount of space between the adjoining columns, but there is no explanation for the excessive number of cornice flutes.

The doorsill (62 cm. wide) is raised 5 cm. and 7 cm. above the floors of porch and vestibule respectively. The doorway is 1.40 m. wide and 3.65 m. high, but the upper part (2.05 m. high) is blocked by a bedrock slab (ca. 70 cm. thick) which is patterned on its exterior face to simulate a door (see Fig. 32 A–B). The actual aperture and entry to the tomb is thus only 1.60 m. high. It was shut by a door with two wings which pivoted in recesses 27 cm. deep (see Fig. 31 B). Only the two upper door sockets (25 cm. in diameter, 17 cm. deep) are preserved. The missing bottom sockets were probably of iron. The position of the upper sockets here and in Tombs II–VI show that the wings of the doors opened toward the inside.

Two channels (1.30 m. long, 30–35 cm. wide) cut into the rock floor (see Figs. 31 B and 32 B, Pl. 37 A and C) had the same purpose as the channels in the floor of the Tower room (see p. 37), namely, to serve as slides for the installation of the door wings. The channels slope from a depth of about 15 cm. at their inner ends to a depth of 35 cm. at the doorway ends, which were once occupied by the bottom sockets for the two wings. A stone slab (45 cm. long, 32 cm. wide, 20 cm. high) found *in situ* (see Fig. 31 B and Pl. 37 A) indicates that after the door wings were installed the channels were filled with such slabs to keep the bottom sockets from shifting and to provide a level floor surface.

To judge by the diameter of the upper sockets the thickness of the door was somewhat less than 25 cm. Its height was about 1.70 m., that is, slightly more than the height of the opening. The width of each door wing barely exceeded half of the width (1.40 m.) of the opening. Undoubtedly the wings were heavy, but there is no decisive clue as to the material of which they were made. They could, plausibly, have been made of stone slabs quarried in the immediate vicinity and patterned to match the slab in the upper portion of the doorway. However, since no stone doors or fragments suggesting such doors were found in or near the tombs, we believe that the door wings were made of metal or possibly of wood incased in metal sheets. The absence of traces of doors would thus be explained, for metal was always desirable loot.²⁷

24. *L'Art antique de la Perse* III 7 f.

25. Cf. Polybius x. 27. 10.

26. See Vol. I, Fig. 94 B.

27. But see now p. 99, n. 120, for fragments of a two-leaved stone door found by the Iranian excavators near Tomb V at Persepolis.

22. Computed from height of antae (7.52 m.) minus indented top part (1.59 m. high), which shows the profile of the entablature (see *ibid.* Fig. 94 B and p. 225). It is interesting to note that the height (6.195 m.) of the columns in a room of the Harem of Xerxes was almost identical with the height of the columns depicted on Darius' tomb (see *ibid.* p. 260 and Fig. 108).

23. Cf. *ibid.* p. 160 and Fig. 72 f.

THE RELIEFS OF THE TOP REGISTER

The reliefs adorning the main panel of the top register show an imposing throne, or throne stage, supported by thirty representatives of the nations of the empire (Pl. 19). All the throne-bearers were originally identified by trilingual legends (see p. 110 and Table III). On top of the throne, the king standing on a three-stepped pedestal faces a fire altar. The symbol of Ahuramazda hovers between and above king and altar, and the moon symbol is behind the god. Behind the king are the Old Persian (Pl. 33) and Elamite (Pl. 32) versions of his DNa inscription.

The main panel is bordered by a raised frame which shows at either side of the throne three superposed figures, soldiers on the left and civilians on the right. Their distinguished rank is indicated by their stature. They are taller than the throne-bearers, though much smaller than the king. Two of the soldiers are identified by trilingual inscriptions. At the top is Gobryas, the king's spear-bearer. In the center is Aspathines, the bearer of Darius' battle-ax and bow. The lowermost figure is an unidentified guard with spear. The civilians on the opposite side of the throne are as tall as the soldiers. They are shown in an attitude of mourning. The two sets of frame reliefs are aligned with reliefs of spear-bearing soldiers and mourners carved into the side walls, and the Akkadian version of the DNa inscription (Pl. 31) is engraved above the spear-bearers on the left side wall.

We have proof that at least parts of the tomb façade were painted. Traces of blue pigment discovered by Boris Dubensky in some signs of the DNa inscription behind the king's figure are sufficient proof that all characters of at least the Old Persian and Elamite versions of this inscription were painted blue, and we see no reason to doubt that all inscriptions on the tomb were treated in the same manner. Furthermore, traces of blue, brown-red,²⁸ and green pigments found by Dubensky on the ledge beneath the lower row of throne-bearers strongly suggest that these figures were painted with distinctive patterns. If so, the reliefs of all persons must have been similarly adorned. Finally, since traces of blue on some of the capitals of the middle register almost certainly indicate that parts, or perhaps all, of the architectural carvings were painted, we must assume that the throne, the altar with its fire, the king's pedestal, the Ahuramazda symbol, and the moon symbol were also coated with appropriate colors. When newly cut and smoothed, the white or creamy-white rock of the cliff would have provided an effective background without need of paint.

The Main Panel

The statuesque relief of the king (see Pls. 19, 22, and 33), about 2.70 m. high, shows him in right profile, standing with left foot forward on a three-stepped pedestal (cf. p.

28. There were also chips of blue on top of brown-red.

29. See Vol. I 163 and Pls. 121 and 123; see also Vol. II 7.

30. For the cidaris and the candys, with references, see Vol. I 163.

31. See King and Thompson, *Behistun*, Pls. I, III, and XIV; see also drawing by King in *IF*, Fig. 91, and more recent illustration by Cameron in the *National Geographic Magazine* XCVIII (1950) 836. For the dentate tiara in seal patterns see our Vol. II 7 ff. and Pls. 3 ff.

32. See Vol. I 116.

33. See Vol. II 8 ff. In at least one instance (see *ibid.* Pl. 6, Seal No. 16) the god too is represented with cupped hand.

34. See *ibid.* Pls. 6-7.

48). His features, his hair, neatly dressed in waves and curls and gathered at the back of the neck, and his square-tipped beard, groomed in tiers of waves and curls, appear to be identical with the corresponding details of Darius' reliefs in the Treasury of Persepolis.²⁹ However, in contrast to the king's plain cidaris³⁰ in the Treasury reliefs, his cidaris in the tomb relief is crowned with three-stepped crenelations (clearest on Pl. 33) and resembles the crenelate diadem which he wears in his Behistun relief.³¹ It is problematical whether a design such as the sculptured rosettes that embellish the diadem at Behistun was applied in color to the king's headdress on his tomb. His gown is the wide-sleeved candys (see n. 30) flowing in folds from the shoulders to the ankles. The candys may have been painted red and blue, to judge by traces of pigments found on a relief of the Council Hall at Persepolis.³² A belt (faintly visible on Pl. 33 only) is marked on the back. The low shoes are plain, that is, without the three straps usually indicated on the footgear of Persians below royal rank. In the relief of the Council Hall the king's shoes were painted blue, with patches of red on the ankles. The king's wrists are each adorned with one bracelet. The right hand is raised and points at the god. There is a small but presumably meaningful difference between the position of the king's hand, with fully extended fingers, and the cupped hand, with palm upward, of worshipers shown in a number of seal patterns.³³ On the king's tomb, as in his triumphal relief at Behistun, one end of his bow is held in his left hand and the other end is hidden behind his left foot. The three-stepped pedestal, about 55 cm. high, rests on the throne stage.

It is interesting to note that the king, worshiping before the sacred fire and the symbol of his god, is shown with his mouth exposed. He does not wear a device such as the *paitidana* (*pādam*) or cloth mask required by Zoroastrian ritual to cover the mouth of the priest in order to keep his breath from defiling the sacred fire. We may concede that the person of the monarch was too exalted to defile the fire, but several Achaemenid seal patterns³⁴ distinctly show worshipers other than the king with faces exposed, while other worshipers appear to be muffled by the flap of the bashlyk. In any event, it seems that the wearing of the *paitidana* was not mandatory until later, presumably post-Achaemenid, times.³⁵

Balancing the figure of the king, the fire altar too stands on the throne stage (see Pl. 19). Its three-stepped base corresponds, at a smaller scale, to the pedestal of the king. Remnants of the shaft suggest that it was treated in the same fashion as the better-preserved altar shaft on the later tombs, where a central panel is framed by two projecting bands (see e.g. Pl. 42 *A*). The altar top is an inverted three-stepped pyramid of the same dimensions as the base.³⁶ The sacred fire burning on the altar is shown as a parabolical mass of gently undulating flames.

35. Darmesteter noticed that the mouth of the worshiping king in the tomb reliefs was not covered by a mask. He pointed out that this device was first mentioned by Strabo (xv. 3. 15) in the first Christian century and suggested that the principle of the purity of the elements was not considered in Achaemenid times with the extreme vigor which is reflected in the Avesta and that the use of the mouth mask indicates an advanced state of religious strictness; see Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* III ("Annales du Musée Guimet" XXIV) p. LXVIII, n. 3.

36. For an altar of similar shape see seal No. 20 in Vol. II 9 and 26, Pl. 7. For twin altars carved in the round from the living rock see p. 11 above.

The symbol of Ahuramazda is derived from the Assur symbol and ultimately from the winged disk of ancient Egypt.³⁷ On Darius' tomb the effigy of the god rises from a winged double ring with a bird tail below flanked by undulating appendages (see Pls. 19 and 22 B).

The god is shown in left profile facing the king. Hat, bunched curly hair, long beard, and dress of the two figures appear to be alike, but it is uncertain whether the god's cidaris is crenelated. His right arm is raised. His right hand is destroyed but presumably was shown in the same position as the right hand of the king (cf. e.g. Pl. 42 A). The god's left hand is abraded but undoubtedly clasped a ring, as on the later tombs. As usual, his legs are not shown. The double ring which encircles his lower body is either beaded or, more probably, composed of tangent curls as on Tomb II.

The two wings spreading from the ring are patterned with wavy horizontal segments. The edges of the wings are parallel, and their tips are squared off. The general pattern and the rectangular outline of the wings were retained on the tomb reliefs of Darius' successors,³⁸ although in Persepolis sculpture the wings are marked with tiers of feathers and their tips have up-curved lower edges.³⁹

The bird tail, marked by parallel bands of wavy vertical segments, fans out beneath the ring in such a fashion as to continue, seemingly, the outline of the god's sandals. The two appendages, derived from the sacred snakes of the Egyptian prototype, undulate at either side of the bird tail and end in three prongs.

Near the right upper corner of the top register, behind the god and approximately on the same level as his upper body, is a discoid symbol with accentuated, lunate, lower part (not visible on Pl. 19, but cf. e.g. Pl. 49). In form this disk is identical with the Assyrian symbol of Sin, the moon god, which is ultimately derived from the Egyptian crescent-and-disk.⁴⁰ It has been emphasized that the crescent-moon symbol must be distinguished from the crescent-sun symbol in early Mesopotamian scenes.⁴¹ The symbol on Darius' tomb has been described as the crescent on the full moon.⁴² We believe with others⁴³ that it may indicate the crescent, before it reached the first quarter, and the faintly visible rest of the lunar orb. The significance of the moon in our tomb scene is problematical. Possibly it relates to the god Mithra.⁴⁴

As noted above, we believe that the monumental throne stages depicted on the royal tombs and in certain reliefs at Persepolis illustrate actual estrades or podia which were permanently installed in buildings of state and that the

Apadana would have offered an appropriate setting for the most imposing example, namely the imperial throne pictured on Darius' tomb and copied by his successors (see pp. 80 f.).

In the tomb relief the representatives of thirty nations (see pp. 108-11 and Figs. 39-52), arranged in two tiers, support the throne. Each row has fourteen throne-bearers between the throne legs, and two are shown outside the legs, one at either end of the lower row (Pl. 25). In attempting to translate the relief into a three-dimensional object we surmise that the top of the actual throne stage was rectangular, perhaps square, and that the legs at each corner were capped by monsters like those shown in the relief. The sculptured bearers of the actual throne may have been arranged in one row or in two tiers. Their number, their distribution between the legs, and their orientation are conjectural. We assume that a frontal stairway gave access to the dais, which was supported at the edges by the bearers arranged in two separate columns or two tiers of such. They may have been lined up from the center of the rear edge, where the hindmost bearers would have been back to back, and continued along the sides to the spaces at either side of the frontal steps. Here the two leaders, the Persian⁴⁵ or the Susian⁴⁶ and the Mede,⁴⁷ would have faced each other but for the intervening stairway.

The top of the throne stage in Darius' tomb relief consists of three horizontal units: a row of spheroid elements separated by paired ridges, a band of uniform scales with raised edges and darts projecting below the points of contact of the scales, and a narrower band with trilingual cuneiform inscriptions identifying the throne-bearers of the upper tier.

The rung or stretcher of the throne stage shows a sculptured band above a strip bearing the legends of the lower tier of throne-bearers. The ornamental units of the sculptured band are vertical pairs of connected volutes oriented in opposite directions and separated by three vertical strips, the central strip being wider than the others.

The legs of the throne stage (see e.g. Pl. 22 A) are almost identical as to general shape with the legs of the king's throne chair in the Treasury reliefs.⁴⁸ On the tomb, as in the Treasury, a lion's leg rises above a basal unit composed of a fluted member (cf. e.g. Pl. 43 B) with single moldings above and below it. Above the lion's leg are five moldings and a smooth slightly flaring unit. In the Treasury this unit supports the back and the seat of the

37. For development and interpretation of the symbol see Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London, 1939) pp. 208-15.

38. In Darius' earliest relief, at Behistun, the god's symbol is shown with rectangular wings (see King and Thompson, *Behistun*, e.g. Pl. VIII). The god's symbol on our seal No. 2, cut during the reign of Darius (see our Vol. II 18 f. and Pl. 3), has the same shape, as does that on No. 26, which may picture Darius and Xerxes (see *ibid.* pp. 10 and 28, Pl. 8), and probably that on No. 15, which is not datable by the tablet which bears its impression (see *ibid.* p. 24 and Pl. 6).

39. E.g. in Council Hall, from end of reign of Darius I (Vol. I, Pls. 75-79); on eastern stairway of Apadana, carved during Xerxes' reign (*ibid.* Pl. 22); on southern stairway of Palace of Darius I, above Old Persian version of Xerxes' Pers. cb inscription (*ibid.* Pl. 127 and pp. 223 f.); on western stairway of Palace of Xerxes (*ibid.* Pl. 160); in northern and southern doorways of Throne Hall, carved presumably during reign of Artaxerxes I (*ibid.* Pls. 99, 105, 107; for colors used on one symbol see *ibid.* p. 134, n. 53); on western stairway of Palace of Darius I, above Pers. b inscription of Artaxerxes III (*ibid.* Pl. 154 and p. 228).

40. See G. Roeder, "Mond," *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, hrsg. von Max Ebert, VIII (Berlin, 1937) 278.

41. See Hugo Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik* (Berlin, 1915) pp. 57 ff. and Pl. XII 4.

42. *IF*, p. 14.

43. Cf. Roeder, *loc. cit.*

44. For pertinent studies see Geo Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* ("Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift" 1938:6 [Uppsala and Leipzig, 1938]) pp. 100, 164 ff., and 388 ff.

45. Who is throne-bearer No. 1 on the royal tombs.

46. Who is the leader of 14 throne-bearers on the east jambs of the southern doorways of the Throne Hall (see Vol. I 135 and Pls. 110-11, No. E1).

47. Who is the leader of the group of 14 throne-bearers on the west jambs of the southern doorways of the Throne Hall (see *ibid.* p. 135 and Pls. 108-9, No. W1). The Mede is also throne-bearer No. 1 on the eastern doorway of the Council Hall (see *ibid.* p. 118 and Pl. 80). Finally, the tribute procession of the Apadana is led by the Median delegation (see *ibid.* p. 85 and Pl. 27).

48. See *ibid.* Pls. 121 and 123.

throne chair, but in the tomb relief it is capped by the figure of a monster. The two monsters shown—composed of lion, bull, and bird—actually depict a distorted version of a column capital. The saddle of the addorsed beasts, normally supporting a roof beam, is replaced in the tomb reliefs by the top of the throne stage, which continues and connects the wings of the monsters (cf. e.g. Pl. 41). The leonine parts of each monster consist of a paw, projecting beyond the throne leg, and a ferocious face with snarling open jaws (see Pl. 23 B). The feathered pattern of the “mane” suggests the crest of a bird. The bovine attributes consist of a horn, undulating forward and up (tip doubtful), and a slanting ear.

The Frame and Side Walls

The topmost of the three figures of soldiers on the left frame, that is, behind the king and to the left of the throne stage, is identified by a trilingual (OP, El., and Akk.) inscription (see Pl. 23): “Gobryas, a Patishorian, spear-bearer of Darius the king.”⁴⁹ It is possible that he is “Gobryas, the son of Mardonius, a Persian,” who is mentioned in the Behistun inscription as one of Darius’ partisans.⁵⁰

In our tomb relief Gobryas wears a long Persian candies like that of the king, but his headdress is a low fillet-like cap, open on top, as shown by wavy hair on the crown of his head. The hair, bunched at the back of the head, and the close-cropped beard, distinct from the long royal beard, are marked by curls. The mustache has a pattern of wavy lines. There is neither ear pendant nor neck ring. Because of erosion it is not clear whether bracelets were indicated. The footgear consists of the characteristic Persian shoes with three straps and buttons on the instep.

According to the inscription, the long spear held by Gobryas is the king’s weapon. Its globular butt rests on Gobryas’ left foot. The socketed point (clearest at left edge of Pl. 32) is lanceolate. The spear-bearer’s own weapon is a bow slung unsheathed across his left shoulder beside a quiver ornamented with five bolt-shaped tassels.

Pictured below Gobryas, the second weapon-bearer of the king (Pl. 24) is also identified by a trilingual (OP, El., and Akk.) inscription: “Aspathines, bow-bearer, holds the battle-ax of Darius the king.”⁵¹

At Behistun, in the earliest relief of Darius, two dignitaries of obviously exalted rank are shown behind the king.⁵² Both wear fillets adorned with rosettes but lacking the crenulations of the royal crown, and both wear the Persian candies. The first dignitary holds a bow in his left hand, and a quiver is strapped to his left shoulder. The second dignitary holds a spear. The identity of these persons is unknown, but there is little doubt that they are the weapon-bearers of the king. The spear-bearer could be the Gobryas who is mentioned in the adjacent inscrip-

tion (see above). The Persian dignitary preceding him is probably not Aspathines, since he is not mentioned in the inscription.⁵³ The bow he carries is assumedly a duplicate of the weapon held by the king, but his right hand is empty and does not hold Darius’ battle-ax.

In the tomb relief Gobryas the spear-bearer has precedence over Aspathines, but in the Treasury reliefs, carved toward the end of Darius’ reign, only the bearer of the royal battle-ax and bow is pictured in the king’s suite beneath the canopy of the throne.⁵⁴

On Darius’ tomb, Aspathines, as in all later sculptures of the bearer of the royal battle-ax and bow,⁵⁵ is shown in Median dress. He wears a domed hat with tassel suspended behind, a belted knee-length coat, and long stiff trousers. His footgear is eroded but presumably consisted of low shoes of Median type. The hair below the rim of the hat is indicated by short parallel lines ending in curls above forehead and temple. The hair bunch at the back of the head and the upper part of the beard are also marked by curls, whereas the lower part of the beard, longer than that of Gobryas, is indicated by parallel wavy lines. The mustache is indistinct. There is no indication of a neck ring. Because of erosion it is unknown whether there were ornaments at ear and wrists.

In his right hand Aspathines holds the king’s battle-ax, presumably double-headed as in the Treasury reliefs, but only its slanting shaft is here discernible. The left hand of Aspathines clasps the strap of the king’s bow case, which, like the Scythian *gorytus*, presumably served also as a quiver.⁵⁶ The corresponding relief on Tomb VI (see p. 106) and the Treasury reliefs show a guard in the form of two combined deer legs⁵⁷ which kept the strap, resting on the weapon-bearer’s left shoulder, from slipping out of his hand. The eastern relief of the Treasury shows that the top of the bow-case lid was fashioned to resemble the head of a bird. In the tomb relief the lid markedly projects toward the rear and the slant of its lower edge differs from that shown in the Treasury.⁵⁸

Aspathines’ own weapon is almost completely destroyed. However, the contours of its remnants at his right side and the manner of its attachment to the sagging weapon strap below his coat belt prove that it was a dagger of Median type, conforming with his attire. Regrettably, it will never be known whether its scabbard was adorned in the same fashion as the magnificent weapon of the bearer of the royal battle-ax and bow in the southern relief of the Treasury.⁵⁹ There is no doubt that the two daggers were alike or very similar (cf. pp. 92 f.).

Below Aspathines, on the same level as the lower row of throne-bearers, stands a Persian guard (see Pl. 26 B). He is not identified by an inscription, but his stature indicates that his rank is similar to that of Gobryas and Aspathines. Though the relief is badly abraded, the contours and extant details show that it was in most features identical with that of Gobryas. However, the guard is not armed

49. See *KA*, pp. 96 f. (NRc), and *OPG*, p. 140 (DNc).

50. See King and Thompson, *Behistun*, p. 76, col. iv 84, and *OPG*, pp. 130 and 132, col. iv 84.

51. See *OPG*, p. 140 (DNd). Since there is doubt as to the terms for “bow” (*ibid.* p. 31, § 78) and “battle-ax” (*ibid.* p. 174), the inscription could be translated “Aspathines, bearer of the battle-ax, holds the bow of Darius the king”; see *KA*, pp. 96 f. (NRd), and our Vol. I 169, n. 76.

52. See King and Thompson, *Behistun*, Pls. I and XIII.

53. But Herodotus (iii. 70) counts Aspathines and Gobryas (“Persians of the highest rank”) among the conspirators who slew the Magian Gaumata.

54. See Vol. I, Pl. 121.

55. I.e., on the tombs of Darius’ successors, in the Treasury reliefs, and in the similar audience reliefs of the Throne Hall (see Vol. I, Pls. 98–99). The dress and gear of the weapon-bearer in the Treasury reliefs (see *ibid.* pp. 165 f.) may serve to illustrate the destroyed details of the tomb relief.

56. See Vol. II 101.

57. For a bronze specimen see *ibid.* p. 100 and Pl. 79:2.

58. See Vol. I, Pl. 123.

59. See *ibid.* Pl. 120.

with bow and quiver, and the spear which he holds is his own weapon and is shorter than the king's spear in Gobryas' hands.

Aligned with the three soldiers on the left frame are three panels with reliefs of spear-bearing Persians on the left side wall, two figures at the top and one figure in each of the other two panels (Pl. 21). The Akkadian version of the DNa inscription (Pl. 31) is engraved above them. So far as can be discerned, the figures on the side wall are all alike and identical with the Persian guard on the left frame. That is, they are guards and, since their stature is equal to that of the three figures on the frame, they are undoubtedly men of distinguished families and representatives of the elite corps, the "Immortals."⁶⁰ The spears of the two guards in the top panel are as long as the king's spear which Gobryas holds. It is doubtful, therefore, whether the length of the weapon has bearing on the rank of the owner (see above).

Balancing the three soldiers on the left frame, three apparently unarmed Persians are shown on the right frame (partly discernible in shadow on Pls. 19 and 25). Corresponding to the Persian guards on the left side wall, three additional unarmed Persians are shown on the right side wall (Pl. 27 C) aligned with those on the right frame. Their attire is the same as that of the Persian guards. The right hand hangs limply in front. An attitude of mourning is indicated by the position of the fabric which is raised with the left hand to a point in front of the mouth.⁶¹ Whether these mourners are courtiers or members of the royal house, their stature indicates that their rank is equal or similar to that of the king's weapon-bearers and the other persons shown on the opposite side of the throne.

THE SEPULCHRAL COMPARTMENTS

The royal burial crypts carved out of the living rock at Naqsh-e Rostam and Persepolis consist of three basic units, namely vestibule, vault, and cist. The long axis of the vestibule is parallel, or was meant to be parallel, to the façade of the tomb. The vaults are alcoves of rectangular or approximately rectangular plan extending from the vestibule into the rock. The burial cists are rectangular cavities cut into the floors of the vaults. Each tomb has one vestibule, but the number of vaults and cists varies as shown in the following table.

TOMB	NUMBER OF VAULTS	NUMBER OF CISTS	SEE PLAN ON FIGURE
I (Darius I)	3	9	31 B
II (Xerxes)	1	3	33 C
III (Artaxerxes I)	3	3	34 C
IV (Darius II)	3	3	35 C
V (Artaxerxes II)	3	6	36 A
VI (Artaxerxes III)	1	2	38 A

The vestibule of the tomb of Darius I is a neatly carved rectangular hallway with flat ceiling (see Figs. 31 A-B and 32 B, Pl. 37 B). It is 18.72 m. long, 2.13 m. wide, and 3.70 m. high. Its long axis is exactly parallel to the façade. There is little doubt that the original blueprint showed a symmetrical plan with the vestibule extending equally far to right and left of the entrance. However, the left portion is more than twice as long as the right portion, as may be

60. See Herodotus vii. 83 and Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 238 f.

explained by the condition of the rock at the northeast end of the vestibule. Here the stonecutters struck a large natural fault (see Pl. 37 D and Fig. 31 B) which apparently discouraged further work in this direction. The manner of tunneling is indicated by two rock steps left by the laborers when work was stopped. The purpose of a niche carved into the rear wall of the vestibule near its northeast end is problematical. The sill of the niche is 2 meters above the floor.

Three vaults, each provided with three burial cists, pierce the rear wall of the vestibule (see Fig. 31 A-B). The northeast vault is accurately centered on the entrance to the tomb, while the center and southwest vaults are to the left. If a symmetrical plan could have been carried out, the southwest vault would have been omitted and the third vault would have been carved to the right of the vault which is opposite the entrance. Such a layout is illustrated by the plans of Tombs III-V (see Figs. 34-36).

The floors of all three vaults in Tomb I are 1.05 m. above the floor of the vestibule and the burial cists are 1.05 m. deep, that is, the floors of cists and vestibule are at the same level.

The vault opposite the entrance was undoubtedly the first to be started and completed. Its plan is strictly rectangular (4.57 m. × 2.80 m.). The ceiling is flat and continuous with that of the vestibule (Pl. 38 A) except for a gable above the innermost cist. The apex of the gable is flush with the flat portion of the ceiling (Pl. 38 B). The three cists are 2.10 m. long and 1.05 m. wide at the top, but they are set in 17.5 cm. below the orifice (see Fig. 32 B), where their size is reduced to 1.92 m. by 98 cm. A channel (10 cm. wide, 3 cm. deep) in the floor of the vault protects the cists against condensation or seepage; it runs parallel to the vault walls and empties through oval holes into the vestibule.

The central and southwest vaults (Pl. 39 B and A) are almost identical but differ to some extent from the northeast vault. Their entrances are 3.22 m. wide, as compared with 2.80 m. for the northeast vault, and their side walls converge slightly toward points where they are offset 5 cm. (see Fig. 31 B). From these points to the far end of the vault, the side walls are parallel and 2.82 m. apart. Thus, at the far end the central and southwest vaults are almost identical in width to the northeast vault.

Apparently the width of the entrance to the northeast vault was found to be inadequate for conveying sarcophagi and lids to the burial cists and therefore the entrances to the other two vaults were made wider (by 42 cm.). Possibly the wider entrances represent alteration of an originally rectangular plan and thus provide an explanation for the oddly converging side walls. Stepped notches cut into the frontal edges of the northeast vault (see Pls. 37 C and 38) indicate an attempt to widen its entrance. However, the appearance of the mutilated entrance, in contrast to the neat workmanship evident in the rest of the tomb, shows that this alteration was never completed.

The central and southwest vaults are of the same length (4.57 m.) as the northeast vault, and the ceilings above their innermost cists are constructed like the gabled ceiling

61. That the raised fabric is the sleeve is proved by the reliefs on Tomb IV (see p. 98 and Pl. 60). An attitude of respect is illustrated in the audience reliefs of Persepolis, where the Mede received by the king always covers his mouth with his right hand (see Vol. I, e.g. Pl. 121).

in the northeast vault. However, while the rest of the ceiling of the northeast vault is flat, the corresponding parts of the ceilings in the other two vaults are gabled, the apexes being 53 cm. (central vault) and 35 cm. (southwest vault) above the apex of the inner gable and above the ceiling of the vestibule (see Fig. 31 *A* and *C*). The cists are practically identical in size to those of the northeast vault, their orifices measuring 2.10–2.11 m. by 1.05 m. Only the innermost cists are set in below the orifice, the reduced size being 1.92–1.93 m. by 98 cm. The drainage system is more elaborate than that in the northeast vault. It consists of connected channels (10 cm. wide, 3 cm. deep) which parallel all four sides of each cist and empty through one outlet onto the floor of the vestibule. Narrower channels along the converging portions of the vault walls direct condensation or seepage into the main channels (see Fig. 31 *A–B*).

Low-gabled monolithic lids, damaged by tomb robbers, were found *in situ* on the cists of the southwest vault and the innermost cist of the central vault (see Pl. 39). These carefully wrought lids were identical in form and dimensions (Fig. 31 *D*). A slightly raised narrow band framed the top edges. A shallow groove bordering the underside of each lid formed a drip edge above the drainage channels.

In trying to evaluate what we know about the sepulchral compartments of the tomb of Darius the Great we must refer to certain features of the tombs of his successors.

Obviously each tomb was prepared for a monarch and the closest members of his family group. Each cist was most probably intended for one body. We must assume that the royal dead were placed in coffins which were then lowered into the burial cists. There is no clue as to the material used for the coffins. We are quite certain, however, that they were not stone sarcophagi, for these would still be present in those cists which are covered by large remnants of their lids. The coffins may have been of metal or wood or of wood covered with metal sheets. Metal would have been pilfered when the tombs were defiled, and wooden parts would have decayed in the course of time.

Five of the nine burial cists in Darius' tomb are set in below the orifice, so that the size of the cavity is reduced. There can be no question of economy in time and labor to explain the smaller but quite adequate size of these cists. They apparently represent the earliest type of cist, as suggested by the fact that all three cists in the northeast, presumably first-completed, vault and the innermost cist in each of the other two vaults have the overhang, which, furthermore, was not used in the tombs of Darius' successors. The only explanation for the overhang would seem to be that it was the rest for a flat cover which was made of the same material and exposed to the same destructive agents as the coffin. In addition, gabled lids protected the burials by draining seepage into the floor channels.

The gable shape of the lids may have bearing on the puzzling gabled or partially gabled ceilings of the vaults. So far as we know, none of the Persepolis structures had gabled roofs. On the contrary, all clues indicate that the roofs were flat. We assume therefore that the gabled vault used in Darius' tomb symbolizes an earlier type of house which had become hallowed by tradition. The tomb of Cyrus the Great (see p. 42), though more steeply gabled, represents such a house. We are tempted therefore to conclude that the gabled rock vault used in Darius' tomb is

related to the gabled stone tomb of Cyrus. However, we cannot explain why the presumably traditional gable was replaced, except for faint vestiges (see p. 96), in the tombs of Darius' successors by domelike ceilings and lids.

There is no decisive clue for determining the specific cist which contained the remains of Darius the Great. In reliefs Darius is always distinguished in an unmistakable manner. In particular, he is always shown at an exaggerated scale, his height surpassing by far that of dignitaries, attendants, and guards. It is interesting to note, however, that in the two sets of Persepolis reliefs⁶² which picture Darius and Xerxes, the head of the standing crown prince is exactly level with the head of the enthroned king. This scene, while implying that the king was taller than the prince, was meant to show the exalted level commonly shared by royalty as compared with all others⁶³ and may have bearing on the apparent anonymity of Darius' grave in the family sepulcher.

Nevertheless, one would assume that the monarch's burial cist was distinguished in some manner. It is problematical whether its lid had a distinctive shape, for it could be one of the five missing lids. We shall see that in the tomb of Artaxerxes III the king's burial cist is identified by its greater size. In Darius' tomb, however, the dimensions of the cists provide no clue since none exceeds all others in size.

We have assumed that the northeast vault, opposite the tomb entrance, was the first to be completed and that according to the original blueprint it was to be the central one of three vaults (see p. 87). It is quite certain that in the tombs of similar plan (Tombs III–V) the center vault, which, like the single vault in Tombs II and VI, is opposite the entrance, was the first to be started and completed. We believe, therefore, that in all cases the center vault was designed to contain the king's grave. In the tomb of Darius I, the burial cists in the vault opposite the entrance are identical in shape and dimensions, but there is one distinctive feature: the gabled ceiling enhancing the innermost cist and contrasting with the flat ceiling above the other two cists. We presume that the innermost cist was the projected and possibly the actual grave of the great king.

When the original plan had to be changed because of a natural fault in the rock and two vaults were cut to the left of the northeast one, the central vault became the focal compartment. The ceilings above the innermost cists of all three vaults are alike, but in the central and southwest vaults the ceilings above the other two cists are also gabled and even higher (see Fig. 31 *A* and *C*). These four cists are larger, because they are not set in below the orifice. It is possible that after the change in plan the central vault was chosen for the king's grave, but, if so, it is conjectural which cist might have been used for that purpose. It is less plausible to assume that the king's burial cist was in the southwest vault, which is farthest from the entrance. It may or may not be significant that the apex of the gable above the central and frontal cists in the central vault is 18 cm. higher than the corresponding gable of the otherwise identical southwest vault.

The plans of the tombs of Darius and four of his succes-

62. In the Council Hall and in the Treasury (see Vol. I, e.g. Pls. 77 and 121).

63. See *ibid.* Pls. 98–99.

sors show a puzzling rule of triplicity (see table on p. 87) which must have bearing on the composition of the group or groups of royal persons who were privileged to share the final abode with the monarch. Only the tomb of Artaxerxes III has but two burial cists, which differ in size (see Fig. 38). There is hardly a doubt that here the smaller cist was prepared for the queen. There are three vaults, each containing two cists, in the tomb of Artaxerxes II (Fig. 36), where possibly the cists of the central vault were intended for the king and the queen. Granted that in all the tombs burial cists were prepared for the ruler and his highest-ranking consort, the mother of the heir apparent, we are at a loss to explain for whom the third cist was intended in the triple-vault tombs of Artaxerxes I and Darius II (Figs. 34–35) or who was meant to share with the royal couple the triple-cist vault in the tombs of Xerxes (Fig. 33) and Darius I.

It is conjectural whether the nine cists in Darius' tomb were prepared for specific persons. Nevertheless, it is interesting to speculate as to those who were certainly, probably, or possibly entombed in the founder-king's sepulcher.

There is only one person whose remains were certainly interred in this tomb, namely Darius himself. He died in November of the year 486 B.C.,⁶⁴ after a reign of thirty-six years, when he was approximately sixty-four years old.⁶⁵

It is doubtful, though possible, that Darius' parents—Hystaspes, satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania,⁶⁶ and his wife—who may have perished when they were inspecting their son's tomb (see p. 80, with n. 6), were here buried. Their graves had presumably been prepared in some other locality. It is problematical whether the king's tomb included burial cists for his brothers, Artanes and Artabanus. Artanes dowered his only child, Phratagune (see below), "with the whole wealth of his house" when he gave her in marriage to Darius.⁶⁷ Artabanus is described as an adviser and confidant of his royal brother⁶⁸ and, similarly, as counselor of his nephew, King Xerxes, who at the start of the campaign against Greece appointed Artabanus regent of the realm.⁶⁹

It is doubtful whether Darius' first wife and their three sons, born before Darius ascended or usurped the throne, were to be buried in the king's tomb. None of the historians mentions the name of Darius' first wife, but we are told that she was the daughter of Gobryas,⁷⁰ probably one of the seven conspirators against the Magian Gaumata⁷¹ and possibly the spear-bearer of the same name depicted on the façade of the tomb (see p. 86). Herodotus states that the eldest son of this marriage, Artabazanes, challenged Xerxes' claim to their father's throne.⁷² Another son of Darius and the daughter of Gobryas, Ariabignes, was admiral of the Ionian and Carian ships in

64. As to dates, see Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.–A.D. 75* ("Brown University Studies" XIX [1956]) pp. 16 f. and 30 f.

65. According to Herodotus i. 209 ff. Darius was about 20 years old at the time of the death of Cyrus the Great (530 B.C.).

66. See e.g. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 45 f. According to Herodotus (iii. 70), who does not mention Ctesias' story of the death of Darius' parents, Hystaspes was viceregent of Persia (Parsa) before Darius became king.

67. Herodotus vii. 224.

68. *Ibid.* iv. 83, 143.

69. *Ibid.* vii. 10–18, 46–53.

70. *Ibid.* vii. 2.

71. *Ibid.* iii. 70 ff.

Xerxes' fleet and perished in the battle of Salamis (480 B.C.).⁷³ The third son may have been either Arsamenes, who commanded the Utians and Mycians in Xerxes' army,⁷⁴ or, less probably, the admiral Ariamenes (see n. 72).

As to the persons who were probably chosen eventually to share Darius' tomb, they must be persons who were members of the royal family group after Darius became king. Considering first the royal ladies, we know the names of five wives of Darius the king, namely Atossa, Artystone, Parmys, Phaedyme, and Phratagune.

Atossa,⁷⁵ called "all-powerful" by Herodotus, was a daughter of Cyrus the Great. She had been married to her brother Cambyses (II) and to the Magian before she became Darius' wife and the mother of his four distinguished sons Xerxes, Achaemenes, Hystaspes, and Masistes. Xerxes, chosen by Darius toward the end of his reign as the heir to the throne,⁷⁶ a few years hence started to carve his own imperial tomb, but probably burial cists had already been prepared for him and his three full brothers in the tomb of his father. Achaemenes, whom Xerxes made viceroy of Egypt, served also as admiral of the Egyptians in Xerxes' fleet and was slain (in 460 B.C.) by the Egyptian rebel Inaros.⁷⁷ It is improbable that his remains were ever returned to his native land. Hystaspes, namesake of his grandfather, was commander of Bactrian and Scythian contingents in Xerxes' army.⁷⁸ Nothing further is known of his fate. Masistes, viceroy or satrap of Bactria, was one of the six field marshals who commanded subdivisions of Xerxes' land forces.⁷⁹ Herodotus narrates a sordid story of Xerxes' amorous pursuit of Masistes' wife and daughter, which led to Masistes' flight and intention to raise Bactria in revolt, but before he could carry through his plan he and his sons were killed by order of Xerxes.⁸⁰ If the story is even partly true, we may be certain that Masistes was not buried in his father's tomb.

Artystone,⁸¹ like Atossa, was a daughter of Cyrus the Great. While the "all-powerful" Atossa undoubtedly ranked highest among the wives of Darius, the previously unmarried Artystone was the consort best loved by the king, "who had an image made of her of hammered gold." Among the king's wives, only the two sisters were daughters of an Achaemenid monarch. Artystone, therefore, must have been next in rank to Atossa. Thus, Artystone and her sons, Arsames and Gobryas, would probably have been privileged to share the tomb of Darius. Arsames is listed among the officers of Xerxes' army as commander of the Arabians and the "Ethiopians who dwell above Egypt."⁸² Gobryas was commander of troops from Syria and southern Cappadocia.⁸³

72. *Ibid.* vii. 2. See also Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 214. Olmstead (*ibid.* pp. 231 f.) refers to another rival of Xerxes: Ariamenes (not mentioned by Herodotus, but see Plutarch *Themistocles* 14. 3), satrap of Bactria, subsequently grand admiral of Xerxes' fleet, who was killed at Salamis.

73. Herodotus vii. 97 and viii. 89.

74. *Ibid.* vii. 68.

75. *Ibid.* iii. 88 and vii. 3.

76. *Ibid.* vii. 2–3. See also our Vol. II 51, § 4 of the Harem text.

77. Herodotus iii. 12 and vii. 7, 97.

78. *Ibid.* vii. 64.

79. *Ibid.* vii. 82.

80. *Ibid.* ix. 108–13.

81. *Ibid.* iii. 88 and vii. 69.

82. *Ibid.* vii. 69.

83. *Ibid.* vii. 72.

The three remaining consorts of Darius whose names have been handed down to us were presumably of about equal rank, to judge by the positions of their fathers, but lower in rank than Atossa and Artystone. It is problematical whether they and their male offspring were chosen to share the king's tomb.

Parmys was the daughter of Cyrus the Great's son Smerdis (Bardiya).⁸⁴ Ariomardus, son of Darius and Parmys, commanded the Moschi and Tibareni in Xerxes' army.⁸⁵ The homelands of these two contingents were east and south, respectively, of the Black Sea.

Phaedyme⁸⁶ was the daughter of Otanes, "as well-born and rich a man as any Persian," who started the conspiracy against the Magian. Phaedyme had been the wife of Cambyses II and of the Magian, whom she unmasked according to Herodotus' story, before she became Darius' wife. It is not known whether there was any offspring.

Phratagune, the daughter and only child of Darius' brother Artanes (see p. 89), is not mentioned by Herodotus among the "wives from the noblest houses of Persia" whom Darius married at the start of his reign.⁸⁷ She would have been of no value in legitimizing Darius' claim to the throne.⁸⁸ Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, sons of Darius and Phratagune, were killed at Thermopylae (480 B.C.).⁸⁹ We do not believe that the remains of the great king's sons were left in foreign soil and assume that they were returned to Persia, possibly to be buried in their father's tomb.

We should not presume that Darius' daughters were to share their royal father's tomb. The names of two daughters are known to us. Artozostre was the wife of Gobryas' son Mardonius, who was slain in the battle of Plataea.⁹⁰ Artystone was the namesake of Darius' favorite wife and is mentioned on an Elamite tablet written at Persepolis in April of the year 506 B.C.⁹¹

So far as we know, the foregoing register of Darius' family group includes the eight persons who in theory were privileged to share the tomb with the king. We have sug-

gested that burial places were probably prepared in Darius' tomb for his two wives of royal descent, Atossa and Artystone, and their sons. It is pure coincidence, however, that the number of these persons corresponds to the number of cists, for two of Atossa's sons were in all likelihood buried elsewhere (see p. 89) and her son Xerxes had his own imperial tomb. She herself and one son, Hystaspes, and Artystone with her two sons, Arsames and Gobryas, may have shared the tomb with the king. Members of the family group who might possibly have been buried in the king's tomb include Darius' parents, his brothers, Artabanus in particular, and his two sons who fell at Thermopylae. Obviously, there were not enough burial cists for all these persons, but additional sarcophagi could have been placed in the vestibule.

Nothing is known about the funerary equipment of the dead king and the members of his family who shared his tomb. Their bodies were embalmed probably with wax⁹² or possibly in the more elaborate and more enduring Egyptian fashion. The king may have been buried in full attire of state, adorned with diadem, necklace, and bracelets and with his spear, bow, and battle-ax at his side. His sarcophagus was perhaps of gold, as was the coffin of Cyrus the Great. The vestibule of Darius' tomb was spacious enough to accommodate many times the amount of equipment supposedly found in Cyrus' tomb: a couch with legs of gold, a table, weapons, jewelry, garments, and other fabrics.⁹³ On the other hand, there may have been changes in religious practice⁹⁴ which led Darius to order that he be buried in a simple coffin, without the insignia of mundane power, that is, as he is shown in his relief on the tomb façade (see Pl. 22), and without costly furniture and other equipment for posthumous use. Let us speculate that Darius perhaps perceived the futility of taking treasures into the grave if as one of Cambyses' guards in Egypt⁹⁵ he had witnessed the desecration of the tomb of Pharaoh Amasis.⁹⁶

TOMB II: THE TOMB OF XERXES

Three successors of Darius the Great followed his example and chose the cliff of Naqsh-i Rostam for their final abode. Since the cruciform façades of these tombs are essentially alike, the description of the façade of Darius' tomb (pp. 80-87) is valid in all major aspects for the façades of the other tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam. The sepulchral compartments, however, are distinct.

Tomb II (No. 18 on Fig. 2), about 100 meters east-northeast of Darius' tomb, is attributed to Xerxes, who was assassinated in 465 B.C.⁹⁷ Our two principal reasons for assigning this tomb to the son and successor of Darius the Great are that it is one of the two tombs flanking Darius' sepulcher and that the original rock surface re-

quired less effort for carving the façade than the more sloping surfaces of the two tombs (III and IV) to the west of Darius' tomb. An additional reason is offered below (see p. 93). Tomb II is carved in a transverse projection of the main cliff and faces 49° west of south, whereas Darius' tomb faces 54° east of south.

At the time of Darius' death, on the Persepolis Terrace only the Council Hall, the first two phases of the Treasury, and presumably parts of the mud-brick fortification had been completed. As to the rest, the foundations for the Apadana walls and the unfinished Palace of Darius rose above the masses of building materials being readied for use. Xerxes completed the Apadana and his father's residential palace. He erected the Terrace Gate, the Harem, and his own residence and undoubtedly finished the fortifi-

84. *Ibid.* iii. 88.

86. *Ibid.* iii. 68-69, 88.

85. *Ibid.* vii. 78.

87. *Ibid.* iii. 88.

88. Cf. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 109.

89. Herodotus vii. 224.

90. *Ibid.* vi. 43 and ix. 63-64; for Mardonius' burial see *ibid.* ix. 84.

91. The text deals with Darius' gift (dowry?) of 100 sheep to his daughter Artystone. See Cameron, "Darius' daughter and the Persepolis inscriptions," *JNES* I 214-18; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 177.

92. See Herodotus i. 140 and cf. *ibid.* iv. 71.

93. See Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 4-6 and Strabo xv. 3. 7.

94. Cf. e.g. *IAE*, pp. 218 f.

95. Herodotus iii. 139.

96. *Ibid.* iii. 16 (but cf. our Vol. II 81).

97. For month and day see Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (1956) p. 17.

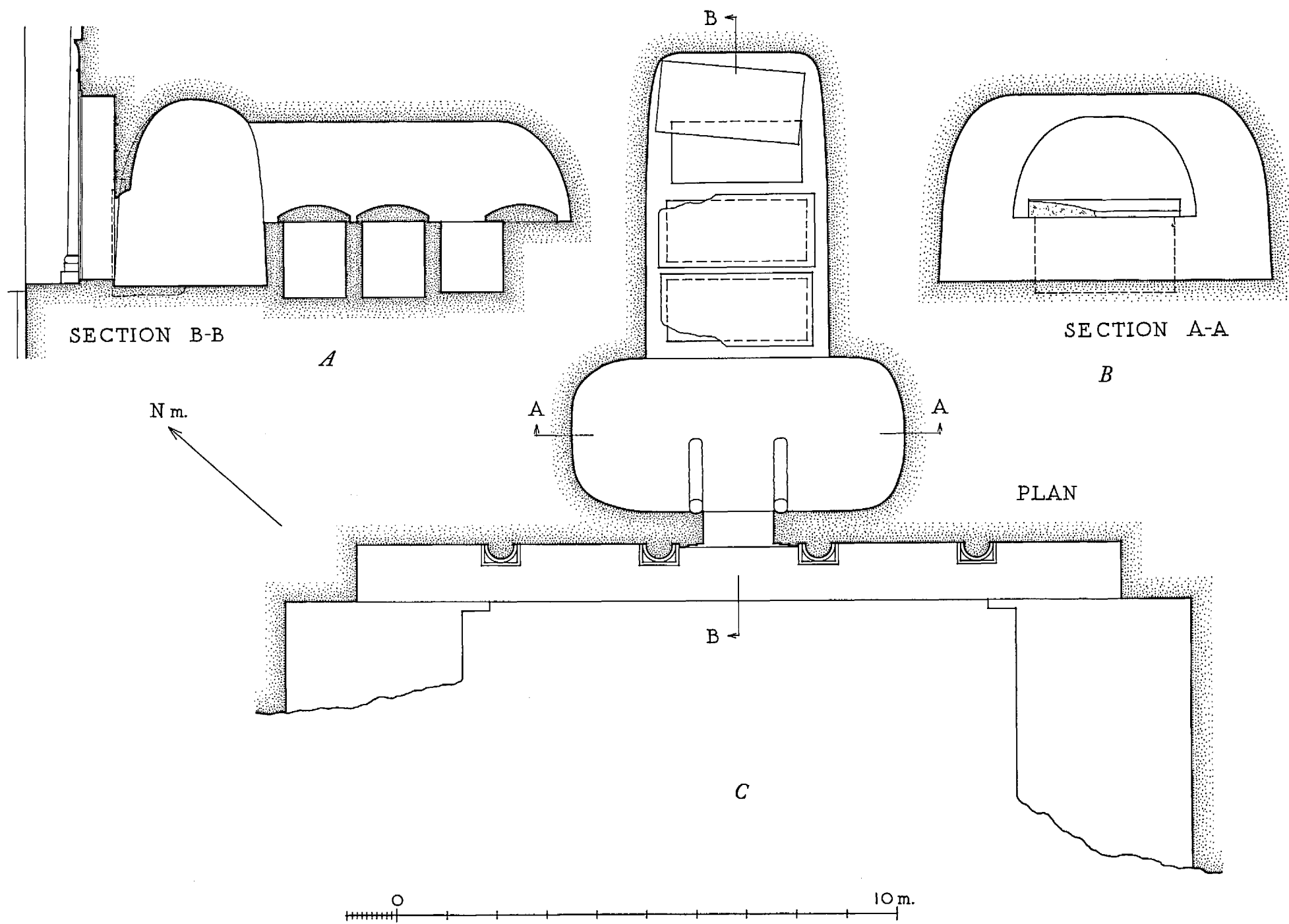


FIG. 33. THE TOMB OF XERXES AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM (TOMB II). A-B. SECTIONS. C. PLAN. SCALE, 1:100

cation. He altered and extended the Treasury, founded the Throne Hall, and apparently started to build a second residential palace. Thus, except for a palace of Artaxerxes III (see p. 105), the final plan of the Persepolis Terrace was largely established during Xerxes' reign.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, in designing his tomb (Pl. 40), Xerxes decided to copy the façade of his father's tomb and consequently adopted, in the middle register, the front of his father's palace instead of carving a replica of the more spacious front of his own palace.

THE FAÇADE

THE MIDDLE REGISTER

As noted above (p. 81), the palace front on Darius' tomb is 18.57 m. long. The palace front on Xerxes' tomb is 18.05 m. long, whereas the corresponding portion (portico plus thickness of side walls) of Xerxes' palace at Persepolis measures 29.85 m. in length.⁹⁹ Further, the distance (3.15 m.) between the centers of the columns on Xerxes' tomb is identical with that in the portico of Darius' palace and on his tomb, whereas the corresponding distance in Xerxes' palace is 3.75 m. The entrances to the tombs of Darius and Xerxes are so similar that the description of the former (see p. 83) is valid for both. It is interesting to note that even the unattractively proportioned cornice with thirty-eight flutes (see p. 81) was copied by Xerxes (see Pls. 41 and 42 *B*). Furthermore, as in Darius' tomb, a two-winged door was installed by means of two parallel channels cut into the floor of the vestibule (see Fig. 33 *A* and *C* and Pl. 47 *A*).

THE RELIEFS OF THE TOP REGISTER

The principal difference between the façades of Tombs I and II is the absence of inscriptions on the tomb of Xerxes. Thus, for all major features of the top register of Tomb II we refer the reader to the description of Tomb I (pp. 84–87). It should be added, however, that, possibly through oversight, we noted no traces of pigments on the tombs of the successors of Darius I.

The Main Panel

The better preserved reliefs of Tomb II in many instances complement those of Tomb I. For example, Plate 42 *A* shows well defined folds of the king's gown and other details which are abraded on Tomb I. On the other hand, the damaged top of Xerxes' cidaris leaves doubt as to whether it was crenelated like the headdress of his father.

The fire altar suggests the form of the damaged altar shaft on Tomb I, but instead of a mass of flames (see p. 84) the later altar shows three tiers of clearly defined tongues of flame, the tips of the bottom row lapping toward the right and the rest toward the left.

The symbol of Ahuramazda is almost perfectly preserved, but it is problematical whether it is identical in all details with the badly damaged symbol on Tomb I (cf. Pls. 19 and 22 *B* with Pls. 41 and 42 *A*). In any event, the later relief clearly shows that except for size the upper parts of the figures of god and king are essentially alike. Both wear the cidaris. The hair is curled and bunched

behind the head. The long beard is marked on the cheek by curls, whereas below the chin it is groomed in alternating rows of waves and curls. The wide sleeve of the candys is draped in five decorative but rather artificial folds in the same manner as the sleeves of Persian royalty, dignitaries, and guards in the Persepolis reliefs.¹⁰⁰ The god's right hand reciprocates the gesture of the king, and his left clasps a ring. The double ring encircling the god's body is composed of tangent curls. The pattern of the wings clearly shows vertical rows of paired tangent curls alternating with rows of wavy horizontal units, and the bird tail has the same design in transverse order. The two three-pronged appendages¹⁰¹ are awkwardly bent and have a peculiarly crude appearance.

The moon symbol, the orb in the cradle of the crescent (see p. 85), is faintly visible on Plate 41 in the upper right corner of the main panel.

The throne (see Pls. 41 and 43) elucidates several details of the relief on Tomb I. For the throne-bearers see pages 108–11 and Figures 39–52. The top of the throne stage is the same on both tombs, but the rung of Tomb II (see Pl. 44) differs slightly in that the three strips which separate the double volutes are of equal width (cf. p. 85). Details of the throne legs which are damaged on Tomb I are clear on Tomb II: a basal unit below a fluted member, neatly carved claws of the lion's paw, and a fluted rectangle, presumably indicating hair, at the lion's "knee." The monsters capping the throne legs are also remarkably well preserved and clarify the details obliterated on Tomb I (see pp. 85 f.). Plate 43 *B*, in particular, shows the ferociously contorted face of the lion, the bull's ear¹⁰² with faintly marked ridges, and the horn with knobby or discoid tip.

The Frame and Side Walls

On the left frame are reliefs of the king's spear-bearer, the bearer of the royal battle-ax and bow, and a third soldier (see Pl. 43 *A*). These figures are almost exact replicas of Gobryas, Aspathines, and the guard pictured in the same positions to the left of the throne on Darius' tomb (see pp. 86 f.).

The relief of the Persian spear-bearer of King Xerxes differs in only two details from that of Gobryas (Pl. 23 *B*). Straps mark part of the fastening mechanism of the quiver, and the sleeve of the candys shows five folds instead of four.

In the relief of the Median bearer of Xerxes' battle-ax and bow are preserved some details that are destroyed in the relief of Aspathines (Pl. 24 *B*). These include the tassel hanging from the back of the domed hat, the mustache curled at the corner of the mouth, the ear lobe without ornament, a double-ring bracelet on either wrist, the king's double-headed battle-ax with one bifurcate bit,¹⁰³ the weapon-bearer's own dagger of Median type, a strap with tassel tying the scabbard to the thigh, the dagger belt curving toward a knob on the coat belt in front, and trousers and shoes of Median type. On Xerxes' tomb the weapon-bearer's hat appears to be lower, and his dagger

101. Shown also, together with other similar details, on the god's symbol in the Behistun relief (see King and Thompson, *Behistun*, Pls. III, VIII, and XIII).

102. Cf. e.g. the ear of the bull on Pl. 20 of Vol. I.

103. Cf. *ibid.* Pl. 121 and Vol. II, Pls. 78:1 and 79:1.

98. See Vol. I 41–43 and Fig. 21.

99. See *ibid.* Figs. 95 and 97.

100. See *ibid.* e.g. Pl. 121.

is plain but for a medial ridge and an unclear pattern on the scabbard tip.

The Persian guard, lowermost of the three figures on the left frame, is dressed in the same fashion as Xerxes' spear-bearer and is very well preserved in contrast to the abraded figure on Darius' tomb (cf. Pl. 43 *A* with Pl. 26 *B*). His ear is adorned with a ring.

The reliefs of spear-bearing Persian guards on the left side wall are arranged in three superposed panels, each showing two figures (Pl. 45 *A*). They correspond to the four guards on the left side wall of Tomb I (see p. 87) and complement several details of the latter: spear with socketed ridged head and globular butt, curls of hair and short-cropped beard, mustache, folds of candys with baggy inner portion of sleeve in front, Persian shoes with three straps, a bracelet on each wrist, and possibly a ring attached to the ear.

Persian mourners depicted on the right frame and right side wall (see Pls. 43 *B* and 45 *B*) correspond in arrangement, number, posture, and attire to the mourners on Darius' tomb (see p. 87). Although well preserved, the reliefs on Xerxes' tomb leave doubt as to what part of the mourners' garment is raised by the left hand. The answer is provided by the flat reliefs of Tomb IV, which clearly indicate that it is the sleeve of the candys (see p. 98 and Pl. 60).

THE SEPULCHRAL COMPARTMENTS

The crypt of Xerxes' tomb has the same basic units as that of Darius but is utterly distinct as to plan and most details. Figure 33 shows that previous drawings, which picture almost identical plans for the two crypts, are erroneous.¹⁰⁴ Obviously, the explorers who made those drawings never entered the tomb of Xerxes.

In spite of the dissimilarity of the crypts of Tombs I and II, there are aspects which strongly support our above-mentioned reasons for assigning Tomb II to Xerxes, namely the neatness of the plan and the accurate orientation of the crypt. The long axis of the vestibule is exactly parallel to the façade of the tomb and crosses the transverse axis at right angles (see Fig. 33 *C*). The crypts of Tombs III–VI do not have the same indications of skillful workmanship.

The major axis of the vestibule of Xerxes' tomb measures 6.62 m., the short axis 3.06 m. The walls slope inward slightly to a vaulted ceiling (see Fig. 33 *A–B* and Pl. 47 *B*), which has the same maximal height (3.70 m.) as the flat ceiling of Darius' vestibule.

TOMB III: THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I

Tomb III (No. 9 on Fig. 2) is about 37 meters west-southwest of the tomb of Darius I and faces 18° east of south. It has been assigned by various writers to Xerxes and to Artaxerxes I, who died in 423 B.C. We have pointed out above that the neatness of the plan and the accurate

The tomb of Xerxes has only one burial vault, with three cists, as compared with three vaults and nine cists in his father's tomb. The floor of the vault (6.10 m. long, 3.65 m. wide) is more spacious than the floors of the vaults in Darius' tomb. In Xerxes' tomb the vault is an approximately semicylindrical tunnel (see Pl. 46 *A–B*) with its rear wall curving down to the floor, in contrast to the perpendicular walls and flat or gabled ceilings in Darius' tomb. The apex of the tunnel is 2.00 m. above its floor, which is 1.25 m. above the floor of the vestibule.

Two of the three rectangular cists cut into the floor of the vault have identical dimensions (2.80 m. long, 1.23 m. wide, 1.49 m. deep). The third, innermost, cist is smaller (2.60 m. long, 1.23 m. wide, 1.39 m. deep) but nevertheless more spacious than any of the cists in Darius' tomb.

The lids of all three cists are preserved. Two are *in situ*, though damaged by robbers who presumably pushed the third lid toward the rear wall of the vault (see Pl. 46 and Fig. 33). The lids are flat-bottomed slabs of rectangular plan with convex top, contrasting with the gabled lids in Darius' tomb. As noted above (p. 88), gabled ceilings and lids were replaced by domelike shapes in the tombs of Darius' successors. The lids in Xerxes' tomb are of uniform width (1.45 m.) but vary in length (3.00, 3.12, and 2.88 m.). They are 13 cm. thick at the sides and 35 cm. thick at the center.

The vault in Xerxes' tomb is much simpler than the vaults in his father's tomb (see pp. 87 f.). There are no traces of channels and outlets for protection of the cists against condensation or seepage, and the lids do not have drip edges. The cists do not have overhangs which would indicate that flat slabs had been placed on top of the coffins as additional means of protection.

Our discussion in regard to the occupants and equipment of Darius' tomb (pp. 88–90) has bearing also on the tomb of his son. We referred to the puzzling rule of triplicity (p. 89) evidenced by the plans of the tombs of five Achaemenid monarchs. Xerxes' tomb was planned to receive the remains of three persons. Obviously, one of the three cists, perhaps the outermost, was to be the grave of the king. The central cist, of the same dimensions though with slightly longer lid, may have been intended for Queen Amestris, daughter of Otanes.¹⁰⁵ It is conjectural which member of the royal family was to be buried in the smaller, innermost, cist. One could think of the queen-mother, the powerful Atossa, but her remains were probably put to rest in Darius' tomb (see p. 89). Again, we may guess that the third grave was prepared for the heir apparent to the throne in case he should predecease the king.

orientation of the crypt of Tomb II support its identification as the tomb of Xerxes. Conversely, it would seem inconceivable that the badly planned and disoriented crypt of Tomb III (see below) was prepared by the expert artisans of the most active royal builder of Persepolis (see

104. E.g. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 169. Curzon (*Persia* [1892] II 139) cautiously remarked that he could find no record of Europeans having entered the tomb of Xerxes. This seems to hold true as recently as 1934, for a blueprint of a sketch map of the site prepared by Herzfeld's surveyor, K. Bergner, repeats the error of Flandin and Coste. Parenthetically, Porter assumed that there was little variation in the interior of the tombs; he entered Tomb

IV and published a schematized plan (see Porter, *Travels I* [1821] 516 and 520–23, Pl. 18). A similarly schematized plan of Tomb IV was used by Fergusson (*The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored* [1851] Fig. 8) to illustrate, erroneously, the plan of Darius' tomb.

105. See Herodotus vii. 61 and ix. 109–12; see also Ctesias *Persica* 38b. 36–37.

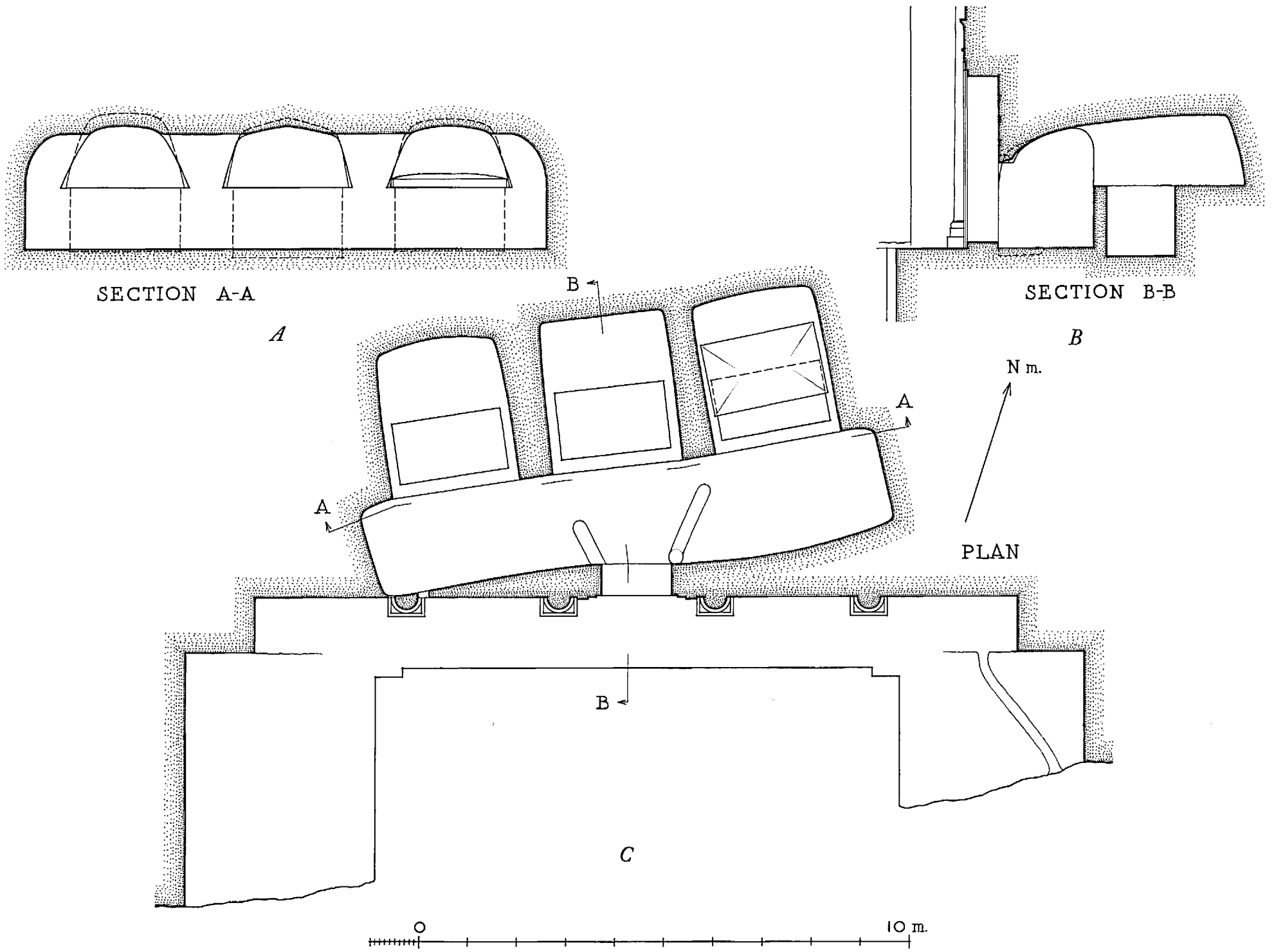


FIG. 34. THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM (TOMB III). A-B. SECTIONS. C. PLAN. SCALE, 1:100

pp. 90 and 92). The building activities of Artaxerxes I at Persepolis were confined to the completion of the Throne Hall and, apparently, of a residential palace. Both structures had been started by his father, Xerxes.¹⁰⁶

THE FAÇADE

THE MIDDLE REGISTER

All major features of the middle register of the cruciform façade of Tomb III (Pl. 48) conform with those of Tomb I (see pp. 81-83). The length of the palace front (Pl. 53) is here 18.30 m. (cf. p. 81), but the distance between the centers of the columns (3.15 m.) is the same as that on Tombs I and II. The proportions of the Egyptianized cornice above the doorway are more pleasing, since there are thirty-two flutes instead of thirty-eight. The channels for the installation of the two wings of the door are not parallel (cf. p. 92) but slant approximately north and northwestward from the corners of the doorway (see Fig. 34 C and Pl. 54).

THE RELIEFS OF THE TOP REGISTER

For the composition and general features of the reliefs the reader may consult the description of Tomb I (pp. 84-87) and, for complementary details, that of Tomb II (pp. 92 f.).

The Main Panel

So far as the badly weathered relief of the king permits comparison, there is at least one distinctive detail. The curve of his bow differs from that of the king's bow on Tomb II (cf. Pl. 50 with Pl. 42 A).

The fire altar (see Pl. 49) is not so tall as that on Tombs I and II. The untidy appearance of the fire pattern may have been caused by erosion.

The symbol of Ahuramazda is simplified and, in part, distorted (cf. Pl. 50 with Pls. 42 A and 22 B). The god's figure, shown in the usual posture, is partly abraded, but a faintly jagged portion at the top of the hat may indicate that it was crenelated like the cidaris of Darius I (see p. 84). Instead of the ornate double ring which encircles the god's body on Tombs I and II, Tomb III shows a plain, flat, single ring that appears to be on top of the figure of the god. Only the sleeve of his sandals covers the upper part of the ring. The segments of the wings and tail of the symbol are patterned with groups of straight instead of wavy parallel lines separated, so far as discernible, by single instead of double rows of curls. The ends of the appendages are destroyed. It is to be assumed, however, that they were three-pronged as on all the other tombs.

The moon symbol, combining orb and crescent, is here clearly defined in the upper right corner of the main panel (see Pl. 49).

There are only minor differences between the throne stages on Tombs II (see p. 92) and III (see Pls. 49-51). For the throne-bearers see pages 108-11 and Figures 39-52. On Tomb III the pattern of double volutes on the rung is flat, simplified, and ineffective (cf. Pl. 43 with Pl. 51). On the other hand, the lion paw of the well preserved left leg of the throne gives the impression of greater strength than the corresponding paw on Tomb II and the hair pattern at the "knee" is rounded rather than flat. The horn of

the monster ends in an inverted conoid knob. The ear is crudely carved; it lacks the pattern of delicate ridges shown on Tomb II and has one basal prominence instead of two knobs.

The Frame and Side Walls

Several details distinguish the three martial figures on the left frame (see Pl. 51 A) from the corresponding figures on Tombs I and II.

The headgear of the two Persians—the king's spear-bearer at the top and the guard at the bottom—has a squared top which presumably covers the hair, whereas on Tombs I and II the hat is a fillet which leaves the crown of the head exposed. The figures on Tomb III do not wear bracelets, but all are adorned with earrings.

Almost the entire quiver of the king's spear-bearer is shown behind his back, revealing the flap of the lid and the complete fastening mechanism. The straps, suspended from the quiver, end in five clusters of plain triple tassels as compared with five bolt-shaped tassels in the other reliefs.

The relief of the Median bearer of the king's battle-ax and bow is more stylized than its counterparts on Tombs I and II. On the wrists are marked the edges of sleeves instead of double bracelets as on Tomb II. The two heads of the king's socketed battle-ax are pictured as almost identical blunt oblongs. The top of the king's bow case is clearly defined and has approximately the shape of a bird's head, as in certain Persepolis reliefs,¹⁰⁷ but lid and case proper are not differentiated. The strap of the bow case, held in the Mede's left hand, is not guarded by an angular device such as is encountered elsewhere (see pp. 86 and 106).

The feet of the Persian guard at the bottom of the left frame are level with the sole of the throne leg, which is raised above the ground. His counterparts on Tombs I and II stand on the same level as the lower tier of throne-bearers.

On the left side wall of Tomb III three pairs of Persian guards are arranged in three superposed panels (Pl. 52 A) as on Tomb II. Our photograph of the Tomb II carvings (Pl. 45 A) was taken from a more favorable angle, but, nevertheless, it appears that the figures on Tomb III are more sketchy and flatter. They wear the same type of flat-topped hat as the two Persians on the frame. They are not adorned with bracelets, but some (originally perhaps all) wear earrings. The lowermost pair stands at the same level as the lowermost figure on the left frame.

Most details of the figures on the right frame and the right side wall have been destroyed by the elements (see Pls. 51 B and 52 B). Their contours indicate that they are Persian mourners corresponding in all general features to the mourners on Tombs I and II (see pp. 87 and 93). However, the positions of the lowermost mourners balance those of the guards on the opposite side of the throne; their feet being level with the sole of the throne leg.

THE SEPULCHRAL COMPARTMENTS

The basic plan of the crypt, with roughly rectangular vestibule and three vaults (Fig. 34), is like that of Tomb I (cf. Fig. 31 B). However, because of incompetent execu-

106. See Vol. I 42 f.

107. See *ibid* e.g. Pl. 123.

tion, the vestibule is quite irregular and so poorly oriented in relation to the tomb façade that its southwest corner actually pierces the rock wall at both sides of the westernmost column of the façade (see Pl. 53).

The vestibule is 10.65 m. long and about 1.90–2.20 m. wide. The highest point of the vaulted ceiling is 2.40 m. above the floor (see Fig. 34 B).

The three vaults, tunneled into the rear wall of the vestibule, were undoubtedly designed as parallel rectangles, but the workmen failed to orient them precisely and only the plan of the central vault shows four approximately true right angles. The three vaults have the same maximal length (3.10 m.), but they vary slightly in width. At their entrances they are (from left to right) 2.60, 2.65, and 2.57 m. wide. The ceilings of the left and right vaults are curved, whereas that of the central vault is slightly gabled (see Fig. 34 A) and recalls the gabled ceilings in the tomb of Darius I (see p. 88 and Fig. 31 A). At the entrance to each vault the highest point of its ceiling is 1.25 m. above its floor, which is 1.24 m. above the floor of the vestibule (see Fig. 34 A). The ceilings slope upward toward the rear walls of the vaults, where their highest points are (from left to right) 1.52, 1.45, and 1.40 m. above the vault floors.

There is one rectangular cist in each of the three vaults. The cists in the left and right vaults are of the same size (2.25 m. long, 1.24 m. wide, 1.30 m. deep). The central cist has the same length as the others but is wider (1.38 m.) and deeper (1.42 m.). Here, as in Xerxes' tomb, devices for protection against condensation or seepage are lacking.¹⁰⁸ The lid of the easternmost cist is preserved (see Fig. 34 A and C). It is a flat-bottomed rectangular slab (2.35 m.

× 1.48 m.). It is 18 cm. thick at the edges and curves upward from each side to a maximum thickness of 28 cm.

Tomb III, like the tomb of Xerxes, was planned to shelter the remains of two other members of the royal house in addition to those of the king. There are several clues to suggest that the vault opposite the entrance was prepared for the monarch. Plausibly, it was completed before the two flanking vaults and perhaps even the vestibule were finished. Furthermore, it has a dominant central position, its plan is neater than the plans of the other two vaults, and its burial cist is more spacious than the other cists. Finally, its gabled ceiling was probably intended as a distinctive feature. Considering all aspects, we have no doubt that the cist of the central vault (Pl. 55) was planned for the king. As to the two cists flanking this grave, we refer the reader to our conjectures in regard to the triple crypt of Xerxes (p. 93). The second cist may have been prepared for Queen Damaspia, who, according to Ctesias,¹⁰⁹ died on the same day as Artaxerxes I, and the third grave for the king's chosen successor in case of premature death. It is interesting to speculate whether the remains of Artaxerxes' son and successor, Xerxes II, who was assassinated by his half-brother Secydianus after a reign of a month and a half, were placed in his father's tomb, as might be inferred from Ctesias' story which implies that the bodies of Artaxerxes, Damaspia, and Xerxes were conveyed together to Parsa.¹¹⁰ The usurper's body too may have been deposited somewhere in Artaxerxes' tomb, for he, in turn, was murdered after a reign of six and a half months¹¹¹ by another half-brother, Ochus—subsequently Darius II—whose rule lasted long enough to permit completion of his own tomb in the cliff of Naqsh-i Rostam.

TOMB IV: THE TOMB OF DARIUS II

Tomb IV (No. 7 on Fig. 2), about 33 meters southwest of Tomb III, is the westernmost of the four royal tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam. Tombs II and III, flanking the tomb of Darius I, are attributed to Xerxes and Artaxerxes I. Tomb IV, consequently, is assigned to Darius II (423–404 B.C.), the son of Artaxerxes I and the third successor¹¹² of Darius I.

There are no traces of any building activities of Darius II on the Persepolis Terrace, but certain inscribed mortars, pestles, and plates found in the Treasury may possibly be attributed to his reign.¹¹³

Tomb IV (Pl. 56) faces 25° east of south. It is almost exactly centered on and aligned with the Tower of Naqsh-i Rostam, about 45 meters to the south-southeast, whose front faces 18° west of north (see p. 34). Thus, the orientations of tomb and Tower differ by only seven degrees. We are puzzled by the relation of the two monuments, but we believe that their relative positions are intentional. Since, in our opinion, the Tower is about a century older than the tomb (see p. 41), we have to conclude that the site for the tomb was chosen because of the location and orientation of the Tower. However, we are not able to resolve the

puzzle as to the original choice of the site for the Tower and its apparent lack of relation to the other tombs, particularly that of Darius I.

THE FAÇADE

THE MIDDLE REGISTER

As usual, the principal aspects of the middle register of the cruciform façade conform with those of Tomb I (see pp. 81–83). The length (18.35 m.) of the palace front (see Pl. 58 B) is close to the corresponding measurement (18.30 m.) on Tomb III. The distance between the centers of the columns is approximately that of Tombs I–III (3.15 m.). The cornice above the doorway has thirty-four flutes and thus is closest to that of Tomb III (see p. 95).

THE RELIEFS OF THE TOP REGISTER

The Main Panel

The scene showing king, fire altar, Ahuramazda symbol, and moon (see Pls. 57 and 58 A) is composed in the usual fashion. The king's figure is too badly abraded to per-

111. See *ibid.* 42b. 1–2.

112. Disregarding the ephemeral reigns of Xerxes II and Secydianus (see p. 80, n. 2).

113. See Vol. II 55 f. [But see also Raymond A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis* (OIP XCI [1970]) pp. 56 f.—Ed.]

108. A shallow drainage channel on the rock shelf outside the right end of the façade is shown in Fig. 34 C.

109. *Persica* 41b. 39–40.

110. See *ibid.* 41b. 41–42 and 42a. 16–17.

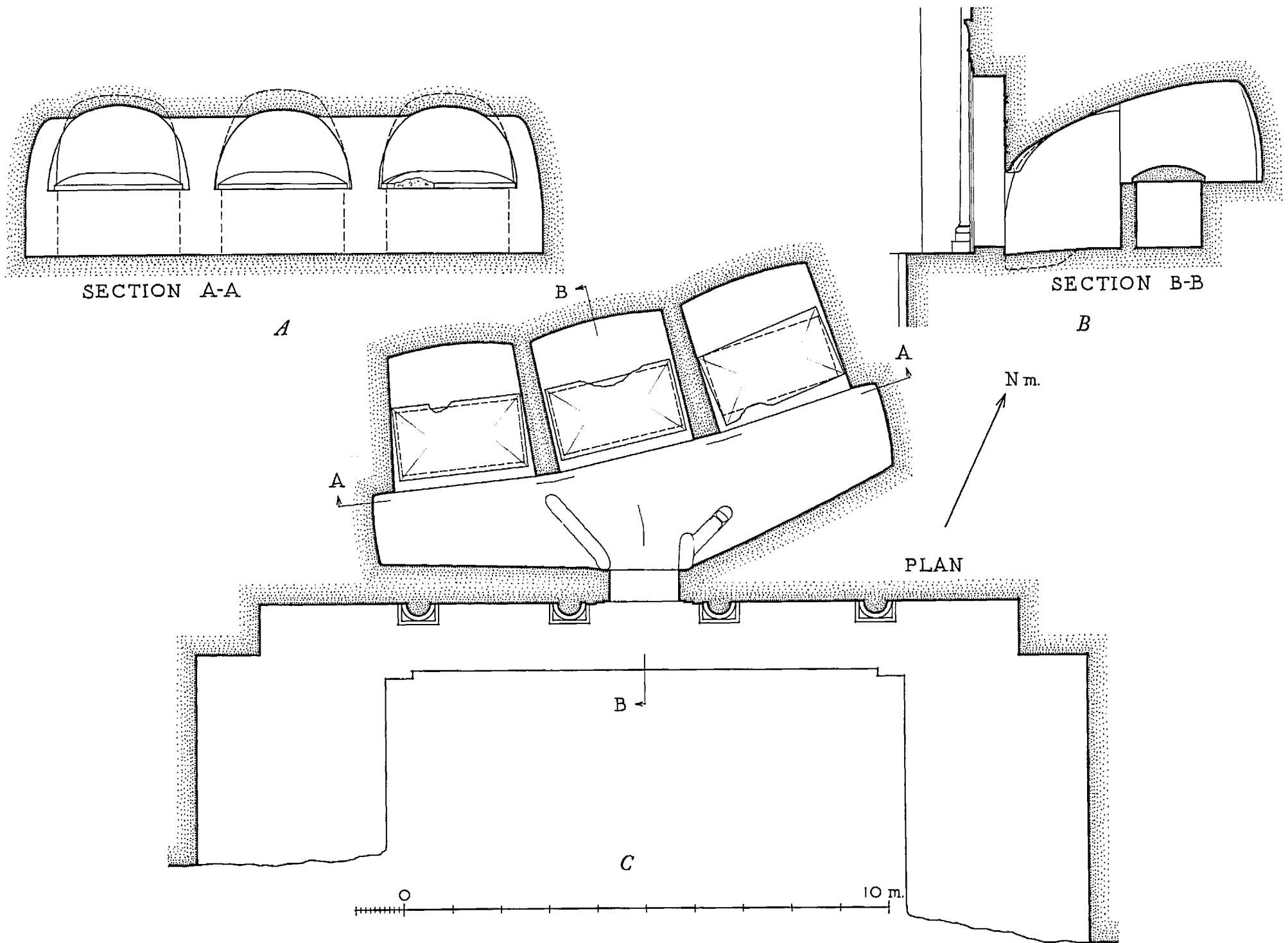


FIG. 35. THE TOMB OF DARIUS II AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM (TOMB IV). A-B. SECTIONS. C. PLAN. SCALE, 1:100

mit comparison of its details with the reliefs on Tombs I–III. The pattern of the flames on the altar appears to resemble most closely that on Tomb I (cf. Pl. 19), though it is possible that the fire on the altar of Tomb III (see Pl. 49) was originally pictured in similar fashion. The symbol of Ahuramazda shows the god in the usual posture. The ring, plain as on Tomb III, encircles the god's body as on Tombs I and II, in contrast to its incongruous position on Tomb III (see p. 95). The pattern of the wings is different from the wing patterns on Tombs I–III in that the segments, consisting of one vertical row of curls and three columns of short superposed bands, are separated by grooves which emphasize the vertical axis of the wings. Details of the bird tail are doubtful. The end of the completely preserved appendage is three-pronged, as on Tombs I and II. The moon symbol is depicted as a solid disk, but it is possible that the border line of the crescent (cf. e.g. Pl. 49) has been abraded by the action of wind and sand.

The general features of the throne stage (see Pls. 57 and 59–60) are the same as on Tombs I–III. For the throne-bearers see pages 108–11 and Figures 39–52. The design of double volutes on the rung appears to be as weak as that on Tomb III (see p. 95). Certain details of the throne legs, such as the fluted base and the hair pattern at the lion "knee," are less carefully wrought than on Tombs II and III. The monsters capping the throne legs show an important elaboration which distinguishes them from the corresponding beasts on Tombs I–III and links them with the monsters on Persepolis Tombs V and VI. A pattern of scales, depicting feathers, completely covers the back of the head and the chest, while the wing feathers are marked by a pattern of rhomboid and rectangular compartments subdividing tiers of bands (cf. Pls. 63 and 71 *A*).

The Frame and Side Walls

The three superposed figures on the left frame have been largely obliterated by the elements (see Pl. 57). Of the king's spear-bearer there remain only parts of the Persian gown and of the legs. In the center panel, the domed hat and trousered legs of the Median bearer of the royal battle-ax and bow are discernible. The bow case may be similar in shape to that shown on Tomb III (see p. 95). Only the slanting shaft of the battle-ax is preserved. The faint relief of the guard in the bottom panel merely indicates that he is a Persian. He stands at a level which is slightly higher than that of the lower tier of throne-bearers but lower than that of his counterpart on Tomb III (see p. 95).

Three pairs of Persian guards (Pl. 61 *A*) are arranged on the left side wall as on Tombs II and III. Their hats correspond to those of the guards on Tomb III.

As usual, three Persian mourners on the right frame (see Pl. 60) and three additional mourners on the right side wall (Pl. 61 *B*¹¹⁴) balance the martial figures on the opposite side of the throne. Some details of the mourners' dress and posture are here better illustrated than on Tombs I–III. The fabric raised by the left hand of each mourner to a point in front of or, perhaps erroneously, slightly below the mouth is the sleeve, which curves around the fingers and droops at either side of the arm. The ex-

terior of the sleeve is marked conventionally by five folds parallel to the upper arm, whereas the interior curves bag-like below the elbow. Thus, the clearly delineated sleeves of the mourners provide an explanation¹¹⁵ of the baglike portion of the candies which is visible in the reliefs of all Persians whose upper body is shown in side view. The right hand of each mourner rests on the right thigh. All mourners wear bracelets on both wrists, but earrings seem to be lacking.

THE SEPULCHRAL COMPARTMENTS

The plans and sections of their crypts show that Tombs III and IV (see Figs. 34 and 35)—apart, even, from their propinquity—are more intimately linked with each other than with the remaining tombs. Both crypts have irregular vestibules, slanting channels for installation of the two leaves of the door, three vaults, and three burial cists. Both crypts, furthermore, show indications of incompetent workmanship.

It is assumed that the vestibule of Tomb IV was supposed to be rectangular, although its final plan is irregular. It is about 10.80 m. long. In width it measures 1.40 m. (left end), 2.50 m. (center), and 1.70 m. (right end). The highest point of the vaulted ceiling (see Pl. 62 *A*) is 2.80 m. above the floor (see Fig. 35 *B*).

The three vaults, tunneled to a uniform length of 2.90 m. into the somewhat curved rear wall of the vestibule, are more neatly spaced than those of Tomb III. Their widths at the front are about 2.90 m. (left and right) and 2.82 m. (center), but their side walls converge slightly to widths of 2.57 m. (left), 2.80 m. (center), and about 2.75 m. (right) at the rear. Their entrances are approximately semicircular (see Fig. 35 *A*). The ceilings flatten out and rise to the curving rear walls (see Fig. 35 *B*), with their highest points 1.72 m. (left), 1.62 m. (center), and 1.70 m. (right) above the floors at the entrances and 1.95 m., 2.05 m., and 1.95 m. respectively at the rear. In this respect the lateral vaults are almost identical, whereas the center vault (Pl. 62 *B*) is somewhat lower at the entrance and higher at the rear.

The burial cists are uniform in size (2.52 m. long, 1.30 m. wide, 1.32 m. deep). Their floors are at the same level as the floor of the vestibule. Each cist has a flat-bottomed rectangular lid (2.65 m. long, 1.50 m. wide) like that found in Tomb III (see p. 96). The lids are 34 cm. thick at the apex and about 10 cm. at the sides. In the left and central vaults the lids are still in their original positions, and the third lid is but slightly disarranged. Tomb robbers knocked at least one hole into each lid in order to probe the contents of the graves. It would appear, however, that they never entered the lateral cists, to judge by the small sizes of the holes and the position of the disarranged lid. The center cist could have been entered by a child accomplice of the pilferers. We did not attempt to remove the lids, and it is possible that human remains and perhaps other objects are still to be found in the lateral cists if they were ever occupied.

Again, the tomb was planned to receive the remains of three persons, and we refer the reader to our conjectures in regard to the triple crypts of Artaxerxes I (p. 96) and Xerxes (p. 93). The cist of the center vault was un-

114. We do not know the purpose of the knob projecting from the smoothed rock wall behind the central mourner.

115. Even more definitely than the sleeves of king and crown prince in the Treasury reliefs (see Vol. I, Pl. 121).

doubtedly the grave of the king. One of the flanking vaults was presumably prepared for Queen Parysatis, half-sister of Darius II. It is problematical for whom the third grave was intended. The first-born son, Arsaces, inherited the throne under the name of Artaxerxes (II) and carved his

own tomb near the Persepolis Terrace. Cyrus, the favorite son of Parysatis, was killed in the battle of Cunaxa, and we are told that his mutilated remains were buried at Susa.¹¹⁶ The fate of his younger brothers, Artostes and Oxendras, is unknown.

TOMB V: THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II

Darius II was the last Achaemenid monarch to prepare his final abode in the cliff of Naqsh-i Rostam. Those parts of the rock face that were still intact within the limits of the immured necropolis were apparently considered unsuitable for the carving of additional tombs. In any event, Darius' son Artaxerxes II forsook the traditional burial precinct of his ancestors and chose for his tomb a rock ridge within the circumvallate eastern defense zone of Persepolis (see Fig. 1). Artaxerxes III followed his father's example and also carved his tomb inside the fortification on the slope of the Mountain of Mercy.¹¹⁷

Although absolute proof is lacking, there are reasons for assigning the south tomb at Persepolis to Artaxerxes II,¹¹⁸ who died after a reign of forty-five years (404–359 B.C.), longer than that of any other Achaemenid monarch. In contrast to the north tomb (VI), Tomb V is isolated from the Persepolis Terrace. It is about 250 meters east-southeast of the southeast corner of the Terrace in an ill-defined sector of the outer fortification. It faces 15° south of west, and the Terrace is outside, north of, the line of view. It is conjectural whether the isolated location of Tomb V has any bearing on the fact that Artaxerxes II, like his father, contributed nothing to the architecture of Persepolis, whereas he erected and restored palatial structures at Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, it would seem plausible to assign Tomb VI, which is closely linked with the Terrace, to Artaxerxes III, one of the royal builders of the dynastic capital (see p. 105).

THE FAÇADE

Tombs V and VI were carved in the stepped slope of the mountain, which is less suitable for sculptures of lofty height than the steep cliff of Naqsh-i Rostam. Consequently, the architect-designers omitted the blank bottom register and abandoned the cruciform façade. Economy of time and labor was probably the main reason. Another reason for omitting the protective lower portion may have been the greater security of the site, which was guarded by the Persepolis garrison. In their major features the two registers of Tombs V and VI correspond to the middle and top registers of Tombs I–IV, but there are significant variations in details.

THE LOWER REGISTER

The palace front on the façade of Tomb V (Pl. 64) is longer by 1.20 m. than the corresponding portion (portico plus antae) of the Palace of Darius I and by even more than the palace fronts on Tombs I–IV. The distance

116. Ctesias *Persica* 44a. 4–6.

117. For vertical air views showing the locations of the Persepolis tombs see Vol. I, Pl. 4, *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 4, and Schmidt, *Flight*, Pl. 2.

118. So also Herzfeld in *IF*, p. 60 (his "Grab VI").

119. See Vol. I 29, 34–36, and 38.

(3.40 m.) between the centers of the columns on Tomb V also exceeds the corresponding measurement (3.15 m.) on Tombs I–IV and in Darius' palace.

The entrance to the crypt resembles the doorways of Tombs I–IV except that the extant parts of the cornice suggest that there were twenty-four flutes, as on the well preserved doorway of Tomb VI (see p. 105). Thus the sculptors of Tomb V ignored the ill-proportioned cornices of the earlier tombs (cf. e.g. p. 92) and copied almost exactly the cornice with twenty-six flutes used in Darius' palace. Omission of the bottom register, permitting close inspection from the ground, combined with the relative propinquity of Tomb V to the Terrace, may have some bearing on this artistic improvement.

The channels for the installation of the two leaves of the door¹²⁰ are apparently parallel, as in Tombs I, II, and VI. If they were slanting, as in Tombs III and IV, their ends would be visible beside the displaced lid which now covers them (see Fig. 36 A).

In contrast to Tombs I–IV, the entablature is embellished with a frieze of eighteen lions arranged in two antithetic files (see Pl. 63). The lions are pictured in walking position, with snarling jaws and tail with tufted tip curling up and forward. The fillet, which on Tombs I–IV has only the length of the top register (see p. 83), crowns the entire entablature (see Pl. 64). Also, the face of the upper register is set back more than a meter from the edge of the fillet, whereas the corresponding ledge on Tombs I–IV is only 12–14 cm. wide.

The side walls of the portico (see Pl. 64), which are blank on Tombs I–IV, bear symmetrical reliefs of three superposed pairs of Persian guards. They are partly destroyed but may be restored with the aid of the reliefs of spear-bearing guards on the left side wall of the upper register (see below).

THE RELIEFS OF THE UPPER REGISTER

The Main Panel

The scene is composed in the usual manner (see Pl. 63). Most striking is the imposing stature of the monarch, more majestic in appearance than the corresponding figure on the other tombs. To some extent the effect is due

120. We never doubted that the doors of the royal tombs consisted of two leaves, but we were uncertain as to their material. Fortunately, the Iranian excavators found fragments of a stone door in front of Tomb V, which they assign to Artaxerxes III. We are told that "the door was a two-leaved one with a sliding latch on the inner side turned by a key, and the door opened inwards"; see Ali-Sami, *Persepolis (Takht-i-Jamshid)*, trans. R. N. Sharp (3d ed.; Shiraz, 1958) pp. 59 f. We assume that the (postulated?) key was inserted (through a slot?) from the outside. We are not informed whether the door has a pattern, such as the grooves of the sham door carved from bedrock (see e.g. our Fig. 38 D). In any event, we must assume that it belongs to Tomb V and that a similar stone door was probably used to bar access to Tomb VI. However, the material (stone, metal, or wood incased in metal?) employed for the doors of the Tower and the tombs at Naqsh-i Rostam (see pp. 37 and 83) will remain uncertain until parts of doors are found at that site.

to the relatively good preservation of the figure, but mainly it is due to the impressive cidaris,¹²¹ which is much taller here. The upper fourth of the cidaris is encircled by an ornamental band whose design of rosettes(?) is not discernible in our illustrations.¹²² The bracelet on the king's right wrist undulates in the same fashion as all other bracelets carved on the figures of this tomb.

The string of the king's bow is indicated, as usual, by a thin vertical line. The bow was never completed. Its ends appear as coarse slanting bands converging toward the missing central section, which was carved on a rectangular stone patch. This patch was part of an elaborate system of repairs necessitated by a fault in the rock, namely a cleft extending from the top of the tomb façade through the left wing tip of the Ahuramazda symbol, the king's bow and pedestal, throne-bearers Nos. 6 and 19, and the entablature of the lower register. At least eleven rectangular and curved cavities had been fitted with repair patches, and wedge-shaped depressions show that most of the patches had been securely fixed by iron(?) cramps (cf. p. 36). In the course of time the cramps were removed by pilferers, and the patches dropped out of their sockets.

The altar is exceptionally well preserved and, as usual, has a three-stepped pyramidal base, a shaft with double frame, and an inverted three-stepped top. The fire is close in shape to the fires of Tombs I, IV, and VI, but the delicately engraved pattern of flames differs from the fire patterns of all the other tombs. A vertical line, presumably intentional, marks the center of the fire cone. The tips of the tiers of flames lap toward the left on the left side of this line and toward the right on the right side.

The Ahuramazda symbol shows a number of distinctive details. The god's ear is definitely adorned with a ring, and the bracelet on his left wrist is undulating. The ring held in his left hand is exceptionally small. The ring encircling his body is plain, as on Tombs III, IV, and VI. Except for single instead of double rows of curls separating wavy units, the segments of wings and bird tail are similar to those on Tomb II. A seemingly trivial but actually quite interesting detail, missing on all the other tombs, is a short band on top of the wings and visible in front of and behind the god. We can interpret it only as a survival of the horns, indicating divinity, which are often marked on top of the winged disk, with or without the bust of the god, on Achaemenid and earlier reliefs and seals.¹²³ As usual, the three-pronged appendages, though more pleasingly curved than on Xerxes' tomb, are carved in a coarse and clumsy fashion, as if the sculptors considered them extraneous items of the relief.

We are not certain whether the moon symbol shows the crescent which in other instances cradles the orb.

The reliefs of Darius' throne and throne-bearers (see pp. 108–11 and Figs. 39–52) were copied in rather stereotyped fashion on the tombs of his successors, but only the king to whom we assign Tomb V, Artaxerxes II, copied the legends identifying the nations of Darius' empire (see Pls. 67–68, p. 110, and Table III).

121. Illustrating well the purpose and effect of the tall cidaris which none but the king could wear (see Arrian *Anabasis* vi. 29. 3).

122. To our regret, we failed to take a detailed photograph of the king's relief. For rosette patterns on the headdresses of Darius I and two dignitaries, see King and Thompson, *Behistūn*, Pls. I and XIII; see also *IF*, Fig. 91.

As noted above (p. 98), the monsters capping the throne legs on Tombs IV, V, and VI are distinguished by feather patterns from those on the other tombs. The wing design of the monsters on Tomb V, composed of two distinctive sets of neatly carved feathers, is far superior to the crude pattern on Tomb IV (cf. Pl. 63 with Pl. 60). As a matter of fact, our illustrations (particularly Pls. 67–68) show that the reliefs on Tomb V were executed with exceptional care by competent sculptors.

The Frame and Side Walls

Some details of the three dignitaries on the left frame have been obliterated (see Pl. 63), but the attire of the Persian bearer of the king's spear and of the Persian guard in the bottom panel is completely restorable with the aid of the well preserved reliefs on the left side wall (see Pl. 65 *B*). The spear-bearer and the Median bearer of the king's battle-ax and bow are adorned with earrings. The position of the spear-bearer's quiver may be similar to that of his counterpart's quiver on Tomb II, but it is definitely different from that in the corresponding relief on Tomb III. The same observation is valid in regard to the position of the king's bow case. The shaft of the king's battle-ax is destroyed; only the two bits, possibly of unequal length, of its head are partly preserved. It is doubtful whether the Persian guard has an earring, but a bracelet is shown on his left wrist. In contrast to the elevated position of this guard on Tombs III and IV (see p. 98), he stands again, as on Tombs I and II, at the same level as the lower tier of throne-bearers.

On the left side wall six spear-bearing Persian guards (Pl. 65) are aligned in pairs, as on Tombs II–IV, with the three dignitaries on the left frame. The guards' headdress is the low fillet which leaves the crown of the head exposed, as on Tombs I and II. The hair, bunched at the back of the head, and the short pointed beard are marked by neat curls; the mustache is indicated. A rather large ring is attached to the lobe of the ear, and an undulating bracelet adorns either wrist. The folds of the wide-sleeved candys are stereotyped but skillfully carved. The low shoes of the topmost pair of guards show the typical straps, but the buttons on the instep were apparently omitted. The shoes of the other four guards are plain. The spear with socketed head is shown, as usual, in vertical position, its globular butt resting on the guard's left foot.

On the right frame, as usual, three Persian mourners (faintly discernible on Pl. 63) balance the martial figures on the left side. The lowermost mourner stands at the same level as the lower tier of throne-bearers. On the right side wall of Tombs I–IV only three additional mourners stand behind those pictured on the frame. On Tomb V, at last, the sculptor achieved perfect symmetry of the scenes to the left and right of the throne by depicting three superposed pairs of Persian mourners on the right side wall (see Pl. 64 *B*) to balance the paired guards on the left side wall (Pl. 65 *A*). The attire of the mourners is the same as that of the guards (see Pl. 65 *B*), and they are pictured in the stereotyped posture expressing grief.

123. For reliefs see e.g. Vol. I, Pl. 160, and King and Thompson, *Behistūn*, Pls. VIII and XIII. For seals see e.g. our Vol. II, Pls. 5:12 and 8:24, and Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, Pls. XXXIII *a-c* and *f-h* (9th-century Assyrian) and XXXVII *c* and *l* (Achaemenid).

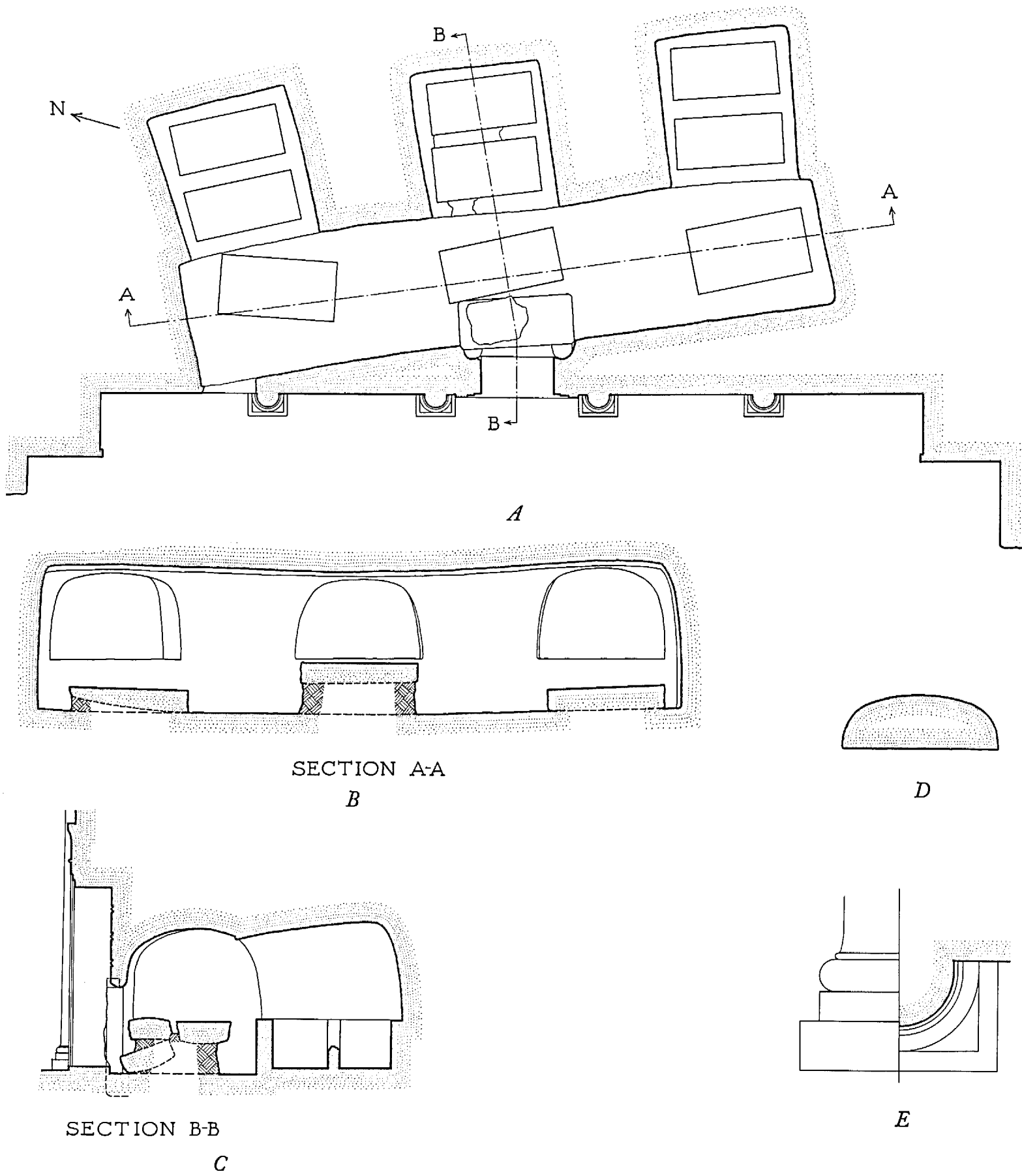


FIG. 36. THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II AT PERSEPOLIS (TOMB V). *A*. PLAN. *B-C*. SECTIONS. *D*. TYPICAL TRANSVERSE SECTION OF LID. *E*. PARTIAL ELEVATION AND PLAN OF COLUMN. SCALES, 1:100 (*A-C*), 1:40 (*D*), AND 1:20 (*E*)

THE SEPULCHRAL COMPARTMENTS

The plan of Tomb V (Fig. 36 *A*), as well as that of Tombs III and IV (Figs. 34 *C* and 35 *C*), is basically like the plan of Tomb I (Fig. 31 *B*). The crypt of Tomb V shows incompetent or careless workmanship such as we pointed out in connection with Tombs III and IV, although the plan of its vestibule is less irregular than that of Tomb III. Curiously, the orientation of the vestibule in relation to the façade is similar to that of Tomb III. Both vestibules slant in the same direction and in such a fashion that the left front corner pierces the tomb façade. The vestibule of Tomb V is about 13.05 m. long and about 2.65 m. wide. The apex of its vaulted ceiling (see Pl. 69 *B*) is about 3 meters above the floor (see Fig. 36 *C*).

Three vaults are tunneled into the rear wall of the vestibule to a uniform length of about 3 meters. The fronts are evenly spaced, but the axes are not parallel (see Fig. 36 *A*). The center vault has a uniform width of 2.65 m. The left vault has the same width at the front but widens to 2.90 m. at the rear, while the right vault is 2.60 m. wide at the front and 2.70 m. at the rear. The entrances (Fig. 36 *B*) are somewhat similar in shape to the more neatly carved ones of Tomb IV (see Fig. 35 *A*). The ceilings slope upward as in Tombs III and IV. The highest points above the floors are 1.70 m. (left), 1.60 m. (center), and 1.85 m. (right) at the entrances and 1.97 m., 2.00 m., and 2.12 m. respectively at the rear.

Each vault contains two burial cists¹²⁴ which, as usual, are rectangular troughs cut into the floors. Those in the left vault are 2.20 m. long, all the others about 2.15 m. The proximal cist of the center vault is slightly wider (1.10 m.) than the others (*ca.* 1 m.). The depth varies from 98 cm. to 1.02 m.

Four stone lids and a fragment of a fifth are scattered about in the vestibule (see Fig. 36 *A-B* and Pl. 69 *B*). They are flat-bottomed slabs with squared-off ends and semi-elliptical cross-section (see Fig. 36 *D* and Pl. 69 *A*). They are 2.30–2.37 m. long and 1.00–1.30 m. wide. Their maximal thickness is about 44 cm.

The crypt of Tomb V was planned to shelter the remains of six persons. The arrangement of the cists suggests that each of the three vaults was prepared for a couple of the royal house. None of the vaults, cists, or lids have distinctive features, but we consider the cists in the center vault, opposite the entrance (*cf.* p. 88), the graves of Artaxerxes II and Queen Stateira, who was poisoned in Susa by the queen-mother, Parysatis.¹²⁵ The battered condition of the rock wall between the two cists and of that separating the proximal cist from the vestibule (see Fig. 36 *A* and *C* and Pl. 69 *B*, right foreground) suggests that the tomb robbers had to expend exceptional efforts to remove the contents, presumably sarcophagi, from these graves.

We have referred to the rule of triplicity in the plans of the royal tombs and attempted to determine the purpose of the third grave in Tombs II–IV. We may guess that in Tomb V the twin graves flanking those of king and queen were prepared for princely couples. Or it is possible that the lateral vaults were carved for reasons of symmetry and that the burial cists were simply intended for the remains of any members of the royal house whom the king decided or intended to honor by burial in his tomb.

In theory, the three sons of Stateira—Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus—would have been the foremost candidates. However, since Darius was executed for conspiring against the king, it is not to be assumed that his remains were buried in the royal tomb. The body of Ariaspes, who committed suicide, may have been put into his father's crypt. Ochus ascended the throne as Artaxerxes III and carved his own tomb (VI). Of the many sons born to Artaxerxes II by his concubines, only Datames is known to us by name. We are told that after Ariaspes' death the aged king favored Datames as his successor, but Ochus contrived the assassination of his rival to the throne. Datames may have been buried in his father's tomb, but it is improbable that any relatives of Artaxerxes II were so honored, for, if the story is true, all were slain without distinction of age or sex by Artaxerxes Ochus as soon as he ascended the throne.¹²⁶

TOMB VI: THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III

The façade of Tomb VI rises about 130 meters east of the Throne Hall, beyond an undulating formation which marks the course of the eastern fortification of the Persepolis Terrace.¹²⁷ The contour lines of the terrain, originally surveyed by John S. Bolles,¹²⁸ and the datum points marking the levels of the excavated floors show that the ground level in front of the tomb is about 32 meters above the floor of the Throne Hall and about 35 meters above the floor of Hall 38 of the Treasury.

In order to clear a vertical rock face of sufficient height for the tomb façade, the masons had to cut a trench (*ca.* 40 m. long, *ca.* 20 m. wide) into the rocky slope of the mountain. The tomb faces 41° west of south, and the long axis of the trench has the same orientation.

Adjacent to the entrance to the trench is the top (*ca.* 32 m. × 15 m.) of a terraced platform of apparently five steps constructed of partly hewn stones (see Fig. 37). On this platform the Iranian excavators, who continued the investigations at Persepolis after the departure of our expedition, uncovered a mud-brick building which probably had ritualistic purpose.¹²⁹ It is to be assumed that this building has bearing on the tomb, although its orientation,¹³⁰ like that of the platform on which it stands, differs from the orientation of the tomb by twenty-one degrees, whereas it agrees with that of the Persepolis buildings.¹³¹ Normally, substantial discrepancies in orientation

127. See Vol. I, Fig. 21. 128. See *ibid.* and *OIC* No. 21, Fig. 5.

129. See Ali-Sami, *Persepolis (Takht-i-Jamshid)*, trans. R. N. Sharp (3d ed.) plan of tomb of "Artaxerxes the Second" (near end of book.)

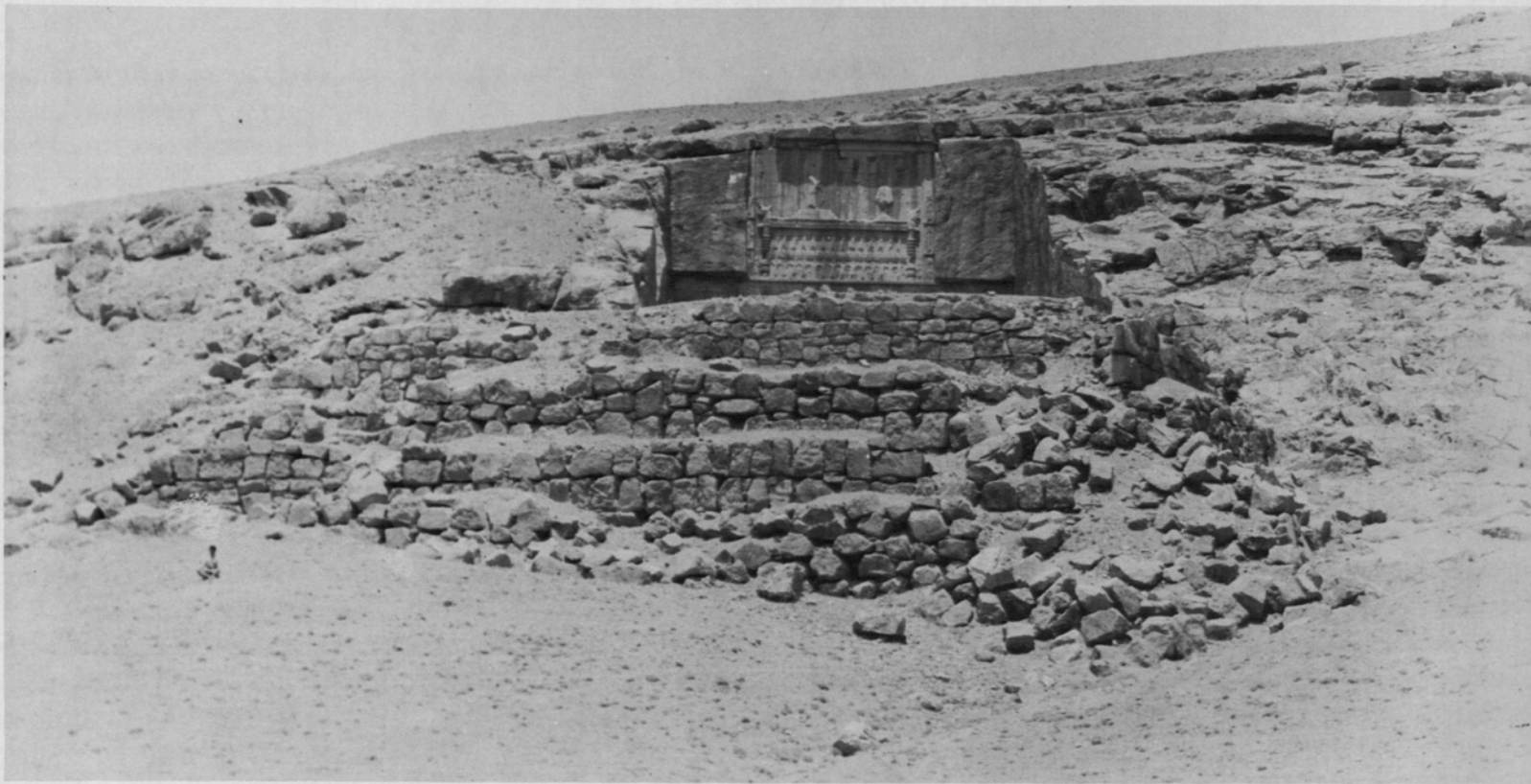
130. Axes deviating 20° from the cardinal points according to the Iranian survey.

131. Deviating 19°–21° from the cardinal points (see Vol. I xxix).

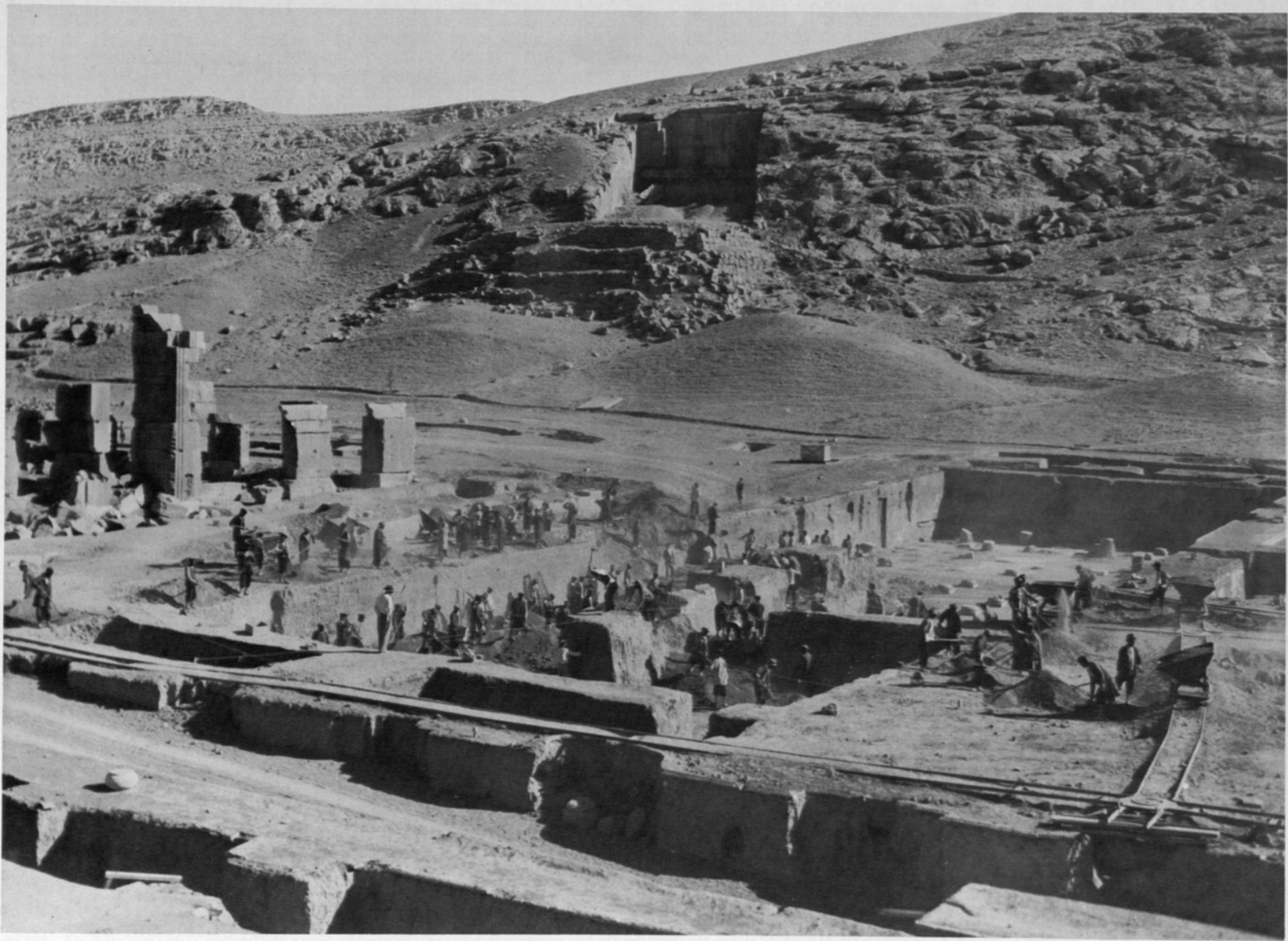
124. Curzon (*Persia* II 184, n. 5) reported one cist in each vault and considered erroneous the six cists of Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 163.

125. See Ctesias *Persica* 44a. 41–42.

126. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 424.



A



B

FIG. 37. THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III AT PERSEPOLIS (TOMB VI). *A*. GENERAL VIEW.
B. DISTANT VIEW WITH TREASURY EXCAVATION IN FOREGROUND

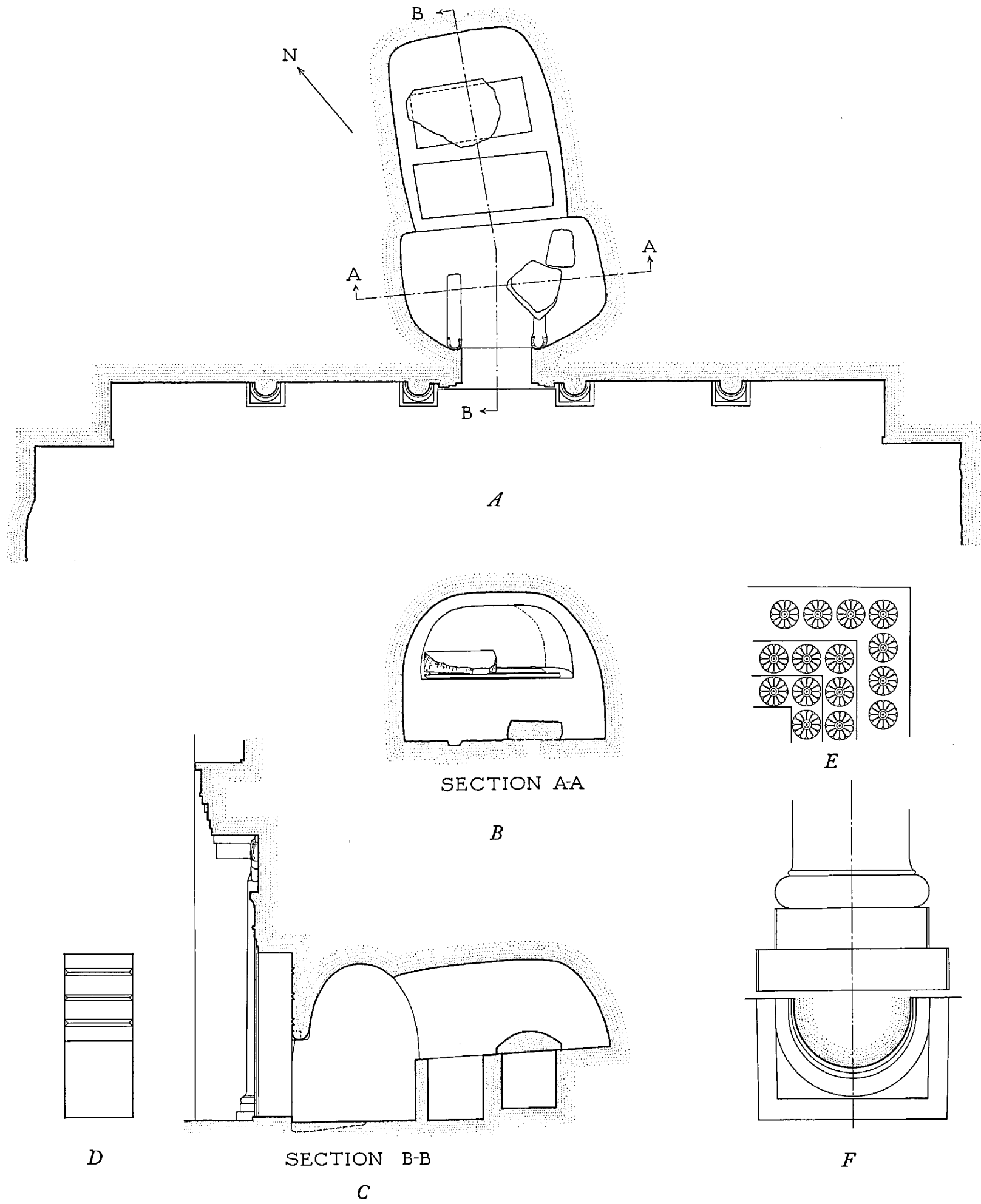


FIG. 38. THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III. *A*. PLAN. *B-C*. SECTIONS. *D*. ELEVATION OF DOORWAY WITH SHAM DOOR AT TOP. *E*. ROSETTES ON DOORFRAME. *F*. PARTIAL ELEVATION AND PLAN OF COLUMN. SCALES, 1:100 (*A-D*) AND 1:20 (*E-F*)

indicate that structures are not contemporary. In this case, however, we must assume that the orientation of the tomb was dictated by the configuration of the bedrock and admit that the orientation of the platform was adjusted to the direction of the adjacent fortification wall, whose debris covers the western portion of the platform. The top of the platform is about 12 meters above the summit of a nearby hillock (25 m. above the Persepolis Terrace datum¹³²) which marks the remnant of one of the fortification towers. We are quite certain, therefore, that the top of the platform and the ground in front of the tomb, which is higher by 7 meters, were above the parapet of the fortification, but we estimate that the eyes of a person standing on the platform would have been approximately level with the roof top of the Apadana.

Between the reign of Artaxerxes I (465–423 B.C.) and the destruction of Persepolis (330 B.C.) only Artaxerxes III (359–338/37 B.C.) expressed attachment to the dynastic capital of his ancestors by adding his own residential palace to their structures.¹³³ Artaxerxes III, further, replaced or completed the western stairway of the Palace of Darius I.¹³⁴

The location, the form of the façade, and certain details to be pointed out below closely link Tombs V and VI and distinguish them from the tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam. The plan of the crypt of Tomb VI, however, is strikingly different from that of Tomb V.

THE FAÇADE

THE LOWER REGISTER

The palace front on the façade of Tomb VI (see Pl. 70) is even longer (20.17 m.) than that on Tomb V (19.80 m.) and exceeds by 1.60 m. the corresponding portion of Darius' palace. The distance (3.40 m.) between the centers of the columns is the same on Tombs V and VI. However, the column centers on Tomb VI are 4.5 cm. outside the face of the wall (see Fig. 38 F) whereas those of Tombs I–V coincide with the wall line (see e.g. Fig. 36 E).

Comparison of certain measurements of the palace fronts on Tomb VI (Artaxerxes III) and Tomb I (Darius I) shows that their horizontal dimensions differ considerably whereas their vertical dimensions are surprisingly close.

	TOMB VI	TOMB I
Length of façade	20.17 m.	18.57 m.
Breadth of antae	1.71 m.	1.40 m.
Depth of antae	1.38 m.	1.05 m.
Height of façade	7.75 m.	7.82 m.*
Height of columns	6.16 m.	6.22 m.
Height of entablature	1.59 m.	1.60 m.

* Height of antae (7.63 m.) plus fillet (19 cm.) separating middle register from top register (see p. 83).

The well preserved doorway is capped by a cornice with twenty-four flutes, the number that is suggested by the extant parts of the cornice of Tomb V (see p. 99). However, it has an embellishment which distinguishes it from the doorways of the other tombs. Its triple frame is adorned with three rows of twelve-petaled rosettes (see Pl. 71 B and Fig. 38 E) such as border many Persepolis reliefs. Its general dimensions are similar to those of the entrances to the other tombs. As usual, the upper portion

132. See *ibid.* Fig. 21.

133. *Ibid.* p. 43.

134. *Ibid.* pp. 228 f.

(1.88 m. high) is a sham door carved from the bedrock and patterned with grooves (see Fig. 38 C–D). The actual opening (1.60 m. high, 1.50 m. wide) is somewhat larger than that of Tomb I. The channels that served for installation of the two leaves of the door, probably of stone (see p. 99, n. 120), are parallel.

One of the most decisive features linking Tomb VI with Tomb V is the lion frieze on the entablature of the palace façade (see Pl. 70). The lions are arranged as on Tomb V, but a floral motif¹³⁵ with a five-petaled palmette separates the two antithetic files (see Pl. 75). Compared with the lions on Tomb V (see Pl. 63) and in the Persepolis reliefs,¹³⁶ those on Tomb VI are oddly stylized. For instance, the shoulder muscle, which usually resembles a slanting figure "8," is shown as a slanting ellipsoid with oblique gash and the "knees" of the forelegs are marked by two ridges. As on Tomb V, the fillet capping the entablature extends the entire length of the lion frieze and there is a distinctively spacious ledge (1.06 m. wide) between the fillet and the face of the upper register.

In further contrast to Tombs I–IV but conforming with Tomb V, the side walls of the palace register (Pl. 73) were embellished with symmetrical reliefs of three superposed pairs of Persian guards. Iconoclasts chiseled off, with exceptional thoroughness, the faces, hands, and even parts of the spears of the figures that were accessible at the time of their activities. Obviously, by that time, probably rather recent, soil and perhaps mud-brick debris had accumulated in front of the tomb in such a way as to protect the lowest panel on the right side wall, thus preserving the reliefs of two guards (see Pl. 73 B). On the left side wall (Pl. 73 A) the face of one guard in the lowest panel was carved on a stone patch that was used to repair a fissure in the rock, as indicated by sockets for the cramps which once fastened the patch. The guards on Tomb VI are similar to those on Tomb V (see pp. 99 and 100) but somewhat more stylized. What seems to be the domed top of the headdress actually represents the exposed crown of the head. Instead of neatly carved curls the hair and beard show clusters of plain knobs. The earrings are smaller, but the bracelets undulate as on Tomb V. The sandals and the low shoes with or without three straps seem to be the same on both tombs, although the garments on Tomb V appear to be carved with greater skill. It is interesting to note that on both tombs the two sets of guards on the lower side walls are not shown exactly as reflected images, since the positions of the hands are not reversed in one set. Instead, the right hand is always shown above the left. In fact, all spear-bearing guards in the reliefs on the tombs and on the Persepolis structures are pictured in the same posture, showing the prescribed rule for carrying the weapon.

THE RELIEFS OF THE UPPER REGISTER

The Main Panel

The composition of the scene (see Pl. 70) is the same as on the other tombs, but as usual there are variant details. The figure of the king is exceptionally stocky and coarse (see Pl. 71 A), lacking the appearance of august dignity that characterizes the royal figure on the other tombs,

135. For a similar motif at Persepolis see *ibid.* e.g. p. 241 and Pl. 173 B.

136. Including those on the western stairway of the Palace of Darius I, which was replaced or completed by Artaxerxes III (see *ibid.* p. 228 and Pl. 153 A).

particularly those of Artaxerxes II and Darius I (see Pls. 63 and 19). The effect is caused mainly by the relatively low cidaris (cf. p. 100), the unusually large and fleshy nose, and the bulging eye and arm (cf. Pl. 22 *B*).¹³⁷ The king is adorned with an ear pendant, possibly a double ring, and undulating bracelets. His bow is not angular, as on Tomb V, but curved in the usual fashion.

The fire on the altar is similar to that on Tomb V as to form and delicateness of pattern, but the flames are not arrayed in regular tiers and there is no center line (cf. p. 100). The flames on the right side lap toward the right, but the pattern on the left side of the fire cone is uncertain because of abrasion.

The Ahuramazda symbol, so far as it is discernible, is very similar to that on Tomb V, but no short band is carved on top of the wings.

The moon symbol clearly shows the orb cradled in the crescent.

A comparison of the monsters capping the throne legs on Tombs V and VI indicates, once again, the superior skill of the sculptors of Tomb V (see p. 100 and cf. Pl. 63 with Pl. 71 *A*). On Tomb V the monster's wing is neatly carved; the feathers, arranged in orderly tiers, are wrought with great care and finished to the very tips of the two units visible beyond the leg. In contrast, on Tomb VI the wing is rather angular and the feathers form a confused pattern which terminates abruptly in a plain right angle.

The bearers of the king's throne (Pls. 74 *A-B* and 75) are described below (see pp. 108–11 and Figs. 39–52), but we wish to emphasize here that the posture of throne-bearer No. 30, the Carian (Pl. 74 *B*¹³⁸), offers an important clue for the dating of Tomb VI. On Tombs I–V the Carian is pictured in an impossibly distorted position, but on Tomb VI his posture is corrected (see Fig. 48 and note accompanying facing table). Together with other criteria (see p. 99) this change indicates that Tomb VI was the last of the Achaemenid royal tombs to be completed, for we agree with Herzfeld's suggestion that any subsequent sculptor would hardly have restored the absurd original posture of the Carian. The faces and hands of the throne-bearers of the lower tier have been chiseled off with deliberate thoroughness as in the case of the guards on the side walls of the lower register.

The Frame and Side Walls

As usual, three martial figures are carved on the left frame. The position of the quiver of the king's Persian spear-bearer (see Pl. 71 *A*) approximates that of his counterpart's quiver on Tomb III (see Pl. 51 *A*). The locking mechanism also is similar, but the bolt-shaped tassels—uniquely carved in part on the side wall (see Pl. 72 *A*)—are almost identical with the corresponding five tassels on Tombs I and II (see Pls. 23 *B* and 43 *A*). The position of the king's bow case, carried by the Median bearer of the royal battle-ax and bow, is similar to that of the royal bow case on Tomb III. However, on Tomb VI we find at last a representation of the metal guard—two deer legs joined at an angle (clearest on Pl. 72 *A*)—which kept the strap of the bow case from slipping out of the

137. The appearance of eye and arm on Pl. 71 *A* is somewhat exaggerated by lighting.

138. The photograph, though regrettably weak, suffices to prove the position of the feet.

bearer's hand (see p. 86). On the tombs of Darius I and Xerxes those parts of the relief that might show a strap guard are destroyed. The Persian guard in the bottom panel on Tomb VI stands at the same level as the lower tier of throne-bearers. His face and hands have been chiseled off deliberately.

On the left side wall three pairs of Persian guards are aligned with the three figures on the left frame (see Pl. 72 *A*). They are the same in all details as the corresponding guards on Tomb V (see p. 100), which, however, were carved with greater skill, as exemplified by the careful rendering of the headgear and the neat curls of hair and beard (see Pl. 65). Here, too, the faces and hands of the figures in the lowest panel have been chiseled away.

Again three Persian mourners are shown on the frame to the right of the throne. They are faintly visible on Plate 72 *B*, which illustrates clearly, however, the identical figures on the right side wall. The mourners on the side wall are arranged in the same manner as those on Tomb V, that is, in three pairs (see p. 100). They are dressed like the guards, but their open-topped fillets were wrought with greater care. As usual, the right hand is extended along the right thigh, and the left sleeve of the candys is raised to the mouth in a gesture of sorrow. Again, the faces and hands of the lowermost pair have been chiseled off.

THE SEPULCHRAL COMPARTMENTS

The plan of Tomb VI (Fig. 38 *A*), with small irregular vestibule and only one vault, is basically like that of Tomb II (Fig. 33 *C*), but once again the precise orientation of the earlier crypt contrasts with the untidy plan of the later one. As noted above (p. 93), the neatness of its plan is one of our reasons for assigning Tomb II to Xerxes. The plans of Tombs III, IV, and V are essentially like the plan of Tomb I, with angular vestibule and three vaults, and illustrate, even more strikingly than does the contrast between Tombs II and VI, the deterioration in workmanship after the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes.

The irregularly shaped vestibule of Tomb VI is 4.33 m. long and has a maximum width of 2.70 m. The apex of its vaulted ceiling is 3.39 m. above the floor. A plain bronze buckle¹³⁹ was found in the refuse on the floor.

The single vault (see Fig. 38 *A-C* and Pl. 74 *C*) is about 4.25 m. long and varies in width from 3.30 m. at the front to 3.45 m. in the center to 2.90 m. at the back. The vaulted ceiling rises to a maximum of 2 meters above the floor, which at the vault entrance is 1.33 m. above the floor of the vestibule. Ceiling and floor slope upward toward the rear.

There are only two cists, which are not uniform in size. The outer cist is 2.90 m. long, 1.20 m. wide, and 1.40 m. deep, whereas the corresponding dimensions of the inner cist are 2.47, 1.19, and 1.26 m.

Obviously, the lids too must have been of different sizes, but they were presumably of the same shape. A fragment resting on the inner cist shows that the smaller lid was plano-convex, like the lids in Xerxes' tomb. It was approximately 2.70 m. long, 1.40 m. wide, 13 cm. thick at the sides, and 43 cm. thick at the center.

Tomb VI is distinguished from the other royal tombs in that the rule of triplicity was ignored. Tomb I has three

139. Vol. II, Pl. 45:19.

vaults with three cists each; Tomb II has one vault with three cists; Tombs III and IV have three vaults with one cist each; and Tomb V has three vaults with two cists each. Tomb VI alone was designed to shelter the remains of two persons only. While the reason for the deviation from the rule is as puzzling as the rule itself, at least there is no doubt that the larger cist was prepared for the king and the smaller cist for the queen. It is uncertain, how-

ever, whether the remains of the royal couple were ever interred here. Artaxerxes III was poisoned,¹⁴⁰ and according to one rather dubious story¹⁴¹ his body was dismembered and another corpse was put into the royal tomb. We are told that Queen Atossa, a namesake of the wife of Darius I, was made captive, together with three daughters, at the battle of Issus.¹⁴² Her ultimate fate is unknown.

TOMB VII: THE UNFINISHED TOMB OF DARIUS III

We do not hesitate to assign the unfinished tomb to Darius III, whose reign lasted from 335 to 330 B.C.,¹⁴³ and to ignore the remote possibility that the project was started by Arses (338/37–336/35 B.C.) and continued by Darius III. Xerxes II and Secydianus may be disregarded as possible founders of the tomb (see p. 80, n. 2).

The pathetic vestiges of Tomb VII are situated about 500 meters south of the Persepolis Terrace (see Fig. 1) on a low spur of the Mountain of Mercy (Pl. 76). Oddly, the tomb faces approximately south-southeast, that is, away from the Terrace. The site is mostly a quarry (Pls. 77–78) covered with masons' debris and showing the characteristic pattern of slots in the bedrock (cf. p. 34, n. 3).

The designer of the tomb undoubtedly intended to copy the façades of Tombs V and VI, but only portions of the reliefs in the upper register were completed (see Pl. 78) and the figures of two guards blocked out on the left side wall (Pl. 79 B). Using our workman who appears in Plate 78 as a scale, we can visualize the enormous amount of labor still required to remove the rock mass from the rest of the upper register and to excavate the rock trench in order to clear the face of the lower register, not to mention tunneling into the rock to prepare the crypt and carving from the rock wall the throne, the throne-bearers, and the palace front.

The semifinished portion of the façade consists partly of bedrock and partly of the irregular masonry characteristic of the Achaemenid period (see p. 34), which shows a mosaic of stone blocks of various shapes and sizes fitted individually without mortar.

In the main panel the relief of the king, standing in stereotyped posture on a three-stepped pedestal, was almost completed. Even earring and bracelet are indicated. However, the cidaris is missing. Faint markings in the masonry above the head indicate that the sculptor intended to carve the headdress from a stone patch to be inserted in a cavity.

140. By order of the eunuch Bagoas, one of the generals of the king's guard, i.e., a Persian (see Diodorus Siculus xvii. 5. 3).

141. Passed on by Claudius Aelianus *Varia Historia* vi. 8 (ed. Rudolph Hercher [Paris, 1858]), where Bagoas is called an Egyptian eunuch. Bagoas, supposedly in revenge for the Apis bull slain by Artaxerxes, cut the king's body to pieces, threw the pieces to the cats, and made sword hilts out of the hip bones of the king!

142. See Robert William Rogers, *A History of Ancient Persia* (New York and London, 1929) p. 256.

The altar has the usual shape, but the fire cone is blank, without the pattern of lapping flames.

The Ahuramazda symbol¹⁴⁴ may possibly have been completed. The god's left hand clasps a small ring, and a large plain ring encircles his body. The feathers of the right wing are indicated by a simple pattern of parallel horizontal bands without undulations. The left wing and the bird tail are destroyed. The left appendage ends in three stubby digits.

The moon symbol was completed, but parts of the edges have been destroyed by erosion. There seems to be a trace of the crescent.

The sculptors finished the ornamentation of the right half of the top of the throne stage, but the left half is blank. The stonecutters' technique is demonstrated by a rather shapeless boss at either end of the throne top. These two bosses show rudiments of the heads of the monsters which were to cap the throne legs. The sculptors' work was to begin after the technicians had prepared the bosses.

On the frame of the main panel can be traced the figure of the king's spear-bearer to the left and remnants of a mourner to the right.

The unfinished reliefs of two guards (Pl. 79) on the left side wall are again interesting from the standpoint of technique. Since the outlines of the blocked-out guards and their lances approximate the final contours of the reliefs, the figures illustrate an intermediate stage between the rather shapeless bosses referred to above and the finished sculptures. Otherwise, there is only one detail of interest. The headdress is flat-topped like that of the Persian guards on Tombs III and IV in contrast to the open-topped fillet depicted on the other tombs.

Obviously, the incomplete tomb has no sepulchral compartment.¹⁴⁵ Thus, the body of the assassinated king, sent by Alexander to Persia to be buried in the royal tomb,¹⁴⁶ was put to rest in another sepulcher, most probably in the spacious crypt of Tomb V.

143. Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (1956) pp. 19 and 36.

144. Mostly hidden in the shadow of a fig tree which, in spite of its possible usefulness, should have been removed.

145. Cf. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pls. 162 and 167, and Curzon, *Persia II* 184 f.

146. See Arrian *Anabasis* iii. 22. 1.

THE THRONE-BEARERS ON TOMBS I-VI

INTRODUCTORY NOTES

On all the finished tombs thirty throne-bearers are arranged according to the scheme shown in the following diagram.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
29	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	30

The nations represented are listed in Table II in the order of the numbers assigned to the throne-bearers, which corresponds to the sequence of countries or peoples mentioned in the DNa inscription on the tomb of Darius I (see p. 110).

TABLE II

NATIONS REPRESENTED ON THE ROYAL TOMBS		
NATION OR PEOPLE	OLD PERSIAN NAME	THRONE-BEARER
Persia	Pārsa	1
Media	Māda	2
Elam	Ūvja	3
Parthia	Parthava	4
Aria	Haraiva	5
Bactria	Bāxtriš	6
Sogdiana	Sugda	7
Chorasmia	Uvārazmiš	8
Drangiana	Zranka	9
Arachosia	Harauvatiš	10
Sattagydia	Thataguš	11
Gandara	Gandāra	12
India	Hinduš	13
Hauma-drinking Scythians	Sakā haumavargā	14
Pointed-hat Scythians	Sakā tigraxaudā	15
Babylonia	Bābiruš	16
Assyria	Athurā	17
Arabia	Arabāya	18
Egypt	Mudrāya	19
Armenia	Armina	20
Cappadocia	Katpatuka	21
Lydia (Sardis)	Sparda	22
Ionians	Yaunā	23
Scythians beyond the sea	Sakā paradraya	24
Skudrians (Thrace)	Skudra	25
Petasos-wearing Ionians	Yaunā takabarā	26
Libyans	Putāyā	27
Ethiopians	Kūšiyā	28
Macians	Maciyā	29
Carians	Karkā	30

147. For DB, DPh, DPe, DSe, DNa, and XPh see *OPG*, pp. 107 ff. For D Egypt consult G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte: Recueil d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale, "Bibliothèque d'étude" XI [Le Caire, 1936]) pp. 48-87 and 181-89, and Cameron, "Darius, Egypt, and the 'lands beyond the sea,'" *JNES* II (1943) 308 f.

148. Petasos-wearing Ionians and Skudrians?

149. Mentioned in DPe only.

150. In Egyptian hieroglyphs only.

151. It appears to be certain that two Scythian nations are mentioned, but the translation "of the marshlands" and "of the plains" seems to be doubtful (see Posener, *op. cit.* pp. 184 f., No. 12).

152. Cf. Kent in *JNES* II 304 f.

153. Either Libyans (Putāyā) or Ethiopians (Kūšiyā) may have been omitted (see Kent in *JNES* II 302, n. 4, and *OPG*, p. 142).

For the sake of convenient reference we insert at this point all rosters of Achaemenid provinces which are recorded in royal inscriptions.¹⁴⁷

DB i 14-17 (Behistun)

1. Persia	13. Parthia
2. Elam	14. Drangiana
3. Babylonia	15. Aria
4. Assyria	16. Chorasmia
5. Arabia	17. Bactria
6. Egypt	18. Sogdiana
7. (Those) beside the sea	19. Gandara
8. Sardis	20. Scythia
9. Ionia	21. Sattagydia
10. Media	22. Arachosia
11. Armenia	23. Maka
12. Cappadocia	

DPh (Persepolis Apadana Foundation Record)

... from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana, from there to Ethiopia; from Sind, from there to Sardis . . .

DPe, lines 8 and 10-18 (Persepolis Terrace Foundation Inscription)

1. Persia	14. Sagartia ¹⁴⁹
2. Elam	15. Parthia
3. Media	16. Drangiana
4. Babylonia	17. Aria
5. Arabia	18. Bactria
6. Assyria	19. Sogdiana
7. Egypt	20. Chorasmia
8. Armenia	21. Sattagydia
9. Cappadocia	22. Arachosia
10. Sardis	23. Sind
11. Ionians of the mainland (Yaunā tyaiy uškahyā)	24. Gandara
12. (Ionians) who are by the sea (utā tyaiy drayahyā)	25. Scythians
13. Countries across the sea (utā dahyāva tyā para draya) ¹⁴⁸	26. Maka

D Egypt (Canal Stelae)¹⁵⁰

1. Persia	13. Babylonia
2. Media	14. Armenia
3. Elam	15. Ionia?
4. Aria	16. Cappadocia
5. Parthia	17. Sardis?
6. Bactria	18. Assyria?
7. Sogdiana	19. Egypt
8. Arachosia	20. Libya?
9. Drangiana	21. Arabia?
10. Sattagydia	22. Ethiopia (Kūša)
11. Chorasmia	23. Maka
12. Saka (of the marshlands and of the plains) ¹⁵¹	24. Sind

DSe, lines 17 and 21-30 (Susa)

1. Persia	16. Pointed-hat Scythians
2. Media	17. Babylonia
3. Elam	18. Assyria
4. Parthia	19. Arabia
5. Aria	20. Egypt
6. Bactria	21. Armenia
7. Sogdiana	22. Cappadocia
8. Chorasmia	23. Sardis
9. Drangiana	24. Ionians
10. Arachosia	25. (Ionians) by the sea ¹⁵²
11. Sattagydia	26. (Ionians) beyond the sea ¹⁵²
12. Macians	27. Skudra
13. Gandara	28. Libyans ¹⁵³
14. Sind	29. Ethiopians ¹⁵³
15. Hauma-drinking Scythians	30. Carians

TABLE III
LEGENDS ABOVE THRONE-BEARERS ON TOMBS I (DARIUS I) AND V (ARTAXERXES II)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	SEE PLATE	OLD PERSIAN	ELAMITE	AKKADIAN	TRANSLATION OF OLD PERSIAN
1	I	28A	i-ya-ma\pa-a-ra-sa	hi ʔpár-šir ₃ -ra	a-[ga-a amēl]par-sa-a-ʔa ¹	This (is a) Persian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\pa-a-ra-sa\	hi ʔp[ár-šir]r ₃ -r[a]	destroyed	
2	I	28B	i-ya-ma\ma-a ¹ -[da]	ʔhi ʔ ¹ [ma-da-ra]	destroyed	This (is a) Mede.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ma-a-da\	hi ʔma-da	[. . .]-ʔa-a ¹	
3	I	28C	[i ¹ -ya-ma\u-va-ja	[hi] ʔ[hal(?)]-la(?)]-ʔtam ¹ - ti-ra	ʔa ¹ -[ga-a] [amēl]NIM.MA ^{ki} -a-a ¹	This (is an) Elamite.
	V	67	i-ya-ma u-va-ja\	hi ʔhal-la-tam-ti	[. . .]-a-a	
4	I	28D	i-ya-ma\pa-ra-θa ¹ -va	hi ʔpár-tu-[ma-ra]	destroyed	This (is a) Parthian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\pa-ra-θa-va\	hi ʔpár-tu-ma	a-ga-a amēlpar-tu	
5	I	28E	i-ya-ma\ha-ra-i-va	illegible	destroyed	This (is an) Arian.
	V	66	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
6	I	28F	[i-ya]-ma\ba-ʔa-xa ¹ -[ta-ra-i-ya]	[hi ʔba]-ik-ʔtur ¹ -[. . .]	destroyed	This (is a) Bactrian.
	V	66	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
7	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	(Sogdian)
	V	66	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
8	I	29A	[i-ya]-ʔma ¹ [\u-va-a]-ʔra-za- mi-i ¹ -[ya]	destroyed	destroyed	(Chorasmian)
	V	67	[i-ya-ma\u-va-a-ra-za]-mi-ya	destroyed	destroyed	
9	I	29B	i-ya-ma\za-ra ¹ -ka	hi ʔšir ¹ -ra-ʔan ¹ -[ka ₄ -ra]	destroyed	This (is a) Drangianian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\za-ra-ka-a	ʔhi ʔšir ¹ -ra-an-ka ₄	destroyed	
10	I	29C	i-ʔya ¹ -ma\ha-ra ¹ -u-ʔva-ta ¹ -i-ʔya ¹	hi ʔhar-[ru]-ma-[. . .]	destroyed	This (is an) Arachosian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ha-ra-u-va-ta-i-ya	hi ʔhar-ru-ma-ti-iš	destroyed	
11	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	[i]-ya-ma\θa-ta-gu-u-i-ya	destroyed	destroyed	This (is a) Sattagyidian.
12	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ga-da-a-ra-ya\	traces only	destroyed	This (is a) Gandarian.
13	I	29D	[i-ya-ma\ha]-i-[du-u-ya]*	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ha-i-du-u-ya\	hi ʔhi-in-du-iš	ʔa-ga-a amēl]in-du-u	This (is an) Indian.
14	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\sa-ka-a\ha-u-ma-va- ra-ga-a †	hi ʔšá-ak-ka ₄ u-mu-mar- ka ₄ -ip	a-ga-a amēlgi-mir-ri ú-mar- ga- ²	This (is a) Hauma-drinking Scythian.
15	I	29E	i-ya-ma\sa-ka-a\ta-i-ga-ra-xa- [u-da]	hi ʔšá-ak-ka ₄ ti-ik-ra-ka ₄ -u- da-ra	a-ga-a amēlgi-mir-ri-a-a šá ʔkar ¹ -[bal]-ʔla-ti-šú ¹ [zaq- pa-a ²]	This (is a) Pointed-hat Scythian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\sa-ka-a\ta-i-ga-ra-xa- [u-d]a\	[hi] ʔšá-ak-ka ₄ ti-ig-ra-ka ₄ - u-da	[a-g]a-a amēl]g[i-mi]r-r[i] and traces: [šá ² ubá ⁴ kar-bal-la- ti-šú-nu zaq]-pa- ²	
16	I	30A	i-ya-ma\ba-ʔa ¹ -ba-i-ru-u-ša	hi ʔʔba-pi-li ¹ -ra	a-ʔga-a amēl]ba-bi-lu-a-a	This (is a) Babylonian.
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ba-a-ba-i-ru-u-ša\	hi ʔba-pi-li-ip	a-ga-a amēl]ba-bi-lu-a-a	
17	I	30B	i-ya-ma\θa-u-ra-i-ya	hi ʔáš-šu-ra-ir-ra (sic)	a-ga-a amēl]aš-šur-a-a	This (is an) Assyrian.
	V	67	i-y[a-m]a\θa-u-ra-i-ya	hi ʔ[áš-šu-r]a	a-ga-a amēl]aš-šur-a-a	
18	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ra-ba-a-ya	hi ʔhar-ba-ia	a-ga-a amēl]ar-ba-a-a	This (is an) Arabian.
19	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\mu-u-da-ra-[a]-ya	hi ʔmu-šir-r[. . .]	a-ga-a amēl]mi-šir-a-ʔa ¹	This (is an) Egyptian.
20	I	30C	ʔi-ya ¹ -ma\ra-[mi-i-na]	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ra-mi-i-na-i-ya	hi ʔhar-mi-nu-ia	a-ga-a amēl]ú-ra-áš-ʔa-a-a	This (is an) Armenian.
21	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ka-ta-pa-tu-u-ka\	hi ʔka ₄ †-ut-ba-du-ka ₄	a-ga-a amēl]ka-at-pa-tuk-a-a	This (is a) Cappadocian.
22	I	30D	remnant	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ma-ya (sic)\sa-pa-ra-di-i-ya]	hi ʔiš-pár-da	a-ga (sic) amēl]sa-par-da-a-a	This (is a) Lydian (Sardian).
23	I	30E	remnant	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ya-u-na-a\	hi ʔia-u-na	[a-ga-a amēl]ia-ma-na-a-a	This (is an) Ionian.
24	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\sa-ka-a\pa-ra-da-ra- i-ya\	hi ʔšá-ak-ka ₄ AN.KAM(!).MEŠ- la-ik-ka ₄	a-ga-a amēl]gi-mir-ri šá a-ʔi ul- lu-a šá nār(íd) mar-ra	This (is a) Scythian beyond the sea.
25	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\sa-ku-u-da-ra\	hi ʔiš-ku-ra (sic)	a-ga-a amēl]is-ku-du-ru-a-a	This (is a) Skudrian.
26	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ya-u-na\ta-ka-ba-ra-a	hi ʔia-u-na da-ka ₄ -bar-ra	a-ga-a amēl]ia-ma-na-a-a šá- nu-tú šá ma-gi-na-ta ina qaqqadí(SAG.DU)-šú-nu na-(šú)-u	This (is a) Petasos-wearing Ionian (Akk.: "the second Ionians bearing shields on their heads").
27	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\pa-u-ta-a-ya\	hi ʔpu-ut-tá-a-ia	a-ga-a amēl]pu-ʔa-a-a	This (is a) Libyan (i.e., man of Punt).
28	I	25	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	
	V	67	i-ya-ma\ku-u-ša-a-ya	hi ʔku-šī-ia	a-ga-a amēl]ku-ú-šū-a-a	This (is an) Ethiopian (i.e., man of Kush).
29	I	26A	i-ya-ma\ma-ca-i-ya-a	hi ʔmaš-ši-ia-ra	a-ga-a amēl]qa-du-ma-a-a	This (is a) Macian (i.e., Makan).
	V§	68	i-ya-ʔma ¹ \ka-ra-ka\	hi ʔkur-ka ₄	a-ga-ʔa ¹ amēl]kar-sa(?)]-a-ʔ]	This (is a) Carian.
	I	27A	i-ya-m[a\] ka-r[ka-ka . . .]	hi ʔ[kur-k]a ₄ -ʔra ¹	a-ga-ʔa ¹ amēl]kar ¹ -sa-a-a	This (is a) Carian.
	V§		[i-ya-ma ma-ca]-i-ya	[hi ʔmaš-ši-i]a-ra	[a-ga-a amēl]q]a-du-ma-a-a	This (is a) Macian (i.e., Makan).

* Cameron's comment: "The only sure character is *i*, and while traces of a sign following it are observable, they do not resemble *du* (or any other character, for that matter)."

† There is a superfluous vertical wedge between *ga* and *a*.

‡ There is one superfluous vertical wedge on this sign.

§ The engraver of the legends on Tomb V confused those identifying throne-bearers Nos. 29 (the Macian) and 30 (the Carian). Through oversight we failed to photograph the remnant of the erroneous inscription of No. 30, and it is taken from the copies of A. W. Davis (see the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1932, Pl. II and p. 375) and Herzfeld (see *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 47 and 49). Neither author mentioned that the two inscriptions have to be interchanged.

|| The questioned sign as it stands is not *sa*, though that may have been intended.

DNa, lines 18 and 22-30 (Darius' Tomb Inscription)

1. Persia	16. Babylonia
2. Media	17. Assyria
3. Elam	18. Arabia
4. Parthia	19. Egypt
5. Aria	20. Armenia
6. Bactria	21. Cappadocia
7. Sogdiana	22. Sardis
8. Chorasmia	23. Ionia
9. Drangiana	24. Scythians beyond the sea
10. Arachosia	25. Skudra
11. Sattagydia	26. Petasos-wearing Ionians
12. Gandara	27. Libyans
13. Sind	28. Ethiopians
14. Hauma-drinking Scythians	29. Macians
15. Pointed-hat Scythians	30. Carians

XPh, lines 16 and 19-28 ("Daiva" Text)

1. Persia	18. (Ionians) by the sea (see n. 152)
2. Media	19. (Ionians) beyond the sea (see n. 152)
3. Elam	20. Macians
4. Arachosia	21. Arabia
5. Armenia	22. Gandara
6. Drangiana	23. Sind
7. Parthia	24. Cappadocia
8. Aria	25. Dahians (Dahā)
9. Bactria	26. Hauma-drinking Scythians
10. Sogdiana	27. Pointed-hat Scythians
11. Chorasmia	28. Skudra
12. Babylonia	29. Akaufaka
13. Assyria	30. Libyans
14. Sattagydia	31. Carians
15. Sardis	32. Ethiopians
16. Egypt	
17. Ionians	

LEGENDS OF THE THRONE-BEARERS ON TOMBS I AND V

Trilingual cuneiform legends—Old Persian at top, Elamite in center, and Akkadian at bottom—once identified all the throne-bearers on the tomb (I) of Darius I at Naqsh-i Rostam and the tomb (V) of Artaxerxes II at Persepolis. Some have been destroyed, but the extant legends (Table III)¹⁵⁴ verify the sequence of throne-bearers as shown in our diagram on page 108 except that on Tomb V the engraver interchanged the legends of throne-bearers Nos. 29 and 30. Aside from linguistic deviations and the engraver's confusion of throne-bearers Nos. 29 and 30 on Tomb V, the two sets of legends are essentially alike.

PICTORIAL TABLES OF THE THRONE-BEARERS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO ETHNO-GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPS

In order to facilitate comparison and compact description of the thirty throne-bearers as they are depicted on each of the six tombs, we present them in pictorial tables (Figs. 39-52). The arrangement, however, rather than following the sequence on the tombs, which is illustrated on a number of plates (see e.g. Pl. 25), is according to the

154. With the aid of our large-scale photographs Cameron prepared the transliterations and translations given in Table III. The existence of legends on Tomb I has long been known. Eight of these legends have been published by Weissbach (*KA*, pp. 96-98) and Kent (*OPG*, pp. 140 f.). For references to earlier publications see *KA*, p. xix. The legends on Tomb V were discovered and first reported by A. W. Davis (see "An Achaemenian tomb-inscription at Persepolis," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1932, pp. 373-77) and published more fully by Herzfeld in *AI*, pp. 46-50. See also *OPG*, pp. 155 f.

155. See Vol. I 117.

156. *Ibid.*

157. I.e., weapons shown in the reliefs but not necessarily corresponding to those used by the peoples represented.

nine groups of nations which we had previously established.¹⁵⁵ As then noted,¹⁵⁶ similar, at times identical, dress and weapons¹⁵⁷ mark the representatives of such groups of nations as were undoubtedly in many cases ethnically related and occupied contiguous geographical tracts, exposed as a rule to similar climatic conditions. The geographical locations of the nations represented by the throne-bearers are indicated, tentatively in part, on our map of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 53).

Our original grouping of the nations has been modified in that we now divide the Median group (II) into IIA and IIB and interchange groups VII and VIII, as indicated by Table IV.

TABLE IV
SEQUENCE OF THRONE-BEARERS IN PICTORIAL TABLES (FIGS. 39-52)

FIG.	GROUP	DESIGNATION	THRONE-BEARER	
			No.	Nation
39	I	Persian	1	Persian
			3	Elamite (Susian)
40	IIA	West Median	2	Median
			20	Armenian
			21	Cappadocian
41	IIB	East Median	4	Parthian
			6	Bactrian
42	III	East Iranian	5	Arian
			9	Drangianian
			10	Arachosian
43	IV	Scythian	7	Sogdian
			8	Chorasmian
			14	Hauma-drinking Scythians
44	IV (cont.)	Scythian	15	Pointed-hat Scythians
			24	Scythians beyond the sea
			25	Skudrian
45	V	Indian	11	Sattagyidian
			12	Gandarian
			13	Indian
46	V (cont.)	Indian	29	Macian
47	VI	Hellenic	22	Lydian
			23	Ionian
48	VI (cont.)	Hellenic	26	Petasos-wearing Ionians
			30	Carian
			17	Assyrian
49	VII	Northern Mesopotamian	16	Babylonian
			18	Arabian
			19	Egyptian
50	VIII	Western Lowlands	27	Libyan
51	VIII (cont.)	Western Lowlands	27	Libyan
			28	Ethiopian
52	IX	Negro	28	Ethiopian

Owing to such technical difficulties as the vibration of our work tower, to our own failings, and to the mutilation of many figures by the elements and by human hands, the photographs in the pictorial tables of the throne-bearers are not uniform in quality. Fortunately, the least satisfactory pictures of the throne-bearers on Tomb V are in most cases complemented by the close-up photographs which record their legends and show the actual condition of the upper parts of the admirably carved reliefs (Pls. 67-68). Details of the heads of the throne-bearers on

Tomb I are also in several cases better illustrated by the photographs recording their legends (Pls. 26–30). Nevertheless, even the poor illustrations suffice to show the principal variants within an ethno-geographical group and such features as connect it with or distinguish it from other groups.

The throne-bearers have approximately the same dimensions on all the tombs. They are shown in standing

position. The body is in front view and the head and legs are in right profile, but the entire figure of No. 30 on Tomb VI is in left profile. The arms of Nos. 1–28 are raised, their hands touching and symbolically supporting the top and the rung of the throne, which is shown above ground as though lifted by the efforts of the bearers. Numbers 29 and 30, standing on either side of the throne, are pictured as supporting its legs.

SOME HISTORICAL INFERENCES

THE TORQUE OF THE ARABIAN AND TWO SCYTHIANS

So far as we can discern, the torque, presumably a flexible golden ring or chain of honor, adorns only three of the thirty throne-bearers: the Arabian (No. 18), the Hauma-drinking Scythian (No. 14), and the Scythian beyond the sea (No. 24).

To be sure, the Arabian's torque is clearly marked on Tomb VI only (see Fig. 50). Because of erosion it is not possible to tell whether it was indicated on Tombs I, III, and IV, but on Tombs II and V it is definitely omitted. The Hauma-drinking Scythian wears the torque on Tombs I, II, and V (see Fig. 43). Whether it existed on Tomb III is unknown, but it is clearly omitted on Tombs IV and VI. The torque of the Scythian beyond the sea is marked on Tombs II and V (see Fig. 44). We do not know whether it was indicated on Tombs I and IV, but it is omitted on Tombs III and VI.

Obviously, the three peoples distinguished on the tombs of the Persian kings by the token of honor which in the Persepolis reliefs¹⁵⁸ indicates the elevated status of Persian and Median nobles must have played distinctive roles in the history of the Achaemenid empire. There are certain historical and geographical clues which may reveal these roles.

As regards the status of the Arabians, we are informed by Herodotus that they "did not yield the obedience of slaves to the Persians, but were united to them by friendship, as having given Cambyses passage into Egypt, which the Persians could not enter without the consent of the Arabians."¹⁵⁹ Herodotus further states that in the fifth satrapy of Darius I the district which belonged to the Arabians was exempt from tribute, though, according to his list of peoples that paid no fixed tribute but brought gifts instead, the Arabians supplied each year a thousand talents' weight of frankincense.¹⁶⁰ In any event, during the reigns of Cambyses II and Darius I the Arabians were considered allies of the Persians rather than a conquered people. We conclude that the torque which adorns their representative on the tomb (VI) of at least one Persian

monarch is symbolic of their distinctive status. We may assume that the corresponding, badly damaged, throne-bearer on the tomb (I) of Darius I was adorned in the same manner. It is conjectural whether the absence of the Arabian's torque on Tombs II (Xerxes) and V (Artaxerxes II) reflects political changes. It is possible that Xerxes, who subdued and punished the rebellious Egyptians, no longer needed the help of the Arabians once the water supply for the march across the desert had been organized.¹⁶¹ During the reign of Artaxerxes II Egypt was independent, and to Persia—too weak to reconquer the Nile—the status of Arabia at that time may have been of no concern. Inversely, the fact that their representative on the tomb (VI) of Artaxerxes III wears the torque possibly indicates that the Arabians were once more allies of the Persians, who reconquered Egypt after a period of independence of fifty-eight years.¹⁶²

The throne-bearers include the representatives of six peoples who, according to their dress (see p. 110), belong to our group IV, that is, the Scythian group (see Table IV). Their sequence in the DN_a inscription on Darius' tomb (see p. 110) and in the tomb reliefs is as here tabulated.

	THRONE-BEARER	LAND OR PEOPLE	OLD PERSIAN NAME IN DN _a
Scythians of Asia	7	Sogdiana	Sugda
	8	Chorasmia	Uvārazmiš
	14	Hauma-drinking Scythians	Sakā haumavargā
Scythians of Europe	15	Pointed-hat Scythians	Sakā tigraxaudā
	24	Scythians beyond the sea	Sakā paradraya
	25	Skudrians	Skudra

Our map of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 53) shows approximately the same sequence of Scythian peoples, starting with the Sogdians in the east and ending with the Skudrians in the west. While the exact locations and the extent of their territories are conjectural, it is certain that a more or less continuous chain of Scythian peoples occu-

158. E.g. the ushers of the tribute delegations (see Vol. I, Pls. 27–49) and the dignitaries in the processions of the Apadana (*ibid.* Pls. 51–52 and 57–58) and the Council Hall (*ibid.* Pls. 66–74).

159. See Herodotus iii. 4–7 and 88. In order to illustrate the key position of the Arabians and to indicate their main territory the world "Arabāya" on our map of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 53) could have been printed in a long arc extending from the seashore southwest of Jerusalem (in J 11) in a south-easterly direction.

160. See Herodotus iii. 91 and 97. The gifts of the Arabian delegation (No. 20) in the Apadana procession consist of fabrics and a dromedary (see our Vol. I 89 and Pl. 46).

161. Cf. Herodotus iii. 6–7. In referring to Xerxes' campaign, Herodotus (vii. 7) does not mention the Arabians.

162. There is, however, an account (see Justin V. Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser bis zur makedonischen Eroberung* ["Handbücher der alten Geschichte," I.Serie, 5.Abt.] II [Gotha, 1910] 226) which, if true, does not support our assumption that the Arabians in the time of Artaxerxes III were as helpful to the Persian king as their forefathers had been to Cambyses and Darius. We are told that Artaxerxes did not proceed with the same caution as Cambyses, that he lost a large part of his army on its route to the Egyptian frontier prior to a successful second attempt at the reconquest of the Nile. Again, there is no mention of assistance by the Arabians.

pied the entire northern border zone of the Achaemenid empire.

In the tomb reliefs, the representatives of only two of these peoples, the Hauma-drinking Scythians and the Scythians beyond the sea, are distinguished by the torque. We should assume, therefore, that these Scythians were honored by the Persian king for services similar to those rendered by the Arabians. Their geographical locations suggest that their services consisted of guarding the most vulnerable parts of the northern frontier.

Undoubtedly, the people occupying the northeasternmost region of the realm of Darius I, namely the "Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana" mentioned in the foundation record of the Apadana (DPh), are the Hauma-drinking Scythians of later documents (DSe, DNa, and XPh).

The term "Scythians beyond the sea" is used specifically on the tombs of Darius I and Artaxerxes II only, that is, in Darius' DNa inscription and in the legend identifying throne-bearer No. 24 on the later tomb; the corresponding legend on Darius' tomb is destroyed (see Table III). The territory of the Scythian tribes covered by this term extended along the northern shore of the Black Sea. In his campaign against the European Scythians¹⁶³ Darius succeeded in subduing the Thracian tribes, that is, the Skudrians, but, according to Herodotus, when he crossed the Ister (Danube) and attempted to conquer the lands of the Scythians beyond the sea he was defeated and forced to retreat.¹⁶⁴

Whether or not it is historically accurate, Ctesias' reference to an alliance of Cyrus the Great with Amorges,¹⁶⁵ a Scythian king, is of interest for our study. Herodotus, however, does not mention Scythian allies of Cyrus, nor does he include any Scythians in his list of peoples who were privileged to bring gifts instead of tribute.¹⁶⁶ Thus, our deductions concerning the relations of the Persians with the two Scythian peoples under discussion are based on the distinctive symbol of honor worn by their representatives, on their geographical locations, and on the fact that the torque-adorned Arabian throne-bearer represented an at least temporarily privileged border people of the empire.

We now turn to the Persepolis reliefs for further clues in regard to the status of the Scythian peoples concerned. We find that the tribute procession of the Apadana offers the most striking clues. To be sure, none of the delegates is adorned with the torque, whereas all the Persian and Median ushers—undoubtedly members of the nobility—wear this symbol of exalted status. In addition, the ushers are armed with daggers of Persian and Median type respectively.

163. Between 516 and 511 B.C. (see Cameron in *JNES* II 313).

164. See Herodotus iv, esp. iv. 97–142. There is extensive literature dealing with the relations of Scythians and Persians; see e.g. Julius Junge, *Saka-Studien* ("Klio" Beiheft XLI [Leipzig, 1939]), and Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser* II 75–108.

165. See Ctesias *Persica* 36a. 39–40 and 37a. 5–12. Assumedly the alliance was with the Hauma-drinking Scythians; cf. P. J. Junge, "Satrapie und Natio: Reichsverwaltung und Reichspolitik im Staate Dareios' I.," *Klio* XXXIV (Leipzig, 1941) 26, n. 4. Herodotus (v. 121) mentions a presumably Persian general of Darius I by the name of Amorges.

166. See Herodotus i. 211–14 and iii. 97.

In the tomb reliefs all the throne-bearers are armed except the Babylonian, and in his case the omission of a weapon was intentional (see pp. 116–18). On the contrary, in the tribute procession of the Apadana the members of twenty delegations are unarmed, whereas representatives of three nations (delegations Nos. 1, 11, and 17) are depicted with weapons attached to their belts. Admittedly, in the Median delegation (No. 1) the leader only is armed with a dagger. It is conjectural whether the leader of the Susian delegation (No. 2), shown in profile, is meant to be equipped with the dagger of Persian type which appears solely in reliefs of Persians and Susians (Elamites) whose bodies are pictured in front view. In the closely related throne reliefs of the Council Hall and the Throne Hall the Median and Susian throne-bearers are both armed with daggers,¹⁶⁷ whereas the representatives of most of the other nations are unarmed.

The privileged status of the nations forming the core of the empire is indicated, first of all, by the position and sequence of their representatives in the reliefs. On the royal tombs the Persian is throne-bearer No. 1. His omission in the throne reliefs of the Council Hall and the Throne Hall is somewhat puzzling, but the absence of a Persian delegation in the tribute procession of the Apadana is to be expected, since we are told by Herodotus that "the Persian country is the only one which I have not recorded as tributary, for the Persians dwell free from all taxes."¹⁶⁸ In the tomb reliefs the Mede and the Susian follow the Persian as throne-bearers Nos. 2 and 3. In the tribute procession of the Apadana and in the throne reliefs of the Council Hall and the Throne Hall the Median representatives come first and are followed by the Susians. We conclude that, in addition to the position of their representatives, the dagger—worn by the leader of the Median delegation and by the Median and the Susian representatives in the throne reliefs—symbolizes the political importance of the Medes and the Susians in the empire of the Persians.¹⁶⁹

In striking contrast to the Median tribute-bearers and all the other delegations of the Apadana tribute procession, all members of Scythian delegations Nos. 11 and 17 are conspicuously distinguished by their martial equipment.¹⁷⁰

Each member of delegation No. 11 wears the dagger of Median type, and, in addition, the leader carries the *gorytus*, a composite bow case and quiver.¹⁷¹ The headgear is the tall pointed hat which is essentially the same as the hat worn in the tomb reliefs by throne-bearers No. 15, the Pointed-hat Scythian, and No. 24, the Scythian beyond the sea (see Fig. 44). Curiously, while these two throne-bearers wear the characteristic Scythian cutaway coat, the members of delegation No. 11 are shown in Median dress

167. See Vol. I, Pls. 80 (Nos. 1–2), 109 (W1), and 110–11 (E1).

168. Herodotus iii. 97.

169. It is interesting to note that in Darius' earliest inscription (DB) Elam (Susiana) occupies second place, after Persia, whereas Media is mentioned in tenth place (see p. 108). In the Persepolis Terrace foundation inscription DPe, Elam (Susiana) still precedes Media, which now occupies third place (see p. 108). In the lists of nations recorded in D Egypt, DSe, DNa, and XPh (see pp. 108 and 110) and in all the extant reliefs of tribute processions and throne-bearers the Medes precede the Susians.

170. See Vol. I, Pls. 37 and 43.

171. See *ibid.* p. 166 and Vol. II 101.

and their contributions are identical with those offered by members of the Median delegation (No. 1).¹⁷²

Each member of delegation No. 17 is armed with a dagger, worn beneath the coat. The trefoil scabbard tip, which in all instances protrudes below the coat, suggests the common dagger of Median type. Delegation No. 17 is more heavily armed than delegation No. 11, for not only the leader but each of the other members, except the groom, is equipped with the *gorytus*. Significantly, the contributions of delegation No. 17 include the Scythian battle-ax, the *sagaris* (see below). The headgear illustrates two variants of the Scythian cap. Both show the characteristic cheek flap tapering toward the chin, but the delegates on the northern (earlier¹⁷³) staircase wear a cap with pointed tip jutting forward, whereas on the eastern staircase the cap is tipped by a blunt knob above the anterior part of the skull.¹⁷⁴ In contrast to the Median dress of delegation No. 11, the typical Scythian cutaway coat and long trousers, here notched at the ankles, are worn by all members of delegation No. 17.

Just as the torque distinguishes the throne-bearing representatives of two Scythian peoples on the tombs, so are two Scythian delegations in the tribute procession of the Apadana distinguished by their full martial equipment. We are convinced that the torque worn by throne-bearers Nos. 14 and 24 has the same significance as the display of weapons which distinguishes delegations Nos. 17 and 11.

After studying and comparing the details of our reliefs we no longer hesitate to identify delegation No. 17 and throne-bearer No. 14 as representatives of the same people, namely the Hauma-drinking Scythians.¹⁷⁵ There are minor variations, such as the ornamental strap guard of the Apadana delegates and the manner of wearing the dagger. From neck to foot, the dress of throne-bearer and delegates is essentially the same as that worn by all Scythians in the tomb reliefs,¹⁷⁶ but the distinctive shape of the cap with pointed projecting tip decisively links throne-bearer No. 14 on Tombs II (Xerxes), IV (Darius II), and VI (Artaxerxes III) with delegation No. 17 on the northern staircase of the Apadana (see above). The cap worn by throne-bearer No. 14 on Tomb III (Artaxerxes I) resembles the blunt-knobbed cap of delegation No. 17 on the eastern staircase. Of the contributions offered by delegation No. 17, such items as the rings, the dagger, and the stallion are pictured also as tribute of certain non-Scythian delegations. The double-headed *sagaris*, however, appears solely among the contributions of delegation No. 17 and confirms, to some extent, its identity, for Herodotus mentions the *sagaris* as a weapon of the Amyrgian (i.e., Hauma-drinking) Scythians.¹⁷⁷

Heretofore, particularly since the discovery of the beautifully preserved reliefs on the eastern staircase of the Apadana, the identification of delegation No. 11 as the Sakā tigraxaudā, the Pointed-hat Scythians, has been

172. The contributions of four members of delegation No. 11—rings, overcoat, coat, and trousers—are identical with those of the four hindmost Medes on the eastern staircase of the Apadana (Vol. I, Pl. 27 B); horse and groom appear in the Median delegation on the northern staircase only (*ibid.* Pl. 27 A).

173. See *ibid.* pp. 82 f.

174. See *ibid.* Pl. 43 A and B.

accepted almost without question. The delegates' head gear is indeed a conspicuous tall hat with pointed tip, but in the tomb reliefs the hats of throne-bearers No. 15, the Pointed-hat Scythian, and No. 24, the Scythian beyond the sea, are almost identical in shape and height (see Fig. 44). For technical reasons¹⁷⁸ the long tip of the hat is always shown as curving backward. The neckguard is upcurled in all instances, whereas in the Apadana procession it is merely raised slightly or hanging down. Details of the raised neckguard are destroyed,¹⁷⁹ but the guard that hangs down¹⁸⁰ suggests an interesting clue. If its scalloped edge were upcurled after the fashion of the throne-bearers' guards, it would show the same effect as the serrate¹⁸¹ neckguard of the Scythian beyond the sea on the tomb (V) of Artaxerxes II (see p. 115).

Essentially, the hats of delegation No. 11 and throne-bearers Nos. 15 and 24 are alike. All are of the type—tall, pointed, and provided with cheek flaps—hitherto considered the characteristic headgear of the Sakā tigraxaudā. Examining the rest of the apparel we find that the two throne-bearers wear identical Scythian dress, oddly contrasting with the Median dress of the Apadana delegation. We are puzzled by this difference, particularly since the Apadana reliefs and the throne-bearers on the tomb (II) of Xerxes were executed at about the same time. We have previously stated our firm belief that the reliefs on the Apadana staircases were carved during the reign of Xerxes because in his staircase inscription (XPb) he omits reference to his father's work whereas in another inscription (XPg), once attached to the building proper, he more modestly states that he added to his father's edifice.¹⁸² Undoubtedly the Apadana reliefs were finished first, but less than twenty-one years, the span of Xerxes' reign (486–65 B.C.), could have elapsed before the throne-bearers were carved on the façade of his tomb.

While we are certain that one of the two tall-hatted throne-bearers, No. 15 or No. 24, represents the same people as the tall-hatted delegation No. 11, we cannot reconcile the Median attire of the delegates and the Scythian clothes of the throne-bearers. The combination of Scythian hat and Median dress worn by the delegates does remind us that a long chain of nations (our group II) whose representatives are dressed in Median fashion, though never wearing Scythian headgear (see Figs. 40–41), extended from Cappadocia as far as Bactria and approximately paralleled the northern zone of Scythian peoples (see Fig. 53). An item in the list of tributary divisions or provinces transmitted to us by Herodotus may

175. Correcting our former, tentative, identification of delegation No. 17 as Sogdian (see *ibid.* pp. 88 f., but cf. *ibid.* n. 145).

176. But note that in both instances the footgear is straight-toed and not upturned as in some other cases.

177. Herodotus vii. 64. However, his description of their headgear as "tall caps, erect and stiff and tapering to a point" fits the Pointed-hat Scythians and the Scythians beyond the sea rather than the Hauma-drinking Scythians.

178. Limit of space between ground line and stretcher of throne. If the tips of the hats were shown upright, the figures would be dwarfed in comparison with the other throne-bearers.

179. See Vol. I, Pl. 37 A.

180. See *ibid.* Pl. 37 B.

181. Unique, so far as ascertainable.

182. See Vol. I 82 and 71.

have bearing on our problem. His tenth province, taxed with an annual tribute of 450 talents, includes "Agbatana and the rest of Media, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantians."¹⁸³ These Orthocorybantians are usually identified with the *Sakā tigraxaudā*.¹⁸⁴ More cautiously, we consider them a subdivision of one of the two Scythian peoples whose headgear is the tall pointed hat. We believe¹⁸⁵ that Herodotus' account of the grouping of peoples for purposes of taxation implies their local vicinity. We hesitate to assume that Herodotus lied or simply guessed when he combined Medes and Orthocorybantians¹⁸⁶ and propose therefore that the Orthocorybantians were a branch of the tall-hatted Scythians beyond the sea. The territory of the Pointed-hat Scythians is far to the east, near the area occupied by the Hauma-drinking Scythians, as indicated by the consistent pairing of their names in the pertinent royal inscriptions (DSe, DNa, and XPh). To be sure, the suzerainty of the Persians ended at the Caucasus. Beyond the mountains no one paid them any regard.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, the postulated Orthocorybantian subgroup must be placed somewhere south of the Caucasus (see below). A location close to the Medes and Armenians, shown in the reliefs in identical dress of Median type, could explain the partially Median attire of delegation No. 11.

We believe that the torque-adorned throne-bearers Nos. 14 and 24 on the tombs represent the same peoples as the armed delegations Nos. 17 and 11 in the Apadana procession. Throne-bearer No. 14 and delegation No. 17 are definitely Hauma-drinking Scythians. Offhand, delegation No. 11 could be identified with either of the tall-hatted throne-bearers, the Pointed-hat Scythian (No. 15) or the Scythian beyond the sea (No. 24),¹⁸⁸ were it not for the fact that, so far as ascertainable, throne-bearer No. 15 is in no instance distinguished by the torque whereas throne-bearer No. 24 at least twice (on Tombs II and V) wears this symbol of distinctive status. We therefore identify delegation No. 11 with throne-bearer No. 24, who represents the Scythians beyond the sea. We believe that the term refers to the territories north of the Black Sea but actually extending from the Danube as far as the Volga and perhaps to the Ural River. Obviously, throne-bearer and delegation represent only a small but important subdivision of this vast area.

There are only two districts where subgroups of the Scythians beyond the sea could have been of critical importance to the Persians: the frontier zones west and east of the Black Sea, along the Ister and along the Caucasus. The Orthocorybantians, who may have been an important subgroup of these Scythians on the Caucasus frontier, we are tempted to locate at the east end of the mountains,¹⁸⁹ guarding the route of invasion along the Caspian Sea. It is interesting to note that the Colchians—on the Black Sea, south of the western part of the

Caucasus—"and their neighbors as far as the Caucasus mountains" are listed by Herodotus among the peoples who were exempt from tribute but rendered gifts, every four years "an hundred boys and as many maidens."¹⁹⁰ The difference between subject nations paying tribute and allied nations bringing gifts is well illustrated by the relations of the Arabians to the Persians (see p. 111). Parenthetically, we are convinced that the contributions of "gifts" were reciprocal and that the nations concerned received substantial subsidies from the king's treasury in return for their services to the empire. Herodotus does not state whether the Orthocorybantians had a privileged status and makes no reference to them beyond his assertion that they belonged to the same province as the Medes.

We are better informed about the frontier zone east of the Black Sea. We know that Darius I, after crossing the Bosphorus on a bridge of ships, subdued Macedonia and Thrace, the lands of the *Yaunā takabarā* and *Skudra* (see Fig. 53). On a second bridge, he crossed the Ister and invaded the territory of the Scythians beyond the sea. The campaign failed in so far as the conquest of new lands was concerned, though not so completely, it appears, as narrated in Herodotus' lengthy story which deals also with the lands and peoples of the Scythians.¹⁹¹

We believe that Darius' Behistun inscription (DB) refers in column v—a later addition—to his campaign against the European Scythians and that these "Scythians who wear the pointed cap" (*Sakā tyaiy xaudām tigrām baratiy*)¹⁹² are the Scythians beyond the sea (*Sakā tyaiy paradraya*)¹⁹³ whose headgear is essentially the same as that of the Pointed-hat Scythians (*Sakā tigraxaudā*).¹⁹⁴ The latter are preceded by the Hauma-drinking Scythians (*Sakā haumavargā*) in the DSe, DNa, and XPh inscriptions (see pp. 108 and 110), and the corresponding throne-bearers (Nos. 14 and 15) are shown in the same sequence on the tombs.

In his Behistun inscription Darius records (col. v) that he captured and slew one of the leaders of the Scythians who wear the pointed cap. He then states that he captured their chief by the name of Skunkha, replaced him with another chief, and annexed the province. The last figure in the row of Darius' defeated adversaries is that of Skunkha (labeled "this is Skunkha the Scythian" in Old Persian and Elamite) and was added later; Skunkha's headgear is a pointed hat of extraordinary height.¹⁹⁵

As noted above, the Scythians beyond the sea who are listed in DNa and represented by throne-bearer No. 24 on the tombs can be no more than a small subgroup of the chain of peoples who occupied the territories extending

183. Herodotus iii. 92.

184. See e.g. Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p. 44, n. 7, and *passim*.

185. With A. D. Godley in his introduction to Herodotus iii and iv, p. xvii.

186. Cf. Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p. 44, n. 7.

187. Herodotus iii. 97.

188. *Vs.* Junge, *Saka-Studien*, p. 62, n. 6. Junge is wrong in contradicting Herzfeld's statement (see *IF*, p. 32) that the clothes, including the headgear, of the Pointed-hat Scythians and the Scythians beyond the sea are alike. Junge's pertinent drawings (*op. cit.* Pl. I) are in part misleading (cf. our Fig. 44, Nos. 15 and 24).

189. Not at the southwest corner of the Caspian Sea as on the map of the Persian empire at the end of Volume II of Herodotus.

190. Herodotus iii. 97.

191. Herodotus iv. 1-144; see also Godley's introduction to books iii and iv.

192. See *OPG*, pp. 108 and 132-34; see also Cameron's important article, "The Old Persian text of the Bisitun inscription," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* V (1951) 52 f., and Kent on p. 56 of the same volume.

193. Mentioned in DNa, lines 28-29 (see *OPG*, pp. 137-38), and represented on the tombs by throne-bearer No. 24 (see our Fig. 44).

194. Mentioned in DNa, lines 25-26 (see *OPG*, pp. 137-38), and represented on the tombs by throne-bearer No. 15 (see our Fig. 44).

195. See King and Thompson, *Behistun*, pp. xxii, 91, and 157, Pls. XIII and XVI, No. V.

from the Danube to the Volga and perhaps beyond. We believe that Darius' story of the defeat and replacement of Skunkha is true, at least in regard to a limited area and a limited span of time, although it does not agree with any phase of Herodotus' romanticized narrative. We therefore propose that throne-bearer No. 24 in reality represents the Scythian tribe or tribes, north of the lower Ister, once ruled by Skunkha, who is pictured at Behistun with tall pointed hat—the type of headgear worn presumably by the other Scythians of the main division. Skunkha's subgroup, under a new chief, chosen by Darius, was made an ally of the king to guard the northwest frontier in the same fashion that the Hauma-drinking Scythians protected the northeast. We believe that the importance of these guardians against the unknown areas of Europe and Asia is evidenced by the torque which distinguishes the throne-bearing representatives of the Hauma-drinking Scythians (No. 14) and the Scythians beyond the sea (No. 24) from those of all other nations except Arabia.

We have pointed out a parallelism in the tribute procession of the Apadana, where two Scythian delegations are distinguished by being armed. We have identified one of these delegations (No. 17) with the Hauma-drinking Scythians and have adduced reasons for identifying the other delegation (No. 11) with the Scythians beyond the sea or, more exactly, with a western subgroup of these Scythians, whose main body, along the northern littoral of the Black Sea, was no more under the sway of the Achaemenids than the land north of the Caucasus (see pp. 113 f.).

There is some negative evidence to support our identifications. In the tomb reliefs, the throne-bearer (No. 15) representing the Pointed-hat Scythians in no instance wears the torque of honor which distinguishes the representative (No. 14) of the Hauma-drinking Scythians, guardians of the northeast frontier, whose delegation in the tribute procession of the Apadana is exalted by the display of personal weapons. In theory, the guardians of the Ister frontier in the northwest could have been the Skudrians, but their representative (No. 25) in the tomb reliefs is not adorned by any emblem of distinctive status.¹⁹⁶ Furthermore, the Skudrian delegation (No. 19) has a rather inconspicuous position in the procession of the Apadana and its members are not armed. If we eliminate the Skudrians as people of outstanding military importance for the empire we have an additional reason for postulating beyond the Ister an allied subgroup, once the "Skunkha Scythians," somewhat vaingloriously designated in the tomb inscriptions by the comprehensive term "Scythian(s) beyond the sea." In the tomb reliefs the Scythian beyond the sea (throne-bearer No. 24) is shown with the same Scythian dress and tall pointed hat as the Sakā tigraxaudā (throne-bearer No. 15) but is distinguished from the latter by what we consider a decisive symbol, namely the torque. We conclude that Apadana delegation No. 11 does, indeed, represent the European

Scythians beyond the sea and not the Asiatic Pointed-hat Scythians. In view of the other clues, a seemingly minor variation in the headgear of these two Scythian divisions gains in importance. The neckguard of throne-bearer No. 15 is plain, whereas that of No. 24 is serrate on at least one tomb (V) and corresponds to the scalloped neckguards of all members of delegation No. 11. Most significantly perhaps, according to a drawing of the Behistun relief¹⁹⁷ the upcurled neckguard of Skunkha is serrate like that of throne-bearer No. 24 on Tomb V.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to explain why the members of delegation No. 11 are dressed in Median fashion, except for the tall Scythian hat, and why the contributions of this postulated military ally of the king consist largely of Median apparel. True, it would be even more implausible to picture the distant Sakā tigraxaudā in Median dress. In the tomb reliefs both throne-bearers concerned (Nos. 15 and 24) are dressed in Scythian fashion. We are unwilling to guess that the sculptor of delegation No. 11 compounded or confused the Orthocorybantians of the Caucasus, who could plausibly be dressed like the members of delegation No. 11, and the Ister subgroup of the Scythians beyond the sea. There may be a solution of our problem, but we present it with hesitation because of the cautious wording of our source.¹⁹⁸ Herodotus, describing the "infinite tract of deserts" north of the Ister, says "none can tell with certainty what men dwell there" and, further, "I can learn of no men dwelling beyond the Ister save certain that are called Sigynnae, and wear Median dress." Herodotus then tells us that these people use chariots drawn by swift shaggy horses "unable to bear men on their backs," that their borders are said to reach almost to the Adriatic Sea, and that "they call themselves colonists from Media." He adds, suspiciously, "how this has come about I myself cannot understand" and resignedly dismisses the problem with the words "but all is possible in the long ages of time."

Further penetration into the complex and often confused problem of the Scythians and their relations with the Persian empire is outside the scope of this book. We believe, however, that we have shown sufficient reason for proposing that the Scythian campaign of Darius, referred to in his Behistun inscription¹⁹⁹ and usually interpreted as a war against the Sakā tigraxaudā east of the Caspian Sea,²⁰⁰ was in reality directed against the European Sakā paradraya.²⁰¹

The principal observations pertinent to our reliefs may be recapitulated as follows.

1. The representatives of thirty nations of the empire support the throne on the royal tombs. Three of these throne-bearers are exalted by the torque of honor: the Arabian (No. 18), the Hauma-drinking Scythian (No. 14), and the Scythian beyond the sea (No. 24).

2. The status of the Arabians as allies of the Persians, at least during the reigns of Cambyses II and Darius I (see p. 111), explains the distinctive symbol worn by the Arabian throne-bearer on at least one tomb.

196. However, in contrast to the other throne-bearers of the Scythian group, the Skudrian is equipped with two spears in addition to the usual dagger (see Fig. 44 and p. 151).

197. King and Thompson, *Behistun*, Pl. XIII. A photograph taken by Cameron is not quite clear enough for verification (see the *National Geographic Magazine* XCVIII [1950] 830).

198. Herodotus v. 9.

199. DB v 20–30 (see *OPG*, pp. 133–34).

200. Cf. especially Junge, *Saka-Studien*, pp. 62 ff.

201. So, similarly, Albert Herrmann, "Die Saken und der Skythenzug des Dareios," *Archiv für Orientforschung* Beiheft I (1933) 157 ff.

3. Twenty-three delegations represent the empire in the tribute procession of the Apadana. Two of these delegations (Nos. 11 and 17), both Scythian, are distinguished from all others because all their members are equipped with personal weapons.

4. The two nations represented by armed delegations must have been of eminent military importance for the empire. No doubt they were allies, as were formerly(?) the Arabians, whose delegation (No. 20), however, is shown unarmed in the reliefs on the Apadana of Darius I and Xerxes.

5. Delegation No. 17 is identified with the Hauma-drinking Scythians, the guardians of the northeastern frontier.

6. In the tomb reliefs the throne-bearer representing the Scythians beyond the sea wears exactly the same Scythian dress and tall pointed headgear, though with serrate neckguard in one case, as the representative of the Pointed-hat Scythians (throne-bearer No. 15). The former, however, is exalted by the torque, whereas the latter is not adorned with this symbol of honor.

7. Usually delegation No. 11 is identified with the Pointed-hat Scythians, but we propose that it represents a western subgroup of the Scythians beyond the sea, namely that subgroup to which Darius refers²⁰² in recording his campaign against the "Scythians who wear the pointed hat." According to his own account, Darius crossed the sea,²⁰³ defeated the Scythians, captured and replaced their chief, Skunkha, and seized their land. These Scythians cannot have been the Skudrians, to judge by the headgear of throne-bearer No. 25 (see Fig. 44) and delegation No. 19.²⁰⁴ In contrast, Skunkha's headgear of extraordinary height emphatically pictures him as a Scythian with pointed hat and marks him as a leader of a division of the Scythians beyond the sea. Correlating Herodotus' narrative, Darius' Behistun account, and the evidence of our reliefs we must conclude that Skunkha's land was beyond the Ister.

8. All our clues combined—Darius' record of his Scythian campaign and the headgear of Skunkha at Behistun, the tomb relief of the torque-adorned throne-bearer identified by his legend as the Scythian beyond the sea in contrast to the almost identically dressed but unadorned Pointed-hat Scythian, the Hauma-drinking Scythians distinguished on the tombs by the torque and in the Apadana procession by their personal weapons—convince us that the armed delegation No. 11 in the Apadana procession represents a division of the Scythians beyond the sea, most plausibly the subgroup once ruled by Skunkha. Obviously, the chief who replaced Skunkha by the will of Darius must have been pro-Persian, encouraged in his loyalty by subsidies. His task, like that of the Hauma-drinking Scythians in the northeast, was the protection of the frontier zone in the northwest.

9. Finally, we have attempted to identify and interpret the reliefs of the Scythians wearing the pointed hat and to correlate our observations with historical or quasi-his-

torical records. Representatives of two principal divisions—peoples, tribal groups, or nations—are pictured with pointed hat in the tomb reliefs, namely the Sakā paradraya and the Sakā tigraxaudā. We propose that a western subgroup, that ruled by Skunkha, of the Sakā paradraya is actually depicted in the reliefs and suggest that a second subgroup, the Orthocorybantians, may have been located at the east end of the Caucasus. We believe that the chain of European Scythians wearing the pointed hat, that is, the Sakā paradraya, extended from the Ister as far as the Volga or perhaps to the Ural River. The Sakā tigraxaudā, since their representative on the tombs wears almost identical dress, certainly occupied a contiguous easterly tract, though not so extensive and exposed as implied by our map of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 53). We are convinced that the Sakā haumavargā were the guardians of the northeastern, Asiatic, frontier and believe that we have disproved the notion that the Sakā tigraxaudā played a similar role. Undoubtedly these two peoples lived in neighboring areas, for their names, whenever mentioned in the royal inscriptions (DSe, DNa, and XPh), are listed consecutively, but the Sakā haumavargā always have precedence. We do not know the exact locations or the limits of their territories, but we believe that our map would indicate their relative importance more realistically if the name of the Sakā haumavargā were spread northwestward along the entire lower Jaxartes (Sir Daria) and even beyond the Aral Lake and if the name of the Sakā tigraxaudā were compressed between this lake and the northern part of the Caspian Sea.

THE UNARMED BABYLONIAN

The representatives of thirty nations of Darius' empire support the throne on his tomb and on the tombs of his successors. Twenty-nine throne-bearers bear weapons. Admittedly, some of these weapons do not correspond to those used in reality by the peoples represented. Nevertheless, the fact remains that twenty-nine throne-bearers, representing peoples of varied importance, are armed in contrast to the Babylonian throne-bearer (No. 16), who represents the nation which for many centuries held a pre-eminent position in southwestern Asia. The Babylonian is shown unarmed on the five tombs (I–III and V–VI) on which his relief is preserved (see Fig. 50). Evidently the omission of a weapon was deliberate and ordered by Darius or by Xerxes, who supervised and finished most of his father's architectural projects in the Persepolis area. This omission was meant to humiliate the proud Babylonians. It expressed disdain and, we believe, some measure of envy and apprehension. For possible clues as to its significance we must consider briefly certain events which throw light on the relations of the Persians and the Babylonians.

Cyrus the Great (559–530 B.C.) was the first Persian king to occupy Babylon.²⁰⁵ He was received as liberator rather than conqueror. He was a benevolent ruler, who wisely understood the powerful priesthood and gained its support. There was no rebellion in Babylon during the reign of Cyrus, whose son and representative, Cambyses,

202. DB v 20–30.

203. Without doubt Darius is referring to the Bosphorus; cf. Herodotus iv. 83–89.

204. See Vol. I, Pl. 45.

205. For an account of the conquest of Babylon see Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 49–58. For correct dating (Oct. 12 and 29, 539) see Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (1956) p. 13.

carried out the prudent policy of his father.²⁰⁶ Babylon remained quiet, at least superficially, under the rule of Cambyses II (530–522) and even during the usurpation of the throne by Gaumata (Bardiya, Smerdis),²⁰⁷ whose reign lasted about half a year.

Gaumata was slain by Darius on September 9, 522. Immediately Babylon rose in revolt, led by Nebuchadnezzar III (Nidintu-Bel).²⁰⁸ Darius defeated and killed the rebel king in December of 522, but his Behistun inscription mentions no punishment of the city or its inhabitants. In August of 521, less than a year after the first rebellion, Babylon rose again. Its leader, Nebuchadnezzar IV, is called Arkha, an Armenian, in the Behistun inscription. The second revolt ended in November of the same year with the capture of Arkha. On this occasion, to judge by Darius' laconic statement, not only the rebel king but also his foremost followers were killed. They were impaled at Babylon.²⁰⁹

The principal part of the Behistun inscription (cols. i–iv) deals with events of the first two years of Darius' reign (522–521). The text and the triumphal relief of Darius must have been carved soon thereafter.²¹⁰ The text reveals that almost all the provinces of the empire of Cyrus and Cambyses revolted against Darius. The relief undoubtedly illustrates the most important adversaries of Darius. In addition to Gaumata, it shows a second "false Smerdis" who claimed to be king in Persia, two rebel kings of Elam, single pretenders to the thrones of Media, Sagartia, and Margiana, and two rebel kings of Babylon.

Considering the rebellious actions of most of the nations, we find that the Behistun monument does not explain the humiliation of the Babylonians reflected by their weaponless representative on Darius' tomb. To the contrary, we are quite convinced that Babylonia, mentioned in the third place, after Persia and Elam, in Darius' list of the twenty-three "countries which came unto me,"²¹¹ enjoyed an eminent position at the time the principal part of the Behistun record was composed and engraved. Apropos, it is interesting to note that Media (see below) is here mentioned in tenth place. In order to test the significance of the Babylonians' position in the Behistun roster, we must compare it with the subsequent rosters of nations so far known to us (see pp. 108 and 110).

The canal stela (D Egypt) and the Persepolis Terrace foundation inscription DPe are approximately contemporaneous.²¹² In the DPe roster Babylonia is still close to the head of the list, preceded only by Persia, Elam, and Media. In D Egypt, as in the subsequent DSe, DNa, and XPh inscriptions, the list is headed by Persia, Media, and Elam. In D Egypt, Babylonia occupies thirteenth place

but heads the second of two parallel columns of twelve provinces each and is aligned—either by accident or intentionally—with Persia at the top of the first column. Considering the Iranian inscriptions only, we find that the position of Babylonia in the rosters of nations barely changed from the time Darius recorded the nations of his empire at Behistun until he commemorated the founding of the Persepolis Terrace by the engraving of DPe and three other inscriptions (DPd, DPf, and DPg).²¹³ Then came a radical change. Babylonia is listed in tablets from Susa (DSe) as the seventeenth of thirty(?) provinces, in Darius' tomb inscription (DNa) as the sixteenth of thirty, and in Xerxes' "Daiva" text (XPh) as the twelfth of thirty-two. For our purposes the most pertinent records are DPe and DNa. We must assume that these two texts reflect deterioration of Babylonia's status between the completion of the Persepolis Terrace foundation (ca. 511 B.C.)²¹⁴ and the engraving of the DNa inscription with the relevant reliefs on Darius' tomb.

Since the Iranian records yield no further clues, we must turn to the Greek historians. Herodotus tells a romantic story of the reconquest of Babylon.²¹⁵ He states that Darius destroyed the walls and tore down the gates, "neither of which things Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon." In one respect Herodotus' narrative agrees with Darius' account of the second rebellion, that is, in the killing of the foremost citizens, but we suspect that this was rather common procedure on such occasions. We do not know whether Herodotus' story refers to the first or the second revolt of Babylon. There is serious doubt whether part of it has bearing on either of the two insurrections, since Ctesias²¹⁶ assigns all but one of the details of the account to the rebellion of Babylon against Xerxes, a climactic event which is only casually implied by Herodotus.²¹⁷ It is difficult to reconcile these stories. Herodotus tells us that Darius destroyed critical parts of the defense system of Babylon. How then was the city able to rise against Xerxes? Darius, according to a hearsay account of Herodotus,²¹⁸ did not dare to remove from the temple "a statue of solid gold" which was finally taken away by Xerxes, yet Darius forced "Babylon and the rest of Assyria" to provide, in addition to a thousand talents of silver, the humiliating tribute of "five hundred boys to be eunuchs."²¹⁹

It appears, however, that the final eclipse of Babylon occurred after Darius' death. We are informed²²⁰ that at the beginning of Xerxes' reign the Persian king's titulary, as used by Babylonian scribes, was still "king of Babylon, king of lands," but that shortly thereafter it was prefixed by "king of Parsa and Mada." In Xerxes' fourth regnal year (482 B.C.) Babylon, led by two successive pretenders,

206. See Olmstead, *op. cit.* pp. 86–87.

207. *Ibid.* pp. 92 f.; Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.* pp. 14 f.

208. Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.* p. 15; DB §§ 16–20 (see *OPG*, pp. 120–23); see also Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser* II 30 ff.

209. DB §§ 49–50 (see *OPG*, pp. 126 and 128); see also Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.* p. 16.

210. Col. v, recording the third rebellion of Elam and the Scythian campaign, and the relief of Skunkha were added later.

211. DB i 14 (see *OPG*, pp. 117 and 119).

212. See Cameron in *JNES* II 309.

213. See Vol. I 62 f., Fig. 24, and Pl. 7.

214. See *ibid.* p. 39.

215. Herodotus iii. 150–60.

216. See *Persica* 39a. 5–14.

217. Herodotus i. 183.

218. *Ibid.*

219. Herodotus iii. 92. Gifts of children were also contributed by the Ethiopians and the Colchians (Herodotus iii. 97), but only the Babylonians are specified as eunuchs.

220. For convenient reference see Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, pp. 236 f. For correct dates see Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (1956) p. 17.

Bel-Shimanni and Shamash-Eriba, revolted once more. The city was speedily reconquered by Xerxes' general Megabyzus. Its fortifications and sanctuaries were destroyed, and the golden statue of Marduk was removed. The city was so thoroughly destroyed that it never rose again. While the revolt of 482 is undoubtedly the last event which could be reflected by the manner in which Baby-

lonia is represented on Darius' tomb, it is conceivable, nevertheless, that Darius' tomb had been completed by the end of his long reign and that the humbled status of Babylonia—as evidenced by its position in the DNa inscription and by its weaponless throne-bearer—has bearing on an event or events that occurred during the great king's life.

Tomb I



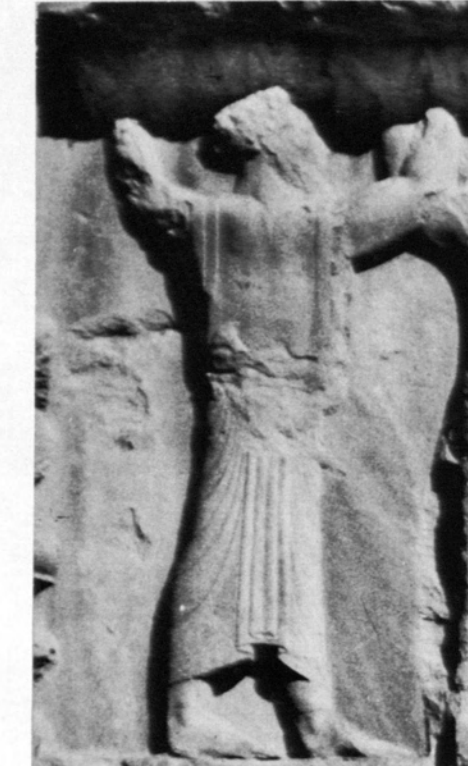
Tomb II



Tomb III



Tomb IV



Tomb V



Tomb VI

No. 1
PERSIAN



No. 3
ELAMITE
(SUSIAN)

FIG. 39. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP I: PERSIAN (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 1 Persian	I	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; short curly beard; mustache	low fillet-like cidaris	tucked candies, ridge along edges of top part, lower part marked by oblique folds at sides, V-shaped folds in center flanked by two pairs of vertical folds	doubtful; toes straight	Persian dagger tucked into belt in front, domed pommel, asymmetrical scabbard top; belt ends diverging	plain ring on each wrist	none	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	as on Tomb I but fuller	probably as on Tomb I	as on Tomb I but with plain top and only traces of V-shaped folds	low shoes; toes straight	as on Tomb I but dagger larger	as on Tomb I	?	none	as on Tomb I
	III	as on Tomb I but plain hairline above forehead	as on Tomb I	as on Tomb I but with three pleats along edges of top part	low shoes, four straps, thongs; toes straight	as on Tomb I but dagger shorter and belt ends parallel	band on each wrist	solid disk	none	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	preserved parts as on Tomb I	tall flaring cidaris	as on Tomb I but with two pleats on top part and no V-shaped folds	low shoes, traces of straps; toes straight	remnants of long Persian dagger	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	preserved parts as on Tomb I but beard longer	doubtful	as on Tomb I but with plain top and no V-shaped folds	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb I	one on each wrist	ring	none	as on Tomb I
No. 3 Elamite (Susian)	I	hair bunch at back; beard	probably as on No. 1 of Tomb I	as on No. 1 of Tomb I	doubtful; toes straight	as on No. 1 of Tomb I	plain ring on each wrist	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	as on No. 1 of Tomb II	as on No. 1 of Tomb I	as on No. 1 of Tomb II but V-shaped folds unclear	half-boots, straps and buttons on instep and shaft	as on No. 1 of Tomb II but belt across	one on right wrist, two plain on left	none	none	as on Tomb I
	III	details not carved; contours as on No. 1 of Tomb I	as on No. 1 of Tomb I	as on No. 1 of Tomb III	doubtful; toes upturned	remnant, as on No. 1 of Tomb III; belt ends parallel	one on each wrist, unclear	?	none	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	abraded; hair bunch at back; beard	tall cylindrical cidaris	candys top probably as on No. 1 of Tomb V, no V-shaped folds	doubtful; toes straight	abraded	abraded	?	none	probably as on No. 1 of Tomb V
	VI	as on No. 1 of Tomb VI	doubtful	as on No. 1 of Tomb V	half-boots; toes straight	as on No. 1 of Tomb VI but dagger longer	one on each wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I

THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP I (see Fig. 39)

Tomb I



Tomb II



Tomb III



Tomb IV



Tomb V



Tomb VI



No. 2
MEDIAN



No. 20
ARMENIAN



No. 21
CAPPADOCIAN



FIG. 40. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP IIA: WEST MEDIAN (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELET	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 2 Median	I	hair unclear, curls above forehead; long beard curled on cheek, stringy tip	domed hat, cheek flap pulled up, tassel at back	remnant of Median coat; long Median trousers, end of left trouser leg marked	combined with trousers (?); toes straight	trace of dagger	plain ring on each wrist	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; long curly beard; mustache	domed hat, probably no flap, tassel at back	as on Tomb I but end of right trouser leg probably marked	low shoes(?); toes straight	trace of dagger	two plain rings on each wrist	none	none	as on Tomb I
	III	details doubtful, perhaps not carved	domed hat, flaps pulled up and overlapping at back, long neckguard	Median knee-length coat and long trousers, parallel ends of coat belt in front, ends of trouser legs not marked	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	Median dagger and gear suspended from dagger belt	band on each wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	doubtful except short beard	domed hat, details doubtful except tip of long neckguard	as on Tomb III but belt ends unclear	as on Tomb III	traces of dagger gear	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	curled hair at back; long beard curled on cheek, plain or stringy tip	domed hat, neckguard or tassel at back	Median coat and trousers, belt ends parallel	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb III but thigh strap slack	unclear	?	none	as on Tomb I
No. 20 Armenian	I	?	?	trouser leg preserved	abraded; toes straight	?	?	?	?	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; short curly beard; mustache	domed hat, probably no flap, tassel at back	Median knee-length coat and rather tight trousers, coat belt destroyed, ends of trouser legs marked and left leg notched	probably low shoes; toes straight	as on No. 2 of Tomb III	apparently two plain rings on each wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I
	III	?	?	lower edge of Median(?) coat preserved; long Median trousers	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	?	?	?	?	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	as on Tomb II	domed hat, flap pulled up, long neckguard and tassel at back	Median coat and trousers	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	Median dagger and gear	one on preserved wrist, undulating	none	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	doubtful except beard	contours as on Tomb V	Median coat and trousers, belt ends parallel, ends of trouser legs not marked	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	Median dagger and gear, lengthwise medial ridge on scabbard; thigh strap slack, dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	?	?	?	?
No. 21 Cappadocian	I	?	?	Median trousers	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	?	?	?	?	?
	II	as on No. 20 of Tomb II	as on No. 20 of Tomb II	as on No. 20 of Tomb II but belt ends omitted and end of left trouser leg unclear	probably low shoes; toes straight	as on No. 20 of Tomb II but dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	two plain rings on each wrist	none	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	doubtful except short beard	domed hat, flap at side, tassel at back	Median coat and trousers suggested by contours	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	traces of hilt and scabbard tip	?	?	?	right hand as on Tomb II
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	as on No. 20 of Tomb V	as on No. 20 of Tomb V but more stylized	as on No. 20 of Tomb V but details unclear	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	remnants of Median dagger and gear	one on each wrist, undulating	apparently disk	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	doubtful except beard	domed hat with neckguard suggested by contours	as on No. 20 of Tomb VI	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	as on No. 20 of Tomb VI	?	?	none	left hand probably as on Tomb II

THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP IIA (see Fig. 40)

Tomb I



No. 4
PARTHIAN

Tomb II



Tomb III

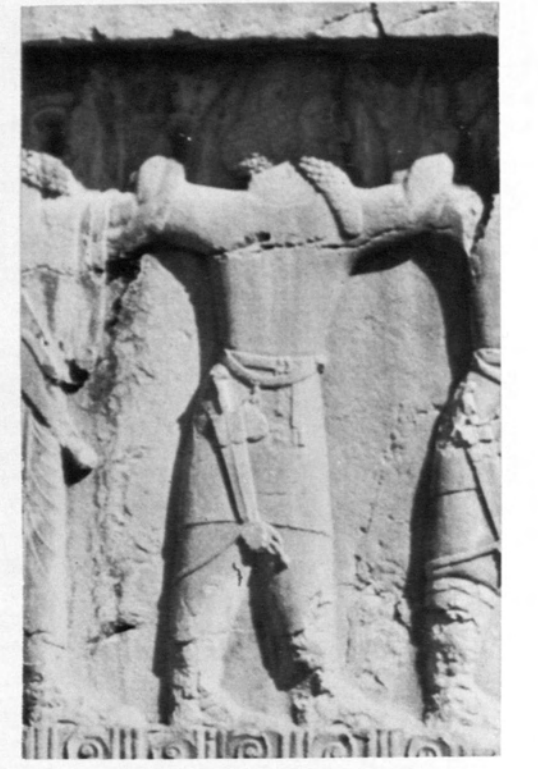


Tomb IV



Tomb V

Tomb VI



No. 6
BACTRIAN

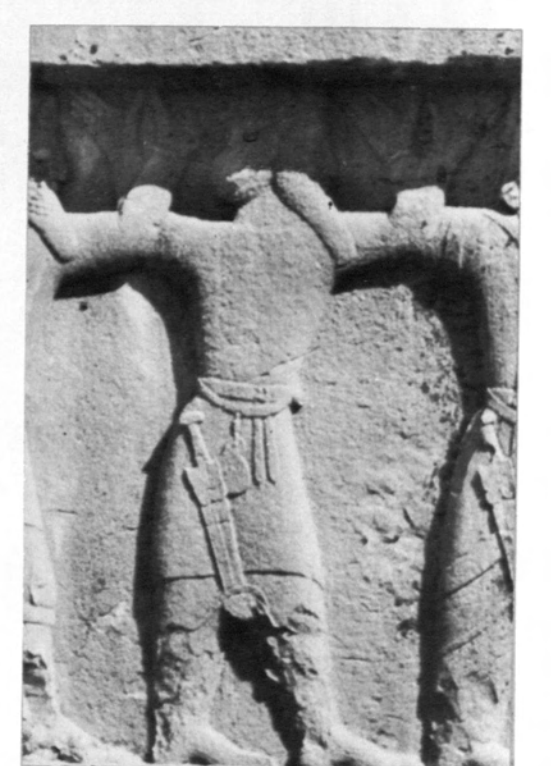


FIG. 41. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP IIB: EAST MEDIAN (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 4 Parthian	I	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; long beard curled on cheek, plain or stringy tip	twisted turban (or wavy hair)?	Median coat and trousers	doubtful; toes straight	remnant of Median dagger	doubtful	?	none	probably as on Tomb II
	II	hair probably as on Tomb I; beard as on Tomb I but longer and fuller; mustache	?	Median coat; trousers tucked into boots	low boots; toes straight	Median dagger and gear; dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	two plain rings on each wrist	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	details not carved; hair bunch at back, strip above forehead; long beard	probably twisted turban	Median coat and trousers, ends of coat belt parallel in front	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	Median dagger and gear	one on each wrist	ring	none	as on Tomb II
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	hair bunch at back; beard	possibly domed hat and flap with rounded end (see Pl. 67)	traces of Median coat; trousers tucked into boots	as on Tomb II	remnants of Median dagger and gear	?	?	?	three fingers of right hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	hair as on Tomb I; beard as on Tomb II; mustache	as on Tomb III	as on Tomb III	doubtful; toes straight	as on Nos. 20 and 21 of Tomb VI (see Fig. 40)	one on each wrist	?	none	left hand as on Tomb II
No. 6 Bactrian	I	remnant of hair bunch at back, hair probably marked above forehead and on crown; beard	fillet?	Median coat and trousers suggested by contours	doubtful; toes straight	?	?	?	?	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	hair bunch at back gathered in bag with string shown, curls above forehead, long beard curled on cheek, stringy tip; mustache	doubtful	Median coat and rather tight trousers	combined with trousers(?); toes straight	as on No. 4 of Tomb II	one ring on left wrist, two(?) rings on right	pendant suspended from ring	none	as on Tomb I
	III	details not carved; hair bunch at back; long beard, squared tip	doubtful; crown left blank	Median coat and trousers, ends of coat belt parallel in front	as on Tomb II	Median dagger and gear	one preserved on left wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	VI	slight traces of curls at back; long beard, squared tip	probably as on No. 4 of Tombs III and VI	as on Tomb III	as on Tomb II	as on No. 4 of Tomb VI	one visible on right wrist	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart

THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP IIB (see Fig. 41)

Tomb I



Tomb II



Tomb III



Tomb IV



Tomb V



Tomb VI



No. 5
ARIAN



No. 9
DRANGIANIAN



No. 10
ARACHOSIAN

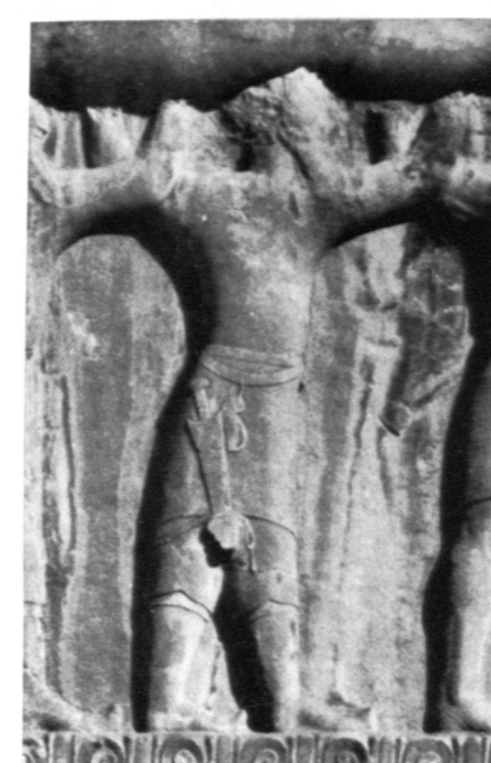


FIG. 42. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP III: EAST IRANIAN (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 5 Arian	I	parallel waves of hair(?) on crown, hair bunch at back; beard	bareheaded?	Median coat suggested by contours; trousers doubtful	doubtful; toes straight	?	?	?	none	left palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	doubtful except curls at back and beard	?	Median coat; trousers notched and baggy at knees	knee-high boots; toes straight	Median dagger and gear	two plain on each wrist	?	?	as on Tomb I
	III	details not carved; hair bunch at back; long beard	fillet?	Median coat, belt ends parallel in front; trousers possibly baggy at knees	knee-high boots(?); toes upturned	as on Tomb II	?	?	none	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	doubtful except curls on upper part of beard	?	Median coat, belt ends omitted; knee-length trousers	knee-high boots, tied in front, double line at top; toes straight	as on Tomb II	?	?	?	?
	VI	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; long beard curled on cheek, plain or stringy tip; mustache	twisted turban	Median coat, belt ends parallel in front; trousers baggy at knees	high boots, folded over at knees; toes straight	as on Tomb II but dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	one plain on each wrist	none?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
No. 9 Drangianian	I	hair bunch at back; long beard	?	Median coat; knee-length(?) trousers	high boots(?); toes straight	remnant of Median dagger	?	?	?	?
	II	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; long beard curled on cheek, rest stringy and wavy; mustache	probably twisted turban	Median coat, belt ends omitted; trousers notched and baggy at knees	knee-high boots, double strap elaborately knotted in front; toes probably straight	Median dagger and gear; dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	two plain on each wrist	?	none	left palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	hair bunch at back; beard	?	Median coat suggested by contours; trousers doubtful	boots(?); toes upturned	trace of Median dagger	?	?	?	both hands probably in position of left hand on Tomb II
	IV	hair bunch at back; long beard	?	as on Tomb III	doubtful; toes upturned	?	?	?	?	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	V	hair bunch at back; long beard curled on cheek, rest stringy and wavy; mustache	?	Median coat, belt ends omitted; left trouser leg notched at knee	knee-high boot on left leg, strap line near top; toe upturned	Median dagger and gear	?	?	none	?
	VI	curled hair bunch at back; long beard curled on cheek, rest stringy or plain; mustache	twisted turban	Median coat; trousers baggy at knees	knee-high boots; toes upturned	Median dagger and gear	?	?	none	as on Tomb IV
No. 10 Arachosian	I	doubtful except beard	twisted turban suggested by oblique lines	Median coat; trousers doubtful	doubtful; toes straight	remnant of Median dagger	?	?	?	apparently as on Tomb II
	II	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; long beard curled on cheek, rest stringy and wavy; mustache	twisted turban?	Median coat, belt ends omitted; trousers notched and baggy at knees	knee-high boots, double strap elaborately knotted in front; toes probably straight	Median dagger and gear; dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	two plain on right wrist, one(?) on left	none	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	hair bunch at back; long beard	twisted turban suggested by faint oblique lines	Median coat suggested by contours; trousers doubtful	boots(?); toes upturned	?	?	?	none	probably as on Tomb II
	IV	curled hair bunch at back; beard	?	Median coat suggested by contours; left trouser leg notched and baggy at knee	knee-high boots, strap near top of left boot; toes upturned	trace of Median dagger	one preserved on left wrist, undulating	?	none	as on Tomb II
	V	destroyed except for tip of long beard marked by fine wavy lines	?	Median coat, belt ends omitted; trousers notched at knees	knee-high boots, strap line near top; toes upturned	Median dagger and gear	?	?	none	?
	VI	curled hair bunch at back, curls probably above forehead; long beard curled on cheek, rest plain or stringy	indistinct, twisted(?) turban or plain fillet	Median coat; trousers baggy at knees	as on Tomb V	remnants of Median dagger and gear	?	none	none	right hand as on Tomb II

Tomb I



Tomb II



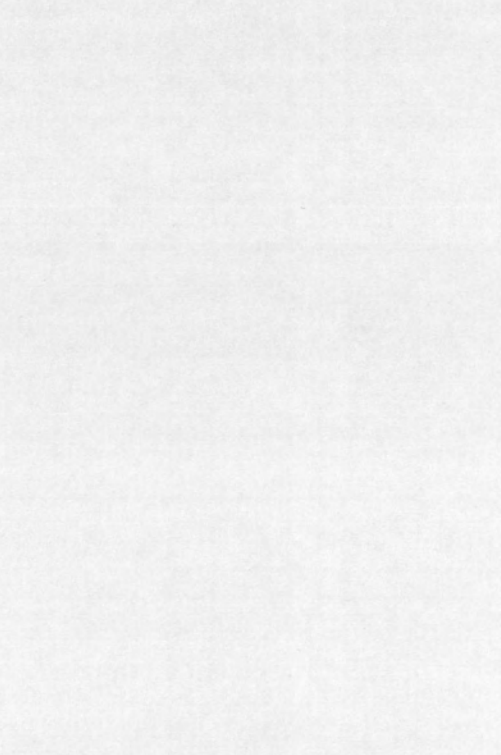
Tomb III



Tomb IV



Tomb V



Tomb VI



No. 7
SOGDIAN



No. 8
CHORASMIAN



No. 14
HAUMA-
DRINKING
SCYTHIAN



FIG. 43. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP IV: SCYTHIAN (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 7 Sogdian	I	doubtful except beard	conoid	?	doubtful; toes straight	?	?	?	?	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	doubtful except stringy tip of beard	doubtful except point of cheek flap at chin	Scythian cutaway coat, belted, fur-trimmed, overlapping in front; long baggy trousers, notched above ankles	plain shoes or low boots with tucked-in trousers; toes straight	Median dagger and gear; dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	two plain on each wrist	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	hair knob at back	conoid(?), outline of cheek flap visible	fur trim of Scythian cutaway coat preserved on chest; long trousers	doubtful; toes straight	traces of Median dagger and gear	?	?	?	as on Tomb II
	IV	?	conoid?	?	doubtful; toes straight	?	one plain preserved on left wrist	?	?	as on Tomb I
	V	?	?	?	doubtful; toes straight	?	?	?	?	?
	VI	hair knob at back; beard	conoid, tip perhaps knobby, cheek flap tapering toward chin	coat as on Tomb II but edges parallel in front and fur trim on short sleeves; long trousers, perhaps notched above ankles	doubtful; toes straight	Median dagger and gear, lengthwise medial ridge on scabbard	one preserved on right wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I
No. 8 Chorasmian	I	doubtful except beard	conoid?	skirt of Scythian cutaway coat preserved; long trousers	doubtful; toes straight	remnant of Median dagger	traces of one on each wrist	?	?	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	hair knob at back; stringy beard; mustache	conoid or domed, tip doubtful, cheek flap tapering toward chin	Scythian cutaway coat, belted, fur-trimmed, overlapping in front; long baggy trousers, notched above preserved left ankle	plain shoes or low boots (see No. 7 on Tomb II); toes straight	Median dagger and gear	two on right wrist, possibly two on left	?	none	as on Tomb I
	III	trace of hair knob at back; beard	as on Tomb II	fur trim of Scythian cutaway coat preserved on chest; long trousers	doubtful; toes straight	?	one preserved on left wrist	?	?	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	coat doubtful; long trousers	doubtful; toes straight	?	?	?	?	?
	V	?	?	coat as on Tomb II but fur trim on preserved short right sleeve; long trousers	doubtful; toes straight	tip of Median type dagger scabbard preserved	?	?	none	?
	VI	hair knob at back; beard	domed, cheek flap tapering toward chin	coat as on Tomb II but edges parallel in front and fur trim on short sleeves; long trousers	doubtful; left toe up-turned(?), right toe straight	Median dagger and gear, lengthwise medial ridge on scabbard	one on left wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I
No. 14 Hauma-drinking Scythian	I	doubtful except beard	?	trunk destroyed; long trousers	doubtful; toes straight	?	?	?	small portion of plain ring clearly preserved at throat	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	small hair globe at back; long plain or stringy beard; mustache	back curving to rather pointed tip that juts forward, cheek flap tapering toward chin	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed, edges apparently parallel in front; long baggy trousers, notched above ankles	plain shoes or low boots (see No. 7 on Tomb II); toes straight	Median dagger and gear; dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	two plain on each wrist	?	plain ring curving from hair globe to beard	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	doubtful except beard	domed crown, perhaps blunt tip in front	coat doubtful; long trousers	doubtful; toes straight	?	?	?	?	?
	IV	as on Tomb II but beard shorter	as on Tomb II	coat as on Tomb II, edges parallel in front; right trouser leg baggy and notched above ankle	as on Tomb II	Median dagger and gear; dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	as on Tomb II
	V	hair doubtful; stringy beard marked by fine parallel lines; mustache	top destroyed, pointed end of cheek flap at chin (see Pl. 67)	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges overlapping in front, fur trim on short sleeves and left shoulder; long baggy trousers, notched above ankles	as on Tomb II	Median dagger and gear	?	?	plain wide ring curving from shoulder to shoulder	?
	VI	as on Tomb II	hat with tip jutting forward and cheek flap as on Tomb II	Scythian cutaway coat, edges parallel(?) in front, fur trim on short sleeves as on Tomb V but shoulder strip doubtful; left trouser leg baggy and notched above ankle	as on Tomb II	remnant of Median dagger and gear, lengthwise medial ridge on scabbard	?	?	none	probably as on Tomb II

Tomb I



Tomb II



Tomb III



Tomb IV



Tomb V



Tomb VI



No. 15
POINTED-HAT
SCYTHIAN



No. 24
SCYTHIAN
BEYOND
THE SEA



No. 25
SKUDRIAN

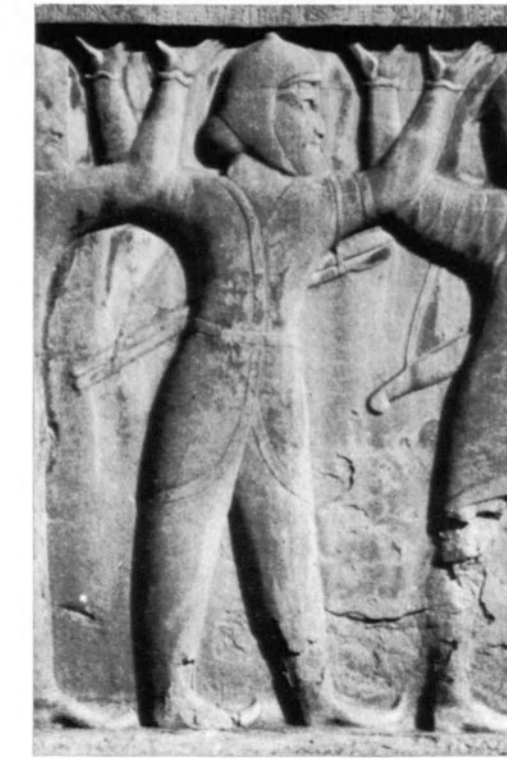


FIG. 44. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP IV (cont.): SCYTHIAN (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPONS	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 15 Pointed-hat Scythian	I	hair doubtful; beard damaged	tall slanting cone, long tip curving back, neckguard upcurled, tip of cheek flap missing	details of coat and long trousers unclear	doubtful; toes straight	traces of dagger at right hip	one plain on each wrist	?	?	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	hair bunch at back; blunt-tipped beard; mustache	as on Tomb I	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges perhaps overlapping in front; long baggy trousers, notched above ankles	probably plain shoes; toes straight	Median dagger and gear; dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	two plain on each wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I
	III	small fluted hair cone at back, wave above forehead; edge of pointed beard marked on cheek; mustache	as on Tomb I but domed instead of conoid, cheek flap tapering toward chin	as on Tomb II but edges of coat parallel in front	as on Tomb II	Median dagger and gear, lengthwise medial ridge on scabbard	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	remnant of hair bunch at back, curl on wave above forehead; blunt-tipped beard; mustache	as on Tomb I, tip of cheek flap preserved below chin	remnants of Scythian cutaway coat, breast destroyed, fur trim preserved at end of short left sleeve and on shoulder; long trousers, ends doubtful	doubtful; left toe straight	remnant of Median dagger and gear; dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	three fingers of right hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	hair doubtful; beard	long-tipped as on Tomb I, traces of upcurled neckguard and low edge of cheek flap, rest doubtful	remnants of Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges overlapping in front; trousers as on Tomb II	as on Tomb II	Median dagger and gear, lengthwise medial ridge on scabbard	?	?	?	probably as on Tomb I
No. 24 Scythian beyond the sea	I	hair doubtful; beard	shape doubtful, long tip curving back, neckguard upcurled, part of cheek flap at mandible	details of coat and long trousers unclear	doubtful; toes straight	remnant of Median dagger	?	?	?	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	small hair globe at back; beard; mustache	low cone, long tip curving back, neckguard upcurled and fastened to hat by cord or ring, cheek flap tapering to chin	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges overlapping in front; long trousers, right leg notched at ankle	doubtful; toes straight	Median dagger and gear	two plain on left wrist, one(?) on right	?	narrow ring at base of neck	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	as on Tomb I	domed, long tip and upcurled neckguard as on Tomb I, cheek flap eroded	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges parallel in front; long trousers	doubtful; toes upturned	as on Tomb I	one traceable on left wrist	?	none	?
	IV	?	?	?	toes straight	?	?	?	?	?
	V	hair bunch at back, wave above forehead, and pointed beard marked by fine lines; mustache	rather tall, domed, long pointed tip curving back, upcurled neckguard serrate on one side, cheek flap tapering toward chin	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges overlapping in front; long trousers, ends doubtful	doubtful; toes slightly upturned	Median dagger and gear	one on each wrist, undulating	?	wide flat band at base of neck	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	hair bunch at back; beard	domed, long tip curving back, remnant of upcurled neckguard, trace of cheek flap	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges parallel in front; long trousers, end doubtful	doubtful; toes sharply upturned	Median dagger and gear, lengthwise medial ridge on scabbard; dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	?	?	none	as on Tomb I
No. 25 Skudrian	I	hair bunch at back; beard	badly damaged; knobby tip	remnant of fur-trimmed Scythian cutaway coat on chest; long trousers	probably plain shoes; toes straight	traces of two spears, traces of suspension strap in front; apparently no dagger (but possibly abraded)	?	?	?	?
	II	hair bunch at back; long beard; mustache	shape doubtful, chin strap as on petasos of No. 26 on Tombs II and IV (see Fig. 48)	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges overlapping in front; long trousers	as on Tomb I	two spears suspended from left shoulder, socketed lanceolate points with lengthwise medial ridge, strap ends double-looped around both spears; top of Median dagger and gear preserved	two on right wrist, one (or two?) on left	?	none	left palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	curled hair bunch at back; trace of beard	?	trace of fur trim of Scythian cutaway coat on shoulder; long trousers	probably plain shoes; toes upturned	remnants of two spears as on Tomb II but preserved strap end single-looped; apparently no dagger (but possibly abraded)	?	?	?	?
	IV	hair as on Tomb III; plain beard; mustache	low petasos, knobby tip, no chin strap	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges parallel in front; long trousers	doubtful; preserved left toe upturned	two spears as on Tomb II but strap ends single-looped; remnants of Median dagger and gear, dagger belt looped around knob on coat belt	?	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	V	hair bunch at back, strip above forehead, and beard marked by fine wavy lines; mustache	domed top, knobby tip, cheek flap tapering to chin	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges overlapping in front, fur-trimmed short sleeves; long trousers	probably plain shoes; toes sharply upturned	two weapons suspended from left shoulder, stylized points suggesting knife blades, strap ends single-looped; no dagger	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart but connected by "web"
	VI	doubtful except small hair globe at back	domed top, knobby tip, and cheek flap indicated by contours	Scythian cutaway coat, fur-trimmed edges perhaps parallel in front; long trousers	doubtful; toes sharply upturned	two spears as on Tomb II but strap ends not encircling spears; dagger, gear, and dagger belt as on No. 24 of Tomb VI	?	?	?	?

Tomb I



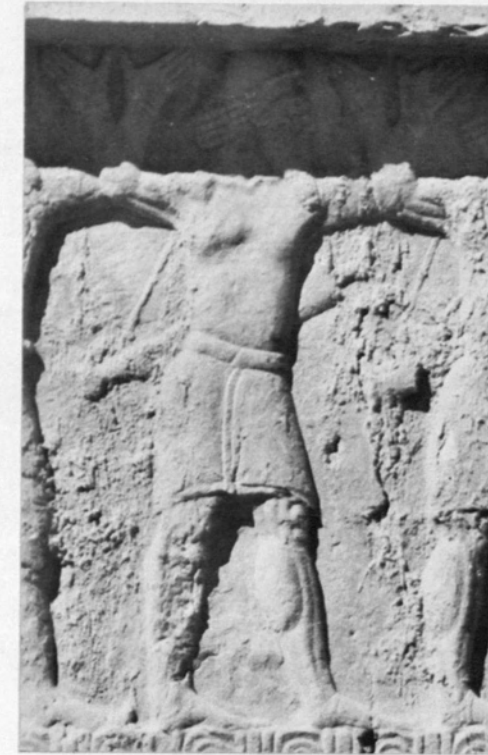
Tomb II



Tomb III



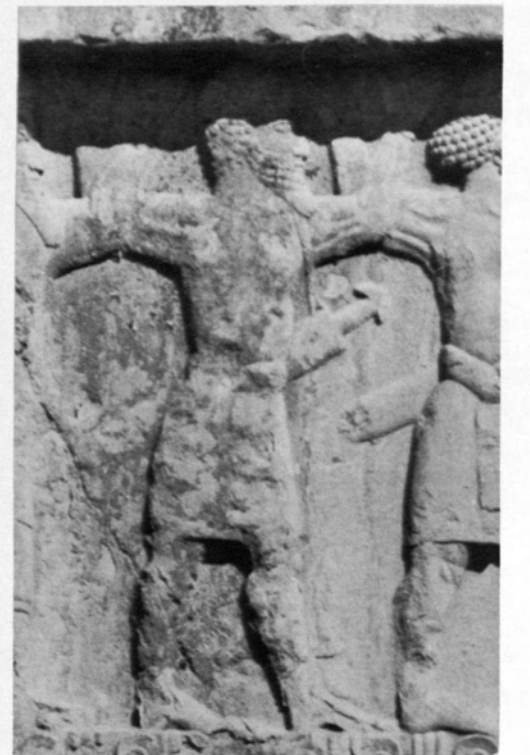
Tomb IV



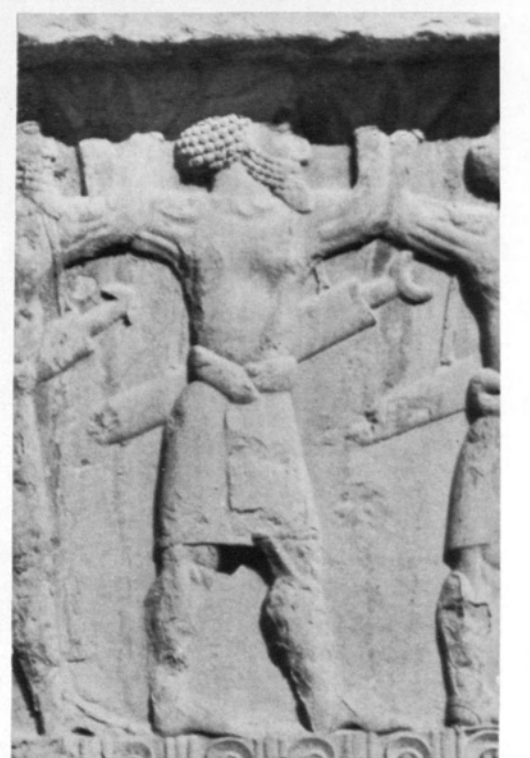
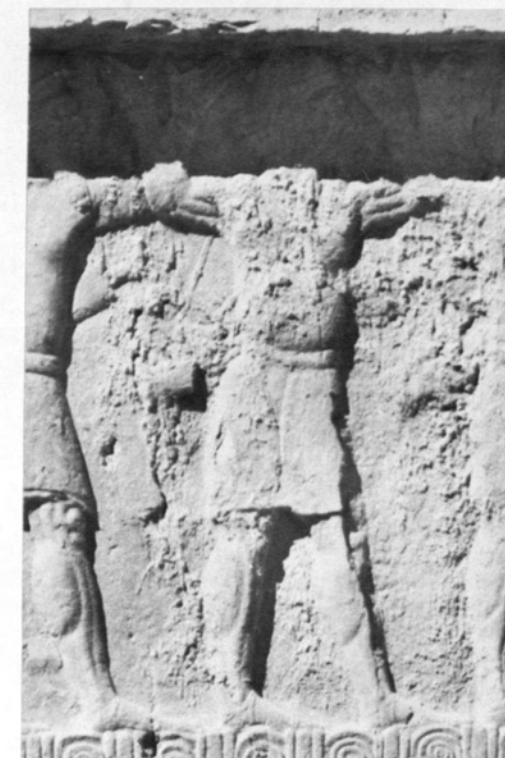
Tomb V



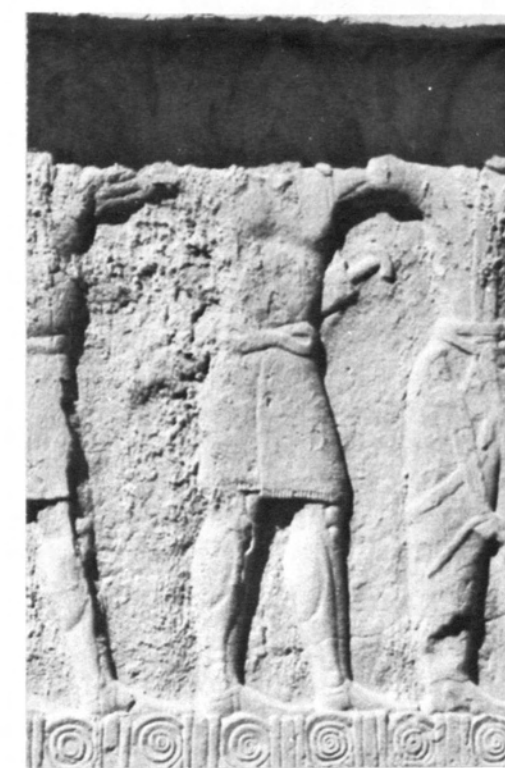
Tomb VI



No. 11
SATTAGYDIAN



No. 12
GANDARIAN



No. 13
INDIAN

FIG. 45. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP V: INDIAN (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 11 Sattagyadian	I	details doubtful; beard	destroyed	destroyed	doubtful; toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder	destroyed	?	?	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	hair strands suggested by lines on crown, curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; long beard, upper part curly, transverse waves below chin; mustache	bareheaded	upper body and legs bare; short skirt, secured by sash or rolled at top	sandals, straps across heels and insteps; toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, semiannular pommel, trapezoid scabbard tip; strap ends double-looped around scabbard	at least one on each wrist	none	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	?	?	?	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb II, details destroyed	?	?	?	as on Tomb I
	IV	crown smooth, curled hair bunch at back; long beard, upper part curly, rest mostly blank	bareheaded?	upper body and legs bare; short skirt with rolled top, double line at front and bottom edges	sandal marked by strap across left instep; toes straight	as on Tomb II but scabbard tip wide and rest doubtful	one on each wrist, undulating	none	none	as on Tomb II
	V	crown destroyed; beard marked by fine lines; mustache	?	as on Tomb II	as on Tomb II but additional strap across toes of left foot; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel lunate, scabbard tip bell-shaped, and strap ends single-looped	one on preserved left wrist, undulating	none	none	?
	VI	curled hair not bunched at back; beard, upper part curly, plain or stringy below chin; mustache	probably bareheaded	as on Tomb II but top edge of skirt destroyed	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel convex lunate, scabbard tip rounded, and strap ends attached to lugs	part of one on left wrist	none	none	as on Tomb II
No. 12 Gandarian	I	destroyed	destroyed	destroyed	doubtful; toes straight	traces of sword and strap to left of figure	destroyed	?	?	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	crown smooth(?), curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; short curly beard; mustache	conoid cap or bareheaded?	upper body and legs bare; short skirt, secured by sash or rolled at top and fastened by string	sandals, straps across heels and insteps, toe strap on left foot; toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, semiglobular pommel, trapezoid scabbard tip; strap ends double-looped	at least one plain on each wrist	none?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	long hair bunched(?) at back; short beard	?	?	doubtful; toes of right foot straight	as on Tomb II, details destroyed	?	?	?	apparently as on Tomb II
	IV	hair bunch at back; beard	bareheaded?	as on Tomb II but string not marked	sandals, straps across heels, insteps, and toes; toes straight	as on Tomb II, details destroyed	?	?	?	as on Tomb II
	V	crown destroyed, hair bunch at back; short pointed beard; mustache	?	as on Tomb II but with remnant of wide sash	as on Tomb IV but toe strap on left foot only; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel lunate, scabbard tip rounded, and strap not encircling scabbard	?	?	none	?
	VI	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; beard, upper part curly, plain or stringy below chin	bareheaded?	as on Tomb II but with wide sash	probably sandals; toes straight	as on Tomb II but sword wider, pommel semiannular, scabbard tip rounded, and strap ends attached to lugs	at least one on each wrist	none	none	as on Tomb II
No. 13 Indian	I	crown destroyed; beard	?	destroyed; legs bare	doubtful; toes straight	destroyed	destroyed	?	none	hands destroyed
	II	crown smooth, vertex unclear, three tiers of curls on bunch at back, curls above forehead; curly beard; mustache	low cap or bareheaded?	upper body and legs bare; short skirt, secured by sash or rolled at top and fastened by string	sandals, straps across heels and insteps, toe strap on right foot; toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, semiglobular pommel, trapezoid(?) scabbard tip; strap ends double-looped	at least one on right wrist, two(?) on left	small ring	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	right hand as on Tomb II
	IV	ribbon-tied topknot, curls on lower crown, curled hair bunch at back; beard, stringy tip; mustache	probably bareheaded	as on Tomb II but sash tied in bow and fringe at bottom of skirt	sandals, horizontal straps below ankles, vertical straps from insteps and around toes; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel in form of concavo-convex bar, scabbard tip destroyed, and strap unclear	one preserved on left wrist, undulating	none	none	as on Tomb II
	V	crown destroyed, hair bunch at back and beard marked by fine lines; ornamental lock in aural region (see Fig. 67); mustache	?	as on Tomb II but sash tied in bow with one end hanging down and the other apparently draped over rolled top of skirt	sandal marked by straps across heel, instep, and toes of right foot; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel convex lunate, scabbard tip pointed, and strap not encircling scabbard	?	none	none	hands destroyed
	VI	crown unclear, knob (topknot?) on vertex, hair bunch at back; rather short blunt-tipped beard; mustache	bareheaded?	as on Tomb II but sash tied in bow with one end apparently hanging down	sandals, straps across toes, heel strap on right foot; toes straight	as on Tomb II but lopsided pommel convex lunate, scabbard tip blunt, and strap ends attached to lugs	one on each wrist	none	none	as on Tomb II

Tomb I

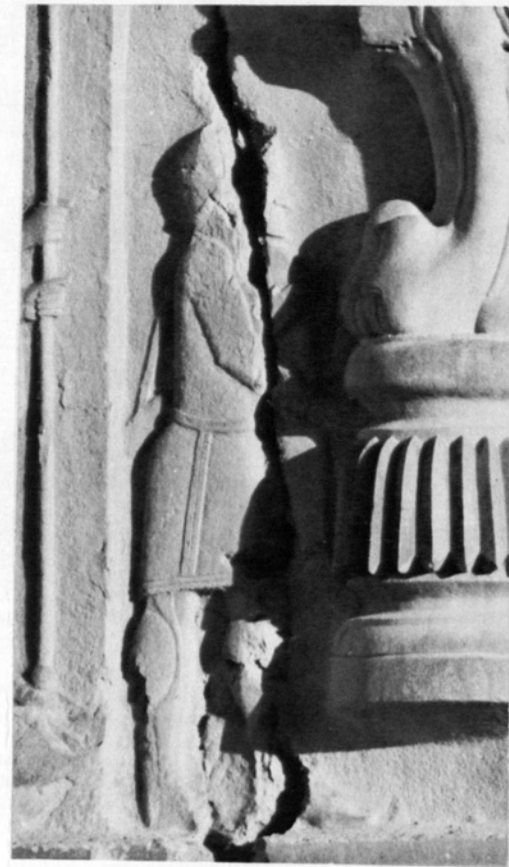


No. 29
MACIAN

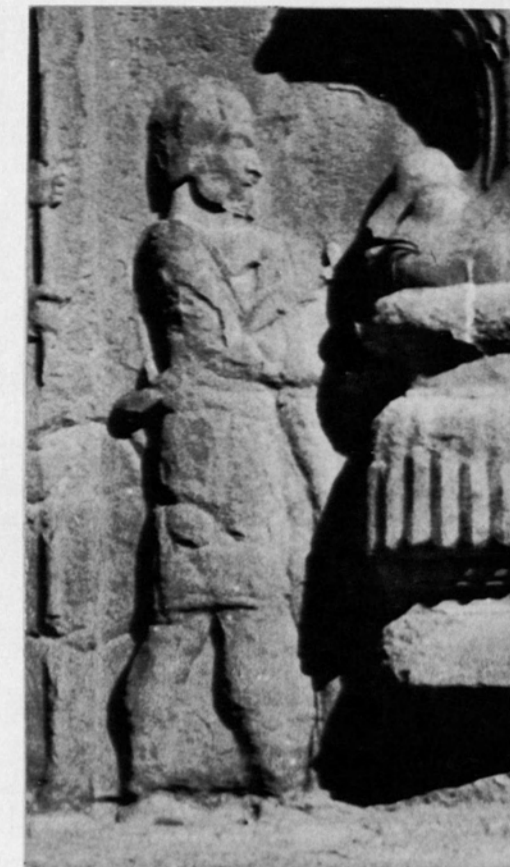
Tomb II



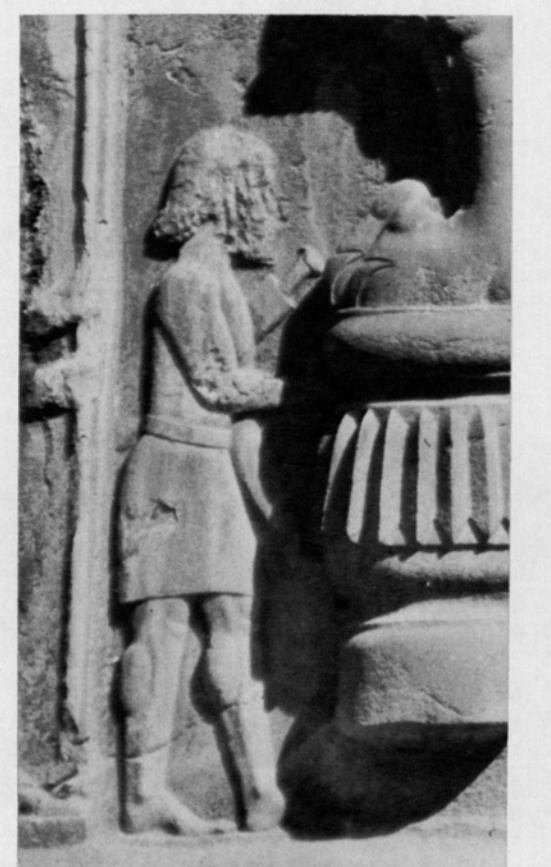
Tomb III



Tomb IV



Tomb V



Tomb VI

FIG. 46. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP V (cont.): INDIAN (see facing table)

No. 22
LYDIAN



No. 23
IONIAN

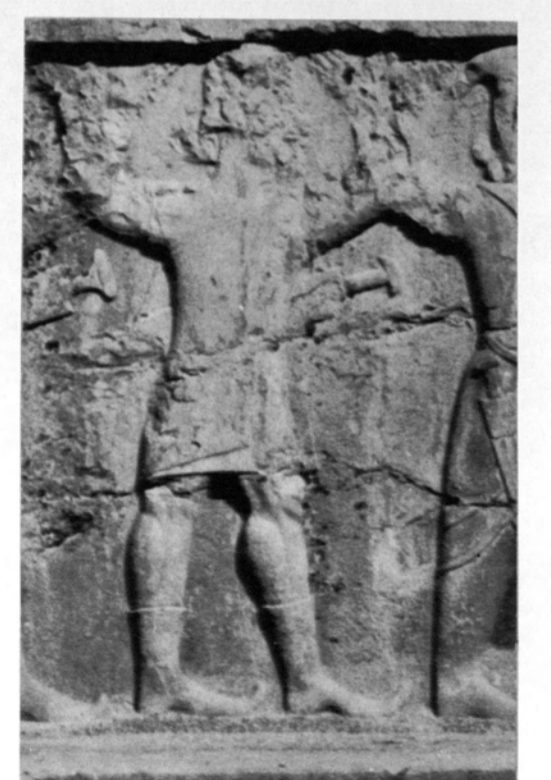


FIG. 47. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP VI: HELLENIC (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 29 Macian	I	broad hair waves on crown, no bunch at back; short pointed beard; mustache	bareheaded	upper body and legs bare; short skirt, secured by belt or rolled at top	sandals, straps across heel and instep of right foot, double strap across toes of left foot; toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, pommel in form of short bar, fluted trapezoid scabbard tip; strap ends double-looped around scabbard	?	?	none	right hand above left on left throne leg, back of right hand shown, four fingers and thumb juxtaposed, only little finger of left hand shown; left shoulder awkwardly distorted
	II	details of crown doubtful, no hair bunch at back; short pointed beard; mustache	bareheaded	as on Tomb I but top edge of skirt pronounced	probably sandals; toes straight	as on Tomb I but pommel semiglobular, scabbard tip destroyed, and strap not encircling scabbard	?	none	none	as on Tomb I but hands destroyed
	III	crown blank, no hair bunch at back; short pointed beard; mustache	bareheaded	as on Tomb I but flat band at top of skirt and flat paired bands on vertical and bottom edges	probably sandals; toes of left foot straight though seemingly upturned due to damaged surface	as on Tomb I, details doubtful	one on each wrist	?	none	as on Tomb I but at least four juxtaposed fingers of each hand shown
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	as on Tomb I, details destroyed
	V	crown mostly eroded, hair at back (not bunched) marked by fine lines; short pointed beard; mustache destroyed	bareheaded	as on Tomb I, details doubtful	probably sandals; toes straight	sword suspended from right shoulder, rounded oblong pommel, rounded scabbard tip; strap not encircling scabbard	traces on both wrists	none	none	as on Tomb I but only three fingers and thumb of right hand shown and left hand unclear
	VI	crown perhaps blank, curled hair bunch at back; short pointed beard	probably bareheaded	as on Tomb I but beltlike flat band at top of skirt	as on Tomb V	sword slanting behind figure, irregular rounded pommel, pointed(?) scabbard tip; no strap visible	traces on both wrists	?	none	as on Tomb I but hands unclear and left shoulder in almost normal position

THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP V (see Fig. 46)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 22 Lydian	I	trace of hair bunch at back; short blunt-tipped beard	probably bareheaded	chlamys over knee-length chiton, far edge of chlamys projecting to right of figure; legs unclear	doubtful; toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, semiglobular(?) pommel, pointed scabbard tip; strap unclear	?	?	none	left palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	wavy hair on crown, curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead, braid of hair undulating from crown to shoulder; short curly beard; pointed tip; mustache	bareheaded	chlamys suspended from left shoulder over chiton, two rear flaps of chiton (and chlamys?) shown between legs; spiral puttees fastened by garters	shoes; toes straight	as on Tomb I but pommel destroyed, unclear ornamentation at scabbard tip, and strap ends double-looped around scabbard	two plain on right wrist, left destroyed	none	none	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	details destroyed; hair bunch at back; beard	probably bareheaded though conoid hat illusively suggested by shape of eroded head	probably chlamys over chiton, far edge of chlamys projecting to right of figure; long trousers suggested by thickness of extant lower legs	doubtful; toes upturned	as on Tomb I, details unclear except semiglobular pommel	?	?	?	as on Tomb II
	IV	?	?	?	doubtful; toes straight	?	?	?	?	?
	V	crown, hair bunch at back, wave above forehead, and lower part of otherwise curly beard marked by fine lines; no braid; mustache	bareheaded	chlamys over chiton, short sleeves of chiton marked by two and three pleats; long trousers of Median type	doubtful; toes straight or (left) slightly upturned	as on Tomb I but pommel perhaps club shaped (see No. 23 on Tomb V), scabbard tip blunt, upper strap end single-looped and other end not encircling scabbard	one preserved on right wrist, undulating	none	none	three fingers of preserved right hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	crown destroyed, hair bunch at back, end of braid of hair parallel to back of neck	?	chlamys over chiton; long trousers of Median type	combined with trousers(?); toes upturned	as on Tomb I but hilt flaring to rounded oblong pommel, scabbard tip hook shaped, and visible (lower) strap end attached to lug	?	?	none	?
No. 23 Ionian	I	doubtful; hair bunch at back	?	chlamys over chiton, three rear flaps of chiton (and chlamys?) shown between legs; bare legs indicated by contours of calves	doubtful; toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, details unclear	one plain ring preserved on left wrist	?	?	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	crown smooth, back of head destroyed; pointed beard; mustache	bareheaded?	chlamys over chiton, two or three rear flaps shown between bare legs	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb I but pommel semiglobular(?), unclear ornamentation at scabbard tip, and strap ends double-looped	one plain ring on right wrist, two rings on left	?	?	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	doubtful; hair bunch at back; beard	bareheaded?	?	doubtful; toes upturned	as on Tomb I	?	?	?	?
	IV	?	?	?	doubtful; toes straight	?	?	?	?	?
	V	fine wavy lines on occipital remnant of crown, pattern on anterior remnant doubtful, curled hair bunch at back; beard curled on cheek, slanting parallel lines along mandible and on pronounced blunt tip; mustache	bareheaded	chlamys over chiton, short sleeves of chiton marked by three (right) and five (left) pleats; legs bare	doubtful; toes slightly upturned	as on Tomb I but pommel club shaped, lower end of weapon destroyed, and preserved strap end single-looped	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	destroyed	bareheaded?	chlamys over chiton; legs bare from above knees to below calves	half-boots; toes upturned	as on Tomb I but pommel convex lunate, scabbard tip damaged, and strap ends attached to lugs	?	?	none	?

THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP VI (see Fig. 47)

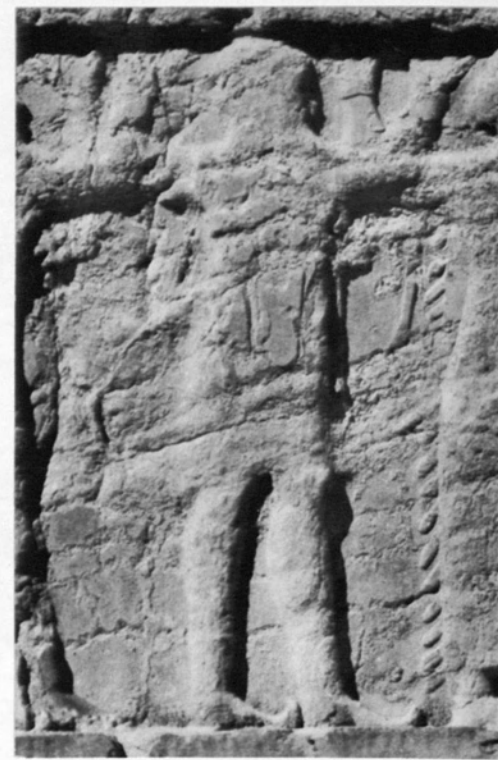
Tomb I



Tomb II



Tomb III



Tomb IV



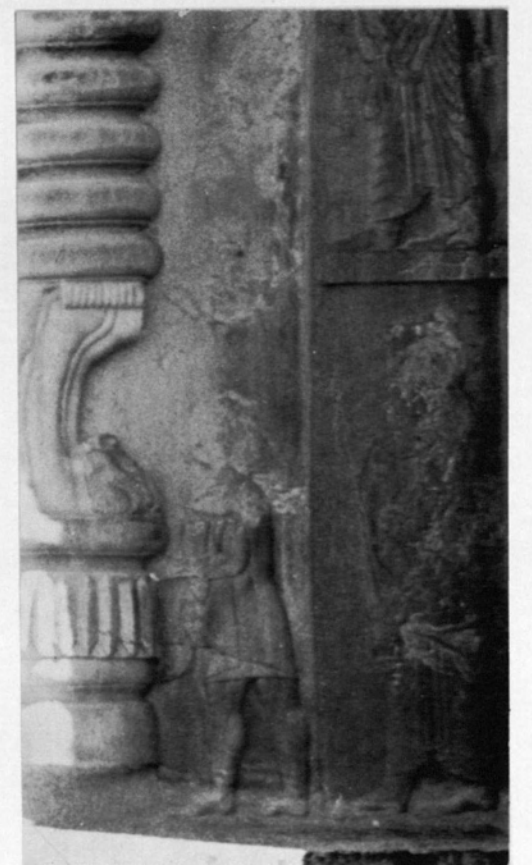
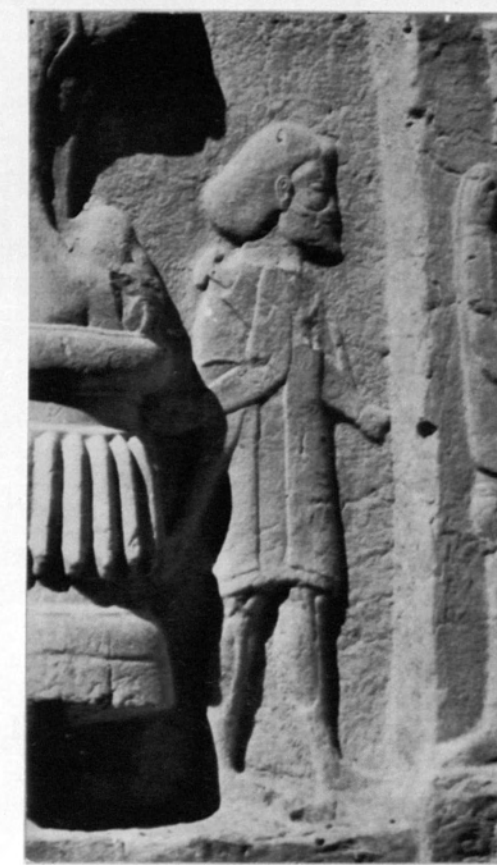
Tomb V



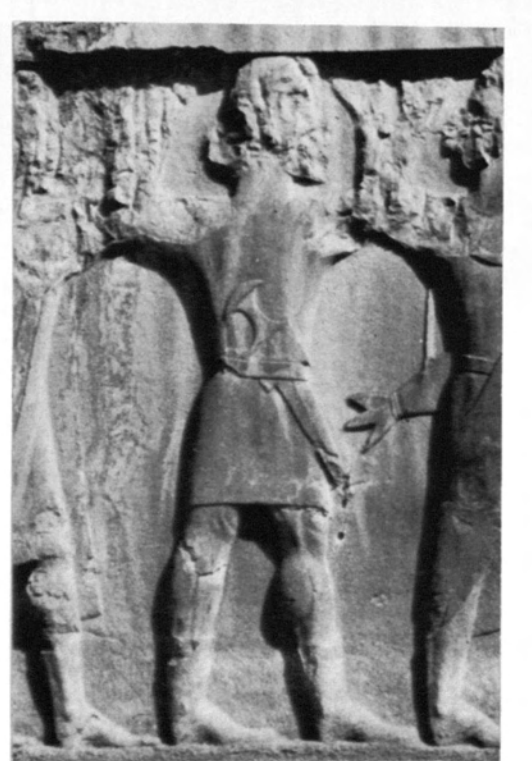
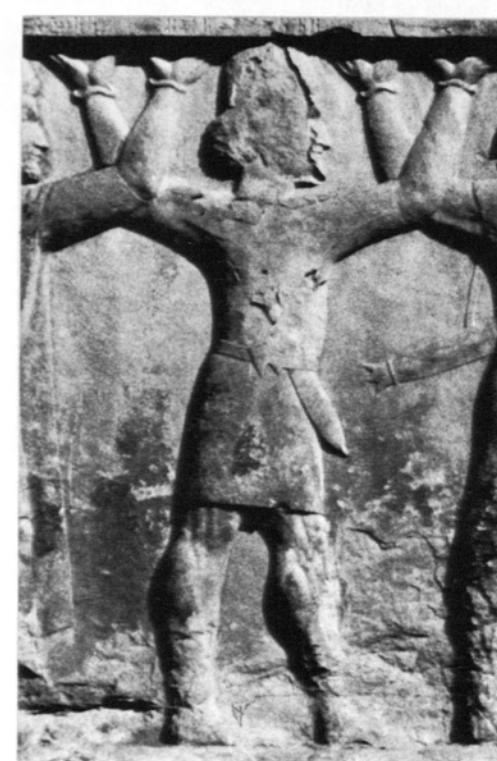
Tomb VI



No. 26
PETASOS-WEARING
IONIAN



No. 30
CARIAN



No. 17
ASSYRIAN

FIG. 48. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP VI (cont.): HELLENIC (see facing table)

FIG. 49. THRONE-BEARER OF GROUP VII: NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIAN (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 26 Petasos-wearing Ionian	I	hair doubtful, perhaps small bunch at back; blunt-tipped beard	petasos indicated by vertical knob and trace of brim projecting at rear	doubtful; legs probably bare	?	trace of sword and suspension strap behind figure	?	?	?	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	wavy(?) hair above curls at back; beard; mustache	petasos with domed crown, knobby tip, and chin strap	chlamys over chiton, one rear flap of chiton shown between knees, odd line slanting up and back from above knee of bare left leg	half-boot clear on left leg; toes upturned	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, semiglobular pommel, scabbard tip damaged; strap ends double-looped around scabbard	one plain ring on each wrist	none	none	left palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	doubtful; beard	traces of petasos as on Tomb IV	far edge of chlamys indicated by vertical line to right of figure, chiton abraded; legs bare	half-boots; toes upturned	traces of suspended sword	?	?	?	?
	IV	slanting hair waves above forehead and above tiers of curls at back; beard; mustache	low petasos with slightly convex top and knobby tip, remnant of chin strap on cheek	chlamys over short-sleeved chiton; legs bare	half-boots; toes upturned	as on Tomb II but pommel convex lunate(?), scabbard tip trapezoid, and strap incomplete	trace of one on right wrist, undulating	none	none	as on Tomb II
	V	long hair on back of head, hair above forehead, and rather long beard marked by fine lines; mustache	conoid petasos with projecting curved brim and prominent knobby tip	chlamys over chiton, short sleeves of chiton marked by five pleats on each arm; legs bare	probably half-boots, tops eroded; toes upturned	as on Tomb II but pommel and scabbard tip club shaped, upper strap end single-looped and other end not encircling scabbard	one on each wrist, undulating	none	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	mostly destroyed; hair pattern as on Tomb II or IV suggested by curls at back (not bunched); beard	as on Tomb IV but no traces of chin strap	chlamys over chiton, one rear flap of chiton as on Tomb II; legs bare	shoes or half-boots(?); toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel convex lunate, scabbard tip hook shaped, and strap ends attached to lugs	?	?	none	?
No. 30 Carian	I	doubtful; hair bunch at back, knob above forehead suggested by contours	doubtful; probably bare-headed	traces of chlamys over chiton	doubtful; toes straight	sword slanting in front between left arm and body	?	?	?	hands destroyed; undoubtedly at right throne leg
	II	broad hair waves on crown, knob above forehead, curled hair bunch at back, curls above temple; rather long beard curled on cheek, plain tip; mustache	bareheaded	chlamys over chiton, fabric draped over left shoulder, short sleeves of chiton oddly pointed; legs bare	shoes or half-boots(?); toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting as on Tomb I, lunate pommel, globular(?) scabbard tip; strap ends double- or single-looped	?	none	none	right hand (hidden) above left on right throne leg, four fingers and thumb of left hand juxtaposed; both arms flexed
	III	details unclear; hair bunch at back; beard	bareheaded	chlamys over chiton, chlamys draped in four pleats over left shoulder; legs apparently bare	as on Tomb II	as on Tomb II but pommel destroyed, scabbard tip rounded, and visible (lower) strap end not encircling scabbard	one preserved on left wrist	?	?	left hand above right on right throne leg, four fingers and thumb of left hand juxtaposed; right arm extended, left flexed
	IV	details not indicated; hair bunch at back, knob above forehead; rather short beard; mustache	bareheaded	chlamys over chiton; legs bare	as on Tomb II	as on Tomb II but sword piercing(!) chlamys, pommel oblong, scabbard tip trapezoid, and strap as on Tomb III	traces of one on each wrist	none	none	as on Tomb III
	V	unclear; hair bunch at back; short beard	bareheaded?	unclear; presumably chlamys over chiton; legs bare	as on Tomb II	as on Tomb II but pommel oblong, scabbard tip peg-like, and visible (lower) strap end encircling scabbard	?	?	none	position as on Tomb III indicated by remnants of hands at right throne leg
	VI*	destroyed; hair bunch at back suggested by contours; traces of beard	?	chlamys over chiton; legs bare	as on Tomb II	none discernible	?	?	?	as on Tomb III

* The outline of the head and, more clearly, the position of the feet prove that the Carian on Tomb VI faces the throne, in contrast to the awkwardly distorted position on all the other tombs, where face and feet of the Carian point in the opposite direction. Herzfeld (*IF*, p. 60) humorously remarked: "Sein Gesicht lächelt förmlich über diese Erleichterung."

THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP VI (see Fig. 48)

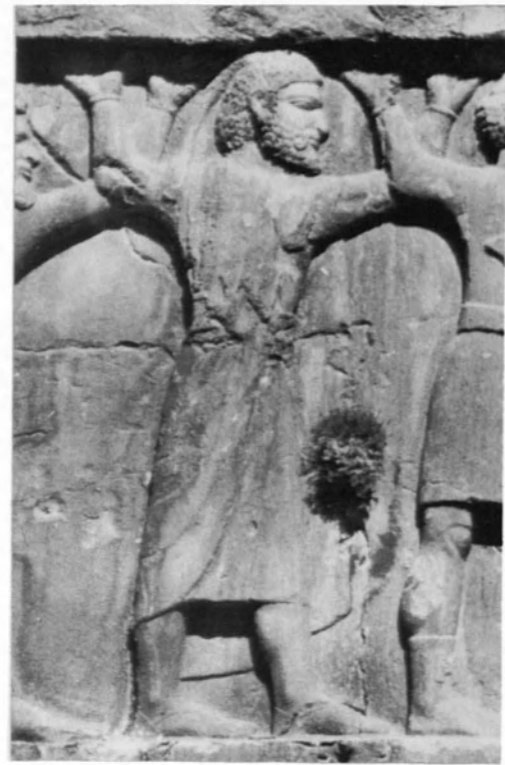
THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 17 Assyrian	I	hair on crown marked by fine wavy lines, row of broad waves at side, pattern of hair bunch at back doubtful; short pointed beard curled on cheek	twisted fillet (turban) indicated by row of scales	belted knee-length coat; legs apparently bare	doubtful; toes straight	dagger tucked into belt in front, pointed scabbard tip	trace of one on right wrist	?	none	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	crown doubtful, curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; short curly beard; mustache	?	belted knee-length coat; legs bare	half-boots, laced in front as shown by pattern between instep and top; toes straight	dagger tucked into belt in front, hilt flaring to flat-topped pommel, scabbard tip damaged	one plain ring on each wrist	none	none	left palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	eroded; hair bunch at back not pronounced; short beard	?	knee-length coat, belt abraded; legs bare	doubtful; toes straight	remnant of dagger slanting in front	one preserved on right wrist	?	?	as on Tomb I
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	hair on crown marked by fine wavy lines, remnant of curled hair bunch at back; short pointed beard	remnants of plain wide fillet at back and front	belted knee-length coat, short sleeves; legs bare	shoes or half-boots; toes straight	dagger tucked into belt in front, convex lunate pommel, asymmetrical scabbard top of Persian type, knob at scabbard tip	one on each wrist, undulating	?	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	head mostly destroyed; hair bunch at back; short pointed beard	?	belted knee-length coat; legs bare	half-boot clear on right leg; toes straight	dagger tucked into belt in front, convex lunate pommel, scabbard similar to Persian type but for two-pronged symmetrical top, lengthwise medial ridge on scabbard	?	?	none	?

THRONE-BEARER OF GROUP VII (see Fig. 49)

Tomb I



Tomb II



Tomb III



Tomb IV



Tomb V

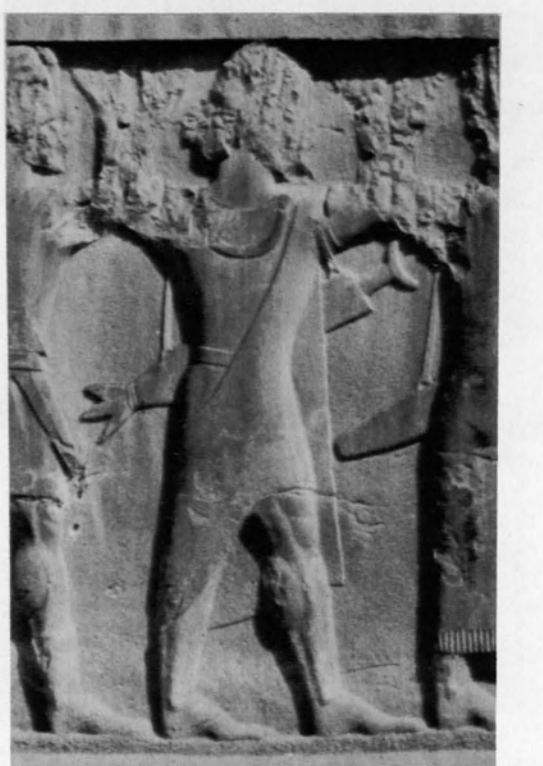
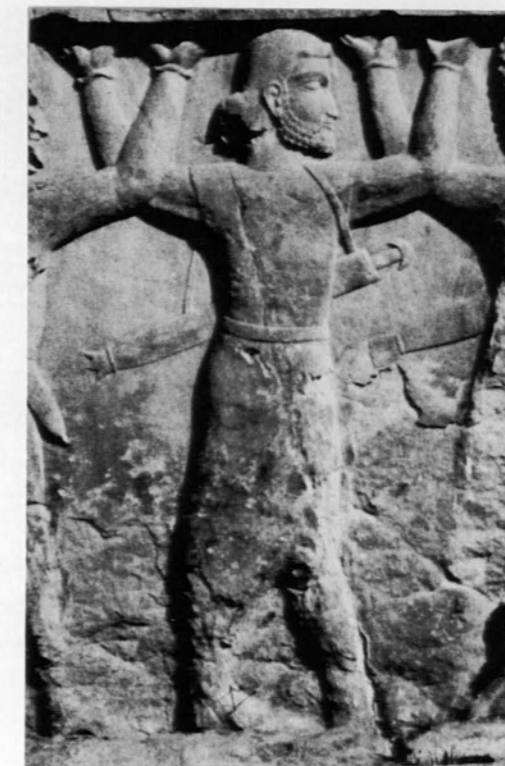


Tomb VI

No. 16
BABYLONIAN



No. 18
ARABIAN



No. 19
EGYPTIAN



FIG. 50. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP VIII: WESTERN LOWLANDS (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 16 Babylonian	I	hair destroyed; entire short beard probably curled	slanting cone, long tip drooping to shoulder	robe draped across shoulders, pleated on near side, long left portion with curved bottom, short right portion with tasseled (weighted) end at chest; legs probably bare	probably sandals; toes straight	none visible	?	?	?	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	curled hair bunch at back; short curly beard; mustache	domed cap, long tip curving across shoulder	robe as on Tomb I but pleats softer; belted undergarment with straight bottom edge; legs bare	sandals, straps across heels and insteps; toes straight	none	one plain ring on each wrist	none	none	as on Tomb I
	III	hair bunch at back; short beard; possibly mustache	destroyed but for long tip curving almost to shoulder	robe with clearly defined pleats spaced as on Tomb II, bottom edge doubtful, right end apparently attached to belt of undergarment with straight bottom edge; legs bare	doubtful; toes straight	none	one preserved on right wrist, undulating	?	none	right hand as on Tomb I
	IV	?	trace of long tip	?	?	?	?	?	?	as on Tomb III
	V	curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; short curly beard; mustache	tripartite domed hat, two long blunt tips drooping almost to shoulder	robe essentially as on Tomb I but highly stylized and without tassel; short-sleeved knee-length undergarment without belt; legs bare	doubtful; toes straight	none	one on each wrist, undulating	none	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	destroyed; traces of hair bunch at back	destroyed but for traces of two tips as on Tomb V	robe as on Tomb III but curved bottom edge clearly defined and right end tucked behind belt of undergarment with slanting bottom edge; legs bare	doubtful; toes straight	none	?	?	?	?
No. 18 Arabian	I	head destroyed; traces of hair bunch at back	?	remnant of garment reaching almost to ankles	doubtful; toes straight	remnant of sword slanting behind figure	?	?	?	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	wavy hair on crown, curled hair bunch at back, curls above forehead; short curly beard; mustache	bareheaded	robe with two pleated ends draped forward across shoulders and tapering to points at either side of waist, wound around body four times as shown by horizontally curved lines, outermost layer pleated; undergarment reaching almost to ankles	sandal faintly marked on right foot (bare toes); toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, semiglobular pommel, scabbard tip apparently ornamented; visible (lower) strap end double-looped around scabbard	one plain ring on each wrist	none	none	left hand as on Tomb I
	III	head eroded; short beard	?	remnants of robe with slanting pleats, short end draped across right shoulder; long undergarment	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel unclear and scabbard wider, with parallel sides and rounded tip, and not encircled by strap	?	?	?	?
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	hair on crown, bunch at back, and upcombed ridge at temple and forehead marked by delicate wavy parallel lines; short curly beard; mustache	bareheaded	odd stylized combination of short-sleeved belted undergarment and slanting lower half of robe (see Tomb VI); legs bare	sandal marked on right foot; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel convex lunate and scabbard wider, ornamented with ring above trident tip, and not encircled by strap	one on each wrist, undulating	none	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	head destroyed; traces of hair bunch at back and of beard	bareheaded?	stylized robe similar to that of No. 16 but not draped across right shoulder; short-sleeved belted undergarment; legs bare	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel concave lunate, scabbard wider and ornamented with double ring above trident tip, and strap ends attached to lugs	?	?	thick ring suspended on chest	?
No. 19 Egyptian	I	details abraded; perhaps hair bunch at back	probably bareheaded	beltless one-piece gown reaching almost to ankles, fringe at bottom	doubtful; toes straight	sword slanting behind figure, details doubtful	?	?	?	right palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	II	crown destroyed, no hair bunch at back; no beard; no mustache	?	as on Tomb I	doubtful; toes straight	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, semiannular pommel, double ring above fan-shaped scabbard tip; strap ends double-looped	one plain ring on each wrist	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	allover curly hair; short pointed beard	bareheaded	as on Tomb I but with V-shaped neck line and no fringe discernible at bottom	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel lunate and scabbard wider, with parallel sides and rounded tip, and not encircled by strap	?	?	none	left palm shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	IV	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
	V	allover curly hair; short curly beard, pointed tip; mustache	bareheaded	remnant of long gown	?	as on Tomb II but pommel doubtful and scabbard ornamented with ring above trapezoid tip (ring and tip delicately lined and suggesting pliable material) and not encircled by strap	one on each wrist, undulating	none	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	allover curly hair; short beard	probably bareheaded	as on Tomb I but with V-shaped neck line	doubtful; toes straight	as on Tomb II but pommel oblong, scabbard concave at top and blunt at tip, and strap ends attached to lugs	?	?	none	?

Tomb I



Tomb II



Tomb III



Tomb IV



Tomb V



Tomb VI



No. 27
LIBYAN

FIG. 51. THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP VIII (cont.): WESTERN LOWLANDS (see facing table)

No. 28
ETHIOPIAN

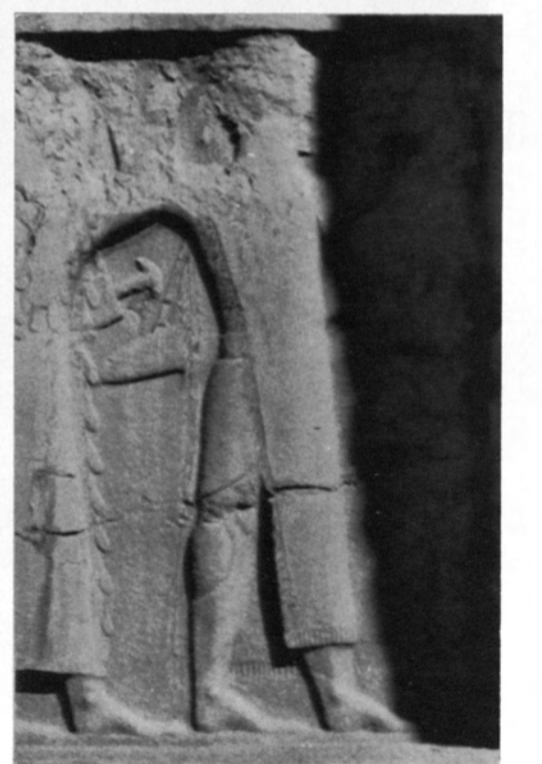


FIG. 52. THRONE-BEARER OF GROUP IX: NEGRO (see facing table)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 27 Libyan	I	head mostly destroyed; hair bunch at back; beard suggested by contours	bareheaded?	beltless one-piece gown reaching almost to ankles; serrate fringe of lion skin preserved to right of figure	doubtful; toes straight	perhaps remnants of two spears behind figure	?	?	?	?
	II	broad hair waves on crown, curled hair bunch at back, two rows of curls above forehead; curly beard; mustache	bareheaded	gown as on Tomb I; legs of lion skin with serrate fringe draped over shoulders	as on Tomb I	two spears suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, lanceolate socketed points with medial ridge; strap ends double-looped around both spears	one plain ring on each wrist	none	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	abraded; hair bunch at back; beard suggested by contours	probably bareheaded	as on Tomb II but legs of lion skin abraded	as on Tomb I	traces of two spears suspended as on Tomb II	one on right wrist, undulating	?	?	?
	IV	curls on crown, curled hair bunch at back; beard, upper part curly, tip stringy; possibly mustache	bareheaded	as on Tomb II but gown fringed at bottom and lining of lion skin marked by pattern of vertical waves interrupted by horizontal lines	as on Tomb I	as on Tomb II but spears not encircled by visible (lower) strap end	one on right wrist, undulating, trace of one on left	none	none	as on Tomb II
	V	hair on crown, bunch at back, and beard marked by fine parallel lines; mustache	bareheaded	as on Tomb II but end of left sleeve marked at elbow and lion skin stylized with no fringe	as on Tomb I	as on Tomb II but with long elliptical spear points and butt ends perhaps inserted in quiver-like sheath	one on each wrist, undulating	none	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	head destroyed; hair bunch at back	probably bareheaded	as on Tomb II	as on Tomb I	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, plano-convex pommel, wide blunt-tipped scabbard; strap ends attached to lugs	?	?	?	?

THRONE-BEARERS OF GROUP VIII (see Fig. 51)

THRONE-BEARER	TOMB	HAIR AND BEARD	HEADGEAR	DRESS	FOOTGEAR	WEAPON	BRACELETS	EAR PENDANT	TORQUE	POSITION OF HANDS
No. 28 Ethiopian	I	head mostly destroyed; no hair bunch at back; beardless prognathous face suggested by contours	probably bareheaded	blanket as on Tomb II suggested by contours, traces of ornamented vertical border to left of figure, knob on right shoulder	doubtful; toes straight	traces of staff and suspension strap at both sides of figure	?	?	none	?
	II	allover curly hair; chin damaged but undoubtedly beardless; no mustache	bareheaded	blanket suspended from right shoulder, fringe on vertical edges, knob (clasp?) on right shoulder; short belted skirt; arms, left shoulder, right side of chest (nipple shown), and right leg bare	barefooted(?); toes straight	staff with rounded ends suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body; at least one strap end double-looped around staff	one plain ring on each wrist	?	none	palms shown, four fingers juxtaposed, thumb apart
	III	head destroyed	?	remnants of blanket, fringe at bottom between legs	as on Tomb II	sword suspended from left shoulder and slanting behind body, only top preserved (below left arm)	?	?	?	?
	IV	allover curly hair; lower part of face destroyed, beardless chin suggested by contours	bareheaded	as on Tomb II but all edges of blanket fringed and no knob on right shoulder	as on Tomb II	sword as on Tomb III, pommel probably lunate, scabbard tip slanting; strap ends not encircling scabbard	one on left wrist, undulating, traces of one on right	none	none	as on Tomb II
	V	allover curly hair; no beard; no mustache	bareheaded	as on Tomb II but no fringe on blanket and no knob on right shoulder	as on Tomb II	sword as on Tomb III, pommel shaped like animal head, scabbard tip blunt; upper strap end encircling scabbard	one on each wrist, undulating	none	none	three fingers of each hand juxtaposed, thumb apart
	VI	head mostly destroyed; no hair bunch at back; probably no beard	probably bareheaded	as on Tomb II but all edges of blanket fringed and apparently no knob on right shoulder	as on Tomb II	sword as on Tomb III, pommel doubtful, scabbard as on Tomb V; visible (lower) strap end attached to lug	?	?	none	left hand as on Tomb II

THRONE-BEARER OF GROUP IX (see Fig. 52)

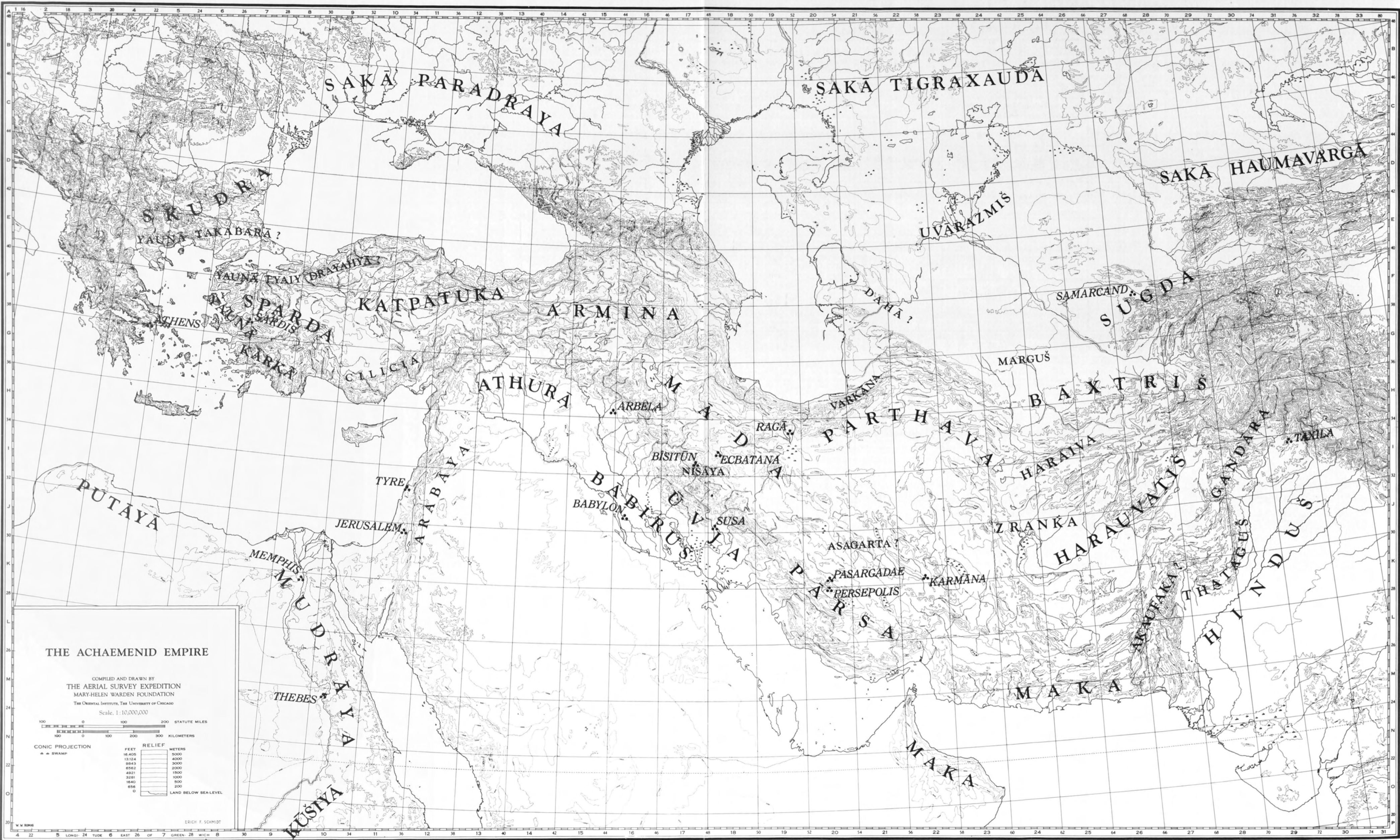


FIG. 53. MAP OF THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE

V

NON-ACHAEMENID MONUMENTS

A PRE-ACHAEMENID RELIEF AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM

THE most ancient monument known so far at our site (cf. p. 10, n. 4) is the remnant of a relief which was mostly obliterated when the court scene of Bahram II (see pp. 129 f.) was carved. Traces of the ancient relief had been noticed but misinterpreted¹ until Herzfeld determined their true significance.²

The ancient relief was of approximately the same height (ca. 2.50 m.) as Bahram's figure without the *kormybos*, but its length (ca. 7 m.) was greater than that of the later sculpture. The profile of the original relief—rather straight center, curving toward the left end, and slanting back at the right end—is indicated by the remnants of its figures at either end of the Sasanian carving and on the rock wall seemingly covering the persons of Bahram's suite below their chests. The smoothed curved rock segment, suggesting a podium below and in front of Bahram, was most probably fashioned by his order. The ancient relief undoubtedly had religious significance. The remnants of the scene³ show an attendant standing behind two seated deities, faced presumably by a standing worshiper, and the crowned head of a royal or divine person.

Though partly abraded by Bahram's sculptors, the figure of the attendant, at the right end of the relief, is preserved in its major features (Pl. 88 A). The bearded face, with pronounced cheek and curved(?) nose, is turned in the direction of the deities. The headdress is a round cap with pointed "visor" projecting in front. A band below the cap may indicate the hairline, and a vaguely defined vertical strip extending from this band to the chest is probably a pigtail. The back of the head is puzzling. A knob behind the hat may represent a knot, and there is another knob on the shoulder; the profile of a mass which according to its location could be a bunch of hair suggests an animal head.⁴ The attendant's feet also are shown in profile, but the body is in front view. The arms are sharply bent and extend across the body. We do not know whether the hands hold any devices. The short-sleeved dress may

consist of a one-piece belted garment or a jacket and a skirt. The sleeves jut out at either side. The bell-shaped lower portion of the garment reaches almost to the ankles. A line parallel to the bottom edge suggests an ornamental band.

The seated deity in front of the attendant is separated from him by the right edge of the frontal part of the sculpture. The upper portion of the god or goddess was destroyed by Bahram's relief, but the segment of a circle carved above the helmet of the hindmost Sasanian to the right of Bahram must be part of the earlier sculpture. The segment is either the top of the deity's headdress or part of an emblem. Otherwise, only the deity's flounced garment and the layered throne, presumably representing a coiled snake,⁵ are discernible (Pl. 87).

The second deity is marked by remnants of the snake(?) throne and possibly by an arched carving⁶ above the head of the first Sasanian to the right of Bahram.

Faint traces of a standing figure, presumably a worshiper, are visible to the left of Bahram (Pl. 86).⁷ Originally there may have been two additional worshipers(?), one at either side of the traceable figure.

To judge by its height above the ground line, the crowned head preserved at the left end of the relief (Pls. 86 and 88 B) must have belonged to a seated person. It is shown in left profile, facing the seated deities. The hair is bunched at the back of the neck. A curved line extending down and back from the outer corner of the large eye marks the hairline. The nose is pronounced. A beard could have been destroyed when the figure was obliterated below the chin, but the smooth contours of the cheek definitely suggest a female head, whether of queen or goddess we do not know.

As to the date of our relief, it has been pointed out that it closely resembles a rock sculpture at Kurangun,⁸ situated between Persepolis and Susa. The main panel⁹ of the Kurangun relief pictures a divine couple. The god, seated on a snake throne, holds a vase from which arches the water of life toward three worshipers in front and two attendants behind. The throne of the goddess is not clear. Both deities have lateral pigtails (cf. attendant in our relief). The Kurangun relief has been assigned to the Gutian period (end of 3d millennium B.C.). Our relief at Naqsh-i Rostam may have been carved at about the same time or during the second half of the second millennium B.C.¹⁰

2. See *ZDMG* LXXX (1926) 244 and *AHI* (1935) p. 5 and Pl. IV.

3. See drawing in *AHI*, Pl. IV.

4. This explains Kaempfer's drawing (see n. 1).

5. See *AHI*, p. 5.

6. See drawing *ibid.* Pl. IV.

7. See *ibid.*

8. See *ibid.* pp. 4–5 and Pls. II–III; *IAE*, pp. 187–90, Figs. 303–4, and Pls. XXXIII–XXXIV.

9. Later than adjacent rows of figures; see Debevoise in *JNES* I 78–80.

10. See *AHI*, p. 5. Debevoise (*JNES* I 80) considers our relief Gutian.

1. Kaempfer published a bizarre drawing showing a Janus-faced person at the right and adding the crowned figure at the left end to the Sasanian relief; see Engelbert Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediciarum fasciculi V, quibus continentur variae relationes, observationes et descriptiones rerum Persicarum et Ulterioris Asiae* (Lemgoviae, 1712) opposite p. 310.

Morier mentioned the standing person at the right end and considered him part of the Sasanian scene; see James J. Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, in the Years 1808 and 1809* (London, 1812) p. 127.

Robert Ker Porter's drawing shows the head with mural crown at the left and the standing person at the right, but his text refers only to the latter: "an extraordinary figure . . . not unlike the first idle drawings of a school-boy" (see Porter, *Travels* I 559 and Pl. 24).

Flandin's drawing (Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 188) does not indicate the traces of the older relief, but he mentioned (*Relation du voyage* II 118) the sketch of a figure (to the right) and noted that it did not seem to be connected with the (Sasanian) relief.

Texier failed to notice the remnants of the early relief; see Charles Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* II (Paris, 1852) 229 and Pl. CXXXIV (so also Curzon, *Persia* II 124).

Sarre (*IF*, p. 71) erroneously described the remnants of the early sculpture as outlines of figures (of Bahram's relief) which were never completed.

SASANIAN RELIEFS

Apart from our discovery of the relief of Hormizd II (see pp. 135 f.), our contribution to the subject of Sasanian sculpture in the Persepolis area is mainly pictorial. However, our excellent Zeiss cameras combined with the skill of our field photographer, Boris Dubensky, revealed hitherto unknown features of some reliefs, although they had often been recorded.¹

Since the main purpose of our Persepolis volumes is to present the results of our excavations and record the extant monuments in the Persepolis area, it would have been justifiable to disregard Sasanian sculptures located farther afield, especially since the lack of satisfactory illustrations in many cases precludes clear identification. Nevertheless, we have found it instructive to list all presently known Sasanian rock reliefs in order to show the range of subjects depicted and to examine variant identifications and datings proposed in more or less recent studies.

There are two groups of Sasanian rock reliefs in the Persepolis area (see Fig. 1), one at Naqsh-i Rostam and the other at Naqsh-i Rostam.² The locations of the nine reliefs carved in the cliff of Naqsh-i Rostam (NRu I-IX) are indicated on Figure 2 (see also Table I). The second site, Naqsh-i Rostam ("Picture of Rostam"³), is an angular recess⁴ at the foot of the Mountain of Mercy, beside the Isfahan-Shiraz highway, 3.40 kilometers north of Persepolis and 2.70 kilometers southeast of Naqsh-i Rostam. Four reliefs are carved on three sides of the recess. The earliest of these (NRa I; see pp. 123-25), an investiture scene of Ardashir I, is in central location. Adjacent to it are a bust and an inscription of the priest Kartir (NRa IV; see p. 131), carved undoubtedly during the reign of Bahram II. To the right is an equestrian investiture scene of Shapur I (NRa II; see pp. 125 f.), while to the left is a scene of Shapur I with his court (NRa III; see pp. 126 f.).

The exact purport of the recess of Naqsh-i Rostam is un-

known, but undoubtedly it was a place of dynastic and religious significance even before the founder of the Sasanian empire carved one of his investiture scenes in its rock. Sarre suggested that Naqsh-i Rostam was the site of the coronation of the Sasanian kings.⁵ He first assumed, however, that Ardashir's investiture relief at Naqsh-i Rostam was older than his investiture relief at Naqsh-i Rostam (NRu I).⁶ Subsequently he considered the latter relief the oldest Sasanian sculpture.⁷ Finally, Herzfeld proposed that Ardashir's investiture relief at Firuzabad (see p. 125), which Sarre first attributed to Shapur I,⁸ was the earliest of the three reliefs.⁹ Thus, if the Naqsh-i Rostam relief is indeed later than either or both of the two other scenes, the main point of Sarre's original interpretation is not valid.

We consider it probable that a spring once flowed from the rocky nook, marking it as a hallowed place, a sanctuary of Anahita, goddess of waters and fertility. Reportedly, Ardashir's grandfather Sasan and perhaps his father, Papak, were overseers of the temple of Anahita at Istakhr,¹⁰ 2 kilometers northwest of Naqsh-i Rostam. This may explain why Ardashir chose nearby Naqsh-i Rostam, the postulated Anahita shrine, to immortalize his investiture. Undoubtedly the puzzling location of his investiture relief at Naqsh-i Rostam, outside the inclosure of the sacred precinct, is also to be explained by the propinquity of a spring. Similarly, his investiture relief at Firuzabad is carved in the rocky bank of a river. In all three scenes Ardashir receives the symbol of sovereignty from the supreme deity, Hormizd, and not from Anahita, as does Narseh in his investiture relief (see p. 134). Nevertheless, we do not believe that the recess of Naqsh-i Rostam was a coronation site. Ardashir may have been crowned at Ctesiphon (in A.D. 226) or in the fire temple of Istakhr,¹¹ presumably the Anahita temple referred to above, where subsequently the last of the Sasanian kings, Yazdagird III, was crowned.¹²

RELIEFS OF THE REIGN OF ARDASHIR I

NAQSH-I ROSTAM

INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR I BY HORMIZD

Relief NRu I (No. 1 on Fig. 2), commemorating Ardashir's coronation (at Ctesiphon or Istakhr?) in A.D. 226, is about 6.30-6.65 m. long and about 4.20 m. high. The scene¹³ shows the king and the god mounted, with Ardavan

1. For references to early works see Curzon, *Persia* II 116 ff. For detailed descriptions see Sarre's contributions in *IF* (1910), but his identifications of certain rulers depicted must be changed in accordance with the results of more recent compendious and interpretive studies; see e.g. Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre" (1928); *IAE* (1941) pp. 306-40; Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden* (1943) pp. 46-69; Erdmann, "Die Entwicklung der sāsānidischen Krone," *Ars Islamica* XV-XVI (1951) 87-123.

2. For Sasanian graffiti on the Persepolis Terrace see Vol. I 227, n. 40, 258, and Pl. 199; *IAE*, p. 308 and Figs. 401-2.

3. The significance of "Rostam" is unknown to us.

and Ahriman prostrate beneath their horses (Pls. 80-81). The king is followed by a page. Trilingual inscriptions are carved on the chests of the horses.

4. For panoramic sketch and plan see Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 189.

5. See *IF*, p. 98.

6. See *ibid.* p. 95.

7. See Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1923) p. 39.

8. See *IF*, p. 245.

9. Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 130.

10. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, p. 86, but cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 35 ff.

11. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, pp. 88-90.

12. See *ibid.* p. 499.

13. For description and bibliography see Sarre in *IF*, pp. 67-71; Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 131; Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, pp. 50-51. For illustration see Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* V (1889) Pl. XIV, and cf. drawing in Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 182.

King.—Head in right profile, facing god; trunk in three-quarter view. Large oblong *korymbos*¹⁴ above semiglobular helmet¹⁵ with ear guard and neckguard; faint design above fillet with two long wavy ribbons behind (see n. 22 below). Curled hair falling on shoulder and back; beard marked by delicate waves, tip tied off or pulled through ring. Right arm extended forward, fingers of open hand touching ring with two ribbons—symbol of sovereignty—offered by god; left arm flexed, hand pointing at god in gesture of homage. Necklace of tangent disks. Mantle draped over sleeved and belted coat, belt with frontal ribbon marked by row of disks separated by bars; folds of trousers draped behind leg; two ribbons suspended from (hidden) foot.

King's horse.—Left foreleg flexed, hoof resting on head of Ardavan. Clipped mane, ornate headgear with applied stepped elements, ribbon on forehead, two reins. Three disks with embossed lion heads applied to breast collar above inscription. Large ovate tassel with cap and loop of metal suspended from chain below belly. Long tail marked by lengthwise lines, ribbon¹⁶ at top. Guard clamp (see p. 135) curving across king's thigh.

God.—Head in left profile, facing king; trunk in almost full front view. Semiglobe of curled hair above mural crown; fillet with ribbons like those of king. Curled hair falling on shoulder and back; long square-tipped beard groomed in wavy tiers. Right arm extended forward, hand holding ring of sovereignty;¹⁷ left arm bent, hand holding staff (scepter or barsom bundle?) slightly tilted toward king. Necklace of encircled disks in rectangular frames. Mantle draped over shoulders and waving behind, fastened on chest by clasp; coat like that of king, with similar belt; tip of foot with two suspended ribbons visible below trousers.

God's horse.—Identical in posture and size to king's horse, right foreleg on head of Ahriman. Disks instead of stepped elements on headgear. Plain disks on breast collar above inscription. Stepped cap¹⁸ on tassel below belly. Guard clamp (see p. 135) across god's thigh.

Page.—Upper body, beyond and above king's horse and behind king. Head in right profile; chest in three-quarter view. Semiparabolical helmet with neckguard and bifurcate emblem (Table V, No. 7*b*). Curled hair similar to that of god falling on shoulder; beardless. Right arm bent upward, hand holding fly-whisk curving upward toward king's *korymbos*. Long gown, sleeved and belted.

Ardavan.—Prostrate beneath king's horse.¹⁹ Almost semiparabolical helmet (front straighter than back) with ear guard and neckguard, bordered by fringe and marked

14. See Herzfeld, "Khusrau Parwēz und der Tāq i Vastān," *AMI* IX (1938) 104 ff. and Fig. 1.

15. Herzfeld's study of the headdresses of Sasanian royalty (*ibid.*) has been amplified by Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV–XVI 87–123 (for Ardashir I see pp. 91–94 and Figs. 1, 2, 18).

16. Visible in Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* V, Pl. XIV.

17. The meaning of a rectangular knob projecting from the rock directly above the ring is unknown to us.

18. Faint on Pl. 81, but cf. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 182.

19. Herzfeld (*IAE*, p. 312) suggested tentatively that the prostrate foe is Ardavazd, pretender to the Parthian throne after Ardavan's death. However, the emblem on the helmet is identical with that of Ardashir's foe in the combat relief of Firuzabad (Fir I; see p. 125). We believe therefore that Ardavan V, the last Parthian king, dethroned by Ardashir, is pictured in both instances.

by emblem (Table V, No. 1*b*); fillet with long wavy ribbon behind. Mustache and beard indicated. Necklace (of small tangent disks?). Extended legs faintly marked.

Ahriman, personification of evil.—Prostrate beneath god's horse. Bareheaded; "fillet" possibly representing snake or two snakes, one snake head apparently above forehead and head of second snake perhaps in front of forehead. Curls of hair on top of and behind head like those falling on shoulders of god and page; rather long beard with uneven waves and irregular outline that contrast with neatly groomed beards of god and king; long mustache.

Inscriptions.—Greek, Middle Persian, and Parthian.²⁰ On chests of horses.

Translation of Greek version on king's horse (Pl. 82):

1. This is the image of the Mazda-worshiping
2. god Artaxares, king of kings
3. of Ariana (of the r)ace of the gods, the son
4. of the god Papakos, the king.

Translation of Middle Persian and Parthian versions on king's horse:

1. The image (is) this of the Mazda-worshiping god Ardashir,
2. king of kings of Iran, who (is) a scion
3. of the gods, the son of Papak, the king.

Translation of Greek version on god's horse:

This is the image of the god Zeus.

Translation of Middle Persian and Parthian versions on god's horse:

The image (is) this of Hormizd, the god.

NAQSH-I RAJAB

INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR I BY HORMIZD

Relief NRa I (*ca.* 5 m. long, *ca.* 3 m. high) shows the king and the god with two childlike figures between them. To the left are a page and the crown prince, while to the right are the queen and an attendant. All are on foot (Pl. 96).²¹

King.—Head in right profile, facing god; trunk and legs in front view, toes presumably pointing outward. Large globular *korymbos* above apparently semiglobular skullcap (rather than helmet); design above plain fillet, two long wavy ribbons behind king's back.²² Short plain band or

20. First deciphered by A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse, et sur les médailles des rois de la dynastie des Sassanides; suivis de l'histoire de cette dynastie, traduite du Persan de Mirkhond* (Paris, 1793) pp. 62 ff., 106 ff., and Pl. 1 (facing p. xvi). For translations see Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 85.

21. For tentative description and bibliography see Sarre in *IF*, pp. 94–96; Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," pp. 130–31. For a sketchy drawing see Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 192. Our photographs (Pls. 96–97) show that all previous illustrations are misleading in that they give the false impression that the relief is in exceptionally poor condition. For the adjacent bust and inscription of Kartir (NRa IV) see p. 131 below.

22. Lines converging at the top suggest that the headdress consisted of soft material and that the skullcap and the *korymbos* consisted of one piece. The absence of hair locks, usually shown falling to the shoulders of the king, indicates that the hair was gathered on top and inserted in a sheath of silk or the like, which was then fitted to the king's head and tied at the vertex. Thus, the upper part of the sheath became the *korymbos* and the lower part the skullcap, which on the representations of later kings was usually hidden beneath distinctive elaborations of their headdresses. Perhaps in all cases, but especially in those reliefs which show the king's hair flowing to his shoulders, we should assume that the *korymbos* was supported by an inner frame of wire or the like. In all instances two long wavy ribbons extend from a fillet, the diadem, which encircles the head of the king. These ribbons probably repre-

knob above and behind head. Long beard with square tip (not ringed and tufted). Right arm extended across chest, hand clasping symbol of sovereignty offered by god; left arm flexed, hand in front of mouth and pointing at god in gesture of homage. Wide neckband marked with tangent circles. Long-sleeved coat, folds marked on right lower arm; plain mantle apparently covering shoulder, upper arm, and side. Sword hilt visible at left hip.

God.—Head in left profile, facing king; trunk and legs in front view, toes pointing outward. Headdress partly eroded, mural crown, or tiara of Achaemenid type, curious central projection on top; short ribbon or knot behind head, long wavy ribbon behind back. Curled hair falling on shoulder; long beard. Right hand holding symbol of sovereignty; left hand holding staff (cf. NRu I) tilted toward king. Details of dress doubtful, end of long sleeve and lower edge of knee-length garment (mantle?) indicated.

Two childlike figures.—Facing each other between king and god at either side of vertical staff directly below symbol of sovereignty.

Figure to left: Head in right profile; trunk and legs in front view, legs slightly apart, toes apparently pointing outward. Semiparabolical helmet; fillet, long wavy ribbon behind figure's back.²³ Right arm bent across chest, hand (mostly destroyed) in front of mouth, probably pointing at second "child" in gesture of homage;²⁴ position of left arm doubtful, hand possibly extended toward lower and apparently tapering end of staff. Necklace. Knee-length garment.

Figure to right: Head in left profile; trunk and legs as for figure to left. Apparently bareheaded. Right hand clasping staff; left arm suspended, hand holding battered object. Possibly nude, but tight-fitting garment perhaps indicated by faint markings on upper chest.

It has been suggested that these two small figures are grandsons of Ardashir,²⁵ that they are Ardashir's sons apparently clasping the sacred standard,²⁶ and that one is Ardashir's grandson Hormizd and the second a little god.²⁷ The last suggestion is closest to our own opinion, for the scene parallels to some extent the solemn act performed above it and seems to symbolize the perpetuance of the dynasty. The little figure wearing the royal ribbon (see n. 22) and standing next to the king may be a specific descendant of Ardashir or he may serve as a symbol of dynastic continuance reaching for the scepter(?) offered by the second small figure, a deity,²⁸ standing next to the god Hormizd.

sent the ends of the fillet, or they may have been attached to it at the back. Fillet and ribbons correspond to the symbol of sovereignty—a ring with two ribbons—which is offered to the king in all investiture reliefs.

The design above the fillet is vague but suggestive of the pattern of loops or curls distinguishing the crown of Hormizd I from that of Ardashir I (see Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV–XVI 96 and Figs. 1, 2, 18).

23. For good illustration see *IAE*, Pl. CX top.

24. See *ibid.*

25. See Curzon, *Persia* II 127: "... sons of Shapur, born before he ascended the throne."

26. See Sarre in *IF*, p. 95.

27. See Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 130.

28. Cf. the small nude "Victories" in reliefs Bi II and Bi III of Shapur I (see p. 128).

29. A latex squeeze may possibly reveal its form. For the shape of the crown prince's emblem in other reliefs see Table V, Nos. 3a and 3b.

Page.—General posture same as that of king (see Pl. 97 A). Identified by bifurcate emblem (Table V, No. 7c) on headdress with page in Ardashir's combat relief at Firuzabad (Fir I) and in his investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam (NRu I); tip of headdress curled into scroll. Curled strands of hair falling to shoulder and back; presumably beardless (as in Fir I and NRu I) youth rather than eunuch. Right arm crossing chest, raised hand holding fly-whisk over king's *korymbos*; left arm bent across chest and presumably meant to rest on sword hilt partly visible in front. Dress probably like that of crown prince beside him.

Crown prince.—General posture same as that of king and page. Emblem on semiparabolical helmet not clear;²⁹ plain band or knot behind head, two long ribbons (abraded, but one distinctly wavy) suspended behind back and reaching to waist.³⁰ Long curled hair treated in same fashion as that of page; long square-tipped beard marked with fine lengthwise waves and curls on cheek; long wavy mustache with curiously thickened tip. Right arm crossing chest, raised hand pointing toward king and god in gesture of homage; left arm in same position as that of page, wrist resting on hilt of sword which is suspended vertically between knees to point near ground, hand completely hidden inside sleeve. Neck ring, apparently plain. Long-sleeved knee-length garment marked with delicate folds covering part of belt ornamented with row of disks; trousers not well defined.

Queen.—Separated, along with her attendant, from rest of scene by pole (column?) with irregular top suggestive of capital (see Pl. 97 B). Heads of both persons in right profile, faces diverted from other figures; queen's shoulders and presumably rest of body in front view. Headdress with projecting round tip and flaps on cheek and back; fillet marked on forehead, two long plain ribbons extending from knot at back of head to waist. Three long braids extending from underneath cheek flap, four from neck flap. Raised right hand pointing in gesture of homage—senselessly, it might seem—toward edge of relief.³¹ Plain wide neck ring; bracelet perhaps on right wrist. Outer garment apparently long mantle covering rest of dress.

Queen's attendant.—Head in right profile.³² Headdress with projecting tip in form of animal head³³ and apparently with two superposed neckguards, trilobate ornament—blossom with two buds—rather than emblem at side near back; band (ribbon or strand of hair?) extending from neckguards onto cheek (see Pl. 97 B). Plain wide neck ring. No further details marked.

Date of relief.—We have pointed out (see n. 22) that, because of a pattern of loops or curls above the fillet, the

30. Long wavy ribbons are always attributes of king and god and essential parts of the symbol of sovereignty (see n. 22) but also distinguish the crown prince in Fir I (p. 125), NRu V (p. 131), and NRu VI (p. 134) and thus induce us to identify our figure with Ardashir's son and successor, Shapur I (so Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 130). Sarre (*IF*, p. 95) suggested identification with the grand vizier or the commander of Ardashir's army.

31. We agree with Sarre (*IF*, p. 95) that the queen and her attendant were placed at the right end of the relief for the sake of symmetry, to balance crown prince and page. If we imagine that the ladies stand behind and apart from the other participants in the mystic ritual, the queen's hand would be pointing at the god.

32. We believe, with Sarre (*IF*, p. 95), that the queen's companion is a lady-in-waiting or a princess. For other opinions see *ibid.* n. 2.

33. Believed by Sarre (*IF*, p. 96) to be that of a leopard. We are not able to identify the animal.

king's headdress resembles the crown of Hormizd I. It is peculiar, furthermore, that Ardashir's name is not mentioned in the adjacent inscription of the priest Kartir (NRa IV) whereas Hormizd, as in the other three inscriptions of the priest, is listed among his royal patrons. There are, however, reasons for accepting the usual dating. Ardashir's name does appear in two of Kartir's four rock-carved inscriptions (see p. 131). Moreover, the location of the relief suggests that it is earlier than the two flanking reliefs of Ardashir's son and successor. Finally, Hormizd's reign, though apparently distinguished,³⁴ lasted only about a year (A.D. 272-73), possibly too short a time for the planning and execution of a monumental sculpture. Nevertheless, features such as the composition of the scene and the style and treatment of the garments and headdresses of the subordinate figures suggest that this relief is later than the other reliefs of Ardashir I.

FIRUZABAD

EQUESTRIAN COMBATS

Relief Fir I, near Firuzabad,³⁵ is a battle scene immortalizing Ardashir's victory over the Parthians at Hormizdaghan, April 28, 224.³⁶ It consists of a panel showing three equestrian duels: Ardashir killing Ardavan, the crown prince (Shapur I) dispatching Ardavan's grand vizier(?), and a beardless page capturing a third Parthian, who also appears to be beardless.³⁷ Ardashir's *korymbos* is an open globe of curls. The fillet ends in two long wavy ribbons. The tip of his beard is tufted below a ring. The ends of two bands at the side of Ardavan's somersaulting horse suggest that one of the insignia of the Parthian king too was the fillet ending in two wavy ribbons of distinctive length. Wavy ribbons float behind the heads of the crown prince and the Parthian vizier(?), those of the Parthian presumably indicating that he likewise is of royal descent.

Ardavan, Ardashir, the crown prince, and the page are distinguished by emblems (Table V, Nos. 1a, 2a, 3a, and 7a respectively) on their horses. The emblem of the crown prince appears on his quiver also and that of the page on his helmet.

The Sasanian combat reliefs are related to equestrian combats of the Parthian period, for example the Behistun relief³⁸ commemorating the victory (A.D. 49-50) of Gotarzes II over his rival Meherdates³⁹ and one of the late Parthian reliefs of Tang-i Sarvak,⁴⁰ namely "Monument D."⁴¹

INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR I BY HORMIZD

Relief Fir II shows the king and the god on foot, facing each other and flanking a small fire altar. A page, the crown prince, and two dignitaries are behind the king.⁴² The god, to left, wears the mural crown apparently and a long ribbon or ribbons behind. His left hand holds a bar-som bundle or scepter, and his right hand offers the beribboned symbol of sovereignty to the king. The king is distinguished by the veiled *korymbos* above a plain helmet and apparently a long ribbon behind. His right hand touches the symbol of sovereignty, and his left hand is raised in the gesture of homage. His sword is suspended in front. The beardless page wears a cap with projecting tip. His right hand holds a fly-whisk above the king's *korymbos*. His left arm crosses his body above his sword. The crown prince and the two dignitaries are taller than the page but smaller than the king. All three wear semiparabolical helmets and are bearded. Their right hands are raised in the gesture of homage. So far as preserved, their left hands are above the pommels of their swords, which are suspended in front. The emblem of the crown prince (Table V, No. 3b) appears on the helmet of the foremost of these three figures.

RELIEFS OF THE REIGN OF SHAPUR I

NAQSH-I RAJAB

INVESTITURE OF SHAPUR I BY HORMIZD

Relief NRa II (ca. 6.40 m. long, ca. 2.90 m. high) is dated by its style rather than by the king's abraded crown. The scene is similar to that of Ardashir's heraldic investiture at Naqsh-i Rostam (NRu I), but here the positions of god and king are reversed and the page and prostrate foes are omitted (Pl. 99).⁴³ The postures of king, god, and horses are essentially the same in the two scenes.

King.—Upper part mostly destroyed. *Korymbos* originally extending beyond broken top edge of relief; pos-

sibly remnant of mural crown; two long wavy ribbons floating behind head. Right hand extended toward but not touching symbol of sovereignty offered by god; left hand presumably holding reins. Mantle fluttering behind back; coat presumably like that of god; loose trousers; two ribbons at foot. Remnant of sword hanging almost vertically at side.

King's horse.—Right foreleg flexed. Rows of ornamental disks on shoulder and rump, large tassel suspended from

39. *Ibid.* p. 46.

40. See W. B. Henning, "The monuments and inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak," *Asia Major* n.s. II (1952) 151-78 (with bibliography) and Pls. i-xx.

41. *Ibid.* pp. 161-62 and Pl. xx. See also Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, pp. 110-11 and Fig. 37.

42. See Ghirshman in *BIFAO* XLVI 6-8; Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 130 and Pl. XXXV top; *IAE*, Pl. CVIII top; Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, pp. 47-49; sketch in Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 44, with approximate dimensions (7 m. long, 3.68 m. high) and indicating Pahlavi inscription, which according to Ghirshman (*BIFAO* XLVI 7) has been demolished. For corrected translation of Pahlavi inscription (cf. *BIFAO* XLVI 6) dealing with construction of nearby bridge in first half of 5th century see Henning, "The inscription of Firuzabad," *Asia Major* n.s. IV (1954) 98-102.

43. See *IF*, p. 97 and Pl. XIII; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 192^{bis}. Curzon (*Persia* II 127) erroneously identified the king as Ardashir I.

34. See Herzfeld in *AMI* IX 110; Christensen, *Sassanides*, pp. 226 f.

35. Modern town near site of Ardashir's city of Ardashir Khurrah ("Glory of Ardashir"), also called Gur ("tomb" or "desert"). For aerial view of the ancient city see Schmidt, *Flights*, Pl. 18.

36. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, pp. 87 f.

37. See Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," pp. 131-32 and Pl. XXXVI bottom, and *IAE*, Pl. CIX, but consult Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 43, for drawing of complete scene with approximate dimensions (18 m. long, 4 m. high). For thorough description see R. Ghirshman, "Firuzabad," *BIFAO* XLVI (1947) 8-13, with Pl. VII a; for sketch map of area see *ibid.* Pl. I.

38. See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 35 ff. (with bibliography) and Pls. XXI, XXII bottom, XXIII bottom.

chain at side, two bands ending in small disks at flank, ribbons at top and tip of braided tail (for supplementary features cf. better preserved details of god's horse).

God.—Curled hair above mural crown; fillet, two long wavy ribbons floating behind head. Curled hair bunched on shoulder; bearded face damaged. Right arm extended across chest, hand offering symbol of sovereignty to king; left hand holding reins. Neck ring. Wavy mantle like that of king; long-sleeved belted coat, folds marked, tail flowing to back of horse; loose trousers; two ribbons at foot.

God's horse.—Headgear battered; trimmed mane (cf. NRa III), three strands groomed at side; ribbon and band ending in disk along side of head. Four ornamental disks on breast collar, three disks on breeching; three bands ending in small disks at flanks; large tassel suspended from chain beside right hind leg; ribbon at tip of braided tail. Guard clamp (see p. 135) visible on god's thigh.

SHAPUR I AND COURT

Relief NRa III (ca. 7 m. long, ca. 4 m. high) shows the king mounted and followed by a suite of nine persons on foot (Pl. 100).⁴⁴ A trilingual inscription identifies the king.

King.—Battered head in right profile;⁴⁵ trunk in front view. *Korymbos* above remnant of mural crown; two long wavy ribbons floating behind head. Bunch of curled hair at either side of head (left bunch abraded); shape of beard not discernible. Battered right arm bent at right angle, hand clasping staff⁴⁶ pointing straight forward and presumably representing same object as that held in identical manner by king in Darabgird relief (see p. 128); left arm hidden. Neckband ornamented with row of encircled disks. Mantle draped over shoulders and fluttering behind back, fastened on chest by clasp of two encircled disks; similar but smaller disks ornamenting belt and straps on chest; wavy folds of coat tail marked on back of horse; loose trousers with undulating folds; two ribbons fluttering behind ankle. Dagger with knobby hilt on thigh.

King's horse.—Head and headgear battered; two ribbons at side of head; oblong forehead ornament with two ribbons fluttering upward; lunate section of upper mane trimmed off, three wavy strands at side. Ornamental disk on breast collar and on breeching; three small disks attached to three undulating bands on flank; large tassel suspended from chain between hind legs. Tail not braided but marked by neat vertical lines, top apparently ringed. Guard clamp (see p. 135) on king's thigh.

Inscription.—Greek, Middle Persian, and Parthian. Parthian above Greek on chest of horse;⁴⁷ Middle Persian on smoothed rock surface in front of horse's chest.

Translation of Greek version:

1. The image is this of the Mazda-worshipping god
2. Sapore, king of kings of Ariana
3. and Anariana, of the race of the gods, the son
4. of the Mazda-worshipping god Artaxares, king
5. of kings of Ariana, of the race of the gods,
6. the grandson of the god Papakos, the king.

44. See *IF*, pp. 92–93 and Pl. XI; Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 132 and Pl. XXXVII top; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 191. Workman at lower right corner of our Pl. 100 obliterated by police censor.

45. Misled by the appearance of the battered head, Sarre believed that it was shown in front view (see *IF*, p. 92).

46. Sarre (*ibid.*) suggested that this object might be the royal scepter.

Translation of Middle Persian and Parthian versions:

1. The image (is) this of the Mazda-worshipping god Shapur, king
2. of kings of Iran and non-Iran, who is a scion of the gods,
3. the son of the Mazda-worshipping god Ardashir, king of kings
4. of Iran, who is a scion of the gods, the grandson of the god Papak,
5. the king.

First person of suite.—Youth, facial details destroyed (see Pl. 101 A, person nearest king's arm). Bareheaded. Hair marked by delicate wavy lines on top of head, around ear, and at back of neck; faint fringe of hair on forehead below plain fillet; globe of curls above head undoubtedly part of youth's coiffure and (combined with his position near king) marking him as a prince, perhaps the crown prince (Hormizd I).⁴⁸ King's mantle covering youth's shoulder, perhaps symbolically, and waving about his head and hair globe. Neck ring ornamented with row of oblique crosses separated by bars.

Second person.—End of king's mantle curving above semiparabolical helmet with neckguard and no emblem (chiseled off?); plain fillet. Hair curls along bottom edge of neckguard; remnant of short beard suggested by small spirals at mandibular angle and by outline of battered face. Neck ring ornamented with row of oblongs. Coat fastened on chest by clasp consisting of small ringed disk with horizontal ovate at either side (see Pl. 101 A).

Third person.—Semiparabolical helmet with neckguard and emblem in form of triskele (Table V, No. 5); fillet of three tiers of apparently elliptical scales. Two rows of hair curls and ear lobe with damaged pendant projecting from neckguard; long square-tipped beard marked by cluster of small curls on cheek and parallel lengthwise rows of wavy lines. Neck ring ornamented with row of plain circles (see Pl. 101 A).

Fourth person.—Head in profile; rest of body in front view, toes pointing outward. Semiparabolical helmet with turned-up neckguard and emblem (Table V, No. 4); fillet, knot at back of head, two ribbons visible above right shoulder. Large bunch of curled hair at back; long beard with squared tip (cf. third person) marked mainly by outline of battered portions. Ear lobe with pendant projecting beneath hair. Neck ring ornamented with row of tangent circled disks. Knee-length long-sleeved coat fastened in front by clasp of two disks with two short ribbons; loose trousers; belt, ornamented with row of oblongs, partially hidden by right half of coat (see Pl. 101 B right). Both hands resting on hilt pommel of long sword suspended vertically between legs; short guard with blunt points at either side; scabbard with central lengthwise groove; strap or end of sword belt suspended from disk on right thigh; knot of ribbon above guard at either side of hilt, corrugate ends of ribbon below guard at either side of scabbard. The manner in which the sword is suspended is not clear, but just below the guard (see Pl. 101 B) the sagging sword belt appears to pass through a narrow loop which broadens below the belt to assume the width and form of the upper part of the scabbard.

If the fabric shown beside the right hip of the fourth, sixth, and seventh persons represents the ends of the ribbons⁴⁹ (rather than a mantle) which in each case are

47. For close-up photograph see Herzfeld, *Paikuli* II, Pl. 209 bottom (erroneously labeled "Naqsh i Rustam"); for translations see *ibid.* I 86.

48. So Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 132.

49. So Sarre in *IF*, p. 93.

visible above the shoulder and linked with the fillet, we would have to conclude that at least at the time of Shapur I several princes, in addition to the crown prince, were privileged to wear the long ribbons which otherwise were attributes of the king and the god.

Fifth person.—Head behind and above third and fourth persons, right shoulder perhaps indicated above and behind fourth person (see Pl. 101 *A*). Rounded headdress without neckguard, tip projecting forward, emblem (Table V, No. 6); apparently no fillet, no knot at back of head. Large bunch of hair like that of fourth person; long beard like that of third person, tip hidden. Ear not indicated. Visible section of neck ring ornamented with row of circles.

Sixth person.—Shorter than fourth person. Semiparabolical helmet with neckguard and no emblem (or abraded?); plain fillet, knot at back of head, two corrugate ribbons visible above shoulder. Row of hair curls below neckguard; short beard (cf. second person) marked by curls on cheek. Neck ring ornamented with circles. Clasp of coat like that of second person. Remaining features, except treatment of right sleeve, almost identical with those of fourth person (for close-up view of sword see Pl. 101 *B* left).

Seventh person.—Of same size as and almost identical with sixth person. Headgear, knot and ribbons, hair, remnant of beard, dress, and sword like those of sixth person except for plain (or abraded?) neck ring, coat clasp with two disks as on fourth person (but without ribbons), and delicate wavy folds instead of stiff folds on right sleeve (cf. fourth person).

Eighth and ninth persons.—For lack of space only busts are shown. They were presumably meant to be alike and almost identical with the busts of the sixth and seventh persons, but because of a rock fault the helmet of the ninth person has a flat top; hair curls below the neckguard of the ninth person are omitted. The coat clasp of the eighth person is like those of the second and sixth persons.

NAQSH-I RUSTAM

TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I OVER VALERIAN

Relief NRu II (No. 12 on Fig. 2) shows Valerian kneeling before Shapur, who is mounted and clasps the hands of a standing Roman (Pls. 83–84).⁵⁰

King.—Head in left profile; trunk in front view. *Korymbos*, carved beyond frame of relief, above mural crown;⁵¹ fillet with two long wavy ribbons behind. Clusters of hair curls at either side; tip of beard tufted below encircling ring. Right hand clasping sleeve-covered hands of standing Roman; left hand at hilt of sword. Globular ear

50. For description see Sarre in *IF*, pp. 77–80; Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 133; Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, pp. 53–54. For drawing see Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 185, where total length of bottom ledge of carved area is marked 15 m. and height of relief 7 m.

For the bust and inscription of Kartir (NRu II K) added at the right end of the scene during the reign of Bahram II see p. 131 below.

51. For crown of Shapur I see Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV–XVI 94–96 and Figs. 1, 2, 18.

52. According to Sarre (*IF*, p. 78) the head is covered by a low metal helmet patterned after the fashion of hair.

53. See *ibid.*

54. See e.g. Porter, *Travels* I 543; Sarre in *IF*, p. 79; Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, pp. 53–54. Herzfeld more cautiously stated (*IAE*, p. 315) that the identity of the standing Roman is unknown but nevertheless remarked that Shapur apparently transfers to him the *imperium* of Rome.

pendant. Necklace of tangent semiglobes. Mantle draped over shoulders and fluttering behind back, fastened by clasp consisting of two disks; sleeved and belted jacket; belt clasp consisting of two disks; trousers with flowing wavy folds; two ribbons at foot. Long sword slanting down and back from sagging sword belt; two ribbons at hilt or belt.

King's horse.—Right foreleg flexed. Disk with rosette pattern applied to strap on shoulder and on rump. Large tassel with metal cap suspended from chain between hind legs. Pair of ribbons at top and at tip of long tail. Guard clamp (see p. 135) visible at king's thigh.

Valerian.—Half-kneeling in right profile, facing Shapur; trunk in awkward three-quarter view. Bareheaded⁵² except for diadem. Closely cropped beard. Arms with open hands spread in suppliant gesture; left hand at knee of horse's right foreleg. Mantle with large discoid clasp draped over shoulders and fluttering behind; sleeved and belted knee-length coat. Ring, undoubtedly shackle,⁵³ encircling each leg above ankle. Sword with cruciform hilt in scabbard with bulbous tip suspended from strap visible on chest; ring at right side of belt.

Standing Roman.—Between Valerian and horse. Head in right profile, facing Shapur; trunk and legs in about three-quarter view. Beardless. Hairdress, diadem, garments, and rings encircling legs almost identical with corresponding items of Valerian except for short ribbons at back of neck, sword hanging at left side of body, loop instead of ring at right side of belt, and sleeve-covered hands raised to and grasped by Shapur.

The diademed standing Roman is certainly also an emperor. He is usually identified as Cyriades (or Cyriacus, also called Mareades),⁵⁴ whom Shapur assumedly raised to the vacant throne of Valerian. Recently this story has been questioned, and it has been proposed that the standing emperor is Valerian and the kneeling one Philip the Arab.⁵⁵ We prefer to retain the identification of the kneeling and suppliant emperor as Valerian, who was captured by Shapur in A.D. 260, and believe that the standing emperor with sleeve-covered hands—symbolizing subordination—is Philip the Arab, who had to pay ransom to Shapur. Thus, the Sasanian monarch could claim that the Roman emperor "became tributary" to him.⁵⁶

DARABGIRD

TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I OVER VALERIAN

Until satisfactory frontal photographs of this relief (*ca.* 7.95 m. long, *ca.* 6.10 m. high) are available, all interpretations must be considered tentative.⁵⁷

55. See B. C. MacDermot, "Roman emperors in the Sassanian reliefs," *Journal of Roman Studies* XLIV (1954) 76–80. Sprengling stated, erroneously we believe, that the standing Roman is "in military, not imperial costume" and that he is an officer—the pretorian prefect or an aide-de-camp; see his *Third Century Iran*, pp. 91 f., and "Shahpuhr I, the Great, on the Kaabah of Zoroaster (KZ)," *AJS* LVII (1940) 372.

56. See Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, p. 15, section III 1. The date (A.D. 224?) of the peace treaty between Shapur and Philip is uncertain; see M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Res Gestae divi Saporis and Dura," *Berytus* VIII (1944) 23, with n. 17.

57. For description see Aurel Stein, "An archaeological tour in the ancient Persis," *Iraq* III (1936) 194–96, with Pl. XVII and location map following Pl. XXX. For drawings and additional location map see Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pls. 31^{bis} and 33. See also Ouseley, *Travels* II 146–48 and sketch on Pl. XXXV.

The king is shown on horseback. His headdress consists of the *korymbos* above an apparently plain helmet⁵⁸ and a fillet with two long wavy ribbons behind. There are bunches of hair curls on his shoulders, and the tip of his beard is tufted below a ring. He wears a wavy mantle, jacket, and trousers. In his right hand he holds a staff which points straight forward and presumably represents the same device as that held by Shapur in NRA III (see p. 126).⁵⁹ His left hand rests on the head of a Roman with raised right arm. The horse's gear is ornamented with disks, rings, three bands ending in small disks on the rump. Between the hind legs is a large metal-capped tassel suspended from a chain. A guard clamp (see p. 135) extends across the king's thigh.

We believe that the Roman in front of Shapur's horse is Valerian, although the illustrations do not clearly indicate whether he wears the diadem. With one knee slightly bent and with his hands laid against the horse's chest, he looks up to the Sasanian monarch. The position of the second Roman⁶⁰ corresponds to that of the person whom we identify as Philip the Arab in NRu II (see p. 127), but only his right arm is raised and Shapur's hand touches his head. Again, we do not know whether the diadem is indicated. A third Roman, prostrate beneath Shapur's horse, is shown with the imperial diadem in at least one illustration.⁶¹ Recently it has been suggested⁶² that the dead foe not only symbolizes the defeat of imperial Rome but actually represents the emperor Gordian, who died in A.D. 243 in battle or by assassination.⁶³

Tiers of Persian princes and nobles appear behind (to left of) Shapur, and clusters of Romans are in front of him above a horse below whose belly a chariot(?) wheel is shown.

BISHAPUR

TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I OVER VALERIAN

Relief Bi I (ca. 9.20 m. long)⁶⁴ shows two horsemen facing each other after the fashion of the equestrian in-

vestiture scenes. Each horse stands on a fallen foe. The upper body of the left horseman, assumedly the god Hormizd, is destroyed. Except for part of the left leg the right horseman is obliterated. Since the face of the kneeling Roman between them, most probably Valerian, is turned toward the right horseman, the latter is considered to be the king, that is, Shapur I. It seems implausible that Shapur combined another scene of his investiture (cf. NRA II; pp. 125 f.), which took place in A.D. 241, with the commemoration of his capture of Valerian in 260. We suggest, rather, that the presence of the god symbolizes divine help in the victory over the Romans, in accordance with Shapur's own words in his inscription on the Tower of Naqsh-i Rostam.⁶⁵

Relief Bi II (12.40 m. long, 4.60 m. high) is composed of two antithetic tiers of dignitaries and soldiers of Shapur's army and a center panel showing Valerian kneeling before Shapur, who is mounted and holds the right arm of a standing Roman,⁶⁶ presumably Philip the Arab (see p. 127). A third Roman⁶⁷ is prostrate beneath Shapur's horse, and a winged "Victory" is above its head. Two Persian dignitaries stand behind Valerian. To the left of the center panel are two rows of horsemen. To the right are two rows of soldiers on foot, arranged in five panels of three men each.

Relief Bi III⁶⁸ is composed of four antithetic tiers of Persians and booty-carriers and a central panel showing Valerian kneeling before Shapur, who is mounted and holds one arm of a standing Roman, presumably Philip the Arab. A slain foe is prostrate beneath Shapur's horse.⁶⁹ A winged "Victory" appears above two Persian dignitaries who stand beside Valerian. To the left of the central panel are four rows of Persian horsemen, those of highest rank being behind the king in the third row. To the right are four rows of men, presumably captives, carrying booty and driving captured animals including an elephant with mahout, a pair of felines(?), Valerian's(?) horse, and a chariot drawn by two horses.

RELIEF OF BAHRAM I

BISHAPUR

INVESTITURE OF BAHRAM I BY HORMIZD

Relief Bi IV⁷⁰ shows Bahram I and the god Hormizd mounted and is similar to the equestrian investiture

58. Because the headdress closely resembles that of Ardashir I the identity of the king has been questioned (see e.g. MacDermot in *Journal of Roman Studies* XLIV 76).

59. Stein (*Iraq* III 195), implausibly, suggested that it might possibly be part of a rope (tied around the captive's neck).

60. Identified by Stein as Valerian (see *Iraq* III 195).

61. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 33. Stein (*Iraq* III 195) does not mention the diadem.

62. By MacDermot in *Journal of Roman Studies* XLIV 78-80.

63. Cf. Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, pp. 79-84.

64. For good illustration see Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* V, Pl. XVIII. See also Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 133 and Pl. XXXVIII bottom; *IF*, p. 222, Fig. 110, and Pl. XLIV; *IAE*, Pl. CXIV top; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 48 (and Pl. 45 for location of all Bishapur reliefs).

For a colossal statue of Shapur I which once stood in a cave near Bishapur see D. Talbot Rice, "The cave of Shapur and Sasanian painting," *Bulletin of the Iranian Institute* VI (1946) 30-34, with bibliography.

relief of Ardashir I at Naqsh-i Rostam (NRu I; pp. 122 f.) and that of Shapur I at Naqsh-i Rajab (NRA II;

65. See Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, p. 20, section V. In the opinion of MacDermot (*Journal of Roman Studies* XLIV 78 and 80) the kneeling Roman is Philip the Arab and the dead foe below the king's horse is Gordian. He implies that the relief was cut prior to the capture of Valerian.

66. See Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* V, Pl. XX; *IF*, p. 223 and Pl. XLV; Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," pp. 133 f. and Pl. XXXIX top; *IAE*, Pl. CXVI bottom; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 49.

67. Apparently all three Romans wear the diadem (see MacDermot in *Journal of Roman Studies* XLIV 77). MacDermot (*ibid.* p. 78) believes that three emperors are represented: Philip the Arab (kneeling), Valerian (standing), and Gordian (prostrate).

68. See *IF*, pp. 220-21. For drawing of entire scene with dimensions (9.50 m. long, 5 m. high) see Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 53; for good photograph of booty-carriers see Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* V, Pl. XIX; see also *IAE*, Pls. CXV and CXVI top.

69. According to the formula of MacDermot (*loc. cit.*) the kneeling Roman would be Philip, the standing one Valerian, and the prostrate one Gordian.

70. No relief is known of the short reign (A.D. 272-73) of Bahram's brother and predecessor, Hormizd I, and the Bishapur relief of Bahram I (A.D. 273-76) is the only one known of this king. See Sarre in *IF*, pp. 215-16 (but correct "Narseh" to "Bahram I") and Pl. XLI; Herzfeld, "La sculpture

pp. 125 f.). It is considered to be artistically the most appealing example of Sasanian rock sculpture. The king is clearly identified by his crown of pointed rays. Moreover,

the Middle Persian inscription behind his head must originally have mentioned his name, which was effaced and replaced by the name of his brother Narseh.⁷¹

RELIEFS OF THE REIGN OF BAHRAM II

NAQSH-I RUSTAM

BAHRAM II AND COURT

Relief NRu III (No. 2 on Fig. 2) was, as noted above (p. 121), carved over a pre-Achaemenid relief of the same height (*ca.* 2.50 m.), but its length (*ca.* 5 m.) is less than that of the earlier sculpture. The scene⁷² shows the full figure of the king in the center, with busts of five persons to the left and three to the right (Pls. 86–87). The heads of the persons to the left are in right profile, facing the king, while, those to the right are in left profile, facing in the same direction as the king and with their right hands raised in the gesture of homage. The chests are all in front view. The three persons nearest to the king on the left are beardless, and that they are members of the royal family is indicated by the fact that their right hands are not raised in the gesture of homage. They are also distinguished by wavy ribbons extending from their fillets to their shoulders.

King.—Head in left profile; rest in full front view. Face damaged. *Korymbos*, carved beyond frame of relief, above winged crown;⁷³ fillet with two long wavy ribbons behind. Hair cluster at back of neck; tip of beard tufted below encircling ring. Arms battered; right hand on pommel of sword hilt; left hand below. Scabbard tip apparently resting on ground between feet; two ribbons attached to hilt or belt. Necklace of tangent disks(?). Sleeved and belted coat reaching to knees; loose trousers with flowing folds touching ground.

First person to left.—Semiparabolical helmet with separate guards for cheek and neck. Three(?) braids extending from underneath guards to shoulder. Necklace. Attire indistinct, perhaps coat fastened on chest by clasp with two appended ribbons.⁷⁴

This figure was once tentatively identified as Bahram's eldest son, who subsequently became Bahram III.⁷⁵ We believe, rather, that this person next to the king is the queen,⁷⁶ since the other two members of the royal family have no braids. Furthermore, the queen in Bahram's relief at Sar-Mashhad (see pp. 132 f.) seems to wear an identical helmet.⁷⁷

Second person to left.—Mutilated head of young prince between heads of first and third persons. Cap with tip in form of animal head drooping forward. Necklace.

Third person to left.—Head mutilated but definitely without braids and guards for cheek and neck. Top of cap

rupestre," p. 136 and Pl. XLI top; *IAE*, Pls. CXIII bottom and CXI center; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 52, for sketchy drawing indicating dimensions (9.50 m. long, 4.80 m. high).

71. For the inscription see Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 120. Herzfeld stated elsewhere ("La sculpture rupestre," p. 136, and *IAE*, p. 322) that a paper squeeze revealed the substitution although the rock surface showed no sign of tampering.

72. Cf. description by Sarre in *IF*, pp. 71–73; Porter, *Travels* I 557–59 and drawing on Pl. 24; Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," pp. 136 f. and Pl. XLII top; drawing in Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 188.

damaged, front projection in form of animal head, shape of projection in back uncertain.⁷⁸ Necklace with rectangular divisions, each framing slightly angular disk. Coat fastened by clasp with two appended wavy ribbons.

It has been suggested that the young prince (our second person) is the heir presumptive who is shown with his parents on coins of Bahram II and who assumedly never ascended the throne.⁷⁹ Actually, our third person, once erroneously identified as the queen,⁸⁰ could be that son of the king who for a few months succeeded him on the throne as Bahram III.

Fourth person to left.—Kartir, the high priest.⁸¹ Head not battered. Semiparabolical helmet with emblem (Table V, No. 11*b*) of Kartir as shown on his helmet in NRu II K (see p. 131 and Pl. 83), guard across ears and neck, edge marked by row of rectangles; triple fillet across forehead, ribbon extending from trilobate floral ornament (presumably of metal; cf. caps of horse tassels in Pl. 92) at temple across top of guard and tied in back. Hair falling in five curled strands to shoulder; no beard. Battered right hand raised and pointing at king in gesture of homage. Necklace like that of third person. Sleeved garment, folds faintly marked.

Fifth person to left.—Exceptionally well preserved. Bare-headed. Wavy hair with bunch of undulating curls at back; square-tipped undulate beard marked by rows of curved strokes; long rather straight mustache. Necklace similar to those of third and fourth persons but all units rectangular. Coat fastened by clasp without ribbons (cf. third person), no folds marked.

The emblem of Kartir (Table V, No. 11*c*), the powerful ecclesiastic, "savior of the soul" of Bahram II, Ahuramazda's high priest,⁸² is engraved behind and slightly above the head of this enigmatic figure (see Pl. 88 *B*) as though sanctioning his presence. He is distinguished from all other figures in the relief by being bareheaded. His hair is bunched at the back like the hair of the king, but his beard has the same shape (though differing in details) as the beards of two of the dignitaries to the right of the king. His right hand is not raised in the gesture of homage,

73. For crown of Bahram (Varhrān) II see Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV–XVI 96 and Figs. 1, 2, 18.

74. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 188, and Porter, *Travels* I, Pl. 24 (facing p. 557).

75. See Sarre in *IF*, p. 73.

76. So Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 136: ". . . la tête casquée de la reine . . ."

77. See *IAE*, Pl. CXXIII right and Fig. 410; cf. also head of queen in relief of Ardashir I at Naqsh-i Rajab (see p. 124 above).

78. Porter described animal heads in front and rear (see Porter, *Travels* I 558 and Pl. 24).

79. See Sarre in *IF*, p. 73 and Fig. 27.

80. See *ibid.* p. 73.

81. As correctly surmised by Sarre *ibid.*

82. See Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, p. 51, lines 9 and 11: "Varahrān's Soulsavior, Ahuramazda's Magus-master."

though not for lack of space, thus indicating that he is a member, however distant, of the royal house.

We are puzzled as to the identity of this apparent protégé of Kartir, a person of royal descent over whom Kartir presumes to take precedence. Sarre was inclined to identify him as Narseh,⁸³ uncle of Bahram II. This identification is not impossible, although one would assume that Narseh, who during the reign of his father, Shapur I (A.D. 241–72), was “king of India, Sakistān, and Tūristān to the seashore,”⁸⁴ had precedence over the priest. Narseh subsequently revolted against and dethroned his grandnephew Bahram III after the latter’s reign of about four months. In relief Bi IV Narseh obliterated the name of his brother Bahram I and replaced it with his own (see p. 129). Thus, the obviously selective defacement of certain figures in our relief of Bahram II strongly suggests mutilation by order of Narseh; if Moslem iconoclasts had damaged the relief, presumably all the faces would be battered. The damaged figures are those of the king, the two princes (second and third persons to left), and the first dignitary to the right of the king.⁸⁵ The figures that were spared are those of the queen (except for minor injuries), the second and third dignitaries to the right, and, significantly, Kartir (except for his battered hand) and his enigmatic royal protégé.

Sprengling may have erred in proposing that Kartir attempted to prevent the seizure of power by Narseh and that “his memory was blanked out by the opposition of Narseh.”⁸⁶ On the contrary, if the Kartir Hormizd who is mentioned in a prominent position in Narseh’s Paikuli inscription⁸⁷ is the same person as the “savior of the soul” of Bahram II,⁸⁸ it follows that Kartir actually supported the succession of Narseh. Thus, the fifth person in our relief could plausibly be identified as Narseh.

In theory, if the relief was executed early in the reign of Bahram II (A.D. 276–93), his brother Hormizd (Armies), who subsequently rebelled against the king,⁸⁹ could be represented among the members of the royal house. However, two princes (second and third persons) are shown as a child and a beardless youth, and the third member possibly concerned (fifth person) can scarcely be the ruler’s brother, since he is preceded by the priest.

Again, the enigmatic figure beneath the floating emblem of Kartir may represent some distant relative of the ruling house whom Kartir chose and trained to be his successor. There is also the possibility that the relief originally ended with Kartir’s bust and that the fifth figure was added, perhaps during Narseh’s reign.

The puzzle remains unsolved. Nevertheless, the perfect state of preservation of this figure proves, in our opinion, that the person represented—if not Narseh himself—was regarded with favor by Narseh after he usurped the throne.

83. *IF*, p. 73. Sarre based his surmise on hairdress and beard and on resemblance of features to those of Narseh in our NRu VI (see p. 134 below) and to those of the king in the investiture relief of Bahram I at Bishapur (Bi IV), which had been erroneously assigned to Narseh because of its forged inscription (see p. 129 above).

84. See Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, p. 17, section IV 2.

85. Porter was probably wrong in stating (*Travels* I 558) that none of the three dignitaries to the right of the king were in the least defaced.

86. Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, pp. 39 and 60.

87. See Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 101, line 16.

88. As implied by Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, p. 42.

89. See Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 42.

First dignitary to right.—Face battered (see n. 85). Helmet with rounded top projecting in front, traces of emblem (unfortunately not recorded by means of close-up photograph), guard for ear and back of neck. Three or four strands of hair curls falling on shoulder; no beard. Necklace. Coat fastened on chest by clasp.

Second dignitary to right.—Face not battered. Helmet with rounded top projecting in front, traces of emblem (not recorded in close-up photograph), neckguard, ear exposed. Six strands of hair curls falling on shoulder; square-tipped beard; mustache. Necklace and coat like those of first dignitary.

Third dignitary to right.—Face, beard, mustache, hair, ear, necklace, and coat like those of second dignitary. Semiparabolical helmet with offset edge, emblem in form of disk over crescent (Table V, No. 10), neckguard; fillet with trilobate ornament (see Pl. 88 *A*) and ribbon tied at back (cf. figure of Kartir).

EQUESTRIAN COMBAT OF BAHRAM II

Relief NRu IV (No. 14 on Fig. 2), about 7 meters long and about 3 meters high, is badly eroded and was probably similar in certain details to NRu V, which is immediately below it (Pl. 89; see also Frontispiece). The scene shows Bahram, to left, attacking a mounted foe. Behind the king are a standard with traces of its bearer, and below his horse is a dead foe.⁹⁰

King.—Face battered. *Korymbos*, carved beyond frame of relief, above helmet⁹¹ with upcurved wing in front and in rear; two long wavy ribbons floating behind helmet. Tip of beard tufted below encircling device. Globe on each shoulder.⁹² Narrow ribbons attached to right arm, others at hip and foot. Armor doubtful but originally marked on body and limbs. Right hand grasping long lance pointed in direction of foe’s chest or neck. Long quiver behind king’s leg.

King’s horse.—Shown in flying gallop. Ornament on forehead. Caparison marked by line below belly. Other details obliterated.

Standard and bearer.—At left end of scene. Only vague suggestion of bearer.⁹³ Cross-shaped standard, top encircled by ring with two lateral appendages, tassel suspended from either end of horizontal bar.⁹⁴

Mounted foe.—Head apparently thrown backward as if foe struck in throat by king’s lance. Wavy ribbon floating behind head. Lance thrown upward by impact, pointing at king’s *korymbos*. Traces of sword at horse’s flank. Other features vague or obliterated.

Foe’s horse.—Rear part broken down. Two large tassels visible behind rump.

Dead foe.—Prone on ground, feet behind tip of king’s quiver, head below right foreleg of king’s horse. Helmet,

90. Cf. descriptions in *IF*, pp. 81–82 (but change “Bahram IV” to “Bahram II”), and Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, pp. 43–44. Cf. also Porter, *Travels* I 537–40 (but change “Bahram V” to “Bahram II”) and drawing on Pl. 20; Texier, *Description de l’Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* II 228 and drawing on Pl. 132; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, drawing on Pl. 184 (top).

91. Assumedly visored (see *IF*, p. 81, and *AMI* IX 134, Fig. 17).

92. See *AMI* IX 133 f.

93. Cf. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 184.

94. For reconstructed drawing of standard see Sarre, “Die altorientalischen Feldzeichen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung eines unveröffentlichten Stückes,” *Klio* III (Leipzig, 1903) 357, Fig. 20.

"wing" on top probably caused by erosion. Right arm bent, hand flat on ground; left arm and hand probably like those of prostrate foe in NRu V (see Pl. 89).

EQUESTRIAN COMBAT OF SON OF BAHRAM II

Relief NRu V (No. 15 on Fig. 2), about 6.70 m. long and about 2.35 m. high, shows the prince, to left, attacking a mounted foe, while a dead foe is prone below his horse (see Pl. 89, below).⁹⁵

Prince.—Beardless youth. No *korymbos*; headdress doubtful, tip in form of animal head(?) projecting forward; two long wavy ribbons floating behind head. Ring armor on right arm; scale armor on lower part of belted coat; leg armor doubtful; wavy ribbon at foot. Right hand grasping long lance pointed at chest of mounted foe. Quiver behind leg.

Prince's horse.—Shown in flying gallop. Two reins. Ornament on forehead. Ribbons at side of head and at top and trussed-up end of tail. Tassel with metal cap at croup. Caparison marked by straight band below chest and belly, fastened to forelegs and hind legs and tied together in front.⁹⁶

Mounted foe.—Face doubtful; chin hidden behind left shoulder. Headgear with crowning globe perhaps similar to that of dead foe (see below). Ring armor on arms and leg; traces of armor scales on belted coat. Long sword at left side. Left hand at reins; right hand grasping lance slanted upward toward top of frame.⁹⁷ No ribbons behind head or at foot.

Foe's horse.—Position almost identical with that of prince's mount, but chin pulled against chest. Straps of headgear marked. Other details as on prince's horse except for lack of ribbons at side of head and probably at top of tail.

Dead foe.—Prone on ground; head in three-quarter view lying on left arm, fingers slightly bent; back of right hand on ground, fingers pointing upward. Helmet crowned by globe, cheek guard; gorget apparently covering chin. Ring armor on arms; armor scales on gorget and lower part of belted coat.

Dating.—Reliefs NRu IV and NRu V are closely linked by subject and location. Both depict equestrian duels with foes who are assumed to be Romans.⁹⁸ The common frame of the two panels is not quite continuous, since the left wall is slightly stepped and thus the lower panel is somewhat shorter than the upper one (see Pl. 89). Nevertheless, more effort was required to prepare the rock surface for the lower relief than for the upper one. It would appear, therefore, that the upper relief (NRu IV) is the earlier of the two, but we believe that both were carved during the reign of Bahram II.

The hero in the lower relief (NRu V) has been identified successively with no less than three kings: Bahram IV (A.D. 388–99),⁹⁹ Bahram II (276–93),¹⁰⁰ and Hormizd II (302–9).¹⁰¹ However, the beardless youth, whose headdress

is not crowned by the royal *korymbos* and who is not accompanied by a standard-bearer, cannot be the king of kings. The significance of the omission of such regal emblems or symbols as the *korymbos* and the standard, which are evident on the other three combat scenes at Naqsh-i Rostam (NRu IV, VII, and IX), was eventually recognized or at least suspected.¹⁰² Our hero does have one important attribute, however. Behind his head float two long wavy ribbons like those which are essential parts of the king's attire in all monumental rock reliefs. Ribbons are also worn by all deities, by the king's foe in NRu IV (see p. 130) and NRu IX (see p. 137), and, significantly, by the crown prince (see p. 124, n. 30). Thus, the hero of our relief may plausibly be identified as Bahram II's son and the heir apparent to his throne, subsequently Bahram III.¹⁰³

BUST AND INSCRIPTION OF KARTIR

During the reign of Bahram II relief NRu II K was added at the right end of relief NRu II of Shapur I (see p. 127). The original end of the latter is probably indicated by a trimmed rock corner above Kartir's index finger (see Pl. 83). Kartir's beardless head is shown in left profile, facing Shapur's back, and his chest is in front view. His semiparabolical helmet bears his emblem (Table V, No. 11a). Strands of curled hair fall on his left shoulder. His raised right hand points at Shapur in the gesture of homage. He wears a necklace of semiglobes, a sleeved garment, and a mantle(?) fastened in front by a clasp with two ribbons. The inscription is carved below Kartir's bust, behind Shapur's horse (Pl. 85).¹⁰⁴

NAQSH-I RAJAB

BUST AND INSCRIPTION OF KARTIR

Relief NRa IV (1.50 m. wide, 95 cm. high) is adjacent to investiture relief NRa I of Ardashir I (see pp. 123–25).¹⁰⁵ Kartir is shown beardless, as in all other clearly defined representations of the priest. His semiparabolical helmet has a guard for ears and neck, but details such as possibly a fillet and an emblem are abraded. Five strands of twisted hair fall to his shoulder. He wears a necklace of semiglobes or globes and a sleeved coat. His right hand is raised in the gesture of homage and points in the direction of the king and the god in the adjacent relief (see Pl. 96).

The inscription (Pl. 98) does not mention Ardashir, but two of Kartir's four rock-carved texts indicate that his career started during the reign of the founder of the Sasanian empire.¹⁰⁶ This may explain the location of Kartir's Naqsh-i Rajab monument, which, however, was not executed before the reign of the last ruler mentioned in the inscription, namely Bahram II.

101. See Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 137.

102. See Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, pp. 43 f. and legend of Pl. 82; Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, p. 60.

103. So apparently Henning, who states that the crown prince is "recognizable by the eagle that forms the front of his helmet" (*Asia Major* n.s. II 161).

104. Photographs of latex squeeze published by Henning in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part III, Vol. II, Plates Portfolio II (London, 1957).

105. For bibliography see Sarre in *IF*, p. 94.

106. See Sprengling's commentary and translation in *Third Century Iran*, pp. 63–69; see also translation published previously by Herzfeld in *Paikuli* I 89–92.

95. For drawing see Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 184.

96. See *ibid.* for pattern on chest of horse.

97. Not clear on Pl. 89, but see Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Pl. 82, and Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 184.

98. See Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, p. 60.

99. See Sarre in *IF*, p. 83.

100. See *Am Tor von Asien*, p. 41, where Herzfeld proposed that the hero in both the upper and the lower relief represents Bahram II.

NAQSH-I BAHRAM

BAHRAM II ENTHRONED

The Naqsh-i Bahram relief is near Nurabad, about 40 kilometers north of Bishapur. Its dimensions are not known. The king is shown seated in full front view, knees apart, between two pairs of standing dignitaries.¹⁰⁷

The king's face is destroyed. His *korymbos*, above a helmet with a wing at either side, extends beyond the frame of the relief. The fillet ends in broad wavy ribbons which float at either side of his head. His hair is bunched on both shoulders. The tip of his beard is tufted below an encircling device. Both hands are at the hilt of his sword, which is held vertically in front.

The raised right hand of each dignitary points at the king in the gesture of homage. Apparently the dignitaries are all dressed alike, in belted coat and loose trousers, and they all show hair bunched at the back of the neck. The first dignitary to the left of the king is beardless, and the emblem (Table V, No. 11*d*) on his semiparabolical helmet¹⁰⁸ identifies him as the high priest Kartir.¹⁰⁹ The second dignitary to the left is bearded and wears a helmet with an emblem (Table V, No. 9) and with rounded or animal-shaped(?) top tilted forward. His left hand is at the hilt of his sword. The two dignitaries to the right of the king are bearded. They appear to be identical but presumably had different emblems (not visible in illustrations) on their semiparabolical helmets. Their swords are held vertically in front.

BISHAPUR

BAHRAM II TRIUMPHANT

Relief Bi V (*ca.* 7.70 m. long) has been gouged from end to end by a water conduit. It shows the mounted king, to left, with a Persian dignitary and a delegation of six Arabs.¹¹⁰

The king's characteristic winged helmet is topped by the *korymbos*. His hair is bunched on both shoulders, and the tip of his beard is tufted below an encircling ring or the like. The ends of the fillet float behind the helmet. A bow and three arrows, projecting from behind the horse's head, are held in the king's hidden left hand; his right hand, now destroyed, held the reins. He wears a necklace, a mantle fluttering behind his back and fastened in front by a clasp with two ribbons, a sleeved coat with folds marked, and loose trousers with stylized folds. There are two ribbons at his shoe. His quiver is parallel to his leg. The horse's gear includes a forehead ornament (globe?) with a ribbon, three straps ending in disks and a long chain with metal-capped tassel behind the quiver, and two ribbons at the top of the neatly braided tail.

In front of the king stands a bearded Persian dignitary. His head is in left profile facing the king, but he is other-

107. See Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 136 and Pl. XLI bottom; Pope, *Survey* IV, Pl. 157 A (location erroneously given as "Shāpūr"); *IAE*, Pls. CXX left and CXXIV lower left; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 229 (sketchy drawing erroneously showing Kartir with a goatee).

108. See *IAE*, Pl. CXXIV lower left.

109. *Vs.* Herzfeld, who identified this figure as the king's son, subsequently Bahram III (*ibid.* p. 324).

110. For description and illustrations see Sarre in *IF*, pp. 217-18 and Pl. XLII; Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 137 and Pl. XLII bottom; *IAE*, Pl. CXXII; *AMI* IX, Pl. III a; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 51 (sketchy drawing).

wise in front view except that his feet point outward. His hair is bunched at the back below a low helmet. His arms seem to be crossed, with wrists resting on the pommel of his sword, which hangs vertically from the sagging sword belt. He wears a coat, which reaches almost to the knees, over long loose trousers with folds marked.

To the right of the dignitary and facing the king is a delegation of six Arabs supposedly bringing tribute and probably unarmed. They wear long flowing gowns, high boots, and native headgear. They lead two horses and two dromedaries.

SAR-MASHHAD

BAHRAM II IN COMBAT WITH LIONS

The relief at Sar-Mashhad, south of Kazarun, shows, to left, a dead lion on the ground and a second lion attacking the king and, to right, the queen standing between two dignitaries.¹¹¹ Above this scene is the inscription of Kartir,¹¹² which has essentially the same text as his NRu II K (Pl. 85) and incorporates the texts of his shorter inscriptions on the Tower of Naqsh-i Rostam (Pl. 17) and at Naqsh-i Rajab (Pl. 98).

The king stands in front view with head in left profile and legs apart. He is braced against the assault of the lion, which he dispatches with his dagger or sword. His left arm is held protectively in front of the first person to the right. His *korymbos*, above a winged helmet with fillet, extends beyond the frame of the relief. Two wavy ribbons float behind his head. His hair is bunched on both shoulders, and the tip of his beard is tufted below an encircling device. He wears a necklace, possibly a mantle draped over his shoulders, a sleeved and belted coat, and loose trousers with folds marked at both sides of his legs.

The queen and the two dignitaries are in front view with their heads turned toward the king. The face of the first dignitary is battered but definitely beardless. He wears a semiparabolical helmet with ill-defined emblem, a necklace, a coat, and loose trousers. His left arm is apparently bent, the hand perhaps at the hilt of his sword. A detail above the left shoulder of the king may be the dignitary's right hand in the gesture of homage. The face of the queen¹¹³ is only slightly damaged. One braid of hair is shown at one side, and four braids appear at the other. Her left ear is marked. She wears a semiparabolical helmet, a fillet with a short undulating ribbon at the back, a necklace, and a sleeved garment with folds marked. The garment may have been similar to that of Anahita in NRu VI (see p. 134 and Pl. 90). The position of the queen's right arm is unclear, but possibly it extends in front of the first dignitary and touches the king's left arm. The queen's left arm is bent, with the hand at the hip. The figure of the second dignitary is badly abraded, and the face and headgear are battered. The detail above and behind the queen's left shoulder may be his right hand raised in the gesture of homage.

111. See Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 137 and Pl. XLIII top; *IAE*, p. 325 and Pl. CXXIII; Richard N. Frye, "An epigraphical journey in Iran, 1948," *Archaeology* II (1949) 188-91 and Figs. 7-10 (all regrettably indistinct). According to Frye the relief is 4.65 m. long and 2.14 m. high, the inscription above it *ca.* 5.28 m. long and *ca.* 2.76 m. high.

112. Photographs of latex squeeze published by Henning in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part III, Vol. II, Plates Portfolio I (London, 1955).

113. For drawing see *IAE*, Fig. 410.

The identities of the king and the queen are certain. In attempting to identify the other two figures we must assume that the relief and Kartir's inscription are intimately linked and contemporaneous. We are convinced, therefore, that the ubiquitous and vainglorious priest is represented in the relief. His proper place would be that of the second dignitary,¹¹⁴ standing behind (to the right of) the queen. However, the traces of the emblem on the helmet of the beardless first dignitary¹¹⁵ do not exclude the possibility that it is the emblem of Kartir (cf. e.g. second figure from left on Pl. 88 B). If this should be confirmed by a satisfactory photograph or squeeze, we would have to conclude that the seemingly youthful first dignitary, hitherto logically identified as the crown prince,¹¹⁶ is the "savior of the soul" of Bahram II, preposterously placed between the king and the queen and shielded by the sovereign.

BARM-I DILAK

LADY WITH DIGNITARY AND BAHRAM II WITH DIGNITARY

At Barm-i Dilak, southeast of Shiraz, we actually have a double relief.¹¹⁷ Relief A (ca. 3 m. long, ca. 2.10 m. high) shows a feminine figure, to left, facing a bearded dignitary. She is dressed in a billowing garment and adorned with a necklace. Two short wavy ribbons float behind her head, which is in right profile. Her right(?) arm is extended toward the dignitary, who with his right hand offers her a heart(?)-shaped object (blossom or fruit?). His headdress has a rounded tip projecting forward, and there are strands of curled hair behind his head. His left hand is at the hilt of his sword, which slants backward.

Relief B (dimensions unknown) is a few meters to the right of relief A and at a slightly higher level.¹¹⁸ It shows the king, to left, with head in right profile. He is identified by his winged helmet and large *korymbos*. The tip of his beard is tufted below a ring, and his hair is bunched at the back. He wears a necklace, a belted coat, and loose trousers with folds marked. There are pairs of ribbons at his belt and feet. His left hand is perhaps at the hilt of his sword. His right arm extends across his chest; his right hand points, reportedly in the gesture of homage,¹¹⁹ toward a pillar-like rock barrier which separates him from a dignitary at the right. The latter, also facing the central pillar, appears to be identical in most ascertainable features—hairdress, attire, sword, position of arms—to the dignitary in relief A. However, his headgear is uncertain, his beard is closely trimmed, and reportedly his right hand holds a ring. It has been suggested that both dignitaries represent the same person: the high priest,¹²⁰ who, as we now know, could only be Kartir. However, in

all reliefs which clearly preserve the face of Kartir¹²¹ he is shown beardless, and we must therefore assume that he was a eunuch, for in Sasanian as in Achaemenid reliefs all adult Persian men except eunuchs are bearded. Thus, the dignitary in relief A cannot represent the priest Kartir. On the other hand, if close examination of relief B should prove that Flandin erred¹²² in showing the dignitary with a closely cropped beard instead of beardless and if, incidentally, his headgear should prove to be the semiparabolical helmet normally worn by the priest, identification of this figure as Kartir would be less doubtful.

In attempting to interpret the meaning of relief B, Erdmann quite plausibly pointed out that the rock pillar between the king and the dignitary appears to be a fire altar and that the scene is perhaps a monumental representation of worship at the altar, so commonly pictured on the reverse of Sasanian coins.¹²³

As to relief A, Erdmann is rather certain that the lady is the queen and suggests tentatively that the dignitary is the high priest, possibly offering her a symbol of fertility. We have shown, however, that the bearded dignitary cannot be Kartir. Moreover, if the lady in the relief actually resembles the bareheaded figure without braids shown in the only detailed illustration available,¹²⁴ she can scarcely be the queen, who in NRu III and the Sar-Mashhad relief wears a helmet (see p. 129) and on coins a headdress tipped with an animal head.¹²⁵ Furthermore, all queens shown in the reliefs have long braids falling to the shoulders, as does the goddess Anahita also (see p. 134 and Pl. 90).

Sarre's suggestion that relief A shows the investiture of the queen has been refuted by Erdmann,¹²⁶ whose own interpretation is given above. In turn, we propose that the dignitary is a prince of the ruling house, perhaps the crown prince, that the lady is a foreign princess, and that the relief documents a politically advantageous treaty sealed by marriage, which is symbolized by the object offered to the lady. There is no record of such an event. The postulated ally could have been an eastern ruler who supported Bahram II against his rebel brother Hormizd (see p. 130). We may compare the effective political union of Narseh's son (Hormizd II) with a daughter of the Kabulshah.¹²⁷

All interpretations of the Barm-i Dilak reliefs must be considered conjectural until satisfactory illustrations are available. These should include traces of inscriptions reported to be engraved in relief B between the two persons and near the king's right knee, the latter supposedly showing parts of the name Bahram.¹²⁸

114. Considered by Herzfeld to be the grand vizier (*IAE*, p. 325).

115. See *ibid.* Pl. CXXIII right.

116. See *ibid.* p. 325.

117. No satisfactory illustrations are available. See Erdmann, "Die sasanidischen Felsreliefs von Barm i Dilak," *ZDMG* XCIX (1945-1949) 50-57 and Figs. 1-4; Sarre in *IF*, pp. 187-88 and Pl. XXXII; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 56; Ouseley, *Travels* II 46-50 and Pl. XXIX.

118. See Erdmann in *ZDMG* XCIX, Fig. 1.

119. Details of king's person and dress are shown only in Flandin's drawing (Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 56; republished by Erdmann in *ZDMG* XCIX, Fig. 4).

120. See Erdmann in *ZDMG* XCIX 53-57, refuting Sarre's suggestion that both persons represent the god Hormizd (see *IF*, p. 188).

121. Reliefs NRu III (see p. 129), NRu II K and NRa IV (see p. 131), and Naqsh-i Bahram (see p. 132). At Sar-Mashhad his identity is doubtful (see p. 133).

122. As, for instance, in his drawing of the relief at Naqsh-i Bahram (Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 229), which erroneously pictures the beardless Kartir with a goatee.

123. See *ZDMG* XCIX 55-57.

124. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 56 top.

125. Cf. e.g. Erdmann in *ZDMG* XCIX, Fig. 5b. See also headdress of Ardashir's queen in our NRa I (p. 124 above and Pl. 97 B).

126. See *IF*, p. 188, and *ZDMG* XCIX 53-57.

127. See Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 44.

128. See Ouseley, *Travels* II 47 and 49.

GUYUM

BAHRAM II PRESUMABLY IN POSITION OF WORSHIP

The relief at Guyum, about 27 kilometers northwest of Shiraz, was discovered in 1924 and reported as picturing Bahram II.¹²⁹ A recent photograph confirms the identity of the king by the characteristic winged crown beneath a large *korymbos*.¹³⁰ The ends of the royal fillet are visible at his side. His hair is bunched at the back. His head is bat-

tered, but the tufted tip of his beard is preserved. He stands alone apparently, with head in right profile, body and legs in front view, and toes pointing outward. His right arm is bent across his chest, but the position of the hand is doubtful, and the position of his left arm is not discernible in the photograph. We are uncertain, therefore, whether one of his hands is shown in the gesture of homage. His attire consists of a neck ring, a knee-length belted coat, and trousers with wavy folds.

RELIEF OF NARSEH

NAQSH-I RUSTAM

INVESTITURE OF NARSEH BY ANAHITA

Relief NRu VI (No. 16 on Fig. 2) is about 5.75 m. long and, near the right end, about 3.20 m. high. The scene shows Narseh receiving the symbol of sovereignty from Anahita, a small prince between them, and two dignitaries, all standing (Pl. 90).¹³¹

King.—Head in right profile, facing goddess; body in front view, feet pointing outward. *Korymbos*, extending beyond frame of relief, above fluted crown;¹³² fillet with two long wavy ribbons. Large bunch of curled hair on each shoulder; beard of small curls, tip tufted below encircling device. Left hand at hilt of sword; right arm extending across chest, hand clasping symbol of sovereignty offered by Anahita. Ear pendant; necklace. Mantle fluttering at side from behind sleeved and belted coat reaching to knees, disk suspended from lower edge of mantle; loose trousers with exaggerated stylized folds; short wavy ribbon (originally with two ends) tied to front of sword belt; straps marked on shoes; wavy ribbon tied to each foot and spread symmetrically on ground.

Anahita.—At right end of scene. Head in left profile, facing king; body in front view. High hairdress¹³³ of curly locks above mural crown with border of flutes resembling those of king's crown but shorter; fillet with wavy ribbons like those of king, partly cut off during carving of adjacent blank panel (No. 17 on Fig. 2), which now bears Islamic inscription. Long braids at both sides of head. Right arm flexed, hand clasping symbol of sovereignty; left arm bent, hand (inside sleeve) resting on left thigh. Ear pendant(?); necklace. Mantle fluttering at side, draped over shoulders and fastened in front by clasp (abraded) with two wavy ribbons; either a sleeved waist-length coat and a belted

flowing skirt ending in cascade of folds on ground or a single sleeved and belted garment reaching from shoulders to ground; two wavy ribbons extending from belt buckle.

Prince.—Head, chest, and right arm destroyed. Head in right profile, facing goddess, as indicated by position of long wavy ribbon suspended from headdress. Outline of damaged headdress, projecting at either side, like that of king's crown. Right arm extended across chest as indicated by curved fracture and remnant of wrist, right hand undoubtedly pointed at goddess in gesture of homage; left hand at hilt of sword. Belted coat, trousers, shoes, and wavy ribbons at belt and feet like corresponding items of king's attire.

The long wavy ribbon suspended from the headdress of the prince and his position, between the king and the goddess and beneath the symbol of sovereignty, unquestionably mark him as heir to the throne, presumably the prince who in A.D. 302 succeeded his father as Hormizd II.

First dignitary.—To left of king. Head in right profile, body in front view. Cap or helmet with straight front and curved back and top, tip projecting forward in form of animal head with small disk in front of mouth, emblem¹³⁴ not clear; fillet, short wavy ribbon behind head. Bunch of braided hair strands with curled ends falling to shoulder; beard with round tip marked by parallel wavy lines; long mustache with undulating tip. Globular(?) ear pendant; plain neck ring. Right arm extended across chest, raised hand pointing in gesture of homage at king and goddess; left hand at hilt of sword. No mantle; coat, trousers, and shoes like those of king; coat belt and sword belt here clearly distinguished; two short wavy ribbons extending from buckle of coat belt; two wavy ribbons at feet narrower than those of king.

Second dignitary.—The roughly blocked out contours of the unfinished figure at the left end of the scene indicate a person in the same posture as the first dignitary and with the right hand raised in the gesture of homage. The second dignitary is shorter than the first.

129. See Herzfeld in *ZDMG* LXXX 250; see also Erdmann in *ZDMG* XCIX 56, n. 4. For location of Guyum see map at end of Stein, *Old Routes of Western Īrān*.

130. See L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Īrān ancien*, Pl. 83.

131. See *IF*, pp. 84–88 and Pl. IX, with listing of previous (erroneous) identifications of figures on p. 85, but disregard Sarre's reference to a relief of Narseh (instead of Bahram I) at Bishapur (Pl. XLI), which is our relief Bi IV (pp. 128 f. above). See also Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 138 and Pl. XLIV top; Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, p. 61 and Fig. 27; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 186 (sketchy drawing).

132. For two variants of crown see Herzfeld in *AMI* IX 111–12 and Fig. 8 and Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV–XVI 98 and Figs. 1, 2, 18,

133. Supposedly corresponding to *korymbos* of king (see Herzfeld in *AMI* IX 104 ff.).

134. See Dieulafoy, *L'Art antique de la Perse* V, Pl. XVI.

RELIEF OF HORMIZD II

NAQSH-I RUSTAM

EQUESTRIAN COMBAT

Relief NRu VII (No. 11 on Fig. 2), about 8.40 m. long and about 4.10 m. high, was discovered by our expedition during the investigation of the royal tombs (see p. 17). It shows Hormizd, accompanied by a standard-bearer, killing a foe (Pl. 91).¹³⁵

King.—Head mostly destroyed (see Pl. 92). Eagle crown of Hormizd II¹³⁶ distinctly suggested by remnants of headdress with upcurved wing behind, pearl at eagle's indistinct beak marked by knob above and in front of forehead; traces of globular or oblong *korymbos* (see Pl. 91) above crown;¹³⁷ fillet, two long wavy ribbons behind head. Tip of beard tufted below encircling device. Folds of mantle with attached disks fluttering behind chest and right arm; sleeved coat ending in ring (or necklace?) below neck (cf. standard-bearer), globe attached to each shoulder;¹³⁸ ring armor on arms, armor scales (semiparabolical with medial ridge) below waist, ring armor apparently marked by ridges on leg; pattern of folds and ribbons along back of leg; wavy ribbon attached to ankle. Right hand grasping long lance; quiver, undoubtedly containing bow in addition to arrows, strapped to king's waist and hanging parallel to his leg.

As usual, there is no stirrup, this device apparently being unknown to the Sasanians.¹³⁹

King's horse.—Shown in flying gallop. Reins marked by two straps. Caparison marked by strip with row of attached disks below belly and chest, kept in place by straps around legs. Globular forehead ornament; ornamental tassel (of wool or silk?) with blossom-shaped metal cap at neck, at chest, at haunch, and on croup; pair of ribbons on all but croup tassel. Tail doubled up and tied with ribbon, another ribbon tied to top of tail (see Pl. 93 A). Wavy folds seemingly spreading from king's coat probably part of saddle or saddle blanket.

A thick band curving across the top of the king's thigh enabled us to determine how heavily armed and armored horsemen, lacking stirrups, were able to stay in the saddle, particularly during violent contact in battle. In examining illustrations¹⁴⁰ of the king's horse in one of the Bishapur reliefs (Bi VI; see p. 137), we noticed a knoblike device, apparently outcurved, at the front of the saddle. We found, further, that all the equestrian reliefs, so far as

135. Published by Ghirshman in "Notes iraniennes III: A propos des bas-reliefs rupestres sassanides," *Artibus Asiae* XIII (1950) 86-98. We agree with Ghirshman's identification of the victor as Hormizd II (A.D. 302-9), whereas Henning (*Asia Major* n.s. II 161) apparently considers the identification uncertain.

136. See Herzfeld in *AMI* IX, Fig. 1 on p. 102; Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV-XVI, Figs. 1, 2, and 18.

137. There is scarcely a doubt that the *korymbos* originally extended beyond the frame as in other reliefs (see e.g. Pl. 89). When the rock surface immediately above the Hormizd relief was prepared for the carving of relief NRu VIII, the upper edge of the lower relief was obliterated except for a remnant of the *korymbos* which, still partly encircled by a band of plain smoothed rock, projects above the floor shelf of the upper relief (see Pl. 94). We conclude, therefore, that the upper relief is later and that the king who gave the order for its execution sought to avoid injuring a monarchical attribute of his predecessor.

138. Cf. Herzfeld in *AMI* IX 133 f.

ascertainable, show indications of a similar device and concluded that it represents one of two guard clamps—presumably integral parts of the saddle—which arch from the pommel across the thighs of the rider. The clamps were presumably made of metal and padded with leather or the like, as suggested, for example, by the appearance of the guard clamps of Ardashir I and the god in NRu I (Pl. 81). A second safeguard was provided by a high cantle, distinctly marked in the Bishapur relief but not indicated, so far as we know, in the other Sasanian reliefs.¹⁴¹ We must assume, therefore, that the cantle, an indispensable part of a combat saddle, was hidden beneath the tail of the long armored coat of the rider. Essentially, this saddle had the same safety devices as the medieval war saddle.¹⁴²

Standard-bearer.—Meant to be mounted, as shown by position of right leg, quiver, and coattail (see Pl. 93 A), though horse not indicated (cf. NRu IX; p. 136 and Pl. 95). Beardless youth. Hemispherical helmet, knob (broken) on top, guard for ears and lower back of head, face unprotected. Armor scales on neck and below belt, no scales on breast of ring-collared (leather?) coat; tail of coat shown as though lying on back of horse (cf. king's coat); ring armor marked by corrugations faintly on right arm and clearly on right leg and foot; left leg not shown. Curled motif corresponding to wavy folds flowing from king's saddle or saddle blanket. Lines (strings?) at top of quiver,¹⁴³ strap for attachment to belt(?) at either side of quiver.

Standard.—Held by both hands of bearer. T-shaped. Two tassels, perhaps with metal caps, suspended from crossbar. Two plain ribbons undulating from crossbar.

Undoubtedly there was at least one more ribbon above and to the left of the others, but whether globes (cf. Pl. 95) or other objects were attached to the top of the standard is unknown.

Foe.—Identity conjectural, but Sasanian affinity suggested by bifurcate emblem on helmet (see below). Struck in abdomen by Hormizd's long lance; somersaulting with horse, both in awkwardly twisted position.¹⁴⁴ Rounded helmet, straight in front, sloping at back, plumed knob on top, metal(?) ear on curled cheek guard; bifurcate emblem (Table V, No. 8a) closely resembling that of page of Arda-

139. It has been suggested that the stirrup was evolved by Siberian nomads not long before the 5th Christian century, that the metal stirrup was perfected at the frontiers of China, and that it was introduced into Europe by the Avars in the 6th century; see A. D. H. Bivar, "The stirrup and its origins," *Oriental Art* n.s. I (1955) 61-65, esp. p. 65. According to other sources the stirrup was known among the Hiong-nu (Huns) as early as the 3d century B.C.; see e.g. René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes* (Paris, 1939) p. 37, n. 1, and for name of people see p. 53.

140. Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne* Pl. 50; see also *IAE*, Pl. CXVII bottom.

141. A cantle that curves up and back may be marked on the almost free-standing sculpture of Khusrau II and his horse Shabdiz at Taq-i Bustan (see e.g. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pl. XLIII, and p. 139 below).

142. For illustration see *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (2d unabridged ed., 1961) p. 2195, "Saddle C."

143. Cf. ornamental straps on Achaemenid quivers (e.g. in our Vol. I, Pl. 65 C).

144. For similar positions of defeated mounted adversaries see equestrian combat relief of Ardashir I at Firuzabad (*IAE*, Pl. CIX; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 43).

shir I (Table V, Nos. 7a-c) and four emblems (Table V, No. 8b) which suggest two pairs of addorsed birds or winged beasts. Short hair at back of neck; long wavy beard with rounded tip; mustache damaged. Right hand holding broken lance. Ring armor marked on upper and lower right arm; attire and rest of armor not clear; quiver parallel to

lower right leg. Right foot and tip of quiver eroded or damaged during carving of NRu VIII (see p. 135, n. 137).

Foe's horse.—Most of headgear preserved (see Pl. 93 B). Cheek piece of bit rectangular. Forelock similar to plume on foe's helmet, encircled by two rings. Guard clamp like that of king (see above) marked by knob on back.

RELIEF ATTRIBUTED TO ADARNARSEH

NAQSH-I RUSTAM

KING ENTHRONED

We mentioned above (p. 135, n. 137) that the upper border of the relief of Hormizd II was damaged when the rock surface above it was prepared for the sculpture here concerned (NRu VIII). We concluded that the upper relief is more recent than the lower one and that the sculptors of the later relief sought to avoid damaging Hormizd's *korymbos*. Thus, NRu VIII cannot be attributed to Shapur I,¹⁴⁵ who died thirty years before Hormizd II ascended the throne.

This relief (No. 10 on Fig. 2) was never finished, and its dimensions are doubtful (see Pl. 94). In diffused light its vague details appear even to be the results of natural erosion. In contrasting light the rock surface suggests the

enthroned king in front view, with legs apart and sword held vertically between the knees, as for example the figure of Bahram II at Naqsh-i Bahram (see p. 132). There seem to be traces of the royal beard, tufted below an encircling ring (see Pl. 91, *ca.* 1 cm. below top and *ca.* 7 cm. from right edge). Vague outlines of what may be two standing persons to the right of the king suggest a scene similar to that at Naqsh-i Bahram.

The identity of the king is conjectural. It seems more plausible, however, to identify him as the son of Hormizd II, Adarnarseh, who was dethroned in A.D. 309 after a reign of a few months or at most a year,¹⁴⁶ than as the brother and successor of Adarnarseh, Shapur II,¹⁴⁷ who reigned for seventy years (A.D. 309-79). Rulers subsequent to Shapur II need scarcely be considered.

RELIEFS ATTRIBUTED TO SHAPUR II

NAQSH-I RUSTAM

EQUESTRIAN COMBAT

Relief NRu IX (No. 8 on Fig. 2) is about 7.60 m. long, including a blank area at the left end of the panel, and about 3 meters high. The scene shows the king, accompanied by a mounted standard-bearer, killing a foe (Pl. 95).¹⁴⁸ Sarre tentatively identified the king as Shapur III (A.D. 383-88)¹⁴⁹ but subsequently attributed the relief to the end of the third Christian century.¹⁵⁰ We are inclined to agree with Henning that the king could possibly be Shapur II (A.D. 309-79).¹⁵¹

King.—Tripartite headdress distorted by erosion but resembling mural crown of Shapur II and Shapur I as known from coins,¹⁵² traces of steps apparently preserved on center merlon, projection at tip of frontal merlon, ribbed globe on top; fillet, pair of long wavy ribbons floating behind head to pole of standard. Face damaged, but ear well preserved. Beard pointed but probably originally with tufted tip¹⁵³ below encircling device as usual. Attire almost identical with that of Hormizd II (see p. 135): folds of mantle faintly visible behind back, globe on each shoulder, ring armor on arms and leg, scale armor on coat below belt, ribbons at foot, folds and ribbons along

back of leg omitted or obliterated, extra ribbon on hip. Quiver and lance in usual positions.

The identification of this figure as the king might perhaps be questioned because his crown is topped by a globe instead of a large *korymbos*. The projection from the frontal merlon also is unusual. The pair of long wavy ribbons is, of course, an attribute of the king, but it sometimes distinguishes the crown prince (see p. 124, n. 30). The position of the standard also might cast doubt on the identification of the royal hero as the king (see below).

King's horse.—Almost identical with horse of Hormizd II in posture, harness, and trappings: shown in flying gallop with reins, caparison marked by row of disks below belly and chest, globe(?) on forehead, ornamental tassels at neck, chest, haunch, and croup, doubled-up tail tied with ribbon, wavy folds behind king's coat. Guard clamp (see p. 135) possibly marked on king's thigh.

Standard-bearer.—Mounted. Battered head in right profile. Hemispherical top of helmet discernible.¹⁵⁴ Probably beardless. Arms and hands in same position as in relief of Hormizd II. Ring armor marked on both arms, scale armor on coat below belt. Leg hidden behind king's horse. Quiver not shown. Horse's rump, doubled-up tail, and right hind leg marked behind king's horse.

Standard.—Held by both hands of bearer. T-shaped. Two tassels, perhaps originally similar to those in relief of

145. *Vs.* Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 135.

146. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, p. 233, and Erdmann, *Kunst der Sassaniden*, p. 61.

147. As suggested by Ghirshman in *Artibus Asiae* XIII 97 f.

148. See Flandin and Coste, *Persie ancienne*, Pl. 183.

149. See *IF*, pp. 74-76.

150. See Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, pp. 43 f., which is in agreement with the dating proposed by Herzfeld (*Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 42-43), who considered the victor a legendary Iranian king (*AMI* IX 135-36).

151. See *Asia Major* n.s. II 161.

152. See Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV-XVI, Figs. 1, 2, and 18. For Herzfeld's interpretation of the king's headgear, see *AMI* IX 135-36 and Fig. 19.

153. As shown in drawing published by Herzfeld in *AMI* IX 136, Fig. 19.

154. See close-up in *AMI* IX, Pl. XI

Hormizd II, suspended from crossbar. Three ribbed globes on top of crossbar carved beyond frame of relief and above level of globe on king's crown.

The position of the standard seems to imply that the globe on the king's crown does not represent the *korymbos*, which in other reliefs is elevated above the level of the deities and standards and is often carved beyond the frame of the relief. Here the standard is given a more exalted position than the king's headdress.

Foe.—Identity conjectural, but royal rank indicated by two broad wavy ribbons floating behind helmet. Head thrown back by impact of king's lance piercing neck. Stemmed and ribbed globe on top of hemispherical helmet, two small ribbons attached to stem. Bearded face unclear. Details of attire and armor mostly destroyed. Ring armor on leg. Ribbon at foot. Tip of broken lance bent at right angle above horse's muzzle.

Foe's horse.—Broken down on hind legs. Head with gear and reins preserved; rest mostly destroyed.

BISHAPUR

KING TRIUMPHANT ENTHRONED

The unfinished relief Bi VI (11 m. long, 4.20 m. high), immortalizing a victorious campaign against an eastern enemy, was once assigned tentatively to Khusrau II (A.D. 590–628)¹⁵⁵ and subsequently to Shapur I (A.D. 241–72).¹⁵⁶ Recently Ghirshman described it and proposed, quite persuasively, that it should be assigned to Shapur II (A.D. 309–79).¹⁵⁷

The scene¹⁵⁸ shows the king enthroned on a dais in the center of the upper register. He is in full front view in the same posture as Bahram II at Naqsh-i Bahram (see p. 132). His left hand holds the hilt of his sword, his right hand a long lance (or scepter?). His *korymbos* is marked, but his crown is indeterminate. The tip of his beard is squared, not tufted below an encircling ring. The left half of the upper register is filled with Persian dignitaries with their right hands raised in the gesture of homage, while the right half depicts soldiers with captives, preceded by two Persian officers and an ensign with a banner. The left half of the lower register shows officers with their arms crossed above their swords, preceded by a groom leading the king's horse. The horse's saddle is provided with guard clamp and cantle (see p. 135). The right half of the lower register shows Persians with captives and booty, including an elephant. The head of the slain enemy leader is carried in front of the procession.

Reliefs NRu IX and Bi VI were possibly executed by order of Shapur II, but, so far as we know, none of the Sasanian reliefs in southern Iran are later than the reign of that king, who died in A.D. 379. The monuments of subsequent kings are situated on the royal road which once connected Babylon with Ecbatana and points to the east. At a site later to be known as Taq-i Bustan¹⁵⁹ Shapur's successor, Ardashir II, chose a rocky cliff beside a spring at the foot of Kuh-i Para'u, about 5 kilometers north-northwest of Kirmanshah, to commemorate the beginning of his reign.

RELIEF OF ARDASHIR II

TAQ-I BUSTAN

INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR II BY HORMIZD AND MITHRA

Ardashir II (A.D. 379–83) stands between two gods—Hormizd with mural crown and Mithra identified by a halo of rays—and receives the symbol of sovereignty from Hormizd. Hormizd and the king stand on a prostrate foe. Mithra, holding a bundle of barsom twigs, stands on a lotus blossom. The heads of the two gods and the king

are shown in three-quarter view, while their bodies and legs are in front view; their feet point outward. The king's *korymbos*, like that of Hormizd, is shown as a globe of curls without a cover of silk or the like. The hair globe is bound tightly above the top of the king's head. Both of the gods and the king wear the fillet ending in two long wavy ribbons. The tip of the king's beard is tufted below an encircling device, and bunches of hair fall on his shoulders.¹⁶⁰

RELIEF OF SHAPUR II AND SHAPUR III

TAQ-I BUSTAN

SHAPUR II STANDING BESIDE SHAPUR III

This relief is the only ornamentation of the small grotto, which is actually a chamber (5.80 m. wide, 3.60 m. deep, ca. 5.20 m. high) with vaulted ceiling and open front, an *īwān*, cut into the rock a few meters from the relief of Ardashir II.¹⁶¹ It was carved in the upper part of the rear wall above a ledge (2.20 m. above floor) which corresponds to the spring of the vault.

The relief pictures Shapur II (A.D. 309–79), to the right, standing beside his son Shapur III (A.D. 383–88). The

figures are identified by Middle Persian inscriptions engraved beside them in the smooth face of the rock. The inscription of Shapur II has nine lines, that of Shapur III

158. For drawing see Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 50. For photographs of details see *IF*, Pl. XL, and *IAE*, Pls. CXVII bottom, CXVIII bottom, CXX right.

159. For descriptions and illustrations of the sculptures at Taq-i Bustan, see mainly Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 57–144, Pls. XXVII–XL and XLII; *AMI* IX 91–158; Erdmann, "Das Datum des Taq-i Bustān," *Ars Islamica* IV (1937) 79–97; Sarre in Pope, *Survey* I 598–600, with Pls. 159 B–161 A and 163–168 (Vol. IV). For aerial views, see Schmidt, *Flights*, Pls. 95–97. As to the name Taq-i Bustan, "Grotto (more precisely 'Vault' or 'Arch') of the Garden," Herzfeld proposed that it was originally Taq-i Vastan, "Grotto of Vistahm," Vistahm being a brother of Khusrau II (see *IAE*, p. 353, n. 24).

160. For a thorough description see Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 59–66 and Pls. XXIX–XXX. For best lateral view see De Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse* IV, Pl. XXXV. The length of the relief is reported to be ca. 4.50 m., its height more than 2 m.

161. See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 66–71 and Pls. XXXI–XXXII.

155. See *IF*, pp. 213–14.

156. See Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," pp. 134 f. See also Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, p. 56.

157. See Ghirshman in *Artibus Asiae* XIII 90–96 and Figs. 8–10, 12. We regret that Ghirshman failed to provide satisfactory photographic documentation of the reliefs at Bishapur, where he was in charge of excavations.

thirteen lines. Since the two texts are alike except for the names of the forefathers, we give the translation of the inscription of Shapur II and add in parentheses the divergent names in the text of Shapur III.¹⁶²

1. The image is this
2. of the Mazda-worshipping god
3. Shapur, king of
4. kings of Iran and non-Iran, who is
5. a scion of the gods, the son of the Mazda-worshipping
6. god Hormizd (Shapur), king of
7. kings of Iran and non-Iran, who is
8. a scion of the gods, the grandson of the god
9. Narseh (Hormizd), king of kings.

The posture of the two kings is essentially the same as that of gods and king in the relief of Ardashir II, but their hands are at the hilts of their swords, which are suspended in front. Their elaborate dress is very similar to that of Ardashir II but distinct from that of the gods. The tips of their beards are tufted below rings, and bunches of hair fall on their shoulders. Both kings wear the fabric-covered *korymbos* and the fillet with two long wavy ribbons, but their crowns differ. It has been reported¹⁶³ that Shapur II

wears a mural crown which is essentially the same as that of the god Hormizd and of Shapur I. The crown of Shapur III, so far as preserved, is distinguished mainly by a large frontal crescent.¹⁶⁴ The crown on his coins is quite different; it is related in form to the crown of Narseh¹⁶⁵ and does not show any crescent.

It has been suggested that the relief was carved during the lifetime of Shapur II and that Shapur III is represented as heir apparent.¹⁶⁶ However, the inscriptions designate both figures by the title of the supreme ruler and both wear the most characteristic attribute of the king of kings, the *korymbos* combined with the fillet ending in long wavy ribbons. We are therefore inclined to agree with the earlier suggestion that Shapur III carved the relief, subsequent to the reign of Ardashir II, in order to emphasize the legitimacy of his succession.¹⁶⁷ We cannot explain the crescent on the headdress of Shapur III, but there must be a connection with the crown of his son Yazdagird I (A.D. 399–420),¹⁶⁸ the first Sasanian ruler whose coins show a prominent frontal crescent. The crowns of subsequent kings display the crescent emblem in various sizes and combinations.¹⁶⁹

RELIEFS AND STATUE OF KHUSRAU II

TAQ-I BUSTAN

We confine ourselves to a mere summary of the main features of the large grotto at Taq-i Bustan, the "jewel of Sasanian art,"¹⁷⁰ which has been described, illustrated, and interpreted by many visitors and competent scholars.¹⁷¹ We are not prepared to join the controversy about the age of the grotto and its sculptures, which Erdmann has assigned to Peroz (A.D. 459–83).¹⁷² Until this date is verified by other students of Sasanian art and numismatics, we shall adhere, with some hesitation, to the prevailing opinion and attribute the grotto to Khusrau II, Parviz ("the Victorious").¹⁷³

The large grotto,¹⁷⁴ combined with the small grotto and a pendant masonry structure, has been compared with a Greek tripod, a Roman triple gate,¹⁷⁵ and a triple *iwān*.¹⁷⁶ The sculptured façade¹⁷⁷ of the large grotto is embellished at either side with elaborate floral patterns.

162. After Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 123–24. The inscriptions were first deciphered by Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse . . .*, pp. 243 and 254–55; see Herzfeld *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 66–67 and Pl. XXXII.

163. Somewhat ambiguously by Herzfeld, who emphasized that the crowns of both kings have been seriously damaged by water seepage (see *Am Tor von Asien*, p. 66).

164. See Herzfeld in *AMI* IX 113, Fig. 9.

165. See *ibid.* pp. 111 and 113 and Fig. 1; Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV–XVI 99–100.

166. See Herzfeld in *AMI* IX 113 f.; Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV–XVI 99–100, n. 50.

167. See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 68–69, but disregard his reference to a Persepolis relief assumedly picturing two "Grosskönige" (cf. our Vols. I, e.g. p. 116, and II 51).

168. See Christensen, *Sassanides*, pp. 269–73.

169. See Erdmann in *Ars Islamica* XV–XVI 102–3 and Figs. 1, 2, 18.

170. See Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 139.

171. For description and references see principally Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 57–60 and 71–144, where Sarre's description (*IF*, pp. 199–212) is partly revised and amplified.

172. See e.g. *Ars Islamica* IV 79–97.

The archivolt is carved in the form of a garland with a wide upturned ribbon at the lower end. A deity of victory hovers in each spandrel and extends a beribboned ring toward a crescent which ornaments the apex of the arch. The tympanum of the rear wall shows the investiture of the king, carved in high relief, above an imposing equestrian statue. The side walls are embellished with animated scenes of the hunt, the favorite pastime of Sasanian—and earlier—kings and nobles. A boar hunt is shown on the left and a deer hunt on the right. Carved in low relief, and once undoubtedly painted, the two panels have reportedly the same dimensions (5.70 m. long, 3.80 m. high). The main portion of each scene has a rectangular frame, obviously marking the inclosure of the hunting park or "paradise,"¹⁷⁹ but the nature of the terrain depicted indicates two distinct tracts of ground.

INVESTITURE OF KHUSRAU II BY HORMIZD AND ANAHITA

The king is flanked by the god Hormizd and the goddess of waters, Anahita.¹⁸⁰ All are shown on foot, in full front

173. See Herzfeld, "Khusrau Parwēz und der Tāq i Bastān," *AMI* IX 91–158. Henning, in reviewing this article, states that Herzfeld "convincingly vindicates" the attribution of the reliefs in the large grotto to Khusrau II (see *BSOAS* X [1940] 507). For the reign of Khusrau II see Christensen, *Sassanides*, pp. 444–96.

174. Depth, 6.80 m.; breadth, 7.50 m.; height, 8.75 m. in front and 9.20 m. at rear wall. For plan and section see Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pls. XXXIV–XXXV (after Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pls. 2–3); revised plan in *IAE*, Fig. 411.

175. Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre," p. 138.

176. *IAE*, p. 327.

177. Erdmann, *Kunst der Sasaniden*, p. 64.

178. See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pls. XXVIII, XXXIII, XXXVI–XL; see also Pope, *Survey* IV, Pls. 167 and 168 C.

179. For an aerial view of a spacious rectangular inclosure that is almost certainly the wall of a hunting park, ca. 600 m. south of Taq-i Bustan, see Schmidt, *Flights*, p. 80 and Pl. 96.

180. See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pls. XLII, XLIV, XLIX, and LXV top left; see also Pope, *Survey* IV, Pl. 160 B.

view, and each is on a separate pedestal. The king clasps the symbol of sovereignty offered by the god. The same symbol is offered to him by Anahita, who seems to pour water to the ground from a tilted pitcher.

EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF KHUSRAU II

Below the tympanum the monumental sculpture (*ca.* 4 m. high) of the king on horseback is carved from the rear wall of the grotto.¹⁸¹ Although attached to the rock, the sculpture, shown in right profile, is essentially a statue. There is no feature which identifies the king, who is generally considered to represent Khusrau II mounted on his famous horse Shabdiz.

The king is shown as a heavily armed and armored warrior. Except for the eyes, the head is entirely covered by a sheath of mail apparently suspended from the helmet, which is topped by a globe with ribbon; a coat of mail protects body, arms, and thighs. The king's right hand once clasped the heavy lance which is balanced on his right shoulder. His left hand holds a rather small circular shield with a cruciform (*formée?*) emblem. His quiver is suspended from a belt at his right side; a bow case is presumed to be at the opposite side. Two long wavy ribbons, the ends of the fillet, extend from the back of his head. The gown covering his knees and lower legs is embellished with an elaborate pattern including winged monsters.¹⁸²

The entire anterior part of the king's horse is protected by scale armor¹⁸³ dotted with staggered rows of hemispheroid knobs which Herzfeld assumed to be decorative tassels. A curved object behind the king's back may be the cantle of the war saddle, although Herzfeld interpreted it as the top of the bow case, and a bar along his thigh perhaps marks a guard clamp (see p. 135).¹⁸⁴ A large tassel, apparently tied to the rear of the saddle, hangs at the horses' flank. Beside the tassel is an emblem (Table V, No. 2*b*) which closely resembles the emblem on the horse of Ardashir I in relief Fir I (see p. 125), but in the present instance it is presumably a brand mark of the royal stud.¹⁸⁵

The top of the rear wall of the grotto is adorned with garlands which extend from the elaborate capitals¹⁸⁶ of two fluted columns flanking the statue.

BOAR HUNT

The relief is complete in most details.¹⁸⁷ Elephants urged on by their mahouts and carrying other persons—perhaps

guests and beaters—drive herds of boars across a reedy swamp. In the center of the scene the king, shown at an exaggerated scale, stands in a boat and dispatches with his arrows two boars which are likewise exaggerated in size. The king is shown again, standing in another boat, apparently after the conclusion of the chase; this time his head is encircled by a nimbus. Three additional boats are filled with female musicians. The garments of the king and the other persons are lavishly embellished with interesting designs.¹⁸⁸ Dead boars are gathered at the bottom of the scene, and on the right, outside the inclosure, the game is carried away on the backs of elephants.

DEER HUNT

This relief was never completed, but its main features are clear.¹⁸⁹ To the right are three superposed compartments or fenced-in areas connected with the hunting park by passages or bridges. The two lower compartments are filled with elephants behind troops of deer. The upper compartment shows four guards between elephants and a row of unidentified animals. Through gates held open by guards, deer rush into the park from the central compartment.

The king is shown three times in the park, each time mounted and at an exaggerated scale. At the top he enters the park in the shade of the royal parasol. Musicians and singers on a platform occupy the upper left corner, and other musicians and attendants fill the right corner, behind the ruler. In the center the king and, presumably, his nobles give chase to the game, but he alone is pictured with drawn bow. Dead animals are piled against the left wall of the park. At the bottom the king is shown riding toward the exit, presumably after the end of the hunt; as in the top scene, the bow is around his shoulders. He is preceded by two puzzling animals, each distinguished by a long wavy ribbon tied to its neck. One of these animals has passed through the gate, which is held open by a guard. Both animals are shown in a flying gallop, in the manner of the fleeing deer and the horses of the hunters in the central zone of the park. To judge by their size, the beribboned animals are probably tame deer,¹⁹⁰ used as decoys, rather than cheetahs¹⁹¹ or salukis.

To the left of the park, a rectangular panel balances the three compartments on the opposite side and shows the removal of the dead game on the backs of camels.

RELIEFS OF UNCERTAIN AGE

Most of the reliefs described above can be assigned with certainty to the reigns of specific monarchs. Some attributions are questionable, and there remain four reliefs which we prefer to leave unassigned for lack of sufficient data. These are at Hong, in the Malamir district of southern Iran, at Rayy (Rhages), near Tehran, at Surat Daghi, in the Salmas district, and at Boshat, in the Lake Van area of eastern Anatolia.

181. See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 86 ff. and Pls. XLII–XLIII; *IF*, Pl. XXXVII.

182. See *IF*, Fig. 96; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pl. LXII.

183. See Bengt Thordeman, "A Persian splint armour," *Acta Archaeologica V* (København, 1934) 294–96.

184. We cannot confirm that the badly damaged foot of the king rested in a stirrup; see Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, p. 86, and cf. our p. 135, n. 139.

HONG

ROYAL(?) HORSEMAN

A tall central figure—undoubtedly a king—and three smaller figures to the right are shown on foot, in full front view and similarly attired. The central figure in particular bears a striking resemblance to a bronze statue found in

185. See Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 87 f.

186. For details see *ibid.* Pl. LIV.

187. *Ibid.* Pls. XLV bottom and XLVI–XLVIII.

188. See *ibid.* pp. 121 ff. For details of king's garment see Pope, *Survey IV*, Pl. 166.

189. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, Pls. XLV top, L, and LI right.

190. Herzfeld suggested hinds (*ibid.* p. 96).

191. As indirectly suggested by Sarre in *IF*, p. 206.

the Shami shrine, 14 miles to the northwest of Hong.¹⁹² Stein pointed out that this statue is clearly Parthian and that there is a distinct resemblance between the Hong relief and a court scene at Tang-i Sarvak, about 68 miles southeast-south of Hong.¹⁹³ The inscriptions and reliefs of Tang-i Sarvak, the site of a sanctuary of the kingdom of Elymais, have been ascribed to the second century of our era.¹⁹⁴ We are inclined to assign the four standing figures in the Hong relief to approximately the same late phase of the Parthian period.

At the left, the Hong relief shows a horseman with head in right profile and body in three-quarter view. Apparently he wears a fillet ending in flowing ribbons. Rider and horse together are shorter than the central figure. What seems to be a winged "Victory" is above the horse's head, and an indistinct figure on foot is behind the horse. From the available sketch we can only guess that this part of the relief may have no relation to the rest; it appears to be more recent, that is, Sasanian. Debevoise¹⁹⁵ considered this possibility, and Erdmann¹⁹⁶ tentatively listed the Hong relief with the reliefs of Shapur I.

RAYY

EQUESTRIAN COMBAT

This sculpture, cut into the rocky citadel hill of Rayy, was sketched by several visitors¹⁹⁷ before it was destroyed by Fath 'Ali Shah, who replaced it with a carving picturing himself as lion killer.

The relief had never been completed.¹⁹⁸ The published drawings show a Sasanian king, as indicated by the *korymbos*. Two ribbons behind the head mark the ends of the royal fillet. Morier's sketch suggests that the tip of the beard was tufted below an encircling device. A globe is attached to either shoulder. The right hand holds a lance in almost horizontal position. A quiver slopes backward at the flank of the horse, pictured as usual in a flying gallop. A globular ornament is on its forehead. The appearance of the foe is unknown. Ouseley's drawing shows only the outline of the head of his horse.

There is no clue, such as a distinctive crown, to indicate the identity of the king. All the other Sasanian combat reliefs are in Persis proper. They range in time from the reign of Ardashir I to possibly that of Shapur II, the latest ruler to whom, in our opinion, the Rayy relief could be assigned. The positions of the king's lance and the heads of

the horses call to mind the rather symmetrical combat scene NRu V (see Pl. 89), which was probably carved during the reign of Bahram II (see p. 131).

SURAT DAGHI

TWO KINGS

This relief supposedly depicts the submission (*ca.* A.D. 230) of Armenians to Ardashir I and his son Shapur.¹⁹⁹ The scene shows two similarly attired Sasanians, mounted, armed with swords, and wearing a helmet or crown topped by the veiled *korymbos*, that is, an attribute of the king of kings²⁰⁰ but not of the crown prince. As usual, long ribbons float behind the heads of the royal horsemen. In front of each rider is a bareheaded man on foot, the man to the right offering what appears to be a ring-shaped object.

We are convinced that the relief pictures two kings and assume that it represents two distinct though related events involving the area in which it is situated. We surmise that originally only one mounted king and one pedestrian were carved and that subsequently the corresponding pair was added. Until the identity of the kings can be established by means of satisfactory photographs, one might guess that the second half of the scene was added by Shapur I after he had ascended the throne of his father.

BOSHAT

KING AND NOBLE

Lehmann-Haupt's brief description and sketch of this relief inform us that it shows two figures of more than life-size.²⁰¹ A vaguely outlined bearded man, with head in right profile, body in front view, and sword in front, stands behind (to left of) a horseman shown in right profile. According to the sketch, the horseman has a long square-tipped beard. Vague lines suggest a *korymbos*, which would mark the figure as a Sasanian monarch, above a plain helmet or cap. The posture of the horse, which stands with one foreleg flexed, and a row of ornamental disks on the breastband are distinctly Sasanian features. The top of the relief panel is irregular and domed above the heads of both persons.

The relief was attributed first to the Arsacid period,²⁰² then to Shapur II,²⁰³ and finally to Ardashir I,²⁰⁴ who is supposedly represented by the horseman. As to the standing man, it has been proposed that he is a brother of the assassinated king of Armenia and that the scene pictures his induction as governor by Ardashir.²⁰⁵ All identifications will remain questionable until the relief is documented in a satisfactory manner.

198. See Ouseley, *Travels* III 182 f.

199. There is no satisfactory illustration. For sketch map of Salmas area, west of northern end of Lake Riza'iyyah (formerly Urumiyah), and location and drawing of relief see Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pls. 204-5. See also Porter, *Travels* II 597-600 and Pl. 82; Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 79-81, with photograph; *IAE*, pp. 313 and 328, Pl. CVII top; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt* I (Berlin, 1910) 316-19 and 535 f.; Sarre in *IF*, p. 246; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 64 and 70; Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I 37.

200. See Herzfeld in *AMI* IX 104-6.

201. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien einst und jetzt* I 419 f.; for location, *ca.* 110 km. (by air) west-southwest of the western tip of Lake Van, see "Karte des Ost- und West-Tigris sowie des Van-Sees" in pocket at back of volume.

202. Cf. *ibid.* p. 539.

203. *Ibid.* p. 420.

204. *Ibid.* Vol. II (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926-31) 417 f.

205. *Ibid.* Vols. I 420 and II 984.

192. For location of Hong, or Hung-Naurozi, see Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, Sketch Map III. No satisfactory illustration of the relief is available, but see G. Jequier, "Description du site de Malamir," *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires* III (Paris, 1901) 143 and Fig. 3, and Debevoise in *JNES* I 103 and Fig. 7. The relief was discovered by Henry Layard; see his *Early Adventures in Persia, Susiana, and Babylonia* (London, 1887) II 12.

193. See Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran*, pp. 131 and 137; for location of Tang-i Sarvak see Sketch Map II and map at end of book and for court scene see Fig. 33 and Henning in *Asia Major* n.s. II, Pls. xii-xiii.





















194. See Henning in *Asia Major* n.s. II 175 ff.

195. See *JNES* I 103, where he suggests that the published sketch of the Hong relief is reminiscent of the Naqsh-i Rostam relief showing the triumph of Shapur I over Valerian (our NRu II; p. 127 above).

196. *Kunst der Sasaniden*, p. 62.

197. See e.g. James J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople, between the Years 1810 and 1816* (London, 1818) p. 190; Ouseley, *Travels* III (1823) Pl. 65. A. V. Williams Jackson, in *Persia Past and Present* (New York and London, 1906) opp. p. 439, illustrates Ouseley's drawing and below it shows the modern relief (after Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse . . . Perse moderne*, Pl. 30). See also Curzon, *Persia* I 351 f., and Porter, *Travels* I 363; according to Porter the relief was about 16 ft. high and 12 ft. long.

TABLE V
EMBLEMS IN SASANIAN RELIEFS

No.	FORM	BEARER	RELIEF	ILLUSTRATION
1a		Ardavan V* vanquished in combat	Fir I	<i>IAE</i> , Pl. CIX top (see also Flandin and Coste, <i>Perse ancienne</i> , Pl. 43)
1b		Ardavan V dead	NRu I	Our Pl. 81
2a		Ardashir I†	Fir I	<i>IAE</i> , Pl. CIX top
2b		Horse of Khusrau II‡	Taq-i Bustan	Herzfeld, <i>Am Tor von Asien</i> , Pl. XLII
3a		Crown prince (Shapur I) in combat	Fir I	<i>IAE</i> , Pl. CIX bottom
3b		Crown prince (Shapur I) in suite of Ardashir I	Fir II	<i>IAE</i> , Pl. CVIII top
4		Fourth person in suite of Shapur I§	NRa III	Our Pl. 101 A
5		Third person in suite of Shapur I	NRa III	Our Pl. 101 A
6		Fifth person in suite of Shapur I	NRa III	Our Pl. 101 A
7a		Ardashir's page mounted	Fir I	Flandin and Coste, <i>Perse ancienne</i> , Pl. 43
7b		Ardashir's page as whisk-bearer	NRu I	Our Pl. 81
7c		Ardashir's page as whisk-bearer	NRa I	Our Pl. 97 A
8a		Vanquished foe of Hormizd II	NRu VII	Our Pl. 93 B
8b		Vanquished foe of Hormizd II	NRu VII	Our Pl. 93 B
9		Second dignitary to left of Bahram II	Naqsh-i Bahram	<i>IAE</i> , Pl. CXXIV bottom left
10		Third dignitary to right of Bahram II	NRu III	Our Pl. 87
11a		Kartir	NRu II K	Our Pl. 83
11b		Fourth person to left of Bahram II	NRu III	Our Pl. 88 B
11c		Fifth person to left of Bahram II	NRu III	Our Pl. 88 B
11d		First dignitary to left of Bahram II	Naqsh-i Bahram	<i>IAE</i> , Pls. CXX left and CXXIV bottom left

* Found also on coins of Ardavan's predecessors (see *AMI* IX 107 f. and Fig. 4)

† Apparently copied from symbol of sovereignty; found also on coins of some of Ardashir's successors (see *ibid.*).

‡ Presumably a brand mark of the royal stud (see p. 139).

§ Possibly emblem of Shapur's heir apparent.

APPENDIX: REVIEW OF PERSEPOLIS RELIEFS

THE TRIBUTE DELEGATIONS OF THE APADANA

IN THE course of our study of the throne-bearers on the royal tombs we succeeded in verifying a number of our previous identifications of the twenty-three nations represented in the Apadana tribute procession.¹ Moreover, our investigations enabled us to rectify erroneous identifications and to verify or refute some identifications proposed by reviewers of Volume I.

In view of the importance of the Apadana reliefs it is appropriate to append to the present volume a revised account of the tribute delegations and related reliefs of the Persepolis Terrace. Furthermore, for supplementary documentation enhancing the artistic value of the sculptures, we add photographic portraits² of at least one member of each delegation, so far as preserved,³ on the eastern stairway of the Apadana (see Pls. 102-5).

We retain the scheme of numbering the delegations according to vertical columns⁴—terminating in a slanting,

stepped series of units—because this order corresponds for the most part to the sequence of the throne-bearers in certain reliefs of the Council Hall⁵ and the Throne Hall (see pp. 159 f.). In Volume I we presented descriptions and illustrations according to the numerical sequence adopted. In the present volume we arrange the delegations according to ethno-geographical groups in order to facilitate comparison with the reliefs of the throne-bearers on the royal tombs, which we group in the same manner (see Table IV and Figs. 39-52). Thus, the nations represented in the Apadana procession are here discussed and illustrated (see Pls. 102-5) in the order shown in Table VI. For the sake of convenience we insert at the end of the discussion (see p. 158) a numerical list of the delegations as now identified (Table VII) and a list of the delegations numbered in conventional order, that is, according to horizontal registers (Table VIII).

1. See Vol. I 85-90.

2. Taken by W. von Busse.

3. Only the Egyptians are not represented because the upper part of their delegation is destroyed on both the eastern and the northern stairway.

4. See Vol. I, Fig. 33.

5. As pointed out by Herzfeld in *IF*, pp. 44 f.; see also *ibid.* Fig. 12 (p. 46) but consult pp. 251 ff. for radical changes of the identifications.

TABLE VI
ETHNO-GEOGRAPHICAL GROUPING OF TRIBUTE DELEGATIONS

GROUP	DESIGNATION	DELEGATION	
		No.	Nation
I	Persian	2	Susian (Elamite)
IIA	West Median	1	Median
		3	Armenian
		9	Cappadocian
		16	Sagartian?
IIB	East Median	13	Bactrian
		15	Parthian?
III	East Iranian	4	Arian?
		7	Arachosian?
IV	Scythian	11	Scythians beyond the sea
		17	Hauma-drinking Scythians
		19	Skudrian
V	Indian	14	Gandarian?
		18	Indian
VI	Hellenic	6	Lydian
		12	Ionian
VII	Northern Mesopotamian	8	Assyrian
VIII	Western Lowlands	5	Babylonian
		10	Egyptian
		20	Arabian
		22	Libyan
IX	Negro	23	Ethiopian
?	?	21	?

GROUP I: PERSIAN

DELEGATION No. 2: THE SUSIANS (ELAMITES)

On the royal tombs, group I is represented by the Persian and Elamite (Susian) throne-bearers, Nos. 1 and 3 respectively (see Fig. 39). The most characteristic feature of their attire is the flowing candys, which the Persians presumably adopted from the dress of the Elamites.⁶ The Persians are not represented in the tribute procession of the Apadana, which is led by the Medes (see below). Thus, delegation No. 2,⁷ whose members wear the candys and offer daggers of Persian type, can only represent the Susians.

The fillet (see Pl. 102 A) worn by the Susian delegation is quite distinct from the taller, plain or fluted, cidaris usually shown in the reliefs of Persians. However, at least

on Tombs III (Artaxerxes I) and V (Artaxerxes II), the cidares of Persian and Susian are of equal height, indicating—as we noticed in other instances—that the sculptors of the tomb reliefs were less precise than the artists who carved the tribute procession on the Apadana stairways. The sculptor of delegation No. 2 carefully marked another distinctive item, namely half-boots⁸ with ornamental straps on instep and shaft in contrast to the low Persian shoes with three or four straps on the instep. It is interesting to note that the Susian throne-bearer (No. 3) on Tombs II (Xerxes) and VI (Artaxerxes III) also wears half-boots, those on Tomb II definitely showing ornamental straps and buttons which extend to the top of the shaft.

GROUP IIA: WEST MEDIAN

DELEGATION No. 1: THE MEDES

There is no doubt about the identity of this delegation, which heads the procession.⁹ The Persians, head nation of the empire, are of course not represented in the tribute procession, for they were exempt of all mandatory tribute (see p. 112). In four of the royal inscriptions which list the nations of the empire (D Egypt, DSe, DNa, and XPh) Media is mentioned immediately after Persia (see pp. 108 and 110), and, in accordance with inscription DNa, only the Persian throne-bearer precedes the Mede in the reliefs on the royal tombs. However, it is interesting to note that in Darius' earliest inscription (DB) and in the Persepolis Terrace foundation record DPe Elam (Susiana) is the first nation to be mentioned after Persia whereas Media occupies the tenth and third places respectively. Thus, while DPe is later than the foundation plaques of gold and silver deposited in the Apadana,¹⁰ it is earlier, as would be expected, than the reliefs of the tribute procession headed by the Medes. For the same reason we should assume that inscription D Egypt, in which Media precedes Elam, is somewhat later than DPe.

The hat of the Median tribute-bearers has a three-knobbed crown (see Pl. 102 B), apparently not worn by any throne-bearer of group IIA on the tombs (see Fig. 40). The plain domed hat of the delegation leader closely resembles the throne-bearers' headgear, which, however, is in some cases provided with a neckguard. The headgear of all the tribute-bearing members of the Apadana delegation is shown, bashlyk-fashion, with lowered flap muffling the chin. Only the leader's face is entirely exposed, as are the faces of the throne-bearers of both Median groups (IIA and IIB) on the tombs.

Median coat and trousers are alike in the pertinent reliefs of Apadana and tombs, but ankle straps, marked on the Apadana, are either absent or uncertain in the tomb reliefs. The dagger of the delegation leader, so far

as it is preserved, and that presented by one of the tribute-bearers are of the same type as that worn by the throne-bearers of the Median groups (see Figs. 40–41).

DELEGATION No. 3: THE ARMENIANS

In the tomb reliefs the throne-bearers representing group IIA—the Mede (No. 2), the Armenian (No. 20), and the Cappadocian (No. 21)—are essentially alike (see Fig. 40). Their attire and weapons, therefore, fail to give us a clue for correlating the similarly equipped Apadana delegations Nos. 1, 3, 9, and 16.

We have shown, however, that the prominent position, at the head of the procession, marks delegation No. 1 as Median. The identification of delegation No. 3 as Armenian is strongly supported by the magnificent vessel carried by the second attendant on the eastern stairway.¹¹ It was undoubtedly made of gold, representative of the advanced metalwork of the Urartean-Armenian area.

On the northern staircase the shapes of the eroded heads indicate that the headgear of the leader and that of the tribute-bearers were different, apparently corresponding to the two types of hats of the Median delegation (No. 1). On the eastern staircase, however, all members of delegation No. 3 wear identical three-knobbed hats with raised muffler flaps leaving the faces exposed (see Pl. 102 C).

DELEGATION No. 9: THE CAPPADOCIANS

On the basis of attire and weapons delegations Nos. 1, 3, 9, and 16 are assigned to group IIA. Prominent position in the procession and an outstanding product of metalwork mark delegations Nos. 1 and 3 as Medes and Armenians respectively.

The sculptor of delegation No. 9¹² deliberately emphasized an item which distinguishes its members from those of all other delegations, namely a neatly carved fibula (see Pl. 102 D) fastening—at the left shoulder of the delegates on the northern staircase and at the right shoulder on the eastern staircase—a cape which is worn over the Median

6. See H. H. Schaeder, *Das persische Weltreich* (Breslau, 1941) p. 14.

7. See Vol. I 85 and Pl. 28.

8. Similar half-boots are worn by one of the Susian throne-bearers in the Throne Hall (see *ibid.* p. 135 and Pl. 111, No. E1).

9. See *ibid.* p. 85 and Pl. 27.

10. See *ibid.* p. 70.

11. See *ibid.* p. 85 and Pl. 29 B. On the primary, northern, stairway there are, however, two rather modest receptacles instead (see *ibid.* Pl. 29 A).

12. See *ibid.* p. 87 and Pl. 35.

coat. This fibula, though it is not shown or not preserved on the Cappadocian throne-bearer (No. 21) in the tomb reliefs (see Fig. 40), is the clue for the identification of delegation No. 9 as Cappadocian(-Phrygian).¹³

On both stairways the headgear is shown with flaps raised in the same manner as the hats of the Armenian delegation (No. 3) on the eastern staircase.

DELEGATION NO. 16: THE SAGARTIANS?

On the royal tombs, the throne-bearers representing the nations comprising group IIA—the Mede (No. 2), the Armenian (No. 20), and the Cappadocian (No. 21)—are essentially alike. All wear the domed Median hat, with slight variations in shape on the different tombs. Wherever ascertainable, the muffler flap is either absent or raised, so that the entire face is exposed. The rest of the attire consists of the stereotyped belted Median coat and long trousers which, except on Xerxes' tomb (II), do not show separation from the footgear. All the figures are armed with the Median dagger.

In the tribute procession of the Apadana, delegation No. 16—in addition to the Medes (delegation No. 1), the Armenians (No. 3), and the Cappadocians (No. 9)—belongs to group IIA. Delegations Nos. 1, 3, and 9 are each distinguished in some manner (see above), whereas, oddly, delegation No. 16¹⁴ provides no clue as to the nation or province which it represents. Its tribute consists of common items of the west: Median garments and a stallion (see delegations Nos. 1, 3, and 9 but see also No. 11). Its dress is the common attire of the group. The headgear alone shows some variation. The delegation leader wears the same type of domed hat as that of the leader of the Median delegation (No. 1) and all the Median dignitaries and guards in the Persepolis reliefs. The headgear of the four attendants (preserved on the eastern staircase) is the same as the three-knobbed hat worn by members of delegations Nos. 1, 3, and 9, but it is shown alternately with lowered muffler flap (see Pl. 102 *E a*) as worn by the attendants in the Median delegation and with raised flap (see Pl. 102 *E b*) as worn by both leaders and attendants in the Armenian (No. 3) and Cappadocian (No. 9) delegations. While there is no clue as to the specific identification of the nation represented, the headgear—in particular the domed hat of the leader—unquestionably links delegation No. 16 with group IIA.

There is no indication that the people represented by delegation No. 16 is likewise represented on the royal tombs among the throne-bearers of the thirty nations listed in inscription DNa on the tomb of Darius the Great. Our only clue as to the identity of delegation No. 16 is contained in the Persepolis Terrace foundation inscription DPe, which lists Sagartia as one of the countries of the empire. Sagartia is first mentioned in the Behistun inscription as one of the lands that rose against Darius.¹⁵ Its leader, Ciçantakhma, who claimed to be a descendant of the Median king Cyaxares, was defeated and finally impaled at Arbela. The fact that Darius refers to the suppression of this revolt (combined with the preceding ac-

count of his defeat of the Mede Phraortes) in the phrase "this is what was done by me in Media," definitely marks Sagartia as a Median district.¹⁶

There is no reason to doubt that this rebel province of Media corresponds to the Sagartia which is listed in fourteenth place in inscription DPe. Obviously at the time the Persepolis Terrace foundation inscriptions (DPd-g) were composed, Sagartia must have played a distinguished role in the empire of Darius. This is our principal clue for identifying delegation No. 16 with the Sagartians. However, their importance was ephemeral, for Sagartia is not mentioned in any other list of nations of the realm and, consequently, is not represented among the throne-bearers of the nations listed in Darius tomb inscription (DNa).

Greek sources are difficult to reconcile with our Iranian records concerning Median Sagartia. According to Herodotus, at the time of Cyrus the Great the nomadic Sagartians formed one of the ten principal Persian tribes.¹⁷ The same author reports¹⁸ that Darius' fourteenth tributary province ("satrapy") was made up of Sagartians¹⁹ and peoples living to the east and southeast of Parsa, such as the Sarangians (Drangianians), Utians, and exiles on the islands of the Persian Gulf. In his description of Xerxes' army, Herodotus, finally, mentions a contingent of 8,000 Sagartian horsemen, whose "place in the army was with the Persians." He again calls the Sagartians nomads, and we are told that they are Persian in speech, that their dress resembles that of the Persians and Pactyans and that their weapons consist of daggers and lassoes of twisted leather.²⁰

There is no satisfactory explanation for the apparent contradiction between the Persian and Greek records. Herzfeld's attempt to solve the problem is not quite convincing. He believed that two distinct Sagartian tribes are involved, one from Media, referred to in the DB inscription and listed in DPe, and the second, with Persian affiliations, mentioned by Herodotus. He surmised that by accident the Persian records inform us only about the Median tribe and the Greek records only about the Persian tribe. Again, he considered it possible that there existed only one tribe, namely the western (Median) Sagartians, which was transplanted to the east late in the reign of Darius or under Xerxes.²¹

In any event, we are retaining our tentative identification of delegation No. 16 as Sagartians until there is new evidence which might alter our opinion.²²

16. As emphasized by Herzfeld (*IF*, pp. 27 f.), who proposed identifying the Sagartians with the Zikirti of the Zagros mentioned in inscriptions of Sargon.

17. Herodotus i. 125.

18. Herodotus iii. 93.

19. Sagartia, to be sure, may here be meant to adjoin Media. See our map of the Achaemenid empire (Fig. 53) and map at end of Vol. II of Herodotus.

20. Herodotus vii. 85-86. The Pactyans, perhaps related to our Indian group (V), wore cloaks and were armed with bow and dagger (Herodotus vii. 67).

21. See *IF*, pp. 27 f. For variant interpretations see Junge, "Satrapie und Natio," *Klio* XXXIV 23, n. 3.

22. In locating Asagarta (Sagartia) on our map (Fig. 53) in the vicinity of the oasis of Yazd we followed Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 34, although the alternative position in the area of Arbela might now appear more plausible. Herzfeld (*IF*, p. 28) located the "eastern" Sagartians in southern Parsa.

13. For amplifying notes, see R. D. Barnett in *Iraq* XIX (1957) 67.

14. See Vol. I 88 and Pl. 42.

15. DB ii 78-92; see *OPG*, pp. 122 and 124.

GROUP IIB: EAST MEDIAN

DELEGATION NO. 13: THE BACTRIANS

The delegates' attire—coat, long trousers, and shoes—enables us to assign them to group IIB, which is represented on the royal tombs by the Parthian and Bactrian throne-bearers, Nos. 4 and 6 respectively (see Fig. 41). The throne-bearers are distinguished mainly because their headgear is not the domed Median hat (except possibly No. 4 on Tomb V) that is worn by the throne-bearing representatives of group IIA (see Fig. 40).

Delegation No. 13 had been identified tentatively as Parthian.²³ The correct identification was made by Walther Hinz,²⁴ who applied a comment of this writer to the problem, and a seemingly trivial detail of a relief figure on Xerxes' tomb (II) provided the clue.²⁵ There, the hair bunched at the back of the head of the Bactrian throne-bearer (No. 6) is shown as a large plain knob (see Fig. 41). This knob could be considered unfinished, like the hair and beard of the Bactrian and the Parthian (No. 4) on Tomb III, were it not for a line clearly marked at the top of the hair bunch and revealing the string of the bag in which the hair is gathered.²⁶ A corresponding device appears on all members of delegation No. 13 (see Pl. 102 F) and, so far as ascertainable, on none of the remaining twenty-two delegations.

There is an interesting corroborative detail. An elaborate ear ornament composed of a ring piercing the earlobe, an intermediate bead, and an ovoid pendant adorns all members of delegation No. 13 and seems to be exactly duplicated by the ear ornament of the Bactrian throne-bearer on Xerxes' tomb.²⁷ The ornament alone would not provide a decisive clue, for the members of delegation No. 15 are similarly adorned (see Pl. 102 G).

DELEGATION NO. 15: THE PARTHIANS?

For reasons explained above we now identify delegation No. 13 (formerly tentatively considered Parthian) as Bactrian. Our new identification of delegation No. 15 as Parthian is not beyond doubt.

The Parthian throne-bearer (No. 4) seems to wear a twisted turban on Tombs I, III, and VI and possibly a domed hat on Tomb V (see Fig. 41). The hair is bunched at the back and marked by curls. The long beard with stringy tip is curled on the cheek. A plain earring is indicated on Tomb III, where all details of hair and beard are omitted. On Tomb II the aural region is damaged.

In the tribute procession of the Apadana the headgear of delegation No. 15²⁸ is a plain fillet (see Pl. 102 G). The hair is drooping and wavy, except for one row of curls across the forehead. The pointed beard is stringy, but a

row of small curls is shown below the mouth. An elaborate ear ornament, closely resembling that of the Bactrian delegation (No. 13), is composed of a ring, an approximately trapezoid link, and an ovoid pendant.

Delegates and throne-bearer wear the same type of Median coat, but the throne-bearer wears a dagger of Median type whereas the delegates are, as usual, unarmed.

On Tombs I, III, and VI the Parthian throne-bearer is clad in long trousers of Median type. On Tombs II and V his trousers are tucked into low boots. In all cases the toes of his footgear are straight. The corresponding parts of the attire of delegation No. 15 are quite different and, more than any other items, cause uncertainty as to the identification of these tribute-bearers as Parthians. Their trousers are short and baggy, notched at the sides, and marked by a wavy pattern suggesting wool. All delegates wear boots with upturned toes, and in at least two instances straps are shown at the top of the shaft below the knee. Such trousers and boots correspond to those of the Drangianian (No. 9), the Arachosian (No. 10), and, to a lesser extent, the Arian (No. 5) throne-bearers on the tombs (see Fig. 42) and the Arachosian(?) delegation (No. 7) on the Apadana. Thus, we might suggest that delegation No. 15 should be assigned to group III (East Iranian) rather than group IIB were it not for two figures in the Persepolis throne reliefs which represent the same nation as delegation No. 15. Throne-bearer No. 15 in the Council Hall²⁹ is pictured with ankle-length trousers whose ends show the same pattern as that on the short trousers of the Apadana delegates. The trousers of throne-bearer No. W8 in the Throne Hall³⁰ also reach to the ankles, but their ends are plain. Both figures have low shoes with straight toes. In other words, the inconsistent rendering—with long trousers or with trousers tucked into boots—of the attire of the Parthian throne-bearer (No. 4)³¹ on the tombs is reflected by the inconsistent treatment of delegation No. 15, which we tentatively identify as Parthians, and the corresponding figures of the Persepolis throne scenes.

The two-humped, that is, Bactrian, camel included in the tribute of delegation No. 15, as also in the tribute of delegations Nos. 4 (Arians?), 7 (Arachosians?), and 13 (Bactrians), could be taken as another reason for doubt in regard to the identification of delegation No. 15 as Parthians. We usually consider the Parthians as breeders of horses rather than of camels.³² However, there is some evidence which casts doubt on the importance of camel or horse as a criterion for the identification of a specific nation of our groups IIB and III in the tribute procession. Herodotus,³³ after listing the nations of the empire represented

23. See Vol. I 88 and Pl. 39.

24. Information by letter. See, now, Hinz in *ZDMG CX* (1961) 135 and Hinz, *Zarathustra* (Stuttgart, 1961) pp. 29 and 248, n. 33.

25. See Vol. I 88, n. 136.

26. Definitely shown only on Tomb II. The hair bunch is destroyed but for a remnant on Tomb I, left blank on Tomb III, and absent (curls marked) on Tomb VI; the corresponding figure on Tombs IV and V is destroyed.

27. So far as ascertainable, the ornament is not indicated on the other tombs (I, III, VI) where the relief of the Bactrian is preserved. For similar ear ornaments see Vol. I, Pl. 127 (sphinx) and Fig. 55 (man-bull).

28. See Vol. I 88 and Pl. 41.

29. See *ibid.* p. 119 and Pls. 80–81.

30. *Ibid.* p. 135 and Pls. 108–9.

31. Barnett erroneously stated that on the royal tombs the Parthian throne-bearer wears Persian court dress (see *Iraq XIX* 68). He was misled by Herzfeld, whose drawing of the Susian (in Persian dress) is designated "Parthava" (*IF*, p. 35), one of the mistakes which Herzfeld subsequently corrected (see *IF*, pp. 251 ff.).

32. This point was emphasized in a letter by Walther Hinz, who suggested, contrary to our opinion, identifying delegation No. 17 (now our Sakā haumavargā) or possibly No. 16 (our assumed Sagartians) as Parthians. See, now, Hinz, *Zarathustra*, p. 248, n. 33.

33. See Herodotus vii. 61–86.

in Xerxes' army, states that "there are horsemen in these nations, yet not all of them furnished cavalry, but only such as I will show," namely the Persians, the Sagartians, the Medians, the Cissians (=Susians), the Indians (some on horseback and some driving chariots drawn by horses and wild asses³⁴), the Bactrians, the Caspians, the Libyans (all driving chariots³⁵), the Paricanians, the Arabians (all riding on camels³⁶).

Admittedly, Herodotus' list deals with military contingents whose equipment is not necessarily reflected by the character of the tribute offered in the Apadana procession. Nevertheless, it is puzzling that the horse-breeding Parthians are not included as contributors to Xerxes' cavalry while they are specifically mentioned among the

troops of his land army. On the other hand, the camel-raising Bactrians are listed with the nations that furnished horsemen, whereas the tribute of their delegation (No. 13) in the Apadana procession appropriately includes a Bactrian camel.

Obviously, Herodotus' list of cavalry contingents is incomplete, in spite of his assertion that "these nations alone are riders,"³⁷ for it is inconceivable that the Scythians, for instance, did not provide cavalry.³⁸ Still, it remains questionable whether the Parthians excelled as mounted warriors as early as the Achaemenid period or whether the renown of their horsemen originated later, during the Parthian period.

GROUP III: EAST IRANIAN

DELEGATION NO. 4: THE ARIANS?

We retain our previous identification of this delegation,³⁹ but it is still questionable primarily because of the contrast between the elaborate bashlyk of the delegates (see Pl. 103 *A*) and the twisted or plain headband of the Arian throne-bearer (No. 5) on the tombs (see Fig. 42). It is conceivable, however, that the bashlyk—as also the long overcoat of the delegation leader—was an item of festive attire comparable, for example, with the tall hat of the Lydian delegation (see p. 153), which contrasts with the bare head of the Lydian throne-bearer (No. 22) on the tombs.⁴⁰

On the tombs, footgear and trousers are the most obviously distinctive items of the attire of the throne-bearers representing the eastern nations or provinces which we classify as groups IIB and III, though most details of these throne-bearers are destroyed on Tomb I (see Figs. 41–42). So far as ascertainable, the Arian throne-bearer (No. 5) wears boots on all tombs, but only on Tomb V does the footgear closely resemble the tightly fitting boots of delegation No. 4. The Arian's trousers on the chronologically more relevant tomb (II) of Xerxes are notched, baggy at the knees, and therefore closer in style to the trousers of the Drangianian (No. 9) and the Arachosian (No. 10) on the same tomb than to the trousers worn by delegation No. 4. The toes of the delegates and the Arian throne-bearer, except on Tomb III, are straight.

DELEGATION NO. 7: THE ARACHOSIANS?

Again we adhere to our original identification,⁴¹ which we question solely because on the tombs the Drangianian and Arachosian throne-bearers (Nos. 9 and 10) are almost

identical in so far as the preservation of the figures permits comparison (see Fig. 42). Thus, delegation No. 7 may represent either nation or possibly both nations.⁴²

Trousers and boots provide the most convincing evidence that the two throne-bearers wear practically identical attire. On Xerxes' tomb (II), the trousers are notched and pronouncedly baggy at the knees. Elaborately knotted double straps encircle the tops of the high boots. On Tomb V the trousers, though not baggy, are notched, in contrast to the straight trouser ends of the Arian throne-bearer (No. 5), but the straps, or the boot tops, are each marked by a single plain line. On Tomb VI, finally, the ends of the baggy trousers and the straps or boot tops of all three throne-bearers (Nos. 5, 9, and 10) are marked by two parallel lines. It is interesting to note that the toes of the boots of throne-bearers Nos. 9 and 10 are upturned on Tombs III–VI, probably straight on Tomb II, and definitely straight on Tomb I. In contrast, the toes of throne-bearer No. 5 are upturned on Tomb III, but otherwise they are straight, as are those of the Arian(?) delegation (No. 4).

Though stylized, the trousers and boots of delegation No. 7 are closely related to those of the Arachosian and Drangianian throne-bearers. The delegates' trousers are notched, and a strap is marked at the knee near the top of the high boots with upturned toes.

The elaborate bashlyk of delegation No. 7 (see Pl. 103 *B*), again differing radically from the headbands of the throne-bearers on the tombs, may be explained in the same manner as that of the Arian(?) delegation (see above).

40. We do not agree with Hinz, who believes that the bashlyk identifies delegation No. 4 as Chorasmians (see Hinz, *Zarathustra*, p. 248, n. 33). The Chorasmian throne-bearer (No. 8) on the tombs (see our Fig. 43) is shown in Scythian dress, and the headgear of all delegations (Nos. 11, 17, and 19) of our Scythian group (IV) shows the typical cheek flap tapering under the chin (see our Pl. 103 *C–E*).

41. See Vol. I 85 f. and Pl. 33.

42. Herodotus (vii. 67) specifically mentions the knee-high boots of the Sarangian (Drangianian) contingent in Xerxes' army. At least at the time of Darius III, Arachosia and Drangiana formed one satrapy (see Arrian *Anabasis* iii. 21. 1).

34. Cf. Vol. I 89, n. 150.

35. Cf. delegation No. 22 (*ibid.* pp. 89 f. and Pl. 48).

36. Cf. delegation No. 20 (*ibid.* p. 89 and Pl. 46).

37. Herodotus vii. 87.

38. In the Apadana procession, the tribute of all Scythian delegations (Nos. 11, 17, and 19) includes a horse.

39. See Vol. I 85 and Pl. 30. Cf. Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 43.

GROUP IV: SCYTHIAN

DELEGATION NO. 11: THE SCYTHIANS BEYOND THE SEA

We have already given our reasons for changing our identification of delegation No. 11⁴³ from Pointed-hat Scythians to Scythians beyond the sea (see pp. 111–16). We believe we have proved that the torque-embellished throne-bearer (No. 24) of the Scythians beyond the sea on the tombs represents the same nation as the armed delegation No. 11 (for portrait of one delegate see Pl. 103 C) in the tribute procession of the Apadana. There is no need to repeat here any points of our argument. We may add, however, that the close similarity of the tall pointed hats worn on the tombs by the throne-bearing representatives (see Fig. 44) of the Pointed-hat Scythians (No. 15) and the Scythians beyond the sea (No. 24) undoubtedly resulted, in antiquity as in modern publications, in the confusion of these two divisions of the Scythian group of nations.

DELEGATION NO. 17: THE HAUMA-DRINKING SCYTHIANS

Formerly we tentatively identified this delegation as Sogdians.⁴⁴ Our reasons for changing our opinion are essentially the same as those that persuaded us to change the identification of delegation No. 11 (see above). In short, on the tombs throne-bearer No. 14, representing the Hauma-drinking Scythians, is distinguished by the torque of honor whereas throne-bearer No. 7, representing the Sogdians, is not distinguished in this manner (see Fig. 43).

We have pointed out that the torque, which marks the exalted status of the Scythian throne-bearers Nos. 24 and 14, must have the same significance as the martial equipment which conspicuously distinguishes the Scythian delegations Nos. 11 and 17 from the other delegations in the Apadana procession (see pp. 112 f.). Consequently, we now identify delegation No. 11 as Scythians beyond the sea instead of Pointed-hat Scythians and delegation No. 17 (for portrait see Pl. 103 D) as Hauma-drinking Scythians instead of Sogdians.

DELEGATION NO. 19: THE SKUDRIANS

We retain the identification of this delegation as Skudrians⁴⁵ in spite of certain differences between the attire of its members and that of the Skudrian throne-bearer (No. 25) on the tombs. The identification is supported mainly by the form of the headgear and by the pairs of spears offered as tribute.

The headgear of the delegation is a Scythian hat with the characteristic cheek flap tapering under the chin. The decisive detail of the hat is its bluntly pointed tip (see Pl. 103 E⁴⁶). The headgear of the Skudrian throne-bearer (No. 25) on Tomb V (see Fig. 44 and close-up on Pl. 67) is almost identical, and the medium-sized hair bunch marked with fine wavy lines agrees with the hairdress of the delegates. The outline of the throne-bearer's head on Tomb VI suggests a similar hat and hairdress. The tip of the badly damaged headgear on the tomb (I) of Darius I is identical in form and position with the tip of the dele-

gates' hat. Headgear and hairdress of the throne-bearer on the other tombs show peculiar variations. The shape of the hat on Xerxes' tomb (II) is doubtful, but a distinct line on the cheek marks a chin strap and strongly suggests a hat resembling that of the adjacent Petasos-wearing Ionian (No. 26; see Fig. 48). On Tomb IV, the Skudrian's hat, except for lack of the chin strap, is almost identical with the petasos of throne-bearer No. 26. The headgear of the Skudrian on Tomb III is destroyed, but a large bunch of curls at the back of his head indicates that he did not wear the Scythian hat and suggests that he was either bareheaded or, more probably, wore a hat similar to the petasos shown on Tomb IV.

On Tombs II, III, and IV, the confusion of the headgear of throne-bearers Nos. 25 and 26 may be the sculptors' error or may simply indicate indifference or ignorance as to the difference between the Skudrians' Scythian hat and the somewhat similar "shield-shaped" headgear of the neighboring Petasos-wearing Ionians, the Yaunā takabarā (see Fig. 53).

Upon comparing the headgear of the throne-bearers representing on the tombs the six divisions of our Scythian group (IV) with that of delegation No. 19 we find that the hats of the Hauma-drinking Scythian (No. 14), the Pointed-hat Scythian (No. 15), and the Scythian beyond the sea (No. 24) are clearly distinguished from the hats of the delegates. The hat of the Sogdian throne-bearer (No. 7) on Tomb VI (see Fig. 43) may resemble the hats of the delegates, but his headgear on the other tombs is doubtful. The hat of the Chorasmian throne-bearer (No. 8) on Tombs II and III (see Fig. 43) may have a tip similar to that of the delegation, but on the other tombs the tip of his hat is either unclear or destroyed. Thus, since the shape of the hats of the Sogdian and Chorasmian throne-bearers is doubtful, the headgear alone does not furnish conclusive evidence for the identification of delegation No. 19 as Skudrians. However, the Skudrian throne-bearer (No. 25) on three tombs supports this identification, namely on Tomb V, where a Scythian hat with central knobby tip is most strikingly depicted, and on Tombs I and VI, where such a hat is rather clearly suggested by remnants of the reliefs.

We are puzzled by the dress of delegation No. 19. It consists of a cape with tasseled (weighted) corners worn over a long beltless coat, in contrast to the cutaway coat of the Skudrian throne-bearer and all the other representatives of our Scythian group (IV) on the tombs.

The trousers of delegation No. 19 are tucked into half-boots which differ from the footgear of all the Scythian throne-bearers. Admittedly, in many instances it is uncertain whether the throne-bearers wear low shoes or, less plausibly, half-boots whose shafts are covered by the trousers. However, no throne-bearer of the Scythian group is clearly depicted with half-boots like those of the delegates. The toes of the delegates' boots are straight, as are

43. See Vol. I 88 and Pl. 37.

44. See *ibid.* pp. 88 f. (but cf. n. 145) and Pl. 43.

45. See *ibid.* p. 89 and Pl. 45.

46. This large-scale illustration from the eastern staircase shows the peculiar pattern of the beard, which is different from that on the northern staircase (see fragment illustrated in *IF*, Fig. 17, which undoubtedly comes from the northern stairway) but very similar to that of the Libyans (delegation No. 22; cf. our Pl. 104 F).

the toes of the Skudrian throne-bearer's shoes on Tombs I and II (see Fig. 44) whereas on the other tombs his footgear has definitely upturned toes. Because seemingly insignificant details sometimes provide important clues, we compare the footgear of the six Scythian throne-bearers on the tombs with that of the three Scythian delegations on the Apadana.

NATION	THRONE-BEARER		DELEGATION	
	No.	Position of Toes	No.	Position of Toes
Sogdians	7	straight
Chorasmians	8	straight (possibly upturned on Tomb VI)
Hauma-drinking Scythians	14	straight	17	straight
Pointed-hat Scythians	15	straight
Scythians beyond the sea	24	straight on Tombs I, II, IV; others upturned	11	straight
Skudrians	25	straight on Tombs I and II; others upturned	19	straight

The table clearly indicates that the toes of the footgear cannot serve as a definite clue for the identification of the delegations of the Scythian group. The footgear of all delegations is straight-toed, but so also is that of throne-bearers Nos. 7, 8 (except possibly on Tomb VI), 14, and 15. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that throne-bearers Nos. 24 and 25 are shown with straight-toed footgear on the tombs (I-II) of Darius I and Xerxes, which are close in time to the Apadana reliefs. Throne-bearer No. 24 is straight-toed on Tomb IV also.

The tribute of delegation No. 19 consists of a stallion, two shields, and, most significantly, two pairs of spears offered by the bearers of the shields. To demonstrate the importance of the spears in the identification of this delegation we turn to the throne-bearers on the tombs. We find that all six throne-bearers of our Scythian group (IV) are armed with daggers of Median type but only the Skudrian (No. 25) is distinguished by additional weapons, namely a pair of spears suspended from his left shoulder. The Skudrian's spears are shown on all tombs (see Fig. 44). His dagger is definitely shown on Tombs II, IV, and VI; because of abrasion we are uncertain whether it was pres-

ent on Tombs I and III, but it is clearly omitted on Tomb V. Most of the other throne-bearers on the tombs are armed with either a dagger or a sword. The Ethiopian (No. 28) has a staff on Tombs I and II and a sword on Tombs III-VI. The Libyan (No. 27) is armed with a pair of spears, except on Tomb VI, where he is shown with a sword. Only the Babylonian (No. 16) is unarmed (see pp. 116-18). Thus, there are two principal exceptions in the armament of the throne-bearers: the Babylonian is shown without a weapon, and the Skudrian (No. 25) is armed with two kinds of weapons.

We have shown that out of thirty throne-bearers only two are represented with spears as personal weapons: the Skudrian (No. 25) of our Scythian group (IV) and the Libyan (No. 27) of our Western Lowlands group (VIII). In the Apadana procession spears are not included in the armament of the only two delegations privileged to bear their own weapons, namely the Scythians beyond the sea (No. 11) and the Hauma-drinking Scythians (No. 17),⁴⁷ but spears are offered as tribute by the delegates of four nations. Delegation No. 19 offers two pairs of spears on both the eastern and the northern staircase.⁴⁸ The Libyans (No. 22) present one spear on the eastern staircase and, probably, on the northern (cf. throne-bearer No. 27 in Fig. 51).⁴⁹ The Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14) offers on both staircases two pairs of spears and an additional single spear.⁵⁰ However, the Gandarian throne-bearer (see Fig. 45, No. 12) is armed with a sword. Delegation No. 21 shows on the northern staircase the same arrangement of tribute weapons as the Gandarian(?) delegation, but on the eastern staircase only one spear is offered (see pp. 155 f.).

Summarizing the evidence in regard to the identity of the Scythian delegation No. 19 we repeat that dress and footgear do not provide any useful clues. However, the headgear closely resembles that of the Skudrian throne-bearer (No. 25) on three of the tombs. Combined with the headgear the pairs of spears offered as tribute are, in our opinion, the decisive clues for the identification of delegation No. 19 as Skudrians since only the Skudrian throne-bearer on the tombs is equipped with a pair of spears in addition to the dagger, which is the only weapon worn by the other throne-bearers of the Scythian group of nations.

GROUP V: INDIAN

DELEGATION NO. 14: THE GANDARIANS?

In theory, the sandaled and barelegged delegation No. 14⁵¹ could be assigned to either the Indian group (V) or the Western Lowlands group (VIII). However, all delegations of group VIII have been identified beyond doubt: the Babylonians (No. 5), the Egyptians (No. 10), the Arabians (No. 20), and the Libyans (No. 22). The Indian group is represented on the tombs by four throne-bearers, the Sattagyidian (No. 11), the Gandarian (No. 12), the Indian (No. 13), and the Macian (No. 29), whereas the tribute procession of the Apadana probably includes only two

delegations of this group. Delegation No. 18 unquestionably represents the Indians (Hinduš). The people who are most probably omitted in the procession are the Macians, whose representative on the tombs is shown beside the throne (see Fig. 46) balancing the Carian (No. 30) on the opposite side (see Fig. 48). There remain the Gandarians and the Sattagydians.

Herodotus informs us that Darius' seventh tributary province, assessed to pay tribute of 170 talents, was composed of Sattagydians, Gandarians, Dadicae, and Aparytae.⁵² He also states that in Xerxes' army the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and Dadicae had the same equipment as the Bactrians, whose weapons were

47. See Vol. I, Pls. 37 and 43 (there identified as Sakā tigraxaudā and Sogdians[?] respectively).

48. See *ibid.* Pl. 45 and p. 89.

49. See *ibid.* Pl. 48 and p. 90.

50. See *ibid.* Pl. 40.

51. See *ibid.* p. 88 and Pl. 40.

52. Herodotus iii. 91.

bows of reed and short spears.⁵³ However, the four throne-bearing representatives of our Indian group—wearing short skirts and sandals and armed with swords—contrast in dress and weapons with the representatives of the other peoples mentioned by Herodotus, in so far as they are pictured in the reliefs.

In deciding whether to identify delegation No. 14 (for portrait of one delegate see Pl. 103 *F*) as Gandarians or as Sattagydians we were persuaded by the more prominent military importance of Gandara⁵⁴ to retain our previous identification. The tribute, in addition to a zebu,⁵⁵ consists entirely of weapons: five spears and a shield. While delegation No. 21, which is possibly a third member of the Indian group (but see pp. 157 f.), offers on the northern staircase an identical set of tribute weapons, its position near the end of the procession suggests that the status of the people it represents was inferior to that of the people of delegation No. 14.

DELEGATION NO. 18: THE INDIANS

With the exception of the leader, who wears a long scarf over an ankle-length skirt, the members of delegation No. 18⁵⁶ closely correspond to the throne-bearers (Nos. 11–13 and 29) of group V on the tombs, who are depicted with short skirt and bare chest and legs (see Figs. 45–46). We are not able to determine whether any of these throne-bearers wears a headband such as appears on each member of delegations Nos. 14 and 18 (cf. also No. 21; pp. 155–58). The facial type of the throne-bearers does not seem to show any differentiation.

While the attire of delegation No. 18 furnishes no clue as to the people of our group V here represented, items of tribute strongly suggest that they are the Indians (Hinduś) of the Indus Valley. The jar-shaped objects, or perhaps bags tied with strings, most probably depict receptacles for gold dust and may reflect Herodotus' remark that the Indians had to pay a greater tribute than any other province, namely 360 talents of gold dust.⁵⁷ None of the other delegations offer similar receptacles. The donkey too appears as tribute solely with delegation No. 18. Although we have been informed that the animal here pictured is not an onager, it may have bearing on Herodotus' statement that the Indians in Xerxes' army drove chariots drawn by horses and wild asses.⁵⁸

In contrast to the rather stereotyped profiles of most delegates depicted on the Apadana, the facial outline of the members of delegation No. 18, at least in the well preserved relief on the eastern staircase, shows a distinct racial type characterized mainly by the shape of the nose. Plate 103 well illustrates the difference between the aquiline noses of the members of the Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14) and the slightly depressed noses and apparently fleshy nostrils of the members of delegation No. 18. Curiously, the profile of the Ethiopians (delegation No. 23) shows a close parallel (cf. Pl. 104 *G*), and we wonder to what extent this similarity has bearing on certain statements of Herodotus. He mentions two contingents of Ethiopians in Xerxes' army: "the Ethiopians above Egypt" (Kūšiyā on Fig. 53), attached to the Arabian contingent, and "the Ethiopians of the east" (assumedly from the area of Baluchistan, i.e., including our Macians; see Maka on Fig. 53), attached to and largely armed like the Indian contingent. Herodotus emphasizes that the two kinds of Ethiopians differ only in speech and hair and remarks that "the Ethiopians from the east are straight-haired, but they of Libya have of all men the woolliest hair."⁵⁹

Our Indian and Ethiopian delegations (Nos. 18 and 23) quite strikingly reflect Herodotus' description of the eastern and western Ethiopians. The bearded Indian has slightly wavy or straight hair, with a single curl at the tip of the mustache (see Pl. 103 *G*),⁶⁰ in contrast to the beardless Ethiopian, whose hair shows an all-over pattern of evidently natural curls (see Pl. 104 *G*), but their profiles are almost alike.

Herodotus reports that the Ethiopians of Asia (i.e., the Ethiopians of the east) and the Paricanians formed the seventeenth tributary province of Darius whereas the twentieth province was composed entirely of Indians.⁶¹ Thus, the eastern Ethiopians, assumedly including the Macians, are clearly separated from the Indians. We do not believe that delegation No. 18 pictures Macians or any people of the seventeenth province. We are convinced that it represents India, the most populous province of the empire, which had to pay a greater tribute to the king's treasury than any other nation. Nevertheless, the racial type of delegation No. 18 corresponds to the type of Herodotus' Ethiopians of the east.

GROUP VI: HELLENIC

DELEGATION NO. 6: THE LYDIANS

Prior to our comparative study of the tomb reliefs we accepted the previously proposed identification⁶² of delegation No. 6 as Syrians.⁶³ We pointed out, however, that the lateral braid of hair marking the members of this

delegation (see Pl. 104 *A*) distinguishes also the Lydian throne-bearer (No. 22) on Xerxes' tomb (II).⁶⁴ This information was utilized by Barnett when he, correctly, identified delegation No. 6 as Lydians.⁶⁵

53. Herodotus vii. 66 and 64.

54. Cf. e.g. Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 27, n. 3, and 45. It is a mute question whether delegation No. 14 possibly combines Gandarians and Sattagydians (see *ibid.* pp. 25, 27, and 45).

55. Although the animal is an Indian humped bull, it does not necessarily mark the delegation as a member of the Indian group, since an identical zebu is shown in the Babylonian delegation (see Vol. I 85, esp. n. 122).

56. See *ibid.* p. 89 and Pl. 44.

57. Herodotus iii. 94; see also Herodotus iii. 98 and 102–6.

58. See Vol. I 89, n. 150, and Herodotus vii. 86.

59. See Herodotus vii. 70.

60. An unusual lock of hair covering the temple may possibly have bearing on the ornamental lock in the aural region of the Indian throne-bearer (No. 13) on Tomb V (see Fig. 45 and close-up on Pl. 67).

61. Herodotus iii. 94.

62. See Herzfeld in *IF*, p. 47, and *IAE*, Pl. LXXVIII top; Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 36 f.

63. See Vol. I 85 and Pl. 32.

64. *Ibid.* p. 85, n. 124. A trace of the braid was subsequently discovered on Tomb VI (see our Fig. 47).

65. See *Iraq* XIX 68 f., with instructive references to similar hairdress on sculptures of western Asia Minor.

In four rosters of nations or provinces (inscriptions DB, DPe, DSe, and DNa) Lydia (Sardis) and Ionia are listed consecutively. On the tombs the attire of the throne-bearers representing Lydia (No. 22)—having precedence as in the four inscriptions—and Ionia (No. 23) is very similar (see Fig. 47). The most distinctive detail, unique within the scenes of throne-bearers, is the braid of hair behind the Lydian's ear on Tomb II. The same figure is pictured also with spirally wound puttees, which do not appear in any other relief. At first glance, one does not see much resemblance between the Lydian and Ionian throne-bearers on the tombs and the tribute delegations of the Lydians (No. 6) and Ionians (No. 12) on the Apadana. The two delegations show even more striking similarity to each other than to the corresponding throne-bearers. Actually, except for the imposing headgear of most members of delegation No. 6, the dress of the Lydians and Ionians is identical, but the braid of hair sets the Lydians apart (cf. Pl. 104 *A* and *B*). The beards too are dressed differently. That of the Ionians shows gentle waves, whereas that of the Lydians is curly.

The dissimilarity of certain figures which represent the same nations on the tombs and in the Apadana procession is due, in part, to the fact that most of the tomb reliefs were carved with less care and skill—not to mention the destruction wrought by the elements—and, mainly, to the

distinct purposes of the two sets of sculptures. On the tombs all the throne-bearers, except the deliberately humbled Babylonian (see pp. 116–18), wear weapons, which suggest that their dress is quasi-martial, whereas the tribute-bearers on the Apadana parade in their richest apparel. This would explain why the impressive hat of the Lydian tribute-bearers is omitted on the tombs and why the short chlamys and chiton of the throne-bearers are replaced in the Apadana procession by long flowing garments.⁶⁶

DELEGATION NO. 12: THE IONIANS

In our discussion of delegation No. 6 we pointed out that in four of the royal inscriptions which list the nations of the empire the Ionians are immediately preceded by the Lydians. We mentioned the close similarity of the throne-bearing representatives (Nos. 22 and 23) of the two nations on the tombs and the even closer similarity of the dress of the corresponding tribute delegations (Nos. 6 and 12). We emphasized that throne-bearers and delegates are essentially dressed alike but that the plain quasi-military attire of the throne-bearers contrasts with the long festive garments worn in the tribute procession. The telltale braid of hair defines delegation No. 6 as Lydians. Thus, there is no longer any reason to question the identification of delegation No. 12 as Ionians.⁶⁷

GROUP VII: NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIAN⁶⁸

DELEGATION NO. 8: THE ASSYRIANS

Our study of the throne-bearers on the tombs disproves our assertion that delegation No. 8 is not represented in the tomb reliefs and shows that all previous identifications of this delegation are erroneous.⁶⁹

In describing throne-bearer No. 8 of the Persepolis Council Hall reliefs, we noted that, so far as preserved, all representatives of the Cilicians(?) are distinguished by elaborately laced boots: delegation No. 8 of the Apadana; the delegates in the left middle panel on the western staircase of the Palace of Darius I, which was finished presumably by Artaxerxes III; and throne-bearer No. E4 on the southern doorways of the Throne Hall, which was founded by Xerxes and completed by Artaxerxes I.⁷⁰ In this connection we should have mentioned that the boots of the Cilician(?) tribute-bearers on a relief fragment found near Palace H seem to have traces of similar elaboration (see Pl. 105 *C*). Most significantly, we pointed out that in the tomb reliefs throne-bearer No. 17, the representative of Assyria (neighboring the country of the Cilicians; see Fig. 53), is also distinguished by elaborately laced boots, shown distinctly on Xerxes' tomb (II) only (see Fig. 49). Once again, a seemingly insignificant detail on Xerxes' tomb provided the main clue (cf. pp. 148 and 152), this time for the correct identification of delegation No. 8 and the other Assyrians in the Persepolis reliefs mentioned above.

66. Compare also the elegant attire of the Assyrian delegation (No. 8) with the plain dress of the throne-bearing representative (No. 17) of the same province.

67. See Vol. I 88 and Pl. 38.

68. For the sake of a more suitable geographical arrangement we have interchanged groups VII (Western Lowlands) and VIII (Northern Mesopotamian) as listed *ibid.* p. 117.

The ribbed fillet (see Pl. 104 *C*) in the Persepolis reliefs appears to be a band wound several times around the head. In the tomb reliefs the fillet of the Assyrian throne-bearer (No. 17) is shown as a twisted turban on the tomb (I) of Darius I (see Pl. 30 *B*) and as a plain band on Tomb V (see Pl. 67). The belt is a plain strap in the tomb reliefs, whereas at Persepolis it has the same pattern as the fillet. Furthermore, the relatively short coat in the tomb reliefs contrasts with the long coat in the Persepolis reliefs. However, the apparel of the Assyrian throne-bearer on the tombs is essentially the same as that of the Persepolis figures formerly identified as Cilicians: headband, folded or twisted; coat, short or long; belt, plain or patterned; and half-boots, with ornamental laces that clinch the identification of the Persepolis figures as Assyrians.

The position of delegation No. 8 in the tribute procession provides another clue for its identification. Herzfeld found that when the delegations are numbered according to vertical columns their sequence corresponds for the most part to that of the throne-bearers in the Council Hall⁷¹ and in the Throne Hall (see p. 145).⁷² We adopted

69. See e.g. *ibid.* p. 87, with n. 128, and Pl. 34; Herzfeld in *IF*, p. 47; Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 40–42. In his review article "Persepolis" in *Iraq* XIX 55–77, Barnett went far astray in identifying our delegation No. 8 as Sogdians (pp. 69 f.). Apparently he overlooked our references (see our Vol. I e.g. p. 117, n. 25) to Herzfeld's corrections (*IF*, pp. 251–57) and repeated Herzfeld's mistakes by using a drawing of the Bactrian throne-bearer to illustrate the Sogdian (Barnett's Fig. 3) and, less confusingly, a picture of the Sogdian to illustrate the Chorasmian (Fig. 5). Editorial mistakes impair Barnett's conclusive lists (p. 73), for in the columns "vertically read" and "horizontally read" delegations Nos. 6 (Lydians) and 8 ("Sogdians") are interchanged. All points adduced by Barnett in support of his identification of delegation No. 8 should be disregarded.

70. See Vol. I 118.

71. *Ibid.* pp. 118–20 and Pls. 80–81.

72. *Ibid.* pp. 134–36 and Pls. 108–13.

Herzfeld's system because, quite logically, it reflects the method applied by the sculptors of the throne-bearers in the Council Hall and the Throne Hall and permits easy comparison of the reliefs concerned. These sculptors, however, distorted the intended order of the Apadana delegations by depicting their throne-bearing representatives in accordance with the vertical divisions of the tribute procession.⁷³ The intended sequence of the delegations followed the horizontal bands and, indeed, reveals some plausible geographical patterns (see Table VIII).

The correct identification of the Assyrian delegation

(No. 8) illustrates an additional link in the originally intended order of the procession. This delegation is preceded on the same horizontal band by the Babylonian delegation (No. 5). Consulting the lists of nations in the royal inscriptions (see pp. 108 and 110) we find that these two countries—Babylonia preceding in each case—are mentioned consecutively in DB (Nos. 3 and 4), DSe (Nos. 17 and 18), DNa (Nos. 16 and 17), and XPh (Nos. 12 and 13). In D Egypt, the order is uncertain (Nos. 13 and 18[?]). In DPe, Babylonia (No. 4) is separated from Assyria (No. 6) by Arabia.

GROUP VIII: WESTERN LOWLANDS

DELEGATION NO. 5: THE BABYLONIANS

There was never any serious doubt that this delegation represents the Babylonians.⁷⁴ The attire of the delegates is essentially the same as that of the Babylonian throne-bearer (No. 16) on the tombs (see Fig. 50), though the former is more elaborate and carved with greater care. The headgear in particular, with long tip drooping behind the head (see Pl. 104 D), confirms the identity of the tribute delegation.

The portrayal of delegation No. 5 and its rather prominent position in the tribute procession indicate no derogatory discrimination against the Babylonians. To the contrary, Babylonia is deliberately humbled on the royal tombs, where its throne-bearing representative alone is pictured without a weapon (see pp. 116–18).

DELEGATION NO. 10: THE EGYPTIANS

The upper parts of the reliefs of this delegation are destroyed on both the northern and the eastern staircase of the Apadana.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the delegates' long gown with fringed lower edge, which corresponds to the attire of the Egyptian throne-bearer (No. 19) on the tombs (see Fig. 50), combined with the fact that the other peoples of the Western Lowlands (Babylonians, Arabians, and Libyans) are identified, leaves no doubt that delegation No. 10 represents the Egyptians.

DELEGATION NO. 20: THE ARABIANS

The long gown worn by the members of this delegation⁷⁶ closely resembles that of delegation No. 10. Obviously, both delegations belong to the Western Lowlands group and according to their attire could possibly represent either Egypt or Arabia, but the identity of delegation No. 20 (for portrait of one delegate see Pl. 104 E) is indicated

by the dromedary, that is, the one-humped Arabian camel, which it offers as tribute.

On pages 111–16 we attempted to interpret the meaning of the torque which on the royal tombs distinguishes the Arabian throne-bearer (No. 18) in at least one instance (see Fig. 50) and the throne-bearers representing two Scythian nations. We pointed out that according to Herodotus the Arabians were exempt from tribute but each year brought gifts of frankincense to the king. The delegations (Nos. 11 and 17) of the Scythian nations represented by torque-embellished throne-bearers, namely the Scythians beyond the sea and the Hauma-drinking Scythians, are honored above all other delegations (except for leader of Median delegation) by being privileged to wear their personal weapons. However, there is no feature—such as a prominent position in the procession, size of the delegation, or articles of equipment—which would suggest that the Arabian delegation represented a privileged nation of the empire, at least at the time when the Apadana reliefs were carved.

DELEGATION NO. 22: THE LIBYANS

A unique type of cape with serrate edges, undoubtedly the skin of an animal (lion?), worn over a long garment provides the clue for the identification of this delegation,⁷⁷ for the Libyan throne-bearer (No. 27) on the tombs is dressed in identical fashion (see Fig. 51). However, the hairdress of the delegates (see Pl. 104 F) is distinct from that of the throne-bearer on all tombs and resembles closely the hairdress of the Arabian delegates (cf. Pl. 104 E). The goatee of the Arabians and that of the Libyans are also similar, but the bare cheek of the former contrasts with the peculiar pattern of bare and bearded patches of the latter.

GROUP IX: NEGRO

DELEGATION NO. 23: THE ETHIOPIANS

The position of this delegation⁷⁸ at the end of the tribute procession corresponds to the position of the Ethiopian throne-bearer (No. 28) on the tombs, the last figure within the space between the throne legs.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the throne-bearer (see Fig. 52) and the delegates (see Pl.

104 G) are pictured as beardless and with an allover pattern of curly hair. The similarity of the dress of the throne-bearer and the delegates and, finally, the habitat of the tribute animal, the okapi or a related member of the giraffe family,⁸⁰ confirm the identification of delegation No. 23 as Ethiopians.

73. As noticed correctly by Barnett (see *Iraq* XIX 72).

74. See Vol. I 85 and Pl. 31.

75. See *ibid.* p. 88 and Pl. 36.

76. See *ibid.* p. 89 and Pl. 46.

77. See *ibid.* pp. 89 f. and Pl. 48.

78. See *ibid.* p. 90 and Pl. 49.

79. Parenthetically, throne-bearer and tribute delegation are both preceded by the representatives of Libya.

80. See Vol. I 90, n. 162.

GROUP UNKNOWN

DELEGATION No. 21

Formerly we tentatively identified this delegation as Drangianians,⁸¹ whereas others⁸² identified it as Margians, not mentioned in any royal inscription listing the nations of the empire, or Lydians, actually represented by delegation No. 6 (see pp. 152 f.). We abandoned our previous identification because of Herodotus' specific reference to the knee-high boots of the Drangianians,⁸³ which are strikingly illustrated by the footgear of the Drangianian throne-bearer (No. 9), especially on Xerxes' tomb (see Fig. 42), by the identical boots of the Arachosian throne-bearer (No. 10), and by the similar but plainer boots of the Arian throne-bearer (No. 5). The corresponding tribute delegations are possibly No. 15, tentatively identified as Parthians (see pp. 148 f.) but conceivably illustrating a combination of Parthian and Drangianian attire,⁸⁴ No. 7 (see p. 149), and No. 4 (see p. 149) respectively.

There are some meager clues suggesting that delegation No. 21 may represent the Sattagydiens: the portrayal of the head, the fillet worn by all delegates, and the tribute consisting of weapons and a bull.

Comparison of the Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14) and delegation No. 21 shows that the details of their heads are essentially alike (see Pls. 103 *F* and 105 *A*): wavy hair on top encircled by a rather narrow fillet, a bunch of curls at the back and a row of curls above temple and forehead, a curly pointed beard of medium length, a mustache of the usual form, and a pattern of straight lines ending in minute globules or curls below the lower lip—an elaboration common to many delegations, particularly those whose beards are curly. The profiles of the members of both delegations are identical and show the aquiline nose common to most delegates in the tribute procession but contrasting with the profiles of the Indians (see Pl. 103 *G*) and the Ethiopians (see Pl. 104 *G*).

The fillet of delegation No. 21 seems to depict a solid ring of metal⁸⁵ and resembles that of five members of the Gandarian(?) delegation⁸⁶ on the eastern staircase. However, the fillet of the second Gandarian(?) from the rear is made of pliable fabric as indicated by the tucked-in end at the back. So far as ascertainable, the fillet of all Gandarians(?) on the northern stairway consists of a pliable band that is knotted at the back, with one end slanting upward and the other downward. The fillet of the Indian (Hinduš) delegation (No. 18)⁸⁷ on the northern staircase is apparently identical with that of the Gandarians(?), but on the eastern staircase it is more elaborately knotted (see Pl. 103 *G*). In addition to delegation No. 21 and the delegations of the Indian group (V), that

is, the Gandarians(?) and the Indians, the following delegations wear fillets of various types: No. 2, the Susians (group I), a broad band with plain or looped knot (see Pl. 102 *A*); No. 8, the Assyrians (group VII), a four-tiered band with one ribbed end suspended (see Pl. 104 *C*); No. 15, the assumed Parthians (group IIB), a narrow band with tucked-in end on the eastern staircase (see Pl. 102 *G*) and knotted on the northern staircase.⁸⁸ The headdress of delegation No. 13, the Bactrians (group IIB), is a combination of hair bag and headband (see Pl. 102 *F*).

The dress of delegation No. 21 consists of a scarf with weighted corners draped over the left shoulder, a belted long-sleeved Median coat, and Median trousers with ankle straps.

The scarf is the only item corresponding to some extent to the dress of the delegations of the Indian group. The leader of the Indian (Hinduš) delegation (No. 18) wears a scarf of the same type but longer, and the members of the Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14) wear a cape, rather than a scarf, with weighted ends across both shoulders. The scarf of the Lydian (No. 6) and Ionian (No. 12) delegations, representing the Hellenic group (VI), is almost identical with that of delegation No. 21 and that of the leader of delegation No. 18, while the cape of the Skudrian delegation (No. 19) closely resembles that of the Gandarians(?).

Coat and trousers like those of delegation No. 21 are typical of the West Median group (IIA), represented by the delegations of the Medes (No. 1),⁸⁹ the Armenians (No. 3),⁹⁰ the Cappadocians (No. 9),⁹¹ and the assumed Sagartians (No. 16).⁹² However, the Median headgear of these delegations contrasts with the fillets of delegation No. 21. The delegations representing the East Median group (IIB) also wear the Median coat, but the trousers of the Bactrians (delegation No. 13) are Scythian rather than Median,⁹³ and the trousers of the assumed Parthians (delegation No. 15)⁹⁴ are tucked into high boots as are those of the East Iranian group (III), represented on the royal tombs by throne-bearers Nos. 5, 9, and 10 (see Fig. 42). In the tribute procession the East Iranians appear to be represented by only the Arian(?) delegation (No. 4)⁹⁵ and the Arachosian(?) delegation (No. 7).⁹⁶ The only part of the dress of these booted, bashlyk-wearing delegates connecting them with delegation No. 21 is the Median coat. On the other hand, the Scythians beyond the sea (delegation No. 11)⁹⁷ instead of wearing the Scythian cutaway coat and baggy trousers (cf. delegation No. 17⁹⁸) are, like delegation No. 21, dressed in Median coat and Median trousers with ankle straps.

The tribute of delegation No. 21 includes, on the eastern staircase, one spear and one shield carried by the same delegate and, in the northern (somewhat older) relief, two

81. See *ibid.* p. 89 and Pl. 47.

82. See *ibid.* p. 89, n. 155.

83. Called Sarangians in Herodotus vii. 67.

84. For Herzfeld's attempt to trace the relations of Parthia and Drangiana (Zranka) see *AMI* I (1929-30) 97.

85. Not preserved on northern staircase (see Vol. I, Pl. 47).

86. See *ibid.* Pl. 40.

87. *Ibid.* Pl. 44.

88. Corresponding to fillets of one Gandarian(?) on eastern staircase and all Gandarians(?) on northern staircase; cf. *ibid.* Pls. 41 and 40 but change "Bactrians(?)" to "Parthians(?)" in legend of Pl. 41.

89. *Ibid.* Pl. 27.

90. *Ibid.* Pl. 35.

91. *Ibid.* Pl. 29.

92. *Ibid.* Pl. 42.

93. See *ibid.* Pl. 39, but change "Parthian(?)" to "Bactrian" in legend, and compare trousers of delegates with those of Median usher and with Scythian trousers of delegation No. 17 on Pl. 43.

94. See *ibid.* Pl. 41 but change "Bactrians(?)" to "Parthians(?)" in legend.

95. *Ibid.* Pl. 30.

96. *Ibid.* Pl. 33.

97. See *ibid.* Pl. 37 but change "Saka tigraxauda" to "Scythians beyond the sea" in legend.

98. *Ibid.* Pl. 43.

pairs of spears offered by two delegates⁹⁹ in addition to a shield and a single spear carried by another delegate. The martial tribute of delegation No. 14¹⁰⁰ is, on both staircases, almost identical in form and disposition with the weapons offered by delegation No. 21 on the northern staircase. Delegation No. 14 definitely represents a people of the Indian group (V), probably the Gandarians. However, their tribute weapons, like those of delegation No. 21, do not correspond to the personal weapons, namely swords, worn in the tomb reliefs by all throne-bearers of the Indian group (see Figs. 45–46): the Sattagyidian (No. 11), the Gandarian (No. 12), the Indian (No. 13), and the Macian (No. 29). Only two other delegations offer spears as tribute. The Skudrians (delegation No. 19) offer two pairs of spears and two shields,¹⁰¹ and the contribution of the Libyans (delegation No. 22) includes one spear.¹⁰² Significantly, the corresponding throne-bearers, Nos. 25 and 27 (see Figs. 44 and 51), on the tombs are the only representatives of the thirty nations who are armed with spears. Other tribute weapons correspond to the personal weapons of throne-bearers but are of doubtful value as means of identification of specific delegations. For instance, the weapon contributed by the Medes (delegation No. 1)¹⁰³ is the Median dagger pictured with slight modification as the weapon of the throne-bearers of the Median, East Iranian, and Scythian groups (II–IV) of nations (see Figs. 40–44), while the Susians (delegation No. 2)¹⁰⁴ offer the type of Persian dagger which is worn not only by the Persian and Susian throne-bearers, Nos. 1 and 3 (see Fig. 39), but also, no doubt erroneously, by the Assyrian throne-bearer (No. 17) on Tombs V and VI (see Fig. 49). The weapon worn by throne-bearer No. 17 on the tomb (II) of Xerxes presumably shows the shape of the Assyrian dagger at the time. The most distinctive tribute weapon is the battle-ax of the Hauma-drinking Scythians (delegation No. 17),¹⁰⁵ undoubtedly the *sagaris*, which is referred to by Herodotus.¹⁰⁶ An additional tribute weapon of delegation No. 17 is a modified Median dagger such as that worn by all the Scythian throne-bearers and others (see above).

As to the bull offered by delegation No. 21, according to Philip Hershkovitz, Curator of Mammals in the Field Museum of Natural History, it is the aurochs (*bos primigenius*), the *re'em* of the Bible and the ancestor of modern cattle, which ranged over Europe, the Near East, and Egypt and is now extinct. Hershkovitz noted that the aurochs existed in Europe from the Pleistocene until the seventeenth century after Christ and in Persia possibly until the beginning of the twentieth century. Hilzheimer has described the *Ur*, which is apparently the same bovine as the aurochs, but his illustrations do not show the elegant shape, perhaps idealized, of the horns depicted in our relief. He asserts that the *Ur* was extinct in Mesopotamia by the middle of the first millennium B.C.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, in our opinion, the bull offered by delegation No. 21 has the

appearance of a domesticated descendant of the *bos primigenius* rather than of a specimen of an untamed bison. Three additional delegations offer bovines as tribute. The Babylonian delegation (No. 5), representing the Western Lowlands group (VIII), and the Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14), representing the Indian group (V), present humped bulls (zebus or *bos indicus*) of identical shape. The type of bull contributed by the Egyptian delegation (No. 10) is doubtful since its head and back are destroyed. These bovines, undoubtedly stud bulls, mark the four delegations as representatives of cattle-raising peoples. There were, of course, other cattle breeders, particularly in the East Iranian lands,¹⁰⁸ although their tribute animals are camels.

At this point we may consider other tribute animals appearing in the Apadana procession in order to test their value for identifying the peoples represented and in order to find any evidence which might have bearing on the identity of delegation No. 21. There are six kinds of domesticated animals: horse, donkey, Bactrian camel, dromedary, cattle, and sheep. Wild animals include antelope, okapi, and lion.

The horse is the tribute animal of all delegations of the West Median group (IIA), that is, Medes, Armenians, Cappadocians, and Sagartians(?), and of the Scythian group (IV), that is, Scythians beyond the sea, Hauma-drinking Scythians, and Skudrians. The two-horse chariots of the Lydians and the Libyans, representing the Hellenic and Western Lowlands groups (VI and VIII) respectively, mark them also as breeders of horses.¹⁰⁹

The Bactrian (two-humped) camel appropriately appears as the tribute animal of the Bactrian and Parthian(?) delegations (Nos. 13 and 15), representing the East Median group (IIB), and of the Arian(?) and Arachosian(?) delegations (Nos. 4 and 7), representing the East Iranian group (III). The remaining domesticated animals are associated with single delegations. Only the dromedary (Arabian or one-humped camel) provides a clue for the identity of a delegation, namely the Arabians (No. 20). While the habitat of the dromedary extends far into Africa,¹¹⁰ the delegation offering this animal as tribute or gift can only represent the Arabians since the delegations of the African provinces are identified beyond doubt. The donkey of the Indians (delegation No. 18) and the rams of the Assyrians (No. 8) could undoubtedly be found in many other provinces of the empire.

Wild animals, which presumably were contributed for the royal game parks or paradises, help in the identification of delegations only in combination with other, more decisive, clues. The Susians (delegation No. 2) offer a

99. One of the two spears carried by the hindmost extant delegate is mostly obliterated (see *ibid.* Pl. 47 A), and formerly we considered the preserved spear a stick of the animal driver (see *ibid.* p. 89).

100. *Ibid.* Pl. 40.

101. *Ibid.* Pl. 45.

103. *Ibid.* Pl. 27.

102. *Ibid.* Pl. 48.

104. *Ibid.* Pl. 28.

105. See *ibid.* Pl. 43 but change "Sogdians(?)" to "Hauma-drinking Scythians" in legend.

106. Herodotus' statement (vii. 64) is somewhat confused and refers to both Pointed-hat Scythians and Hauma-drinking (whom he calls Amyrgian) Scythians, but there seems to be no doubt that he assigns the *sagaris* to the Amyrgian Scythians. Elsewhere Herodotus (i. 215) reports that the Massagetae ("like the Scythians in their dress and manner of life"), who defeated and killed Cyrus the Great beyond the Jaxartes River, were armed with the *sagaris* in addition to spear and bow. We are uncertain about the relationship of Massagetae and Hauma-drinking Scythians, but their territories either were contiguous or coincided (cf. p. 116 above).

107. See Max Hilzheimer, "Die Wildrinder im alten Mesopotamien," *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft* II 2 (1926) pp. 15–17.

108. Cf. e.g. Hinz, *Zarathustra*, p. 28.

109. Herodotus (vii. 86) mentions the chariots of the Libyans. As to his reference (*ibid.*) to the Indian chariots, see p. 152 above.

110. See Vol. I 89, n. 154.

lioness with cubs, the Libyans (No. 22) an antelope, and the Ethiopians (No. 23) an okapi.

Curiously, the Ionian delegation (No. 12) alone presents no animal tribute.

Our study shows that in most cases the tribute animals yield only general, at most secondary, clues for the identification of individual delegations. Thus, the bull marks cattle-breeding peoples, including the people represented by delegation No. 21. The West Medians and the Scythians are identified as breeders of horses, while the East Medians and the East Iranians are marked as camel-breeders. Only two peoples are rather definitely identified by their tribute animals, the Arabians by the dromedary and the Ethiopians by the okapi.

In attempting to reach a final conclusion with regard to the identity of delegation No. 21 we have to review our observations in condensed form. Our comparative study deals with the following details: head, fillet, scarf, coat and trousers, tribute weapons, and tribute animal.

We found that on the eastern staircase all details of the head and the type of the fillet of delegation No. 21 are almost identical with head and fillet of the Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14), representing the Indian group (V).

The scarf of delegation No. 21 resembles most closely that of the Lydian and Ionian delegations (Nos. 6 and 12), representing the Hellenic group (VI), and that of the leader of the Indian delegation (No. 18). It is neatly pleated in contrast to the plain short chlamys of the Lydian and Ionian throne-bearers (Nos. 22 and 23) on the tombs (cf. Fig. 47), where the Petasos-wearing Ionian (No. 26) and the Carian (No. 30), likewise representing the Hellenic group, wear the same plain short chlamys (see Fig. 48).

The long-sleeved belted coat and the trousers with ankle straps worn by the members of delegation No. 21 are identical with the corresponding garments of the West Median (group IIA) delegations, that is, the Medes (No. 1), the Armenians (No. 3), the Cappadocians (No. 9), and the assumed Sagartians (No. 16). Otherwise, only the delegates of the Scythians beyond the sea (No. 11) wear exactly the same articles of dress.

The weapons—one shield and five spears—presented as tribute by delegation No. 21 on the northern staircase correspond almost exactly in number, form, and distribution to the tribute weapons of the Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14) on both staircases. However, it is doubtful whether the triangular wings which project below the spearheads on the eastern staircase¹¹¹ are marked on the northern stairs. There are no wings on the single spear offered by delegation No. 21 on the eastern staircase. The only other delegations that present spears as tribute are the Skudrians (No. 19) of the Scythian group and the Libyans (No. 22) of the Western Lowlands. We emphasized above that on the tombs the two corresponding throne-bearers (Nos. 25 and 27) wear spears as personal weapons.

The tribute animal, a bull, shows that delegation No. 21 represents a cattle-breeding province. Bulls are offered also by the Babylonian and Egyptian delegations (Nos. 5 and 10), representing the Western Lowlands, and the Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14) of the Indian group.

111. See *ibid.* p. 88, n. 140, and Pl. 40.

Our clues for the identification of delegation No. 21 are confusing and in part contradictory. Thus, as a last resort we examine those peoples or provinces represented by throne-bearers on the tombs but not yet identified with any of the tribute delegations of the Apadana.

PEOPLE	THRONE-BEARER NO.	GROUP
Persian	1	Persian (I)
Drangianian	9	East Iranian (III)
Sogdian	7	Scythian (IV)
Chorasmian	8	Scythian (IV)
Pointed-hat Scythian	15	Scythian (IV)
Sattagydian	11	Indian (V)
Macian	29	Indian (V)
Petasos-wearing Ionian	26	Hellenic (VI)
Carian	30	Hellenic (VI)

We assume that delegation No. 21 represents one of these nine peoples. The Persians, being exempt from tribute, are not to be considered. We eliminate the Sogdians, the Chorasmians, and the Pointed-hat Scythians because delegation No. 21 shows none of the distinctive features of the Scythian group, and, furthermore, the tribute animal of all Scythian delegations is a horse, never a bovine. We eliminate the Drangianians for reasons explained on page 155. There remain two nations of the Hellenic group and two of the Indian group: the Petasos-wearing Ionians and the Carians, the Sattagydians and the Macians.

Since all throne-bearing representatives of both groups are shown barelegged in the tomb reliefs in contrast to the trousered members of delegation No. 21, we doubt that this delegation can be attributed to any of the four nations. In any case, we may eliminate the Petasos-wearing Ionians because of their characteristic shield-shaped headgear. The Carians, whose throne-bearer (No. 30) is bareheaded on the tombs (see Fig. 48), cannot be entirely disregarded, although the only possible clue is that the chlamys of the Carian throne-bearer slightly resembles the scarf worn by the members of delegation No. 21.

Two nations of the Indian group are still to be accounted for, namely the Sattagydians and the Macians. None of the throne-bearing representatives of this group on the tombs (see Figs. 45–46)—the Sattagydian (No. 11), the Gandarian (No. 12), the Indian (No. 13), and the Macian (No. 29)—resembles the members of delegation No. 21, whose attire contrasts with the throne-bearers' short skirt and bare chest and legs. Except for the festive scarf of the leader, the members of the Indian (Hinduś) delegation (No. 18) are dressed like the throne-bearers of the group. Delegation No. 14 has been identified with some certainty as the Gandarians (see pp. 151 f.), and this delegation shows more parallels with delegation No. 21 than any other delegation in the Apadana procession. The filleted heads are almost identical (see Pls. 103 *F* and 105 *A*); the tribute weapons of delegation No. 21 on the northern staircase are the same as those of delegation No. 14 on both staircases; finally, the tribute animal of both delegations is a bovine, marking both peoples as cattle-breeders. Nevertheless, while one might be tempted to consider delegation No. 21 as representing an Indian people, the Sattagydians or, less plausibly, the Macians,¹¹² there are

112. Both Sattagydians and Macians (Maka) are mentioned in all royal inscriptions listing the nations of the empire, starting with Darius' Behistun record (see pp. 108 and 110).

contradictory features. We mention, in particular, the Median dress of delegation No. 21 and the pronounced difference between the breeds of cattle (see p. 156) raised by neighboring peoples if delegation No. 21 represents the Indian group of nations.

Summarizing the results of our study, we find that delegation No. 21 represents a cattle-breeding people of some military importance, as indicated on the northern staircase by tribute weapons as numerous as the apparently identical weapons offered by the Gandarians(?) of the Indian group (V). The coat and trousers of delegation No. 21 are characteristic items of the attire of the West Median group (IIA), but the headgear is a fillet rather than the Median domed hat. Other delegations wearing fillets are the Susians (group I: Persian), the assumed Parthians (group IIB: East Median), the assumed Gandarians and

the Indians (group V), and the Assyrians (group VII: Northern Mesopotamian). The scarf draped over the Median coat of the members of delegation No. 21 resembles most closely the neatly pleated scarf of the Lydian and Ionian delegations (Nos. 6 and 12) of the Hellenic group (VI) and the longer scarf of the leader of the Indian delegation (No. 18).

We conclude that our evidence with regard to delegation No. 21 is too confusing to permit more than a surmise as to its identity. It may represent the Sattagydiens or the Macians or perhaps the Carians, whose name, however, is not mentioned in the royal inscriptions that predate Darius' tomb inscription (DNa) and his Susa record (DSe). We must concede that we are not able to identify delegation No. 21 convincingly with any one of the thirty nations represented by throne-bearers on the royal tombs.

TABLE VII
LIST OF TRIBUTE DELEGATIONS AS NOW IDENTIFIED*

DELEGATION No.	NATION	OLD PERSIAN NAME (see Fig. 53)
1	Median	Māda
2	Susian (Elamite)	Ūvja
3	Armenian	Armina
4	Arian?†	Haraiva
5	Babylonian	Bābiruš
6	Lydian‡	Sparda
7	Arachosian?	Haraுவதிš
8	Assyrian§	Athurā
9	Cappadocian	Katpatuka
10	Egyptian	Mudrāya
11	Scythians beyond the sea	Sakā paradraya
12	Ionian#	Yaunā
13	Bactrian**	Bāxtriš
14	Gandarian?††	Gandāra
15	Parthian?‡‡	Parthava
16	Sagartian?	Asagarta
17	Hauma-drinking Scythians§§	Sakā haumavargā
18	Indian	Hinduš
19	Skudrian	Skudra
20	Arabian	Arabāya
21	?	?
22	Libyan	Putāyā
23	Ethiopian	Kūšiyā

* We omit here references to Herzfeld's original identifications in *IF*, pp. 45 ff. with corrections on pp. 251 ff.

† Identified as Chorasmian by Hinz, *Zarathustra*, p. 248, n. 33, but cf. our p. 149, n. 40.

‡ Correctly identified by Barnett in *Iraq* XIX 68 f., but the "Sogdians" (No. 6) and Lydians (No. 8) should be interchanged in tables on his p. 73. For further comment see our pp. 152 f.

§ Erroneously identified as Sogdian by Barnett in *Iraq* XIX 69 f.; see our p. 153, n. 69.

|| Usually identified as Pointed-hat Scythians, but see our p. 150. Herzfeld too considered this delegation European Sakā (*IAE*, Pl. LXXIX top) but without giving a reason for his identification.

Considered Lydian by Herzfeld (*IAE*, Pl. LXXVIII bottom), but see our p. 153.

** Correctly identified by Hinz, *Zarathustra*, p. 248, n. 33; see our p. 148.

†† Identified as Sattagydiens by Herzfeld (*IAE*, Pl. LXXIX bottom); cf. our pp. 151 f.

‡‡ Usually identified as Bactrian (*IAE*, Pl. LXXXI bottom; Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 43, n. 4; Barnett in *Iraq* XIX 67), but see delegation No. 13 and our p. 148. Hinz, *Zarathustra*, p. 248, n. 33, considers delegation No. 15 Arian.

§§ Identified as Sogdian by Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 43, n. 6, as Chorasmian by Barnett in *Iraq* XIX 70 f. and 73, and as Parthian by Hinz, *loc. cit.*, but see our p. 150.

||| Erroneously identified as Lydian by Junge in *Klio* XXXIV 38; cf. delegation No. 6.

We failed to identify delegation No. 21 (see pp. 155-58) but did not rule out the possibility that it represents the Sattagydiens or the Macians of the Indian group of nations (V) or the Carians of the Hellenic group (VI).

TABLE VIII

CONVENTIONAL SEQUENCE OF TRIBUTE DELEGATIONS

TOP REGISTER	MIDDLE REGISTER	BOTTOM REGISTER
1. Medes (1)*		
2. Susians (2)	8. Armenians (3)	
3. Arians? (4)	9. Babylonians (5)	14. Lydians (6)
4. Arachosians? (7)	10. Assyrians (8)	15. Cappadocians (9)
5. Egyptians (10)	11. Scythians beyond the sea (11)	16. Ionians (12)
6. Bactrians (13)	12. Gandarians? (14)	17. Parthians? (15)
7. Sagartians? (16)	13. Hauma-drinking Scythians (17)	18. Indians (18)
	SLANTING TERMINAL ROW	
	19. Skudrians (19)	
	20. Arabians (20)	
	21. Identity unknown (21)	
	22. Libyans (22)	
	23. Ethiopians (23)	

* The numbers in parentheses are our delegation numbers, that is, according to vertical columns (cf. Table VII).

As Table VIII shows, the listing of the Apadana delegations in conventional order, that is, according to horizontal registers, is instructive because it does indeed reveal some plausible geographical combinations (as emphasized by Barnett in *Iraq* XIX 72), particularly in view of the revised identifications of several nations. Yet, the geographical pattern is much less consistent than that shown in the DNa roster of nations (see p. 110) and by the corresponding throne-bearers on the royal tombs (see p. 108). According to the horizontal scheme, however, the Babylonians immediately precede the Assyrians, exactly conforming with the positions of these two nations in the DNa roster and in the royal inscriptions DB, DSe, and XPh (see rosters on pp. 108 and 110), but Babylonia and Assyria are separated by Arabia in the Persepolis foundation inscription DPe. The Lydians, the Cappadocians, and the Ionians are grouped together in the horizontal scheme, as they are in the royal rosters DPe, DSe, and DNa, where, however, the sequence of these three nations varies in that Cappadocia precedes Lydia (Sardis). In the conventional order, on the other hand, some delegations, for instance the Egyptians, the Scythians beyond the sea, and the Indians, do not fit into a geographical scheme.

THE THRONE-BEARERS IN THE COUNCIL HALL AND THE THRONE HALL

A comparative list of the Apadana delegations and the throne-bearers in the Council Hall and the Throne Hall (Table IX) clarifies our reason for numbering the delegations according to vertical columns (see p. 145). We simply followed the sculptors, who in adapting the throne reliefs to the Apadana procession arranged the throne-bearers according to this scheme.

At this point we have to re-examine the chronological relations of the three sets of reliefs. Although the Apadana was founded by Darius I,¹ Xerxes' inscriptions—omitting any reference to his father's work—on its sculptured staircases may be considered proof that the reliefs of the tribute procession were executed during Xerxes' reign.² We must assume, however, that the "blueprints" of the procession on each staircase had been composed prior to the death of Darius (486 B.C.).

The Council Hall too was founded by Darius.³ The reliefs of the eastern doorway, showing Xerxes standing behind the enthroned king, indicate that these sculptures were completed during the last years of Darius⁴ or perhaps, as in the case of the Apadana reliefs, at the beginning of Xerxes' reign. Thus, the bearers of Darius' throne in the Council Hall are approximately contemporaneous with the tribute delegations of the Apadana. We believe, however, that at least the blueprints of the Apadana reliefs were composed first and determined to a great extent the sequence of the throne-bearers in the Council Hall.

The Throne Hall was founded by Xerxes and completed by Artaxerxes I.⁵ We are concerned only with the reliefs on the jambs of the two doorways in the southern wall, which depict representatives of twenty-eight nations bearing the enthroned king, Artaxerxes I.⁶ There is a seemingly trivial but possibly important stylistic feature which casts doubt on the validity of our previous suggestion that the blueprints of these reliefs may have been prepared by Xerxes' sculptors.⁷ In so far as they are preserved, the raised hands of the throne-bearers on the tombs of Darius

1. See Vol. I 70.

2. See *ibid.* p. 82.

3. See *ibid.* p. 107.

4. See *ibid.* p. 116.

5. See *ibid.* p. 129.

6. See *ibid.* pp. 134-36 and Pls. 108-13. We have been criticized (by Barnett in *Iraq* XIX 57 f.) for omitting reference to a cast in the British Museum (see *Photographs of Casts of Persian Sculptures of the Achaemenid Period Mostly from Persepolis* [London, 1932] Pl. 2). We did refer (our Vol. I 136, nn. 62, 64, and 66) to what is indubitably a duplicate cast in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, illustrated by Robert William Rogers in *A History of Ancient Persia* (New York and London, 1929) Fig. 27. The casts in both museums are derived from composite molds. The topmost and central registers illustrate a part of the east jamb of the eastern doorway in the southern wall (throne-bearers Nos. E1-E9 in our Vol. I, Pl. 110), whereas the bottom register illustrates throne-bearers on the east jamb of the western doorway (Nos. E10-E14 *ibid.* Pl. 111).

Parentetically, in the photographs reproduced on Pls. 112-13 of our Vol. I (called "inexcusably bad" by Barnett in *Iraq* XIX 66) we attempted to penetrate the shadows which in other illustrations obscure the tops of the throne-bearers' heads. Thus were revealed details of headgear which had been unclear, even in illustrations of the casts referred to.

7. See Vol. I 129.

and Xerxes and on the tombs of their successors—except Tomb V—show four parallel fingers with thumb apart. The hands of the throne-bearers in the Council Hall are indicated in exactly the same fashion. However, the hands of the throne-bearers in the Throne Hall, like those on Tomb V, which we assign to Artaxerxes II, are modeled differently and show only three parallel fingers in addition to the thumb.

We conclude that the throne-bearer reliefs of the Council Hall and those of the Throne Hall were planned and executed by different artists. The Throne Hall reliefs indicate that the unusual treatment of the throne-bearers' hands was introduced by sculptors of Artaxerxes I, despite the fact that the hands on Tomb III, which we assign to this king, are modeled in conventional fashion. We hesitate to assign Tomb V to Artaxerxes I and are inclined to believe that its sculptors copied the treatment of the hands from the Throne Hall sculptures. Yet, we are not able to explain why the sculptors of Tomb VI, which we assign to Artaxerxes III, reverted to the earlier method of depicting the throne-bearers' hands.

TABLE IX
CORRELATION OF TRIBUTE DELEGATIONS
AND THRONE-BEARERS

TRIBUTE DELEGATION	THRONE-BEARER	
	Council Hall	Throne Hall
1 Medians	1 Median	W1 Median
2 Susians	2 Susian	E1 Susian
3 Armenians	3 Armenian	E2 Armenian
4 Arians?	4 Arian?	W2 Arian?
5 Babylonians	5 Babylonian	W3 Babylonian
6 Lydians	6 Lydian	E3 Lydian
7 Arachosians?	7 Arachosian?	W4 Arachosian?
8 Assyrians	8 Assyrian	E4 Assyrian
9 Cappadocians	9 Cappadocian	W5 Cappadocian
10 Egyptians	10 Egyptian	E5 Egyptian
11 Scythians beyond the sea	11 Scythian beyond the sea	W6 Scythian beyond the sea
12 Ionians	12 Ionian	E6 Ionian
13 Bactrians	13 Bactrian	W7 Bactrian
14 Gandarians?	14 Gandarian?	E7 Gandarian?
15 Parthians?	15 Parthian?	W8 Parthian?
16 Sagartians?	16 Sagartian?	E8 Sagartian?
.....	17 Scythian	W9 Scythian
.....	18 Scythian	E9 Scythian
17 Hauma-drinking Scythians	22 Hauma-drinking Scythian	E11 Hauma-drinking Scythian
18 Indians	19 Indian	W10 Indian
.....	20 Scythian	E10 Scythian
.....	21 Sattagyedian?	W11 Sattagyedian?
19 Skudrians	23 Skudrian	W12 Skudrian
20 Arabians	24 Arabian	E12 Arabian
21 ?	25 ?	W13 ?
22 Libyans	26 Libyan	E13 Libyan
23 Ethiopians	27 Ethiopian	W14 Ethiopian
.....	28 Scythian	E14 Scythian

Our comparative list (Table IX), offering the most recent identifications of the nations concerned, shows the close relationship between the tribute delegations on the

Apadana and the throne-bearers in the Council Hall and the Throne Hall.

The representatives of twenty-eight nations bear the throne of Darius I in the Council Hall⁸ and the throne of Artaxerxes I in the Throne Hall.⁹ Obviously, Artaxerxes' sculptors copied the sequence of the throne-bearers from the throne scene of Darius but changed the arrangement¹⁰ and certain details.

The tribute procession¹¹ on the Apadana is composed of twenty-three delegations of nations of the empire, all of which are represented among the twenty-eight throne-bearers of the Council Hall and the Throne Hall.

Our comparative list (Table IX) shows an interesting, though partly perplexing, pattern of correspondent and divergent items. The first sixteen nations represented by tribute delegations (as numbered according to vertical columns) and throne-bearers correspond, but we failed to find a reason for the interruption of the sequence following

8. Carved in two sets on the jambs of the eastern doorway, one set showing the right side of each figure and the other set the left side (see *ibid.* pp. 117-20).

9. Carved in alternating sets of 14 figures on the jambs of the two doorways in the southern wall in such a fashion that two sets of 14 figures show only the right side and the two other sets the left side (see *ibid.* pp. 134-36).

the sixteenth nation. Again, the five tribute delegations (Nos. 19-23) composing the slanting terminal row of the Apadana procession (see Table VIII) are represented in the same sequence by throne-bearers Nos. 23-27 in the Council Hall and Nos. W12-W14 and E12-E13 in the Throne Hall. The two remaining tribute delegations (Nos. 17 and 18), shown in the last vertical section of the Apadana procession, are represented, in reversed order, by throne-bearers Nos. 22 and 19 and Nos. E11 and W10 respectively.

The composition of the five nations whose representatives were added to the bearers of the throne of Darius in the Council Hall and subsequently copied by Artaxerxes' sculptors in the Throne Hall is somewhat puzzling, but we should not doubt that these additions reflect historical events at the northern and southeastern frontiers of the empire. Four of the additional throne-bearers (Nos. 17, 18, 20, and 28 in Council Hall; Nos. W9, E9-10, and E14 in Throne Hall) are Scythians (group IV), and one (No. 21 and No. W11) probably represents a nation of the Indian group (V).

10. Cf. schemata of throne-bearers *ibid.* pp. 118 and 135.

11. Depicted twice, its right side shown on the eastern staircase and its left on the northern staircase (see *ibid.* pp. 84-90).

THE TRIBUTE DELEGATIONS AT PALACE H

The sculptures associated with this site¹ are parts of two structures, namely a palace started by Xerxes and completed by Artaxerxes I and a palace of Artaxerxes III, but all the reliefs of tribute delegations are probably assignable to the reign of Artaxerxes I.

The date of one relief is assured since part of it is carved in a stone slab which bears the remnant of an inscription of Artaxerxes I (Art. I Pers. a).² It shows a delegation of our Indian group of nations (V), and we retain our tentative identification of the delegates as Sattagydians. The topknot with ribbon originally shown on the head of some delegates³ distinguishes also the Sattagydian(?) throne-bearer (No. W11) in the Throne Hall.⁴ We know now, however, that the Indian (Hinduš) throne-bearer (No. 13) on Tomb IV is also adorned with a ribbon which extends from a topknot (see Fig. 45). It is possible, of course, that this fashion of hairdress was in use among both Hinduš and Sattagydians. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the delegation under discussion may represent either people.

There are remnants of two reliefs which are clearly copies of parts of delegation No. 8 of the Apadana tribute procession.⁵ We now identify the Apadana delegation as Assyrians (see pp. 153 f.). Therefore the two reliefs at Palace H likewise show representatives of the Assyrian province.⁶

Two reliefs, showing parts of three tribute delegations, belong to the dismantled façade of a structure of Artaxerxes I. Remnants of two delegations—representatives of a Scythian people preceding delegates of a land of the Indian group of nations—are pictured on a long stone slab.⁷ The tall pointed headdress of the Scythians suggests that they are either Pointed-hat Scythians or Scythians beyond the sea. The second delegation corresponds in dress and tribute weapons (spears) to the Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14) on the Apadana, where the Gandarians(?) are preceded by the Scythians beyond the sea (see p. 150). It seems probable that the sculptors of the tribute procession of Artaxerxes I copied, so far as feasible, the scheme of the Apadana procession. We assume, therefore, that the Scythians in Artaxerxes' relief are the Scythians beyond the sea, although they are shown without weapons and wearing the common Scythian cutaway coat. The same Scythians are represented in the left lower register of the staircase reliefs of Artaxerxes III on the Palace of Darius (see p. 162).

1. See Vol. I 279–82.

2. See *ibid.* pp. 280 f. and Pl. 202 C.

3. Cf. F. Stolze and F. C. Andreas, *Persepolis* (Berlin, 1882) I, Pl. 65; *IF*, Fig. 16; Flandin and Coste, *Perse ancienne*, Pl. 130. See also our Vol. I 281.

4. See Vol. I 136.

There is, finally, a relief fragment picturing delegates of a people of the West Median group (IIA).⁸ According to hat, coat, and trousers they could represent any one of the four peoples of this group—Medes, Armenians, Cappadocians, or Sagartians. However, a cape fastened by a fibula identifies them with the Cappadocians of Apadana delegation No. 9 (see pp. 146 f.).

Some delegations on the relief fragments at Palace H face right and some face left, thus indicating two processions. The fact that the Assyrian delegates face in opposite directions on the two reliefs which show them suggests that each delegation was pictured twice, from opposite sides, as on the Apadana.⁹ The tribute delegations of Artaxerxes I are oriented as follows:

Sattagydians or Hinduš	facing left
Assyrians (two relief slabs)	facing left and right
Scythians beyond the sea	facing right
Gandarians?	facing right
Cappadocians	facing left

In comparing the extant tribute reliefs of Artaxerxes I with the Apadana tribute procession we noticed some parallels which confirm, in our opinion, that the delegations in the tribute processions of Artaxerxes I closely followed the pattern of the Apadana delegations. In the middle register of the Apadana procession we find the Assyrian delegation (No. 8), the delegation of the Scythians beyond the sea (No. 11), and the Gandarian(?) delegation (No. 14) in sequence (see Table VIII). At Palace H, the Gandarians(?) are preceded on the same stone slab by the Scythians beyond the sea and the Assyrians are represented on a separate fragment, all three delegations facing right, that is, corresponding in orientation to the procession on the eastern staircase of the Apadana. Three delegations at Palace H face left, corresponding to the procession on the northern staircase of the Apadana. The position of the Sattagydian or Hinduš delegation adjoining an inscribed panel of Artaxerxes I corresponds to the position of the Indian (Hinduš) delegation (No. 18) of the Apadana procession, which adjoins an inscription panel of Xerxes. Finally, the presence of remnants of Assyrian and Cappadocian delegations at Palace H may have bearing on the fact that in the Apadana procession the Assyrian delegation (No. 8) is directly above the Cappadocian delegation (No. 9).

5. See *ibid.* p. 281 and Pl. 203 C and cf. Pl. 34.

6. Not Cilicians, as suggested *ibid.* p. 281.

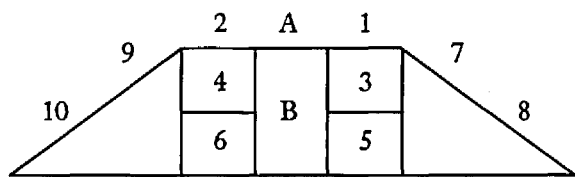
7. See *ibid.* p. 282 and Pl. 205.

8. See *ibid.* p. 282 and Pl. 204 B.

9. See *ibid.* Pls. 19 and 61.

THE TRIBUTE DELEGATIONS OF ARTAXERXES III AT THE PALACE OF DARIUS I

The reliefs adorning the façade of the western staircase of the Palace of Darius are dated by an Old Persian inscription of Artaxerxes III (Art. III Pers. b).¹ The positions of the inscription (B), the remnant of a winged disk symbol (A), and ten tribute delegations (1–10) are indicated by the following diagram.



Because of the fragmentary condition of these reliefs we are not able to determine the intended sequence of the delegations and our system of numbering is quite arbitrary.² Considering the fact that the Medes, immediately followed by the Susians, lead the tribute procession of the Apadana and the throne-bearers in the Council Hall and the Throne Hall, we conjecture that the demolished top-most delegations (Nos. 1 and 2) represented the Medes and the Susians. A remnant of delegation No. 2 shows the legs of the usher, whose shoes indicate that he is a Mede. Although the identity of the usher of delegation No. 1 is not ascertainable, there is no doubt that he was a Persian because apparently all the ushers on the right portion of the façade were Persians (see below). In the Apadana procession a Persian usher precedes the Medes and the Susians are preceded by a Median usher. Thus, if our conjecture in regard to delegations Nos. 1 and 2 is correct, No. 1 plausibly represented the Medes and No. 2 the Susians.

There are only a few clues that might help in determining the sequence of the remaining delegations. Oddly, so far as ascertainable, the ushers of the delegations on the right (southern) portion of the façade are Persians and those on the left are Medes. On the contrary, the Apadana delegations are preceded by alternating Persian and Median ushers. In trying to correlate the delegations under discussion with those of the Apadana we found that in addition to our conjectured sequence of Medes (No. 1) and Susians (No. 2) only two delegations could be fitted into the Apadana scheme, namely Nos. 3 and 4. These delegations definitely represent the same nations which in the Apadana procession are represented by delegations Nos. 7

and 8. There, the Arachosian(?) delegation (No. 7) is shown immediately above the Assyrians (No. 8). Consequently, the corresponding throne-bearers in the Council Hall and the Throne Hall are pictured in the same sequence (see p. 159). In the reliefs under discussion, the elaborate pattern of the bootlaces of the Assyrians (No. 4)³—the decisive clue for the identification of this nation (see p. 153)—is particularly well illustrated.⁴

The delegation marked No. 5 on our diagram resembles most closely the unidentified delegation No. 21 of the Apadana procession (see pp. 155–58), but the delegates here wear baggy Scythian-type trousers.⁵

Delegation No. 6 represents the same Scythian nation whose delegates are pictured in a relief of Artaxerxes I at Palace H (see p. 161) and now tentatively identified as Scythians beyond the sea.

Delegation No. 7 is almost completely destroyed. The only remnants are two delegates' shoes or boots with upturned toes.⁶ While the footgear does not suffice for determining the identity of the delegation, it serves to eliminate nations represented by sandaled or barefooted delegates and throne-bearers (cf. e.g. delegation No. 9). Furthermore, the upturned toes prove that delegation No. 1 (our assumed Medes) did not extend beyond the right top panel, for the only preserved fragment of delegation No. 1 shows a shoe or boot with plain straight toe.⁷

Delegation No. 8 represents one of the Scythian peoples. The characteristic hat⁸ of one of the tribute-bearers and the outline of a second hat—showing a knobby tip near and above the forehead instead of a tip rising above the vertex (cf. delegation No. 6)—enable us to correlate this delegation⁹ with the Hauma-drinking Scythians (delegation No. 17) of the Apadana (see p. 150). The open bow case, the Scythian *gorytus*,¹⁰ offered by the rearmost tribute-bearer of delegation No. 8 serves only as a supplementary clue for identification with Apadana delegation No. 17, whose members, with the sole exception of the groom, conspicuously display the same device.¹¹

Delegation No. 9 represents one of the nations of our Western Lowlands group (VIII). The remnants of the relief figures¹² show the lower parts of ankle-length garments and bare feet. Identification of this delegation with a specific people of the Western Lowlands group is conjectural. The lack of footgear may provide a clue. The

1. See Vol. I 224 and 228–29, Fig. 91 B, and Pls. 152–55. See also the British Museum's *Photographs of Casts of Persian Sculptures of the Achaemenid Period Mostly from Persepolis*, Pls. 6–7.

2. Cf. Herzfeld's diagram in *IF*, Fig. 14.

3. Tentatively identified as Cilicians in Vol. I 229.

4. See the British Museum's *Photographs of Casts . . .*, Pl. 6.

5. See *ibid.*

6. See *ibid.* Pl. 7 b for two shoes of one delegate. An additional shoe is visible on Pl. 153 A of our Vol. I.

7. See Vol. I, Pl. 153 A, and *Photographs of Casts . . .*, Pl. 6.

8. Fortunately preserved on one of the British Museum casts made in 1891 (see *Photographs of Casts . . .*, Pl. 7 b). The relief has since been further damaged (cf. our Vol. I, Pl. 155 A).

9. Tentatively identified as Sogdians in Vol. I 229.

10. See Vol. II 101.

11. See Vol. I, Pl. 43.

12. See *ibid.* Pl. 152. For details see *Photographs of Casts . . .*, Pl. 7 a.

Babylonians are eliminated, for they wear shoes.¹³ The Arabians wear sandals,¹⁴ and the Libyans' feet are bare or possibly sandaled.¹⁵ Significantly, however, in the Apadana procession all Egyptians, including the delegation leader, are shown barefooted.¹⁶ We propose, therefore, that delegation No. 9 in the tribute scene of Artaxerxes III (359–338 B.C.) may represent the Egyptians. If the Egyptians—provided delegation No. 9 does, indeed, repre-

sent Egypt—were not added in retrospect, Egypt having been lost to Persia in 402 B.C. during the reign of Artaxerxes II,¹⁷ or in anticipation of reconquest, the tribute scene would have to be dated between 344 B.C., when Artaxerxes III regained the Nile,¹⁸ and 338 B.C., when he died.

Delegation No. 10 is almost completely destroyed. Parts of two bare or sandaled feet indicate that it represented a people of the southwestern or southeastern territories and serve to eliminate all nations whose representatives are pictured with shoes or boots.

13. See Apadana delegation No. 5 (Vol. I 85 and Pl. 31).

14. See Apadana delegation No. 20 (*ibid.* p. 89 and Pl. 46).

15. See Apadana delegation No. 22 (*ibid.* pp. 89 f. and Pl. 48).

16. See Apadana delegation No. 10 (*ibid.* p. 88 and Pl. 36).

17. See *ibid.* p. 27.

18. See *ibid.*

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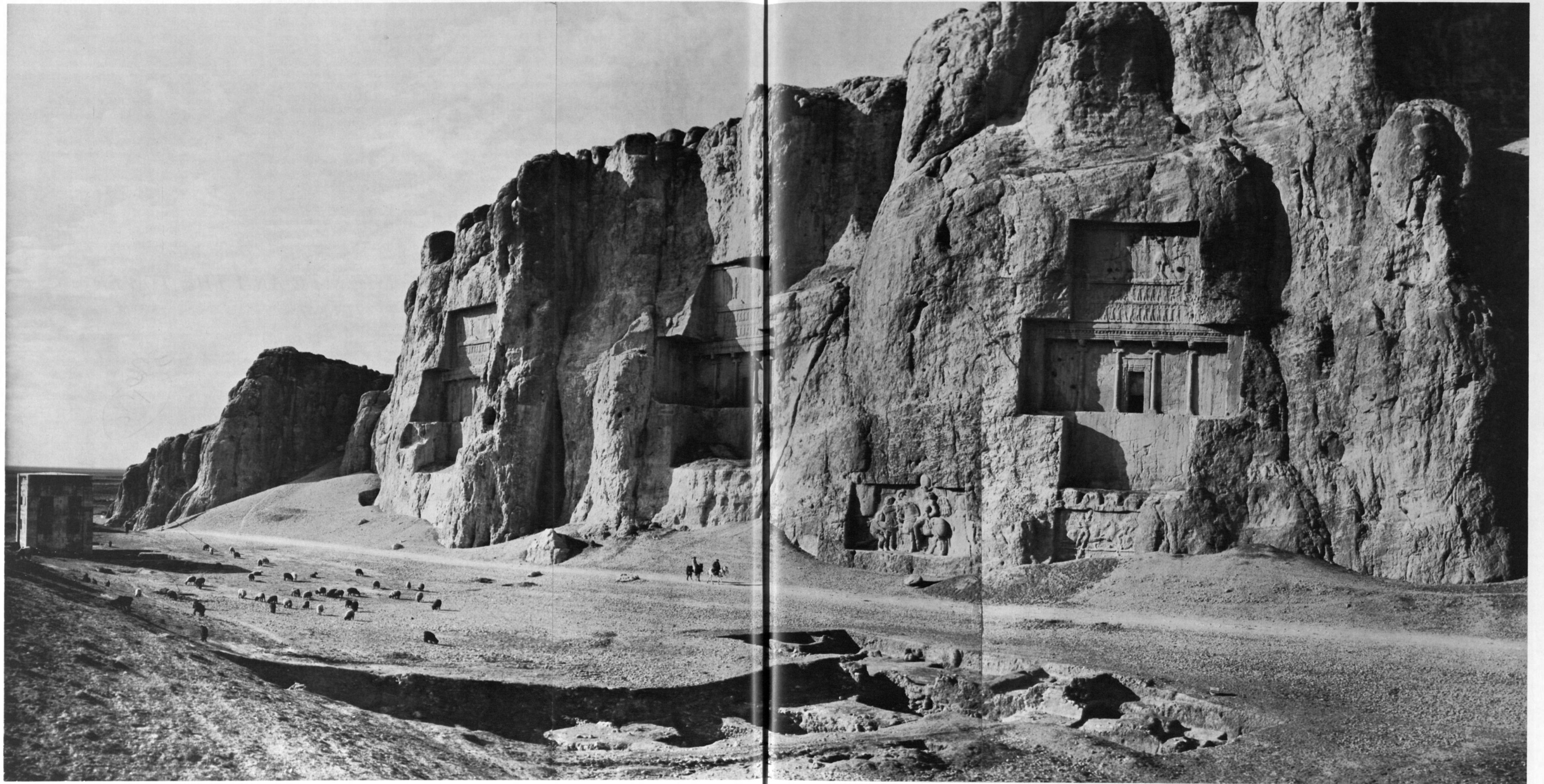
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NAQSH-I RUSTAM: THE SITE AND THE TOWER
PLATES 1-17



PANORAMA OF CLIFF OF NAQSH-I RUSTAM SHOWING TOMBS (BEGINNING AT RIGHT) OF DARIUS I, ARTAXERXES I, AND DARIUS II, WITH THE TOWER AT EXTREME LEFT (DIRECTION OF VIEW, NW)

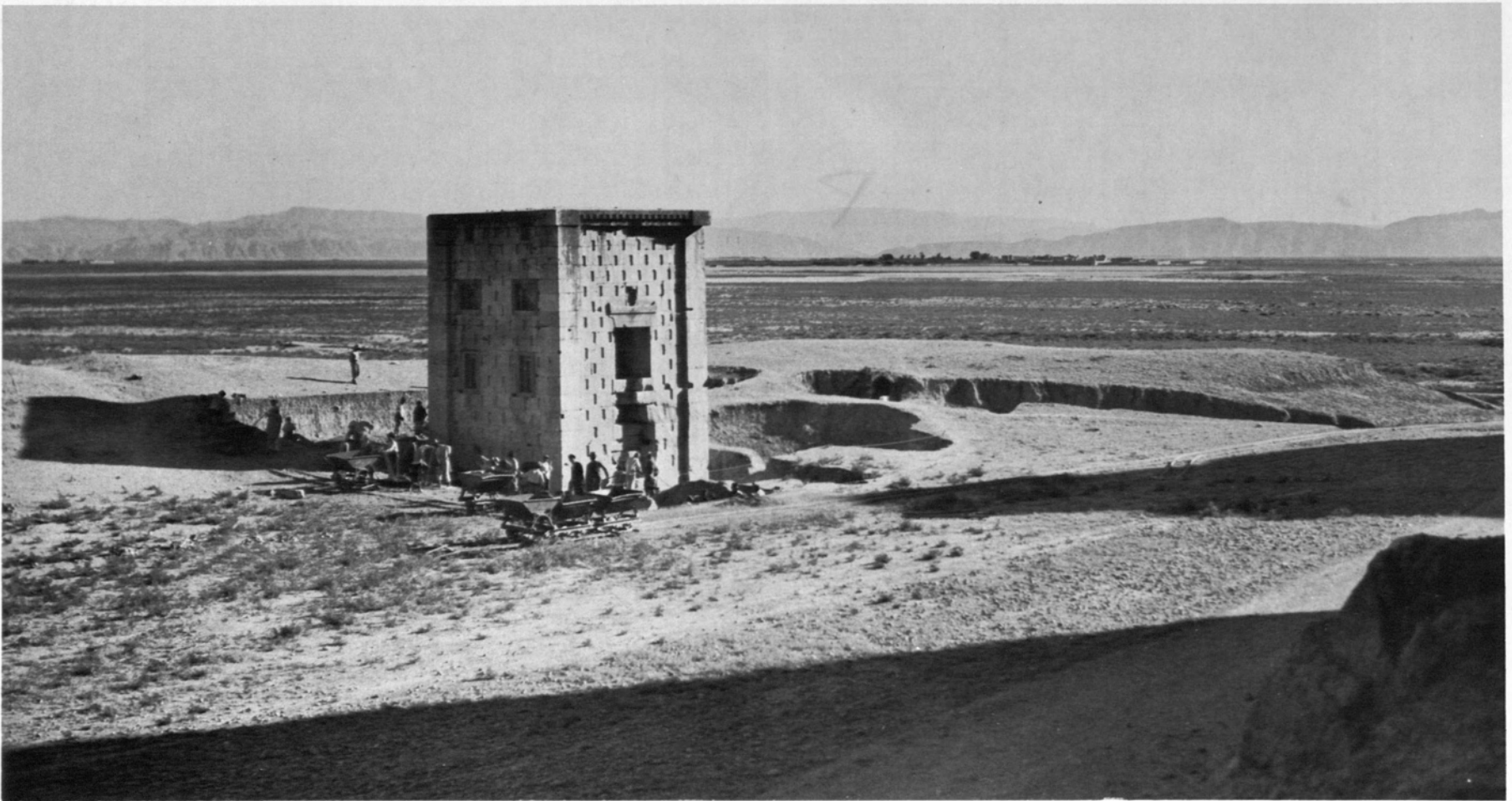
PLATE 2



VERTICAL AIR VIEW OF SITE OF NAQSH-I RUSTAM AND ENVIRONS (JUNE 14, 1937; 6:37 A.M.)

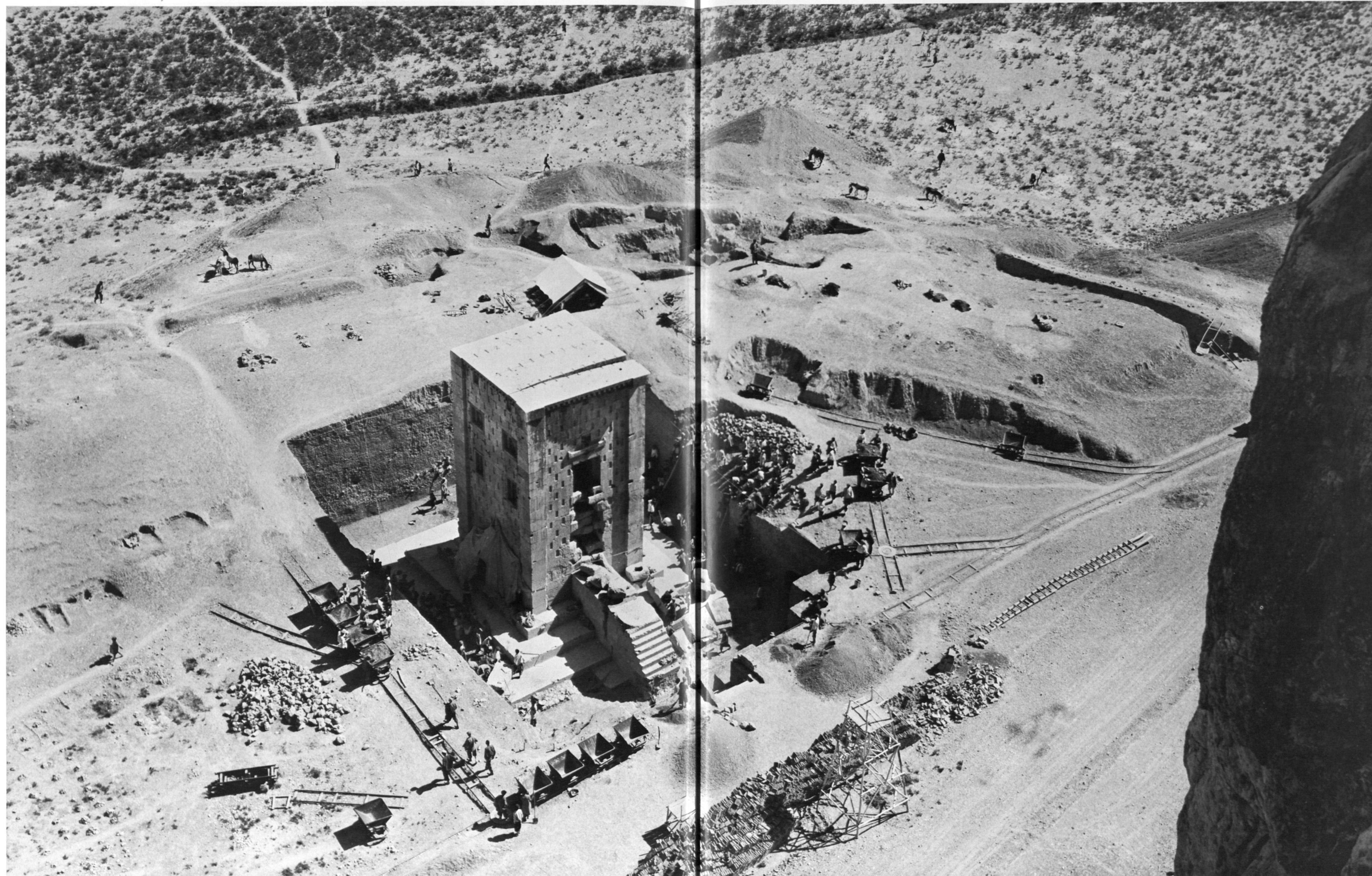


A



B

THE TOWER AT START OF EXCAVATION (DIRECTION OF VIEWS, SE [A] AND SW [B])

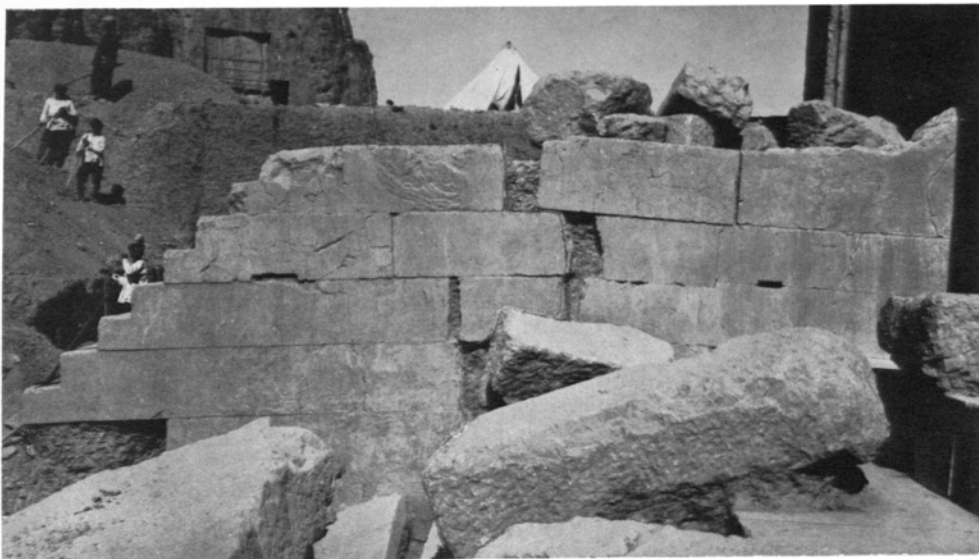


THE TOWER NEAR END OF EXCAVATION. VIEW FROM TOP OF CLIFF (DIRECTION, SW)

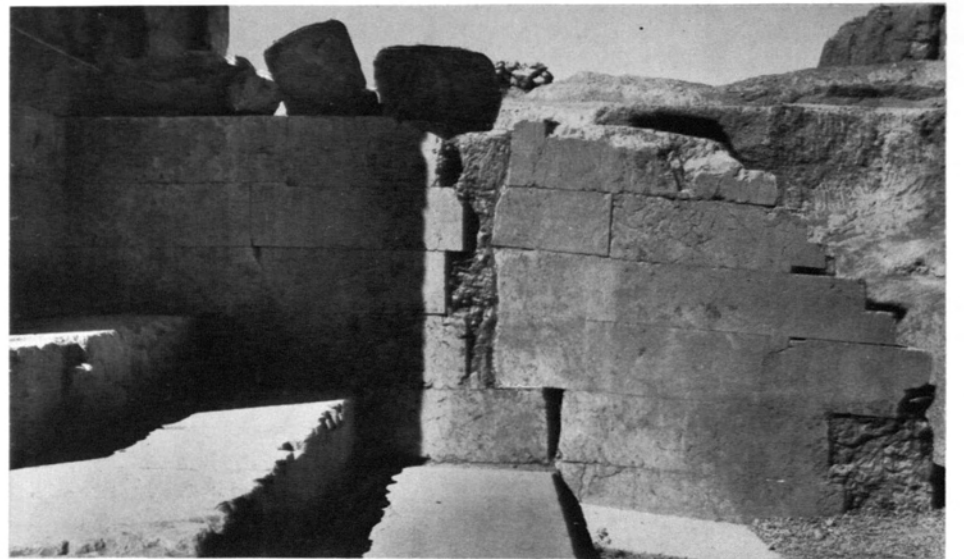
PLATE 5



A

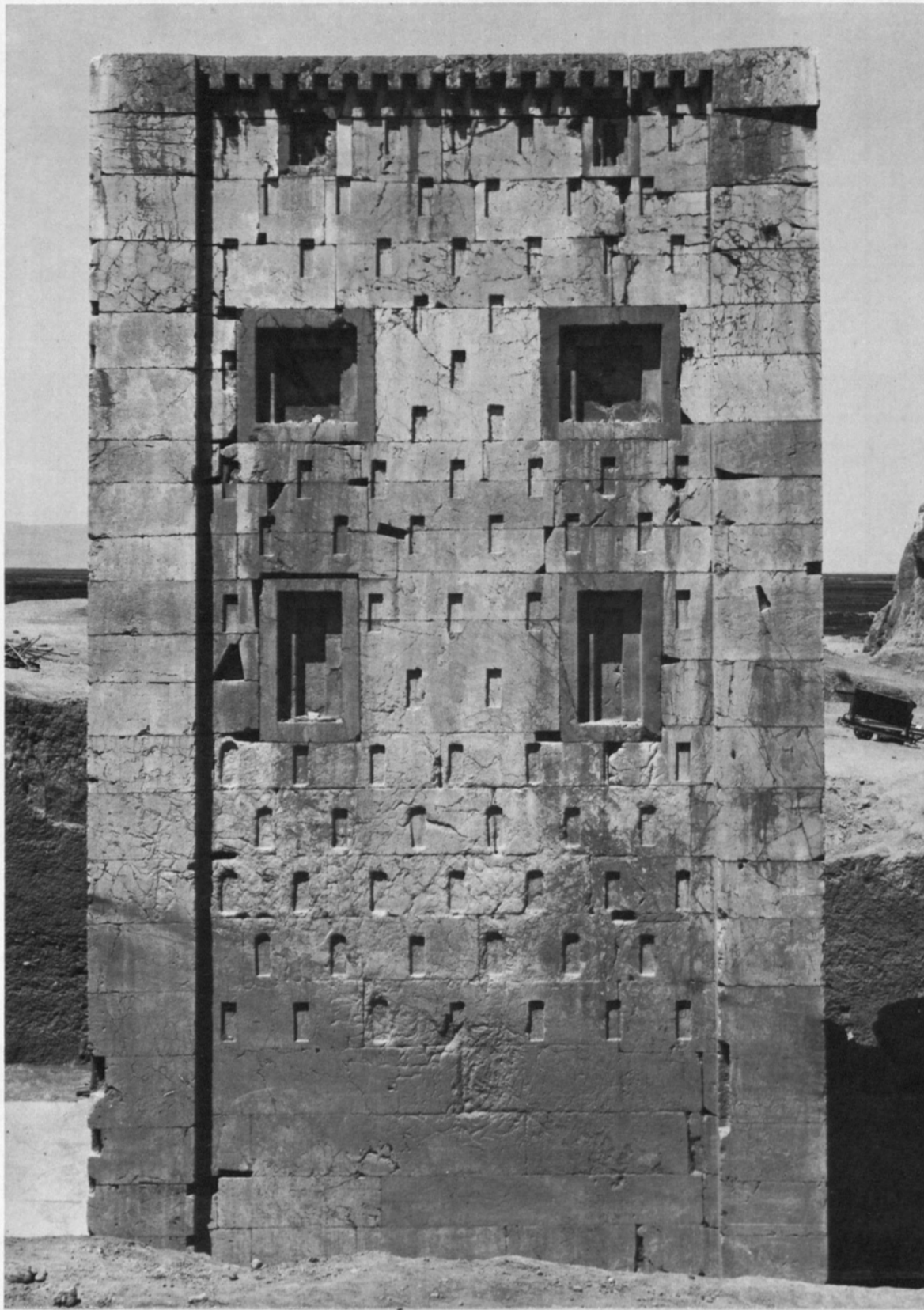


B

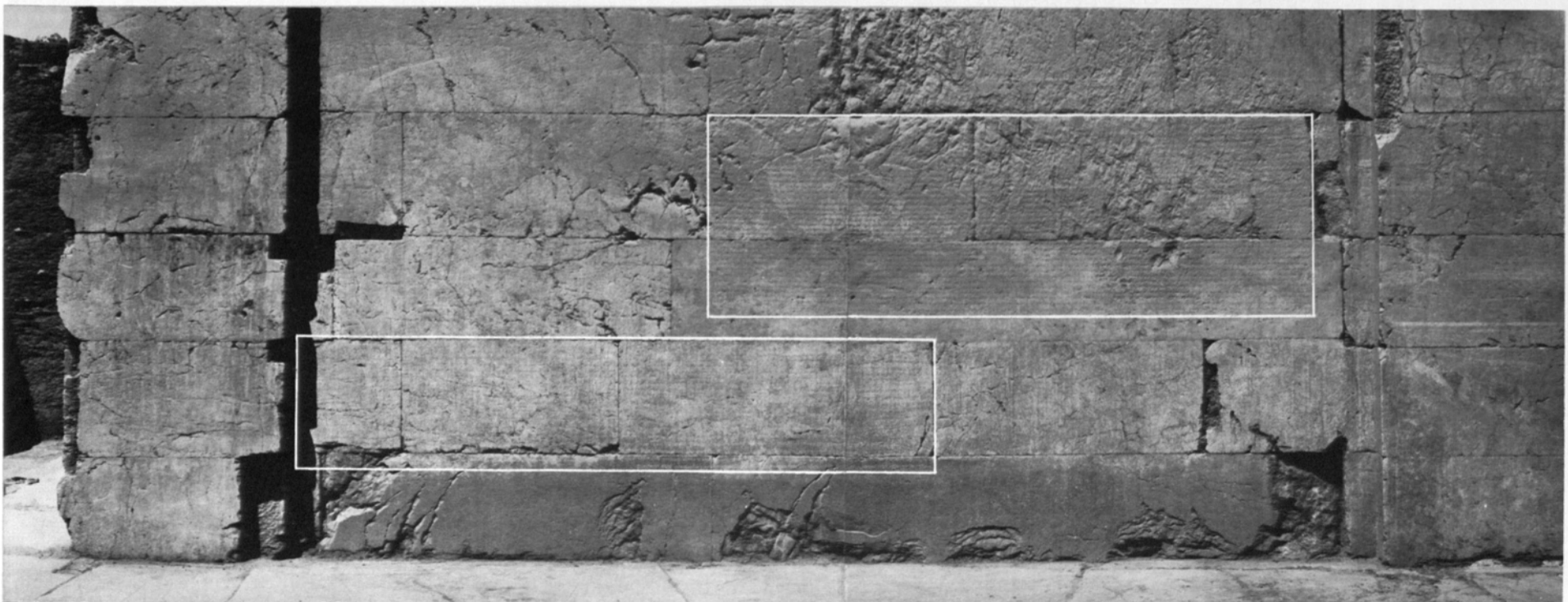


C

THE TOWER. *A*. NORTH FACE. *B*. WEST FACE OF STAIRCASE. *C*. EAST FACE OF STAIRCASE. SCALE, 1:60



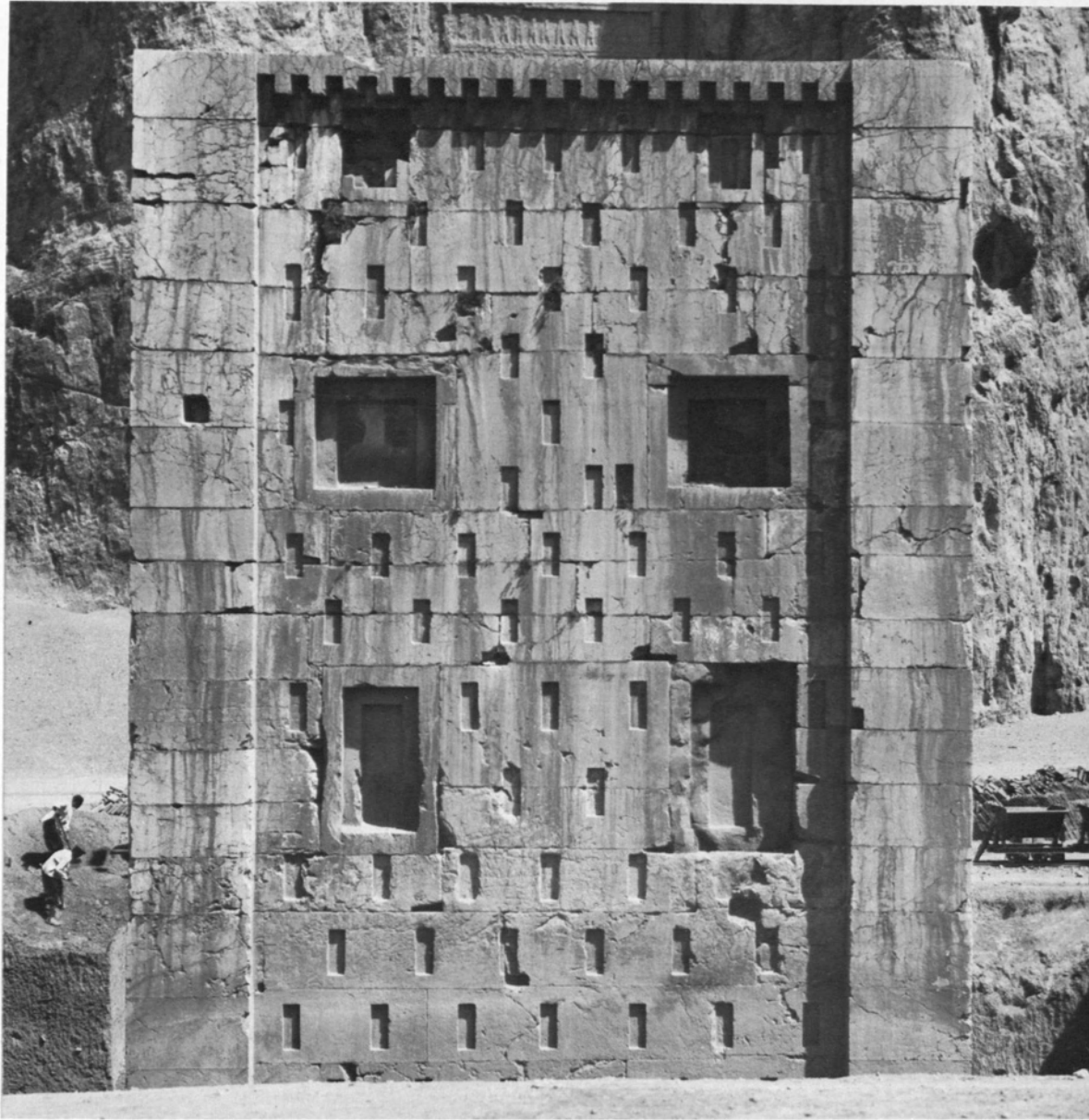
A



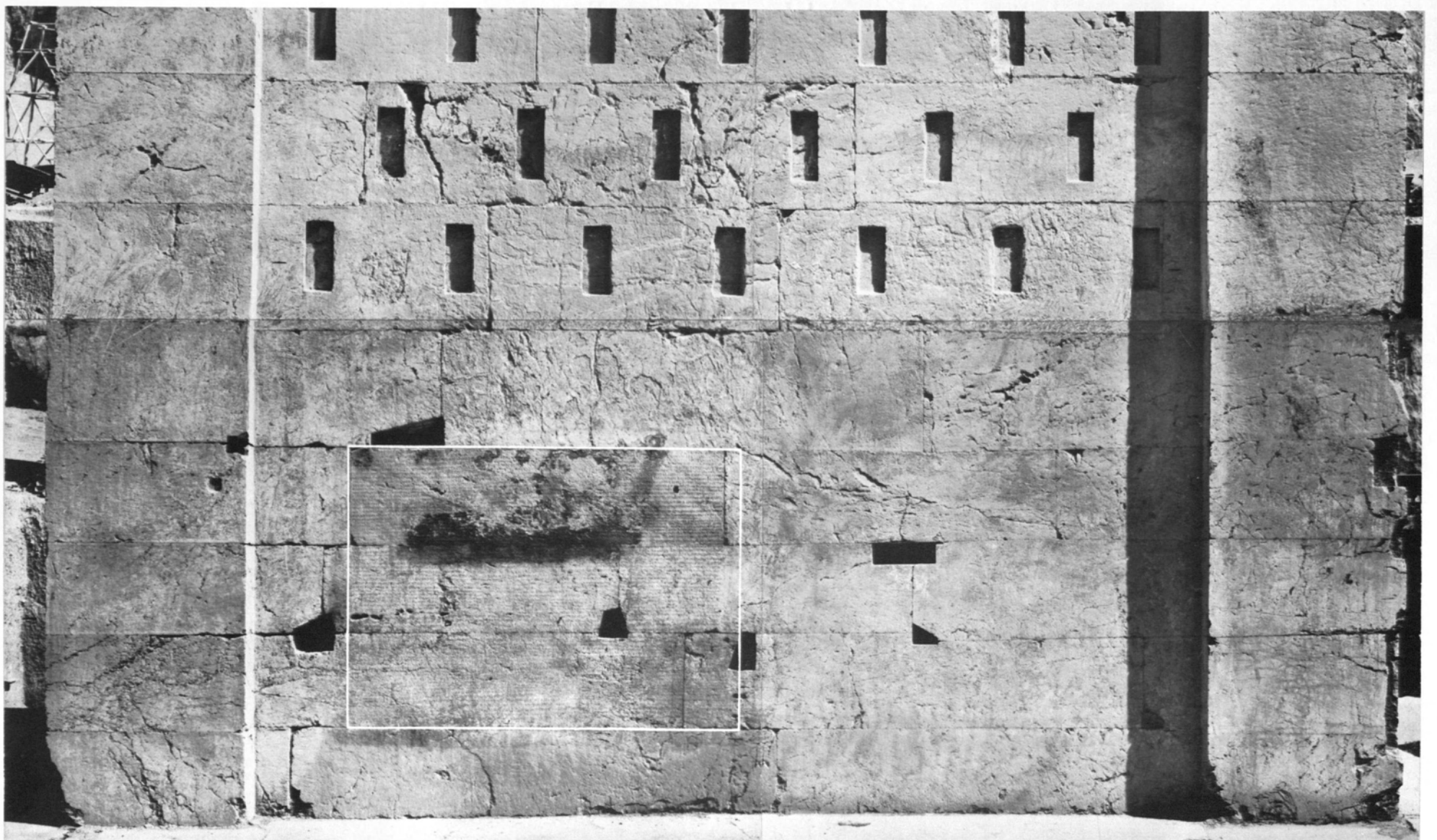
B

THE TOWER. EAST FACE. *A*. UPPER PORTION. SCALE, 1:60. *B*. LOWER PORTION WITH LOCATIONS OF MIDDLE PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF SHAPUR I (*ABOVE*) AND KARTIR MARKED IN WHITE. SCALE, 1:30

PLATE 7

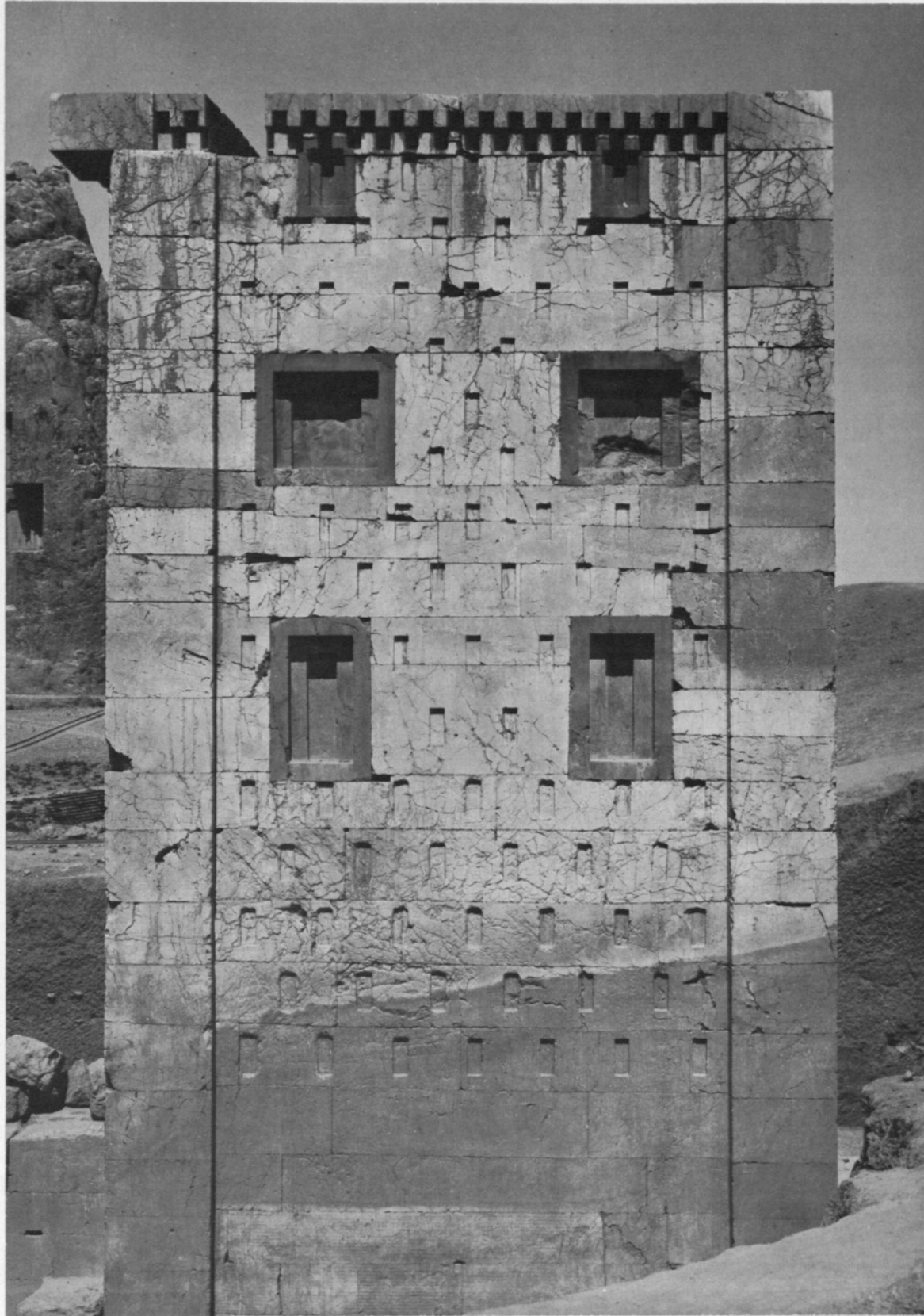


A

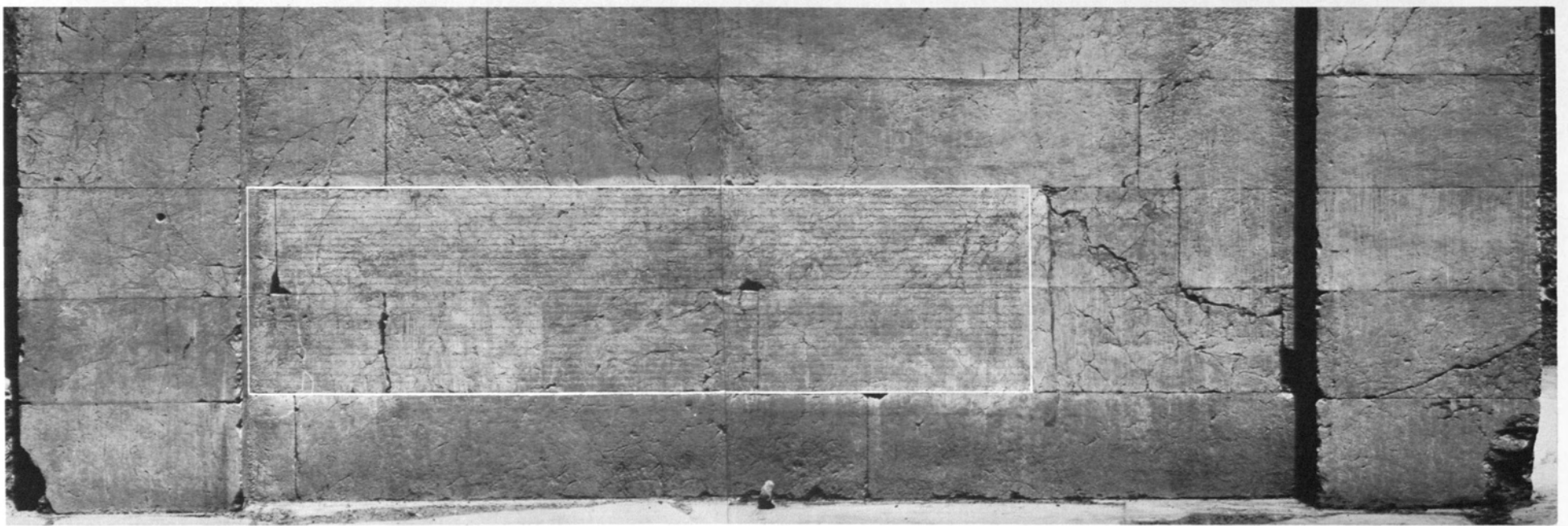


B

THE TOWER. SOUTH FACE. *A*. UPPER PORTION. SCALE, 1:60. *B*. LOWER PORTION WITH LOCATION OF GREEK VERSION OF INSCRIPTION OF SHAPUR I MARKED IN WHITE. SCALE, 1:30



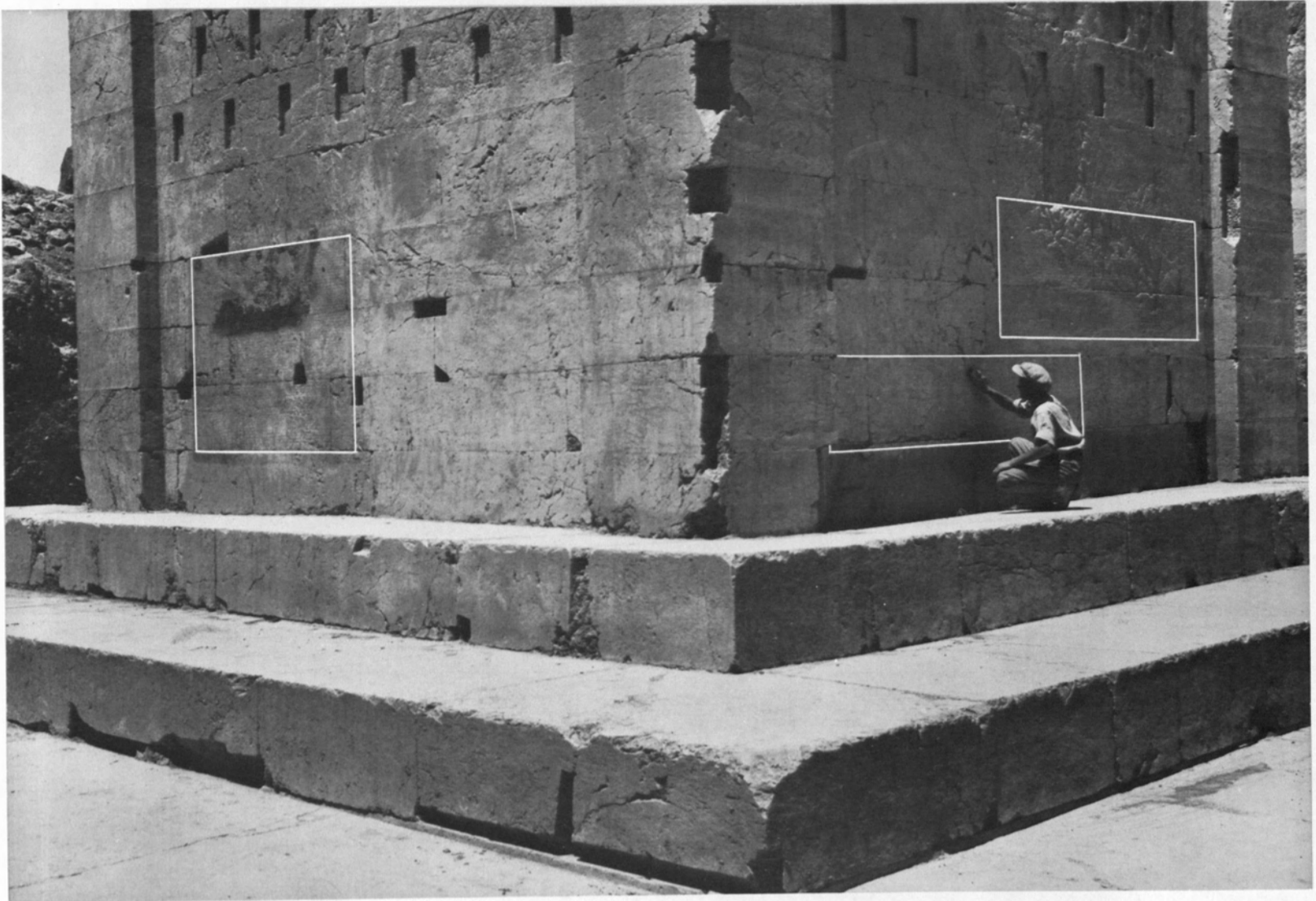
A



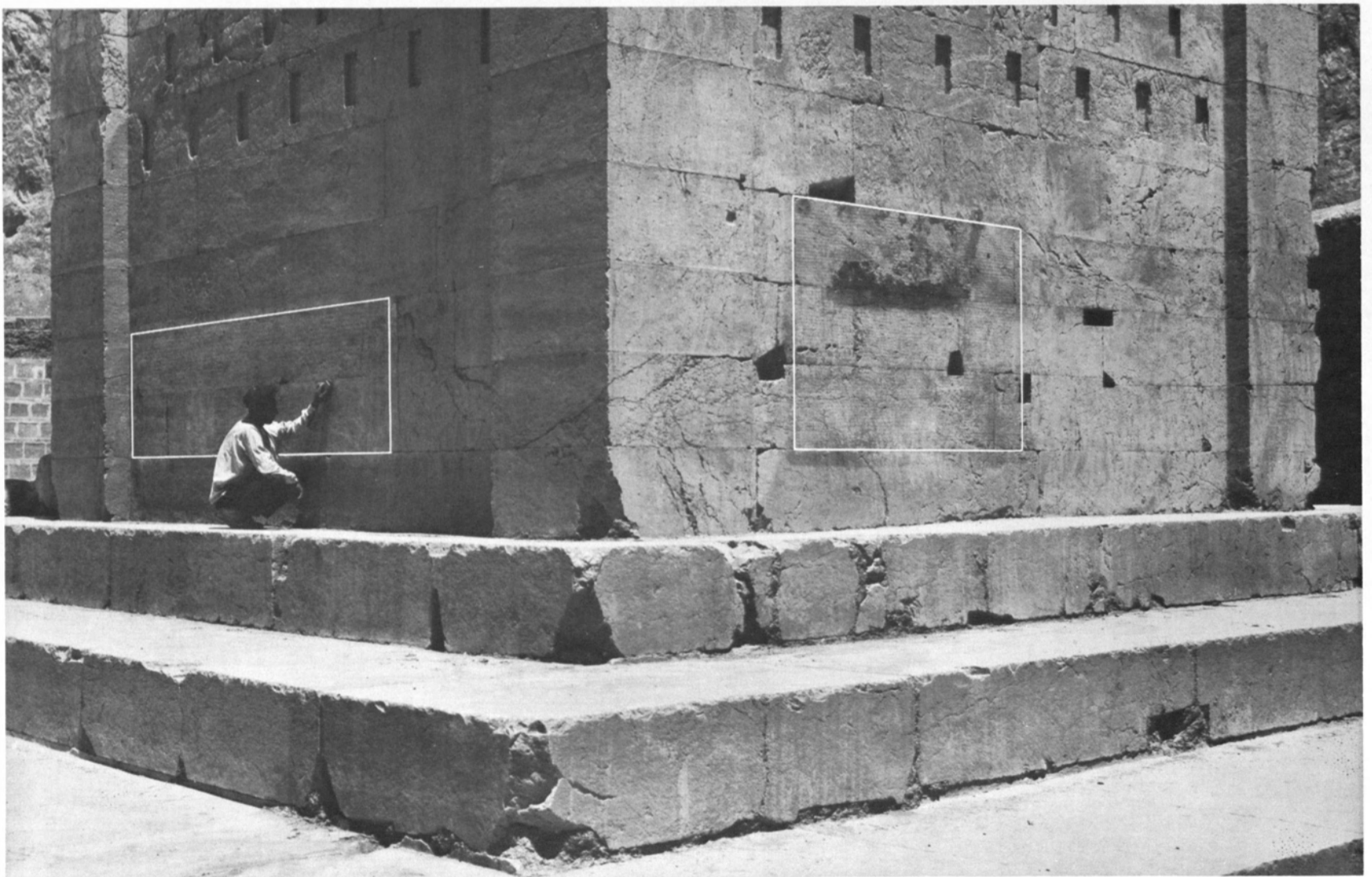
B

THE TOWER. WEST FACE. *A*. UPPER PORTION. SCALE, 1:60. *B*. LOWER PORTION WITH LOCATION OF PARTHIAN VERSION OF INSCRIPTION OF SHAPUR I MARKED IN WHITE. SCALE, 1:30

PLATE 9

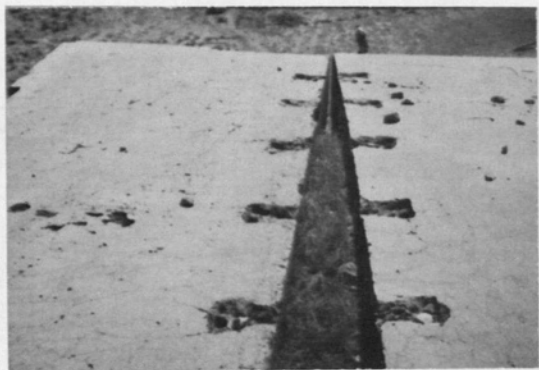


A

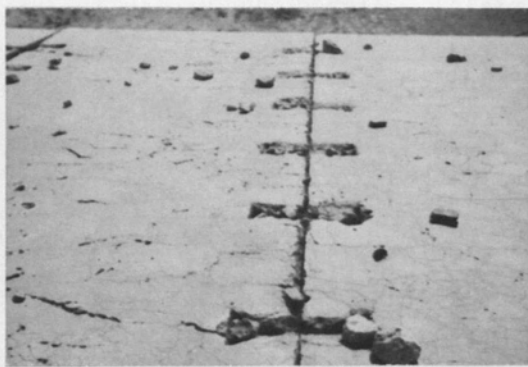


B

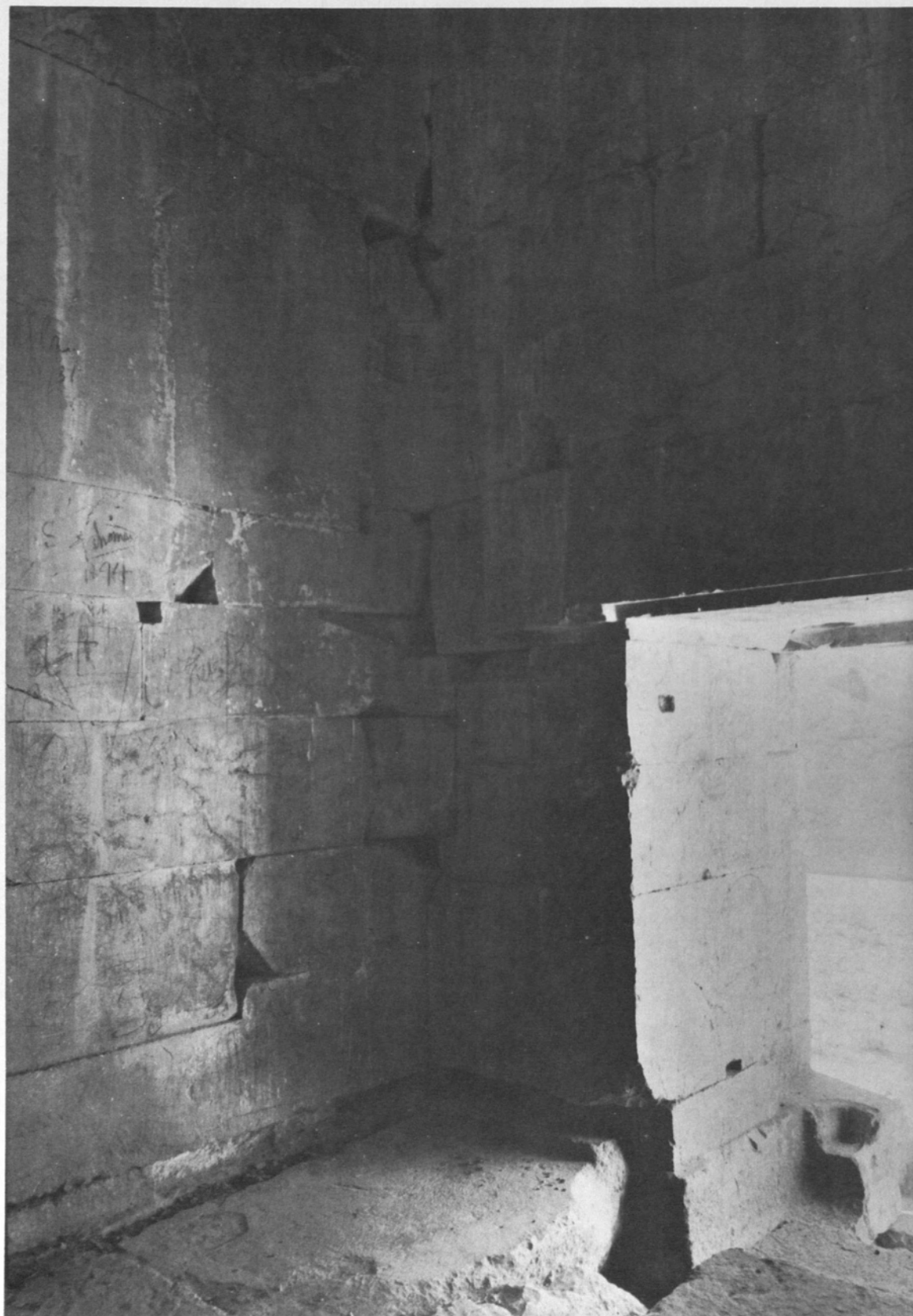
THE TOWER. *A*. SOUTHEAST CORNER WITH INSCRIPTIONS MARKED AS ON PLATES 6 AND 7. *B*. SOUTHWEST CORNER WITH INSCRIPTIONS MARKED AS ON PLATES 7 AND 8



A

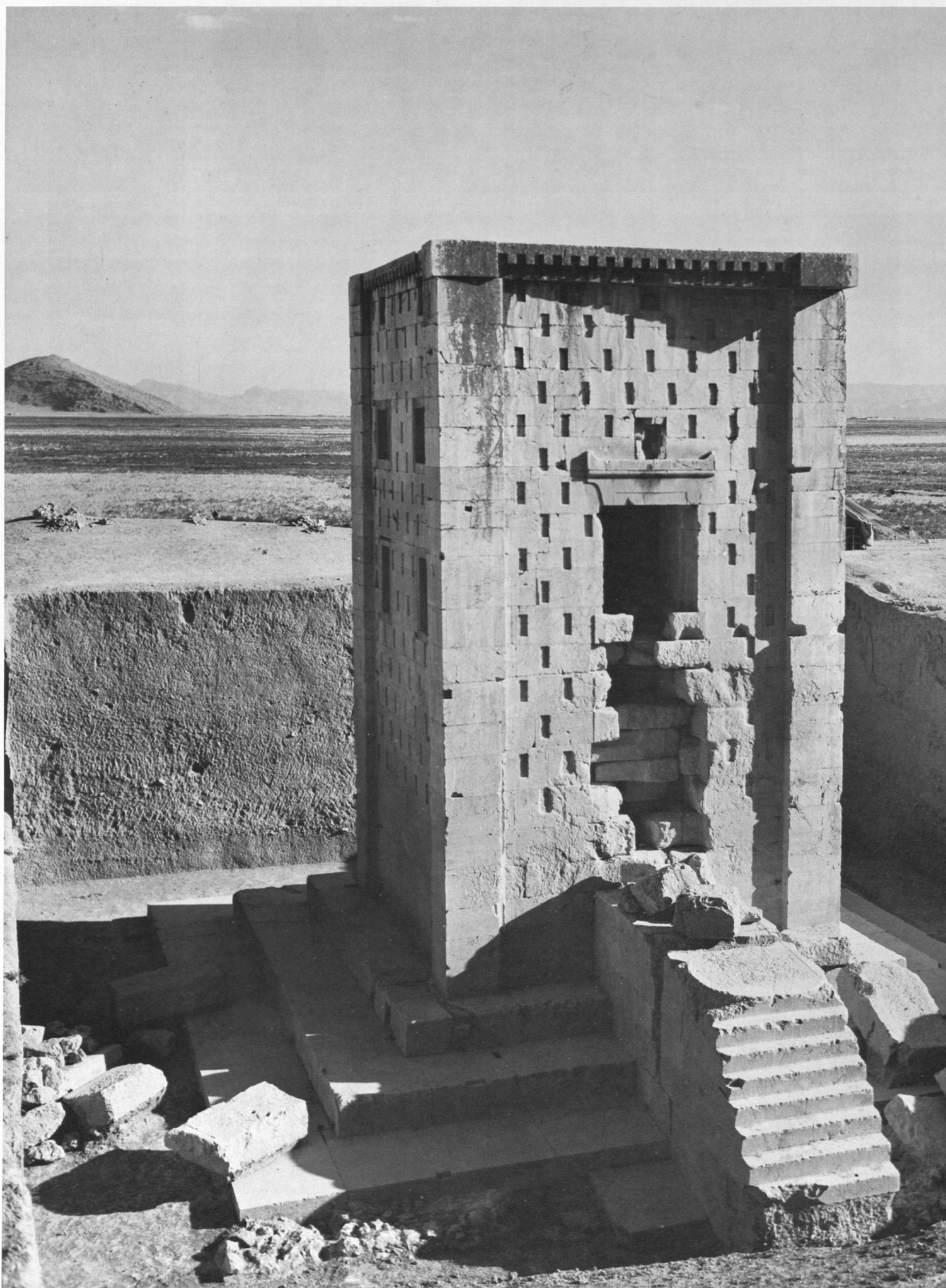


B

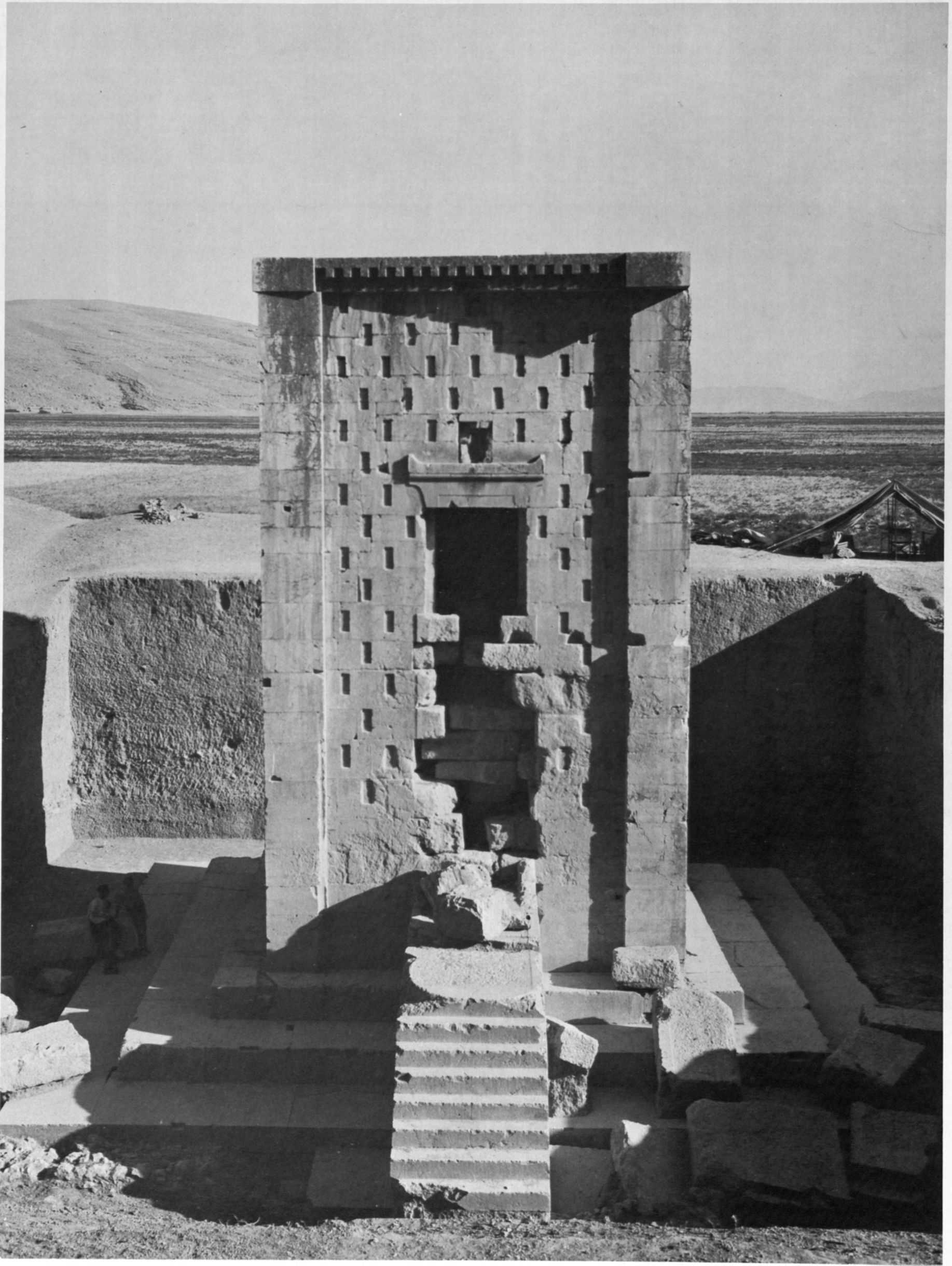


C

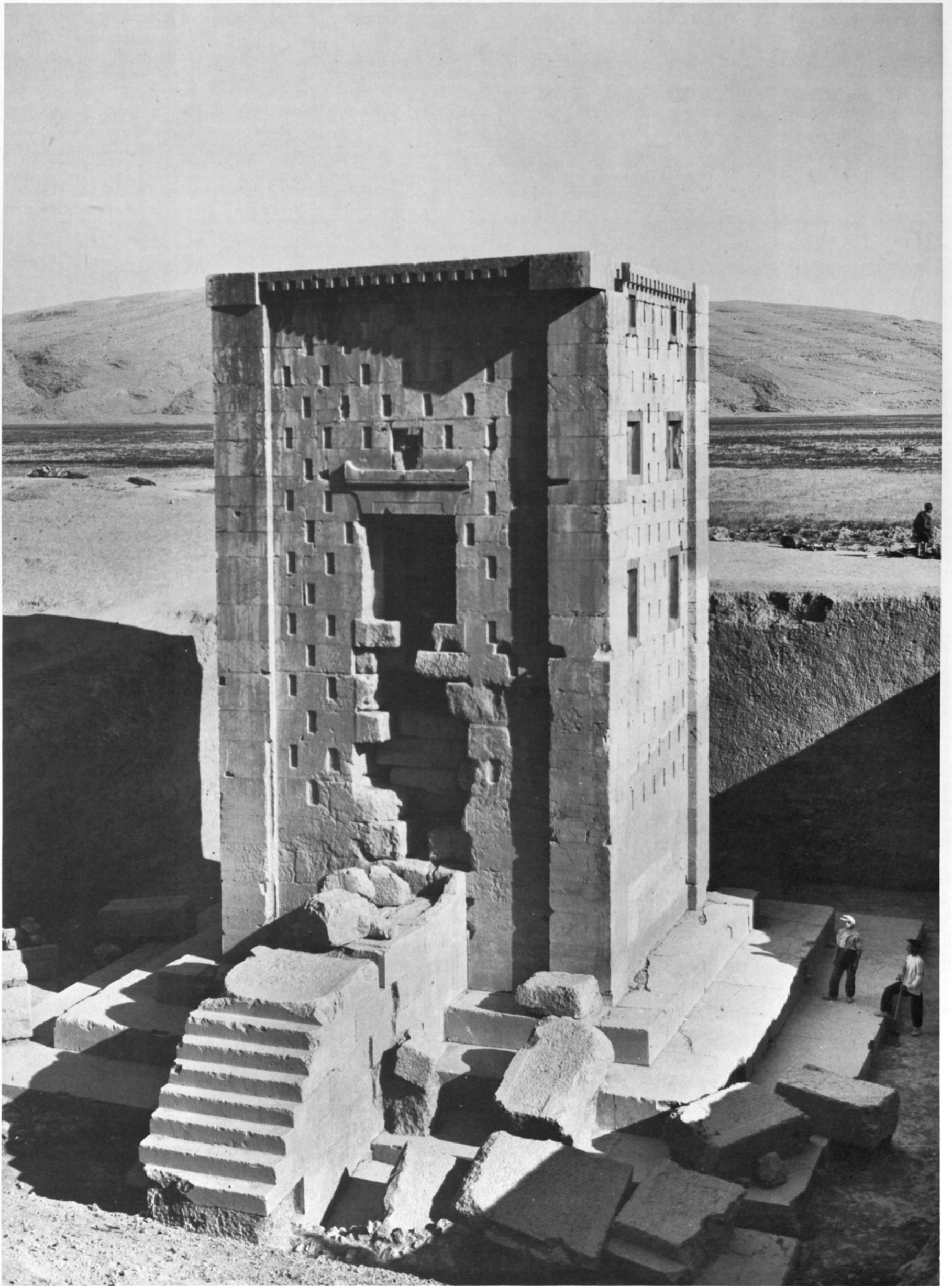
THE TOWER. *A-B.* NORTHERN (*AT LEFT*) AND CENTRAL JOINTS OF ROOF SLABS WITH CRAMP HOLES.
C. CHAMBER, VIEW TOWARD WEST JAMB OF DOORWAY



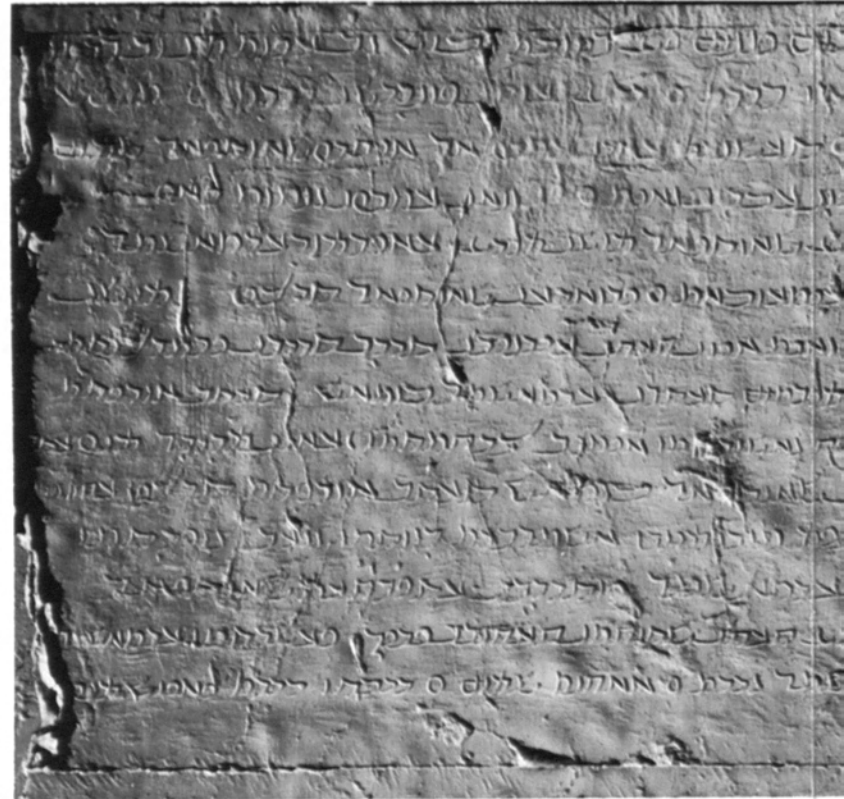
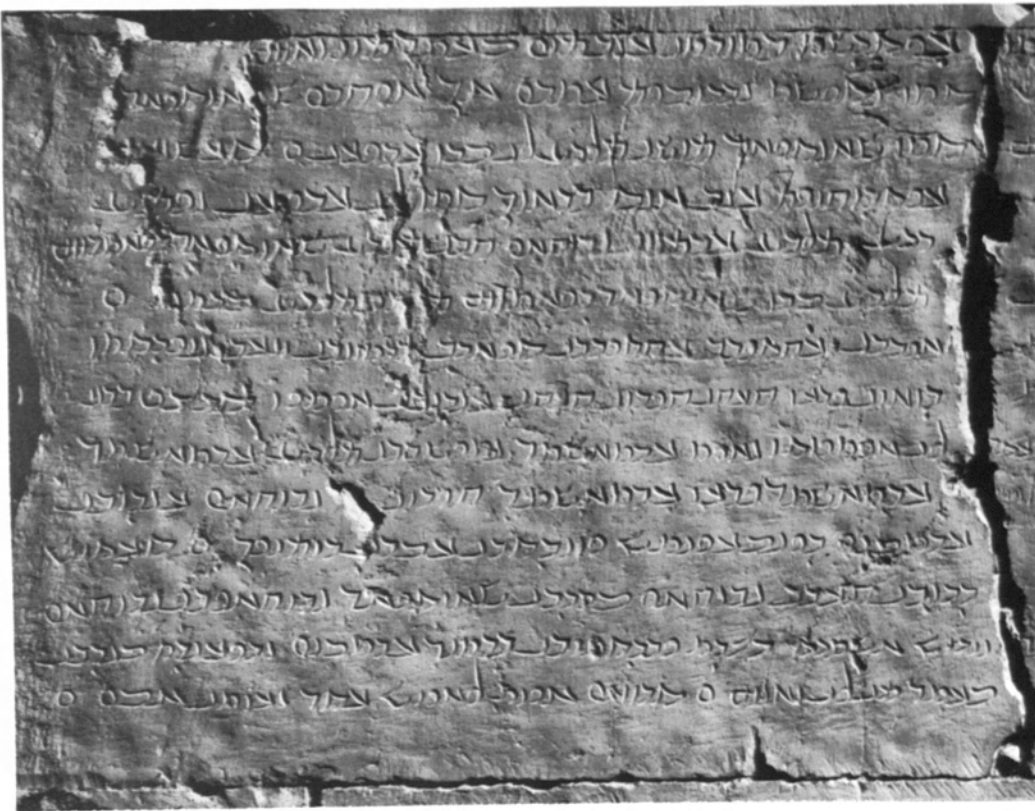
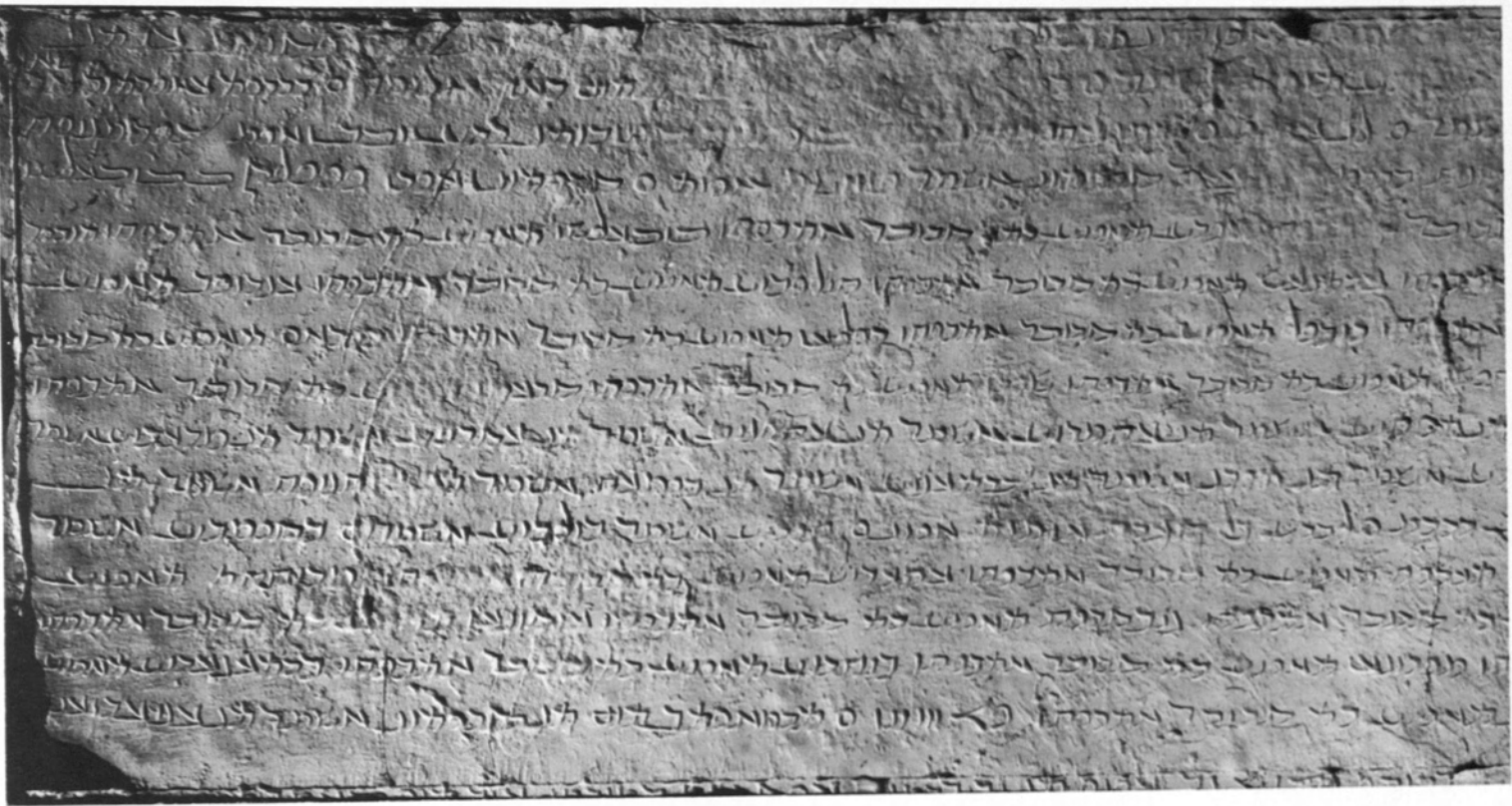
THE TOWER AFTER EXCAVATION (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, S*)

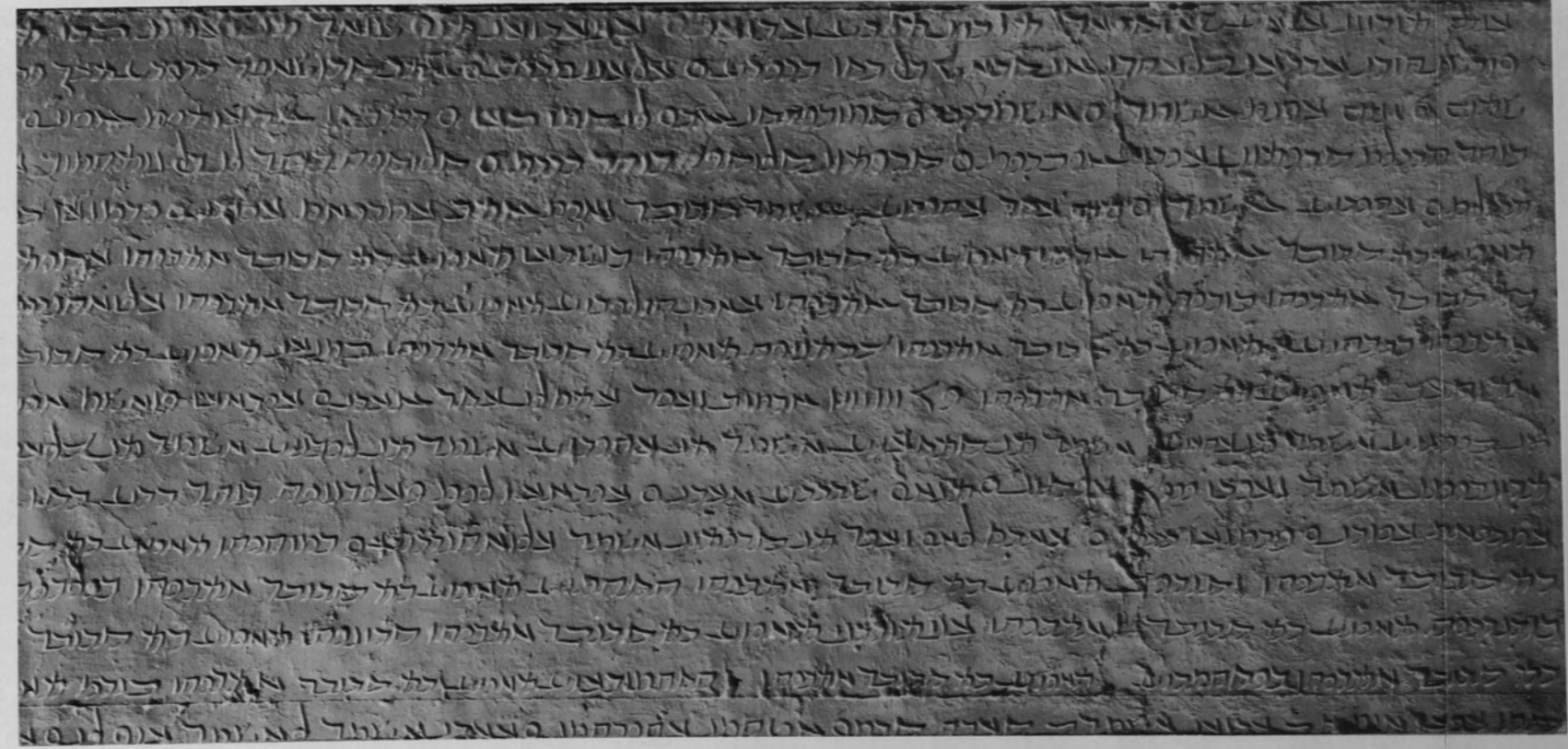
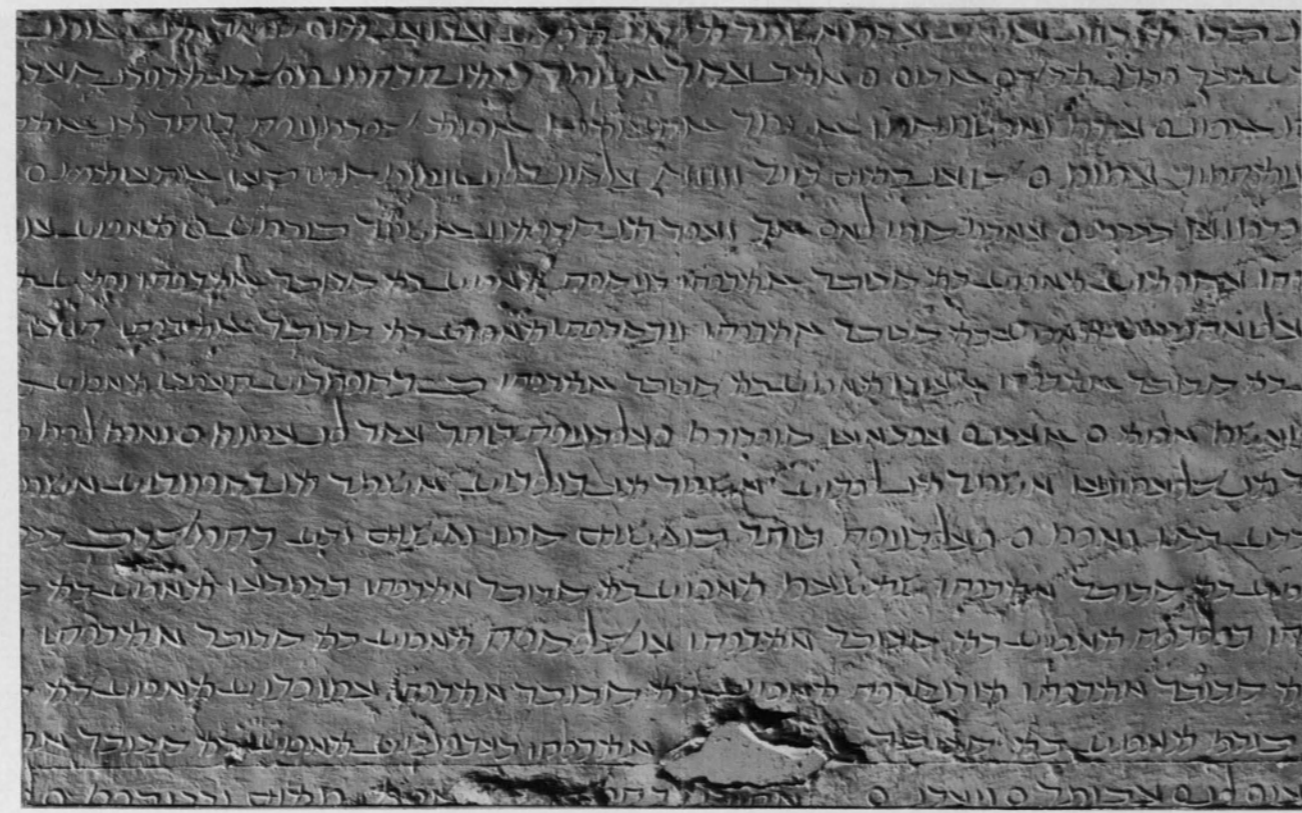
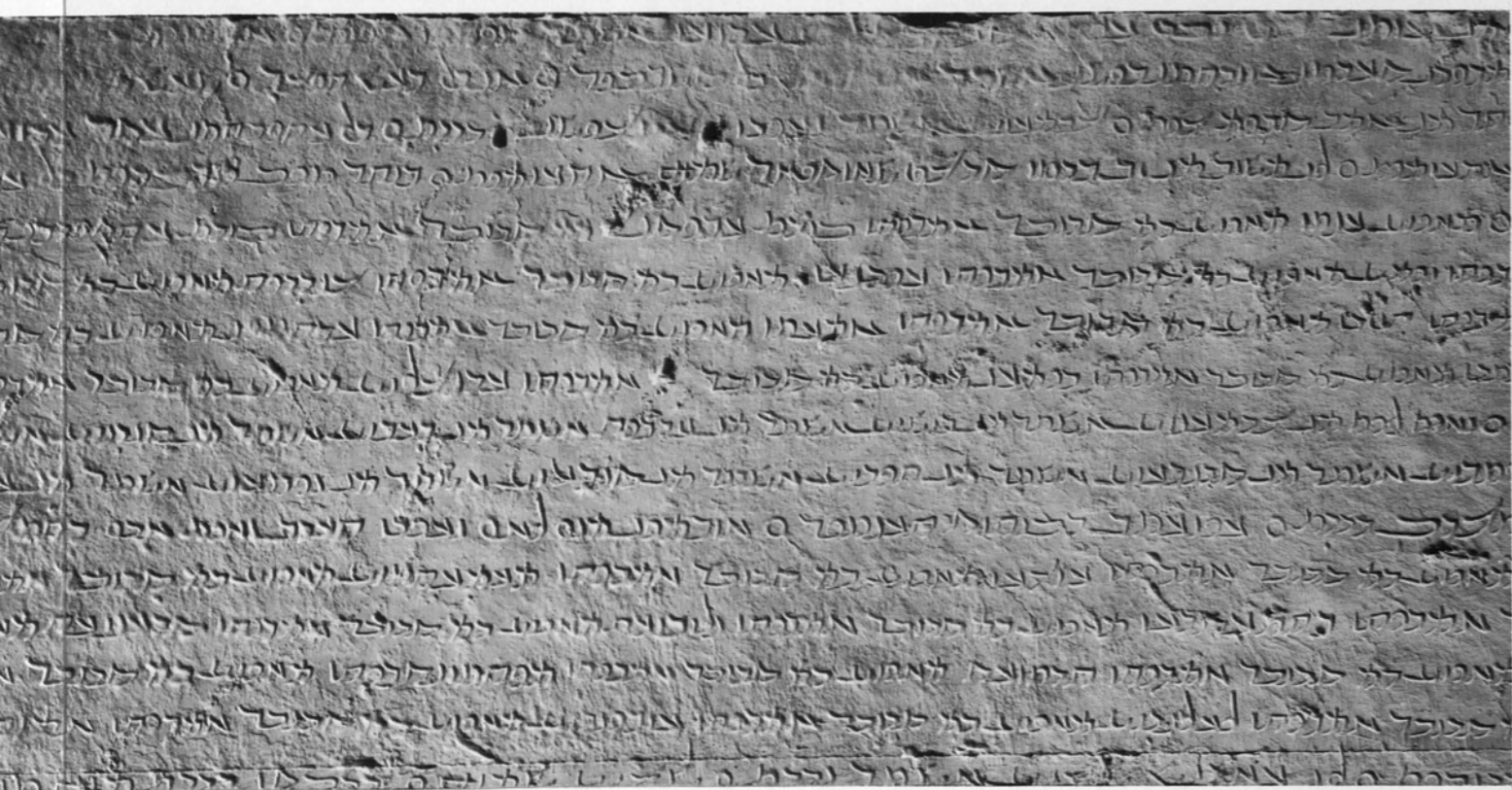


THE TOWER AFTER EXCAVATION (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SSE*)

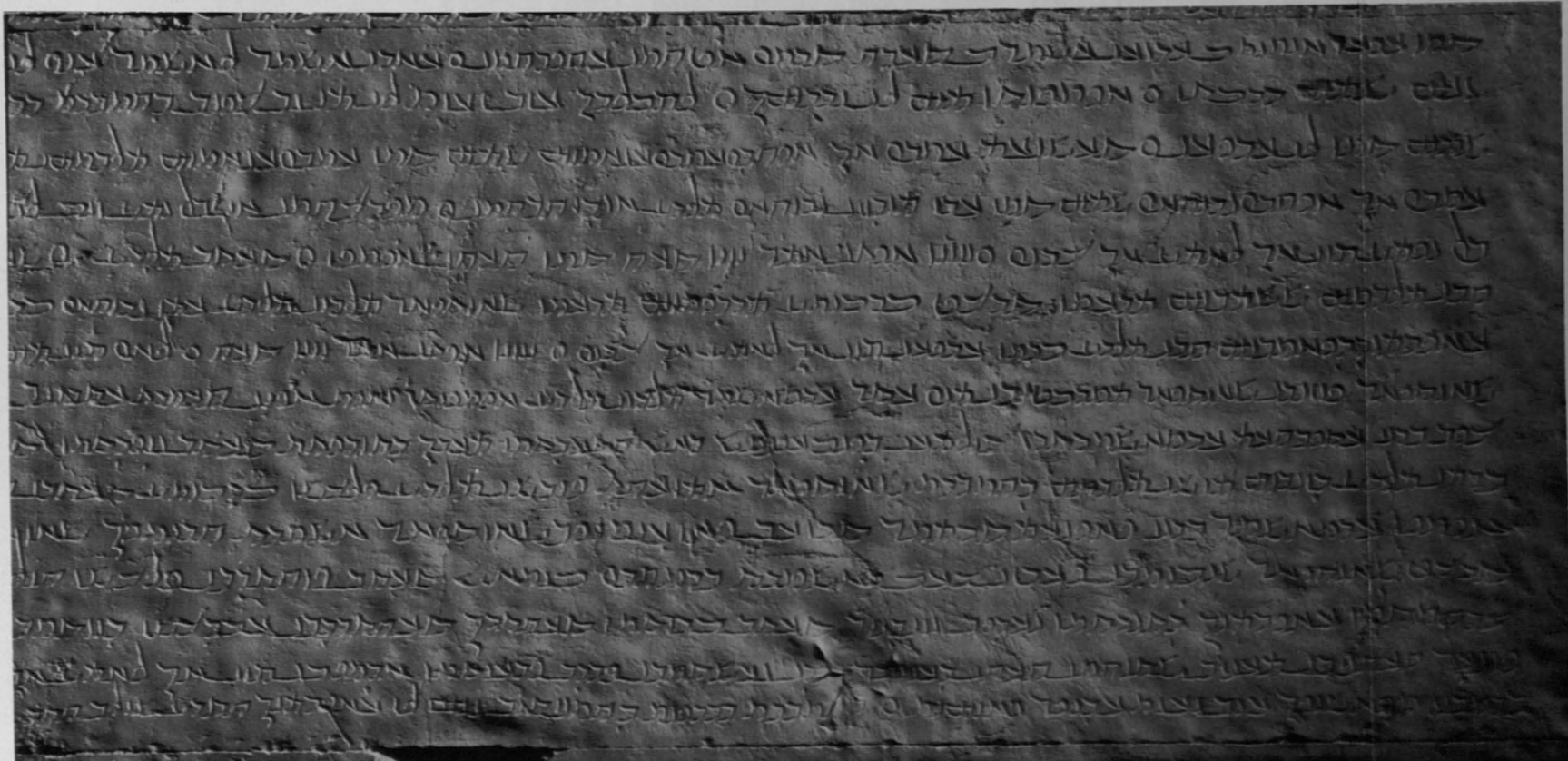
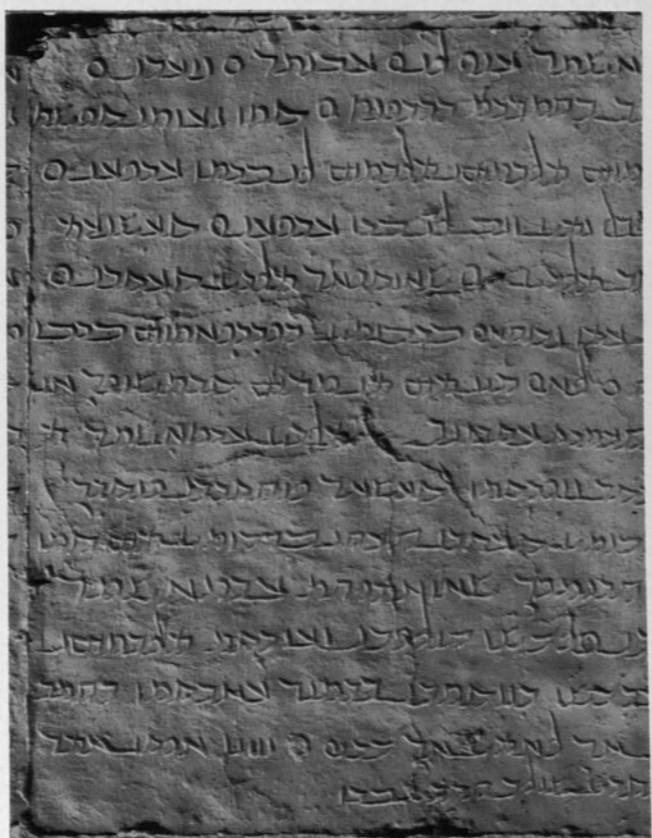
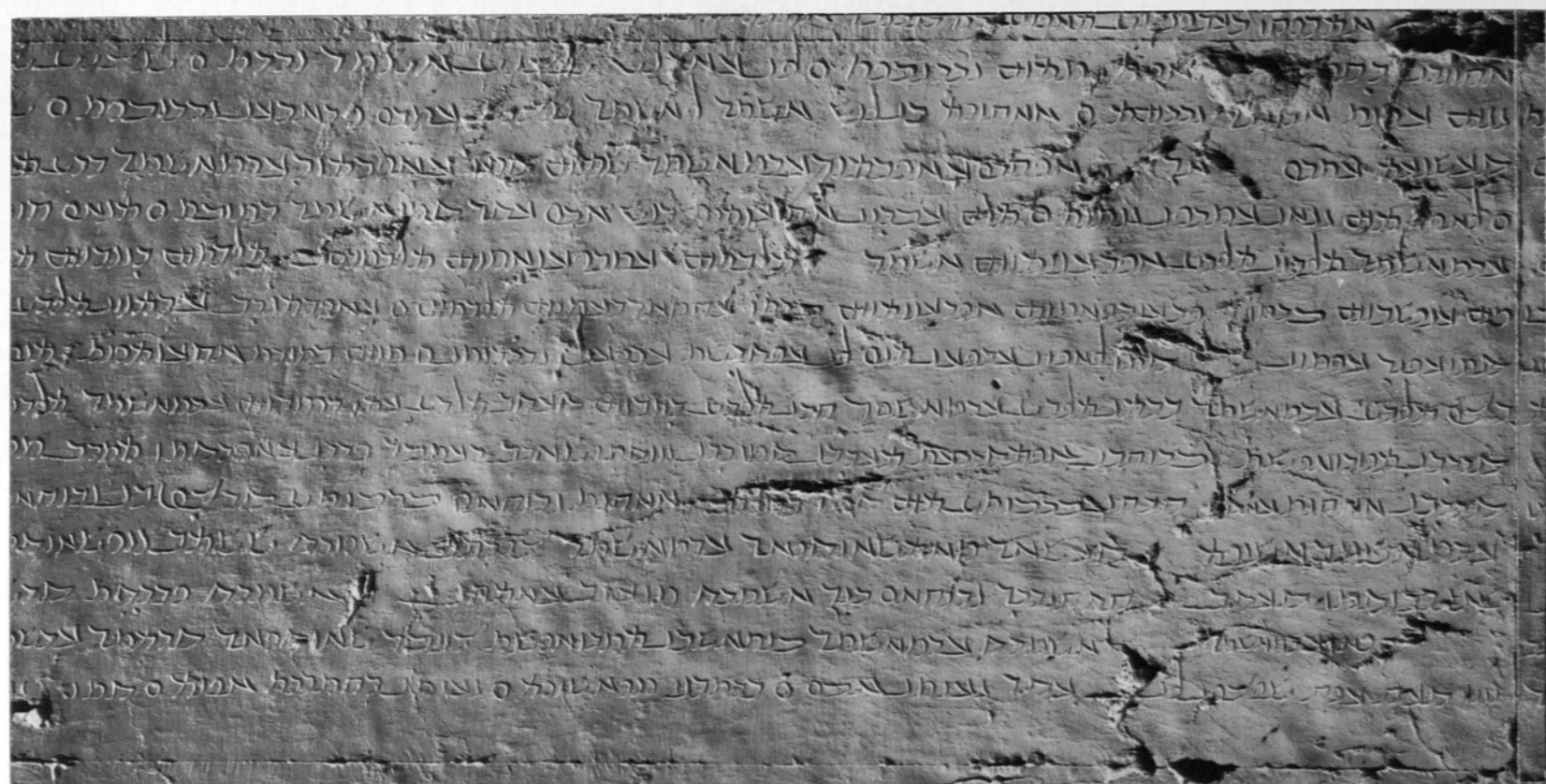
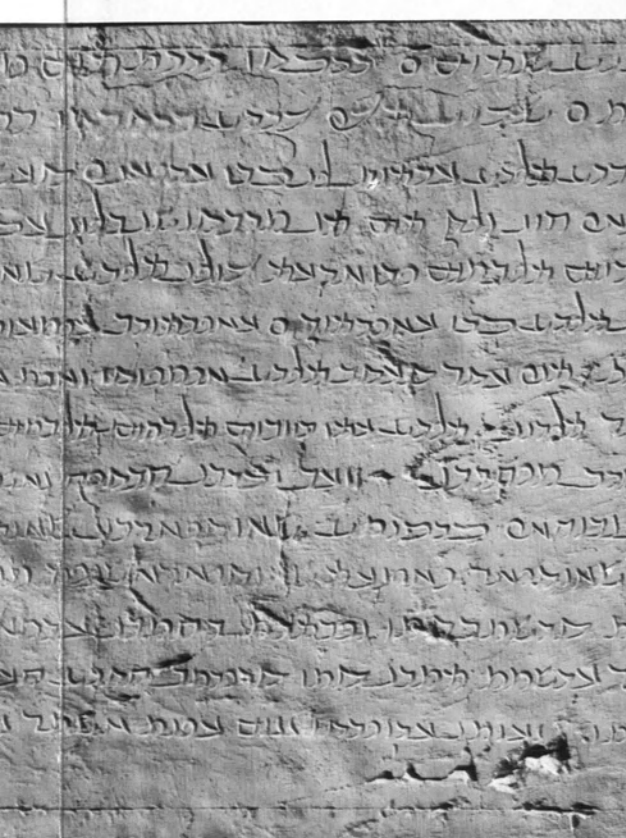


THE TOWER AFTER EXCAVATION (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SE*)





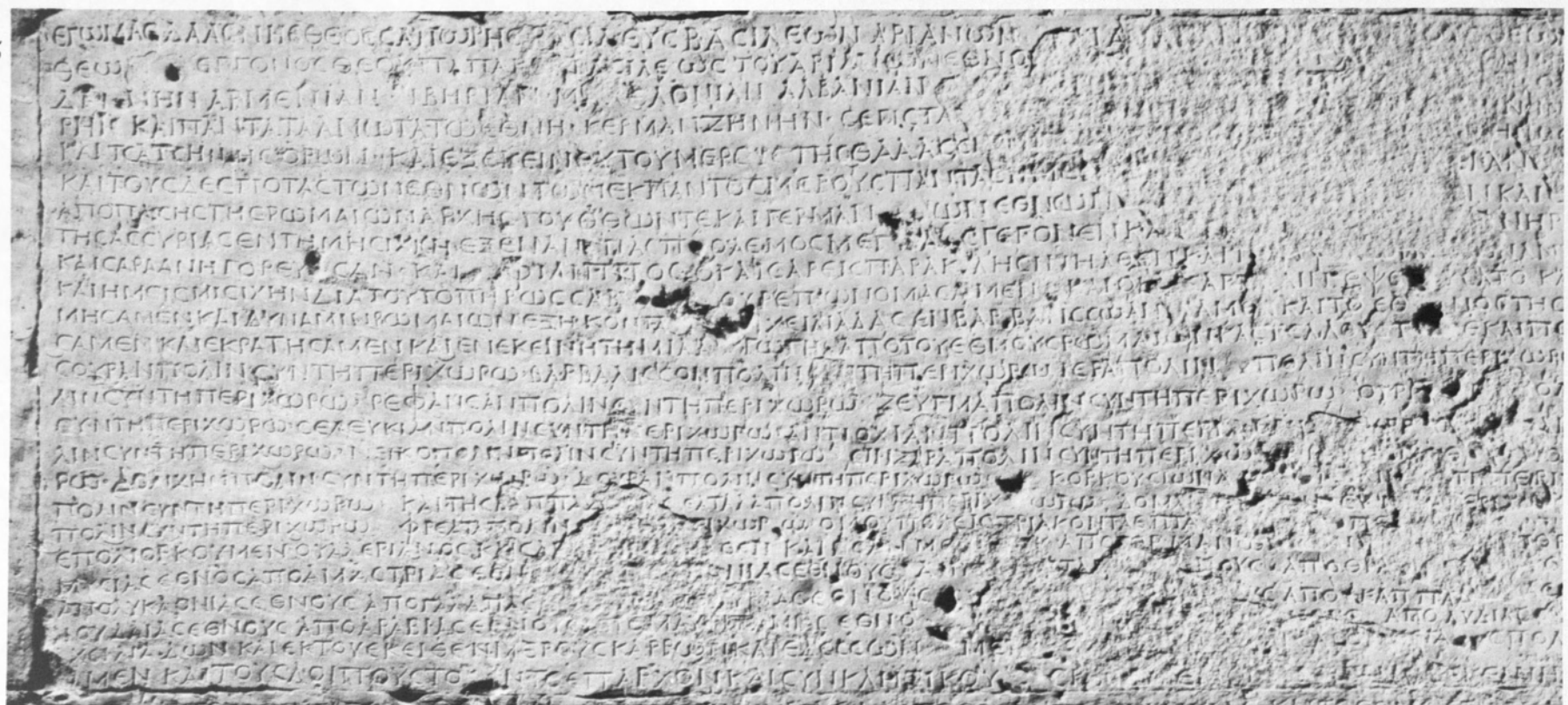
Lines 1-16



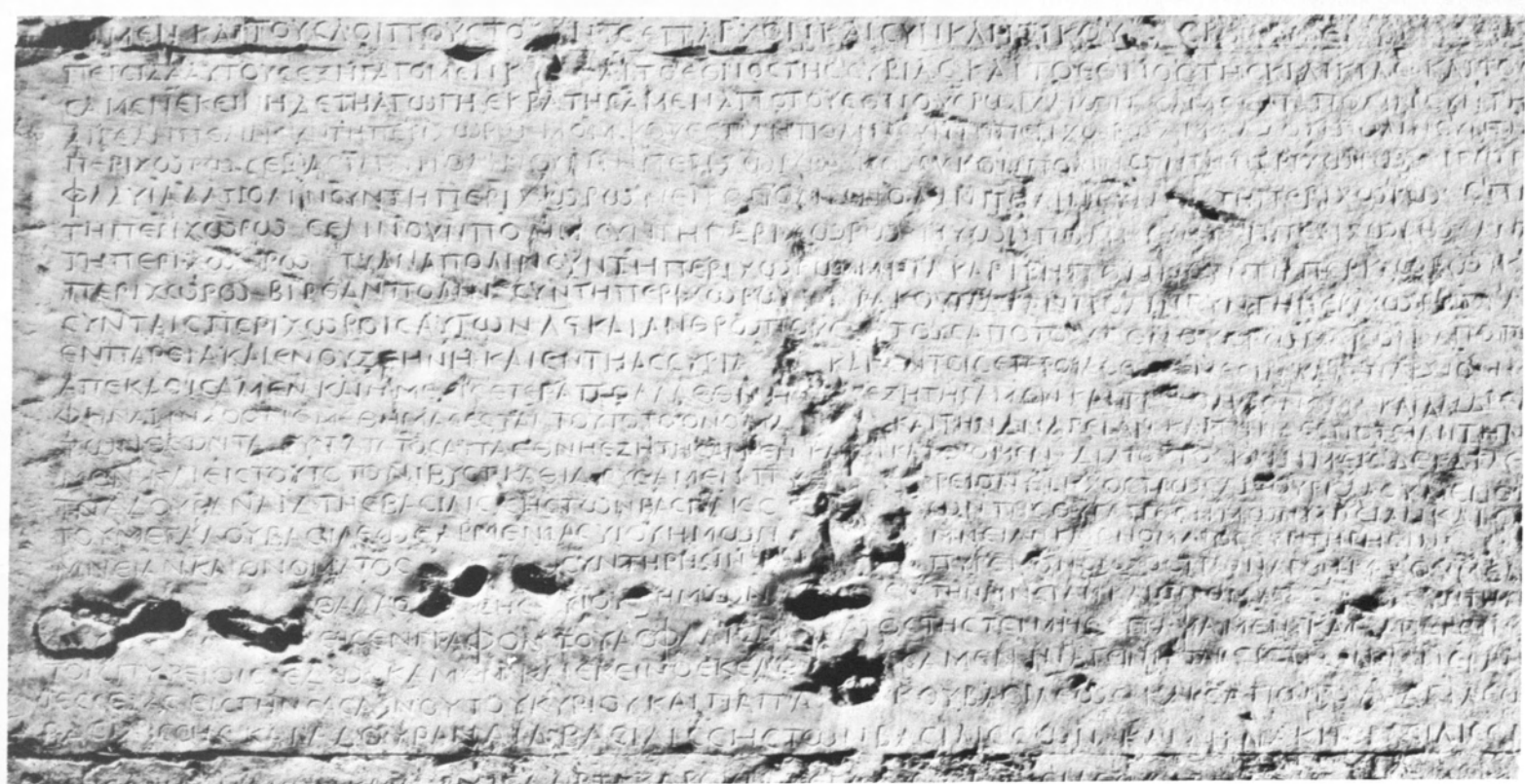
Lines 16-30

THE TOWER. PARTHIAN VERSION OF INSCRIPTION OF SHAPUR I ON WEST WALL (PLASTER CAST OF RUBBER MOLD). SCALE, ABOUT 1:5

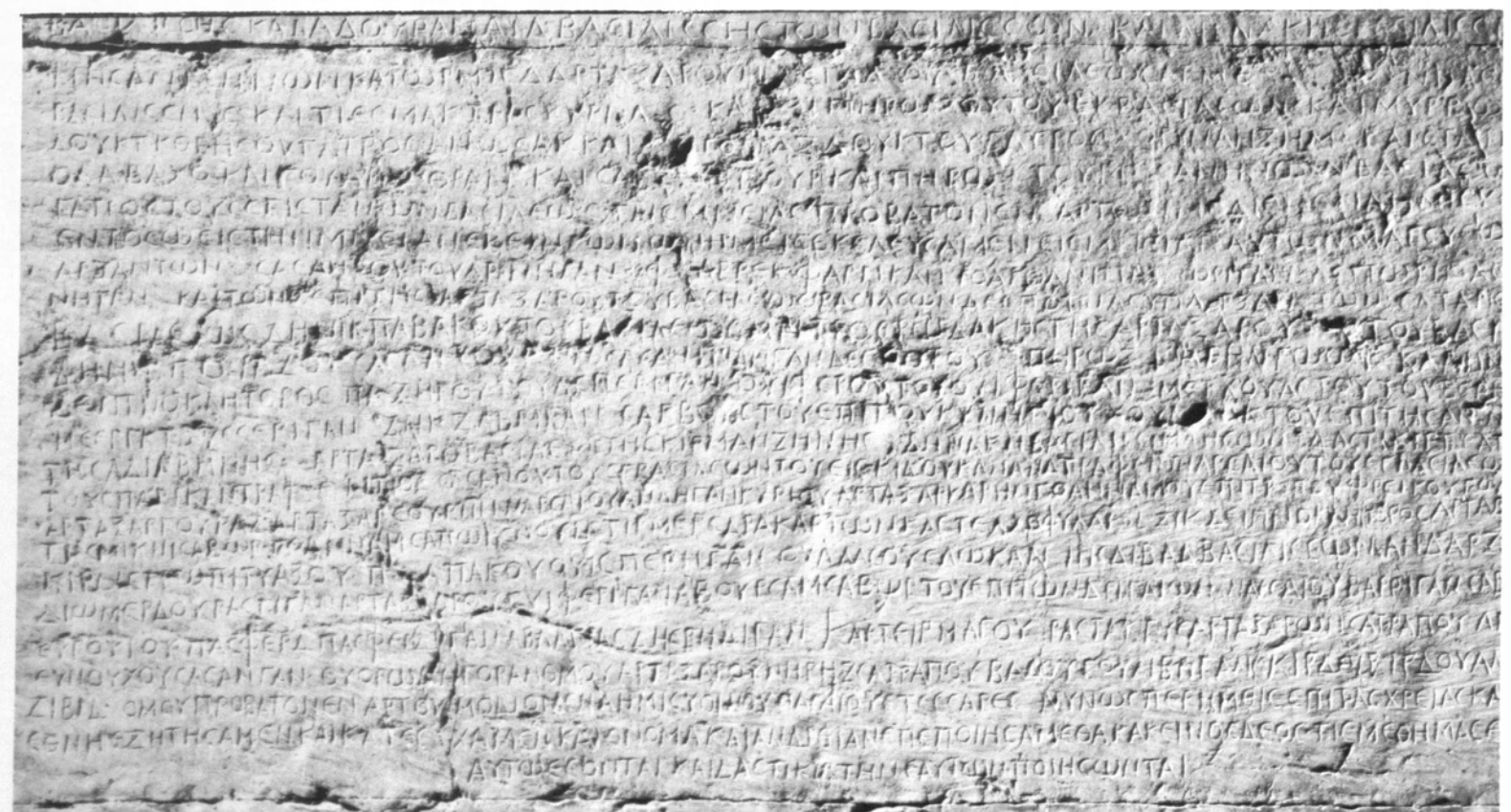
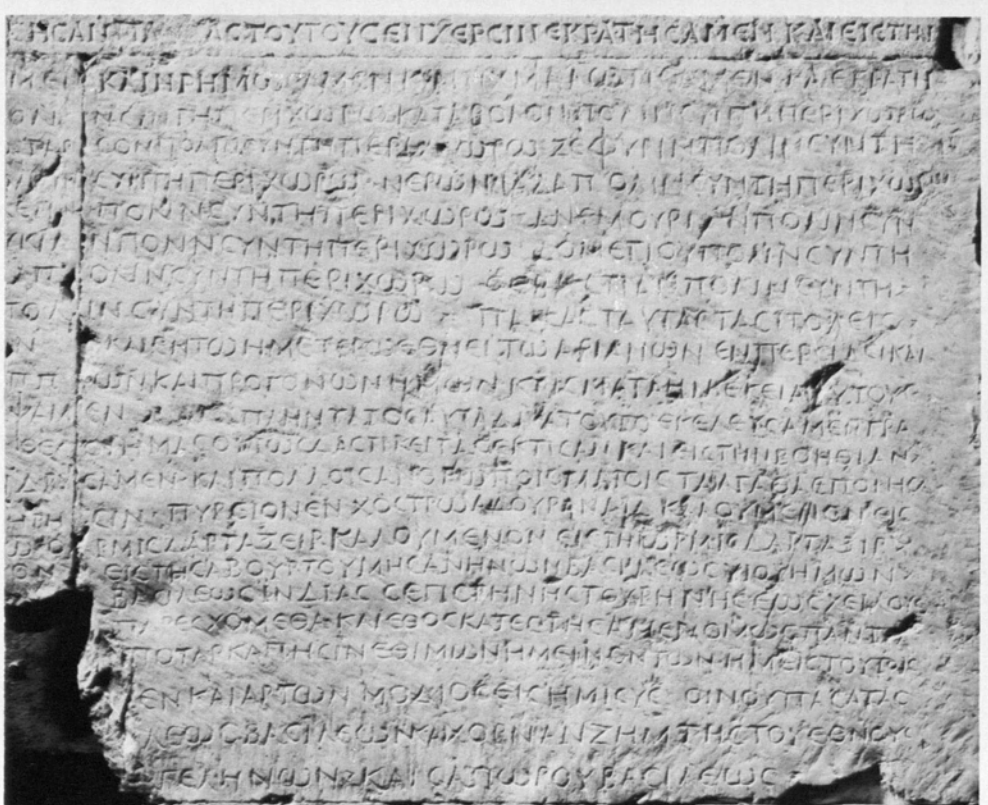
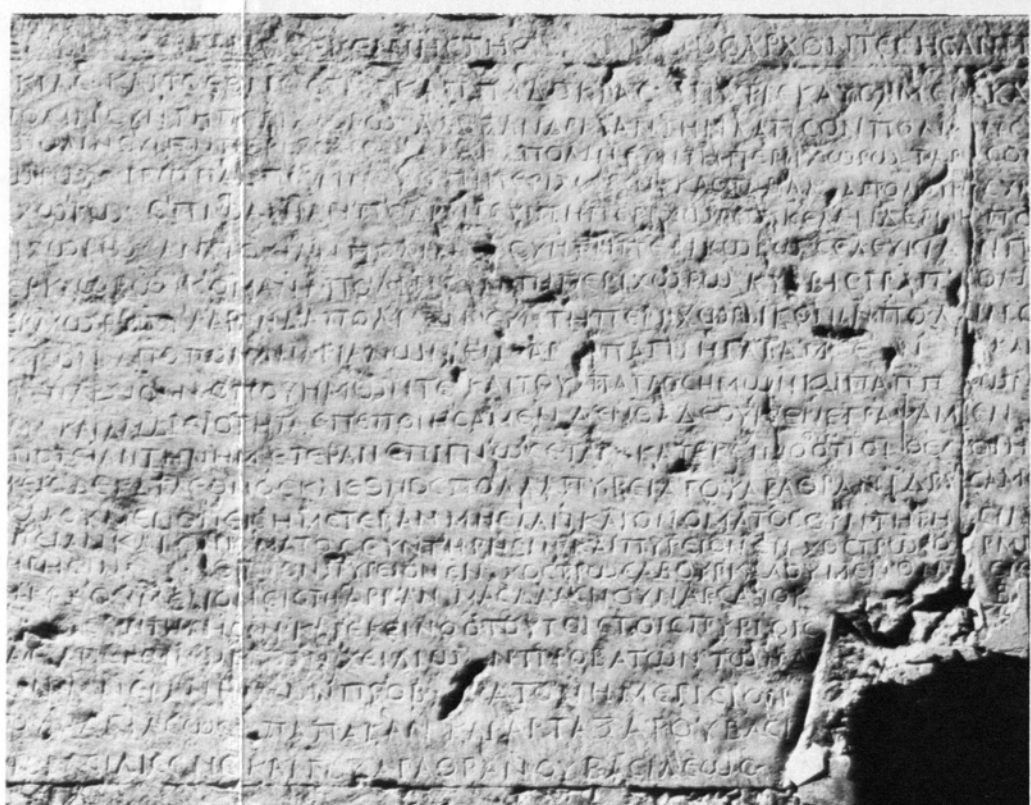
PLATE 15



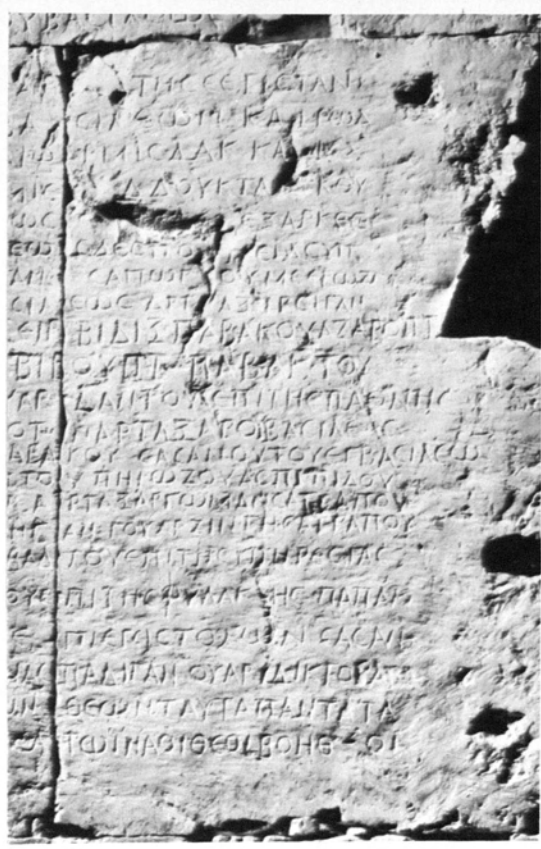
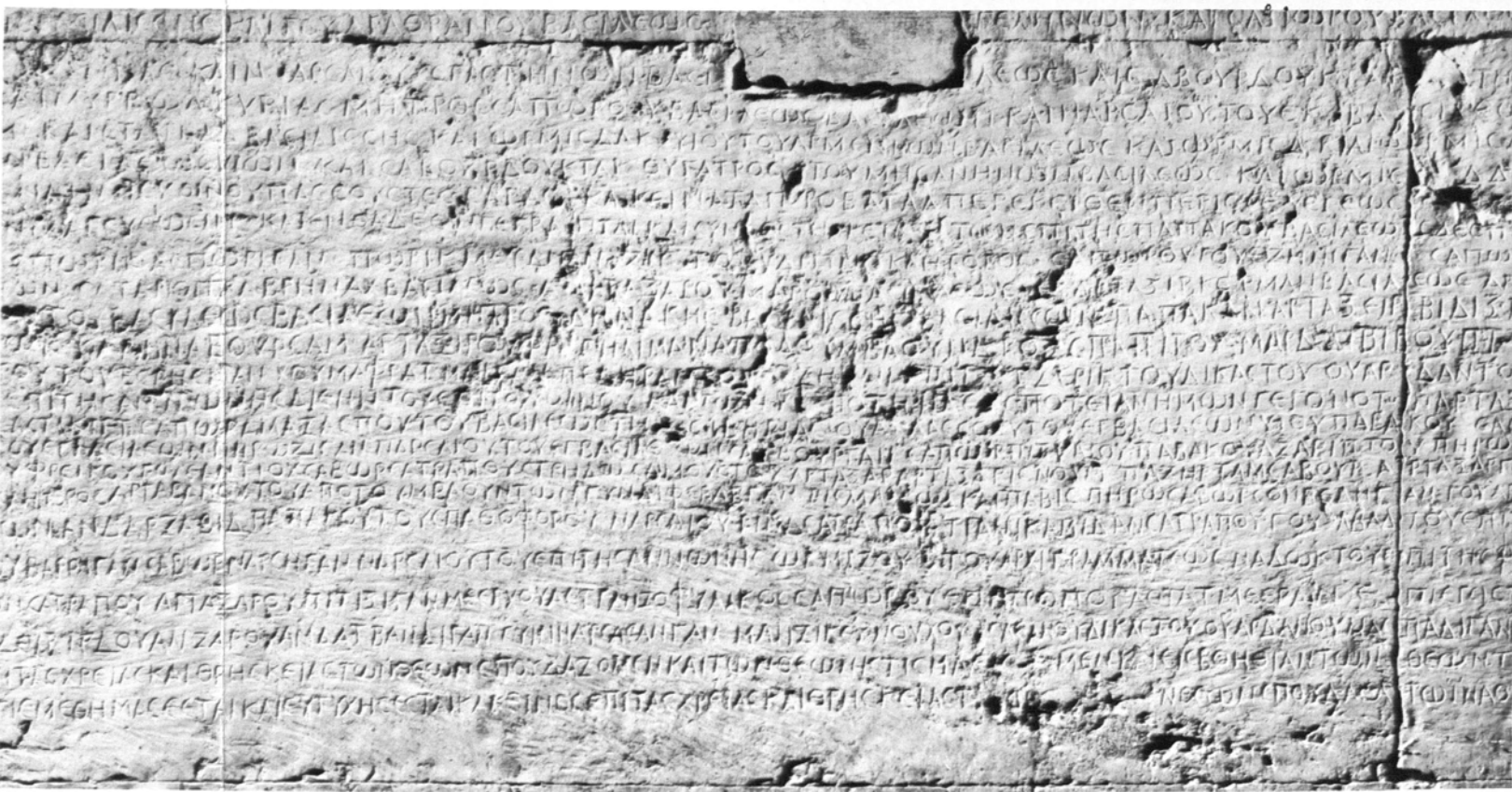
Lines 1-25

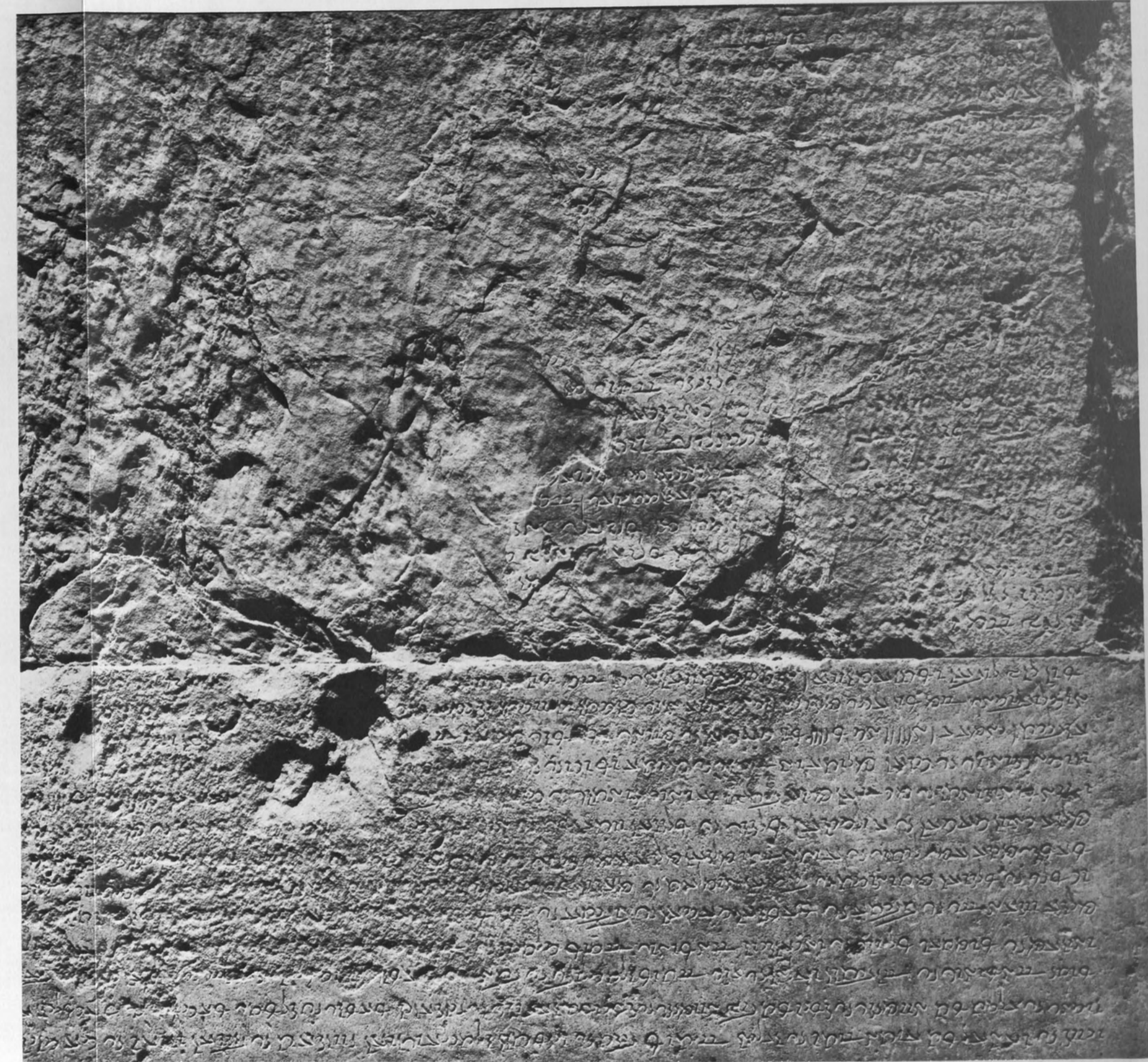
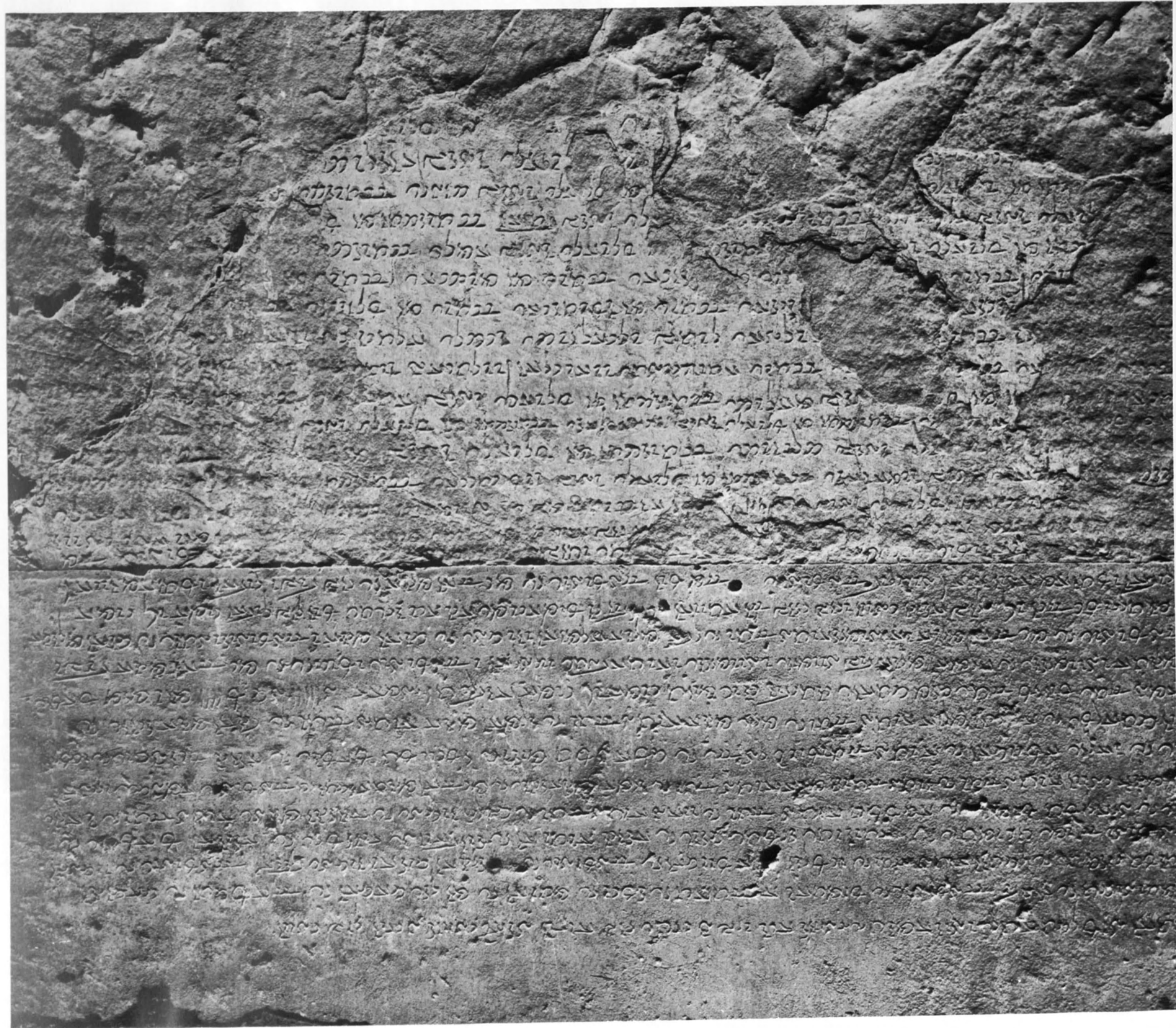


Lines 25-47

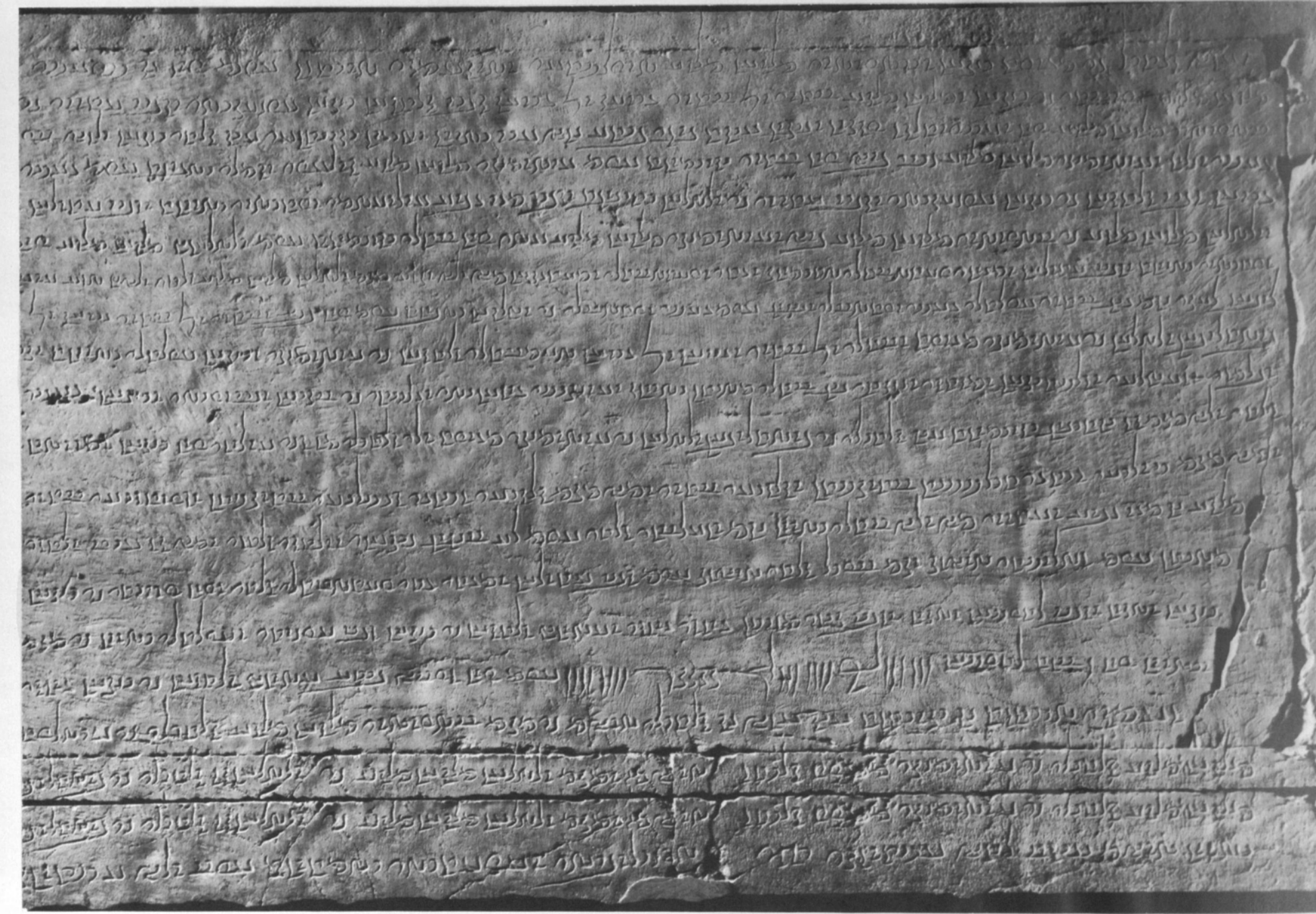
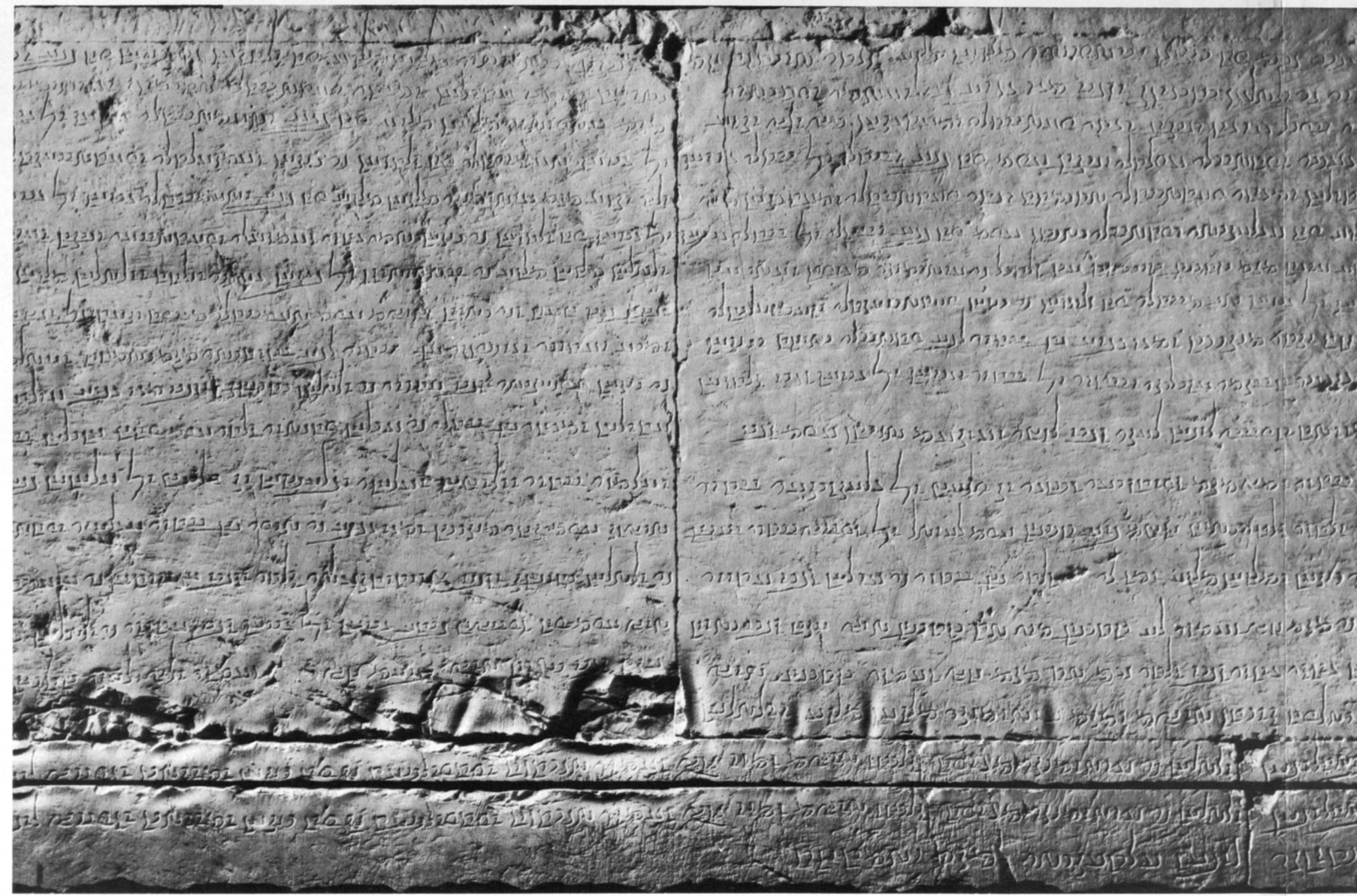


Lines 47-70



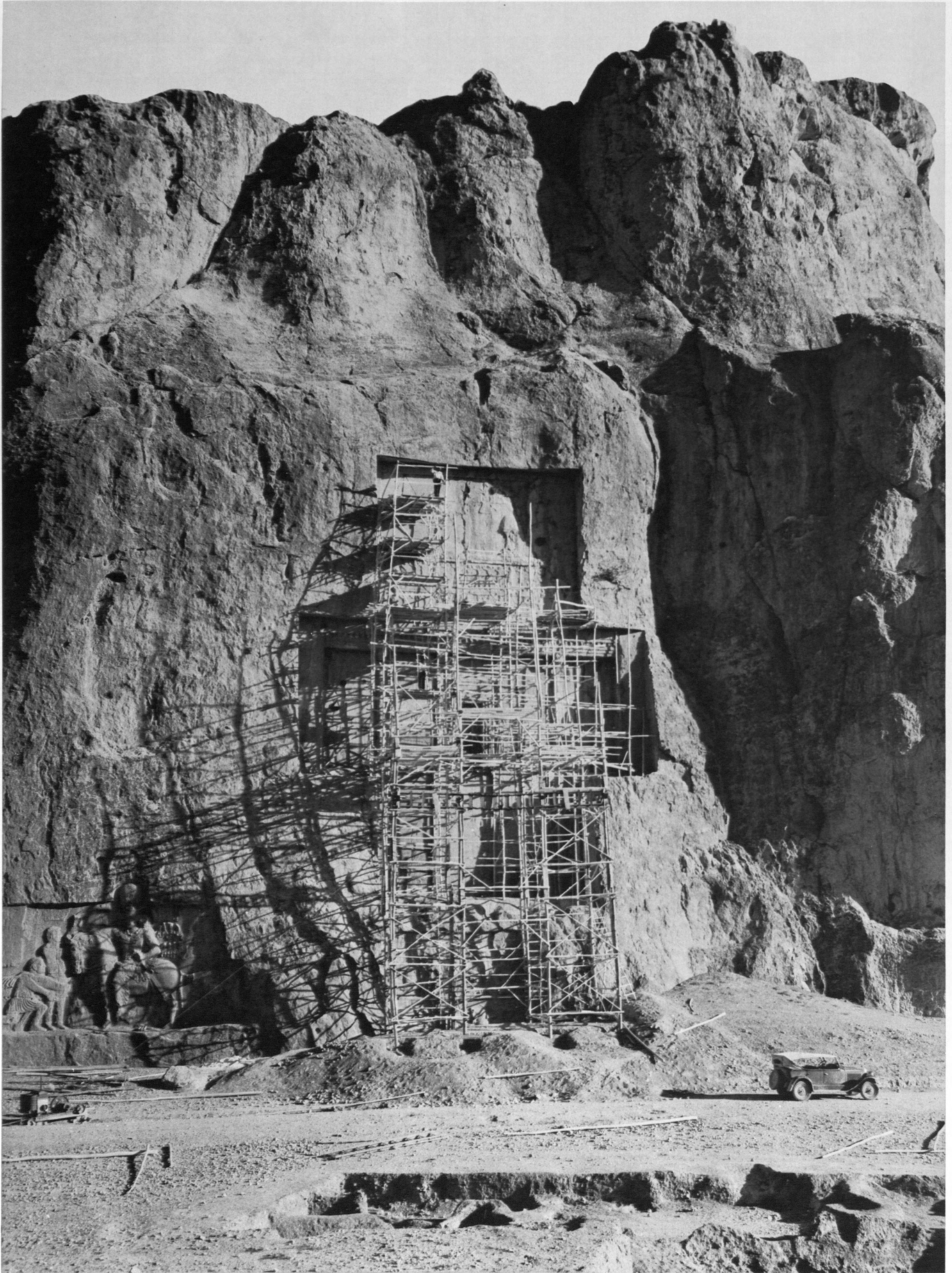


THE TOWER. MIDDLE PERSIAN VERSION OF INSCRIPTION OF SHAPUR I ON EAST WALL (ORIGINAL). SCALE, ABOUT 1:4

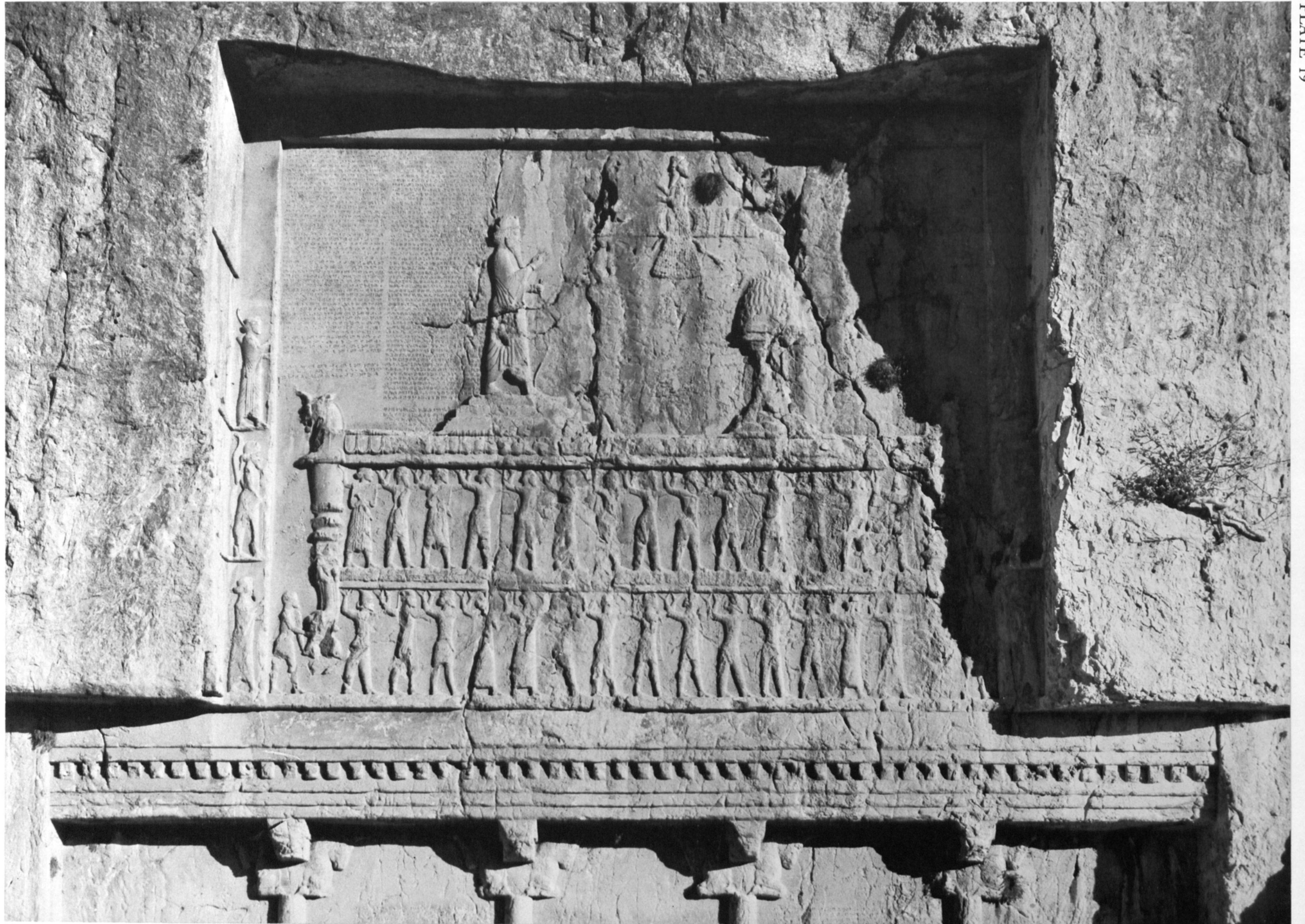


THE TOWER. MIDDLE PERSIAN INSCRIPTION OF KARTIR ON EAST WALL (PLASTER CAST OF RUBBER MOLD). SCALE, ABOUT 1:4

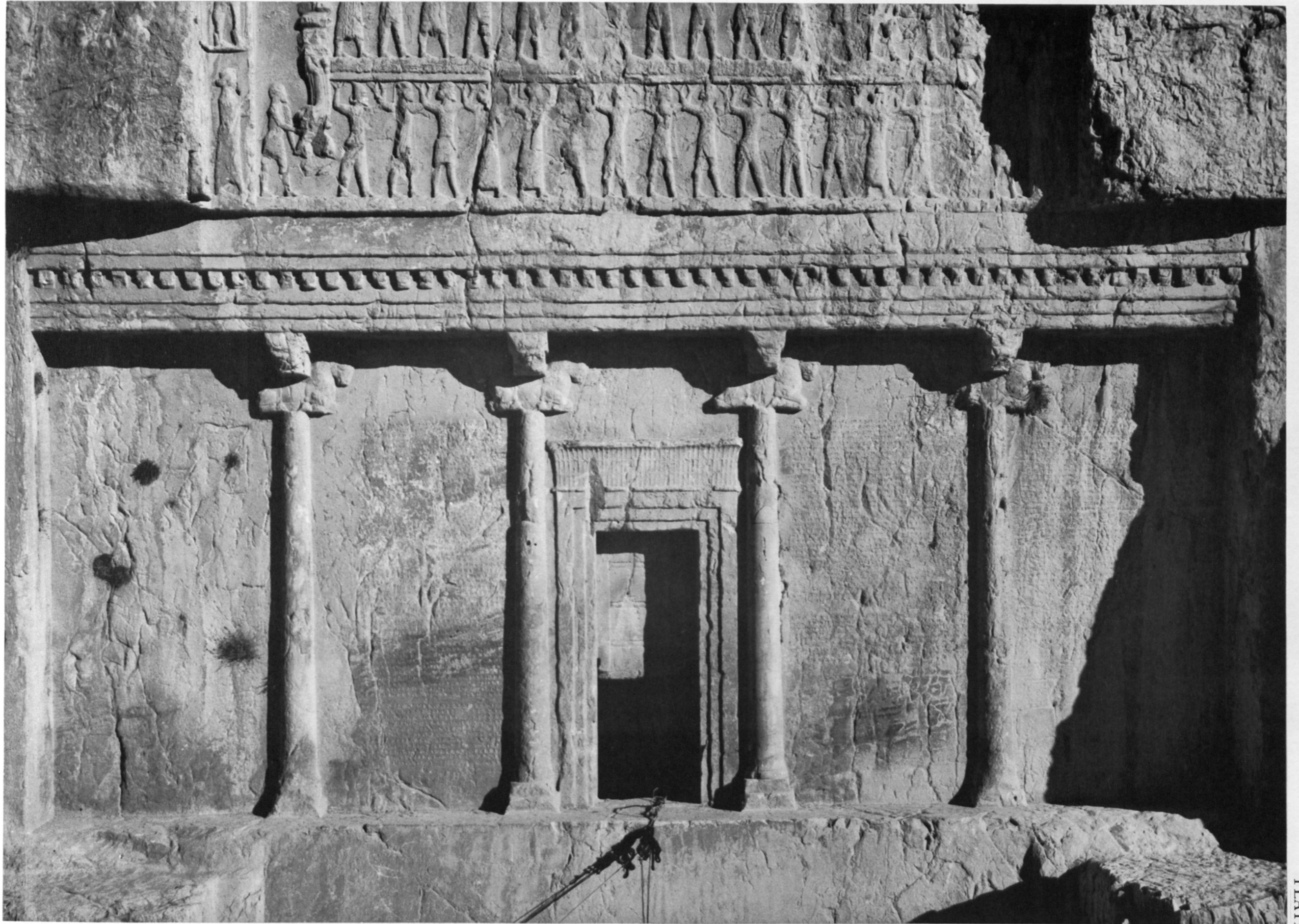
*TOMB I: THE TOMB OF DARIUS THE GREAT
AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM
PLATES 18-39*



TOMB OF DARIUS I AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM (TOMB I). GENERAL VIEW WITH SCAFFOLD FOR RECORDING

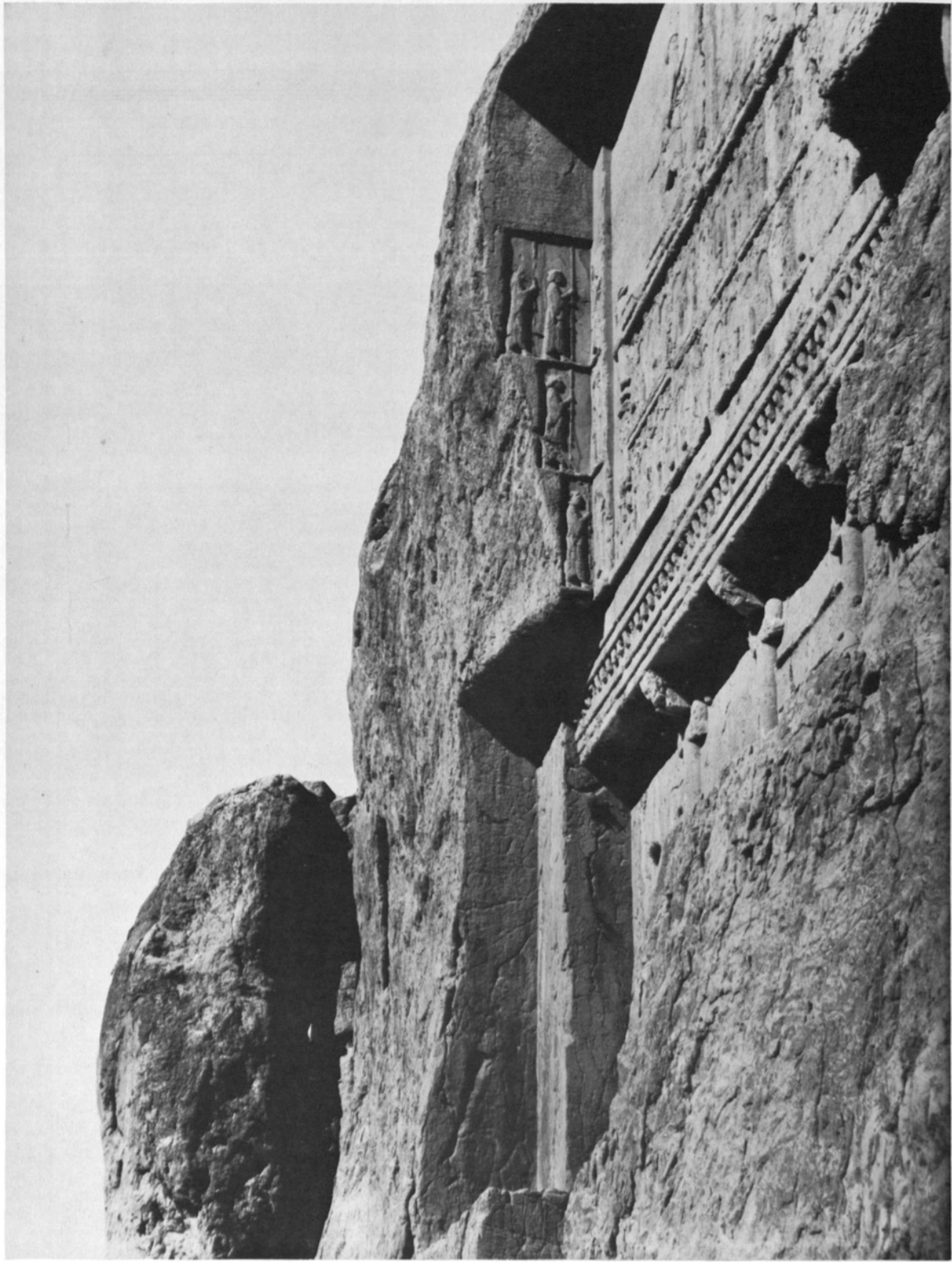


TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER



TOMB OF DARIUS I. MIDDLE REGISTER

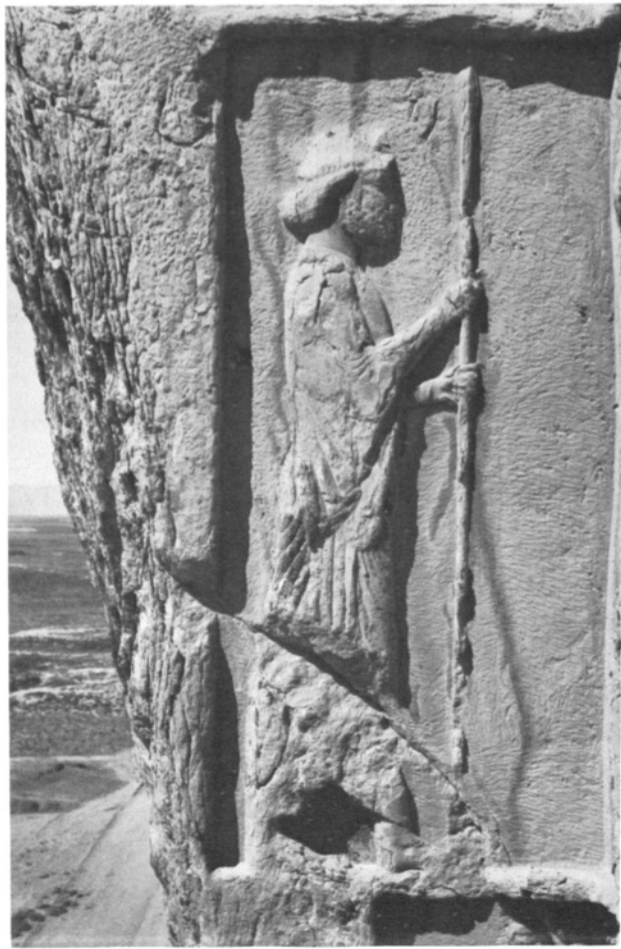
PLATE 21



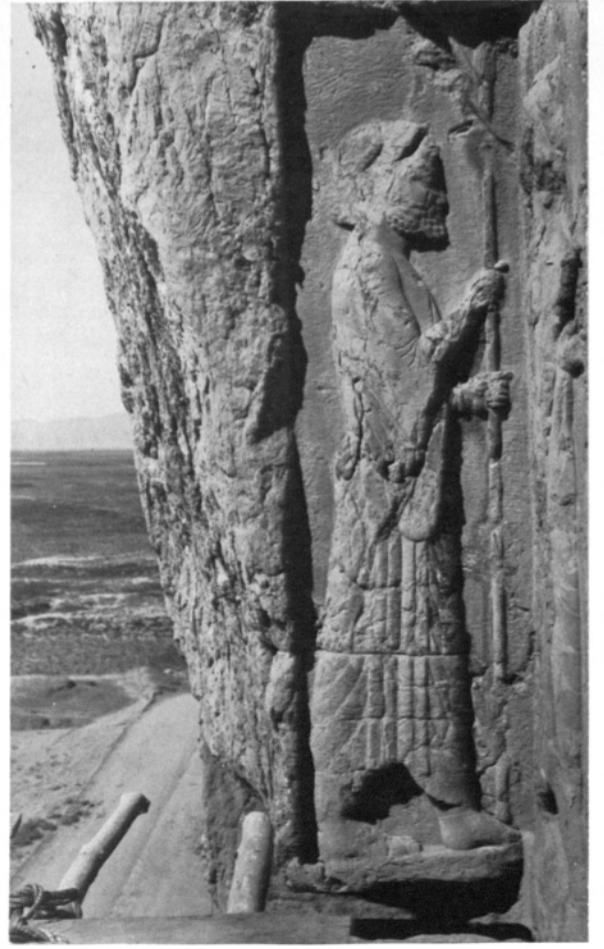
A



B

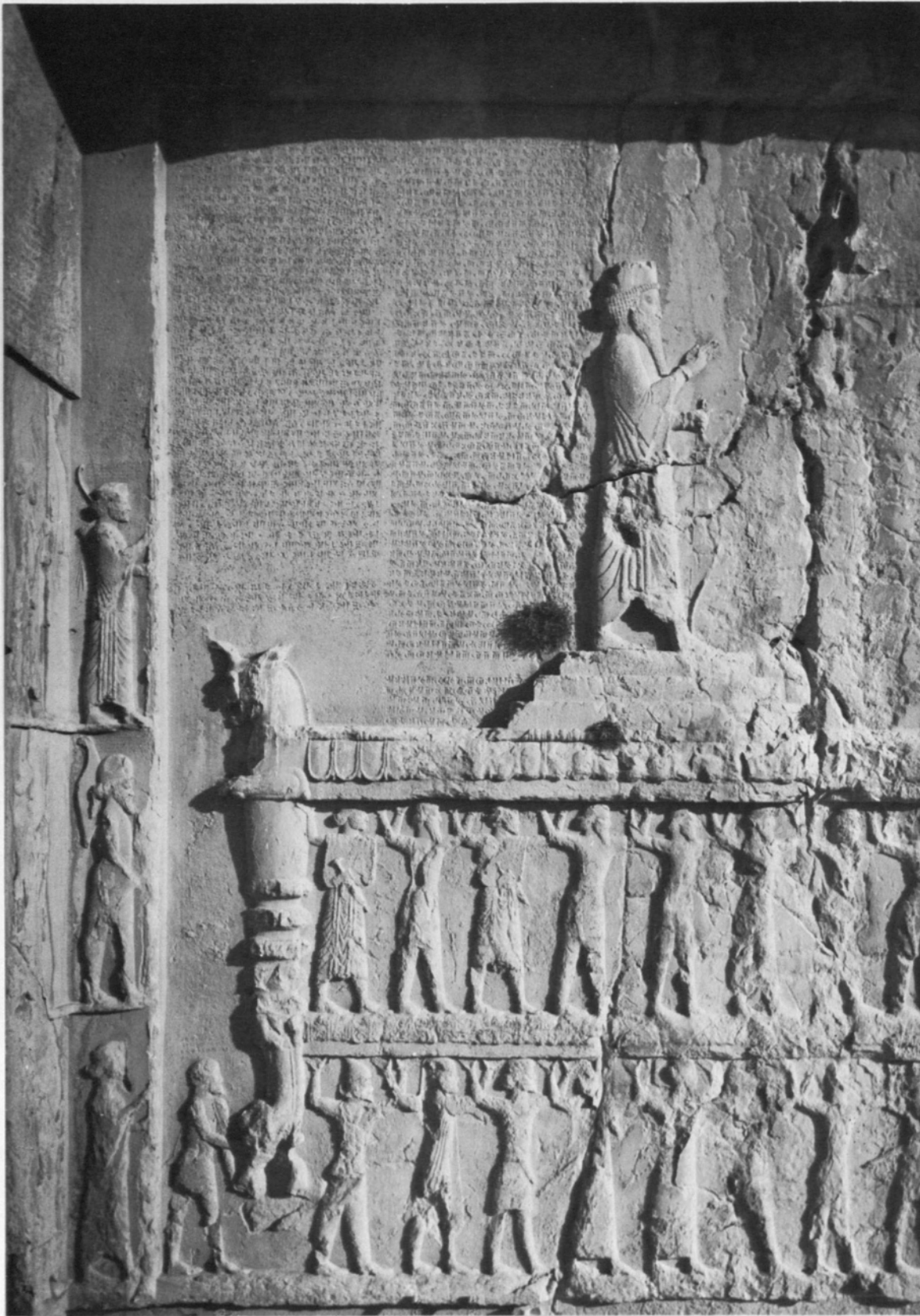


C



D

TOMB OF DARIUS I. LEFT SIDE WALL. *A*. GENERAL VIEW. *B-D*. RELIEFS OF GUARDS ON UPPER PART. SCALE OF *B-D*, ABOUT 1:16



A



B

TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. *A*. LEFT PORTION. *B*. CLOSE-UP OF KING AND GOD

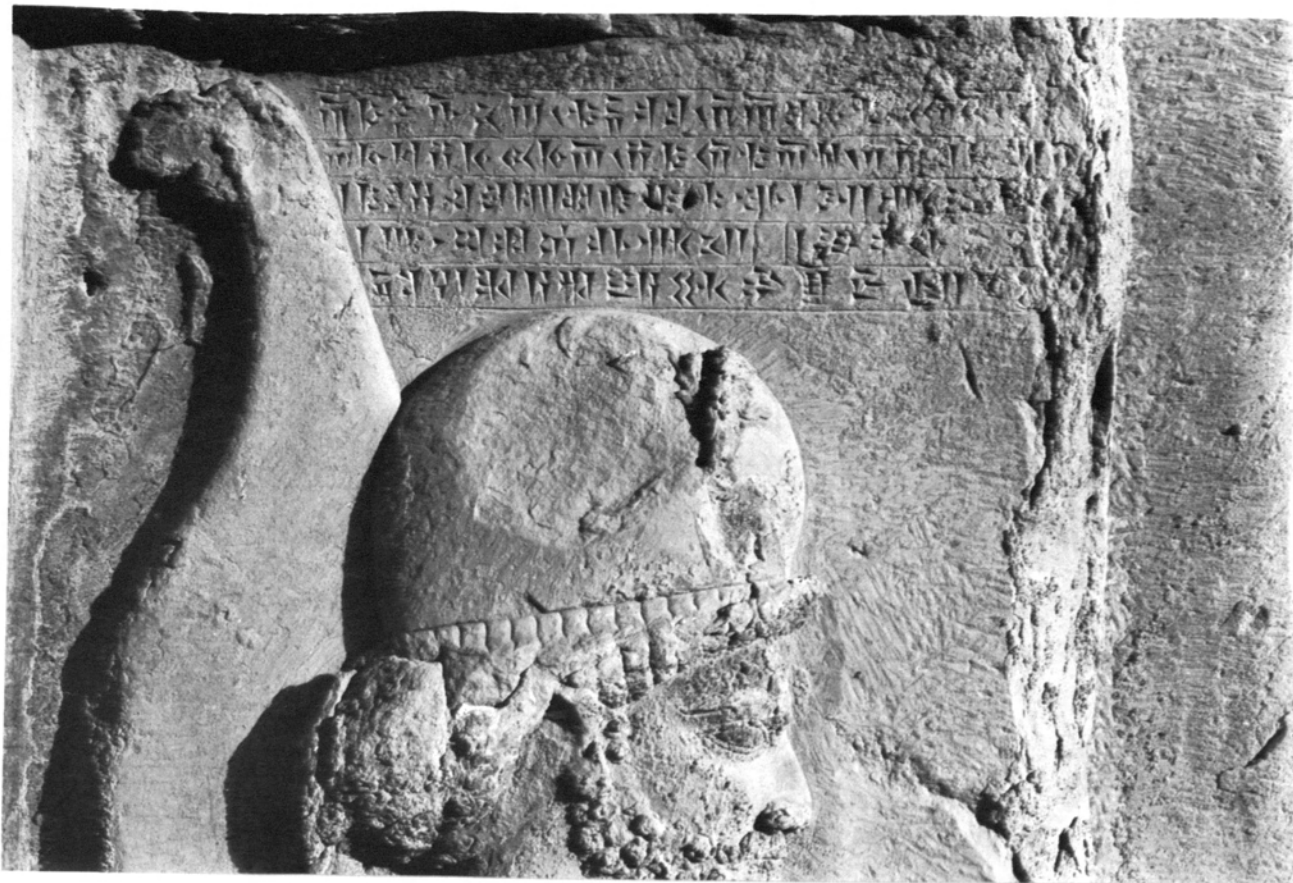


A



B

TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. RELIEF OF GOBRYAS ON LEFT FRAME. A. CLOSE-UP OF HEAD AND INSCRIPTION. SCALE, 1:4. B. COMPLETE FIGURE. SCALE, 1:10

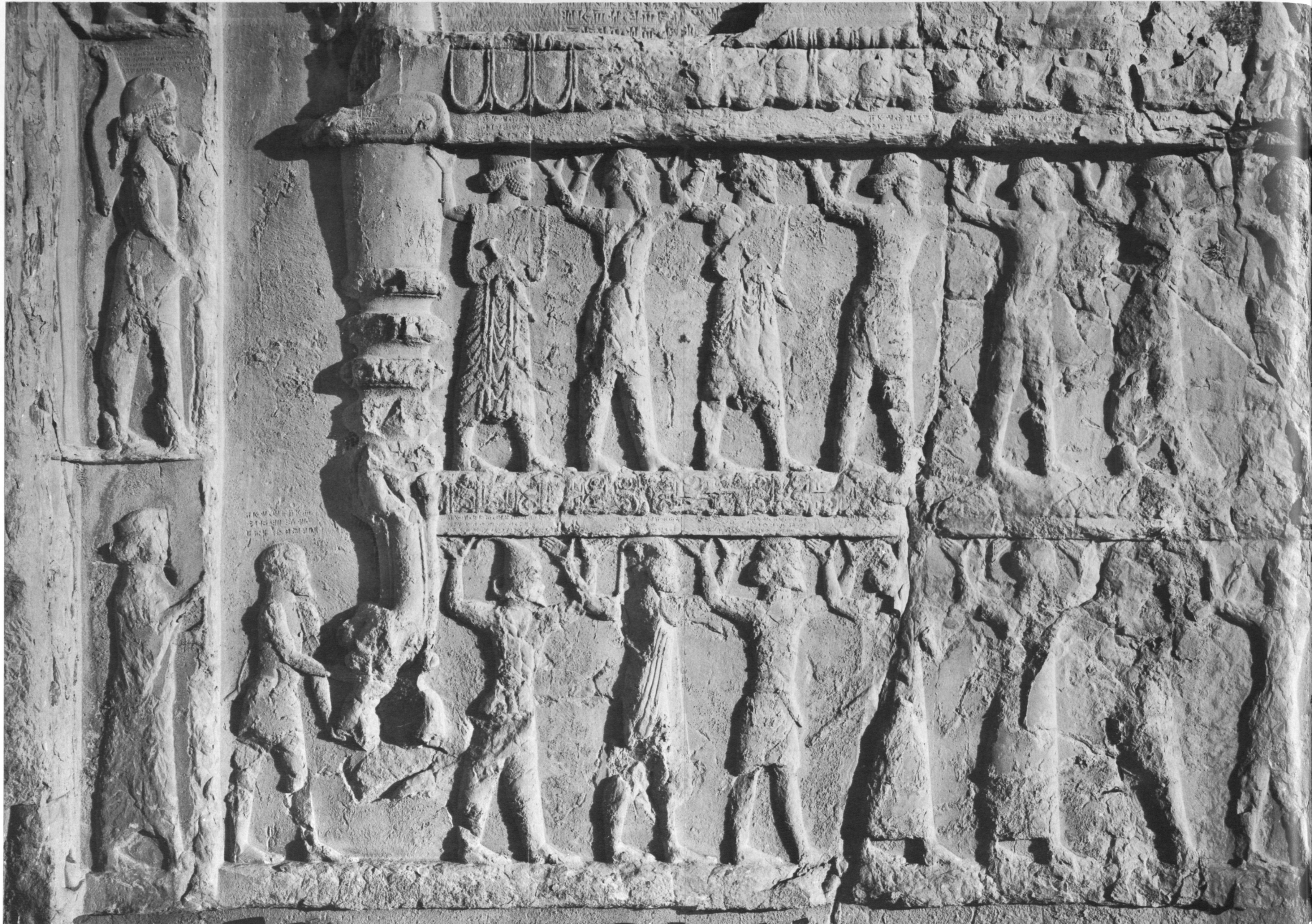


A



B

TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. RELIEF OF ASPATHINES ON LEFT FRAME. *A.* CLOSE-UP OF HEAD AND INSCRIPTION. SCALE, 1:4. *B.* COMPLETE FIGURE. SCALE, 1:10



29

15

16

17

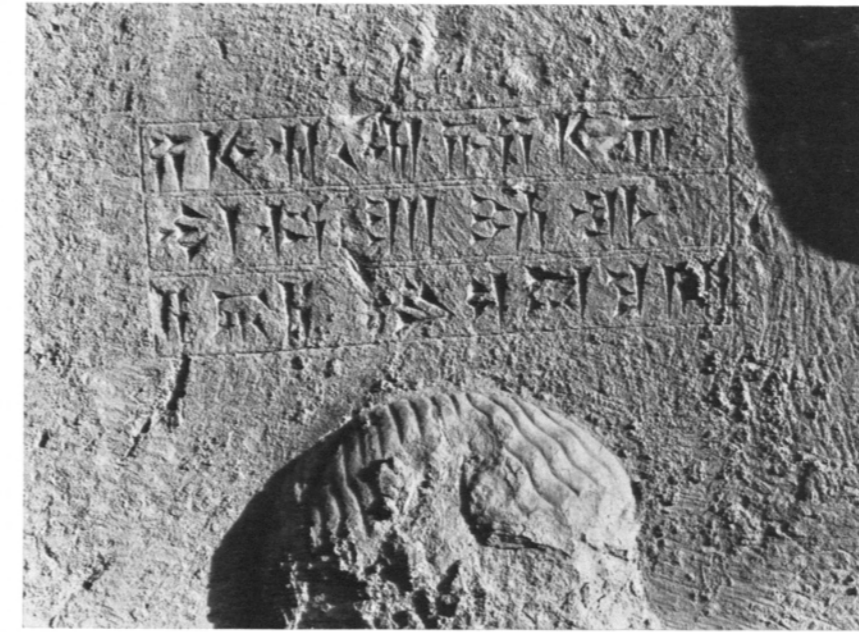
18

19

20

21





A



B

TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. RELIEF OF MACIAN THRONE-BEARER (NO. 29). *A.* LEGEND. SCALE, 1:4.
B. COMPLETE VIEW, WITH GUARD ON LEFT FRAME. SCALE, 1:10



A



B



C

TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. *A*. LEGEND OF CARIAN THRONE-BEARER (NO. 30). SCALE, 1:4. *B*. COMPLETE VIEW OF CARIAN THRONE-BEARER. SCALE, 1:10. *C*. MOURNERS ON RIGHT SIDE WALL

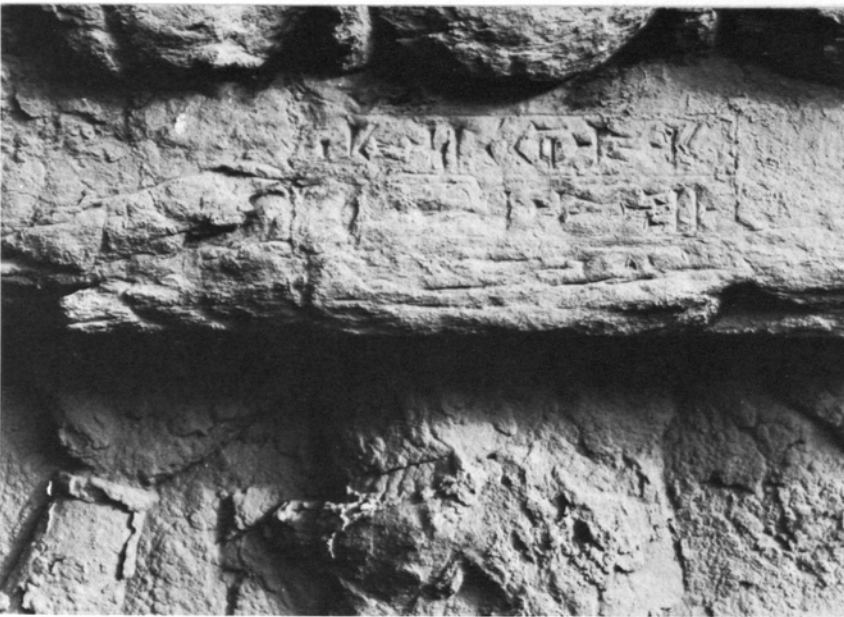
PLATE 28



A



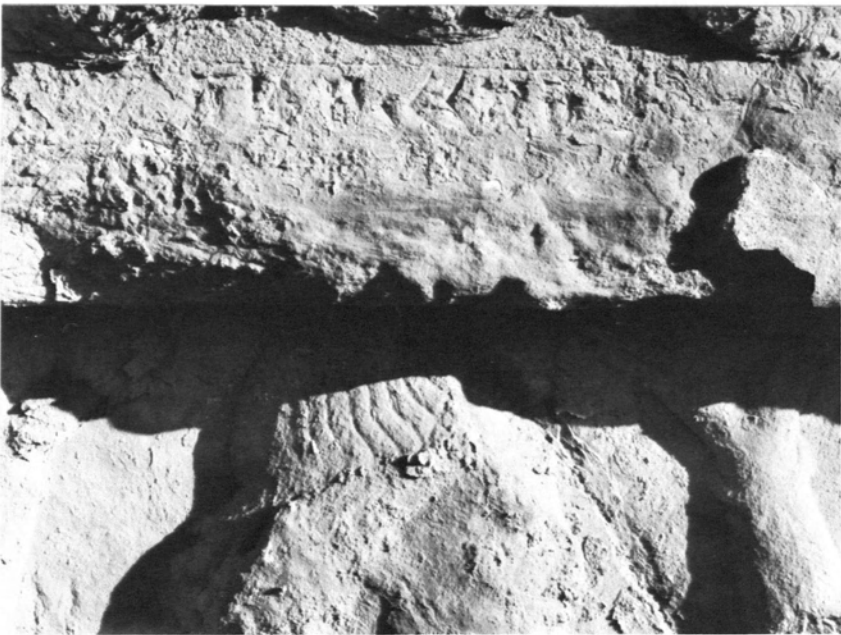
B



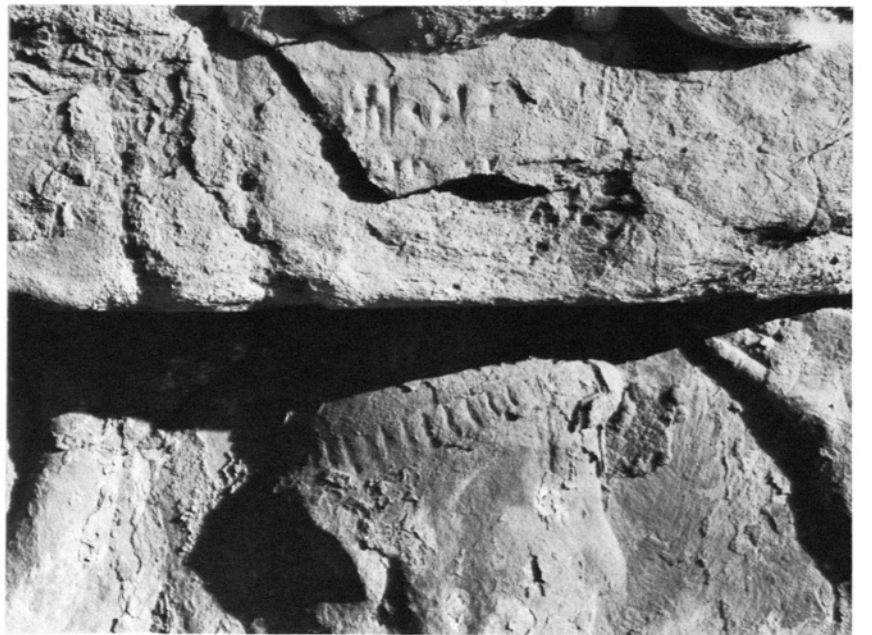
C



D



E



F

TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. LEGENDS OF THRONE-BEARERS. SCALE, 1:4. *A*. PERSIAN (NO. 1). *B*. MEDIAN (NO. 2). *C*. SUSIAN (NO. 3). *D*. PARTHIAN (NO. 4). *E*. ARIAN (NO. 5). *F*. BACTRIAN (NO. 6)



A



B



C



D



E

TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. LEGENDS OF THRONE-BEARERS. SCALE, 1:4. *A.* CHORASMIAN (NO. 8).
B. DRANGIANIAN (NO. 9). *C.* ARACHOSIAN (NO. 10). *D.* INDIAN (NO. 13). *E.* POINTED-HAT SCYTHIAN (NO. 15)



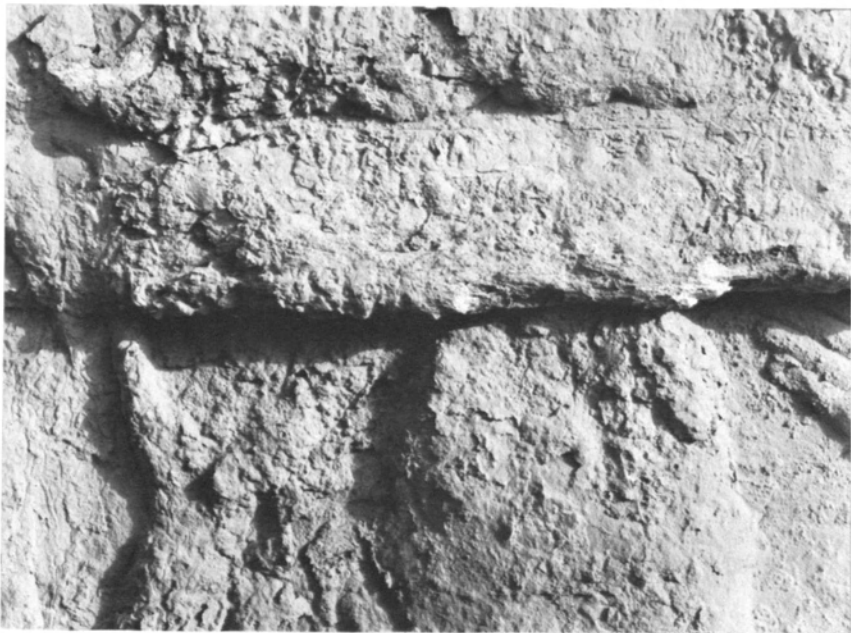
A



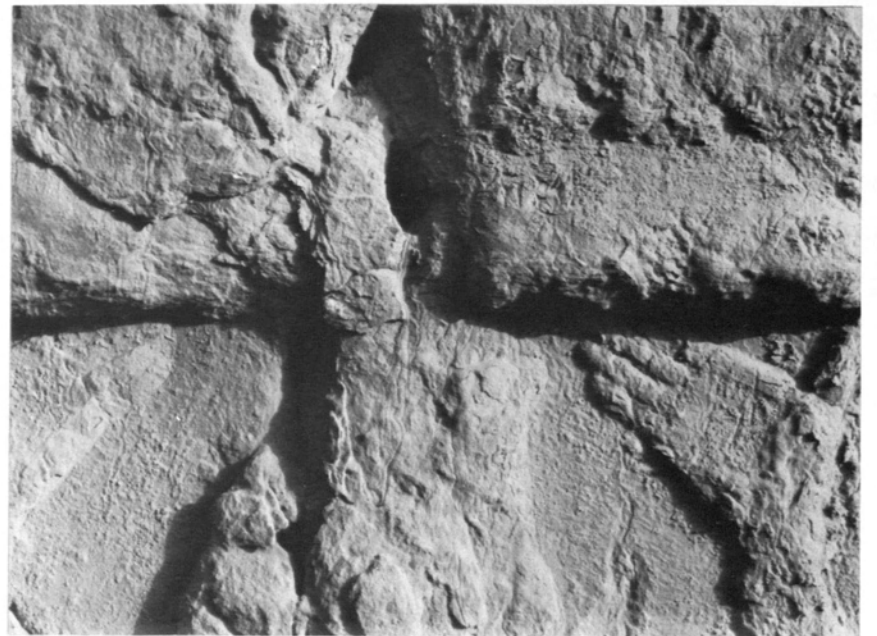
B



C

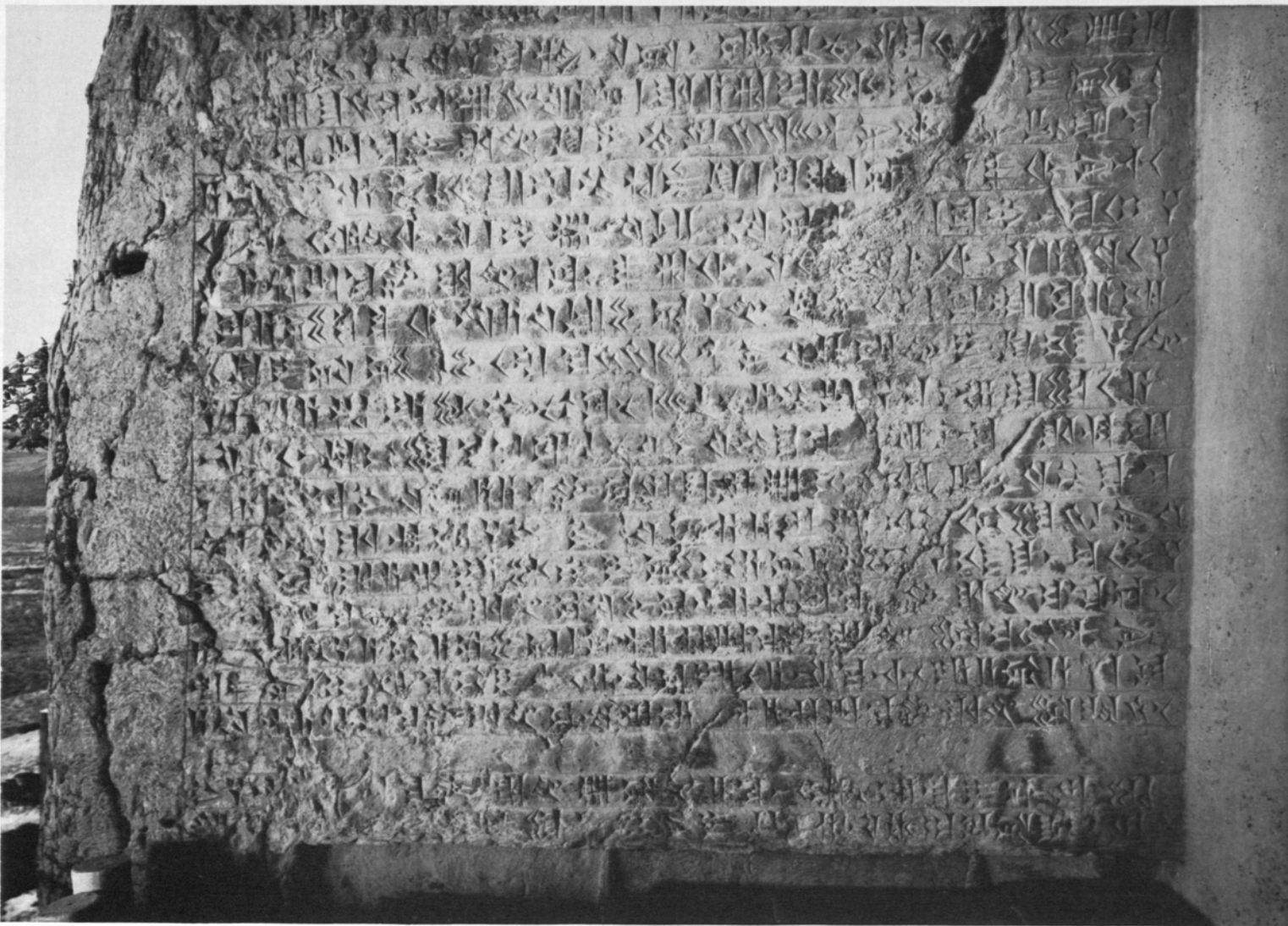
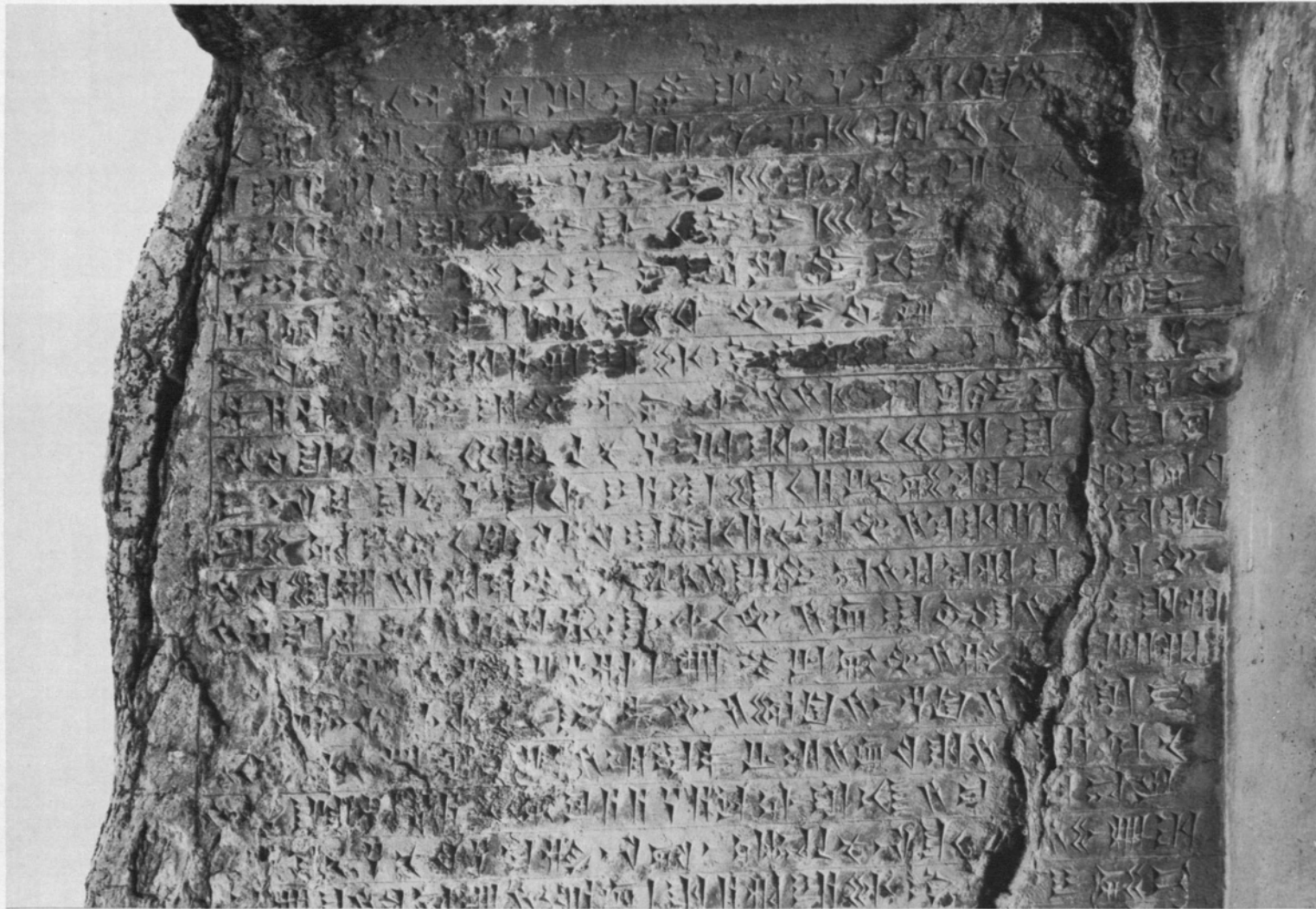


D

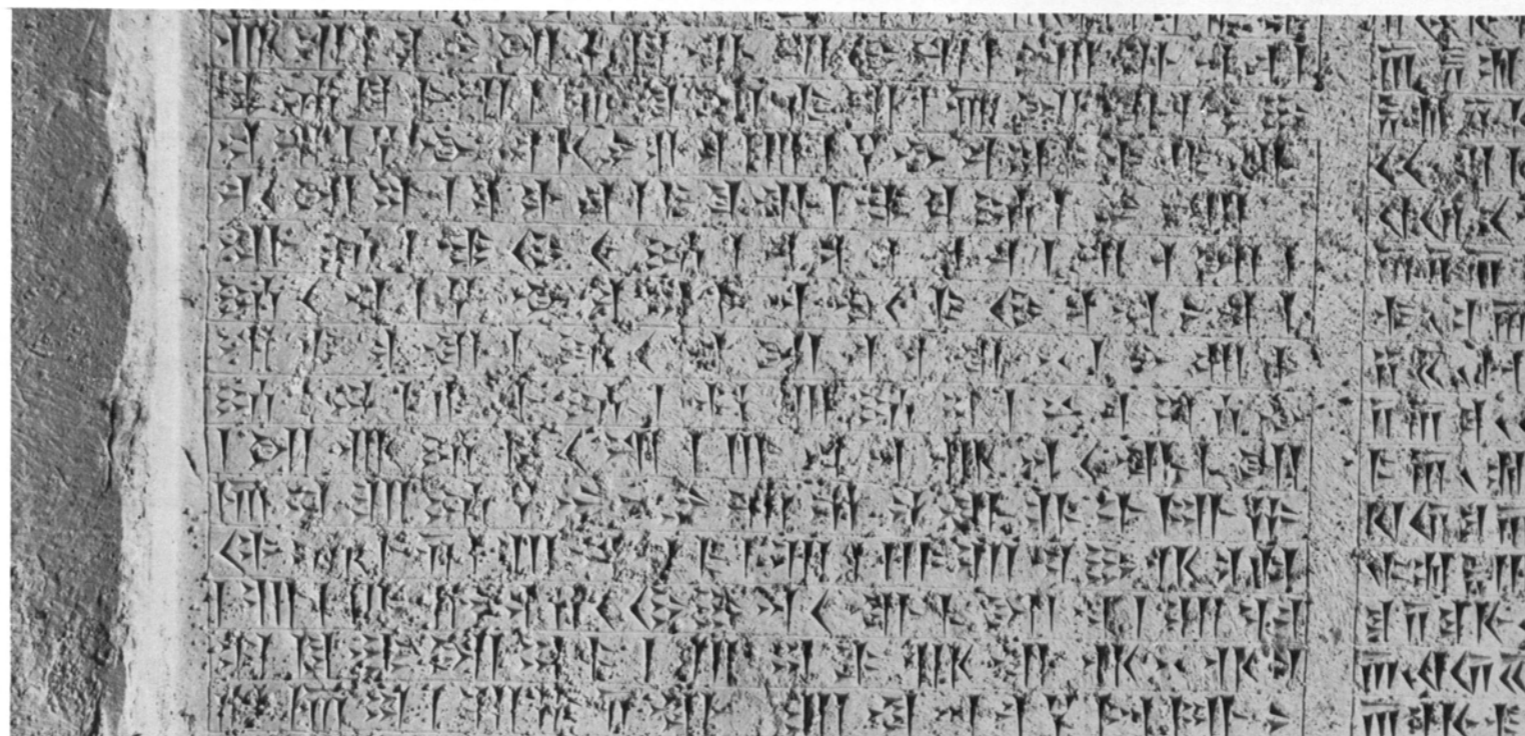


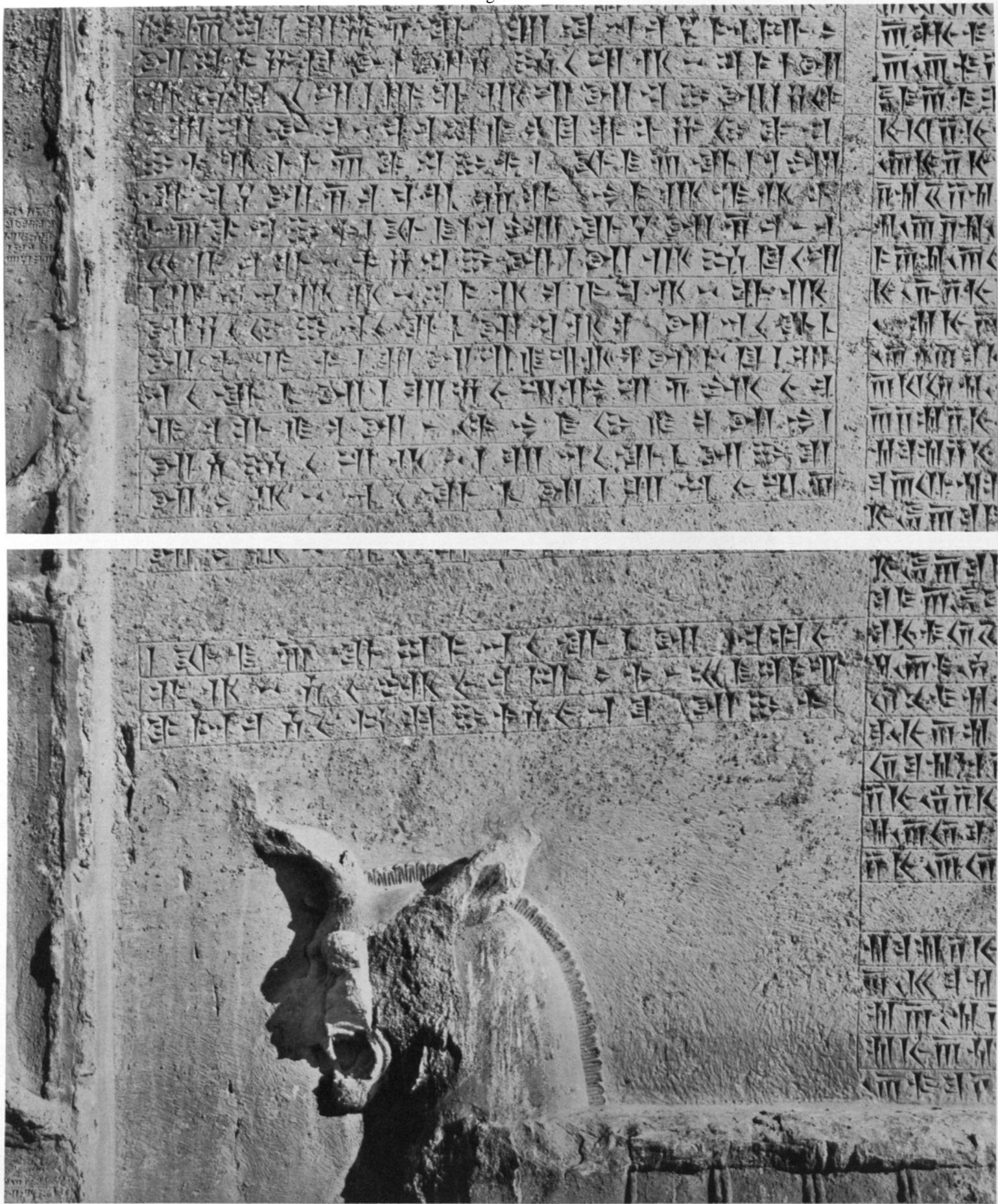
E

TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. LEGENDS OF THRONE-BEARERS. SCALE, 1:4. *A.* BABYLONIAN (NO. 16).
B. ASSYRIAN (NO. 17). *C.* ARMENIAN (NO. 20). *D.* LYDIAN (NO. 22). *E.* IONIAN (NO. 23)

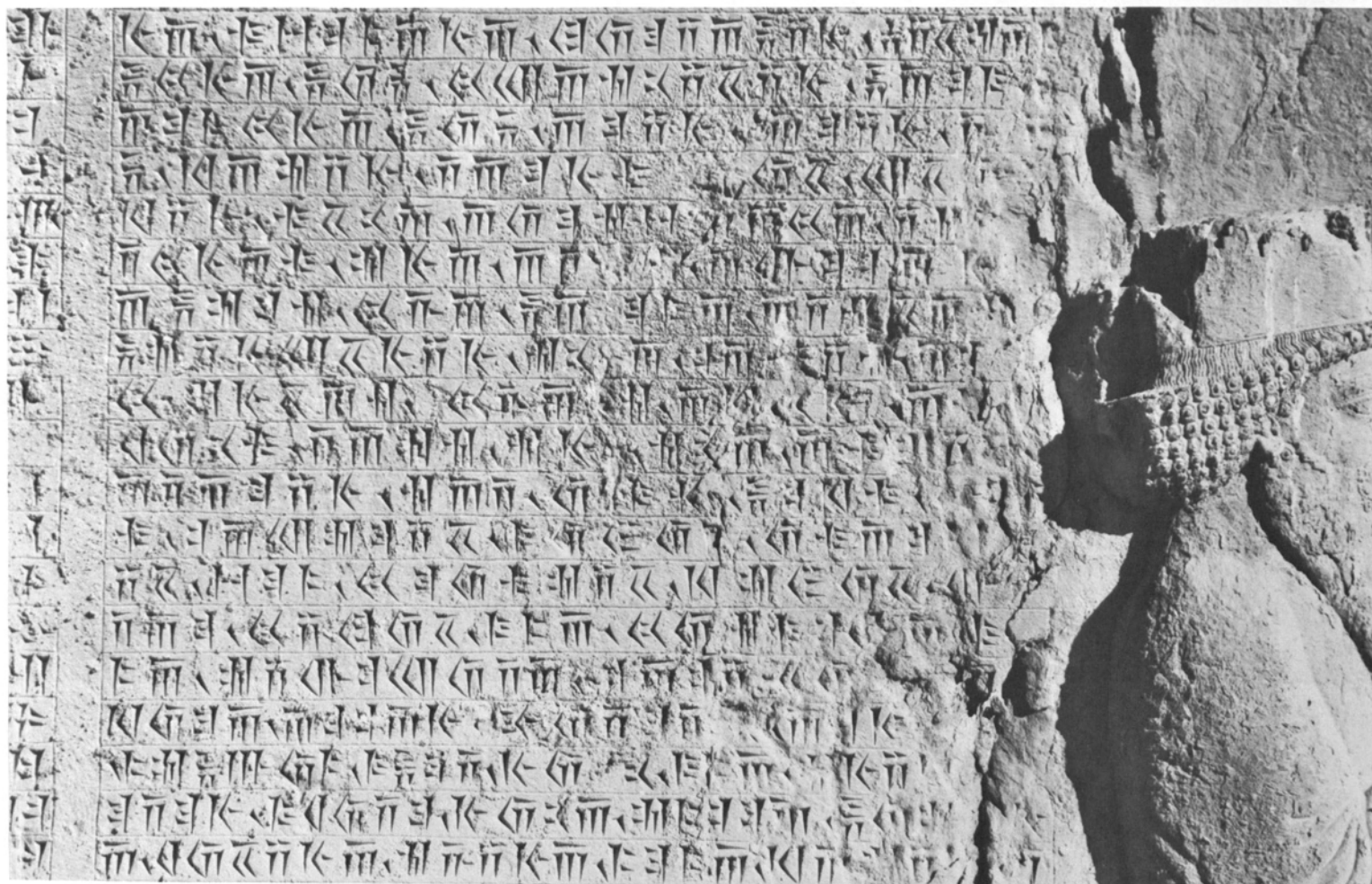


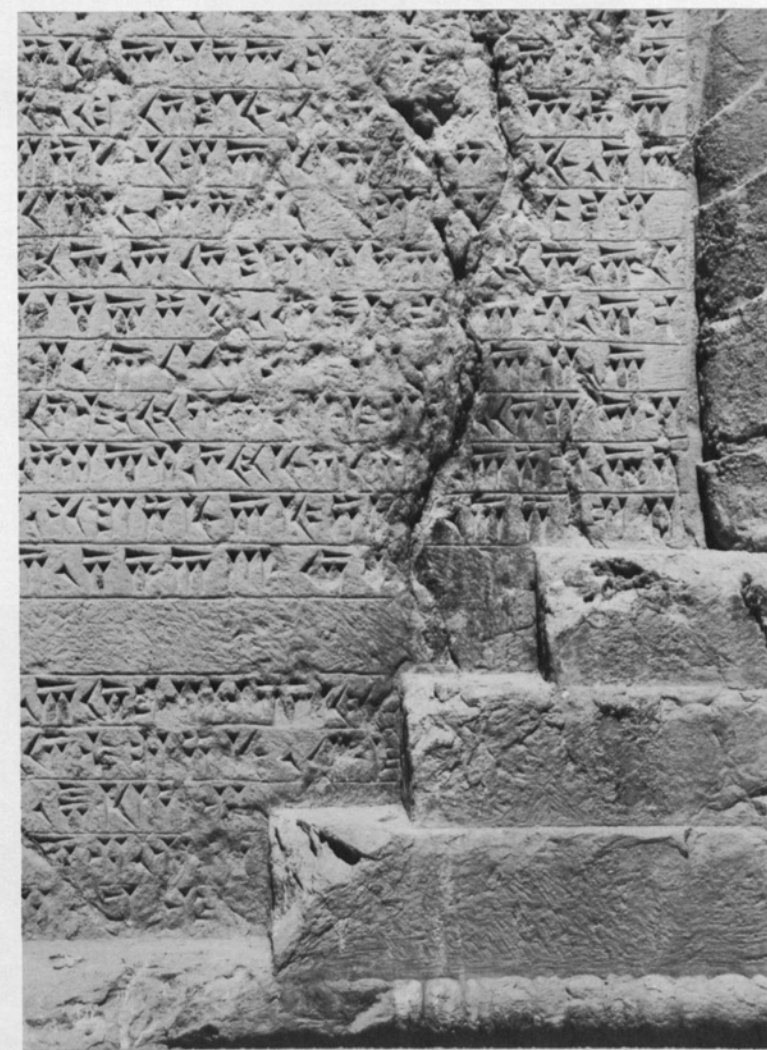
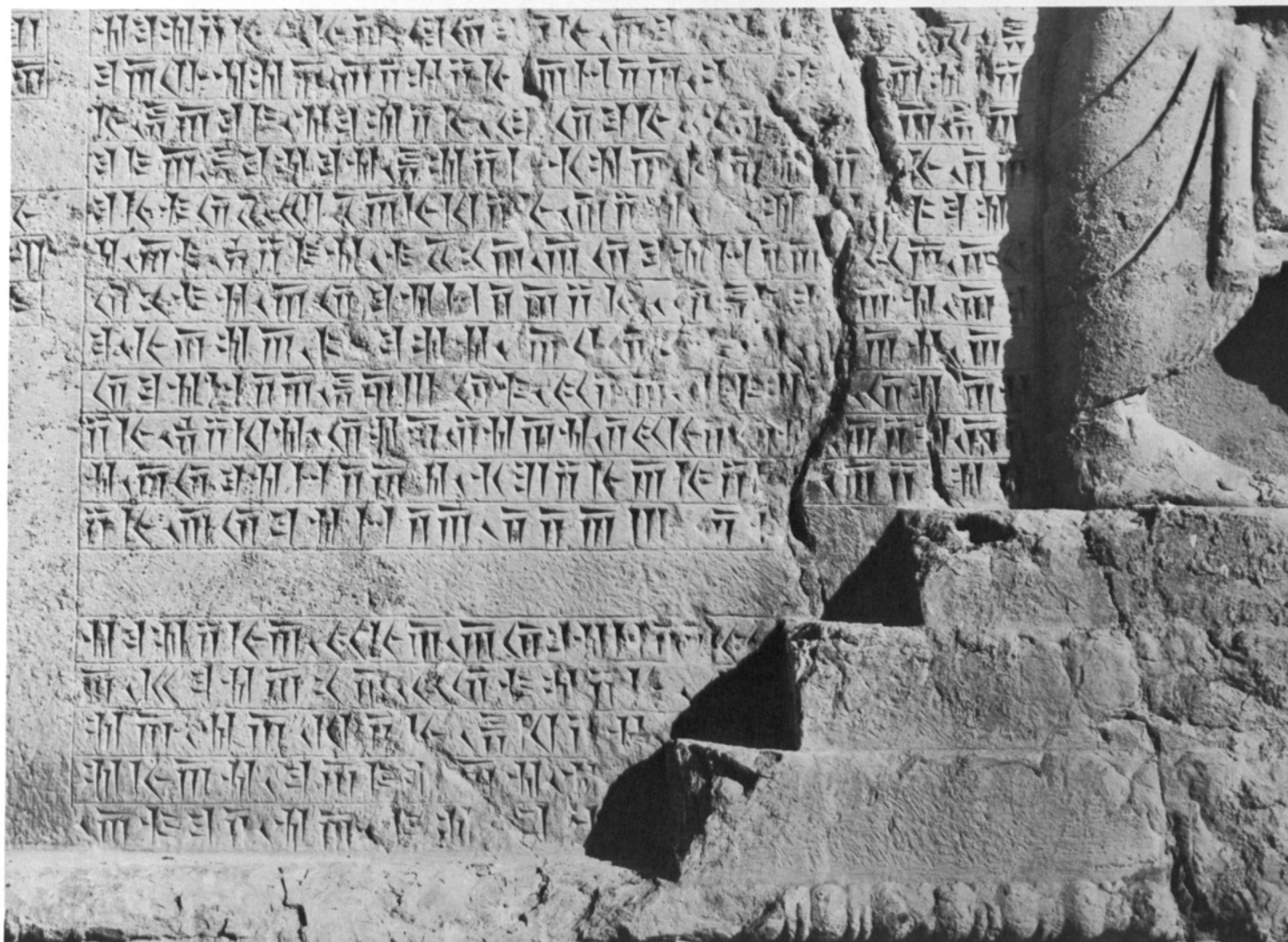
TOMB OF DARIUS I. LEFT SIDE WALL. AKKADIAN VERSION OF DARIUS DN_a INSCRIPTION AT TOP. SCALE, 1:10



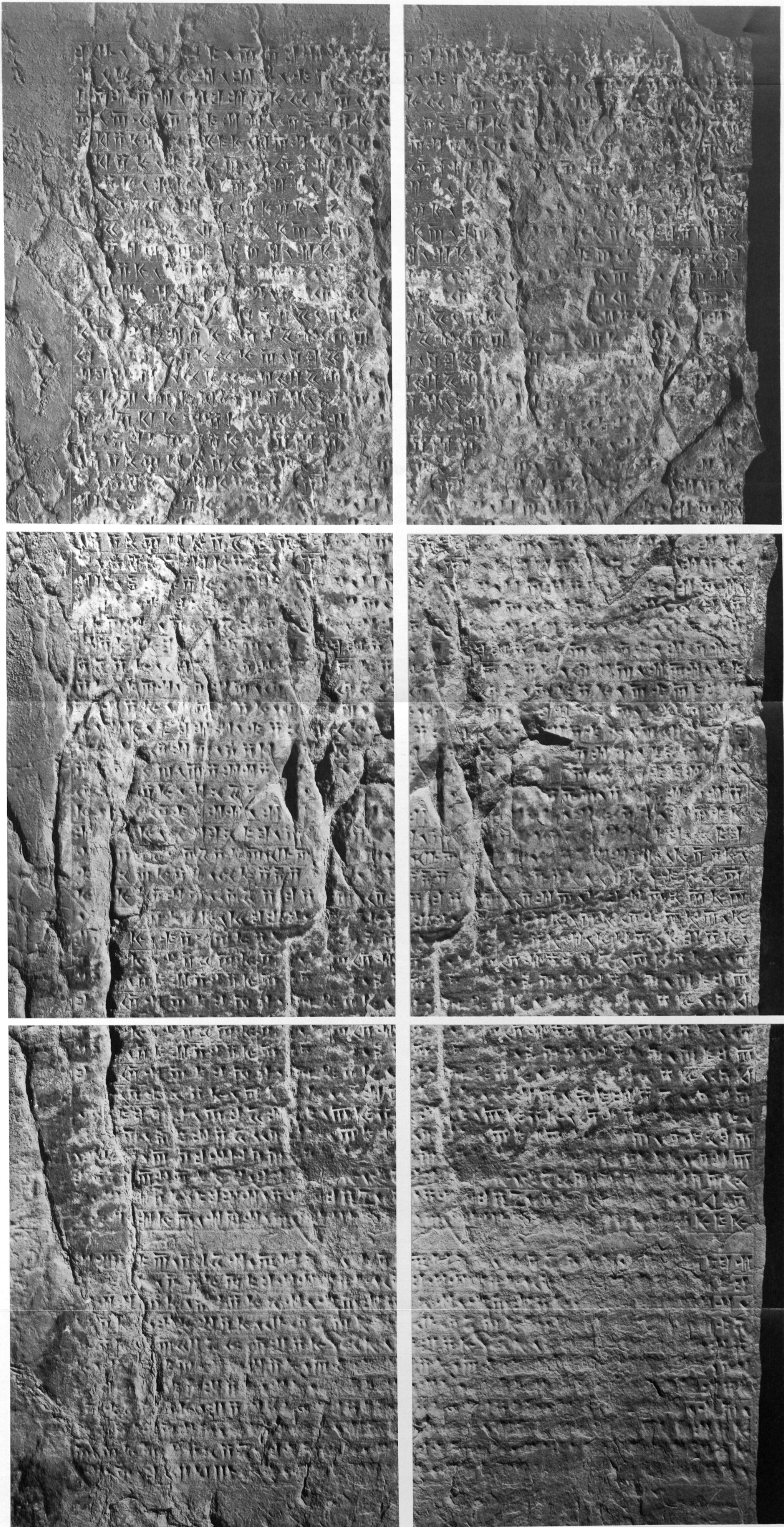


TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. ELAMITE VERSION OF DARIUS DN_a INSCRIPTION AT LEFT END. SCALE, 1:10

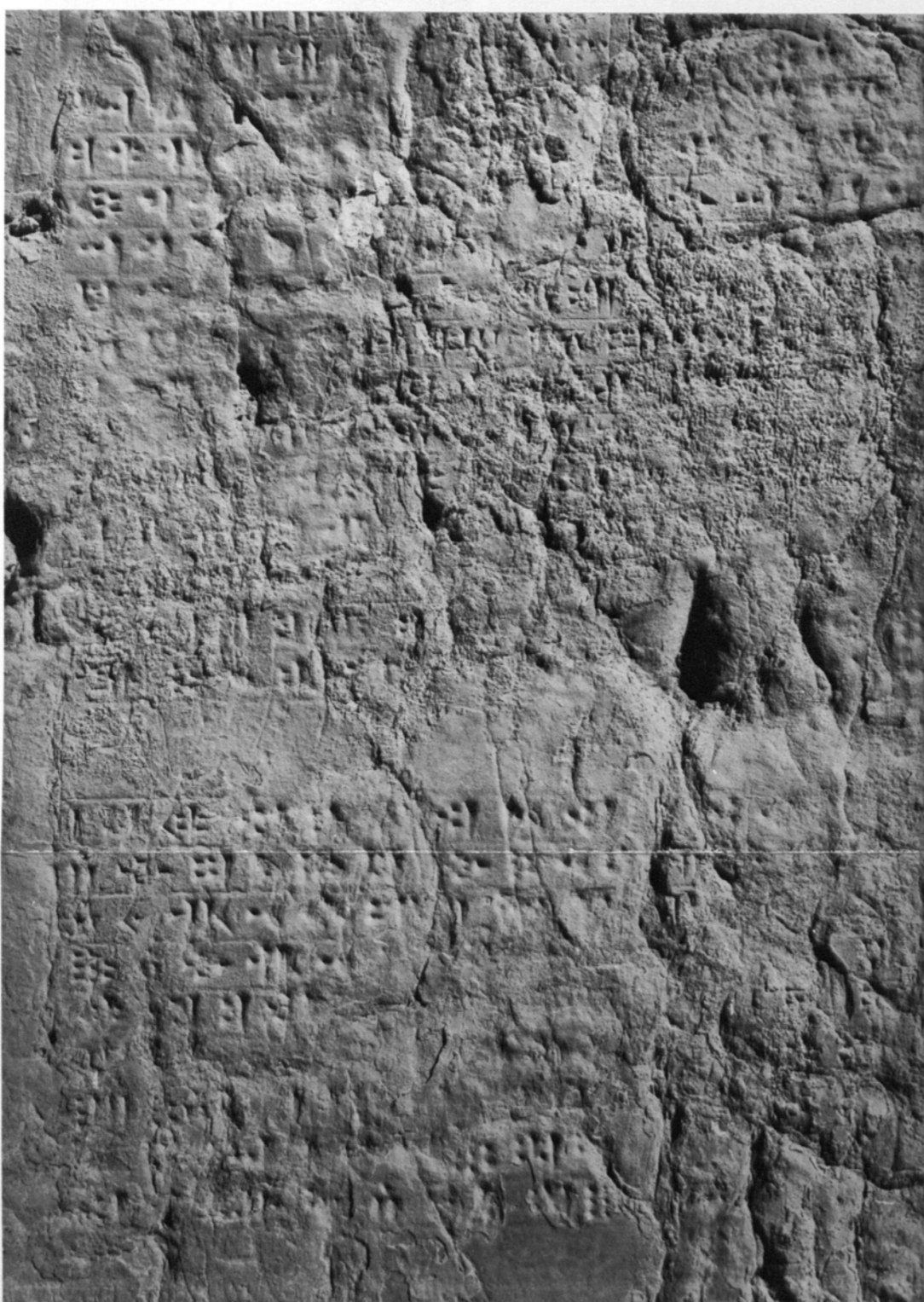
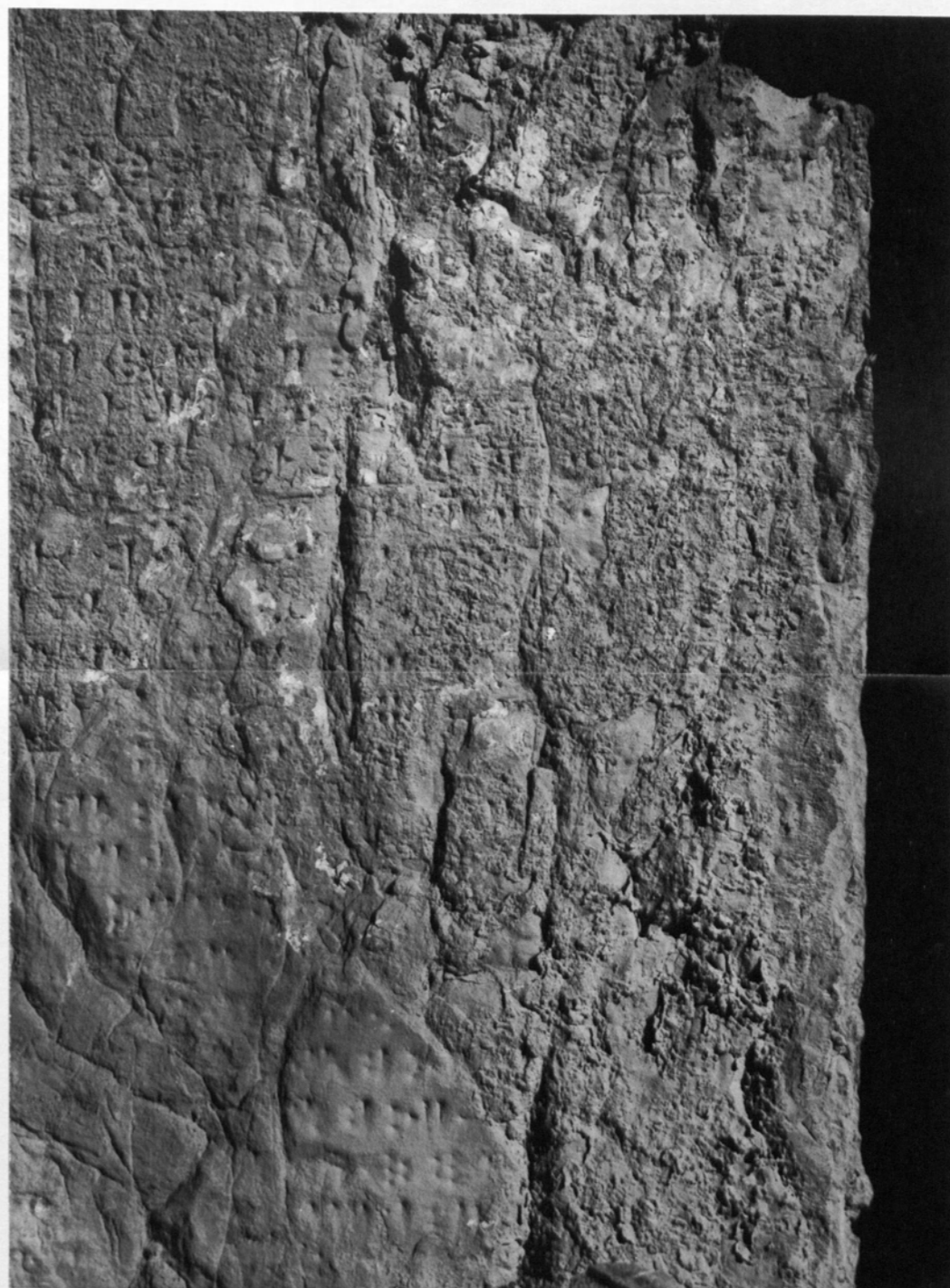
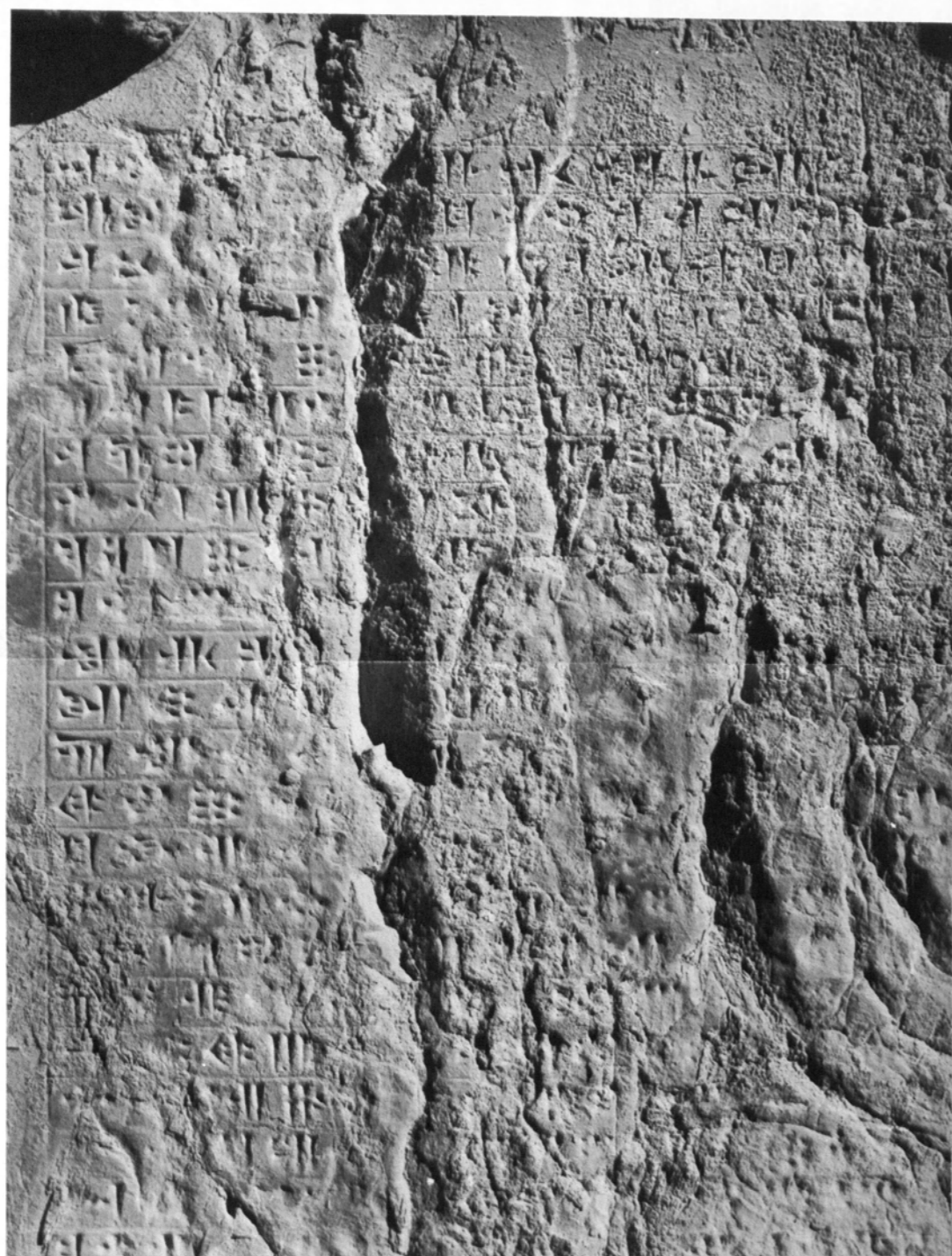




TOMB OF DARIUS I. TOP REGISTER. OLD PERSIAN VERSION OF DARIUS DN_a INSCRIPTION BEHIND KING. SCALE, 1:10



TOMB OF DARIUS I. MIDDLE REGISTER. OLD PERSIAN VERSION OF DARIUS DN₆ INSCRIPTION, TO LEFT OF DOORWAY. SCALE, 1:10



TOMB OF DARIUS I. MIDDLE REGISTER. ELAMITE VERSION OF DARIUS DNb INSCRIPTION WITH POST-ACHAEMENID ARAMAIC TEXT BELOW, TO RIGHT OF DOORWAY. SCALE, 1:10

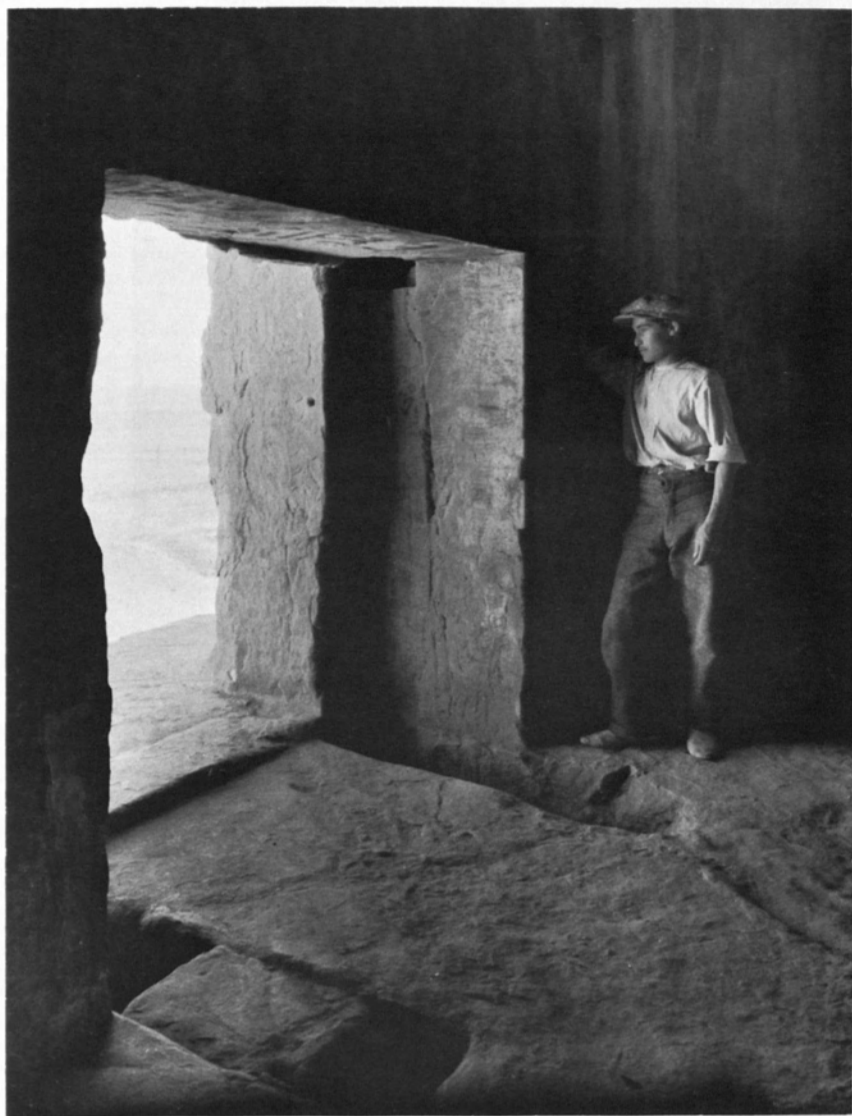


A

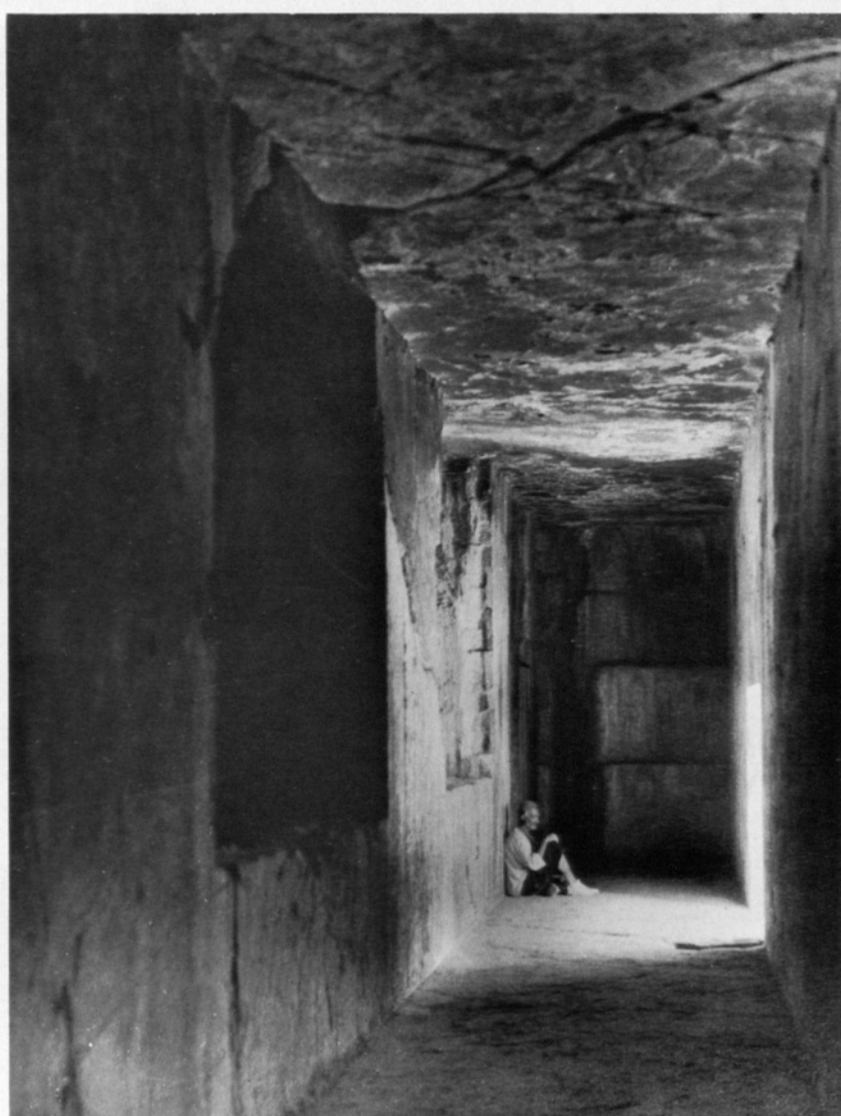


B

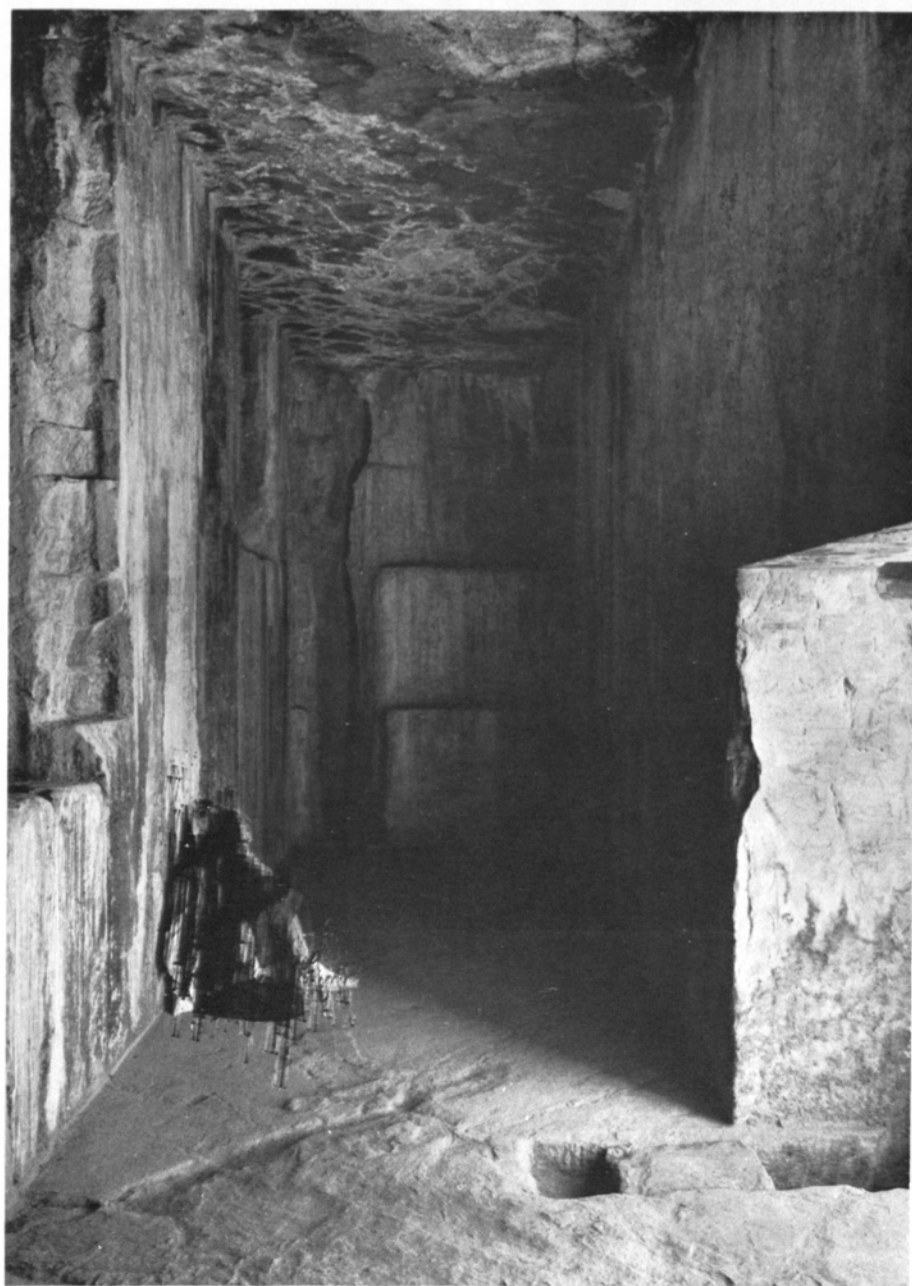
TOMB OF DARIUS I. MIDDLE REGISTER. A. PART OF ARAMAIC TEXT SHOWN ON PLATE 35. B. AKKADIAN VERSION OF DARIUS DNB INSCRIPTION, TO RIGHT OF ELAMITE VERSION. SCALE, 1:10



A



B

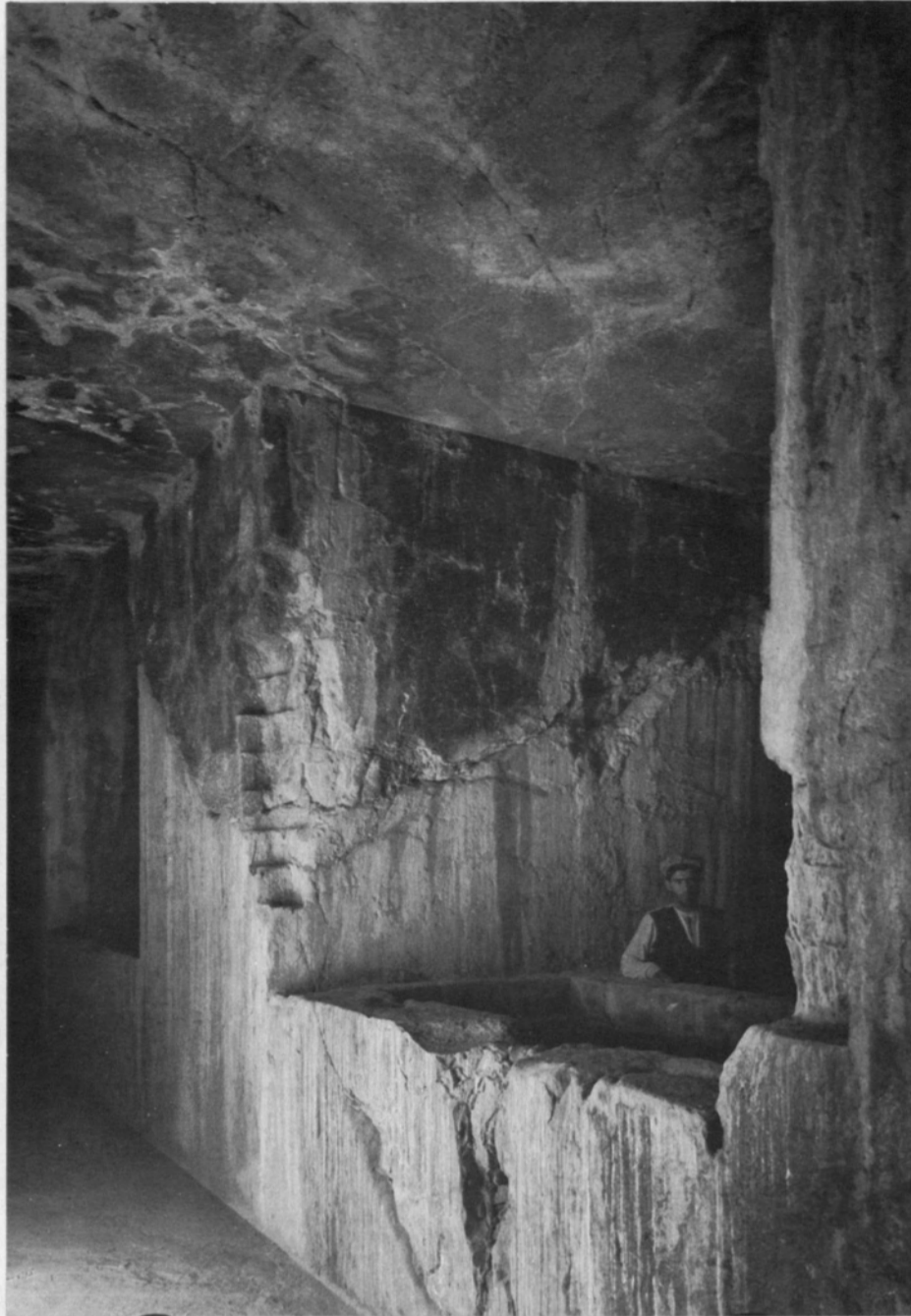


C

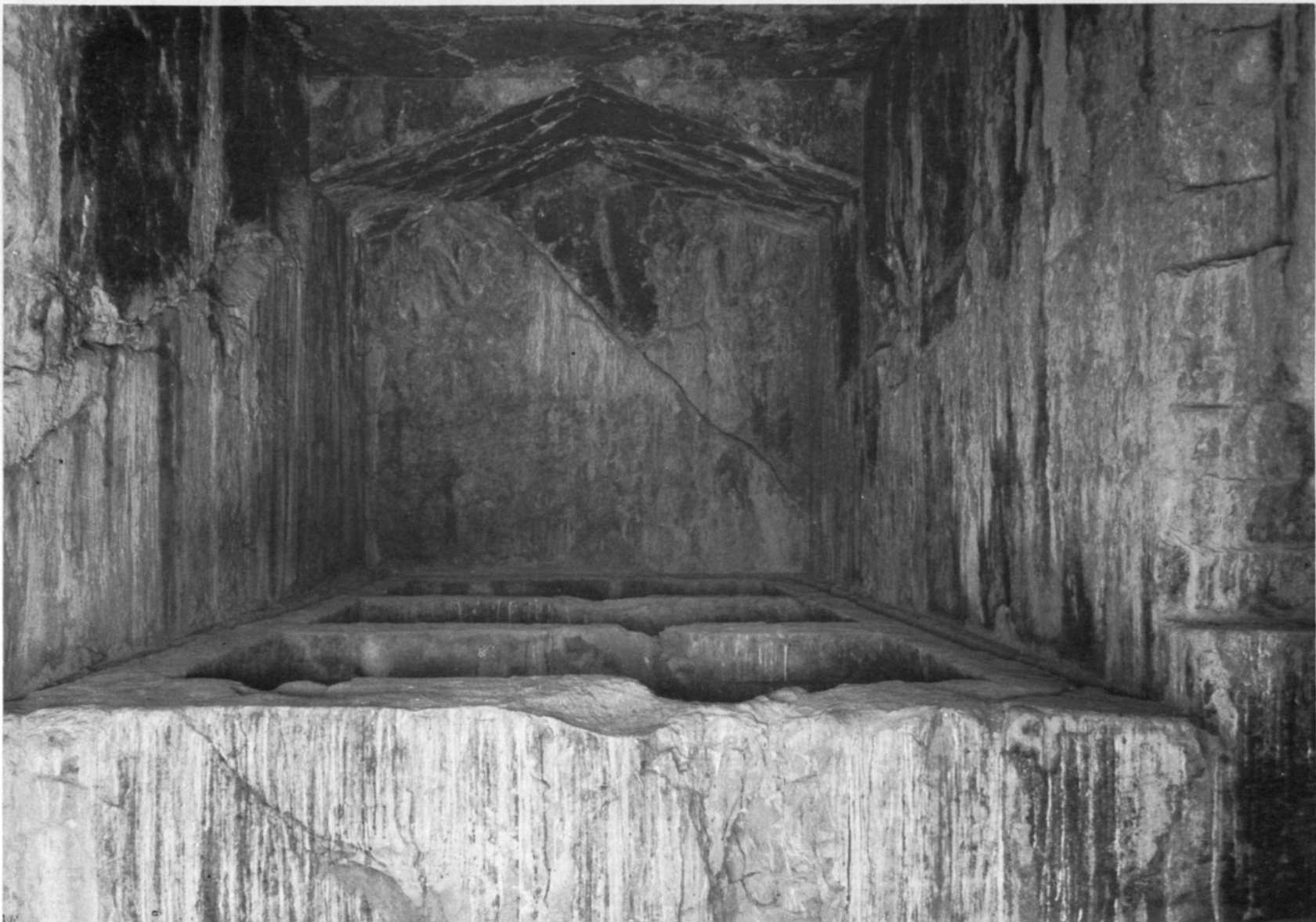


D

TOMB OF DARIUS I. VESTIBULE. A. VIEW TOWARD DOORWAY (*DIRECTION, SSE*). B-C. VIEWS TOWARD NORTHEAST END. D. CLOSE-UP OF NORTHEAST END



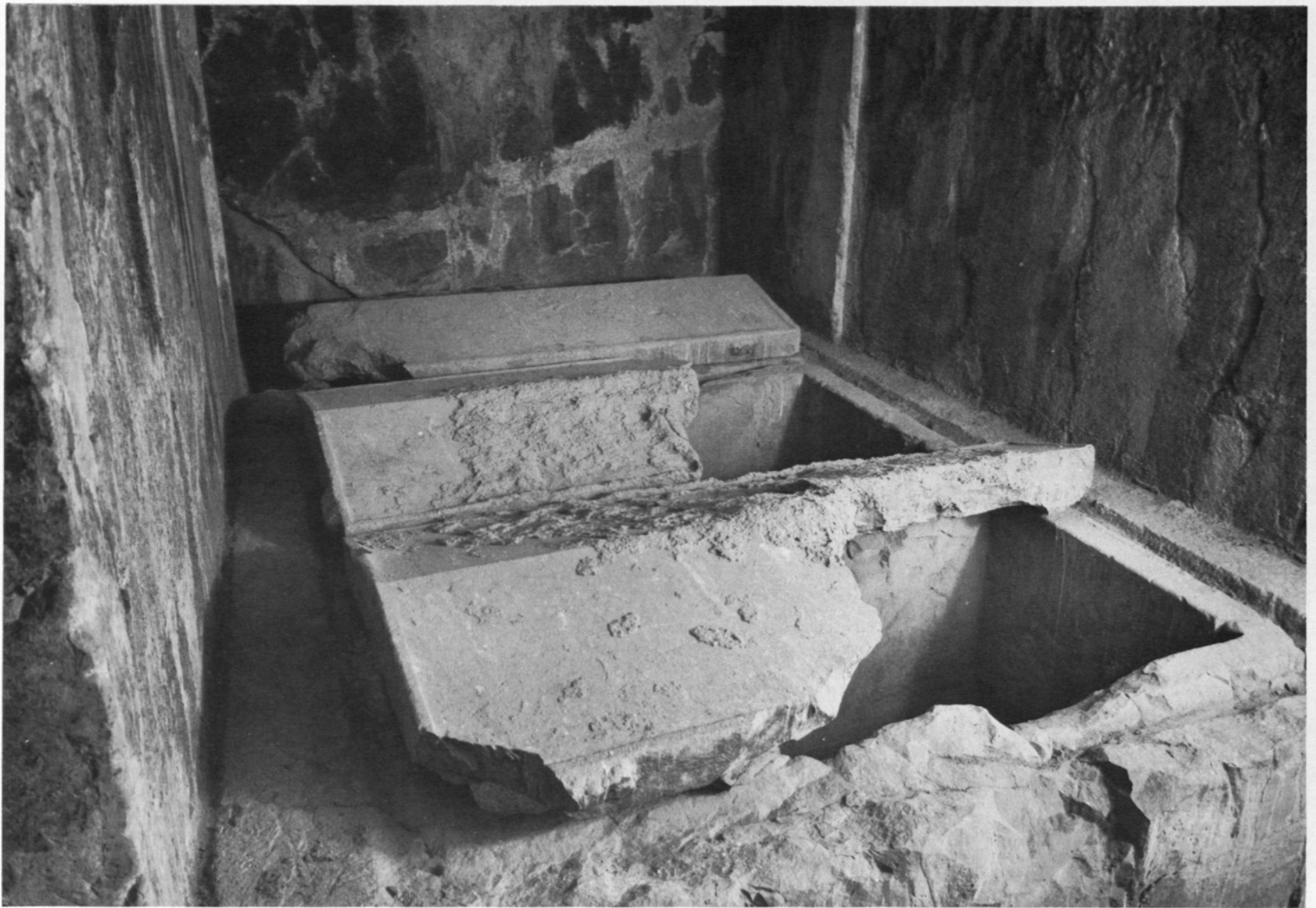
A



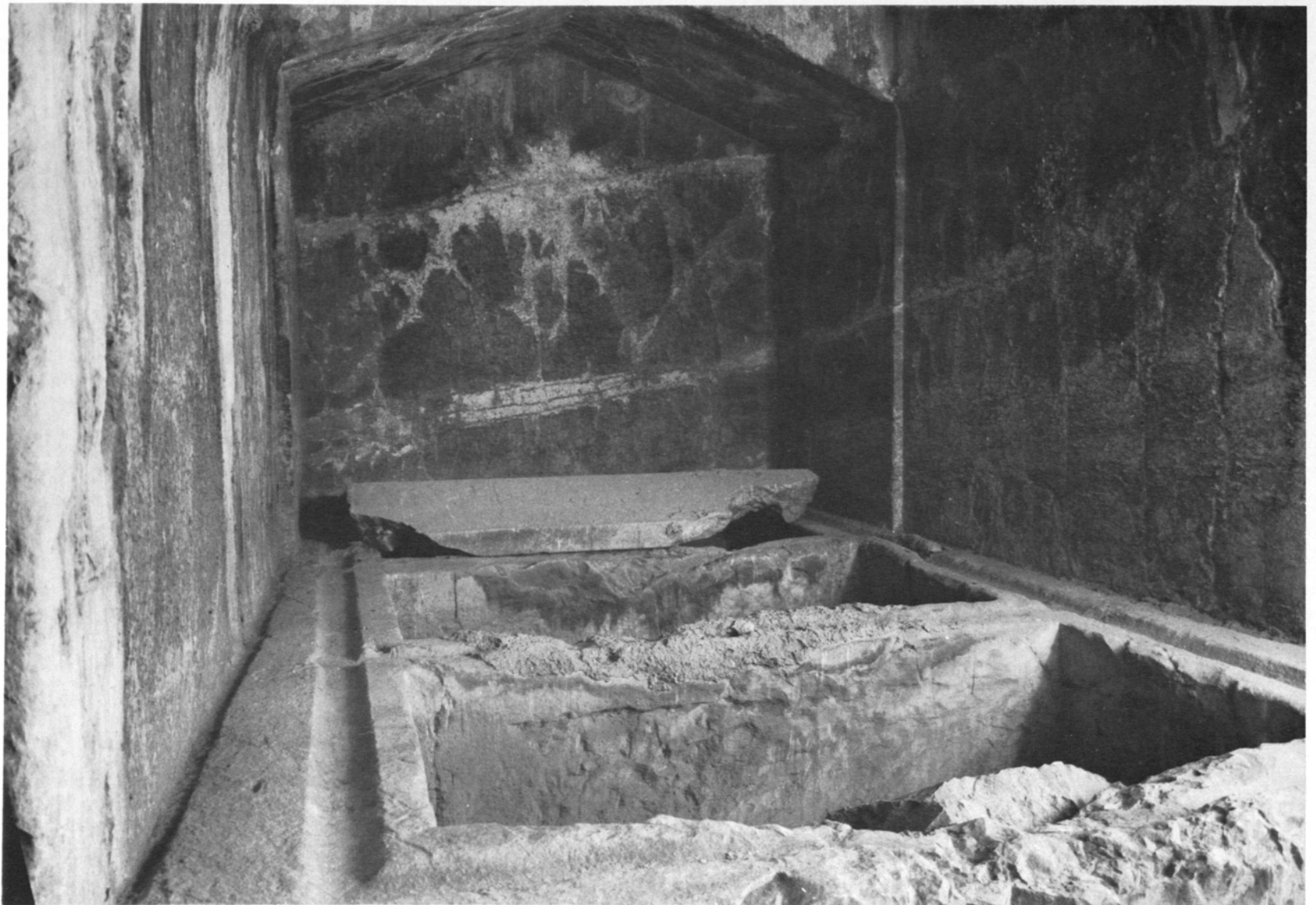
B

TOMB OF DARIUS I. NORTHEAST VAULT (DIRECTION OF VIEWS, *W* [*A*] AND *NW* [*B*])

PLATE 39



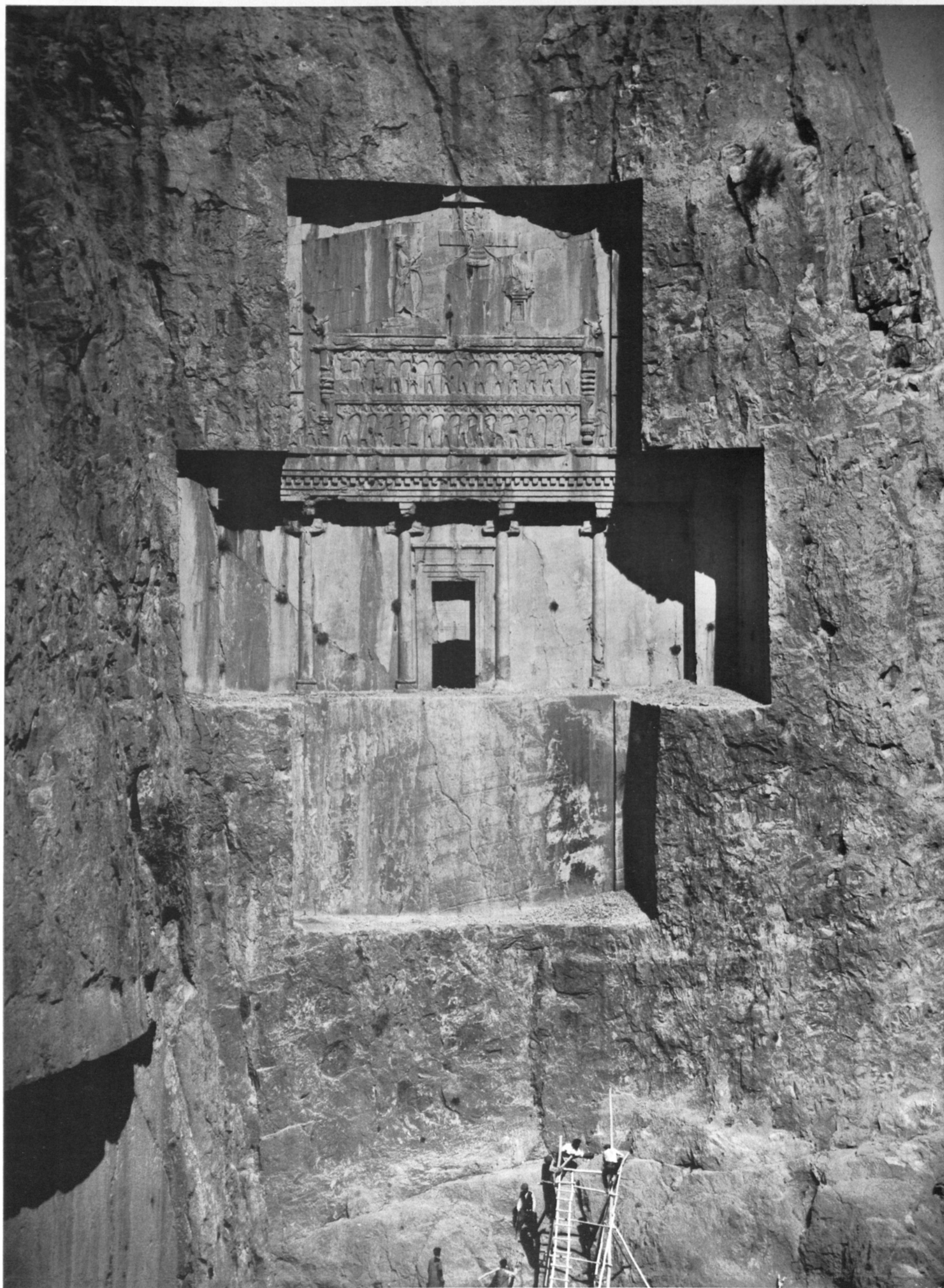
A



B

TOMB OF DARIUS I. *A.* SOUTHWEST VAULT. *B.* CENTER VAULT (*DIRECTION OF VIEWS, NW*)

TOMB II: THE TOMB OF XERXES AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM
PLATES 40-47



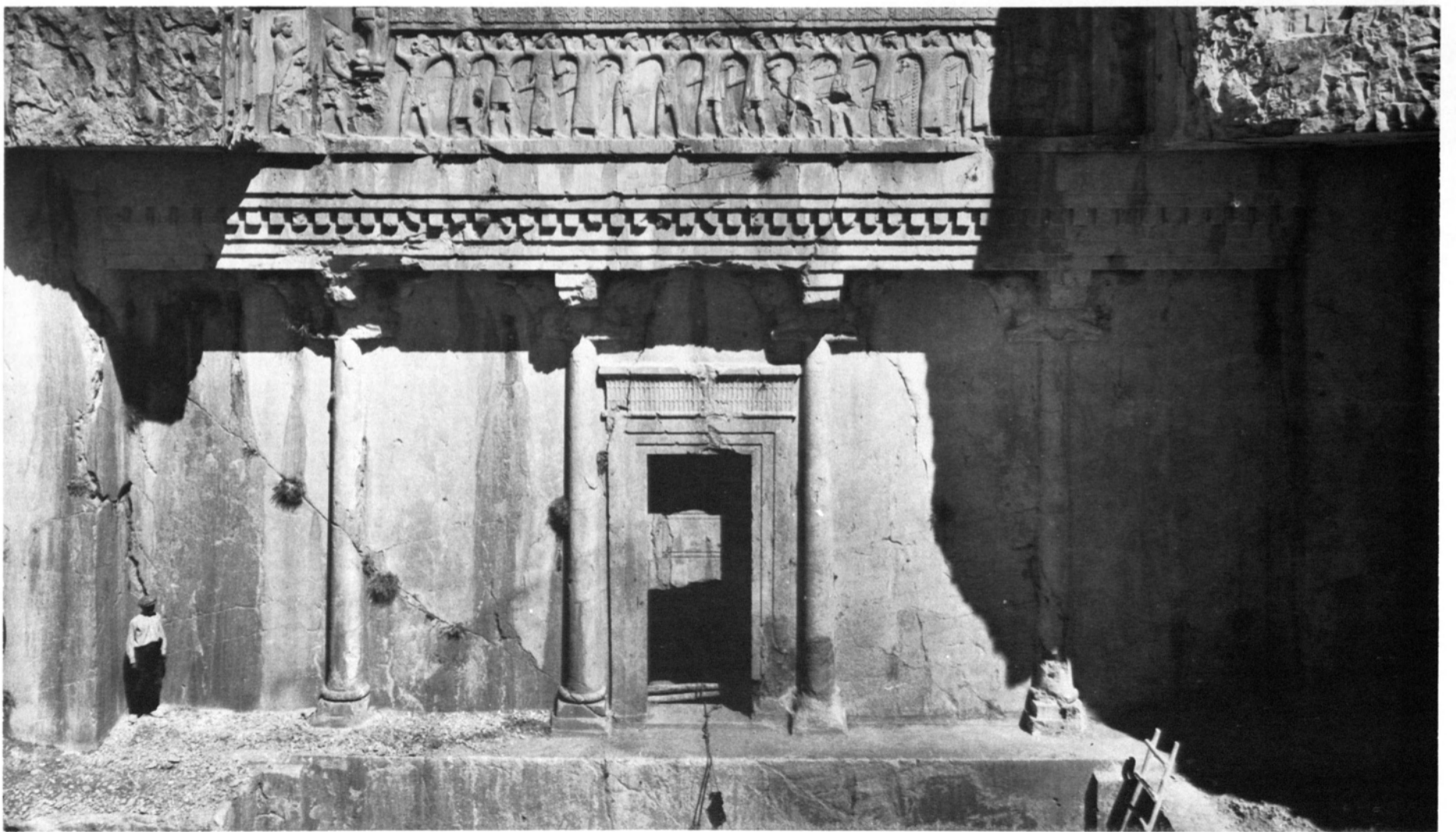
TOMB OF XERXES AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM (TOMB II). GENERAL VIEW (*DIRECTION, 49° E OF N*)



TOMB OF XERXES. TOP REGISTER

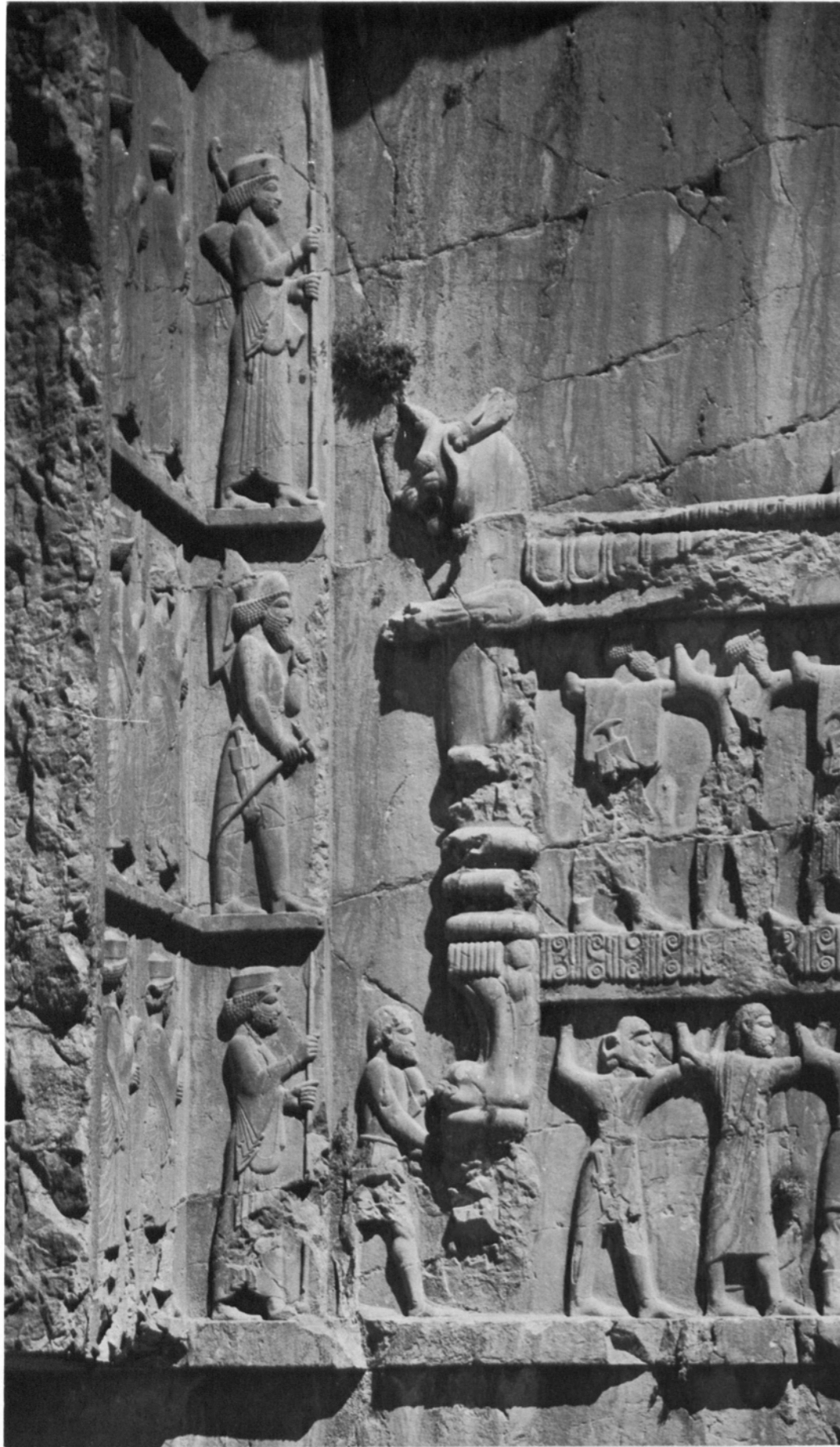


A

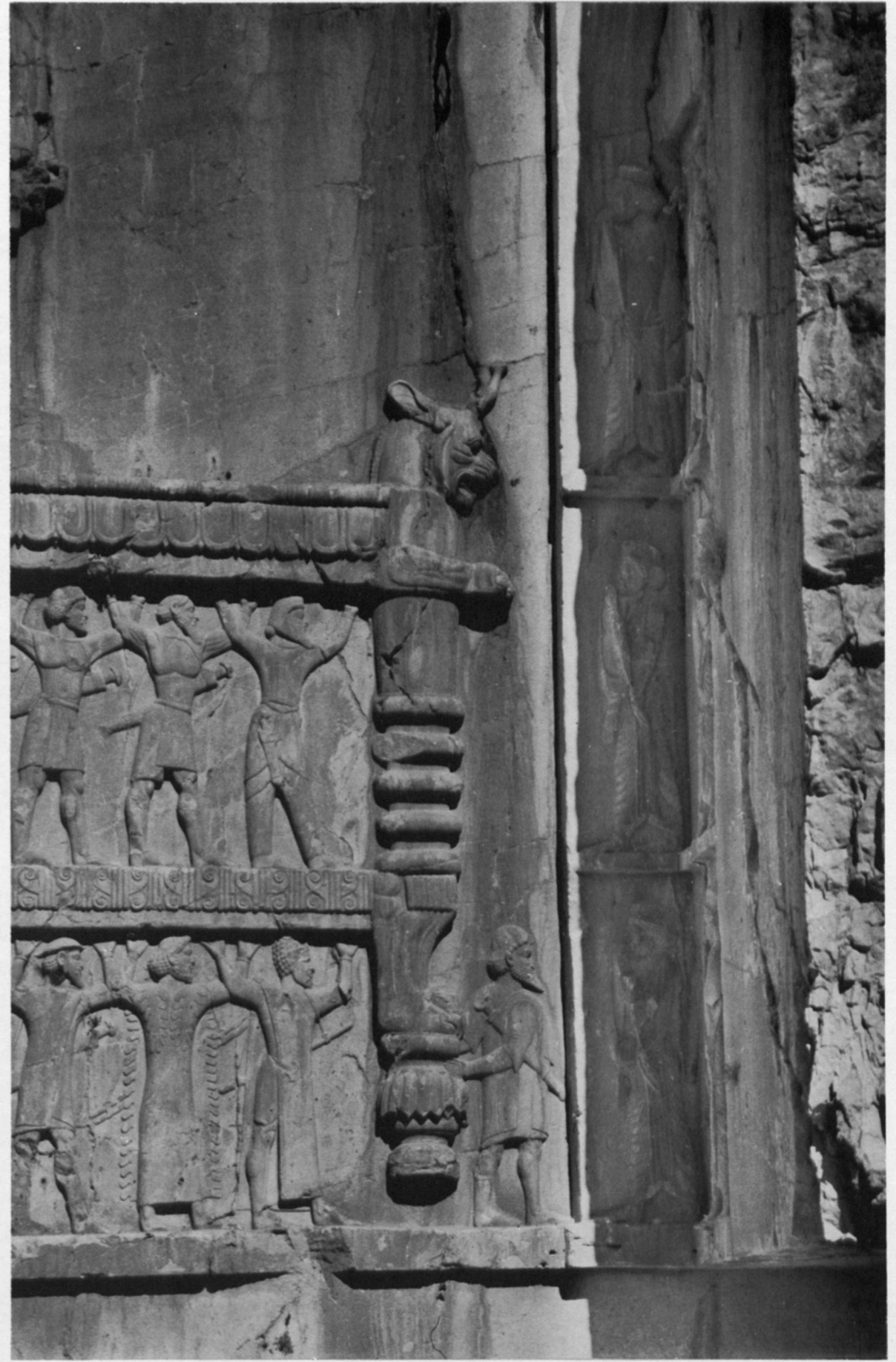


B

TOMB OF XERXES. *A*. KING, GOD, AND FIRE ALTAR IN TOP REGISTER. *B*. MIDDLE REGISTER



A



B

TOMB OF XERXES. TOP REGISTER. *A*. LEFT SIDE. *B*. RIGHT SIDE

1

2

3

4

5

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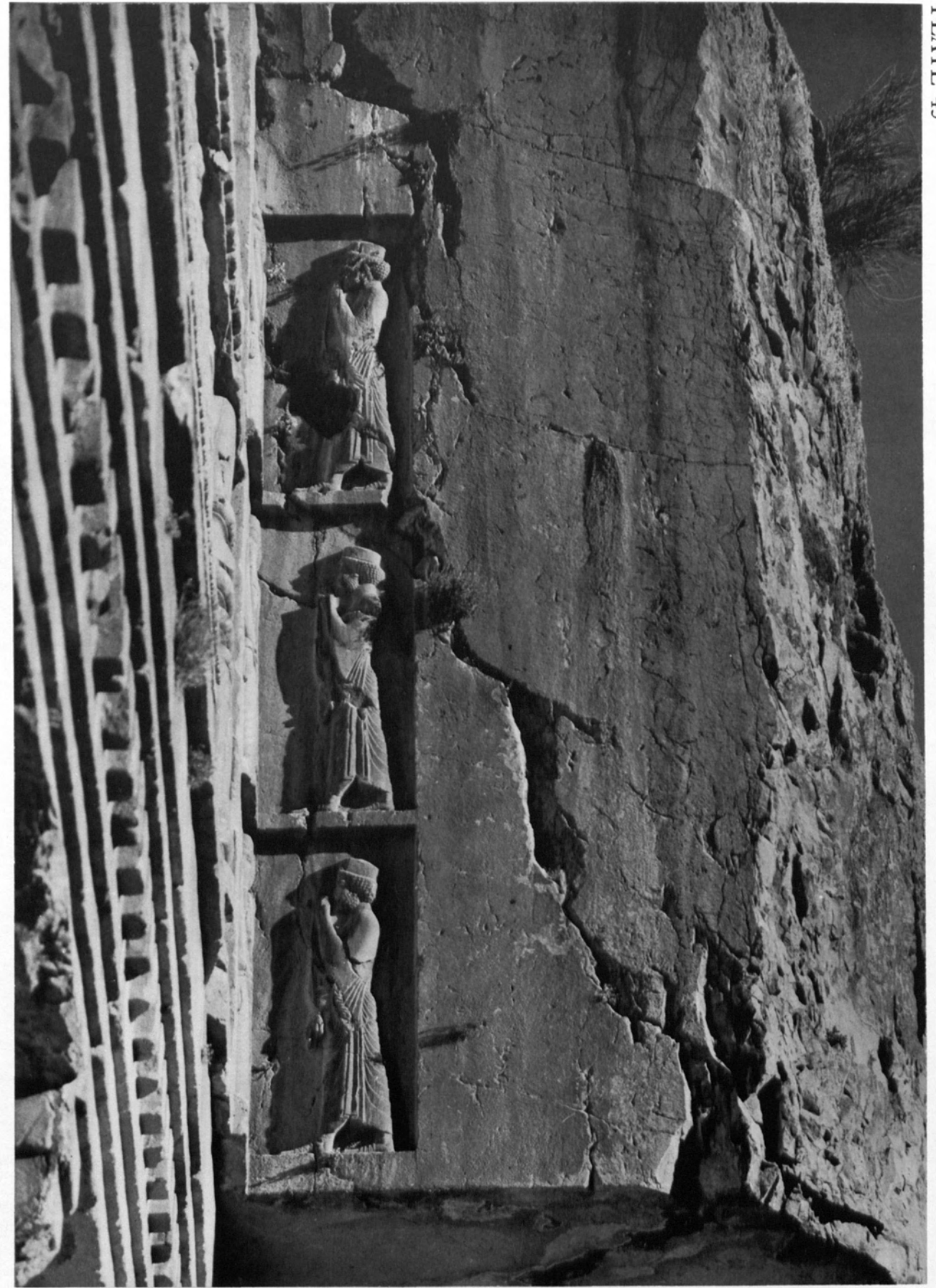
27

28

TOMB OF XERXES. TOP REGISTER. THRONE-BEARERS NOS. 1-28 (NOS. 29 AND 30 SHOWN ON PL. 43 A AND B RESPECTIVELY). SCALE, ABOUT 1:16



A

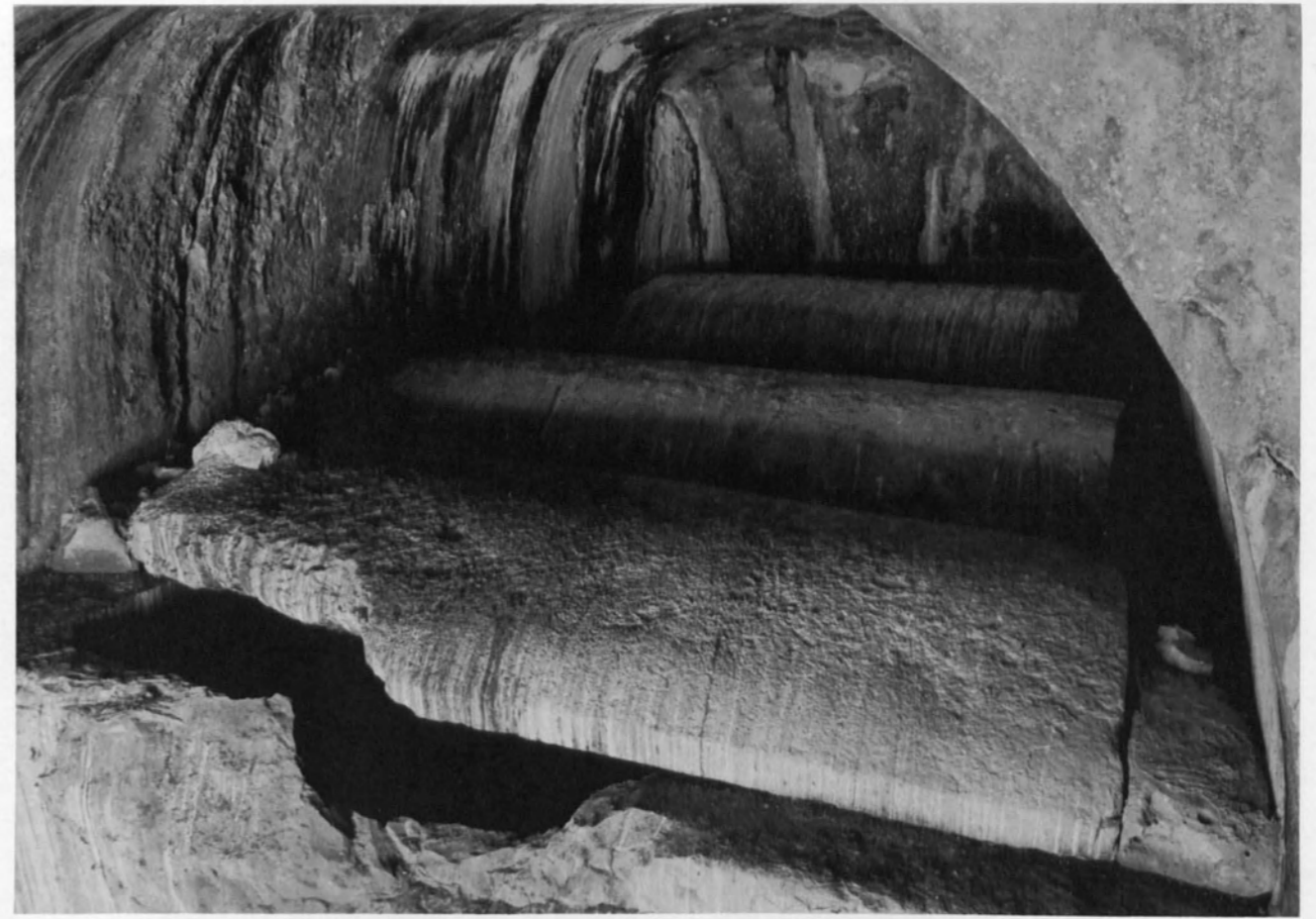


B

TOMB OF XERXES. TOP REGISTER. *A*. RELIEFS OF GUARDS ON LEFT SIDE WALL. *B*. RELIEFS OF MOURNERS ON RIGHT SIDE WALL



A



B

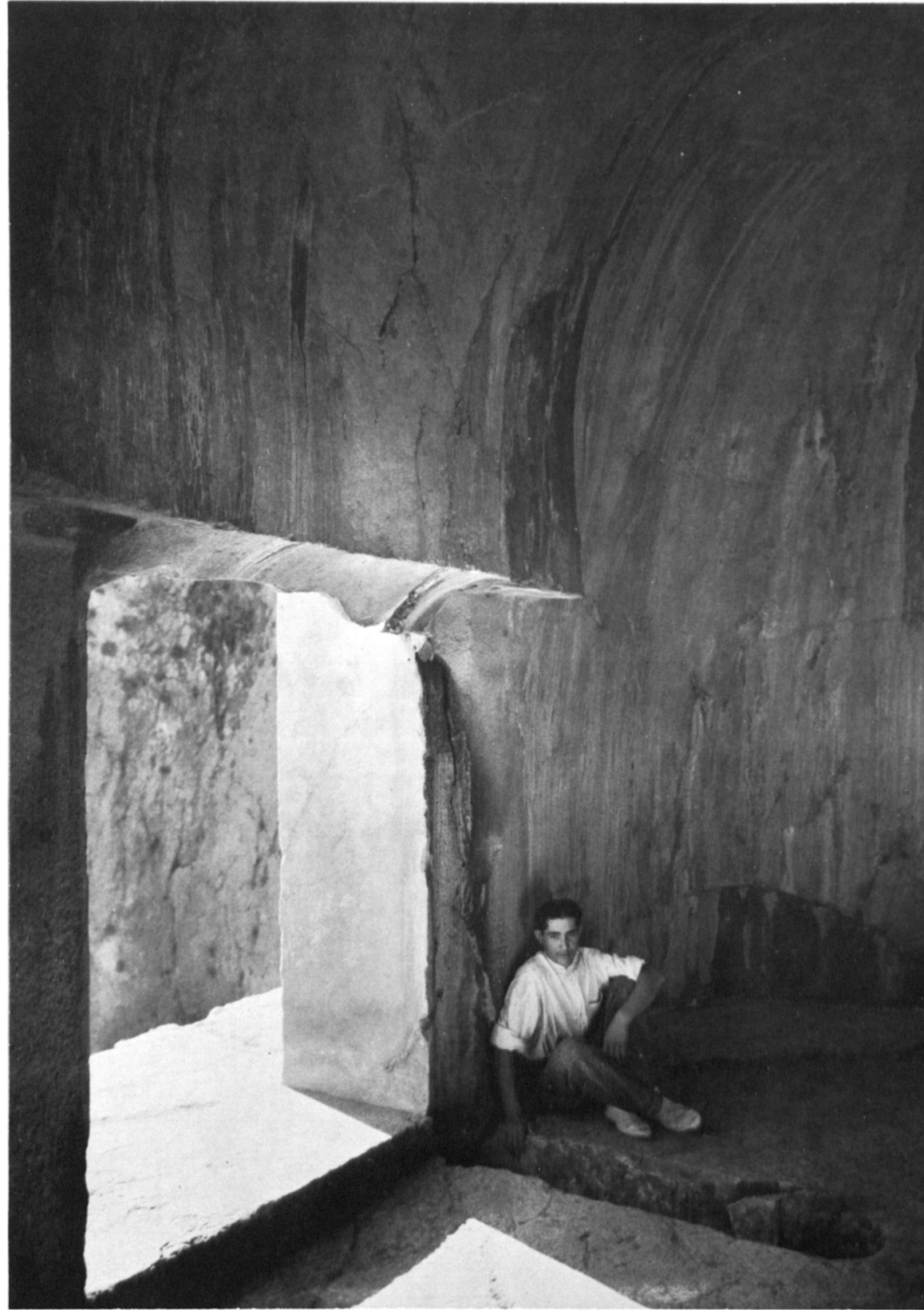


C

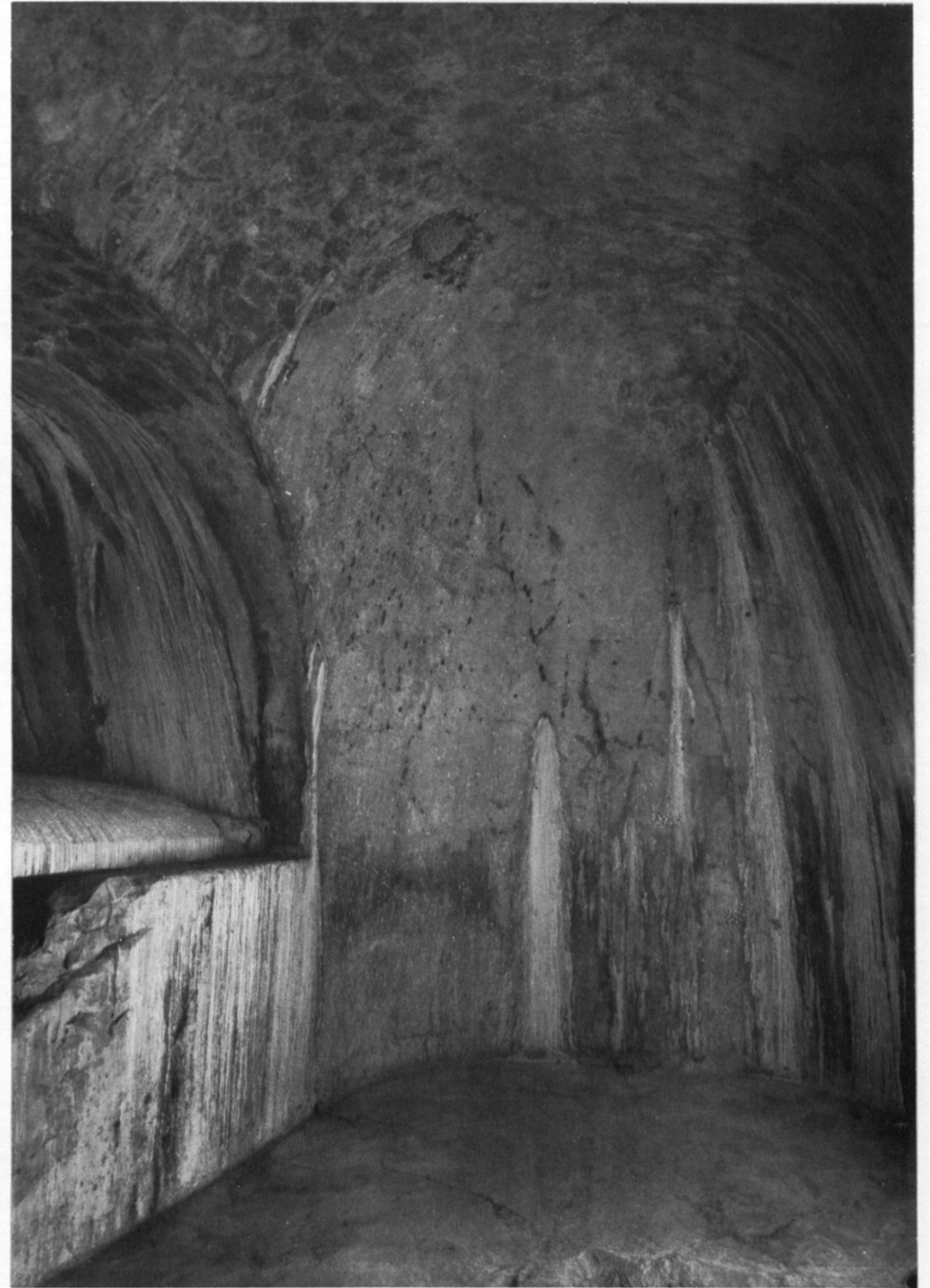


D

TOMB OF XERXES. VAULT. VIEWS TOWARD NORTHEAST (*A*), NORTH-NORTHEAST (*B* AND *D*), AND WEST-SOUTHWEST (*C*)



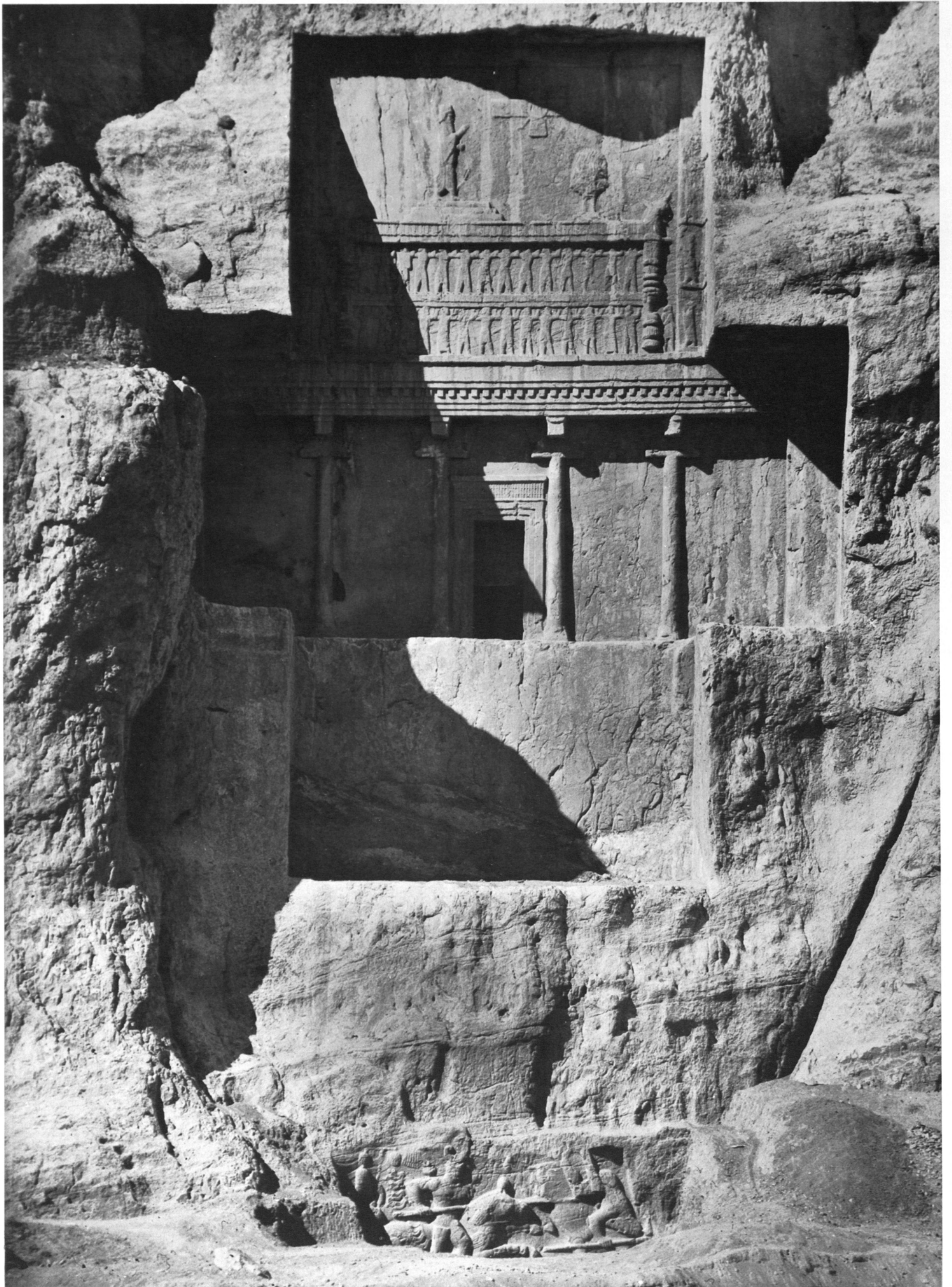
A



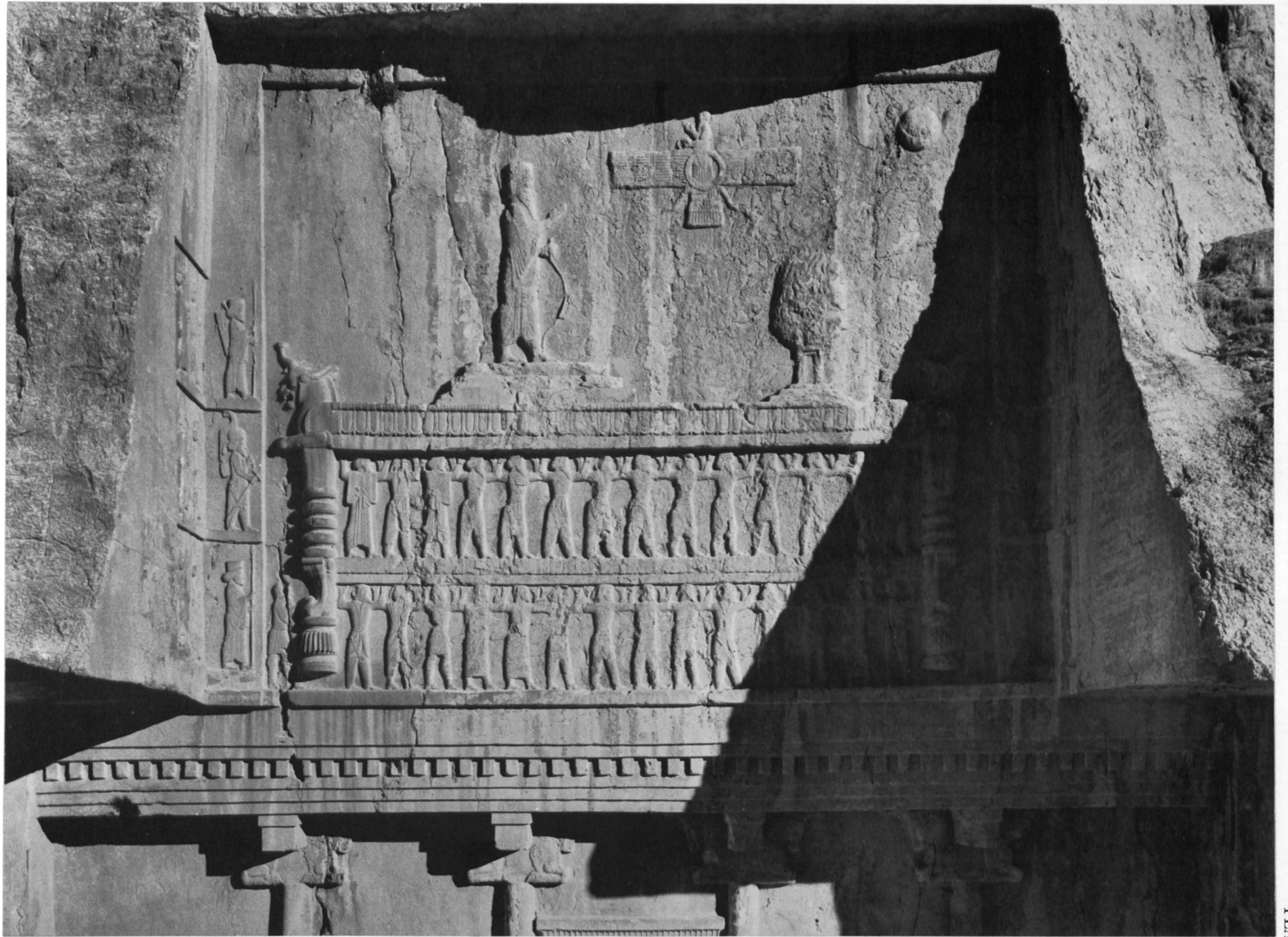
B

TOMB OF XERXES. VESTIBULE. *A*. VIEW TOWARD DOORWAY (*DIRECTION, W*). *B*. VIEW TOWARD EAST

*TOMB III: THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I
AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM
PLATES 48–55*



TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM (TOMB III). GENERAL VIEW (DIRECTION, 18° W OF N)



TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I. TOP REGISTER



TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I. TOP REGISTER. KING, GOD, FIRE ALTAR, AND THRONE-BEARERS NOS. 1-12, 15-26, AND 29, WITH WEAPON-BEARERS AND GUARD ON LEFT FRAME

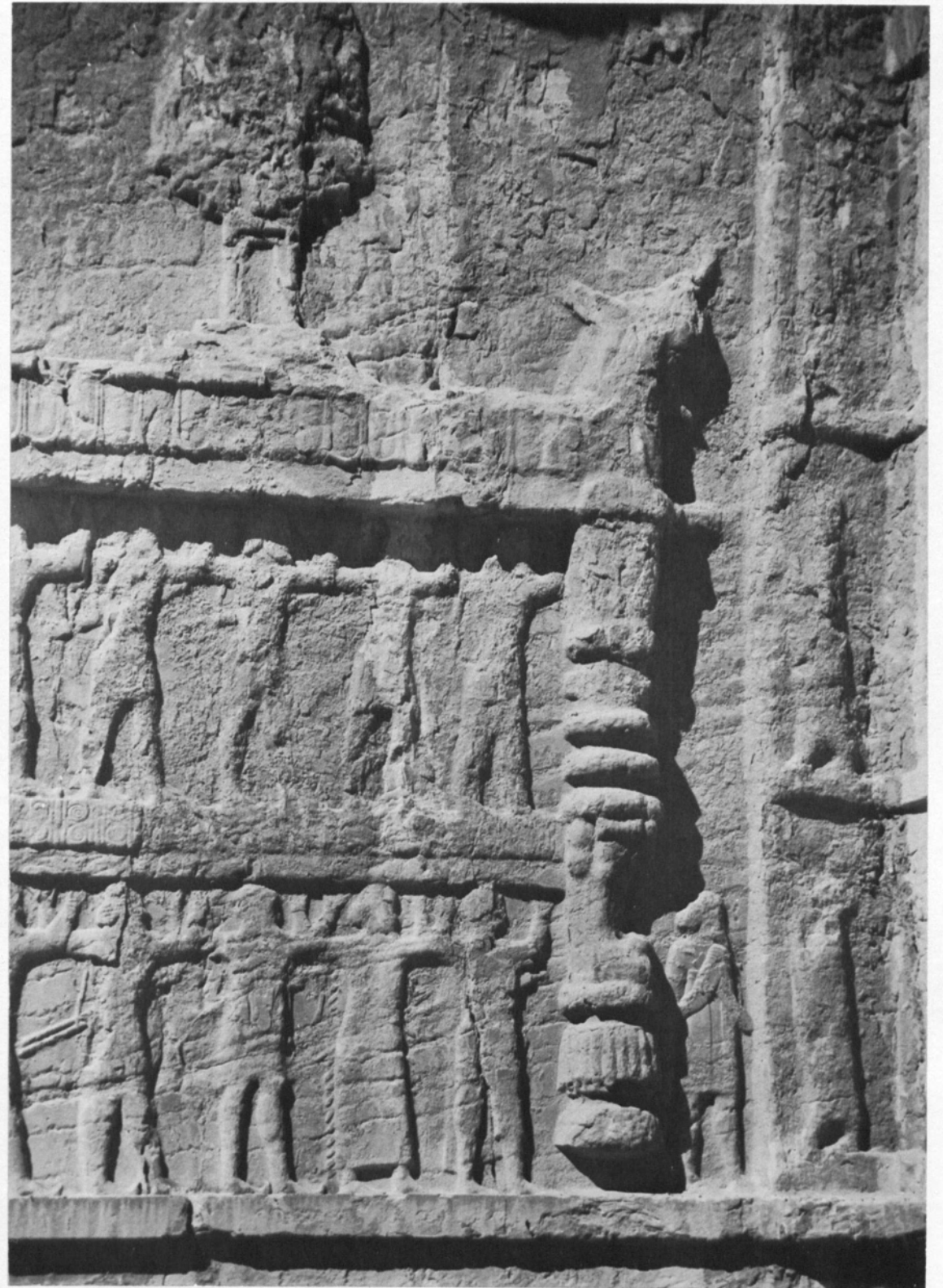
1 2 3 4



29 15 16 17 18

A

11 12 13 14



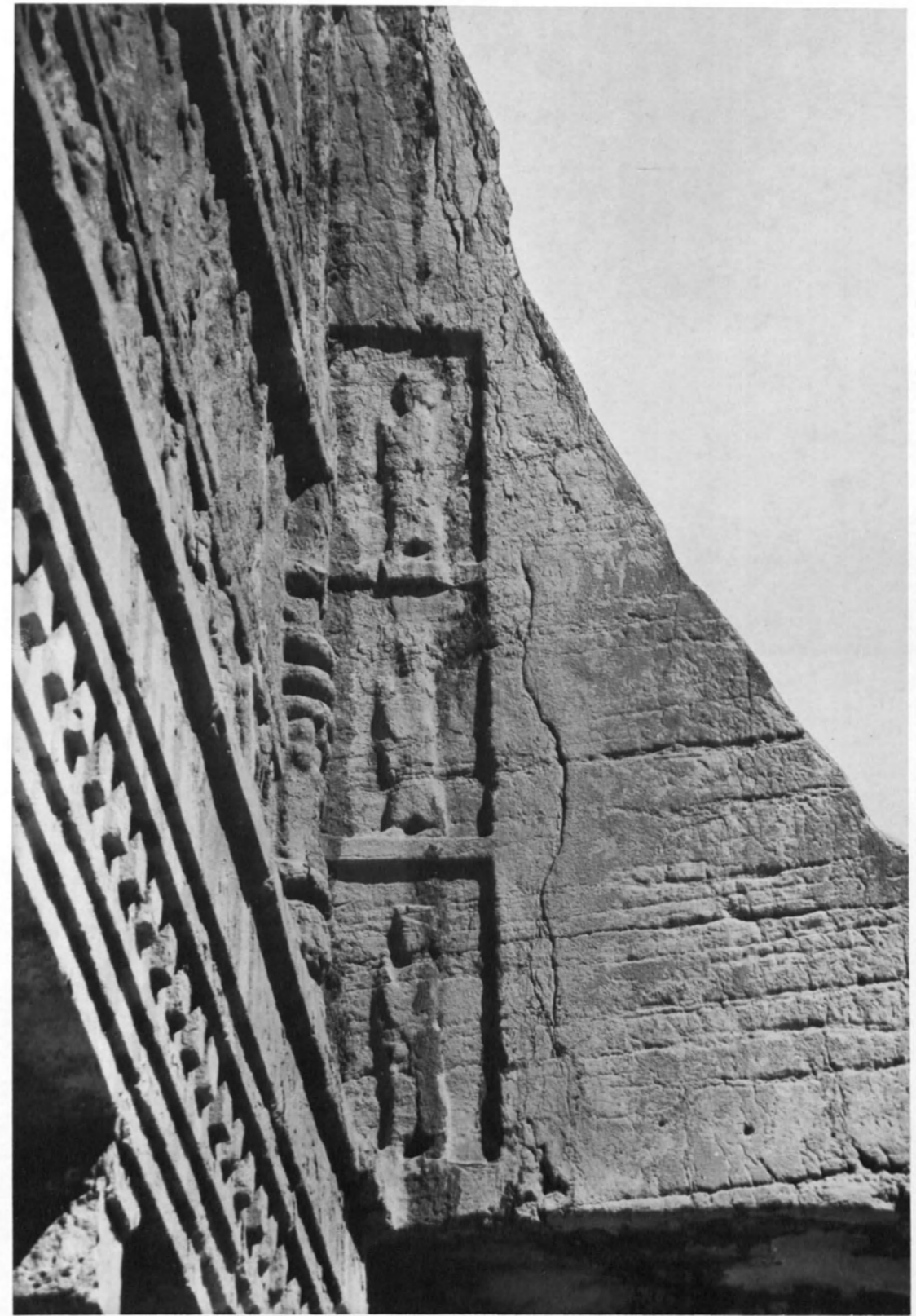
25 26 27 28 30

B

TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I. TOP REGISTER. *A*. THRONE-BEARERS NOS. 1-4, 15-18, AND 29, WITH WEAPON-BEARERS AND GUARD ON LEFT FRAME.
B. THRONE-BEARERS NOS. 11-14, 25-28, AND 30, WITH MOURNERS ON RIGHT FRAME

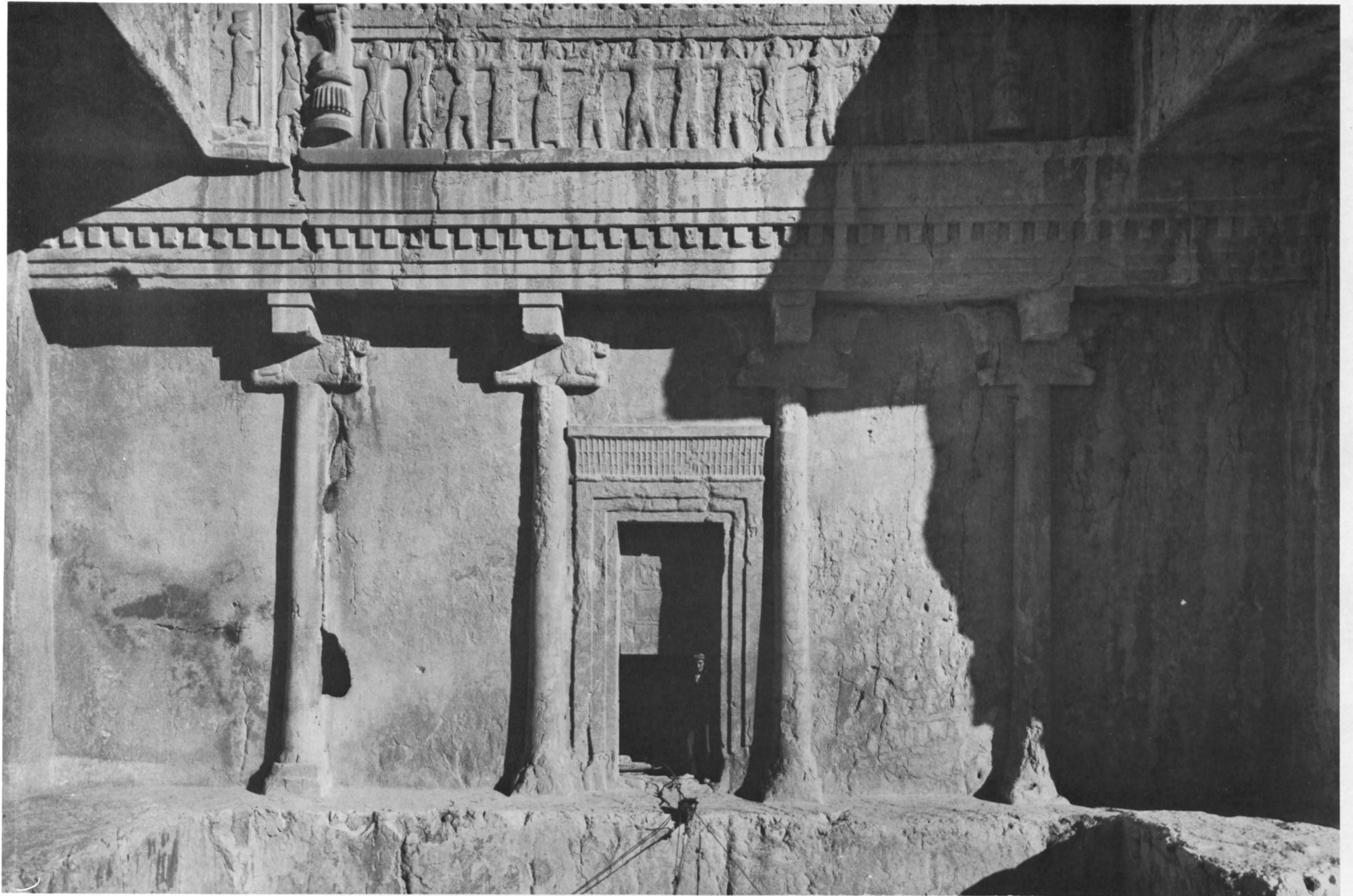


A



B

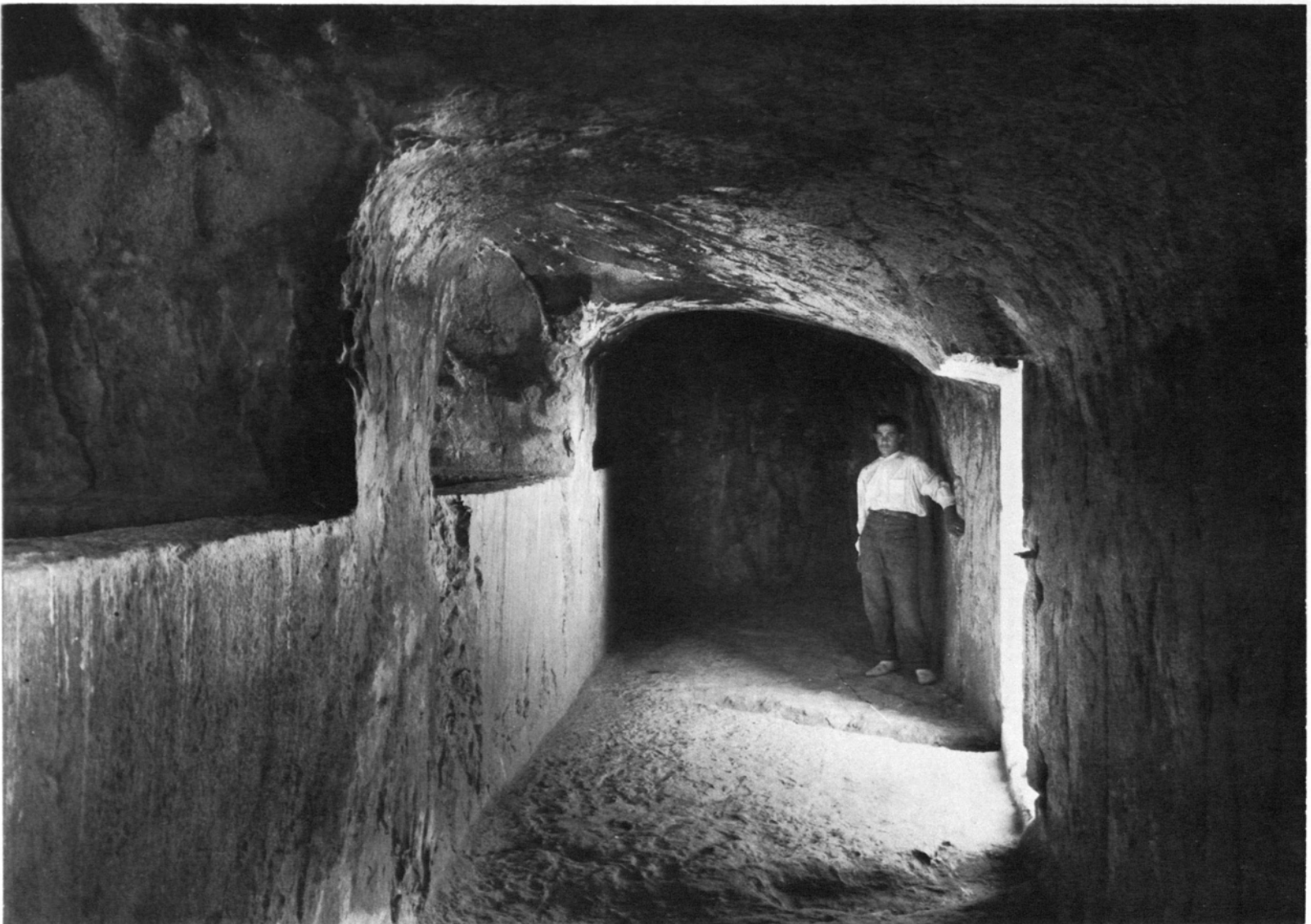
TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I. TOP REGISTER. *A*. RELIEFS OF GUARDS ON LEFT SIDE WALL. *B*. RELIEFS OF MOURNERS ON RIGHT SIDE WALL.



TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I. MIDDLE REGISTER



A



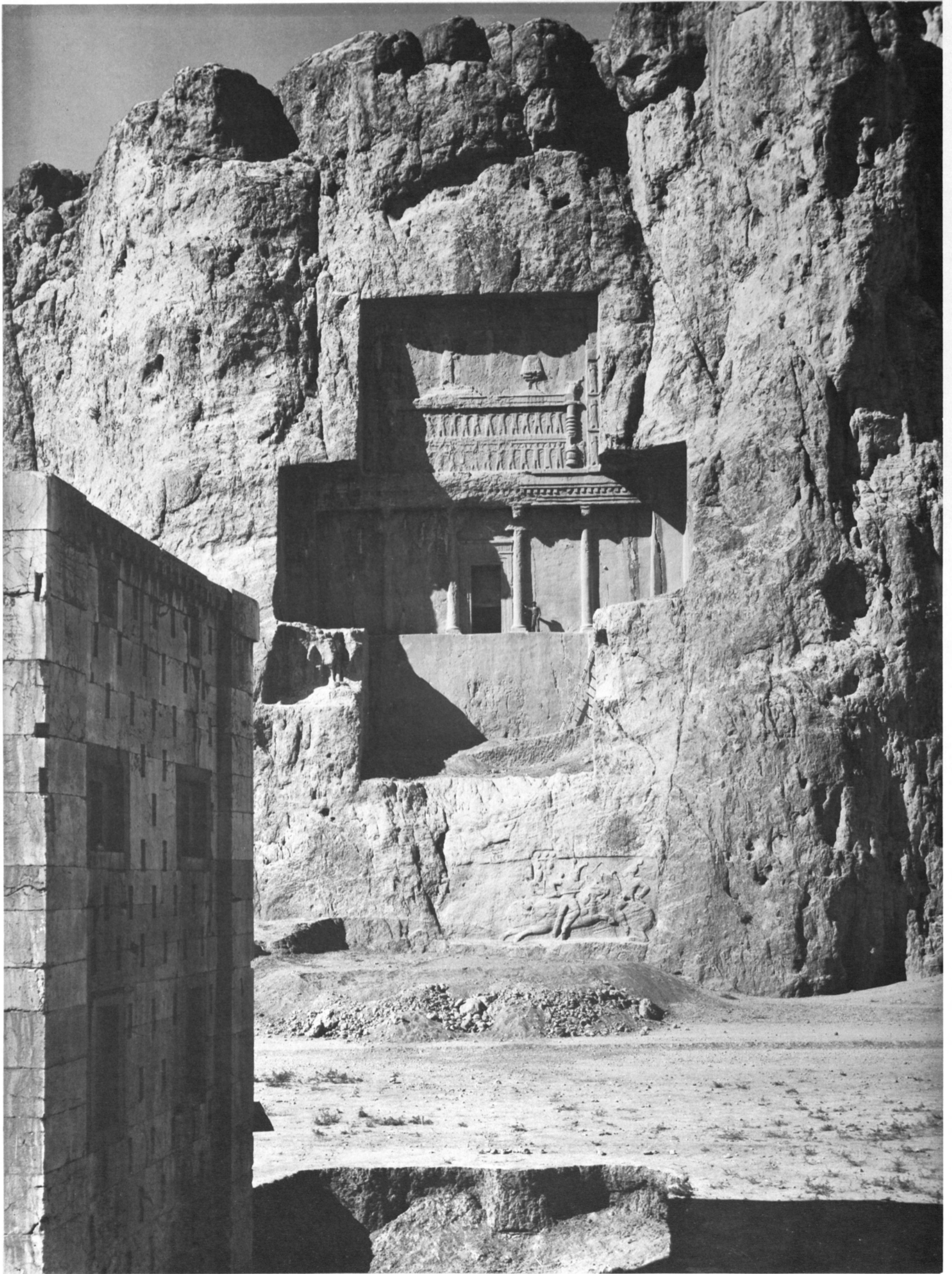
B

TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I. VESTIBULE (DIRECTION OF VIEWS, SW [A] AND ENE [B])



TOMB OF ARTAXERXES I. CENTER VAULT (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, NNW*)

TOMB IV: THE TOMB OF DARIUS II AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM
PLATES 56–62



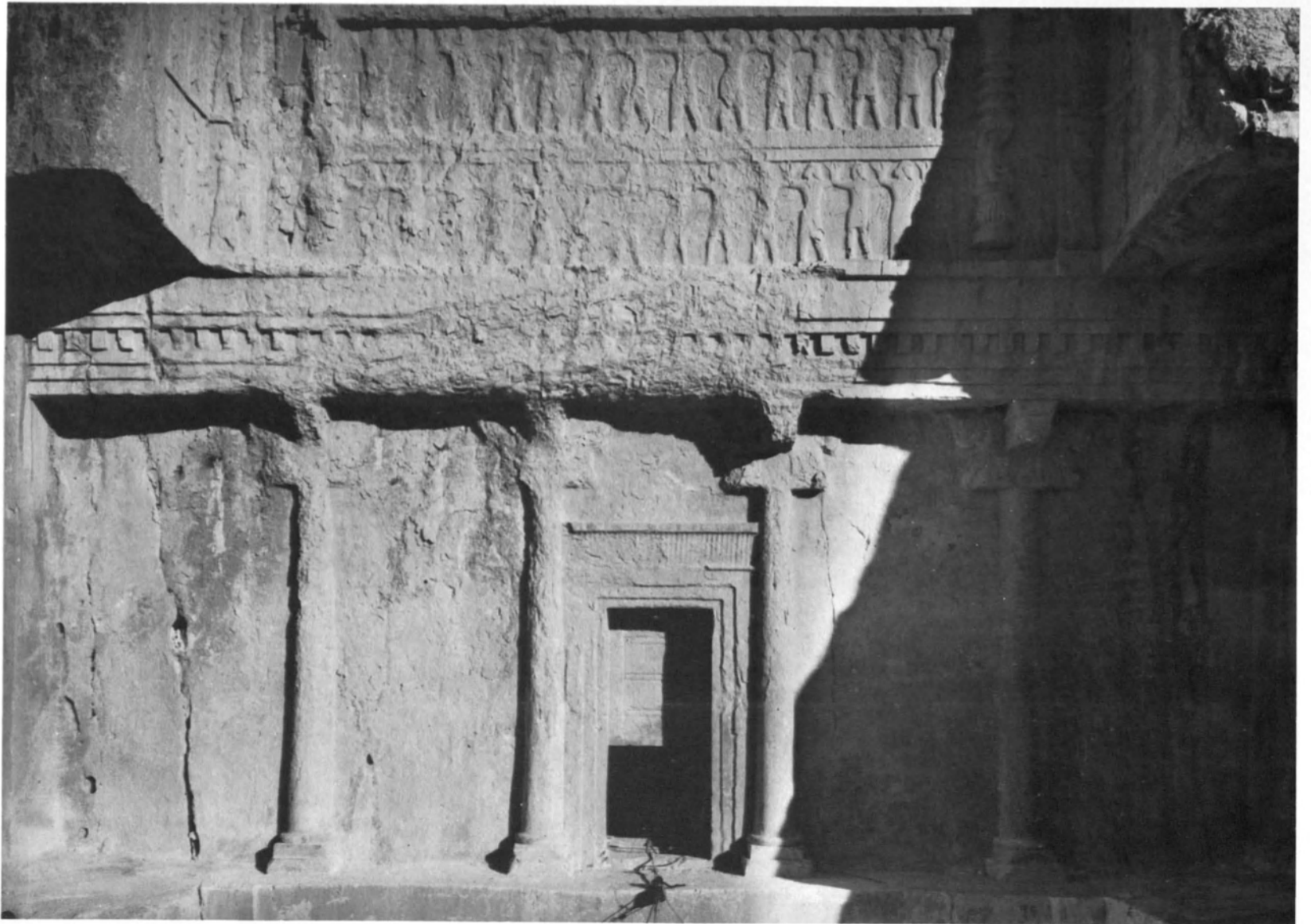
TOMB OF DARIUS II AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM (TOMB IV). GENERAL VIEW WITH THE TOWER IN LEFT FOREGROUND (DIRECTION, 25° W OF N)



TOMB OF DARIUS II. TOP REGISTER



A



B

TOMB OF DARIUS II. *A.* KING, GOD, AND FIRE ALTAR IN TOP REGISTER.
B. MIDDLE REGISTER WITH THRONE-BEARERS OF TOP REGISTER



TOMB OF DARIUS II. TOP REGISTER. THRONE-BEARERS NOS. 6-14 AND 21-28

11 12 13 14

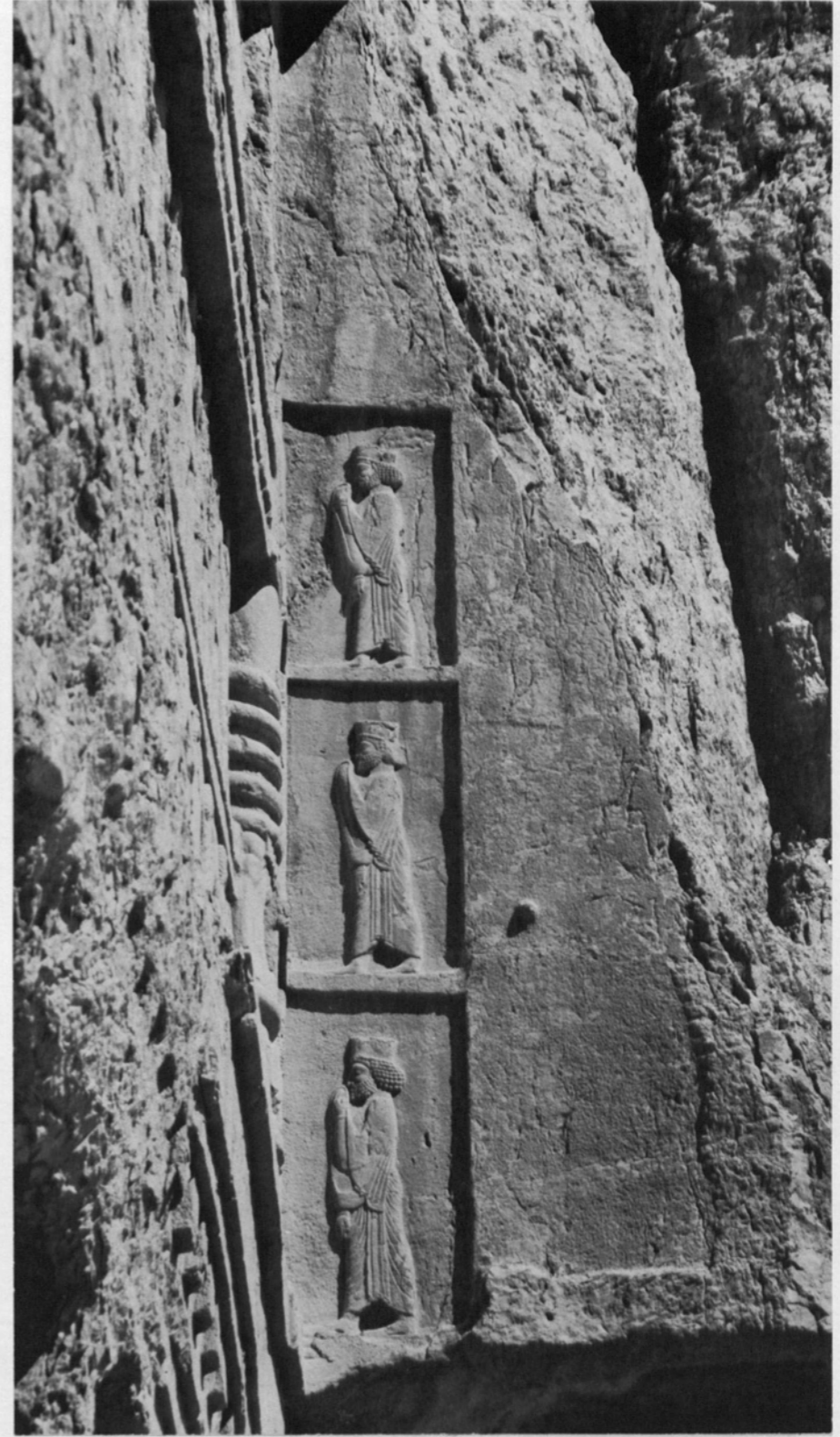


25 26 27 28 30

TOMB OF DARIUS II. TOP REGISTER. THRONE-BEARERS NOS. 11-14, 25-28, AND 30, WITH MOURNERS ON RIGHT FRAME

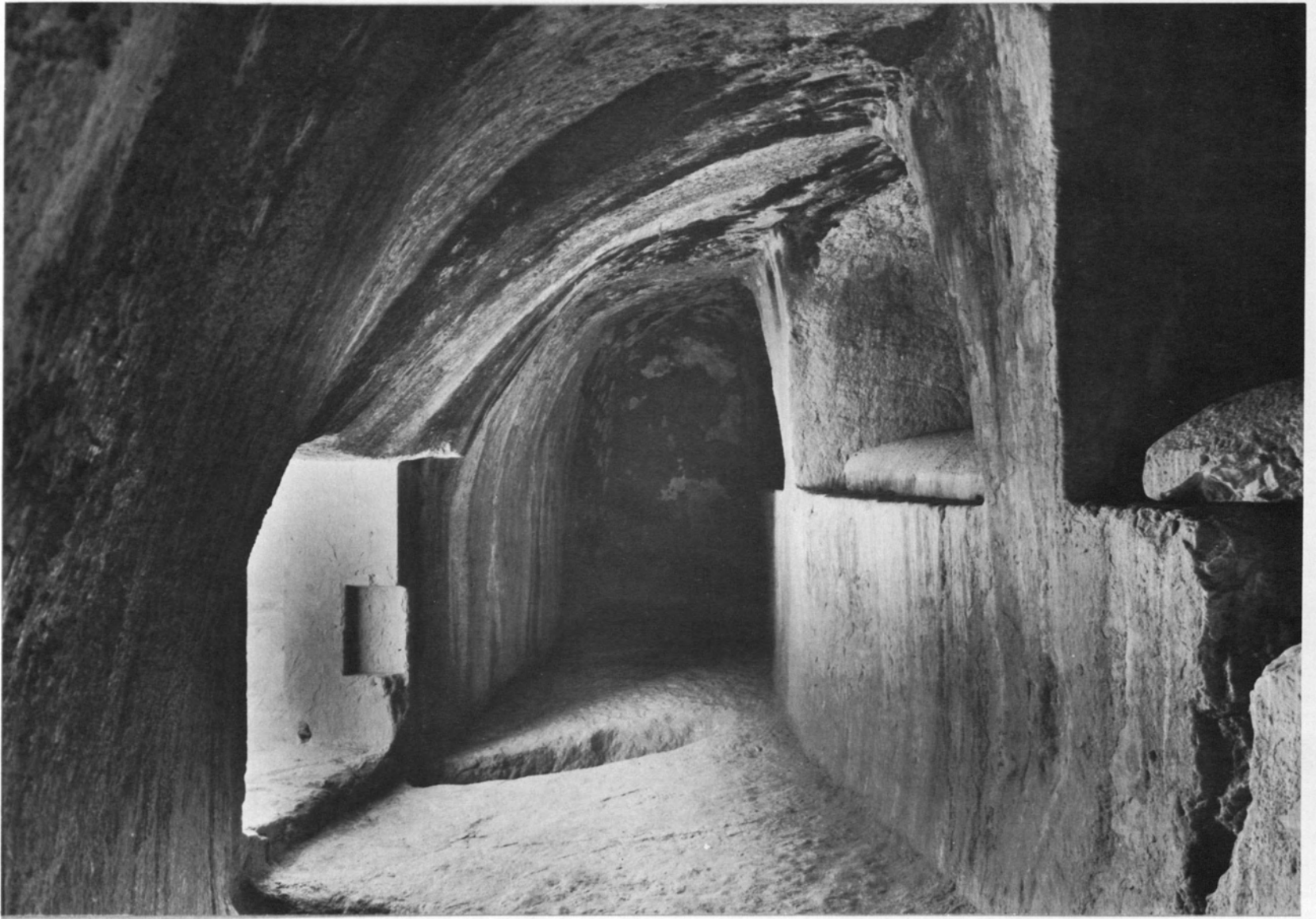


A



B

TOMB OF DARIUS II. TOP REGISTER. *A*. RELIEFS OF GUARDS ON LEFT SIDE WALL. *B*. RELIEFS OF MOURNERS ON RIGHT SIDE WALL



A

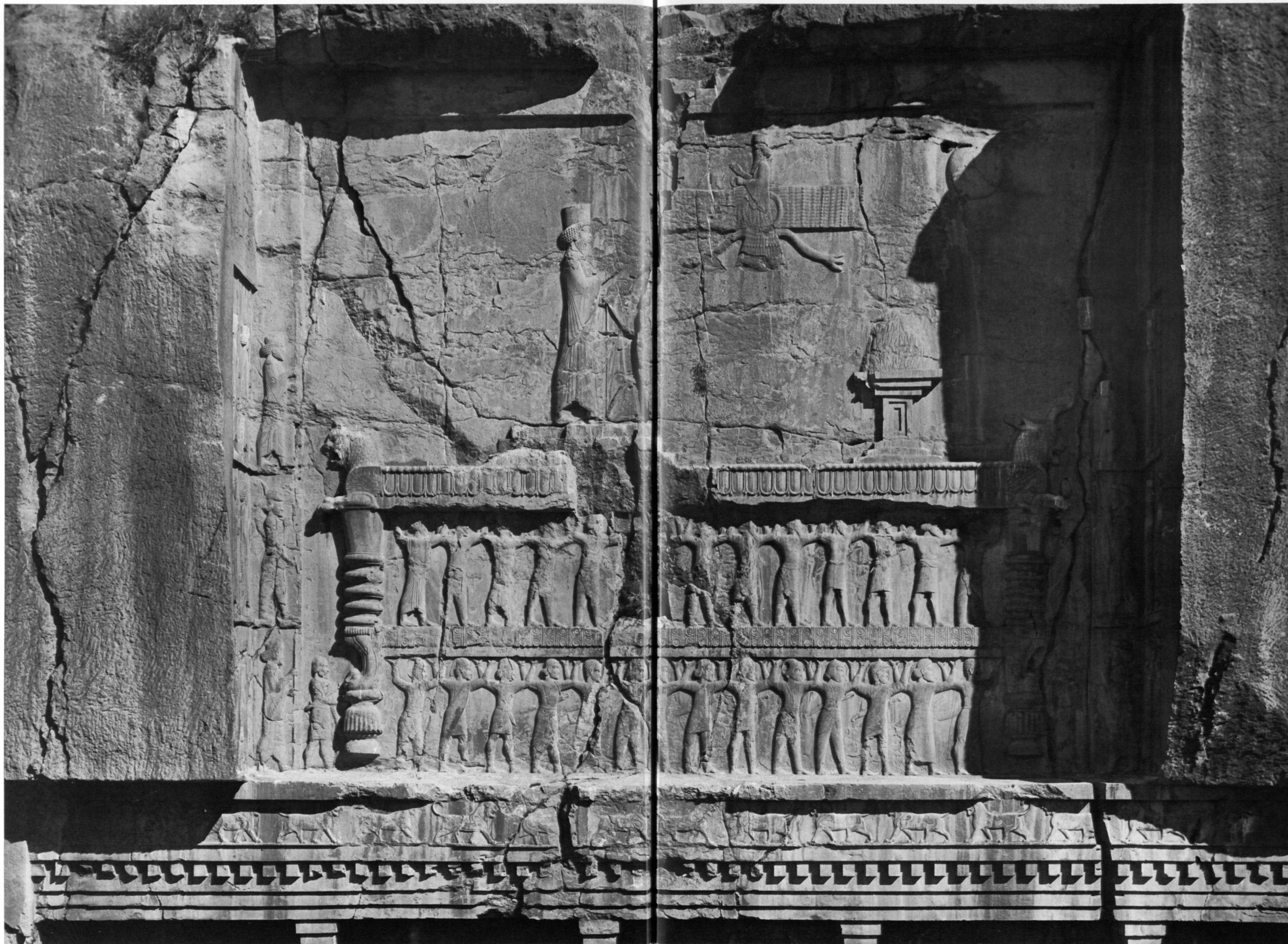


B

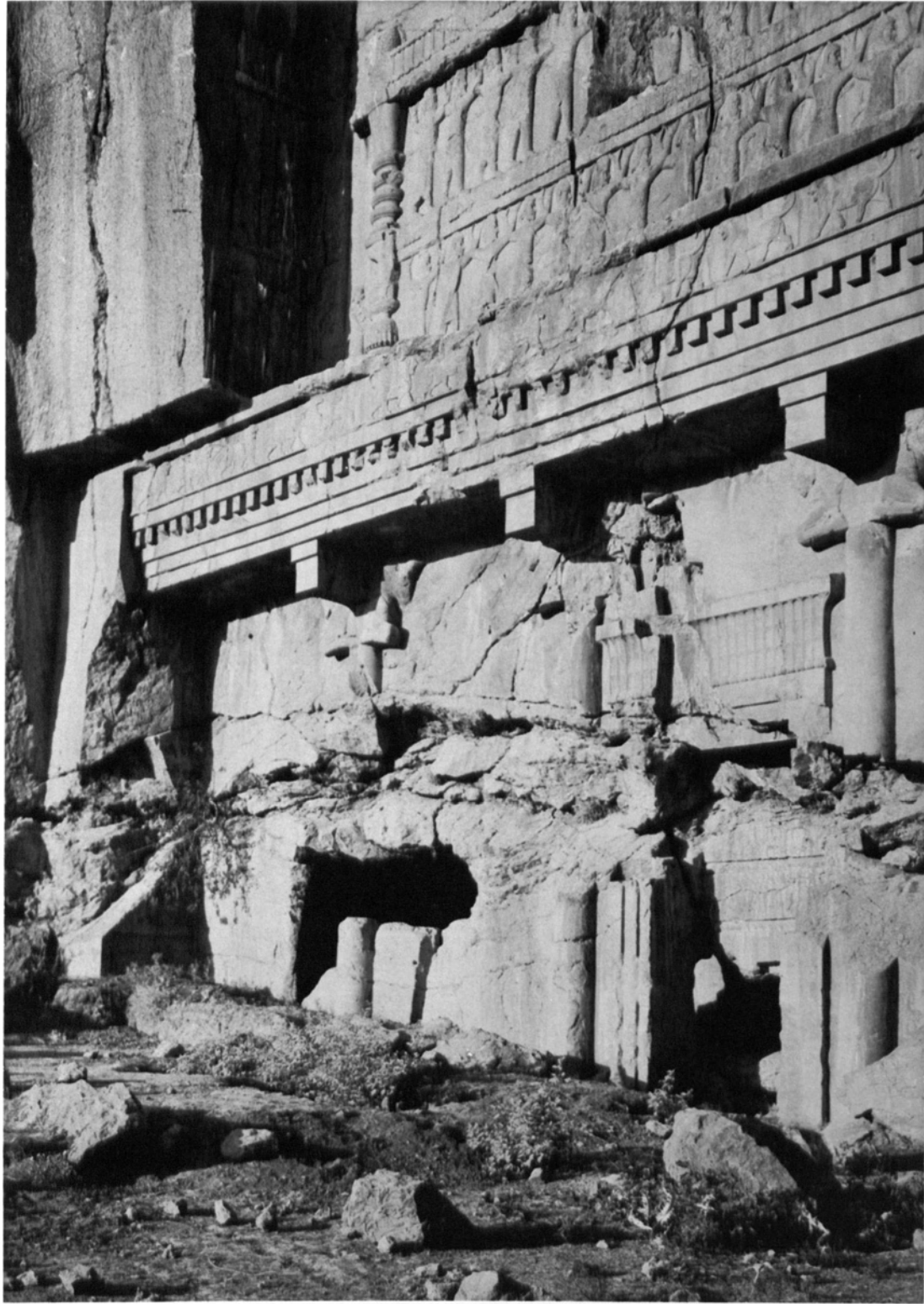
TOMB OF DARIUS II. *A.* VESTIBULE (*DIRECTION OF VIEW, SW*). *B.* CENTER VAULT

TOMB V: THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II AT PERSEPOLIS

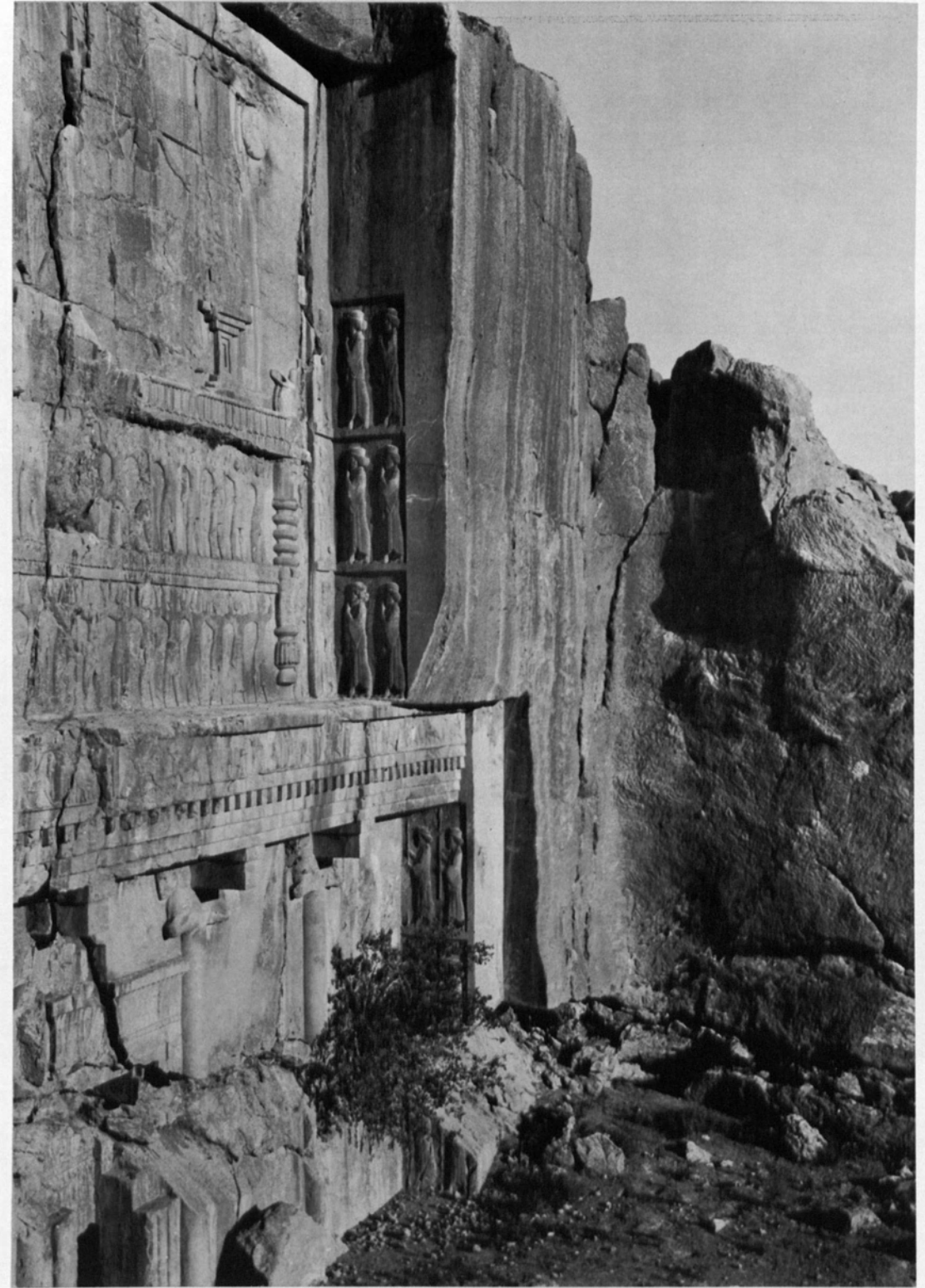
PLATES 63-69



TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II AT PERSEPOLIS (TOMB V). UPPER REGISTER AND ENTABLATURE OF LOWER REGISTER



A



B

TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II. GENERAL VIEWS OF LEFT (*A*) AND RIGHT (*B*) PARTS OF FAÇADE

PLATE 65



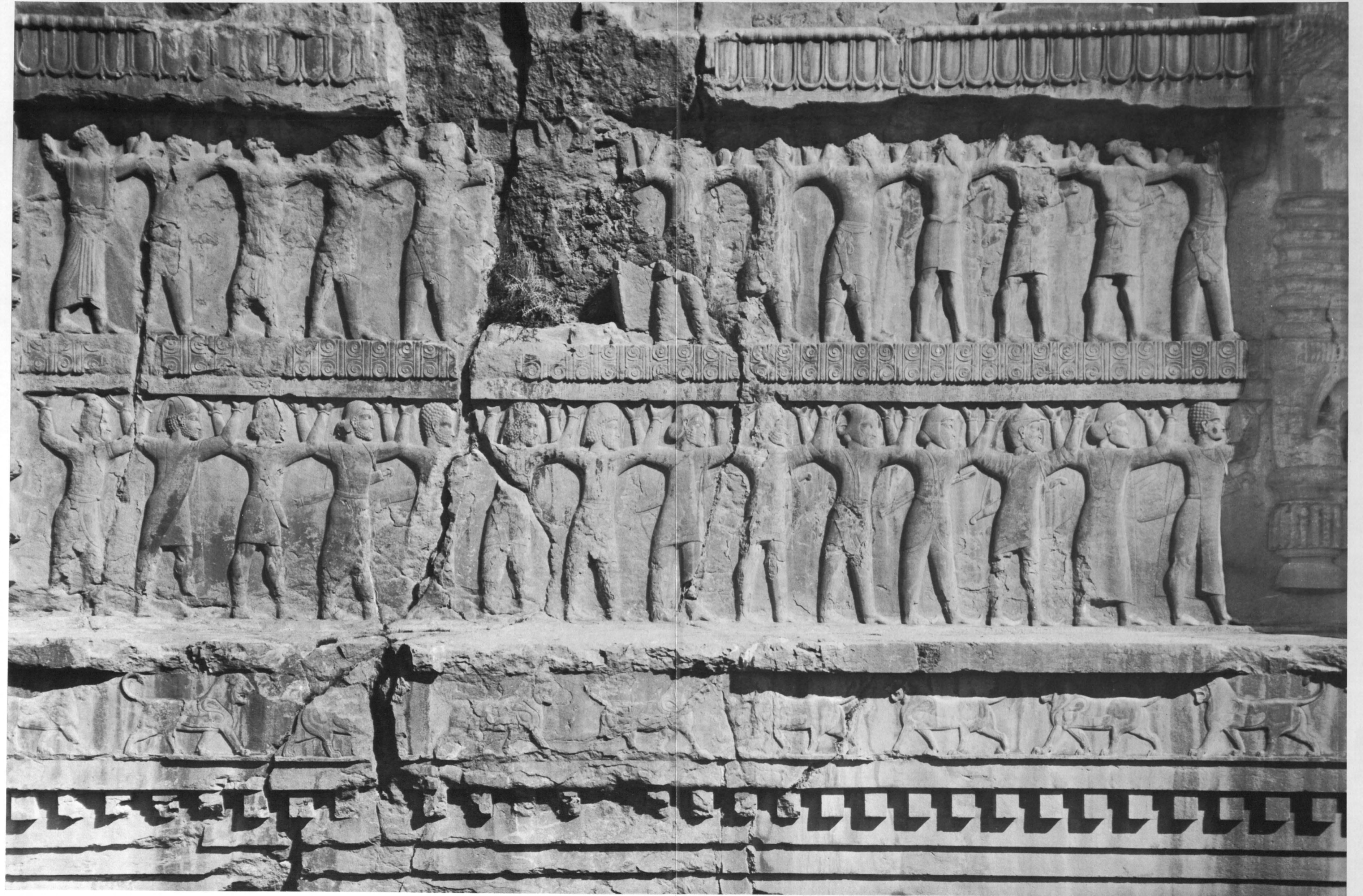
A



B

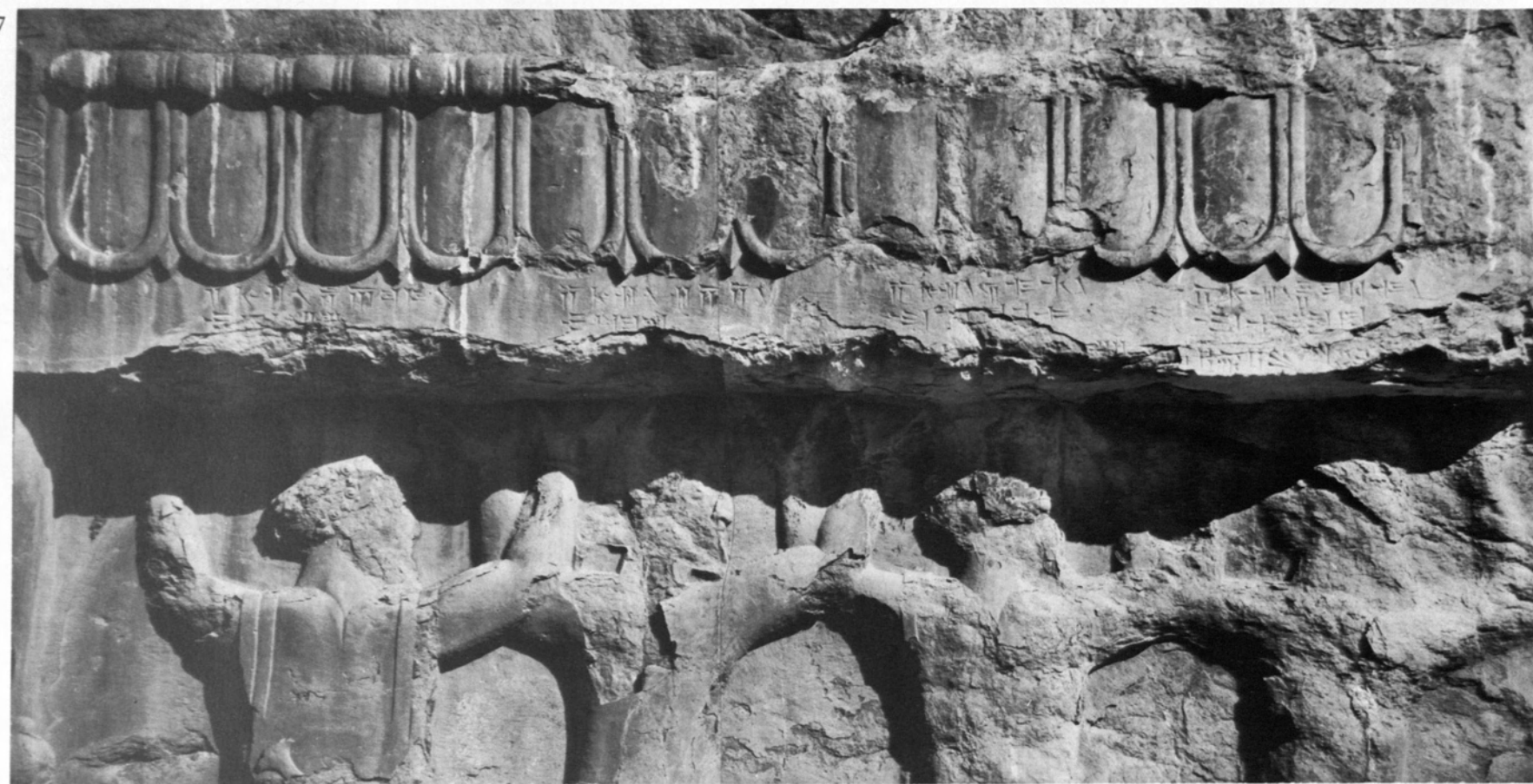
TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II. UPPER REGISTER. RELIEFS OF GUARDS ON LEFT SIDE WALL. *A*. GENERAL VIEW. *B*. CENTRAL PAIR. SCALE OF *B*, 1:16

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14



15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II. UPPER REGISTER. THRONE-BEARERS NOS. 1-28



1 2 3 4



8 9 10 11 12 13 14

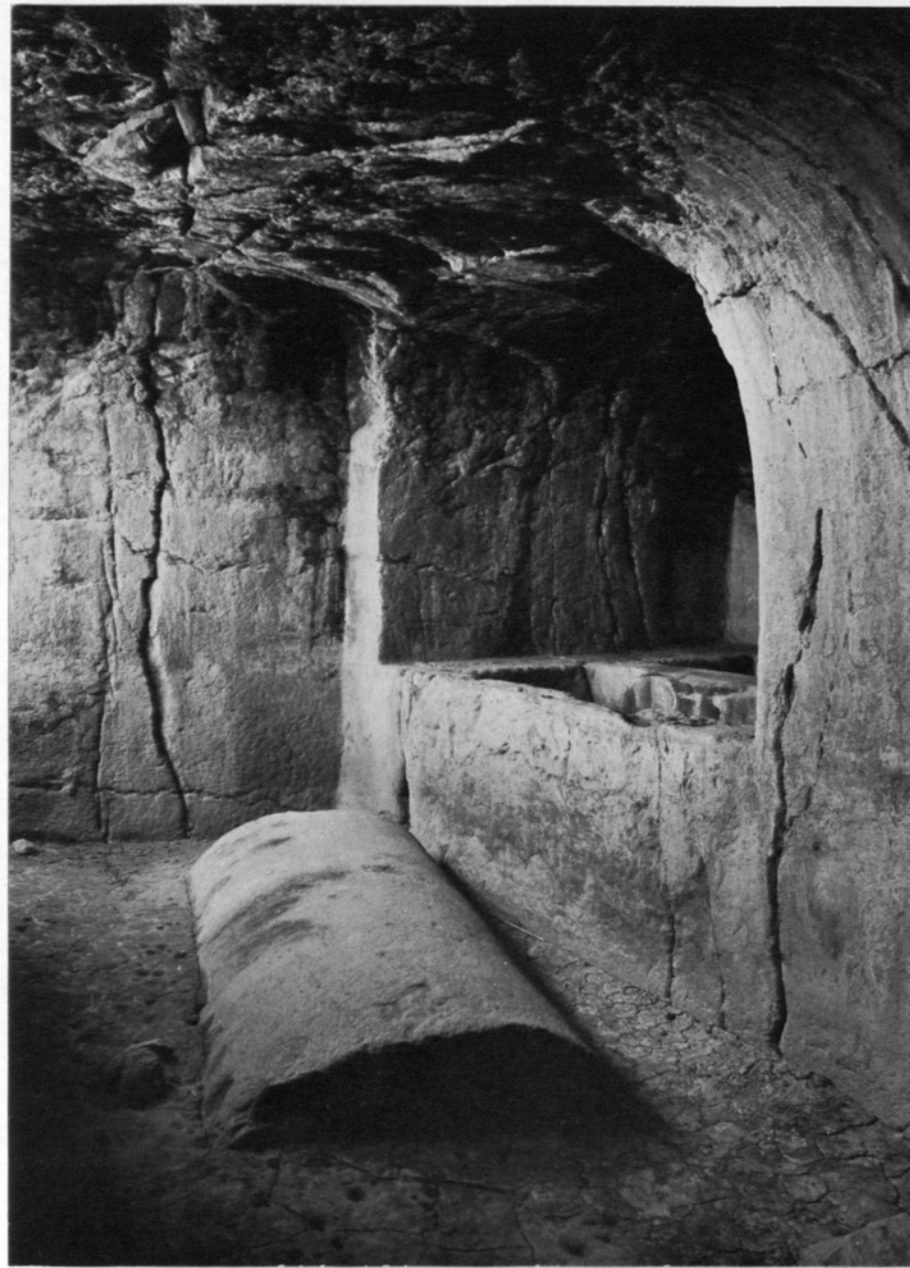


15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

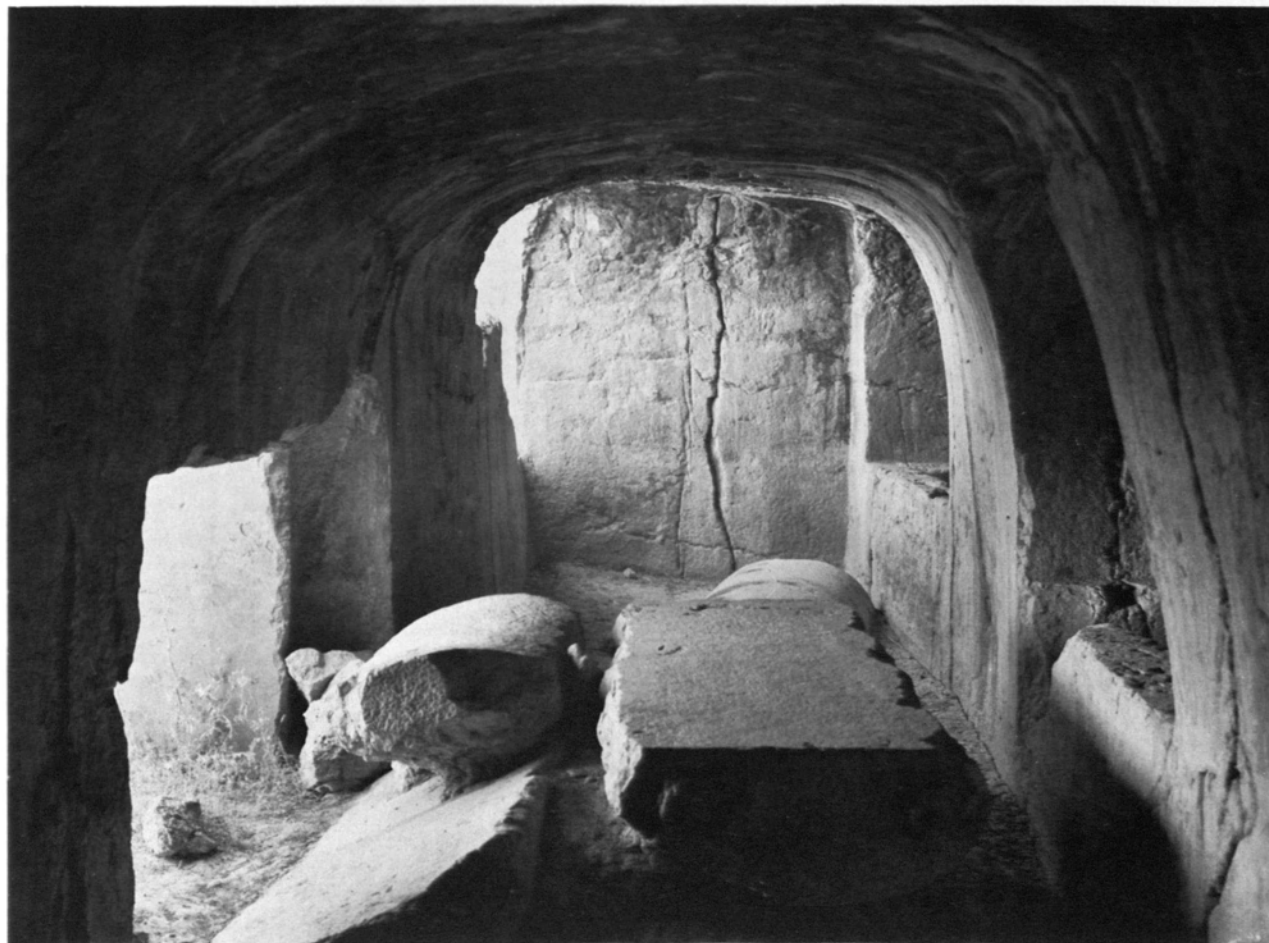
TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II. UPPER REGISTER. THRONE-BEARERS NOS. 1-4 AND 8-28 WITH LEGENDS. SCALE, 1:10



TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II. UPPER REGISTER. MACIAN THRONE-BEARER (NO. 29) WITH ERRONEOUS LEGEND. SCALE, 1:5



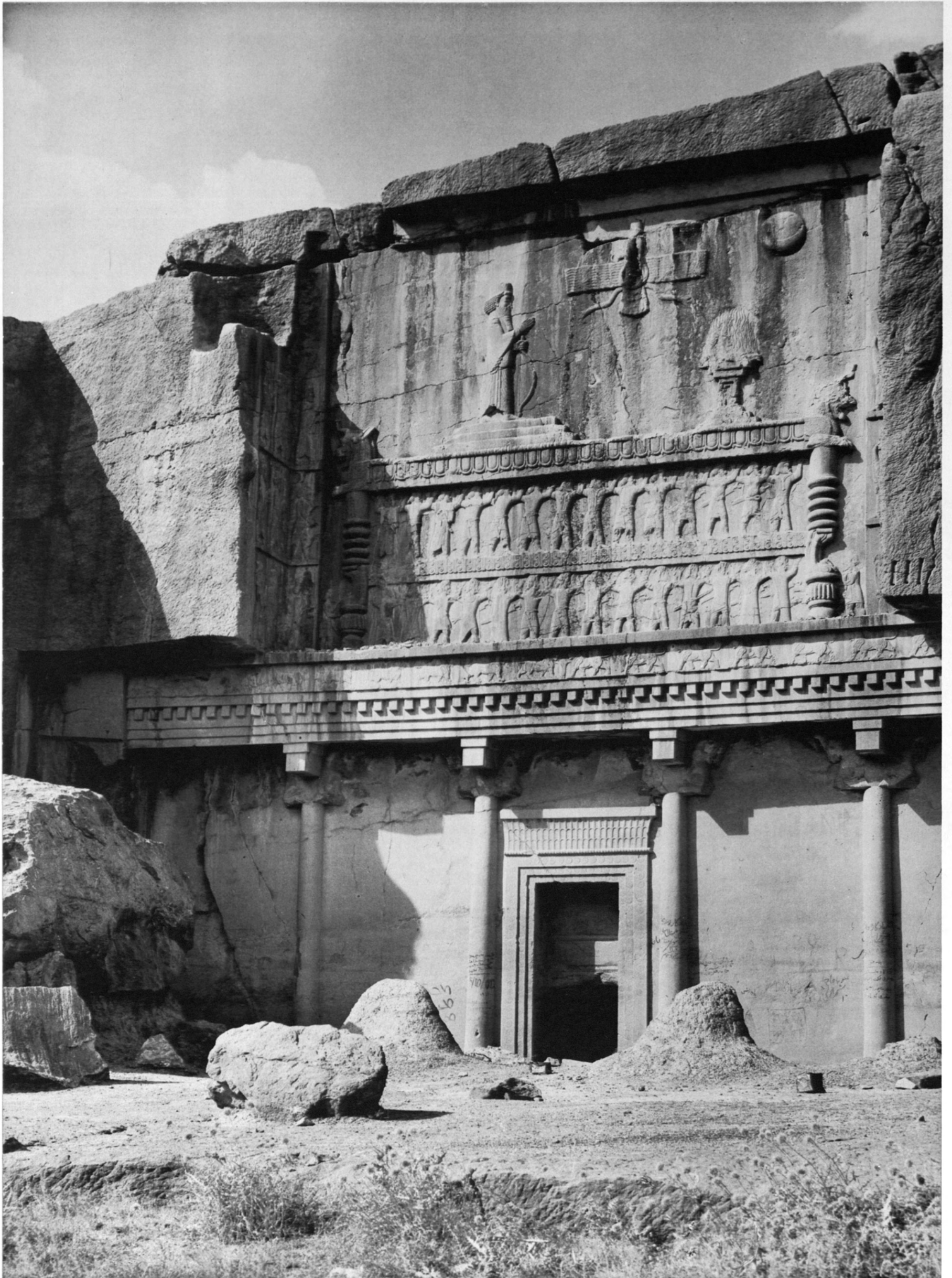
A



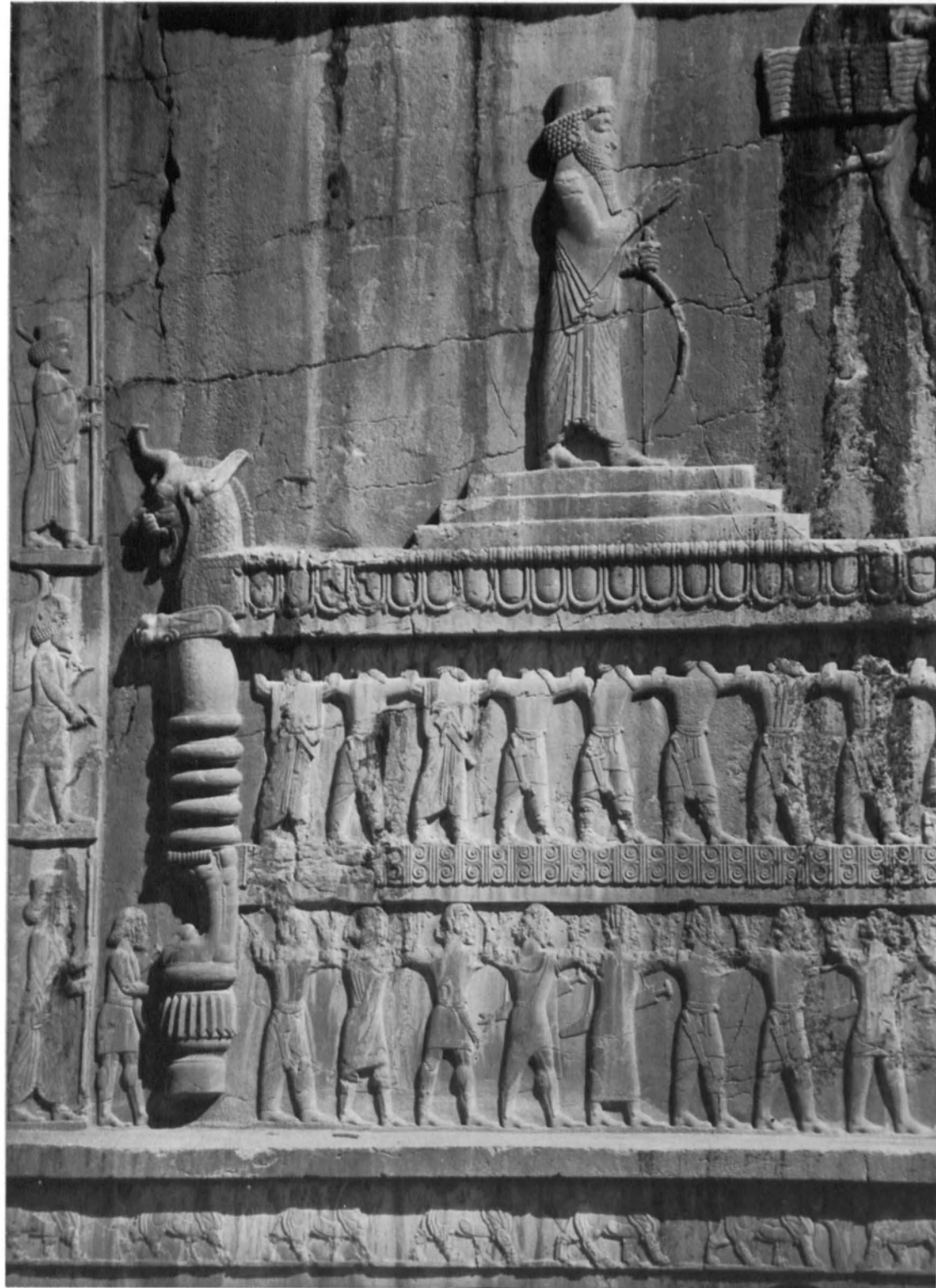
B

TOMB OF ARTAXERXES II. *A*. LEFT VAULT. *B*. VESTIBULE WITH ENTRANCE IN LEFT FOREGROUND

TOMB VI: THE TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III AT PERSEPOLIS
PLATES 70-75



TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III AT PERSEPOLIS (TOMB VI). GENERAL VIEW (DIRECTION, APPROXIMATELY NNE)

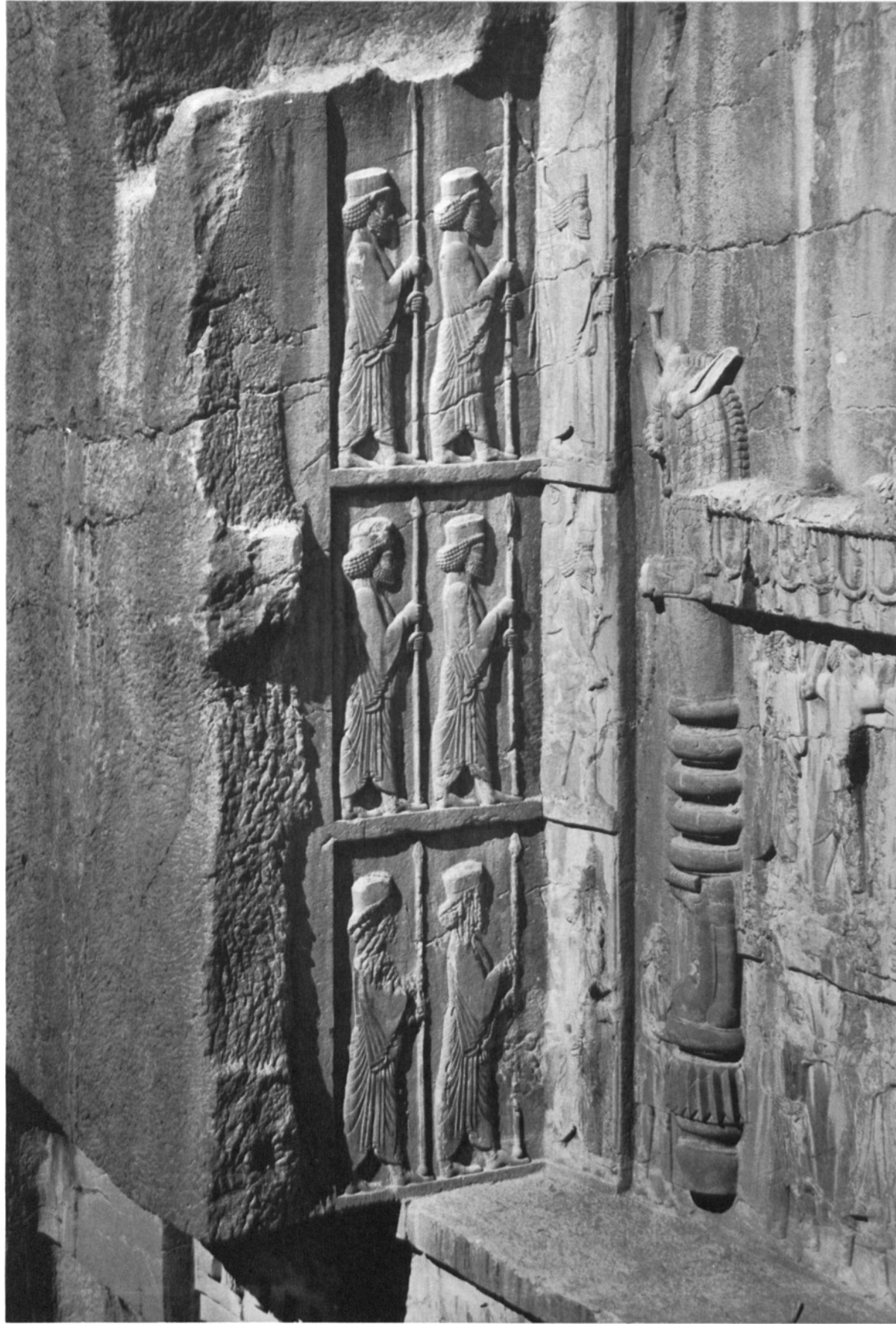


A

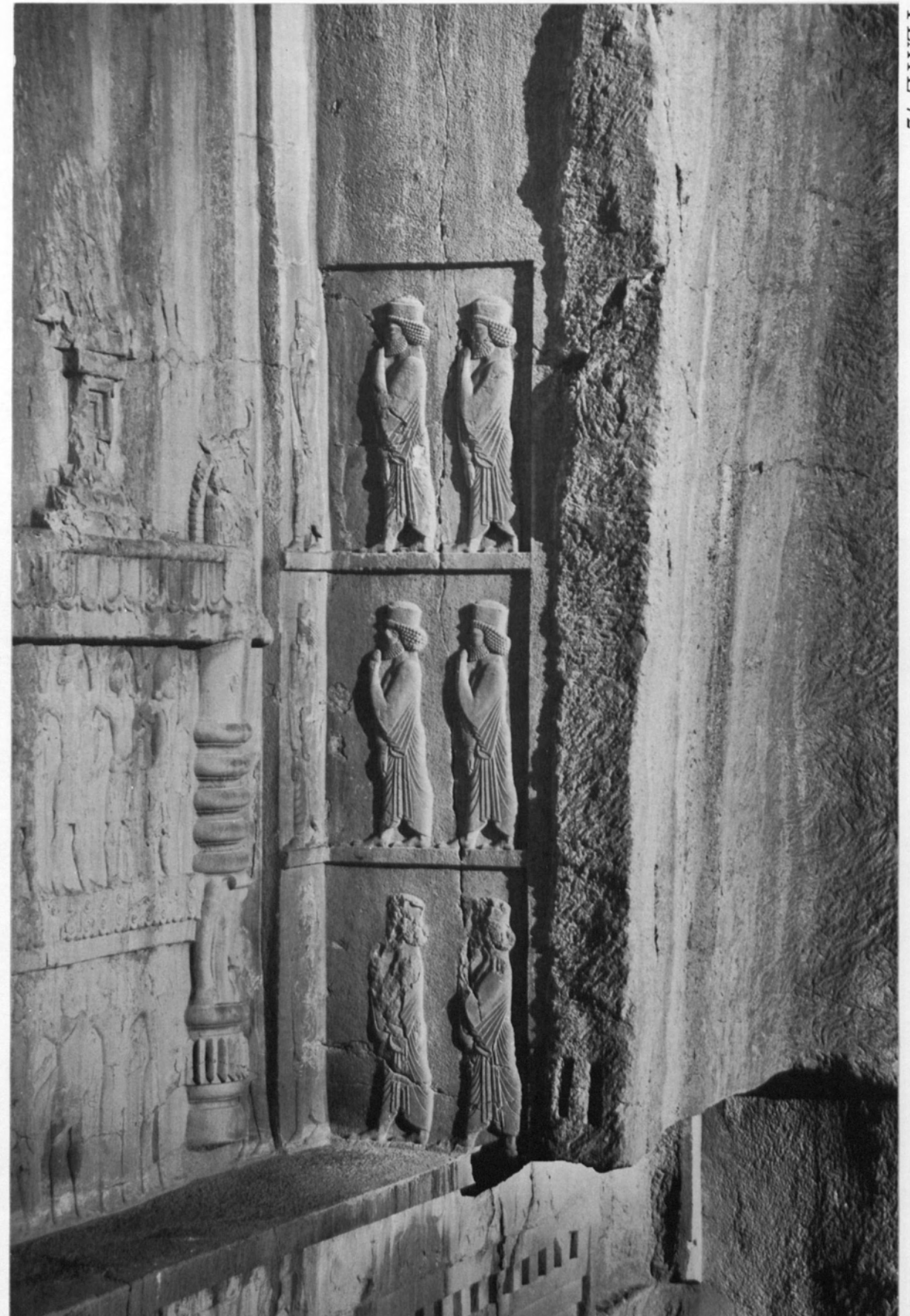


B

TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III. *A*. LEFT PART OF UPPER REGISTER. *B*. DETAIL OF DOORWAY, COLUMN, AND ENTABLATURE



A



B

TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III. UPPER REGISTER. *A*. RELIEFS OF GUARDS ON LEFT SIDE WALL. *B*. RELIEFS OF MOURNERS ON RIGHT SIDE WALL



A



B

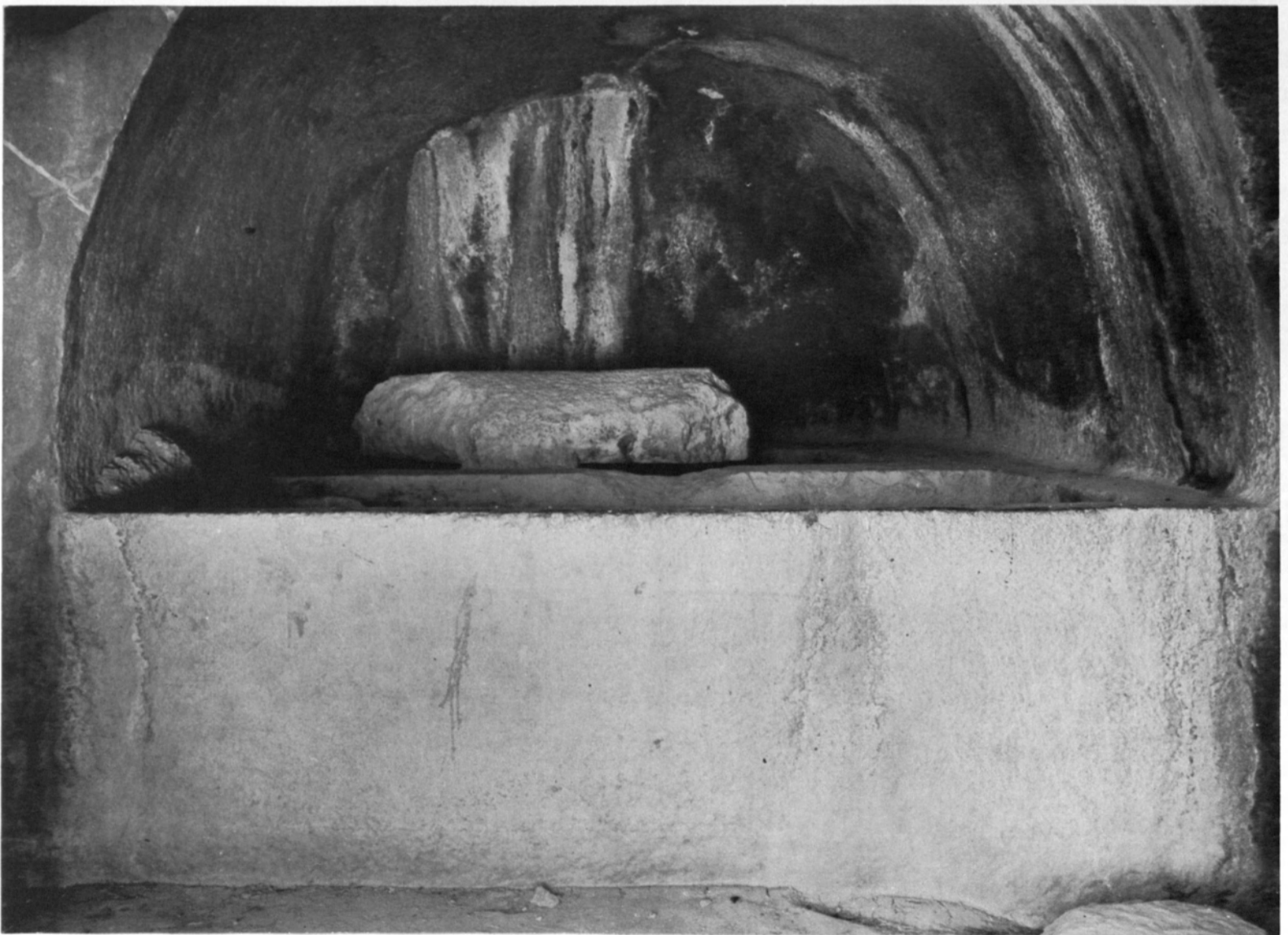
TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III. LOWER REGISTER. RELIEFS OF GUARDS ON LEFT (A) AND RIGHT (B) SIDE WALLS



A



B



C

TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III. *A.* MACIAN THRONE-BEARER (NO. 29).
B. CARIAN THRONE-BEARER (NO. 30). *C.* VAULT

1

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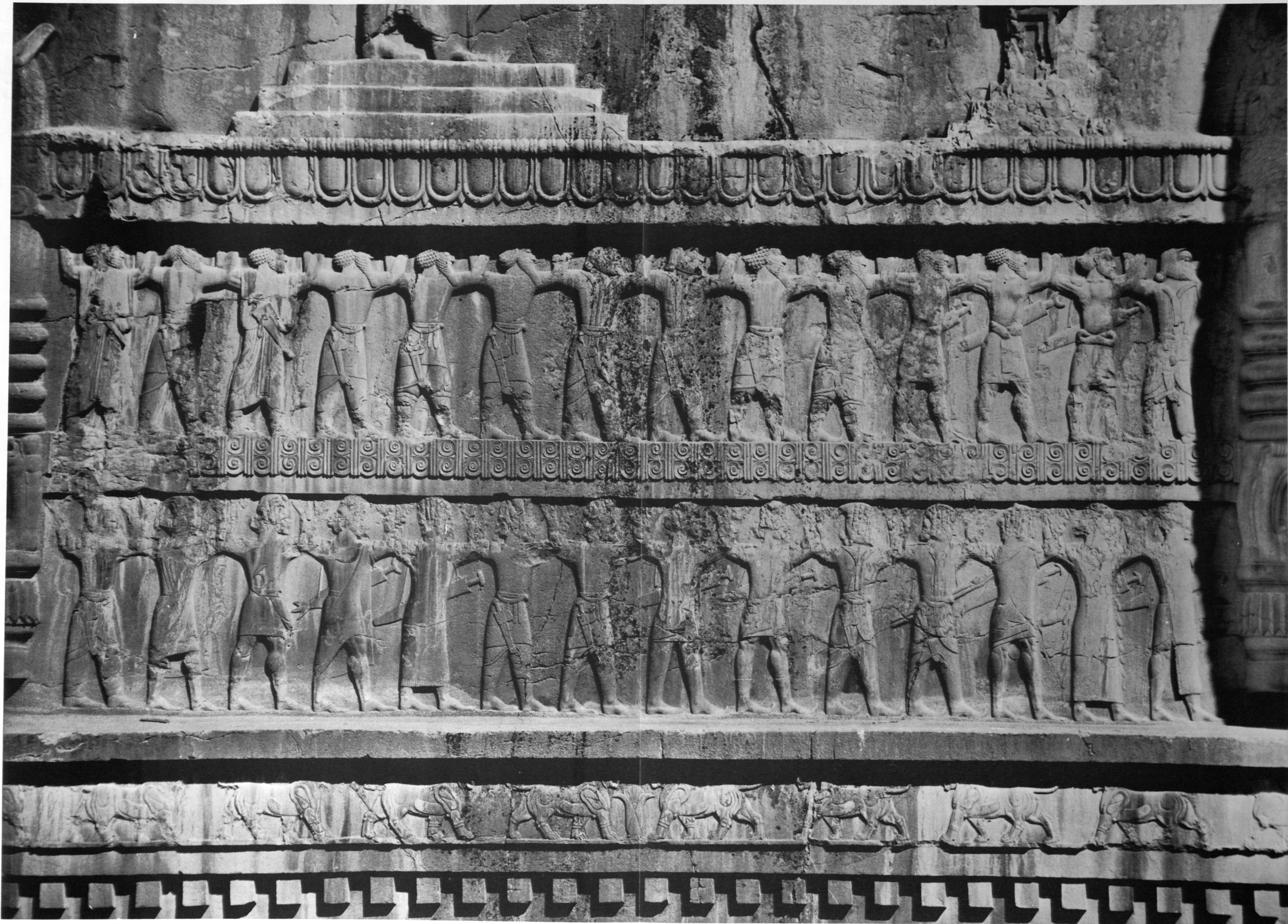
10

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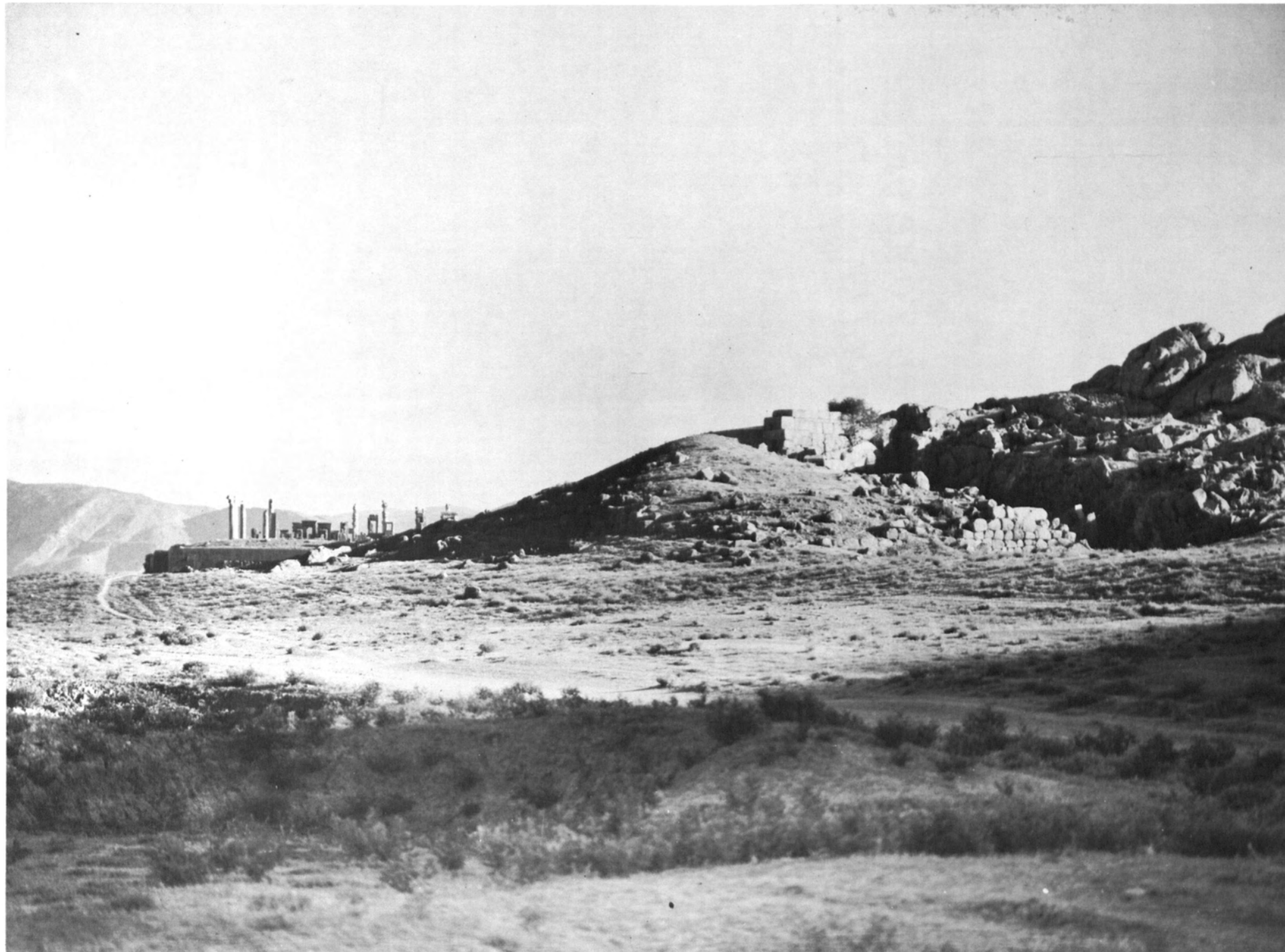
27

28

TOMB OF ARTAXERXES III. UPPER REGISTER. THRONE-BEARERS NOS. 1-28

*TOMB VII: THE UNFINISHED TOMB OF
DARIUS III AT PERSEPOLIS*

PLATES 76-79



UNFINISHED TOMB OF DARIUS III AT PERSEPOLIS (TOMB VII). GENERAL VIEW WITH PERSEPOLIS TERRACE IN DISTANCE
(DIRECTION, APPROXIMATELY NNW)



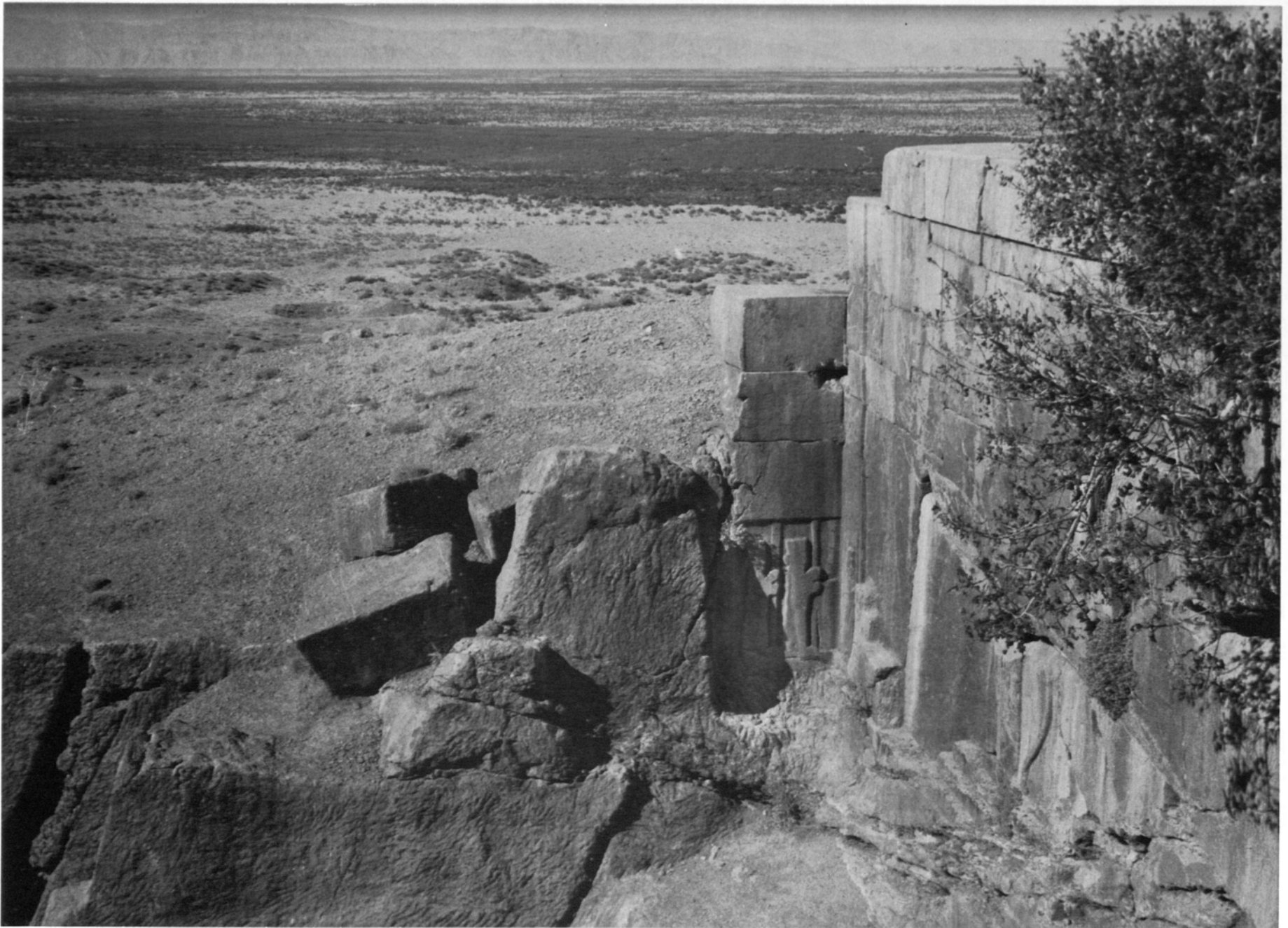
UNFINISHED TOMB OF DARIUS III. GENERAL VIEW



UNFINISHED TOMB OF DARIUS III. PARTLY COMPLETED RELIEFS ON FACADE



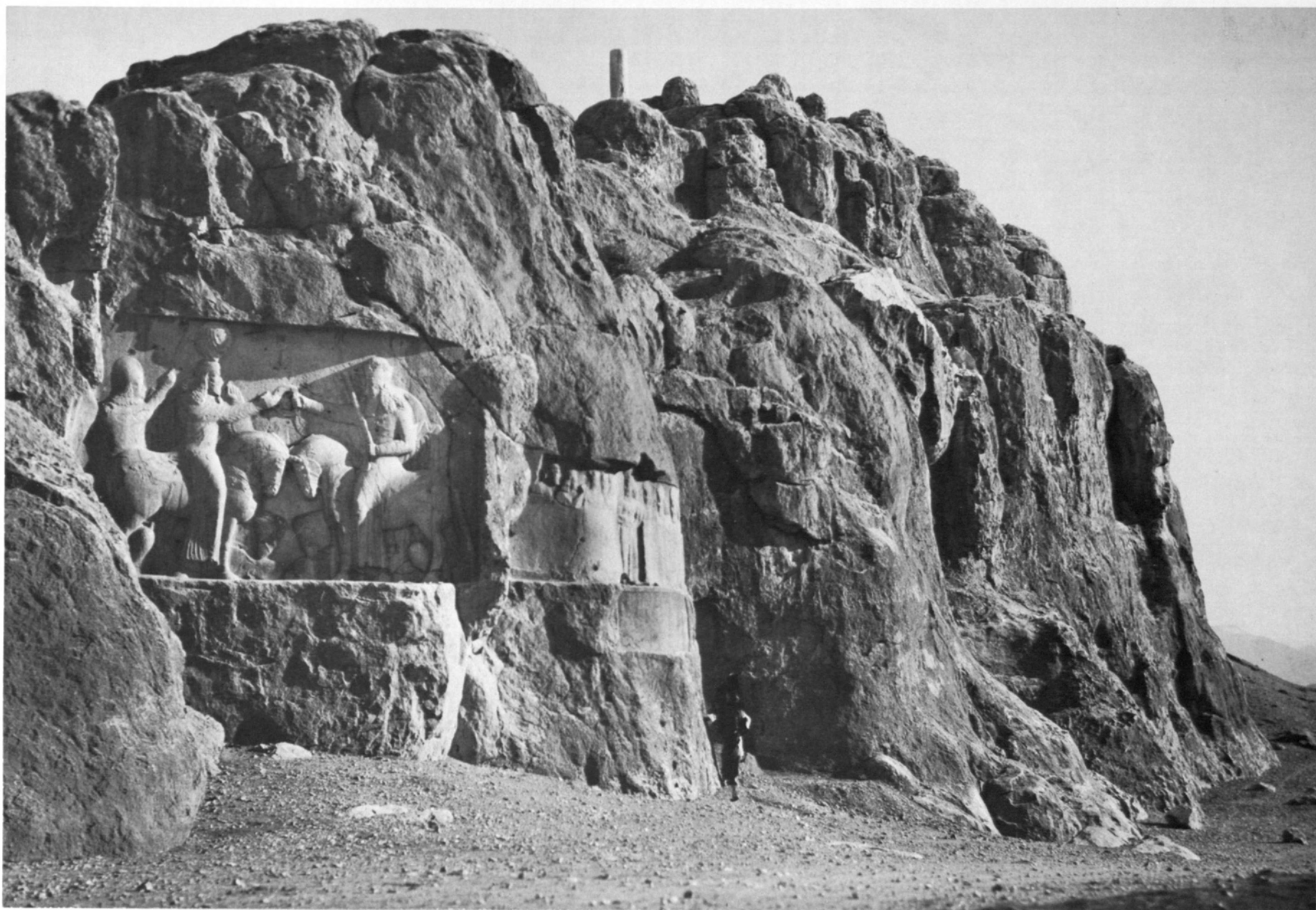
A



B

UNFINISHED TOMB OF DARIUS III. LEFT SIDE WALL. *A*. CLOSE-UP OF INCOMPLETE RELIEFS OF GUARDS. *B*. DISTANT VIEW

SASANIAN RELIEFS AT NAQSH-I RUSTAM
PLATES 80–95



GENERAL VIEW OF WEST END OF CLIFF OF NAQSH-I RUSTAM, SHOWING RELIEFS OF ARDASHIR I (NR_u I) AND BAHRAM II (NR_u III) AND ISLAMIC(?) ROCK COLUMN ON SUMMIT (*DIRECTION, APPROXIMATELY NE*)



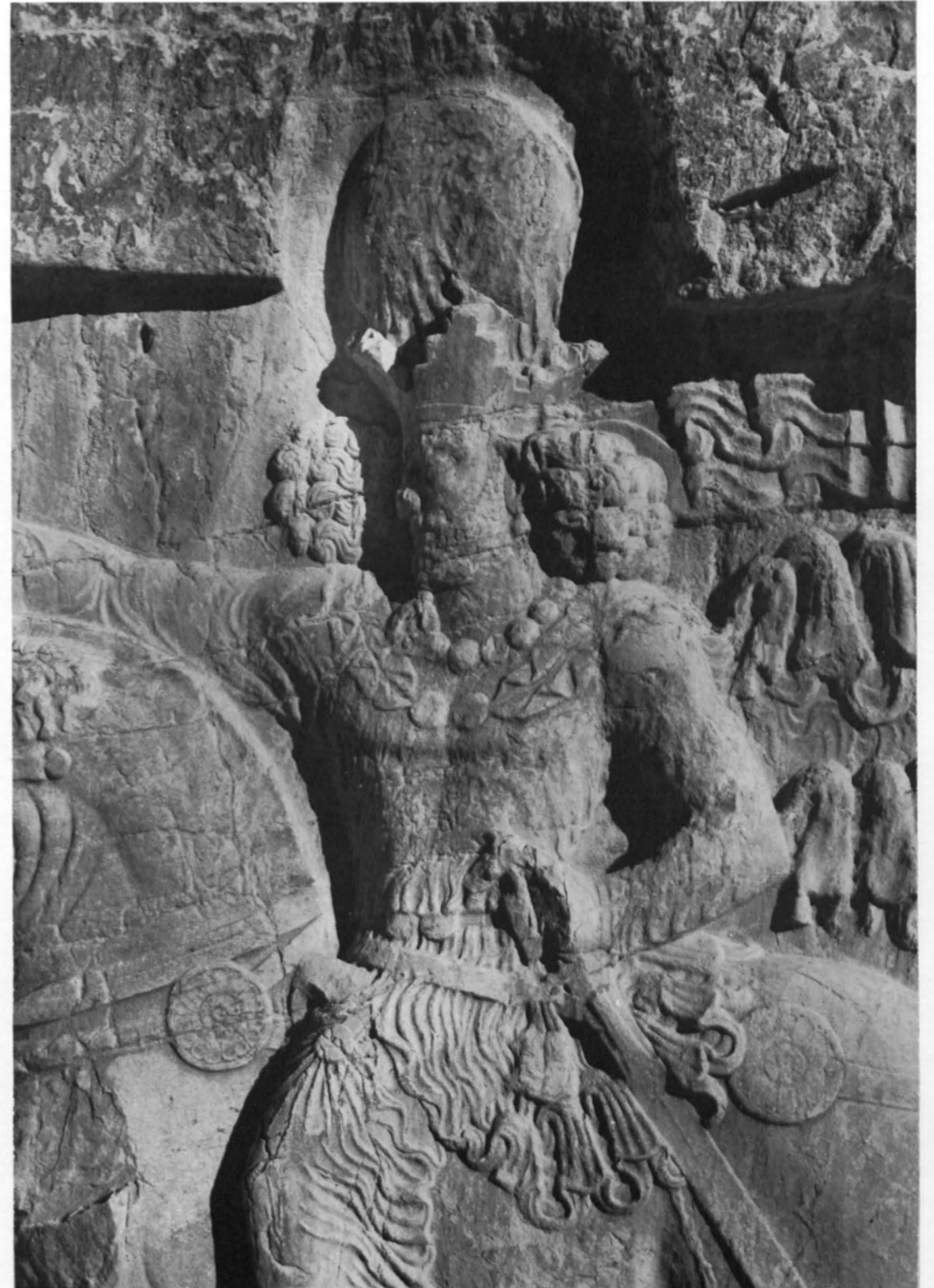
RELIEF NR_u I: INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR I BY HORMIZD



RELIEF NR_u II: TRIUMPH OF SHAPUR I OVER VALERIAN. BUST AND INSCRIPTION OF KARTIR (NR_u II K) AT RIGHT END

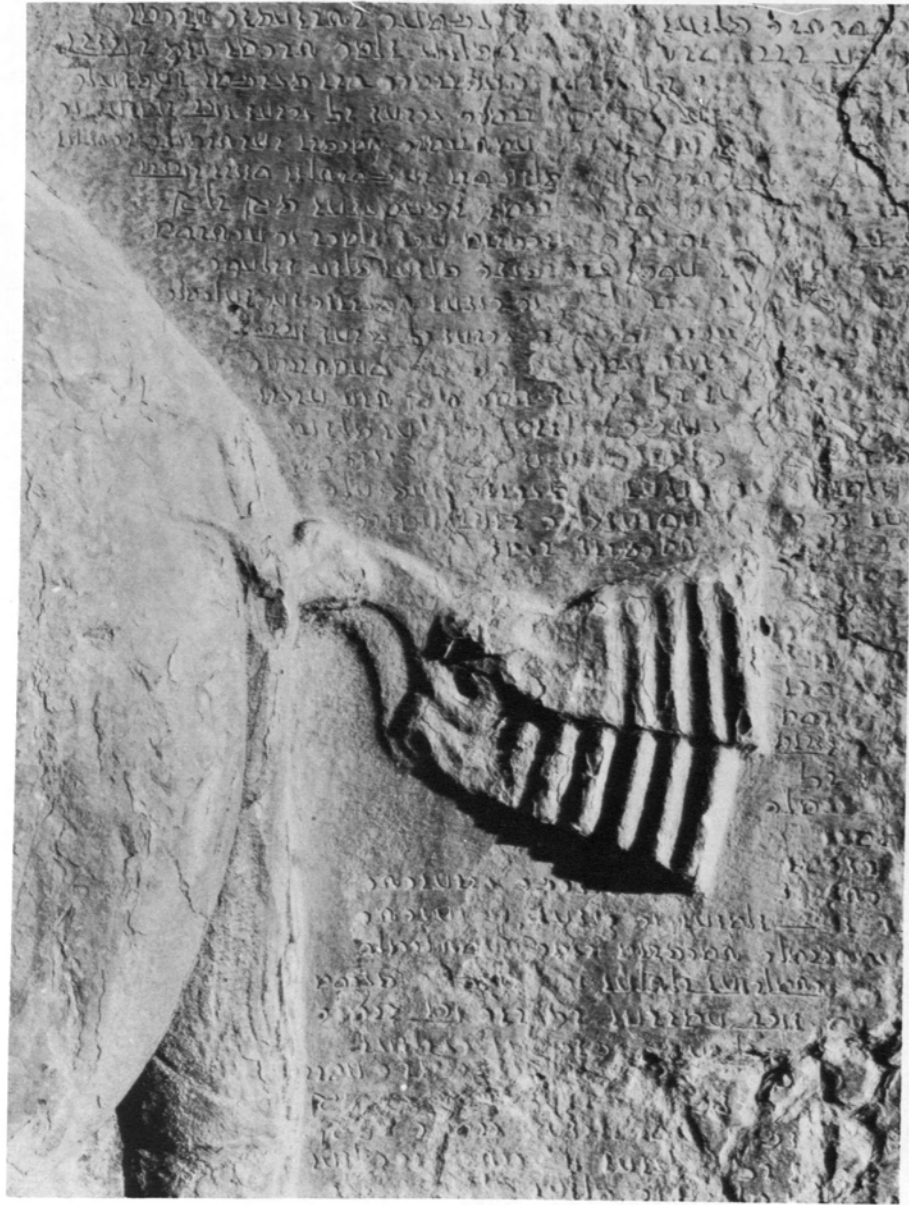


A

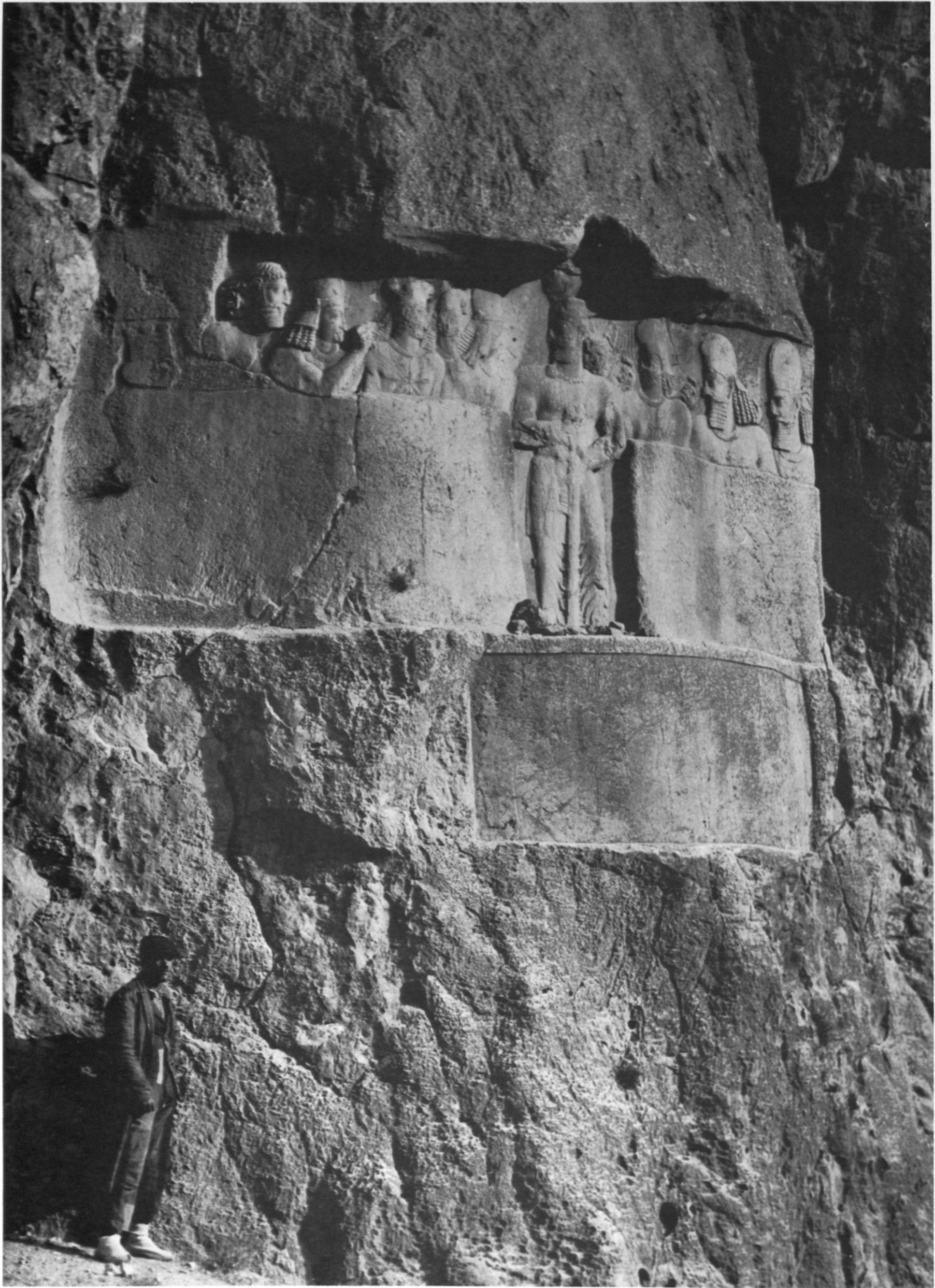


B

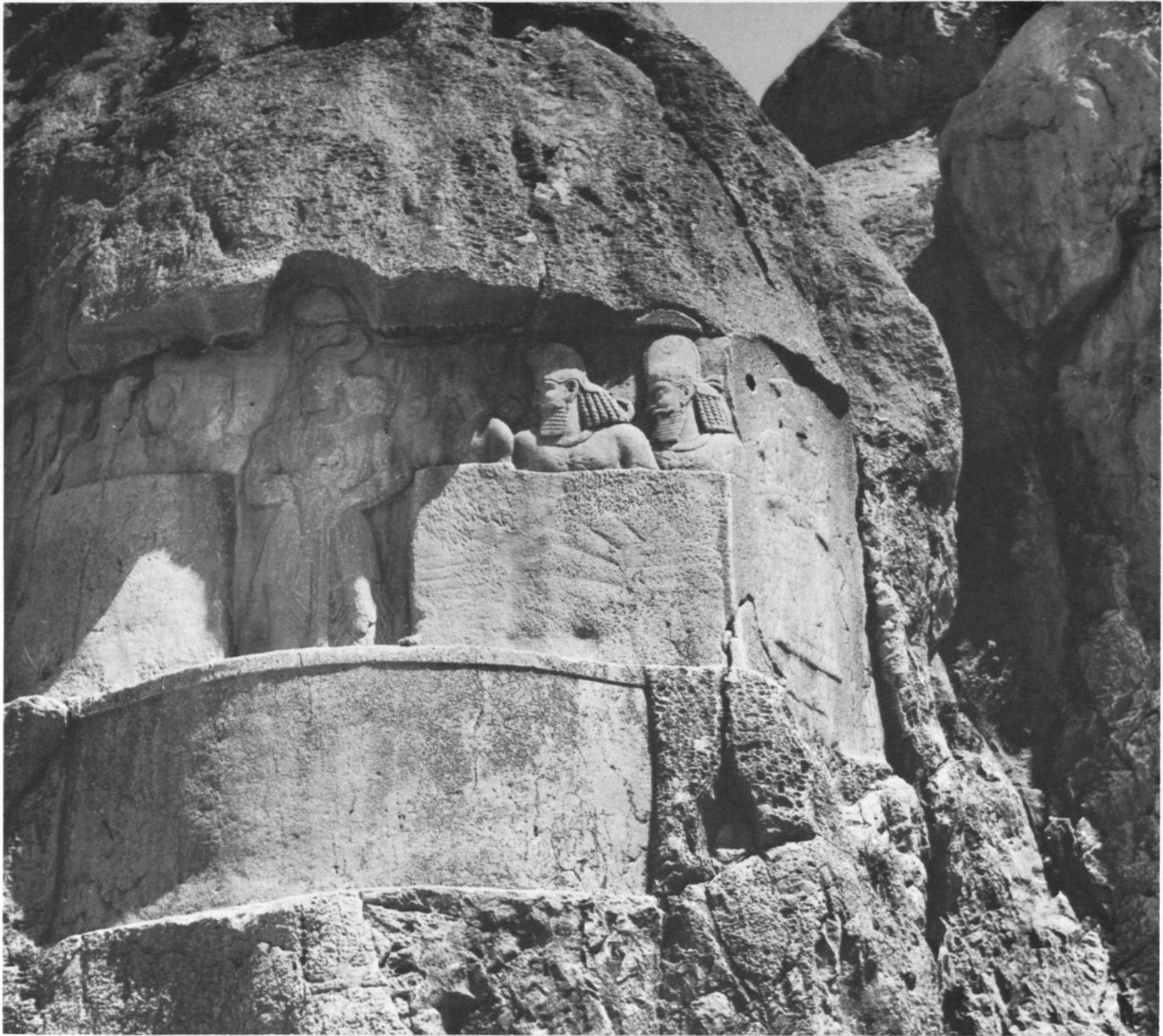
DETAILS OF RELIEF NRu II (SEE PL. 83). SCALE, ABOUT 1:23. *A*. VALERIAN AND STANDING ROMAN, PRESUMABLY PHILIP THE ARAB. *B*. SHAPUR I



INSCRIPTION OF KARTIR AT RIGHT END OF RELIEF NRu II (SEE PL. 83). SCALE, 1:10



RELIEF NRu III: BAHRAM II AND COURT. CARVED OVER PRE-ACHAEMENID RELIEF



EAST PART OF RELIEF NR_u III (SEE PL. 86) WITH TRACES OF CENTER PORTION OF PRE-ACHAEMENID RELIEF



A



B

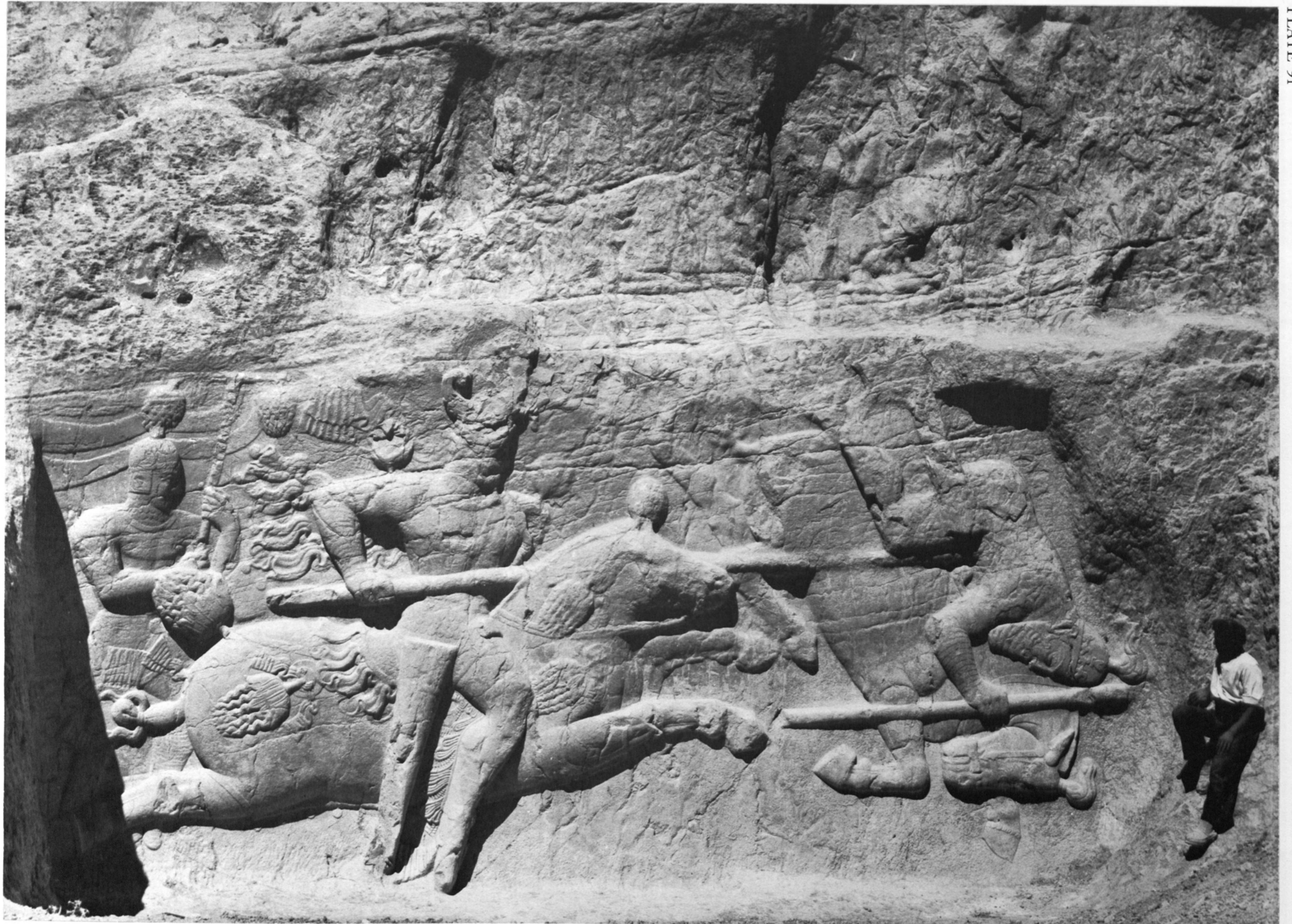
REMNANTS OF PRE-ACHAEMENID RELIEF EAST (*A*) AND WEST (*B*) OF RELIEF NR_u III (SEE PLS. 86-87)



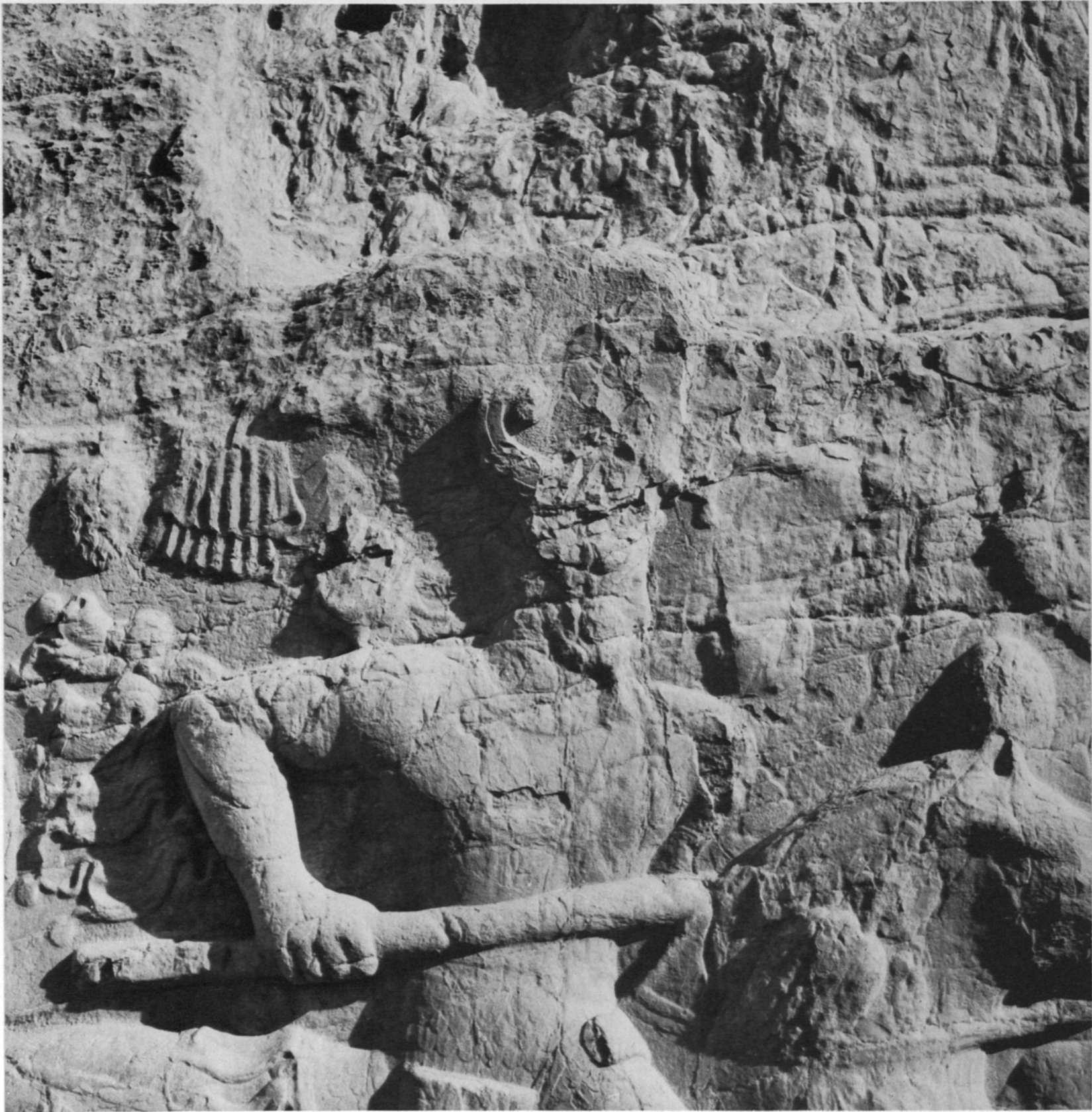
RELIEF NR_u IV ABOVE RELIEF NR_u V: EQUESTRIAN COMBAT OF BAHRAM II ABOVE EQUESTRIAN COMBAT OF BAHRAM'S SON



RELIEF NRu VI: INVESTITURE OF NARSEH BY ANAHITA



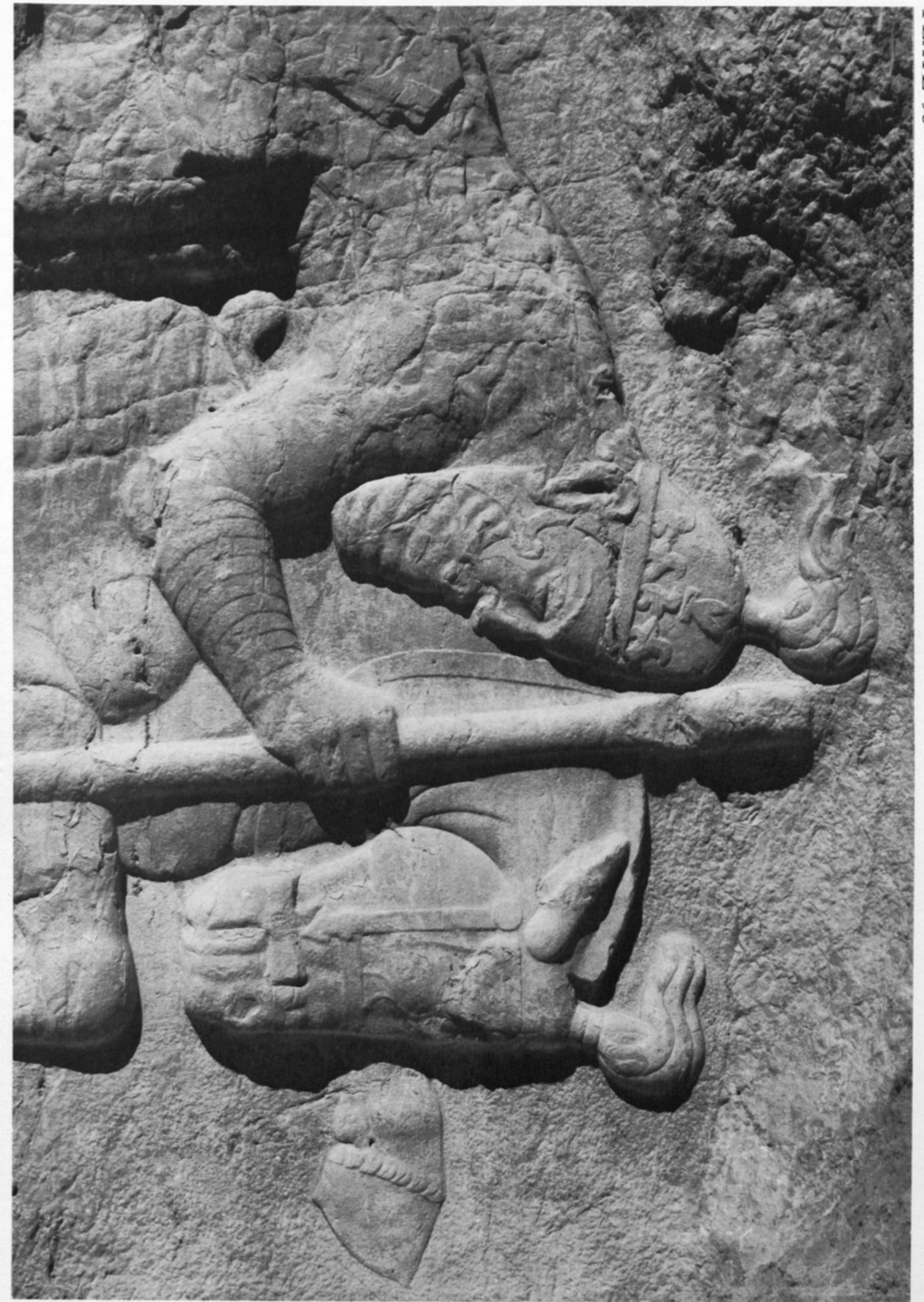
RELIEF NR_u VII: EQUESTRIAN COMBAT OF HORMIZD II



CLOSE-UP OF HORMIZD II (SEE PL. 91)



A



B

DETAILS OF RELIEF NR_u VII (SEE PL. 91). *A*. LEFT END WITH STANDARD-BEARER. *B*. CLOSE-UP OF FOE. SCALE OF *B*, ABOUT 1:12



TRACES OF RELIEF ATTRIBUTED TO ADARNARSEH (NR_u VIII) ABOVE RELIEF NR_u VII (SEE PL. 91)



RELIEF ATTRIBUTED TO SHAPUR II (NRu IX): EQUESTRIAN COMBAT

SASANIAN RELIEFS AT NAQSH-I RAJAB
PLATES 96-101



RELIEF NRa I: INVESTITURE OF ARDASHIR I BY HORMIZD. BUST AND INSCRIPTION OF KARTIR (NRa IV) BEYOND LEFT END OF SCENE (SEE PL. 98)

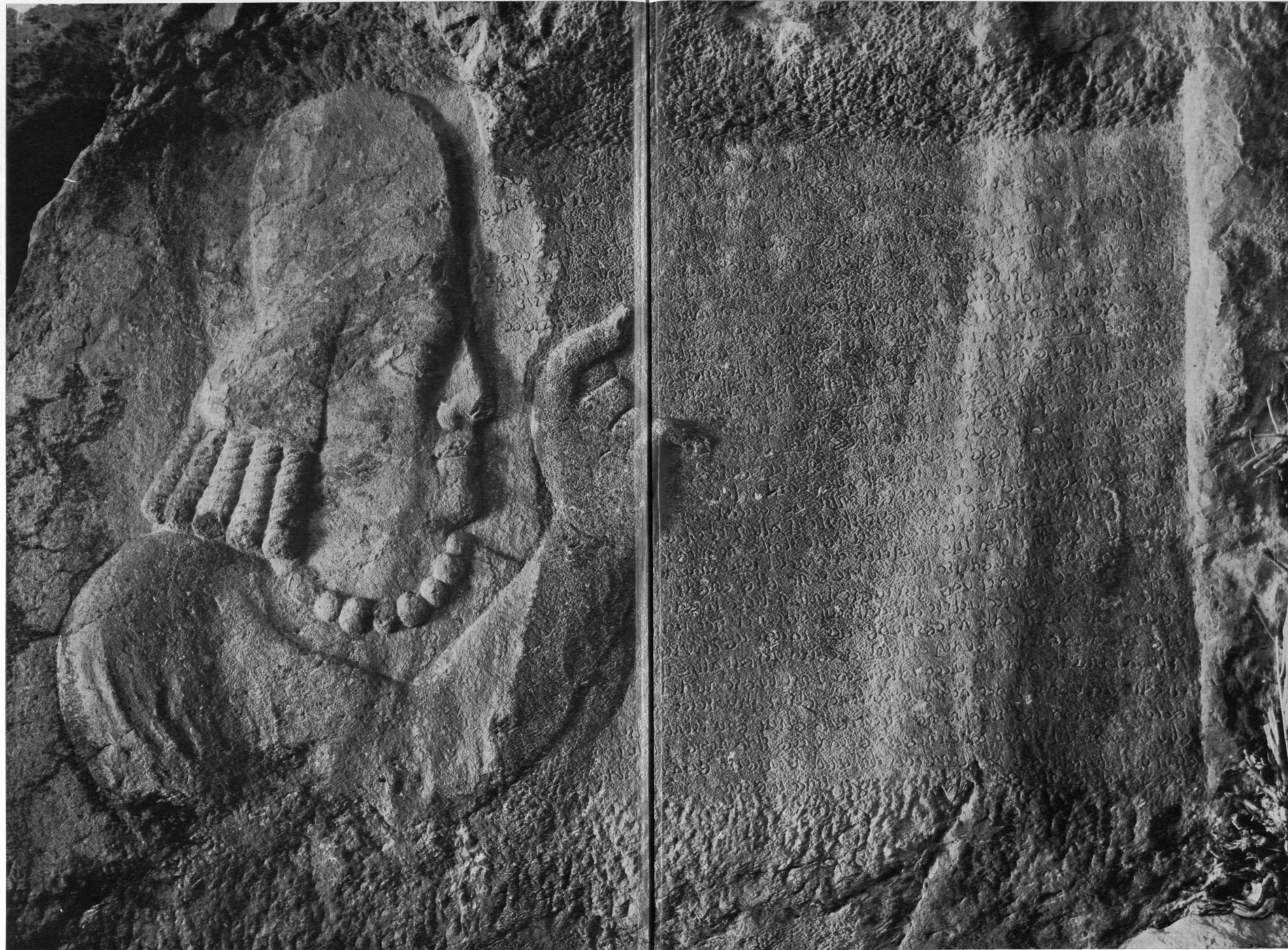


A

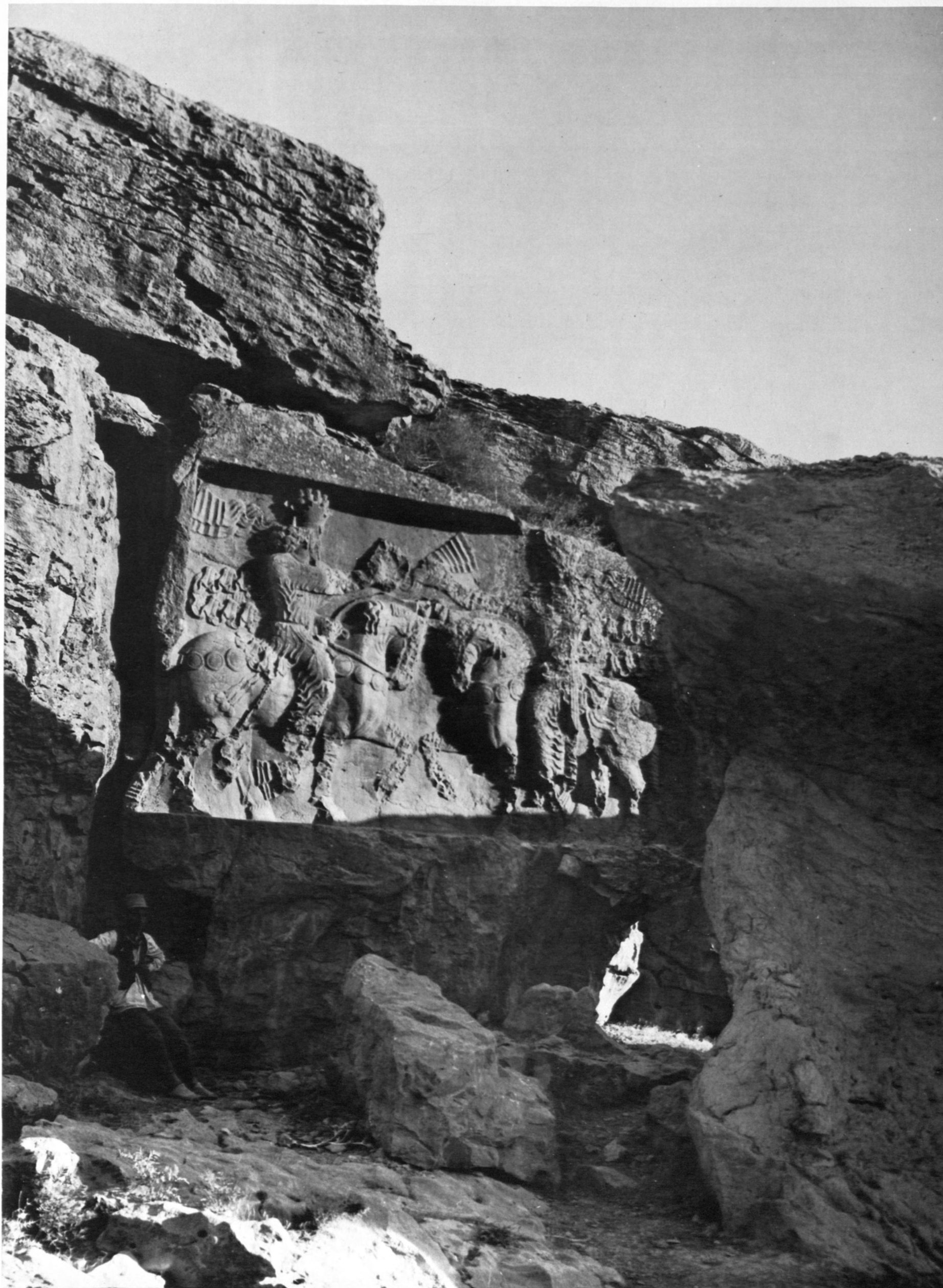


B

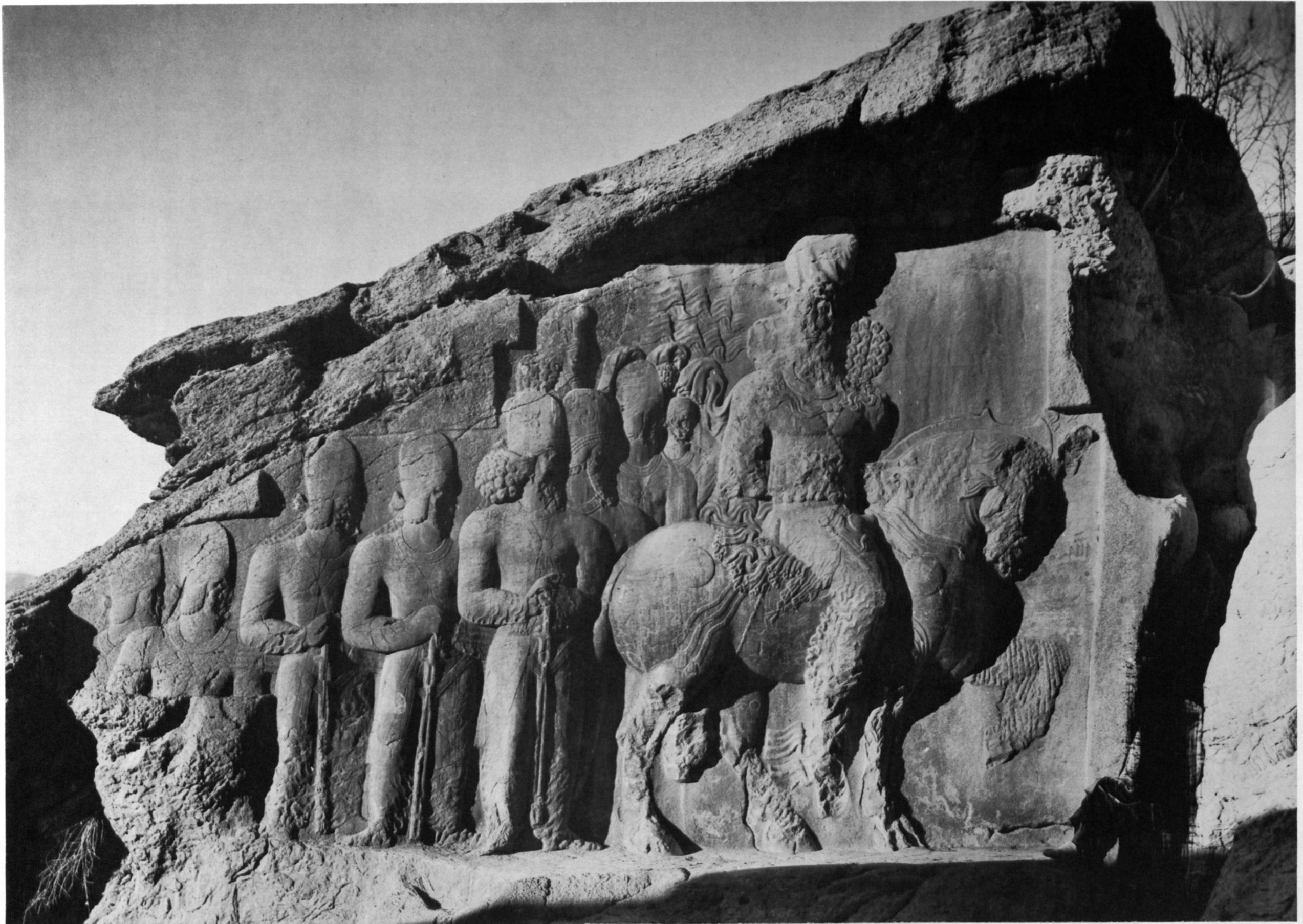
DETAILS OF RELIEF NRa I (SEE PL. 96). FIGURES AT LEFT (*A*) AND RIGHT (*B*) ENDS OF SCENE. SCALE, 1:7



RELIEF NRa IV: BUST AND INSCRIPTION OF KARTIR (SEE PL. 96). SCALE, 1:4



RELIEF NRa II: INVESTITURE OF SHAPUR I BY HORMIZD



RELIEF NRa III: SHAPUR I MOUNTED WITH SUITE ON FOOT



A



B

DETAILS OF RELIEF NRa III (SEE PL. 100). *A*. CLOSE-UP OF FIRST FIVE PERSONS OF SUITE.
B. SWORDS OF FOURTH AND SIXTH DIGNITARIES. SCALE OF *B*, 1:10

RELIEFS OF TRIBUTE PROCESSIONS AT PERSEPOLIS

PLATES 102-5



D



C

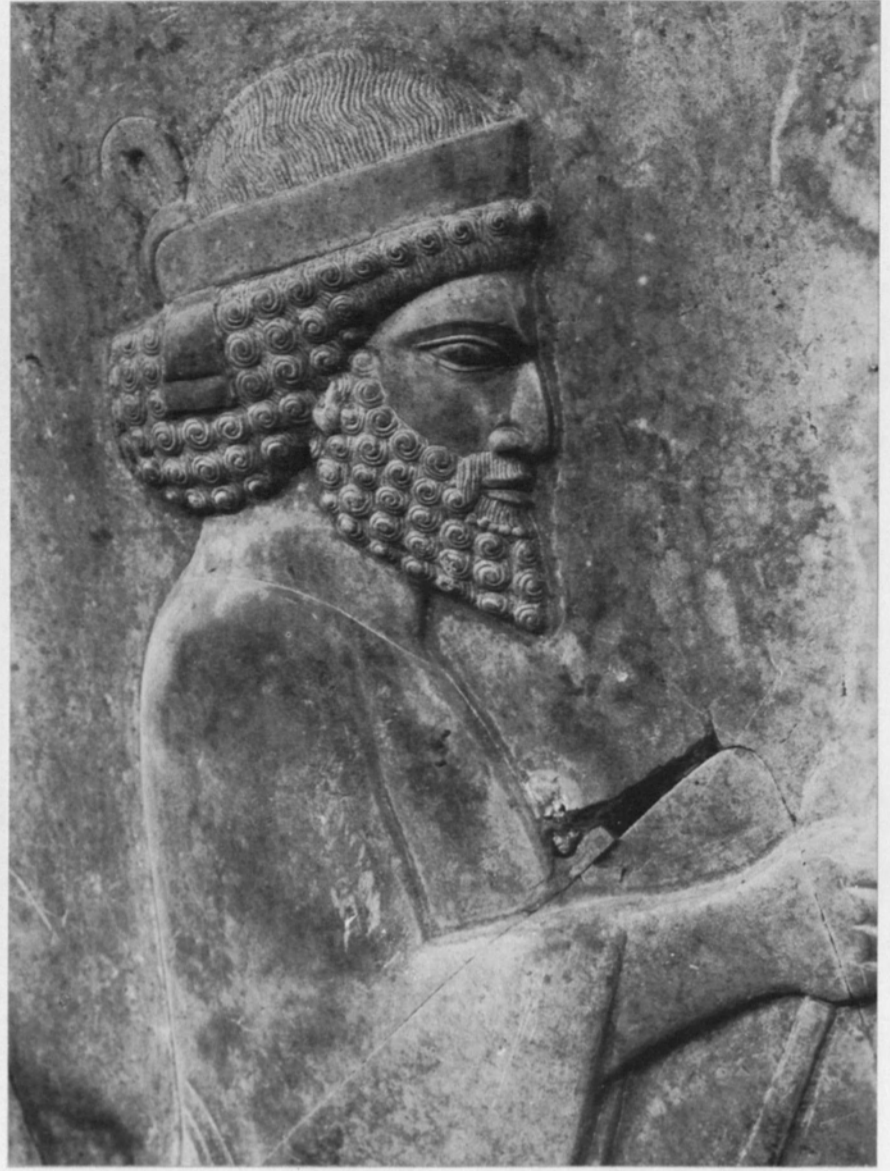
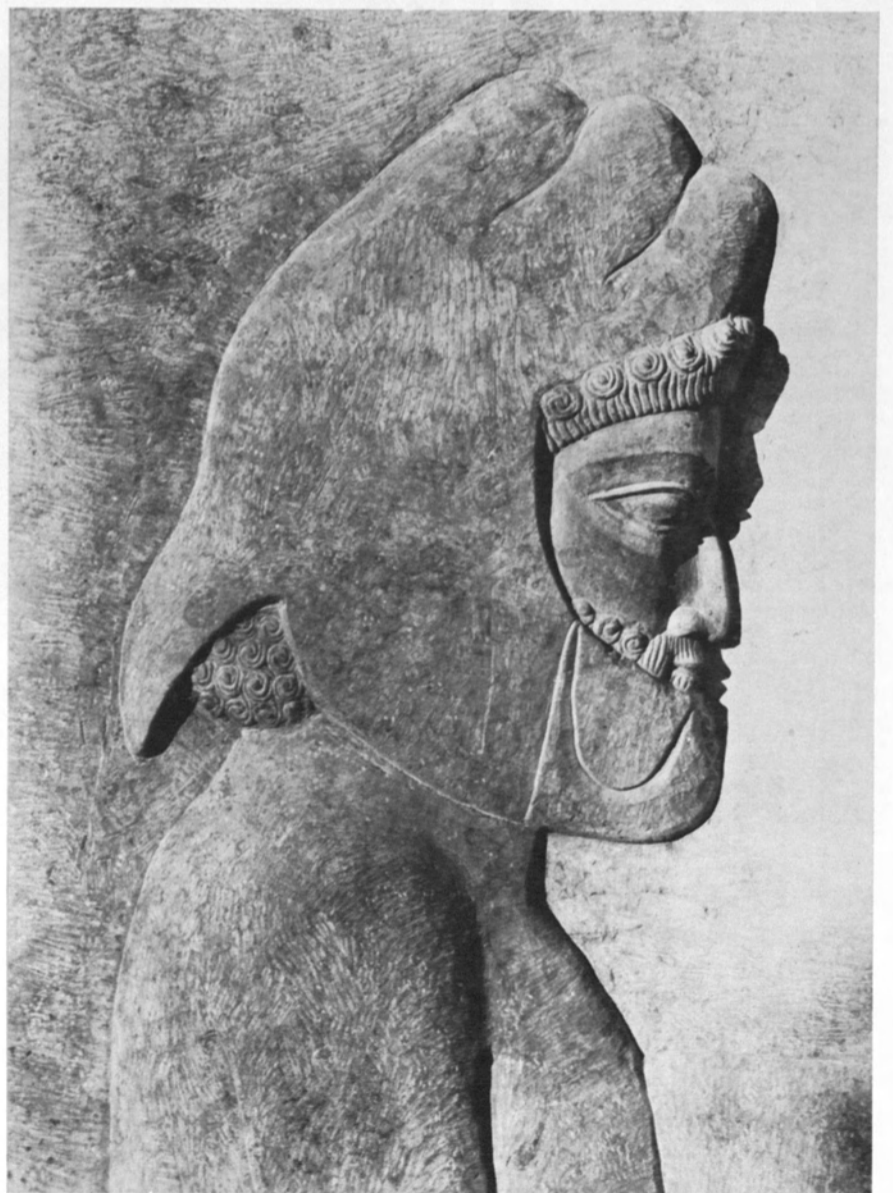


G



F

PORTRAITS OF DELEGATES ON EASTERN STAIRCASE OF APADANA. PERSIAN GROUP (I). *A.* KEEPER OF LIONESS IN ELAM-
C. BEARER OF PITCHER IN ARMENIAN DELEGATION (NO. 3). *D.* LEADER OF CAPPADOCIAN
EAST MEDIAN GROUP (IIB). *F.* SECOND BEARER OF BOWLS IN BACTRIAN DELEGATION

*B**A**E b**E a*

ITE (SUSIAN) DELEGATION (NO. 2). WEST MEDIAN GROUP (IIA). *B*. BEARER OF PITCHER IN MEDIAN DELEGATION (NO. 1).
 DELEGATION (NO. 9). *E*. BEARERS OF TROUSERS (*a*) AND COAT (*b*) IN SAGARTIAN(?) DELEGATION (NO. 16).
 (NO. 13). *G*. KEEPER OF CAMEL IN PARTHIAN(?) DELEGATION (NO. 15)



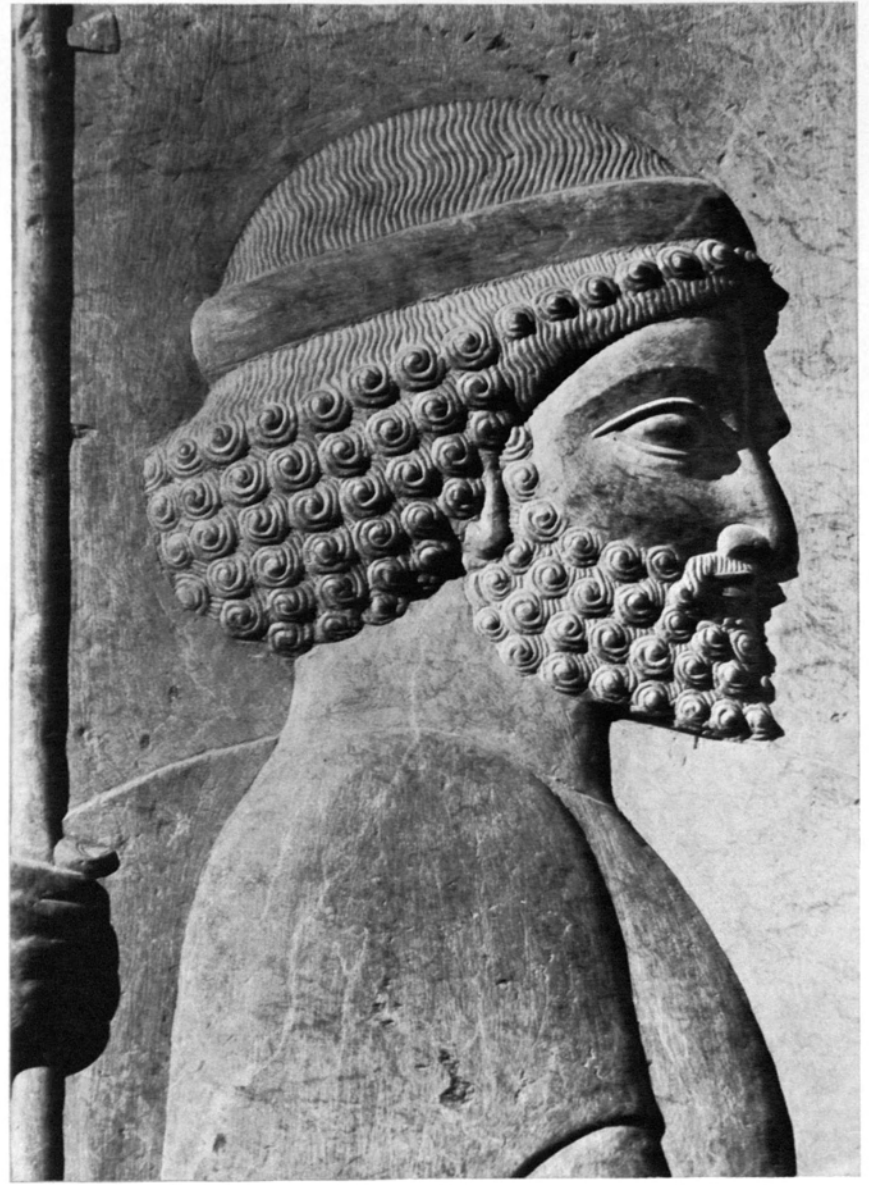
C



B



G

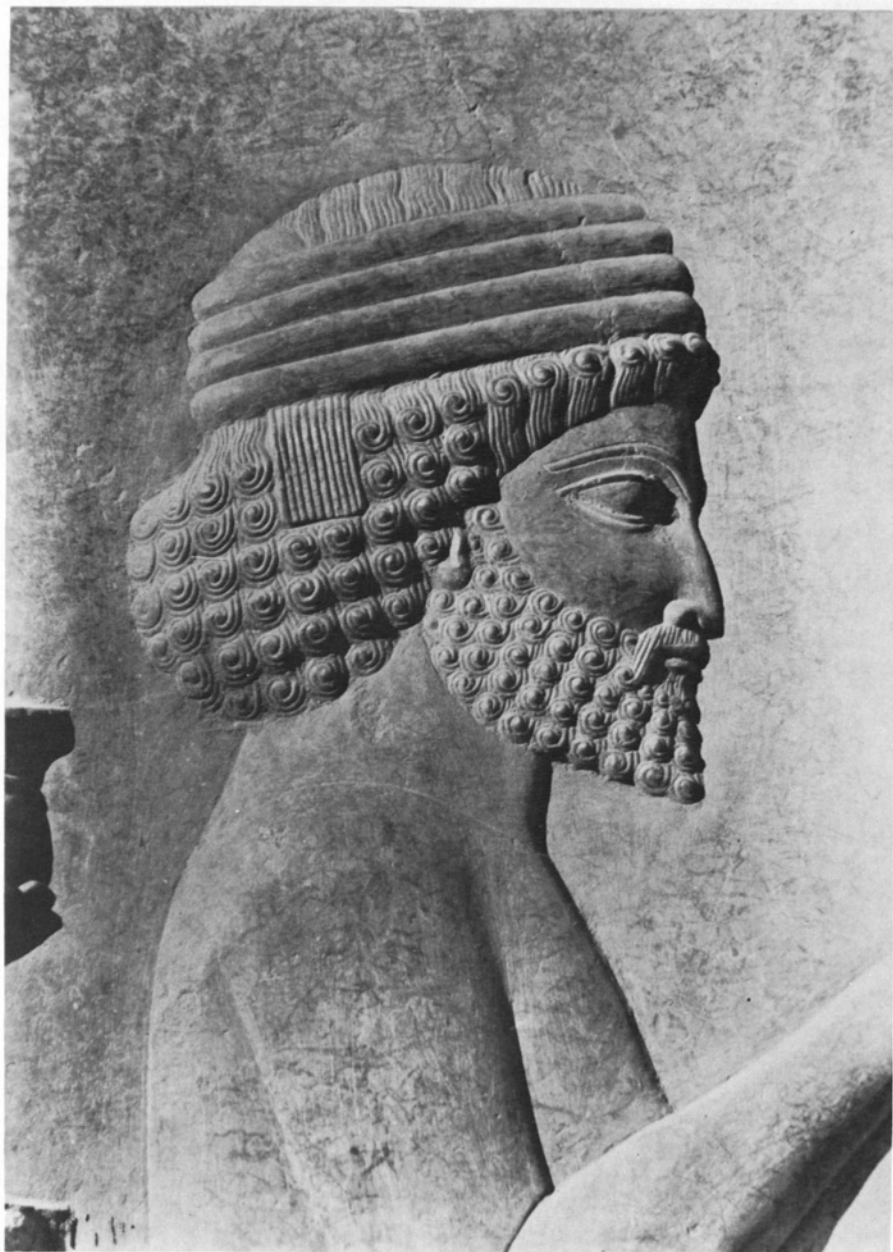


F

PORTRAITS OF DELEGATES ON EASTERN STAIRCASE OF APADANA. EAST IRANIAN GROUP (III). *A*. BEARER OF BOWLS (*a*) SCYTHIAN GROUP (IV). *C*. BEARER OF RINGS IN DELEGATION OF SCYTHIANS BEYOND THE SEA (NO. 11). SKUDRIAN DELEGATION (NO. 19). INDIAN GROUP (V). *F*. BEARER OF SHIELD AND SPEAR IN GAN-

*Ab**Aa**E**D*

AND BEARER OF ANIMAL SKIN (*b*) IN ARIAN(?) DELEGATION (NO. 4). *B.* LEADER OF ARACHOSIAN(?) DELEGATION (NO. 7). *D.* LEADER OF DELEGATION OF HAUMA-DRINKING SCYTHIANS (NO. 17). *E.* FIRST BEARER OF SHIELD AND SPEARS IN DARIAN(?) DELEGATION (NO. 14). *G.* BEARER OF BASKETS IN INDIAN (HINDUŠ) DELEGATION (NO. 18)



C



B



G



F

PORTRAITS OF DELEGATES ON EASTERN STAIRCASE OF APADANA. HELLENIC GROUP (VI). A. LEADER (a) AND KEEP-NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIAN GROUP (VII). C. FIRST BEARER OF BOWLS IN ASSYRIAN DELEGATION (NO. 8). OF DROMEDARY IN ARABIAN DELEGATION (NO. 20). F. LEADER OF LIBYAN DELEGATION

*Ab**Aa**E**D*

ER OF CHARIOT (*b*) IN LYDIAN DELEGATION (NO. 6). *B*. SECOND BEARER OF FABRICS IN IONIAN DELEGATION (NO. 12).
 WESTERN LOWLANDS GROUP (VIII). *D*. KEEPER OF BULL IN BABYLONIAN DELEGATION (NO. 5). *E*. KEEPER
 (NO. 22). NEGRO GROUP (IX). *G*. BEARER OF ELEPHANT TUSK IN ETHIOPIAN DELEGATION (NO. 23)



B



A



C

A. PORTRAIT OF SECOND KEEPER OF BULL IN DELEGATION NO. 21 (GROUP AND NATION UNKNOWN) ON EASTERN STAIRCASE OF APADANA. *B.* PORTRAIT OF SECOND BEARER OF BOWLS IN DELEGATION OF HAUMA-DRINKING SCYTHIANS ON WESTERN STAIRWAY OF PALACE OF DARIUS. *C.* ASSYRIAN DELEGATION ON RELIEF FRAGMENT IN COURTYARD AT PALACE H