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## *Bes in the Achaemenid Empire*

### ABSTRACT

The image of the Egyptian deity Bes appears on a wide and diverse array of objects dating to the time of the Achaemenid Empire. Some of these objects may have been brought to Western Asia by Egyptians, but some examples seem to demonstrate appropriation of the Bes-image into the Achaemenid repertoire. It has been argued that this appropriation may have had some cultural connotation. In other words, other nations of the Achaemenid Empire may have found a resonance with the protective capacity of the Bes-image and adopted Bes as a counterpart for local deities. In the case of the Iranians, in particular, it has been suggested that Bes may have been assimilated to the Iranian deity Mithra.

## *Bes in the Achaemenid Empire*

**T**HE ACHAEMENID PERSIAN Empire (559–330 B.C.E.) ushered in a new era in the history of the ancient Near East. For the first time, nations from the Nile to the Indus with different sociopolitical organizations and cultural backgrounds were unified under a single political hegemony led by the Achaemenid Persians. The Achaemenids, a previously little-known Indo-European-speaking people from the highlands of Fars in southern Iran, rapidly rose to power and, through a series of successful military campaigns, brought lands as far away as North Africa and Central Asia under their control in less than two generations. After initial conquests under Cyrus and Cambyses, the empire was reorganized and consolidated under Darius I. Although the rest of Achaemenid history is punctuated by many internal feuds and constant skirmishes with the Greeks, the Achaemenid Empire maintained its hegemony for nearly two hundred more years. The Achaemenids practiced a novel policy of tolerance toward subject nations, allowing and even encouraging them to carry on with their own customs and traditions. Despite the occasional turmoil that sometimes shook the empire, the Achaemenid period was a time of relative prosperity and tranquility for the Near East. Under *pax Persica*, arts and crafts flourished, interregional contacts expanded, and people from distant corners of the empire came into close cultural contact.

Egypt, a major power in the ancient Near East, was conquered by Cambyses in 525 B.C.E. and, except for an interval from 404 to 336 B.C.E., remained a satrapy of the empire, ruled by Persian nobles with close ties to the King of Kings. The annexation and incorporation of Egypt put an end to its indepen-

dence but brought the Egyptian culture into close contact with cultures of Western Asia, including those of the Mesopotamians and Iranians. People from Egypt and Western Asia were now traveling back and forth and exchanging ideas in a socially hospitable environment. There are some comprehensive studies of Egypt's contribution to Achaemenid civilization, especially its architectural and artistic manifestations,<sup>1</sup> but very few attempts have been made to explore cultural interaction between Egyptians and other peoples of the empire on a grass-roots level. While considerable epigraphic and archaeological evidence points to the presence of Egyptians in Mesopotamia and Iran,<sup>2</sup> and some evidence suggests the presence of Mesopotamians and Iranians in Egypt,<sup>3</sup> the cultural ramifications of encounters between Egyptians and peoples of Western Asia as well as the dynamics of acculturation remain to be studied.

This essay is a first step toward a more comprehensive study of cultural interaction among Egyptians, Iranians, and other peoples of the Achaemenid Empire. It focuses on the distinctive Egyptian deity Bes and his fascinating career in the Achaemenid Empire. What makes Bes particularly interesting in a study concerned with cultural interaction among commoners are the idiosyncratic features that set him apart from the rest of the Egyptian pantheon, in both appearance and function. Unlike the majority of Egyptian deities, who were closely associated with royalty, Bes was primarily responsible for the welfare of commoners. Therefore, it is not surprising that in Western Asia it was Bes more than any other Egyptian deity who gained an unprecedented popularity. What makes this study important is the fact that Bes's

popularity outside the borders of Egypt seems to have crosscut social classes, appealing to both common folk and nobles alike.

This essay began as a catalogue of objects depicting the Bes-image in the Achaemenid Empire (see appendix). But as my work progressed, I began to see the cultural ramifications of this corpus, which demonstrates the range of penetration and varied functions of the Bes-image outside Egypt at the time of the Achaemenids. The present corpus of the Bes-image, however, has a unique characteristic: it includes a large number of artifact types, from simple amulets to highly prestigious metal objects, each associated with and belonging to different classes of Achaemenid society. Such widespread distribution and diversity suggest that in the Achaemenid Empire Bes served a variety of functions and roles, many of which may have crossed class lines. The wide distribution of the Bes-image throughout the empire and into the iconography of commoners and nobles illustrates how deep and broad cultural interaction under *pax Persica* could be.

#### WHO IS BES?

Ancient Egyptians had a number of dwarf deities collectively known as Bes.<sup>4</sup> This deity is usually depicted with a broad muscular face surrounded by a lion's mane and ears, with his tongue protruding out of his mouth. Normally, he is shown with a plumed crown. The body of Bes is represented as that of a bow-legged dwarf—with a stocky torso, distended abdomen, protruding buttocks, and lion's tail—wearing a panther skin or a kilt.

Bes can be described as a protector deity. He protected pregnant women during childbirth, and in this capacity he was sometimes depicted in scenes of royal birth. Furthermore, it was thought that Bes could bring good luck and prosperity to couples and their children and protect them from harm. In the latter function, Bes was occasionally represented with a dagger to ward off evil spirits and noxious creatures, a role he also played when associated with Horus on a type of magical stele known as the *cippus* of Horus (see below, Group 7).

The Bes-image was used in ancient Egypt to

decorate a large number of personal belongings and furniture. For example, the Bes-image was carved on beds or headrests, mirrors and spoon handles, amulets, and cosmetic containers. In addition, Bes can be seen on a wide variety of stone and wooden stelae, as well as some temple walls and column capitals.

The origin of Bes has been the subject of prolonged scholarly debate. His un-Egyptian appearance—frontal instead of profile view, grotesque rather than dignified shape, comical versus majestic attitude—contrasts with typical Egyptian deities, thus suggesting to some scholars that his origins should be sought beyond the borders of Egypt, perhaps in Western Asia or sub-Saharan Africa. But Romano forcefully argues that Bes is a deity native to Egypt, where the origins and metamorphoses of the Bes-image can be traced and documented from the Old Kingdom to Roman times.<sup>5</sup>

#### BES IN WESTERN ASIA PRIOR TO THE RISE OF THE ACHAEMENIDS

The Bes-image became particularly common in New Kingdom times, and his special popularity in Egypt continued through the Persian and Greek occupation into the Roman period, when he sometimes appeared dressed as a Roman legionnaire.<sup>6</sup> From New Kingdom times the representation of Bes began to proliferate in the eastern Mediterranean and Western Asia along with other objects of Egyptian origin or local imitations.<sup>7</sup> From the mid to late second millennium B.C.E. onward, not only had Egyptian-made Bes-images found their way to Sardinia, Italy, Malta, Greece, coastal Anatolia, Carthage, Syria-Palestine, and Cyprus,<sup>8</sup> but also some objects decorated with the Bes-image were produced locally for use in these regions.<sup>9</sup> The Bes-image was especially common in Phoenicia in the early first millennium and was used to decorate ivory pieces carved and exported by the Phoenicians.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, however, only a few Phoenician Bes-images reached as far east as Assyria (e.g., Fort Shalmaneser).<sup>11</sup>

Although widely distributed in the eastern Mediterranean through contact with Egypt, the Bes-image did not apparently gain much popularity in Mesopotamia and Iran prior to the formation of the

Achaemenid Empire. Examples of the Bes-image predating the Achaemenid period in Mesopotamia proper are few, no more than a handful. I know of only a statuette from the city of Ashur<sup>12</sup> and the standing bronze statuette from Fort Shalmaneser, Nimrud,<sup>13</sup> both of which may have been brought back as booty from Egypt by the Assyrians. In central and southern Mesopotamia and the Iranian Plateau, the Bes-image is practically absent from the archaeological record before the Achaemenid period.<sup>14</sup>

#### BES IN THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE: TYPOLOGY AND DISTRIBUTION

With the rise of the Achaemenid Empire the geographical distribution and number of Bes-images in Western Asia, especially in Mesopotamia and Iran, underwent a veritable explosion, as images of this Egyptian deity reached distant corners of the empire. I have been able to document a total of 115 Bes-images dating to the Achaemenid period. An appendix to the present article provides a catalogue of these images, presented as tables 1–11 and figures 1–11. This corpus documents a wide array of artifacts, from objects surfacing in the antiquities market with no reliable provenience to specimens discovered in secure archaeological contexts. Despite my attempt to be thorough, I would not be surprised if there are other published examples that I have overlooked, as well as additional unpublished examples in museums, private collections, or excavation notes. I have divided these 115 examples of the Bes-image into eleven categories based on the media on which they are exhibited (see appendix). This corpus does not include examples found in Egypt proper, where the Bes-image appears on many objects of daily use.<sup>15</sup>

*Group 1: Cylinder Seals (table 1, fig. 1).* So far, I have recorded eight cylinder seals with the Bes-image. Except for no. 1.2, which comes from Babylon, all are unprovenanced and were acquired in the antiquities market. These cylinder seals are all carved in styles readily associated with art production during the Achaemenid period. Bes appears on them in various postures:

(1) No. 1.1: On both sides of the Royal Hero,

who grasps two horned lion-griffins, Bes appears in frontal position with his characteristic headdress, kilt, and bent legs.

(2) No. 1.2: The Royal Hero stands beneath the winged disc and grasping two winged lions with the Bes head. The head is poorly executed and hard to recognize, but the typical headdress leaves little doubt that the creature is Bes, not a lion. Standing winged lions with Bes head also appear as gold appliquéés on a silver vessel in the British Museum (no. 8.1).

(3) On nos. 1.3, 1.5, 1.6, and 1.8 Bes is shown with other creatures. All four seals are carved of chalcidony—one of the most popular kinds of stone for Achaemenid seals—and in all of them Bes is in frontal position with his characteristic headdress, kilt, and bent legs. On no. 1.5 he stands behind the Royal Hero with a quadruped animal on his shoulders. On no. 1.6, next to the main scene showing a man in Persian attire of probable royal status before the symbol of Ahuramazda, Bes stands on two opposed crowned sphinxes and grasps a pair of stags. On nos. 1.3 and 1.8, Bes appears in a posture reminiscent of the Royal Hero, grasping two horned and winged creatures. In both cases this scene is associated with a short Aramaic inscription.<sup>16</sup>

(4) No. 1.4 is the most interesting of the cylinder seals. It shows Bes with his typical appearance, standing frontally between two men in Persian robes, together upholding the winged disc. Bes holds objects in both hands, interpreted by Ward as *barsams*, a common element in ancient Iranian religious ceremonies.<sup>17</sup> The scene is associated with an Old Persian inscription that reads “Aršaka, son of Ath(a)iyab(a)šata.”<sup>18</sup> Both personal names are Iranian, and their occurrence in Old Persian script strongly suggests that this seal belonged to an individual of Iranian origin.

*Group 2: Stamp Seals, Including Scarabs (table 2, fig. 2).* Among the twelve stamp seals and scarabs I have recorded so far, only two (nos. 2.11 and 2.12) have reliable archaeological provenience; one (no. 2.5) is presumably from Cyprus and the rest from the antiquities market. Stamp seals with the Bes-image can be divided into four categories:

(1) Bes as sphinx (nos. 2.1, 2.2, 2.6), a creature with the body of a lion, wings of an eagle, and head of Bes. In two examples (nos. 2.1 and 2.2) the creature

is in a crouching position, and only one of his wings is visible. In one example (no. 2.6), he is squatting with both wings outstretched. The latter image is of particular interest, since each wing terminates in the head of a bird of prey with horns. Furthermore, a *uraeus* can be seen in front of the creature on a ground line. No. 2.2 is peculiar, shown as a lion head seen from above, attached to the creature's chest. Boardman suggests that this is an imitation of sphinxes with lion heads at their chests from North Syria.<sup>19</sup> Bes as sphinx, with the body of a winged lion, can also be seen on cylinder seal no. 1.2 and as gold appliqué on no. 8.1.

(2) Stylized head and torso of Bes above griffin (no. 2.3) and sphinx (nos. 2.4 and 2.5).

(3) Bes on Phoenician scarabs (nos. 2.7, 2.8, 2.10, 2.11, and 2.12). These scarabs, also called "Tharros gems,"<sup>20</sup> were adapted by Phoenicians from their Egyptian counterparts. This explains the popularity of Egyptian motifs, such as Bes, and the common use of green jasper for their manufacture. On these scarabs Bes usually appears in his typical frontal position holding animals on either side: on nos. 2.7 and 2.8, he is holding two inverted scorpions, on 2.10 two lions, and on 2.11 and 2.12 two horses. No. 2.10 is reminiscent of the Royal Hero holding lions; remains of a winged disc can also be seen above the scene.

(4) A conical stamp seal (no. 2.9) with a scene comparable to the ones on Phoenician scarabs (above), showing a frontal Bes holding two lions.

**Group 3: Seal Impressions (table 3, fig. 3).** Nos. 3.1–3.7 in this category are part of a hoard of some 200 impressions of seals, coins, and ornaments discovered at Ur in 1932 at the bottom of a clay coffin of the Achaemenid period in the southwest area of the temple between the terrace edge of the Kurigalzu Temple and the inner side of the city wall.<sup>21</sup> Associated with this hoard are amulets no. 5.25 from Persian Grave 60 and no. 5.24 from Persian Grave 255 (see Group 5: Amulets).<sup>22</sup>

Four seal impressions from this hoard (nos. 3.1–3.4) show the Bes head in frontal position. On no. 3.1, great emphasis has been placed on the facial features of Bes, whereas in nos. 3.2 and 3.3 his face is simpler and surmounted by his characteristic feather crest. On no. 3.3, his headgear is typically Egyptian

but on no. 3.2 seems to be more Western Asian in style. On no. 3.4 the Bes head is associated with two motifs on either side, interpreted by Legrain as "two protomes of animals like crocodiles which seem to bite his [Bes's] ears."<sup>23</sup> To me these two motifs seem to be a pair of *wadjet* eyes. The whole scene is surrounded by a line of sixteen dots.

On two of the three remaining examples from the Ur collection (nos. 3.5 and 3.6), a complete figure of Bes is shown standing in his typical posture. On 3.5, he seems to be naked; in no. 3.6 he wears a kilt. No. 3.7 is the familiar Royal Hero grasping two winged lions with the Bes head, which also occurs on nos. 1.2 and 8.1.

A fragment of a clay ball from the Persepolis Treasury (no. 3.8) has three impressions of a round stamp seal showing Bes standing and holding a griffin with his left hand, while another griffin crouches at right.

Another set of seal impressions with the Bes-image comes from the Murašû Archive from Nippur. Four of them (3.9, 3.10, 3.14, and 3.15) are cylinder seal impressions, and the other two (nos. 3.11 and 3.12) stamp seal impressions.

**Group 4: Pottery Vessels (table 4, fig. 4).** The so-called Bes vessels form a homogeneous category. Except for one example from Syria (no. 4.1) and another from the Persepolis Fortification on Kuh-i Rahmat (no. 4.11), all the vessels come from Palestine. They can be linked to an older tradition of vessels of this type from Egypt. Stern has presented more information on these vessels, so I will discuss them only briefly.<sup>24</sup>

These vessels are usually 15 to 25 cm tall. They are made of ordinary clay, with the Bes face appliquéd or incised on them. Chronologically, they are divided into two groups: The earlier group, probably dating to the first half of the Achaemenid period, resembles the Phoenician and Palestinian decanters of the late Iron Age. Vessels of this group have a tall neck, low ring base, piriform body, and angular shoulder. The later group, dating to the late Achaemenid period, has a rounded, globular body and sloping shoulders.<sup>25</sup> Thus, of the examples I have recorded, nos. 4.1, 4.3, 4.5, 4.8, and 4.10 can be considered early. Stern suggests an apotropaic significance for these vessels.<sup>26</sup>

Tuplin, following the excavators of Tell el-Hesi, seems to subscribe to the idea that the Bes vessels from Deve Hüyük (no. 4.1) and Tell el-Hesi (no. 4.10) were made by the same potter, suggesting a possible movement of the Achaemenid troops between the two garrisons<sup>27</sup> (for the significance of this proposition see “Discussion” below).

**Group 5: Amulets (table 5, fig. 5).** The objects that I, following traditional Egyptological classification,<sup>28</sup> have categorized here as “amulets” need to be checked critically against ethnographic studies before we ascribe a magical function to them. For the purpose of the present study, we can define an amulet as a material symbol designed to be suspended from or worn on the body in a visible way to provide protection from evil forces.<sup>29</sup> Amulets in the form of Bes were common in Egypt. In terms of function, they are comparable to *cippi* (see Group 7), which, however, were usually erected in temples or houses and carved with texts of magic spells. In contrast, amulets were carried by people to protect them from harm and vicious creatures, especially snakes and scorpions. With 27 examples recorded so far, amulets constitute the largest category of objects displaying the Bes-image. They are generally small, ranging in size from ca. 1.5 to 8 cm.

Surprisingly, most of the amulets come from Iran, especially from Susa and Persepolis. There are three examples from Dor in Palestine (nos. 5.1–5.3) and one from the necropolis of ‘Ain el-Helwe in Lebanon (no. 5.19). The group from Susa, with some quite splendid examples, is of particular interest (see “Discussion” below). Unfortunately, their exact archaeological context is unknown, but reports indicate that they were primarily discovered at the Apadana mound, where most Achaemenid remains are located.<sup>30</sup>

**Group 6: Personal Ornaments (table 6, fig. 6).** Although I have classified this group as “Personal Ornaments,” I would not dismiss the possibility that, like amulets and *cippi*, they may have had magical functions. This is especially the case for no. 6.1, a necklace with a set of 16 faience Egyptian amulets and two semiprecious beads with a Bes head as the central piece. This ornament is clearly Egyptian in

style, and its place of discovery (Dor in Palestine) strongly suggests that it came from Egypt. No. 6.2 is also of interest. Here the Bes head serves as the central piece in a compartmental gold necklace that depicts riders in an Iranian style.

The gold medallion from the “Oxus Treasure” (no. 6.3) shows a full Bes face. It is surrounded by guilloche border designs with a few holes, which suggest that this medallion was originally sewn to clothing.

**Group 7: Cippi (table 7, fig. 7).** Ancient Egyptians believed that Horus-the-child (Harpocrates) had been protected from vicious creatures, especially snakes, scorpions, and crocodiles, by means of spells.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, the *cippus* of Horus was designed to protect its owner from such creatures by means of figures and magical spells carved on it.<sup>32</sup> *Cippi* were usually set up in temples or private houses, depending on size and whether or not they were incorporated into the statue of a private person. Very small examples, actually pierced for suspension, must have been worn on the body. Water poured over a *cippus* was considered to be imbued with its magical powers. It was believed that this water magically absorbed the power of the spells inscribed upon the *cippus* and, when drunk, cured the one suffering from an attack by noxious beasts, just as Horus himself, stung by a scorpion, had been cured. The magical water could also have been taken away by the faithful for possible emergencies or given as medicine by physicians when they were called to attend a patient.<sup>33</sup>

*Cippi* were used for a relatively long time. The earliest known examples date to the New Kingdom. They became very common in the Late Period and continued well into Roman times.

Of the two *cippi* studied here, the first (no. 7.1) was discovered against the northeast wall in the main room of the “Achaemenid Chapel” in Level II, Area WA at Nippur.<sup>34</sup> I located the second example (no. 7.2) in the Department of Lurestan and Historical Antiquities of the Iran National Museum in Tehran.<sup>35</sup> The only piece of information on its provenience comes from records kept in the Museum Library, which state that this piece was discovered at Susa and registered into the museum in 1931. Except for the dating of this piece to the Saite period, no further

information is available in the museum's files. According to a general posthumous account on excavations at Susa by de Mecquenem, the French delegation discovered a fragment of a stone Egyptian stele at Donjon in 1930.<sup>36</sup> Since I know of no other stone Egyptian stelae from Susa, I believe this brief statement refers to this *cippus*. But an attempt to find any other mention of this piece in the original excavation reports proved to be futile.<sup>37</sup> It should be remembered that 1930 was shortly after the French monopoly on Iranian archaeology was nullified, and the French delegation was obliged to leave behind half of the finds for the newly founded Iran Bāstān Museum (now the Iran National Museum). Therefore, it is conceivable that the French failed to publish objects not in their share, including this *cippus*.

**Group 8: Metalware and Other Metal Artifacts (table 8, fig. 8).** This category includes gold appliqués in the form of a winged lion with Bes head on a silver bowl (no. 8.1) as well as the Bes head as a handle stand, appearing in relatively simple (no. 8.2) and quite elaborate forms (no. 8.3). The Bes appliqué on no. 8.1 closely resembles the figure on cylinder seal no. 1.2 and stamp seals nos. 3.7 and 3.10. Bes handle stands, on the other hand, have no close parallels among other groups; but in both cases, the artist has tried to show Bes's features accurately, especially the headgear, which is incised on the handle in no. 8.2 but pronounced and three-dimensional in no. 8.3.

The next item (no. 8.4) is a shieldlike object in the form of a Bes face attached to the front panel of a miniature chariot from the "Oxus Treasure." Whether this was a model of a real life-size chariot with a Bes attachment or simply a toy I do not know, but, interestingly enough, the two individuals seen in this chariot both wear Iranian attire.

**Group 9: Coins (table 9, fig. 9).** Most of the known coins bearing the Bes-image have recently been studied by Mildenberg,<sup>38</sup> and there is no need to discuss them in detail here. These coins, usually called Philisto-Arabian,<sup>39</sup> come from a wide area from Sicilian Syracuse to the Arabian desert, but there are more of them at southern Levantine cities on the Mediterranean coast and the neighboring desert re-

gion. Mildenberg argues that the Bes-image on Philisto-Arabian coins is not a direct influence from Egypt but rather a result of Bes's popularity in the Levant, especially the Achaemenid province of Samaria, where these coins seem to have been particularly common.<sup>40</sup> The weight standard of these coins, however, seems to be Attic.

**Group 10: Statuettes (table 10, fig. 10).** The first object in this group, an alabaster Bes head that ends in a broken tubular footing (no. 10.1), was discovered at the Persepolis Treasury. I do not know why Schmidt calls this object a pot stand<sup>41</sup> because it could be a statuette.

The second object, a Bes statuette (no. 10.2), is also from the Persepolis Treasury. Unfortunately, the head and part of the chest, as well as the feet, are broken off, but the remaining parts of the body suggest that our identification of this statuette as depicting Bes is correct.

The last object in this category (no. 10.3) is a terracotta statuette found at Nippur. He wears a short loincloth with a belt that looks somewhat Persian.<sup>42</sup>

**Group 11: Architectural Elements (table 11, fig. 11).** The first item in this category (no. 11.1) is of special importance. Here, in a heroon built most probably by an Achaemenid official in Trysa in Lycia around 370 B.C.E., eight Bes figures can be seen above the doorway.<sup>43</sup> Of these, one is naked and in a squatting frontal position. The rest are either seated and playing pipes or harp, or dancing as *calathos* dancers portrayed on the doorposts.<sup>44</sup> The occurrence of Bes figures behaving like Greek satyrs—that is, dancing, playing musical instruments, and sitting in a relaxed manner—suggests the Hellenization of Bes in this western satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire, which is not unusual in the classical eclecticism of Lycian art.<sup>45</sup>

The next two items in this category (nos. 11.2 and 11.3) seem to be fragments of stone reliefs showing the Bes face. No. 11.2 was discovered by Ann Britt Tilia in the plain west of the Persepolis Terrace in 1974.<sup>46</sup> According to Romano, this piece may have been joined with another unpublished piece (no. 11.3?) also found in Persepolis, and these two pieces may have formed a complete Bes-image used as

architectural decoration at Persepolis.<sup>47</sup> If Romano's suggestion proves correct, this would be the only known use of the Bes-image in a monumental royal Achaemenid context so far.

## DISCUSSION

Iconographically, the Bes-images collected here can be divided into two general groups: Egyptian and "Iranicized."

*(1) Purely Egyptian Examples Discovered in the Achaemenid Empire.* As already mentioned, objects with the Bes-image were not unknown in the Near East before the rise of the Achaemenid Empire. Bes was in fact a relatively common motif in Phoenician art from the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>48</sup> After the establishment of the Achaemenid Empire and the Persian conquest of the Levant and Egypt, the Bes-image reached Mesopotamia proper and the Iranian Plateau. The discovery of purely Egyptian examples of the Bes-image in the Achaemenid Empire can perhaps be explained in terms of extensive interregional contact during the Achaemenid period, when people of various ethnic backgrounds, including Egyptians,<sup>49</sup> were traveling back and forth and visiting or settling in the heartland of the empire—that is, in Mesopotamia and southern Iran.

Such contact and traveling might explain the Bes-images from Susa, including the amulets (nos. 5.6–5.18) and the *cippus* (no. 7.2). People of Egyptian origin are attested at Susa during the Achaemenid period. In fact, in his foundation charter, Darius I states that "the men who adorned the walls, those were Medes and Egyptians."<sup>50</sup> I think it is safe to assume that upon their departure from Egypt, these pious Egyptian craftsmen took these amulets and the one *cippus* to Susa to protect them against unexpected menaces during travel and their stay in a strange land. These talismans, then, may have been discarded, lost, left behind, or buried with their owners at Susa.

Egyptians are also attested at Persepolis,<sup>51</sup> but the discovery of two Bes-images (i.e., nos. 10.1 and 10.2) in the Persepolis Treasury suggests that some Bes-images might have been brought from Egypt by

the Achaemenids as booty or presented to the King of Kings by Egyptian delegations.

The discovery of a *cippus* in the "Achaemenid Chapel" at Nippur (no. 7.1)<sup>52</sup> is of particular importance. Egyptians are attested in Nippur and elsewhere in Babylonia.<sup>53</sup> In fact, a Muršû Archive tablet sealed with a stamp seal depicting Bes (no. 3.12) bears the Egyptian name *Si' ā'*.<sup>54</sup>

*(2) Bes-images Incorporated into Western Asian Contexts and "Iranicized" Bes-images.* These examples, I believe, are particularly important in a study of cultural interaction in the Achaemenid period.

This category includes the representation of Bes in association with Iranian motifs. The best examples appear on cylinder seals, where six out of seven recorded instances (nos. 1.1, 1.3–1.7) show the Bes-image in scenes that are otherwise Iranian. Egyptian motifs are not uncommon on Achaemenid seals, and one may consider these Bes-images as decorative motifs (e.g., nos. 1.1, 1.5–1.7), but in some cases they do seem to be included in a meaningful way into the main theme of the scene. In a few examples (nos. 1.3 and 1.4) Bes is in fact the pivotal figure in the scene, especially in no. 1.4, where he stands between two men in Iranian attire holding the winged disc. Bes occurs in similar representations in Egypt—that is, holding religious or divine symbols. But this seal bears an Old Persian inscription with Iranian names (see above). This, I believe, is one of the few indisputable examples of the appropriation of the Bes-image by an Iranian individual. Was this adoption simply an artistic innovation? Or did it have religious connotations? We will return to this question later.

Also in this category are what I would call "Iranicized" Bes-images.<sup>55</sup> The best example is the Bes-lion or Bes-griffin, a hybrid of a typical Achaemenid lion or griffin and a Bes head. These hybrid creatures especially appear on cylinder seals (no. 1.2), some stamp seals (nos. 2.1–2.2, 2.6), seal impressions (nos. 3.7, 3.9–3.11), and gold appliqué on a silver vessel (no. 8.1).

Unfortunately, we are not yet in a position to produce a chronological sequence of the process of the "Iranicization" of Bes—that is, the gradual incorporation of Bes into the Achaemenid repertoire of motifs. But it would be interesting to know whether

there is a gradual progression from: (1) purely Egyptian pieces imported into the empire (e.g., most of the amulets and both *cippi*) to (2) purely Egyptian Bes-images incorporated into otherwise Achaemenid contexts (e.g., nos. 6.2, 8.3) to (3) reinterpretation and appropriation of Bes into an Achaemenid context (e.g., nos. 1.4, 9.3) to (4) hybridization and incorporation of the Bes-image into the Achaemenid repertoire (e.g., nos. 1.2, 3.10, 8.1). This topic will be explored further in another paper.<sup>56</sup>

Chronologically, there are very few fixed points for dating the introduction and distribution of the Bes-image in the Achaemenid Empire. Bes may possibly have been introduced into the empire after the annexation of the Levant or shortly after the conquest of Egypt—that is, around 525 B.C.E. But it was probably after the consolidation of the empire under Darius I that Bes gained popularity and entered the Achaemenid design repertoire. In the meantime, we should bear in mind that not a single Bes-image is included in the approximately 1,500 distinct seals preserved through multiple impressions on the 2,087 administrative documents from the larger and earlier Persepolis Fortification corpus (509–494 B.C.E.).<sup>57</sup> This is particularly notable since the documents themselves record significant movement of Egyptians across the empire. Yet there is one example of the Bes-image from the smaller and later Persepolis Treasury corpus (492–460 B.C.E.): The seal impressions on a clay ball from the Persepolis Treasury (no. 3.8) suggest that by this time the Bes-image had entered the repertoire of motifs accessible to people working in high-level posts in the royal treasury. These observations may provide a rough *terminus post quem* for the introduction of the Bes-image into the Achaemenid heartland sometime in the late 490s B.C.E. The rest of the datable Bes-images all date to the later fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. Based on present evidence, it is difficult to set a *terminus ante quem* for the end of the use of the Bes-image in the Achaemenid period, but in the absence of any contradictory evidence it seems safe to assume that its use continued until the collapse of the empire, as I am as yet unaware of any Bes-images from secure Seleucid or later Parthian contexts.<sup>58</sup>

Geographically, disregarding genuine but archaeologically unreliable examples from the “Oxus

Treasure” (nos. 6.3 and 8.4) and examples from the antiquities market, Mesopotamia and the Levant seem to have a concentration of Bes-images. The only other major collections come from Susa and Persepolis, both important Achaemenid centers and subject to extensive excavations. While this geographical distribution favoring the western parts of the empire may simply be a sampling bias, it may nonetheless offer a hint of the cultural patterns in the Achaemenid Empire. The evidence from Anatolia is rather ambiguous. The Bes-images from the heroon at Trysa in Lycia (no. 11.1) are among the very few *in situ* examples (see below), and Bes appears on a number of pyramidal stamp seals (nos. 2.1–2.4) attributed by Boardman to Lydia.<sup>59</sup> Yet preliminary assessment of the corpus of Achaemenid seal impressions from Daskyleion in the Phrygian Satrapy of the empire in western Anatolia suggests that this corpus (dating to the reign of Xerxes to Artaxerxes I) reveals no Bes-images.<sup>60</sup> Whether the absence of the Bes-image in Daskyleion was a result of a conscious decision or an accident of discovery is hard to say, but in the case of another notable “Besless” corpus, this one from Wadi Daliyeh, Leith argues for the Samaritans’ conscious rejection of some images, including that of Bes, presumably for religious or national reasons.<sup>61</sup>

**L**AST, BUT NOT LEAST, is the important question of why Bes was incorporated into the Achaemenid repertoire and the role this Egyptian deity played in the Achaemenid Empire after his appropriation. Below I present some provisional thoughts in a heuristic attempt to further the argument; a more substantial argument will be presented elsewhere.<sup>62</sup>

The “Iranicized” Bes, I believe, best represents the cultural interaction among Egyptians, Iranians, and other nations in the Achaemenid period. Regarding this cultural interaction, it is interesting to note that despite a great deal of Egyptianizing evident in the architecture of Persepolis, right from the beginning of constructions at the site under Darius I,<sup>63</sup> and the documented presence of Egyptians at Persepolis,<sup>64</sup> there is no Bes-image in the large sample of the Fortification corpus of seal impressions and tablets from no. 1 to no. 2087, and only one from the Treasury corpus. This observation, I think, is

particularly intriguing since the Fortification corpus documents a wider range of types and statuses of people and cultural activities. Yet, even in this multicultural context,<sup>65</sup> where one might expect to see Egyptianizing images, the Bes figure is absent. Significant questions remain about what factors explain the absence of Bes in the large sample of Fortification tablets studied by Garrison and Root.<sup>66</sup>

Ideologically, as already mentioned, an important function of Bes was protection against harm, especially physical harm from evil spirits and noxious creatures. During his career outside Egypt, Bes seems to have been assimilated to other deities, some also with protective functions.<sup>67</sup> The religious significance of Bes in Iranian contexts, however, is not entirely clear. Graziani argues that Iranians of the Achaemenid period may have assimilated Bes to the Iranian deity Mithra.<sup>68</sup> This is a plausible proposition, which I would endorse. In fact, the protective properties of Bes may have made him into an appropriate substitute or counterpart for Mithra.<sup>69</sup>

In the course of my study, I noticed a number of Bes-images in association with the Achaemenid military. For example, Bes jugs nos. 4.1 and 4.10 come from Achaemenid military contexts and, as already mentioned, Tuplin argues that these jugs were made by the same potter, thus suggesting movement of Achaemenid troops between the two garrisons.<sup>70</sup> A piece of another Bes jug (no. 4.11) comes from the Persepolis Fortification on the slope of Kuh-i Rahmat, also considered part of the Achaemenid garrison at Persepolis.<sup>71</sup>

Scarab no. 2.12 and amulets nos. 5.1–5.3, 5.27 are also from Achaemenid military contexts. As additional support for the military use of the Bes-image, we may cite indirect evidence in the form of a Bes head attached to the front panel of the miniature chariot from the “Oxus Treasure” (no. 8.4), which may have been a model of an actual chariot in the Achaemenid army, with details copied right down to the Bes attachment.

The divine protection of army units is well attested in Egypt,<sup>72</sup> but I know of no units under Bes’s protection. One may speculate that Achaemenids adopted this tradition from the Egyptians<sup>73</sup> and that certain units of the Achaemenid army (e.g., charioteers?) adopted Bes as their protective deity. While

I am unaware of the military patronage of Mithra in the Achaemenid period, it is well known that he had been a respected deity since Achaemenid times<sup>74</sup> and later became a god of the Roman army.<sup>75</sup>

More indirect evidence for the connection between Bes and Mithra may be gleaned from the heroon at Trysa in Lycia. This is a fascinating example of the adoption of Bes into the Achaemenid repertoire, in this case with some Hellenizing flavor. As already mentioned, on this Achaemenid-Lycian monument, eight Bes-images are carved above the inner face of the southern doorway (no. 11.1). Of these Bes-images, one is naked and in a squatting frontal position. The rest are either seated and playing pipes or harp, or dancing as *calathos* dancers portrayed on the doorposts.<sup>76</sup> Recent studies date the heroon at Trysa to between 380 and 370 B.C.E.<sup>77</sup> Historical information on Lycia in the early fourth century B.C.E. is scarce, but we know that sometime around 370 B.C.E. two Achaemenids, namely Mithrapata and Artumpara, were appointed satraps of eastern and western Lycia, respectively.<sup>78</sup> Mithrapata probably took control of all of Lycia after Artumpara departed for Pamphylia to assist Autophradates, the satrap of Lydia, in suppressing Datames’ revolt. Information on Mithrapata is limited,<sup>79</sup> but we know that he was minting coins on a Persian standard.<sup>80</sup> At about the same time the Lycian tradition of building sculptured monuments, which had faded under Athenian control, was revived.<sup>81</sup> While there is no direct evidence, one may propose that the heroon at Trysa was built by no other than Mithrapata, a suggestion also supported by Borchhardt.<sup>82</sup> Assuming that this proposition is correct, one may ask whether the Bes-images carved on the doorway were significant for the presumed builder of the heroon, who, coincidentally, bears the name of Mithrapata (“with Mithra’s protection”).<sup>83</sup>

#### CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper poses more questions than it attempts to answer. Obviously, the wide distribution of the Bes-image in the Achaemenid Empire had important cultural connotations that we are not in a position to fully appreciate. It can be reasonably argued that the

Bes-image owes its distribution in the Achaemenid Empire to the policy of cultural tolerance and encouragement practiced by the Achaemenids. Yet we do not know whether through his adventures beyond the borders of Egypt in the Achaemenid Empire Bes acquired some religious functions. In his homeland, Bes was the focus of a protective cult for ordinary people. He may have had a similar role for some Levantine people and perhaps in certain army units. But when Bes was adopted by other peoples in the empire, what was implied? If it was a subversive cult (similar to the way the Romans viewed Christianity), we would expect it to spread horizontally from commoners in one area to those in another area. But if it was a means of coopting local symbols into a broader, more cosmopolitan ideology, we might expect to see a vertical movement—adoption of the image and presumably the underlying ideology by the elites from the commoners. Ordinary people, including the Iranians and the subject people, and the imperial elite, however, led separate lives, and it is in this context that our study of the Bes imagery and its distribution in the Achaemenid Empire might have a broader significance. When the cults of commoners began to spread, and even to be utilized by the elites, did this appropriation help create a unifying ideology and thus lead to a better integrated empire? Or did it tend to undermine the imperial strategies of compartmentalization—such as that practiced by the Achaemenids through their policy of tolerance and encouragement? These questions remain to be explored. □

## Notes

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paper at various stages of its progress and never failed to encourage me to develop and publish it.

1. For bibliography see Margaret Cool Root, *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art*, Acta Iranica, no. 19 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979) and Pierre Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre* (Paris: Fayard, 1996).
2. Cf. Mohammad A. Dandamayev, "Egyptians in Babylonia in the Sixth–Fifth Centuries B.C.," in *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le proche-orient ancien*, ed. D. Charpin and F. Joannès (Paris: CNRS, 1992), 321–25; I. Eph'al, "The Western Minorities in Babylonia," *Orientalia*, n.s., 47 (1978): 74–90; Donald J. Wiseman, "Some Egyptians in Babylonia," *Iraq* 28 (1966): 154–58; Ran Zadok, "Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam during the First Millennium B.C.," *Lingua Aegyptia* 2 (1992): 139–46.
3. Cf. Ian Mathieson et al., "A Stela of the Persian Period from Saqqara," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 81 (1995): 23–41.
4. James F. Romano, "Notes on the Historiography and History of the Bes-Image in Ancient Egypt," *Bulletin of the Australian Center for Egyptology* 9 (1998): 89.
5. James F. Romano, "The Origin of the Bes-Image," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 2 (1980): 39–56; James F. Romano, "The Bes-Image in Pharaonic Egypt" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1989); Romano, "Notes."
6. David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 124–31, 169–74.
7. The wide distribution of objects of Egyptian origin or local imitations—collectively labeled "Aigyptiaka"—in the Mediterranean world has been a popular topic for research. Anthony Leahy ("Egypt as a Bronzeworking Centre [1000–539 BC]," in *Bronzeworking Centres of Western Asia c. 1000–539 B.C.*, ed. J. Curtis [London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1988], 302–4) provides a brief review of the geographical distribution of Aigyptiaka in the Late Period and the mechanisms for such broad distribution. See also the exhaustive catalogues by Günter Hölbl: *Zeugnisse Ägyptischer Religionsvorstellungen für Ephesus*, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, no. 73 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978); *Beziehungen der Ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien*, 2 vols., Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, no. 62 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979); *Ägyptisches Kulturgut im Phönikischen und Punischen Sardinien*, 2 vols., Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, no. 102 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986); *Ägyptisches Kulturgut auf den Inseln Malta und Gozo in phönikischer und punischer Zeit*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte no. 538 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989). Other studies include: Richard B. Brown, "A Provisional Catalogue of and Commentary on Egyptian and Egyptianizing Artifacts Found on Greek Sites" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1974);

- Inga Jacobsson, *Aegyptiaca from Late Bronze Age Cyprus*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, no. 112 (Jonsered: Paul Åström Förlag, 1994); Nancy J. Skon-Jedele, "Aigyptiaka: A Catalogue of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Objects Excavated from Greek Archaeological Sites, ca. 1100–525 B.C., with Historical Commentary" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1994); and Andrée F. Gorton, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Scarabs: A Typology of Steatite, Faience, and Paste Scarabs from Punic and Other Mediterranean Sites*, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph, no. 44 (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1996).
8. For Sardinia see Hölbl, *Phönikischen und Punischen Sardinien*; for Italy see Hölbl, *Beziehungen*; for Malta see Hölbl, *Malta und Gozo*; for Greece see Brown, "Provisional Catalogue," and Skon-Jedele, "Aigyptiaka"; for coastal Anatolia see Hölbl, *Zeugnisse Ägyptischer*, and Günter Hölbl, "Aegyptiaca aus vorhellenistischen Fundzusammenhängen im Bereich der Türkischen Mittelmeerküste," in *Lebendige Altertumswissenschaft: Festgabe zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres von Herrmann Vetters* (Vienna: Adolf Holzhausens Nfg., 1985), 34–42; for Carthage see Jean Vercoutter, *Les objets égyptiens et égyptisants du mobilier funéraire Carthaginois* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1945); for Syria-Palestine see Veronica Wilson, "The Iconography of Bes with Particular Reference to the Cypriot Evidence," *Levant* 7 (1975): 77–103; for Cyprus see G. Clerg, V. Karageorghis, E. Lagrace, and J. Leclant, *Fouilles de Kition II: Objets égyptiens et égyptisants* (Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, 1976) and Jacobsson, *Late Bronze Age Cyprus*.
9. Alice Grenfell, "The Iconography of Bes, and of Phoenician Bes-Hand Scarabs," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 24 (1902): 21–40; William Culican, "The Iconography of Some Phoenician Seals and Seal Impressions," *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1.1 (1976): 50–103; Hölbl, *Phönikischen und Punischen Sardinien*, 11–53.
10. Wilson "Cypriot Evidence," 84–87.
11. See Robert D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (London: British Museum, 1975), 237, pl. CXXXVII: suppl. 56; and Georgina Herrmann, *Ivories from Room SW 37 Fort Shalmaneser*, Ivories from Nimrud (1949–1963), fascicle 4 (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1986), no. 1217. Partially assimilated Egyptians are attested in the Neo-Assyrian period at the city of Ashur, where a private archive was found in a house that also yielded a scarab and "a bronze object adorned with a man in Egyptian style." See Olof Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur: A Survey of Material from the German Excavations*, part 2, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia, no. 8 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 1986), 127.
12. Heinrich Schäfer and Walter Andre, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1925), pl. 337.2.
13. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1966), fig. 361.
14. Linda B. Bregstein, "Seal Use in Fifth Century B.C. Nippur, Iraq: A Study of Seal Selection and Sealing Practices in the Murašû Archive" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 81, n. 81. The absence of the Bes-image before the Achaemenid period is also supported by my own review of the archaeological literature.
15. There are also a few scarabs with the Bes-image, some in an "Iranicizing" style, from Carthage (see Vercoutter, *Objets égyptiens*, nos. 650–55), roughly contemporary with the Achaemenid period. But since they are found outside of strict Achaemenid administrative control, I have not included them here in the catalogue. This, however, does not mean that they were totally unrelated to Bes in the Achaemenid Empire.
16. Anton Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel* (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1940), 152, no. 764; Louis Delaporte, *Catalogue des cylindres orientaux et des cachets assyro-babyloniens, perses et syro-cappadociens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910), no. 502.
17. William H. Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* (Washington, DC: The Carnegie Institution, 1910), 340.
18. Rüdiger Schmitt, *Altpersische Siegel-Inschriften*, Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission 10, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte no. 381 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981), 37–38.
19. John Boardman, "Pyramidal Stamp Seals in the Persian Empire," *Iran* 8 (1970): 35.
20. Culican, "Phoenician Seals."
21. Leon Legrain, *The Culture of the Babylonians from Their Seals in the Collections of the Museum*, 2 vols., Publications of the Babylonian Section, no. 14 (London: British Museum, 1951), 47; Dominique Collon, "A Hoard of Sealings from Ur," in *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique*, ed. M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi, *Bulletin du correspondance hellénique*, suppl. 29 (1996): 65–84.
22. Leonard Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, vol. 9: *The Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods* (London: British Museum, 1962), 115, 122.
23. Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, 49.
24. Ephraim Stern, "Bes Vases from Palestine and Syria," *Israel Exploration Journal* 26 (1976): 183–87.
25. Stern, "Bes Vases," 185.
26. Stern, "Bes Vases," 187. See also Christopher A. Faraone, *Talismans and Trojan Horses: Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), esp. chap. 3, for the function of similar vessels in ancient Greece.

27. Christopher Tuplin, "Xenophon and the Garrisons of the Achaemenid Empire," *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 20 (1987): 206.
28. Cf. Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994).
29. See Christopher A. Faraone, "The Rhetorical Nature of Apotropaic Art in Ancient Greece," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 4.2 (1994): 271–89 and following discussions.
30. Romano, "Bes-Image," 781–824, with additional bibliography.
31. J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), 62–72.
32. Robert K. Ritner, "Horus on the Crocodile: A Juncture of Religion and Magic in Late Dynastic Egypt," in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. K. Simpson, Yale Egyptological Studies, no. 3 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 103–16.
33. N. E. Scott, "The Metternich Stela," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 9.8 (1951): 203.
34. McGuire Gibson, *Excavations at Nippur: Eleventh Season*, Oriental Institute Communications, no. 22 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1975), 13.
35. Kamyar Abdi, "A Cippus of Horus in Iran National Museum," in *Proceedings of the First Archaeological Symposium of Iran after the Islamic Revolution*, vol. 2, ed. M. Mousavi (Tehran: Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization Press, forthcoming).
36. Roland de Mecquenem, "Les fouillers de Suse," *Iranica Antiqua* 15 (1980): 38.
37. Roland de Mecquenem, "Fouilles de Suse 1929–1933," *Mémoires de la mission archéologique de perse: Mission en susiane* 25 (1934): 177–237.
38. L. Mildenberg, "Bes on Philisto-Arabian Coins," *Trans-euphratène* 9 (1995): 63–66.
39. George F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (London: British Museum, 1914).
40. Mildenberg, "Coins," 65.
41. Eric F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, vol. 2: *Contents of the Treasury and Other Discoveries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pl. 31:4.
42. Leon Legrain, *Terra-Cottas from Nippur* (Philadelphia: The University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, 1930), 29, no. 221.
43. See, most recently, Wolfgang Oberleitner, *Das Heroon von Trysa: Ein Lykisches Fürstengrab des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, no. 18 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994), figs. 17, 30.
44. Fritz Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaski-Trysa*, Kunstdenkmäler herausgegeben von Ernst Garger, no. 8 (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1950), 48; Isabella Benda, "Musik und Tanz in Lykien," in *Fremde Zeiten: Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1996 dargebracht von Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden*, ed. F. Blakolmer et al. (Vienna: Phoibos Verlag, 1996), 1:95–109.
45. William A. P. Childs, "Lycian Relations with Persians and Greeks in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries Re-Examined," *Anatolian Studies* 31 (1981): 70.
46. Ann Britt Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fars*, vol. 2 (Rome: IsMEO, 1978).
47. Romano, "Bes-Image," 781.
48. Grenfell, "Phoenician Bes-Hand Scarabs"; Wilson, "Cypriot Evidence," 1975.
49. Wiseman, "Some Egyptians in Babylonia"; Eph'al, "Western Minorities"; Zadok, "Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam."
50. Roland Kent, *Old Persian: Grammar, Texts, Lexicon* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1953), 144.
51. Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications, no. 92 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1969), passim.
52. Janet Johnson, "Appendix B: Hieroglyphic Text," in *Excavations at Nippur: Eleventh Season*, Oriental Institute Communications, no. 22, ed. M. Gibson (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1975), 143–50.
53. See Wiseman, "Some Egyptians in Babylonia"; Dandamayev, "Egyptians in Babylonia."
54. Veysel Donbaz and M. W. Stolper, *Istanbul Muraşû Texts* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1997), no. 58.
55. Kamyar Abdi, "Notes on the Iconography of the Bes-image in the Achaemenid Period" (in preparation).
56. Abdi, "Notes."
57. M. C. Root, personal communication, 9 December 1996; see also Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, vol. 1, Oriental Institute Publication, no. 117 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1999); Mark B. Garrison and Margaret Cool Root, *Seal Impressions on the Persepolis Fortification*

*Tablets*, vols. 2–3, Oriental Institute Publication (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, forthcoming).

58. I am, however, bothered by no. 5.5, an amulet claimed to have come from a Seleucid context at Masjid-i Soleiman (Roman Ghirshman, *Terrasses sacrées de Bard-é Nechandeh et de Majid-i Solaiman*, 2 vols., Mémoires de la Délégation archéologiques en Iran, no. 45 [Leiden: E. J. Brill 1976], 1:101). It is possible that some pieces were passed on to later periods as heirlooms. It is also notable that an earlier level at the same site, dated to the Achaemenid period, has yielded a group of earlier artifacts, including a scarab with the name of Tuthmosis III (1479–1425 B.C.E.), which also bears a Bes-image (Ghirshman, *Terrasses sacrées*, 1:67).

59. Boardman, “Pyramidal Stamp Seals.”

60. Deniz Kaptan, *Catalogue of Seal Impressions from Daskyleion*, Achaemenid History (forthcoming).

61. Mary J. W. Leith, *Wadi Daliyah I: The Wadi Daliyah Seal Impressions*, Discoveries in the Judean Desert, no. 24 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 25.

62. Abdi, “Notes”; Kamyar Abdi, “Bes and Mithra: Homologous Counterparts?” (in preparation).

63. Root, *King and Kingship*.

64. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*.

65. Margaret Cool Root, “Cultural Pluralism on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets,” *TOPOI*, suppl. 1 (1997): 229–52.

66. Garrison and Root, *Seal Impressions*, vol. 1; Garrison and Root, *Seal Impressions*, vols. 2–3.

67. Simonetta Graziani, “Su un’interpretazione achemenide di Bes,” *Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 38 (1978): 60, nos. 28–29.

68. Graziani, “Su un’interpretazione,” 61.

69. A. D. H. Bivar, in *The Personalities of Mithra in Archaeology and Literature* (New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 1998), has recently argued for a connection between Mithraism and the cult of another Egyptian deity, Sarapis.

70. Tuplin, “Xenophon,” 206.

71. Akbar Tajvidi, *New Information on the Art and Archaeology of the Achaemenid Period Based on Five Years of Excavations at Persepolis, 1968–1972* (Tehran: Iranian Ministry of Culture and Arts, 1976 [in Persian]).

72. R. O. Faulkner, “Egyptian Military Standards,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27 (1941): 12–18.

73. An Egyptian military standard discovered at Persepolis may provide some support for this proposition; see M. Korostovtsev, “Un étendard millitaire égyptien?” *Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 45 (1947): 127–31.

74. Bivar, *Personalities of Mithra*.

75. Michael P. Speidel, *Mithras-Orion: Greek Hero and Roman Army God*, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’empire romain, no. 81 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980). Regarding the connection between Bes and the military, one can reasonably expect not to find much evidence of Bes in non-military contexts if this deity was mostly associated with the Achaemenid military. This suggestion will bring us, once more, to the Persepolis Fortification corpus, which, as mentioned above, lacks the Bes-image and, coincidentally, does not seem to be associated with the service of Achaemenid military personnel. This obviously is a highly problematic *argumentum ex silentio* but nonetheless merits some attention and further exploration.

76. Eichler, *Reliefs des Heroon*, 48.

77. E.g., William A. P. Childs, “The Date of the Heroon from Gölbasi-Trysa,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 87 (1976): 210; William A. P. Childs, “Prolegomena to a Lycian Chronology II: The Heroon from Trysa,” *Revue Archéologique* 1976.2:218–316; William A. P. Childs, *The City-Reliefs of Lycia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Bruno Jacobs, *Griechische und Persische Elemente in der Grabkunst Lykiens zur Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft*, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology, no. 78 (Jonsered: Paul Åström Förlag, 1987); Christine Bruns-Özgan, *Lykische Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, suppl. 33 (Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1987), 68; Oberleitner, *Heroon von Trysa*, 61.

78. Childs, “Lycian Relations,” 76.

79. See Anthony G. Keen, *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers c. 545–362 B.C.*, Mnemosyne: Bibliotheca Classica Batava Supplementum 178 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998), *passim*.

80. Nekriman Olçay and O. Mørholm, “The Coin Hoard from Podalia,” *The Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 7, 11 (1971): 4–7, 22.

81. Jürgen Borchhardt, *Die Bauskulptur des Heroons von Limyra: Das Grabmal des Lykischen Königs Perikles*, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, no. 32 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1976), 22.

82. Jürgen Borchhardt, “Das Heroon von Limyra—Grabmal des Lykischen Königs Perikles,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1970:389.

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## Appendix: Catalogue of Bes-Images

*Full citations for the references in the tables and figures below appear in the “References” section at the end of this appendix.*

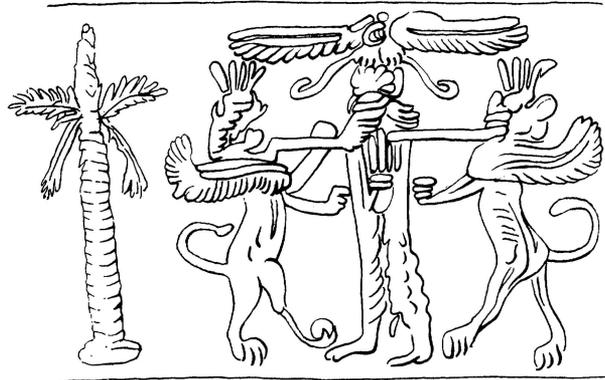
*In the figures, illustration numbers are keyed to object numbers in the corresponding tables. Figures do not illustrate every item mentioned in the tables but rather are limited to images that were available to me. No attempt has been made to scale the images that appear in the figures to the actual size of the originals.*

TABLE 1. CYLINDER SEALS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Place of discovery</i>	<i>Repository</i>	<i>Reference no.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
1.1	cylinder seal	red-brown agate breccia	32 × 16 mm	bought in Lebanon, 1889	Ashmolean Museum	1889.360	Buchanan 1966: 121, no. 675
1.2	cylinder seal	limestone	32 × 16 mm	Babylon, find no. 29 278	Berlin Museum	VA 6972	Moortgat 1940: no. 758
1.3	cylinder seal	chalcedony	21 × 10.5 mm	antiquities market, 1907	Berlin Museum	VA 3387	Moortgat 1940: no. 764
1.4	cylinder seal	carnelian	28 × 12 mm	antiquities market; J. R. Steuart Coll., 1849	British Museum	BM 89133	Wiseman 1959: no. 103
1.5	cylinder seal	blue chalcedony	24 × 12 mm	antiquities market; Southesk Coll.	British Museum	BM 129571	Carnegie 1908: 108, no. 34, pl. 8
1.6	cylinder seal	chalcedony			British Museum	BM 89352	Wiseman 1959: no. 106
1.7	cylinder seal			Nayyeri Coll.			Graziani 1978
1.8	cylinder seal	agate	23 × 8 mm		Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris		Delaporte 1910: no. 502



1.1. Ashmolean Museum



1.2. Drawn by Anne Marie L. Lapitan, after Moortgat 1940: no. 758



1.3. Drawn by Jenny H. Lee, after Moortgat 1940: no. 764



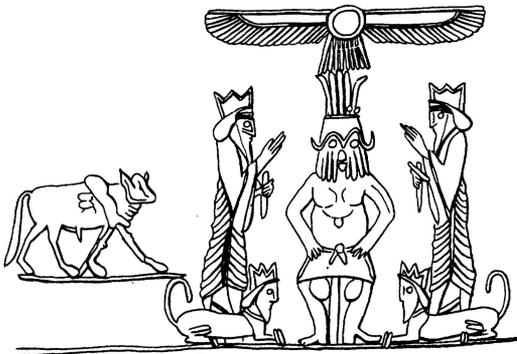
1.4. British Museum



1.5. British Museum



1.6. British Museum



1.7. Drawn by Anne Marie L. Lapitan, after Graziani 1978: T. I.



1.8. Drawn by Jenny H. Lee, after Delaporte 1910: no. 502

TABLE 2. STAMP SEALS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
2.1	stamp seal	chalcedony	16 mm		Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	1085a	Boardman 1970: no. 164
2.2	stamp seal	chalcedony	15 mm		Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	27.665	Boardman 1970: no. 165
2.3	stamp seal	rock crystal	15 mm		British Museum	BM 115596	Boardman 1970: no. 166
2.4	stamp seal		17 mm				Boardman 1970: no. 167
2.5	stamp seal	“green agate-jasper”		Cyprus (?)	once Southesk Coll.		Boardman 1970: no. 168
2.6	stamp seal	blue chalcedony	19 × 13 × 8 mm	bought in Beirut	Ashmolean Museum	1889.429	Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 468
2.7	scarab	green jasper	14 × 10 × 8 mm		Ashmolean Museum	1941.1130	Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 494
2.8	scarab	brownish-green jasper	17 × 13 × 9 mm		Ashmolean Museum	1938.875	Buchanan & Moorey 1988: no. 495
2.9	stamp seal	white quartz	23 × 15 × 18 mm	Kenna Coll., Geneva	Musée d’art et d’histoire de Geneve	20563	Vollenweider 1983: no. 31
2.10	scarab	dark green jasper	18 × 15 × 10 mm	Kenna Coll., Geneva	Musée d’art et d’histoire de Geneve	20427	Vollenweider 1983: no. 126
2.11	scarab	green jasper		Tomb L 24 ‘Atlit, Palestine			Johns 1933: no. 935 99, fig. 85
2.12	scarab	jasper	16 × 12 × 8 mm	Grave No. 7, Kamid el-Loz		KL 64:116g	Poppa 1978: 63, table 8:7, 17



2.7. Ashmolean Museum



2.8. Ashmolean Museum



2.11. After Johns 1933: fig. 85



2.12. After Poppa 1978: T. 8:17

FIG. 2. STAMP SEALS

TABLE 3. SEAL IMPRESSIONS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Place of discovery</i>	<i>Repository</i>	<i>Reference no.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
3.1	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum		Legrain 1951: no. 727; Collon 1996: 5b
3.2	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum	BM 212	Legrain 1951: no. 728; Collon 1996: 5d
3.3	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum		Legrain 1951: no. 729; Collon 1996: 5c
3.4	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum	BM 346	Legrain 1951: no. 730; Collon 1996: 5a
3.5	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum		Legrain 1951: no. 731; Collon 1996: 5f
3.6	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum	BM 322	Legrain 1951: no. 732; Collon 1996: 5g
3.7	stamp seal impression	clay		Ur	British Museum	BM 198	Legrain 1951: no. 757; Collon 1996: 3c-d
3.8	clay ball with 3 impressions of the same stamp seal	clay		Persepolis Treasury		PT 4 950; Seal no. 64	Schmidt 1939: 43, fig. 25; Schmidt 1957: pl. 2, 13
3.9	cylinder seal impression on tablet	clay	29 × 11 mm	Murašû Archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	TuM 202	Krückmann 1933: no. LXXVIII; Bregstein 1993: no. 208
3.10	impressions of 3 similar cylinder seals on 6 tablets	clay	24 × 16 mm	Murašû Archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	5265, 5137, 12857, 12826, 12839	Legrain 1925: no. 925; Bregstein 1993: no. 207
3.11	stamp seal impression on tablet	clay	19 × 16 mm	Murašû Archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	Const. 552	Bregstein 1993: no. 211; Donbaz & Stolper 1997: no. 18
3.12	stamp seal impression on tablet	clay	22 × 18 mm	Murašû Archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	Const. 598	Bregstein 1993: no. 206; Donbaz & Stolper 1997: no. 58
3.13	cylinder seal impression on tablet	clay	15 × 11 mm	Murašû Archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	12836	Bregstein 1993: no. 209
3.14	cylinder seal impression on tablet	clay	21 × 16 mm	Murašû Archive, Nippur	Ancient Orient Museum, Istanbul	6129	Bregstein 1993: no. 210
3.15	seal impression	clay		Murašû Archive, Nippur		CBS 4020	Legrain 1925: no. 775
3.16	seal impression	clay		Persepolis Fortification	Iran National Museum		Tajvidi 1976: fig. 147



3.1. *British Museum*



3.3. *British Museum*



3.4. *British Museum*



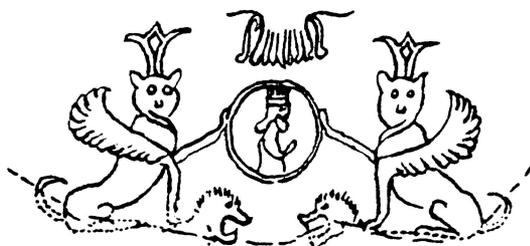
3.5. *British Museum*



3.7. *British Museum*



3.8. *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*



3.9. *After Kruckman 1933: no. LXXVIII*



3.10. *After Legrain 1925: no. 925*



3.11. *After Donbaz and Stolper 1997: no. 18*



3.12. *After Donbaz and Stolper 1997: no. 58*

TABLE 4. POTTERY VESSELS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Place of discovery</i>	<i>Repository</i>	<i>Reference no.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
4.1	jar	pottery	240 × 145 mm	Deve Hüyük		(C) 1913.640	Moorey 1980: 20, no. 28
4.2	vase	pottery		Tel Mevorakh		Reg. no. 484, loc. 125	Stern 1976: pl. 32A
4.3	jug	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh no. 78C	Stern 1976: pl. 32C
4.4	juglet	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh no. 78F	Stern 1976: pl. 32F, 1984: fig. 211
4.5	jug	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh no. 78M	Stern 1976: pl. 33B, 1984: fig. 210
4.6	fragmen- tary vase	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh E XXXVI 25/14	Stern 1976: pl. 32B
4.7	fragmen- tary vase	pottery		Tell Jemmeh		Jemmeh E XXXVI 26/8	Stern 1976: pl. 32E
4.8	jug	pottery		Samaria region	Coll. of Carmen & Louis Warschaw		Stern 1976: pl. 33A
4.9	jug	pottery			Coll. of M. Dayan		Stern 1976: pl. 32D
4.10	jug	pottery		Tell el-Hesi, Substartum Vd, Pit I.12.249		H 81-20668	Bennett & Blakely 1989: figs. 177-78
4.11	pot sherd	pottery		Persepolis Fortification	Iran National Museum		Tajvidi 1976: fig. 137



4.1. Ashmolean Museum



4.11. Drawn by Anne Marie L. Lapitan,  
after Tajvidi 1976: fig. 137

FIG. 4. POTTERY VESSELS

TABLE 5. AMULETS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Place of discovery</i>	<i>Repository</i>	<i>Reference no.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
5.1	amulet	faience		Dor, Palestine			Stern 1995: fig. 7.6.3
5.2	amulet	faience		Dor, Palestine			Stern 1995: fig. 7.6.4
5.3	amulet	faience		Dor, Palestine			Stern 1995: fig. 7.6.5
5.4	amulet/ inlay	light greenish- blue frit		Persepolis Treasury, Room 64, plot HG 91	Iran National Museum	PT6 359	Schmidt 1957: pl. 41:7
5.5	amulet	faience	70 × 45 × 14 mm	Masjid-i Soleiman	Iran National Museum	GMIS.701	Ghirshman 1976: pl. CX3
5.6	amulet	faience	h. 41 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 3565	Romano 1989: no. 277
5.7	amulet	faience	h. 42 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10170	Romano 1989: no. 278
5.8	amulet	faience	h. 42 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 2954	Romano 1989: no. 279
5.9	amulet	faience	h. 22 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10148	Romano 1989: no. 280
5.10	amulet	faience	h. 14 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10174	Romano 1989: no. 281
5.11	amulet	faience	h. 25 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10175	Romano 1989: no. 282
5.12	amulet	faience	h. 18 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10176	Romano 1989: no. 283
5.13	amulet	faience	h. 37 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10149	Romano 1989: no. 284
5.14	amulet	faience	h. 31 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10150	Romano 1989: no. 285
5.15	amulet	faience	h. 35 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10151	Romano 1989: no. 286
5.16	amulet	faience	h. 29 mm	Susa	Louvre	Sb 10172	Romano 1989: no. 287
5.17	amulet	faience		Susa, Village perse-achéménide	Louvre	G. S. 2042	Ghirshman 1954: 37, pl. XVII:1
5.18	amulet	faience		Susa, Village perse-achéménide	Louvre	G. S. 2123	Ghirshman 1954: 37, pl. XVII:5
5.19	amulet	faience		Necropolis of 'Ain el-Helwe, Lebanon			Romano 1989: no. 288
5.20	amulet	lapis lazuli			Iran National Museum		Unpublished
5.21	amulet	?		Persepolis	Iran National Museum	2024	Unpublished
5.22	amulet	faience		Persepolis	Iran National Museum	2064	Unpublished
5.23	amulet	faience		Persepolis	Iran National Museum	7631	Unpublished
5.24	amulet	glazed frit	h. 14 mm	Grave P. 255, Ur	British Museum	U.12797	Woolley 1962: 115
5.25	amulet	glazed pottery	h. 24 mm	Grave P. 60, Ur	British Museum	U.16798	Woolley 1962: 122
5.26	amulet	faience	24.5 × 18 mm	Grave no. 34, Kamid el-Loz		KL 64:314b	Poppa 1978: 100, table 16: 34,6
5.27	amulet	faience	24 × 25 × 9 mm	Babylon	British Museum		Reade 1986: 83, no. 43, pl. IVf



5.4. *Iran National Museum*



5.5. *The Louvre*



5.6. *The Louvre*



5.7. *The Louvre*



5.8. *The Louvre*



5.9. *The Louvre*



5.10. *The Louvre*



5.11. *The Louvre*



5.12. *The Louvre*



5.15. *The Louvre*



5.16. *The Louvre*



5.13. *The Louvre*



5.14. *The Louvre*



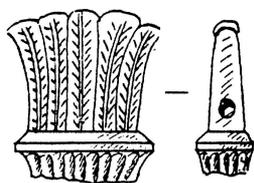
5.18. *After Ghirshman 1954: pl. XVII:5*



5.21. *Iran National Museum*



5.22. *Iran National Museum*



5.17. *After Ghirshman 1954: pl. XVII:1*



5.23. *Iran National Museum*

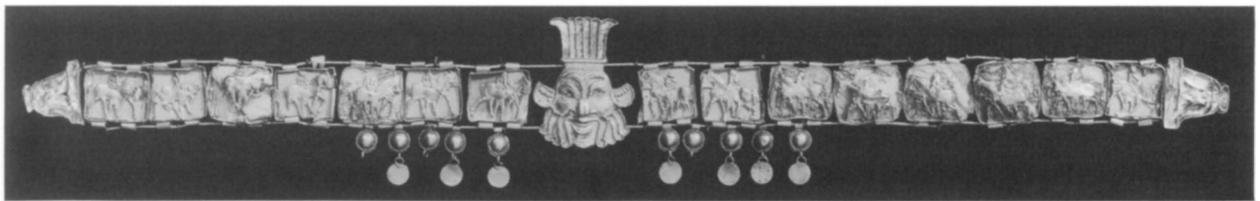


5.26. *After Poppa 1978: table 16: 34,6*

FIG. 5. AMULETS

TABLE 6. PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
6.1	necklace	faience		Dor, Area B1	?		Stern and Sharon 1987: pl. 27B
6.2	necklace	gold	h. 40 mm	antiquities market	Metropolitan Museum of Art	65.169	Porter 1984: no. 65
6.3	medallion	gold	d. 43.5 mm	"The Oxus Treasure"	British Museum		Dalton 1964: no. 32, pl. XII:32
6.4	medallions	gold		Pasargadae	Iran National Museum		Stronach 1978: fig. 86:1, pl. 154 a-c
6.5	earring	gold	d. 50 mm	Susa, Grave no. Sb 2764	Louvre	AO 3171	Ghirshman 1962: pl. 323
6.6	medallions	gold			?		Rehm 1992: fig. 36
6.7	medallion	gold	h. 27 mm	Talesh, Gilan	Iran National Museum	INM 2206	Unpublished
6.8	medallion	gold	24 × 17 mm	Grave no. 2, Dosaran Cemetery, Zanjan	Zanjan		Rahbar 1997: 24, fig. 2, fig. 3:18



6.2. Metropolitan Museum of Art



FIG. 6. PERSONAL ORNAMENTS

TABLE 7. CIPPI

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
7.1	cippus	white stone	88 × 83 × 31 mm	Nippur, Area WA 13, Level II 1, the "Achaemenid Chapel"	Baghdad	11 N 61	Johnson 1975
7.2	cippus	black stone	94 × 91 × 18 mm	Susa	Iran National Museum	2103/103	Abdi n.d.



7.1. Drawn by Jenny H. Lee, after Gibson 1975: fig. 34: 3 up



7.2. Drawn from the original by Kamyar Abdi

FIG. 7. CIPPI

TABLE 8. METALWARE AND OTHER METAL ARTIFACTS

No.	Category	Material	Dimensions	Place of discovery	Repository	Reference no.	Bibliography
8.1	phiale with gold Bes-sphinx appliqué	gilded silver	d. 172 mm h. 18 mm		British Museum	BM135571	Curtis 1989: fig. 58
8.2	jug with Bes head below the handle	silver		antiquities market	Uşak Museum	1.14.96	Özgen & Öztürk 1996: no. 12, p. 75
8.3	handle in the shape of a winged ibex on a Bes head	gilded silver			Louvre		Amandry 1959: pl. 27: 2-3; Porada 1965: 168, fig. 86
8.4	head of Bes attached to the front of a miniature chariot	gold		"The Oxus Treasure"	British Museum		Dalton 1964: no. 7, pl. IV



8.1. British Museum



8.3. Drawn by Anne Marie L. Lapitan, after Amandry 1959: pl. 27:2.



8.4. British Museum

FIG. 8. METALWARE AND OTHER METAL ARTIFACTS

TABLE 9. COINS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Place of discovery</i>	<i>Repository</i>	<i>Reference no.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
9.1	drachm	silver			private coll., Paris		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:1
9.2	hemiobol	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:2
9.3	drachm	silver			Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	5.220	Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:3
9.4	obol	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:4
9.5	drachm	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:5
9.6	obol	silver			private coll., Jerusalem		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:6
9.7	obol	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:7
9.8	obol	silver			American Numismatic Society, New York		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:8
9.9	tetratemo- rion	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:9
9.10	obol	silver		Abu Shusheh hoard	Department of Antiquities, Jerusalem	IGCH 1507	Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:10
9.11	hemiobol	silver		Samaria (?)	private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:11
9.12	drachm	silver			Cabinet des Médailles, Paris	1071	Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:12
9.13	drachm	silver			Cabinet des Médailles, Paris		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:13
9.14	obol	silver			Cabinet des Médailles, Paris	2999	Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:14
9.15	obol	silver			private coll., Los Angeles		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:15
9.16	drachm	silver			private coll., Jerusalem		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:16
9.17	drachm	silver			American Numismatic Society, New York	ANS 39	Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:17
9.18	obol	silver			British Museum		Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:18
9.19	drachm	silver					Mildenberg 1995: pl. I:19
9.20	obol	silver	d. 9.5 mm	Cilicia	H. Sirri Göktürk Coll., Turkey		Göktürk 1997: no. 44
9.21	tetratemo- rion	silver	d. 6 mm	Cilicia	H. Sirri Göktürk Coll., Turkey		Göktürk 1997: no. 45



9.8  
*American  
Numismatic  
Society*



9.17  
*American  
Numismatic  
Society*

FIG. 9. COINS

TABLE 10. STATUETTES

<i>No.</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Place of discovery</i>	<i>Repository</i>	<i>Reference no.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
10.1	pot stand (?)	alabaster		Persepolis Treasury, Hall 38, Plot HG 31	Iran National Museum	PT4 1062 INM 2050	Schmidt 1939: 43, fig. 48 left; 1957: pl. 31:4
10.2	statuette	lapis lazuli composition		Persepolis Treasury, Hall 38, Plot HG 22		PT5 299	Schmidt 1939: 43, fig. 48 right; 1957: pl. 31:6
10.3	statuette	terracotta	105 × 55 mm	Nippur	University Museum, Philadelphia	CBS 9454	Legrain 1930: no. 221



10.1. *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*



10.2. *The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*

10.3. *Drawn by Anne Marie L. Lapitan, after Legrain 1930: no. 221*

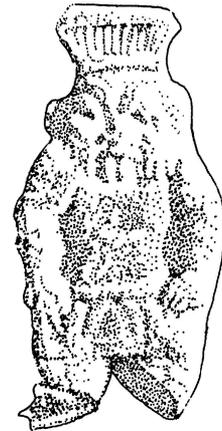
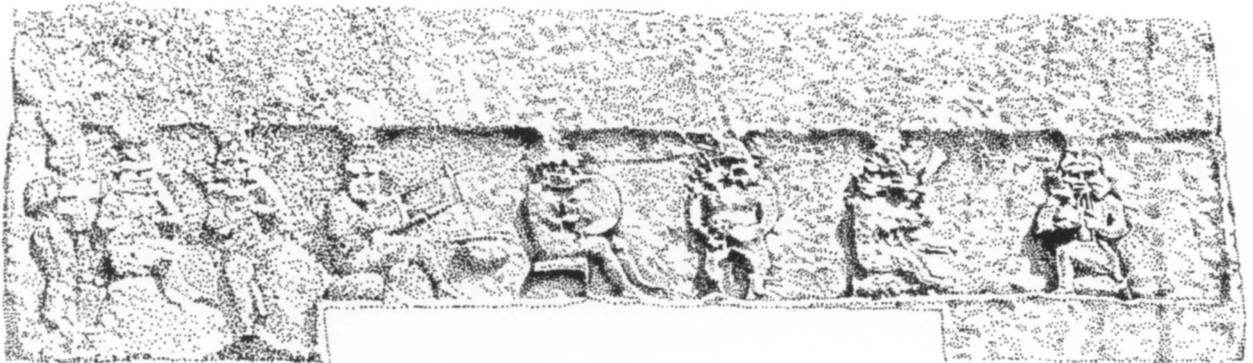


FIG. 10. STATUETTES

TABLE 11. ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

<i>No.</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Material</i>	<i>Place of discovery</i>	<i>Repository</i>	<i>Reference no.</i>	<i>Bibliography</i>
11.1	8 figures of Bes in relief above the southern doorway	stone	Heroon of Golbaşı-Trysa, Lycia	same		Benndorf 1889: 34, fig. 34; Eichler 1950: 48, pl. 1 below Oberleitner 1994: fig. 30
11.2	relief fragment (?)	stone	plain west of Persepolis	Iran National Museum		Romano 1989: no. 271
11.3	relief fragment (?)	stone	Persepolis (?)	Iran National Museum	P-810	Schneider 1976: 34, microfische no. 7G4



11.1. Drawn by Anne Marie L. Lapitan, after Oberleitner 1994: fig. 30



11.2. Iran National Museum



11.3. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

FIG. 11. ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS

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