

MORE THAN MEN,
LESS THAN GODS

STUDIES ON ROYAL CULT AND IMPERIAL WORSHIP

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BY THE FAVOR OF AURAMAZDĀ:
KINGSHIP AND THE DIVINE IN THE
EARLY ACHAEMENID PERIOD

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(Plates 79-104)

Introduction¹

The Achaemenid Persian kings (c. 522-331 B.C.) ruled a vast and ethnically diverse empire that stretched from Thrace and Egypt in the west to India and Sogdiana in the east (Fig. 1). Within the expanse of that empire, there existed myriad methods of recognizing, acknowledging, and actively supporting the power of the Great King. Responses to royal power were shaped both by local custom and by a program directed from the center of the empire.

* I would like to thank firstly the conference organizers, who not only provided an intellectually rich venue for the discussion of royal cults, but who also went out of their way to facilitate my participation. The individuals to whom I am indebted for all manner of assistance and guidance for my ongoing work on the seals from the Fortification archive include: E.R.S. Dusinberre, A. Azzoni, M.C. Root, M.W. Stolper, W.F.M Henkelman and L. Magee. All errors rest, of course, with the author.

¹ Abbreviations follow the conventions established in Garrison and Root 2001, xv-xvi; "PFS corpus" designates the complete corpus of seals that occur on the PF tablets (i.e., those tablets published in Hallock 1969; the seals that occur on those tablets are the ones that fall under the publication scope of the Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Project [see Garrison and Root 2001, 1]). A seal occurring on an Elamite tablet from the Fortification archive (PFS) followed by a Cat. No. indicates that the seal has been published in Garrison and Root 2001, where the reader can find full documentation. The siglum PFUTS is used to identify seals that occur only on the uninscribed (but sealed) tablets or ones that occur on both the uninscribed and Aramaic tablets from the Fortification archive. The photographs and drawings of the seals on the Persepolis Fortification tablets are courtesy of the Persepolis Fortification Tablet Seal Project and the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project. Line drawings used in this article are by Garrison. Permission to publish the seal impressions from the Persepolis Fortification archive comes from the Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Achaemenid monarchic ideology, to no surprise, used a variety of media to promulgate a variety of messages about the nature of Achaemenid kingship. Following a millennia-old tradition of imperial ideology in Babylonia and Assyria, a recurring and central theme in Achaemenid royal ideology is the nature of the relationship between the king and the divine.

This study seeks to articulate some of the major concerns of this relationship between the Achaemenid king and the divine as expressed in texts and images coming from the center of the empire during the reign of its conceptual founder, Darius I (522-486 B.C.). Let me stress at the outset that, unlike other times and places, we have no definitive evidence that there existed in any part of the empire, outside of Egypt, something that we could unambiguously call a “royal cult,” by which I mean “a particular form or system of religious worship,” or “reverential homage rendered” to a living, divine king². Nevertheless, as in other periods in ancient western Asia, the relationship between the king and the divine in the Achaemenid period was complex and appears to have been open to a wide variety of readings. This study then will seek to explore the semantic parameters in which we may contemplate the Achaemenid king and the divine in the center of the empire during the reign of Darius I.

The center of the empire may be defined restrictively as the area of the modern Iranian province of Fārs (ancient Pars), located in south-western Iran (Fig. 2). Fārs falls more or less within the ancient Elamite uplands region known as Anšan. Indeed, the traditional Elamite upland capital, the ancient city of Anšan (modern Tal-i Malyan), lies only some 50 km to the northwest of Persepolis. The Achaemenid imperial “center” less restrictively may be extended to the northwest to include the Elam-

² Quotations taken from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition 1989, s.v. “cult.” In ancient western Asia evidence for the existence of a divine cult of the king consists of such phenomena as temples dedicated to the king, inscriptions attesting to the existence of priestly colleges dedicated to the royal cult, prayers dedicated to the king, offerings to the kings, royal statues erected in temples, images of the king bearing unambiguous signs of the king’s divine status, etc. Henkelman 2003, based upon the evidence of four texts from the Fortification archive, has made a convincing case for the existence of funeral offerings (what one may call a cult) to *deceased* noble and royal Persians. The same study (Henkelman 2003, 152-6) reviews the Classical testimonia for funeral sacrifices for Persian kings.

ite lowlands, traditionally centered on the site of Susa, and to the north to include the highlands of Media with its capital city of Ekbatana (modern Hamadan).

The Iranian textual evidence for this study occurs in two very distinct forms: royal inscriptions found on the long-famous rock-cut monuments at Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam and on architecture at Persepolis and Susa³; two archives of administrative tablets found at Persepolis, the Persepolis Fortification archive and the Persepolis Treasury archive⁴. The visual evidence originates from the same sources, i.e., the rock-cut reliefs at Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam, architectural sculpture at Persepolis and thousands of seals preserved as impressions on the tablets from the two Persepolitan archives, as well as Achaemenid imperial coinage⁵.

The conceptual framework for this study may perhaps be best articulated by the rubric “idéologie monarchique,” which I borrow from Pierre Briant⁶. The underlying assumption (for the present writer) is that the monumental royal texts and images are not reflections of any lived experience, but carefully construed environments that serve first and foremost to project ideals of royal action and comportment, and, by extension, also serve as guides to action and comportment for all those below the level of the king and the royal family. This perspective is by no means radical, its conceptual foundations for the study of Achaemenid art having been laid in the seminal study by Margaret Cool Root⁷. It is important, however, to state clearly at the outset that the imagery in Achaemenid monumental sculpture does not function as, and so cannot be read as, a photographic documentation of actual events. The observation goes to the heart of one of the most critical issues that one must confront in this study, namely the reality (lived experience) of the relation between the Achaemenid king and the divine versus the ideal

³ The inscriptions at Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam exist in three languages: Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian. This is also true for almost all of the inscriptions from the time of Darius found on architecture at Persepolis and Susa. Lecoq 1997 is the most recent compilation of Achaemenid royal inscriptions where the reader can find references to previous bibliography.

⁴ For the main published texts from these two archives, see Hallock 1969; Cameron 1948; see also below, pp. 40-2.

⁵ See below, pp. 31-40, for extended discussion of these monuments with bibliography.

⁶ Briant 2002, 204.

⁷ Root 1979.

(hoped-for fantasy). Our resolution for the former is very low, revealed obliquely via the administrative documents from Persepolis. Our resolution on the latter is, however, quite high and at times very detailed owing to the survival of Achaemenid monumental relief, royal inscriptions and glyptic and numismatic imagery. Thus, the focus of this inquiry will be on the nuances of the ideological program (i.e., the hoped-for fantasy) as devised by its *makers* in the heartland of the empire.

Darius I in the late 6th century had at his call various models for devising and articulating an imperial program in texts and images⁸. Close to home were the ancient Elamite sites of Anšan and Susa. Anšan had traditionally been the highland Elamite capital for at least 1400 years, but its status (and very existence) in the early first millennium B.C. is a subject of some debate⁹. Susa had served for some 3500 years as one of the premier places of the Elamite lowlands, on and off again its capital city, and thus a city steeped in imperial tradition¹⁰. Its condition in the centuries leading up to the reign of Darius is not well known, given the fact that Achaemenid building on the site was highly destructive to earlier first millennium B.C. levels. Some 40 km to the north of Persepolis lay Pasargadae, Cyrus' capital city¹¹. The city in theory would have been in good condition in the early years of Darius' reign, the existing monumental reliefs fully visible; many of the planners and workers from that site would also still have been alive and so available to Darius when he became king in 522 B.C. Farther north lay the territory of the Medes, with the capital city at Ekbatana. Although the Medes play a hugely critical role in Herodotos' narrative of the origins of the Achaemenid empire, the paucity of pre-Achaemenid material recovered at the site of Ekbatana and the difficulty of identifying "Median" visual

⁸ Root 1979 is exceptionally rich in exploring potential prototypes for Achaemenid monumental art.

⁹ See the summary of the site in Hansman 1987. Garrison 2010 discusses connections between Persepolis and Anšan at the time of Darius. Potts 2005 explores the issues surrounding Anšan at the time of Cyrus II.

¹⁰ The history of the site has now been extensively documented by Steve, Vallat and Gasche 2002/2003; see also Boucharlat 2005, 240-6. For Susa in the Achaemenid period, see Briant 2010.

¹¹ The monumental sculpture and architecture at the site were published by Stronach 1978. Updated bibliography may be found in Boucharlat 2005, 228-9.

arts and artifacts make exceptionally problematic any attempts to reconstruct any aspect of Median culture¹². Farther to the northwest lay Babylonia. Its capital city, Babylon, by the beginning of the first millennium B.C. had become the premier religious site in Mesopotamia. So important was the city that Cyrus II, in much pomp and ceremony, marched into the city assuming the traditional role of king of Babylon¹³. The evidence for the textual and visual strategies for articulating late Neo-Babylonian imperial ideologies is, unfortunately, uneven and fraught with difficulties; few images of Neo-Babylonian kings actually survive in the archaeological record¹⁴. Further distant, but clearly exceptionally influential, were Neo-Assyrian prototypes, especially monumental imperial reliefs at the Neo-Assyrian capitals, Nimrud, Nineveh and Khorsabad, and Assyrian glyptic.¹⁵

Models for the conceptualization of Achaemenid monarchic ideology

Two conceptual models have dominated modern scholarly inquiry into the relationship of Achaemenid kingship to the divine (and Achaemenid monarchic ideology as a whole). Both models are based on ancient literary testimonia. For ease, I shall refer to these two models as the “Herodotean” and the “Avestan.”

The “Herodotean” perspective refers, of course, to Herodotos’ account of the wars between the Greeks and the Persians, but the perspective may be extended more generally to include most of the Classical sources. Herodotos’ account of Graeco-Persian relations and affairs,

¹² The “Median question” is much debated; see, e.g., Muscarella 1987 for lack of any securely identifiable Median art; Stronach 2003 and Razmjou 2005 for recent surveys of the evidence with more optimistic perspectives; Boucharlat 2005, 253-4, for recent archaeological work at Ekbatana. Herodotos’ *mēdikos logos* is also a topic of considerable debate. The bibliography is lengthy; see, e.g., Briant 2002, 25-7, 879-80; 1997, 45-6; 2001, 79.

¹³ The texts are newly collected and edited by Kuhrt 2007, 70-84.

¹⁴ The scholarship on Neo-Babylonian imperial policy is considerable. Kuhrt (1995, 573-622) and Joannès (2004, 112-202) provide recent surveys. See Ehrenberg 2008 for a discussion of images of Neo-Babylonian kingship.

¹⁵ See Root 1979, 202-18, for the Assyrian contribution to Achaemenid monumental art; for the role of Assyrian glyptic arts on Achaemenid glyptic, see, e.g., Garrison 2000; 2011. Feldman 2007 attempts to link the relief at Bisotūn with Akkadian visual prototypes.

owing to its date (mid-late fifth century B.C.), length and detail, and owing to Herodotos' iconic status as the "father of history," has, however, an authority unlike any other Classical text for the study of Persian culture. Much of this authority is due also to the lack of any similar source material indigenous to Persia. Much ink through many centuries has been spilled over Herodotos. Critical examination of the inherent biases of the Classical sources, and the cultural biases of modern commentators, over the last quarter of a century has led to a major paradigm shift¹⁶. Nevertheless, while the biases, conscious and unconscious, of Herodotos — and the Classical sources as a whole — have often been exposed, the sheer weight of their presence even today still often trumps the archaeological and textual record from Persia itself¹⁷. There remains a working assumption that while the Classical sources only partially understood what they recorded about Persian customs, they nevertheless got most of the details accurate. The job of the modern commentator is then to identify the details that look to be accurately recorded and extract them "from the distortions of a Hellenocentric perspective" and restore "them to a Persian, or at least Iranian, context."¹⁸ A more skeptical approach would downplay or even omit the Classical sources altogether, questioning not only the accuracy of the details recorded by the sources, but also the ability of modern commentators to wrench those details from the sources, to cleanse them of the Hellenocentric perspectives in which they were embedded, and then to resituate them in some type of Iranian context.

The "Avestan" perspective refers to the filtering of Achaemenid-period material evidence and texts through the lens of Zoroastrianism. The underlying reason for adopting this perspective is Darius' repeated foregrounding of the deity Auramazdā in his royal inscriptions. Ahura

¹⁶ Said's *Orientalism* (1978) lies at the roots of this critical introspection.

¹⁷ The critical examination of the Greek sources was a *leitmotiv* of the Achaemenid History seminars held in the 1980s and early 1990s. Of the published proceedings, note in particular Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987; Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt 1987; Kuhrt and Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988. Root (1979, 4-42) remains a critical contribution to the topic. Previously, the commentator's job was simply to sort out the details that seemed plausible (based on intuition) and consistent with a generally accepted notion (unexpressed) of how "Persian-ness" ought to appear. The recent Hollywood blockbuster movie, *300*, suggests that the Orientalist project remains unfinished.

¹⁸ Lincoln 2007, 14.

Mazda is the Avestan name of the primary god of Zoroastrianism¹⁹. The name is a compound: *ahura*, god/lord, and *mazda*, wise. In the *Avesta* the god Ahura Mazda is “the mightiest Ahura and the Wise one” (*Yasna* 33.11); he can be named as both *Ahura Mazda* and *Mazda Ahura*²⁰. For Zarathustra, Ahura Mazda became the “Creator of all else that is good” (*Yasna* 44.7), “the one uncreated God, existing eternally, ... including all other beneficent divinities.”²¹ Using the link between the names of the two deities, Auramazdā and Ahura Mazda, various Zoroastrian beliefs have been identified in the Achaemenid royal texts²². By extension, the Achaemenid Persians themselves, or at least the ruling elite, are then seen as the earliest documented Zoroastrians²³.

While Zoroastrianism was the state religion in the Sassanian period (third to seventh centuries A.D.), the primary texts dealing with the religion, i.e., the texts that provide the framework through which the Achaemenid evidence is filtered, are in fact much later in date. The

¹⁹ Parthian *Aramazd*, Pahl. *Ohrmazd/Hormizd*, New Persian *Ormazd*. Boyce 1985b provides a general survey. See also Jacobs in press, s.v. “Auramazdā.” Zoroastrianism is a form of Mazda-worship propagated by a prophet, known in Avestan as *Zarathuštra* (Greek *Zōroāstrēs*, Latin *Zoroastres*, Pahlavi *Zarātuš*).

²⁰ Kuiper 1985, 684.

²¹ Boyce 2001, 19-20.

²² The study of theophoric names that occur in various textual sources (from various contexts) also plays a critical part in this line of research. The bibliography is extensive. Perhaps the most influential work is still Boyce’s multiple volumes as part of her *History of Zoroastrianism* (esp. 1975 and 1982; more concisely stated in Boyce 1985a and 1992, 125-32). Gnoli, who has written extensively on the topic, provides an update (Gnoli 2000). Select critical studies on various aspects of religion in the Achaemenid period include: Duchesne-Guillemin 1972; Koch 1977; Herrenschildt 1977; 1980; Schwartz 1985; Herrenschildt 1990; Kellens 1991; Ahn 1992; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995, 1041-2; de Jong 1997; Stausberg 2002, 157-86; Kellens 2002; Henkelman 2008, 58-63 and *passim*; Lincoln 2007. See Weber and Wiesehöfer 1996, 462-4, for bibliography on Achaemenid religion and religious policy; Briant (2002, 894-5, 915-7; 1997, 71-4; 2001, 112-8) provides valuable bibliography on the issue of the “religious component of Achaemenid monarchic ideology” (Briant 2002, 915) rather than the “pseudo-question du ‘zoroastrisme des Achéménides’” (Briant 1997, 71). De Jong (1997, 38-75) has surveyed the historiography on “Zoroastrian history,” distinguishing three different approaches: fragmentizing, harmonizing and diversifying.

²³ I.e., believers in the reformed religion introduced by the prophet Zarathustra, not simply believers in the worship of a pan-Iranian, but not a specifically Zoroastrian, deity, Auramazdā, what has come to be called Mazdaism. Note the observations of Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995, 1042.

Avesta refers to a collection of texts written in a distinctive language — Avestan, an eastern Iranian dialect, part of the Iranian sub-division of the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European — to record Zoroastrian scripture, i.e., its holy book²⁴. According to tradition, which seems ill-founded, the *Avesta* was destroyed/dispersed with the conquest of Alexander the Great. Under the Arsakids and then the Sassanian kings, attempts were made to reassemble the texts as well as oral tradition concerning the religion. Scholarly opinion seems to agree on the existence of a Sassanian *Avesta*, but the existence of pre-Sassanian versions is highly problematic. The oldest surviving Avestan manuscript in fact dates back only to A.D. 1288.

Scholars today generally identify two distinct textual “layers” within the *Avesta*: the Old Avestan texts, which are written in a more ancient dialect of Avestan, consisting of the so-called *Gathas* (*Yasna* 28–34, 43–51 and 53)²⁵, the *Yasna Haptanhāiti* (*Yasna* 35–41) and *Yasna* 27²⁶; and the Young Avestan texts, which consist of the remaining *Yasna*, the *Visprad*, “(prayer to) all the patrons,” an appendix to the *Yasna* with invocations and appeals to the “*ratu*” (patrons), the *Kōrda Avesta*, “little Avesta,” every-day prayers cited by the faithful, the *Sīrōza*, “thirty days,” a list of the deities who patronize the thirty days of the month, the *Yašts*, twenty-one hymns to individual deities (*yazata*), the *Vidēvdād*, “law of breaking off with the demons,” and some twenty-two odd fragments of texts.

A separate group of texts, composed in Middle Iranian, also known as Pahlavi (a western Iranian dialect), in the ninth century A.D. and later, are another distinct category of Zoroastrian evidence. They include, among many others, the *Bundahišn*, a treatise on the origin of the world, the *Dēnkard*, which includes a summary of lost Avestan texts and legends about Zarathustra, the *Zadspram*, a collection of cosmogonic, legendary and apocalyptic material, the *Ardai Viraz*, a story of a journey to heaven and to hell, etc.

Modern scholarly discussion of the date of the original composition of the texts contained in the *Avesta* is now legend. Whenever its origins,

²⁴ The following description of the *Avesta* is deeply indebted to Kellens 1989.

²⁵ Considered by many to contain the life and teachings of the prophet himself, Zarathustra.

²⁶ The *Yasna*, “sacrifice,” are a heterogeneous collection of liturgical texts (72 in number) associated with the *haoma* ceremony.

the *Avesta* as it survives today is only a fragment of a much larger whole. The extant *Avesta*, thus, in no way may be read as a unified work. Many passages are obscure and impenetrable as preserved.

As mentioned, attempts to identify Zoroastrian beliefs in the Achaemenid evidence have consumed tremendous scholarly energy. The Avestan perspective often requires elaborate argumentation to discount the mass of Achaemenid archaeological, textual and visual data that clearly are un-Zoroastrian in nature²⁷. In the end, the applicability of the Avestan, and later, texts has become an issue of faith, so to say. On the one hand there are those who hold that the Avestan texts provide a useful conduit to Achaemenid period beliefs, despite their temporal and, in the case of the *Avesta*, spatial distance from Achaemenid Fārs. On the other hand there are those who hold that the gap in time and cultural context between the Achaemenid period and the later Avestan and other Zoroastrian texts is just too great to admit those texts in any interpretive enterprise of the texts and imagery of the Achaemenid period²⁸. It should be stressed that the majority of modern scholarship on the religion(s) of the Achaemenid elite in southwestern Iran at the time of Darius I favors adopting some aspects of the Avestan perspective.

These two perspectives, “Herodotean” and “Avestan,” in their parts are not mutually exclusive. Indeed, it is most common in modern scholarship to call upon bits of both perspectives, where the evidence is compatible, in reconstructions of ancient Persian beliefs and customs. Although there is a long tradition of such interpretive strategies within Achaemenid historiography, the method runs the risk of creating a hybrid account that is more reflective of modern attempts to harmonize the evidence rather than any lived ancient experience.

²⁷ Garrison in press(b) explores this question in some detail. Another approach is simply to ignore that conflicting evidence. Yet a third option, represented by Lincoln 2007, is to use the Avestan and later texts, but to disavow any interest in the issue of whether or not the Achaemenid Persians were Zoroastrian. Soudavar (2003, 54-5, 81-106, 115-8) represents a recent attempt at a thorough Zoroastrian reading of monumental relief at Persepolis.

²⁸ Part of this line of reasoning also takes into consideration the mass of evidence suggesting that in southwestern Iran in the early Achaemenid period there existed myriad religious options, most of them deeply rooted in Elamite and Assyro-Babylonian traditions. The evidence on this issue provided by the texts from the Fortification archive has recently been treated in detail in the important study by Henkelman 2008.

That the selective use of these two models may cause some difficulties may be seen in the evidence that Herodotos and the Avestan texts provide on the relationship of the king to the divine. Not surprisingly, the two perspectives are contradictory and, with regard to Herodotos, internally inconsistent.

While he does not address the issue of a royal cult directly, several passages in Herodotos have traditionally figured prominently in modern discourse concerning Achaemenid kings and their religious policies. An example is Herodotos' statement about the rules governing sacrifice among the Persians:

The actual worshipper is not permitted to pray for any personal or private blessing, but only for the king and for the general good of the community, of which he himself is a part²⁹.

The passage has traditionally been taken at face value, representing the intermediate/interlocutor, but non-divine, status of the king between humans and deities³⁰.

Such a reading of the passage concerning prayer would seemingly be at odds with another famous passage in Herodotos. The Greek historian (7.136) digresses from his account of Xerxes' invasion of the Greek mainland to recount the story of the Spartans Sperchias and Bulis. According to Herodotos, sometime after having killed the heralds whom Darius had sent to them to demand earth and water, the Spartans were unable to obtain favorable signs from their sacrifices. Sperchias and Bulis volunteered to give their lives to atone for the killing of the heralds. The pair left Sparta for Susa, where they had an audience with Xerxes. When the Spartans came into the presence of the king, the royal body guard attempted to force the Spartans to do *proskynesis*:

πρῶτα μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων κελυόντων καὶ ἀνάγκην σφι προσφερόντων προσκυνέειν βασιλέα προσπίπτοντας...

The Spartans refused, saying that it was not Spartan custom to worship a mortal man like themselves:

οὔτε γὰρ σφίσι ἐν νόμῳ εἶναι ἄνθρωπον προσκυνέειν...

The critical term here is the Greek verb *προσκυνέειν* (n. *προσκύνησις*, *proskynesis*), the exact meaning/import of which inspires much disagree-

²⁹ Hdt. 1.132.

³⁰ Briant 2002, 241 and 915, with bibliography.

ment. Most Classical authors assert that *proskynesis* was an act that was necessary to perform when entering the presence of the king and/or seeking an audience with him³¹. The act itself has been reconstructed variously as falling to one's knees/stomach before the monarch, bending forward slightly, and/or blowing a kiss. The significance of the performance of *proskynesis* is generally understood in one of two ways. Most Classical authors, as illustrated by the example of Sperchias and Bulis from Herodotos, took the act to indicate worship of a deity. Many modern commentators, on the other hand, have interpreted it as an indication of "obesance" on the part of the person doing *proskynesis*, implying simply the recognition of superior status or, if done before the king, recognition of his majesty. On this line of reasoning, the Classical authors who took the act to signal worship are seen to have misunderstood its significance.

An Avestan perspective *de facto* frames the Achaemenid king within the context of believer/non-believer in the reformed religion of the prophet Zarathustra; there is simply no space in such a perspective for the issue of a king's assertion of divine privileges. Of course, no Avestan text directly names Darius or comments on activities of the Achaemenid royalty. Nevertheless, a dramatic picture of the firmly-held and pious Zoroastrian beliefs of Darius has often been painted. Consider the following remarks of one of the most influential scholars of the Avestan perspective, Mary Boyce, on the relief of Darius I on his rock-cut tomb at Naqš-e Rostam:

The whole scene is set within a frame, and in the borders of this frame stand, to left and right, the six noble Persians who were the chief supporters of his throne, a grouping apparently meant, as we have seen, to mirror that of the six Amēša Spentas around Ahuramazda.

The Zoroastrian implications of the tomb-sculpture are made explicit by the fact that the king stands before a fire-holder... This is the earliest known representation of the fire-holder with burning fire, which was to be the most generally used Zoroastrian symbol down the ages. To pray before an elevated fire may be assumed to have been a rite peculiar to a Zoroastrian king; and so by this carving Darius was making a strong visual affirmation of his faith³².

³¹ Briant 2002, 222-3 and 913-4, with references to the Classical sources and bibliography.

³² Boyce 1982, 113.

We are left thus with two views of the relationship of the king to the divine. In the one the vainglorious Persian king requires *proskynesis* as an act of worship, in the other the pious Persian king humbly prays before the fire-holder as a signal of his devotion to his faith. While the dichotomy need not trouble us when considered against the backdrop of how dominant ideologies seek to create and maintain power — the king, after all, could have projected himself as both divine and pious — the particular requirements of the Avestan perspective cannot accommodate the concept of a divine king³³.

Economic documents from Persepolis (see the remarks below, pp. 40-1) show, unambiguously, that there existed various religious traditions in Fārs in the early Achaemenid period. These traditions included the worship of Assyro-Babylonian deities, Elamite deities and Iranian deities, one among whom was named Auramazdā. While Auramazdā figures prominently in the royal inscriptions, the god is simply one of many deities mentioned in the economic documents from Persepolis (and not even the most commonly occurring one!)³⁴.

The exact religious dogma invested in the worship of Auramazdā in Fārs in the late sixth century B.C. is not *directly* recoverable via extant evidence from the Achaemenid period³⁵. What is recoverable from the Persepolitan evidence is the existence of visual imagery involving the Achaemenid king and the divine with deep ties to long-standing traditions of the exposition of kingship and the divine from Assyria and Babylonia. Thus, our inquiry here is focused on the exploration of the clear linkages of this Achaemenid visual evidence to these earlier traditions, rather than attempting to project onto the imagery religious concepts a thousand years removed from the early Achaemenid period, and on understanding the significance of this visual evidence for our recovery of Achaemenid royal ideology.

³³ Lincoln 2008 represents one of the most recent (re)statements of the Avestan perspective. He concludes that the Achaemenid royal inscriptions articulate a “theology of empire, in which the king is theorized as God’s chosen, who reunites the world and restores it to perfection...” (Lincoln 2008, 233). This is more extensively articulated in Lincoln 2007.

³⁴ As documented in extensive detail by Henkelman 2008.

³⁵ The Avestan perspective presents a case for the *indirect* recovery of that religious dogma.

Kingship and the divine: the study of ruler cults in ancient western Asia

Inquiry into the nature of kingship in ancient western Asia has been a constant feature of scholarly investigations since the advent of Assyriology in the late 19th century. Divine kingship was an especially favored topic in the late 19th and first half of the 20th centuries, but thereafter interest in the topic waned. Recent publications suggest, however, that there is something of a revival occurring³⁶.

The most well-known, and for several generations influential, work devoted to the subject of divine kingship was Frazer's monumental *The Golden Bough*³⁷. Although not an Assyriologist, Frazer freely called upon evidence from Assyria and Babylonia in his wide-ranging, some would say chaotic, exposition centered around such concepts as divine kingship, the "dying god," sacred marriage and ritual regicide, to mention only the most well-known. In its most basic form Frazer's theory was that magic-sacral kingship represented the single most important tool by which "primitive man" sought to control nature and vegetation. Frazer's ideas found widespread support especially among a group of classicists who came to be known collectively as "myth-ritual school" centered initially at Cambridge³⁸. In more recent times Frazer himself has become something of a scapegoat; while few of the grand narratives of 19th century scholarship have stood the test of time, perhaps none have fallen into such disrepute as Frazer's³⁹.

The *locus classicus* for the study of kingship and the divine in ancient western Asia remains Frankfort's *Kingship and the Gods* (1948). Although Frankfort did not see kingship through a Frazerian lens, one notes some similarities to Frazer in his thought, and Frankfort did define divine

³⁶ E.g., Pongratz-Leisten 1999 (although concerned chiefly with divination); Salla-berger 1999; Erkens 2002; Holloway 2002, 178-93; Brisch 2006; Klein 2006; Hoffner 2006; Machinist 2006; Bonatz 2007; Ornan 2007; the many articles in Brisch 2008a, etc.

³⁷ Published in various editions starting in 1890.

³⁸ The influence of Frazer has been surveyed by many authors; see, e.g., Ackerman 1987; 1991. Versnel 1990 is an excellent concise introduction to the myth-ritual school. See Lincoln 2008, 221-2, for a recent summary and critique within the context of Achaemenid kingship.

³⁹ E.g., Lincoln 2007, 221, "remembered with more embarrassment than gratitude." Note, however, the comments of Brisch 2008b, 1-2 and Gilbert 2008 on the revival of some of Frazer's theories on kingship in anthropological and Africanist circles.

kingship in Frazerian terms. Rather than Frazer, however, Frankfort was especially influenced by Thortild Jacobsen's model of a "prehistoric" pseudo-democratic assembly of free men; evolutionary theory also played a considerable role in Frankfort's thinking⁴⁰. Frankfort cast kingship as primarily a mediating principle in the integration of "society and nature," a "necessary bond between the people and the divine powers."⁴¹ "Man's place in the universe" figured prominently in his account. His evolutionary perspective saw Mesopotamian and Egyptian cultures serving as a prelude to a more developed spirituality in Judeo-Christianity⁴².

Frankfort, like those before and after him, recognized that periods of divine kingship in ancient western Asia were rare and brief in duration, the two most well-known cases being the Akkadian kings (Naram-Sîn and his successors) and the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur (Šulgi and his successors)⁴³. The two most visible markers of divinity were the wearing of a horned headdress in visual imagery (most famously documented in the victory stele of Naram-Sîn, Fig. 3) and the use of the divine determinative in text (Fig. 4). For both the Akkadian and the Neo-Sumerian periods, evidence for a ruler cult *per se*, consisting of temples dedicated to the ruler, inscriptions noting worship of statues, etc., is extant⁴⁴.

For other periods of Mesopotamian kingship, recent research has come to see the relationship between the king and the divine as more complex and nuanced than simply one of mediation between divine and human. For instance, Gebhard Selz suggests that in the third millennium B.C. Mesopotamian kings, members of the royal family and even

⁴⁰ Jacobsen 1943.

⁴¹ Frankfort 1948, 339. The book was subtitled *A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*.

⁴² As expressed by Winter 2008, 79.

⁴³ The kings of Isin used the divine determinative in their inscriptions, as did some of the rulers of the Dynasty of Šimaški in Elam and a Gudea of the second dynasty of Lagaš. The question of the divinization of the kings of the Old Babylonian dynasty is much contested. One may find general surveys of the scholarship on divine kingship in many places; recently, see, e.g., Brisch 2006, 161-3. Brisch 2008a contains a wide selection of articles that provide overviews of the evidence and previous scholarship on ancient Mesopotamian divine kingship: e.g., Brisch 2008b; Michalowski 2008, 34-42; Selz 2008; Winter 2008; Bernbeck 2008.

⁴⁴ See the references above, n. 43.

priests could possess (in varying degrees) divine status⁴⁵; Steven Winford Holloway provides an impressive list of entities and objects that were “divine” as culled from Neo-Assyrian god-lists and ritual texts⁴⁶; Irene Winter stresses that Mesopotamian kingship was at all times “sacred” and “infused by the divine,” very often possessed “divine attributes,” but only rarely was “divine.”⁴⁷ Nicole Brisch remarks that one of the key issues to emerge from the recent Chicago seminar on divine kingship was the potential artificiality of our western notions of the oppositional categories of human and divine⁴⁸. In several contributions to that symposium it is posited that one ought rather to think in terms of a continuum between the two categories, human and divine, along which one may identify different degrees of the divine and, by extension, different degrees of divine kingship⁴⁹.

The Achaemenid evidence for kingship figured little in either Frazer or Frankfort⁵⁰. Reasons for this have to do firstly with the traditional distancing between Assyriology and Iranology. In addition to this disciplinary divide, the Achaemenid royal inscriptions seemed clear and unequivocal: kingship was bestowed upon the king by Auramazdā. The Achaemenid king’s primary role was to fulfill/serve the divine purpose of the god. The king, as articulated in the imperial texts, had no openly declared divine status, no magical powers and, indeed, no real priestly functions.

A few examinations of the Achaemenid evidence post-Frankfort did explore the notion of sacral kingship. Geo Widengren in multiple books

⁴⁵ Selz 2008.

⁴⁶ Holloway 2002, 188-90.

⁴⁷ Winter 2008.

⁴⁸ Brisch 2008a; 2008b, 8-9.

⁴⁹ Note Holloway 2002, 189, for a related perspective: “the problem is not the elastic concept of the divine in ancient Mesopotamia but our modern rigid notion of the meaning of godship and the misleading translations and interpretive shortfalls it occasions.”

⁵⁰ Frankfort (1948, 337-8) devoted less than one page to Achaemenid kingship. He relegated Persia into the category of “peripheral regions... where autochthonous civilization was feeble” wherein kingship derived from “a hereditary leader whose authority derived from descent and was originally coextensive with kinship... a more primitive kind of monarchy, a product rather of nature than of man, based upon the facts of consanguinity, not on any conception of man’s place in the universe” (337). This concept of kingship, according to Frankfort, was at home in tribal, nomadic contexts. This particular reading of “Persian” as simple, tent-living nomads has a long tradition in modern scholarship and indeed continues even today; see the critique and discussion in, e.g., Root 1979, 28-42.

and articles argued for a Frazerian concept of sacral kingship in Iran⁵¹. Part of Widengren's reconstruction of Achaemenid sacral kingship involved an annual imperial festival at Persepolis centered upon the celebrations of the Iranian New Year ceremony, the Now Rōz, documented in later periods. The links to Now Rōz, made already in the 18th century, but first articulated fully by Hans Peter L'Orange, Arthur Pope and Roman Ghirshman, were based upon readings of the visual imagery on architectural sculpture found on a few buildings at Persepolis, chiefly the Apadana⁵². Various scenarios involving the king, such as ritual combat, sacred marriage, etc. in the celebration of the Now Rōz ceremony at Persepolis have been postulated⁵³. The Now Rōz connection is plagued by the same problems that accompany the Avestan perspective, namely the lack of any evidence for such in the Achaemenid-period documentation and the reliance upon literary sources far removed in date and place from Achaemenid Persepolis. In the case of the Now Rōz, the principal literary sources are medieval in date; moreover, the account most often cited, the 11th century Arab writer al-Bērūnī, is a fragmentary and anecdotal account about the Sassanian Now Rōz. The projection back to Achaemenid Persia thus involves a double distortion as it were: medieval to Sassanian to Achaemenid. There are few, if any, commentators who still adhere to the Now Rōz thesis.

A more general sense that Achaemenid kingship had cosmic dimensions may be tracked back to the fascinating (but now generally ignored) study by L'Orange. Although devoted principally to the Sassanian period, L'Orange delved briefly into the Achaemenid milieu⁵⁴. He postulated that the description by al-Bērūnī of a Sassanian ritual in which the enthroned king was carried around so as to parallel the movement of the stars documented in actuality a ritual of cosmic kingship that was indigenous to Iran. L'Orange thus read the reliefs at Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis showing the king carried on an elevated platform as an actual Achaemenid ceremony of cosmic kingship — linked with the Now Rōz

⁵¹ E.g., Widengren 1959; 1983. His work found few adherents. See the critiques in, e.g., Root 1979, 307; Lincoln 2008, 222.

⁵² Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991, 176, 184-5 and especially 195-201; L'Orange 1953; Pope 1957; Ghirshman 1957.

⁵³ The scholarship is tracked by Root 1979, 95-6 n. 163, 156-8, 236 n. 14, 239 n. 28, 278-9, 307; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991; Briant 2002, 184-6, 910; Lincoln 2008, 222.

⁵⁴ L'Orange 1953, 80-9.

— whose origins lay in an indigenous Iranian ritual⁵⁵. Root's seminal study on Achaemenid kingship also identified cosmic overtones in Achaemenid kingship. She concludes that Achaemenid royal relief strove to depict the king as "an archetypal king who exists out of time"⁵⁶. In particular, the heroic combats, found doubled on doorways of the Palace of Darius and the Hall of 100 Columns, transposed the victorious king to the cosmic plane⁵⁷. Overall, Root concluded that Achaemenid royal imagery sought to project a sense of spiritual and cosmic authority⁵⁸.

What are the implications of Root's reading of this cosmic kingship for our understanding of the specific nature of the Achaemenid king vis-à-vis the divine? Where on the continuum of human-divine does Darius I fall⁵⁹? We turn now to a review of some of the visual evidence for the relationship of the king to the divine as provided by contemporary documents from the region of Persepolis.

The imperial program in the visual arts during the reign of Darius I

Soon after his accession in 522 B.C., Darius I and his planners embarked on an extensive campaign to project the royal message into visual media. This program, as it survives, involved rock-cut relief, slightly under life size, at Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam, architectural sculpture, less than one-half life-size, at Persepolis, Susa and, probably, Pasargadae, glyptic and imperial coinage⁶⁰. The famous statue of Darius

⁵⁵ L'Orange 1953, 85, where the occurrence of the scene of the king being carried on a platform at Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam "proves the fundamental significance of this expression of his [MBG: *the king's*] astral nature and cosmocratic power." See also Gnoli 1974, 125, for a similar thesis.

⁵⁶ Root 1979, 310.

⁵⁷ Root 1979, 307-8.

⁵⁸ I read Kuhrt 1987, 52-5, in a similar manner.

⁵⁹ Note Root 1979, 170-2, on the possibilities of some type of divine kingship at the time of Darius I.

⁶⁰ Other stelai and architectural sculpture dating to the time of Darius I are preserved also in Egypt; see Root 1979, 123-8. Root 1979 has extensive discussion and analysis of imperial rock-cut relief and architectural sculpture; this study remains the seminal work on Achaemenid imperial relief. The long-standing dispute on the date of the architectural reliefs at Palace P and Palace S at Pasargadae remains open, although there is a growing consensus that Darius is responsible for those reliefs and the accompanying inscriptions

found at Susa, originally from Egypt, sculptural fragments also from Susa and the Canal Stelai of Darius preserve a glimmer of what also must have been two other major vehicles of visual communication, monumental free-standing sculpture, both in stone and in metal, and relief stelai⁶¹. It seems noteworthy that the great bulk of the surviving evidence is from Fārs, lowland Elam and Egypt, suggesting that these three areas were deemed critical loci for the royal message⁶².

An extensive analysis of this remarkably rich visual record is not possible in this forum. For the purposes of the issue of kingship and the divine in the Achaemenid period, I would like to focus on the relief on Darius' rock-cut tomb at Naqš-e Rostam (Figs. 5–6). As noted by Root, the relief has not been given the attention to which it is due⁶³. It is, in my opinion, one of the most arresting examples of imperial art from the whole of the first millennium B.C. For too long the relief has languished in the shadow of Bīsotūn. It certainly appears to have been the premier monument where the divine-human element of Achaemenid kingship is

CMA, CMb and CMc; see, e.g., Stronach 1997a; 1997b; 2000, 685–92, where the reader can find previous bibliography. For imperial coinage, Root (1979, 116–8) and Carradice (1987) may be supplemented with Root 1989 and Garrison 2010, which provide more lengthy analyses and bibliography. For glyptic, see, e.g., Root 1998; Garrison 2000; Garrison and Root 2001 and the discussion below.

⁶¹ See Root 1979, 61–8 (Canal Stelai), 68–72 (Susa statue of Darius), 110–6 (sculptural fragments from Susa). On the Canal Stelai, see, recently, Lloyd 2007.

⁶² Of course, this statement needs much qualification given the archaeological difficulties of recovering Achaemenid levels at Babylon and Ekbatana (wherever the early Achaemenid settlement may be at the site). So, too, many would consider Bīsotūn the premier monument of Darius' reign. Its western Iranian context is, however, not too far removed from Fārs and, given the presumed importance of Ekbatana, perhaps it is best simply to identify western Iran as a critical focus of imperial imagery. The issue of what appears to be the lack of Achaemenid imperial monumental sculpture in the empire as a whole is part of the larger research question concerning the “visibility” of the Achaemenid empire. See now Briant and Bouchardat 2005 for a review of the question and survey of the evidence. In this regard the relatively recently discovered “Persepolitan” type of reliefs from Meydancikkale in southwestern Cilicia bear notice, but remain the rare exception of Achaemenid monumental relief from non-Iranian and Egyptian contexts with direct stylistic and iconographic linkages to the center of the empire; see Gates 2005, 62–3, for bibliography; Laroche-Traunecker 1993, fig. 7, for a reconstruction of the reliefs.

⁶³ Root 1979, 181. One reason for the lack of detailed analyses of the relief may be due to the poor state of preservation of the right-hand side of the relief and the difficulty of using Schmidt 1970. Despite the large folio format of the publication, one constantly is frustrated by the inability to see critical details of iconography.

expressed. In order to understand more fully the semantic parameters in which we ought to consider the relief, a critical part of the following analysis will be a close inquiry into how Darius' tomb relief at Naqš-e Rostam interfaces with glyptic imagery from Persepolis.

Naqš-e Rostam

For his funerary monument Darius selected the rock face in a recess in the *Husain Kūh*, approximately six kilometers to the north of Persepolis (Figs. 5-6). The site, known today as Naqš-e Rostam, had been a sacred place since the second millennium B.C., if not earlier. The character of the place was certainly changed, however, by Darius' decision to place his tomb here⁶⁴. Three later Achaemenid kings followed his lead, cutting tombs and reliefs modeled on that of Darius⁶⁵. The famous stone tower, *Ka'bah-i Zardusht* (Cube of Zoroaster), was probably the most conspicuous free-standing feature in what became, for all intents and purposes, an Achaemenid religious sanctuary⁶⁶. Commentators generally assume that the carving of the tomb relief at Naqš-e Rostam dates to the early years of the reign of Darius I.

The façade of the tomb of Darius has a distinctive cruciform shape. The bottom register was carved flat and left blank. The middle register shows an architectural façade of four columns with addorsed bull protome capitals supporting roof beams that carry an entablature; a door in the middle of the façade (leading into the rock-cut burial chambers) has a banded frame and an Egyptianizing cavetto molding over the lintel.

The top register contains a relief depicting Darius I (Figs. 5-6). Darius, at the left of the tableau, facing to the right, stands on a three-stepped podium that rests on a platform held aloft by two tiers of personifications of the subject peoples/lands of the empire (thirty in number). At right, apparently the focus of Darius' attention, appear: 1) a figure emerging from a winged double ring with bird's tail and undu-

⁶⁴ Tomb I in the numbering schema in Schmidt 1970. See Schmidt 1970, 10 and 121, for the early relief at Naqš-e Rostam. Schmidt (1970, 10) notes the discovery of a few stray sherds dating to the fourth and third millennia B.C.

⁶⁵ Tombs II-IV in the numbering schema of Schmidt 1970.

⁶⁶ Garrison in press(b) explores this issue in more detail.

lating appendages floating near the upper center of the tableau; 2) a blazing fire on the top of a stepped “structure” placed to the right on the same platform on which Darius stands; 3) a crescent inscribed in a disk in the upper right field of the tableau⁶⁷.

To the left of this central tableau on a raised frame three weapon-bearers are disposed one atop the other in registers. The top figure, dressed in the Persian court robe with a low fillet-like cap on his head, wears an unsheathed bow and quiver on his left shoulder and holds a spear. A trilingual inscription (DNc) above his head identifies him as “*Kambarma*, a Patischorian, spear-bearer of Darius the king.”⁶⁸ The middle figure, dressed in pants and a knee-length coat with a rounded cap on his head, wears a bow case on his left shoulder and holds a battle axe in his right hand. A trilingual inscription (DNd) above his head identifies him as “*Ašbazana*, *lipte*-bearer, holds Darius the king’s bow-and-arrow case.”⁶⁹ The bottom figure, dressed in the Persian court robe with a low fillet-like cap on his head, holds a spear. To the right of the central scene on the raised frame three attendants, dressed in the court robe with low fillet-like caps on their heads, are disposed one atop the other in registers. These three attendants hold their left hands up to their mouths.

To either side wings project out perpendicular to the façade of the tomb. On the left projecting wing four spear-bearers, wearing the Persian court robe with low fillet-like caps on their heads, are carved in three registers, two in the top register, one each in the middle and bottom register. On the right projecting wing three attendants, dressed in the Persian court robe with low fillet-like caps on their heads, are carved in three registers one atop the other. Each raises his left hand to his mouth.

⁶⁷ The crescent inscribed in a disk has no anthropomorphic elements.

⁶⁸ *Kambarma*, Elamite, is rendered more commonly by the Greek *Gobryas*, the Old Persian *Gaubaruwa*.

⁶⁹ I follow here the translation of the Elamite version of the text as given in Henkelman 2003, 117, which differs from that given in Garrison 1998. The inscription is problematic owing to two Old Persian *hapax legomena*, *vaçabara* and *isuvā-* (or *isauvā-*?) (see Schmitt 2000, 46). Henkelman (2003, 117-20) has recently discussed the Elamite version, which gives *lipte kutira* and *apte marriš*, respectively. Both Schmitt and Henkelman translate *vaçabara* as “clothes-bearer.” On the equation of this *Ašbazana* (Old Persian *Aspac-anā*) with a person by the same name mentioned in the Fortification archive and with the Aspathines mentioned in Hdt. 3.70.1, see Garrison 1998; Henkelman 2003, 117-29.

The platform on which Darius and the fire structure stand is a complex affair. Along the length of the top edge of the platform runs a bead and reel frieze under which is a tongue (with raised edges) and dart frieze. Beneath the top of the platform, between the two legs, runs a rung. It is decorated with, in Erich Schmidt's words, "vertical pairs of connected volutes oriented in opposite directions and separated by three vertical strips, the central strip being wider than the others."⁷⁰ The two legs that are indicated are each crowned by a composite creature consisting of the forepart of a horned lion, the mouth open. The ear of each creature is taurine. The straight foreleg of each creature extends outward slightly beyond the leg of the platform. Schmidt noted that these creatures are winged, but, if this is true, the wings are only abstractly rendered as a continuation of the top edge of the platform⁷¹. The middle section of the legs is decorated with five turned moldings. Below them the leg becomes a lion's leg and paw. The paw rests on "a basal unit composed of a fluted member... with single moldings above and below it."⁷² The fluted member recalls the inverted floral column bases in the Apadana. The bottoms of the legs are suspended above the ground line, the platform understood to be held above ground level by the subject peoples.

One set of fourteen subject peoples stands on the rung of the platform with arms uplifted as if supporting the top of the platform. Trilingual inscriptions below the tongue and dart frieze identify each of these subject peoples. Another set of fourteen subject peoples stands immediately below the rung, arms uplifted as if supporting it. Trilingual inscriptions below the decorative frieze on the rung identify each of these subject peoples. A single subject people stands to either side of each of the legs, the arms extended outward to grasp the bottom of the leg. Trilingual inscriptions above their heads identify them.

Darius raises his bent right arm before his chest, the hand held open, the back of the hand facing the viewer. His left hand, held at waist level, grasps the top of a bow. Darius has a long, blunt-pointed beard, pre-

⁷⁰ Schmidt 1970, 85.

⁷¹ Schmidt 1970, 86. These wings are more clearly seen in tomb III (Schmidt 1970, pls. 50 and 51A). Schmidt also identified the "feathered pattern" used to indicate the mane as avian, but this seems unlikely.

⁷² Schmidt 1970, 85. This member is not well preserved on either leg of the platform.

sumably a squared beard, but shown in profile; his hair bunches at the back of his neck and is decorated with neatly ordered rows of curls. He wears the Persian court robe, strapless shoes, bracelets and a crown that has three-stepped crenellations along its top edge (Fig. 6)⁷³. The garment is billowy, with stacked folds indicating the voluminous sleeve and a large multi-folded central vertical pleat from which depend radial folds on the lower part of the garment. The volumetric treatment of the figure is emphasized also in the true profile depiction of the upper body.

The figure in the winged ring hovering in the upper center part of the tableau shows approximately two-thirds of a human figure emerging from a double ring (Fig. 5)⁷⁴. The treatment of space is noteworthy

⁷³ The description of the crown follows Schmidt 1970, 84; it is difficult to confirm this detail from published photographs owing to poor preservation, but Schmidt 1970, pl. 33, does indeed appear to show one set of fragmentarily preserved crenellations. Most commentators have followed Schmidt; e.g., Roaf 1983, 131, fig. 132; Tuplin 2007, 72. Schmidt (1970, 84) also notes a belt at Darius' waist, but this cannot be confirmed in published photographs.

⁷⁴ There is a variety of terms used to describe this and related devices in the Achaemenid period. Commonly the device is called a half figure in a winged ring/disk, the central part of the device generally assuming the form of either a ring, as here at Naqš-e Rostam, or a solid disk. It is unclear whether the figure is to be understood as sitting in or emerging from the central device (whatever its form). While at Naqš-e Rostam and in the monumental relief at Persepolis the figure in the ring/disk more often is indicated as three-quarters of a human figure, in Achaemenid glyptic and in most Assyrian prototypes, the figure is a bust, hence the "half figure in the winged ring/disk." For ease of reference, I shall identify these winged devices as "the figure in the winged ring/disk." In the glyptic evidence, the central part of the device often cannot be identified (ring or disk) or is neither ring nor disk (the human body simply melding into the wings). In such cases I shall refer to the device as the "figure in the winged symbol." Closely related are those winged devices that have no human bust, only a ring/disk with wings. This device I shall call either the "winged ring" or the "winged disk." I shall reserve the term "winged symbol" to indicate both forms, those with the human figure and those without. Most commentators do not judge these iconographic nuances to be of any significance, considering all forms of the winged symbol to be the manifestation of a single entity (see the discussion below, pp. 47-51). Lastly, it is worth noting that Schmidt (1970, 85) interestingly observed of the figure in the winged ring at Naqš-e Rostam that the tail "fans out beneath the ring in such a fashion as to continue, seemingly, the outline of the god's candies." Indeed, the visual dynamics are such that the full length of the figure appears to be indicated suggesting a figure within a nimbus rather than one emerging from a ring. A similar convention can be seen in some renderings of the figure in the winged ring in Assyrian art of the time of Assurnasirpal II (e.g., slab B-7 from the throne room at the palace of Assurnasirpal II at Nimrud; Meuszyński 1981, pl. 2,3).

wherein the double ring passes over the lower part of the figure and behind his waist. In such a way the figure does indeed appear “to emerge” from the ring⁷⁵. The rings themselves are either beaded, or have “tangent curls.”⁷⁶ The wings are broad and squared. The feathers undulate in horizontal bands along the length of the wings, broken into four (?) sections of approximately equal length by three (?) rows of single spirals set diagonally across the height of the wings. The tail fans out narrowly. The feathers undulate in radial bands along the length of the tail, broken into three roughly equal sections by two rows of single spirals; each feather terminates in a spiral. To either side of the tail an undulating appendage depends from the ring; each appendage has a tripartite termination. The figure within the ring, shown in true profile, faces to the left, towards Darius. He extends his left arm, bent, along the upper edge of the wing; the hand is poorly preserved, but it is generally assumed that the figure held a ring, like similar figures in relief associated with the other royal Achaemenid tombs at Naqš-e Rostam. His right arm is raised in front of his body; the hand is destroyed, but it is generally assumed that it was held flat with the palm facing the viewer, echoing the position of Darius’ right hand, but showing the palm rather than the back of the hand. The figure has a long, blunt-pointed beard with small curls indicated in rows, presumably a squared beard, but shown in profile; a rounded mass of hair with rows of curls emerges from below the headdress at the back of the neck. The figure wears the Persian court robe. Schmidt noted that the figure’s garment is “alike” to the one that Darius wears⁷⁷. This cannot be confirmed from published photographs, but one can perhaps distinguish a billowy sleeve on the upper part of the garment and certainly vertical and radial folds on the lower part of the garment. The figure wears a cylindrical headdress. The top of the headdress is poorly preserved and does not allow a definitive reading⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ See also the comments below pp. 49-51.

⁷⁶ Schmidt 1970, 85.

⁷⁷ Schmidt 1970, 85.

⁷⁸ Most assume that the figure wears a crenellated crown similar to that of Darius; Schmidt (1970, 85) is uncertain whether or not the headdress was crenellated. Henkelman (1995/96, 285) states that the crown “seems to show traces of crenellations.” Cf. Calmeyer 1975, 235, who firmly declared that the crown of the figure in the winged device did not have crenellations.

The structure on which a large fire burns, generally identified as a “fire altar,” acts as a vertical counterbalance to the standing figure of Darius. The structure has passages that are poorly preserved. A rectangular shaft sits on a three-stepped base. On top of the shaft is an inverted three-stepped platform, similar in dimensions to the three-stepped base below. On analogy with the other tomb reliefs, it is assumed that the rectangular shaft of the structure had “a central panel ... framed by two projecting bands.”⁷⁹ The fire is indicated by what appears to be two-three rows of undulating flames that form a parabolical mass above the top of the structure.

The crescent inscribed in a circle is almost impossible to see in detail in published photographs. Schmidt described it as “a discoid symbol with accentuated, lunate, lower part,” referencing better preserved examples on other royal tombs⁸⁰.

The relief is accompanied by two long trilingual inscriptions (DNa and DNb). The Old Persian and Elamite versions of DNa are located in the top register, in the field behind Darius. The Akkadian version of DNa is located above the spear-bearers on the wing projecting out perpendicular to the façade at left. DNb is located in the middle register; the Old Persian version in the panel to the left of the doorway, the Elamite in the panel to the right of the doorway, the Akkadian in the panel at far right. As mentioned above, minor inscriptions (DNc and DNd and DN I–IV, XVI–XVII and XXIX, clearly added after the cutting of the figural images) identify the top two weapon-bearers on the raised frame to the left of the central scene and the platform bearers in the main field in the top register⁸¹.

While the fire structure on Darius’ tomb relief at Naqš-e Rostam is often invoked in discussions of fire worship among the Achaemenids and the figure in the winged ring often referenced in discussions of the identity of this symbol in Achaemenid art, synthetic discussions of the relief *in toto* are rare. Root remains the most thorough analysis⁸². She identifies numerous Assyrian and Babylonian features in the iconography of the relief, but stresses the novel nature of the scene as a whole.

⁷⁹ Schmidt 1970, 84.

⁸⁰ Schmidt 1970, 85.

⁸¹ Kent 1953, 137–41; the Old Persian texts have recently been restudied: Schmitt 2000, 23–49.

⁸² Root 1979, 147–81.

She notes the complex visual semantics of the scene, wherein Darius appears to engage with three separate entities: figure in the winged ring, crescent-in-disk and fire structure. These interactions, I would note, all take place horizontally, shifting across the upper part of the scene. Darius also clearly engages in a much more structured relationship with the subject peoples in the lower part of the scene⁸³. This interaction takes place vertically, flowing between the upper and lower zones of the scene. While the vertical relationship is complexly articulated, it is, nevertheless, seemingly direct and (for us) understandable: the king is voluntarily and joyously supported by the unified peoples of the empire. The horizontal relationships are (for us) highly complex and seemingly ambiguous, open to various levels of reading.

Root, like most commentators, takes the scene to show, on one level at least, Darius I, metaphorically supported by the subject peoples of the empire, worshipping at a fire altar in the presence of Ahura Mazda, the figure in the winged ring⁸⁴. As Root notes, one is, however, constantly confronted by difficult and/or ambiguous relationships in the main scene. Firstly, the figure in the winged ring appears to hold out in his left hand a ring, long a symbol of royal investiture in ancient western Asia⁸⁵. This complicates the reading of the scene as simply one of “fire worship.” Secondly, the king and the figure in the winged ring make the same gesture with their right hands. This gesture, the so-called greeting/ blessing gesture, is one long known from Neo-Assyrian contexts⁸⁶. The

⁸³ There are yet other planes of relationship that cannot be explored in detail in this context. They include that between the king and the six attendants to right and left on the raised frame of the central scene and that between the king and the seven attendants on the projecting wings. The attendants to left are all armed; those at right are all unarmed and raise a hand before their mouth. Note that the number is unbalanced, seven to left, six to right; Garrison in preparation(a) will discuss these relationships in more detail.

⁸⁴ Root 1979, 181; the author stresses, however, that the whole of the scene represents the “visual fusion of political and religious concepts” of Darius.

⁸⁵ On the ring, see Root 1979, 173-4. As she notes, until the Neo-Assyrian period the ring is always held in conjunction with a rod. The theme of the rod and the ring has recently been reviewed by Spykter 2000 and Slanski 2007.

⁸⁶ Root 1979, 174-6. Soudavar (2003, 92) seems to attempt to explain the gesture, via Sassanian royal monuments, as reflecting a concept of the king as “image of god” (although in n. 236 he says that the gesture within the context of a tomb façade “should probably be interpreted as a greeting sign on the Day of Judgment”). Ehrenberg (2008, 107 n. 22) discusses this reading.

gesture and the fact that both the king and the figure in the winged ring make it, complicate any attempt at a straightforward reading of Darius' actions as indicating worship of the god. The gesture is not one of worship in Neo-Assyrian contexts. Moreover, if we do read Darius' gesture at Naqš-e Rostam as one of worship, the inverse, god worshipping the king, would seem also to be implied since the figure in the winged ring makes the same gesture. Thirdly, the two figures, king and figure in the winged ring, with regard to dress, hairstyle, facial features, beards and crowns are for all intents and purposes doubles of each other. This again complicates a simple reading of pious petitioner/worshipper in the presence of the god. Lastly, what, exactly, is the role of the crescent-in-disk in a scene of "fire worship?"

It perhaps is not too surprising that the texts at Naqš-e Rostam, so maddeningly from our perspective, do not provide clues toward deeper understanding of these and related questions concerning the imagery in the relief⁸⁷. Insights toward understanding the layers of meaning embedded in the relief at Naqš-e Rostam lie not in attempts to probe yet again the accompanying texts, but in examination of related imagery that is contemporary in time (reign of Darius I) and space (Fārs). This imagery may broaden the semantic contexts in which we may consider the imagery of the relief at Naqš-e Rostam, thus providing potential levels of association that are not evident in viewing the tomb relief in isolation. The contemporary evidence from Fārs consists of the glyptic imagery preserved in two important administrative archives from Persepolis: the Persepolis Fortification archive and the Persepolis Treasury archive. While the existence of both of these archives has been known for some time, only relatively recently has one been able to draw upon the vast reserve of glyptic imagery from the Fortification archive.

Persepolitan glyptic

The Fortification archive consists of many thousands of clay tablets that document the administration of a food-ration collection and distribution system centered on Persepolis. The administrative region covered by the archive includes the environs of Persepolis (stretching north to

⁸⁷ See also the comments on inscriptions below, pp. 57-61.

Pasargadae and south to modern Shiraz) and an amorphous zone to the northwest following the Persepolis-Susa road. There are three main surviving components of the archive, all of which bear impressions of seals: tablets carrying texts in the Elamite language, written in cuneiform script (thousands in number); tablets carrying texts in Aramaic language and script (approximately 700 in number); and uninscribed but sealed tablets (thousands in number)⁸⁸. Date formulas in the Elamite and Aramaic texts date the surviving archive to 509-493 B.C. in the reign of Darius I. It is clear that the surviving remnants of this archive represent only part of what was a larger and longer-lived phenomenon. The Persepolis Treasury archive, consisting of just under 1,000 clay documents, includes both inscribed texts and uninscribed but sealed “labels.” The texts, all with one exception in the Elamite language, written in cuneiform script, document the payments — generally silver in lieu of food rations — to workers by the treasury at Persepolis⁸⁹. The uninscribed labels from the Treasury archive were attached to various types of containers; the exact administrative functions of the labels and the seals applied to the labels are not known⁹⁰. The seals applied to the Elamite tablets from the Treasury archive belong to various officials associated with the Treasury at Persepolis. Date formulas in the Elamite texts date the Treasury archive to the years 492-459 B.C., i.e., from late in the reign of Darius I down to early in the reign of Artaxerxes I.

The Fortification archive preserves an unknown number of seals. Current research, which accounts for the seals preserved on the 2,087 Elamite tablets published by Hallock, most of the seals on the Aramaic tablets and several hundred of the uninscribed tablets, can document just over 2,000 discrete seals⁹¹. There are 77 discrete seals

⁸⁸ Research on the administrative aspects of the archive are many, starting with the primary publication of 2,087 of the Elamite texts in Hallock 1969. Overviews of the administrative aspects of the archive, with previous bibliography, may be found in Garrison and Root 2001, 9-16; Briant 2002, 422-71, 938-47; 1997, 11, 43, 85-6; 2001, 18, 103, 114, 133-6; Briant, Stolper and Henkelman 2008. Henkelman (2008, 65-179) presents the most thorough overview of the Fortification archive published to date.

⁸⁹ The Elamite texts from the Treasury are published in Cameron 1948. The seals that occur on those texts and the uninscribed labels are published in Schmidt 1957, 4-42, pls. 1-14.

⁹⁰ See the discussion in Schmidt 1957, 5-7.

⁹¹ For the first of a projected three volumes documenting the seals on the 2,087 tablets published by Hallock 1969, see Garrison and Root 2001. For the seals on the Aramaic

preserved in the Treasury archive. The most remarkable aspects of the Persepolitan archives are the exceptionally large number of seal images that are preserved and the rich archival context wherein the glyptic imagery is embedded so thoroughly in time, space and function⁹².

Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolitan glyptic: an extended dialogue

There follows an exploration of a very small part of the dense matrix of glyptic imagery circulating in the region of Persepolis in the late sixth century B.C. The goal of this exploration is not the identification of seals that show one-to-one matches with the whole of the scene at Naqš-e Rostam, but to establish a series of linkages between select seals and discrete aspects of the imagery at Naqš-e Rostam. These linkages may allow us to situate the relief at Naqš-e Rostam within this matrix of glyptic imagery so as to understand better the broader visual/semantic contexts in which the imagery on the tomb relief existed⁹³. By necessity, the following discussions in no way may be considered comprehensive or definitive.

It seems clear that the planners of the relief at Naqš-e Rostam have drawn upon a variety of compositional and iconographic devices that resonated deeply with contemporary Persepolitan glyptic imagery and that had long been features of the Assyro-Babylonian visual tradition⁹⁴. In particular, I shall explore the following topics: atlantids, the figure in the winged ring, fire structures, lunar imagery, the inscribed word.

tablets and uninscribed tablets, see, preliminarily, Dusinberre 2008 and Garrison 2008, respectively.

⁹² See the comments in, e.g., Garrison 2000, 121-6.

⁹³ Winter (2000, 77) has some very interesting comments regarding potential interpretive pitfalls that may be encountered when one attempts to work between monumental relief and glyptic given the differences in scale, function and, potentially, audiences. While I cannot within this particular forum address these concerns within the context of Persepolis in the late sixth century B.C., from what follows I think that a case does emerge for shared iconographic/semantic fields within the two media. I shall explore these issues in more detail in Garrison in preparation(b).

⁹⁴ Root (1979, 172-81) touches on many of these traditions but with a focus on Assyro-Babylonian monumental relief.

Atlantids

As noted by Root, the depiction of the subject peoples supporting the platform on which Darius stands in the tomb relief at Naqš-e Rostam is one of several visual tropes to express one of the central themes in the visual representation of Achaemenid kingship, the “king on high.”⁹⁵ At Naqš-e Rostam the subject peoples assume the pose of atlantids, i.e., entities that stand with feet spread, arms extended upward, generally slightly bent, above their heads, hands cupped upward so as to support some object/entity. Atlantids have a long history in the representational arts of western Asia, first appearing consistently in the middle of the second millennium B.C.⁹⁶ The theme was especially popular in the glyptic arts of Assyria in the first millennium B.C., where atlantid figures, generally some type of composite human-animal creature, commonly bull-men, are often arrayed to either side of a stylized tree and support a figure in a winged ring/disk⁹⁷. Bull-men (single, or in pairs) and scorpion-men atlantids commonly support a winged ring/disk or a figure in a winged ring/disk on Assyrian drilled and modeled style seals⁹⁸. Dominique Collon notes the popularity of atlantid figures, predominantly bull-men, supporting a winged ring/disk or a figure in a winged ring/disk on impressions of stamp seals, mainly from Nimrud, Nineveh

⁹⁵ Root 1979, 147-61, 180-1.

⁹⁶ Earlier examples of the depictions of atlantids may be found on a late Early Dynastic/Early Akkadian seal from Ebla (Porada 1985, 92, fig. 14) and the stele fragment from Mari [Room 149 of the palace] dated anywhere from the Akkadian to the Old Babylonian periods (Börker-Klähn 1982, 159, no. 99). See Root 1979, 148-53, for depictions of atlantids in Egypt and western Asia; Garrison in preparation(b) for western Asia with emphasis on the Assyrian glyptic evidence.

⁹⁷ See, e.g., Herbordt 1992, 106-7; Collon 2001, 85; Garrison in press(b). It is noteworthy that the theme of atlantids is very rare in Neo-Babylonian glyptic art. Wittmann (1992, 200, nos. 55-6) identifies two seals that show atlantid figures as Neo-Babylonian in origin (no. 55, a kneeling frontal-faced male figure in a long robe supporting a winged disk [Wittmann suggests a date in the 10th century B.C.]; no. 56, a kneeling figure in a long skirt supporting a winged disk, framed on either side by a vase with flowing water and a winged genius [= Collon 2001, no. 202; Wittmann suggests a date from the end of the ninth to the second third of the eighth century B.C.]).

⁹⁸ Collon 2001, nos. 208-11; Herbordt 1992, pl. 3, no. 13. See also Collon 2001, 113, and Ehrenberg 1999, 28 and no. 199, for comparanda. Herbordt (1992, 80) suggests that the cylinder seals with atlantid figures probably should be dated in the seventh century B.C., the same date as the atlantids on stamp seals.

and Assur, in the seventh century B.C.⁹⁹. The cosmic implications of the combination of atlantids, stylized tree and the figure in a winged ring/disk in the Assyrian glyptic evidence has often been noted¹⁰⁰. The common appearance of bull-men, i.e., creatures that generally stand upright and have a taurine lower body (and, sometimes, horns) and a human torso, arms and head, as atlantids in Assyrian glyptic would seem to strengthen the cosmic implications of the atlantid figure as a type¹⁰¹.

Glyptic evidence from Persepolis dramatically documents the continued popularity of the atlantid figure in the early Achaemenid period. As in Assyrian glyptic, bull-men, sometimes winged, seem to be the preferred form for atlantids. The examples of atlantids in Persepolitan glyptic exhibit strong Assyrian linkages. E.g., PFS 122 (Figs. 7-8) shows a creature, probably a bull-man, disposed to either side of a stylized tree supporting a figure in a winged device. A winged genius, only partially preserved, probably held a bucket and cone. In the upper field there is a star. PFS 310 (Figs. 9-10) preserves a very similar scene, with the addition of a worshipper to one side of the atlantids. On PFS 774 (Cat. No. 58) (Figs. 11-12) a bull-man supports a figure in a winged device in the terminal field of a heroic encounter. PFS 105s (Figs. 13-14) shows a

⁹⁹ Collon 2001, 113. E.g., see the examples in the British Museum recently published by Mitchell and Searight 2008, 294.

¹⁰⁰ E.g., Matthews (1990, 109-10) surveys the possible meanings of the atlantid scenes in the second half of the second millennium B.C. in Mesopotamia (especially with regard to the association of the atlantids with the winged disk); in his opinion in Mitanni and early Middle Assyrian glyptic the underlying concepts of the atlantids appear to have been associated with the portrayal of heaven and the circulation of water (the latter of which appears to carry over into late Middle Assyrian glyptic), both concepts reflecting a connection to the Kassite "chthonic god" series of seals. Matthews (1990, 113-4) notes that the atlantid scene in the Neo-Assyrian period appears to be "specially related to the ritual aspects of kingship;" Matthews associates the atlantid figures themselves with demonic foundation figurines of the Neo-Assyrian period, concluding that the atlantids are "direct representations of the supernatural world." Collon (2001, 85, 121) has suggested that the atlantid figure (as least in Collon 2001, no. 230 and, it seems, extended to other scenes with atlantid figures as well) in Neo-Assyrian glyptic represents a link between earth and heaven. Root (1979, 148) highlights the association of the bull-man and scorpion-man, who less commonly appears as an atlantid in Neo-Assyrian glyptic, with cosmic phenomena.

¹⁰¹ Bull-men had been since the Old Babylonian period attendants of Šamaš; for discussion, see, e.g., Collon 2001, 70-85; Ehrenberg 1999, 27-8; Herbordt 1992, 106-7, all with full references.

bull-man holding aloft a figure in a lunar crescent. There are also examples of creatures in the atlantid pose, but apparently not actually supporting anything; e.g., PFUTS 123s (Figs. 15-16), a quite interesting scene showing a bull-man (with scorpion tail!) posed as an atlantid to either side of a bird perched above a floral device¹⁰². PFS 1582 (Cat. No. 232) (Figs. 17-18) has a winged bull creature in an atlantid pose within the context of a heroic encounter scene. In one very interesting case, PFS 216, the atlantid supporting a winged symbol is completely humanoid in form. The atlantid figure has, however, what may be streams of water coming from his waist, suggesting a divinity. At left, an attendant holds a bucket and reaches out to touch the atlantid's arm; at right, a winged genius apparently does the same. The scene seems particularly Middle Assyrian in inspiration¹⁰³.

Another scene type in Persepolitan glyptic may be closely related conceptually to the atlantid scenes. These are scenes showing individuals, often worshippers, standing on the backs of animals/creatures; we have called such supporting animal/creatures "pedestal creatures." Their relationship to the atlantid scenes is the concept of elevation (related to the theme articulated by Root as "on high"). In the traditional parlance of Mesopotamian religious imagery, figures who stand on the back of animals/creatures are divine or possess numinous qualities¹⁰⁴. PFS 1567* (Figs. 19-20) is especially provocative in this regard since the compositional dynamics, a worshipper posed on the back of a composite pedestal creature, probably goat-fish, disposed to either side of a figure in a winged ring, are so similar to many of the atlantid scenes involving the winged symbol¹⁰⁵. The pedestal creatures seem to support the worshippers on their backs and the figure in the winged device on their horns. Very similar is PFUTS 1* (Figs. 21-22), where the pedestal creatures, composite fish-men, support the worshippers and a paneled Elamite inscription. The addition of the stylized tree under the figure in the

¹⁰² The upper edge of the seal is preserved, showing that there is possibly enough space in the upper field for a winged symbol; no trace of such can be seen, however, on any impression of the seal.

¹⁰³ See the discussion above, n. 100.

¹⁰⁴ E.g., see the remarks of Holloway 2002, 183; Ornan 2007, 164-5. Dusinberre 1997 has discussed the possible social significance of the use of pedestal creatures in Achaemenid glyptic imagery.

¹⁰⁵ For this seal, see the discussion in Garrison 1998.

winged device on PFUTS 1* further links the scene with those showing atlantids. PFS 91 (Figs. 23-24) broadens the semantic field in which to consider these scenes: here, the pedestal creatures, addorsed horned lions, stand under the figure in the winged device, seemingly supporting it. A figure in the Persian court robe stands to the left, receiving a ring from the figure in the winged device. Pedestal creatures are also employed in heroic encounters, several of which show the hero as a crowned figure¹⁰⁶.

These scenes showing atlantids and pedestal creatures in Persepolitan glyptic thus firmly establish a specific interest in the concept of elevation and so provide various avenues for further iconographic studies of the relief and, in particular, a rich semantic field in which to reconsider the depiction of the subject peoples in the atlantid pose at Naqš-e Rostam. For instance, as regards iconography, one may note that the similar functions of atlantids and pedestal creatures in Persepolitan glyptic suggest that the composite creatures at the top of the legs of the platform on which Darius stands are not simply decoration, but in fact reinforce and intensify the “elevation” of the platform. The glyptic evidence from Persepolis moreover substantiates Root’s suggestion that the adoption of the atlantid pose at Naqš-e Rostam was a “deliberate quotation” of Egyptian and Mesopotamian prototypes¹⁰⁷. Perhaps even more importantly, the glyptic evidence from Persepolis now allows us a first-hand view of the process of adoption/adaptation of this Mesopotamian imagery within the emergent Achaemenid imperial enterprise.

The existence of this glyptic imagery at Persepolis in the early Achaemenid period does not, of course, negate the possible messages/significance that the redeployment of such antique imagery in an Achaemenid context, either in monumental art or glyptic, may have had. The scenes of atlantids and pedestal creatures in Persepolitan glyptic do seem, however, to strengthen the ritual and cosmic associations of the scene at Naqš-e Rostam. Atlantids and pedestal creatures in Persepolitan glyptic

¹⁰⁶ See the iconographic index in Garrison and Root 2001, s.v. PEDESTAL ANIMAL(S)/CREATURE(S); Dusinberre 1997. Three of the eight seals that carry trilingual inscriptions naming Darius, PFUTS 18*, PTS 1* and PTS 3*, show a figure standing on the backs of pedestal creatures in heroic encounters. For the royal-name seals of Darius, see Garrison in press(c).

¹⁰⁷ Root 1979, 150.

unambiguously occur in contexts that are directly related to worship and the divine/numinous. The question remains, exactly who is being worshiped at Naqš-e Rostam!

The Figure in the Winged Ring

In all discussions of the scene at Naqš-e Rostam, the figure in the winged ring has featured prominently. Nevertheless, the identification and, indeed, function of the figure in the winged ring at Naqš-e Rostam is still unresolved. The issue invariably is framed by the now long-standing debate on the identity of the winged symbol, in all of its manifestations, more generally in the Achaemenid period¹⁰⁸. Indeed, there is no more contentious issue in the study of religious iconography of the Achaemenid Persians than the identification of the winged symbol. The discussion of the identification of this figure has traditionally been closely connected to understanding the nature/role of Auramazdā in the royal texts at Bīsotūn, Naqš-e Rostam, Persepolis and Susa. Given the importance of the winged symbol in royal monumental relief in the Persian heartland, the desire to connect the figure in the winged ring (and the winged symbol in all of its variations) with the only named (repeatedly) deity in the Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam texts (and for that matter almost all royal Achaemenid texts), Auramazdā, has been exceptionally strong¹⁰⁹. Many commentators, while making the link to Auramazdā, stress also royal overtones in the symbol¹¹⁰. Of long-standing tradition has been the suggestion that the figure in the winged ring/disk represents the *fravashi* (“spirit”) of the king¹¹¹. Shahbazi, followed by many commentators, identified the figure in the winged ring/disk with the concept of the royal *Khvarenah*

¹⁰⁸ On the forms of the winged symbol and the terminology adopted here, see the discussion above, n. 74.

¹⁰⁹ Lecoq 1984; Root 1979, 169-76; Stronach 1997(a), 46. This tendency is vivid despite the fact that in no place is the figure in the winged ring/disk ever specifically identified by name. Not until the end of the fifth century B.C. is any deity other than Auramazdā named in Achaemenid royal inscriptions. Opinions on the identification of the winged symbol are most recently surveyed in Jacobs (in press, s.v. “Auramazdā,” “*Uvar/n-”) and Merrillees 2005, 115-8. Lecoq 1984; Jacobs 1987; Jacobs 1991; Kaim 1991; d’Amore 1992, 210-1, remain important discussions.

¹¹⁰ E.g., Lecoq 1984.

¹¹¹ Unvala 1930.

(Avestan “Glory”)¹¹²; Calmeyer, with the “daimon” of the king’s ancestor¹¹³. Bruno Jacobs has suggested that the figure in the winged ring/disk is a conflation of Auramazdā and a sun god, while the winged ring/disk is a symbol of the sun god *Uvar/n-¹¹⁴.

Despite the popularity of the winged symbol in later Achaemenid times, the evidence for its appearance at the time of Darius I is in fact quite rare. While it appears prominently at Bisotūn and Naqš-e Rostam, no building that can be definitely dated to the time of Darius at Persepolis preserves a figure in a winged ring/disk as part of its decorative program¹¹⁵. In Persepolitan glyptic at the time of Darius, the winged symbol does occur, but only rarely¹¹⁶. The types of scenes in which winged symbols appear in Persepolitan glyptic are, moreover, highly restricted. Most

¹¹² Shahbazi 1974; 1980. The Old Persian form is **farnah*. For the Zoroastrian divinity, see de Jong 1999. The earliest evidence for the concept of a divine *Khvarenah* is Avestan. The winged ring/disk in this theory is to be associated with a “universal” *Khvarenah* (as opposed to a “royal” *Khvarenah*); on the *Khvarenah*, note also, e.g., Calmeyer 1979; Jacobs 1987. Theories identifying two separate deities in the figure in the winged ring/disk and the winged ring/disk are not uncommon; see, e.g., recently, Ehrenberg 2008, 111-2, following Soudavar 2003, 3-4, 88-101, where the figure in the winged ring/disk is Auramazdā, the winged ring/disk the *Khvarenah*.

¹¹³ Calmeyer 1975.

¹¹⁴ As Jacobs notes (1991; in press), Lecoq (1984, 328) has acknowledged that the winged disk with and without the partial figure might have acquired a solar aspect. Kaim 1991 also stresses solar and royal associations of the symbol. Merrillees (2005, 115-6), following Dalley 1986, seems to associate the “winged symbol” with oaths via the sun god Šamaš as a “personification of their (sc. Achaemenids’) beliefs,” but I am unclear as to what exactly the author means. Moorey (1979, 221) suggested that the “winged-disk” remained a sun symbol in the Achaemenid period.

¹¹⁵ Only one winged symbol is preserved on buildings dated to the reign of Darius, that on the south stair of the Palace of Darius (Schmidt 1953, pls. 126-7: only the right wing-tip is preserved; Roaf (1983, fig. 141) identifies also parts of the tail and appendages; see Krefter 1971, suppl. 11, for a reconstruction of the full façade). The restoration of a winged ring-and-disk on the canopy in the central panels of the Apadana (Tilia 1972, fig. 3) is based not on any surviving evidence for such on the Apadana panels, but on analogy with the scenes of the seated king preserved on the door jambs in the Hall of 100 Columns and the Central Building where a winged ring-and-disk does occur (as explained in Tilia 1972, 190). Krefter (1971, suppl. 16) reconstructs a figure in a winged ring above the canopy (on which Tilia had reconstructed a winged ring-and-disk) on the Apadana panels.

¹¹⁶ Garrison in press(a) provides a detailed analysis of the occurrence of the winged symbol in Persepolitan glyptic. The fact that we have such a large number of seals at Persepolis, at a minimum over 2,000 seals preserved in the Fortification archive, is a telling indication of the true rarity of the image type.

of the examples, both for the figure in winged ring/disk and the winged ring/disk, generally fall into one of two broad categories of scenes: “devotional” and “heroic” encounter. In this context it is noteworthy that the winged symbol occurs only once in the well over 100 scenes that show archers and only twice in the over 500 seals that preserve “animal scenes” (e.g., animal combats, animal files, etc.) that occur in the PFS corpus. Syntactically, the winged symbol in Persepolitan glyptic is almost always very carefully centered as the focal element of the design, or part thereof¹¹⁷. The accompanying iconographic repertoire in scenes with the winged symbol is correspondingly restricted, but includes such ideologically charged items as pedestal creatures (see above), atlantids (see above), stylized trees, inscriptions, “fire structures” (see below), date palms, crowns/elaborate headgear, bows and arrows, spears, flowers and the Persian court dress¹¹⁸. It is not surprising that one particular carving style, the Court Style, itself a rarity in Persepolitan glyptic, accounts for a substantial percentage of the seals that show a winged symbol¹¹⁹. The Court Style, when accurately identified and not simply used as a sweeping generalized term for “Achaemenid” glyptic, is commonly employed in images of complex and highly-charged royal ideology¹²⁰.

In summation, the rarity of the winged symbol in Persepolitan glyptic and its association with ideologically charged items of iconography strongly suggest that the winged symbol is part and parcel of a much larger package of royal ideology.

Persepolitan glyptic may also provide some insights into the general semantic parameters signaled by the winged symbol. Seen within the backdrop of Persepolitan glyptic, two of the most striking aspects of the device are the concepts of what one may call for a lack of a better term, “partial figure-ness” and “elevation.” The emphasis on the upper part of a human figure in the winged symbol is a recurring feature in numinous imagery from Persepolis. Directly analogous are scenes such as that seen

¹¹⁷ The scenes of heroic encounter are, however, exceptional in this regard.

¹¹⁸ Garrison in press(b) documents the specific examples of Persepolitan glyptic for each of these items.

¹¹⁹ On the Court Style at Persepolis, see the discussion in Garrison and Root 2001, 18-9. Merrillees (2005, 26-42) seems to recommend removing for the most part the descriptive rubric “Court Style.” Her analyses of Achaemenid glyptic styles fail to consider in meaningful ways the glyptic evidence from Persepolis.

¹²⁰ See, e.g., Garrison 1991, 13-20; 1996.

on PFS 105s (Figs. 13-14), where a three-quarters figure in a lunar crescent is supported by a bull-man atlantid. Floral devices frame the scene at right and left. The bull-man atlantid, who here elevates some iteration of a moon god, brings home once again the numinous associations of the atlantid figure type. PFS 261* (Figs. 25-26) is an example of a very sophisticated and nuanced reworking of the “partial” figure imagery. Here, a three-quarters human figure emerges from the back of a fantastically complex composite creature consisting of taurine, fish, avian and scorpion parts. The human figure, shooting an arrow to right towards a rampant lion, wears the Persian court robe, sleeves pulled up to reveal the bare arms. On his back are yet another bow and a tasseled quiver. He wears some type of *polos*-like headgear. In the terminal field is a long Elamite inscription¹²¹. The scene and iconography are densely packed with associations to Achaemenid royal ideology: bow, quiver, Persian court robe, inscription, fantastic composite creature acting as a pedestal creature, etc. In this context, one cannot help but read the figure emerging from the back of the composite creature on PFS 261* as some type of personification of (some aspect of?) Achaemenid kingship. Its conceptual similarity to the figure in the winged ring is striking, inviting similar readings for the figure in the winged ring.

Other iterations of this concept of “partial figure-ness” may be seen in the many composite creatures who act as archers. In the example here illustrated, PFS 78 (Figs. 27-28), the archer consists of a human upper torso, i.e., a half-figure, winged scorpion body and probably avian legs (that are not actually preserved). The creature wears a *polos*-like head-dress. He shoots toward a winged lion marchant; another lion lies dead (?) in the lower field between the archer and the lion marchant. In the terminal field is a bird perched above a floral device. Here again, mystical aspects of Achaemenid royal ideology are expressed via the grafting of archer imagery, a well-known trope in royal texts and monumental relief, into religio-mythical contexts¹²².

¹²¹ Naming one Šati-dudu, son of Tardumannu...; for extended commentary of PFS 261*, see Garrison in press(a).

¹²² The critical role of archer imagery in Achaemenid royal ideology in both texts and images has long been recognized; see, e.g., the comments of Root 1979, 164-6; 1989; Stronach 1989. I explore archer imagery as preserved in Persepolitan glyptic in some detail in Garrison 2010. See also Iossif in this volume for discussion of the survival of this in royal ideology of the Hellenistic period.

These glyptic images with their emphasis on the upper part of the human body call to mind the famous issues of royal coinage, the so-called type-I Darics (Fig. 29), which preserve the partial figure of the Achaemenid king holding a bow and arrows¹²³. The type-I Darics would appear to reduce the partial figure type down to its base, iconic core, the upper body of the king¹²⁴.

Although the theme of the archer is a conspicuous feature of many of these images, they all, including the representations of the figure in the winged ring, are united first and foremost by the depiction of only the upper part of the human body. This disembodiment of the apparently royal body provides a dramatic and forceful focus for the viewer's attention and at the same time very powerfully transfigures/elevates the figure into a numinous space. Roman imperial art later will exploit the numinous/divine potentials of the depiction of the partial figure of the emperor in its own articulation of divine kingship.

Fire structure

As mentioned above in our discussion of the Avestan perspective, the presence of the stepped structure upon which there is a burning fire in the relief at Naqš-e Rostam has figured prominently in various reconstructions that seek to establish a dominant Zoroastrian element in Achaemenid religious belief¹²⁵. While there can be no doubting the critical importance of sacred fire in Zoroastrianism since the late antique period, the exact role that "fire worship" played in the Achaemenid period is unclear¹²⁶. Naqš-e Rostam is the only occurrence of a fire on a stepped structure in monumental relief in Fārs at the time of Darius.

Various terms have been proposed to identify the stepped structure upon which the fire stands in the relief at Naqš-e Rostam; the term "fire

¹²³ Garrison 2010 explores the relationship of imagery in Persepolitan glyptic with type-I and type-II Darics.

¹²⁴ Although the oval shape of the coin matrix itself may imply the presence of a disk and/or ring.

¹²⁵ Garrison in preparation(a) provides an introduction to the evidence and previous interpretive agendas for fire structures in the early Achaemenid period.

¹²⁶ The texts at Naqš-e Rostam make no reference to fire worship. In addition to the references cited above, n. 22, see also, e.g., Boyce 1987a and 1987b for sacred fire among the Zoroastrians.

altar,” used most commonly, is an awkward one, but has persisted¹²⁷. Scenes on seals from the Achaemenid period, mostly unprovenanced and poorly dated, showing various types of stepped and rectangular structures upon which there is fire have often been studied¹²⁸. Previous analyses have posited two major typological variants of these structures, the so-called tower altar, a broad rectangular structure whose top has a distinctive battlement profile (e.g., the structure on PFS II*, Figs. 30-31) and the so-called stepped altar, a narrow rectangular pedestal upon which sits, inverted, a three-stepped platform (e.g., the fire structure at Naqš-e Rostam, Figs. 5-6)¹²⁹.

Persepolitan glyptic has now revealed an extremely interesting series of seals that show structures supporting a fire¹³⁰. While relatively few in number in comparison to the total number of seals preserved in the two Persepolitan archives, the seals from Persepolis showing fire structures constitute the majority of the glyptic evidence for depictions of such structures known from the Achaemenid period as a whole¹³¹. The Perse-

¹²⁷ See, e.g., Garrison 1999. Chosky (2007, 229-32) has recently again reviewed the textual evidence for various relevant terms from various historical periods. The use of the term fire “structure” in my analysis is an attempt to employ a neutral terminology that does not imply a particular function (e.g., a device on which fire burns and into which animal sacrifice is placed for cooking, a device to hold fire for the purpose of worship, etc.) or religious belief.

¹²⁸ E.g., Moorey 1979; Boyce 1982, 145-8; Houtkamp 1991; Yamamoto 1979. Garrison in preparation(a) collects the known and provenanced evidence for the depiction of these “fire structures” in Persepolitan glyptic and surveys some of the previous scholarship on the subject. Examples of actual stepped altars have been found in the archaeological record; see Garrison 1999.

¹²⁹ Yamamoto 1979 posited three types. Persepolitan glyptic now has documented a variant of the stepped altar in which the three-stepped platform sits upon a tripod rather than a rectangular pedestal, see Garrison in preparation(a); following that study, I shall use here the descriptive terminology “tower structure” and “stepped structure” to refer to the so-called tower altar and stepped altar respectively.

¹³⁰ See Garrison in preparation(a) for an extended discussion of the Persepolitan evidence, which currently consists of seven seals from the Treasury archive (five seals preserved as impressions on tablets and two actual seals) and almost 40 seals from the Fortification archive. The evidence from the Treasury archive cannot be dated any more precisely than the date-range of the archive as a whole, 492-459 B.C.

¹³¹ Houtkamp 1991 listed a total of only 16 seals of Achaemenid date in his catalogue of fire altars. He included the five seals from the Treasury archive, but none of the ones from the Fortification archive. The 40 seals from the Fortification archive thus represent more than a doubling of the data available for study. The material from Persepolis has the added value of being securely dated and contextualized.

politan corpus is, moreover, substantial enough to allow the recognition of some clear patterns in the scene types.

Both the tower structure and the stepped structure are documented in the Persepolitan evidence and there are some scenes that show the two structures together (e.g., PFS 75, Figs. 32-33)¹³². PFS 11* (Figs. 30-31) preserves one of the most complex scenes in which the tower structure appears. In those scenes in which the tower structure occurs on its own (i.e., not in combination with the stepped structure), the compositions are very static, the tower structure acting as the focal element flanked by attendants, who stand back somewhat from the structure¹³³. As with PFS 11*, which may be the most conspicuous example, the designs are dense with various combinations of royal iconography: e.g., date palms, Persian court garments, crowns, paneled inscriptions, winged symbols, etc. Interestingly, in all the scenes in Persepolitan glyptic that show the tower structure there is never anything that looks remotely like a fire indicated on the top of the structure. The attendants almost always raise one hand — the exact position of the hand varies — and generally hold something in the other hand (e.g., flower, baton, staff, etc.). PTS 23 is an exception; here the attendant holds a vessel, an element more commonly associated with the scenes of a stepped structure¹³⁴.

Scenes that preserve the stepped structure in Persepolitan glyptic by contrast always have an animated quality. There are two distinct types of scenes. In the one the stepped structure is the end-point of a procession of figures. The now often-illustrated PFS 75 (Figs. 32-33) is a remarkable example from this group. Two figures move to the right toward a stepped structure on which there is a blazing fire. One figure leads a horned animal, the other holds a pitcher near the fire, as if to pour a liquid onto it. To the right of the stepped structure is a large, rectangular structure that has recessing on its lower half, a battlement-like profile on its upper half¹³⁵. In the other type of scene a single individual inter-

¹³² Currently, there are some 25 seals that show some version of the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic.

¹³³ Schmidt (1957, 37) identified the fragmentarily preserved PTS 57s as having only one worshipper. The one impression (PT6 100) of the seal is, however, small and even Schmidt was uncertain whether or not the seal shape was a stamp or a cylinder. I do not think that we can exclude the possibility that the original design showed another attendant to the right.

¹³⁴ Garrison in preparation(a).

¹³⁵ The implications of the scene, animal sacrifice, liquid offerings to fire, the depic-

acts directly with the fire. PFUTS 1105 (Figs. 34-35) is an interesting example. Here, the attendant apparently has a vessel that he holds near the base of the fire with his lower hand and a “bundle” or tall vessel that he holds above the fire with his upper hand. A comb-like device is in the field to the left, a hooked device in the field to the right¹³⁶. In all of the glyptic examples from Persepolis showing the stepped structure, the fires are always indicated and are generally quite large, and the participants never wear the Persian court robe or a crown. Moreover, the scenes almost never include other items with strong royal associations, e.g., date-palms, paneled inscriptions, winged symbols, etc.¹³⁷

In brief, in Persepolitan glyptic the two types of structures, tower and stepped, appear to occur in scenes with very distinct visual syntaxes and iconographies. This may suggest that at this early stage in the development of the iconology of the depiction of Achaemenid ritual, the stepped and the tower structures are distinct representational signs with distinct representational boundaries. The scenes with the tower structure are extremely static, depict a remote relationship between the attendant(s) and the structure and have clear and direct associations with royal ideology¹³⁸. The scenes with the stepped structure are, on the other hand, active, show an intimate and interactive relationship between the attendant(s) and the fire on the stepped structure and rarely if at all have direct references to royal ideology.

Returning to Naqš-e Rostam (Figs. 5-6), the tomb relief seems systematically to restructure the two iconological traditions preserved in

tion of both the stepped structure and the tower structure, etc., are explored in Garrison in preparation(a). It is noteworthy that other seals from Persepolis, PFUTS 111, PFUTS 147 and PFUTS 148, show either the butchery or killing of an animal before a stepped structure.

¹³⁶ There are several other seals which carry almost exactly the same scene in the Fortification archive; see Garrison in preparation(a).

¹³⁷ Owing to the small size of the tablets, the preservation of the upper part of the heads of attendants is, however, rare.

¹³⁸ Houtkamp (1991, 33) articulated something similar, seeing the tower structure as a symbol of royal power and its divine origin. I am less inclined to see the tower structure as a representation of the dynastic fires of the Achaemenids (following, e.g., Yamamoto 1979 31-2; Boyce 1987a, 2). Garrison in preparation(a) explores the possibility that the so-called tower structure functions not as an icon, i.e., a design wherein there is a physical resemblance between the sign and the signified, but as a symbol, i.e., an arbitrary design that derives its principal signification from its mental association with other symbols associated with Darius' royal building program.

glyptic. We see the stepped structure, normally part of an animated scene in Persepolitan glyptic, situated in a static, quiet scene (in glyptic associated with the tower structure). Moreover the scene at Naqš-e Rostam is loaded with royal referents, characteristics normally associated with the tower structure in Persepolitan glyptic. The strong directionality left to right at Naqš-e Rostam and the vivid depiction of the fire are also more in keeping with the standard elements of the glyptic scenes with the stepped structure. The implications and significance of this mixing of traditions is explored in more detail below.

Lunar Imagery

Little has been written on the crescent inscribed within a disk that appears in the upper right of the top relief field at Naqš-e Rostam¹³⁹. One reason for this may be that since most photographs of the relief barely capture the crescent inscribed within a disk, the symbol literally slips out of our field of inquiry¹⁴⁰. From the Avestan perspective, the crescent inscribed within a disk is something that needs explaining away¹⁴¹. Root suggests that the combination of the figure in the winged ring and the crescent inscribed within a disk within the Achaemenid context indicates both solar and lunar associations, although she does not identify any specific deities¹⁴². Jacobs links the image as found on the tomb façades at Naqš-e Rostam with the Persian lunar deity, Mā, who is mentioned in later sources¹⁴³.

The crescent inscribed within a disk as a representation of the moon god Sîn has a long tradition in the arts of ancient western Asia, dating back to the Old Babylonian period¹⁴⁴. The fusion of the two symbols may have represented both lunar and solar deities in the form of an eclipse. In the first millennium B.C., the crescent inscribed within a disk is rarely depicted in glyptic.

¹³⁹ Root (1979, 177) surveys the scholarship; see also Jacobs in press, s.v. “Mā.”

¹⁴⁰ E.g., Ehrenberg 2008, 107, where it is stated that there is only one deity represented in the tomb relief.

¹⁴¹ Thus Boyce (1982, 114-6) tried to explain the triad of sun-moon-fire on the tomb reliefs at Naqš-e Rostam in terms of orthodox Zoroastrian doctrine. Dusinberre in press(a) presents similar arguments.

¹⁴² Root 1979, 177.

¹⁴³ Jacobs in press (s.v. “Mā”).

¹⁴⁴ Black and Green 1992, 55.

The specific combination of the crescent and the disk in one form is confined in the time of Darius I almost exclusively to his tomb façade¹⁴⁵. There is, to my knowledge, no similar image in the glyptic evidence from Persepolis; there are, however, a few examples where the crescent has a small dot at its center representing, perhaps, a condensed (glyptic) version of the crescent inscribed within a disk¹⁴⁶.

Lunar imagery in the form of the crescent is, however, ubiquitous in the visual arts at the time of Darius I, especially in Persepolitan glyptic¹⁴⁷. In glyptic, the crescent occurs almost always in the upper portion of the field¹⁴⁸. It often appears in combination with a star. PFS 71* (= PTS 33*, Figs. 36-37) is an especially evocative example of the combination of crescent and star in a scene bearing numerous royal references in dress and comportment. It seems noteworthy that there exist no glyptic examples from the time of Darius I of which I am aware, where the crescent is paired with the figure in the winged ring/disk or the winged ring/disk. This seems all the more remarkable given the prominence of the pairing of the figure in the winged ring and the crescent inscribed within a disk on the relief of the tomb of Darius I at Naqš-e Rostam. If, however, our comments concerning tower and stepped structures within the context of the relief at Naqš-e Rostam have any validity, then the pairing of the figure in the winged ring and the crescent inscribed within a disk may represent yet another aspect of the restructuring of religious iconology taking place in the relief.

¹⁴⁵ But note the Babylonian copy/variant of the Bisotūn relief, which Seidl (1999, 110-2, fig. 2) restored with a sun and crescent-in-disk.

¹⁴⁶ E.g., PFS 720 (Cat. No. 57) and PFS 1654 (Cat. No. 122). Note the interesting PFS 862s, where the crescent and dot sit on a *kudurru* in a late Babylonian worship scene. The cylinder seal PT7 33 (Schmidt 1957, pl. 15, from the Apadana), an animal combat, shows an additional dot above the crescent and dot. Stylistically the seal is related to the local Fortification Style and probably dates to the time of Darius I.

¹⁴⁷ For a sample of the range of the occurrence of the crescent in the scenes of heroic encounter from the PFS corpus, see the iconographic index in Garrison and Root 2001, s.v. DEVICES AND SYMBOLS, crescent. One is hard-pressed to find a major scene type that does not include some examples having a crescent. Less common in Persepolitan glyptic are depictions of the partial figure in the lunar crescent, such as seen in PFS 105s (Figs. 13-14), discussed above, pp. 44-5, 50.

¹⁴⁸ There appears to be only one example in the PFS corpus, PFS 936s, showing the crescent on a standard, an image that was very popular in glyptic from the western regions of the Neo-Assyrian empire (see Keel 1994, 135-202).

Like so much of early Achaemenid glyptic imagery, the crescent was a very commonly occurring symbol in Assyro-Babylonian glyptic¹⁴⁹. Its identification with the moon god Šin in Assyro-Babylonian contexts seems secure. The ubiquity of the lunar imagery in the visual arts at the time of Darius I suggests that a lunar deity of some type played a significant role in southwestern Iran in the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. It seems highly likely that such a lunar deity is referenced by the crescent and the disk in the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam.

The Inscribed Word

The inscriptions at Bīsotūn, Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis have been the focus of intense scholarly investigation. The texts, written in three different languages, pose serious philological challenges. Comprehension of the role(s) that the inscriptions played at Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam faces, however, obstacles beyond the purely philological. At the most fundamental level, one is forced to acknowledge that the number of individuals who could have actually read the cuneiform script (in whatever language) must have been very small; further, not even those few trained in the cuneiform script could have made out the signs from ground level owing to the placement of the inscriptions high up on the faces of the cliffs¹⁵⁰. Thus, we are forced to the awkward conclusion that only a handful of individuals could have read the cuneiform in theory and no one could have read the inscriptions from ground level in fact¹⁵¹.

The problem of the comprehension of texts on public monuments is not, of course, unique to the Achaemenid period¹⁵². The function of

¹⁴⁹ See the comments of, e.g., Herbordt 1992, 100-1; Collon 1993-1997; Keel 1994, 148; Seidl 2000, 90-8; Collon 2001, 118.

¹⁵⁰ As anyone who has visited Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam can today still attest.

¹⁵¹ This comment is somewhat mitigated by Darius' statement at DB 70 that he had copies of the text sent to every country in the empire. Actual fragments of an Aramaic copy of the text on papyrus have been uncovered at Elephantine in Egypt; so, too, fragments of both the text (stone stele) and relief come from Babylon (see discussion and bibliography in Briant 2002, 123, 900; 2001, 64-5).

¹⁵² The difficulties of evaluating how widespread literacy was in ancient western Asia have often been articulated; see the comments, e.g., of Larsen 1989; Michalowski 1995, 2279; Bottéro 2000, 26-8; Vanstiphout (1995, 2187-90) and Wilke 2000 are more optimistic regarding general levels of literacy in Mesopotamia. Pollock (1999, 167-71, based

monumental royal inscriptions, placed prominently in “public” spaces so as to be seen by people other than scribes, is not an easy thing to understand within the context of the cultures of ancient western Asia¹⁵³. One supposes that, since its invention in the late fourth millennium B.C., elites recognized that the predominate ideological value of the written word lay in its symbolic dimension more so than its (trans)literal one. I.e., the power of the public written word lay in its wholeness, its comprehension simply as “TEXT,” rather than in whatever message was actually contained in the specifics of the text (comprehension gleaned via one’s ability to piece together specific utterances through application of particular grammatical and syntactical knowledge)¹⁵⁴. Perhaps the problem of textual comprehension is one of the reasons why in ancient western Asia the public royal text was almost always accompanied by figural imagery. “TEXT” in this sense becomes not a distinct mode of communication separate from visual imagery, but, rather, a part of the visual imagery; in essence, “TEXT” is iconographic¹⁵⁵. Its primary semantic function would seem to be as a signifier of power via the control/application of specialized knowledge. That knowledge, moreover, was often mystified via connections to the divine; “TEXT” thus might also have assumed a numinous quality¹⁵⁶.

Inscriptions on seals, the impressed images of which circulated among a group, bureaucratic administrators, scribes and accountants, whose level of literacy was, in part we assume, quite high, function as both “TEXT” (an iconographic element) and text. Study of Persepolitan

upon Goody and Watt 1968, 34-8) has an interesting discussion of the advantages of restricted literacy to ruling elites, the power/position of scribes, etc.

¹⁵³ This in distinction to inscriptions on clay tablets, administrative, legal, etc., which were created and used by scribes who were literate.

¹⁵⁴ As sometimes noted in passing, e.g., Bahrani 2003, 107.

¹⁵⁵ This may explain why so often the visual imagery accompanying text on large public monuments did not provide a visual (and literal) “translation” of the text. Note also the comments of Holloway 2002, 93-4, with respect to the Neo-Assyrian period.

¹⁵⁶ See Goody and Watt 1968, 37, who note that writing in Mesopotamia “was the pursuit of scribes and preserved as a ‘mystery,’ a ‘secret treasure.’” For a recent review of the Sumerian mythological speculation on the origins of writing, see Glassner 2003, 9-28, who argues against the traditional reading of a passage in the myth of Inanna and Enki wherein Enki is understood to have given to Inanna the art of writing as one of the 110 *me*. Vanstiphout (1995, 2184-5) gives a translation of the passage in the Sumerian narrative poem *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta* in which Enmerkar invents writing.

glyptic indicates that inscribed seals are rare, that less than 10% of the total number of seals in the Fortification archive carry inscriptions and that they generally belong to individuals of high to exceptional administrative rank and/or social status. The inscriptions on seals from the Fortification archive and those from the Treasury archive dating from the time of Darius are, with the exception of only a handful of trilingual royal-name inscriptions, generally monolingual Elamite, Aramaic, or, more rarely, Babylonian¹⁵⁷. Of great interest are the seven seals that carry trilingual royal-name inscriptions from the Persepolitan archives, since they would seem to provide a close parallel (conceptually) to monumental relief accompanied by trilingual inscriptions¹⁵⁸. In each of the seven seals that carry royal-name inscriptions from Persepolitan glyptic the inscription runs along the longitudinal axis of the seal, has case lines and is enclosed in a panel (e.g., PFS 11* [Figs. 30-31]). Such formal display characteristics are very similar to those seen in inscriptions of Darius on architecture at Persepolis (i.e., DPa, DPc, Dpd, DPe, DPf, DPg) and seem to evoke the long inscriptions at Bīsotūn and Naqš-e Rostam, which are set off in distinct zones in the façades of carved rock¹⁵⁹. As PFS 11* shows — and this is true for the other royal-name seals of Darius from Persepolis — the imagery is densely referential to concepts of kingship in comportment and iconography.

¹⁵⁷ I cannot hope to cover here in any detail the complexity of inscriptions on seals in Persepolitan glyptic. I have briefly articulated some of the patterns of Elamite and Aramaic inscriptions on seals from the Fortification archive in Garrison 2006, 70-2. In addition to the monolingual inscriptions in Elamite and Aramaic, Persepolitan glyptic of the time of Darius I also preserves several seals carrying monolingual inscriptions in Egyptian hieroglyphics (see Garrison and Ritner 2010), one seal that carries an inscription in Greek script (PFS 284* [Cat. No. 111]) and a handful of seals that carry cuneiform inscriptions that cannot be read in any of the known cuneiform scripts.

¹⁵⁸ Garrison in press(c) discusses the royal-name seals of the time of Darius. The seven seals that bear trilingual inscriptions naming Darius in Persepolitan glyptic are: PFS 7* (Cat. No. 4), PFS 11*, PFS 113* (Cat. No. 19 = PTS 4*), PFUTS 18*, PTS 1*, PTS 2* and PTS 3*.

¹⁵⁹ Exceptional is DPb, carved onto folds of drapery of the figure of Darius on a doorway in the Palace of Darius. This arrangement of an inscription on pleats of the lower part of the Persian court robe is similar to that seen for one of the inscriptions on the Susa Darius statue (DSab, color photograph of the statue in Curtis and Tallis 2005, 99) and for one of the often-debated inscriptions at Pasargadae, CMc (Stronach 1978, 100-3, pls. 80-1); on the dating of the inscriptions at Pasargadae, cf., e.g., Stronach 1997b; Lecoq 1997, 80-2.

Many of the monolingual inscriptions on seals from Persepolis are embedded in visual displays exhibiting a syntax that is closely related to the syntax (and ideological concerns) articulated in monumental relief. In PFS 1601* (Figs. 38-39) the main figural scene shows a seated figure at a table with an attendant. In the terminal field, a figure in winged device floats above a paneled Elamite inscription. As mentioned above, paneled inscriptions often occur with some iteration of the winged symbol in Persepolitan glyptic. The combination is even more significant owing to the fact that both inscriptions and the winged symbol occur rarely in Persepolitan glyptic. I.e., the combination is not fortuitous, but part of a closely circumscribed syntax. We can see interesting variations on this syntax in PFS 83* (Figs. 40-41) and PFS 389* (Figs. 42-43). The scene on PFS 83*, showing a winged cow and suckling calf, bull-man atlantid elevating a winged symbol and star, is unique in Persepolitan glyptic¹⁶⁰. Important in the context of our discussion here is the combination of paneled inscription, atlantid supporting an inscription and star. PFS 389* (Figs. 42-43) is more formally construed. Here a very elaborate winged ring-in-disk floats above a paneled inscription. To either side of the inscription is disposed a winged fish-man who faces the inscribed panel and holds his hands at his chest. A crowned attendant holding a flower in one hand and raising the other hand in front of his face stands on the tails of the fish-men, directing his attention to the winged ring-in-disk (and the inscription?). The composition is a provocative reworking of the attendants/atlantids flanking the winged symbol and stylized tree, a theme that was discussed above (pp. 43-7). The substitution of the inscription for the stylized tree evidences the iconographic quality of the inscriptions in these seals (and, perhaps, the potential numinous significance of the inscribed word?). Its syntactical arrangement also echoes the disposition of some paneled inscriptions in Persepolitan architecture (Fig. 44)¹⁶¹. PFUTS 1* (Figs. 21-22), discussed above, is closely related in compositional dynamics¹⁶². As with PFS 1601* (Figs. 38-39) and PFS 389*

¹⁶⁰ Garrison in preparation(b) provides a detailed analysis of PFS 83*.

¹⁶¹ Note that on the façade of the southern stairway of the Palace of Darius (Fig. 44) the Old Persian version of XPc(b) is centrally located on the façade and flanked by guards; above the inscription apparently a winged symbol was flanked by winged, human-headed lions.

¹⁶² The inscription is exceptional in seeming to provide a separate case for each sign (rather than for each line). The inscription cannot be read, although the signs are clear as preserved, suggesting, again, that we are dealing here with "TEXT" rather than text.

(Figs. 42-43), the scene on PFUTS 1* exhibits a dense package of ideologically significant items: pedestal creatures, winged symbol, stylized tree and crowned figure. One may note also the elevation of both the crowned attendants and the inscribed panel by the fish-men.

The use/deployment of inscriptions in these examples of Persepolitan glyptic exhibits a tightly structured syntax within a limited vocabulary composed of winged symbols, pedestal creatures, etc. The strong iconographic quality (“TEXT”) of inscriptions in these glyptic examples may create some conceptual space that will allow/encourage us to “read” the inscriptions at Bīsotūn, Naqš-e Rostam and Persepolis in a similar manner. Viewed in this perspective, the primary value of these texts lay in their quality as “TEXT” (rather than text). The exact semantic parameters of “TEXT” will have been fluid, dependent to a large extent both upon the specific contexts of each relief and upon the viewer. With regard to the inscriptions at Naqš-e Rostam *per se*, based up the figural context of the relief (royal figure, figure in winged ring and crescent in disk) and the spatial context of the relief and tomb (an Achaemenid religious sanctuary), one may suggest that the primary semantic value of the “TEXT” lay in its symbolic associations with the divine/numinous. The fact that inscriptions on some seals from Persepolis are embedded in scenes of highly-charged religious syntax (if not also semantics) provides evidence of the existence of an audience that would have been receptive to such a reading.

Closing remarks: the imperial perspective

Attempts to understand the relief at Naqš-e Rostam have traditionally imposed a linear structure to its reading. I.e., we are witnessing an event, whether real or imagined, that moves/exists through a period of time and a defined space. This linear reading of the relief is somewhat at odds with what we see in Persepolitan monumental relief and glyptic at the time of Darius. In reconsidering the relief at Naqš-e Rostam, I shall attempt to move the reading of the relief from a narrative one to an emblematic one and thereby move the semantics from the historical to the numinous¹⁶³.

¹⁶³ I am here applying the model of the dichotomies narrative/emblematic – historical/mythological as employed by Winter 1985 in her analysis of the Stele of the Vultures (Eannatum of Lagaš).

By way of moving from the narrative to the emblematic, from the historical to the numinous, we may note first that architectural sculpture executed at Persepolis under Darius has a strong emblematic quality. The premier building on the *takht* at Persepolis, the Apadana, provides one of the most complexly structured examples of emblematic display. The disposition of the reliefs on the façades of the northern and eastern stairways of the Apadana (Figs. 45-47) has often been described. While much has been written on the nature of the event shown on those façades (some type of tribute ceremony) and on the identification of the individuals depicted in the scenes (both the members of the court and the tribute delegations), relatively little has been said about the very distinctive disposition of the reliefs¹⁶⁴. The façades of the two stairways are, with only minor variations, mirror images of each other. Arranged on the northern and eastern stairways, the two scenes literally touch along the vertical edge of the northeastern corner of the building (Figs. 46-47). This corner of the building serves conceptually as a hinge upon which the reliefs fold open (perhaps even metaphorically rotate?). This quite innovative disposition, combined with the mirroring of the scenes, symbolically charges both the scene shown on the reliefs and the open courtyards before the northern and eastern parts of the building¹⁶⁵. The distinctive mirroring of imagery on the reliefs is not simply a descriptive technique, meant to assist in the reading of the narrative, but serves to *elevate* the events from the real to the metaphorical. The perspective achieved through the mirror/double is *panoptic*, all-encompassing, magically allowing a doubled, unreal viewing. The whole of the space before the northern and eastern façades of the building is thereby charged with what we can perhaps describe as a particular *imperial* perspective (Fig. 47). The perspective (panoptic/imperial) does not attempt to record an event in time and space, a narrative, as it were, to be read in a linear manner by a hypothetical viewer, but to see through/around an event. The all-encompassing panoptic/imperial perspective is thus an act of imperial control, metaphysical in its conception. Its physical correlate

¹⁶⁴ For a survey of interpretations of the nature of the ceremony and the identification of the participants shown, see Root 1979, 237-84. Note Calmeyer 1980 and 1985-1986, who rejected any linkage to an actual ceremony.

¹⁶⁵ The spaces before the northern and eastern faces of the Apadana (Figs. 46-7) must have been the most important "public" spaces on the *takht*.

is the literal (narrative) depiction of *all* of the subject peoples of the empire in the scenes themselves¹⁶⁶.

The reliefs in the doorways of the Palace of Darius operate in a related manner. Here the doorjambs in each doorway are decorated with reliefs that mirror each other. Six different scenes involving the king are employed¹⁶⁷. Rather than grand empire-wide vistas, the scenes on the doorjambs are circumscribed, involving the king in combat with lions, bulls or fantastic composite creatures, holding a lion cub or in procession with a few attendants¹⁶⁸. In these cases the primary actor is the king, the space that he inhabits (and the doorways themselves) magically charged (numinous) via the mirror doubling¹⁶⁹.

This panoptic/imperial perspective is also documented in rather spectacular fashion in a small group of exceptional seals from Persepolis. Chief among them are the royal-name seals, all of which with one exception show a crowned figure in symmetrical designs that fold back on themselves. Of these royal-name seals, PFS 11* (Figs. 30-31) may be one of the most sophisticated expressions of this imperial perspective¹⁷⁰. In the cen-

¹⁶⁶ This particular reading of the reliefs in the Apadana does not seek to negate the literal, narrative content of the reliefs, but to supplement/reinforce it; see also the comments below. One also thinks here naturally of the famous Assyrian palace reliefs, especially those of Sennacherib in his SW Palace at Nineveh. Reade 1980, like many commentators, noted the dramatic shift in perspective from “worm’s-eye” to “bird’s-eye” in the SW Palace. He (73) saw the shift as an aesthetic and practical one, allowing an expansion of narrative content. Russell (1991, 191-262) has a detailed discussion of the use of space in these reliefs. He links the reliefs and their spatial perspective to the larger ideological concerns of Sennacherib’s reign and notes (262) that the reliefs functioned as tools “to help maintain” Sennacherib’s and more generally the Assyrian concept of universal rule. I would add that the shift from “worm’s-eye” to “bird’s-eye” perspective was not simply a practical move, so as to expand the visual field to allow for the “recording” of more information, but was itself ideological, so as to expand the perspective to a more all-encompassing, panoptic/imperial one; thus, the perspective itself functioned as yet another tool of imperial control/domination.

¹⁶⁷ In addition, two doorways in the front of the palace show only palace guards (Schmidt 1953, pls. 136-7, 151), while six doorways in the back rooms show only attendants (Schmidt 1953, pls. 148-50).

¹⁶⁸ Schmidt 1953, pls. 138b, 139b, 140-1 (king in procession with attendants); 144-6 (king in combat with animals/creatures); 147 (king holding lion cub).

¹⁶⁹ See Root 1979, 77-82.

¹⁷⁰ For PFS 11*, see also above. Garrison in preparation(b) discusses PFS 11* in some detail; see also Garrison 1998, 126-8; 2000, 141-2; in press(c).

tral focal scene, consisting of king-structure-king, the royal figures, shown in profile, are exact doubles of each other simply rotated 180°. The symmetry here then is not mirror, but axial (i.e., one sees the same person from two different perspectives). The central scene of king-structure-king is framed by date palms, whose symmetry (mirror or axial) cannot be determined. The trilingual royal-name inscription occurs only once in the actual scene, but in theory could also be doubled by an extended roll of the cylinder, thus serving to frame the whole of the tableau. The only figures/entities in the scene that are not doubled are those in the very center, the figure in the winged device and the tower structure. The latter, however, does exhibit bilateral symmetry, as do the wings of the former. That leaves only the figure in the winged device as the sole element not doubled or showing bilateral symmetry. As we have remarked, however, the raised and cupped hand, clothing, hairstyle and beard (and probably also dentate crown) of the figure in the winged device echo those of the royal figure(s), suggesting a distinctive and separate type of doubling.

The careful treatment of space and the continuous doubling/symmetry in the scene on PFS 11* again invoke a panoptic perspective, encouraging a view *through* the scene, *around* the scene and *along* it. While the central V formed by the sequence of figures in the scene as a whole — doubling the trilingual inscription so as to read inscription-palm-king-structure-king-palm-inscription — creates a centripetal dynamic that continuously forces the viewer to the tower structure and figure in winged symbol, the iterative doubling of figures (crowned figure, date palm and inscription) pushes the focus to the edges. The rigid geometry of the design thus allows for a movement both inward and outward. At the same time, the rigid geometry of the design always turns back in on itself. It can be expressed as something like A-B-C-D-C-B-A; following oral poetry, we could call such a visual trope a “ring composition.”¹⁷¹ These compositional devices of doubling and symmetry create a dynamic tension in the scene, encouraging/forcing, as Winter has remarked in a different context, the “absorption of the whole at once.”¹⁷² The scene is

¹⁷¹ On ring composition in oral/epic poetry and Athenian Black-Figure vase-painting, see Mackay, Harrison and Masters 1999.

¹⁷² Winter 1981, 10-1. I.e., an emblematic dynamic. Garrison in preparation(b) explores this reading in more detail, suggesting that each of the entities in the scene has the same referent: the king. The same study details the indebtedness of the scene on PFS 11* to scenes showing the king in early Neo-Assyrian monumental relief.

thereby elevated to “the realm of the ‘ideal’ world that implies the divine.”¹⁷³ Thus, while the vocabulary of the scene on PFS 11*, king, tower structure and figure in winged device, inherently suggests a narrative, the doubling and carefully construed syntax yield an emblematic dynamic that overrides the narrative.

Given the existence of such sophisticated documents as PFS 11*, one may perhaps be more willing to consider the potential emblematic qualities inherent in the tomb relief of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam. While that relief does not exhibit the distinctive doubling/symmetry seen in PFS 11*, or in the reliefs on the Apadana and the Palace of Darius, it exists enmeshed in a matrix of emblematic visual imagery involving the royal figure circulating within and at Persepolis. That emblematic imagery consistently stresses/articulates an ideology of kingship that seeks to blur the distinction between the king and the numinous/divine. Based upon the foregoing analyses, one may highlight in particular the following:

- (1) Certain compositional tropes, most notably doubling and bilateral symmetry, in select high-prestige seals in Persepolitan glyptic and monumental relief on the Apadana and the Palace of Darius, consistently articulate the supra-normal position of the king.
- (2) Certain iconographic elements, most notably atlantids, the figure in the winged device and the lunar crescent, in select seals in Persepolitan glyptic consistently place the king in association with the divine. The king is thereby assimilated to the divine via placement and in some cases semblance¹⁷⁴. Other iconographic elements, most notably the tower structure and inscriptions, link the king with sacred space, sacred power and imperial control.

Seen in this context, the relief at Naqš-e Rostam employs or obliquely references a syntax and vocabulary of the divine. While the horizontal semantics in the main scene are for all intents and purposes literal (narrative), seemingly grounded in a real space and time, the associative semantics, king with atlantids, king with tower structure, king with

¹⁷³ Following Winter 1981, 10, with regard to depictions of Assurnasirpal II in monumental relief at Nimrud.

¹⁷⁴ On the importance of semblance as a means to convey concepts of numinous kingship, see, e.g., Ornan 2007.

figure in winged ring, king with lunar crescent-in-disk, king with inscriptions, are numinous (emblematic), beyond time and space, indeed, *elevated* to the world of the divine¹⁷⁵. Moreover, the associative semantics, via Persepolitan glyptic, often involve scenes which exhibit doubling and bilateral symmetry. By drawing upon these strains/traditions of doubling and bilateral symmetry in other visual contexts, the planners would have encouraged the viewer to supply such on their own, in effect to augment that which is seen (linear/narrative) with that which is expected (ring/emblematic). The narrative is thereby constantly interrupted by the emblematic.

The result would appear to reflect a concerted effort on the part of the planners at Naqš-e Rostam to create a visual space that partakes of *both* the narrative and the emblematic, *both* the historical and the divine¹⁷⁶. Perhaps this desire to evoke both the narrative and the emblematic lay behind what appears to have been a systematic attempt to restructure and integrate two very distinct and separate visual traditions of scenes that show the tower structure and the stepped structure. The visual tableau thereby is able to call attention to both the real, physical acts of the king and the numinous qualities of the person/office itself. This blending of narrative and emblematic and the resulting blurring of the real/fantasy are especially evocative of certain ideological strategies employed by Neo-Assyrian kings (and, indeed, by kings in earlier periods), who never declare outright, via horned headdress in their figural images or the *dingir* determinative before their written names, their divine status, but constantly seek by visual association a numinous status¹⁷⁷.

This quality of Achaemenid visual imagery of kingship is, however, not exactly what we would call a royal cult and certainly the evidence

¹⁷⁵ On the importance of the theme of elevation in Achaemenid imperial art and architecture, see the remarks in Root 1979, 131-61; Garrison 2010; in press(b); above, pp. 43-7, 49-51.

¹⁷⁶ This combination of the narrative with the emblematic is, of course, often a quality of royal imagery in exceptionally sophisticated expressions of kingship in ancient western Asia. Here one thinks, e.g., of the famous Victory Stele of Naram-Sîn (Fig. 3), wherein embedded within the narrative of the defeat of the Lullubi by Naram-Sîn and the Akkadian army is the emblematic display of the divine quality of Naram-Sîn himself.

¹⁷⁷ Several analyses of Neo-Assyrian royal imagery stress this: see recently, e.g., Holmoway 2002, 181-93; Machinist 2006; Shafter 2007; Ornan 2007; Winter 2008.

that I have called upon in this study does not move us toward the identification of such in the Achaemenid period. What I have set forth here is one aspect of the theatrical tool-kit whereby Darius sought to legitimize his authority. The fact that this particular tool, numinous kingship, may seem inherently contradicted by the royal inscriptions is not at all surprising¹⁷⁸. Achaemenid imperial ideology, like most imperial ideologies, would have had multiple, and somewhat distinct agendas addressed to multiple, and somewhat distinct audiences. The power of a dominant ruling ideology lies not in its adherence to rules of Aristotelian logic, but in its ability to transcend normative behavior/understanding and project a variety of messages that, when read together, may seem internally inconsistent (“the king is mortal” vs. “the king is god”), but which, when repeated often enough and from places/positions of authority, become simply “the way things are.”

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¹⁷⁸ As often noted in study of cultural ideologies; see, e.g., the comments by Gilbert 2008.

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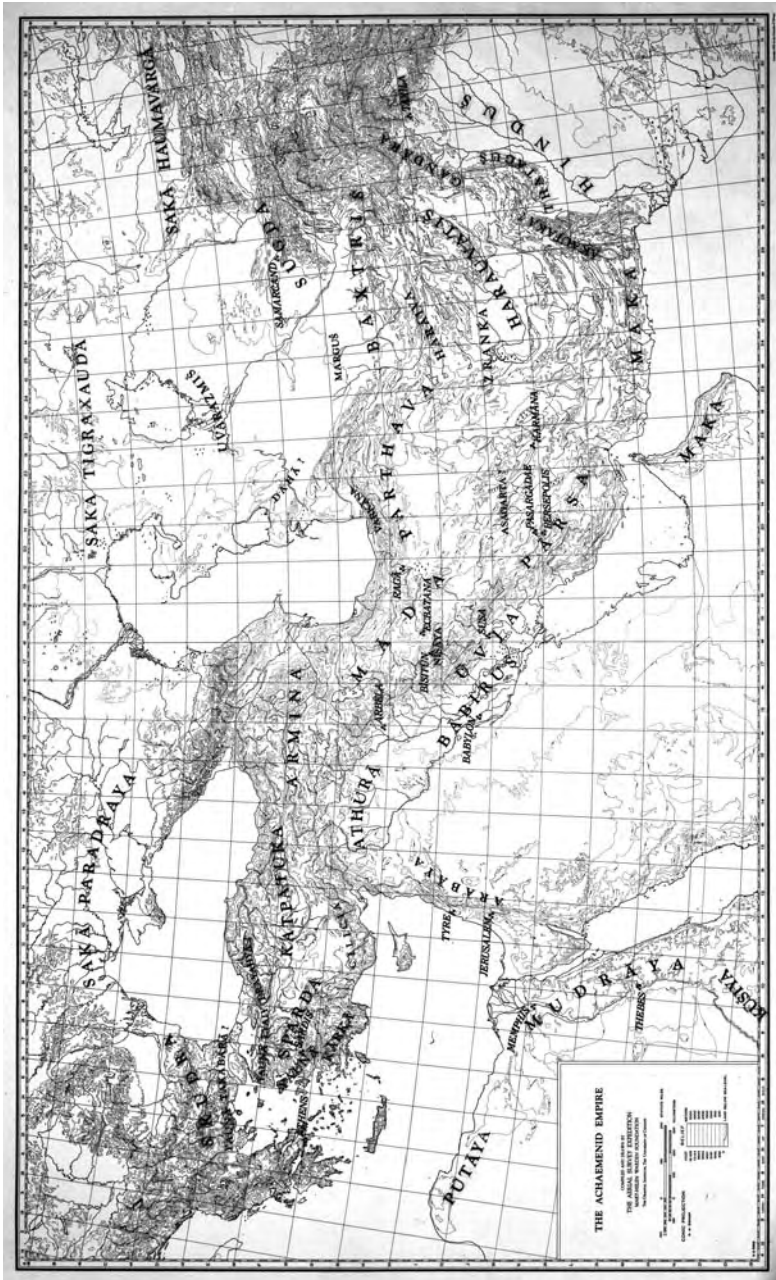


Fig. 1. Map of the Achaemenid empire. (The Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago).

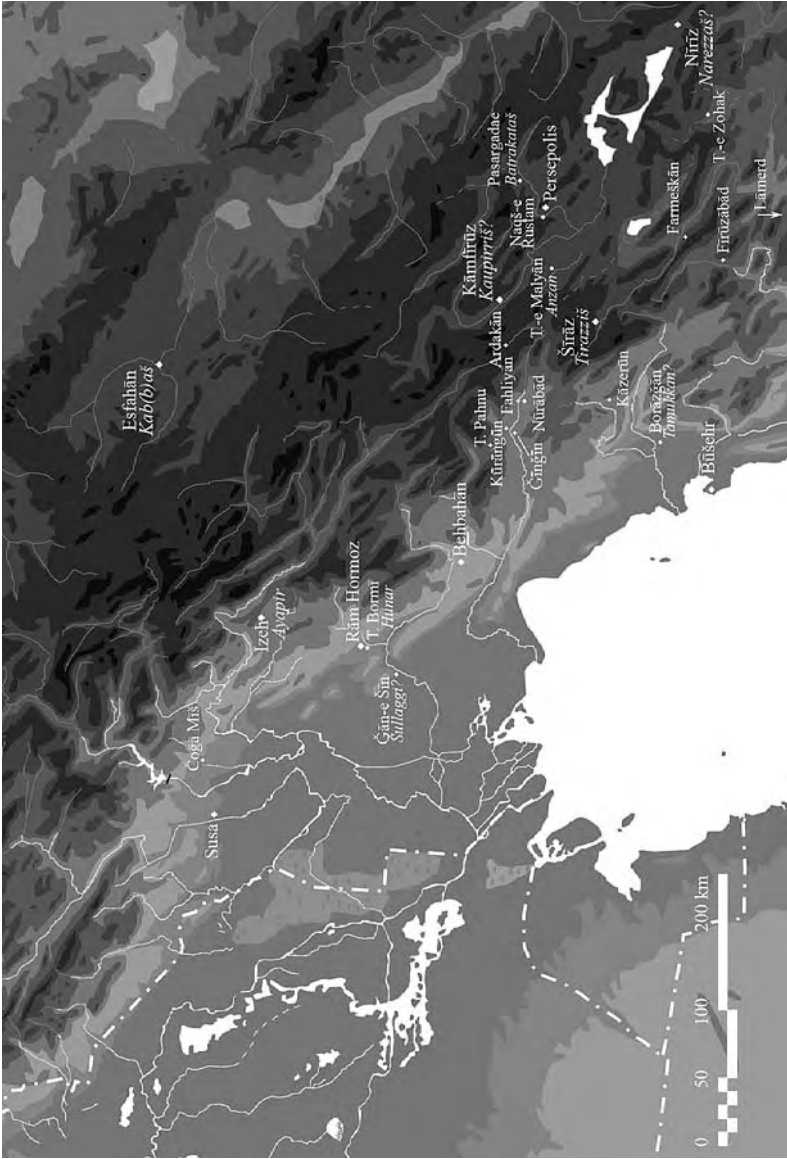


Fig. 2. Map of southwestern Iran in the Achaemenid Period. (M.Sauvage/W.F.M. Henkelman).



Fig. 3. The Victory Stele of Naram-Sîn. Found at Susa.
(Louvre, Paris, France. Erich Lessing / Art Resource, NY).

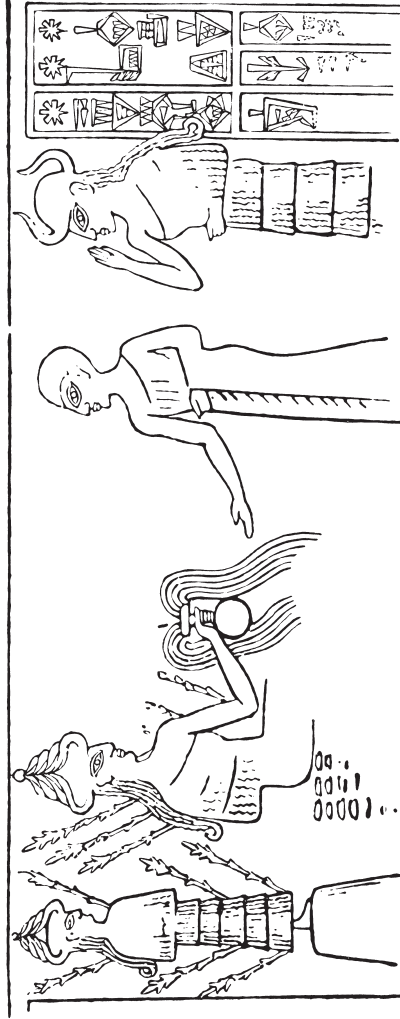


Fig. 4. Collated line drawing (scale 1:1) of a seal occurring on a bulla dating to the Akkadian period (Boehmer 1965, no. 1267). The seal carries an inscription: "Naram-Sîn, god of Akkad, Naša... his servant" (Zettler 1977, 33-34). Naram-Sîn's name in the inscription is preceded by the divine determinative. From Tello, now in the Louvre. (Boehmer 1965, pl. 46, fig. 542, after Delaporte 1920, II).



Fig. 5. View of the upper part of the rock-cut tomb of Darius (tomb I) at Naqš-e Rostam. (The Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago).



Fig. 6. Detail of the relief on the rock-cut tomb of Darius at Naqš-e Rostam. (Schmidt 1970, pl. 19; The Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago).

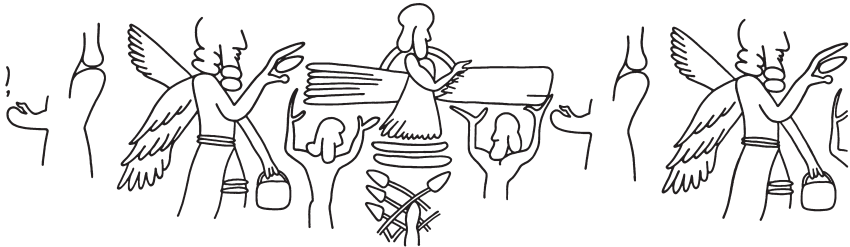


1 cm

Fig. 7. Collated line drawing of PFS 122 from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 8. Impression of PFS 122 on PF 2055 (left edge).



1 cm

Fig. 9. Collated line drawing of PFS 310 from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 10. Impression of PFS 310 on PF 1985 (upper edge).

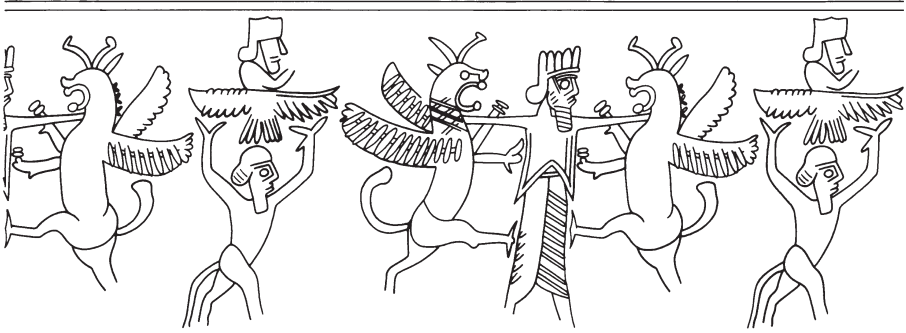


Fig. 11. Collated line drawing of PFS 774 (Cat. No. 58) from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 12. Impression of PFS 774 (Cat. No. 58) on PF 556 (reverse).



1 cm

Fig. 13. Collated line drawing of PFS 105s from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 14. Impression of PFS 105s on PF 1161 (left edge).

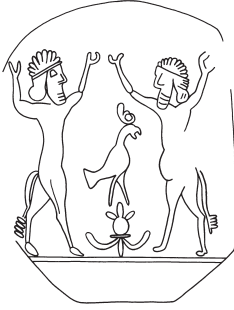


Fig. 15. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 123s from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 16. Impression of PFUTS 123s on PFUT 0705-102 (obverse).

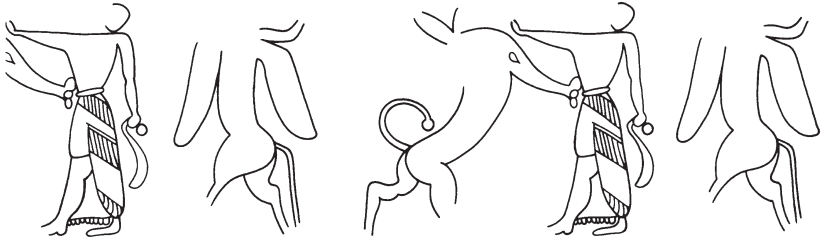


Fig. 17. Collated line drawing of PFS 1582 (Cat. No. 232) from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 18. Impression of PFS 1582 (Cat. No. 232) on PF 1942 (reverse).

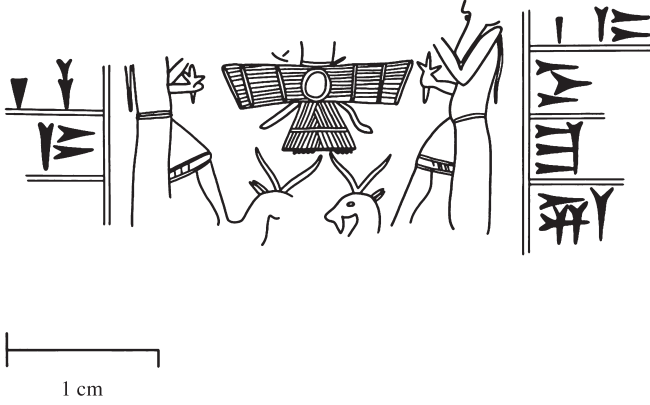


Fig. 19. Collated line drawing of PFS 1567* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 20. Impression of PFS 1567* on PF 1853 (upper edge).

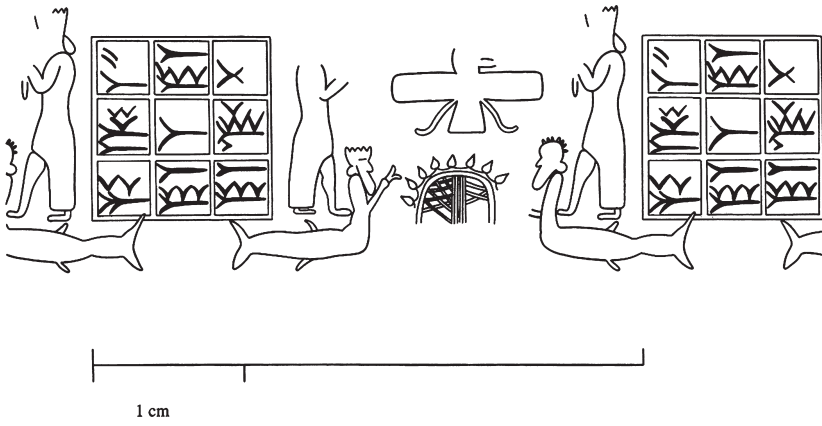


Fig. 21. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 1* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 22. Impression of PFUTS 1* on PFUT 0000-101 (reverse).

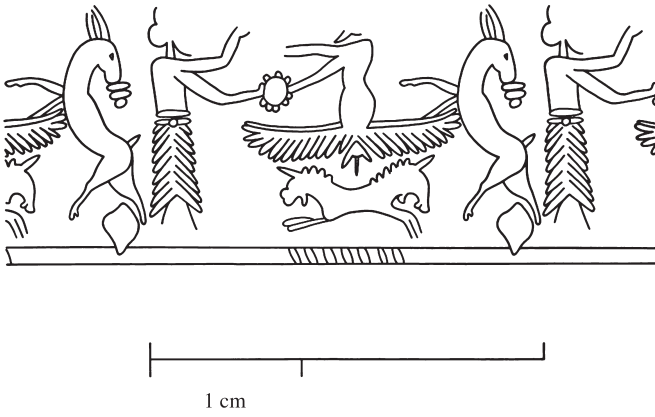


Fig. 23. Collated line drawing of PFS 91 from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 24. Impression of PFS 91 on PF 377 (reverse).

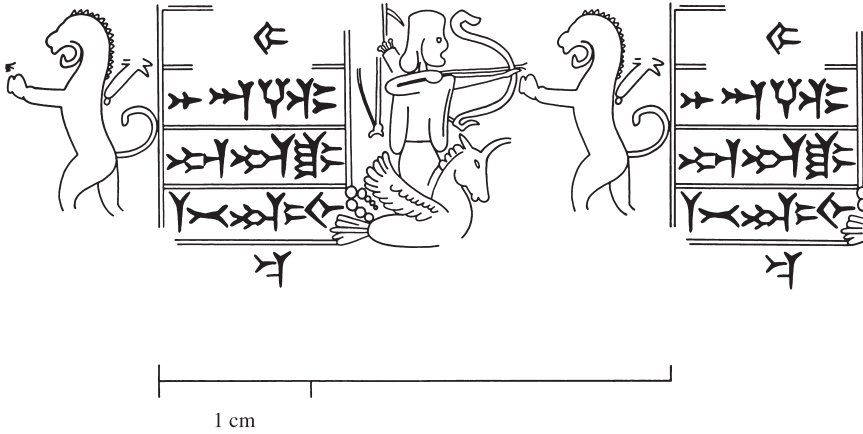


Fig. 25. Collated line drawing of PFS 261* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 26. Impression of PFS 261* on PF 1225 (reverse).

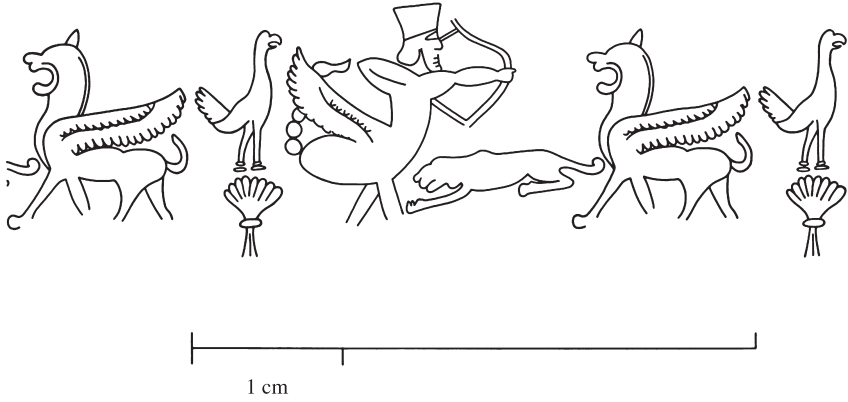


Fig. 27. Collated line drawing of PFS 78 from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 28. Impression of PFS 78 on PF 402 (reverse).



Fig. 29. Type-I Daric (1954.257.6; courtesy of the ANS).

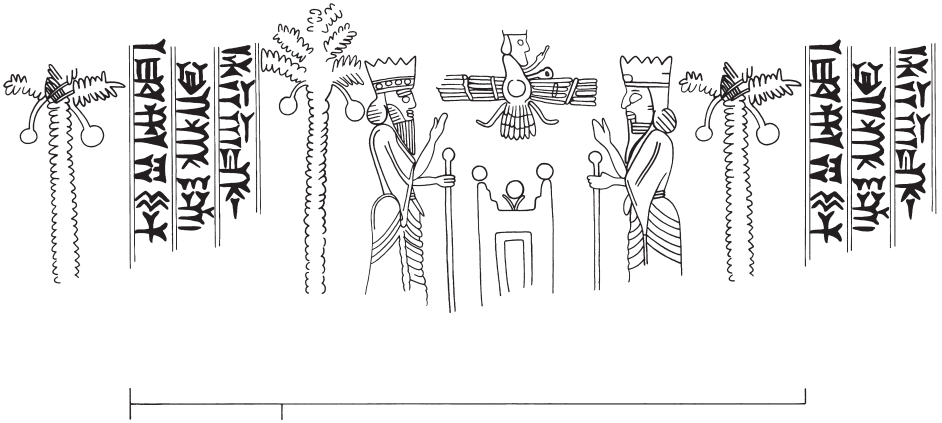


Fig. 30. Collated line drawing of PFS 11* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 31. Impression of PFS 11* on PF 1820 (upper edge).

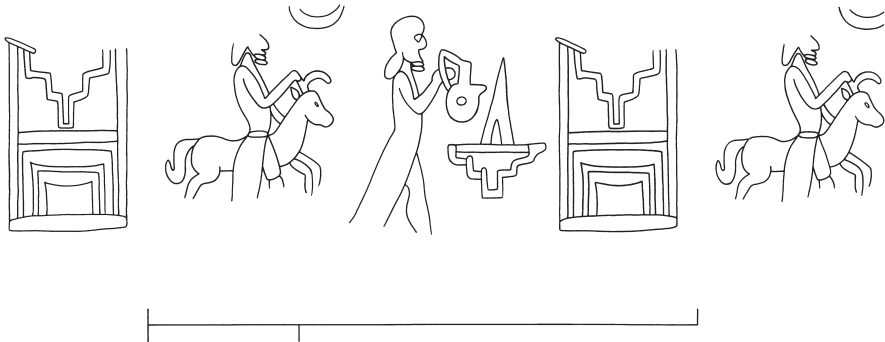


Fig. 32. Collated line drawing of PFS 75 from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 33. Impression of PFS 75 on PF 938 (left edge)



Fig. 34. Collated line drawing of PFUTS 110s from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 35. Impression of PFUTS 110s on PFUT 698-101 (left edge).

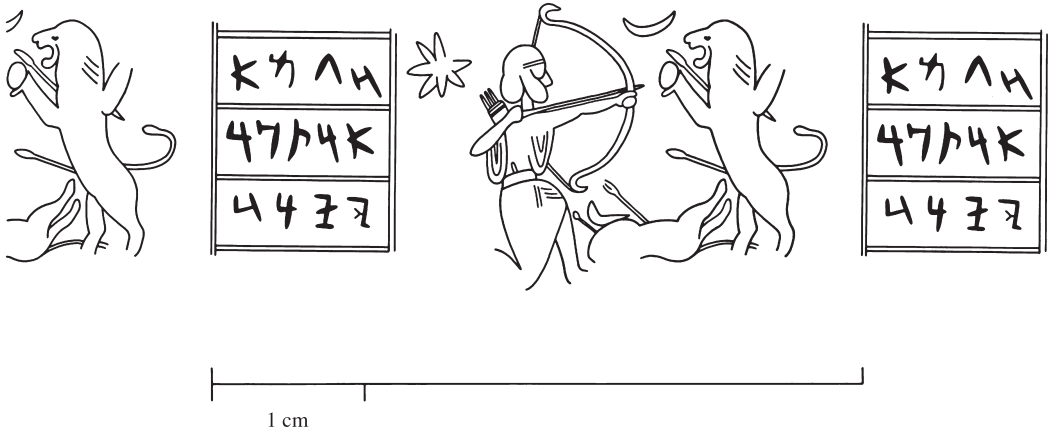


Fig. 36. Collated line drawing of PFS 71* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 37. Impression of PFS 71* on PF 280 (reverse).

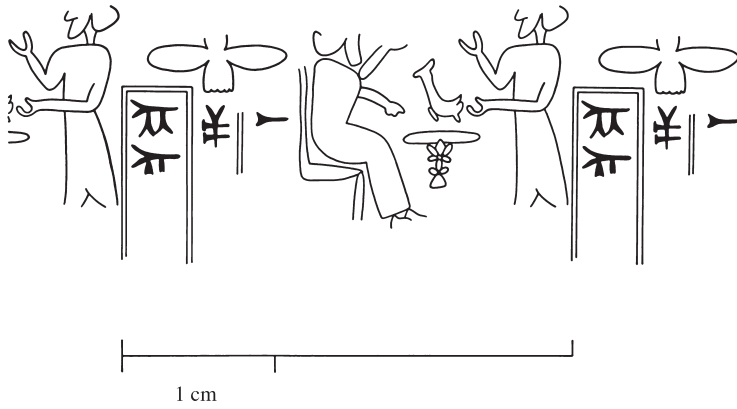


Fig. 38. Collated line drawing of PFS 1601* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 39. Impression of PFS 1601* on PF 2028 (reverse).

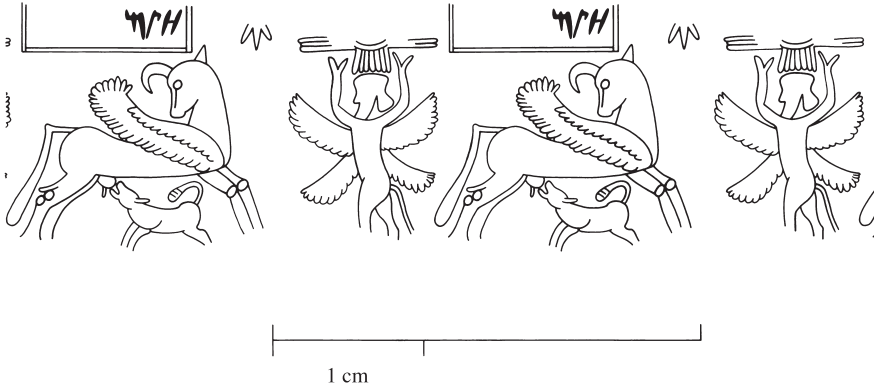


Fig. 40. Collated line drawing of PFS 83* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.



Fig. 41. Impression of PFS 83* on PF 1811 (left edge).

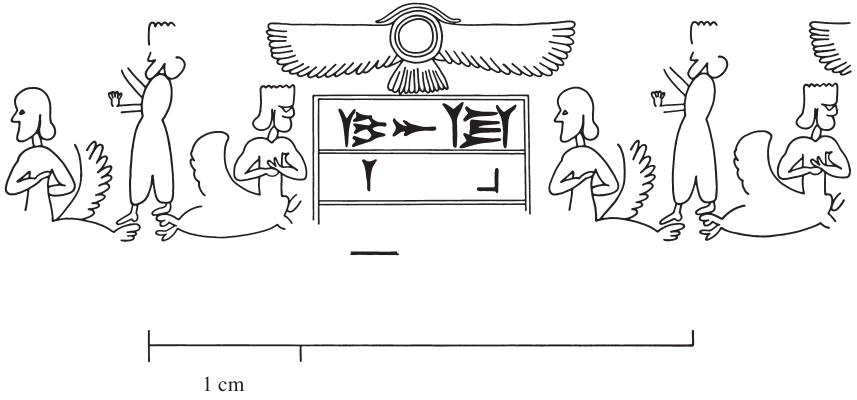


Fig. 42. Collated line drawing of PFS 389* from the Persepolis Fortification archive.

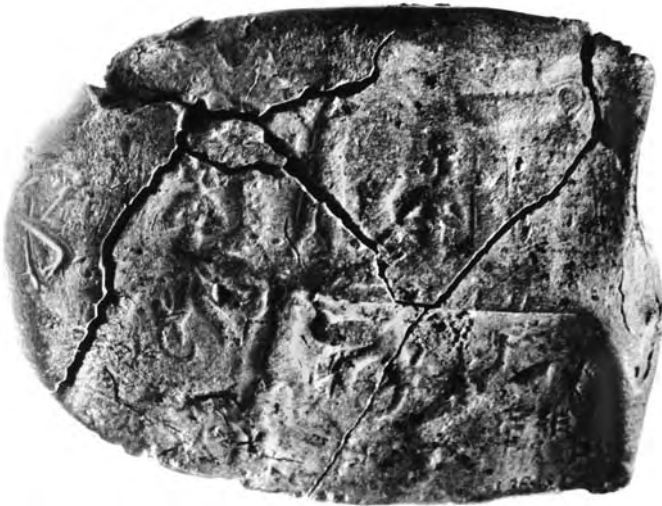


Fig. 43. Impression of PFS 389* on PF 88 (reverse).



Fig. 44. Façade of the southern stairway of the Palace of Darius, Persepolis.
(The Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago).



Fig. 45. Façade of the northern stairway of the Apadana, Persepolis.
(photograph author).



Fig. 46. View looking out onto the northern and eastern façades of the Apadana, Persepolis. (photograph author).

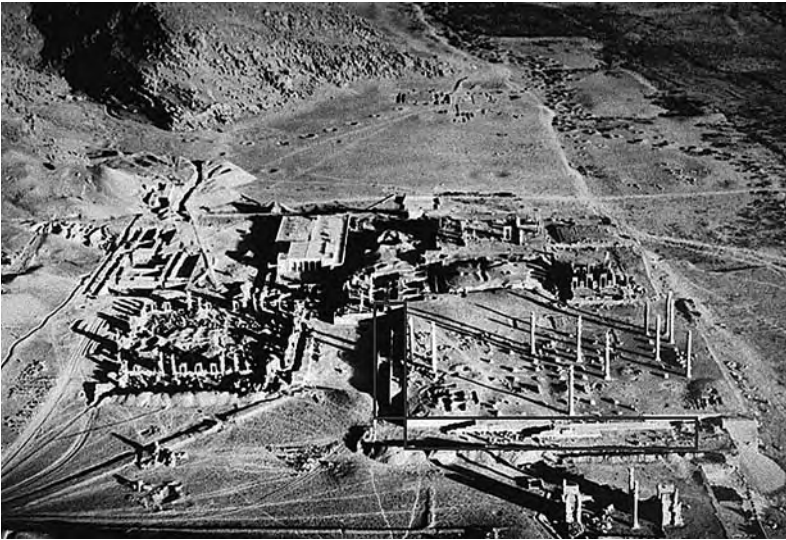


Fig. 47. Aerial view of the *takht* at Persepolis from the north showing the northern and eastern stairs of the Apadana (outlined in the rectangles) and the courts in front of them. (The Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago with author's additions).