PERSEPOLIS

By R. D. Barnett

The Excavators and Their Predecessors

The great site of Persepolis, though known for centuries past from the accounts of many travellers, remained until 1931 one of the very few of the great capital cities of the ancient Near Eastern world still untouched. Yet its monuments have formed the objects of serious study since more than a century; Ker Porter’s careful drawings (1817) are by no means to be despised, but the pioneer work of Flandin and Coste, carried out in 1840-1841, before Botta and Layard had even found the famous capitals of Assyria, was not merely remarkable, it was in the first class. Following it came that of Texier in 1852. But only Flandin and Coste’s great work can be compared with the latest handsome presentation of the subject, which is based on every modern scientific aid and incorporates the results of large-scale excavations, with the end in view of producing a definitive and complete record.

The reasons why Persepolis, after first being made known to the world by Frenchmen in such fitting splendour, should then have been so long and widely neglected lie in French hands. As a result of the energy and success of J. de Morgan at Susa, the Persians were persuaded to pass an archaeological law, giving the French the exclusive concession to excavate in Persia. Since the French were effectively engaged elsewhere in Persia, this caused Persepolis to be spared, and it was not till 1928 that the French monopoly under a new Antiquities Law was revoked by mutual consent and permission was given to the University of Chicago to excavate at Persepolis. The passage of over twenty years since then has brought the first reward in the form of the present sumptuous volume. For it, in general, we cannot be sufficiently grateful, particularly for the learning, skill and labour which have gone to create it. If, therefore, in praising it we also criticise, it is to judge it by the strictest of standards, and not to undervalue the immense advance in our knowledge of Persian art, history and architecture which it has contributed.

1 For a list of these visitors and their accounts, see Curzon, Persia and the Persian Question, Vol. 2, 1892, 157.
3 Voyage en Perse. 4 vols. 1843-54.
4 Description de l’Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie (1812).
5 Erich Schmidt. Persepolis I: Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions. (University of Chicago, Oriental Institute Publications, 68) Chicago 1933. University of Chicago Press, folio 257 pp., 123 figs., 205 pls. (2). In this review article, I have had the benefit of advice and discussion with Dr. R. Ghirshman and my colleagues, R. Higgins, W. Watson and J. N. Coldstream.
6 In Schmidt’s report, O.I.C., 21 (1939), the funds are said to have been first provided by a private benefactress.
Schmidt's work begins with a Preface, 1 (I) "Summary Log of the Excavations", and (II) a useful account of other Persian buildings, entitled "The Royal Architects", in which Schmidt, on the basis of the excavation and completer state of preservation of the Persepolitan Apadana, is able to correct that proposed by the French excavators for the apadana at Susa. There are also valuable additions to our knowledge of the site of Pasargadae. (III) deals with sites in the Persepolis area and with (IV) we begin the account of the monuments on the terrace of Persepolis itself. In this way we are rather abruptly introduced into the account of the American expedition without any survey, appreciation or discussion of the work of previous scholars at this site, save for passing references in footnotes. This is unjust and unreasonable, for that work, although only surface work, was of very considerable value. Some of those earlier studies, particularly Flandin and Coste's beautifully drawn and engraved plans and drawings, are an invaluable record of the site with its sculptures as it was then. Those huge and cumbrous folios being now, and having always been, both rare and costly, few readers of Persepolis I can consult them for comparison for themselves, and some account of them and their contents was surely deserved.

To Flandin and Coste were known the Porch (now called the Gate) of Xerxes, the Hall of Xerxes (now known as the Apadana), the Palace of Darius, the Palace of Artaxerxes (now called more discreetly Palace H), the Palace of Xerxes, the Hall of 100 Columns (now re-named the Throne Hall), the former "South East Edifice", now recognised as the service quarters of the Harem, and the former Central Edifice (called the "Tripylon" by Herzfeld), now known as the Council Hall. The next stage at Persepolis began in 1877, when Farhad Mirza, the Muktamad or Iktisham-ed-Dowleh, Governor-general of Fars, annoyed, it is said, by the number of visiting Franks to whom he was required to afford protection and hospitality, resolved to examine Persepolis and its contents for himself, and set about it with six hundred men at his own expense. Schmidt makes passing references to Farhad's archaeological activities. 2 Whether they produced any finds is unknown. But they provided a fortunate occasion for engaging the attention of a German photographer, Stolze, who happened to be working in the region on an epigraphical expedition. The result was the first photographic record of Persepolis. 3 This, like Flandin and Coste, is also today a rarity.

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1 There is no prefatory mention of the plan of the publication, though from a footnote (22) on p. 73 we gather that vol. II will contain a chapter on "Sculpture and Applied Decoration". We are further told (p. 82) that Herzfeld had planned a comprehensive treatment of the tribute procession which was in preparation at the time of his death. It is regrettable that it has not been possible to publish this material, as Herzfeld's papers were left, I understand, to the Frere Gallery, New York. But when shown to us, this material appeared to require prolonged editorial work before it could be published.

2 Schmidt, pp. 4, 42, 131-2.

Many of Stolze’s photographs are very poor indeed. The negatives of others which are better, were alas, cracked and broken by (he says) the British Customs authorities, who unpacked them on their way home. But Stolze rightly published them all the same. To these precious early photographic records are to be added the far superior pictures of Marcel Dieulafoy. The particular value of these publications is comparative, as they show most clearly both the steady progress of destruction of the sculptures by pillaging or natural forces of frost and rain, and how in many cases they are to be restored. Of this we receive not the slightest hint from the work under review. Thus, Ker Porter shows that along the entire width of the North front of the Apadana the upper halves of the top row of tributaries had already been removed, leaving it as it is to-day. They may have all gone in 1811. In the Apadana, where many of the sculptured heads of tributaries on the Northern Stairway have been defaced, we find by comparison with Flandin and Coste that in general the damage is previous to 1840—probably long before, but that the so-called “Sogdians” have been defaced since then. The same is apparently also true of the Indians. But on Palace H, the entire left-hand panel of five figures carrying ivory tusks and two carrying pots, already badly damaged in Stolze’s time, with the loss of most of the tusk carriers, has since been almost totally destroyed or removed; the inscription to the right of the same group which was still extant in 1878 has also suffered. Again, the Enthronement Scene in the West Doorway of the South Wall of the Throne Hall has now lost two-thirds of the West Jamb block showing the baldachin and winged disc. The Audience Relief from the Throne Hall, North Wall, East Door, West Jamb had its baldachin block complete in 1840; by 1910 the baldachin was heavily cut off at each edge; by the 1930’s it had disappeared. The Enthronement-relief on the West Jamb of the East Doorway in the South Wall of the Throne Hall had by 1878 lost the complete block containing Ahuramazda and the baldachin extant in 1840. All this information is important and relevant and might well have been included, and there is no doubt that diligent study would find more such points. Similarly, there is no mention nor use made of the work of the British Museum expedition to make casts sent out in 1891, photographs being published in 1932.

1 Reproduced in heliogravure in his L’Art Antique de la Perse (1881-85).
2 Schmidt, pl. 53; see also below p. 60 and Ker Porter I, 601.
3 Flandin and Coste II, pl. 108; cf. Schmidt, pl. 43.
4 Schmidt, pl. 44; cf. Flandin and Coste II, pl. 109.
5 Flandin and Coste III, pl. 130; cf. Stolze, pl. 65.
6 Schmidt, pl. 203; cf. Stolze, pl. 65.
7 cf. Schmidt, pl. 103, with Stolze pl. 59.
8 Flandin and Coste III, pls. 151 and 154.
9 Herzfeld, Iranische Reliefs, fig. 65; cf. Schmidt, pl. 97b.
10 Flandin and Coste III, pl. 156, cf. Schmidt, pl. 106) pl. 156; cf. Schmidt, pl. 106; Stolze, pl. 60. A fragment is now in Seattle—see below, p. 64.
have quoted, show many details of the sculptured figures far more clearly than the present publication. In any event, we might well expect in the recent sumptuous publication both the inclusion of illustrations of pieces now lost or destroyed and the best and most informative illustrations of those still surviving. Unfortunately, even this is not always the case. Thus in Schmidt pls. 44a (The tribute procession: Indians) the photographs show too much shadow, obliterating details of the faces (compare B.M. Casts 5); and B.M. Casts 6 give an infinitely better picture of the central sculptured panel of the Stairway of Artaxerxes III than is found in Schmidt pl. 153. So too, with the important details of the tributaries illustrated on Schmidt pl. 110 (Throne-Bearers): on Schmidt's plate the lowest row of figures are blocked out by an obstructing stone. In Casts 2 they are all to be seen in full.1

The next important visitor to Persepolis after Stolze was George Nathaniel Curzon, later Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India and the founder of the Indian Archaeological Service. His book, Persia and the Persian Question (1892), contains not only an admirable description and discussion of Persepolis, but also an analysis of Achaemenid court art which it is still worth while to ponder, even if we shall show cause to disagree with some of it (see p. 76). I quote his remarks on the decoration of the staircases: "It is when we come to the sculptures of the staircases with their long processional panels, their inscriptions and their figures that ascend the steps with the ascending visitor, that we see the Persian architect at his most original and his best. For staircases, and their capacities of sculptural display, the Egyptians cared little, and the Greeks hardly at all. They had other iconostases for their delineation of the pageantry, either of religious ceremonial or royal magnificence. It was the distinction of the Persian artist to have invented and brought to its highest perfection a method which served the triple purpose of economising space, of adding to the elevation and consequent grandeur of the buildings, and of realising the sole aim and object of his employment, viz., the glorification of royalty." Curzon's journeys were made in 1889-90 and in his train came Mr. Herbert Weld-Blundell with his cast-moulding expedition, who cleared away the superincumbent soil in certain places and replaced fallen slabs. Of this again, as we have said, there is no explicit mention in Schmidt.

As we have stated above, the real obstruction to serious excavation at Persepolis had hitherto been the unusual monopoly of excavation in Persia secured for France by de Morgan in 1897. In 1928 this monopoly was abrogated in a new antiquities law and the Chicago Oriental Institute received the concession for Persepolis.

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1 Most of the photographs, in fact, compare unfavourably in standard with the excellent short series in Herzfeld's Iran in the Ancient East, pls. XLVI-LXXI, being often a trifle indistinct, occasionally obviously touched up (pls. 66, 161B) or even out of focus (pls. 77, 103, 106).
For the first four seasons (1931–34) the work of excavation was placed by the Oriental Institute under the direction of the late Ernst Herzfeld, whose brilliance as a student of ancient Persia none disputes; but whose complete suitability as an excavator is not fully evident. This book raises doubts indeed, since he appears to have kept no notes of his work as an excavator whatever, or, if he did, he kept them to himself. Time and again the present author, Schmidt, is held up by lack of information which should have been preserved and made available. The results of Herzfeld’s four seasons were not negligible. He found in 1931 the main wing of the Harem of Xerxes. In 1932 he cleared most of the gate of Xerxes, determined the outline of a new Palace (Palace G) and found the sculptured southern and eastern Stairway of the Council Hall, and the great sculptures of the Eastern Front of the Apadana, continued work on the Harem of Xerxes, and removed debris from the Terrace foundations. In 1933 he cleared the courtyard between the Apadana and the Throne-Hall and in the north-eastern Terrace fortifications unearthed thousands of Elamite cuneiform tablets. In 1934 he was active at several parts of the site. In the Apadana he also found the gold and silver foundation tablets of Xerxes and Darius. He then resigned.

The expedition was placed under Schmidt, who was then conducting the excavation at Rayy, 400 miles away, but was enabled to combine his responsibilities and keep in touch by means of an aircraft provided by his wife, referred to without comment as Mary-Helen. In 1935–39 he cleared part of the eastern fortification, discovered and cleared the enormous Treasury, and cleared a cistern. In 1936 he discovered in the Treasury hundreds of Elamite tablets, worked at Naqsh-i-Rustam (1936–39) and removed Farhad Mirza’s dump in the Throne Hall. In 1939 he finished the southern portion of the Apadana, and found an Achaemenid cemetery. The final clearances of the Persepolis terrace were made by the Iranian Antiquities Service after the War. As a result of these strenuous undertakings, the terrace of Persepolis palaces or “Throne of Jamshid”, to use its popular name, is now completely cleared. For this the Oriental Institute and, among its excavators, Schmidt, deserve the greatest share of praise.

Disjecta Membra

It is impossible here to appraise each of the chapters of this book at length. The introductory survey, however, (entitled “Royal Architects of Persia”) is excellent and establishes that Persepolis was founded at least by 504 B.C. by Darius, who also began the Apadana (completed by Xerxes after 30 years), built the Palace which bears his name and constructed the Treasury in its first form. Xerxes appears to have been his deputy and supervisor of public works, to have continued his plans and to have built on his own account

the Harem, the Throne Hall (which the excavators take to be the palace Museum) completed by Artaxerxes, and the Terrace Gate. Palaces D and G were anciently destroyed. Palace H (formerly called that of Artaxerxes III) made of re-used stuff from the Palace of Darius, was probably built by a Hellenistic or Parthian governor. Herzfeld's discovery of the W. façade of the Apadana, with its almost undamaged series of sculptures, duplicating and completing those already known from the East side, was an event of the greatest importance. It is a curious feature of the sculptures of Persepolis, unencountered elsewhere, that every relief has to have a counterpart showing the opposite sides of the same figures. Was it from a sort of frenzy of realism? Was it because in the world of Zoroastrian dualism, it was, perhaps, felt that the unseen sides, being in a sort of darkness, were a prey to evil? The excavator is able to show these twin views on the same plate in many cases, one above the other, completing in the one series details obliterated on its fellow. These valuable juxtapositions make it possible to restore the series of 23 delegations which are shown bringing gifts, probably at the New Year festival, from the different peoples of the empires. Among them move lines of guards, dignitaries and attendants. From this ample publication of new material, and in particular these juxtapositions, we are now for the first time able to identify the source of some of the more notable dispersed sculptures from Persepolis which have found their way to Western museums. It is strange that the excavators have not attempted this relatively simple task. Thus the British Museum has several pieces, mostly from the collection of Sir Gore Ouseley, British Ambassador at Teheran, 1810 to 1815, and from that of Lord Aberdeen. They are described in the Travels undertaken in 1811 of Sir William Ouseley, Sir Gore's brother and secretary (1821) Vol. 2, 254, where Sir William speaks of two of the reliefs as in his own collection (pl. xlvi and xlv). One is inclined to infer that he may have got them from Mr. Morier (immortal author of Hajji Baba of Ispahan), whom he met at the site and who mentioned that "some workmen employed by him in digging had brought to light several beautiful sculptures, concealed probably during many centuries" (p. 188). Sir William also illustrates on pl. xlv those brought to England by his brother, and on pl. xlvi those acquired by Lord Aberdeen from Persepolis through the latter's brother, Mr. Gordon. By combining reduced photos with reproductions of parts of the Apadana reliefs, I have been able to show the probable original positions of several of these pieces (pls. XVII, XVIII).

From the Apadana

1. 18839. Slab with two Medians moving right, holding whips, etc. 32 × 71 cm. Presented by Lord Aberdeen. Ouseley II pl. xlvi, who shows it as in his brother's collection. This is the upper part of the two figures out of three between wand-bearing Median ushers, top row left. Apadana North Stairway, E. Wing, cf. Schmidt I pl. 58, cf. pl. 51. Plates XV, 1; XVIII, 2.

(20705)
2. **118847.** Slab 12 x 30 cm., showing royal stool carried by Median; this belonged to the extreme left figure but one on top row, E. wing of Northern Stairway of Apadana. Schmidt I pl. 58; cf. pls. 51, 52. Plate XVIII, 2. Barnett, *Iraq,* XII, Pt. 1, Pl. IV. Presented by the Royal Institution, 1870.

3. **118838.** Slab 60 x 102 cm., showing file of Susian guards moving to r. holding lances. This is evidently from left end of East Wing of the Apadana cf. Schmidt I, pl. 58, and should displace the left-hand fragment incorrectly replaced there by the Americans. Ouseley II, pl. xlvi, who erroneously shows it joining (2) above. Said to have been presented by Lord Aberdeen (though Sir William Ouseley describes it as belonging to his brother.) Plates XV, 2; XVII, 2.

4. **118856.** Fragment showing head of a Susian guard. 18 x 17 cm. Ouseley II, pl. xlvii. Plate XIX, 4.

5. **118848.** Slab 50 x 25 cm., showing Susian usher advancing left but facing right. Probably the introducing figure at left of three free horses, East Wing of Apadana Northern Stairway, cf. Schmidt I, pl. 57, cf. pl. 52. Plate XVI, 2.

6. **118842.** Slab 45 x 25 cm., showing Median and horse, evidently one of three figures leading a horse in top row, East Wing of Apadana Northern Stairway; cf. Schmidt I, pl. 57, cf. pl. 52. Ouseley II, pl. xlv. Plates XVI, 4; XVII, 1.

7. **118843.** Slab 55 x 77 cm., showing chariot scene. Evidently part of the rearmost chariot on East Wing, North Stairway of Apadana, cf. Schmidt I, pl. 57, cf. pl. 52 Plates XV, 3; XVIII, 1.

8. **118851.** Fragment of slab 29 x 18 cm., showing reins and withers of chariot horse moving right, probably adjoining to last. Presented by the Earl of Aberdeen.

9. **118869.** Slab showing man leading camel to left, of which only nose survives. 44 x 60 cm. Evidently from the 13th Delegation, Apadana North Stairway, cf. Schmidt I, pl. 39: published in Pope, *Survey of Persian Art* IV, pl. 96 D. Plate XVI, 5.

10. **118866.** Slab 32 x 35 cm., showing Persian bowman holding lance with both hands, facing l. Probably from inner or outer flight of the Apadana Northern Stairway, cf. Schmidt I, pl. 55.6. Plate XIX, 1.

11. **92253.** Fragment of head of Persian moving l. 13 x 12 cm. Perhaps from South face of inner or outer flight of the Apadana Northern Stairway, cf. Schmidt I, pl. 56.

12. **118865.** Slab showing three figures of Persian soldiers holding “Boeotian” shields and lances, facing right, from a balustrade ornamented with tongue patterns; probably from the parapet of the Apadana Eastern Stairway, Schmidt I, pls. 25, 26. Plate XX, 1.

13. **118837.** Part of slab, 90 x 60 cm., showing life-size figure of Persian guard moving right, holding shield and lance. Ouseley, II, pl. xlvii. Plate XX, 3.


15. **118837.** Part of slab showing Median usher leading bearded man upstairs to left: to left of him, edge of a tree, 27 x 35 cm. Probably the introducing figure leading Skudrians, Northern Stairway of Apadana, cf. Schmidt I, pl. 45. Ouseley II, pl. xlv. Plate XVI, 1.
16. **118840, 118841.** Two parts of an inscription in Persian cuneiform; at right, part of cypress tree. 55 × 10 cm. Ouseley, II, pl. xlv. First four lines of trilingual text of Xerxes—Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*, p. 108, Xerx. Pers. 6. The remainder of the text is seen on Schmidt I, p. 82, pl. 60. Plate XIX, 3 (118841).

**From the Palace of Darius**

17. **118868.** Figure of Median servant ascending stairs to right, carrying covered vase. Probably from the upper flight of the Southern Stairway, Palace of Darius, *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 132, or Palace of Xerxes, Western Stairway—2b, pl. 165. (For others, see Pope, *Survey of Persian Art* IV, pl. 96 B, 97, 8.) 72 × 53 cm. Plate XXI, 1.

18. **118855.** Fragment showing part of figure of Median ascending stairs to left, carrying covered dish.

Probably from the Eastern flight of Southern Stairway, Palace of Darius; *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 135. 30 × 30 cm.

Ouseley, II, pl. xlvii: From Sir Gore Ouseley’s collection.

**From Palace H?**

19. **118845.** Fragment of corner of balustrade showing Persian bowman holding lance with both hands,1 facing left, under raking cornice with band of rosettes. 39 × 55 cm. Presented by the Earl of Aberdeen. Plate XX, 4.


20. **118864.** Fragment with figure in relief, Persian dignitary holding wand with folded hands. From a corner block. *cf.* Schmidt I, pl. 25. 60 × 23 cm. Plate XXI, 3

This gesture is highly peculiar and occurs in a number of reliefs at Persepolis, e.g., pl. 25: B (ushers), pl. 72 D (ushers), pl. 87 (princes?), pl. 121 (eunuch and one of two princes), pl. 123 (do.). It is known in Assyrian art.2

Bernard von Bothmer drew my attention to this gesture and pointed out that it occurs in Egyptian statues of the Persian period (xxviiith Dynasty)3. Steindorff, *Cat. of the Walters Art Gallery*, shows two Egyptians; one a statuette, the other in a relief, wearing Persian dress and using this gesture. What does it mean? Is it a gesture reserved for high officials, or is it simply a conventional way of depicting the hands?

21. **118844.** Corner fragment with two figures, one each on adjacent sides. (a) Persian bowmen holding lance, facing l. (b) Persian dignitary facing right, with crossed hands. 55 × 30 cm.

Probably from the newel of a staircase.

22. **129381.** Fragment showing seated bearded male sphinx wearing divine head-dress with raised paw facing right, between horizontal bands of rosettes. Behind, a lotus-tree. 75 × 67 cm.

B.M.Q., Vol. XX, Von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser*, pl. 56.

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1 Does this mean the spear is really to be imagined as carried obliquely? The apple at its base is never placed on the ground, but appears to rest on the left foot. You cannot walk with a spear held in both hands resting on your foot. The solution is that the guards are not to be thought of as walking at all, but standing at ease, with feet apart. The appearance of walking is deceptive.

2 On a sculpture of Sennacherib in the British Museum.

Such figures flank the winged discs at the centre of Stairs at the Apadana. Pl. 22 (East Stairway), Palace of Xerxes, Western Stairway, pls. 159–60, of Council Hall (Schmidt I, pl. 63.)

A similar group doubtless once stood on western flight of Southern Stair of Darius (Schmidt I, pl. 133), on Eastern Stairway of Palace of Xerxes (pl. 166, 168).

A similar unidentified slab, showing the left tip of Ahuramazda's wing, is illustrated in Lajard, Culte de Mitra, pl. xlvii = Tylor, P.S.B.A. 1889–1890, pl. iv—Ohnefalsch-Richter, Kypros, Bibel und Homer, 164 & pl. lxxxviii; it was then in Berlin.

From comparison with the sphinx on the façade of the Southern Stairway of Darius’ Palace (Schmidt I, pl. 127) it is clear that the British Museum piece is from the same building, perhaps from somewhere on parapet (see pl. 134F).

In addition, there are fragments of rosettes (118846) of curls from an animal, perhaps from the gateway figures of the gate of Xerxes (118849), a piece of baldachin showing feet of lions moving left, rosettes and network (118850) and small fragments of inscriptions.

Scotland

Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh. 1930, 138. Slab showing upper part of a Susian usher and a Median tributary. 48 × 61 cm. Clearly from the Apadana, North Stairway, East Wing. cf. Schmidt I, pl. 58, 51/2. At the back of the Median may be seen part of the stool carried by him, of which British Museum 118847 is a part.

Plates XVI, 3; XXVIII, 2.

France—Louvre

1. Slab with upper edge decorated with leaf pattern: face showing two figures of Persian spearmen wearing feather head-dresses advancing to right. The spear and fingers of a third figure behind the first two can be seen. Ht. 69 × 50 cm.

Contenau—Monuments Méopotamiens nouvellement acquis ou peu connus, Musée du Louvre, 1934, pl. xiv.


2. Slab showing a Median servant ascending stairs to left, carrying a small goat. In the top left corner is a fragment of the cloth covering a dish carried by another servant. Ht. 75 × 38 cm. Contenau, loc. cit. pl. xv.

3. Lyons (Palais des Arts).

Head and shoulders of figure of Persian servant carrying cloth-covered tray to right. Ht. 55 × 8 cm.

Pope, Survey of Persian Art, pl. 96 B.

Switzerland—Zürich: Zürcher Kunstgesellschaft

Similar slab showing Median servant ascending steps to right, wearing sword, and holding covered dish. Below, traces of beading and rosettes.


From the Palace of Darius, Western Flight of Southern Stairway. Schmidt, pl. 132 B.

Plate XXI, 2.

W. Germany—Berlin

Slab showing two figures carrying reeded shields and two spears moving left. Sarre, Die Kunst des alten Persiens, pl. 29; Sarre and Herzfeld, Iranische Felsreliefs, fig. 17. This is clearly the group from the Apadana Northern Stairway, to be restored in Schmidt I, pl. 45A, showing delegation 19 (Skudrians from Thrace?).
U.S.A.

   Slab showing Median usher moving left but turning back to lead two men, one holding two bowls. Cossio-Pijoan, Summa Artis II—Arte del Asia Occidental, Bilbao (1931), fig. 669. This is clearly the group at the Apadana Northern Stairway, showing Delegation 13 (Parthians?). Schmidt I, pl. 39. The leading figure, the Median usher, is illustrated alone in Pope, Survey of Persian Art (1938), pl. 99.

2. Cincinnati. Mr. and Mrs. Philip R. Adams Collection.
   Part of a slab showing Median servant ascending stairs to left, holding covered vessel. Ht. 22·8 × 24·2 cm. Ancient Art in American Private Collections, Fogg Art Museum (Catalogue), 1954, No. 63, pl. XIX.

   Fragment representing part of baldachin of embroidered cloth figured with winged symbol of Ahuramazda (left wing only surviving) and passant wing (of which one and a half survive). Below are represented network of hanging tassels. Ht. abt. 45 cm. (A similar but smaller fragment is in the British Museum, see above.) Handbook, Seattle Art Museum, 1951, p. 14. Mostra d'Arte Iranica, Rome, Palazzo Brancaccio, 1956, No. 209, pl. XXVII.

   Fragment of relief slab showing Persian (?) servant wearing loose dress carrying on his shoulder a large dish covered with cloth, upstairs, moving to left. 30 × 30 cm. Probably from the Palace of Darius (Southern Stairway, east flight, cf. Schmidt, pl. 133) or of Xerxes (Western Stairway, Schmidt, pl. 164). This piece is very much like the leading figure on slab from Palace G, Schmidt, fig. 119. G. Richter, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Cambridge (Mass.), 1981, pl. 1, 1.

5. Two servants; a Median in tight-fitting dress, leading to right a Persian who holds a great tray covered with a cloth.
   Probably from the Palace of Darius or Xerxes.
   Richter, op. cit., pl. 1, 2. 37 × 67·5 cm.

   Slab showing heavily draped Persian servant carrying upstairs to left a round dish with lid.
   Probably from the Palace of Darius, Southern Stairway, cf. Schmidt, pl. 133. Ht. 70 cm Pope, Survey of Persian Art, pl. 98.


7. Figure of Ahuramazda standing in centre of winged disc, holding flower. Pope, Survey of Persian Art, pl. 96. Ht. 73 cm.
   Probably from above the baldachin of the royal throne in the Throne Hall. Relief on the Western Jamb Western Door, Southern wall of Throne Hall. Schmidt, pl. 103. Ahuramazda elsewhere holds not a flower but a ring. On the opposite slab he holds a flower.

8. Figure of Median servant mounting stairs to left, carrying a kid. Ht. 66 cm. Pope, op. cit., pl. 97.
The Tributary Nations.

That the foundation of the Apadana was laid by Darius is attested by the gold and silver foundation tablets discovered by Herzfeld; in these Darius describes his empire as extending from the Scythians who are beyond Sogdiana to Ethiopia, from India to Sardis: from the absence of any reference to his Scythian expedition of ca. 513 B.C., it seems building started before that date, perhaps 519–513 B.C., while inscriptions of Xerxes show that it was not completed for about thirty years.

One of the most important contributions of the volume is, as we have said, the complete publication of the great series of twenty-three delegations from the tributary nations of the Persian empire, bringing New Year gifts, as depicted on the stairway reliefs of the great audience hall or Apadana (pls. 27–49).

The correct identification of these nations and their representatives is of great ethnological and historical importance, being in many cases probably the only clue which we possess to their appearance. Schmidt was hampered in this task by the fact that Herzfeld¹ was believed to have prepared, at the time of his death, a detailed discussion of the subject. Though it does not seem to have been available to Schmidt, it appeared possible at that time that it might be published. Schmidt, therefore, though in general following Herzfeld, has not provided any real discussion for his identifications, certain of which are unsatisfactory. To identify these racial types is not easy. We have three lines of approach. The first is the list of nations incorporated in the inscriptions of Darius, and, to a less extent, of Xerxes. The second line is the symbolic figures representative of each nation supporting the throne of Darius, now much battered, carved in the Council Hall at Persepolis (pls. 80–81), where twenty-eight nations are depicted, and the identically similar symbolic supporting figures in the Throne Hall (planned by Xerxes but completed by Artaxerxes I (pls. 108–113, pp. 134ff.). The third source of information is closely related to the last—namely, the supporting figures upholding the great Divan of the King on the six tombs carved in the rock face at Naqsh-i-Rustam. There we have twenty-nine figures, which correspond exactly to twenty-nine nations enumerated in a general inscription of Xerxes² accompanying Darius' tomb. The confirmation and precise identification of these racial types was in 1932 found by A. W. Davis³, who discovered the underline inscriptions in three

¹ See above, p. 56 note 1.
² Weissbach, Keilinschriften der Achämeniden, 1911, p. 86 ff.
³ A. W. Davis, An Achæmenian Tomb Inscription at Persepolis, in J.R.A.S., April 1932. Davis's list differs only from the Darius inscription (N.R.a) at Naqsh-i-Rustam by having a space for a (lost) name outside the throne to the left, bringing the total of the nations to thirty. As Davis only copied the Old Persian texts, this may be recoverable in Babylonian or Elamite versions. It may be inferred to have been Karka.
languages attached to each figure in the "South Tomb" (of Artaxerxes II?). These labels had escaped notice of all previous visitors. They were not known to Herzfeld when he made the first detailed and brilliant essay of identification in 1910 and were ignored apparently by P. J. Junge, who studied the subject of these racial types before the last war.

Now it is a sad fact that though we have, apart from Herodotus' list, at least three lists of the tributary nations incorporated in inscriptions of Darius, yet these by no means exactly tally with each other, either in sequence or in content. It is clear that in principle the expansion in number from twenty-three nations mentioned by Darius at Behistun to the thirty-two in Xerxes' daiwa inscription and other changes in detail reflect the growth and changes in the empire during that period. But which of these inscriptions do the Apadana reliefs approximately illustrate, or to which stages in that growth do they correspond? There is certainly no uniform order in these texts in which the nations are recited, except that Persia, Susiana and Media always come first and (as Herzfeld detected) there is usually a certain geographical grouping and a contrast of the central lands with those far off. Before we attempt to answer this, we have first to agree whether the delegations represented in the sculptures are correctly identified in this publication and, if not, how they should be.

As we have said, Herzfeld, many years ago, addressed himself brilliantly to the discussion of the Satrap lists and to the problem of identifying the figures at Naqsh-i-Rustam and in the Throne Hall (Schmidt, pls. 108-113). The present photographs show, not surprisingly, that some of his earlier drawings of these figures were incorrect. It is, however, more disturbing that in Schmidt's volume the important illustrations purporting to show specifically the details of racial and facial types (pls. 112-113) are so inexcusably bad as to be almost illegible, the details being lost in shadow or glare, or by faulty exposure of the camera or even blocked out by the presence of a large stone in the picture. This was certainly below what might have been expected of the standard in a definitive publication of the material (See above, p. 58.)

Another unfortunate obstacle to the study of these types is that we cannot weigh the full material for identifying them until we have in our hands Persepolis Vol. III, which promises to publish the Naqsh-i-Rustam reliefs where, as we have said, in the South Tomb all the figures are inscribed. Let

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1 Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (1910).
2 As far as I know, P. S. Junge's *Satrapie und Natio* (1) *Klio* 34, 1941/2 is the most recent detailed discussion of the subject and has been used by Schmidt. From the introduction to Junge's *Darius I* (Leipzig, 1944) we learn that Part II was never published, the author being reported missing, presumed dead, at Stalingrad. His major work, *Die Völker des altpersischen Weltreiches*, to which he makes references in the above article, was likewise never finished. An evil genius seems to dog discussions of this subject.
3 *Persepolis* III, 90.
5 This is forecast in a footnote on Schmidt I, 118.
us hope that the photographs of those may be supplemented by drawings of
details wherever unclear and that, perhaps, it may prove possible to republish
better photographs of the Throne Supporters in the Palace.

Admittedly, then, it may be premature to attempt final decisions on these
identifications yet, but some comments may be permitted.

To take those delegations first
which can be regarded as secure on both internal and external
evidence and by comparison with the Naqsh-i-Rustam figures, we
may cite (i) the Medians, (2) Susians, (3) Armenians, (4) Arians,
(5) Babylonians, (7) Arachosians, (9) Cappadocians, (10) Egyptians,
(11) Saka tigrakhauda, (12) Ionians, (13) Parthians, (15)
Bactrians, (16) Sagartians, (18) Indians, (19) Skudrians, (20) Arab-
ians, (22) Libyans, (23) Ethiopians.

The high-pointed head-dress of
the Babylonians with a
tassel, called

\[ \mu \text{\πρα} \]
by Herodotus\(^1\), is known
from Babylonian monuments.\(^2\) It
is noteworthy that the Babylonians
are carrying as a gift, cloth with a
tasselled network edging, of a type exemplified in the hanging baldachin
above the enthronement scenes of Darius, strongly suggesting that the
baldachin was a Babylonian weaving. Their gift of an Indian humped ox is
as interesting as it is unexpected.

The Armenians and Cappadocians both wear a curious three-crested hat
with a double tassel, clearly taken over from that of the Urartians as worn
by the Urartian ambassadors in the battle scene sculptured at Nineveh by
Ashurbanipal (Fig. 1). We may note that the “Cappadocians” wear the
fibula which the Assyrian artists represented as characteristic of Phrygians,\(^3\)
and that, therefore, by Katpatuka is indicated Phrygia. Further, that as
Herodotus calls the Armenians \( \alpha \text{ποικικ } των \ Φρυγιων }\), he believed they were somewhat alike. I have suggested elsewhere\(^4\) that the last king of Urartu,

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\(^1\) Herodotus I, 195, describes the costume of the Babylonians.
\(^2\) e.g. Stele of Marduk-apal-idinna, Frankfort, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Orient*, 120.
\(^3\) See Barnett, “Early Greek and Oriental Ivories”, in *J.H.S.* 1948, 9, fig. 7.
Rusa, son of Erimena, really concealed in his father's name the eponym of the Armenians, who were probably already installed in Urartu by the end of the sixth century. The Medians (1) and the Sagartians (16) wear a variant of this hat, to which a mouth-protector is sometimes added. Of the Sagartians, Herodotus¹ says they are a nomad Persian, horse-rearing tribe, in dress half Persian, half Pactyan; by the latter is probably meant that they wore on occasion, like the Pactyans, cloaks of skin.²

The costume of the Parthians (13) is confirmed from later Parthian art; at Naqsh-i-Rustam the Parthian wears Persian court dress. Herodotus VII–71 mentions the leather garments of the Libyans (22), shown here with heavy fringe.

Less certain, but possible, are Gandharians (14) whose representative is shown at Naqsh-i-Rustam dressed like an Indian with bare chest. They carry spears with ball-shaped butts. The Drangianians (21, pl. 47) are also not beyond doubt.

The Indians (18, pl. 44), are shown bare-chested—with short dhoti, led by a man wearing a flowing Indian dress; the next bears on a stick, bowed slightly by the weight, a pair of baskets bearing pots presumed full of gold dust, the tribute of the Indians.³ They bring an ass, in keeping with Herodotus' statement that the Indians in the Persian army drove in chariots drawn by wild asses⁴. Last comes a man strangely carrying a pair of double-axes.

A little surprising is the inclusion of (19) the Skudrians (pl. 45) from Thrace, as these people are not mentioned in inscriptions before Naqsh-i-Rustam. According to Herodotus⁵, the Thracians wore fox-skin caps, tunic and a cloak of many colours, fawn-skin buskins. They carried javelins, light shields and short daggers. The hemi-spherical shields they carry in this relief appear to be made of wicker work or rope or some such light substance.

The Arabians (20), confirmed as such by their dromedary, wear the zeira, or long cloak, as described by Herodotus⁶.

The following identifications, however, call for drastic revision, discarding the identifications of Schmidt and Herzfeld.

The "Syrians" (6) (Schmidt, pl. 32): These people (Pl. XXII, 5) wear a crinkly chiton, a mantle thrown over one shoulder above it, boots, a high curving turban and a long hair-lock falling behind each ear. They bring vases and armlets of Persian style and a chariot. This identification was accepted by Herzfeld and Junge⁷. It is automatically rendered doubtful by the fact that Syria did not become an independent satrapy till the time of Xerxes and in these reliefs we are certainly dealing with the empire of Darius. Nor do I

¹ ibid. VII. 85.
² ibid. VII. 67.
³ Herodotus, III, 98.
⁴ ibid. VII. 86.
⁵ ibid. VII. 75.
⁶ ibid. VII. 69.
⁷ Refs.: Schmidt, p. 85, n. 123.
know of any representations of Syrians with such headgear, though Phoenicians sometimes wear a smaller form and the crinkly chiton and boots may have been familiar enough to them. These are fairly probably the Sparda, or Lydians, an important satrapy recorded from the earliest inscriptions but otherwise unaccountably omitted in these reliefs. It is true that the Sparda is depicted differently dressed in a short kilt, bareheaded and with puttees at Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fig. 2) but Schmidt himself usefully informs us in a footnote¹ that the Sparda wears there an exactly similar braid of hair². There are rare examples of this hair lock falling from behind the ear worn by males in archaic Ionic art—one is the striking ivory from Delphi representing a youth (presumably Apollo) holding a small lion³, presumably of the VIIth century B.C. Another is worn by a charioteer on a relief in Istanbul Museum⁴ from Brusa in Ionic style of the end of the VIth century B.C. or early Vth century. Evidently it was a custom followed by Lydians and some Ionians to wear the hair in this way.

The "Cilicians" (8) (Schmidt, pl. 34): Again much doubt on this old identification of Herzfeld⁵ is thrown by the fact that Cilicians are not specified in any list of Darius or Xerxes, nor are they depicted on the Divan-supporters at Naqsh-i-Rustam. Who, then, are these people (Pl. XXII, 3) with long coats and girdle, headband with pendant ends, and boots? The clue is given by their tribute. This is a pair of fat-tailed rams, with their tails curling upwards, perhaps tied up with a ribbon. Now this resembles a particular breed of fat-tailed sheep called Karakul (Pl. XXII, 4) which is also famous for producing in the new-born lamb the valuable so-called Astrakhan fur. Two of these lambskins are carried by the leader of the group⁶. This sheep originates in Uzbekistan, the region between the Aral Sea and the slopes of the Tien Shan Mountains round Samarkand, the areas covering ancient

¹ Ibid. n. 124.
² The corresponding figure in the Throne Hall (E. 3) seems to be wearing a slightly pointed cap with a twisted head-band.
³ Amandry, "Sur une statuette de dompteur de lion", Syria XXIV 1944. → "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories", JHS. LXVIII, 1948, p. 16., I took this figure for Rhodian as against Amandry, who held it for Ionian. It seems that he may well have been right. [Continued on next page.
Chorasmia and Sogdiana. If we compare the illustration of the Sogdian at Naqsh-i-Rustam (Fig. 3), although there he wears only a short coat or undergarment, it is clear that our figures are not Cilicians at all, but Sogdians. The corresponding figures in Council Hall and Throne Hall show their representative wearing an elaborately knotted girdle with a loop and four tails. This at Naqsh-i-Rustam is reduced to two prongs.

An interesting confirmation of this identification is provided by the relief from the Palace of Darius (Schmidt, pl. 153), where the figure I call Sogdian is suitably represented together with their neighbours the Scythians (i.e., Chorasmians?), Arachosians and Gandharians.

A final other proof marks this delegation as Sogdian. The head on a clay plastic vase found recently in Russian excavations on the Chuy river in Kazakhstan, on the Eastern border of Sogdia (XXIII, 4) wears the same headband with pendant tails. It belongs to the VI–VIIth century A.D. and shows well the tenacity of customs of dress in the ancient East.

The "Sogdians" (17) (Schmidt, pl. 43) is again an old identification of Herzfeld and Junge. Schmidt in a footnote admits a possibility that this delegation (Pl. XXII, 1, 2) may represent the Saka haumavarga rather than the Sogdians, and draws attention to the fact that at Naqsh-i-Rustam the Chorasmian wears Saka (Scythian) costume (Fig. 5). One must assume that Naqsh-i-Rustam's reasonable information is correct. In any event, there can be no doubt that here a Scythian people are depicted, with forward-pointed cap and ear-flaps and huge bow-cases, carrying small tomahawks, a sword and scabbard. Scythians of this type are depicted on a vase (Fig. 6) of Greek

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1 p. 89, n. 145.
2 Minns, Scythians and Greeks (fig. 94).
style found at Kul-Oba near Kertch and an iron axe overlaid with gold of just this kind was found at Kelermes (Kuban)\(^1\) (Pl. XXIII, 1) with an iron sword and scabbard of the type shown in the relief. From the position of these finds, we should expect this delegation to be *Saka paradraya* of South Russia but this tribe is not specified before Naqsh-i-Rustam in spite of Darius' Scythian expedition. The words of Herodotus\(^2\) might suggest that we have here Saka Haumavarga, though he seems to confuse them with the Tigrakauda (known from Naqsh-i-Rustam for their pointed hats). But the distinction in any case between the two types of Scythians does not appear in the Persian inscriptions before that of Naqsh-i-Rustam, and is therefore unlikely here. We may, therefore, conclude that these Scythians on pl. 43 are either Haumavarga from Lake Balkash or Chorasmians from the region of the Aral Sea.

If we compare the list of tributaries thus revised with the inscriptions of Darius, we find it closest to that of Behistun (also with 23 names), with certain small differences: Sea people (*i.e.*, the Cilicians and Cypriots), the Thattaguš of India, Athura (Assyria?) and the Maka of Makran and Oman are omitted, while the following are added: Putiya and Kušiya, which appear in Darius'  

\(^1\) Rostovtseff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, pl. VIII.  
\(^2\) Herodotus VII, 64: "The Sacae or Scyths were clad in trousers, and had on their heads tall stiff caps rising to a point. They bore the bow of their country, and the dagger; besides which they carried the battle-axe or *sagaris*: they were in truth Amyrgian Scythians, but the Persians called them Sacae, since that is the name which they give to all Scythians ". The Amyrgian Scythians are, of course, the Saka Haumavarga.
1. BM. 118839  (See No. 1, p. 60)

2. BM. 118838  (See No. 3, p. 61)

3. BM. 118843  (See No. 7, p. 61).
Fragments of reliefs from the Apadana at Persepolis (see pp. 61, 63).

1. BM. 118857.  2. BM. 118848.  3. Edinburgh.  4. BM. 118842.  5. BM. 118869.
1. BM. 118842 (see No. 6, p. 61).

2. BM. 118838 (see No. 3, p. 61).

Photographic reconstruction of slabs in their original places.
Photographic reconstruction of slabs in their original places.
Fragments of reliefs from Persepolis in the British Museum (see pp. 60-61).
PLATE XX

Fragments of reliefs from Persepolis in the British Museum (see pp. 60–61).

BM. 118865.

2. BM. 118844.

3. BM. 118837.

4. BM. 118845.
Fragments of reliefs from Persepolis 1. BM. 118868; 2. Zürich, from the Palace of Darius; 3. BM. 118864; 4. BM. 129581 from Palace H (see pp. 62-63).
1, 2. Reliefs showing Chorasmian (?) Scyths.

3. Relief showing Sogdians.


5. Relief showing Lydians.
1. Gilded iron axe from Kul Oba; iron sword and sheath from Kelermes.

2. Gold plating of scabbard from the Oxus treasure.

3. Stamp-cylinder (Graz), with impressions.

4. Plastic vase from Kazakhstan, 6–7th century A.D.
Suez Canal inscriptions, and Skudra of Thrace, who do not appear before the
Naqsh-i-Rustam sculptures and must therefore be an afterthought, deriving
from Darius' Scythian campaign of 513, while the Indian nations are clearly
a consequence of his operations in the Punjab in 510. A date between 510
and 500 is thus probable for these reliefs.

* * *

Now for the question of order. I give on p. 73 that proposed by Herzfeld
and by Schmidt, those identifications which are not accepted by me being put
in square brackets. This is compiled by Schmidt in a strange manner prescribed
by Herzfeld, by reading the series in threes vertically downwards instead of
taking them (as one more naturally would) as following in single file horizontally
along each sculptured band marked by rosettes.

Now clearly Schmidt's method of reading makes up no recognisable
geographical pattern, whether of contrasted areas or otherwise. Again, it is
produced by a method of reading, the order of which is out of keeping with
everything we know of ancient methods of representation, whereas if we
follow the horizontal bands, with the three proposed corrections, some sort
of coherent geographical sequence does emerge, even if it is not that of the
Darius inscriptions. Yet it is a most extraordinary thing that the order of
the Throne Bearers of the Throne Hall\(^1\) and Council Hall\(^2\), though more
numerous by five figures, exactly follows the order of the Apadana reliefs if
read vertically. Either, then, the designer of the Apadana series meant them
to be so read (which I doubt) and Herzfeld was right, or he was wrong, by
this method having wrenched them all out of order, but was preceded in
antiquity in his mistaken method of reading by the designer of the Throne
Hall and Council Hall figures, who copies his order from the Apadana.
No other explanation of this enigma is at present available.

\(^1\) Schmidt, pls. 80-81.
\(^2\) Schmidt, pl. 108-113.
APADANA

Vertically read:

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<th>Delegation</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Plate</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1.</td>
<td>Medians</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Susians</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>29</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Arians (Haraiva ?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Babylonians (Babiruš)</td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>[Syrians] SOGDIANS</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Arachosians (Harauvatiš)</td>
<td>33</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>[Glicians] LYDIANS</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Cappadocians (Katapatuka)</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Egyptians (Mudraya)</td>
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<td>11.</td>
<td>Scythians (Saka Tigrakhauda)</td>
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<td>12.</td>
<td>Ionians (Yauna)</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Parthians (Parthava)</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Gandharions (Gandhara)</td>
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<td>15.</td>
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<td>16.</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>[Sogdians (Sugda)]</td>
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<td>—CHORASMIANS—</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Indians (Hinduš)</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>Skudrians (Skudra)</td>
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<td>20.</td>
<td>Arabians (Arabaya)</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Drangianians (Zranka)</td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Libyans (Putiya)</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Ethiopians (Kušiya)</td>
<td>49</td>
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Horizontally read:

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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Sagartians</td>
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<td>Drangianians</td>
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<td>24.</td>
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Council Hall

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<td>E.7</td>
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<td>14.</td>
<td>Gandharian</td>
<td>W.8</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Bactrian</td>
<td>E.8</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>Sagartian</td>
<td>W.9</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Scythian</td>
<td>E.9</td>
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<td>18.</td>
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<td>W.10</td>
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<td>Indian</td>
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<td>21.</td>
<td>Sattagydiyan</td>
<td>E.11</td>
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Sogdian</td>
<td>E.12</td>
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<td>23.</td>
<td>Scythian</td>
<td>E.13</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>“Group VII”</td>
<td>E.14</td>
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<td>25.</td>
<td>“Group III”</td>
<td>E.15</td>
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<td>26.</td>
<td>Libyan</td>
<td>E.16</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>Ethiopian</td>
<td>W.17</td>
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<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Scythian</td>
<td>E.17</td>
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Throne Hall

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delegation</th>
<th>Name</th>
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with Persians: 29

R. D. BARNETT
Pasargadae and the Sources of Achaemenid Art and Architecture

The material now presented about Persepolis, the greatest surviving monument of the Achaemenid builders, prompts one to take up again the question of their sources of artistic inspiration. Important information about a part of them is furnished in this book by the section on Pasargadae. The remains of the city of Cyrus the Great to the north of Persepolis have been frequently discussed. But Schmidt adds here fresh material of importance, showing from aerial photographs that Pasargadae lay at the centre of a fortified military enceinte. He also gives new views of the Zendan or Tower, which, as Herzfeld pointed out, very closely resembles in plan and elevation the grave-tower at Naqsh-i-Rustam, called Qaba-es-Zardusht. The similarities between the architecture of Pasargadae, with both that of Assyria and of Urartu, are now more noticeable than previously. The dentils, representing the beam-ends of the flat roof, the vertical slits in the form of windows, the contrasting of horizontal bands of different coloured stone, the use of large stone blocks with drafted edges, can all be traced back to the monuments of Van, either in the model building from Toprak Kale or, in the last case, the actual remains of the Temple of Haldi there.

The very plan itself of the Tomb of Cyrus, a small box-like building with a gabled roof, below which is a Greek kyma, reproduces the original appearance of an Urartian Temple, to judge from the representation of that at Musasir and the ground plan of that at Toprak Kale, the chief difference being that, like a miniature Ziggurat, it has been placed at the top of a series of six steps. The rectangular ground plan of free-standing towers with reinforced buttresses at the corners, such as the Tower (Schmidt, fig. 6B), can be traced back to the recently excavated tower at Karmir Blur. Some Assyrian features can also be found both in technique—such as the use of iron (swallow-tail?) clamps set in lead, and in decoration. Thus Palace (S) at Pasargadae had an oblong hall, the entrance of which was carved with protective figures of demons in relief and the monumental gateway was decorated with huge winged bulls. Yet other features are neither Urartian nor Assyrian, but Iranian. The loose arrangement of pavilions in a park is, as Frankfort says, that of a nomad chief

1 e.g. by Flandin & Coste, Dieulafoy, and Herzfeld in *Iranische Felsreliefs* especially.
2 *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 32.
3 *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 52.
6 In "The Throne of Solomon's Mother". Schmidt, fig. 7. Schmidt wrongly asserts that Pasargadae provides the earliest example of drafted edges. They also occur apart from Van, at Nimrud in buildings of Sennacherib, and at Samaria in masonry, perhaps of the ninth century B.C. (Fitzgerald, *P.E.Q.* 1932, pl. 1-1).
7 Barnett, *loc. cit.*, pl. I.
8 *ibid.* fig. 12.
13 Schmidt, p. 22.
and is presumably Iranian. The oblong hall is supported by two rows of four columns. The column bases of black stone were in the form of a plain discoid torus resting on a square plinth. Four kinds of animal capital—a horned and crested lion’s head, a leonine monster, a bull and a horse’s head—have been found, obviously the forerunners of those of Persepolis and Susa. No exact monumental antecedents of this ground plan with columns are known in Iran, but at Karmir Blur in Urartu we find a hall with a central row of four square columns supporting the roof. In another palace (P) the doorway lintels are sculpted with a representation in relief of Cyrus standing there with his attendant, an idea which, though familiar at Persepolis, does not appear to be derived from Assyrian or Babylonian sources. The technique of representing folds of the garment, later canonical in Persian art, is first met here.

It seems possible that it is derived from Ionic Greek art. The central hall has six rows of five columns each, resting on horizontally fluted bases, which were made in one piece with the lowest drum of the shaft. If these buildings at Pasargadae and the representation of that at Da-u-Dukhtar with Ionic capitals date from the lifetime of Cyrus (559–530), either the Persians formed the models which guided Ionic Greek architects in developing the Ionic style of architecture or we have in them the evidence of Greek workmen working already for the Persians (which is less likely). The same dilemma exists over the history of the treatment of folded garments.

We shall, in fact, probably not be far wrong if we regard Pasargadae as illustrating the end of, or transition from Median culture to that of Persia, or to later Achaemenid art, to which the details of the Behistun relief, studied by Herzfeld, are a further step. In the absence of the excavation of Ecbatana, we have to be content with hints as to the character of Median art. An enlarged photograph of the traditional detail of a Median’s sword scabbard (Schmidt, pl. 120) shows that to the Medians belonged the ivory or bone shapes existent in some of our Museums in form of a lion eating a goat, so

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1 Frankfort, op. cit., p. 217.
2 For a prototype in early Elamite art of the Achaemenid animal capital, see Contenau, *Monuments Mésopotamiens*, 17 and pl. XC.
3 Similar bases occur below the columns with Ionic capitals at the tomb of Da-u-Dukhtar, which Herzfeld would date early in the 6th century (*Iran in the Ancient East*, pl. XXVI and pl. XXVII).
4 Oganesyan, *op. cit.*, fig. 14.
5 An illustration of part of Cyrus’ servant: Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (pl. LXXI, fig. 363). Frankfort thinks it possible that these sculptures were added by Darius.
6 The dating of the statue from Palanga with a late Hittite inscription and elaborate folded dress (Barnett, *J.H.S.* 1948, fig. 19 on p. 21) would, of course, be very relevant if it could be fixed.
7 Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East*, fig. 317. In the argument for Oriental priority of Ionic style we cannot ignore the pavilion much resembling Da-u-Dukhtar with columns bearing Ionic capitals beside a fire altar, illustrated at Khorsabad (Botta, *Monument de Ninive II*, pl. 114: Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies I* fig., p. 309, set amid pinewoods in the (presumably) Iranian foothills.
9 *Iranische Felsreliefs*, p. 189.
10 Several are in the Louvre, one in the British Museum (from Egypt).
stylised as to suggest Scythian influence. But this is precisely what is found
in the Ziwiye treasure, associated by one scholar very plausibly with the
origins of Median art\(^1\). The same scabbard has a most unusual scalloped edge
which recurs, as Herzfeld noted\(^2\), on the gold plating of a scabbard in the Oxus
Treasure, where a king, wearing a crown of Assyrian or neo-Babylonian style,
is hunting the lion\(^3\). Surely this must be Astyages (Pl. XXIII, 2).

There are thus fair indications that originally the Medians first developed
in N.W. Persia in the late VIIth century a local art under mixed Urartian,
Assyrian and Scythian influence (not without some Phoenician contributions)
and an architecture incorporating lessons from the first two sources. When
Cyrus moved the capital of his empire from Ecbatana to Pasargadae in Elam,
these elements were still present. But when Darius made his capitals in the
heart of Elam at Susa and Persepolis, the predominant influence now became
Elamite. Urartu was not extinguished—Darius had an Armenian opponent,
Ara-kha, son of Haldi-ti, who bore in their names those of two chief Urartian
gods. A "stamp cylinder" of Urartian type, in the Johanneum at Graz,
yet with a purely Achaemenid subject, shows that Urartians preserved some
of their customs (Pl. XXIII, 3)\(^4\). But already the divine figure at Pasargadae,
perhaps representing the fravashi of Cyrus, wears the Elamite royal robe with
rosette border, as shown worn by Teumman in the battle scene of the Eulaeus
depicted at Nineveh\(^5\). The Elamite candys was adopted as court dress\(^6\);
government records were kept in Elamite, now one of the official tongues of
the Empire.

It is only now that the French excavations at Susa, after the confused
picture of earlier years, have begun to reach Elamite levels by digging strati-
graphically, and now at last, thanks to M. Ghirshman's tireless work, there
and at Tchoga Zambil, our knowledge of Elamite art is being soundly based.
Elamite decorative features at Persepolis now leap to the eye. The reliance
on gaily-coloured glazed bricks (though popular in Babylon, too), the use
of the concentric circle\(^7\) as a decorative, presumably apotropaic motif (though
popular also in Urartu), go back to Elam. The very idea of stairs carved with
ascending or descending processions, as in the Apadana, in spite of Lord
Curzon's attribution of it to the Persian genius\(^8\), would seem to be foreshadowed
in the stepped processions of old Elamite worshippers carved descending the

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1 H. H. von der Osten, *Die Welt der Perser*, 1956
3 Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus*, 22, pl. IX.
4 I owe thanks to the Curator of the Johanneum for permission to publish this, and to Dr. Margarete Falkner, for kind assistance in procuring the photograph.
5 Herzfeld pointed this out, *Iranische Reliefs*, 155-156.
6 H. Schneider, *Das persische Weltreich* (1941) quoted by Schmidt, 117.
7 Information from M. Ghirshman.
8 See above, p. 58.
rock at Kurangun and Naqsh-i-Rustam. From all this varied heritage, the Achaemenids forged an artistic tradition, a *koinē* which, though cold, dry and formal in style, was yet technically skilled and in total effect monumental. It was intended to be an international language that should convey in architectural terms to the world the message that the great king was the lawful heir to the kings of Assyria, Babylon, Elam and Egypt. In this scheme of things, Persepolis, the only survivor of Achaemenid splendour to-day, took a leading place. In the words of Strabo, "*ἡ δὲ ἡ Περσέπολις μετὰ Σοῦσα κάλλιστα κατασκευασμένη μεγίστη πόλις, ἡχουσα βασιλεια ἐκπρεπὴ καὶ μίλιστα τὴν πολυτελεία τῶν κειμένων.""

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1 Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* (1935), pls. II-IV. Mr. John Boardman, however, shows that this idea at least of a double stairway in converging directions leading to the temple platform was known in Chios at the end of the 6th century B.C., and may be imported from Greece. But there it was at least unillustrated with reliefs.

2 The theme of the lion hunt, treated by the Assyrians as a major subject of narrative art, has shrunk at Persepolis to a formal and unconvincing, almost heraldic single combat between the Persian king, typifying good, and a lion, bull or monster, typifying evil; yet it was still imposing enough for the Moslems to see in it, once the Great King was forgotten, their own legendary figure of the chase, Jamshid, thus giving Persepolis its native name of 'Jamshid's Throne'.